

## Communication and Subculture Identity: A Case Study of Transgender Students at a Waria (Transgender) Boarding School Al Fatah Yogyakarta

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**Abstract.** Identity has a crucial role in the life of every individual in society. The identity inherent in a person makes it easier for them to understand hidden aspects of themselves. Communication is essential in forming one's identity because identity consists of the meanings learned and projected to others through communication. Applying the symbolic interactionism perspective, which explains that individuals together with the surrounding community build and shape their world, which is composed of meaningful symbols, this study aims to find out how the role of communication in constructing identity as transgender students at a waria (transgender) boarding school Al-Fatah Yogyakarta. The study shows that transgender students at the Al-Fatah Transgender Islamic boarding school formed their contradictory and ambivalent identities as sinners, confident, polite, and calm. The transgender students expressed such ambivalent identity through two levels of verbal language, the Indonesian language as a general language and a set of unique internal community vocabularies. In addition, they also show up their identity through nonverbal channels, such as dress styles and visual attributes.

**Keywords:** subculture, identity, transgender, santri, ambivalence

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## Introduction

The phenomenon of transgender people is a fact that cannot be denied its existence in society. His presence during people's lives has always been a matter of controversy. There are some circles that think their presence is a natural thing, but not a few are antipathy and even reject their presence. These different conditions make the lives of transgenders have different social and cultural dimensions from men or women in general. The transgender lives life like a woman. They dress up, behave, even have a feeling like a woman who tends to be sensitive and gentle. There are also those who have sexual behavior like women, by liking or marrying men.

This strange behavior of transvestites creates a negative view of society. They often get reproachful, ostracized, even their presence is not accepted. Not a few transgenders are also the targets of criminal acts, such as assault, robbery, or murder, exacerbated by weak legal assistance to transvestite's people. As a result, most transvestites become individuals who feel inferior, sensitive, and shut themselves off from the outside world. Another obstacle still must be accepted by transgender people, namely, the opportunity to improve their social, economic, or educational status is getting smaller. However, not all transgender people experience such conditions, it is recorded that some transgenders are successful both in education and in their careers.

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Sunniyah RH a hooded transvestite who graduated from Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta has successfully written a book entitled *Don't Take My Hijab*, in addition, Merlyn Sopjan, a graduate santri from the National Institute of Technology Malang who also received an Honoris Causa Doctorate from North California Global University, America, was also successful with his book, *Don't See My sex* (<http://www.carikabar.com/socialita/187-komunitas/1312-waria-dikancah-sastra-politik-dan-agama>, accessed on May 21, 2013).

There are still many Transvestites who can show their existence. They show their achievements and success both in work, education, and social life in society. They did all that to show that transgender people deserved a good social status like ordinary people. They struggle to develop identity and gain the recognition they do both individually and through groups. Even in a city there are transgender institutions or organizations, such as in Yogyakarta there is Iwayo and Kebaya, in Solo there is Hiwaso, and so on.

On the other hand, there is a very strong attack that transvestites must face, namely from a religious point of view, especially Islam. Some ulema and Islamic organizations are vehemently opposed to their existence. Because human nature is born male and female. Although in fact, the Qur'an does not explicitly mention the existence and problems of transgender people, there are several hadiths that allude to the existence of transvestites who

behave like women. As stated in the hadith of Ibn Abbas Radhiallahu 'anhuma, he said "The Messenger of Allah -peace, and prayer of Allah be upon him- cursed men who resemble women and women who resemble men" (HR. Al-Bukhari no. 5885 in As-Sunnah, 2013: 19). In addition, in Islamic law, all matters or matters from the largest to the smallest have been regulated, ranging from Islamic religious dogmas, worship rituals, and behavioral guidelines.

The pros and cons of the existence of transgender people also invite various parties to have an opinion. As in his syarah, Al-Hafizh Ibn Hajar said that the curse and reproach of the Prophet were specifically aimed at people who deliberately imitate the opposite sex, but some scholars say that curse and reproach are not considered despicable or sinful (Sufyan, 2013:20). Starting from this thought, it is possible for transgenders to feel that if their actions do not harm others, do not violate the law, and are not classified as heinous acts, then they will continue to carry out their activities as normal humans. As well as awareness as a creature created by God who has the right and obligation to carry out religious law.

Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School is a boarding school that accommodates transgender people who want to carry out their obligations in terms of worship and gain religious knowledge. The purpose of establishing this hut is to make transgender people become human beings who fear Allah SWT and are responsible for themselves, their families, as well as communities, society, and the State. The santri in this hut are also expected to no longer carry out activities that are prohibited by religion, such as going out at night. Although they have a common goal, as an institution to study and gain knowledge of religion, this Islamic boarding school certainly does not apply the systems and values that exist in Islamic boarding schools in general. The existence of this Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school seems to want to break down and fight what has become a culture and is rooted in society. As in the subcultural community, the presence of this transgender Islamic boarding school has different behaviors and beliefs from its parent culture, in this case, the culture in Islam, especially in the boarding school cottage culture and the transgender culture in general itself.

This different identity, of course, they do not get easily. The process of forming their identity goes through a very long process, they may even experience various kinds of obstacles. Starting from the process of recognizing themselves, evaluating other people, and other factors that can grow their identity in the eyes of the community. Sometimes this change in identity to become a Transgender santri is often not realized because over time the original identity as a transvestite will experience mixing and produce a new culture. Although in fact, they do not eliminate the culture of transgender people, especially when it is based on the culture of Muslims which requires all its people to carry out worship. In the process of identity formation, the most important part that cannot be ignored is the

communication process in building identity. Ting-Toomey said that humans acquire and develop their identity through their interactions within their cultural groups, Molden also added, it is through communication that we can express similarities and dissimilarities with others (Samovar, Porter, and Mc.Daniel, 2010:194-197). From this explanation, identity is not only constructed through symbols but also through the process of communication and social relations that are present in daily interactions.

Through the various explanations above, the problem regarding the process of constructing subcultural identities, in this case, is that the transgender santri look not easy, both in establishing, developing, or in the communication process in the formation of that identity. and through this research, it is hoped that the question of how transitive constructs and communicates their new identity as transgender santri at the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic boarding school in Yogyakarta can be answered.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The analysis of the role of communication in interpreting identity as transgender santri at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school in Yogyakarta uses several approaches. Before finding the meaning of the identity of transgender santri. Beginning with the construction of subcultural identity, then symbolic interactionism and the process of self-recognition, and finally the role of communication in the meaning of identity. However, this research does not rule out the use of other theories. Because apart from using a qualitative approach that uses theory to guide the analysis process, this research is based on the dynamics of the field in interpreting each data.

In the formation of self-identity, Giddens states that identity is a way of thinking about us. On the other hand, Ting-Toomey adds identity as, "a self-reflected concept or self-image that we come from our family, gender, culture, ethnicity, and individual socialization processes" (Samovar, Porter, and Mc. Daniel, 2010: 184). Based on the various explanations above, it can be said that identity is a representation of both symbolic and social systems, to recognize oneself as well as to be a differentiating factor with others. In addition, identity is also flexible or can change according to the development and socialization process that is passed.

Marcia (1993) in Purwadi (2014: 47) describes the elements forming self-identity, namely efforts to seek information and in-depth understanding of what is called exploration (exploration), as well as efforts to carry out choices on alternatives that have been made or those that have been made. called commitment. Although Marcia's (1993) explanation above tends to construct personal identity, it has been explained that individual identity and group identity have a strong basic bond, so group identity will not be easily removed by itself. In

the end, one will find one's own personal identity only through embedding emotions in the group identity.

Identity also cannot be separated from culture, because in intercultural relations, it can be used as a basis for distinguishing racial and ethnic identities. Stuart Hall (1990:222) explains that the symbolic expression displayed is a representation of the cultural identity construction of the communicator and the communicant, and this symbolic representation will re-construct the cultural identity of everyone. And this construction process will continue and will never end.

The relationship with the subculture, as described by William above. Barker (2011:341) also explained that culture in subculture refers to the 'whole way of life' or 'map of meaning' that makes this world understandable to its members, and the word 'sub; contains the connotation of a condition that is unique and different from the dominant or mainstream society. Subcultures are usually used as alternative solutions that are born logically and practically for solving classroom problems, especially in the context of youth problems. And the emerging subculture is seen as an attempt to solve problems that are collectively experienced because of the contradictions of the class structure.

Subculture as a separate domain of underground values offers a solution or analysis to a structural problem. Barker (2011:369) describes the three main analyzes (magic solutions) proposed:

“(a) The Concepts of homology, where the symbolic object of the subculture is believed to be an expression of the concerns and hidden structural positions of youth groups; (b) bricolage, where previously unrelated symbols are brought together to create new meanings; and (c) style, which is a symbolic bricolage consisting of a coherent and meaningful expression of subcultural values”.

The main analysis (magic solution) from Barker, is used as an analytical tool for members of subcultural groups in showing their membership with certain styles or symbols. Through the process of symbol interpretation (homology, bricolage, and style) as well as the process of social relations that are present in the daily interactions of the actors, they will form a separate identity for members of the subculture, either their own identity or the collective identity of the group.

Theories of symbolic interactionism explain how humans (individuals) together with the surrounding community build and shape their world which is composed of symbols. Until the symbol has meaning from the result of social interaction. In essence, the essence of symbolic interaction is an activity that is characteristic of humans, namely communication or the exchange of symbols that are given meaning (Mulyana, 2004:68).

George Herbert Mead, who is the main character in symbolic interactionism, wrote a book entitled "Mind, Self, and society". In accordance with the title of his book, Mead reflects on three important concepts in symbolic interaction, even various other concepts will remain related to this basic concept (West and Lynn, 2012: 104). Mind, namely the ability to use symbols that have the same social meaning. The second concept that Mead describes is the self, as the ability to reflect on ourselves from the perspective of others. The last concept is society, this is because interaction always occurs in a community structure.

In relation to the concept of self, Cooley and Mead explain that the self-arises because of communication. Language allows the self to develop, and humans could manipulate symbols based on circumstances. Mead in Mulyana (2004: 77) explains the importance of communication, especially through the mechanism of vocal cues (language) which has the potential to become a set of symbols that make up a language, while a symbol is a stimulus that contains learned meaning and value for humans.

Communication is established not only in the form of verbal communication, but also through nonverbal communication such as gestures, eye contact, facial expressions, artifacts, and others. Although not as crucial as verbal communication, nonverbal communication also has an important role, especially in intercultural communication. People who have different cultural backgrounds, even when they speak the same language, may have different meanings. Goffman suggests that there are given expressions and given off expressions, the first is intentional communication (usually verbal) to express information, the second is unintentional communication (usually nonverbal), which may give different meanings to what is stated verbally ( Mulyana, 2004:79).

Fiske (2012:2-3) explains in detail the scope of studies in communication science which is divided into two schools of Islamic thought. The first school, the group that sees communication as the transmission of messages (process school), and the second school, sees communication as the production and exchange of meaning.

The division of the definition of communication according to Fiske who divides the study of communication science into two schools is considered to provide convenience in understanding the meaning of communication science. Where the schools of the first or so-called schools of "process" as a process of sending and receiving messages. And the second school is a school of production and exchange of meaning.

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In terms of understanding the message, according to the second school of Fiske, it is a construction of signs, which will produce meaning through interaction with the audience/recipient. So, the message is not something that is sent from A to B but is other elements including external reality and producer/reader. Producing and reading texts is seen as something parallel, both are processes that are at the same place in the structure of relationships. From this, Fiske (2012: 6) modeled the structure in the form of a triangle with arrows representing constant interactions: the structure is not static but dynamic.

The message conveyed by the sender to the recipient can be packaged verbally with words or nonverbally without words. Communication whose messages are packaged verbally is called verbal communication, while communication whose messages are packaged nonverbally is called nonverbal communication. So, verbal communication is conveying meaning by using words. While nonverbal communication does not use words. From the two meanings, besides being seen in interpersonal communication, namely, face-to-face conducted by two or more people and contains various aspects in it both verbally and non-verbally.

Symbols or verbal messages are all types of symbols that use one or more words. Language can also be considered as a verbal code system (Mulyana, 2010:260). Language is a set of symbols, with rules for combining these symbols, that are used and understood by a community. Language is also part of the communication system that allows humans to work together. From this understanding, it can be said that human language uses language to interact and express itself.

We perceive humans not only through their verbal language but also through their nonverbal behavior. According to Mulyana (2010: 342), the importance of this nonverbal message is illustrated by the phrase, "It's not what he says, but how he says it". Through nonverbal behavior, it can be seen whether a person's emotional mood is happy, confused, or sad. Initial impressions on someone are often based on their nonverbal behavior, which encourages getting to know them better.

Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter in Mulyana (2010: 342-343) say, nonverbal communication includes all stimuli (except verbal stimuli) in a communication setting, generated by individuals and the use of the environment by individuals, which have potential message value. for the sender or receiver: so, this definition includes both intentional and unintentional behavior as part of the overall communication event; we send a lot of nonverbal messages without realizing that they mean something to other people. Understanding in addition to briefly explaining that nonverbal communication is communication that uses nonverbal messages to describe all communication events beyond spoken and written words..



## Research methodology

The research in this paper uses a qualitative approach with a case study strategy. The qualitative approach with the case study method is considered capable of presenting multiple perspectives with rich descriptions. In addition, the qualitative approach with the case study method is also considered capable of explaining how researchers interact with their research field, as well as being appropriate for presenting the position of their research values, substantive theory, methodological paradigms, and also local contextual values (Sutopo, 2002: 44).

Qualitative research in this study, using a case study strategy. The reason for using a case study strategy as expressed by Robert K. Yin (2013: 18), who defines a case study in a more complex way, namely as empirical research that investigates phenomena in real-life contexts, when the boundaries between phenomena and contexts are not visible with the context. firm: and where multiple sources of evidence are used. This definition of Yin not only helps us to understand the case study more clearly, it also distinguishes it from the other strategies discussed.

In addition, case study research is also considered the most appropriate to answer the "How" and "Why" questions, and if the researcher has little opportunity to control the events to be investigated, and when the focus of the research lies on contemporary phenomena (present) within the context of the research. real-life context (Yin, 2013:1).

As for data analysis, this study uses an interactive model of data analysis from Miles and Huberman. This analysis technique basically consists of three components namely: the reduction of the data (data reduction), presentation of data (data display), and withdrawals as well as the conclusion of testing (drawing and verifying Conclusions).

Miles and Huberman (1994) in Pawito (2007:104) further explain the first component in the interactive model, namely data reduction, not just throwing away unnecessary data. Rather, it is an effort made by the researcher during data analysis and is a separate step from data analysis. The first step in data reduction involves the steps of editing, grouping, and summarizing the data. In the second step, the researcher compiles codes and notes (memos) on various matters, including those relating to activities and processes so that researchers can find themes, groups, and data patterns.

The final component of Miles and Huberman's interactive model is inference. Researchers basically implement the inductive principle by considering existing data patterns and/or trends from the data displays that have been made. There are times when conclusions have been drawn from the start, but the final conclusions can never be formulated adequately without the researcher completing an analysis of all existing data.



Researchers in this regard still have to confirm, sharpen, or perhaps revise the conclusions that have been made to arrive at final conclusions in the form of scientific propositions about the phenomena or reality being studied (Pawito, 2007:106).

## **Results and Discussion**

This study found several findings in the field regarding the role of communication in interpreting identity as a transvestite santri. However, before that, the researchers analyzed how the process of forming the identity of transgender santri as a subculture and made observations to find out the meaning of identity that they really wanted to display. From the whole process of forming the identity of transgender santri and the meaning of identity, it cannot be separated from the role of communication they do. This is because, communication is not only a process of transmitting messages, but communication can also be regarded as a process of production and exchange of meaning.

### **1. Identity Construction in Subcultural Communities**

Transgender santri at the Al-Fatah waria boarding school experience several phases in the process of forming their identity, namely exploration and commitment. This is in accordance with what Marcia (1993) described in Purwadi (2014: 47) which mentions the elements forming self-identity, namely efforts to seek in-depth information and understanding of what is called exploration, as well as efforts to carry out choices for the alternative that has been made or what is called a commitment.

The exploration phase is the initial stage of forming the identity of transgender santri, starting with a deeper curiosity about the position of transvestites in religion and strengthened by the existence of transgender Islamic boarding schools. The informants then dig up information about the existence of the Transgender Islamic Boarding School. The information they get and explore from various parties, both from fellow waria who are members of the transgender Islamic boarding school, from relatives and relatives, as well as from the mass media. This information they accommodate, and they use as material for their self-reflection. After feeling confident with the information, they get, they have the confidence to make decisions and carry out the choices they have made. In this commitment phase, the informant shows his existence as a member of the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic boarding school by participating in all activities in the transgender Islamic boarding school with pleasure and voluntarily.

### **2. Transgender Santri as a Subcultural Community**

As a subcultural community that has formed an identity as transvestites, they produce symbols or messages that reinforce their identity as a subcultural community. The symbols that are formed are as described by Barker (2011: 369) as a solution or analysis for structural problems that occur in subcultural groups, including Homology, Bricolage, and Style. The magic solution offered by Barker also becomes an identity for subcultural groups, this is because the process in Barker's magic solution is a process of forming self-identity which also becomes an identity for their group. And this identity is what distinguishes it from the identity of other groups, although the formation of a new identity is sometimes displayed in a strange, ridiculous, even rude way.

Homology appears in the "Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School" which is a symbol of the blend of the culture of the santri in the Islamic boarding school and the culture of transgender people. The bricolage that appears can be seen from the use of make-up from transgender santri and the names of women who are more attached to their lives after becoming transgender. For style, it can be seen from the image, attitude, or way of acting, and the dialect of transgender santri. The image can be seen from the appearance of the transgender santri to show their religious side and the level of politeness of the transgender santri. In terms of attitudes or ways of acting, most of the transgender explained that their attitudes began to change to become more calm, patient, and confident. This is different when they have not joined the transgender santri who are still very attached to the lives of transgender in general.

The dialect they use in their daily lives is actually not much different from the general public, they use Indonesian in formal situations, some use the dialect of the original language, and also use the built-in language or slang when they are hanging out with their fellow transgender. The three elements of style analysis or style from Brake are merged into one as a distinctive style of transvestites santri. This style became a new style and at the same time a symbol of the difference between transgender santri and transgender in general. The style of transgender santri is formed from the appearance (image), attitude, and dialect of the transgender santri as a marking practice and also an arena for creating different meanings so as to form the group identity of the transgender santri.

### **3. The Meaning of Transgender Santri' Identity as a Subcultural Community**

The process of forming the identity of transgender santri hides various meanings of identity that they want to display. Symbolic Interactionism Theory explains individuals form meaning through the process of interaction or communication with others. In other words, a person's way of thinking about meaning in interactions cannot be separated from the perspective in understanding humans or their actions. West & Turner (2008: 98) describes

the purpose of interaction according to SI as to create the same meaning, this is important because without meaning At the same time, communicating will be difficult, or even impossible. Symbolic interactionism expressed by Mead has three concepts, namely the mind (mind), self (self), and society (society). And from these three components, the meaning of something will be generated. Based on the results of observations and data collection in the field, it was found that three meanings were produced by the transgender santri community regarding their identity.

The first is Religion-Sin, transvestites at the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic boarding school try to follow religious teachings as taught by the ustadz and transgender boarding school supervisors but it cannot be denied that they also do not just abandon transgender activities in general which are actually not allowed. in religion is like going out at night (nyebong). The second meaning is Calm and Polite, as can be seen from their statement that since they decided to become transvestites, they admit that they are calmer in living their lives and look more polite in dealing with people who are both pro and contra with their existence. As stated by one of the Oki informants (2014) who revealed that *the heavy burden that I have been carrying alone can be light, in this Islamic boarding school there are many lectures from which I can accept my current life and live it more calmly.*

The third meaning is Self-Confidence, as illustrated by how they live their lives both in the transgender Islamic boarding school environment and when they are outside the community. Feelings of fear, suspicion, and rude actions from transgender santri towards all visitors to the boarding school and the community also began to decrease, transgender santri tried to control their attitudes and emotions. Transgender santri are also said to be very open to anyone who wants to know the whereabouts or information about the activities of transgender Islamic boarding schools.

#### **4. The Role of Communication in the Meaning of Identity as a Transvestite Santri**

The communication used by transgender santri in social interaction can be seen from verbal and nonverbal communication. In using language as verbal communication, transgender santri at the Al-Fatah Waria boarding school use two types of verbal communication, namely general and specific. General verbal communication using a common and standard language (formal) and is understood by all people, in this case, is Indonesian. And special verbal communication uses a special language used by the transgender community, namely the built language or slang. Verbal and nonverbal communication is used as a means for transgender santri to convey certain messages so that they have their own meaning.

Communication itself has an important role in the effort to construct the identity of transvestites to become transgender santri in the Al-Fatah Waria boarding school. In the process of forming the identity of transgender santri, there are communication elements consisting of communicators and communicants who transform each other's symbols (messages) to have meaning. The second school of Fiske (2012:5-6) considers the message as a construction of signs that will produce meaning through interaction with the audience/receiver. The sender, which is defined as the transmitter of the message has decreased. In addition, the message of this school is not only something that is sent from A to B but is also an element in a structured relationship whose other elements include external reality and the producer/reader. Within the scope of this research, the researcher tries to describe the research results according to the communication elements described by Fiske.

Fiske explains the communication elements regarding the process of transgender santri forming their identity and producing symbols that have certain meanings in a communication process. In the context of this research, Transgender santri as communicators build their identity to become transgender santri through a process of exploration (searching for information) and commitment. Then, as a subcultural community of transgender santri, they produce messages (symbols) indicating that they belong to the subculture group, the message is seen in the components of the magical solution offered by Barker, namely Homology, Bricolage, and Style. References that appear from Mind, Self, and Society both from internal and external parties of Islamic boarding schools form a new attitude from transgender so that they know how they are as transgender santri. From the flow of the process above, the meaning of the transgender santri is formed in constructing their identity. In the end, the new identity of the transgender santri has a Religious meaning—Sin, Confidence, Calm, and Polite. All communication processes in constructing the identity of transgender santri are conveyed through verbal and nonverbal communication, and this process will continue and cannot stand separately, because, in identity formation, the interaction processes that occur are interconnected into a single unit.

### **Conclusions and suggestions**

This research resulted in several findings including, the identity of transgender santri formed in the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic boarding school is Religion—Sin, Confidence, Calm, and Polite. This identity is formed through a process of exploration and commitment. In addition, the identity formation of transgender santri also gets references from their thoughts (mind), from themselves (self), and from society (society). As a subcultural community, these transgender santri produce messages or symbols which they then interpret

through a process of social interaction. In terms of communication, transgender santri at the Al-Fatah Waria boarding school use two types of verbal communication, namely general and specific. General verbal communication, in this case, is Indonesian, Javanese, and a special language for transgender people to chat with fellow transgender santri while relaxing. The nonverbal messages carried out by these transgender show their identity as a transvestite santri, which can be seen in certain symbols that they produce separately and look different from the culture of transgender and the culture of Islamic boarding schools.

When connected with the communication elements applied by Fiske regarding the process of transgender santri forming their identity and producing symbols that have certain meanings in a communication process. In the context of this research, transvestites of santri as communicators build their identity to become transvestites of santri through a process of exploration (searching for information) and commitment. Then, as a subcultural community of transgender santri, they produce messages (symbols) that indicate that they belong to the subculture group, the message is seen in the components of the magical solution offered by Barker, namely Homology, Bricolage, and Style.

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In addition to concluding, the researcher has suggestions and recommendations for several parties. First, the presence of transvestites has not been fully accepted by all people, there are still pros and cons from several parties. This is due to the stigma that has been attached to the minds of the people that transvestites are synonymous with a rude and arrogant style. Therefore, with the presence of this transgender group of santri, it is hoped that they will be able to maintain their existence in carrying out positive activities and control their attitude in responding to problems. In addition, in terms of religion, it is hoped that transgender santri will increase their knowledge and resources that are able to deepen their religious knowledge and are increasingly able to practice the religious knowledge they gain.

Second, the community around the transgender Islamic boarding school is expected to be able to be objective with the presence of this transgender Islamic boarding school. The

community is expected to be wise in digesting all information, especially those related to activities at the transgender Islamic boarding school so that it is not easily exploited by other parties who have certain interests.

Third, the local government is expected to be wiser in giving policy towards transvestites boarding schools. If it is felt that the existence of Islamic boarding schools is able to have a positive effect, it is necessary to provide clear legal protection, so that the position of transgender santri is not threatened by certain parties.

Finally, in the discussion conducted by the researcher, it turned out that a gap was found for further research on hybrid identity. In the findings of this study, in fact, even though the transgender constructs their identity to become transvestites, they do not completely abandon the transgender culture and follow the Islamic religious culture. However, they also do not fully implement the Islamic religious culture, because they still follow the transgender culture in general. This is what makes the identity. This is what makes the hybrid identity of transgender santri unique because they can overcome the barriers of essentialism and anti-essentialism until finally, transgender santri create a new culture as transvestites who continue to try to carry out Islamic religious teachings by carrying out their obligations to worship and gain knowledge. religion in the transgender Islamic boarding school. However, these transvestites also do not simply abandon their culture and identity as transvestites in general. Based on this phenomenon, it is hoped that further research is expected to be able to develop a study of symbolic interactionism with a hybridity study to find out more deeply how the identity of transgender santri in the Al-Fatah waria boarding school is.

### Notes on contributor

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