

The Representation of Hybrid Identity through Performance and Symbol of Transgender *Santri* Resistance at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, Indonesia

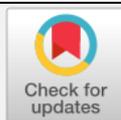
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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze the process of constructing hybrid identity and symbol as the form of resistance to show off new identity as a transgender *santri* (student) at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. This research was qualitative. The units of analysis and data sources used were *santri*, religious teachers (Ustaz), the staff of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Special Region of Yogyakarta, representatives of religious organizations, and the community around the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta. Data collection techniques, which were used in this research, consisted of observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The triangulation method was used to validate data and then analyzed using the hybrid identity theory of Keri Lyall Smith with an interactive analysis model. The results showed that transgender *santri* changing their identity through the hybridity process. Mimicry process occurs in 'the third space' of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, as negotiation space where the fight occurs between culture and identity; thus new identity is created without abandoning their genuine identity. Hybridity occurs in the presence of cultural identity resulting from the relationship between Islam culture, in this case, Islamic Boarding School and transgender culture. The presence of the transgender *santri* is the symbol of resistance against the dominant culture of Islam with various performances or symbols, which are used daily to show off new identity.

Keywords: Culture; Hybridity; Identity; Islamic Boarding School; *Santri*; Transgender

1. Introduction

Transgender is a reality existing within society. Some people view the presence of Transgender as reasonable, despite some others antipathetic to and even decline it. Such a condition makes transgender life having social and cultural dimensions different from men and women in general. Transgender undertake their life like a woman, dressing up, behaving, and even having a sensitive and tender feeling. Some of them have woman-like sexual behavior, love, and get married to a man (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Dyer, 2002; Sinnot, 2004; Betcher, 2015; Nguyen, 2019).

People see transgender with the negative stigma that they are merely prostitute and even they also become the target of violence and criminality. Many mistreatments, robbery, or murder cases occur, worsened with the poor legal aid given to transgender (M'baye, 2013). Generally, the presence of transgender is resisted by religion-based mass organizations, e.g. a group of young mosque activists mistreated, stroke, snatched away wallet, cellular phone, and the bag of gay, transgender, and heterosexual domestic and foreign communities attending the socialization activity in the attempt of celebrating World AIDS Day in Sleman, Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 2000. Then, some religious-based organizations dismissed compulsively the transgender contests held in Makassar, on December 1, 2010. Besides, many other violence and criminality cases against transgender.

It is well-established that the transgender' limited opportunity of improving social, economic, and education status makes them inferior, sensitive, and introverted persons (Jackson, 1999; Praptoraharjo & Nevendorff, 2015; Erkan, 2017). But some transgender were successful, both in their education and carrier, in Indonesia. Shunniya R. H, a transgender wearing veil, graduated from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, successfully wrote a book entitled "*Jangan lepas jilbabku! catatan harian seorang waria* ('Don't put off my veil! a transgender diary')". Also, Merlyn Sopjan, who graduated from the National Technology Institute of Malang, Indonesia, earned an Honorary Doctorate from Northern California Global University, United States of America, and succeeded with her book titled "*Jangan lihat kelaminku!* ('Don't look my gender!')". Many transgender is still capable of showing off their existence with their achievement and success in the job, education, and social life within society, thereby getting social status equal to other society members'. The struggle for identity and recognition has been conducted by transgender individually or in groups, such as some transgender institutions or organizations, for example, Ikatan Waria Malang (IWAMA), Persatuan Waria Kota Surabaya (PERWAKOS), Ikatan Waria Yogyakarta (IWAYO) and Keluarga Besar Waria Yogyakarta (KEBAYA), Himpunan Waria Solo (HIWASO), Ikatan Waria Jayapura (IWAJA), Ikatan Waria Merauke (IWAMER), etc. Transgender phenomenon builds on Queer theory, queering, and destabilizing the dominant discourse. Most transgender has female soul since they were so young and even born, so that they undertake their life just the way it is, without artificiality, become female, and even choose a male partner (Foucault, 1978; Sáez, 2004; Boellstorff, 2003; 2006; Valentine, 2007).

The social constraint the transgender encounter is when the discrete variable of sex is constructed into certain religious activities. Islam has given moral legitimacy in directing sexual orientation, i.e. heterosexual rather than other sexual orientations such as homosexual. The presence of transgender with homosexual sexual orientation, of course, generates the problem, despite their religious practices (Yip, 2009; Beckmann, 2010; Logie et al., 2019).

Nevertheless, they will keep doing activities just like a human being in general, and be aware of their right and obligation to do religion sharia, a God's creature. The existence of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, as if wants to break and to oppose the

culture entrenched into society. Identity creation takes a long process, from self-identification, others' assessment, to other factors growing their identity from the public's point of view (Abraham, 2009; Marcotte, 2010; Quemener, 2012; Sasongko, 2014; Logie et al., 2019).

Considering the background of the problem, the objective of the research was to analyze the process of constructing hybrid identity and symbol as the form of resistance to show off new identity as a transgender santri at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

Identity plays an important role in every individual's life within the community. Every individual can interpret how identity is formed discretionarily. Essentialism group believes identity is something natural, given, indeclinable or inevitable, while anti-essentialism group believes there is no standard identity. Also, another perspective still questions the partition between the two groups (Smith & Leavy, 2008; Vidal-Ortiz, 2008).

Hybridity criticizes and questions all partitions, but does not remove them, and reveals obscurity of partition and consequently, the identity becomes loose. Hybridity is the mixing process between two partitions (essentialism and anti-essentialism) without abandoning it. Hybridity assumes that there is no standard and the identity has no border at all (Ang, 2003; Smith & Leavy, 2008). The colonialist and the colonized is not binary opposition, the colonized wish to be equal to but are afraid of the colonizer at once, and this condition gives them a negotiation space. In negotiation space, colonial mimicry occurs, the power to discipline and discipline, and as a result, mimicry leads to something entirely new but familiar. Hybrid identity is familiar or something common but new. The characteristic of neither...nor... of culture or identity of third space is the space to interrupt, to interrogate, and to reveal the new form of cultural meaning, thereby resulting in an obscure border. The hybrid identity will be created in this negotiation space, as time goes by. This understanding of the hybridization process will be used to analyze the process of identifying transgender to be a transgender santri (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Huddart, 2006; Quemener, 2012).

The culture in subculture refers to all lifeways or meaning maps making the world understandable to its members. Subculture constructs a collective identity in which individual identity can be obtained beyond the identity inherent to class, education, and occupation (Barker, 2016). Subculture is also identical to the resistance against dominant or mainstream culture surrounding, including religion, state, institution, music, lifestyle, and others (Keilty, 2012). The members of the subculture show their affiliation with and resistance against certain styles or symbols (Hebdige, 1979; Clark, 2006; Cuninghame, 2008; Dekel et al., 2017).

Transgender has a limited form of social communication understandable to the group only (King, 2003). The problem concerning the essentialism's understanding of Islam's religion culture, moreover in Islamic Boarding School, and the anti-essentialism understanding of transgender santris is related to identity as a choice and product of social construction. This contradictory understanding impacts on hybridity between Islamic culture in Islamic Boarding School and the freedom of transgender culture, creating new culture later as transgender santris who can surpass the two conceptions aforementioned (Abrahams, 2012; Sasongko, 2014).

Attitude, behavior, activity, idea, and appearance of transgender santris at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta are daily performance or body action. Transgender's performance is dressing up (*dendong*) meaning their subjectivity produced by such attributes as makeup, hair, etc. Transgender's position in Indonesia can be comprehended in three points which consist of 1) having a woman's soul in man body, 2) being a man with a feminine social presentation, or 3) both. Then in his adulthood, he changes his appearance into a female

appearance. He wears a female dress and makeup, has long hair, etc. However, some others remain to have a male appearance with female (girlish) characteristics, usually called homosexual. Also, some transgender can adapt to social life. They will be transgender with the female appearance in the corresponding transgender community, but they can have a male appearance in the social environment (Boellstorff, 2004). Considering the dubbing culture concept, even Indonesian people think of themselves as gay, lesbian, and transgender. It is like the relationship between sound and image with a dubbing system in the television program. The playback concept explains the performance of transgender santris through the framework of subject position (soul) and subjectivity (self-identity) of transgender living at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta as the santris.

Performativity aspect of transgender is a concept long related to gender and sexuality (Butler, 1990). Performance is ritual production under control and through prohibition and taboo power, alienation, and even death threats that can control and withdraw the production form. Gender performativity reveals how discourse and action are conducted continuously and repeatedly by society, thereby providing a heterosexual hegemony system. Therefore, a negotiation process is required with the social norm existing, thereby producing more transparent and non-violent gender performativity (Boellstorff, 2004). The playback concept was referred to in analyzing transgender being santris at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta. Daily body performance or event conducted repeatedly by transgender santris indicates performance. Thus, Islam's religion's domination and rule and law existing within it do not hinder transgender and their religiosity.

The position of the subject is the soul, while subjectivity is personal or self-identity (Boellstorff, 2006). The position of the transgender subject (soul) can be found in sexual orientation. Transgender generally assumes that sexual lust against men results first from the incompatibility of the soul to the body. Subjectivity (self-identity) of transgender is not marked widely by the adoption of all feminist forms, but the combination of female and male styles as a transgender fusing female soul into the male body. Transgender holding out with their masculinity attempt to hide their sexual identity through getting married, but still undertaking their transgender activities. Some others also attempt to remove the negative label by keeping far away from the transgender community and undertaking their religious belief through worship activity individually. Still, some others look for the recognition of transgender existence within society through religious activity in the existing transgender community (Yip, 2005; Beckmann, 2010). An attempt often taken in this strategy is to use religious texts. To be the guideline of declination against homosexuality, religious texts also become a foundation to construct non-heterosexual acceptance space.

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Design

This research was a qualitative research with case study approach to present multi-perspectives with description and to explain the interaction with field appropriately to the presentation of research's value position, substantive theory, methodological paradigm, and local contextual values. This research aimed to analyze the process of creating a hybrid identity and symbol or sign used as the form of resistance to show off the new identity of transgender santris (Yin, 2014).

3.2. Research Location

This research was conducted at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, located in Jagalan, Kotagede, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, the only Islamic Boarding School whose santris are transgender. The Islamic Boarding School was originally located in Notoyudan, Gedongtengen, Yogyakarta, exactly in M's house, a transgender constituting the founder and chairperson of Islamic Boarding School. After M's decease, the administrators of Islamic Boarding School agreed to move their location to Kotagede, SR's house, a transgender santri formerly becoming the deputy of Chairperson of Islamic Boarding School.

3.3. Data Source

The informants of research were transgender participating actively as santris, attending such routine activities as salat, discussion, or *tausiyah* at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta (Spradley, 2016). The selected informants consisted of 8 transgender santris as the main informants, 2 prostitutes, 2 beauty salon employees, 2 entrepreneurs, and 2 volunteers from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). All transgender becoming the informants of research has been coming out and well-known particularly to people around Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, and local, regional, and national transgender communities. Additionally, this research requested 2 religious teachers (*Ustaz*), the staff of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Special Region of Yogyakarta, representatives of religious organizations, Head of the Neighborhood Association of Celenan Hamlet, and some local people around Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta as supporting informants.

3.4. The technique of Collecting Data

Data were collected in early Ramadan 2019, with the reason, Islamic Boarding School began to hold their activities actively and more routinely around the fasting month. Data was collected through in-depth interview, participant observation, focus group discussion, and documentation related to the history of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, factors that cause transgender to become santri, their experience and activity, and transgender' interpretation on transgender santris do religious worship according to their faith, and even considered as in contradiction with Islam sharia, but keep holding out with their sexual identity as transgender with a negative stigma. In line with the research ethic, the photographs obtained from the direct field observation are presented by blurring the identity of informants.

3.5. Data Validation and Analysis

Data validity and reliability were tested using method and data source triangulation. The data collected was then classified and analyzed by comparing one informant with another. Data of interviews were elaborated in narration and interpreted according to the theory used and then the discussion was made and a conclusion drawn.

4. Results

4.1. Born from Anxiety

A *limasan*-shaped building called Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School is located in a population-dense area in Kotagede, Yogyakarta. The building is SR's belonging and has been utilized as the Islamic Boarding School in 2014 after it was moved from Notoyudan. SR dedicates himself to manage the Islamic Boarding School along with other six transgender as the administrators of Al-Fatah as well. About 40s transgender is affiliated with the Islamic Boarding School.

This Islamic Boarding School was established in late 2008 by M, to allow transgender to do worship quietly. Transgender Islamic Boarding School was born from M's anxiety, a middle-age transgender. M saw that there has been no adequate worship facility to transgender, despite their entitlement to do so just like others. M then established Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in Notoyudan, Yogyakarta. Following the death of M, SR succeeded M leading the Islamic Boarding School and moved it to SR's residence. All transgender santris have varying professions such as street musicians, beauty salons, other businesses, and commercial sex workers.

Some religious teachers (*Ustaz*) routinely visit this Islamic Boarding School to present the study on transgender in Islam. The objective of the Islamic Boarding School establishment is to realize the transgender life that is pious to Allah, Glory to Him, the Exalted, and responsible for self, family, community, society, and state.

4.2. The Strengthening of Faith and Piety

The performance of a transgender in the context of social and religious environments can be seen from transgender santris' life at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta. The asynchrony between transgender soul and body is called playback, used to refer to the transgender performance. An attempt taken by transgender to equalize her body and female soul is to perform like a woman. It also occurs in many situations encountered by transgender, e.g. in the context of social and religious environments. Transgender santris at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta have varying experiences because of their different family backgrounds, surrounding environment, and occupation.

Transgender santris believe Islam teaches kindness. As Muslims, they practice some religious activities existing despite not fully 5 (five) times, study Quran still at *Iqra'* level, fast despite not for one full-month, pay *zakat* (alms), and do Salat Eid al-Fitr along with family. In social life, they attempt to maintain good relationships with fellow human beings through not harming others, being envied, and jealous, and to share some of their money (livelihood) with others.

4.3. Transgender also Have the Right to Worship

Transgender, as God's creature, have responsibility for worshipping and being submitted as *hamba* (servant), because only does Allah know it. They believe God will accept their sincere worship and reply to it. Each member of the Islamic Boarding School is allowed to do religious service in their way. Doing salat in a congregation, some transgender wear *koko* shirt and sarong, while some others wear *mukena* (prayer hijab). This difference results in no dispute among them because they can accept it on behalf of religious tolerance. Thus, they can live peacefully there.



Figure 1. The front row in salat for masculine transgender



Figure 2. The back row in salat for feminine transgender

Source: Primary Data, 2019

Classical fiqh divides transgender into two consisting of 1) *mukhannats*, and 2) *khuntsa*. *Mukhannats* is an individual resembling his/her opposite sex in his/her dressing and behavior. Meanwhile, *khuntsa* is an individual with two genital organs or none. Viewed from the fiqh perspective, transgender seems to be acceptable as a social reality. Therefore, they are declined, moreover establishing Islamic Boarding School.

Besides fasting and other related worship, transgender also does a series of social activities to help fellow transgender improve their quality of life, e.g. creating a family support group to help transgender not acceptable fully to their family, and providing training for corpse handling in collaboration with Indonesian Family Planning Association of Yogyakarta. This activity is held recalling two cases in which surrounding people declined to handle transgender corpses. Cooperatives Small and Medium Enterprises Office of Yogyakarta also provides training for business management and business mapping using the canvas model. Also, IWAYO provides training for make-up, hair bun making, hijab-wearing, and hairstyling skills. The skills are expected to give the sex workers other choices of the profession that more acceptable to society. Some college santris donate *Iqra* '(the book about guidance and guidelines in reading verses of the Quran), and books about guidance and guidelines for salat, and discuss and conduct Quran study along with transgender.



Figure 3. Study activities in the Month of Ramadan

Source: Primary Data, 2019

4.4. Transgender Santris' Self-Resistance

The society's social construction tends to be negative to transgender, making them less acceptable to society, particularly in worship in public places like *masjid* (mosque). However,

transgender cannot stay and sit down only accepting whatever society's treatment. Many transgender figures have struggled for their rights as human beings and God's creation. A proof of the transgender group's struggle for their right is the establishment of transgender-specific Islamic Boarding School located in Yogyakarta, named Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School. The founder of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School was a Muslim transgender. Someone that aware of transgender's need for worshipping places recalling their equal rights before God. Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta was established to accommodate the transgender wanting to be closer to God. But in 2016, a religious organization declined this Islamic Boarding School and even wanted this Islamic Boarding School dismissed. Despite its closing, SR did not give up. SR asked many communities and religious leaders in Yogyakarta for support. Owing to such support and through a long process, the religious activity in Islamic Boarding School keeps running until now.

Transgender interpret religion as a fortress, life legitimacy, and need satisfier. Meanwhile, religious behavior is demonstrated through fasting and doing routine worship during the month of Ramadan. Horizontal religious behavior - giving alms and being kind to others - results from their faith responsibilities. Transgender interprets religion as therapeutic medication. Despite the negative label inherent to transgender, the public (society) remains to give them a space in their social life. Transgender has different responses and strategies in three spaces consisting of family, society, and *cebongan* (transgender sex worker's hotspot). Transgender perform social, biological, and economical adaptations to survive amid the society not accepting their presence. The family environment contributes considerably to this abnormality formation and self-prostituting is an adapting strategy taken by transgender after they left their family.

There are eight self-concepts of transgender santris categorized into psychical, social, and physical aspects. The psychical aspect includes the self-concepts of monotheism (sufiistic), transgender motherhood, *bojo akherat*, realism, and conflict avoidance. The social aspect includes philanthropic characteristics, social activist, and tolerance to religious belief. The physical aspect is related to the transgender perception of an ideal Muslim transgender (Sandiah, 2014).

The relationship of social interaction occurs between transgender and the community is well established because there is take and give between them. Two forms of relationship between transgender and the community consist of associative and sometimes dissociative because there is a misconception. Thus, the future Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta is expected to be brighter recalling the administrators' enthusiasm and many parties' support.

Islamic Boarding School as a religious-based institution education provides education and teaching and developing and spreading Islam religion science. Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta is different from other Islamic Boarding Schools, does not apply the cultural system and values applied in other Islamic Boarding Schools in general. Transgender santris come to Islamic Boarding School when the study is held only, stay there night only during fasting month activity, and unite to study Islam religion. Meanwhile, the activities held are *tadarus* (reading Quran), salat in a congregation, and Islam religion study.

The main constraint of the struggle for being transgender santris is the community's response making them feeling inferior and always thinking negatively before worshipping. Family's background and support and surrounding environment also affect their decision of being santris and learning religion.

The factor uniting transgender and worship is reverted to *fitriah* (character) of transgender as mankind in general making religion the life guidance, and obligation of worship. They wear dress covering *aurat* for *Muslimah* (Muslim women) like *gamis* (robe) and veil. In worship, they also seek for their comfort. Those feeling comfortable with using *mukena* (prayer hijab), will wear it during worshipping, as well as those feeling comfortable with using *koko* shirt, sarong and *peci* (head covering for men).



Figure 4. Transgender santris wearing *mukena* during salat

Source: Primary Data, 2019



Figure 5. Transgender santris wearing koko shirt, sarong, and peci comfortably

Source: Primary Data, 2019

Transgender attitude and behavior also change during attending Quran study. In Islamic Boarding School, they have a normal attitude just like santris interacting with their *Ustaz*, so the communication established is a formal one. Some of them hide their sexuality in their religious community because of their fear of stigmatization.

5. Discussion

Every human needs religion and tends to always be close to God; in other words, human needs God. Therefore, it is unsurprising that many homosexual groups (transgender) do salat, fast, and hajj diligently (Sasongko, 2014; Coll-Planas, 2020). Even some of them found Quran study groups to express their creed, e.g. Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta.

Generally, people have not found strong reference yet to justify transgender identity. Moreover, transgender identity is proscribed firmly in religious life. It is difficult to understand how an individual needs and participates actively in the religious system and opposes it all at

once. Those problems make the transgender religious activity confusing and less understandable (Leblanc, 1999; Coll-Planas, 2020).

The subject's position and subjectivity are two different things. Subject's position is the existing category of social entity, while subjectivity is various self-definitions of lust, an individual's life way, etc prevailing in the position of the subject, whether partially or completely, temporarily or forever (Boellstorff, 2006). The condition of all human beings, including transgender, may not have subjectivity without a subject position that can be occupied in some ways by teenagers; antagonistically as street children, or normatively as a good santri. It can be used to conceptualize transgender; their subject positions can be occupied in some ways such as beauty salon employee or HIV patient, and santri in this case.

Incompatibility of the soul to the body in transgender is dubbing culture. It is just like the sound-image relationship in a film or television show dubbed; each of the elements articulates different languages but is involved in a meaningful unit. In dubbing culture, two elements are held on together in productive tension, without an expectation that they will become one. It is like the speaker's lips never synchronous with the word uttered in a dubbed film (Boellstorff, 2006). Asynchrony among transgender is playback (lip-sync or lip synchronization) when an individual sings a song in soundtrack recording. Playback is slightly different from dubbing (e.g. the mouth of the film image is incompatible to the speaking sound). In playback, they adjust mouth movement with song lyrics, without singing but only imitating original artist/singer (Boellstorff, 2004). Playback is often used to demonstrate transgender performance. An attempt taken by transgender to equalize their body and female soul is to perform like a woman, e.g. by modifying the body using hormone, pill, silicone, or even sex change. It is between genuine and non-genuine, natural, and artificial.

The process of transgender being santris reveals their performance plot in a social environment and religious context. Transgender family background and surrounding environment contribute to the playback of santris and Islamic Boarding School's comprehension in the Islam world. Mother's support, religion-based guidance, surrounding community, and workplace motivate them to learn religion (Alegría, 2018; Lefevor et al, 2019).

Being santris and performing as transgender santris in the social and religious environment is their attempt of being Muslim transgender. Transgender want to be ideal Muslims just like other Muslims in general amid various stigmas and weaknesses existing, thereby taking some strategies dependent on and affected by surrounding environment condition and where it comes from. This is the transgender way and style to be Muslim, and the subjectivity of Islam or Muslim transgender (Sasongko, 2014; Mavhandu-Mudzusi & Sandy, 2015).

In this case, the hybridization process is related to the understanding of who the transgender santri is and who others are, and interaction between the two. In hybrid identity, transgender santris can surpass essentialist (Islam religion culture) and anti-essentialist thought of free transgender culture. Hybridity obscures the border of identity in a fluid definition (Smith & Leavy, 2008; Ang, 2003). Transgender santris neither view transgender' identity and their identity as an error nor follow the conception of a too-liberal identity. At Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, transgender santris create a new culture as transgender keep trying to implement Islam religion tenet by undertaking worship obligation and learning religion science, without leaving their culture and identity as a transgender (Park, 2014; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014).

Hybridity in this case transgender santris fuse into Islamic Boarding School's culture with their culture. Transgender santris neither decline Islam religious culture concerning Islam suddenly nor accept the too-liberal culture of the transgender community in general.

Transgender santris imitate Islamic Boarding School' and transgender' cultures corresponding to the new identity they want (Hall, 1990; Smith & Leavy, 2008).

The mimicry process occurs in the third space where new cultural meaning is constructed, as shown by wearing clothing like the one worn by santris in Islamic Boarding School. Female santris wear *Muslimah* (Muslim women) dressing, and male ones wear sarong and *peci*. During worship, those believing them as female will wear *mukena*, and those believing them as male will wear a sarong, *koko* shirt, and *peci*. Some transgender santris also wear *Muslimah* dressing such as *gamis* and veil in their daily life (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Balzer, 2004; Smith & Leavy, 2008; Barry, 2018).

Mimicry as a disciplining power has failed, as a result, it provides something familiar but not entirely new. In this case, transgender can be said as neither successful nor failed in following both the culture existing in Islamic Boarding School and the transgender culture. Thereby it creates new culture as transgender santris (Geertz et al., 1983). Transgender use Islam religion tenet as their guideline, despite not completely without leaving their culture as free transgender completely. Islamic Boarding School and transgender santris seem to be familiar and similar to Islamic Boarding School or santris' culture, but this transgender santris' culture is a new culture they construct themselves, called hybrid identity (Halberstam, 2005; Smith & Leavy, 2008).

Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta as the third space also contributes very importantly to the creation of transgender santris' hybrid identity. The third space becomes a negotiation space where cultural identity change and exchange occur sustainably (Huddart, 2006). Islamic Boarding School is a negotiation space where the change and exchange of different identities occur continuously. New identity flows along with the third space's unceasing movement. It is noteworthy that culture is made of cultural differences associated with different races, classes, genders, and traditions. Meanwhile, the reciprocity occurring in this third space will provide a new identity for transgender (Zahid, 2011). A battle occurs indirectly between Islam culture and transgender culture in Islamic Boarding School resulting in the more proved construction of human subjectivity in choosing and sorting identity from other cultures. It means that identity is negotiable and constructed in the human interaction process, containing meaning that is constructed more socially than concerning the fundamental difference between human beings, because identity is an integral part of social life. A consciousness of different identity indicates with whom an individual interacts and how an individual can do so.

New identity brought by transgender santris emerges when they experience fusing and mimicry processes in the third space, Islamic Boarding School environment. The process starts with the transgender' intention to do their worship obligation and learn religion science as mankind, before which, they bring their original identity as transgender. Their new identity can be seen from their appearance, attitude, language, and daily life tending to be liberal, less polite, crude, and sensitive. However, entering into Islamic Boarding School's scope identical to a holy place to study religion science, transgender will adapt to its condition, despite some discomfort they feel occasionally. Because it is used continuously, new identity eventually creates new culture as transgender santris that will be used in their daily life.

Subculture brought by transgender santris can be seen in their fashion style, e.g. wearing *Muslimah* dressing in both Islamic Boarding School and daily life. It can be seen from those wearing *mukena* during worship (for those feeling as female) and sarong and *peci* (for those feeling as male). Meanwhile, row in salat (*shaf*) is divided based on the male and female concept they decide themselves. Indeed the importance of religious texts (Quran and hadith) is

indisputable to both homosexual proponents and opponents. Muslim non-heterosexual community uses religion texts as a theological asset and third space to make them acceptable to the public (Yip, 2005; Beckmann, 2010). Transgender santri community as a subculture community has Islamic Boarding School as the space for the deviating culture to re-associate their position or to achieve the place for themselves (Barker, 2016). In identity politics, the resistance identity of transgender santris results from the actors in devaluing position/condition or stigma by domination logic (Trepanier, 2000; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Mavhandu-Mudzusi & Sandy, 2015).

New identity as transgender santris represents transgender santris' resistance against dominant culture declining their existence and considering that religion declines their existence. Seeing their style, people will understand that this transgender is not the common one, but they wear a veil and do worship like other people. Transgender santris want to indicate that transgender is also entitled to access to worshipping and to make religion their life guidelines. This typical style of transgender santris eventually creates their new self and group identity (Jenkins, 1996).

The hybrid identity of transgender santris is not only given or acquired as the part of transgender santris' evolution and socialization process, but also constructed socially and negotiated by the social actor; thus self-identification and or other's identification is acceptable or disputable (Jenkins, 1996; Mepschen, 2009). Identity negotiation refers to the natural characteristic of social and or interpersonal self-identity and by or in a group, through individual interaction. Identity can be given, acquired, or only assumed individually or collectively. However, it is not always consistent with how an individual defines personal identity, thereby allowing for social tension, and more importantly, the power dynamic emphasizing identification processes (Jenkins, 1996; Smith & Leavy, 2008; Zahid, 2011; Rood et al., 2017).

The identity contains unique collectively-shared individual elements. In Islamic Boarding School, individual transgender santris have a personal identity from their affiliation with transgender santri groups. Individual elements of identity emphasize difference, while collective elements on similarity, but the two are closely interrelated (Jenkins, 1996; Haralombos & Holborn, 2008). Through socialization, discussion, and social learning processes, transgender santris learn to distinguish significant similarities and differences socially between them and others.

Transgender santris' identity results from the internal-external relation or interaction with each other to create social identity in three distinct orders (Jenkins, 1996, Greyvenstein, 2014). Individual order as identity inherent to individual transgender; their change is affected psychologically. Interaction order is the interaction among transgender having shared interest, generating identity in the relation as transgender santris. Further, institutional order is identity pattern organized or recognized collectively and at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta, the ways of doing a thing are established to those accepting it. On the other hand, the nation's ethnicity, territorial, language, religion and cultural and dynamic factors in the science and technology development process have the power to create its community's identity. Transgender santris' identity is created by a power binding individuals through a series of rules to be complied with by individuals within the community. Transgender santris' cultural identity is identified as being or identity as becoming. Transgender santris' identity, particularly Islamic Boarding School, is the manifestation of the transgender group's culture identifying them as a part of a group. Meanwhile, transgender santris' identity is a fluid process negotiable with other pre-existing identities.

6. Conclusion

Hybridity occurring between Islamic Boarding School and transgender cultures indicates the cross of different cultures. Hybrid identity is created through the interaction between transgender and religious teacher (*Ustaz*) or their relatives considered as understanding religious science. Mimicry or imitating process can be seen from the wearing-clothing practice during worship and the attitude like santris. Mimicry process occurs in the third space believed to be a negotiation space, in which identities are fighting against each other and fusing to create a new identity. Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School of Yogyakarta in Indonesia is the third space where the transgender' genuine identity does not vanish completely but fuses into a new identity as santris with worship obligation as well. The emergence of new identity becomes subjectivism construction used continuously and the identity of a group all at once. Despite having two different identities when entering into Islamic Boarding School they have, transgender keep combining their genuine and new identities. The change of identity builds on the comfort feeling inside subjective transgender. Transgender santris' identity is the symbol of the subculture community's resistance or disagreement against those who believe that all religions decline the transgender' existence, including access to worshipping and religion study. Performance and symbols the transgender santris use to represent the resistance, e.g. fashion use, worship rite, and attitude they demonstrate like santris in general.

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