Journal of Religion and Decoloniality
e-ISSN: 3110-1305
Vol. 1, No. 2, 2025. 130-150
https://e-journal.elkuator.com/index.php/jrd

Embodied Queer Muslim Resistance: Negotiating Islam, Gender, and Sexuality from *Pesantren*

*Nanda Tsani Azizah
Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

*Correspondence: nandatsaniazizah@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract

This article examines the intersections of queerness, faith, and resistance in the lived narratives of queer Muslims in Indonesia, with particular attention to the pesantren (Islamic boarding school) context. While dominant global narratives of LGBTQ rights have emerged from Western experiences—centered on visibility politics, Pride parades, and legal recognition—this study interrogates how such frameworks can marginalize queer Muslims whose lives are shaped by different cultural, religious, and political realities. Drawing from narrative interviews with three queer Muslims and one ally who spent years in pesantren environments (boarding houses where santri or students learning Islamic teachings, etc.; a cottage), this research employs a decolonial and intersectional lens to highlight how participants navigate Islam, gender, and sexuality in their everyday lives. The findings show that pride and resilience among queer Muslims cannot be understood through Western liberal models alone but are expressed through alternative practices of belonging, storytelling, and religious embodiment. By engaging Melissa M. Wilcox's concept of queer religiosities alongside decolonial critiques, this article argues that four Indonesian queer Muslims, i.e., Ji, Ro, Durga, and Fik, contribute new epistemologies that challenge the universality of Western queer theory and religious studies. Ultimately, the study underscores the need to provincialize dominant frameworks and recognize the multiplicity of queer life-worlds in the Global South.

Keywords: Queer Muslims, *pesantren*, decoloniality, queer religiosities, intersectionality.

Introduction

The intersection of religion and queer sexualities has become an increasingly visible site of academic and activist engagement. Global debates concerning the rights of LGBTQ individuals have often been shaped by narratives originating in the Global North, where the struggle for visibility, equal rights, and recognition has centered on public expressions such as Pride parades, marriage equality, and anti-discrimination laws (Butler, 1990; Warner, 1999). These discourses, while vital in their own contexts, risk universalizing experiences that do not account for the diverse cultural, religious, and political realities faced by queer individuals elsewhere. In Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim-majority nation, the lives of queer Muslims are deeply entangled with religious discourses, pesantren traditions, and postcolonial histories of identity formation.

Copyright © 2025 by Author(s)
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

Queer communities in Indonesia exist within a paradoxical landscape of resilience and uncertainty. On the one hand, Indonesia does not criminalize homosexuality at the national level (except in Aceh, where Sharia-inspired bylaws explicitly punish same-sex relations). On the other hand, increasing conservative religious discourses, state surveillance, and public hostility have contributed to growing pressures on queer Indonesians (Boellstorff, 2005; Davies, 2010). This creates an ambivalent space where queer people must constantly negotiate between visibility and safety. For many, being openly queer is not possible in public arenas such as workplaces, religious institutions, or even families. Instead, queerness often emerges in semi-private or digital spaces—through whispered solidarities, intimate friendship networks, online platforms, and community-based NGOs that provide support, advocacy, and education.

Civil society organizations such as Arus Pelangi, Sanggar Swara, and GAYa Nusantara have played an important role since the 1990s in advocating for LGBTQ+ rights, providing legal and psychological assistance, and creating safe platforms for self-expression (Boellstorff, 2005; Davies, 2010). These organizations, often formed in response to state and societal marginalization, work not only to contest discriminatory laws and public stigma but also to build everyday resilience for queer Indonesians. For example, Arus Pelangi has been instrumental in documenting human rights abuses against LGBTQ+ people. At the same time, Sanggar Swara has focused on empowering young waria through leadership training, educational access, and advocacy at the local and national levels. GAYa NUSANTARA, as one of the oldest LGBTQ+ organizations in Southeast Asia, has contributed significantly to archiving queer histories, building activist networks, and engaging in international advocacy. While this article primarily critiques Western-centered Pride discourses, it is also important to note how such global discourses shape the Indonesian context.

Rosyidah (2017) argues that the development of LGBT movements in Indonesia cannot be separated from broader processes of globalization, in which Western models of activism and identity politics have influenced the formation of local organizations and visibility strategies. From the early establishment of Lambda Indonesia in the 1980s to later community groups across major cities, global queering has provided both inspiration and frameworks for Indonesian activists. Media and information exchange have further accelerated this process, creating new public spheres where issues of sexuality and rights can be articulated. However, the reception of these Western-informed discourses is far from uniform; while they have enabled new forms of mobilization, they have also provoked resistance and accusations of "foreign influence." For queer Muslims in particular, this global-local tension complicates how pride and visibility are negotiated, as they must navigate between international narratives of liberation and local religious-cultural frameworks that often cast queerness as incompatible with Islam.

This research addresses the need to decolonize the study of queer lives by situating Indonesian queer Muslims as knowledge producers whose narratives challenge dominant Western-centered paradigms. By foregrounding the voices of participants who have lived in pesantren environments, this study demonstrates how queer religiosities emerge in spaces often imagined as sites of strict conformity. These narratives reveal the multiplicity of queer life-worlds and emphasize practices of survival, belonging, and resilience that extend beyond liberal discourses of rights and visibility. The article thus contributes to a growing body of scholarship that critiques the hegemony of Western queer theory while simultaneously engaging with global discussions on sexuality, religion, and human rights (Wilcox, 2019; Mahmood, 2005).

The primary research question guiding this study is: How do Indonesian queer Muslims navigate narratives about Islam, gender, and sexuality within the embodied context

of pesantren life? As a counterpoint to Western LGBT dominant narratives on non-heteronormative gender and sexual discourses, this article argues that the complexities of queerness cannot be generalized into a singular conformation since such oversimplification risks further harm, coercion, and violation. By revisiting the notions of 'pride' and 'resilience', this study aims to centralize the perspectives of queer community from the margins of mainstream discourses.

Participants' Queer Religiosities: Narrative as Method, Narrative as Power

The narratives of Ji, Ro, Durga, and Fik demonstrate the layered intersections of religion, gender, and sexuality in the *pesantren* environment. While *pesantren* are often perceived as strictly heteronormative institutions, participants' accounts complicate such assumptions, revealing both subtle regulation and unexpected spaces of possibility. The analysis is organized around three interrelated themes: negotiating Islam and religious practice, navigating gender and sexuality, and articulating pride and resistance.

Table 1
Word–Meaning–Emphasis Analysis from Ji's Interview

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"making peace"	Uncertainty about reconciliation with self, faith, and sexuality	Process, not a final state	Self-acceptance is ongoing and unstable, reflecting negotiated religiosity rather than fixed belief
"survivor of sexual violence"	Naming trauma as the starting point of her story	Trauma as origin, not deviation	Sexuality is shaped by violence and survival, challenging moralistic readings of sexual behavior
"purity is always tied to virginity"	*Pesantren* teaching on womanhood	Gendered moral control	Religious morality functions as bodily discipline rooted in patriarchy
"I wanted to feel clean again"	Performing religious rituals after trauma	Cleansing, shame, repair	Ritual practice becomes a coping strategy rather than pure devotion
"talking about sexuality is talking about ourselves"	Sexuality as embodied experience	Centrality of the body	Sexuality is framed as existential and relational, not merely identity-based
"my body is constantly being claimed"	Body regulated by religion, state, society	Power over the body	The body becomes a site of contestation between multiple authorities
"so many cages"	Accumulated forms of control	Confinement	Queer life is shaped by layered systems of domination (religion, culture, law)

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"I believe what makes sense to my logic"	Faith filtered through reason	Critical agency	Religiosity is reconstructed through rational and ethical evaluation
"negotiation is inevitable"	Everyday strategy in social relations	Pragmatism	Resistance is subtle, relational, and contextual rather than confrontational
"I don't judge people by their looks"	Ethical stance toward others	Relational ethics	Queer ethics emerges through care, listening, and non-judgment
"Islam is just on my ID card"	Distance from institutional religion	Disidentification	Religious belonging is administrative rather than affective
"our bodies become a battlefield"	Intersection of religion, politics, culture	Conflict	Queer embodiment exposes how power operates through moral discourse
"use local terms like *waria*"	Preference for contextual language	Decolonial strategy	Knowledge production must be culturally situated to be effective
"pride can look different"	Critique of Western Pride models	Plurality	Queer resistance is not universal but shaped by local histories
"being strategic"	Choosing how and when to speak	Survival	Agency is exercised through careful navigation, not total visibility

Source: Ji, personal interview, April 17, 2025

Table 2
Word–Meaning–Emphasis Analysis from Ro's Interview

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"I didn't know there was a term for it"	Early same-sex attraction without language	Absence of vocabulary	Queerness emerges before identity labels, challenging identity-first models
"I enjoyed it at the time"	Same-sex intimacy in *pesantren*	Pleasure without moral framing	Desire exists outside moral panic before institutional judgment intervenes
"I was confused"	Emotional and cognitive uncertainty	Confusion as a phase	Confusion reflects structural silence around

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
			sexuality, not individual pathology
"maybe it was a sin, maybe not"	Ambivalence toward religious teaching	Moral uncertainty	Religious doctrine produces fear rather than clarity about sexuality
"I prayed, but the feelings came back"	Repeated ritual response	Persistence of desire	Desire resists religious discipline and cannot be erased through ritual
"I was afraid"	Awareness of sexual orientation	Fear	Fear is socially produced by dominant religious narratives
"I blended in"	Active participation in *pesantren* life	Conformity	Religious competence becomes a strategy for survival
"my father never stopped me"	Parental response to gender nonconformity	Acceptance	Family support mitigates religious and social violence
"no toxic masculinity at home"	Description of father's attitude	Alternative masculinity	Masculinity is shown as relational and caring, not dominant
"I was excluded by my teacher"	School response to gender expression	Institutional harm	Authority figures reproduce gender norms through exclusion
"I never cursed myself"	Response to guilt	Emotional resilience	Internalized shame is present but not fully internalized
"everything was up and down"	Fluctuating self-understanding	Instability	Sexual and religious identities are negotiated, not linear
"campus was still conservative"	Academic environment	Structural limitation	Higher education does not automatically produce critical openness
"Facebook was the only space"	Finding connection	Digital mediation	Queer networking adapts to technological and social constraints
"religiosity for me now is about values"	Redefinition of faith	Ethical shift	Lived religion moves from ritual obligation to moral practice
"my father is my heaven"	Meaning of devotion	Filial piety	Religious meaning is relocated into family ethics

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"I'm gay, I'm Muslim"	Self-naming	Integration	Identity conflict is resolved through coexistence, not hierarchy
"nothing is hidden anymore"	Current self-positioning	Wholeness	Visibility is internal rather than public or performative
"I don't feel the need to wave a rainbow flag"	Attitude toward Pride	Distance from global symbols	Pride is decoupled from Western visibility politics
"the rainbow doesn't represent me"	Emotional distance from symbols	Non-identification	Global queer symbols can alienate localized queer subjects
"I look like a straight man"	Gender presentation	Strategic passing	Masculine presentation functions as social negotiation
"this helps me move through society"	Effect of presentation	Pragmatism	Passing is framed as agency, not denial
"this is not pretending"	Clarifying intention	Authenticity	Authenticity is defined by comfort, not visibility
"we have our own forms of pride"	Local queer expressions	Plurality	Pride is culturally embedded and context-specific
"quiet battles"	Long-term struggle	Endurance	Queer resilience can be silent, gradual, and non-spectacular

Source: Ro, personal interview, April 23, 2025

Table 3
Word–Meaning–Emphasis Analysis from Durga's Interview

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"my father did domestic work"	Father cooked and cleaned	Role reversal	Gender roles are learned through practice, not nature
"domestic labor isn't fixed to gender"	Early realization	Fluidity	Gender is socially constructed through everyday arrangements
"my grandparents were very traditional"	Patriarchal household	Hierarchy	Extended family reproduces normative gender order

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"meals couldn't start until my grandfather ate"	Daily ritual	Male privilege	Patriarchy is normalized through routine practices
"I wanted to go to *pesantren*"	Personal initiative	Agency	Religious choice is not always imposed on women
"I didn't really know what *pesantren* was like"	Lack of prior knowledge	Uncertainty	Religious socialization begins without informed consent
"*kakak fans*"	Admiration toward senior girls	Same-gender affect	Homosocial and homoromantic bonds emerge in gender-segregated spaces
"she's handsome"	Masculine-coded admiration	Gender play	Masculinity is detached from male bodies
"giving birthday cakes"	Expressing affection	Materialized care	Desire is expressed indirectly through socially acceptable gestures
"people could tell which cake was expensive"	Observation of gifts	Class difference	Class shapes intimacy and visibility even in *pesantren*
"it wasn't always romantic"	Clarification	Ambiguity	Same-gender closeness resists clear sexual labeling
"we never talked about it openly"	Silence	Unspeakability	Queerness exists without language or confession
"no male students at all"	All-girls *pesantren*	Enclosure	Segregation intensifies same-gender emotional bonds
"tomboy seniors were admired"	Gender nonconformity	Positive valuation	Masculinity in women is tolerated or celebrated
"it felt normal back then"	Retrospective reflection	Normalization	Queer experiences are normalized before moral framing intervenes
"there was no term for it"	Lack of vocabulary	Linguistic absence	Queerness precedes identity categories
"only later I questioned it"	Temporal shift	Reflexivity	Meaning is produced retrospectively
"I learned gender roles at home"	Family influence	Socialization	Family is a primary site of gender learning
"*pesantren* shaped discipline"	Institutional influence	Regulation	Religious education disciplines bodies and time

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"it wasn't framed as sinful"	Absence of moral panic	Neutrality	Silence can be less violent than condemnation
"I didn't think of myself as lesbian"	Identity distancing	Non-identification	Desire does not automatically lead to identity adoption
"later I gained the language"	Exposure to discourse	Naming	Academic and activist spaces produce interpretive tools
"looking back, I see it differently"	Retrospective meaning	Reinterpretation	Narrative analysis shows meaning as temporally constructed
"gender felt flexible"	Embodied experience	Openness	*Pesantren* space allows limited gender experimentation
"my experience doesn't fit Western labels"	Critique of categories	Misfit	Western sexual identities fail to capture local realities
"it was part of growing up"	Life-stage framing	Ordinary development	Queer moments are integrated into life history, not isolated
"I wasn't resisting, just living"	Self-positioning	Non-confrontation	Queerness can exist without explicit resistance
"now I can name it"	Present awareness	Articulation	Knowledge enables reinterpretation without erasing the past

Source: Durga, personal interview, April 24, 2025

Table 4
Word–Meaning–Emphasis Analysis from Fik's Interview

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"I always felt different"	Early sense of gender incongruence	Persistence	Trans experience appears before language or recognition
"I was treated like a boy"	Social perception	Recognition	Gender is read through behavior rather than biology
"no one explicitly said it was wrong"	Absence of verbal sanction	Silence	Silence operates as tacit tolerance rather than acceptance

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"discipline mattered more than gender"	Pesantren values	Moral hierarchy	Religious institutions prioritize obedience over identity
"I followed the rules"	Daily practice	Compliance	Conformity becomes a survival strategy
"being a good santri protected me"	Moral performance	Instrumentality	Piety functions as social capital
"I prayed harder"	Religious intensification	Effort	Increased devotion as response to inner conflict
"God knows my heart"	Personal theology	Intimacy	Faith is individualized and internalized
"I never announced anything"	Lack of coming-out	Non-disclosure	Visibility is not necessary for authenticity
"my body adapted to the system"	Embodied adjustment	Endurance	Trans embodiment is shaped through institutional discipline
"uniforms mattered"	Clothing regulation	Material control	Gender is enforced through material culture
"I learned when to be silent"	Social skill	Timing	Silence is an active, learned competence
"I wasn't resisting, I was surviving"	Self-framing	Pragmatism	Survival reframes resistance in non-heroic terms
"people respected me for my commitment"	Social response	Merit	Respect is earned through religious labor
"my gender was not the main issue"	Relative importance	Decentering identity	Identity politics are not always central in lived experience
"faith came before identity"	Priority ordering	Hierarchy	Religious belonging structures self-understanding
"transition came much later"	Temporal delay	Sequence	Institutional context postpones bodily transition
"I needed stability first"	Material consideration	Security	Economic and social stability condition gender transition
"pesantren shaped my patience"	Long-term effect	Endurance	Religious discipline cultivates temporal endurance

Key Phrases (Participant's Language)	Immediate Meaning in Context	What Is Emphasized in the Sentence	Analytic Interpretation (Researcher's Reading)
"I don't blame pesantren"	Ethical stance	Nuance	Critique avoids simplification or total rejection
"it gave me structure"	Positive recollection	Ambivalence	Religious institutions are both restrictive and formative
"my struggle was quiet"	Mode of experience	Silence	Trans life unfolds through everyday endurance
"people think resistance must be loud"	Critique of activism	Reframing	Resistance can be invisible and slow
"my body learned to wait"	Embodied temporality	Delay	Trans embodiment is shaped by waiting
"now I choose when to speak"	Present agency	Control	Agency emerges through timing rather than exposure
"this is my way of being honest"	Self-definition	Authenticity	Authenticity is defined internally, not publicly
"I am still religious"	Continuing faith	Continuity	Trans identity does not necessitate religious rupture
"Islam taught me discipline, not hatred"	Theological reflection	Differentiation	Distinguishes doctrine from lived institutional practice

Source: Fik, personal interview, May 5, 2025

Negotiating Islam and Religious Practice: Participants' stories highlight the multiplicity of ways Islam is lived and experienced. Ji, a heterosexual cisgender ally, described pesantren education as deeply formative in shaping her spirituality, yet also contradictory, as official doctrines often diverged from the complexities of daily life. For queer participants, Islam was simultaneously a source of belonging and a site of struggle. Ro and Durga expressed ambivalence—feeling both alienated by rigid interpretations and comforted by personal practices of devotion. Rather than abandoning Islam, they cultivated individualized modes of piety, drawing strength from prayer and spirituality while resisting exclusionary theological claims.

Navigating Gender and Sexuality: Gender and sexuality were negotiated dynamically within the pesantren. Ro, a gay cisgender man, reflected on how close male friendships blurred the line between companionship and desire, suggesting that queer intimacies could exist even within an ostensibly heteronormative structure. Durga, a bisexual woman, emphasized how expectations of femininity restricted her freedom but also opened forms of solidarity with peers who questioned gender norms. Fik, a heterosexual trans man, faced challenges reconciling his gender identity with communal expectations, often relying on

discretion and resilience. Collectively, these accounts show that gender and sexuality are not static categories but lived and continuously renegotiated within institutional and cultural contexts.

Pride and Resistance: Expressions of pride and resistance diverged sharply from dominant Western models of visibility, such as Pride parades or public declarations of identity. Instead, participants described pride as the courage to live authentically, even in restrictive environments. Resistance was enacted through everyday practices: building supportive relationships, reinterpreting religious teachings, and crafting spaces of belonging within hostile settings. These strategies highlight forms of agency that refuse erasure without conforming to liberal frameworks of identity politics. Participants' stories suggest that resilience is found not only in confrontation but also in subtle, relational practices that sustain life and faith.

Melissa M. Wilcox's theorization of queer religiosities offers a valuable framework for understanding how religion and queerness do not merely coexist, but are deeply interwoven through stories, practices, identities, and forms of community-making—all of which are shaped by and respond to politics and power. Wilcox argues that queer individuals create meaningful spiritual lives not despite, but through their queer identities. As Wilcox suggests, the "queer" in queer religiosities is not only about sexuality, it is about destabilizing dominance and reimagining life from the margins. This article draws on Wilcox's multidimensional approach to analyze how queer Muslim participants, rather than reconciling two opposing identities, generate new, complex forms of religious life that disrupt both Western secular queer norms and dominant Islamic authority structures. Rather than re-narrating participants' life stories, this article critically examines how their embodied religious practices and strategies reveal structural gaps within both queer theory and religious studies (Islamic orthodoxy). By shifting focus to epistemology and exclusion, this article situates queer Muslim subjectivities as sites of decolonial thought, normative refusal, and spiritual-political reimagination.

Stories and Conversations: Narrating Resilience and Belonging

Storytelling among queer Muslims in this article emerges as a vital practice for affirming identity, navigating exclusion, and building community in contexts where both queerness and Islam are often marginalized. These conversations create space for layered identities and affective connections, shaping an archive of lived truths that are often rendered invisible. Ji, Fik, and Ro illustrate how personal conversations, whether whispered among neighbors or exchanged in moments of spiritual reflection, become acts of survival and meaning-making. Ji, for instance, connects her story of healing from sexual violence to a broader process of negotiating gendered expectations and reclaiming faith from patriarchal control. Meanwhile, Fik highlights the power of speaking in bahasa kampung to nurture everyday acceptance and reduce alienation, offering a powerful counter-narrative to imported Western models of queer visibility. Ro's connection to God is expressed through rituals like fasting and, more broadly, through everyday ethics. He emphasizes values like honesty, modesty, and rejecting corruption as forms of ibadah (worship). Rather than conforming to what people want to see, he lives by the principle, "I am the change I want to see." For Ro, faith is practiced through integrity and social responsibility, reflecting a quiet but meaningful spirituality rooted in action.

As seen in The Queer Muslim Project (TQMP), empowering queer Muslim storytellers and artists to become cultural producers contributes to a more inclusive and decolonized narrative landscape, disrupting both homonormative visibility politics and racialized exclusions embedded in mainstream Pride culture (The Queer Muslim Project,

n.d.). The personal narrative featured in Magdalene. Co's article, Journey to Self-Acceptance: A Queer Muslim Woman's Story. In the article, the author recounts her journey of self-discovery and acceptance, highlighting the internal conflicts she faces as she reconciles her queer identity with her Islamic faith. She describes her relationship with a female friend as a source of genuine love and spiritual fulfillment, contrasting it with the performative nature of her previous heterosexual relationship, which was driven by societal expectations. She narrates how her love for another woman, once a source of inner conflict, gradually became a space of self-acceptance and even a sense of spiritual closeness with God. She states that although many believe she is far from religious truth, she feels "Allah is not that far from me," a statement that reframes queer love not as spiritual failure, but as a site of divine intimacy. These narratives challenge the conventional understanding of hidayah (divine guidance), suggesting that embracing one's authentic self can also be a form of spiritual enlightenment (Amartya, 2023).

Similarly, in Samra Habib's Just Me and Allah project, a participant from Sweden shares how breaking ties with his conservative family enabled him to finally choose what Islam meant to him, instead of allowing others to define it. Another participant, a trans woman from Mali, recounts facing brutal violence but insists, "In my heart, I'm still Muslim," revealing a form of faith that persists beyond exclusion and trauma. Another participant, like Christelle's story, as featured in Just Me and Allah, offers a striking illustration of how queer Muslims navigate complex intersections of race, religion, and sexuality, often resisting reductive and exclusionary narratives imposed on their identities. Growing up in Paris within a family divided between evangelical Christianity and Sunni Islam, she experienced both Islamophobia from her Christian relatives and racialized assumptions from broader French society. Her reflection on being questioned about how she can be "Black and Muslim," or why she does not conform to external markers of Muslim piety, such as wearing a hijab or having an "Islamic-sounding" name, reveals the multiple layers of scrutiny queer Muslims of color endure. Her story also reveals how resilience is cultivated through conversation and care within marginalized communities: she felt safe to come out only to her Muslim family, where expressions of tolerance and acceptance allowed her to embrace her whole self. At the same time, Christelle critiques the whiteness of the mainstream LGBT scene in Paris, where non-conforming identities and racialized queer experiences are often erased (Habib, 2016).

Practices: Queer Embodiment of Religion and Performing Queer Faith

Religious practice among queer Muslims in this article is rarely about mere ritual compliance; it is deeply intertwined with identity, memory, and survival. In this study, participants engaged with Islamic practices such as prayer, fasting, modest dress, or recitation not to fulfill external expectations, but to embody a faith that speaks to their lived truths. This section, drawn from each participant's story, illustrates how faith is not simply practiced—it is performed, reshaped, and reimagined through queer and trans experiences within and beyond pesantren life. These participant stories demonstrate that religious practice, far from being static or uniform, is shaped by the intersecting realities of queerness, gender, and pesantren life. Whether it is through Fik's interfaith prayer, Ro's ethical behavior, or Ji and Durga's reinterpretation of ritual, queer Muslims continually reframe what it means to embody faith. Their practices are not simply adaptations but acts of world-building, resisting religious exclusion and asserting their place within Islam on their own terms.

The values reflected in these practices align with The Muslim Alliance for Sexual and Gender Diversity (MASGD) 's vision. This community-led initiative centers the most marginalized within Muslim and queer communities. MASGD challenges structural forms of exclusion, including racism, misogyny, xenophobia, and capitalism—while offering space for

LGBTQ+ and gender-diverse Muslims to cultivate joy, spiritual belonging, and communal care. Their programming supports cultural expression and peer solidarity rooted in a shared resistance to white, Christian-centric definitions of "Muslimness." Like MASGD's mission, the participants in this study enact spiritual practices that resist the gaze of both religious orthodoxy and Western secular liberalism. Their religious embodiment is not aimed at assimilation or visibility but at affirming a queer Muslim life that is relational, plural, and ethically grounded. In these ways, participants do not simply perform Islamic rituals—they remake them, transforming them into living expressions of queer resistance and hope (The MASGD, n.d.).

For instance, Durga reinterprets religiosity as a feminist ethic in her academic work, using Islamic values to advocate for gender justice. Ro views everyday virtues like honesty and anti-corruption as acts of worship, shifting the meaning of ibadah beyond formal rituals. Fik reclaims pesantren teachings on sincerity and humility to affirm his identity as a trans man. Even Ji, as an ally, draws from Islamic ethics of compassion and trust to support queer inclusion. These examples show how participants actively reframe Islamic practices and values through their lived experiences.

Identities: Becoming Queerly Religious

For the queer Muslims in this article, identity is not a stable label but a continuous journey shaped by the shifting terrains of faith, gender, sexuality, culture, and memory. Becoming "queerly religious" is not about fitting into predefined categories of either Islam or queerness; it is about actively engaging with both in ways that honor complexity, fluidity, and survival. The participants in this study demonstrate that identity formation is a relational and ongoing process, marked by self-exploration, resistance to imposed norms, and the desire to belong without erasure. These personal narratives resonate with the work of organizations like Hidayah UK, a British-based initiative that supports LGBTQ+ Muslims and promotes social justice through education and advocacy. Hidayah UK challenges various forms of discrimination—including those based on gender identity, sexual orientation, race, or religion—while creating spaces for queer Muslims to define themselves outside of stigma and silencing. Their commitment to equality and awareness reflects the broader goal of enabling queer Muslims to live with dignity and integrity across all aspects of their identities. Like the participants in this study, Hidayah UK's work shows that becoming queerly religious is not about reconciling two opposites, but about inhabiting multiple truths, resisting erasure, and building identities that speak to both divine connection and everyday struggle (Hidayah LGBT, n.d.).

Fik, a trans man who lived as a santri for nearly a decade, embodies this process. Coming into his identity meant not only claiming his gender but also rethinking his relationship to Islamic masculinity. Fik does not rely on Western visibility politics or Pride-centric narratives to assert himself. Instead, he draws strength from his cultural grounding in everyday life—a form of relational masculinity rooted in softness, humility, and local wisdom. For him, becoming queerly religious involves reshaping Islam through a trans-inclusive ethic that does not sacrifice faith or cultural belonging. His identity is not divided between being Muslim and being trans; rather, these facets of self are interwoven through embodied practice and ethical life.

Durga, a bisexual cis woman from Bugis heritage, similarly rejects narrow definitions of gender and sexuality. Her pesantren experience was shaped by pressure to conform to idealized femininity, yet she maintained a critical relationship with those norms. She describes her queerness as a source of spiritual insight rather than contradiction. In her narrative, becoming queerly religious means refusing to see Islam and queerness as incompatible and

instead drawing from both traditions to form an identity rooted in justice, mercy, and critical reflection. Durga's story reflects a form of resistance grounded in cultural specificity and feminist spirituality.

Ro offers a powerful example of how queer Muslim identity is often formed in opposition to both religious and secular expectations. He spoke of how, in pesantren, he performed piety to protect himself but never truly internalized the shame projected onto him. As he began to accept his sexuality, he also reclaimed his right to define Islam on his own terms. Ro's sense of self was never static; it evolved through silent defiance, inner conversations with God, and queer friendships that affirmed his worth. For him, becoming queerly religious is an act of survival and spiritual self-definition.

Ji, though not queer-identified, offers an important perspective as an ally navigating gender and trauma. Her identity is shaped by a commitment to inclusive interpretations of Islam, where healing, emotion, and solidarity matter just as much as ritual and doctrine. Ji's position as a cis heterosexual woman gives her proximity to traditional Muslim spaces, yet she uses that position to affirm queer life and question patriarchal readings of the Quran. Her allyship is rooted in practice and personal transformation—an identity built not only around beliefs but around a reimagined relationship to others and to the Divine.

Communities: Living Beyond Binaries

In queer Muslim experience, community is rarely found in neat, predefined spaces. It is not always a mosque, an activist circle, or an LGBTQ+ organization. Instead, it often takes the form of whispered solidarity, quiet care, shared rituals, and coded expressions of recognition. For the participants in this study, community is not about institutional belonging but about relational survival—about forming connections that make it possible to stay alive, stay Muslim, and stay queer in settings that frequently deny all three.

This relational form of community is evident in how Durga finds belonging not through formal institutions but through a close circle of queer friends who share spiritual reflection and emotional support. Fik describes building "chosen family" with fellow activists and queer peers who affirm his gender identity while also engaging in Islamic discussions and practices. For Ro, community emerges through informal gestures, such as gathering with his peers at the volleyball court. Even Ji, as an ally, shares that simple acts like listening without judgment or offering shelter to queer friends can be expressions of solidarity.

What unites these narratives is not the desire for visibility, but the desire to live whole, complicated lives. These are communities that do not always meet in mosques or parades, but in cafes, campuses, libraries, warungs, and in sacred moments of being understood. They resist the binary that equates community with structure or politics. In their place, participants create something quieter and more powerful: networks of emotional safety, spiritual care, and ethical belonging. These spaces live outside the gaze of both religious authorities and neoliberal LGBTQ+ visibility campaigns. They are not built for pride; they are built for each other.

These stories demonstrate that queer Muslim communities are not always formal or visible. They form in margins, yet they do not reproduce marginality—they reimagine belonging on terms that reject binaries: queer vs. religious, visible vs. closeted, authentic vs. impure. In these counterpublic spaces, spirituality is not policed, and identity is not fixed. Community becomes an act of resistance against systems that ask queer Muslims to fragment themselves to survive. By living beyond binaries, participants reclaim faith, kinship, and healing on their own terms.

Power and Politics: Negotiating Visibility and Safety

The politics of coming out and being visible as a queer or allied Muslim is not shaped by identity alone—it is profoundly influenced by professional context and institutional risk. In this study, participants' openness about their queerness or allyship closely intersects with their careers and the spaces they occupy. Ro and Fik, both involved in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with inclusive or progressive mandates, describe a growing ease in expressing their gender identities. Their activist environments provide language, peer support, and structural protection, allowing them to be more public about their queer Muslim selves. Ji, a heterosexual ally, also credits her openness about queer rights and inclusive Islamic ethics to her involvement in an NGO space where such conversations are normalized and encouraged. By contrast, Durga's professional setting—an Islamic university—presents more complex challenges. Despite her deep engagement with feminist and queer-friendly interpretations of Islam, she remains cautious about disclosing her bisexual identity in academic or institutional settings. The tension she faces highlights how Islamic academic spaces often demand performative piety and heteronormativity, limiting the possibility of being openly queer without institutional repercussions. These differences illustrate that visibility is not just a personal choice but a negotiation with institutional power, professional expectations, and the imagined audience.

While professional contexts significantly shape how participants manage visibility, so too do the differing social norms of religious and secular environments. For many queer Muslims with pesantren backgrounds, visibility is not simply about declaring identity—it is about surviving multiple, often contradictory, moral expectations. Fik, for example, finds greater comfort expressing his identity in NGO and peer spaces but remains cautious in village religious gatherings or Islamic forums, where his gender identity may be questioned. His experience of pesantren discipline—particularly the binary enforcement of male and female roles—continues to inform his sensitivity to how masculinity is policed in Islamic contexts. Ro, despite his openness in activist settings, still withholds parts of his identity in familial and formal religious spaces, recalling how pesantren life taught him to read the room carefully and perform piety strategically. Durga's case is even more layered: while her academic position in an Islamic university aligns her with religious authority, it simultaneously restricts her from expressing her whole identity. She often engages with queer and feminist ideas under the language of "critical Islamic studies" rather than identity politics, illustrating a tactic of coded intellectual resistance.

Meanwhile, Ji, as a cis-heterosexual ally, finds she can navigate both religious and secular spaces more freely, yet remains aware of when and how to express her solidarity. These narratives reveal that visibility is not a stable or binary condition—it is a shifting negotiation shaped by institutional power, religious memory, and spatial context. For queer Muslims with pesantren pasts, coming out is not a one-time act but an ongoing calibration between safety, authenticity, and relational ethics.

Telling Stories as Decolonial Reimagination on Queer Theory and Religious Studies

To theorize queer Muslim storytelling as decolonial, this article draws on the insights of scholars such as Ghorashi (2021) and Plummer (2020) to center the politics of storytelling, not as individual expression but as epistemological resistance. These stories resist the Whiteness of mainstream LGBTQ+ visibility politics, as well as the patriarchal gatekeeping of Islamic institutions. They embody what this article calls strategic opacity, an ethics of storytelling where partial truths, silences, and coded speech are not failures, but forms of survival and spiritual integrity. Thus, narrative becomes both method and object—a tool of

research, and a terrain where queer Muslims remake the conditions of their existence. This reflects what Ghorashi (2021) terms the normalizing power of dominant discourse, in which even progressive or human rights settings often condition which kinds of "diversity" are acceptable. Participants use narrative selectively and strategically—not because they are inauthentic, but because they are engaged in a form of discursive negotiation. Visibility becomes a calculated decision, not a linear liberation arc.

Within the lives of queer Muslims, storytelling is not just a means of communication; it is a method of survival, resistance, and self-definition. This article treats narrative not only as a methodological tool, but as a site of power negotiation where participants challenge institutionalized norms around queerness, Islam, and visibility. The very act of telling one's story, particularly in relation to taboo identities, is a form of reclaiming space in discourses that have historically excluded or misrepresented queer Muslim subjectivities. What emerges from these narratives is that visibility is not a singular act or linear process. It is a strategic negotiation shaped by profession, religion, memory, and audience. For queer Muslims with pesantren pasts, coming out is never only personal—it is deeply political, situated within broader histories of silencing and survival. As this article has shown, the ability to narrate one's identity is often unequally distributed, and the risks of visibility are inseparable from institutional power. Participants resist these constraints not always by being loud, but by being careful. Their stories reflect what this article calls a decolonial queer ethics—a mode of storytelling that values ambiguity, emotional labor, and relational care over the liberal demand for full disclosure. In this way, queer Muslims do not simply come out; they craft new languages of belonging, refusing the binaries of visibility vs. closeting and of resistance vs. silence.

As Clegg (1993) argues, narratives are entangled with the reproduction and contestation of social order; they do not float freely, but are shaped and constrained by the structures within which they are told. In religious institutions such as pesantren, or academic environments like Islamic universities, narrative boundaries are tightly policed. What can be said, how it can be said, and who is allowed to speak are all governed by institutional and moral codes. Participants such as Durga and Fik demonstrate this in their careful navigation of language, gesture, and audience, revealing that narrative power is never equally distributed. Essers (2009) highlights how emotions, social location, and institutional context affect the construction of life stories. For Durga, who operates within a religious academic institution, narrative becomes coded and cautious. She cannot openly speak of her bisexual identity, but instead weaves feminist and ethical questions into her teaching—an act of narrative subversion that offers critical knowledge without triggering direct institutional backlash. Meanwhile, Fik's embodiment as a transman is narrated differently depending on context: in non-pesantren spaces, his trans masculinity is affirmed; in pesantren-derived settings, it is softened, or left ambiguous to preserve safety.

Queer Epistemologies of Faith: Queer Muslim Religiosities and Knowledge-Making of Every Day Life Religion

Queer Muslims do not simply inhabit multiple marginalized identities; they unsettle the very foundations of what has long been considered "queer" or "religious." In both mainstream queer theory and secular LGBTQ politics, religion, especially Islam, has been framed as inherently conservative, patriarchal, or incompatible with sexual and gender diversity. This article engages with recent critical interventions that question such secular biases within queer theory and instead foreground the lived spiritual and epistemic practices of queer Muslims as sources of theory, ethics, and world-making. The stories of this study's participants, Fik,

Ro, Durga, and Ji, illustrate that religiosity is not merely a background to queerness, but a co-constitutive force in shaping what this article calls queer epistemologies of faith.

As Jenzen and Munt (2016) in A. Pattison & L. Woodhead (Eds.) argue that queer theory has historically constructed its subject as post-religious, rooted in a Western secular framework that equates liberation with the rejection of institutional religion. This model marginalizes the experiences of queer people whose religious identities are not only intact but central to their sense of self. Participants in this study complicate such a narrative. Fik, a heterosexual trans man, shared how Islamic principles of compassion, humility, and community helped him survive both gender transition and familial estrangement. His spirituality is not a contradiction of his queerness but a source of ethical strength. Ro, a gay cis man, still engages in personal rituals of dzikr (prayer and remembrance), even though these are carried out privately. These stories reveal that queer Muslim religiosity is not an exception to queerness; it is a queer modality of faith itself.

Khan (2020) critiques "queer secularity" as a framework that disciplines queer subjects into conformity with secular visibility politics, often rendering religious expressions of queerness illegible or backward. In Indonesia, this tension becomes particularly acute for participants like Durga, a bisexual cis woman and academic in an Islamic university. She carefully moderates how she speaks about gender and sexuality, often using academic discourse or theological terms to express what cannot be directly named. Her experience reflects Khan's critique that queer Muslims must often translate their faith or their queerness to be legible in dominant spaces, both religious and secular. Her story is not one of "closeting," but of epistemic negotiation. Building on this, Schippert (2011) argues that religion should be studied not just as a system of belief but as an embodied and performative practice shaped by gender, desire, and social location. This is visible in Durga's story of performing ritual while queering its meanings, or Ro's quiet defiance of heteronormative mosque culture by simply existing. Religion, for these participants, is not abandoned or repressed; it is queered through lived contradiction and survival.

Finally, Melissa M. Wilcox (2019) offers a framework to rethink queer and religious studies through what she calls "theory in the interstices", the knowledge that emerges from in-between, contradictory spaces. This concept is central to this article. Participants do not fit neatly into categories of devout Muslim or secular queer. Instead, they inhabit what Wilcox calls interstitial spaces, where new ways of knowing, believing, and resisting are forged. Their testimonies unsettle the academic disciplines they are often made to serve: queer theory, which can demand secular visibility; and religious studies, which can demand doctrinal purity. Their stories instead offer a third space—what this article calls queer epistemologies of faith.

Conclusion

The narratives of queer Muslims from pesantren environments underscore the urgent need to provincialize dominant frameworks in queer theory and religious studies. Much of the scholarship on queer lives has been shaped by Euro-American histories where visibility, rights, and public recognition are seen as the hallmarks of liberation (Warner, 1999; Butler, 1990). While such frameworks have generated transformative possibilities in the Global North, they risk becoming universalized models that inadequately account for the lived experiences of queer people in other contexts. The participants in this study illustrate that pride and resistance cannot be reduced to public performance or liberal rights discourse. Instead, they are expressed through everyday practices of resilience, relationality, and spirituality.

This study thus complicates the narrative that religion is inherently antithetical to queerness. Participants' accounts reveal that Islamic religiosity does not simply function as a structure of exclusion but as a terrain of negotiation where belonging, piety, and critique co-exist. These findings resonate with broader scholarly calls to approach religiosity as lived, contextual, and fluid (Wilcox, 2019; Mahmood, 2005). For queer Muslims in Indonesia, Islam is not abandoned but reinterpreted in ways that affirm their identities and resist heteropatriarchal dominance. This challenges binary models that juxtapose secular queerness against religious orthodoxy, opening space for theorizing queer religiosities that center faith as a source of agency rather than solely repression.

At the same time, participants' narratives offer a decolonial critique of queer studies itself. By grounding analysis in local realities, they expose the limitations of theories that assume universal categories of pride, resistance, and identity. The relational practices, quiet resistances, and embodied religiosities described by Ji, Ro, Durga, and Fik suggest that decolonial queer theory must take seriously epistemologies that emerge from outside the Global North (Lugones, 2010; Puar, 2007). Rather than treating non-Western queer lives as peripheral, their narratives highlight alternative models of queer survival that challenge dominant discourses on their own terms.

This thesis contributes to scholarship by demonstrating how queer religiosities, as narrated by queer Muslims in Indonesia, act as a critical site for rethinking and queering both religious studies and queer theory. Rather than being passive subjects of doctrinal interpretation or secular critique, the participants in this study, Ji, Ro, Durga, and Fik, embody faith in ways that resist essentialist and binary frameworks. Their practices of devotion, reinterpretation, and ethical living show that queer Muslims are not outside religion, but actively reshaping it. These challenges dominant assumptions in queer theory that often marginalize religion as inherently repressive, while also unsettling religious studies that continue to privilege heteronormative readings of scripture and tradition. In doing so, this study affirms queer Muslims as agents of theoretical transformation, who expand the epistemological horizons of both fields by insisting that queerness and faith are not mutually exclusive but deeply entangled.

Bibliography

Alfikar, A. (2023). *Queer Menafsir Teologi Islam untuk Ragam Ketubuhan*. Penerbit Gading.

Amartya. (2023, May 11). *Journey to Self-Acceptance: A Queer Muslim Woman's Story*. Magdalene.Co. https://magdalene.co/story/a-queer-muslim-woman-story/

Blackwood, E. (2010). *Falling into the lesbi world: Desire and Difference in Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Boellstorff, T. D. (2000). *The Gay Archipelago: Postcolonial Sexual Subjectivities in Indonesia*. Stanford University.

Brown, G., Browne, K., Elmhirst, R., & Hutta, S. (2010). Sexualities in/of the Global South. *Geography Compass*, *4*(10), 1567–1579. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00382.x

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Clegg, S. R. (1993). Narrative, Power, and Social Theory. In *Narrative and Social Control: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 15–46). SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483345277.n2

Dalton, D. (2023). Is There a Space to Fight Back? Exclusionary Queer and Islamic Spaces and Resistance from Queer Muslims. In *Justice After Stonewall* (pp. 307–328). Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781003286295-29

Davies, S. G. (2010). Surveilling sexuality in Indonesia. *Journal of Sex Research, 47*(4), 361–368.

Davies, S. G. (2018). *Gender diversity in Indonesia: Sexuality, Islam and queer selves*. Routledge.

Durga. (2025, April 24). *Personal interview*.

Eng, D. L., Halberstam, J., & Muñoz, J. E. (2005). Introduction: What's queer about queer studies now? *Social Text, 23*(3–4), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-23-3-4_84-1

Essers, C. (2009). Reflections on the Narrative Approach: Dilemmas of Power, Emotions and Social Location while Constructing Life-Stories. *Organization*, *16*(2), 163–181. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508408100473

Fik. (2025, May 5). *Personal interview*.

Ghorashi, H. (2021). Normalising Power and Engaged Narrative Methodology: Refugee Women, the Forgotten Category in the Public Discourse. *Feminist Review*, *129*(1), 48–63. https://doi.org/10.1177/01417789211041089

Habib, S. (2016, June 15). What's it Like to be Queer and Muslim? Let this Photographer Show You. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jun/15/queer-muslims-samra-habib-portraits-just-me-and-allah

Habib, S. (2009). *Islam and homosexuality*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Hidayah LGBT. (n.d.). Hidayah LGBT+. Retrieved July 7, 2025, from

https://hidayahlgbt.com/

Ji. (2025, April 17). *Personal interview*.

Kasmani, O. (2023). *Pakistan Desires: Queer Futures Elsewhere*. Duke University Press.

Khan, A. (2020). Queer Secularity. *Lambda Nordica*, *25*(1), 133–139. https://doi.org/10.34041/ln.v25.626

Koeswinarno. (2007). *Kehidupan Beragama Waria Muslim di Yogyakarta* [Doctoral's Dissertation, Universitas Gadjah Mada]. https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/36421

Kugle, S. S. al-H. (2010). *Homosexuality in Islam: Critical reflection on Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims*. Oxford: Oneworld.

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a Decolonial Feminism. *Hypatia, 25*(4), 742–759. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2010.01137.x

Mahmood, S. (2005). *Politics of piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Minwalla, O., Rosser, B. R. S., Feldman, J., & Varga, C. (2005). Identity Experience Among Progressive Gay Muslims in North America: A Qualitative Study within Al-Fatiha. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *7*(2), 113–128. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691050412331321294

Osman, M. (2023). Queering Jihad in South Africa: Islam, Queerness, and Liberative Praxis. *Religions*, *14*(9), 1081. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091081

Pereira, P. P. G. (2019). *Queer in the Tropics: Gender and Sexuality in the Global South*. Springer.

Peumans, W. (2018). *Queer Muslims in Europe*. I.B. Tauris. http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350987654

Plummer, K. (2019). "Whose Side are We On?" Revisited: Narrative Power, Narrative Inequality, and a Politics of Narrative Humanity. *Symbolic Interaction*, *43*(1), 46–71. https://doi.org/10.1002/symb.449

Puar, J. K. (2007). *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Pui-Lan, K., & Donaldson, L. E. (2015). *Postcolonialism, Feminism and Religious Discourse*. Routledge.

Ritchie, J. (2010). How Do You Say "Come Out Of The Closet" In Arabic? *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, *16*(4), 557–575. https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2010-004

Ro. (2025, April 23). *Personal interview*.

Rodriguez, D. G. (2019). Queer Religious Geographies? Qu(e)erying Indonesian Muslim Selves. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *27*(9), 1326–1347. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369x.2019.1693343

Rodriguez, D. G. (2023a). *Gender, Sexuality and Islam in Contemporary Indonesia: Queer Muslims and their Allies*. Taylor & Francis.

Rodriguez, D. G. (2023b). Who are the Allies of Queer Muslims? Situating Pro-Queer Religious Activism in Indonesia. In *Gender, Sexuality and Islam in Contemporary Indonesia* (pp. 152–178). Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781003302490-7

Rosyidah, S. K. (2017). Pengaruh Globalisasi dalam Perkembangan Perjuangan Identitas dan Hak Kelompok LGBT di Indonesia. *Global and Policy Journal of International Relations*, *5*(02).

Roy, A. (2020). *Gender, Sexuality, Decolonization: South Asia in the world perspective*. Taylor & Francis.

Safitri, D. M. (2011). *Piety Revisited : the Case of Pesantren Khusus Waria Alfattah Senin-Kamis Yogyakarta* [Master's Article, Universitas Gadjah Mada]. https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/52873

Schippert, C. (2011). Implications of Queer Theory for the Study of Religion and Gender: Entering the Third Decade. *Religion and Gender*, *1*(1), 66–84. https://doi.org/10.1163/18785417-00101004

Singh, J. N. (2021). Language, Gender and Sexuality in 2020. *Gender and Language*, *15*(2). https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.20311

Suvianita, K. (2023). *Negotiation, Discourse, and Belonging of Lived Religion: The Case of Muslim and Catholic Waria* [Doctoral's Dissertation, Universitas Gadjah Mada]. https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/229980

The MASGD. (n.d.). MASGD. Retrieved July 7, 2025, from https://www.themasgd.org/

The Queer Muslim Project. (n.d.). Retrieved July 1, 2025, from https://tqmp.in/

Thompson, K. D. (2019). Becoming Muslims with a "Queer Voice": Indexical Disjuncture in the Talk of LGBT Members of the Progressive Muslim community. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *30*(1), 123–144. https://doi.org/10.1111/jola.12256

Warner, M. (1999). *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wilcox, M. M. (2019). *Queer Religiosities: An Introduction to Queer and Transgender Studies in Religion*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Yip, A. K. T. (2004). Negotiating Space with Family and Kin in Identity Construction: The Narratives of British Non-heterosexual Muslims. *The Sociological Review, 52*(3), 336–350. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2004.00483.x

Yip, A. K. T. (2016). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Contemporary Religion and Sexuality*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315612836