

Trans people making the hajj to Mecca

Religiosity and social inclusion in Indonesia

Syamsurijal, Sharyn Davies, Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi, Muhammad Nur Khoiron, Halimatusa'diah, Nensia & Samsul Maarif

To cite this article: Syamsurijal, Sharyn Davies, Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi, Muhammad Nur Khoiron, Halimatusa'diah, Nensia & Samsul Maarif (2023) Trans people making the hajj to Mecca, *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 51:151, 348-363, DOI: [10.1080/13639811.2023.2287861](https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2023.2287861)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2023.2287861>



Published online: 13 Dec 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 263



View related articles [↗](#)









View Crossmark data [↗](#)



TRANS PEOPLE MAKING THE HAJJ TO MECCA

Religiosity and social inclusion in Indonesia

Syamsurijal , Sharyn Davies , Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi ,
Muhammad Nur Khoiron, Halimatusa'diah , Nensia  and Samsul Maarif 

ABSTRACT

Trans people in Indonesia have fought long and hard for social inclusion. In the town of Segeri in South Sulawesi, trans people have pro-actively sought such inclusion through making the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj) and becoming recognised as a haji. This article draws on fieldwork conducted in Segeri with trans people preparing for, or who had already completed, the hajj. For these trans people, the hajj enables recognition as a legitimate part of Muslim Segeri society. After completing the hajj, trans people may be invited to take leading religious roles in Segeri ceremonies such as *mappeca sure'* (a ritual commemorating the parting of the Red Sea by Moses, known in Arabic as *Ashura*) and *assalama* (a blessing and salvation ritual). Trans people in Segeri frame their pilgrimage to Mecca as a strategic model that other trans Indonesians can follow to gain social acceptance.

This article focuses on the stories of two trans groups: *bissu* (transgender spiritual leaders) and *calabai* (trans women). It examines how the hajj enables trans people in Segeri to confirm themselves as good Muslims worthy of social acceptance.

ABSTRAK

Orang-orang transgender di Indonesia telah berjuang lama dan keras untuk inklusi sosial. Di kota Segeri di Sulawesi Selatan, mereka secara proaktif mencari inklusi tersebut dengan melakukan naik haji ke Mekkah. Artikel ini mengacu pada kerja lapangan yang dilakukan di Segeri dengan kelompok transgender yang sedang bersiap atau yang sudah naik haji. Bagi orang-orang transgender ini, ibadah haji memungkinkan mereka mendapat pengakuan sebagai bagian sah dari masyarakat Muslim Segeri. Setelah menyelesaikan ibadah haji, mereka dapat diundang untuk mengambil peran keagamaan utama dalam upacara Segeri seperti mappeca sure' (ritual memperingati terbelahnya Laut Merah oleh Nabi Musa yang dikenal dalam bahasa Arab sebagai Asyura) dan assalama (ritual berkah dan keselamatan). Kelompok transgender di Segeri membingkai ziarah mereka ke Mekah sebagai model strategis yang dapat diikuti oleh para transgender lainnya di Indonesia untuk dapat diterima secara sosial. Artikel ini berfokus pada kisah dua kelompok transgender: bissu (pemimpin spiritual transgender) dan calabai (perempuan transgender). Artikel ini menelusuri bagaimana ibadah haji memungkinkan orang-orang transgender di Segeri mengonfirmasi diri mereka sebagai Muslim yang baik yang layak diterima secara sosial.

KEYWORDS

Bugis; *bissu*; *calabai*; *calalai*; hajj; transgender

KATA KUNCI

Bugis; *bissu*; *calabai*; *calalai*; hajj; transgender

Introduction

This article builds on excellent scholarship exploring agency and religious negotiation among transgender communities in Indonesia (e.g. Hegarty 2018, 2022; Rodríguez 2019, 2022; Toomistu 2019, 2022). It is difficult to be transgender in Indonesia. There are no laws protecting freedom of gender or sexual expression and the national government has passed numerous laws making it dangerous to openly identify as transgender (Puspitasari 2019). Most religious organisations also reject transgender and posit that being transgender violates the moral code of both nature and Indonesia (Zakiah 2018). Examples abound. In the Sulawesi town of Soppeng, the 2020 Karnival Transpuan (transgender carnival) was protested by the religious group Forum Umat Islam (Triadi 2020). Before they were disbanded, groups such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also frequently harassed trans people (Sarhini and Bintang P. Has 2019; Tajib and Ferdiansyah 2022). This harassment of trans people in Indonesia reflects a situation Rodríguez and Murtagh (2022: 2–3) refer to as a moral panic, a term denoting societal fear over the emergence of a culture seen at odds with what dominant conservative groups present as acceptable.

While the central narrative across Indonesia positions transgender as problematic, Indonesia has a history of gender diversity. Leonard Andaya (2018) writes of transgender communities throughout Indonesia, including *bare'e toraya* in Central Sulawesi who take on religious roles, *rato nale* in Sumba who transcend men and women during rituals, and *basir* who are transgender shamans. Bugis communities in Sulawesi also include gender diverse categories such as *bissu* (transgender spiritual leaders), *calabai* (trans women) and *calalai* (trans men). The term *calabai* as a gender identity is mostly mentioned in I Lagaligo concerning *bissu*. For example, it is the story of human presence in the *lino* (middle world). It mentions the descent of Batara Guru from heaven and the rise of Nyi Wili Timo from the Underworld (Paratihi), as well as the descent of *bissu* in Luwu and Ware (Andaya 2018: 2–3; Kern 1989: 34). *Bissu* in particular are credited with maintaining local wisdom and the value of gender diversity seen in the continued inclusion of *bissu* and *calabai* in the annual *mappalili* festival that precedes the paddy planting, witnessed by the first author in 2022 and by Davies (2010) between 1999 and 2010.

Despite examples of affirmative inclusion, many people in Sulawesi are critical of the presence of *bissu* and *calabai*, including their ritual roles. Bugis scholar Halilintar Lathief (2004) recounts examples of violence experienced by *bissu* and *calabai* at the hands of groups such as Darul Islam (Islamic State) and Tentara Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Military) between 1950 and 1960. Lathief (2021) also writes about the *mappatoba* operation where military personnel and civil society came together to force the conversion of *bissu* and *calabai* to normative manhood in the mid 1960s. These operations put *bissu* and *calabai* in a grim situation. They were forced to stop publicly identifying as *bissu* and *calabai* and threatened with death if they refused to abandon their rituals. Almost all of their ritual paraphernalia were destroyed, with the Bola Arajang regalia house being burnt to the ground, and some *bissu* and *calabai* were killed (Lathief 2004, 2005, 2021; Syamsurijal 2009). The most recent event to demonstrate this tension was the refusal of the Bone government to accept the inclusion of *bissu* in the 2022 Bone Anniversary celebrations (Syamsurijal et al. 2022b).

Although tensions continue, the transgender community has survived in Sulawesi and in significant ways remains accepted as cultural leaders, particularly in Segeri. As Suheri et al. (2021) mention, the main group rejecting *bissu* and *calabai* are puritanical religious groups. But perhaps surprisingly, administrators of the Segeri chapter of the powerful religious organisation Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) accept *bissu* and *calabai* as long as they do not violate certain boundaries of Bugis propriety, namely around same-sex sexuality. As Thaha Amin, an NU administrator in Segeri, states, ‘the nahdliyin (NU followers) can accept *bissu* and *calabai*, and even get involved in their cultural activities [but] the nahdliyin simply do not support same-sex sexual practices, especially if there is a desire to legalize such practices in the marital institution’ (cited in Syamsurijal et al. 2022b: 7–8).

This article focuses on the town of Segeri in south Sulawesi, which has a predominantly Muslim population. In 2022, out of 21,628 residents, only 10 identified as Christian and the rest as Muslim (Badan Pusat Statistik 2023). Most Muslims practice a traditional type of Islam and follow NU, which has a a Majelis Wakil Cabang (representative council) there.

One of the ways trans people in Segeri seek social acceptance is by positioning themselves away from a singular identification with sexuality. Puang Matoa Nani, the current *bissu* leader in Segeri, frames their identity as a preservation of Bugis tradition. Kiai Husein Muhammad, an NU religious leader and the caretaker of the Dar al-Tauhid Cirebon Islamic boarding school, also frames *bissu* and *calabai* as an identity not solely occupied with sexuality. In his writings, Kiai Husein Muhammad draws on the Qur’an, to recount the story of Luth (or Lot in the Bible). He asserts that while the people of Luth may have practised male homosexuality, *bissu* and *calabai* may have same-sex sexual desires but they do not necessarily practice sodomy (Muhammad 2015: 6–7).

While many people in Segeri accept *bissu* and *calabai*, restrictions are in place around aspects such as appearance. Puang Mare, a high ranking woman in Segeri, told the first author that while *bissu* and *calabai* perform many important roles, decorum is expected, including around modest dressing. Indeed, *bissu* leader Puang Matoa Nani ensures *bissu* and *calabai* are dressed appropriately. On leaving the Bola Arajang regalia house to distribute invitations for the *mappalili* festival, one *calabai* was dressed inappropriately in tight trousers and a tight t-shirt. Puang Matoa Nani instructed this person to go back to the regalia house and put on a sarong and head covering.

Segeri is arguably more accepting of gender and sexual diversity than elsewhere in Indonesia for a number of reasons. Firstly, Segeri presents itself as an inclusive and moderate Islamic community (Suheri et al. 2021; Azizah 2022). For instance, Segeri is predominantly affiliated to the moderate Islamic organisation NU, which supporters say accommodates local differences and traditions. Secondly, Segeri prides itself on holding onto ancestral traditions, and *calabai* and *bissu* are considered an integral part of this region’s history. For instance, the community acknowledges that *bissu* and *calabai* have an ability to adapt and negotiate with Islam and the culture of heteronormativity. As such, people in Segeri see them not as disrupting the dominant culture but rather adapting to it. One interlocutor said ‘*bissu* and *calabai* fight for their rights by demonstrating their spiritual functions, and cultural and social roles in society.’ Thirdly, *bissu* and *calabai* position themselves as good Muslims and follow various religious rituals to cement their role as an integral part of Segeri’s religious community.

Performing these rituals shows obedience to Allah and allows acknowledgment as part of community (cf. Haidt 2012). Since Islam's arrival in South Sulawesi in the 1500s (Davies 2015), the province where Segeri is located, being Bugis has been seen as synonymous with being Muslim. As Pelras (2006) notes, a true Bugis is someone who practises Bugis culture and is a devout Muslim. The ability of *bissu* and *calabai* to adapt, negotiate and incorporate Islam into their spiritual practices is a key way in which they have maintained relevance and acceptance in Segeri society. According to Boellstorff (2005) this ability to adapt, especially to Islam, determines the acceptance of *bissu* and *calabai* in Segeri. The historical and mythical factors are not decisive, even though they influence acceptance. By history we mean the *bissu*'s story of their past as someone who was the spiritual advisor of the king in the Bugis kingdom, and the mythical part is that the *bissu* was one of the gods and still a brother to Batara Guru, who came down down from the upper world to the middle world.

Research methods

This article is based on field data collected by the Indonesian authors in Segeri in 2022, with additional earlier research conducted by first and second authors respectively between 2007 and 2014. Field data were collected using a qualitative approach to develop a rich understanding of the topic (Spradley 1997; Neuman 2011). Data collection methods included in-depth interview and observations following guidelines established by Creswell (2016). In-depth interviews were conducted with *bissu*, *calabai*, community leaders, cultural leaders, religious leaders, government officials and local people.

In addition to ethnographic research between 2007 and 2014, the first author conducted 30 interviews in 2022 with 20 *bissu* (including those who had performed the hajj pilgrimage) and ten *calabai* (five of whom had performed the hajj). Interviewees were asked about their experiences preparing for, and after, the hajj pilgrimage, and how society treated them. Additionally, four community leaders (traditional and customary leaders of Segeri) were interviewed about their opinions on the presence of *bissu* and *calabai* in Segeri. Insight was also gathered from seven religious figures representing various organisations, including NU, Muhammadiyah, the Indonesian Ulema Council, Salafi groups, and individuals who had completed the hajj. These religious leaders provided information regarding their perspectives on *bissu* and *calabai*, especially those who had performed the hajj.

Interviews were also conducted with government officials, ranging from Ketua Rukun Tetangga (neighbourhood association leaders), *lurah* (village or subdistrict heads), *camat* (district heads), and representatives from the Ministry of Tourism. Additionally, the general public was interviewed to gain their perspectives on *bissu* and *calabai*, especially about those who had completed the hajj.

Direct observation of various rituals and ceremonies led by *bissu* and *calabai* also forms part of the basis for this article. These rituals and ceremonies include those related to the preparation of the hajj, especially for the upcoming pilgrimage by Inge who went on the hajj in 2023.

Key figures interviewed (names below are pseudonyms, apart from Saidi, Nani and titles) whose stories are the focus of this article include:

1. Puang Matoa Saidi, the leader of *bissu* in Segeri from 5 September 2001 until their passing in 28 June 2011;
2. Puang Matoa Nani, who was appointed the next leader of *bissu* on 17 November 2017 and continues to be the leader of *bissu*;
3. Haji Uci, a *calabai* who has completed the hajj and owns a beauty salon and works as an *indo botting* (wedding organiser), graduated from a well known Islamic College in Makassar, called the Alauddin State Islamic Institute;
4. Haji Didi, a *calabai* who has been on the hajj and who works as a wedding planner;
5. Haji Lili, a *calabai* who has been on the hajj and now owns a beauty salon and also works as an *indo botting*;
6. Haji Inge, a *bissu* who went on the hajj in 2023, as the initial plan to go in 2021 was cancelled due to COVID-19, also works as an *indo botting*;
7. Bissu Saeke who has also performed the hajj was at one point Puang Matoa (leader of *bissu*);
8. Julea identifies as a *bissu* and a *calabai*, occasionally works as an *indo botting* but mostly works on their farm to make a living;
9. Haji Alesya, a *calabai* who has also gone on the hajj, works in a beauty salon but also manages a farm to earn a living.

Bugis gender

Notions of gender among Bugis have been described as diverse with five terms used to identify gendered identities: *uruwane*, *makkunrai*, *calabai*, *calalai*, and *bissu* (Davies 2007; Suliyati 2018). *Uruwane* present as physically male and self-identify as men. *Makkunrai* present as physically female and self-identify as women. *Calabai* may present as physically male but identify as female. The term *calabai* comes from the Bugis words *sala baine* (pseudo woman). *Calalai* may present as physically female but identify as masculine rather than feminine. The term *calalai* comes from the word *sala lai* (pseudo man). *Calalai* are an important part of Bugis society but do not feature in this article

Bissu are spiritual leaders who combine fe/male, wo/man and feminine/masculine (Davies 2010). In conversation with *bissu* leader Puang Matoa Saidi (1958–2011), *bissu* are *tennia uruwane tenniato makkunrai*, which means neither male nor female but a combination of *uruwane*, *makkunrai*, *calabai*, and *calalai*, or a combination of all five Bugis genders (Davies 2010). The origin of the word *bissu* may come from the Bugis word *mabessi*, which means holy and clean, in that feminine *bissu* do not menstruate as that is considered polluting (Lathief 2004). But the word *bissu* is similar to the Sanskrit word *bhikshu*, meaning Buddhist priest, leading Pelras (1996: 71) to suggest this as the word's origin.

Calabai and *bissu* identities often overlap and sometimes are indistinguishable as many *bissu* first identify as *calabai*. Puang Matoa Saidi explained¹ that while most *bissu* first identify as *calabai*, not all *calabai* can become *bissu* as only *calabai tungkena lino* (*calabai* from birth/*calabai* by nature) can become *bissu*. Meanwhile, the other two categories of *calabai*, namely *calabai kedo-kedonami* (those imitating the behaviour

¹Pers. comm. 2008.

of *calabai*) and *paccalabai* (*calabai* who sexually desire both men and women) cannot become *bissu* because it is impermissible for *bissu* to have sexual desires. Puang Matao Saidi further explained that *bissu* do not always identify first as *calabai*, for *uruwane* (men), *makkunrai* (women) and *calalai* (trans men) can also become *bissu*. Indeed in 2010, a woman named Mak Temmi became a *bissu*. After performing the *sere bissu* dance, Mak Temmi explained that *bissu* are a meta-gender, meaning that *bissu* bring all genders together. In the *sere* *bissu* dance performers may alternatively display *uruwane* characteristics, followed by *makkunrai* characteristics and then *calabai* characteristics. However, Puang Matao Saidi notes that *uruwane*, *makkunrai* and *calalai* can only attain the level of *bissu mamata* (ordinary *bissu*) and not that of *bissu dewata* (god-like *bissu*, the highest level of *bissu*) which are only for *calabai*.

Negotiating Islam

Islam was adopted in South Sulawesi in the 1500s but remained syncretic in nature with the Bugis adopting elements of *sara* (Islamic law) while maintaining *pangaderreng* (Bugis customary and legal order) (Andaya 1984, 2004; Baso 2018; Sewang 2005; Syamsurijal et al. 2022a). Throughout the subsequent decades, *bissu* and *calabai* continued to modify their practices, especially in the years following 1960 when a rebellion led by Kahar Muzakkar saw a wave of Islamic conservatism gain ground (Lathief 2004, 2021). During this time of persecution, *bissu* and *calabai* adhered more strictly to Islamic teachings, forgoing certain behaviours and rituals (Syamsurijal 2009; Imran 2019; Nurfadillah 2019). Denounced by Islamic purists as violating nature, *bissu* and *calabai* promoted the notion that they were not *calabai* by choice, but through the will of God. To strengthen this position *calabai* advocated that they were *calabai tungkena lino* (*calabai* by birth) and as advocates of maintaining Bugis traditions and spirituality should be accepted by Bugis society (Hamonic 1977; Makkulau 2007). *Bissu* and *calabai* in Segeri also sought to increase their acceptance in society by ensuring their public appearance was demure and, while keeping their hair long and wearing makeup, they sought to ensure the public did not perceive them as sensual beings. At parties and festivals *calabai* position themselves as *babunna pestae* (servants) at many parties (Iman et al. 2018).

While *calabai* and *bissu* may have intimate male partners, known as *toboto* or *kai*, many ensure a division between their public and private life to keep an appearance of respecting heteronormativity and Islamic teachings. Sometimes the partner of *bissu* or *calabai* is seen as *ana piara*, or foster child, whom the *bissu* or *calabai* is financially supporting (Triadi 2019). This framing of an intimate partner as a foster child is a way for the relationship to be accepted by society. Another way *calabai* and *bissu* shape their identity to help their social acceptance is by going on the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, the hajj.

The importance of the hajj

Religious observance supports a person's integration into a society where religion is a central factor (Haidt 2012). Amongst religious practices, the hajj pilgrimage is a key way for a Bugis person to prove to society that they are a good Muslim. Going on the hajj also increases a person's social status, making them highly respected members of

the community (Alexseev and Zhemukho 2017). The status of being a haji, someone who has completed the pilgrimage, is a form of socio-cultural capital needed to gain social power and influence (Bourdieu and Waqcuant 1992). Being a haji in Bugis society is one of the most potent forms of socio-cultural capital. Those who have made the pilgrimage will have their voices heard, be given a front-row position at prayer times and be placed at the centre of the stage at celebratory events. Bringing with it such prestige, as well as inner comfort of having shown such devotion to one's religion, it is unsurprising that Bugis Muslims, including *bissu* and *calabai*, are eager to make the pilgrimage (Syamsurijal 2020; Nasruddin 2022).

Bissu and *calabai* realise that, as Muslims, religious observance is key to their integration and acceptance as part of contemporary Bugis society. Neither *bissu* nor *calabai* can present themselves as custodians only of Bugis traditions; they must also present themselves as pious Muslims because being a good Muslim is to be a good Bugis person (Nirwan Arsuka cited in Pelras 2006: xxv). *Bissu* and *calabai* show their adherence to Islam in multiple ways including attending Friday prayers at the mosque, Ramadan fasting and organising *iftar* (the meal eaten at the breaking of the daily fast), and commemorating Maulid, which is the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. Some *calabai* are good at reciting the Qur'an, becoming reciters in Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an (Indonesian Qur'anic recitation competition) activities. Some of them are also good at reciting the *barzanji* prayer (praise and storytelling about the Prophet).

Calabai and *bissu* making the pilgrimage is not a new occurrence. Lathief (2004: 42) writes about *bissu* and *calabai* making the pilgrimage in the 1990s. Among those was Bissu Saeke who made the pilgrimage in 1997 when they were Puang Lolo (Deputy Head of Bissu in Segeri). Other *bissu* who made the pilgrimage around this time include: Bissu Haji Soleha from Soppeng, Bissu Haji Lecce and Haji Jamila from Wajo, Bissu Haji Kanude from Batu-baru Soppeng, and Bissu Haji Daeng Tawero who was Puang Matoa Bissu (Head of Bissu) from Bone. Indeed, in conversation in 2022 Bissu Kanude said that regardless of gender or sexuality identity it is imperative that all Muslims complete this fifth pillar of Islam if they are able.

Like all Muslims, the process of *bissu* and *calabai* going on haji involves three stages: preparing for the pilgrimage, performing the pilgrimage in the holy land, and after the pilgrimage. It is interesting to analyse each of the three stages to see how *bissu* and *calabai* perform the pilgrimage and the community's acceptance of their rituals.

Preparing for the hajj

There is a complex series of rituals for pilgrims intending to undertake the hajj. These include the *assalama-mammanasik* (salvation ceremony), the *mallise tase* (packing ceremony) and *mappangguru* (departing ritual). All of these rituals are referred to by Bugis terms. Another ritual is *barzanji* (recitation) and the *manasik* lecture, which must be led by a high ranking Muslim leader (*ustaz*) who has previously completed the hajj and is known as a Puang Kali. If a *calabai* or *bissu* has completed the hajj and is very familiar with these rituals they may be able to lead these rituals.

Calabai or *bissu* clothing in pre-hajj rituals is highly considered. *Calabai* going on the hajj usually put on a sarong, a skullcap and *gamis*, a typical shirt worn by Muslim men. Haji Didi, for example, said they preferred to wear a *gamis* (rather than women's style

clothing) at pre-pilgrimage ceremonies. When conducting rituals, *calabai* and *bissu* usually wear all white (regardless of whether they have been on the hajj or not). The heads of *calabai* and *bissu* are also covered with a white cloth.

Lathief (2021:71) mentions *bissu* and *calabai* wearing white clothes, skullcaps and turbans when performing the *malleppe tinja*, which is a ritual to reach certain *nazar* (goals). The authors saw *calabai* and *bissu* wearing white clothes and black skullcaps during the *ma'bissu* ritual performed by Mak Temmi on 24 October 2005. *Bissu* and *calabai* also wear white clothes during the *mattangasso* (daytime ritual) and *malabukesso* (evening ritual). However, during the *ma'girik* performance and the *mattanngabenni* (a ritual in the middle of the night), *bissu* and *calabai* change their clothes to those similar to what was worn by royal princesses from ancient times. Puang Saidi said *bissu* began to dress in white and to put skullcaps and white cloths on their heads after becoming a haji.

Calabai and *bissu* who join the hajj must follow all the procedures set by the Ministry of Religion. The Ministry recognises only two sexes (female and male) and *calabai* and *bissu* (usually) are defined as biologically male. *Calabai* must then wear men's clothing on the pilgrimage which includes a white sarong, *gamis*, and black *peci* (Islamic skullcap). But despite clothing restrictions, *calabai* Inge, said that *calabai* gestures and grooming (such as makeup) are still evident. If *bissu* feel they are most closely aligned with male they must dress as men while on the hajj.

Inge said in September 2022 that other pilgrims respect *calabai* as they are fulfilling the fifth pillar of Islam and becoming a complete Muslim. Inge also said that *calabai* take on leadership roles within the hajj cohort, for instance leading group exercises and ice-breaker activities. Inge added that for *calabai*, as for all Bugis, going on the hajj is a religious commandment to gain *na pammase* (grace/mercy), *dale* (sustenance) and *assenu-senungeng* (blessings).

Azizah, a staff member at the Ministry of Religious Affairs assigned to assist people in Segeri hoping to undertake the pilgrimage, recalled in May 2020 that in 2018 and 2019, *calabai* who went on the hajj were disciplined and followed all the processes that must be carried out by pilgrims before going to the Holy Land. While not everyone accepted *calabai* and *bissu*, their strategic alignment with regulations of behaviour and decorum assisted in their inclusion.

On the hajj

Haji Uci is one of the *calabai* who successfully undertook the hajj to Mecca in 2007. In recounting the journey, Haji Uci mentioned that some pilgrims assumed that Haji Uci would get a test from Allah while on hajj. Some even said that Haji Uci would be punished for violating their nature as a biological male. However, Haji Uci explained that while undertaking the hajj, Allah granted Haji Uci an easy path to fulfil this fifth pillar of Islam. In fact, Haji Uci said that fellow pilgrims who told Haji Uci that they would be cursed were themselves subject to bad luck when one of them was scalded by hot water after they turned on the wrong tap. Haji Uci often recounts their experience to show that before Allah, men, women, *calabai*, *calalai* and *bissu* are all the same, and that Allah does not punish people if their heart is sincere in performing the hajj.

Haji Basir, who took on the role of hajj mentor, said that generally during the hajj pilgrimage in the Holy Land, *calabai* would perform their worship well and that they

completed all the pillars and obligations of hajj. Haji Basir added that sometimes *calabai* become the centre of attention and liven the atmosphere because of their humorous behaviour. They also often help women pilgrims during *tawaaf*² because of their strong physique, despite their graceful appearance.

In addition to carrying out the provisions that have been mandated in the hajj, Bugis also have hajj traditions, including collecting water from the *jompi ulaweng* (golden gutters) in the corner of the Ka'aba, taking a little of the Ka'aba's *kiswah* (wrapping cloth), and performing the *mappatoppo* ritual – the ordination of the haji by putting the *songkok* or hajj veil on the pilgrim. *Bissu* and *calabai* also intensively perform this ritual. However, a *calabai* named Haji Jamila, said that the *calabai* make the most effort for the the *kiswah* and *mappatoppo*. They compete to take a piece of the old Ka'aba *kiswah* home as it is believed to bring blessings and increase good luck. The *mappatoppo* is carried out by *calabai* to emphasise that they have been on a hajj and conducted by a Muslim ulema, an elder figure. This ritual is performed by tucking in a skullcap, turban or an *igal* (a cord accessory to keep the turban in place) for men and *calabai*. Based on information from Jamila, the *mappatoppo* ritual not only ordains a person as having done the hajj but also makes the person emanate a charming aura.

When *calabai* return from Mecca to Segeri, most are dressed as men, with a *kabe* (shirt), a *tippolo* (turban), or *kufiyah* (headdress). Sometimes the *tippolo* is not wrapped around the head but is tucked away and covered with an *igal*. *Calabai* often wear an *igal* with golden embroidery. When they disembark from the plane, some say they look like Arab princes. Haji Uci mentioned that *calabai* dress in this way when they land back home to make them look *mabarekke* (blessed) which gives the impression that they have a strong aura.

After becoming a haji

During one of the commemorative ceremonies, known as *mappeca sure* in Segeri, Haji Uci, a *calabai* who has gone on hajj, was involved in organising the ritual. Haji Uci worked as the *jennang* (banquet organiser) responsible for organising food, including the required seven forms of porridge alongside other snacks. Haji Uci then guided the women to serve all the food in the large living room. They were also the one to signal to a village elder to start the ceremony. The event began with the reciting of the *barzanji* prayer followed by everyone eating together. This event is a religious ritual celebrated every ten years and *calabai* are always involved in organising it to ensure it runs well. 'I started to get involved in events like this, after performing the hajj,' Haji Uci said.

Before Haji Uci performed the pilgrimage, they were not involved in this or any other religious event. They only participated in wedding celebrations as a *jennang*. However, after the pilgrimage, Haji Uci became worthy of leading religious events and was assigned roles as a *jennang* in other religious gatherings such as Ashura, Maulid, and Hajj thanksgiving events. Haji Uci assumed a new role in Bugis religious activities.

After completing the hajj pilgrimage, *calabai* gained acceptance and started gaining respect from the community. One *calabai's* family member, a religious figure in Segeri, showed respect to their cousin who had performed the hajj. He had previously

²*Tawaaf* is walking round the Ka'aba in an anti-clockwise direction and seven circuits make one *tawaaf*.

criticised his cousin's activities, labelling them pointless. However, upon witnessing his cousin's hajj pilgrimage, he expressed clear admiration. At times, he acknowledged that his cousin was indeed a hard worker, unselective in tasks, and ultimately, their efforts bore fruit as they completed the hajj.

Another resident, Haji Mala, emphasised that anyone who had performed the hajj, including *calabai* if they truly did so sincerely, would have their sins forgiven. Therefore, according to him, *calabai* who had performed hajj should be respected and welcomed within the community. He stated that such individuals could be categorised under a Bugis saying, *allao salah allissu mancaji topanrita* ('they were considered sinful when they left, but after returning from the hajj, they became pious individuals').

After the hajj, most *calabai* and *bissu* continue to identify as *calabai* and *bissu*. Among them is Bissu Haji Kanude from Segeri who went on the hajj in 1997. Others include Bissu Haji Soleha from Soppeng, Bissu Haji Lecce from Wajo, Bissu Haji Kanude from Batubaru Soppeng, Bissu Haji Daeng Tawero who is Puang Matoa Bissu in Bone, and Bissu Haji Inge from Segeri. *Calabai* also returned from the hajj and remain as *calabai* including Haji Uci, Haji Lili, Haji Alisye and Haji Didi.

Bissu and *calabai* continue to perform their previous functions. For instance, Bissu Haji Inge still performs the *ma'giri* ceremonial dance. Other functions of *calabai*, such as their work as *indo botting* wedding organisers, *jennang* and salon workers continue. For example, Haji Uci kept a salon open after returning from the hajj, while Haji Inge continues working as a wedding organiser. However, after becoming a haji, *calabai* tend to focus on religious celebrations because their invitations to do so increase. *Calabai* and *bissu* continue to perform *ma'bissu* rituals (associated with *bissu*), such as *mappalili* and human life cycle ceremonies. The *mappalili* is an annual ceremony carried out by the Segeri community to mark the beginning of paddy planting. In addition, *bissu* lead commemorations of death as they are increasingly trusted to do so after their hajj.

Some *bissu* stopped their ritual performance. Bissu Haji Saeke from Segeri, who was once Puang Matoa, said after going on the hajj in 1997 they rarely performed *ma'bissu* rituals. It was Bissu Saeke's choice, and no one in the community influenced that decision. Some *bissu* such as Haji Kanude on return from the hajj start dressing as men in everyday life, but if they are needed for a particular performance or to participate in *ma'girik*, they would dress as a woman again.

Performing the hajj as an inclusion strategy

While the anecdotes above show that *bissu* and *calabai* continue to take an active role in Segeri social life after they complete the hajj, the larger reality is that they still exist in a tenuous position. Conservative and puritanical Muslims, especially Wahabi-Salafi groups, believe that *bissu* and *calabai* are jinxed, cursed, abnormal, violating nature, and even the perpetrators of heresy (Syamsurijal 2009: 408; Purday 2013: 88–89). In 2022, *bissu* and *calabai* wanted to be involved in commemorating the town of Bone's anniversary but Islamic preachers quoted the Prophet's hadith that 'Allah curses the woman who resembles a man and the man who dresses as a woman.' In Segeri, as Inge explained earlier, there are still *ustaz* who believe that *bissu* and *calabai* are cursed. Among her own family, Inge said, there are indeed those who are active in conservative Islamic groups.

Foucault (1997) sees this form of discrimination as representing a model of power that divides society into groups, one portrayed as normal and healthy and the other as abnormal and sick (physically or psychologically). Who is marked as normal and abnormal is conducted through a mechanism called normalising judgment, which assesses social groups. Foucault argues that this judgment is an important disciplinary instrument in society. The Indonesian government tends to facilitate this dividing process and ironically supports *bissu* and *calabai* for ritual and tourism purposes but also allows and even plays a role in the process of eliminating *calabai* and *bissu*.

In such a situation, the meaning of hajj for *calabai* and *bissu* is no longer just an act of worship but becomes a strategy whereby they seek to be accepted by puritanical Muslims. Going on hajj thus becomes a bridge for *calabai* and *bissu* to get closer to Muslims who previously discredited them. After the hajj they hope that at the very least, their activities do not need to be disbanded, even if they cannot be truly accepted.

As explained by Haji Uci, apart from wanting to fulfil the fifth pillar of Islam, going on the hajj is also intended to break the slanted view attached to *calabai*. They said:

Inevitably, some *calabai* have bad attitudes, but not all of them. We, for example, work to earn money through good means, opening a salon or becoming bridal make-up artists. We also try to fulfil religious orders because we feel like a good Muslim after we go on the hajj. We pray, fast, pay zakat, and even make the pilgrimage to Mecca if we can afford it.

The hajj is an act of worship to affirm identity and upgrade social status (cf. Alexseev and Zhemukhov 2017). For *bissu* and *calabai*, the hajj in the context of social inclusion functions as follows. Firstly, *calabai* and *bissu* are part of the Muslim community (Nasriddin 2022). Hajj in Bugis society is one of the most potent forms of cultural capital that can determine one's position. Those who have made the pilgrimage will have their voices heard, be given a front-row seat at prayer times, and be placed on centre stage at events. With such power, it is unsurprising that Bugis Muslims are so eager to make the pilgrimage. Through becoming haji, *calabai* and *bissu* aim to gain recognition and social status in the community. Secondly, *calabai* and *bissu* serve various functions in the community, such as *indo botting*, sanro (shaman), leader of *selamatan* (salvation) rituals and also *jennang*. The title of haji for *calabai* and *bissu* will further strengthen their status in carrying out these functions. Thirdly, going on the hajj is part of their adjustment to be able to perform hajj-related ceremonies, such as *assalama-mammanasik* (blessing ceremony), *mallise tase* (packing ritual) and *mappangguju* (departure preparation ritual) (Syamsurijal 2020: 195). As Inge explained, *bissu* and *calabai* are usually invited to be involved in these events and they work as *jennang*, organising the food and sweets that must be in the ritual. This fight for recognition forms part of what Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 35) frames as the struggle by minority groups or sub-cultures to gain access to areas where dominant groups control social domination and representation. Since the hajj is a necessary step to gain socio-cultural capital, *bissu* and *calabai* strive to obtain this symbol.

Calabai and *bissu* also undertake a form of negotiation and adaptation to try to find a convenient way to be accepted by the community. Islamic traditions and teachings are followed but some practices changed. For instance, mainstream Islam expects *calabai* to emphasise their maleness while on the pilgrimage but *calabai* appearance remains that of an elegant *calabai*, dressed in feminine clothing. *Bissu and calabai*, to borrow

from Homi Bhaba (1997: 152), are both appropriate and inappropriate. On the one hand, they follow Islamic culture (appropriate), but on the other, they refashion Islamic teachings, which shows the failure of the conquest process (inappropriate).

A mirror of this inappropriateness can be observed in the behavior of Haji Alisye, Haji Uci, Haji Yaya, and other haji *calabai*. By the use of names, actions and appearance they remain *calabai*. Their occupations stay the same: *indo botting*, *paddawa-dawa* (culinary organisers), and salon worker. But Haji Alisye and others may return to their masculine appearance when they go to the mosque to pray during Ramadan, or participate in certain religious events. Inge admits that after the hajj, they will not leave their profession as *indo botting* and said that being a haji does not prevent her from performing *ma'bissu* rituals because Islam and *bissu* can co-exist. The five daily prayers in Islam are also a ritual recognised by *bissu*. Hence, Inge said, the *bissu* tradition is also known for its five-prayers, called the *lima wettu oninna genrangnge* (five-time drum sound).

Becoming a haji is an effective means for *bissu* and *calabai* to gain societal recognition, especially the recognition of their gender identity that is beyond the identity of men or women. By becoming a haji, they hope the community will stop questioning their identity. The negotiation through becoming a haji has been relatively successful. As Inge said, before completing the hajj people looked down on Inge and ask them to become a proper man. But after the hajj and seeing that Inge is a hard worker who could help their family economically, Inge's siblings began to soften in their attitude. Inge's position as a *calabai* is no longer questioned, and Inge's work as an *indo botting*, was not interrupted again. One brother even states that being a *calabai* for Inge is destiny; Inge is no longer forced to become a man.

Conclusion

In Bugis, there is a saying: *to llao salah mancaji to panrita* ('Before leaving for hajj, you were covered in sin, after the hajj you became a pious person'). Going on the hajj can thus open doors of acceptance for *bissu* and *calabai*. This approach towards accommodation taken by *bissu* and *calabai* differs from the aims of the western activists in the global queer movement who seek to challenge heteronormativity, as outlined by Stryker (1998). Stryker (1998: 151) considers this movement towards challenging heteronormativity as utopian because its desire to deconstruct accepted norms of sexuality in society is almost impossible to achieve. Rather *bissu* and *calabai* show a way of working within the system of heteronormativity to achieve a level of acceptance and inclusion. Queer has contributed greatly to the discourse on gender and sexuality. However, as Boellstorff (2007: 20–21) asserts, it is appropriate in discussion spaces rather than as a way of self-identification and movement. One way then that *bissu* and *calabai* affirm their religiosity is by making the pilgrimage to the holy land of Mecca. Returning from Mecca as a haji/haja increases social status and strengthens their socio-cultural capital allowing influence and recognition.

Community acceptance of *calabai* and *bissu* in Segeri is due to many factors but a key one is their ability to fit into Muslim society and heteronormativity. As *bissu* and *calabai* have particular roles in society, they seek recognition but do not attempt to challenge the prevailing culture in society. They also do not criticise institutions that exclude them such as marriage, which they consider a legitimate part of Bugis society.

One strategy *bissu* and *calabai* deploy to gain recognition in society is to be good Muslims. They go to the mosque to pray, give alms, hold *mappeca sure*, organise *maulid* and go on the hajj to Mecca. This last activity has proved most effective for *calabai* and *bissu* to gain recognition. With the title of haji, their gender identity is no longer questioned as much as it was before. The community regards their gender identity as *calabai tungkena lino*, something given by God. The title of haji also gives *calabai* and *bissu* the space to perform their social functions as they are increasingly trusted to be *indo botting*, *jennang*, and to lead salvation rituals. By becoming a haji, *calabai* and *bissu* have the opportunity to be more involved in Islamic religious traditions and thus increase their inclusion in Segeri society.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank everyone who participated in this research as well as Puang Matoa Nani and the young Muslim leader, Thaha Amin, who introduced us to community and religious leaders in Segeri.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Syamsurijal is senior researcher at the National Research and Innovation Agency with particular expertise in religion and society, and religious culture. Email: syam017@brin.go.id

Sharyn Davies is director of the Herb Feith Indonesian Engagement Centre at Monash University in Australia. Email: sharyn.davies@monash.edu

Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi is senior researcher at the National Research and Innovation Agency. Email: muha259@brin.go.id

Nurkhoiron is head of the Desantara Foundation, an institute for cultural studies. Email: nuriron@yahoo.com

Halimatusa'diah is junior researcher at the National Research and Innovation Agency. Email: hali002@brin.go.id

Nensia is junior researcher at the National Research and Innovation Agency. Email: nensia@brin.go.id

Samsul Maarif is a director of the Centre for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS) at Gajah Mada University. Email: samsul.maarif75@ugm.ac.id

ORCID

Syamsurijal  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1157-765X>

Sharyn Davies  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5348-4051>

Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3762-8796>

Halimatusa'diah  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6195-9483>

Nensia  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0697-7424>

Samsul Maarif  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2855-9976>

References

- Alexseev, M.A. and Zhemukhov, S.N. 2017. *Mass religious ritual and intergroup tolerance: the Muslims pilgrims' paradox*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Andaya, L.Y. 1984. Kingship-adat rivalry and the role of Islam in South Sulawesi. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15 (1): 22–42.
- Andaya, L.Y. 2004. *The heritage of Arung Palakka (Warisan Arung Palakka)*. Makassar: Inninawa.
- Andaya, L.Y. 2018. The Bissu: study of a third gender in Indonesia. In A. Zamfira, C. de Montlibert and D. Radu (eds), *Gender in focus: identities, codes, stereotypes and politics*. Leverkusen: Barbara Budrich Publisher.
- Azizah, N. 2022. Agama dan tradisi: pergumulan *bissu*' masyarakat Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan [Religion and Tradition: the encounter of Bissu and Bugis society in South Sulawesi]. *Penelitian Keislaman* 18 (1): 63–72.
- Badan Pusat Statistik. 2023. Kecamatan Segeri dalam angka [Segeri district in numbers]. Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Pangkajene Kepulauan.
- Baso, Ahmad. 2018. *Islamisasi Nusantara* [Islamising Nusantara archipelago]. Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka Afid.
- Bhabha, H. 1997. Of mimicry and man: the ambivalence of colonial discourse. In F. Cooper and A.L. Stoller (eds), *Tensions of empire: colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*. Oakland CA: University of California Press.
- Boellstorff, T. 2005. *The gay archipelago: sexuality and nation in Indonesia*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Boellstorff, T. 2007. *A coincidence of desires: anthropology, queer studies, Indonesia*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. 1992. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Creswell, J.W. 2016. *Design qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Davies, S.G. 2007. *Challenging gender norms: five genders among Bugis in Indonesia*. Boston MA: Cengage.
- Davies, S.G. 2010. *Keberagaman gender di Indonesia [Gender diversity in Indonesia]*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Davies, S.G. 2015. Performing selves: the trope of authenticity and Robert Wilson's stage production of *I La Galigo*. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 46 (3): 417–443.
- Foucault, M. 1997. *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Haidt, J. 2012. *The righteous mind: why good people are divided by politics and religion*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Hamonic, G. 1977. Pengantar studi perbandingan kosmogeni Sulawesi Selatan: tentang naskah asal usul dewata Bugis yang belum pernah diterbitkan [Introduction to a comparative study of South Sulawesi cosmogeny: about a never-before-published manuscript on the origins of the Bugis gods]. In *Citra masyarakat Indonesia: rangkuman dari beberapa peneliti barat* Makassar: Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin, pp. 13–79.
- Hegarty, B. 2018. Under the lights, onto the stage: becoming waria through national glamour in New Order Indonesia. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 5 (3): 355–377.
- Hegarty, B. 2022. *The made-up state: technology, trans femininity, and citizenship in Indonesia*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.
- Iman, A.N., Mulyana, D., Pratama, A.G. and Novianti, E. 2018. A study of transvestites: the self-presentation of *bissu*. *Journal of Social Sciences Research*, Special Issue 2: 70–75.
- Imran. 2019. Bissu, genealogi dan tegangannya dengan Islam Bissu, genealogy, and its tension with Islam]. *Mimikri* 5 (1): 91–103.
- Kern, R.A. 1989. *I La Galigo: cerita Bugis kuno*. [I La Galigo: the story of Old Bugis] Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press.
- Lathief, H. 2004. *Bissu: pergulatan dan peranannya dalam masyarakat Bugis* [Bissu: the encounter and its role in Bugis society]. Depok: Desantara.

- Lathief, H. 2005. Kepercayaan orang Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan, sebuah kajian antropologi budaya [Buginese belief in South Sulawesi: an anthropological study]. Thesis. Department of Anthropology, Universitas Hasanuddin.
- Lathief, H. 2021. *Bissu dalam masyarakat Bugis kontemporer* [Bissu in contemporary Bugis Society]. Makassar: Padat Daya.
- Makkulau, M.F. 2007. *Potret komunitas Bissu di Pangkep* [A Portrait of the Bissu community in Pangkep]. Pangkajene: Dinas Parawisata.
- Muhammad, Husein. 2015. Homoseksualitas: mengeksplor dari khazanah Islam. [Homosexuality: exploring the treasures of Islamic]. Unpublished. Cirebon,
- Nasruddin. 2022. Hajj and social status : self-manifestation in Buginese women. *Transformatif* 6 (2): 143–156.
- Neuman, W.L. 2011. *Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Boston: Pearson.
- Nurfadillah. 2019. Negosiasi kepercayaan Toriolog dengan agama Islam pada Bissu dan masyarakat Bugis Makassar [Negotiations of Toriolog belief with Islam on Bissu in Bugis Makassar society]. *Sosioreligius* 4 (1): 12–25.
- Pelras, C. 1996. *The Bugis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Pelras, C. 2006. *Manusia Bugis [The Bugis]*. Makassar: Ininnawa.
- Purday, K.M. 2013. Shamanic gender liminality with special reference to the *NatKadaw* of Myanmar and the *Bissu* of Sulawesi. MA thesis, University of Wales, Trinity St David.
- Puspitasari, Cut Irda. 2019. Opresi kelompok minoritas: persekusi dan diskriminasi LGBT di Indonesia. *Takammul: Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 8 (1): 83–102.
- Rodriguez, D.G. 2019. The Muslim waria of Yogyakarta: finding agency within submission. *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 6 (3): 368–385.
- Rodríguez, D.G. 2022. Who are the allies of queer Muslims? Situating pro-queer religious activism in Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 50 (146): 96–117.
- Rodríguez, D.G. and Murtagh, B. 2022. Situating anti-LGBT moral panics in Indonesia: homophobia, criminalisation, acceptance, and religiosity. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 50 (146): 1–9.
- Sarbini, F. and Has, M.W.T.B.P. 2019. Depok and its effort to criminalize the LGBT community. *Australian Journal for Human Rights* 25 (3): 520–526.
- Sewang, Ahmad M. 2005. *Islamisasi kerajaan Gowa* [Islamisation of Gowa Kingdom]. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia
- Smith, L.T. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: research indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books; Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Spradley, J.P. 1997. *Metode etnografi* [Ethnographic methods]. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Stryker, S. 1998. The transgender issue: an introduction. *GLQ* 4 (2): 145–158.
- Suheri, S., Adawiah, R., Sarjoon Razick, A. and Jubba, H. 2021. Bissu on contesting indigeneity with Islamic puritanism in the sacred arena. *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 22 (1): 127–138.
- Suliyati, T. 2018. Bissu: keistimewaan gender dalam tradisi Bugis [Bissu: gender privilege in Bugis tradition]. *Endogami: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Antropologi* 2 (1): 52–61.
- Syamsurijal. 2009. Bissu yang enggan membisu [Bissu who are unwilling to keep silent]. *Al-Qalam* 15 (24): 401–414.
- Syamsurijal. 2020. *Aji Ugi: ketika orang Bugis naik haji* [Aji Ugi: when the Bugis go on the hajj]. Yogyakarta: Arti Bumi Intaran.
- Syamsurijal, S., Mursyid, A.M.M., Ilyas, H.F. and Ahmad, A.K. 2022a. The encounter of customs and religion in cultivating religious moderation in Bugis. In *Proceedings of the 9th Asbam International Conference (Archeology, History, & Culture in the Nature of Malay) (ASBAM 2021)*. Amsterdam: Atlantis Press, pp. 705–714.
- Syamsurijal, Syuhudi, M. I., Halimatussa'diah, Maarif, S. and Nurkhoiron, M. 2022b. Keragaman gender dalam praktik subkultur: tantangan universalitas hak asasi manusia dalam tradisi Bissu Bugis [Gender diversity in subcultural practices: challenges to the universality of human rights in the Bissu Bugis tradition]. Report for Pusat Riset Khazanah Keagamaan dan Peradaban (Centre for Research and Civilization Treasures) – BRIN, Jakarta

- Tajib and Ferdiansyah. 2022. Discordant emotions: the affective dynamics of anti-LGBT campaigns in Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 50 (146): 10–32.
- Toomistu, T. 2019. Playground love: sex work, pleasure, and self-affirmation in the urban nightlife of Indonesian waria. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 21 (2): 205–218.
- Toomistu, T. 2022. Thinking through the s(k)in: Indonesian waria and bodily negotiations of belonging across religious sensitivities. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 50 (146): 73–95.
- Triadi, F. 2019. Bissu and Toboto domain; lanskap, Islam, dan negosiasi [Bissu and Toboto domain: landscape, Islam and negotiation]. *ETNOSIA : Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia* 4 (1): 73–90.
- Triadi, F. 2020. Bissu: kepercayaan, perilaku, dan kewarganegaraan [Bissu: beliefs, behaviour and citizenship]. *Pangadereng Jurnal Hasil Penelitian Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora* 6 (1):145–158.
- Zakiah, Naila Rizqi. 2018. Bahaya akut persekusi LGBT [Severe danger of LGBT persecution]. Jakarta: LBH Masyarakat.