MUMBAI FABLES: COSMOPOLITANISM AND THE SEXUAL ETHOS

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The paper identifies and describes the qualities and characteristics of cosmopolitanism in broad with the discursive and the material process of consumption, city and city-spaces, culture, identity, citizenship and politics. The paper, in a way, attempts to identify the geographies of the transnational locality with the new configuration and relationships within a specific subculture. The new form of cultural articulation and the public life that Bombay generates, resembles a strong impetus to what Binnie et al., (2006:8) calls 'cosmopolitan urbanism' – reflecting to a sense of neoliberal cultural trait and a form of urban life with a specific form of consumption, lifestyle and cultural sensibilities (see also, Burns and Davies, 2009).

To start with the organizing principles of Ulrich Beck's (2002:17) understanding of cosmopolitanism that reflects the radical constellation of the flows of capital, people, image, identities, ideologies and structures, that fundamentally develops a new form of consciousness –Beck reveals that cosmopolitanism brings into the evidence of a new situation of the world that fundamentally sets to identify a new form of modernity that triggers the conflation of varied projects of the capitalist framework, to corporate reorganization, new transfer of labour and people, free trade, leading to a situation of cultural progress that transcends political boundaries to a domain of interlocking institutional framework of people, region, space and context (Bell and Binnie, 2004; Rantanen, 2005; Leahy, 2013; Mythen, 2013).

Similarly, Arjun Appadurai's (1996, 2001) anthropological study of transnationality with special reference to Bombay, provides an interesting trope to the logic of 'disjuncture'. In his essay, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy' (1996), Appadurai emphasizes the analytics to 'disjuncture', as relating to the constant flow and movement of people to new global cultural economy (32-33). It further adds to the idea of a radical shift to a larger transnational

imagery that materially shapes the meaning of human action (pp. 44-45). Further, Appadurai's specificities to his analysis on 'flows' and mobility in shaping relations, profoundly conceptualize the importance of the concept of 'deterritorialization', that holds the meaning to break with the past, with a critical anthropological notion to his analysis of 'new order', which is formed with the convergence of cultural styles, thus forming a global cultural uniformity (Pp. 47). Further, the homogenization of the western practices, yet develops certain ethics of transnational politics to the locality, where the rubric of modern life is significantly driven to market consumer choices (Xavierinda and Rosalando, 2002: 22).

The growing cosmopolitanism of the city of Bombay is bounded with the analysis of the postcolonial analysis of the city to that of its emergent economy; characterizing a city with a sign of modernity that appeals to a nativist contours of its own image of the land, religion, politics, migration, business, trade in one hand, to that of the growing presence of the multinational space that emphasizes the capitalist production and the cultural representation of the city (Hansen, 2001; Dossal, 2009; Vicziany and Bapat, 2009; Ashcroft, 2011). As Swapna Banerjee-Guha's (2002, 2009) important articulation of the metropolises in the global South in the time of 'neoliberal urbanism' –emphasizing to the notion of 'market ethic' and the emergence of the enterprise culture that notably figures the neoliberal characters as 'sovereign consumers' (see also, Gooptu, 2009).

The cosmopolitan ethos of the city in relation to sexuality, Svati Shah (2015) argues to the evidences of locating the sexual politics in India in the 21st century from the lens of neoliberal economy. Her analysis of the economic liberalization that occupies the fundamental organizing rubric in determining and shaping these identities and subjectivities. To her understanding, the sexual politics to neoliberalism in the 'Global South' marks an era of emphasizing the intersection of identity and wealth, thus constituting a notion of 'privacy', as transmitting cultural dynamics from the West to non-West. What she means by saying here, is the newness in the formation of sexual identity that reifies the class-based sexual politics to the analytical formation of urban non-heteronormative representations. Hence, the rich and the wealthy gay subjects in the global south follows certain normative social forms, that conditions their 'aestheticization' of identity –forming a brand new form of cosmopolitan connoisseurs, as reflecting the neoliberal agendas of hyper-consumerized material geographies and spaces.

The gay clubs, bars and other gay entertainment spaces frames the emotional geographies of gay-space that charts the boundary

and fixity to the apparent consumption ritual of these identity-categories (Bakunina, 2012; Boyce, 2007). The space becomes sociable with the complex performances of fun, dance, intimacy, pleasure –as displaying a network of individuals who interacts with a gendered class with realization of affluent, savvy, gay consumers who fundamentally constructs a 'gay habitus' and are openly and comfortably gay. Furthermore, the gay solidarity-movement and activism brings into the evidence as how David Harvey (2005) calls it as 'cosmopolitan citizenship' as adding to the evidence of the performative representation of certain political practices, either by means of street activism like gay parades, or collective association of gay-groups, like community-based politics.

The importance of space and its negotiations as leading to the claiming of 'sexual citizenship'occupies a particular space that conditions the expression of the gay individuals and to transgress the hegemonic heteronormative space. These movements, further represents the politics of spectacle and visualization: a space that dominantly represent the heteronormative arena; the gay parade temporarily crosses the boundaries and destabilizes the 'normative' locale of the public arena (Leachy, 2013; Mythen, 2013). At the same time, community-based discussions add to the understanding of new participation in the decision-making, a new ideology of equality that underscores the formal membership of the individuals as adding to a form of collective sentiments (Bakunina, 2012; Fadaee, 2011). The dialogues in participation, becomes a form of collective movement, a type of political participation that mobilizes the gay individuals. Its further, deeply conditions the new movement-politics, that aids a deeper understanding of citizenship –projecting a meaning to the transnational solidarity of the gay populace where there is overlapping imperative to the movements' ideology to gay citizenship rights.

Cosmopolitan Ethos and the Making of Bombay

The recent theorization of cosmopolitanism aims to build ideas as responding to neoliberal globalization that proposes a framework of the market-driven regulation on a global level. Cosmopolitan theory (Appaduai 2002[a][b]; Beck, 2005, Leachy, 2013) by anthropologists and sociologists reminds us to reimagine a political community which is not bound by borders but to adopt discrete democratic ideals globally as articulating a 'cosmopolitan order'. Immanuel Kant acknowledges a 'cosmopolitan community' that supports to a form of 'law' and 'order' that states to a legitimate participation of

human beings across societies that erases to the cultural differences and create liberal democratic ideals. Kant's 'cosmopolitan order' adheres to the elements of state sovereignty as a basic moral principle of universal human dignity that would allow again a 'cosmopolitan order' that rise above the particularities to a framework constructed to the logic of the complex multidimensional relationship between global and local forces. This implies further to a unique condition of understanding territoriality in which, different locales are interconnected with the intensification of interaction. Further to this, the idea of 'territoriality' in a cosmopolitan cultural climate that conflates to the various projects of global interconnectedness, with varied globalized perspectives in the understanding of ethnicity, technology, finance, media, ideology and so on and so forth. This kind of imaginative landscapes relates to Arjun Appadurai's (1996) framework of 'disjuncture', shaping to a condition of modernity that transcends the very spatiality of the 'local' with the interplay of the varied globalized perspectives.

Renegotiating Appadurai (2002[a]) characterization of 'disjuncture' to his understanding of Bombay – that strongly provides the city's images of the globalising modernity coupled with the elusive histories and its evolving finance: crafting the shifting economies to a global scale of rising financial capital (Pp. 55). Further linking to his argument as relating it to 'hypermodernization' with the cosmopolitan ethos that Bombay installs from the post-World War II. Appadurai recalls 1970s as the period of 'sudden' economic regulation and new mobility of labour with the growing migration bringing in white and blue collar workers that eventually builds the commercial and political core of the city, with its employability in the Fort area of South Bombay (pp. 50). This slowly creates to the notion of 'circulation of cash and work' with the growing impetus of 'business', further addressing to the 'new markets' as operating to the entrepreneurial energy to the city. Appadurai relates the 'new market' syndrome to a complex capitalist niches of the transnational space, wherein in other contexts Appadurai evokes to his theorization of multiple 'scapes' (Appadurai, 1996), conflating to the incorporation of the disjunction with its economic and cultural specificities, as situating to the newness of the global epoch that moves out of the local situations to the new attention to the new attention to global circulation (see also, Anna Tsing, 2002: 455-456 'The global situation').

Again, Appadurai's analytical trope of 'disjuncture' (1996:32) constantly tells us the 'new global cultural economy' with special

emphasis to his concept of 'deterritorialization' (Pp.37) –as thinking to the interplay of the semblance and difference of new visions of culture that challenges the bounded imaginaries. This further says to the formation of new geographical spaces and the erasure of fixed nation-state units, but a new form of political project which is highly contingent with new forms of political participation and new ways of creating citizenship.

James Holston and Arjun Appadurai (1996) has sought to mark the core meaning of modern citizenship that expands to their political meaning of modern public life, and to erode the understanding of it which is historically situated with the primacy of the nation and its national boundaries. As they suggest, citizenship repudiates the constitution of many distinguished representations with a culture of difference appropriates an urban space that profoundly provokes a new notion of membership and solidarity. This erupts a new social condition that deeply contributes to new conditions of work, living and sustenance as concerning to the new claims of civic components. Thus, it is possible to observe the complexities of governance and law that builds the context of new relations to urban governmentality. In saying so, the modern citizenship entails the intensification of the city's space as rendering to the politics of democracy –further articulating the political economy of mass migration, globalization of economy, rights-based discourses, and many more –evoking an ideology of universal equality.

Social History of Bombay since 1970s

Arjun Appadurai characterizes the city of Bombay to those other cities like Bangkok, Hong Kong, Sao Paulo, Mexico City –to those efforts as particularly saying is 'seduced' to the global capital. Conceptualizing the city's character as 'disjuncture' provides shifting economies of manufacture and industry to economies of trade, tourism and finance –yet retaining to its histories and temporalities. Bombay as the city with its interesting history of fisherman's village, and named after the local goddess; eventually turned into a set of colonial government that eventually oriented with a bourgeois' ethos as to calling it a 'Fordist city' that is dominated by trade, commerce and manufacturing -1950s marked the mergence of the cosmopolitan spirit of the city's economic proliferation. Appadurai states here, the city's significance to port that has a long site for commerce, imperial trade and colonial power as enabling to shape the industrial capitalism –the communities, like Parsi, Muslim, Hindu, Bagdadi Jew,

Syrian Cristian, Armenian, and many more. As eventually, Bombay after World War II and the importance of commerce enabto the led to create the manufacturing sector with automobiles, textiles and chemicals, in one hand, and the powerful trade, and quintessentially the complex web of economic relations and the 'business' in Bombay installs to the entrepreneurial energy operating in the city to the increasing factors of capitalist production (Appadurai, 2001:62). Appadurai adds to the idea of 'cash' that implies to the circulation of various kinds of capital, relating to the new and its contradictory manner. In one hand, it registers to the 'post-Fordist Bombay' (Pp. 69), as characterizing a broad megacity project of multinational consumptions and its materiality, consumption and modern domesticity –creating a 'global' new middle class. On the other hand, 'cash' also solicits the 'parallel' or the 'black' economy (Pp. 60), as Appadurai further suggests the Bombay's ratio is probably higher that also finances the Bollywood film industry. These money is invested on the entire cultural economy producing a serious business that steadfastly channels an arbitrary character in 'business' via means of smuggling goods, racket-payments, illegitimate state protection, and many more. The 'business' here, revolves around large cash transactions within the economy of the black money, so as to mean otherwise, the deep circulation of the currency that goes hand in hand with the materiality, that Appadurai states strongly as 'the commodification of flesh'. Knitting together the complex edifice of cash that circulates in the hugely disorganized sectors, that he calls 'house-related hysteria' and its brokers and dealers whose subculture and networking constitutes the fibre of 'black economy' and the underworld (pp. 68). These fluid dealings manufacture grossly a notorious space of violence, risk in which the key players are the mafias as the solicitors and financers in a discreet pattern of market-making.

Further to the traits of violence, stages the local ethno-politics and Hindu nationalism of the *shiv sena* from the 1960s- Maharashtra's ethno-history and the Maharashtrian self-consciousness, portraying an indigenized strategy to domesticate the local vernacular consciousness in the region (Hansen, 2002: 14) [wages of violence: Naming and Identity in the Postcolonial Bombay]. Shiv Sena and its vernacular rendition holds a counter-Bombay imagery, or a niche to its cosmopolitan fervour that translates a 'Hinduized' city –its ideologies as much as politicized with neo-religious strategies of India, that is intensely market-driven. The indigenizing strategy, further gains its impetus with the erasure of the Anglophone

name; Bombay to adopt Mumbai to the 'metonymic' interplay as envisioning regional and vernacular geography of Maharashtra and ethnonationalism, and and conversely, multicultural niches to build a specific form of urbanism (Pp. 79).

Cosmopolitanism thus, becomes a water career for neoliberalism. The corporations' visions for united, borderless world ruled by commodity in which geographical differences are conveniently erased by the magic of what David Harvey (2005) calls, 'free market'. This vision is found for instance, in steady, unabated march of deregulatory policies and privatization across the planet, welding the world-people as consumers and wreaking devastation on cultures and ecosystem everywhere.

As Harvey puts it: *''neoliberalization has created a flat world for the multinational corporations and for the billionaire entrepreneur and investor class, but a rough jagged, and uneven world for everyone else''* (Harvey, 2009:52).

Harvey proposes a reformulated cosmopolitanism, one that takes seriously location, place, space, and the biological realm –in short, one that foregrounds the spatial politics of difference and engages conscientiously with 'the banality of geographical evils'. He thus seeks to 'remove the mask that so conveniently and effectively conceals and protects the particularities of the class or ethnic nationalist power hiding behind the noble universal principles' (pp. 107).

Cosmopolitan Sexuality: Bombay and beyond

The Indian scene of the 'transnationalization' of non-normative sexualities is related to the economic liberalization of the economy. 1980s onwards, the city and the city's space reifies the conceptual representation of identities and sexualities that mediates the understanding of that space (Cronin and Oakley- Brown, 2010). While, much indebted to the scholarship of Elizabeth Grosz's *Bodies-Cities* (1995:104) that says that the body has a direct nexus with the city and is mutually interrelated; their interrelations involve a series of disparate system of entities as bringing together the linkages of the spatial niches to the complex intersection between desire, representations and self-consciousness. The 1990s shows a multiple ways of India and its gender transgressive political representations and movements (Cohen, 2005; Reddy, 2005; Bhattacharya and Bose, 2006) –imagining, Indian urbanism that potentially cultivates that imbrication of sexuality with capital (Shah, 2014; Patel, 2007) –accounting to the critical stance of the economic liberalization,

structural adjustment policy and the formation of new economic order that centres the articulation of new ideology (Simin Fadaee, 2011; Alina Bakunina, 2012). Adding to this, the market reform calls for an aspirational consumption of a culturally marked self and the formation of 'new India' as reflecting a world of enterprise, technology, consumption and market-based opportunities (Burns and Davies, 2009; Jackson, 2009; see also, Bakurina, 2012).

The urban gay elites in the neoliberal context fundamentally showcases a rubric of self-representations as suggesting the economies and sexual geography of the symbolic ability to emerge as a specific form of 'class'. The 'new middle class' in India as stated by the scholars focus on its emergence since the economic liberalization, and the rise of cultural consumerism; adding to the distinct lifestyles that promises a new 'national mode' yet with a global outlook (Fernandes, 2000, 2006).

Svati Shah (2014) in her essay, *Queering Critiques of Neoliberalism in India,* states that, Indian urbanism locates the non-normative identities and representations in a broad range of spaces that produce a subjective relation to the way it represents. In other words, as sated earlier, the tacit relationship of the city and the body broadly thrives in locating the production and contestation of a presumed 'normative' sexuality, but the manifestations of the varied shifts and framework of the analytical representations of bodies and sexualities. It is important to note that, 1990s and the aftermath, galvanized organizational and political ties, in terms of the 'globalization of law' and movements' solidarities in the non-heteronormative sexual space (Patel, 2006). This transnational organizing remains the dominant frame that interprets the homogeneity of the activism. In addition, the political and the institutional exchange liaised with print media and advertising –as articulating a very meaningful way about the political and the cultural representation of these non-normativity (Vanita, 2002).

On the other hand, the transnationalization of campaigns, cites the 'LGBTQI' collective as a movement-driven discourse that sets back to the support networks like telephone helplines, informal milieu, and its gradual attempt to the governmental and non-governmental agencies, as linking it to the 'language of risk' and (trans)national establishment of health paradigms, parameters in the name of 'project intervention', 'empowerment', 'development', and so on and so forth (Patel, 2006, see also: Bacchetta, 2002: 950; Shah, 2014).

As the analyses encodes significantly to the vast structural

differences that segregates city's space in one hand, and the social and economic position on the other –largely points to the (non) conformity of the (non)normative sexual representations based on social class. So as to say, the fact remains on the particular 'LGBTQI communities' and the middle and upper-middle class English-speaking individuals that instantiates a geography of segregation with their embodied western lifestyles (Cohen, 2005; Boyce, 2006, 2007).

Therefore, the city figures a site of consumption as a transnational space that claims a newly formed sexual universe as contouring the homoerotic possibilities of seduction and eroticism. The transgression once, becomes a sexual decorum to a particular subculture and their expressions of desire that remains 'semi-secretive' (Parker, 1999:10). Dennis Altman (2001) points out that, however seductive the phrase, 'the pleasures of the body' cannot be separated from the world outside. He continues to remark that 'only when political and economic conditions allow can engage pleasures…indeed, bodily pleasures are often shaped by political and economic conditions' (pp 2). Feminist and gay scholars have long pointed to the ways sexuality is structured by the economic system (See, D'Emilio, 1992; see also, Cohen, 2005; Benedicto, 2008) adds to commodified sexuality (Bollestorff, 2005: 21-25, 2007). Sociologists of sexuality have taken up the political economy of sexuality more recently because political transformations have shaped sexual experiences, identities, politics, and desires. In addition to those, who look at how transnational processes rely on and affect sexualities, some focus on the specificities of the transformation of gay and lesbian movements into markets which others look at sexuality to study intersections between market transformation and sexual morality.

As Altman (2001) further argues, sexuality is affected by the global political-economic phenomena such as commercialization, AIDS, women's groups, International trade, tourism and inform-ation technology. Altman traces the global flow of sexual identities-for example, gay and lesbian identities has supplanted other sexual categories (Pp. 86). Correa and Jolly (2006) traces the transformation of the gay and lesbian movement into a niche market of greater visibility for gay men and lesbian women with money is a sort of unintended disenfranchisement (on the basis of race, class and gender), which in turn, is an effect of conceiving political rights as a market-based rights. She elaborates this critique by pointing to the market's articulation of identity that gives primacy to sexuality, thereby ignoring 'differences among gay men and lesbian women'

(see also, Chandiramani, 1998).

This leads to another dimension of the sexuality studies in the non-West, that influences the non-West with the mobilization, intervention and researches generated by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This introduces a new dimension to the debates about sexuality –possibly, with the epidemiological analysis of the virus and the epidemic. Dennis Altman (2001) further states about the programmatic intervention around HIV/AIDS that has made use of identities such as 'sex workers' or 'gay/bisexual men', or 'men-who-have-sex-with-men', and thus plays a role in the formulation of the globalization of identity-categories (see also, Parker, 1999). In the South Asian context, Lawrence Cohen (2005) charts the AIDS prevention interventions since the early half of the 1990s, that builds to the cultural appropriateness among male to male sexualities; mapping to the 'local' categories of 'desire', 'comportment', 'practice', that further leads to empowerment and the reduction of risks to HIV infections. Cohen adds to the analysis of how intervention strategies are shaped in lines of 'mapping' desires, gendering relationships and sexual acts within a particular male same sex model – 'the *kothi* and the *panthi*'. The gendering of the identity-category develops a model –'*kothis*', the receptive partners, the effeminate homosexual men, and the '*panthis*', who are the boyfriends or clients; the male, masculine counterparts in sex (Khan, 2001). The model thus demonstrates a pan South Asian cultural frame being central to the contextualization of AIDS prevention practice. Cohen (2005), further adds to the evidence as how Dennis Altman's view on the 'globalization of the cosmopolitan category of the gay' through trans-local circuits of 'signs', 'space', 'bodies', 'capital', 'virus' and 'governance', becomes a programmatic gaze of the AIDS enterprise in the late 20th century. Further to this analysis, the AIDS cosmopolitanism in South Asia witnesses the new articulation and effects of the bilateral development agencies, like the WHO, UNAIDS and others, who cultivated 'new leaders' as activists to build 'local' foundation on research on AIDS. Thus AIDS builds in to the vehicle that generates the global flow of the 'developmental capital' in the purview of re-negotiating marginality, space and nationalism, in the context of which local and global morality were re-configured to attenuate on the rationale of epidemiological and sexual sovereignty.

This further allows to understand the non-Western homoerotic desires, as relating to Peter A. Jackson's (2004) idea about the significance of 'local' male same-sex sexuality by further emphasising the importance of cultural and social interplay in the specific locality

that shapes these identities within a specific cultural context. In his own ethnographic study of the *Kathoey* ('lady boys') in Thailand, Jackson asserts the historical pedigree of Thai identities and the intrinsic ways in which these non-normative sexual representations are entangled within the cultural characteristics of the West, and also to their own –thus highlighting the politics of appropriation and embodiment, based on the two cultural traits.

Plurality of Sexual expressions: The Bombay Metaphor

In the case of India, Gayatri Reddy has stated that 'a new class of 'gay individuals' has appeared with regard to global identification of gay identities in India (Reddy: 2005: 216-217). This representation is linked to the global solidarity of the cultural and sexual expressions, enabling a social environment of self-reflexive representation. In other words, the idea of social class is entangled with community sentiments that further initiated the same-sex expression in India. Community-based organisations like *Humsafar Trust* in Mumbai and the *Bombay Dost* magazine – relates to the advent of the early gay discourses in India since the 1990s with (open) gay discernibility. This significantly asserts the urban gay scene in Bombay in the early 1990s –an idea of a class-based gay identification of upper middle class sensibilities with English-speaking capabilities, serving the purpose of building solidarity among the educated urban gay population –signifying 'class' that builds their space for negotiation, consumption, and their subjective formation.

At the same time, the 'cultural liberalisation' of Bollywood films and the introduction of 'parallel cinema' have introduced the themes of homosexuality, homo-eroticism and homo-sociality. For example, the Hindi film director, Kalpana Lajmi, and her film *Darmiyan*, talks about 'the inter-gendered, auspicious and playful thirdness', whereas, Deepa Mehta's film, *Fire*, portrays female same-sex love and relationships; the increasing cinematic representation of non-heteronormative love and affection (Vanita: 2002: 218; Ghanta: 2012). Ruth Vanita also charts as how the advertisements of undergarments and jeans creates the increasing inclusivity of same-sex emotions, that adds to mark non-heteronormative space (Vanita, *2002*).

Locating body to the city's space adds an understanding to the interrelationships of aesthetic value of the body and the political meaning that it renders (Reddy, 2006). Anthropologists and gender theorists has theorized body in relation to appearances, as stating that gender transgressors or 'transgender' individuals render a political

goal as a site of its dynamic embodying practices (Wilson, 2004). The feminine embodiment of the 'trans' identification, produces an intersubjective meaning of the body and its appearance –the body becomes the agency to feature the 'presentation of her self' via means of face, dress body parts, behaviour, mannerisms, and so on –further rendering the stylization of the body as the primary mode of its beauty and consumerism. To understand the political economy of desire and its corporeality –varied ways of gender transgressiveness that is rooted in the principle of embodiment, I have argued elsewhere that how the *hijras* (the traditional transvestite population of South Asia translates the cultural form of body, beauty and its aesthetic representations in the city of Bombay (Roy, 2017). Moreover, the 'bio-political strategy' of the body, its spatial politics that is linked to the ideological representation of the consumer capitalism, provides a site of the socially constituting feature of the modern erotic world – 'the body' and the body parts provides the logic of the two political meanings of the feminine (gendered) transgressiveness. Firstly, the symbolic representation of mapping the body and its physical marker that reinforces the sexing of the body. This further adds to the meaning of gender(ed) ambivalence (un)acquiring the 'female body' as opposed to 'the feminine body' –the particular grotesque sphere and the physical mark, or the boundary as dividing multiple 'trans' identification.

The complex relationship of the bodily symbols thus becomes the ritualized discourses as mediating the political constellation to re-interpret the 'trans' representation in India. And secondly, situating this contemporary sexual politics as how market economy and sexual culture provides a bourgeois way of representation –the body and its politics of trans(cending), installs 'market' analysis of the desires and desirability; the way in which gender transgressions are institutionally repudiated via law, medicine, surgery –those particular strategies that translates technological rationality to build body and gender ideals.

Quite significantly, the self-representations of femaleness frequently called attention to the existing texts and to particular scholarship on the care of their body. This further concerns female dresses, ornaments, western clothing, to the irreversible move to the processes of beauty, body and its consumption practices –like injecting and use of industrial hormones into the body (see also, Kulick 1998; Pieur 1998). Further, that to marks the gendered bodily meanings that earn more physical capital (Bourdieu, 1986,1990) as becoming the culturally acceptable (feminine) body, as attempting to approximate feminine semiotic signs to re-claim gender through various processes

of sexed embodiment.

My thoughts to gender transgressiveness, their lived experiences, the fluidity of the gender and the plurality of their gender(ed) expressions, moves away from the essentialist and the social constructionist idea of gender –transgresses the society's naturalization of sexual differences. The transgression is a political stance, as quite radically democratic to understand sex and gender that constitutes the dominant binary of its force. The transgression further conceptualizes the role of self-construction as a narrative process with its interaction with the social and the environment. Evelyn Blackwood's essay on '*Gender Transgression in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia'* (2005), wherein she employs the concept of 'gender transgression' rather than 'transgender'. According to her, historical accounts do not portray the 'desires' of gender-transgressiveness; rather what they do is to enclose those practices of behaviour and embodiment to a box. What I mean here, is to non-essentialize transgressiveness –subvert the already-given historical model of subjective constructions. Blackwood adds by saying that, 'gender transgression as read by the Western audience is a violation of gender'. But what is important to explore here is to look at the gender(ed) practices that exceeds beyond the boundaries of 'normativity'. This sort of transgressiveness entails the individual stake as linked to all fantasies and desires, as how an individual constructs their perception of self. To 'transgress', is an embodied practice of 'becoming' the self that does not corroborate to an external imposition of self but those interpersonal relationships and inter-subjective roles as constituted by the everyday lived experiences, bodies and materiality, cultural and political positions.

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