



Dynamics of the Deviant Subculture Klitih Gang and Al-Fatah Transgender Boarding School in Yogyakarta

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Abstract

Klitih gangs in Yogyakarta, as a tangible form of juvenile delinquency, cannot be separated from the construction of the failure of environmental socialization and socialization of adolescent life in modern times. This study used interpretive approach (qualitative). Researcher digs deeper into how cultural criminology views the deviant subculture of youth members of the *Klitih* Gang and the dynamics of the Al-Fatah Transgender Islamic Boarding School as accurate facts. This article focuses on discussing several aspects that are interconnected with the school of cultural criminology, including (1) cases of youth violence and street crime by gangs of *Klitih* as a form of crime as culture; (2) community construction related to culture as crime against transgender groups, especially in the Al-Fatah transgender Islamic boarding school, Yogyakarta; (3) discussion on the realm of existentialist criminology in its allusion to ways of life, style, and semiotics. This phenomenon creates anomie in the dynamics of social life and requires efforts to harmonize both from a juridical and sociological perspective.

Keywords: juvenile delinquency, transgender, cultural criminology, street crime, deviant subculture

1. INTRODUCTION

Culture or culture is the whole system of ideas, actions, and human creations in the context of community life which is made the property of humans by learning (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Human culture is not simply a product of social, ethnic or occupational forms of social structure, but culture is not formed without this structure, both the cultural hegemony of those in power and subcultures that grow out of the resistance of the marginalized that are independent of social class and forms other from inequality (Ferrell et al., 2008).

The dynamics of social conditions change rapidly, causing instability in social life, including the economic, political, cultural and educational sectors. The situation makes weak norms and controls as well as social sanctions. Criminology usually focuses on issues such as the structural facilitators of everyday crime, but this perspective argues that crime is cultural. According to the perspective of cultural criminology, crime is constructed from symbolic interactions between groups and people and is "shaped by ongoing conflicts about their meanings and perceptions." (Cullen & Wilcox, 2010).

In the circle of criminology and culture, initially, certain cultures that have become a system of ideas and are recognized in society slowly experience a shift. The agents in it only socialize once they come together to form a new collective understanding of a particular tradition. The emergence of this new idea is the forerunner of a sub-culture under society's primary culture. Because it is new and



considered different from the primary culture, a deviant sub-culture appears—even more extreme, called a crime sub-culture. Even though it is not sure that the ideas and behavior of the people in it are also deviant, on this basis, subculture agents have agreed to take joint risks for their beliefs, even if they have to leave the parent culture.

Ferrell (2005) describes cultural criminology's role in exploring the intersection between culture and criminal practices in contemporary life, namely between collective behavior embodied in fantasy, style, and symbolic meaning, which is categorized as a crime by political and legal authorities. Ferrell also states that cultural criminology is an emerging theoretical orientation that examines the convergence and contestation between culture, criminals, and processes of social control of crime. Cultural criminology emphasizes image, style, representation, and meaning within sub-cultures and the construction of crime and crime control.

Cultural criminology is closely related to the interactionist tradition, in which interpreting a phenomenon is very important. This is because a thing can be interpreted differently by a member of a group or individual, and also that these meanings are generally dynamic. Cultural criminology is a form of integration of the discipline of criminology with culture-related studies. The researcher took two sub-cultural phenomena as case studies which at first glance looked the same but had differences in the classification of cultural criminology schools, namely the *Klitih* gang as a crime as culture and Al-Fatah Transgender Islamic boarding school as culture as crime, both of which are located in Yogyakarta. They are marginally integrated within the parent society or as a 'new society' and are a minority group with low socio-economic status. Subcultures are considered to occupy a weak social position, and because of that, they are less able to absorb social conventions and moral norms that generally apply in society.

The critical criminological school of thought continues to develop into works under the icon of Postmodern Criminology, where each thought is given a distinctive concept, such as left-realist criminology, socialist-feminist criminology, constitutive criminology, and cultural criminology. Because critical schools of thought (including postmodern and constitutive) talk a lot about the role of the state, this school of thought is often seen as criminology with a constitutive approach (Mustofa, 2010). The early and later developments of the new criminology left realism and cultural criminology developments heavily influenced by Jock Young. In 2003, Young contributed not only to left realist criminology but also to cultural criminology (Lily et al., 2015).

O'Brien & Yar (2008) describe the primary concern of cultural criminology as the extension of meaning to crime and deviant and opposing behavior, which is resistant to the values, symbols, and codes that apply in mainstream culture. The concern in sub-cultural deviance studies with the resistance and resistance they exhibit is a clear differentiator between truly cultural criminology and criminology that examines crime in depth but does not describe deviance in contexts of resistance.

2. METHOD

This study uses an interpretive approach (qualitative). Qualitative research is a method for exploring and understanding the meaning of many individuals or groups of people considered to originate from social or humanitarian issues (Creswell, 2010, p. 4). This type of research has a flexible structure or framework and an inductive perspective in the sense of being able to see and follow the subjects involved in field research translating an issue as it is, factual, and focusing on individual meaning. This type of research is descriptive. According to Whitney (1960, p. 160), the descriptive method is finding facts with the proper interpretation. Here, the researcher digs deeper into how cultural criminology views the deviant subculture of youth members of the *Klitih* Gang and the dynamics of the Al-Fatah Transgender Islamic Boarding School as accurate facts.



3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Jeff Ferrell developed cultural criminology. This thinking departs from the existence of discarded groups, which is a term coined by Mark Hanum until it develops again into a deviant subculture. Both discarded groups and deviant subcultures were previously untouched by the discussion of criminology. Because of that, Ferrell brought up cultural criminology as an approach to studying cultural artifacts discarded by high culture and often considered unnecessary for academic research. In short, cultural criminology learns about things that previously did not receive attention because they were out of the ordinary (Bevier, 2015). Ferrell's thinking is not based on structural determinants but fills the arid land of theories of cultural relations (Carrington & Hogg, 2002). In the Chicago School's subcultural research, cultural criminology is influenced by symbolic interactions and embodied in labeling theory.

In its implications for the development of today's life, cultural criminology seeks to show a fundamental similarity or correlation between culture and criminal practices that occur in today's society, including collective behavior regarding parables, symbolic meanings, and trends/styles. A number of activities are realized from interactions that foster subcultures in society. This sub-culture arises due to the failure of socialization within the primary culture, which is already recognized by society. Gradually, the behavior that came out of the primary culture received particular attention, so that collective trust grew in that tradition. The group that occupies this sub-culture ultimately dares to take risks to act or take a stand so that a way of living together is formed in that sub-culture. This sub-culture is usually considered deviant because it does not follow the primary culture, even though it is not necessarily evil or deviant.

One of the links between subculture and crime occurs in the *Klitih* gang and the phenomenon of the Al-Fatah Transgender Islamic boarding school in Yogyakarta, which will later become a concern for researchers. Moreover, there are labels related to evil and deviant behavior in this community that trigger the formation of criminal behavior and actions in Yogyakarta society in general. This encounter between culture and crime needs to make researchers re-examine the traditional concept of these intersections because many groups (sub-cultures) have traditionally been considered crimes. Areas of concern for cultural criminology that can be of concern include culture as crime and crime as culture. In more depth, an analysis of symbolic criminalization of forms of popular culture can be carried out through construction media (newsmaking criminology) as well as the politics of culture, crime, and cultural criminology.

Jeff Ferrell, Keith Hayward, and Jock Young, in their book *Cultural Criminology: An Invitation*, refer to Zygmunt Bauman, where Bauman distinguishes two discourses on culture, which have been going on for a long time and seem to be opposed. The first, conceptualizing 'culture as the activity of the free-roaming spirit, a place of creativity, creation, self-critique, and self-transcendence,' raises the mind's courage to break the predetermined horizon to step above the boundaries guarded closely. Then secondly, seeing culture as a tool of routine and continuity - a servant of the social order, a culture that holds on to 'constantness and pattern - with freedom from so-called "norm violations" and "deviations."

According to Ferrell et al (2004), the cultural criminology approach emphasizes experience and the actor's existential psychodynamics rather than the background factors of traditional positivism (e.g., Unemployment, poverty, poor neighborhood, lack of education, etc.). In the view of the postmodernists, "subject" and "ratio" are not free from the influence of the sociocultural and historical environment. Because subject and rationality are related to sociocultural factors, postmodernists recognize that subject and rationality are not equal (Lubis, 2014). The book *Cultural Criminology Unleashed* reveals that culture is not something fixed/solid but somewhat fluid, which can mean that culture changes with the times. Here, cultural criminology is designed to establish homology between culturally eclectic subjects and diverse perspectives of criminology and



epistemology and can transcend theoretical boundaries and meet the many hands of 'fluid modernity.' That style is no longer limited to fashion but also talks about elements of personal identity or the identity of a group, where style is attached, for example, to haircuts, body posture, clothes, vehicles, music, and the values of fabrics that are displayed in front of the public.

Presdee (2000) says cultural criminology seeks to dismantle or reveal the intricacies of how cultural forms and expressions become criminalized. Furthermore, Presdee said that for cultural criminology, debris from everyday life constitutes 'data,' namely using cultural artifacts that are present anytime and anywhere, examining the cultural 'traces' behind them.

In cultural criminology, the meaning of crime and criminality in everyday life will be different and contradictory in the eyes of criminals, politicians, criminal justice organizations, the media, and popular culture. According to this perspective, crime does not have a uniform meaning for those who wish to control, prevent, study, and report it in the media or for people who commit crimes. The meaning of crime results from a complex process "through which dark/illegal subcultures, the mass media, political authorities, criminal justice professionals, and others contrast the meanings of evil and criminality with each other." One crucial theoretical implication for the perspective of cultural criminology is that the meaning of crime is socially constructed and not simply the result of a rational choice to break the law. The meaning of crime depends on situations, and dark subcultures that develop in conflict or social control dynamics are a significant concern for cultural criminology. Cultural criminology examines how the images, styles, and representations of crime and crime control actually occur.

This perspective that sees culture as a process of forming meaning is also the basis for the study of cultural criminology in interpreting the concept of culture. In the realm of cultural criminology, the concept of 'culture' is understood as a matter of collective formation of meaning and identity; in this way, the government can claim its authority, and the meaning of 'the criminal,' both as a person and as a perception, comes alive and grows. (Ferrell, 1999) describes four significant areas of concern in cultural criminology, including:

Crime as culture

Crime as culture is often interpreted as a label for a form of crime that is simultaneously a subcultural behavior. The characteristics of deviance and crime, as well as the external constructs that exist within a subculture, are defined through style. The behavior of subcultures of crime and deviance is collectively organized by shared symbols, rituals, and meanings, as a form of adopting subcultures as the basic criminological unit of analysis. Crime as culture is a growing value that has become an integral part of the culture.

Culture as crime

In a culture as crime shows that certain cultures are considered evil. In this way, the community, especially the government, can specifically criminalize certain cultures by labeling them through the mass media. The problem is that there are meanings of evil and not evil when people think it encourages delinquency in a particular culture, so the government criminalizes it through the mass media.

Media constructions of crime and crime control (referred to in some sources as newsmaking criminology)

The background to this thinking is that the construction of crime by public officials and the media is biased and disproportionate. To compensate for the strong tendency of the media to represent disproportionate crimes (Mustofa, 2010). The media makes the criminal justice system activities a



source of information. The criminal justice system shows that they are already working; there is an interconnection between the criminal justice system and the mass media. Here, what happens is where the criminal justice system directs the media on what issues are essential for public attention. The aim is to create an inevitable wave of fear by causing panic in the community. So that in the end, the community thinks that is the reality that is happening in society and that the consequences are real.

The politics of culture, crime, and cultural criminology

In cultural criminology, there is the presence of power relations and the emergence of social control between culture and crime. Issues of style and symbolic codes in forbidden subcultures are objects of legal surveillance and control. The media's continuing pursuit of crime and crime control aims to promote and acknowledge a broader political agenda regarding crime control. As well as having a dual function, namely to belittle and dramatize the meaning of the crime itself.

In this case, the authorities carry out the construction problem regarding crimes, where the construction is often carried out through the mass media. Cultural criminology generates discourses against conventional constructs and crimes against dominant discourses and officially attempts to deconstruct various kinds of demonization of outsiders.

Gregg, as the leading figure in newsmaking criminology, defines it as an effort not to obscure the image of crime and punishment by placing mass media depictions of serious crime events in the context of illegal and detrimental actions, impact on public attitudes, thoughts, and discourse on crime and justice to facilitate public policy on "crime control" based on structural and historical analysis of institutional developments. Among them are allowing criminologists involved based on their knowledge to develop themselves as credible mouthpieces in the mass media arena in policy formation, calling on criminologists to develop popular language and basic communication techniques, to participate in the ideology of crime and justice for mass consumption (Greek, 1997).

One of the consequences is that crimes in the hands of the media are dragged into politics as a form of moral campaign against crime and criminals. According to Ferrell, one of the characteristics of contemporary society is an intertwined relationship between the media, crime, and criminal justice, forming a model of media rounds and spirals. A vital dimension of this model is the idea that traditional models for examining the effects of the media on subsequent crime, or the accuracy of the media in reporting crime, are obsolete. According to this perspective, what is needed is a model that "can explain a world filled with media technology and media images so that the distinction between crime and its media image often disappears. In this world, crime and the media are linked by a looping effect in which crime and the image of [crime] loop back together and shape the reality of crime for participants and the public."

In short, cultural criminology pays attention to and examines; (1) the motive for the crime, is it more about seeking tension, seeking pleasure, and challenging the risks rather than rationalizing the pros and cons; (2) the context where crime occurs is the space left for people who want to remain creative in a society that continues to become bureaucratic; (3) the recognition that crime is a response to a society that is rigidly bound by rules so that breaking the rules means being different and thus remaining 'alive' in its true sense; (4) crime thus, can only be studied by melting into it and by reflecting on this amalgamation (Sari, 2019).

The object of criminology study includes crime, perpetrators or criminals, and society's reaction to crime and perpetrators or crimes. One type of crime closest to society is street crime which is considered very troubling. This is because the community itself directly feels the consequences. The *Klitih* gang in Yogyakarta is one of the confirmed cases of street crime which is still a long-standing



problem. The difficulty of eradicating this type of crime is because most actors are underage youth and have a strong cadre within the group.

In Javanese, the term *klitih* means looking for something to do in your spare time. Recently, however, the term has shifted. *Klitih* became synonymous with juvenile delinquency (junior high and high school students), namely traveling around on motorbikes by unscrupulous students to find other school students who were considered enemies. Now, the term has developed more broadly. Includes various acts of youth violence on the streets, ranging from mild to severe abuse, even murder (Harahap, 2018). At the beginning of the emergence of acts of violence by motorcycle gangs, it gave rise to prejudice by the general public that 'certainly' the perpetrators of violence were people who were *nglitih* – if translated into Indonesian vocabulary, it could be interpreted as wandering – or doing activities outside the house at night without purpose. Alternatively, take a walk. Gradually, the public perception manifests the existence of labeling that the perpetrators of street crimes that are rife occur from young teenagers.

As explained above, the members of the *Klitih* are indeed teenagers whose status is junior and senior high school students under the age of 17, so they can be classified as criminal acts in the area of delinquency. Delinquency—noun (lousy behavior) /dɪˈlɪŋ.kwən.si/ behavior, especially of a young person, that is illegal or unacceptable to most people: there is a high rate of juvenile delinquency in this area (Cambridge Dictionary). In this gang, young people develop anti-social solidarity caused by dissatisfaction with environmental conditions and adult authority. So in today's modern society, gangs of delinquent children can emerge because children are not adequately supervised and controlled by adults (Kartono, 2017).

Nglitih activities depart from the youth subculture in modern life with the growth of industrialization and urbanization and cities with massive physical development. The dynamics in this subculture then experience a shift due to particular criminal behavior, which degrades the original meaning of the *klitih*. These symptoms spread throughout the community in Yogyakarta and then became a phenomenon of social disintegration with delinquent subcultures within the nation's culture. The behavior of *Klitih* gang members is always synonymous with violence, such as stabbing or physically injuring the victim without taking property; this phenomenon makes the behavior of the *Klitih* gang classified as a crime as culture. Indications, the characteristics of deviance and crime in subcultures are defined through style, one of the most vital being symbols and shared meanings.

In *klitih* gang have a shared meaning or vision of 'kill or be killed' by bringing evidence of injuring their victims and using weapons used to kill as heirlooms for their gang. The *klitih* gang is the result of criminal practices in contemporary life, manifested through symbols (semiotics), which are slang language trends specifically used for internal *klitih* gangs. As a symbol, this language aims to establish communication in secret so that the general public does not know the contents of their conversation or conversation. Hence, the crime is difficult to predict. *Klitih* gangs in Yogyakarta are grouped based on the school's origin, so it is no doubt that almost every school has its gang, even though the school denies this fact because *Klitih's* activities are similar to an underground movement.

In the mass media, *Klitih's* reports regarding victims of crime appear up and down, and the perpetrators are not followed up thoroughly—only a few significant cases are guarded. The media's behavior gave rise to the construction of ordinary people in the form of an 'announcement' that the perpetrators of *klitih* were minors who had special treatment in the Juvenile Criminal Justice System. This is also well understood by AKP Muhtar Efendi—Psychology Section of the DIY Police—who stated that the average *Klitih* perpetrator arrested by the DIY Police was under 17 years old (www.cendananews.com). Of course, that is a strategy carried out by gang leaders so that minors cannot be criminalized. The leaders consist of large groups still associated with specific political interests/ideologies, so they create regeneration through their subordinates and control specific areas—a gang in Bantul, 4 in Kulonporgo, and one gang from a school in Gunungkidul.



In cases of children who conflict with the law, it is explained that the presence of parents and guardians of children is necessary (Article 40 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, The Beijing Rules Items 7.1 and 10.1 concerning Children's Rights). With the presence of parents as the party responsible for the child, the child will receive protection and assistance in resolving the case. In the Indonesian context, the presence of parents and guardians by the police in child cases is more intended as an effort to resolve child cases in "peaceful ways" rather than as respect for the rights and needs of children who conflict with the law (Purnianti et al., 2002).

As Ferrell mentioned that cultural criminology is closely related to existentialist philosophy, there is a study of the constellation of criminological and philosophical thoughts known as cultural criminology. The revival of existentialist thinking in the concept of criminology works on crime, deviation, crime control, and the justice system (Satria, 2013). Existentialist criminology is attuned to current social and cultural developments. It can be characterized as contingent, unpredictable, open to change, detraditionalizing, and indeed a 'becoming' concept (to use an existentialist expression). (Crewe & Lippens, 2009) then develops and implements his 'will to self-consummation' idea, which criticizes David Matza's concept, namely 'the will to crime,' in which he concludes that the will ('will') for someone to commit a true crime is impossible. , but deviant or problematic behavior may result from a 'will to transgress.' Existentialism is tied to human freedom by experiencing it and practicing it. Therefore, the meaning of freedom owned by the individual is justified. Furthermore, the *Klitih* gang members adopt the motivation of freedom in expressing their existence through crime. Within the group, a teenager is considered capable of carrying out his duties if he succeeds in injuring his victim or enemy on the street as a condition for him to be accepted by the group that shelters him.

Crime (criminal acts) are not solely influenced by the size of the losses they incur or because they are immoral, but are more influenced by personal or group interests, so that these actions harm the interests of the wider community, both material losses and losses/dangers to life and human health, although not regulated in criminal law (Abdussalam, 2003).

Adolescents who claim to be part of the client group think that friends in their environment are people who accept them more than society in general. This can be caused by many triggering factors, such as estrangement in family relationships and lack of attention, which results in neglected individuals who cannot adapt to pressures and demands in their friendship environment. In an abandoned situation, they tend to use their way to maintain their existence as teenagers to get something they want. Teenagers with delinquency then gather and form interactions as is usual for other subcultures, forming shared motivation and group solidarity.

Symbolic interactionism describes society not by using concepts such as systems, social structures, status positions, social roles, social layers, institutional structures, cultural patterns, norms, and social values but by using the term "action." Society, organization, or group comprises people facing various situations and problems (Veeger, 1985).

This is what happened to the transgender group belonging to the deviant subculture. The Al-Fatah Transgender Islamic boarding school in Yogyakarta is a boarding school for transgender, both from within the city of Yogyakarta and outsiders. Formed in 2008 after the Yogyakarta earthquake, which also killed several of her transgender friends, Shinta Ratri, and two others started the boarding school and slowly regularly held Islamic studies with religious leaders as speakers. They fill in the establishment of boarding schools to accommodate the religiosity of transgender women with Islamic religious studies and other religious activities and have programs for transgender people. Then the transgender person develops what they get from the empowerment. All community members can at least feel the development of the program. This is not easy because this activity is often criticized, and a particular organization was disbanded in 2016 because it was considered deviant and not by Islamic principles against transgender people.



Ambiguity can be seen in society's view of the world of transgender; in one frame, transgender is always seen as close to the world of prostitution, free sex, dirty diseases, and other bad habits, so they reject this behavior. However, on the other hand, they accept transgender people to live together in the environment due to economic interests or other considerations, such as a measure of professional success. As a result, even though society understands transgender in their daily behavior, they are also limited by the cultural context, so strict regulations are applied to them without exception (Koeswinarno, 2004).

Transgender lives are conformed when they socialize with external relationships. According to Alfari (2018) which views transgender people as maintaining their existence in their way, the existence of transgender is also examined in a broader concept phenomenologically, which includes a process, namely the soul and body are formed by imagination, emotion, and cognition.

The view of culture as crime shows that certain cultures are considered evil and get criminalized by society and even the government. This transgender association is considered to have deviated from the primary culture's norms and culture. The stigma that transgender is a disease of society cannot simply disappear from public view; coupled with the presence of specific religious attachments, the existence of the Al-Fatah transgender Islamic boarding school has experienced a crisis and onslaught. Even though there are pretty many transgender people who have started to improve themselves from a previous life that was closely related to prostitution and violence, it cannot be denied that there are more people who make society's construction of transgender an obstacle for transgender people to want to improve their own culture and that of their group. They feel it is inappropriate to get closer to religion, let alone mingle with society. This is a problem or problem of social life that must be borne by transgender people in their existence. It is not surprising that this hut is quite challenging to trace its whereabouts; even the local people seem to reject the existence of this hut and are reluctant to give their exact address.

Rejection by the surrounding community departs from the failure of the socialization process and mental illness, which has much influence on people's lives, as stated by Durkheim through the theory of anomie, where there is a contrast between the influence of subcultures and the daily reality in society. As a result of the difficulty in bringing harmony and harmony together, the socialization and cultural dynamics in society are paralyzed. Finally, transgender people choose their path and place themselves as a discarded subculture. (Arbani, 2012), in his research, revealed hate crimes experienced by transgender and transgender people who are in a society that adopts heteronormativity and patriarchal culture using a feminist perspective. In addition, it also examines the sexual violence experienced by transgender people and other human rights violations.

Intercourse among transgender people is called peer culture (peer culture). Groups of transgender people of the same age generally have cultural values and characteristics that differ or even conflict with other people's cultures. To separate themselves from the culture of the surrounding environment, they create a counterculture, a culture typical of transgender (Alatas, 2006). Because they are considered different, transgender are banished from the primary culture because they are considered deviant behavior and form dynamics in society that what they do is a crime. This background makes them feel the need to maintain their existence through an urban lifestyle, such as being a make-up artist in a salon. This interaction fosters a distinctive transgender culture in the form of the language commonly used by transgender people to communicate with each other.

The figure of transgender people who are entirely accepted or rejected in society will largely be determined by how they implement it in their existence and society so that they can become part of that social environment in terms of how much capability a transgender person has in their daily behavior, either individually or collectively. This aspect continues to be maintained and maintained by the many transgender members of the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, even though few choose



to become Santri. Shinta Ratri and the residents of the Islamic boarding school adhere to the contents of Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution concerning Freedom of Religion.

4. CONCLUSION

Juvenile delinquency is an increasingly severe social problem in modern times, both in newly independent third-world countries and developed countries. The crime of adolescents is significantly related to modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and the level of welfare and prosperity. The concept of crime is generally divided into two senses: crime according to law (juridical) and crime according to nonpenal or crime according to sociology. Sutherland defines crime as an act determined by the state as a crime in its criminal law and is punishable by a sanction.

In reference books from the Anglo-Saxons, crimes according to law are grouped under conventional crime, namely crimes included in the Criminal Code. Street crime by the behavior of delinquent youth in *klitih* gangs which often results in fatalities needs to be processed in criminal justice. Juvenile criminals are emphasized to be given a deterrent effect based on the enforcement of sentences in accordance with applicable regulations, including Article 1 of the Juvenile Criminal Justice System Act, which reads: "The court system for children must uphold rights and safety and promote physical and mental well-being. Prison sentences should be used as a last resort." In addition, the leaders or drivers of the *Klitih* gang plot must be thoroughly investigated so that it does not become a dark tradition (crime as culture) as a series of cases of children in conflict with the law in Yogyakarta.

Furthermore, the concept of crime sociologically states that crime is a human behavior created by society. However, people have a variety of different behaviors but have the same pattern. Symptoms occur in the interaction process between sections of society as social groups that have the authority to formulate crimes and which groups of people commit crimes—labeling transgender people as a group that commits crimes has transformed into a culture as a crime (culture as crime) that arises because society formulates the meaning of crime/deviation itself. So that the existence of transgender will continue to experience criminalization and be attached to a bad stigma. The potential danger that needs to be watched out for is the creation of moral degradation of transgender women who are no longer half-hearted in engaging in violence, prostitution, and various other acts of deviance due to intense labeling by society.

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