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Dutch Women and Balinese Men: Intimacies, Popular Discourses and Citizenship Rights

Ana Dragojlovic

The present article looks how intimate liaisons between Dutch women and Balinese men are intertwined in complex and sometimes paradoxical ways in regard to class position, gender ideologies and immigration policy in the contemporary Netherlands. Central to this analysis is a dialogue between Dutch women, their Balinese partners and popular discourse about Dutch women who marry 'the other men'. I examine how citizenship regulations that play a significant role in interfamilial relations of interdependency form complex gender dynamics, and how Dutch women's rhetoric about the emancipation of Dutch women and desire for a companionate marriage tend to collide with the practices of everyday life. I argue that gender ideologies in these cross-cultural liaisons are conceptualised and reconceptualised in relation to 'gender imaginings'. I suggest that the ideals of companionate marriage, favoured by Dutch women, are linked directly to ideals of modernity and individualism, in which particular scripts of gender relations are used to differentiate progressive individuals from those who are not.

Keywords: *Citizenship Rights; Intimacies; Gender Normalivities; Companionate Marriage*

The central focus of the present analysis is a dialogue between Dutch women, their Balinese partners and popular discourse about Dutch women who marry 'the other men' in order to explore the complexities of social positioning, gendered discourses and the legal implications of these intimate liaisons in the contemporary Netherlands. The ethnographic research for this paper was carried out in the Netherlands in 2003–4 with an extended visit in 2006, as well as on several visits to Bali.

From the early 1970s, due to the promotion of mass tourism in Bali, many Balinese men entered into intimate relationships and marriage liaisons with non-Balinese,

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mostly Western, women. The number of Balinese men and women married to Dutch people is similar and this is in sharp contrast with general views and practices relating to marriages or unions between Asian women and Anglo Western men.¹ The present population of Balinese living in the Netherlands consists of approximately 500 families, but it is exceedingly difficult to estimate the exact number because official statistics in the Netherlands classify Balinese as Indonesians.² My research has generated rich ethnographic material based on close observation of the everyday lives of my interlocutors and their interactions with their friends, relatives and other Dutch–Balinese couples.

Most Balinese people living in the Netherlands are adherents of two Balinese organisations, Banjar Suka Duka and Banjar Bali (Dragojlovic 2008), but a large number belong to smaller networks. Most of the small networks are based on the commonality of having marriage liaisons between people of Balinese and Dutch backgrounds and sometimes on the proximity of living in the same city. Interactions between people in these small networks create dynamic situations in which expected life ideals and everyday life in conjugal relationships are challenged and measured. Tensions arising from the divergent understandings of the way that conjugal relationships should be maintained sometimes lead to open disputes and are sometimes sources of separation.

There are two main points revealed in these interfamilial and cross-network dynamics I wish to analyse here. The first is how these networks reveal ‘gender imaginings’³ (Tsing 1996, p. 295) and gender expectations, and how these collide with the practices of everyday life. I argue that these ‘gender imaginings’ have been embedded in particular oriental imaginations of peoples and places and have led to a highly gender-biased family law and that, furthermore, they inform contemporary migration policies in the Netherlands.

Second, drawing on Connell (1995, 2005) and Jolly (2008), I argue that gender ideologies in these cross-cultural liaisons are relational and, in this way are developed, reinvented or subverted in the context of everyday life. I suggest that the lived experiences of peoples in cross-cultural conjugal relationships have to be viewed in the context of multiple and competing discourses in relation to being a migrant or living with a migrant person in the contemporary Netherlands. These discourses embrace expectations of marriage, gender relations and the prevailing stereotypes of mixed marriage in which a Dutch woman marries a non-Western foreigner.

According to Bhabha (1994), stereotypes are one of the major means of regulation in colonial discourse and have to be repeated and reconstructed continually in order to maintain authority over the Other: ‘The fetish or stereotype give access to an “identity” which is predicated as much on mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defence’ (Bhabha 1994, p. 202). However, I suggest that this understanding of stereotypes can be applied to both Oriental and Occidental forms.⁴

In approaching gender ideologies as conceptualised and reconceptualised in the practices of everyday life, I analyse narratives of both Balinese men and Dutch women as inspired by Rosaldo:

The tendency to ignore imbalances in order to permit a grasp of women's lives has led too many scholars to forget that men and women ultimately live together in the world and, so, that we will never understand the lives that women lead without relating them to men. (Rosaldo 1980, p. 396)

Because women and men experience daily life in Bali differently according to their gender, so the history of their migration and their experience of mixed marriages is also gender differentiated. At the same time, Dutch women often have different expectations of gender practices that are shaped, on the one hand, by ideas of emancipated, modern women and ideals of companionate marriage and, on the other, by historically shaped social expectations of foreigners in Dutch society. In a broader sense, I situate my work within the feminist epistemology that argues for a 'situated knowledge', in which knowledge is always partial, but also situated within visions of active subjects (Rosaldo 1980; Haraway 1991, pp. 183–201; Behar & Gordon 1995).

Marrying a Foreigner: From 'Sex Tourism' to 'Romance Tourism'

Following scholars such as Stoler (1995, 2002) and Jolly and Manderson (1997), who explored interracial sexual and reproductive relations in the colonies, I consider how cross-marriages between people from former colonies and their colonial metropolis are constituted at present. Because Indonesia and the Netherlands have a long colonial history and because the Dutch colonial government played a pivotal role in developing paradisiacal images of Bali, its people and culture, it is important to examine how imaginations of Oriental and Occidental places are articulated within the lived and embodied experience of these intimate liaisons in the contemporary Netherlands.

Most Balinese living in the Netherlands come from small villages and have rarely had the opportunity to complete high school. From an early age, they moved to or commuted between their village and tourist areas to earn a living as cultural guides,⁵ drivers or by selling various goods and services. Interactions between local people and tourists have been broadly discussed elsewhere (Selwyn 1993), but here I want to reflect on debates concerning intimate encounters between tourists and local people.

In the past two decades, a vast global literature has emerged on intimate encounters between tourists and local people at holiday destinations. Some of those encounters are described as 'sex tourism', associated with flows of male tourists from developed to developing countries, especially those in Southeast and East Asia. Many of these studies on the relationships between local women and foreign men have been seen through the lens of sex tourism and the interpretation of the dynamics between tourists and prostitutes (Thitsa 1982; Holden, Horlemann, & Pfafflin 1983; Cinconne 1988; Lea 1988; Truong 1990). However, the relations between female tourists and local men have received less attention (Manning 1982; Malam 2005; Nyanzi, Rosenberg-Jallow, Bah, & Nyanzi 2005). In recent years, there has been an emerging interest in gay sex tourism (Holcomb & Luongo 1996) and there is an increasing

number of studies on female tourists involved in sexual encounters with local men. Pruitt and LaFonte (1995) were the first to introduce the term 'romance tourism' for encounters between Western female tourists and local men. They argue that both the female tourists and the local males perceive their relationship as being focused more on romance and courtship than on sexual encounters for money. Many of them become emotionally involved with each other and desire a long-term relationship. Although Pruitt and LaFonte's studies of intimate encounters between local men and tourist women are useful, I cannot agree with the distinction they make between 'sex tourism' and 'romance tourism'. Many of my interlocutors—male and female, Dutch and Balinese—experienced their relationships in the light of romance and courtship, or the desire for it, but there was always an economic aspect to it, as well as concern that some casual sexual encounters may develop into long-term relationships. I suggest that the boundaries between romance and courtship and casual sexual encounters are far more blurred and contested than Pruitt and LaFonte imply.

As noted previously, the contemporary imaginations of peoples and places have been embedded in the long colonial encounters between the Netherlands and the East Indies.

Oriental and Occidental Places and Imagination

The history of interaction between the Netherlands as the colonial metropolis and the East Indies reveals a generation of diverse imaginings of Oriental and Occidental places and peoples, respectively (Gouda 1995; Stoler 1995, 2002; Gauda & Clancy-Smith 1998). The history of relationships between the two show that, as interchanges took place between the metropolis and the colonies, they not only generated notions of political authority and racial differentiation, but also played an important role in establishing prejudices about family structure and gender relations. Such exchanges between Europe and Indonesia of goods and services and ideas of power, race and gender combined in a dialogue that, I suggest, persists to a certain extent in contemporary Dutch and Indonesian society and creates fertile ground for the discussion of mutual interactions between the two in contemporary times.

These particular colonial histories produced specific imaginations about people and places, femininity and masculinity. However, it is important to note that those imaginations have changed over time. In colonial times, White femininity was stereotyped as chastity, in need of protection from intimate liaisons with Black men, or 'other' men, that may endanger White femininity and White heredity (Jolly 1997; Stoler 1997). In contrast with the strict protection of White femininity in colonial times, many of my female Dutch interlocutors are married to Balinese men and, although this is not always accepted without problems by the women's families and friends in the Netherlands, it is certainly not uncommon. The stereotypes of lustful and promiscuous local women and chaste White women changed dramatically in both Southeast Asian and European perspectives. In the Occidentalist imaginations of Balinese men, Western women are seen as promiscuous, prone to engage in

uncontrollable sexual encounters and, therefore, less feminine, whereas Balinese women are seen as embodying the natural femininity that is usually equated with motherhood and wifeness. Similar expectations are present in Dutch men's narratives of their expectations of Balinese women.

Dutch Women, Balinese Men: Emancipation, Intimacy, the State and Western Discourses on Asian Masculinity

In Dutch women's narratives, Balinese men are portrayed as handsome and romantic lovers, unlike Dutch men, who are seen as 'ashamed to express their romantic feelings'. However, while Balinese men are prized for their romanticism, the issue of desired companionship by Dutch women is one site of occasional struggles. Nontje, Komang's wife, sees this as the greatest challenge to her relationship:

Nontje: It took Komang several years to finish high school and university and to get his own job. I know during those years it was difficult for him to be dependent on me and I know there are some issues surrounding our age difference—like in my early 30s I was not really as keen on going out as he was in his mid-20s. However, the most challenging situation is the way that we understand the relationship between husband and wife. I wish to have companionship in marriage while for him that was not the case. I have tried to explain that I wanted him to be my friend but he preferred to spend his free time with other Balinese men living here.

There are two main points in Nontje's narrative that require careful analysis because they are present in many Dutch women's narratives about their relationships. The first is class, educational differences and access to citizenship rights, which place partners in different positions during their initial life in the Netherlands. The second is women's desire for a companionate marriage.

Class and educational differences play an important role in these cross-cultural intimacies. As I have mentioned earlier, most Balinese men come from small villages and, although some completed high school, others did not have that opportunity. To be eligible to gain employment other than manual labour, they need to complete high school in the Netherlands, which puts these men in the situation of attending school with teenagers. This is often a source of struggle for these men and their self-esteem. At the same time, most Dutch women in these relationships have tertiary education and permanent jobs. It is crucial to mention here that the immigration requirements for those who want to take a spouse from a developing nation insist on a permanent job, as well as an annual salary higher than the country's average, in order to be able to meet the state's standards and support a whole family. This often gives rise to intrafamilial politics of dependency. Under the immigration law, the foreign partner during their life in the Netherlands is dependent on their Dutch spouse (de Hart 2001, 2006). Most Dutch people are able to fulfil those requirements in their late 20s or early 30s, whereas unmarried people in Bali would mostly be in their early 20s. Thus, class position is here directly linked to access to citizenship.

Historically, Dutch citizenship law has been highly gendered. Before 1965, every Dutch woman who married a foreigner would automatically lose her Dutch nationality and the children of such a marriage would take their father's nationality. This law changed partially after 1965—in the period between 1965 and 1985, a woman would not lose her Dutch nationality, but the children would still automatically inherit the citizenship of their father. This meant that any child born of a Dutch father and a foreign woman of any nationality would automatically be recognised as a Dutch citizen, whereas those of a Dutch mother and a foreign father would not. Since 1985, Dutch immigration law and nationality law have become gender neutral. From that year, a child would have dual citizenship up to the age of 18 years and would then have to choose between Dutch and Indonesian citizenship. For children born before 1985, the parents can apply for Dutch citizenship with the specific consent of the father. However, in spite of the present gender equality, Dutch women may receive treatment from immigration officers and from the general public that still reflects unfavourably on marriage unions between Dutch women and non-Western men (de Hart 2006). Several of my female Dutch interlocutors cited unpleasant experiences when faced with application procedures for their husbands to accompany them to the Netherlands. Almost all women experienced warnings by immigration officers regarding possible dishonest attitudes of their non-Western husbands. Women were asked to rethink their decisions because these 'other men' must be 'after your citizenship and money'. It is interesting to note that none of my male Dutch interlocutors during their application for marriage reunification with Balinese women had similar experiences. This concern for the wellbeing of Dutch female citizens by state bureaucracy comes across as patronising, painting a picture that non-Western men have dishonest attitudes towards Dutch women and that Dutch women need protection because they are blinded by some 'trivial romance', and depicting a patriarchal environment in which a man has to be, if not higher, then equal in social status with his wife. New marriage practices of Dutch women disturb this patriarchal social order. It also points to the anxiety about paternal legitimacy, social norms and family values. In interracial families, the White woman is becoming 'racialised' and, although she would not be ascribed the same position as her foreign husband, she would be perceived as a mother of mixed children (Frankenberg & Mani 1993; Ifekwunigwe 1999). In this view, these cross-cultural and cross-racial intimate encounters are not just a matter of personal preference, but also may potentially endanger social and gender order.

Recent debates on migration see these unions as a threat to the whole society, in which it is assumed that Western women are becoming a gateway to what is often referred to as 'back door migration' (Kamminga 1993). This resonates closely with the well established colonial discourse in which White women were seen as vulnerable to lapses of reason during which they may indulge in lustful bodily desires with Black men (Stoler 2002). The fact that Dutch men who marry Balinese women are not warned by state bureaucrats when issuing visas and permits points to the assumption that foreign women are easier to integrate and suggests the same patriarchal ideal that

women follow their husbands. Besides the fact that bureaucratic categorisations serve to underline nationalism and racism (Herzfeld 1993), bureaucratic accountability is reinforcing the patriarchal norm.

At the same time, there is considerable public pressure for the emancipation of minority women in the Netherlands. There are various forms of government-run groups that aim to 'free' non-Western women from 'backward patriarchy'. Non-Western women are seen as passive victims of their 'backward' cultures and patriarchal husbands. They are seen as needing help, unlike non-Western men, who are potentially 'dangerous'.

I encountered comments regarding the disapproval of intimate liaisons between Dutch women and non-Western men on numerous occasions from various people I met during my research work in the Netherlands. Among them was a Dutch journalist, well known for his provocative, liberal writings about Dutch foreign politics, who I will call 'Dirk'. Hearing that I was working with Dutch people married to Balinese, Dirk said 'I bet there are lots of Dutch girls married to Balinese boys'. When I confirmed this, he went on to share his view on the issue:

You see, here we do not talk about Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. It is a taboo. A big one . . . it is like collective amnesia. This part of Dutch history fills only a few lines in the history books in school curriculums. And the largest migration to the Netherlands is still composed of Indo-Dutch people who moved here after the decolonisation of 'Our Indies' [he said this with obvious sarcasm], many of them the offspring of a Dutch man and an Indonesian woman.

In those days it was taboo for Dutch women to have any intimacy with Indonesian men. But now this is not taboo; it hasn't been for some time. Many Dutch women marry foreign men, not only Balinese but also African and Antillian men. But that is all nonsense—it is all about sex. These men are young, handsome, exotic—they are local playboys who think only about sex and money. That is fine for a holiday but to bring them here, to marry them . . . hey, exotic means trouble in your house! I know several women who did this. They wanted a boy, to boss him around, but that is not that easy.

I was disturbed by Dirk's statements about Black or Brown men as a source of wild sexual potency, and as 'boys' who Dutch women like to dominate, and I thought it must be an isolated incident. However, I was told the same thing many times and by various people. It can be summed up in these terms: women who marry a man from a third world country are women who could not find a man in the Netherlands, either because they have a bad temper, they are not pretty or simply because they are adventurous. However, in Dirk's story—as well as in the previous Dutch marriage law pertaining to foreign spouses—Indo-Dutch born of a Dutch father and Indonesian mother are not seen as problematic. Far from it; in Dirk's opinion, their lives and stories should be recognised more as part of Dutch history. However, when it comes to Dutch women marrying foreign non-White men, it is highly problematic and suggests an uncontrollable sexuality, not to mention naïvety about exotic romance. Dirk follows the conventional colonial scripts, even if they are allegedly forgotten.

In his statement, suffused with gender-biased stereotypes, my interlocutor assumes that it is women who are not desired by Dutch men who end up marrying foreigners. These foreign men are not supposed to be able to offer a woman anything but sexual pleasure and the assumption is that foreign men are supposed to be satisfied with what, Dirk believes, is not desired by a Dutch man. He also assumes that there is an important economic aspect to these relationships that start as a holiday romance. According to this view, local people who are economically disadvantaged would be quite flexible in their choice of a Western spouse and would use the intimate relationship to access citizenship in a Western country, whereas people from Western countries would use their economic advantage to get themselves a spouse.

The history of Dutch law in relation to citizenship clearly shows who was and was not included or excluded in the national imagination and how this was based on race and gender. The embodiment of the radicalised 'other' was at the heart of the orientalist/colonial imagery of inclusion and exclusion (Gouda 1995; Stoler 1995; Young 1995; Clancy-Smith and Gouda 1998; Locher-Scholter 2000) in which people were separated by gender and race. Ann Laura Stoler found an early example in 1612 when the East Indies first governor-general refused to allow Dutch women to immigrate because of their scandalous sexual promiscuity 'to the shame of the nation' (Stoler 1996, p. 40). Such disapproval was not articulated vis-a-vis male promiscuity. Thus, gender was a determinant of expected 'proper' citizen-like behaviour in the colonial context. Stoler further discusses colonial racial constructions in the Dutch East Indies:

The notion of degeneracy appears repeatedly in the 1898 Indies legal code on mixed-marriages to justify why European women who choose native men as their husbands should not be entitled to Dutch citizenship. The point is this was not a 'European' disorder or a specifically 'colonial' one, but a 'mobile' discourse of empire that designates eligibility for citizenship, class membership, and gendered assignments to race. (1996, p. 32)

Current discourses, of disapproval if not stigmatisation, of Dutch women who marry non-Western men, show that such colonial prescripts are still rehearsed today. So, we need to contextualise historical representations of Asian masculinities, because this is crucial for understanding the discourses about Asian men in the West today. In 'the imperial project' (McClintock 1995, p. 37) racial categories were equated with a hierarchy of masculinities. These 'other' men, such as Asians, Africans and Arabs, were positioned as subordinate to European men through aspects based on differentiated corporeality. These differences were framed under evolutionary biology, pathologised sexuality and effeminisation. These racial hierarchies positioned Aryan men as representing the height of evolution in terms of humanity and masculinity, and all other races were positioned below them (McClintock 1995, pp. 38–9). In this notion, bodies signified both position on the evolutionary ladder and social sensibilities, in which Asian, African and Arab men were seen to have more 'primeval' bodily urges than European men (McClintock 1995). Krishnaswamy (2002) argues persuasively

that the equating of a particular masculine physical type with moral virtue has become an important aspect of modern masculinity.

The presumed unconscionable sexuality of non-European men was seen to pose a threat to the purity of White colonial women (Anderson 1996; Stoler 2002). In colonial hierarchies, African and some Melanesian men were labelled 'Black Peril', a term that denoted the danger of sexual assault of White women (Stoler 2002). In contrast with African men, Asian men's sexuality was not connected to corporeal prowess, but rather to a discourse of moral depravity. In this discourse, there was a danger that White women may be captured and incarcerated as sexual slaves (Anderson 1996). Furthermore, in colonial hierarchies of masculinities, Asian men's sexuality was pathologised and often related to effeminateness. Krishnaswamy (2002) points out that non-European men (particularly Indian men) were described in imperial writings as possessing feminine-like bodies and behavioural traits that were considered feminine, such as intellectual and moral weakness and cowardliness.

The colonial discourse of effeminateness, as seen in Dirk's story, continues to have resonance in contemporary constructions of Asian masculinity, both in the way that Balinese men are perceived by non-Balinese in the Netherlands and in the way that Balinese men represent themselves. Interestingly, Balinese men also represent themselves today in opposition to European men as more sensitive and more emotional (and thus more like women), pointing to this as their main advantage in courtship in comparison with European men, who are seen as too blunt in such matters. This can be illustrated by my interlocutor Wayan's explanation of Balinese men's attractiveness for Dutch (or Western) women:

We really want to make woman happy—that is what Western women like a lot. We are tender and caring, especially compared with Western men who are too busy with their jobs to make their women happy. That is why Western women like Balinese men! We want to satisfy a woman and make her feel special.

Whenever I met Dirk, he would ask for confirmation of his assessment. In his opinion, the success of my research or my ability to comprehend the issue was based on an understanding of these relationships in the way he understood them, assuming that to be the general view in broader Dutch society. As much as I wanted to consider Dirk's opinion an unusual one, during the course of my research I came across similar statements. The assumptions that foreign men—particularly men from third world countries—are 'trouble in your house' are taken for granted and appear to be common.

In this view, Balinese men are represented as boys who are bossed around by their Dutch wives. This is in stark opposition to the general discourse on the 'other' men—so-called 'oriental men' who have been typically portrayed as dangerous because of their patriarchy. In widely held assumptions about Bali, the picture portrayed is that of a paradise island of smiling people. It is not generally known that it is also a place with a strong patriarchal family system in which a woman does not have custody

rights to her children. Thus, in general discourses, Balinese men are not seen as 'that kind of dangerous men', but rather as handsome boys.

Balinese and Dutch Scripts of Gender Relations

Companionship

Companionate marriage is also a constant source of negotiations between people in these cross-cultural intimacies. Many of the expectations of my female Dutch interlocutors feed into a 'taken for granted' view that equalises this kind of marriage with modern subjects. This assumes companionship as an ultimate goal of marriage, which is a source of individual fulfilment rather than just a social reproduction. Most of the Dutch women strive for this kind of marriage—based on romantic love, but also on hard work, in which both partners are self-reflexive, ready to talk about their emotions and, in this way, maintain their marriage as a source of emotional fulfilment. In addition, a good relationship is based on understanding, friendship, common social interests and activities, as well as romanticism and economic and reproductive aspects. Talking about one's emotions and the quest for frequent self-reflexivity is a source of concern for many of my Balinese male interlocutors. Wayan is one of them: 'in Bali you never talk with your wife about your feelings. What you feel about this and that—but here you have to talk with your wife about everything!'

Many of my Dutch female interlocutors mentioned this as a source of constant conflict between the couple, especially in the early years of marriage. Most Balinese men responded that they had never heard of such a thing as a 'friendship' between husband and wife while living in Bali.

Balinese scripts of gender relations favour a rather different model, one that is strongly gendered and patriarchal (Wikan 1990; Parker 1997; Jennaway 2002). This is based on several facts: a patrilineal kinship system and belief in reincarnation within patriline; the inheritance custom, by which a woman can only inherit her personal possessions; the fact that in the case of divorce the husband gets custody of the children; virilocal residence after marriage; the practice of polygyny; the control of women's physical mobility; and a caste system based on an ideology of subordinates' impurity, which reinforces the superior position of men (Parker 1997, p. 501). At the same time, the Indonesian State has played a profound role in family and marriage practices by reinforcing the identification of senior males as household heads, whereas women are subordinated to the supreme authority of their husbands (Jennaway 2002, 2002, o. 74). The ideal Indonesian family, according to the State, consists of a father who is the breadwinner, a mother whose role is to produce two children, morally educate them and look after the household, and children whose main role is to go to school and, through education, become good Indonesian citizens. In this model 'Men serve the state, while women serve men' (Parker 1997, p. 502). A number of studies have identified widespread phenomena such as the 'domestication' and 'housewifisation' of women in Indonesia (Robinson & Bessell 2002).

Although Balinese men's expectations accord with the gender segregation mentioned by other scholars, during the course of men's lives in the Netherlands and with a Dutch partner, many do negotiate their presupposed ideas of gender relations in marriage and create their own constructions of it (Dragojlovic, forthcoming 2008).

In broader social discourses, mixed marriages between Dutch women and Balinese men are never only about personal desires, but are related to specific political issues. In this way, a White Dutch woman who marries a Balinese man is not only marrying for personal reasons, but she is transgressing the expected behaviour of a White woman. She, unlike in earlier times, may be forgiven for having romantic desires for a non-Western man, yet she is looked down upon and judged if she 'brings him home'. In this way, she is endangering the Dutch nation by giving paternal rights to 'other men'. In Dirk's statement, as in some other comments, women who marry in this way are seen as not desired by White men, adventurous and/or foolish. Once again, this feeds into colonial scripts, particularly into colonial justification of marriage law, in which Dutch women who marry non-Dutch men would lose Dutch citizenship. It was commonly assumed that these kinds of women were not deserving of Dutch citizenship (de Hart 2001).

Conclusion

I suggest that the intersection of Dutch and Balinese ideas of gender and sexuality produces multiple effects. In some contexts, practices that are seen as closer to the 'Dutch way' are accepted, whereas at other times the opposite is true—accepted practices are those that are seen as closer to the 'Balinese way'. Thus, these ideas are always in flux. This is not to assume that there is a mixing between two homogeneous communities or people belonging to two ethnicities, but rather relationships created by individuals of different ages, social and educational backgrounds. However, it is important to emphasise that, for the Dutch immigration policy that generates state discourses on the hierarchy of foreigners (Dragojlovic 2008), these cross-cultural and cross-racial intimate encounters are not just a matter of personal preference; these new gender practices may also be a potential threat to social and gender order. Therefore, I argue these cross-cultural exchanges create fluid spaces of ambivalence, struggle and negotiations based on the interaction of bodies historically inscribed with particular meanings of gender, race and economy. I suggest that novel categorisations and policies towards non-Western foreigners in the Netherlands are producing a new kind of racism and are influencing the subjectivity of those so labelled.⁶ State policies inflect race, class and gender through powerful discourses that shape personal expectations and subjectivities in everyday life.

Notes

- [1] There is a vast literature on this subject. See, for example, Constable (2003). The main countries of origin for family reunification of foreigners are Turkey, Morocco and Suriname.

The majority of women marrying Dutch men come from the former Soviet States, Poland, Thailand, The Philippines and Colombia (Gulièová-Grethe 2004).

- [2] However, this classification is crucially important because it is related directly to the question of self-identity: most Balinese generally regard themselves as such, rather than as Indonesians.
- [3] For Tsing, gender imaginings are 'both ideas about gender and gender-differentiated deployments of the imagination'. Tsing further argues that these gender imaginings are as much local as they are global (Tsing 1996, p. 295).
- [4] For a detailed discussion on Occidentalism, see Carrier (1995).
- [5] 'Cultural tourism' was introduced in direct response to the 1970s Balinese government policy on 'mass tourism'. The main aim of this tourist project was to protect Balinese society in two ways: first, it was to confine foreigners to tourist enclaves; and, second, it proposed 'isolated movement' involving the mass transport of tourists to sites of interest (McCarthy 1994).
- [6] From the 1990s, the Dutch state policy towards foreigners shifted from discourses of multiculturalism towards discourses of integration, which later resulted in new policies (Vermeulen & Rinus 2000, p. 21). From 1998 and implementation of the new policy on integration, the discourse of Dutch 'common norms and values' as a measure towards which the ethnic minorities should progress entered the sphere of everyday life (Dragojlovic 2008).

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