

Negotiating masculinity in Yogyakarta's pool centers

*A game of skill, contesting
and respecting values, and
possessions*



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The front page photograph was taken by Mas Noyo in Pool World, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

The sociologist Ned Polsky argued the American pool room to be “*the greatest and most determinedly all-male institution in American social life*” (Polsky 1967: 32).

“*Until very recently, billiards was completely dominated by men. The atmosphere of the poolroom was very forbidding and a woman would have had trouble being accepted there*” (Shamos 1995).

“*It is very difficult for a woman to develop billiard skill because male players, her family, and friends usually do not support her efforts and it is not easy to find experienced women instructors or coaches*” (Shamos 1995).

Abstract

Pool is a well-known sport in Indonesia. The sport is being perceived as masculine and male dominated (Polsky 1967: 32). In this research I explore why that is and what factors play a role in the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers in Yogyakarta.

I will argue that the negotiation of masculinity in Yogyakarta's pool centers is a game of skill, contesting and respecting cultural values, and material possessions that represent social status and wealth. In addition, I will argue that pool in itself in Yogyakarta is a masculine activity because of its historical image. Women still often experience obstacles, coming forth from cultural values, that prevent them from going to pool centers, and from becoming a professional pool player.

The sport is historically interwoven with gambling which is forbidden by Indonesian law and within Islam. Despite the illegitimacy of gambling it is still an important part of pool in Indonesia. The fact that more than 90% of the people are Muslim creates an interesting religious dimension in the discussion about what is being perceived as masculinity (Burhanudin & van Dijk 2013: 15).

Motivations of people to gamble on pool games vary from training purposes, financial gain, to entertainment. Justifications to gamble or not, are often related to a person declaring oneself as a 'good' or 'bad' Muslim.

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the research

“To the physiognomist and the silent observer of human nature, there is no game that more thoroughly discloses the various dispositions of men than Billiards. The elated hope, the depressing fear, the sanguine exultation, the mortifying defeat – the philosophical resignation to fate, the indifference of success, and all the multiplied and manifold passions of the human mind, are variously depicted and easily discovered, by an attentive observer, on the countenance of the Billiard player” (Phelan 1850: 8).

Imagine yourself standing at a pool table in the middle of an arena surrounded by lots of people who are following every move you make, including your opponent, in complete silence. The only thing you are trying to do is focusing on your routine in order to make the shots you are supposed to make, ignoring all the ‘what if...’ thoughts that are running through your head. Your heart is beating fast because of the pressure and you can feel the tension and adrenaline running through every muscle in your body. It makes you grab the cue tighter than you would normally do. Your hands start to get clammy which limits your ability to stroke and makes you feel uncomfortable and insecure. It is of great importance not to show this insecurity to your opponent because he or she could get a moral boost and confidence from your insecure performance.

Pool is the sport I practice for sixteen years now, of which nine years professionally. During these sixteen years I travelled to different places in the world to play pool. From these experiences I have gotten the impression that pool is considered to be a masculine sport. During the years I got interested in the underlying rationales, social relations, the role of emotions, gambling and other factors that could make this sport a masculine and male dominated sport.

Pool is the collective term for many different games, played on the same kind of pool table. These different games come with fundamental different rules and experiences. Pool is not solely about technical skills that could help you to win a match or about perfect control of the path of the balls, which requires excellent hand eye coordination. It is a mental game as well. When I am playing pool I am always fighting against my own thoughts. I make decisions based on the calculation of my chances to succeed by weighing my technical skills and my mental state, but also by taking into account what is at stake, the current score, the skills of the opponent and my chances to continue after the shot I am considering to make. The game is one of bodily and emotional self-control and mental toughness, in a different way than in many other sports. When a player makes a mistake in pool it is impossible to correct that mistake by reacting to it, like in football. You go back to your chair, watch your opponent

and wait for him to make a mistake while you try to accept and forget the one you made yourself. It is just you and your thoughts sitting in that chair, waiting and hoping.

Pool is generally a well-known game throughout Asia, as it is in Indonesia. Indonesia is an upcoming country when we talk about world top level players. Recently one of the players of the national team, who happens to be a friend of mine, made it to the top 16 in the World Championships. The reason why I have conducted this research, with pool centers at the core, in Yogyakarta is that pool is organized in a specific form, as well as the gambling that is involved in pool. At the same time pool in Yogyakarta is involved with some form of secrecy, which I was told you would, for example, not find in Jakarta where the pool and gambling scene is more open towards society. Religion plays an important role in Yogyakarta and contributes to this form of secrecy which creates interesting dimensions for ethnographic research.

Gambling, called *judi* in Bahasa Indonesia, is a popular activity in Indonesia despite the fact that gambling is forbidden by law and religion (Islam), which influences how pool is being perceived by the general public. The 1974 Regulation Laws Article 1 No. 7 forbids gambling in all forms in Indonesia (Anderson et. Al. 2012: 460). Gambling is essentially perceived as contrary to religion (Islam), moral decency, and *Pancasila*. Pancasila is the philosophical basis of the Indonesian state ideology according to the new order and stands for five basic principles: 1) “belief in one supreme being”, 2) “just and civilized humanitarianism”, 3) “commitment to the unity of Indonesia”, 4) “the idea of a people led or governed by wise policies arrived at through a process of consultation and consensus”, and 5) a commitment to social justice for all the Indonesian people” (Morfit 1981: 840-841). It is believed that the results of gambling would do more harm, financially, mentally, and morally, than people could gain from it. Article 303, para 1, regulates punishment for offenders (Anderson et. Al. 2012: 460). A maximum of ten years in prison and fines up to 25 million Rupiah, which a lot of Indonesian people not earn with a yearly salary, are being set as punishment (Ibid.).

Although there are legislative restrictions for gambling it is a common activity that went underground, but also online. The online gambling is very popular since there are no, or not yet, well formulated laws and controllable methods to counteract this form of gambling. The Indonesian government is trying to eliminate all online gambling (Simson 2011, Online Casino Elite 2015). There are different kind of sports and games that involve gambling such as cock fights, rolling ball games, horse races, card games, “hand quicker than the eye” games (Curnow 2012: 101), and pool among other sports. Although the illegitimate nature of gambling, it is socially accepted by society as a viable economic strategy, it is “perceived as a hub of sociality rather than a risky business” (Ibid.: 114).

The fact that approximately 90% of the people living in Indonesia (Burhanudin & van Dijk 2013: 15), and many of the pool players, are Muslim adds an interesting religious dimension to the discussion about pool, gambling, and the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers.

Next to gambling as an active part of pool and its influence on the perception of it, the sports structure of pool itself contributes to the gender discussion. Sport plays an important role in

maintaining sex-gender systems (Besnier & Brownell 2012: 449), but is also contesting them in different forms. With this research I want to explore what factors play a role in the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers and how this is embodied by different actors in these pool centers. These interests led me to stating the following research question:

How are pool players in Yogyakarta's pool centers negotiating masculinity?

It was, not so long ago, often assumed that there is a dichotomy between masculinity and femininity based on natural, or bodily, differences. Thereby suggesting that masculinity (and femininity) is some sort of static entity instead of a process of becoming and a tradeoff, or negotiation, of social characteristics. It is not just the body that is expressing cultural differences, it is also the mind and performance of emotion that influences this negotiation.

Pool is, as mentioned, strongly related to illegal gambling activities. When one talks about gender and pool, globally there are far less women than men playing pool. When one looks at pool in relation to gambling, it seems even less women are participating and when the stakes and skill level is getting higher the number of women participating drops even further.

The discussion about gender in this context is a complicated one since every man and woman have both masculine and feminine characteristics, labeled as “gender blending” by Raewyn Connell (Connell 2009: 7). In this research I will elaborate on what the masculine and feminine characteristics are in Yogyakarta's pool centers and which characteristics are being brought forward on what moments in order to explore how masculinity is being negotiated in pool centers.

1.1 Sub-questions

In order to answer the research question, the sub-questions below need to be answered to understand what factors play a role in negotiating masculinity in Yogyakarta's pool centers:

SQ1. How and by whom is pool and gambling organized, what is the role of gambling in pool and what are the motivations to gamble?

SQ2. How is the Indonesian legislation about gambling contested by the different actors in Yogyakarta's pool centers?

SQ3. What is being perceived as masculinity in Yogyakarta's pool centers and what is the role of emotion herein?

SQ4. What role does religion and secrecy play in negotiating masculinity in pool centers in Yogyakarta?

1.2 Structure of the thesis

After introducing the research, theoretical framework, and the applied methodologies in this chapter, I will provide a brief overview of the histories of pool in chapter two to illustrate the context in which this research has been conducted. Additional information regarding pool and how it is organized in Yogyakarta is also given in the second chapter because I believe this is a necessity to understand the rest of the thesis and the arguments that are being made.

After I have introduced the research and the game of pool, I will go into detail about what is being perceived as masculine in the pool centers. I thereby elaborate on how skills, skill level, and emotion contribute to a pool players masculinity and social status. Chapter four will be an extension of chapter three, but with a focus on masculine characteristics that are related to material possessions, cultural values, and the body.

Chapter five is completely devoted to the subject of gambling, with a focus on the illegitimate nature of the activity. Through this focus I will explain the role of secrecy and religion in the negotiation of masculinity.

1.3 Research area

This paragraph shortly provides information about the research area Yogyakarta city in the province of Yogyakarta located in the south of Central Java, Indonesia. The province is also called Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY), meaning the special region of Yogyakarta. This is the only region in Indonesia that is still governed by a sultan. In Figure 1 a geographical overview of the fifteen pool centers in Yogyakarta is presented. Most pool centers are located within Yogyakarta's city center. Only three of the pool centers are outside the northern part of the city center.

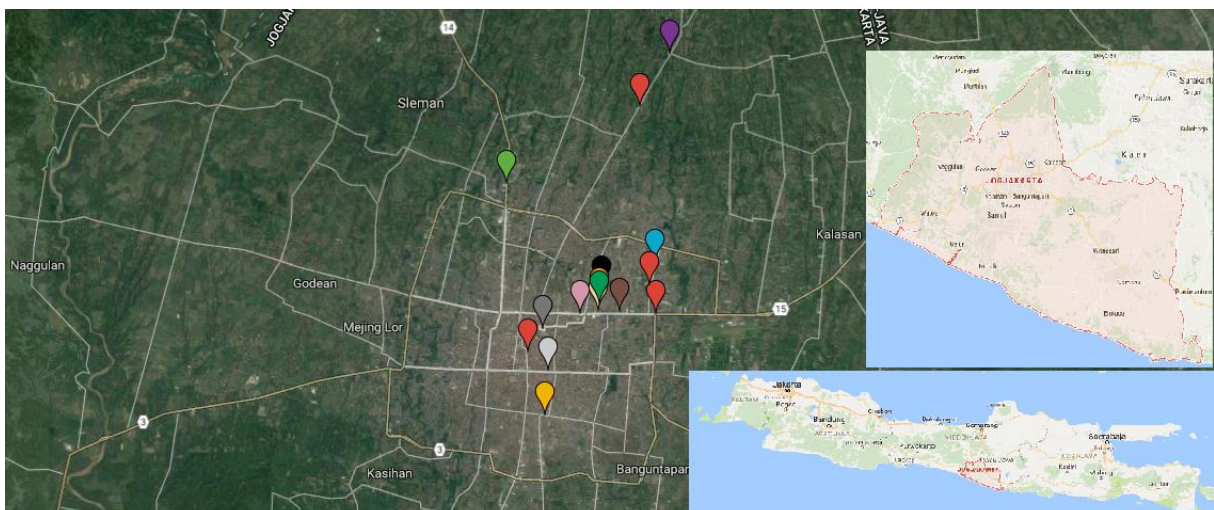


Figure 1 Geographical overview of pool centers in Yogyakarta (source: google maps)

1.3.1 Following the path of pool players

Before starting this research my focus was on how masculinity was being negotiated during gambling

activities and how this was different from a situation in which people were not gambling. The first step therefore was to find any gambling. In order to do so I went to different pool centers because I assumed these were the places where most gambling could be found. A pool center is a perfect place for such a research because it is a clearly demarcated place to find people who play the game of pool and are likely to gamble. There are also smaller places like bars, hotels, nightclubs or peoples' homes where I can find some pool tables and where they might be gambling but most of the time these places are only for recreational play where gambling is much less involved. Next to that it would be harder to find these private places than it would be to find pool centers. During the fieldwork I ended up in a few bars where they would have one pool table, but as I expected there was no gambling involved, at least not at the times when I was there.

As the research was progressing I realized I should not focus on a dichotomy between a gambling and a non-gambling situation if I wanted to understand the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers because there was much more to take into account than only this dichotomy. So, I broadened my vision and started focusing on everything around me in the pool centers which led me to the research as it currently is structured.

From all pool centers displayed in figure 1, I have visited four. Of these four pool centers one particular center was indicated, by all people I spoke to, as the place to be for gambling in Yogyakarta. This club was called Pool World, which is located in the north west of the city center of Yogyakarta. The owner of this club likes to gamble himself and promotes the activity in his club. Eventually, I made Pool World my main research area because people were indeed regularly gambling, there were many pool players with all different skill levels and it was also a dynamic group of people involved in all activities related to pool. It was also the place where most pool players from other cities would come to when they were going to play in Yogyakarta.

Next to that I have regularly visited Bright Center, Yacht Club, and Music Gallery Pool Center. These clubs will be described and used in this research to make comparisons between the pool centers. Music Gallery Pool Center for example does not promote gambling because it wants to promote pool as a professional sport by providing training three times a week on fixed times. The trainer and the owner of Music Gallery Pool Center told me they want to change the bad perception of pool this way. This place is also a training facility for the Persatuan Olahraga Biliar Seluruh Indonesia (POBSI), the Indonesian Pool Federation.

In Bright Center there also was not such a gambling mindset as there was in Pool World, but a different view was maintained than in Music Gallery Pool Center. In Bright Center gambling was mainly used for training purposes, on which I will elaborate in chapter 5.

1.3.2 Description of the main research area

The main research area, Pool World, is the biggest pool center in Yogyakarta. Pool World has fifty pool tables divided over three floors. The third floor would only be open in the weekend which is the

busiest moment of the week. Each floor has its own bar and personnel. I spend most of my time on the ground floor where all regular pool players would always play. The second and third floor were mainly used by recreational players. The ground floor was also used by recreational players who could mostly be found at the back of the room, which is approximately 40 meters long and 10 meters in width.

Pool World is a rather dark pool center with dimmed lights. Most light probably comes from the lights above the pool tables. When entering this pool center you directly see a small display on the left where pool products are being sold and on the right there is a rather big hang out place with couches, tables, and a TV that was constantly broadcasting movies or sports. On the left of the hang out space trophies won by players from this club were displayed. Directly after the hang out space, on the right, one could find the bar and cashier where you would ask if there was a pool table available. All pool tables are to be found after the cashier, except for one.

The ground floor contains fifteen pool tables, that are numbered accordingly, and one carom table, on which another form of cue sport is being practiced (Figure 2). The owner of the club was often to be found at that table because he enjoys the game. Of these fifteen tables, fourteen are perfectly lined up next to each other, seven on each side of the room. The first pool table that could be found on the right (table number two), after the carom table, is the most difficult table in the room because it has very tight pockets, they are a lot smaller than all other tables. The fifteenth pool table was located across from the cashier and was separated from the other tables. This was the practice and match table where most gambling took place. It can be considered to be the main stage. So, the first thing I always did during fieldwork was checking table fifteen to see what was going on that day. All regular players would play on the tables closest to the cashier.



Figure 2 The rear part of Pool Worlds' ground floor on a rather quiet afternoon (Photo by author)

1.3.3 Roles in pool centers and the research population

In a pool center there are people with different roles and identities that are being maintained. In order to clarify who exactly are included in the research population I will first describe the different roles.

As it would be self-evident, there are the *pool players*. These pool players are being divided by a categorization system in which the categories, called handicaps, represent the skill level. These handicaps range from handicap 3 (junior) to handicap 8 (professionals). Handicap 4 would be a beginner level player. Handicap 5 is the category of advanced players. Players categorized in handicap 6 are called non-master, and handicap 7 is for players who have reached the level of master. The highest handicap in Yogyakarta was handicap 7. Similar handicap systems are used throughout Indonesia but sometimes different numbers or letters are used. In Jakarta for example they use categories such as A+, A, B+, B and so on. In Borneo they make use of 0,5 numbers. All these systems are comparable with each other so that there is a possible to categorize every player in Indonesia in the right category.

Recreational players, who just play a game of pool once in a while are often not being categorized as, or being called, a pool player. A pool player is often perceived as someone who practices the *sport* of pool or plays on a regular basis trying to improve his skills, which also fits in what people in Indonesia describe as *athletes*. Recreational players are considered to play occasionally, only for fun, and are of very low skill level. When someone plays really bad my friends in Pool World would joke that he would fit in any handicap. The line between identifying oneself as a pool player or not is vague and cannot be clearly defined but is related to the skill level, how frequent someone plays, ones intentions of playing pool and maybe also the potential someone has to improve his skill level. Another thing that represents someone to be a pool player is having his or her own cue stick which shows one takes the game seriously enough to buy equipment for it.

Two of the best players, Mas Jonah and Pak Danu, in Pool World were also often in Pool World in their role as *coach*. They would advise other players about the, techniques, patterns, and way of thinking. Mas Jonah, who is originally from Surabaya and was visiting Yogyakarta for the time being, was often referred to as *the coach* and Pak Danu is considered to be a legend. He is a 62-years-old Japanese man who obtained three world championship titles in the 1980s. He is living in Indonesia for about 20 years now, has an Indonesian wife and obtained the Indonesian identity.

There are also *gamblers* and *sponsors* whose role I will explain in relation to each other because there is an overlap between the two. People bet on a pool match with different purposes. It can be the pool player him/herself who bets his own money on himself while he/she is trying to beat an opponent. But, most of the time players who play a ‘money game’, a slang term for a game of pool played for money, do not play with their own money but with that of what they call a *sponsor*, also known as a ‘stake horse’, or ‘backer’. A stake horse is “a financial backer for a gambling situation where the player cannot afford to fork up the money up front. He or she may look for a stake horse to back him or her in the bet or tournament, and share in the winnings if the tournament is won”

(Billiards forum 2016a). In general, there is no risk for the player. When the player loses, the backer loses the money, not the player. When the player wins, he or she gets a percentage of the profit, which in Yogyakarta is always 20%. So, a sponsor is a gambler but a gambler is not per se a sponsor because there is always the option of mutual betting in addition to the principal or main bet, between two or more people, which is called 'side betting'. Players will not profit from these side bets so, these gamblers are no sponsor to them.

In Yogyakarta there is often a *promotor* involved in setting up a money game. This person will try to establish an agreement between players and sponsors, taking into account their skill level, amount of money they want to play for, and preferences such as what game is being played will be expressed to the promotor. In addition, this person is also responsible for collecting and cashing out the money. In general these monetary tasks are known to be conducted by a *bookmaker*. A bookmaker however, also called a bookie, officially is "a person who decides what the chance is that an event will occur (calculating the odds)", such as the chance of a certain player winning a pool match, "and receives and pays off bets about it" (Oxford Dictionaries 2016). Calculating chances and odds is not being done in Yogyakarta's pool centers.

The presence of *hustlers* in the gambling scene is not uncommon. A hustler is "a billiard player who exploits less savvy and less skilled players and other gullible gamblers with the intention of making a financial gain. A hustler intentionally tricks or misleads others about their true ability" (Billiards Forum 2016b). Lifting people to get their money is of course not appreciated by anyone. Another form of hustling is known as 'match fixing' in which players get paid to fix the match, and lose on purpose. Although the presence of a hustler is not uncommon I have not seen any. Everybody I met seemed to know each other in some way. In that way hustling would not even be possible because of the familiarity with each other. Although hustlers were not present, the act of hustling does play a role in relation to what people in pool centers value, and in relation to what they call 'the blacklist'. I will elaborate on this subject of hustling and other forms of corruption in chapter two. I will argue that these activities are the reason why people emphasize the values of trust and honesty in pool centers.

Next to that there are people who just hang out and of course the *employees*, who probably know all the players, sponsors, gamblers, and hustlers. Next to their usual tasks of providing drinks and food, keep everything clean, and assigning tables to people who want to play, they need to rack the balls, which is "the act of placing the object balls in the rack (the triangle), and setting them up for the opening shot" (Billiards Forum 2016c). Most of the time it is young people, boys and girls, under the age of 25 working in these pool centers.

Most of the participants in this research were men but also a few women participated who played a key role in understanding gender relations in the pool centers. Most, not all, people who I would categorize as pool players did not have a job, or were students spending more time in the pool center than at the university where they were supposed to be.

What creates complex social relations in pool centers is that one person can have multiple

roles at the same time. A gambler is often also a player or a promotor, just like a promotor can be someone who is often just hanging out in the pool center. All people present in the pool center in their different roles are involved in this research to understand the dynamics of social relations, social hierarchy, and the negotiation of masculinity.

In order to understand what is being perceived as masculine in general in Yogyakarta and how pool is being perceived I included random people I have met in restaurants, on the street and students whom I met during the field school I attended in the first month in Indonesia. I asked them about how they think about pool, gambling, and manhood. I mainly used the free listing method with the random people I spoke to outside the pool centers. Most of them were under the age of 30, a few were older than that, and included males and females.

1.4 Theoretical framework

"Games (...) are domains of contrived contingency, capable of generating emergent practices and interpretations, and are intimately connected with everyday life" (Malaby 2007: 95).

Pool is a game that is capable of generating practices and interpretations of masculinity that are connected to everyday life as I will describe throughout this thesis. Since the research question focuses on the negotiation of masculinity I will elaborate on gender and provide different approaches to masculinity and link it to sports at the same time.

I will theorize gambling as an anthropological concept because it is a significant part of the research and strongly linked to pool, pool centers, and learning to perform masculinity. Emotions in pool play an important role in this masculine performance which is why I will describe the relevance of them throughout this theoretical framework.

In order to understand how actors in pool centers learn how to act I will use the concept of habitus as entry point to opening a discussion about how people learn and how this is related to how manhood is being negotiated.

1.4.1 Masculinity and sports

Before elaborating on masculinity I will shortly discuss the concept of gender as a construct in order to show in what context the concept of masculinity is being used. This will be followed by discussing different approaches to masculinity and how it can be applied to the pool centers in Yogyakarta.

Defining gender

Gender is not about sex, it is about social relations. Being a man or woman is not a pre-determined state but an active process of becoming, constantly under construction (Connell 2009: 5). Man- and

womanhood are therefore not fixed by nature, but also not merely formed through external factors, such as social norms. As Raewyn Connell states; “people construct themselves as masculine or feminine” (Ibid.: 6). This process of becoming can be seen as the development of one’s gender identity, in which a sense of belonging to a gender category is involved. A person becomes him or herself through many different paths, in which many tensions are encountered and ambiguities can be found. Every person has masculine and feminine characteristics, “there are masculine women, and feminine men” (Ibid.). It is called “gender blending” (Ibid.: 7). Parallel to when I speak of the negotiation of masculinity, Connell (2009) speaks of “gender arrangements” (Ibid.: 6) when it is about how gender comes into being.

Gender is inherently political because it is a source of pleasure (love and friends), it is about recognition and identity (becoming and belonging), but also of injustice and harm (inequality and violence) (Ibid.: 7).

Gender is commonly used as “the cultural difference of women from men, based on the biological division between male and female” (Connell 2009: 9). There are multiple critiques on the use of this definition of gender. When gender is described in this way a dichotomy is made based on differences. Gender is an arrangement, following different processes of becoming and contains ambiguities. This dichotomy is excluding differences among men and women from the concept of gender. Embodiment is an important part of gender and the sense of belonging. This definition also suggests, because it is based on a dichotomy and difference between male and female, that we cannot see differences among men and women because all men are men and all women are women, and therefore it suggests that we cannot see gender.

Gender involves a relation with bodies. Another definition of gender is “gender as an expression of natural difference, the bodily distinction of male and female” (Ibid.). This definition is based on the biological differences between male and female, such as reproduction. Again, this definition is based on a dichotomy and that it is merely a bodily difference that causes different expressions of culture.

So, a shift from a definition based on natural differences and dichotomy towards a focus on relations has to be made. Connell explains gender as a social structure (Ibid.: 10). Our bodies come together in a arena in which these bodies are “brought into social processes, in which our social conduct does something with reproductive difference” (Ibid.:11). Therefore the following definition of gender is given by Connell:

“Gender is the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes” (Connell 2009: 11).

Now, gender is defined in such a way that it becomes multi-dimensional, not biologically but socially

reproduced and shows that gender arrangements are constantly changing. An important note is that the body has agency in these social processes. Gender is not only formed unconsciously through external factors.

Approaches to masculinity

Masculinity is, as Connell (2009) argues, constructed. It is often discussed in relation to sex-gender differences, power relations, religion, inequality, agency, globalization, sport, hegemony and embodiment (of culture) (Bourdieu 1978, Besnier & Brownell 2012, and Gutmann 1997). According to Gutmann the term itself can be used in four different ways. Masculinity can be seen as (1) “everything that men do and think”, (2) “everything that men do and think to be men”, (3) an hierarchical concept in which one man can be “‘more manly’ than another man”, or (4) masculinity can be seen “as everything women are not”, where the male-female relations are at the center of the discussion (Gutmann 1997: 385-386). The important thing about discussing masculinity is that it has to be studied “in context of the multigendered puzzle” (Ibid.: 403) in which performative modes and characteristics are taken into account.

So, how can this concept of masculinity be applied to sports? The anthropology of sports before the 1980s focused primarily on the body as a biological entity and traditional or indigenized sports and games in, mostly western folklore, tied to a national character, which can be categorized in the modernization paradigm. (Besnier & Brownell 2012: 444). Just like approaching gender based on biological differences led to limitations, it also limited the approach of sport. In order to overcome these limitations in the postmodern era the focus was on the body as a cultural construction independently from national and ethnic characteristics because sports are transcending national boundaries. This led to a better understanding of complex social relations and the development of them through sports.

Bourdieu used sport to understand “how the body and its practices articulate agents’ embeddedness in structures”, and “the way in which different sports inscribed social class onto the body” (Ibid.: 449). This structuralism led to the limitation of only understanding sports and the body in ongoing structures and not in periodical events, such as tournaments. Sport is a combination of these ongoing processes and periodical events. Bourdieu’s practice theory, in which everyday practices of the body are central, did not have to say much about sport as a performance, or cultural performance. Approaching sport as a performance let us assume the presence of an audience. Spectatorship is involved with emotions and opinions about people performing sport and can create solidarity, but can also create tensions and frictions that will contribute and contest norms and values.

Arjun Appadurai (2005) argues that “cricket was a quintessentially masculine activity and it expressed the codes that were expected to govern all masculine behaviour sportsmanship, a sense of fair play, thorough control over the expression of strong sentiments by players on the field, subordination of personal sentiments and interests to those of the group, unquestioned loyalty to the

team” (Appadurai 2015: 3). Cricket was essentially an elite sport that was also open to talented players from lower classes. The sport itself created a form of fraternity that transcends social class in which everybody needs to devote himself to the values of the team. Pool, in its own form, transcends social boundaries as well. In contrast to cricket, pool is not a team sport but it has the same sort of values, such as fair play and control over emotions that are labeled as masculine, that every player has to respect no matter who you are or where you are from. The control over emotions that Appadurai (Ibid.) mentions is a very important aspect of the negotiation of masculinity in Yogyakarta’s pool centers. It is an important skill in pool and it is also considered to be the most masculine aspect of the game.

1.4.2 Gambling as anthropological concept

“Geertz portrayed the act of gambling not as a solitary individual confronting an impersonal statistical risk, but as an occasion of social intercourse in which participants create, reify and internalize a shared web of meaning” (Sallaz 2008: 13).

The classical ethnography ‘Deep play: notes on the Balinese cockfight’ of Geertz (1972) will be used as an entry point to gambling. It is not my purpose to revisit Geertz’s (1972) ethnography but rather use it to start thinking about what gambling could mean to people and how it creates social relations. He went beyond the monetary exchange system of Balinese cock fights, describing the symbolism of gambling in relation to social status and kinship. (Sallaz 2008: 13). Geertz argued that the “cockfight’s primary function is interpretive: It is ‘a story [the Balinese] tell themselves about themselves” (Besnier & Brownell 2012: 445). A problem with this interpretive approach is that playing styles in sports and play are argued to represent national characteristics, which happened in popular sports media (Ibid.: 445) This is the same paradigm that had to be overcome as in approaching masculinity in which sports need to be approached separated from ethnic and national characteristics because sports transcend national geographic boundaries.

The word gambler itself was already used in the early 1700’s, as a slang term for reckless players or cheaters in a game (Price 1971: 157). The word ‘gaming’, derived from ‘gamenian’ which is Anglo-Saxon for ‘to play’ or ‘to sport’, was used for wagering on results of games, sports, or events (Ibid: 157.). Nowadays we know gambling as a term for “playing games for money or other stakes”, or a simplified definition of gambling that states it is “anything involving risks and uncertainties” (Ibid.). Gambling in the sense of playing games for money or other stakes will be at the center of this research. Although I also take into account the factor of risk and uncertainty in decision making of pool players during particular games at a particular time. This will also be done while analyzing the behavior of the sponsors of the pool players and people who are side betting.

Gambling, as a subject and/or concept, is, despite its popularity, not extensively used in anthropological writings and journals (Curnow 2012: 103). Gambling is still often considered to be “an individualized, private affair, and so intensely isolating it all too often leads to addiction” which makes it subject to psychology and medical disciplines (Blackshaw 2015: 431). Approaching gambling as an addiction, or even a sickness, has partly contributed to the ban of gambling in Indonesia by the Indonesian government. I highly criticize this approach in social studies about gambling because gambling is a socio-cultural activity that cannot be taken out of its social context, even in online gambling. There are many things that play a role in gambling, such as social landscapes, where people come from, cultural values, religion, how much money people have, moralities, emotions, and social structures among other things.

Curnow (2012) contextualizes gambling in the Ngadha society. He argues that “gambling is primarily a social activity that provides a forum for the public circulation of cash in a community which privileges group distribution of resources over individual accumulation” (Ibid.: 101). In addition, he explains that “people have the means to subsist communally and the satisfaction of individual wants is curbed by normative social and cultural practices” (Ibid.). He gives an example that for the Ngadha society it is acceptable to risk money but you do not gamble with your identity and social status for financial gains (Ibid.: 114). His entry point to gambling is diverse economy theory, which is designed to understand economic thinking with a capitalist focus, “to highlight the ‘hidden’ or undervalued resources of communities and to view the economy as a space of non-deterministic multiple contingencies” (Ibid.: 104). He argues that in this way gambling can be analyzed as a social and economic activity at the same time.

He approaches gambling as a “dimension of the Ngadha society and economy rather than as an illegal activity prohibited by the state” (Ibid.: 102). Although gambling is part of society in Yogyakarta I will address the illegality issue of gambling because at the same time there is a form of secrecy involved because of the presence of fear for police or *preman* when people are gambling in pool centers.

Recent studies link gambling to cultural and socio-political context, moralities, social inequality, commerce, and religion (Binde 2005, Binde 2012). Besides that gambling, in anthropological and sociological studies is often used in the context of casinos and nation states and in relation to colonialism (Overbey 1999, Sallaz 2008). Other use of the concept is linked to the intensified relation between humans and machines/technology (Schüll 2012).

Few gambling studies have dealt with masculinity. Rebecca Cassidy is one of the few who dealt with this subject. She found that betting shops in London were labeled as masculine spaces, a place for “men’s business” (Cassidy 2013: 170). She gives two explanations: 1) betting is traditionally a form of recreation for men, and 2) is more appealing to men because of the complex nature of placing bets based on calculations (Ibid.: 170). As explanation to this argument she argues that “the hegemonic masculinity of betting shops is also maintained through everyday practices that merge into

the background as elements of the particular habitus exhibited by betting shop workers and customers” (Ibid.: 180). Sex talk, sexual violence, and the warnings given for this to women are examples of these exhibited habits in betting shops that contribute to maintaining these gender relations. Everybody can place a bet, but it matters if one does this randomly or based on sophisticated calculations. The betting offices emphasize the “mastery of intellectual skills” involved in the decision making process of betting (Ibid.: 180). There is a strong social aspect involved in celebrating. Over-celebrating was not appreciated: “Any fuckin’ idiot can back a winner or two. He’s got to pull his head in – same as the rest of us” (Ibid.: 180). In addition, she argues that this idea of betting shops being masculine places are not only justified and cultivated within the betting shops but also through interactions with relatives and friends outside the betting shops. Again there is this form of control over emotions as part of masculine behavior in a masculine labeled place. Emotions, and especially the control over them, seems to be an important part of how masculinity is being negotiated. This implies that showing emotions, or not controlling them, would be a feminine characteristic although I do not think that this will always be true. It depends on the context. Celebrating victories out loud in football for example shows a form of fraternity, celebrating together, expressing your happiness.

I think in pool it is most important to control the negative feelings. It is not so much about the control over positive feelings such as happiness or relief. I think that it is because controlling negative feelings during a pool match might be more difficult than controlling positive feelings. Positive feelings are mostly in your favor, it can help someone gain confidence but one has to be careful not to lose focus or become nonchalant. It is more of an effort to deal with negative feelings and make them work in your favor.

1.4.3 Habitus

“It is of the essence of life that it does not begin here or end there, or connect a point of origin with a final destination, but rather that it keeps on going, finding a way through the myriad of things that form, persist and break up in its currents” (Ingold 2011: 4).

Tim Ingold (2011) argues against the “end-directed” approach to life (Ingold 2011: 3). Life is more like a dynamic process in which people have to learn and adjust to find their way through life. Just like in life, people in the pool centers of Yogyakarta have to find their way in a certain social structure and adjust to, or change, the habitual performances exhibited by its actors. The question I need to answer in order to understand the negotiation of masculinity is how do people learn? How do people learn to play pool, to dress, to behave and so on in pool centers?

The concept of habitus will be used as an entry point to answer these questions and to open up a debate about how it can be that masculinity is being negotiated in the way that it is being done.

Habitus is described as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations” (Bourdieu 1990: 53). A more simple understanding of habitus is “the dispositions that internalize our social location and which orient our actions – offers an invaluable tool for exploring the interdependence of social determination and human agency, the structured and generative capacity of human action” (Noble & Watkins 2003: 522). The concept of habitus is at the core of Bourdieu’s attempt to explain how human action is structurally regulated without being the product of external factors. Because of this, habitus tends to be deterministic, which is one of the critiques on habitus (Ibid.: 524). Habits become engraved in the body as the result of objective conditions in everyday life.

The concept of habitus was used by Bourdieu (1990) to overcome the paradigm of embodiment in which a binary division is made between subject and object, structure and agency, and the mind and the body (Noble & Watkins 2003: 522). Using the concept of habitus enables us to understand the internalization of social relations and the ‘natural’ experience of them and also “how social position is expressed through our accumulated cultural capital” (Ibid.: 520).

But, before applying this concept in this research it is necessary to point out several flaws, or analytical concerns, of habitus. Habitus addresses some points of embodiment, such as representing class habitus, but, as Noble and Watkins (2003: 523) argue, it lacks attention to process, how is habitus formed? Bourdieu (1990) often talks about habitus in relation to the symbolic function of sporting practices and how this represents social class. When it comes to disposition, he does not elaborate on how these dispositions are formed and where these originated from, but merely how these represent social class. This leads to another discussion point of habitus, that is the unconscious nature of habitus. According to Bourdieu bodily capital is acquired through unconscious and external factors. Loïc Wacquant (1995: 70) argues, the body can be ‘retooled’ through training, but also emphasizes the unconscious nature of the process.

Noble & Watkins (2003: 525) express their critique on habitus by emphasizing the importance of consciousness in the development of habitus. By retooling the body one goes through a process of learning to internalize bodily capital, such as certain techniques or behavioral aspects, so that performing the technique and behavior becomes automatism within the social environment in which they are supposed to be executed. This process is what Noble & Watkins (Ibid.) call “habituation” (Ibid.: 535). The process consists of stages. At the beginners stage someone needs to be instructed about techniques. When these are acquired one could qualify as an intermediate player that needs instructions about how to “link elements into movement, and hence need practice to develop their rhythm to concentrate on the result of the action rather than the action itself” (Ibid.: 535). If this rhythm is created movements already become more internalized. Advanced players fully master previous skills and can start to control all aspects and tactics of the game they play. Talented players are assumed to go through these stages faster than others might be able to do.

Bourdieu describes habitus as a static entity, not capable of generativity. Taking into account these critiques, Noble and Watkins (2003: 525) argue therefore that habitus consists of four dimensions; acquisition, reproduction, position-taking, and generativity. They hereby overcome the duality of mind and body when one talks about embodiment which is important when the concept is being applied to the game of pool. As I will argue in this thesis, the way a pool player thinks about the game, his approach, is reflected in the choices that a player makes during the game which does have influence on his/her masculinity. To understand how a specific form of masculinity came into being, like the control over emotions, it is necessary to understand these four dimensions mentioned by Noble and Watkins.

Habitus forms the basis for practice theory (Besnier & Brownell 2012: 449-450). Bourdieu focused on the social structures, ignoring periodic sport events. Edith Turner disagreed with this approach and focused on these periodic events because this is where participants try to articulate their meaning of culture (Ibid.: 449). An important flaw in practice theory is that there is no clear definition of 'culture' (Ibid.). They argue that "body culture is a better tool than habitus, because it draws on the anthropological concept of culture to contextualize the body within the local meanings that are significant to the people whose bodies are in question" (Ibid.: 450). Body culture is the embodiment of culture taking into account the "ongoing practices and periodic performative events in a complementary relationship" (Ibid.). During my fieldwork I attended a few periodic events such as tournaments and gambling activities with people from Surabaya that especially came to Yogyakarta to gamble and to practice. I will use these events in addition to understanding habitual performances in the pool centers in Yogyakarta.

1.5 Academic and societal relevance

The academic relevance arises from studying masculinity in relation to pool centers and gambling which are underexposed subjects in the anthropological discipline. By approaching gambling in its socio-cultural context I will contribute to the understanding of what gambling means to people, how it is used to contest values, and how it influences manhood through the act of contesting. The anthropological interest in gambling therefore comes not forth from "whether people make rational economic choices in terms of cash", but from "what underlying rationale provides the basis for their choices" (Curnow 2012: 113). Because every "person makes economic choices that are inculcated in the individual habitus and informed by different value systems" (Ibid.: 113).

Few gambling studies relate to gender and most gender studies focus on the discourse and experience of femininity (Mills 2003: 55). Closer attention to the negotiation and the experiences of masculinity is needed to provide new insights in gender differences. The results of this research will elaborate on the gender discussion in the debate about sport, modernity and the body where sport is seen as a cultural performance (Besnier & Brownell 2012: 450). Besnier and Brownell (Ibid.) are stressing the necessity to re-conceptualize "the body as a cultural construction" to study the

transnational social relations that sport creates (Ibid.: 454). Approaching, “sport as play and sport as the serious life, sport as cultural performance and sport as everyday practice”, is needed to “answer fundamental questions in contemporary anthropology” (Ibid.: 454). Using this approach will lead to insight in the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers which will fuel the debate about how social learning processes, in the specific environment of pool centers, and sport as a cultural performance influence gender differences.

The societal relevance lies in the identification of, and creation of understanding about societal inequality and identity on a local level through a gendered analysis. This research will also give insight in the motivations and justifications of pool gambling activities and why it is socially accepted as an economical viable strategy in Yogyakarta.

1.6 Methodology

In this paragraph I will elaborate on how I have built up the research during my fieldwork and what methods I have used to collect data. A social study that is involved with illegal gambling is a sensitive topic that requires methodological considerations, which will be presented in this paragraph.

1.6.1 Getting the snowball rolling

On my first day I visited Bright Center and I met with a friend of mine, a pool player and former pool sponsor, who knew some pool players in Yogyakarta. He introduced me to them, I started playing with them, and after one night I would have enough potential participants for the rest of my research. Three of them, Mas Heart, Mas Jonah, and Mas Mahasiswa, became my key informants who explained a lot about Yogyakarta’s pool scene, history, situations, and introduced me to many people during the two months after our first meeting. In this way I quickly found the place to be for pool and gambling, Pool World. The *snowball method* in which the key informant leads you to other participants for the research who in their turn introduce you to other participants, worked out very well for me (Bernard 2011: 147-148).

1.6.2 Participating my way into the gambling scene

Although I knew gambling is a vital and known part, by pool players, of pool I noticed that there was a form of secrecy involved. Some would say there was no gambling in this first pool center I visited which, I found out later, was not true and it happened more than once after that in other pool centers such as Music Gallery Pool Center and Yacht Club.

During the first week of fieldwork I found out it was easier to find the gambling when I profiled myself mainly as a player instead of only being a researcher who is interested in finding good gambling spots where I would like to talk to people. When I went to a pool center without playing or saying I was a pool player myself, people were more anxious when I started talking about gambling and would just smile and deny there was such a thing. Actively working on the presentation of self

has helped me to open up my social network around different pool centers. One of the obstacles in presenting myself as a pool player who was interested in pool and gambling and was also doing a research about this subject, instead of focus on presenting myself a researcher who is interested in pool and gambling and was also a pool player myself, was that in the first three weeks people would only see me as a player, which on the one hand is very useful but on the other hand, it let to too many invitations to play against people so that I was almost not able to do interviews. I had to refuse a lot of times to play and to gamble because I wanted to talk to many different people in order to obtain information which was not always perceived as friendly. By sometimes going to the pool center without my cue, which I brought from the Netherlands, and only my notebook I wanted to make clear my intentions. After all it has worked out very good after a struggle in the first three weeks. People would call or text me when new players from other cities would arrive, when interesting gambling activities were about to start, and when they felt they would like to talk to me because they had information they wanted to share. Of course, they also always notified me when they wanted me to play against some good players, which I did sometimes.

Participant observation, “the foundation of cultural anthropology” (Bernard 2011: 256), became key to gaining access to what I call Yogyakarta’s pool gambling scene. My familiarity with the game created a form of solidarity. By playing against many players of different levels and being open to everybody around me I was called, more than once, “a humble man” which I took as a great compliment. There was a sort of mutual understanding between me and the people I talked to. It was often the case that I asked a lot of questions about them, so I felt obliged to give something back in the form of personal information, or by playing pool with them and teach them things about the game.

Participating also led me to feeling all emotions, the real feeling of pressure during gambling and playing pool against players of different levels. Experiencing this also led to a understanding of social, spatial, and temporary boundaries within the pool centers. I used these experiences in interviews and informal talks I held and asked other people how they feel about the same sort of situations I found myself in.

1.6.3 Fear for formal interviews led to deep hanging out and *ngobrol*

After a few interviews, or attempt to interview, I noticed that I scared people when I told them I would like to interview them. They would perceive it as something very official and kept some people from talking freely. At my first day in Pool World I played against a player from Surabaya, for what they call ‘small money’, a low amount of money to have fun. After that I wanted to interview him but he refused. He was both confused and scared. I came out as winner of the games we played and afterwards he did not understand why I would like to talk. He was a shy and a quiet man in general so it might be because of that but it made me think about my approach.

The days after I noticed more people were a little afraid to do an ‘formal’ interview, where I would have a pen and paper to make notes, but would tell me everything when we were just hanging

out. I often kept my phone with me on which I had a document with themes and questions I would like to ask. Hereby I have to say that when I started doing this everybody I talked to already knew my intentions of doing research and I therefore was visiting the pool centers. So hanging out and having conversations that were actually *open interviews* and contained *free listing* became an effective method. I would do this during playing pool, lunch, dinner, and outside of the pool centers. In Indonesia they would call it *ngobrol*, in other words just chatter. One of my teachers would call it '*deep hanging out*'. These methods were used to gain information about all subjects that will be elaborated on in this thesis. I would try to remember as much as I could, and sometimes make notes on my phone. I informed the people about the fact I was writing down things about the conversation in order to elaborate on them later and they were okay with it.

The overall approach for this research is therefore an informal one in which I applied academic skills. I was actively focusing on impression management to gain trust from people and to make them feel comfortable in order to collect the data I needed. There were however a few people who were willing to do a formal interview. In these cases I would record the interview with the participants consent and would make notes in my notebook in between.

1.6.4 Observing, social mapping of hierarchies, and self-reflection

During the fieldwork I would observe as much as I was able to in order to compare the things I saw with what people would say and how they would act. I paid close attention to techniques of a pool player, particular choices that a player makes in a particular game at a particular stage of a set (the way someone thinks is reflected in the performed actions on the pool table), gestures, the way someone talks and walks, clothing, how high someone bets, but also to where these different actors are located in space (the pool centers) at what time. My knowledge about the game of pool helped me to observe certain aspects of masculinity that are being performed at the pool table that other anthropologists might not have noticed.

Observations I have made contributed to material and non-material characteristics of masculinity and how these are negotiated. The negotiation of masculinity is a collaboration between mind and body as I have tried to make clear. So it is about the visual observations of the body as a cultural construction and habitus as a cultural performance. According to Thomas Csordas the body and mind cannot be separated, or dichotomized (Csordas 1990: 36), when it is about the embodiment of masculinity. Csordas (Ibid.: 35) argues that the analysis of perception and practice leads to the collapse of the paradigm of embodiment, in which a subject-object duality is at the core of analysis. The critiques on this paradigm and analysis of perception is that many anthropologists "have (1) considered perception strictly as a function of cognition, and seldom with respect to self, emotion, or cultural objects such as supernatural beings; (2) isolated the senses, especially focusing on visual perception, but seldom examining the synthesis and interplay of senses in perceptual life; and (3) focused on contextually abstract experimental tasks, instead of linking the study of perception to that

of social practice” (Ibid.)

So, by breaking with this paradigm it becomes possible to research “how cultural objects (including selves) are constituted or objectified” (Ibid.: 40). This approach in combination with habitus as the starting point for research about negotiations of masculinity will enable me to understand how masculinity is culturally constructed and what the processes of embodying masculinity are.

Social mapping helped me to understand the hierarchy reflected in social relations within the pool centers and how this had its influence on how masculinity was being negotiated. Before elaborating on the social hierarchy I would like to emphasize that everybody in the pool centers was always treated with respect as far as I have noticed but that here are slight differences to be made. I base my social map on my observations made during my fieldwork and noticed that there are moments in which people treat other people with the upmost respect, more than they would do than with others. Since the owner of Pool World is paying the police I consider them the invisible top in the social hierarchy. Within the pool centers the owner and older people are at the top of the social hierarchy, so to speak. Most respect was shown to them. High level players and the coaches had the most prestige and earned respect through their high skill level. Mas Gusta, a very friendly guy and a top carom player, is a well-known figure in Pool World. He is best friends with the owner, is a great tournament organizer, and a respected promotor throughout whole of Indonesia. He thereby gained a lot of respect. He became one of my best friends in Yogyakarta. He was always very friendly to me, wanted to take care of everything and became my promotor setting up all my matches. Next to that he provided me with a lot of inside information and introduced me to many people. He was a man that was living by his values of trust, honesty, and respect. I admired him for that.

After that I would rank the lower level players, handicap 4 to 6 who also seemed to form a group together by often hanging around and playing together. Recreational players are more considered to be customers, instead of pool players although they definitely form a group of recreational players. The staff is like in any hospitality undertaking serving customers which I consider to be more of a submissive role. Sometimes customers would whistle to a staff member to rack the balls when they were not paying attention for example which shows a form of hierarchy. In this way I have tried to understand certain relationships within the pool centers and how this influences the negotiation of masculinity.

Self-reflection was a very important part in the observations I have made because I was perceived as quite an appearance as a white European pool player of a high level, since I was divided in the highest level by people in different pool centers, with an orange beard. Being me, has influenced my social relations, mostly in a positive way. I will describe the categorization of pool players and situations in which my presence influenced social relations in certain situations during my thesis in order to do a correct data analysis. Not only my presence would ask for self-reflection but also my familiarity with pool and pool centers required attention. My research partner, who knew nothing

about pool, would help me with this. For me, he was ‘a fresh pair of eyes’ in a pool center.

1.6.5 Google translate conversations

The fieldwork started with attending a field school, at the Universitas Gadjah Madah (UGM). This field school included a short language course of ten days about Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of Indonesia. Although the language is very easy to learn it was not enough to be able to keep in depth interviews or just to have a long conversation.

As part of the program a student of the UGM was assigned to me to help me with my research. But, sometimes I would find myself in a position in which I met with someone who did not speak English at all, and I had nobody around me to translate when I was in a pool center. I always tried to speak Bahasa Indonesia the best I could but I did not obtain much data this way.

Everybody I knew in Yogyakarta had a smartphone. On every smartphone one can access the internet, Wi-Fi was provided in every pool center. Once in the position of not being able to communicate any longer I started to use ‘Google translate’ which worked surprisingly well in making clear what we thought and wanted to say to each other. We both found it amusing to communicate this way which created a comfortable atmosphere. The weeks after that moment I would sometimes find myself in the same situation and people saw me using Google translate before and started doing it themselves. This way of communicating is not completely reliable because there are probably some flaws in translation but the essence of what we were trying to say seemed to be very clear. The same translation problem would occur when a person tried to translate conversations. So, whether this is a viable method or not can be debated but I think it is worth mentioning because it has paid off in multiple ways. It has broadened my network because it contributed to the *snowball method* and I was able to retrieve essential information about gambling in relation to religion via the person I had this kind of conversations with which I used to verify and elaborate on with other people.

1.6.6 Literature study

I have done a *literature study* in order to find out how the law is constituted regarding gambling in Indonesia and how these laws, as they are now, came into being over the years. During the thesis I will address the illegality issue of gambling because it plays an important role in the negotiation of masculinity.

1.7 Ethics

As explained before gambling is forbidden by law and religion but socially accepted and condoned to a certain extent, which is the reason why I chose to participate myself. Because of this choice I had to make some ethical considerations into account regarding methodology and for writing this report. To protect the identity of the people involved in this research, which contains sensitive subjects, I replaced their names with fictitious names. When I mention a name I will indicate whether it is a man,

an older man, a woman, or an older woman by using the Indonesian terms generally used to address someone in a polite way. A young man is called *Mas* and an older man is addressed with *Pak*. A young woman is addressed with *Mbak*, and an older women with *Bu*. I will also anonymize the pool centers that I will describe. I will probably not be able to fully anonymize these pool centers because when I talk about pool centers in Yogyakarta one could easily find these places but by using fictitious names I will try my best to anonymize these places because of illegal activities.

The question I asked myself was to what extent do I participate in all activities? During the fieldwork I fully participated in the pool and gambling scene and even acquired my own sponsors for gambling which meant I played with other peoples' money. To gain trust from these sponsors, a part of all the bets I have made included my own money and I have always tried the best I could to win the games I have played.

Participating or not could influence my relationship with the people around me in the pool centers. If someone wants me to play and I reject his/her offer it might have a negative impact on my relationship with him/her and thereby establishing another relationship, or boundary between the two of us. This is what happened in the beginning when I started to profile myself with a focus on the researcher when I got too many invitations to play but after explaining my goals this boundary was lifted again rather fast.

Before the research started I already knew there was a possibility of making a profit or losing my money during the fieldwork. I both sometimes lost money and my sponsors' money and I sometimes won money for myself and my sponsors. The question I asked myself is if winning or losing games in which gambling was involved would harm people? My answer is no, because it is part of the game. This is the way gambling works and we all freely chose to participate in it. It was not an option to willingly lose games because I would see that as a form of match fixing, which is not tolerated in gambling. Either way, if I win or lose, there will always be people that lose and win money. So, it will not be ethical responsible to lose on purpose and is a form of doing harm to people (American Anthropology Association 2012). Once I agreed upon a deal to play for a certain amount of money I am obliged to do my best to win the game. During gambling I needed to make sure I did not get hustled (scammed) myself. During my fieldwork I have not seen any form of hustling. The gambling structure in Indonesia is structured fairly well and include a blacklist for people who have committed any form of hustling.

Chapter 2

An introduction to pool: histories and context

Billiards is an innocent, harmless, and gentlemanly amusement, (...) though sometimes desecrated to purpose of gambling, contrary to the true intent of the game” (Phelan 1850: 7).

This chapter starts with a brief history about pool to show where pool comes from and how it has developed, also in relation to gender and gambling. An elaboration on the modern games mentioned in this first paragraph will be provided in the second paragraph. This will be followed by a short history of pool in Yogyakarta and recent developments in relation to pool as a sport and to gender.

Pool players in Yogyakarta are being categorized by their skill level which plays an important role throughout the research and in negotiating masculinity. Therefore I will explain how this system is structured, both in tournaments and gambling activities. Pool, or actually the pool federation of Indonesia and the Yogyakarta department, is familiar with corruption. This corruption is experienced by members and created certain cultural values that are emphasized in pool centers that are also part of manhood which is why I feel the urge to devote a paragraph to this subject. All these paragraphs together will create a context and understanding of the field in which this research has been conducted.

2.1 A brief history about pool

“The game has been played by kings and commoners, presidents, mental patients, ladies, gentlemen, and hustlers alike” (Shamos 2005: 1).

Pool has been developed from an outdoor lawn game, croquet, that was being played in the 1340s in the Northern part of Europe, presumably France (Shamos 2005:1) where it “was introduced by the Knights Templars” (Phelan 1850: 5). The game was played with cudgels, or maces, and a ball which one had to score into a bow that was plugged into the ground. This is also referred to as ‘ground billiards’ (Burch 2016). During time the ground billiards game went indoor and special tables were built for it (Figure 3). These tables originally had flat vertical walls for rails and their only function was to keep the balls from falling off.

Later, in the 1600s, the cue, derived from “*queue* - meaning ‘tail’ ” (Shamos 2005), was developed. The mace had a large head on it and was easier to play with. The cue stick had a sharper and smaller head. From the start of the invention of the cue there was gender inequality created as “for a long time, only men were allowed to use the cue; women were forced to use the mace because it was

felt they were more likely to rip the cloth with the sharper cue” (Ibid.).

The game spread from France to Germany, England, Italy and Spain. It gained great popularity in England and even made Shakespeare refer to it in his play of Anthony and Cleopatra in the second act, scene 5, where Cleopatra proclaims “Let us Billiards” (Phelan 1850: 6). Via France and England the game passed over to America and became the



Figure 3 Indoor ground billiards table (Burch 2016)

number one amusement. The game and equipment evolved in the 1800s in England, mainly due to the Industrial Revolution (Shamos 2005: 3). Billiards was considered to be a gentleman’s game, also referred to as “the noble game of Billiards” (Phelan 1850: 5), and was accessible to all social classes (Ibid.: 7).

The game of billiards was “an innocent, harmless, and gentlemanly amusement, and though sometimes desecrated to purpose of gambling, contrary to the true intent of the game” (Phelan 1850: 7). Gambling became a part of billiards in its early beginnings. The game of billiards evolved and different tables and games were invented. One of these billiard tables had six pockets (holes) which is why the games played on these table are also called ‘pocket billiards’ (Figure 4). In the early 1900s the games of straight pool, nine-ball, eight-ball, and one-pocket were invented which are games that are still being played today (Burch 2016).

Pocket billiard games were “after World War II largely consigned to seedy gambling joints” (Ibid.). Pool used to mean a collective bet, or ante (Shamos 2005: 3). Other games such as poker and horse racing were involved with ‘pool betting’. A poolroom was a place where people would bet and were mainly known as “a betting parlor for horse racing” where often pocket billiards tables were present to play on in between the races. It was later that pocket billiards was attached to the word pool or poolroom.



Figure 4 A poolroom with pocket billiard tables (Burch 2016)

In the late 1900s the game of pool was growing out to a professional sport and different governing bodies came into existence. The European Pool Billiard Federation (EPBF) was established

in 1978 (European Pocket Billiard Foundation 1978), the American Poolplayers Association (APA) in 1981 (American Poolplayers Association 2016), the Asian Pocket Billiard Union (APBU) in the late 1970s (Asian Pocket Billiard Union 2009), and other continental governing bodies of pool around the world started to unite pool players. Eventually, the global governing body of pool, World Pool-Billiard Association (WPA), was established in 1987 uniting all different governing bodies (World Pool-Billiard Association 2016).

For quite some time “the atmosphere of the poolroom was very forbidding and a woman would have had trouble being accepted there” (Shamos 1995). The sociologist Ned Polsky said that he thought the American poolroom was “the greatest and most determinedly all-male institution in American social life” (Polsky 1967: 32). There were a lot of women who wanted to play pool and to support these women the Women’s Professional Billiards Association (WPBA) was established in 1976 (Women’s Professional Billiards Association 2010). Only female player memberships were granted. This organization started to organize tournaments around the United States of America to give women a chance to become professional pool players. Although pool is not completely dominated by men anymore, it is still until this day that women are experiencing struggles to become a professional because “her family, and friends usually do not support her efforts” (Shamos 1995) as I will show during this thesis.

The WPBA has a code of conduct for their tournaments, which is a general code of conduct that is being applied to every pool tournament which are remains of the gentlemanly part of the game, or sport. This code of conduct states that players will not gamble on site, show sportsmanship, do not use profane or abusive language to anybody present, one is not allowed to shark (hustle) intentionally, public drunkenness will be punished, he or she will not abuse equipment, and someone cannot show any rudeness to tournament officials or anybody else (Women’s Professional Billiards Association 2016: 19).

2.2 Explaining modern pool games

In order to understand what pool is and to understand the factors that play a role in the different games I will shortly explain the main games that are being played in Yogyakarta. These games also have played a role in how pool has developed itself in Yogyakarta. Explanation of the games also helps to understand the mindset of pool players.

Nine-ball

Nine-ball is the number one game in Indonesia, both for tournaments and gambling. The game of nine-ball is played with nine balls, numbered one through nine, and the cue ball (white ball) with which the other balls need to be pocketed. The essence of the game is that the balls have to be pocketed in ascending numerical order. The only winning ball in this game is the 9-ball. This means when one pockets one through eight, the game can still be lost when the 9-ball is missed and the opponent

pockets it.

Luck is an important factor in this game because intentional and unintentional balls pocketed in a legal way count and enable a player to continue the turn. Winning with luck is by many players perceived as one of the most annoying things that can happen but others will argue it is just part of the game like Mas Heart thinks that “luck is a residue of skill”.

Ten-ball

Ten ball is similar to nine ball, only ten-ball is a call shot game. This means the intended ball and pocket must be indicated for each shot. This rule reduces the factor of luck which is why this game is often perceived as a fairer game than nine-ball. The game is played with ten object balls numbered one through ten and the cue ball. Just like in nine ball the balls have to be pocketed in ascending numerical order and the only winning ball is the 10-ball.

Eight-ball

Eight-ball is the game most people think about when I talk about pool. Although eight-ball is the most well-known pool game in the world it is not the most popular game among the pool players. Almost nobody in Yogyakarta plays the game or even know the rules which I found very surprising. Eight-ball was the first game I was taught when I started to play pool. Despite this fact, an eight-ball tournament was organized in Pool World which was very unusual.

This game is, just like ten ball, a call shot game and is played with all fifteen balls and the cue ball. There are two groups of seven balls, solids (numbered one to eight) and stripes (numbered nine through fifteen). Next to that there is the winning 8-ball. The appointed group of seven balls must all be pocketed before an attempt is being made to pocket the eight ball to win the game. When the eight ball is pocketed before that, the player who made it loses the game.

Rotation

Rotation is a game that was being played a lot for decades in Yogyakarta until very recently. During my fieldwork I have seen nobody that was playing this game. The reason I address this game is because it has played an important role in how pool developed and is being perceived in Yogyakarta's society.

Rotation is not a call shot game and is played with all fifteen balls. Just like in nine-, and ten-ball players have to pocket the balls in ascending order. Every ball is worth the points of its own number. So the one-ball is one point, the two-ball is worth two points and so on. The essence of the game is to outscore your opponent by being the first to reach 61 points or more.

2.3 A version of the history and dark image of pool in Yogyakarta

This paragraph describes a short version of the history of pool in Yogyakarta that was told to me by

Mas Heart. The reason I call this a version of the history of pool in Yogyakarta is because I was not able to find any documentation about the subject and have to rely on what Mas Heart told me.

During the late 1970s, 80s, and 90s rotation was the game to be played in the pool centers in Yogyakarta. The game of rotation requires active score keeping which is why staff members were eventually given the task to keep the scores for the players on the score boards that hung on the wall at every pool table. Pool centers in Yogyakarta were places where people would smoke, drink, and gamble. During time the staff members that were keeping scores were replaced by good looking girls. The function of these good looking girls were supplemented with prostitution after a while to make pool centers more attractive to men. These activities were, almost self-evident, bad for the image of pool towards society and was one of the obstacles for pool to become a professional sport in Indonesia.

Early 2000s there was a moment that has started a revolution in the pool scene in Indonesia. In 2002 or 2003 there was a television show, of which Mas Heart does not recall the name, where two 'masters' (handicap 7 players) played two sets of nine-ball on television. This episode has inspired a lot of people and people started to play nine-ball instead of rotation. Because nine-ball does not require someone to actively keep the score, the score girls disappeared. The Persatuan Olahraga Biliar Seluruh Indonesia (POBSI), the Indonesian pool-billiards federation, took advantage of this and promoted the game of nine-ball by organizing a lot of nine-ball tournaments among other things. This was also their chance to promote as a sport that people could practice professionally. After that pool started to get more recognition as a sport and is getting rid of the bad image but this is an ongoing process until this day.

This image of the dark poolrooms where people did everything god forbids is sticking to peoples' minds. It is not something that disappears in a day or two. Although the prostitution has disappeared from the pool scene, gambling and drinking are still part of pool centers. Pool center owners are actively participating in this process of image building as I have explained in paragraph 1.3.1.

Pool is something that is perceived as 'dark', not only because of the *haram* activities that are associated with it, but also in the sense that it is played at night when it is dark outside. It is associated with nightlife. One of the students of the Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) I spoke to said she thinks that people who play pool during daytime "do not have anything better to do" and are unemployed, which most of the time is true. Pool centers are generally not places where people go to, to hang out like people would do in a bar for example. It is more a place for recreational activity.

This image of pool contributes, in combination with religion, to women having struggles of becoming professional pool players, or even to play recreational. During my fieldwork I have noticed that the situation is changing regarding women in pool in Yogyakarta. During the thesis I will describe the struggles female players are experiencing and what this means for the negotiation of masculinity.

2.4 Handicap system explained

As I have explained in paragraph 1.3.1 players are categorized, in handicap 4 to 8, based on their skill level. The interesting part of this categorization is the subjectivity and the social construction of this process that requires social acceptance. Main characters in this categorization process are tournament assistants and directors and pool players who want to express their thoughts about what the skill level of somebody else is. The decision about the category in which a player belongs is a collective decision and must be accepted by all players. It is mainly based on an opinion about someone's technical and tactical skills. When they do not know a player personally, they will let them play with other players in order to compare their skill level with someone they know. This is what they did with me at my first night in Bright Center. I will elaborate on this subject in chapter three.

This handicap system is set up in order to be able to compensate skill level difference during special handicap tournament of which the essence is to give everybody a fair chance to win. It is not only applied during tournaments but also during gambling which makes the gambling structure fairly well organized throughout Yogyakarta. Everybody has the same understanding of this handicap system. The handicap system is a socially accepted concept throughout the city.

There are two ways to compensate skill level difference. Since 9-ball is the most popular game I will explain the handicap system in tournaments by using the game of 9-ball. In a 'handicap tournament' a system is maintained to overcome the difference in skill level and give everybody a fair chance to win. These tournaments are only accessible to handicap 4-6 players. Handicap 7 players are not allowed to play. One of the reasons therefore is that handicap 7 is more of an open category than the other categories. There is a bigger skill level difference in this handicap than in the others.

Compensating the skill level difference is being done by creating more 'winning balls' to the game. For each level of difference in skill a ball is added for the weakest player. So, when someone of handicap 4 plays against someone of handicap 5 the winning balls for the player with handicap 4 will become the 8-ball and the 9-ball. When the 8-ball or 9-ball is pocketed legally, the player with handicap 4 will win the game. All other rules of the game stay the same. For the stronger player it is always only the 9-ball that will make him or her win the game. When handicap 4 plays against handicap 6, the weakest player will win the game with ball number 7, 8, and 9 and so on.

The other way of compensating skill level difference is giving players 'games on the wire'. When people play in a tournament or a money game they mainly play 'a race', meaning the first who wins a certain amount of games, wins the match. Getting games on the wire means one of the players gets a head start. For example, when it is a race to 9, the weaker player can start with a 2-0 lead in games. This handicap is also referred to in negotiations as giving him 9-7 because the weaker player actually plays a race to 7. Playing a race 11-13 means the same thing, a player starts with a 2-0 lead but than in a race to 13.

Players can move up to a higher handicap by winning handicap tournaments. When a handicap 4 player wins three handicap tournaments he will become a handicap 5 player. A handicap 5 player

who won three handicap tournaments will become handicap 6 and so on.

2.5 Corruption, honesty, and consequences

Just like many countries, Indonesia has established a pool federation, the POBSI, to unite players and created a platform for players to practice their sport and become a professional. The POBSI exists of a national governing body and many provincial departments whom organize provincial tournaments. Players can work themselves up the ladder by participating in these tournaments. Players who deliver good performances can get in the provincial team to represent their province on a national level. This system is supposed to be based on performance and potential in my opinion but Mas Gusta, who works at the POBSI DIY, explained to me that there are great difficulties in how things are handled within the POBSI regarding players, the provincial team, and administration.

Just like in determining a handicap for a player, the selection procedure for players to get in the provincial team is based upon subjectivity and preferences of officials working at the POBSI. Mas Gusta said “they just pick who they like” and give them a chance. The problem with this system is that the officials can actually do what they like, even refusing players to participate in open provincial tournaments because they do not like someone. This is exactly what recently happened to the son of Mas Gusta, who wanted to participate in an open youth tournament but was refused because they did not like Mas Gusta. Of course he was disappointed and angry because he thought his son was able to win a medal. Next to that he told me money was disappearing from the POBSI, or not reaching the pool federation while it should.

The reason people in the POBSI do not like Mas Gusta is because he is the one who is trying to change things and talks about the bad things that are happening. But, there is not much he can do because of his position within the POBSI. There are people above him that are in power and decide what happens. For the pool players this way of management is actually a form of corruption that obstructs people from reaching their goal of becoming a professional pool player.

Because of the everyday corruption Mas Gusta experiences he is emphasizing the value of honesty and respect to people, not only within pool centers and the pool federation but also in everyday life. During the fieldwork I have gotten the impression that Mas Gusta has inspired many pool players. Many of them would agree on the importance of these values that are being emphasized by Mas Gusta.

The blacklist

Corruption, or hustling among the players themselves, is being punished by putting them on a ‘blacklist’. This list is spread throughout Java. When a player ends up on this list he is refused at all tournaments. Lying about what handicap a player is, is one the reasons somebody could end up on this list. Telling people you are of a lower skill level than you actually are can help you to gain access to handicap tournaments resulting in receiving a compensation of skill level difference that is easier than

when he or she would play with the handicap he actually deserves. This increases the chance of winning. There are also people on that list who did not pay for the money games they have lost or committed fraud of some sort related to pool.

Chapter 3

'The guys': masculine skills and social status

"I want to become one of the guys, on the same level. I don't want to impress, like other girls do, I want to play the game that men do" (Mbak Colette)

"No problem. Tonight just relax and play again tomorrow" (Mas Gusto)

"When I can't beat him, he is more sexy" (Mbak Colette)

Pool is a game wherein people need to acquire a specific skill set, technically as well as mentally. Bourdieu (1990: 53) argues that bodily capital, in this case pool technique, is unconsciously acquired through external factors. I will argue that habitus is not a static entity and consists of the dimensions of acquisition, reproduction, position-taking, and generativity as is suggested by Noble & Watkins (2003: 525). In order to do this I will use the approach of Loïc Wacquant (1995: 70) as a starting point who argues that the body can be 'retooled' unconsciously while I will show that the body can consciously learn and acquire bodily capital through training which is what Noble & Watkins (2003) call "habitation" (Noble & Watkins 2003: 535).

In this chapter I will focus on pool players and the diverse skill set, consisting of technical, mental and tactical skills, that is needed to become a good pool player. I will argue that manhood and social status is partly determined by the skill level of a player. The role of emotion will be emphasized because the control over them is being perceived as the most masculine characteristic of a pool player. Throughout this chapter it will become clear that the game of pool is not only about "the ability to execute difficult strokes, that constitutes the good player, but is owing to the united effect of 'judgement, skill, and execution, combined'" (Phelan 1850: 13). I will emphasize that emotion is a vital part in the united effect of judgement, skill, and execution.

3.1 Technical skills: smooth and stiff

The higher the skill level of a player, the more masculine he is perceived by other players. Pool requires a perfect hand eye coordination and a good performance of a certain movement technique. It is a cooperation between stability created through a good stance, a straight stroke, and good timing. First of all the body has to be standing in line of the shot, completely still and stable in order to reduce any deviation of the back arm while stroking and shooting. Stroking refers to "the physical movement or motion of the shooter's arm and the cue stick" (Billiards forum 2016d). A player will not always

uses the same stroke. It depends on the type of shot and the position needed afterwards. Depending on the type of shot, a player might adjust the angle of his back arm (or whole body in order to make a certain angle with the back arm), change the distance of his back arm relative to his forehead, change the distance of the fore hand relative to the cue ball, make the stroke longer or shorter, or loosens his grip in order to get more spin out of the cue ball for example. All these basic technical skills can be taught and be improved by practice. To illustrate this I will tell the story Mas Jonah, the coach, which is quite a story regarding technical skills and the adjustment and improvement of these skills.

When I first entered a pool hall in Yogyakarta, Bright Center, I met with my friend from Solo, who I already knew from the pool scene in the Netherlands. We played some games for fun on the first floor where only, as it seemed, recreational players were playing based on my judgement about their technique, the execution of the technique and the choices they made during the game. Within pool it is easy to distinguish the talented players from the less talented or separate the good players from the bad ones because of their technical skills. First of all it can be easily observed when a player does not often miss a shot, which is an easy indication for how good a player can be. Secondly the stroke of talented and/or good players is often very smooth and flawless and can create a very good timing. Timing refers to “the ease with which the shooting player generates cue power during the shot making process. The power is generated specifically due to the well-timed acceleration of the cue at a specific and appropriate point in the shot. If the shot was not executed with such timing, it would not have the same degree of power” (Billiards forum 2016e).

I would like to share some thoughts about technique and style of pool players. I think I can say that there are roughly two categories of players when it comes to pool technique. One that can be classified as ‘smooth’ and one as ‘stiff’. The smooth player has a fluent stroke, loose grip, and finishes the stroke in a proper way which is done by following the cue through the white ball. The stiff player has a stiff stroke and is often limited in his technical abilities. Not finishing a stroke results in a less good timing which leads to an inability to create a lot of spin on the cue ball thereby limiting the options to play position on the next ball one is obliged to pocket.

I perceive the smooth player as more masculine. A player with a smooth stroke is capable of executing more difficult shots than a player who plays really stiff. I did not realize it at first but I also linked skill level to masculinity in this way. In my opinion almost everybody is able to play in a stiff way, but not everybody is able to play with a smooth technique. Most of the pool players I met with had a smooth technique which, for me, is a sign of talent and therefore also for potential to become a better player. Talented players tend to go faster through the process of habituation thereby internalizing and mastering skills and all other aspects of the game as I have argued in paragraph 1.4.3. It is often the case that smooth players, are the talented players. When they are not highly skilled yet, it is often because they are playing too ‘wild’ and not fully controlling their stroke. Learning it the other way around, so a stiff player learning to play more smooth, is a lot harder.

I have noticed, during my own pool career and during fieldwork, that there are players who

pay attention to the way their technique looks, or is being perceived by others. A powerful stroke and a smooth technique are things that are being seen as a cool style which is why some players emphasize that they are capable of such a technique. This has not so much to do with performing skills but more with a conscious performance of masculine characteristics. Some would exaggerate it and ‘fire away’ the balls, which is by the way not in favor of accuracy, so it has not much to do with pool itself but more with a form of showing off, or bragging. The female players, who were considered to be athletes or a pool player, seemed to be more serious, even if there was nothing at stake. Next to that the female players I have seen had a stiff technique which could be one of the explanations that a smooth technique is seen as masculine because not many women play with such a style.

Later on that first night in Bright Center I met with the friends of my friend from Solo and we went to the second floor where the better players would play because the tables are more difficult since the pockets were smaller. It is also this first night when the handicap system was explained to me. Among his friends were handicap 4,5, and 7 players. Everybody was wondering what level I would play, so they directly told me to play against Mas Jonah, the coach of the provincial women team and winner of a recent open tournament in which professionals participated. Mas Jonah is quite a character. He is a funny man, a good story teller, makes a lot of jokes, and is always laughing and singing. I have to admit he was not only a good pool player, but also a great singer. People would enjoy listening to him when he was just lying on a couch to relax and would sing a song. It looked like he was radiating positive vibes all day long which made him pleasant company.

At his mid-forties he was not so fit anymore and his left leg was shorter than his right which causes him to walk more difficult. This had certain effects on his body which caused him to suffer from pains in his back, already in his beginnings in pool. Because of that he not only changed his stance, he even started playing with his left hand while he was right handed. He turned his whole body 180 degrees, putting his right leg in front instead of his left now he was playing left handed and put his legs further apart which enabled him to keep his back straight. Even though he had these troubles he managed to become one of the better players, which I admired. This proves, in quite a rigorous way, that it is possible to “retool” the body through training (Wacquant 1995: 70).

Stability, a good stance and a straight stroke are just the basis for shooting shots. A good timing is what a good player separates from less good players. Players with talent, or a natural ability, for pool often have a very good timing. Timing is something that can be improved through practice and training as well although this is probably the hardest part to improve regarding technical skills.

3.1.1 Skill level in relation to social status

The higher the skill level, the higher one’s perceived social status. I will explain this through my own participation during the fieldwork. During the first night I met with Mas Jonah at Bright Center I managed to play an hour or two against him. We did not play any race and we did not gamble, it was for fun and for them to see what I could do on a pool table. In the end, although we did not keep

scores, I think we played somewhat even which resulted in a discussion how they would categorize me in their handicap system.

Since I could compete with a handicap 7 player they were inclined to categorize me as handicap 7 but they were not sure, it could have been handicap 6, until our next meeting in Pool World. My first time in Pool World I met with Mas Jonah again, who set a game up as a promotor between me and a player from Surabaya. He was an established player and gained respect as a handicap 7 player. I was not aware of this information before playing against him. When I asked Mas Jonah 'how good is he'? He answered "he is not so good" while he shook his head and curled his mouth to make it look like it would be an easy job for me.

So, we started to play for a little money, which was the first time during the fieldwork. They wanted us to play on the most difficult table (number 2). This match had serious consequences for the rest of my stay, in a positive way. I played my best game and won the match. First of all they were sure to categorize me as a handicap 7 player since I beat another handicap 7 player in a money game. Secondly, I was invited to talk with the boss of the pool center, Mas Milo, who directly wanted to become my sponsor and make me a player of the club which meant that he would pay for all the money games I wanted play in his pool center. Thirdly, I gained respect and it seemed this had influence on my social status as well because of the technical skills level that I had shown. The story went around in all pool centers in Yogyakarta and everywhere they knew about the European guy that won from a handicap 7 player from Surabaya, which shows how well interconnected the pool community is in Yogyakarta.

But, what does technical skill level mean to the rest of the people around the players and for the negotiation of masculinity? It is a fact that a player with a good technique can do certain things with the white ball regarding extreme spin, control, making difficult shots, and so on. It can be impressive to watch someone do things on a pool table that others are not capable of. Among some of my friends in the pool center, not all of them, there was this idea that men can impress girls with their technical skills, which in this case meant showing off. This would only be done in situations where there was nothing at stake, no gambling. When one plays in a tournament or a money game, players will not try to show off their skills. Than they just do what is necessary to win the game. I was a little sceptic about this idea of impressing girls with pool skills, it sounded like an old cliché to me. However, after a couple of weeks I got to know many people in Pool World including female players and girls who were hanging around sometimes with their boyfriends.

One of the female players I met was Mbak Colette from Bandung who is in her late twenties. She was visiting Yogyakarta to play pool, and Mas Jonah was the one who coached her. She was a really motivated player with not so much experience yet and well informed about the status quo of pool in Indonesia and the role of men and women in this sport.

Almost every day, when I came in Pool World in the afternoon, she would already be there. We would say hi and talk about our last activities. Her father is from the UK and her mother from

Indonesia. She spoke perfect English in contradiction to most people in the pool centers. She got really interested in the research I was doing and after a lot talks and hanging out in the pool centers we became good friends. She gave me new insights in the world of pool, from a different perspective on which I will elaborate on throughout the thesis.

One time when we were sitting on one of the couches near the entrance, close to the bar and the television, we started talking about this cliché I mentioned. She said “when I can’t beat him, he is more sexy”. So for her this cliché is true to some extent. The more technical skills a man has, the more attracted she was to him and the more masculine a man would be in her opinion. But, this would only add to a person’s attractiveness because she was also looking for a man who is handsome and nice to her. After that conversation I got a lot less skeptical about the fact that skill level meant something for a man’s attractiveness.

This idea about the higher the skill, the more masculine suggests that there is a gender hierarchy in which a person can be more masculine, or manly, in relation to another man (Gutmann 1997: 385-386). So, this hierarchy is partly created by the handicap system because the player is depending on this categorization that labels his or her skills.

3.2 Smart play: choice and calculating chance

Although the technical skills determine much of how good a player is, it is important to know that the level of proficiency of technique, or the technical skills, is not the only thing that makes someone the player who he is. Less technical skilled players can win from other players by playing smarter and by only doing what they can, which requires rational choices based on calculations of chance, self-awareness, trust, current form, and acknowledgement of one’s own skills.

In pool a distinction between offensive play and safety, or tactical, play can be made. There is also something as aggressive safety play, often referred to as playing a ‘two way shot’, which means a player will try to pocket a ball but keeps the cue ball in such a position that it would be safe in case he or she would miss. Safe in this case means positioning the cue ball in such a way your opponent is not able to hit the required ball directly. It basically is a way to defend yourself, or to prevent yourself, from losing the game by trying to make it as hard as possible for your opponent to take profit from his chance at the table. Tactical play in Yogyakarta is referred to as smart play, a good tactical player is referred to as a smart player.

I will not go into detail regarding situations on the pool table, but merely discuss how different kind of play is being perceived. I discussed the topic of tactical play with a few pool players, mostly men, but also with Mbak Colette. All discussions combined, led me to conclude this was a subject involved with a complex web of perceptions on smart tactical and aggressive play. Within this web of perceptions there is a role for one’s sex in relation to prejudices about women in pool and for the factor of time that a player takes for a shot.

One thing that came forward out of the conversations about the way of playing is that the

smarter someone plays the more masculine the player would be. This statement created a discussion in which people said things that were not adding up. So, it is considered to be masculine when one plays smart, which requires some thinking and therefore time. The slower someone plays, the less masculine it was, which is difficult to explain when someone is trying to play smart but also has to do it fast. Aggressive play was being considered as brave and masculine but it is not always the smartest way to play the game, unless your technical skills are on such a high level that a player can make every ball he needs to make. Safety play is often, but not always, a good option and a smart way to try to win a game from an opponent whose technical skills might be better than yours. But, safety play is considered feminine and something women do because they do not dare to shoot, or are not capable of making the difficult shots because their technical skills would not be proficient.

There are important reasons for this perception as Mbak Colette explained to me. Everybody I spoke to about this subject acknowledges that the skill level of female players is lower than of the male players. This conception is not only present in Yogyakarta but everywhere I have played. As a female player who is motivated to become a better player, Mbak Colette knows what kind of struggles and obstacles there are for female players to improve their skills and to break through in this sport that is dominated by men.

In Indonesia “there is less experience for women” according to Mbak Colette, because there are not so many opportunities for women to, for example, enter national tournaments. She argued that the lack of experience for women in pool creates pressure for the female players when they play against a male player. She also explained that the low amount of female players in Indonesia in relation to the amount of male players creates a form of pressure for women to show a male player what they are capable of. This would cause women to try to show off, try to do more than they are actually capable of, in order to try to make a statement about equality in capability. A playing strategy that is based on impressing others is often not the best strategy. It can help to put pressure on the opponent but one should take into account what they are capable of or they would lose a match by making too many mistakes. Mbak Colette says that “although they know they probably don’t make the shot, they will still try to make it” because “they want to do what men can do”.

Mbak Colette also mentioned “I want to become one of the guys, on the same level. I don’t want to impress, like other girls do, I want to play the game that men do”. This implies a distance between male and female skill level and a gender hierarchy in which men are on the top where women are fighting for their spot. On the other hand, there is a contradiction between her thoughts about masculinity, skill level and to what kind of man she is attracted to. When a man has a higher skill level, he is more attractive in her opinion but when she is talking about her own skills she wants to become as good as male players. So when she is getting a better player, will men be less attractive to her because she is then able to beat them?

Professional players are often called *athletes*. In Indonesia women athletes are often called *banci*-like because sport is something men used to do professionally. A person is called “banci” when

s/he appears androgynous in dress, physical features, or both, or behaves androgynously” (Oetomo in Aggleton et. Al. 2000: 48). Practicing sports professionally is thus seen as a form of androgynously behavior or as an androgynously activity for women. Women contesting these cultural values, women practicing sport professionally, is thus seen as masculine behavior. In chapter five I will elaborate on the subject of contesting values in relation to masculinity. It then will also become clear what the role of religion is in this discussion.

Becoming one of the men, as Mbak Colette formulated it, is not only about the technical and tactical skills. It is also about handling pressure and control over emotions, the mental skills necessary in pool.

3.3 The mental game: emotion and thoughts

Control over emotions is a masculine characteristic in Yogyakarta’s pool centers. Control over emotions and thoughts and handling pressure is just as important as technical and tactical skills. Control over emotion influences how confident a player can be in a situation of pressure which is of influence on the decision making process, which in its turn influences the outcome of a performance.

In pool the mental game is different from other sports such as football for example where one can directly reply to a mistake in order to regain control. When a mistake is made in pool, missing a shot for example, results in losing the turn. As a player you end up in a chair with all kinds of thoughts. ‘I should have done...’, ‘Why did I do this and that...’, and ‘Why didn’t I just do...’ are examples of thoughts that cross my mind regularly during a match. But, when it is your turn again you need to fully focus on the task at hand and forget about all the rest. During a match there are multiple moments like this. Therefore mental resiliency, or mental toughness, is very important in order to be able to fully concentrate during the next opportunity you might get. The summit for a pool player is to stop thinking, only focusing on the task of making the shot and positioning the white ball in the right place.

In Yogyakarta the mental game and the control of emotions is an important value which influences a players’ social status, the perceived total skill level, and masculinity. The summit of not thinking is very difficult, if not impossible. When one is thinking and creating certain emotions, it is positively valued when these are not shown. Especially if these emotions are negative feelings like frustration, disappointment, disbelieve or feeling like you want to give up, because these expressions can give the opponent more mental strength and make him feel more confident. Besides that it will disappoint sponsors, when these are involved in gambling for example, and who will lose faith.

Negative emotions in pool can manifest itself in many different ways. This includes speech, body language, gestures, and it can be reflected in the way a player is playing his game. In this paragraph I will focus on the mental aspect of emotions. In the next chapter I will elaborate on emotion in relation to body language.

All these negative emotions mostly come forth out of making a mistake, which seems obvious

to me since I assume a player will not get frustrated by making good shots. Although the discussion about the global understanding of emotions and how these are expressed is very interesting I will not go into detail about this subject. The discussion about emotions in this research is especially of interest in relation to the explanation of the influence of emotions on social status, masculinity and social relations within the pool centers in Yogyakarta.

The mental game is not only about negative emotions, it is also about controlling the feeling of pressure. Not showing you are nervous is very important because it can be seen as a weakness that can make your opponent stronger. Another example of how a player can betray his mental condition can be reflected in the way one is sitting in his chair, sitting up straight or hanging a little bored in the chair for example.

Emotional self-control, the performance and the hiding of emotions, has consequences for the social relations of pool players in Yogyakarta. The role of gambling in this case is an important one. There is one factor that is always included in gambling, pressure. To become a good player and make a good performance in a tournament you must be able to handle pressure. Gambling is a way to create a setting in which this pressure of a tournament is being simulated. Gambling is often used in this way for training purposes but there are also people trying to make a living out of pool through gambling. I will elaborate on this subject in chapter five.

When a player gets frustrated he must be able not to show it in order to make others believe he is in total control of himself so that sponsors for example keep faith and his opponent will not see any sign of weakness so that he will not get stronger by your loss of control. This means you need to keep a poker face, do not make gestures or say things that would imply you are frustrated. But, this will not always be appreciated by the sponsors because they want you to care because you play with their money.

Mbak Colette mentioned that the better a player can handle pressure and control his emotions, the more masculine he would be. This is not only the perception of Mbak Colette but from almost every pool player present in Pool World, which were mostly males. It looks like if it is the degree of difficulty of a skill and the skill level that determines the degree of masculinity.

In order to explain this phenomenon I will share one of my own experiences through which I got to understand the value of the mental game in Yogyakarta's pool centers. As a European white guy with an orange beard that is considered to be a good player, I got a lot of attention during my fieldwork whether I touched my cue or not. I sometimes found it emotionally intensive since I spend six to twelve hours per day in pool centers without any moment of privacy or rest from social interaction.

There were mostly 20 to 40 people watching the money games and I played partly with someone else's money which created pressure for me. The situation in itself was not new to me, but the setting was. I did not know the sponsors that well, there were more people watching than what I was normally used to, the tables were different, it was incredibly warm and humid, and emotional self-

control was of high value. All these factors did make me play out of my comfort zone which in the end was also a great personal lesson.

One time I was playing, with sponsors, against Mas Andy who visited Yogyakarta for the eight-ball tournament that would start the next day. He is in his mid-thirties and very tall for an Indonesian man, about 190 centimeter tall. We played two sets of nine-ball. I won the first one and lost the second one. The second match was for twice the amount of money of the first match so everything added up I was trailing moneywise. So, I wanted to play another set, for double the amount of the second set but then I wanted to play eight-ball, which is the game that would be played in the tournament the next day, because I did not feel comfortable to continue with nine-ball. At that time I was already frustrated because the negotiations took a long time. I suggested that we would play for our own money since the sponsors of Mas Andy were not willing to participate in the betting when we were going to play eight-ball because most players are not familiar with eight-ball. This resulted in low faith in winning a bet on an eight-ball game.

Mas Andy could not play with his own money. He did not want to tell it to me face to face but he explained it to Mas Heart who was a friend of both of us. Mas heart told me “I am a good friend of Mas Andy, and of you, and he asks me to tell you, as player to player and I think you will understand, that he really wants to play but he does not have money of his own to play for such an amount of money”. After this the negotiations ended and we did not play another set. In the end there were no hard feelings at all and we enjoyed ourselves the rest of the night at Pool World.

This loss of temper of me resulted in me degrading in social status. It also made the sponsors quit sponsoring me for that day. Mas Gusta, the promotor of the money game, told me to relax. There was “No problem. Tonight just relax and play again tomorrow”. It was no problem for the sponsor that I lost that match and their money. The problem was that they thought my frustration would be in my way to win another match that night. It is most important for the players to have absolute emotional self- control because this is the only way they will keep their sponsors. Until a certain level it does not matter if you win or lose as long as you show heart, keep trying the best you can.

I noticed that all players, when playing under pressure of a money game or a tournament, were controlling the mental game very well. Almost none of them showed a lot of emotion, or tilted and gave up any hope. The overall feeling I got, which is completely subjective and based on my observations, when I was among the players was that they seemed to be good fighters. Of course, emotions are shown but only in mild forms and suggests a great resiliency, which impressed me. This made me think that in some way emotions, and the expression of emotion, are not merely individual feelings created by individual stimuli but also constructed by social norms. Emotion is therefore not understood as bodily agitation that takes place in the brain as it is being perceived in the psychological discipline. In light of constructivism “emotions are not considered to be universal among humans. Not only does the emotional content of a situation change according to cultural context, but the actual emotional experience is learned and social” (Tarlow 2012: 170). As Tarlow argues it is hard to:

“place the work of any individual at the far ends of the spectrum. The majority of writers on emotion recognize to some degree that emotions are both biological and cultural. The difference tends to be in what they see as more interesting and in need of exploration, and the potential problem is in continuing to think about emotion in polarized and binary terms despite acknowledging the limitations of doing so” (Ibid.: 171).

I tend to say that the explanation for emotions, the learning of emotions, and the expression of them is a social process in which human beings are being taught how to feel in a certain situation and how to express these feelings. On the other hand, there are emotions that are globally understood which might imply emotion would not merely depend on a social learning process.

The question is, how can this discussion about emotion be interesting in relation to the negotiation of masculinity? Expressions are a performance and embodiment of emotions that are formed by social norms. Csordas (1990: 35) argues that the paradigm of embodiment, in which a duality between subject and object is assumed, need to be breached in order to research cultural constructed objects. Meaning, in this case, that body and mind cannot be separated. According to Csordas (1990) the study of emotion and perception has to be linked to that of social practice.

So, how one sees, and acts in, a certain situation is based on how one feels and how one feels is constructed through a social learning process. What others think influences how one acts. Agency is an important factor in this discussion because people not always act according to the social norms that are set. The individual can always decide to get angry and throw his cue away for example but it is the fear for losing social status and sponsors that will keep them from doing it. I think that it is also of importance what the individual motivations and expectations of a player are. This will for a big part determine how a player will feel about his performance.

3.5 Concluding on skills, social status, and masculinity

In the game of pool it is necessary to have a good technique, hand eye coordination, to keep control over emotions, and to play smart in order to improve the chance of winning. The higher the skill level, the more masculine a player is being perceived and the higher social status is ascribed to a player. It also seems that the harder it is to learn and internalize a certain skill, the more masculine it is when one is able to acquire the skill. The goal of a player’s performance during a match is consciously focused on winning, playing high level, smart, and control emotions, but is at the same time an unconscious performance of masculinity if these skills are well performed. Although one can also perform masculinity consciously as Mbak Colette has showed in the way she wants to make a statement about the position and capabilities of female pool players while she is playing a match.

I hereby shortly want to revisit Csordas (1990) who argues that body and mind cannot be separated in order to break with the paradigm of embodiment in which a subject-object duality is assumed. All examples of skills, emotions, and how this influences social status and the negotiation of

masculinity show that the body and mind indeed cannot be separated in the analysis of perception and practice, in this case of masculinity. In this way it is possible to understand how cultural objects such as selves are constituted (Ibid.: 40).

According to Bourdieu (1990: 53) bodily capital is acquired unconsciously through external factors. The example of a pool player consciously emphasizing his smooth technique contradicts with this argument. The thought about a smooth technique being masculine however is unconsciously being obtained through external factors. At the same time this example shows that gender is indeed multi-dimensional and socially reproduced. It is a process in which the body and mind have a great deal of agency which shows that gender, and the embodiment of it, is not only unconsciously formed through external factors (Connell 2009: 11).

Examples in this chapter show that habit, or habitus, is not a static entity as it is described as such by Bourdieu (1990: 53) in his essay about 'sport and social class'. This is why Besnier & Brownell (2012: 449-450) prefer to use the concept of body culture because in this way the body is being contextualized in local meaning. Noble and Watkins (2003: 525) emphasize that habitus is capable of acquisition (learning the pool technique and shared meaning about masculine characteristics), reproduction (performing the technique and teaching it to someone else), position taking (A player emphasizing his/her smooth technique because it is masculine which also shows he or she has agency in this process), and generativity (a certain personalized technique is being developed).

As is shown by Mas Jonah, it is possible to consciously retool the body with new bodily techniques through extensive training by going through the process of "habituation" (Noble & Watkins 2003: 535). During this process the body internalizes technique and behavioral aspects, a code of conduct, and aspects of the mental game for example, so that the performance of these aspects becomes automatism within the social environment in the form of a pool center, in which they are supposed to be executed.

Chapter 4

'Real men': possessing and performing masculinity

"When you drive this kind of motorbike people will not bother you, they'll leave you alone"

(Mas Heart)

"I think men look more handsome when they wear Batik" (Mbak Colette)

"You need to go to the flower market" (Mas Mahasiswa)

Manhood is not only determined by skill level and the social status obtained through these skills which is why I in this chapter will explain how material and other non-material characteristics are of influence in the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers. People acquire manhood through possessions and through performances, consciously or unconsciously. Possession of certain attributes is at the same time a representation of wealth and social class which indirectly links wealth and social status to manhood as I will show throughout this chapter.

In light of the non-material characteristics of masculinity I will discuss language, speech, subjects of conversations, cultural values, and body language of pool players. I will elaborate on how certain ways of talking and expressing emotion are being perceived and contribute to the understanding of masculinity. Some of the non-material characteristics labeled as masculine are of unconscious nature which is why I will argue that it is not a performance but rather an act of habit.

4.1 Respect and social hierarchy in Yogyakarta's society embedded in language

Yogyakarta's society is a society in which social status and social hierarchies are strongly present. This manifests itself in speech and language for example. Within Yogyakarta different languages are spoken. There is Bahasa Indonesia which is the national language and is one of the simplest languages to learn since there is almost no grammar and no past tense. Within this language there is a formal and informal way of speaking. Formal Bahasa Indonesia is mostly spoken to people from the government or other authorities, elderly, or people you are not familiar with. It is a form of showing respect. Although it is the national language, not everybody understands or speaks this language. Next to Bahasa Indonesia, there is Bahasa Jawa. This is a language that consists of three different levels that are considered to be 'low', 'middle', and 'high' Bahasa Jawa, or respectively *Ngoko*, *Madia*, and *Kromo*. High Bahasa Jawa is also the most difficult language, as low Javanese is the easiest. *Kromo* is associated with high social status. People of high social status will speak low Javanese to people with

a lower status and people from lower status will reply in high Javanese to people with higher status. In this way social hierarchy in society is reflected in the form of language people speak to each other.

Gestures are, in the case of showing respect to others, of great importance. When one needs to pass people who are talking to each other, for example, it is appreciated when one slightly bows his head and body. A gesture during this movement has to be made in which the right hand is placed behind your (lower) back and the left hand in front of you. While doing this one have to say “*permissi*” in Bahasa Indonesia or “*kulo nuwun*” in Bahasa Jawa. By saying this you ask, in a very polite way, permission to pass while you shortly interfere their conversation. Do this combination of gestures and speech with a smile on your face and people are totally satisfied with the way you will pass them. Especially when it is done by a European guy like me because with these gestures and words I show that I respect them and that I am aware of the customs used in Yogyakarta. As I learned more of these courtesies I started to use them which was appreciated by many. I was often called a humble man because I showed respect to every person I spoke to whether they were old or young, had a high or low social status, or were highly or low skilled players which created a form of trust and mutual respect. This was a vital part to get people to talk to me.

It is this respect that is embedded in the society that makes pool players emphasize respect in the pool centers. Players need to respect a sort of unwritten code of conduct that is similar to the one written by the WPBA (Women’s Professional Billiard Association 2016: 19). It is a general etiquette in pool not to do anything that distracts or discredits the other in a match. As far as I have seen people in Indonesian have a great deal of respect for each other and I have not seen anybody violating the general code of conduct. There were never any arguments or situations that got out of hand.

4.2 The cultural values of honesty and respect in pool centers

These social hierarchies that are strongly present and visible in Yogyakarta’s society are reflected in the cultural values that are of importance in pool centers. Honesty and respect were mentioned multiple times during my free listing method, which I did in order to get a general understanding of what is associated with masculinity in pool centers. These values need not only to be understood within the sport itself. To understand where these values come from pool and gambling must be placed in context of Yogyakarta’s society.

Both pool and gambling is mostly done by men in a society that is familiar with corruption. It seems to be a normal daily business that people in positions of power misuse their power, of which everybody is aware but their voice cannot overrule the voice of the ones in power. This is where I want to make the link between masculinity, being honest, and showing respect to others. The ones in power, as far as I have seen, are mostly men playing games of exercising power over others and making money out of it. This is not only the case with the police for example, but also in the Indonesian federation of pool as Mas Gusta had explained. It is because of this daily visible corruption that honesty and respect are being emphasized as masculine among the pool players. They experience

the corruption within the federation themselves by, for example, being excluded from open national tournaments for no valid reason by directors of the pool federation as I have made clear in paragraph 2.5.

When one relates these values of honesty and respect to the game of pool it actually means that fair play is a masculine characteristic. In Mas Gusta's opinion being honest is part of masculinity, and being a 'man', in a society that is familiar with corruption that he is experiencing himself at his work at the pool federation. Another argument he brought up is that the aspect of showing respect to others, especially to women, is part of being a man because he noticed that many men often do not respect women, both in the pool scene as in general in society. The way I perceive the way Mas Gusta perceives masculinity is that a man has to behave himself like what I would describe, a gentleman respecting cultural values.

Arjun Appadurai (2005: 3) argues that cricket was a typical masculine sport and had a code of conduct in which sportsmanship, fair play, control over emotions, and unquestioned loyalty to the team were essential. When these aspects of masculinity in cricket are compared with pool there are a lot of similarities. Fair play and thorough control over expression are definitely considered to be masculine in pool in Yogyakarta as Mas Gusta has explained. Pool is an individual sport¹ but there is a form of loyalty, that requires honesty towards oneself and towards a dynamic team of sponsors that invest money in a player. A player that keeps showing heart to win a match, is being honest towards him/herself as a player and shows loyalty towards the sponsors.

In this way loyalty will influence a player's social status because keep showing heart is considered to be one of the masculine mental skills of pool. It not only influences social status but also social relationships with sponsors. When no loyalty and perseverance from the player is shown towards the sponsors it is possible that the sponsors will eventually quit sponsoring the player, just like when I lost my temper during a match.

4.3 Non-material characteristics of masculinity

In this paragraph I would like to elaborate on characteristics of non-material nature such as certain activities, speech, and bodily movements that play a role in the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers in Yogyakarta.

Pool in itself is perceived as a masculine activity. Pool has a dark image in many people's minds in Yogyakarta. Most men therefore do not like it when their girlfriend, wife, or daughter goes to these places because of this image. Many parents, of the pool players I met, do not like it when their son or daughter is playing pool, especially when they have not finished their study yet. A lot of the

¹ Team competition in pool also exists. In Europe there are countries that have a club competition like many other sports do such as football. In Indonesia there is not such a competition between clubs where people play in teams. There are however provincial selections where the best players of the province can become a part of to represent their province on a national level. In this research and data analysis I will stick to pool as an individual sport.

players I talked to were students, but even guys above the 30 years old who already finished their study, did not tell their parents they were playing pool. In most cases these men were still living at their parents' house whether it was for financial or practical reasons. I wondered how they explain at home where they have been because most of these students were at Pool World seven days a week until closing time.

Mas Mahasiswa told me that he tells his parents he always studies until late at night at the university campus. The fact that mostly men visit pool centers and disagree, or even forbid, women to go to these centers shows the inherently political nature of gender, as is argued by Connell (2009: 7), in which power is mainly related to manhood in this context. Men are allowed to go to desecrated places such as pool centers but forbid others to go.

As I have tried to show in chapter two is that religion, gambling, and alcohol play a role in the bad image of pool among people in Yogyakarta. In this way these factors are contributing to making the students lie to their parents about their identity as a pool player because an association to *haram* activities is not tolerated.

Because of this image, pool players have an identity perceived as bad, or at least an identity that has a negative lading to it. The question I asked myself was if this is what pool makes a masculine activity? Is it the bad image of pool, and the illegality of gambling both in religion and law, that makes pool a masculine activity although pool is developing towards a professional sport? To some extend I indeed think it is indeed this negative image of pool, in context of Yogyakarta's society, that makes it a masculine activity.

Although there are still many obstacles for women to overcome, as Mbak Colette has explained, there is a process going on in which this image is changing slowly. This can be seen at the fact that there were girls and women present in Pool World almost every day, although there were still many more men than women. Next to that there are women only tournaments throughout Indonesia, a national women team representing Indonesia internationally, and Mas Jonah is now coaching Mbak Colette for example.

Although there is a great amount of agency involved in this process of women becoming regular customers in pool centers and in becoming professional pool players, it is difficult for them. Women have to overcome the limitations that are set in the social structure in which they have to act according to certain presumed standards.

4.3.1 Going to the 'flower market': speech and subjects of conversation

I hung out many nights with different people in Pool World talking about whatever came to mind. The main subject of conversation was pool. Sometimes it seemed like they could not talk about anything else, as if they inhale and breathe out pool with every breath they took. Speech is one of the things I think is important in the negotiation of manhood in pool centers.

Me, being a white European man with an orange beard during the time of my fieldwork,

unfortunately, played an important role in the subject of speech. In Yogyakarta the stereotype of the white rich handsome man is alive among many people, almost all. I found it fairly annoying that people were often interested in me because I was white. Women, or other men would do it for them, often made clear that they were attracted to me but probably for the wrong reasons related to the stereotype. One of my friends from Solo told me Indonesian women feel attracted to white men because they think they are always rich and will give them a good future which I personally experienced as a little disturbing. It happened that a girl was telling me I was the man of her dreams and she wanted to marry me, which I politely tried to reject.

Women were a central theme in my conversations with male as well as with female pool players, which I labeled as masculine speech. Beside the two subjects of women and pool, food always found its way through conversations. When I was talking to male players, many would ask if I already had a girlfriend, if not, I should find one. They often said “I will find a girl for you” or “you need a girl to play with”. Mas Mahasiswa was even joked “you should go to the flower market” which was obviously not a market where you go to, to buy flowers. The flower market is a synonym for a brothel-like place.

A few of the men I spoke to even had two phones of which one for their girlfriend and another for other women who they wanted to chat or date with. “For Muslim men, for instance, sex with women outside marriage is considered *zinah* (adulterous)” (Oetomo in Aggleton et. Al. 2000: 49). This creates tension in the debate about masculine characteristics because on the one hand it is masculine to have a girl and other girls you date with but on the other hand, this is a way of disrespecting your girlfriend or wife. Honesty and respect were not only mentioned in the context of pool towards your opponent, but also in relation to daily life and women, by Mas Gusta for example.

I noticed that besides the subjects of conversations that I labeled as masculine, there was an important difference in the way people talk, or actually how they use volume in different situations. When players have respect for someone, mostly older people and the boss of Pool World, they tend to speak softer or more modest. When the younger people talk to each other it is often louder, or a more exuberant way of interaction in which bragging is not uncommon. Bragging and loud interaction is mostly done by men in Pool World. Women can, of course, also be exuberant in their acting but I noticed that it is more uncommon. Also in these observations I see a social hierarchy in which power relations are influencing behavior, in this case speech. It seems that older people have more power over younger people and men more power over women when we talk about speech.

However, when young people play pool with each other they can be loud, but also when they are playing with older people. In this way playing the game of pool allows people to transcend social boundaries that are existing off the pool table. This is only the case when they are playing for fun. When they are playing a serious game for money or a tournament the unwritten rules for a pool match will apply again. In this situation it also does not matter if you are a men or women, old or young, but it is about following the pool etiquettes which obliges you to stick to the code of conduct.

4.3.2 Body language in pool centers

Body movements and facial expressions of pool players can say something about them, about what they think and feel. It is like Michael Phelan already said in 1850: “To the physiognomist and the silent observer of human nature, there is no game that more thoroughly discloses the various dispositions of men than Billiards” (Phelan 1850: 8). ‘Reading’ a player is an important part of the mental game in pool, as I have argued before in paragraph 3.3, in which a sign of weakness of an opponent can help you to gain confidence.

But, it is not only these gestures that can make one tell everything about the dispositions of men. Interviews and other observations, in combination with knowledge about the game of pool, about the context need to be made in order to understand these gestures and expressions. Without knowing what is going on, on the pool table, one can understand less about how a player *might* feel and what kind of person he or she is solely based on observation. This is also the reason why my knowledge, experience, and participation in this research was of great value. If one would solely base such statements on observations about how people are, it would create the same limitations, or critique, that is being expressed about the interpretive approach Clifford Geertz (1972) used in describing the symbolism of the Balinese cockfights.

The players often made gestures with their hands in combination with facial expressions that would express their frustration, amazement, satisfaction or joy. Various dispositions of people could indeed be assessed by these gestures, although they were often expressed in a modest way and not “as if they had become possessed of something to which they were not entitled” (Phelan 1850: 12). Just like satisfaction was not vented in “loud and gasconading exclamations; implying thereby their superior qualifications to play” or “to throw themselves into all sorts of strange attitudes, flourishing their cues in such a manner, that the eyes or face of a spectator are in extreme peril” (Ibid.). During match play people tended to be more gentlemanly, or at least more modest, than when people play for fun. Then these expression tended to be more exuberantly.

Expressions of amazement, related to pool, were often made in situations of (bad) luck and bad execution of a shot. This was often done by swinging a hand or cue in the air, or by pointing to one of the balls involved in the shot, while at the same time the eyes were made a little bigger to emphasize their disbelief. Disbelief or frustration was also often expressed by an insincere smile. Sometimes a player would mumble something if he missed a shot or when something happened that he did not planned, but I was not able to hear and understand what they said. Expressions in a situation where a player was fortunate in the outcome of a shot, people would smile and make a comment about it. When a shot is excellently executed people would clap.

Someone can also read the face of someone who is trying to avoid expressing something, trying to keep a ‘poker face’. When someone has a good poker face you might not have a clue about what how someone is feeling. Despite the fact that people try to keep a poker face, tension can often still be read from the face because the cheek muscles are tense. As argued in chapter three the better

someone can control his emotions, the more masculine. I perceive these bodily expressions as an extension of emotion. So, when someone is highly skilled in the mental game he would express as little as possible trying to not give the opponent any hope by showing weakness.

4.4 Material representations of masculinity and social class

Next to the language, speech, values, and code of conduct there are several material characteristics and the possession of certain attributes that contribute to being a 'real man', as it was often referred to.

The first night in Pool World I was invited to meet with the boss, Mas Milo, of Pool World because he wanted me to offer his sponsorship and make me a player of his club which meant he would pay every money game I would play in his club. It did not matter how high the stakes would be. He told me "you don't have to worry about the money, just play". At first they did not want to tell me for how much I would be playing against someone. The reason behind it was that I would not be distracted or get nervous by the amount of money I would be playing for. In that situation I just have to focus on my game and winning. I would get 20% of the profit. I started wondering how I would be able to know if they would not cheat on me. I cannot know how much 20% of an unknown amount of money is. However, every time I played a money game I was aware of the amount of money so I did not have to worry about that anymore.

Mas Milo offered me this sponsorship because I won from the handicap 7 player from Surabaya and he thought I was good enough to make some money for him. The minute I saw him I noticed a strong difference between his appearance and that of others, it was more tense and people showed him a lot of respect. He was a tall Chinese man and his facial expressions showed seriousness. He did not laugh as much as other people in the pool center but when I got to know him a little better he was a very nice and mild man.

Mas Milo was wearing a watch and a special kind of ring, *batu akik*, that was looking fancy. Jewelry is one of the material things that can be perceived as a representation of manhood, such as the batu akik rings that have a big agate stone in it. There are many different kind of stones that are being used for these rings in varies price ranges. They occur in different colors and patterns with different meanings attached to it. The ring Mas Milo was wearing had a big red colored stone. I am not sure what stone it was but one of the possibilities it was 'The red rafflesia', "that resembles the colour of *Rafflesia arnoldii*, Indonesia's National Flower" (Palilingan 2015). Another possibility is that it was *Bacan Obi*, a red stone in the most desired *Batu Bacan* category that are found in the Maluku Islands. I noticed that only older man and the more richer people wear the batu akik rings. Wearing these rings represents a high social class. The more special the stone, the higher the price and the more wealth is being represented by wearing it. These stones not only represent social class but in some cases there are mystical meanings attached to them such as the *Batu Badar* stones that "could ward off bad lucks and black magic" (Ibid.).

In Pool World there were two other people who I often saw wearing this kind of ring. One of

them was a fortunate business man and the other one was Pak Danu who enjoys a lot of respect through his three world championship titles. He is considered to be a legend in Yogyakarta and probably also in other places of the world. His big ring could not be missed. It was really big and consisted of the design of Yin Yang, which is a Chinese symbol representing the believe that nature consists of two forces that are opposites but complementary.

Cues are also an attribute through which social class or status can be represented. There are many brands of cues nowadays with different design, different kinds of wood and inlays of natural stones and ivory among other materials. Prices can differ from twenty dollars (around 300.000 Rupiah) up to 25.000 dollar (375 million Rupiah) and some special cues can cost even more. The more expensive the cue the more wealth is represented. In pool it is common that cue brands sponsor players and give them a cue for free. In that case it does not represent wealth but more social status of a pool player. Only high skilled pool players are often able to acquire such a sponsorship. So what a cue represents differs from the way it is obtained.

4.4.1 The attractiveness and neatness of batik

Clothes, especially traditional clothing, are next to jewelry also subject to the representation of social class and wealth, but also to attractiveness as I will illustrate in this paragraph. Batik is an important aspect in relation to representations and carrying out certain characteristics.

Batik is an old form of art, existing since the 1800s, which is highly developed in Indonesia. The art designs consist of many different patterns and natural colors that have their own different meanings. Particular patterns are associated with certain festivals or ceremonies such as a wedding. Batik used to represent a form of hierarchy. A person's rank could be determined by the pattern of the batik he or she wore (Kerlogue 2005: 191). Batik can be divided in roughly two categories of geometric motifs and free form designs. After the independence declaration of Indonesia in 1945 President Soekarno has encouraged the creation of a new form of batik, batik Indonesia. Modern batik, or batik Indonesia, still has ties to the traditional form of creating Batik but uses more chemicals instead of natural dyes as is being done in the traditional Batik. Wearing this form of art is perceived as a representation of manhood. As several people, Mbak Colette among others, said to me “men look handsome when they are wearing Batik”, or “he will look handsome”.

In Indonesia there is a formal and informal way of clothing. Informal clothing mostly consists of shorts, a normal t-shirt and slippers. Long jeans, closed shoes, and a shirt with a collar is considered formal. In formal occasions such as a wedding, funeral, or a government meeting, a Batik shirt will be highly appreciated and is a sign of respect. Unfortunately a good friend of Mas Gusta, and many others in the pool community, who was a respected tournament leader, deceased. Mas Gusta had a difficult time the weeks after and was not as happy and inspiring as he was before because he was grieving. Many pool players attended the funeral and afterwards they came to Pool World. Most of them were still wearing their batik clothes from the funeral ceremony.

4.4.2 'Real man'

“There is a saying in Java: ‘A man is considered to be a real man if he has a house, a wife, a horse, a dagger and a bird’” (New York Times 2015).

Before I went to Indonesia I have read an article in the New York Times that stated the above. I remembered this article during fieldwork and it gave me the incentive to ask about these things in order to understand until what extent this perception of a real man is being perceived as such in Yogyakarta. I wondered if this is part of pool players perception of masculinity and how this is connected to the negotiation of masculinity in the pool centers. The only two things that came forth from the many conversations I have had were that keeping birds was a hobby that was mainly maintained by men and having a wife or girlfriend was perceived as a masculine characteristic. No one talked about horses, daggers, or even possessing a house as part of being a real man. Many of the pool players would live in a *kost*, a one room apartment, or at their parents' house which is a normal thing in Yogyakarta as was told to me by many of the participants in this research. They did not spoke about having a house, or a real men should have a house for himself and his family.

The article also stated that birds are the most popular pet in Indonesia and that birds are seen as living art objects, or as object of good luck. The national affection of birds led to a threat for extinction of some species since there are several threatened species sold in many different bird markets. During my time in Yogyakarta I have learned that the birds' species represents social class and wealth, as does the cage in which the bird is being placed. The more special the species, the more it costs, the more wealth and higher social class is reflected by possessing such as bird. The same accounts for the cage. When it is a handcrafted wooden cage it would represent more wealth than a simple iron cage. The bigger the cage, the more wealth is represented because those are more expensive than the smaller ones.

Although I could not confirm everything that was stated by the New York Times (2015) about a real man, there were however other things mentioned that I found interesting in relation to what is perceived as manhood. One that was frequently mentioned was the mode of transport. Yogyakarta is a city full of students, since the best and largest government owned university, the Universitas Gadjah Madah, is located in this city. Most of the students and other people living in Yogyakarta drive an automatic scooter with which you do not need to shift gears. It is just a matter of opening the throttle, steering and braking which is are rather simple proceedings. There were also manual scooters that, obviously, required shifting gears in order to be able to drive. There were many strong expressions about this difference in scooters. A man should drive a manual scooter, or even better a motor cycle which is even cooler for a man. There is also a difference being made between the type or brand of the motor. Mas Heart is, next to being an enthusiastic pool player, a passionate motorcyclist who joins a

motor fan club called the 'TGR Squad', or the 'RX King Community', with his friends. He told me that he drives a Yamaha RX King that he calls "Sang Raja" meaning 'The King' or freely translated 'the king of the road'. He said that "when you drive this kind of motorbike people will not bother you, they will leave you alone". The reason for this is that this type of bike is associated with gangsters, criminals, fear and robbery.

In the category mode of transport the possession of a car is a symbol of wealth and a representation of social class. A car in Yogyakarta is probably the most impractical vehicle to travel with, at least in daylight, when one travels through the city. For longer distances to somewhere outside the city and taking a lot of stuff for example, a car is of course convenient but it is mainly seen as a representation of wealth. This is an important detail in relation to perceived masculinity in relation to social status in Yogyakarta.

These material possessions mentioned in this paragraph are a form of presenting wealth and thereby social class to others which people tend to do whenever they can in Yogyakarta. Mas Heart gave me a beautiful example about what he called "Indonesian pride". He told me that when an Indonesian man is offered a car for a certain price that is actually too high, he will still buy the car for that price just to show that he can to show off his wealth, although he could easily get a lower price through negotiation.

4.5 Bodily characteristics were not often mentioned

Every person perceives things, such as gender, with a bias whether they like it or not. I had my own thoughts about masculinity and want to compare these in this paragraph with what I have learned during my fieldwork about what people in Yogyakarta perceive as masculine. Although I agree upon the values, respect and honesty, emphasized by Mas Gusta, the code of conduct, and control over emotions I found one specific thing surprising.

My thoughts about masculinity, that were not mentioned by the people I spoke to, also include bodily characteristics, such as muscular bodies, beards, and tattoos for example. Only once a pool player mentioned he thought my beard was cool and very masculine. Indonesian men do, in general, not have a lot of facial hair, which might be a reason that this is not part of the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers in Yogyakarta. Social status and behavior are more important factors in this negotiation than bodily characteristics.

During some conversations I would come back on the subject of 'real men'. The first time I used these words, which were actually not the words I wanted to use but I guess my own habits and way of thinking got the better of me, people thought I was comparing heterosexual men with gay men. So, by accident I got insight in, a part of, the shared web of meaning about masculinity. Manhood thus also means being straight, heterosexual.

4.6 Concluding on material and non-material masculinity

As I have tried to show through my examples is that there are material and non-material characteristics that are related to the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers. These masculine characteristics are perceived as masculine because people have created a shared web of meaning about the understanding of manhood. Through material objects people can acquire manhood and consciously emphasize a characteristic by wearing *batu akik* or *batik*, or by driving the RX King for example. Possessing things is interwoven with a representation of social class and wealth which is why social class and wealth are part of the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers. It is often the case that the more difficult something is, such as driving a manual motorbike instead of an automatic one, the more masculine it is when one is able to acquire the skill. So, this not only accounts for pool and pool techniques but also for other things in daily life in Yogyakarta's society.

Showing respect, one of the cultural values in Yogyakarta's society, to others is expressed through a specific form of speech and language which is what many people have learned when they were growing up in this social structure as it is. Although it is a habit, it is at the same time a conscious performance in which certain words and gestures are being made, a conscious habitual performance.

Masculinity is also often also associated with 'cool' things, danger and fear (the associations made with the RX King motorbikes). Being a good or a bad Muslim is, to follow a parallel line of reasoning used in chapter three, is another illustration of habitus not being a static entity. The possession of two phones is an example of this. Men acquire religious values, of not cheating on their wife for example, but eventually choose (position taking) to contest these values because in another shared web of meaning that is created among men it is *zinah* to have another girl (Oetomo in Aggleton et. Al. 2000: 49). Having two phones is a material representation of this form of manhood. Again, a form of agency and consciousness is shown in the process of habituation (Noble & Watkins 2003: 535).

On the other hand, it is not considered masculine when one contests cultural values such as honesty and respect during work, at the POBSI for example as Mas Gusta emphasizes, or while playing pool, which makes the process of becoming (masculine) a complex development with contradictory meanings of the act contesting values. In order to understand this complex web of meaning it is necessary to place them into context as I have tried to do here, and will do in the next chapter as well.

Chapter 5

Gambling: contesting religion and legislation to create pressure, practice skills, and to have fun

“I don’t do side bets, only when there is a really big chance to win because side bets only gives pressure in the heart. You do not play, so there is no personal progress” (Mas Gusta)

“I just want to see good players play against each other” (Mas Bisnis)

“Money is not a blessing” (Mas Mahasiswa)

In this chapter gambling is at the center of attention because the act of gambling is seen as contesting Islamic values and national legislation which in its turn causes gambling to be perceived as a masculine activity and therefore is part of the negotiation of masculinity in pool centers. I will argue gambling is not solely an individual and isolating activity but an activity capable of creating social intercourse and shared meaning. That gambling is capable of creating social intercourse in pool centers is reflected in the fact that there many people are involved in a money game. That it is capable of creating a web of shared meaning is reflected by the social, spatial, and temporal boundaries created by a money game (gambling) that in its turn create a stage for players to perform. It is also reflected by the collective understanding what is meant by ‘big’ and ‘small’ money, and the difference in purpose of playing for ‘big’ or ‘small’ money.

Gambling is an activity, historically, interwoven with pool which is why I will start this chapter with a short historical overview of gambling in Indonesia. This overview helps to understand the secrecy that is involved in gambling in pool centers due to the illegitimate nature of the activity. Because gambling is forbidden by law and *haram* but at the same time socially accepted by many in society, friction is created between society, religious groups, and the government. I feel the urge to emphasize that I only use Islam in relation to gambling and other *haram* activities such as alcohol, smoking, and praying because these were the things that were often brought up by people in the pool centers in relation to religion.

After elaborating on secrecy and contesting religion and legislation through the act of gambling I will provide an overview of motivations and justifications of people to gamble and how that is linked to masculinity. In addition, different approaches of people who do not gamble are given. Arguments are of both religious and non-religious nature.

5.1 Gambling in Indonesia

“The ban on gambling was justified by the state on urgent humanitarian grounds: the vice of gambling drugged the little people [wong cilik], pushing them into poverty, infecting their youth and leading them away from the path of Islam” (Baker 2012: 212).

This quote is about the most recent ban of gambling in Indonesia in the 1970s. Gambling in Java was part of cultures and traditions. It was especially popular at public events and weddings. It knows a long history that started hundreds of years ago. Early forms of gambling would consist of animals or insects fighting against each other where people would wager on the outcome of the fight, like a buffalo against a Javanese tiger or cockfights. These cockfights are considered to be a tradition and are still popular, especially in Bali. Other early games were boat races, kite fighting, and guessing how many seeds were held in the hands of two or more people (Simson 2011). New games were introduced when Chinese migrants came to Indonesia like coin and card games.

Things started to change when Islam was starting to find its way into society around the 1500s (Ibid.). Gambling was banned by several sultans although there were other leaders of society who did not (Simson 2011). Muslim traders had already been present in several parts of Indonesia centuries before Islam became an established religion for local communities (Ricklefs 2001: 22). When the conversion to Islam exactly took place for what reasons is debated by multiple scholars but a definite conclusion cannot be drawn due to lack of data. Ricklefs (Ibid.) provides two general processes that could have occurred, the first one being that Indonesians came in contact with Islam, probably through the Muslim traders and eventually converted. The second process is involved with foreign Muslim Asians who settled permanently in Indonesia, adopted a local lifestyle, married with Indonesians and started families who were taught to be Muslim.

Through time legislation was tugging back and forth regarding gambling. When the Dutch occupied Indonesia in the early 1600s gambling became a legal activity again and was taxed, 21%. For a short period of time the British took over the ruling of most of Indonesia in 1811 until 1816 (Ibid.: 150) and banned gambling again, although there was a state lottery (Simpson 2011). After that the Dutch regained power and re-legalized gambling. In 1926 the traditional cockfights would appear to have some negative effects and were banned.

After Indonesia was declared independent on the 17th of August 1945, and the Dutch recognition of it in 1949, the Indonesian government unofficially allowed gambling under provincial regulation to gain revenue in 1957. Many did not organize gambling related activities such as a lottery for example, because of critique of Muslim leaders. Eventually, in 1967 gambling became legal under Indonesian law and it “was tightly controlled with the aim of ensuring the money flowed to municipal coffers and that locals did not become impoverished gambling addicts” (Simson 2011).

Casinos, different kind of race tracks, and two lottery systems were established which produced a huge profit for the Indonesian state by the revenues they have received. There still were many complaints about this legalization of gambling especially by Muslim groups and leaders.

During the 1970s there came stricter rules for gambling. In 1981 gambling was totally banned and criminalized, as is stated under the 1974 Regulation Laws Article 1 No. 7 (Anderson et. Al. 2012: 460). It would be in contradiction with the new states ideology, *pancasila*. Although it was officially banned “the gaming industry is flourishing, thanks to protection from crooked politicians, military officers and police receiving a cut of the profits” (Simson 2011). Gambling went underground and *preman*, the Indonesian term for gangsters nowadays, made a big business out of it (Baker 2012: 194) and are claiming areas on the street where people come together to gamble on different kind of games. In order to play people would pay the *preman*.

The word *preman* is derived from the Dutch term *vrijman*, meaning ‘free man’. The term came forth from the Dutch colonial era used for “a non-contract overseer or a coolie day-laborer, thus still in the employ of the company, though not legally bound to it” (Anderson 2001: 129). *Preman* have a long history filled with associations of criminality, violence, and illegitimacy. Crime syndicates have merged state power and criminality resulting in corruption on a large scale are also called *preman* (Baker 2012: 212).

In the pool centers where I have been were no *preman* directly involved in gambling activities within the pool centers but the owner of Pool World pays the police to stay away because of the regular gambling activities. When the police would come to the pool center he would get a call beforehand so that everybody would be able to take the measures needed to hide the gambling and leave if needed. I heard several stories about *preman* on the streets providing gambling spots in the *kali code* area for example. Gambling is however often associated with gangsters and illegitimacy which has its influence on how pool in general is being perceived.

Although there are these legislative restrictions that came forth from arguments of religious nature by the government, it is an accepted social and economic viable activity by many people in society (Curnow 2012: 103). When I was walking through Yogyakarta I would sometimes see people play chess and card or dice games. A known gambling spot throughout the city were security posts, which seems contradictory to me. People around were aware of the fact that people would gamble but it did not seem to bother them. It is everyone’s own choice to participate or not.

On the other hand, there are several social movements active since the start of the twenty-first century that reflect the “reassertion of political Islam into the political landscape of the Indonesian nation-state” (Hasan 2002: 145). Their activities range from establishing political parties to militant youth group such as the *Pemuda Pancasila* and the *Front Pemuda Islam* (FPI). These groups demand the implementation of the Islamic, *sharia*, law. These youth groups are known for their hate crimes and gruesome violent physical attacks on people that are participating in *haram* activities. The fear for these groups and police who would not condone gambling was an everyday presence.

5.2 Secrecy in pool centers

Because of this history and ongoing friction about gambling, it is not a subject that is easily and openly spoken about in Yogyakarta. People are absolutely aware of the illegitimacy of gambling and often fear for the police, *preman*, or violent religious groups. This creates a secretive dimension in the pool centers. In a community that is not unfamiliar with corruption by people in positions of power this plays an important role in the understanding the negotiation of masculinity and the masculine nature of the act of gambling itself.

5.2.1 Alcohol on the table

The reason I bring up the subject of alcohol in this paragraph, is because there is an explicit link between the consumption of alcohol, religion, gambling and the image of pool. There are just a few places where alcohol is being sold, pool centers being one of them. Selling alcohol is not forbidden by law but it is a subject of tension when it comes to legislation because of Islamic pressure groups who try to convince the government to ban alcohol trade and consumption because it is *haram* within the Islam. But, the government also need to take into account the right of non-Muslims, Indonesian tourism, and the economy so the government in its turn replied to this issue with high taxes on alcohol and limited opportunities for alcohol trade. I would say that this also accounts for the subject of gambling, but still it has been the choice to criminalize all forms of gambling. Alcohol can only be sold in clubs, bars, supermarkets, and hotels. Alcohol is banned from minimarkets and small shops. Bali is an exception on this rule because of the big tourism industry on the island (The Jakarta Post 2015).

The moment I walked in at the first night in Bright Center when I met with my friend from Solo I noticed a lot of people smoking and drinking beer. During my fieldwork I noticed that the amount of beer consumed was not the same in every pool center. In Bright Center I noticed quite a few people drinking beer. In Pool World, the gambling hotspot, there were not many people consuming alcoholic drinks, just a few. Only beer is being sold openly, any stronger drinks I could not find that easily in most pool centers. After a few weeks of fieldwork, when I was hanging out at night with some of the regular pool players of Pool World, I met Mas Bir who liked to consume alcohol, a lot. He was either drinking from a bottle of beer or a coffee cup. I thought this was a rather odd combination, although coffee seemed to be the number one drink after jasmine ice tea. He was very noisy for the whole evening. I asked him what was in his coffee cup and it appeared to be whiskey. Mas Bir told me this whiskey was kept at the small bar next to the cashier on the ground floor and was only sold to regular customers of Pool World, who they were familiar with although he was the only one I knew that would drink whiskey in this pool center. This phenomena shows that there is fear among the staff when it comes to selling strong alcoholic drinks that results in secrecy and discreteness.

The Music Gallery Pool Center, which is a popular and, according to my opinion, the fanciest pool center of Yogyakarta, is one of the few places that sell beer and stronger alcoholic drinks that are

openly displayed at the bar. This place is both the training center for the provincial team and the pool center where a national open tournament is being held which seems contradictory to me since this is the place where they want to change the image of pool towards a professional sport. Besides that it is also a great nightspot with live music on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. So, there is a difference in how much secrecy is involved in relation to strong alcoholic drinks such as whiskey and less strong alcoholic drinks like beer.

When I was hanging out in a bar in the touristic area of Yogyakarta with some friends we wanted to order some beers to drink but we were told there was no beer today. Only a few big bottles of Bali Hai were left. Later that night we heard from one of the employees that the police came by the night before and took all the beer. I was somewhat surprised and asked why they would do that? I was told they do that once in a while and sell it to some other bar to earn money or they take it home. This was also the moment when the religious groups became a subject of conversation shortly. This kind of raiding is also being done by these groups because consuming alcohol is a desecrating activity. By raiding they try to make a statement and spread fear in order to make people stop selling it. Beer is involved with less secrecy and fear than strong alcoholic drinks and gambling, as I will show in the next paragraph.

5.2.2 Gambling under the table

It seemed to me that gambling is indeed a more sensitive subject than alcohol. People would often laugh or even avoid the subject when I asked about it. That first night at Bright Center, while the evening progressed, I started telling about what games I normally play and how we regularly make bets on these games in the pool club where I play in The Hague, the Netherlands. I asked them how it worked in there and they started laughing telling me there is no gambling in this club, they themselves do not gamble, and that I had to go to Pool World. This was indeed the pool center where the most gambling took place and the highest bets were made. I would find the same players gambling who told me at that first night they were not involved in gambling.

An interesting fact about my fieldwork is that in the many pool gambling events, called 'fights', that I have attended, I almost have not seen any money flowing around the pool center, unless I won some games myself. There seemed to be a difference between 'big' and 'small' money. Small money games would be played for 500.000 Rupiah or less. Money games for more than 500.000 Rupiah are considered big money. It was not uncommon that people would play for 5 or 10 million Rupiah per money game which is more than a monthly salary, and for some it would even be close to a yearly salary. The bigger money games would find more attention and a lot of people would be watching. Therefore people are more careful with these bigger games because it is like Mas Gusta said, "you never know who is here and could call the police or something like that". So, there is a serious amount of fear present that causes the secrecy around the subject.

Because of that fear precautions against public exposure are taken by people involved in

gambling. There are several ways to bet and to pay out these bets. When players play for more than 500.000 Rupiah they most of the time have a sponsor that pays for them which means the player will only get 20% of the profit. For money games that are being played for 10 million or more the promotor often gets 5% of the profit from the 20% profit that the winning players gets as a courtesy to thank him for his efforts for setting up the game. This whole process of setting up money games and making (side) bets are verbal arrangements made in a discrete way. There is no bragging involved, it is all quietly taken care of without attracting too much attention. People would just sit or stand somewhere at a pool table or the lounge and the promotor walks back and forth from one group to the other trying to make a deal that both groups, players and sponsors, agree upon.

These groups are often formed by supporters and sponsors of a player which you can only know when you are familiar with them. When someone is not aware of who belongs to which group it just looks like a bunch of people hanging around, which is ideal in order to not attract attention. There is a great deal of discreteness embedded in these negotiations for a fight.

I experienced these situations myself. I was often talking to people, hanging around, or playing pool and Mas Jonah or Mas Gusta would join and have a short conversation in which he was asking me if I wanted to fight. When I was in the mood I would say yes and he would make a proposition upon I often agreed, and sometimes I had the urgent feeling to disagree because I thought the proposition was not in my favor. Once I agreed, or made a new proposition, he would just casually walk back to the other player and his sponsors trying to work out a deal. Once confirmed, he would walk back to me, and we would start playing. However, I have made some contradictory observations about this discreteness and secrecy. Once we started playing a lot people, 20 to 40, would gather around the table which makes it very clear to outsiders something is happening. People, unknown to Pool World that are considered a threat when it comes to gambling, would not per se know there was gambling involved but it would still give away excitement which leaves room for speculations about what is happening.

Next to verbal agreements on bets, betting is also being done via BlackBerry Messenger (BBM). BBM is a social media application on phones through which people can talk. In BBM it is possible to update your status which is visible for all your contacts. What Mas Gusta did, as a promotor, is updating his status with names of the players who were planning to play a money game and what handicaps are given in the money games if necessary to attract sponsor from his entire network. Since Mas Gusta is well known throughout Java, he has an extensive social network. People from all over Java, mainly Jakarta, Bandung, and Surabaya, would send him a message if they were interested. It often happened that someone who was playing in Pool World in Yogyakarta was playing with money from a sponsor, often friends, from another city who were not even in Yogyakarta at the moment the game was being played. As is obvious, cash money cannot be paid in this situation. It was being taken care of through bank transfers. Trust is a big factor in this story. The one betting on a player he cannot see when he plays must trust the word of the promotor or the player himself for

example with the results he is getting through BBM. In the same way side bets could be made and would be paid out 100% instead of the 80% you would get if you sponsor a player. I would find myself in a position where I was playing a money game against the triple world champion Pak Danu in which I had seven sponsors. Two of them, who did not know me and were not present, were obtained through BBM by Mas Gusta, the promotor of most of my games. Among the other sponsors was the owner of Pool World and four other people who just happened to be present in Pool World. In addition, I was in for 10% of the bet myself to show that I was not willing to fix the match in any way and gain trust from the sponsors. Again, trust and honesty are important in gambling.

BBM was the only social media used for betting. Mas Gusta told me he was not comfortable by using Facebook or any other social media for promoting games because he thought the police could find these betting activities fairly easy.

Just like there are several ways to bet, there are several ways in which bets are paid out in discrete ways. Generally when the bet was more than a few million Rupiah the promotor would take care of it and make bank transfers to the people who won on their bets. This form of paying out requires, just like betting via BBM, a great deal of trust and honesty from both sides, the promotor and sponsors. These values are also emphasized by Mas Gusta as being part of manhood. He told me this mainly came forth from the corruption he experiences everyday around him, also at his work at the POBSI.

Another option is that the money that a player and or sponsor won, was given to the cashier by the one who lost it or the promotor for example. The winners can pick up the money when they pay their bill so that the transaction is not so obvious. Smaller amounts of money are often handed over by handshakes or in a discrete way given to each other. In contradiction to these methods of paying out bets that were explained to me I also have experienced a moment myself in which money was openly given to me when I won a game. This only happened once, others times it was in a more discrete way since it were mainly small amounts of money. Another time I had to pick it up at the cashier myself when I went to pay my bill at the end of one of the many long nights. The gambling was mainly being done in the evening and night until three o'clock in the morning when the pool centers close. Most of the players would grab something to eat after that and sleep around five or six pm. Some players would attend the morning prayer after their night at Pool World. The next day most of them were at Pool World again between three and five pm, some earlier, until closing time.

After a few weeks of spending many hours a day in Pool World on the night of 15 February 2016 I was hanging out with some people at the lounge part on the ground floor. I played some games on the carom table for two hours until 8.30 pm. After a few of the group went home or started doing other things Pak Gecko, an old Japanese man who speaks a little Dutch too, invited me to go upstairs to what they call the 'small casino'. The game they played was a dice game with some complicated rules attached to it. The explanation of these rules can be found in Appendix 1.

Sometimes pool players would disappear from the ground floor and I actually did not know

where they went. I assumed they just went home but they would often sit on the top floor in the locker room of the staff to play dice. They would also sometimes sit on the balcony outside the locker room (Figure 5) but when the third floor was open to public in the weekend to play pool they would sometimes go to the balcony to smoke or to go to the toilet. In the weekends they therefore play inside the locker room where others cannot see them play. They did not want other people, from outside, to know that such games were being played upstairs. This meant I became a trusted member of the regular pool players in Pool World. The owner knows about the small casino and is fine with it as long as it does not creates problems.



Figure 5 Outside on the balcony of the top floor of Pool World the dice game was explained to me (Photo by author)

The big difference with this game is that dice is a game of chance and not a game of skill like pool which creates an interesting discussion about the nature of the bets made and what these bets mean. This game was played with small money, bets of 5.000 - 100.000 Rupiah, and was pure for fun. When high bets of 100.000 Rupiah were made some would often laugh or say something like “oooooh” to express their excitement. It might be for fun for the players, but for the bank, the leader of the dice game, who controls the money and have to collect and pay out bets, it is serious business.

This small casino is privately organized by one person, the person who calls himself the bank. That means he is running it with his own money which creates big risks for him. There are often 6 to 10 players participating. Since it is his own money he set the limit on 300.000 Rupiah per bet to reduce risk for himself so that somebody cannot bet a few million rupiah one time for fun and win the bet on his lucky day causing the bank to go bankrupt and bring him in trouble.

Only men were involved during the dice games. Why not women I asked to Mbak Colette. She said she just did not like to play that game. Among the men was Mas Mahasiswa who is a 29-years-old handicap four player and student at the UGM. His father is a teacher and his mother a government official. Although Mas Mahasiswa is studying he spends seven days a week in pool centers. He is the first person with whom I had a Google translate conversation about pool, gambling, and religion. He also told me how he perceived himself as a Muslim, which was as a good one because he would not gamble, not drink, and pray as much as he can. I indeed never saw him gambling with pool. During the dice game he would sometimes place a bet for someone else, with someone else's money which I found strange in some sort of way. It depends on how one looks at gambling. When he makes a decision for someone else he got nothing to lose and nothing to win and it would maybe not classify as gambling.

Another player participating was Mas Daniel, a handicap 7 player in his early thirties who would always say "Hey jongen, lekker eten zonder betalen" which is Dutch for come on let's eat without paying. This was almost the only thing he could say in Dutch which he had learned from some friends. He was just like Mas Kiri playing a lot of money games and tournaments to earn money for his upcoming wedding. He was also Muslim and said he was not a good one. He drinks alcohol, cheated on his wife, gambles a lot, and does not pray that often. He would always say that the dice game was only for fun but he would bet pretty high all evening causing him to lose something like 600 or 700.000 Rupiah. He kept laughing and said it does not matter because it is just small money but he got frustrated when he also had to pay his bill downstairs at the cashier. The bill was a little more than he expected and lost his temper, just a little bit. It was like his performance of not caring cracked, seeing a glimpse of frustration and asked if he could get a few of the beers he ordered for free. Also in this situation it seemed like it was important to keep control over his emotions to protect his manhood, not admitting to a sort of defeat he had experienced upstairs with the dice game.

5.3 Motivations and justifications to gamble

Despite the fact that gambling is forbidden, many people keep gambling. Why is that? Many of the pool players are Muslim but not everyone has the same perspective on their religion and/or the practice of it. People have different motivations and justifications to gamble, or not, in which religion plays a role, especially for the people who argue against gambling. These motivations and justifications create a complexity in understanding religious values and of the performance these values.

As discussed in chapter five it is a masculine characteristic to have control over your emotions and can control pressure during matches. Gambling is often used to create pressure to practice the mental skills of controlling emotions and handling pressure. This is often done for smaller amounts, often 100.000 Rupiah per match, of money paid by the players themselves to put themselves under a little pressure. It also helps many players to focus because they simply do not want to lose their

money. These games are generally not for financial gains but explicitly for training. There are players who play for financial gain. These are often the higher skilled players who get sponsors to play for big amounts of money.

I also met Mas Kiri, a handicap 7 player who was really dedicated to become a better player because he was engaged and going to marry in the near future. His fiancée was pregnant so he not only needed money for the wedding but he also had to provide for the upcoming baby. He therefore wanted to play as many money games as possible. It appeared to be a great motivation. Mas Kiri became a significantly better player and even started to win tournaments next to his gambling activities. Last I heard he was able to pay everything he needed.

Next to that he considers himself to be a good Muslim. When I talked to people almost everybody seemed to feel the urge of telling me whether they considered themselves as a good or a bad Muslim. Every time I would ask why they thought so. It came down to just a few things. Being a good Muslim was always about praying, the thing to do to pray five times a day, not drinking alcohol, not gambling, and not cheating on your wife or girlfriend. This seemed a little blunt to me but most of the times there was not much more to it than that. I asked him, how is it that you consider yourself a good Muslim but do participate in gambling activities? He told me he did not have a job and playing pool was the only way for him to earn money, whether it was in the form of tournaments or gambling. He justified the *haram* activity of gambling by arguing this was the only way for him to provide for his family.

There seems to be the tendency that women are to be expected better Muslim than men. Like I told, everybody would tell me whether they are a good or bad Muslim without shame or anything that would suggest they were not feeling comfortable about it. Women I spoke to were more closed about it. Next to that it is, like I argued in chapter four, adulterous for men to have sex with women outside their marriage (Oetomo in Aggleton et. Al. 2000: 49). It is not per se considered a bad thing but the other way around it is perceived quite differently.

I will introduce Mbak Dewi to give an example and illustrate these thoughts about this tendency. Mbak Dewi is a woman in her thirties who plays pool regularly in Pool World but not to become a good player, just for fun. She was always wearing dresses, that were not covering her legs and showed her cleavage, and high heels. Many men in Pool World shared the opinion of her being a very pretty woman. In Yogyakarta many women wear clothes that cover their body which is one of the cultural values coming forth out of Islamic thoughts about this subject. She was contesting these values and also played pool with men to make a statement she was not afraid to compete. People would say to me “she is easy” and not a good Muslim. Meaning she was easy to seduce and enjoy the night with her at home based on how she was looking. Many men liked to play pool with her because they felt attracted to her. She would only play for fun, she was not involved in any gambling activities.

When I started thinking about masculinity and the different ways of betting I wondered how it works with manhood and playing with a sponsor to reduce risk? Sponsors help players to play without

risk and with a chance to make some money. Obviously the sponsor has much more to gain, but also to lose which is the reason why players like to play with a sponsor. There is no risk involved for them. Most of the players also do not have enough money to be able to even play for these big amounts of money. Only the players with enough money would dare to. But, not everybody has the same perception on how to create pressure in a money game. Mas Erik from Bali for example, whose parents run a big restaurant, is a wealthy player who likes to play for his own money. He argued that playing with somebody else's money does not give him any pressure because he has nothing to lose. If there is no pressure, he is not really interested. Next to that, there is more to win if you are in for 100% of the bet, you will get a 100% profit instead of 20%. Others would argue that it gives them pressure to play with sponsor's money because they emphasize that they do not want to lose somebody else's money.

In my own experience paying the bet all by myself created more pressure, which is a good mental training. Because there is more pressure involved it would be more masculine if I can handle that pressure. This opinion turned out not to be shared by all pool players in Yogyakarta's pool center. The difference did not seem to matter to them which I not fully understand.

How is it that handling pressure and controlling emotions in a situation of pressure is very explicitly labeled as masculine, but it does not matter how someone bets? It seems to me that when you are not willing to bet your own money it is a sign of weakness, that you cannot handle the pressure. It is of course not only that, it also has to do with your intentions of playing, how much money you have, and how much you think is worth risking on a pool match among other things. There are people who gamble just for fun which is a situation in which money really becomes something relative. In the case of the owner of Pool World gambling for fun would cost him a bit more than for a regular pool player. He lost 40 million Rupiah in two days when he was playing carom for fun. Other players in Pool World who argue to gamble for fun would stick to 250.000 Rupiah or lower when it comes to fun.

Another person who enjoyed pool for fun was Mas Bisnis. On every Friday night Mas Bisnis was sitting around the same pool table at Bright Center. He was in his forties and owned a printing company and a karaoke house at the side for fun. Meeting this guy let me experience something in pool that I had never seen before. This guy was literally giving away his money every Friday night. He had nice expensive cues, an expensive John Barton case which is a top notch cue case, and he wore some fancy looking jewelry. He liked to play at the beginning of the evening. He does not gamble, only plays for fun. When he was done with it he started watching other players but he wants them to play good. So what he always did when he was finished playing is ask players to play each other, his friends, and he would pay the winner an amount between 100.000 and 300.000 Rupiah. The players do not bet any money. They just play, the winner gets paid, the loser gets nothing. He just gives his money away, without a chance of winning something back. He explained that the amount of money is low enough for everybody to keep having fun while playing a bit serious because that is the goal of

everything for them on these Friday nights at Bright Center. I think he was sincere about the fact that he did this to see good pool.

5.3.1 Different approaches of people who do not gamble

Among the many people that regularly go to Pool World there were people who would not gamble at all. Different reasons were given for this both religious as non-religious. There were also people who had a different perspective, one of them being Mas Kiri, on the regular way of gambling in which sponsors are involved. Mas Jonah, the coach, considers himself a good Muslim. He does not gamble, drink, or smoke and prays five times a day which were the main criteria I had heard among the people. One day I saw him playing against a player I did not know on the main stage, table 15, in Pool World. So I started wondering if there was money involved, there was. Quite a lot. Afterwards I asked him what this was because he told me he did not gamble. He said playing these kind of games with sponsors is not gambling. I can only win money and I do not bet myself. It is just a way of getting paid and make a living out of pool.

I thought he had a valid point. It is the sponsors who are gambling, the players are actually getting exploited by them. Putting it that way would not seem right to me, it has too much negative lading because there is no risk involved for the pool players and they can only win. They are given an opportunity to earn money in a money game they are never be able to pay by themselves. The training bets would fall under the categorization of gambling because this is always paid by the players themselves. Mas Heart had a unique point of view when it came to gambling. He said that “a money game is not a gamble. I don’t treat it as a gamble. It is for the pressure, for training, for personal progression. It is about how we can beat ourselves. For me, a gamble is when you feel bad and force yourself to play a money game. If you win the money, it is an reward for your achievement to handle pressure”. Playing with money from family he considers to be gambling because “you gamble with your family’s lives”.

Others like Mas Gusta would argue that betting without playing yourself only creates pressure for the heart. He does not like that. If he does not play he will not gamble, only when the chance of winning is really big. He explained that playing and betting is more attractive to him because he finds that he will become a better player doing that. In this way he is able to learn to handle pressure. So gambling without playing is not interesting because there is no personal progress involved.

Mas Mahasiswa who would place some bets for other during the dice game does not gamble. He told me that “money is not a blessing”. These words, obtained through our Google translate conversations, stuck to me the rest of the two months I conducted my fieldwork. I asked him what he thought of other people around him drinking beer and gambling and he would reply with “It’s everyone’s right so it doesn’t disturb me”. It is not exactly a right literally but the essence is that everybody is free to choose whether they do or do not participate.

A somewhat more rational explanation for not gambling was given by Mas Neyo. He was

thirty years old and looking for a job after finishing his studies at the UGM. He was hanging around about four times a week in Pool World but almost never played pool himself. He would sometimes play but he liked to just be there. He used to gamble but he does not do it anymore because he had “lost too much money already”.

5.4 ‘Fighting’ creates a stage for conscious and unconscious performances

When players are playing a money game, are *fighting*, certain boundaries come into existence that were not there before the money game. When people are just playing for fun everybody is walking around and along the table. During a big money game everybody was on a distance of about two or three meters, just at a spot where they would not stand in the way of the players, creating a spatial boundary. Only the one who was racking the balls, a staff member, was ‘allowed’ to come to the table. When it was a money game where only trainings money was involved it would more look like a normal situation where everybody just go and walk where they want.

Not only a spatial boundary but also a social boundary is established by gambling. In order for the players to be able to concentrate nobody would talk to them, especially not when they are at the table. These social and spatial boundaries are only temporally. As soon as the match was finished these boundaries disappeared.

So, you could say that *the fight* is creating a stage, spatially and socially, for the players to perform. Everybody would abide by the unwritten rules of giving enough space, not distracting anybody, and keeping it quiet that money is involved. But, the whole setting would already give away that something is going on because there were often a lot of people watching creating a part of a circle around the table, mostly table 15 in Pool World. Of course they could just say two good players are playing against each other but I think people would guess, or know, money was involved. Otherwise it would probably not attract much attention.

So, this stage is unconsciously created by the people who want to watch the money game. Among these people are those who just want to watch, the sponsors, and the side-betters. Although they are engaged in the activity that is going there is no attention paid to these people. They make it happen but the players are the ones fighting the battle making money for other people, and themselves. The public who unconsciously created a stage, also unconsciously create pressure for the players. Everybody is watching and judging them. I think this is one of the habitual and unconscious performances of actors in pool centers. I think this periodic event, ‘fighting’, is reflecting the internalization of social relations, but also the natural experience of these social relations. Temporal, social, and spatial boundaries are created and there are unwritten rules which everybody respects. The fact that there is the a public and players show that social position is expressed through the accumulated cultural capital in the pool centers (Noble & Watkins 2003: 520). The performance at these fights determine part of their social status and masculinity although the performance of the players is not consciously focused on performing masculinity by controlling their emotions. Their

focus is on controlling their emotions to play the best game they can and to keep their sponsors sponsoring by keep showing heart, like I explained in chapter 5. The actual outcome of the game is also of importance. Losing games is never good for the sake of earning money but it can also lead to a degradation of one's social status although these are not primary concerns to pool players.

During the fights the handicap system is being applied when players are not of the same level. Mostly this is done in the form of giving *games on the wire*. Skill level is, as explained in chapter three, linked to masculinity and sexiness by Mbak Colette. The better a player is, the more masculine and sexy he becomes.

So, when someone is getting games on the wire I would say he is per definition less masculine because he is of a lower skill level than the other player. The player has admitted that he is a less skilled player publicly by accepting a deal that will give him a head start.

In a situation where the less skilled player wins such a match people would mostly refer to the fact that a wrong handicap has been given, not acknowledging a good performance of the lower skilled player. There is often not one fight being fought on an evening. It is mostly two or more fights because the loser of the first match wants another opportunity to win the money of his sponsors, or him/herself, back. Most players like to take revenge and with that they unconsciously are trying to recover their social status. Wanting to take revenge can also be considered to be a form of 'showing heart'. The second match that is being played will often have a different handicap since the loser of the game would think the previous deal was not in his favor and in order to increase the chances to win this time, the losing player would argue for a different handicap. It is not being said that the other player is obliged to accept this new deal. Sometimes there would not be a new agreement on the handicap resulting in no money game at all. These fights are indirectly and unconscious battle for social status and masculinity when players are trying to perform the best they can.

Once I have seen a fight between two female players, one them being Mbak Colette who was determined to get a better player, to improve her technical and mental skill, and to become one of the guys. She does not want to be treated differently but she want to be coached and trained in the way men get taught. Like Shamos (1995) said it is hard for women to practice their skills because they are often not being supported. Mbak Colette is one of the girls who is experiencing obstacles like not being supported by friends, not by pool trainers and coaches, and especially not by family in Indonesia.

At the moment I met her this situation was starting to change because Mas Jonah was willing to start coaching her and he did it with dedication and seriousness just like he does with other players. During the fight the setting of spatial, social, and temporal boundaries were the same as when men would fight which I find a good thing. I was actually happy, the pool player and decent human being in me, that their fight was taken just as serious as other fights. I watched Mbak Colette play and she was showing heart, fighting with everything she technically but especially what she mentally had in her. Mbak Colette was consciously performing masculinity, controlling emotions, with the two

explicit goals of making a statement and to perform her skills the best she can to win the match. This is not a form of habitual performance but more a resistance to the standards set by actors in pool centers.

She is fully aware of the gender differences and is actively trying to fight her way to the top which creates a lot of pressure for her she said, because people are not always as supportive as she would like. Some would just laugh about her and her ideas. Fighting was a way for her to show the rest that women are capable of the same things and she wanted respect for that. This is what she used the stage, created by fighting, for. There are almost no women who participate in fighting, partly because a lack of sponsors caused by certain ideas of gender inequality which I think is a shame. The main reason is that sponsors say they are not good enough players. I think that is an invalid argument because there is a structured handicap system for all players so that every skill level difference can be compensated. This has more to do with cultural values about that women should not go to pool centers at all or do not need to practice sport as an athlete.

5.5 Concluding on gambling

As I have tried to show in this chapter is that gambling is not a subject that can be approach as a solely individualized and isolating activity leading to addiction (Blackshaw 2015: 431), like the Indonesian government has done by arguing gambling drugged the people and led them away from their path of the Islam. I have to admit that I have not talked about addiction in relation to gambling during my fieldwork. Based upon my observations there was no excessive gambling by anyone, except for Mas Milo. He was someone who liked high stake gambling, and did it a lot but I do not know whether to call it an addiction or not. Is there a line that can be drawn between recreational gambling, gambling as a source of income, or an addiction? I think it is a vague and grey area where it is more about the control people have over themselves and their gambling activities than the gambling itself.

Gambling is in the context of pool centers rather an activity capable of creating social intercourse. Through this social intercourse people can create a web of meaning and internalize performative values (Sallaz 2008: 13), that are created by fighting in the form of boundaries or what is being perceived as masculine for example. The fact that every pool player exactly knows what the purpose is when you are talking about a small money game reflects that in a way gambling created a form of shared meaning about things. Gambling in Yogyakarta is a socio-cultural activity in which religion, cultural values, money, habits, and social structures play an important role.

The act of gambling in itself is a form of contesting religion which makes it a masculine activity because of the tendency that women are supposed to be better Muslims than men. This is one of the reasons why pool still has a dark and bad image in Yogyakarta. Mostly men are involved in gambling in pool and are less expected to be a good Muslim. Being a good or bad Muslim is one's own choice. People can decide for themselves whether they want to participate in gambling and how they justify it for themselves, for it being training or fun and accepting one is not a good Muslim. Or,

like Mas Jonah justifies it by arguing that playing with a sponsor is not gambling at all and therefore not *haram*.

Although I argue that contesting religion makes gambling a masculine activity there are contradictions to be found. In Yogyakarta's society honesty and respect to people, in relation to social hierarchy, are key values that partly come forth from the experiences with everyday corruption of people in positions of power. Hustlers can end up on the blacklist and are not respected by other players. So, contesting religious values can emphasize one's manhood and contesting rules of sport and gambling does not. Contesting the unwritten rules in pool and gambling, by hustlers and cheaters, will cause a degradation of social status and are perceived as not being man enough to win by the rules. If gambling for a Muslim can be justified through self-acceptance, of being good or bad, it can also be argued by a hustler that he can justify the actions by accepting being 'bad'. This would however become an ethical discussion because someone is doing harm to others in this way.

Conclusion

Pool is a masculine and male dominated sport (Polsky 1967: 32). In this research I have explored why that is and how masculinity is being negotiated in pool centers in Yogyakarta. The motivation for this research came partly forth from my personal interest and experience with the game of pool that made me notice the gender inequality that is existing in, and is being maintained through, this sport. Women in Yogyakarta experience several difficulties, such as a lack of support from friends, family, pool coaches, and fellow pool players, that obstruct them from becoming a professional pool player and sometimes even from going to a pool center.

Pool in Yogyakarta is organized by multiple actors such as the provincial department of the governing body POBSI, tournament leaders and organizers, pool players, coaches, gamblers, sponsors, and promoters. The handicap system that is structurally being maintained during tournaments and gambling activities is constructed by most of these actors. The categorization is a social process in which players are categorized based on subjectivity. A great deal of social acceptance is involved in this process because everybody has to be content with the decisions of categorizing a player.

Pool in itself is being seen as a masculine activity. It has a bad and dark image because of the involvement of gambling and alcohol, which are both *haram* within Islam, and the earlier involvement of prostitution in pool centers. Although gambling is also forbidden by law, it is at the same a socially accepted activity by many people in society. On the other hand, there are religious groups, such as the FPI, who do not condone these *haram* activities and use forms of aggression against people who participate in such activities.

Due to the fact that gambling is an illegitimate activity and people fear for police and religious groups, a great deal of secrecy and discreteness is involved in gambling activities. In addition to the argument of pool being a masculine activity, there is also the thought that becoming an athlete, a professional pool player, is something for men. Female athletes are therefore sometimes referred to as *banci*-like.

Contesting religious values and national law is seen as masculine and something that men do. The game of pool is historically interwoven with gambling and is still an important part of pool for several reasons. Professional pool players and sponsors want to earn money through the game of pool of which gambling is one of the methods. Others use gambling during matches to create pressure and become a better player by getting used to playing under this pressure. In that way gambling is of great importance to a player, both in result oriented goals as in perceived masculinity because during gambling it will become clear whether or not someone can handle the pressure. Next to that there are also people who like to gamble for their amusement.

The act of gambling is often justified by declaring oneself as a bad Muslim, but also by the need to provide for family if there is no other way to earn money. Many pool players do not have a

job. Not all people justify gambling and choose not to participate, like Mas Mahasiswa who emphasizes that money is not a blessing.

Gambling is capable of creating a complex web of social intercourse and a shared web of meaning between public, pool players, gamblers, and sponsors which is why it cannot be studied as an individualized activity that would result in addiction which is how the Indonesian government has treated it. This is shown through their motivations to ban gambling entirely.

A contradiction is to be found in labeling an act of contesting values as masculine. Being honest and showing respect is a cultural value that people should not contest. It would be degrading for someone's social status, it is a sign of disrespect, and not gentlemanly when someone would not show respect and is not honest. This shows that manhood is a complex development with contradictory meanings of actions and performances. It is therefore necessary to place this complex web of meaning into context.

Masculinity is also being determined by skill level. The higher the skill level, the higher the social status, the more respect someone gains and the more masculine someone is being perceived. The more difficult the skill, the more masculine it is when someone is able to acquire and perform such a skill. This not only accounts for pool and pool techniques but also for other things in daily life in Yogyakarta's society such as driving a manual bike instead of an automatic scooter.

Examples in this thesis have shown that habitus is not a static entity as the concept was described by Bourdieu (1990: 53). Skills, or bodily techniques, are not acquired solely through external factors in an unconscious way. People go through a process of habituation, consciously learning bodily techniques, which shows their agency in this process. It is therefore possible to retool the body through practice as is shown by Mas Jonah. A player can be taught about the basics of the pool technique and the tactical aspects of the game and eventually use the knowledge and technique in the way he or she wants.

I have emphasized the importance of emotion not only as a skill in pool, but also as a factor of influence on someone's social status and in relation to the negotiation of masculinity. The control over emotions during a pool match is seen as the most masculine characteristic in relation to the other skills that are needed to become a good pool player. Next to controlling emotion, it is also of importance not to show them, especially the negative feelings, through body language or speech. The better someone is in controlling emotion, the higher the skill level is being perceived, the more social status he or she gains.

The meaning attached to emotions, and the expression of them, is a construct coming forth from a social learning process rather than it is from individualized bodily agitation as I have tried to show through the shared web of meaning that is created around emotions. For example, by the loyalty that a player has to show to himself and his sponsors by showing heart throughout a pool match. There are consequences, in the form of a loss of sponsorship, that are accepted by all pool players and sponsors. When a player decides not to keep control over his emotions and stops trying to win the

match.

Next to pool and gambling as masculine activities in itself and skill related aspects of the negotiation of manhood, masculinity can also be obtained through possession of attributes. Typical attributes that were mentioned were *batu akik*, *batik*, cues, keeping birds, certain types of motorbikes or scooters, and cars. Men become more attractive by wearing *batik*. It is also a way of showing respect to cultural values regarding clothing. At the same time these possessions require wealth. The more expensive an object, the more wealth is represented that suggests a higher social class. Therefore masculinity is also interwoven with social class and wealth.

Next to these forms of masculinity aspects such as language, volume of speech, and subjects of conversation that contribute to someone's masculinity. A formal way of speaking is used when someone talks to elderly or government officials which is another form of respecting cultural values. Talking loud and about women are key aspects in defining masculine characteristics in Yogyakarta's pool centers.

The last thing I want to say, in relation to the negotiation of masculinity, is about the relation between someone's sexuality and being a 'real man'. A real man, in Yogyakarta's pool centers, is assumed to be heterosexual. Having a girlfriend, as a man, is a form of representing manhood. There were often girls just sitting at the side of the table watching their boyfriend play. There were however also girls who would participate, but often together with their boyfriend. I have seen less girls who were playing on their own or without their boyfriend.

So, to conclude, masculine characteristics in Yogyakarta's pool centers are of material and non-material nature, and obtained in a conscious and unconscious way. It is a trade-off between skills and skill level, emotional self-control, social status, social class, wealth, language, performances, contesting and respecting cultural values, and possessions which are all interwoven with each other in constructing masculinity. A red line through the story of what is being perceived as masculine shows that masculinity is being judged in a hierarchical sense and is related to everyday life like Thomas Malaby (2007) argued: "Games (...) are domains of contrived contingency, capable of generating emergent practices and interpretations, and are intimately connected with everyday life" (Malaby 2007: 95).

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Dice - A game of chance

There are three dices, each of them consist of the six different symbols/colors as are displayed on the small cards (Green, Red, Red with yellow circle, Red with yellow flower, Green with a red and blue stripe, and Green with a square of yellow and red) (Figure 5). The bank shuffles the dice ones, making a movement upwards, and leaves the dice covered. At that moment you may place your bets on what cards you might think are at the upper side of the dices. It is allowed to place multiple bets in one turn.

Different ways to bet

1. Choose 1 card and put your money on that card. This is the bet with the smallest chance to win. When you are correct you get paid 200%. So if you bet 10.000 Rupiah, you will get 20.000 which makes a 10.000 profit.
2. The second possibility is to choose two or three cards and bet the same way as is explained above. These are individual bets and do not per se have to be of the same amount of money. Also 200% is being paid out when you win.
3. It is also possible to bet on two cards at the same time with one bet by placing your money in between the colors you want to bet on. If they are situated diagonal, you place your bet on the outside of the playing field to make clear you bet on the diagonal corner cards.

There are two ways to bet on two colors at the same time. If you put your money flat between the cards it means you will get a 200% pay if both colors are drawn by the bank. But, if only one of the cards is diced by the bank you do not win, but you also not lose your money. So this is a fairly safe way of betting.

The second way to bet on two cards at the same time is to fold the money and put it between the cards you want to bet on. This means you will only get paid if both cards are drawn by the bank. If this is the case you get 'the jackpot' and you get a 500% pay out. If only one of the cards is drawn, you lose your money. So this is a more risky way of betting with chances of winning a lot.

4. The fourth way to bet is a bit more difficult and needs your full attention while playing because other players are allowed to 'move' your bet to the cards they want to bet on. While doing that they always have to add money of their own. It is not free to move around bets. When bets are moved the bank is cleared from paying the players of which the bet is moved. A player who moves a bet actually becomes the bank for the players of which he replaced the bet. So this is a big risk for the player that moves the bet. To make it more complicated players are allowed to 'replace' a 'replaced' but the same principle accounts for this as for the first time a bet is moved.

