Lesbian Performativity and Identity in Sepocikopi.com

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Abstract

Being gay and lesbian in Indonesia has never been easy. Queer people are commonly judged and insulted by the society for their ‘abnormality’. Since they have very limited space for expressing their thoughts, some of them try to create a virtual community to gather people who have identified themselves as queer. sepocikopi.com is a lesbian online magazine created by Alex and Lakshmi in 2009. It provides articles about lesbians in daily lives contributed by the members of sepocikopi.com. Every member took part in writing articles in any columns they like. “Gaya Hidup” is one of the columns mostly depicting lesbians’ lifestyles and aspirations. This study aimed to examine the actualization of lesbian’s lifestyle which tends to be ambiguous in the actual practice, including the classification in gender roles. This study used textual analysis to critically scrutinize the selected articles in “Gaya Hidup” column written by Yasmin and Carmen, the founders of sepocikopi.com. Using Butler’s theory about gender performativity, the study found that the actualization of lesbian’s lifestyle depicted in the article is still subjected to heteronormativity in the society. However, cyberspace apparently helps Indonesian lesbian to define the performativity with no fear of judgment from the society, as they feel safe with the anonymity and being in the virtual community that has the same vision.

Keywords: heteronormativity, identity, lesbian, performativity, sepocikopi.com

Introduction

Media cannot be separated from our lives. It takes a huge part of our daily routine. From the morning we wake up, we read the newspaper, watch television or even listen to the radio in order to know what the latest music chart is. Sometimes the news that we heard, watched or even read are evoked some pros and contras. In Indonesia, the topic about sexuality is quite taboo and considered as not appropriate to be discussed about in the public. Though, there was a time where some television shows in Indonesia aired few episodes that related with the topic about homosexuality, adultery and the freedom of sex life. It was aired on 2 private television channel; SCTV (Potret) and RCTI (Buah Bibir) on 1997. Unfortunately, Drs. Lukman Harun who was in Central Committee of Muhammadiyah condemned the shows as he said that those 2 shows were really contradict with the norms and the customs of this nation and it also against the value of religions itself. (Oetomo, 2001)

Boellstorff (2005) argued in his book that it is always clear to Indonesians of any ethnic or religious background that the terms gay and lesbi do not originate in locality or tradition. (p.7). Therefore, Indonesia does not admit any sexual orientation other than heterosexual orientation. The system of religion beliefs in Indonesia makes it hard to accept homosexuals though it does exist. It makes the LGBT people in Indonesia feel oppressed because they cannot express their identity freely. People judgment and also the treatment from the society are some things they have to deal with whenever the LGBT people appear in the public and considered as “not normal” by the society or whenever they have decided to come out of the closet.

The development of technology gives benefits towards LGBT people. In this case, we are talking about the internet. If we talk about the internet, we may not forget about the identity in the cyberspace. In cyberspace, the identities of many people remain anonymous. Hall writes that he views identification as ‘points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us'.
(cited in Bell 2001, p. 116). Some may using the fake name and though the rest of them using their real name, it is not guaranteed that the life in cyberspace is as the same as in the real life. More than that, the identity in the cyberspace is something that what we wanted us to be rather than what we really are.

With the anonymity in the cyberspace, it helps LGBT people to come out of the closet. It may not real but by using the anonymous or a fake identity, they feel more accepted by the community they are in. As Bell stated that the anonymity offered makes cyberqueer spaces important cites for coming out, while retaining the protective shell of the RL closet. (Ibid, p.129). While in their real life, it might hard to accept themselves as the part of LGBT people, but by using the internet and find out that they are not alone and figure out that they have many other people who face the same problem as theirs, the moment of coming out itself becoming more bearable.

There are a lot of Indonesian LGBT communities in cyberspace, such as pelangiperempuan.com, sepocikopi.com, gaysindonesia.com, lgbtindonesia.org, ourvoice.or.id and many more. These online websites, actually, are trying to be the place where any LGBT people could feel save about their identity and not feel alone. The feel of being alone for LGBT people and the lack of acceptance from the society towards them, – especially for the youth – could make them worthless. Nelson and Galas stated, as cited by Day, that the teenage years are difficult for all young people, but for gay youth the problems are compounded by isolation, rejection, fear and often self-hatred. (2000, p.104). Even in some serious cases, it led to commit suicide from the victims themself.

One of the most active online websites and being considered as a pioneer is sepocikopi.com. sepocikopi.com is more concerned about lesbian issue. The creator, Alex and Lakshmi –who also declared themselves as a lesbian couple– claimed this site as a non-profit online magazine which means that it does not related with any organization. As an online magazine, it posted new posts in every single day and it is not only being written by the creators but also the members. They can write any issue that they concerned with. There are 5 categories in sepocikopi.com, which are: sepocikopiana, gaya hidup, humaniora, seni budaya and reportase. The author is more concerned about “Gaya Hidup” column because in this column the author can figure out about lesbian’s lifestyle through their performativity and their identity and also the ideologies that hidden behind the articles. “Gaya Hidup” or lifestyle interpreted as a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfill utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity. (Giddens, 1991, p. 81). In Butler’s theory, she argues that performativity is the reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains while identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results (Butler, 1990).

There have been few researches which has been conducted and discussed about similar topic, although they mainly focus about the sexual identity of the lesbian. As an example, Nufus (2011) explain in her thesis entitled with Portrayal of Lesbian Sexual Activities in Rubric of Health and Sexuality in Sepocikopi Magazine (An Analysis of Text Structure), she argued that sexuality is one of the lesbian struggle in the society therefore, sepocikopi.com helped to present a new discourse about lesbian in the society. Setyorini (2011) with her journal, Performativitas Gender dan Seksualitas pada Weblog Lesbian di Indonesia on Jurnal Gandrung stated that the weblog (Fried Durian and Rahasia Bulan) itself helped to shape the new identity of lesbians. While both of these previous studies point out that the performativity of lesbians usually refer to the sexual activities and it creates a discourse in the society that sexual identity is the core of lesbian identity, this aim of this study is to analyze and identify that the lifestyle of lesbian itself construct their performativity and identity. It is argued that 2 chosen articles from “Gaya Hidup” column depicted that lesbian’s lifestyle is imitating what heterosexual couple usually do.

Method

This study used qualitative method and was conducted by deeply analyzing the articles in sepocikopi.com. According to Schreier (2012), qualitative research is interpretive in three ways: it deals with symbolic material that requires interpretation; different interpretations of the same material can be valid; and it deals with research questions exploring personal and social meanings. (p.21). The primary data were taken from 2 chosen articles in “Gaya Hidup” on 2013 (January to September) written by
Yasmin and Carmen. The selection of articles was based on the number of posts in “Gaya Hidup” column on 2013 (January to September). It was found that Yasmin and Carmen were the most frequent authors to post in that column during the selected period. The collection of the data was also based on the large number of comments towards the articles. From the comments, the author would know that the articles were favoured by the readers. The chosen articles are: Dapur untuk Berdua (17 comments; articles on May 20th 2013; written by Yasmin) and Mix n’Match: Enaknya Jadi Lesbi (35 comments; articles on July 14th 2013; written by Carmen).

For the analysis, the author used textual analysis in order to identify the meaning beyond the text. By using Butler’s concept of gender performativity and gender identity, the data were then analyzed. Finally, the author drew conclusion to answer the statement of the problem.

Discussion

The imitation life from Dapur untuk Berdua

The first article entitled with Dapur untuk Berdua. This article had written by Yasmin and got 17 comments. In this article, Yasmin wants to explore about her pleasure of having a kitchen and how it could unite a couple.

“Dik, tolong kupasina udang ya?” pinta si kakak sambil sibuk menyiapkan bumbu-bumbu.


“Tom Yam, dik.” Kakak menjawab sambil terus sibuk mengulek bumbu-bumbu.

The conversation between two people who called each other by “kakak” and “adik” is not actually refers to sibling relationship. In this case, this conversation happened between a lesbian couple. The use of nickname depicted the role in the lesbian relationship itself. The term kakak here can be identified as the butch in the lesbian relationship and the term adik can be identified as the femme. Case stated that butch/femme gains its subversive strength from its parody of heterosexual couplings, providing [the subject] with at least two options for gender identification. (as cited in Beemyn & Elianon; 1996, p.24). Butch, in the lesbian relationship usually refer to the woman who dressed up as a man and adapted the masculinity side of a man. In this article, the term kakak argued as the butch because, kakak has the meaning as the one in the sibling relationship who has the responsibility to look after adik. Kakak refers to the person who is older, mature and wise. These characteristics can find in the patriarchal system in which the man in the heterosexual relationship is the one who holds the responsibility of his woman. The character of butch which imitated the character of man, as Gayle Rubin states that butch is the lesbian vernacular term for women who are more comfortable with masculine gender codes, styles or identities than with the feminine ones. (Halberstam, 1998, p. 120)

Adik which argued as the femme in the relationship, becomes the women who described as the opposition from the butch. While butch is having more masculinity-side alike, femme lesbian is having more femininity-side alike. This condition described that butches are more recognizable than femme. According to Nestle, “butches were known by their appearances, femmes by their choices.” (Munt & Smyth, 1998, p. 75). This opinion also agreed by Sullivan and Jackson, they argued that the butch (sentul) is more than 50% lesbian, or incurably lesbi, while the femme (kantil) is less than 50% lesbian, or potentially normal (Murray, 2013). It means that butches are more recognizable as lesbian because of the appearance that they make while femmes are difficult to recognize because they appear in the society as what women usually do. Femmes are only recognizable if only they walk next to their butches.

For the next line, Yasmin wrote:

Dapur memang ajang yang asyik untuk mendekatkan diri sepasang kekasih. Terutama kegiatan memasak yang membutuhkan harmonisasi antara chef dan sous-chefnya.

Here, the word dapur refers to the place where food are being cooked and prepared. Dapur is usually being placed in the house, where house is the place where heterosexual couple occupied to build a family. Yasmin, use the word dapur for her article’s title as she is trying to imitate the life of heterosexual couple live. It might for the reason that she lives with her partner and creates a life like any heterossexuals couple do. This form of performativity is argued by Butler that it must be understood not as singular or
intentional ‘act’, but rather as the repeated and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names. (Butler, 1993, p. 2). As Yasmin wrote that “dapat memang ajang yang asyik untuk mendekatkan diri sepasang kekasih.” means that she is trying to adjusting herself and her partner to be a couple as she experienced it from the society. Being in the kitchen, cooking together with her partner is one of the performativity that need to be repeated to reach the ideal idea of being a couple, in this case is the heterosexual couple.

Meanwhile, according to Tin, any sexual identity, whether heterosexual or homosexual, is no more than the more or less conscious imitation of existing stereotypes, which are themselves constituted on the basis of other stereotypes imitating other imitations. (Tin, 2012, p. 152). It explains that there are not only homosexuals who are trying to imitate the life of heterosexuals, but the heterosexuals itself are also doing the project of imitation.

As Butler stated that hegemonic heterosexuality is itself a constant and repeated effort to imitate its own idealization. That it must repeat this imitation, that it sets up pathologising practices and normalising sciences in order to produce and consacre its own claim on originality and propriety, suggest that heterosexual performativity is beset by an anxiety that it can never fully overcome, that its effort to become its own idealization can never be fully achieved, and that it is consistently haunted by that domain of sexual possibility that must be excluded for heterosexualised gender to produce itself. (1993, p.125).

The idealization of homosexuals people is the life of heterosexuals people that they cannot lived, while the idealization of heterosexuals people is their understanding about the idea of being “natural” which is hardly to be fully achieved because there are so many “obstacles” that make the heterosexuals feel threatened; homosexuals as an example is considered as abnormal and unnatural in the society. Precisely because it is bound to fail, and yet endeavors to succeed, the project of heterosexual identity is propelled into an endless repetition of itself. (Abelove, 2012, p. 313). Therefore, if there is any other performativity that is trying to be heterosexuals alike, it would be assumed as the bad, while the heterosexuals itself considered as the good.

**Challenging the Heteronormativity in Enaknya Jadi Lesbi**

The second article entitled with *Mix n’ Match: Enaknya Jadi Lesbi*. This article written by Carmen and got a lot of comment; 35 comments. It was published on July 14th 2013. This article is talking about the pleasure of being lesbian from Carmen’s perspective.

“Apa sih enaknya jadi lesbi, jijik banget.”
Celetukan dengan nada super nyolot itu keluar dari ibu-ibu yang dari wajahnya yang kusut kelihatan kalau (maaf) mungkin kurang seks. Ups.

The first sentence, Carmen wrote the intimidating words from a woman who largely possibly is a homophobic person. Homophobic person usually defined as a person who dislike and ditch the existence of homosexual people. Homophobic behavior includes avoidance of contact with gays and lesbians and with anything associated with homosexuality, such behavior might also include overt discrimination. (Clinard & Meier, 2010). From her article, Carmen criticized the attitude of the woman towards lesbians. There are few factual answers, according to Carmen, that could answer the question from the homophobic woman and some of them requires special attention.

The first reason is *lesbi lebih bisa sharing*. In this part, Carmen explores the benefit of sharing in the lesbian relationship.

Ini common sense sii. Berhubung sama-sama perempuan, maka segala rupa bisa di-share dan jadi lebih praktis. Misalnya, jadi jarang kehabisan dan kebingungan cara pembalut wanita-tinggal toel-toel minta ke pacar, biasanya dia ada. Terus nggak pusing nyiapain alat make up sendiri, karena kemungkinan besar dia juga ada.

As Carmen wrote in her article about having period and make-up tools are things that cannot be separated from women’s life, she is trying to tell to the readers that with being a lesbian and have a relationship with a woman makes her life easier. The sharing of tampon or make-up tools cannot happen in the heterosexual relationship.
It is because they are women, are more likely to have the psychological and romantic needs common to women in love relationship, therefore they are more aware of the romantic, affectionate, tender aspects of a relationship—perhaps part of the nurturing role—than many men can allow themselves or know how to be. (Wolf, 1980).

Women in heterosexual relationship usually prepared their own tampons and make-up tools while the men do not really think about these things that are really do matter for women. Men in the heterosexual relationship, sometimes cannot even understand why their partner suddenly get upset and emotional when it comes to their period clock, or why women need to use make-up. This makes Carmen thinks that being in a lesbian relationship gives her comfort and feeling of understanding, something that hard to be found in a relationship with men.

Moreover, the connection between lesbian partner is considered to be more sensitive because it happens between 2 women which women considered as more sensitive than men. The relationship between 2 women in lesbian relationship is more likely giving comfort and build sisterhood within. Oyewumi defined the term sisterhood as a solidarity exclusive of men. (McDonald, 2007). Men are absence in the lesbian relationship which means that women are no longer deal with the patriarchal system. With 2 women in a relationship, they get to know each other very well; they know what they need even they know what to do with their partner better than what men could understand in a relationship. It indicates how same-sex relationship for lesbian brings the mutual understanding for each other.

For the second reason, Carmen stated that lesbian lebih bisa suka-suka. In this part, Carmen compares her life as a lesbian who does not need to obey what value of heteronormativity holds.

Kalau kondangan pakai tuxedo, dia tetep bilang keren tuh. Apalagi kalau pas pakai bikini, matanya juga berbinar-binar. Jadi ekspesktasi kewanitaan yang biasanya dipaksakan oleh lingkungan umumnya nggak berpengaruh di hubungan lesbian.

Tuxedo and bikini are 2 different kind of clothes that identify the wearer. In the society, the tuxedo usually refer to clothes that usually wear by men, while bikini usually refer to be worn by women. This differences are directly mention by Carmen as a form of rejection towards heteronormativity. She argued that even she comes to the wedding party, wearing a tuxedo, her partner would not be ashamed of her, instead she thought that Carmen would look fit with the tuxedo. In Indonesian culture, women who attend a wedding party usually dressed up with traditional clothes such as wearing kebaya (in Javanese culture). Butler theorizes that gender is communicated through social performances involving, for example, the adoption of certain styles of dress and types of accessories and makeup, but the self is not inherently masculine or feminine. (Crane, 2012). Wearing a tuxedo for women, especially lesbians is actually one of the ways for challenging the norm in heterosexuality, where the society would be think that it is better for a woman to wear a gown instead a tuxedo. Through this statement, it also shows what Carmen’s role in the relationship. She prefer to wear tuxedo which is indicated that she is being comfortable to wear man suit. It also means that Carmen might be the butch in her relationship with her partner. Therefore, like what Carmen said in her articles that the expectation of femininity which usually forced in the society towards women is no longer influenced the lesbian relationship, means that lesbians construct their own identity in order to prove to the society that even they are different, they are proud of being who they are.

In the next reason, Carmen mentioned about nggak perlu kencan sama laki-laki. In this part, Carmen wanted to elaborate the reason why she does not like men. She stated that men are not her type because they sweat too much and they like to snore.

Nah, ya jelas dong kalau sudah memutuskan jadi lesbi, maka kita ada pilihan dan alasan yang sangat besar untuk tidak pacaran sama yang berjenis kelamin laki-laki. Yah namanya juga lesbi, logis juga dong kalau kurang nyaman berelasi intim dengan laki-laki baik dari segi emosi hingga seksual. Dan kenyataannya memang laki-laki itu lebih berbulu, lebih suka ngorok dan lebih banyak berkeringat; jadi bukan selera saya.

From the paragraph above, Carmen conveyed her distaste of men. Some points she pointed out in this article is subjective. She thinks that because she is a lesbian, therefore she
can delivered some reasons that consist of negative things and intimidate men. Although, not all men are like that she depicted in her articles. She put some major points that she disliked from men and wrote it in her articles so that the readers could know what her perspective about men itself. This performativity of Carmen indicated that she already established by being a lesbian. She feels out and proud. The article that contains the anti-men judgment that she wrote depicted how she psychologically feels really comfortable in her own skin and her relationship with a woman.

Then there is also the main reason why she does not want to be with men. Like in this paragraph that she wrote,

Apalagi, laki-laki hanya punya “satu itu”, sedangkan lesbi bisa punya banyak-dengan berbagai macam bentuk dan warna, hihih, *senyum bandel*

In this sentence, Carmen refer her words to dildo. Dildo is a sex toy that have a resemblance with penis. The presence of dildo in lesbian’s sexual activity indicates how they are actually mocking and discrediting the presence of men. Lamos stated, as cited in Slade that he endorses the dildo as undermining the authority of the penis, discrediting phallic power while simultaneously, and paradoxically, assuming such power for itself. (Slade, 2001). Carmen mentioned that she does not want to be with men while in her writings, she stated the use of dildo in her fantasy. It depicted how Carmen enjoy the pleasure that she got while using dildo; the presence of penis. While, on the other hand, dildo also discrediting the phallic power because dildo cannot release the sperm like men would do whenever they are penetrating.

Moreover, the use of dildo through the mainstream’s point of view is considered as abnormal. As Gayle Rubin stated that:

Bad sex maybe homosexual, unmarried, promiscuous, non-procreative, or commercial. It may be masturbatory or take place at orgies, may be casual, may cross generational lines, and may take place in public, or at least in the bushes or the baths. It may involve the use of pornography, fetish objects or unusual roles. (Rubin, 1993).

The use of dildo in lesbian relationship may also consider as imitating the life of heterosexual. However, either homosexual or people who are using sex toy, are depicting as the bad sex because what good sex is the one that happens in the heterosexual relationship with any other values that positively admitted by the society.

The fourth reason according to Carmen is bisa kencan sama perempuan. In this reason it shows the similar meaning with the previous reason which is nggak perlu kencan sama laki- laki. In this part, Carmen explained about how she attracted to woman. Like what she wrote below,

Itu lho… Makhluk yang baunya harum, yang kulitnya lembut kayak ada listriksnya waktu kulit kita bergesek dengan kulitnya, yang bibinnya kenyal- bikin-susah-napas, yang punya senyum aduhai, dan dari segi perasaan pun umumnya lebih bisa empati. Thank God!

From the way Carmen depict it, it shows how she really admires them. She wrote a description through her writings which show that the kind of person she likes are having nice smell, then also having soft skin that makes her gets the electric effect whenever her skin touches with theirs. She also depict that this kind of person also has a chewy lips that can make her out of breath, has a beautiful smile and also loaded with empathy. The kind of person she described refers to women instead of men.

Her writings also indicate her role in a lesbian relationship implicitly. Her description about women shows the stereotypically female in the society which that makes her as butch in her relationship. Lesbians and gay men, although clearly not attracted to the opposite sex, may sometimes be attracted to the opposite sex role. (Nichols, 1987). It happens because, as a butch, Carmen has the need to have a portrayal of a woman in her life. She could not picture herself together with men due to the fact that she needs a woman instead of a man. The way she depicted women as a person who has empathy creates something more in lesbian relationship. It shows that lesbians using more the sensitivity and understanding compared to gay relationship and heterosexual relationship because the relationship based on 2 women. Continuity of meaningful attachments rather than autonomy has been central to the developmental well-being of women. Interpersonal relationship nurtured by empathy and
interdependency have been essential to women's development. (Mackey, et al., 1997). Despite of the roles of butch which likely to be more masculine in the lesbian relationship, but still, butch has the sense of any women.

Lesbi bisa menikmati tidak hanya program TV biasa, tapi juga seri TV Lip Service atau the L Word favorit. Film-film nggak usah ditanyakan, betapa excited- nya nonton Yes or No 1 dan 2, Imagine Me and You atau I can’t Think Straight yang yummy and cute-lebi umumnya lebih girang liatnya.

From 3 movies that she put on her articles which is entitled with Yes or No, Imagine Me and You and I can’t Think Straight, the author can conclude the similarity from those movies. Those 3 movies that mentioned by Carmen are telling about lesbian relationship in their story plot, though the kind of lesbian relationships in the movies are only between butch/femme relationship and femme/femme relationship.

The first movie is Yes or No. It is a Thailand movie that shows a relationship between a butch and a femme. The butch is clearly portrayed as a girl who dressed up like a boy and also has short haircut, while the femme portrayed as any usual femme who has long hair and feminine. The butch named Tina and she really confusing the audience who watch this movie for the first time because the appearance she made in the movie caused many people misunderstood her as a boy. Different from Yes or No, Imagine Me and You and I can’t Think Straight are using femme/femme lesbian relationship in the storyline. Both lesbian couple in these movies appeared and dressed up like the actual women and have long hair. The question is, what about butch/butch relationship? Are they really exist?

Inness and Lloyd stated in their book that mainstream lesbian films have been carefully crafted to include lesbians who could be as desirable to heterosexuals as to lesbians and bisexual women, ensuring a broader audience. In addition, butch/butch eroticism raises the specter of male homosexuality, which might offend and confound the audience (Inness & Lloyd, 1996). Lesbian relationships can be varied from any different type of roles, including butch/butch relationships. In fact, many people frequently ignored butch/butch relationship because they already think that being in a same sex relationships does not right likewise when a woman dressed up and act like a man. Therefore, if they picture 2 women dressed up and act like a man and being in the same sex relationship, they will find that it is quite offending. Though, from the choice of movies by Carmen, it shows that she welcomed every possible matches in lesbian relationship and she watched the movies as if it brings her own pleasure.

The pleasure of being lesbians, according to Carmen can come from the bond that she made with her partner; from the pleasure of sexual satisfaction that she got from dildo to enjoy watching her favorite lesbian movie. Her list of her pleasures constructs and defines her own performativity in her relationship. In some cases, it shows how Carmen, in some points, disliked men. According in her own opinion, by being a lesbian is a pleasure itself because a lesbian does not need to have a relationship with men in which Carmen depicted in this article as the negative parts. The subjective opinion of Carmen towards men indicated that she enjoyed being a lesbian and she feel that there is no need to be with a man.

**Conclusion**

The lesbian performativity through Yasmin’s and Carmen’s article in the sepocikopi.com depicted the actualization of lesbian’s life. Through their writings, their performativity in their own relationship revealed. In the analysis of five articles of Yasmin and Carmen in sepocikopi.com, the performativity that depicted through 5 articles shows how lesbian relationship in Indonesia still counted as ambiguous, which is it means that the lifestyle of lesbian as depicted through Yasmin’s and Carmen’s article is trying to challenging the heteronormative value, though on the other hand it shows how they still cannot disengage from the heteronormative itself.

Apparently, through “Gaya Hidup” column, the definition of lesbian’s lifestyle that being defined through their articles is something that they involved in and what they wanted to be in the same-sex relationship, in this case is lesbian relationship. The gender role in the lesbian relationship, especially in Indonesia, still considered only between butch/femme relationship because lesbian movement in Indonesia still regarded as new. Therefore, it also affected the role in the lesbian relationship. Even when they are trying to be different and independent, the shadow of heteronormativity is still strongly attached to them. Moreover, the gender issue that happen in the articles, as well as on *Enaknya Jadi Lesbi*
emphasized that Carmen put her perception of lesbianism as a device to glorify the female friendship or female relationship. Through this article, Carmen uses it as a campaign to encourage younger lesbian or any women who still confused with their identity. It appears that the lesbian relationship is related with the psychological problems and the emotional needs. Carmen’s writings in the article justified the points that lesbianism is also a symbol of sisterhood; the bond that happens between two women is a bond that cannot be replaced by the presence of men.

Performativity does create an identity; here the identity of lesbians themselves is constructed in their articles. The articles say a lot about what kind of lifestyle they are in and what kind of lifestyle they wanted to be. Performativity is also a result of repeated and citational practices. They have the ability to express their identity, though they have less space in the society which makes them create their own ideal world through the cyberspace. Cyberspace, in this case is sepocikopi.com, helps Indonesian lesbian to define the performativity with no fear of judgment from the society as they feel safe with the anonymity and being in the virtual community that has the same vision.

**Works Cited**


