

Analysis of Pink Tourism From A Queer Criminology Perspective: The Dynamics of Perception and Stigma Experienced By Transpuan In Jakarta

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Abstract.

Jakarta's rapid growth as an urban tourism hub has coincided with its quiet integration into the global "pink tourism" network, a market segment oriented toward LGBTQ+ travelers. Yet this integration unfolds inside a society still governed by strong heteronormative and religious norms, creating a persistent tension between economic openness and social exclusion. This study examines how public perception, social norms, and mechanisms of social control shape the lived experience of transpuan (trans women) who are visible participants in Jakarta's entertainment and tourism spaces. Using a qualitative descriptive design and data triangulation across in-depth interviews with five purposively selected informants, literature review, and documentary analysis, the study applies the interactive analysis model of data condensation, display, and conclusion drawing. Findings show that stigma toward transpuan operates in a layered and sector-specific manner: tourism-industry actors tend to accept transpuan on economic and functional grounds, while the wider community extends only conditional tolerance rooted in religious and moral narratives, and state institutions maintain formally non-discriminatory administrative access while tolerating informal, identity-based enforcement. Read through a Queer Criminology lens, these patterns reveal a form of symbolic criminalization in which transpuan identity itself, rather than any proven unlawful act, becomes sufficient grounds for surveillance, restriction, and exclusion. The study also documents transpuan agency and resilience through advocacy, digital adaptation, and participation in the tourism economy. The research contributes to Indonesian criminology by repositioning transpuan as legitimate subjects of analysis and offers practical implications for inclusive tourism policy in Jakarta.

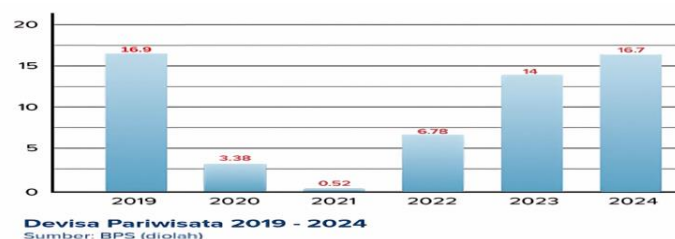
Keywords: pink tourism, queer criminology, stigma, transpuan, social control and Jakarta.

I. INTRODUCTION

Jakarta, as Indonesia's capital and primary metropolitan center, is one of the most complex sites of urban tourism dynamics in Southeast Asia. As a global city, Jakarta functions not only as an economic and business hub but also as a meeting point for diverse social groups, cultures, and identities from around the world [1]. Its nightlife spaces, urban lifestyle offerings, and expressions of identity make the city an arena where norms, values, and identities intersect and frequently contest one another.

Indonesia's tourism sector has experienced remarkable recovery and growth in recent years, particularly after the COVID-19 pandemic. According to the *Tourism Snapshot Vol. 1 No. 1, 2025: Beyond Recovery — Toward Transformation in Indonesia's Tourism Resiliency*, tourism foreign-exchange earnings peaked at US\$16.9 billion in 2019, before falling sharply during 2020–2021 due to the pandemic. Recovery became visible in 2022, when earnings rose to US\$6.78 billion alongside policy relaxation and increasing numbers of foreign visitors, and continued through 2023 with earnings nearly doubling to US\$14.0 billion, climbing further to US\$16.7 billion in the period shown below.

Fig. 1. Tourism foreign exchange earnings, 2019–2024.



Source: Statistics Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik).

Indonesia's global competitiveness has likewise improved. The Travel and Tourism Development Index (TTDI) placed Indonesia 22nd out of 119 countries in 2024, up ten places from 32nd in 2023 — the largest score increase among ASEAN countries during 2019–2024, with Indonesia's TTDI score rising from 4.3 in 2019 to 4.46 in 2024 [1].

Beyond its overall ranking, Indonesia's performance across individual TTDI pillars further illustrates this progress: 3rd in the world for *Prioritization of Travel and Tourism*, reflecting government commitment to positioning tourism as a strategic development sector; 5th for *Demand Sustainability of Travel and Tourism*; 8th for the *Natural Resources* pillar; and 10th for *Socioeconomic Impact of Travel and Tourism*.

Behind these macro-level achievements, however, the growth of an increasingly open and globally connected urban tourism sector also brings more complex social dynamics — particularly as tourism spaces intersect with questions of gender-identity and sexuality diversity emerging in major cities such as Jakarta. This openness has given rise to what tourism scholarship calls "pink tourism": tourism that consciously targets LGBTQ+ communities, non-normative gender identities, and non-heteronormative sexual orientations as a market segment [2], [3]. Pink tourism offers considerable potential as a platform for identity expression, social acceptance, and market diversification, yet in Indonesia it is persistently entangled with conservative social attitudes, heteronormative norms, and the risk of social stigma directed at queer identities.

International digital platforms have begun listing Jakarta as an LGBTQ+-friendly destination, describing the city's nightlife, hospitality facilities, and social environment as relatively accommodating for gay and transgender travelers.

Fig. 2. Website The Gay Passport

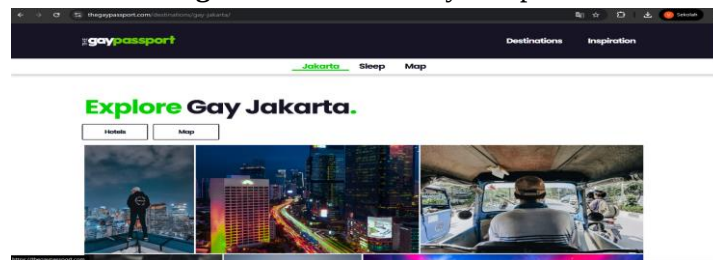
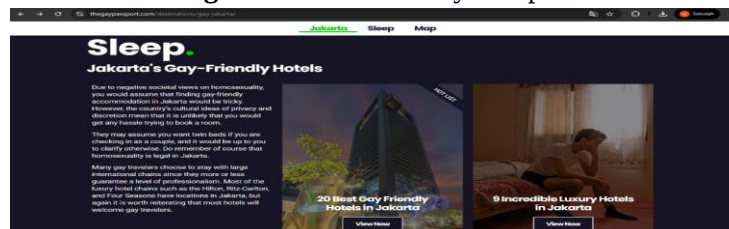


Fig. 3. Website The Gay Passport



The existence of such platforms shows that Jakarta has, in effect, entered the global pink-tourism network without this necessarily reflecting genuine social acceptance at the community level. Foreign visitors from countries with higher LGBTQ+ acceptance bring social and cultural values that differ from Indonesia's dominant heteronormative norms [4]. As a result, Jakarta's entertainment and tourism spaces become sites where global inclusivity meets local values that still regard LGBTQ+ presence as controversial, and where *transpuan* and other queer individuals in public space become objects not merely of social diversity but of stigma, labeling, and social surveillance [5].

Transpuan occupy a particularly ambiguous urban position. On one hand, they are integrated into city life through entertainment, beauty, and social sectors connected to tourism; on the other, they routinely face discrimination rooted in gender identities perceived as deviating from dominant norms [6]. From a Queer Criminology perspective, this condition reflects a social construction of queer identity that is persistently attached to stigma and labeling even when no criminal act has occurred [7]. This perspective illuminates how groups with non-heteronormative identities undergo marginalization through norms that draw boundaries between what is considered "normal" and "deviant" — positioning pink tourism in Jakarta not merely as a

global tourism-industry phenomenon but as a social space revealing power relations, social control, and stigma construction directed at queer groups, particularly *transpuan* [5].

Indonesia's position as the country with the world's largest Muslim population intensifies this tension. Religious values held by the majority frame non-heteronormative sexual identity as contrary to religious and cultural norms, rendering LGBTQ+ existence not merely a matter of personal identity but a perceived threat to public moral order [5]. This condition sustains an ongoing public debate across society, policy discourse, religious discourse, and social media, which frequently produces stigmatizing narratives toward this group.

This moral debate disproportionately channels labeling and stigma toward *transpuan*, whose physical visibility in public space makes them the most immediate target of social stigma, since their presence is widely perceived as a tangible representation of "gender deviance" by a public still anchored in heteronormative norms [8]. This stigma operates not only interpersonally but structurally, linking *transpuan* identity to criminality, immorality, and social disorganization despite the absence of strong empirical grounding [9]. Some segments of society further perceive *transpuan* as a driving factor behind the growth of the LGBTQ+ community and pink tourism itself, since their visibility in urban entertainment spaces is seen as normalizing a queer identity that conflicts with local religious and cultural values [12]. This reinforces a layered stigma faced by *transpuan*: stigma tied to gender identity, and stigma tied to their position within an entertainment ecosystem associated with pink tourism [10].

Within Jakarta specifically, this tension intensifies. Jakarta offers relatively open entertainment and tourism spaces that attract LGBTQ+ tourists from within and outside Indonesia, yet strong social norms and public morality place *transpuan* engaged in the entertainment sector or sex work in a highly vulnerable position, exposed to both informal social control (rejection, ostracism, stigma) and formal control (raids, enforcement operations, and regulation) [9]. Empirical findings confirm that *transpuan* as a transgender women's group in Indonesia experience high levels of stigma and discrimination that directly affect their access to formal employment, physical security, and social welfare [10].

Based on this background, the present study addresses two research questions: (1) how does public perception dynamics regarding pink tourism unfold in Jakarta, and (2) what problems do *transpuan* involved in pink tourism activities in Jakarta face when examined through a Queer Criminology lens. Accordingly, the study aims to analyze the dynamics of perception toward *transpuan* within pink tourism from a Queer Criminology perspective, and to understand the social experience of *transpuan* in confronting stigma, labeling, and social control.

Academically, this study addresses the near-absence of *transpuan* as serious subjects of criminological analysis in Indonesia, applying the Queer Criminology framework to read stigma and social norms as systemic control mechanisms rather than incidental prejudice [11], [7]. Practically, it seeks to provide policymakers, NGOs, and tourism-industry actors with grounded evidence to evaluate whether current enforcement practices genuinely support inclusive tourism or inadvertently deepen the vulnerability of *transpuan* [10], [7].

II. METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach, chosen because the phenomenon under investigation — stigma and social norms surrounding *transpuan* involvement in Jakarta's pink tourism — cannot be adequately captured through statistical measurement. Stigma often manifests in implicit forms: attitudes, differential treatment, moral judgment, and surveillance that are not always explicit. A qualitative approach allows the researcher to capture the meaning of social experience from the informants' own perspectives, focusing on process and meaning rather than merely outcomes [16]. The study further adopts a Queer Criminology lens to interpret stigma and social norms as expressions of power relations and social control directed at queer groups.

The research type is descriptive qualitative, aiming to describe the social phenomenon in detail based on field data obtained through interviews, observation, and documentation, without manipulating variables or imposing treatments on subjects [14].

Setting

The research was conducted in Jakarta during May 2026, focusing on urban entertainment-tourism spaces that intersect with pink-tourism activity. Jakarta was selected for its dual character as a metropolitan city with strong tourism dynamics and diversity, while simultaneously retaining strong social norms and public morality that shape how gender identity is received.

Data-collection technique

The study used triangulation, combining more than one data-collection method to obtain a more complete picture of the phenomenon and to strengthen the credibility of findings — an approach particularly suited to sensitive and complex social issues such as stigma [14]. Triangulation combined: (a) in-depth interviews with the primary informant (a *transpuan* directly involved in pink-tourism-adjacent activity) and four supporting informants representing community, institutional, and academic perspectives; (b) literature review of studies published within the past five to ten years; and (c) documentary study of media reports, government publications, and statistical data related to tourism and social issues in Jakarta.

Five informants were purposively selected to represent complementary, non-overlapping perspectives on the phenomenon: Yani, a *transpuan* directly experiencing stigma who is also an active NGO advocate, providing the most direct level of data on how stigma is felt and negotiated; Opa Rito, National Coordinator and Country Coordinating Mechanism (CCM) member for the Global Fund, positioned at the intersection of international institutional programs and community field realities; Babeh Jupri, a neighborhood (RW) head, Pemuda Pancasila official, and founder of a Betawi cultural troupe, representing the dominant social norm actively producing and reproducing stigma; Pak Dandi, of the DKI Jakarta Social Agency's Social Rehabilitation Department, representing the rarely captured formal government-institution perspective; and Ibu Debby, a tourism-studies lecturer and ten-year tour-leader practitioner, the sole informant representing the tourism-industry perspective [14].

Interviews with Yani (~26 minutes) and Opa Rito (~29 minutes plus a supplementary segment) were conducted face-to-face and audio-recorded with verbal consent, then transcribed verbatim; the interview with Babeh Jupri (~45 minutes, two sessions) followed the same procedure, while interviews with Pak Dandi and Ibu Debby were conducted online. Verbatim transcription was chosen because, in research addressing sensitive issues such as stigma and gender identity, the informants' own linguistic nuance carries analytical value that paraphrase cannot substitute [14]. All quotations presented in this article are English renderings of the original Indonesian-language transcripts.

Data-analysis technique

Data were analyzed using the interactive qualitative model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña [15], comprising four cyclical, interconnected stages: (1) data collection, (2) data condensation, (3) data display, and (4) conclusion drawing and verification. During condensation, open coding of all transcripts produced initial codes grouped into principal themes concerning the overview of pink tourism, informant profiles, public dynamics, forms of stigma, social norms, mechanisms of social control, and the impact of stigma on welfare. Data display combined descriptive-analytic narrative with indented verbatim quotations functioning as primary evidence with analytical weight equal to the researcher's interpretation [14]. Conclusion drawing and verification were achieved through two mechanisms: informal member checking to confirm the accuracy of the researcher's interpretation, and cross-source triangulation comparing interview findings against the literature and documentary data [14].

The study acknowledges several constraints: the voice of tourists as the demand side of the pink-tourism ecosystem was not directly represented; direct observation of physical entertainment hotspots was not feasible because such activity has substantially migrated to digital platforms; prior Indonesian literature on pink tourism remains concentrated on Bali rather than Jakarta; and the research period (May 2026) coincided with the initial months following the entry into force of Indonesia's new Criminal Code (Law No. 1 of 2023) in January 2026, which shaped informants' caution in disclosing certain operational details.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Pink Tourism in Jakarta

Pink tourism is a tourism segment that consciously targets LGBTQ+ travelers — those with non-heteronormative gender identities and sexual orientations — as its principal market. The concept was first academically articulated by Hughes [2] in his study of gay men's and lesbians' holiday experiences, and has since developed into an increasingly relevant field of tourism scholarship as LGBTQ+ visibility in global public space has grown. Recent systematic reviews argue that pink tourism is not merely a market segment but a social arena in which identity, acceptance, safety, and freedom of expression become decisive factors of the queer traveler's experience [3].

Globally, LGBTQ+ travelers are recognized as a high-spending segment with greater travel-time flexibility. Ibu Debby, drawing on ten years of tourism-industry experience, confirmed this pattern directly: *"Foreign LGBTQ tourists are a profitable new market. They're willing to pay whatever it takes."* This observation aligns with findings that market-economic logic is among the most effective drivers of pink-tourism ecosystem growth, even in relatively conservative social contexts [4].

In Indonesia, pink tourism has developed primarily through two major entry points for foreign visitors: Bali and Jakarta. Bali, particularly the Seminyak area, was earlier recognized as an LGBTQ+-friendly destination owing to its reputation for tolerance and mature entertainment infrastructure [3]. Jakarta, meanwhile, is increasingly positioned as a secondary pink-tourism destination, as acknowledged by Ibu Debby and confirmed by international digital platforms listing Jakarta among cities offering relatively open entertainment, accommodation, and social environments for the LGBTQ+ community.

Jakarta's pink-tourism ecosystem connects several interrelated spaces: four- and five-star hotel accommodations that implicitly or explicitly welcome LGBTQ+ guests; nightlife venues such as clubs, karaoke lounges, and bars that serve as gathering points and host *transpuan* entertainment performances; digital platforms — including dating applications — that have increasingly replaced physical space as the primary arena of transaction and interaction; and event/MICE spaces that are gradually more open to diverse identity expression. As Opa Rito observed, physical hotspots have shifted substantially online: *"It's already shifted — they're almost never on the streets or in entertainment venues anymore. Most of it has moved online, through dating apps."*

This overview reveals a paradox of Jakarta's pink tourism: it is real as an economic and social phenomenon, acknowledged by tourism-industry actors, facilitated by international digital platforms, and utilized by the queer community — yet it simultaneously operates under the shadow of stigma, social control, and the threat of criminalization, borne most heavily by the most vulnerable actor in this ecosystem: *transpuan*.

Informant Profile

Five informants were selected purposively based on the principle of source triangulation, so that each represents a distinct but complementary perspective on the phenomenon of stigma, social norms, and social control faced by *transpuan* within Jakarta's pink-tourism ecosystem [14].

Table 4.1 Profil Informan Penelitian (Research Informant Profile)

No.	Name	Role/Position	Status in Research	Domicile	Involvement in Issue
1	Yani	Transpuan / NGO Activist	Trans woman and sex-worker advocacy NGO activist	Jakarta	Direct involvement
2	Opa Rito	National Coordinator & CCM Member	HIV/AIDS program practitioner and rights observer	Jakarta	Field observation & program
3	Babeh Jupri	RW Head, Pemuda Pancasila Chair, Founder of a Betawi cultural troupe	Representation of community/local figure	Ciganjur, South Jakarta	Community perspective
4	Pak Dandi	Social Rehabilitation Department, DKI Jakarta Social Agency	Government institutional representation	Jakarta	Social service & rehabilitation
5	Ibu Debby	Tourism lecturer, Universitas Budi Luhur; tour leader since 2016	Academic/tourism-industry representation	Jakarta	Academic & 10-year practitioner

Source: Table processed by the researcher, 2026.

Yani, a *transpuan* who has lived through gender transition since 2009 and is currently active as an NGO advocate for sex-worker rights in Jakarta, was chosen for her unique position as the subject most directly experiencing the stigma, norms, and control mechanisms under study.

Fig. 4. Portrait of informant Yani.



Opa Rito, a senior practitioner serving as National Coordinator and CCM member for the Global Fund in Indonesia, has spent over a decade engaged in health and protection programs for the *transpuan* community, giving him cross-institutional access to data on living conditions and discrimination.

Fig. 5. Portrait of informant Opa Rito.

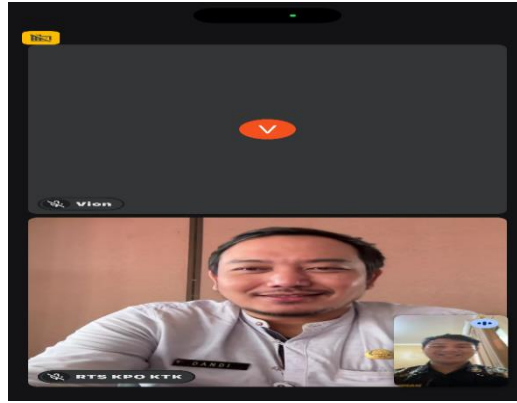


Babeh Jupri, an RW (neighborhood) head, active Pemuda Pancasila official, and founder of a Betawi cultural troupe in Ciganjur, South Jakarta, represents the dominant social-norm voice — an actor with cultural and social authority whose views illustrate how heteronormative norms, religious values, and local cultural identity work together to produce and reproduce stigma.

Fig. 6. Portrait of informant Babeh Jupri.



Pak Dandi, a staff member of the Social Rehabilitation Department at the DKI Jakarta Social Agency with 16 years of experience handling vulnerable groups including street-based *transpuan*, fills the formal government-institution perspective rarely present in prior research on *transpuan*.

Fig. 6. Portrait of informant Pak Dandi.

Ibu Debby, a tourism-studies lecturer at Universitas Budi Luhur and a practicing tour leader since 2016, is the sole informant representing the combined academic and tourism-industry perspective, offering insight unavailable from the other four informants regarding how the tourism industry structurally views, positions, and interacts with the *transpuan* community.

Fig. 7. Portrait of informant Ibu Debby.

Public Dynamics Toward Pink Tourism in Jakarta

Public perception of pink tourism in Jakarta is neither singular nor uniform; rather, it forms a contradictory social landscape combining recognition of pink tourism's economic reality with strong normative resistance rooted in religious values, cultural identity construction, and discomfort with non-conventional gender visibility in public space. This dynamic is sectoral rather than linear — differing between tourism spaces and general social spaces, between institutional and community actors, and between attitudes toward foreign LGBTQ+ tourists and local *transpuan*.

From the tourism industry's perspective, acceptance is function- and economy-based. Ibu Debby stated that the industry has structurally moved beyond the moral debate still unfolding in wider society: "*From a tourism point of view, we don't see the transpuan as not fitting the norm. We accept it. In fact, we need people like that.*" This reflects a market-based inclusivity logic [4] in which *transpuan* and LGBTQ+ individuals are accepted not through moral transformation but through their tangible contribution to service quality and destination appeal.

At the community level, however, a pattern of conditional acceptance consistent with regional findings on contextual tolerance in Southeast Asia emerges clearly [13]. Babeih Jupri illustrated this explicitly: *transpuan* can be accepted in the context of cultural entertainment such as traditional Betawi performance, but their presence in everyday social life is perceived as a threat that might "spread." This moral-panic

construction — framing queer identity as something "contagious" that must be contained — is a well-documented marker of anti-LGBTQ+ discourse in Indonesia [5].

The government perspective, represented by Pak Dandi, is more nuanced. He acknowledged a significant normative shift over two decades: Jakarta society no longer openly ridicules *transpuan* as frontally as it did ten to twenty years ago. Yet he maintained that stigma rooted in religious values will never fully disappear; the state can be administratively inclusive by providing identity documents, national health insurance, and social assistance without formal discrimination, but cannot alter values embedded within religious communities. This gap between formal administrative inclusivity and persistent social stigma is among the study's most significant findings regarding how the state positions itself within pink tourism's public dynamics, and directly answers the first research question.

From the *transpuan* community's own perspective, public dynamics are experienced as an ambiguous and adaptively burdensome lived reality. Yani described how acceptance around her residence can be cultivated through consistent personal approaches — reporting to neighborhood authorities, socializing with local residents, and limiting self-presentation in certain spaces — yet such acceptance remains conditional. Opa Rito emphasized that the shift of pink-tourism hotspots from physical to digital space is not evidence of rising public acceptance but an adaptation to intensifying formal social control; when raids make physical space unsafe, the community moves online, where stigma follows in the form of online harassment and legal risk under Indonesia's electronic-information law. Public dynamics facing *transpuan* in Jakarta's pink-tourism ecosystem are thus more accurately described not as "increasing acceptance" but as a displacement of pressure from one space to another.

Forms of Stigma and Social Labeling

Stigma toward *transpuan* in Jakarta is layered and consistent, operating simultaneously at individual, community, institutional, and digital levels — not merely interpersonal prejudice but a structural mechanism embedded in social institutions that constrains access to public space, employment, and social security [8].

Yani described stigma operating through unwritten self-restriction: *"Where I am now, there's no formal restriction. What I do is just show more respect — for example, I avoid dressing too provocatively... because I'm worried people might dislike how someone presents themselves."* This self-regulation constitutes an internalized form of informal social control. Stigma also operates systematically through law enforcement, as Opa Rito described regarding enforcement raids: *"During arrests, some of them get their heads shaved. Their principle is to return them to their 'natural' state. So during arrests there's still that kind of discriminatory treatment."* Forced head-shaving during arrest functions as gender-based violence enforcing a return to binary gender presentation.

From the community perspective, Babeh Jupri articulated an ambivalent position: *transpuan* may entertain but may also become a threat: *"A transpuan can entertain at one point, and at another point they can become a burden for us... The real ones who used to busk weren't like the transpuan we see nowadays... That's what worries us."* This conditional-acceptance pattern — tolerance contingent on fulfilling a culturally recognized entertainment function — is consistent with regional findings on conditional acceptance in Southeast Asia [13]. Pak Dandi confirmed that religiously rooted stigma is socially permanent: *"In my view this won't disappear entirely... especially when we're talking about religious values, that's where it becomes difficult."* Ibu Debby, by contrast, offered a counter-voice from the tourism-industry perspective: *"From tourism's point of view, we don't see the transpuan as inconsistent with the norm... in fact, some hotels need transpuan who present femininely, depending on their market segment."*

Collectively, these accounts show that stigma operates selectively and sectorally — stronger in general social space and weaker in market-driven tourism space — producing what has been characterized elsewhere as multi-level discrimination that cumulatively restricts *transpuan* mobility, economic access, and physical safety [10].

Social Norms, Heteronormativity, and Public Moral Construction

Stigma toward *transpuan* does not arise spontaneously but from a structured system of social norms, particularly heteronormative norms rooted in majority religious values and dominant binary gender construction. Social norms function as a public moral system that regulates behavior while also determining

the boundary between what is deemed "normal" and "deviant" [12]. In a country with the world's largest Muslim population, this normative system draws especially strong legitimacy from religious authority.

Yani described how religious discourse is used to label *transpuan*: *"The negative part is when there are religious sermons and such — they always corner us. Like being called followers of the Prophet Lot or groups that violate norms."* Opa Rito explained how heteronormativity is codified even in formal regulation: *"Regulations here still don't favor transpuan groups... our regulations only recognize two genders — male and female. So for people with other gender choices, it's considered abnormal."* Babeh Jupri articulated an explicit moral-panic narrative: *"Gay people usually spread it, and it spreads fast... I worry about people like that... I don't want us normal people to be 'infected' by their presence."* This "contagion" narrative is a textbook example of moral-panic construction in which queer identity is framed as a spreading threat requiring isolation for public safety [5].

Symbolic Criminalization: Stigma as Control Without Formal Legal Basis

A central argument of Queer Criminology is that criminalization of queer groups is frequently symbolic: non-conforming gender identity and expression are treated as though inherently unlawful, even absent any concrete violation [11]. This study's findings explicitly confirm this pattern.

Yani's experience of raids that interrogate gender identity rather than investigate any actual offense exemplifies symbolic criminalization most clearly: *"We're actually the victims... but instead of investigating what happened to us, they interrogate why we became transpuan, since when, whether our chests or bodies are real or not. Things unrelated to law — that's what gets dug into, not the case itself."* Similarly, condom possession functioning as an "indicator of arrest," as Opa Rito described, shows how public-order regulation is used as a proxy for criminalizing identity rather than behavior: *"Our regulations usually talk about public order. So our presence is considered a disturbance... identity itself becomes one reason this group is often arrested. Owning an ID card, owning condoms, and the places we gather are considered violations of public order."* This exemplifies what has been termed the criminalization of identity: not a concrete unlawful act but identity, existence, and even health-protective tools becoming the justification for arrest [11].

The entry into force of Indonesia's new Criminal Code (Law No. 1 of 2023) in January 2026 adds a further layer to this structure of symbolic criminalization: Article 411 (adultery), Article 412 (cohabitation outside marriage), and Article 414 (same-sex indecent acts, carrying a maximum penalty of up to nine years' imprisonment) generate a chilling effect independent of whether prosecution is ever actually pursued.

Identity-Based Social Control: Heteronormativity as Enforcement Infrastructure

Queer Criminology argues that social control of queer groups is not sporadic but embedded within broader heteronormative infrastructure that organizes how society, institutions, and law enforcement interact with non-conventional identity [7]. At the community level, this manifests through moral panic (Babeh Jupri), religious labeling as "those who violate nature" (Yani), and conditional acceptance restricted to specific entertainment contexts. At the formal institutional level, it manifests through binary gender regulation categorizing *transpuan* as "abnormal" (Opa Rito), rehabilitation systems oriented toward "returning to nature" (Pak Dandi), and health-service procedures that call *transpuan* by their legal male names.

Babeh Jupri's description of disciplining "effeminate" members of his cultural troupe — teaching martial arts to keep them from wandering — exemplifies informal identity-based control operating through cultural institutions, framing heteronormativity as integral to collective Betawi cultural identity. Notably, this infrastructure does not operate uniformly across all social spaces: Ibu Debby showed that within the tourism industry, market-economic logic can weaken heteronormative enforcement infrastructure and create genuine inclusive openings — *transpuan* actively work as tour guides, hotel sales staff, and outbound facilitators — consistent with the argument that economic markets can serve as a more effective gateway to inclusivity than moral campaigns in conservative societal contexts [4], though such market-based inclusivity carries the risk of including only those deemed economically "useful" [18].

Agency and Resilience Among Transpuan

Queer Criminology does not focus solely on victimization and control but also recognizes the agency of stigmatized groups as integral to analysis [7]. Findings show that *transpuan* in Jakarta are not merely passive objects of stigma and control but actively develop diverse resilience strategies.

Yani demonstrated resilience through institutional advocacy via her NGO and pragmatic everyday adaptation, framing her demand for equal rights in the language of citizenship and economic contribution rather than identity politics: *"Under Pancasila we have equal rights, both before the law and in public spaces... we also pay taxes through what we buy. But our rights are sometimes taken away by society or the government."* Opa Rito highlighted collective resilience through international program networks, while the community's shift from physical to digital space represents an adaptive resilience strategy responding to intensifying physical-space control [17]. From the tourism-industry perspective, Ibu Debby offered an optimistic projection: *"In ten years, I think Jakarta will be like New York. The city will be much freer in accepting transpuan. From the tourism side, they'll be accepted — as guides, in tourism villages, at destinations, at MICE events, everywhere, equally."* This projection situates present vulnerability not as static but as socially constructed and therefore transformable.

Mechanisms of Formal and Informal Social Control

Social control facing *transpuan* in Jakarta's entertainment and pink-tourism spaces is dual in nature: formal, through raids, enforcement, and regulation; and informal, through stigma, social exclusion, and forced self-regulation. Pak Dandi described the Social Agency's formal boundary: *"As long as they don't disturb public order, we don't intervene... but if they're on the street indicated as sex workers or buskers, we bring them to a shelter for rehabilitation."* This administrative rehabilitation mechanism categorizes *transpuan* as disturbers of public order rather than addressing any proven legal violation [11]. Meanwhile, digital space has become a new arena for stigma amplification, as Opa Rito described regarding content creators filming *transpuan* on the street for social media, generating intense online harassment — a pattern Ibu Debby viewed in contrasting terms, seeing digital migration as expanding privacy and freedom for *transpuan* in the tourism economy. This contrast reflects a double-edged affordance of digital technology for marginalized groups: expanded privacy and freedom, alongside new vulnerability through algorithm-amplified stigma [17].

Impact of Stigma on Access, Rights, and Welfare

Stigma leaves measurable traces across *transpuan* daily life, reducing access to health services, legal protection, safe public space, and decent livelihood — a layered vulnerability in which one form of exclusion compounds another [9]. Yani described the absence of inclusive public facilities: *"We're victims from every angle. In public space, there's no bathroom for trans people... and there are people who suddenly throw urine or stones at us. Yet the state is absent when it comes to fulfilling our rights as victims."* Opa Rito described how mandatory legal-name use in health-service registration discourages *transpuan* from returning for care. Pak Dandi confirmed that DKI Jakarta does not formally discriminate in administrative access to identity documents or social assistance, suggesting that state failure occurs more at the level of implementation and social norms than explicit discriminatory policy [10]. Ibu Debby emphasized empowerment based on interest and potential — rather than rehabilitation aimed at normalizing identity — as the most relevant solution within the tourism sector.

Overall, the Queer-Criminology-based analysis identifies a consistent structural pattern: stigma, norms, and social control toward *transpuan* in Jakarta's pink-tourism ecosystem form a mutually reinforcing system — community stigma legitimizes enforcement control, enforcement control narrows economic opportunity, narrowed economic opportunity pushes individuals toward stigmatized work, and stigmatized work reinforces the original stigma. This self-reinforcing cycle can only be broken through multidimensional intervention spanning regulatory reform, public discourse transformation, community empowerment, and tourism-industry commitment to inclusivity beyond mere conditional tolerance.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study examined the phenomenon of pink tourism in Jakarta through a Queer Criminology lens, positioning *transpuan* as the central subject of analysis. Several conclusions emerge. First, pink tourism in

Jakarta develops amid tension between an increasingly open global urban-tourism dynamic and locally dominant heteronormative social-religious values; Jakarta's presence within international LGBTQ+-friendly tourism networks reflects economic integration rather than genuine community-level social acceptance. Second, public perception of *transpuan* within pink tourism is not neutrally formed but socially constructed through heteronormative norms, dominant moral-religious discourse, and media narratives that frequently represent queer identity as a threat to public order, functioning as an initial mechanism in a chain of labeling, stigmatization, and social control [7].

Third, social norms in Jakarta — particularly those rooted in heteronormative values and public moral construction — function as a social-control mechanism determining who is deemed appropriate to be present in tourism space and who requires surveillance, operating through mutually reinforcing informal (stigma, exclusion, discrimination) and formal (enforcement, raids, regulation) channels [12], [10]. Fourth, stigma faced by *transpuan* within the pink-tourism ecosystem is layered: they bear stigma both for non-conventional gender identity and for involvement in entertainment and sexual-service sectors often associated with moral deviance, positioning *transpuan* as among the most vulnerable groups within Indonesia's broader LGBTQ+ spectrum [8], [12]. Fifth, the Queer Criminology perspective proves analytically relevant, allowing stigma and social control to be read not as consequences of proven criminal conduct but as products of social construction around norms and power relations — rendering criminalization of *transpuan* fundamentally symbolic, built through how society, media, and institutions perceive and respond to their existence rather than through empirically demonstrable legal violation [8], [7].

Overall, pink tourism in Jakarta cannot be understood solely as an economic tourism opportunity; it is also a social arena revealing how power relations, heteronormative norms, and stigma mechanisms simultaneously shape *transpuan* experience and mobility. Growth in pink tourism unaccompanied by adequate social protection risks reproducing the structural injustice that has long constrained *transpuan* life in Indonesia.

Based on these conclusions, several recommendations follow. For government and policymakers, DKI Jakarta should formulate more socially just and inclusive tourism policy, critically evaluating whether enforcement operations are applied discriminatorily against *transpuan* or other LGBTQ+ groups in entertainment spaces, while expanding vocational training, community economic empowerment, and non-discriminatory access to social services. For the tourism and entertainment industry, operators should develop internal policies explicitly protecting gender and sexual diversity, translating inclusive marketing into concrete operational standards and gender-sensitivity training for staff [18]. For civil society, improving social literacy regarding gender and sexual diversity — through constructive, empathy-based dialogue rather than confrontation — is essential, alongside continued evidence-based documentation of *transpuan* experiences of discrimination. For future research, deeper qualitative approaches such as ethnography involving *transpuan* directly engaged in Jakarta's pink-tourism ecosystem, along with comparative studies across other Indonesian cities and integration of Queer Criminology with intersectionality or socio-legal approaches, are strongly recommended to enrich understanding of *transpuan*'s complex social position in contemporary Indonesia.

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