

Gender Performance, Gender Identity and Stigma in the Life of Cosplayers in Malang City

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine gender performance, gender identity and gender stigma experienced by cosplayers in Malang City. Gender Performance that occurs repeatedly in a certain period of time is able to create a gender identity. Gender identity is perpetuated based on the repetition of gender performance in the lives of cosplayers. In his life, a cosplayer has gender differences in his life. There are gender differences when they become cosplayers and when they are in their social life. The existence of differences made by a cosplayer raises a problem. The problem experienced by cosplayers is stigma. Stigma is often experienced by cosplayers who have two genders in their lives. Gender changes that keep repeating make people accuse that a cosplayer is not a normal person. The perceived abnormality leads to the sexuality of a cosplayer. The research method used in this study is phenomenology with the data generated is a description of the cosplayer's experience in playing her gender, forming her gender identity to the stigma attached to her body. Collecting data by means of observation, interviews and documentation. The result of this research is that a cosplayer's gender identity is formed based on continuous repetition. Gender performance is one of the processes of gender identity formation. The gender performance shown is the result of imitating the character or character he likes. Gender performance is the cause of cosplayers getting stigma from their social environment. The stigma attached to cosplayers who cross genders is in the form of sexual deviation.

Keywords

gender performance; gender identity; cosplayer; stigma

INTRODUCTION

Modern Japanese culture is part of the Japanese Popular Culture reference. In Japanese popular culture, which are quite well known are cosplay, Harajuku-kei fashion, manga, Japanese fashion and so on (Craig, 2000). In the stages that take place gradually will be able to create a popular culture and cosplay. Cosplay is an activity that is created with the aim of expressing itself so that it looks like the character or character that is being

imitated. It is not uncommon for cosplayers to portray their favorite anime characters or characters and are expressed at Japanese events. Cosplay activities are usually carried out by groups or individuals whose aim is to imitate anime characters in terms of appearance, clothing, speaking style, and makeup. The purpose of this activity is to be able to

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appear in public and be photographed (Ahn, 2008).

The activity of cosplayers is to display various gender expressions. Gender expression occurs in cosplayers who play the character they want to play. Several cosplayers presented themselves during Japanese events. In this activity, cosplayers will meet other cosplayers, this activity is able to create a space for creativity and collectivity (Lunning, 2002). When a cosplayer is attending a Japanese event, there are several possibilities that will arise, namely that a cosplayer can actualize a narrative and its meaning. On the other hand, a cosplayer actualizes their own identity in gender expression in crossdressing (Lamerich, 2011).

The results of research conducted by Rastati (2018) entitled "Identity Formation by Stuart Hall and Katharine Hamley" explains that someone who follows cosplayers starts from games, manga or anime. Information obtained related to Japanese culture originated from the media, Japanese language tutors, or magazines. The reason why following cosplayers is because of the pleasure or interest in a character. On the other hand, following cosplayers is considered a form of refreshing. However, there are those who earn money by following cosplayers. The benefits obtained are adding experience, making new friends and other positive things. However, the negative thing experienced in the form of wasting money. The role of the media in this case is as a source of information to see Japanese culture. However, the media in addition to having a positive impact also has a negative impact. not a few media give news that men who follow cosplayers are homosexuals.

According to research conducted by Venus and Helmi (2010) entitled "Japanese Popular Culture in Indonesia: Phenomenological Study Notes About Self-Concept of Bandung Cosplay Party Members", from the results of research involving four informants, there are two informants who have a sense of insecurity about his physique. However, even though they weren't confident, they quite enjoyed themselves as cosplayers. They also have positive thoughts. When the

four of them became cosplayers, they really enjoyed their roles. According to him, cosplay is able to express oneself, increase courage, innovate and hone skills. However, the obstacles that exist in the world of cosplay are in terms of material. The limited material made one of the informants to be frugal or creative in making costumes. The formation of a cosplayer's self-concept is influenced by family, close friends and friends. This includes something else that is significant. On the other hand, they have a positive self-concept.

The results of research conducted by Seta Lingga Wisnu (2017) entitled "Gender Expression in Cosplay (Qualitative Descriptive Study of Cosplayers Who Crossdress in the Jaico Semarang Community)" shows that cosplay-crossdress identity can be formed because of the role of the media, both print and electronic media. In addition, the influence of the surrounding environment such as association with school friends and closest people also determines the formation of identity. Cosplay identity arises from the desire to escape from everyday identity. Cosplayers make cosplay a hobby as well as a job as well as a hobby at any given time. Gender identity in cosplay is not attached to the gender expression they display. In this case, cosplay, especially crossdressing, actually shows the flexibility of identity according to different contexts and times.

According to research conducted by Mulyanah (2018), entitled "Cosplayers Self View in the Japan Matsuri Community", the results of the study show that the formation of a cosplayer's self-concept is influenced by himself and from outside. The existence of an interest in an anime image makes someone want to actualize the life of a cosplayer. However, due to environmental factors, there was an invitation from others, which eventually made them become cosplayers. The form of actualizing himself as a cosplayer is buying anime items or anime characters he likes. Collect some clothes according to the character he likes. When wearing a cosplay costume there is a sense of satisfaction for a cosplayer, but on the other hand, there is a sense of wanting to interact with fellow

cosplayers and add to the experience. When they cosplay, they don't experience discrimination, because they cosplay in Kota Besar Bekasi. Therefore, there is a sense of comfort for a cosplayer to keep cosplaying. However, this does not rule out the possibility that they will not get it. They still get negative stigma but not too much. Otaku are born and arise because of the desire to give themselves their identity and way of life.

According to research conducted by Handaningtias and Agustina (2017) entitled "Communication Events in the Formation of Anime Otaku Self-Concepts", the results of the research show that someone in becoming an otaku and entering a community is not without reason. There is a reason that makes otaku enter the community. The reason is because they are accepted by others without judgment. That is, an otaku is free to express himself without any discrimination. The identity given to him when he became an otaku. This is because he can respect himself. On the other hand, the purpose of giving an identity is done in order to cover his shortcomings.

According to research conducted by Prabowo (2014) entitled "Cosplay as a Recreational Means for Married Cosura Community Cosplayers", shows that the spectacle they watch has an impact on the imagination they want to develop in the real world. One form of development is by cosplay. An attraction to cosplay that is unconscious within them, is an unconscious and unintentional spontaneity. The informants' arena includes their friends, especially from the work environment.

According to the results of Magfiroh's research (2012), entitled "Self-Concept and Identity of Cosplay Actors (Phenomenological Study of Cosplay Actors in the Visual Shock Community (VOC) of Surakarta)", shows that the formation of one's self-concept and identity cannot be separated from the influence of information technology and the influence of information technology environment. Basically, the formation of a person's self-concept and identity is formed through a learning process from infancy to adulthood, the self-concept is formed

through internalization and organization processes as well as past experiences. The development of information technology and the entry of western cultures indirectly change a person's lifestyle and behavior, the development of information technology is caused by the rapid growth of media such as TV and online games, the focus of this research is on the cosplay community.

When a cosplayer enters the world of cosplay, there are some things that cosplayers cannot feel in their social life. A cosplayer enjoys the freedom to express her gender without being tied to her gender. In a sense, a cosplayer expresses anime characters without being bound by gender identity that exists in their social life. A phenomenon in Malang City, a cosplayer has gender differences when cosplaying and in his social life. Gender differences are very visible when doing cosplay. A female cosplayer can display a masculine character and vice versa.

The formation of identity and self-concept cannot be separated from the influence of technology and the environment. Research conducted by Ardhani, et al in 2017; Setyanto et al in 2018; Mulayanah 2018; Handaningtias 2017, related to the formation of a cosplayer's identity and self-concept, cannot be separated from environmental factors and is supported by technology. The development of technology and information as well as the entry of western culture indirectly have an influence on changes in a person's lifestyle and behavior. One of them is by becoming a cosplayer. Based on research conducted by Ranny Rastati in 2018 with the title "Media and Identity: Japanese Cultural Imperialism through Cosplay (Study of Cosplayers who Crossdress)". The results of Rastati's research are that a cosplayer started to participate in cosplay activities starting from games, manga, or anime. The information he got started from the media, Japanese language tutors or magazines. The reason someone participates in cosplay is the pleasure or interest in a character. The role of the media is as a source that provides information on Japanese culture. The media has two impacts, namely positive impacts and negative impacts. The media

often provide information that men who become cosplayers are homosexual. The existence of the media is able to influence the public's point of view when meeting male cosplayers.

There is a phenomenon in Malang City regarding cosplayers. There are cosplayers who have gender differences between their social lives and their lives when cosplaying. At the moment in his social life, a cosplayer displays gender which is in line with sex, gender and sexual orientation. However, this does not apply when the cosplayer displays gender at the time of the cosplayer. A cosplayer can change his gender at any time. Gender changes also take place during cosplay, if today a male cosplayer displays a masculine gender, maybe tomorrow he will display a feminine gender as well as a female cosplayer. The gender performance shown depends on the character and what character is being played by the cosplayer. In this case, it can be seen that the gender of the cosplayer can change depending on the circumstances.

When doing cosplay, cosplayers only focus on gender performance without looking at the gender attached to their bodies. A cosplayer only displays gender changes that have nothing to do with their gender. Gender changes are only shown at the time of cosplay. This is because a cosplayer does not want to exacerbate the stigma that has been attached to him.

Not a few cosplayers cover themselves from the social environment and hide their social identity. This is part of cosplayers' efforts to avoid the stigma that will be given by the social environment if they find out that they are a cosplayer who crosses their gender. In fact, this stigma does not only appear in social life, but a cosplayer will also get stigma when doing cosplay. Male cosplayers are more prone to being stigmatized when crossing genders when cosplaying.

According to Butler, gender is a sign of identity as male or female. Gender is seen as an expression so it is something that is not stable. Therefore, gender is something that is fluid and can change. Certain gender expressions cannot be fully used to define a

subject's identity:

"There is no gender identity behind the expression of gender: That identity is performatively constituted by the very expressions" that are said to be it's gender" (Butler, 1990)

This paper discusses the gender performance that takes place in the life of a cosplayer. Gender performance shows gender changes that keep repeating in the lives of cosplayers. Gender changes that take place from feminine to masculine to feminine or vice versa. The gender expression displayed will be able to form a cosplayer's gender identity. The gender performance displayed by cosplayers often gets an unfavorable assessment in the form of stigma. Stigma arises because cosplayers who cross their gender do not conform to the norms of heteronormativity, in which sex, gender and sexual orientation must go hand in hand. The use of Butler's theory of gender performativity with the Cosplayer phenomenon as new knowledge of gender fluidity that changes at any time without changing sexual orientation. Based on the findings in the field, cosplayers often change gender but have a sexual orientation that is focused on the opposite sex.

METHODS

The method used in this research is qualitative with a phenomenological approach. According to Strauss and Corbin in Bogdan & Biklen, S (1992: 21-22) explains that qualitative research is one of the procedures in the form of speech or writing and the behavior of the people being observed. The qualitative approach is expected to be able to produce an in-depth description of the speech, writing or observable behavior of a particular individual, group, community or organization. The purpose of qualitative research is to gain a general understanding of social reality from the participant's perspective. Phenomenology comes from the Greek word

phainomai which means to see. Literally phenomenology is a study that studies phenomena, including what is visible or visible, everything that arises from human experience, the way we experience things, the meanings that humans have in their experiences (Kuswarno, 2009: 23). Phenomenology tries to understand an individual in his experience and his meaning in an experience he experiences (Kuswarno, 2009: 25). The experience of a human being is something that is experienced directly and is related to what is done by humans. The focus of phenomenology is on a person's experience because life experience is the basis of the reality that wants to be studied in this study.

The data collection used are observation, interviews and documentation. Observation is a systematic descriptive observation of events and behavior in selected social settings for scrutiny (Suyanto and Sutinah, 2000). When conducting observations, researchers experienced difficulties, due to Covid-19 which made cosplay activities unable to take place. Therefore the researcher decided to use non-participant observation, the researcher was not fully involved in observing the informants but the researcher was involved in cosplayer activities before Covid-19.

Interviews or interviews can simply be interpreted as a form of communication between two or more people to obtain information by asking questions based on a specific depth interview purpose (Mulyana, 2006). Interviews were conducted with seven informants who defined themselves as cosplayers. All the names of the informants in this study are not their real names to protect the identity of the informants considering the discrimination experienced by cosplayers.

The analysis technique in this stu-

dy, the researcher used the Stevick-Co-laizzi-Kenn phenomenological analysis technique which was carried out by making a complete description based on the events experienced by the informants. Studying, recording and recording statements of informants based on the consent of the informants, as well as grouping each meaning into a certain, then combining textural and structural descriptions to determine meaning.

The informants involved are key informants who assist researchers as experts who pave the way for conducting research. The task carried out by key informants is as the party who knows best about crossdress and has important information needed by researchers. The key informants selected were CO, HZ and PR. The reason the researcher chose CO, HZ and PR as key informants was because CO.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the research previously mentioned, this research discusses a cosplayer starting from the existence of games, manga or anime even from the media. When a cosplayer enters the world of cosplay, a cosplayer feels two kinds of impacts, namely positive and negative impacts. The negative impact that almost everyone is aware of, not only cosplayers, is a waste of money. Cosplay activities are considered as an activity to waste money without having any benefits. In fact, the positive impact that is only felt by cosplayers is that there is a place to hone self-confidence, learn to interact socially, add networks and so on.

Research on gender performance, gender identity and cosplayer stigma involved seven informants. The seven informants studied displayed gender that was quite diverse and not always. Generally, cosplayers choose to display gender based on their gender attachment. That is, there is no difference between gender and sex. What is meant is that when a cosplayer has a penis, he displays a

masculine gender, as well as a cosplayer who has a vagina will display a feminine gender. In reality, not all cosplayers are like that.

In Malang City, a cosplayer was found who displayed his gender as opposed to sex (gender). Findings in the field that found seven informants display the opposite gender with sex (gender). Of the seven informants, there are 4 men with heterosexual sexual orientation and masculine gender in social life. At the time of cosplay the four informants named CO, BG, ED, AC. The four informants are clearly a man who looks masculine in his social life. However, when cosplaying CO, BG, ED, AC does not fully display the masculine gender. As stated by Co:

"If it's a gender issue, ummm, how about it because it's uncertain, sometimes it's a girl sometimes a boy, depending on the character I like and I'm playing", Co, Malang, August 2020.

Co doesn't always show gender that is in line with the gender it has, sometimes Co displays a feminine character so that it also displays a feminine gender, this not only happened to Co, but BG, ED and AC also revealed:

"Yes, depending on the anime I like, sometimes it's a girl, sometimes it's a boy" BG, Malang September 2020.

"Imitating the character is like we wear female characters, so we have to be like women in terms of make-up, clothes, roads and so on. If the male character is not as difficult as the female character because I am a male, it will be easy" ED, Malang August 2020.

"Dress up as closely as possible to anime characters. If it's a feminine cosplay, yes, wear women's clothes, pretend to create breasts, change appearance and be as similar to the female character as possible" AC, Malang September 2020.

Based on the statements of the four informants, it can be seen that sometimes when cosplay undergoes a gender change, the four informants who in their daily lives have a masculine gender play a femi-

ne gender when they cosplay. In this case, cosplayers make a gender change at one time. Gender that is displayed femininely only lasts a few hours, does not last within 24 hours. Sometimes, sometimes even CO, BG, ED and AC display feminine gender. The gender performance he displays is an expression of pleasure that cannot be displayed in his social life. Therefore, the four informants displayed feminine gender at the time of cosplay. As stated by one of the informants stated:

"The reason why I changed my gender, because of convenience, I'm comfortable being able to dress up like a girl, I'm comfortable showing female characters, but I don't dare to present myself in my life outside of cosplay". ED, August Malang 2020.

The four informants explained that their experience in interpreting gender was a freedom that was not completely free. The four informants clearly stated that they could express their gender when cosplaying. When not cosplaying, the four informants closed their identities. This is an attempt by cosplayers not to get stigmatized. The four informants also explained that in his experience as a cosplayer he also experienced a change in gender, not always remaining a feminine, sometimes also becoming a masculine which is no different from himself in a social environment.

Several efforts were made by the four male cosplayer informants, namely trying to make themselves look feminine by taking several actions. One of the actions he took was to change his appearance. The main change in appearance lies in the clothes. A male cosplayer must wear feminine clothes when he wants to display his feminine gender. As stated by one of the informants:

"If it's a feminine cosplay, yes, yes, wear women's clothes, pretend to create breasts, change their appearance and as much as possible resemble the female character." AC, Malang, September 2020.

Second, changing hair, hairstyles make male cosplayers wear wigs (wigs) when they show their feminine gender. Changes in physical appearance must be completed

first, after which the four informants began to imitate the way they walked, how they spoke, put on make-up and even created the impression of breasts. The impression of breasts is often done by cosplayers with the aim of masking their identity as a man.

"I changed my appearance that was the main thing, then I also imitated how to talk, how to walk, and also closed my penis, it's easy to not see my penis because I'm wearing a skirt, what's difficult is the Adam's apple. Then the most difficult thing is to make breasts, sometimes I want to show a somewhat vulgar character but confused about breasts, after all I'm a man". CO, Malang, August 2020.

Based on the gender performance that continues to be gradually carried out in the lives of male cosplayers, he said that he has a flexible gender. The four informants are free to display any gender and there is no compulsion to display a gender. Therefore, the gender of the four cosplayers can now be masculine and for the next appearance feminine, it could even be feminine onwards or back to masculine. This depends on the gender performance of the four cosplayers.

The details of the seven informants, there are four male informants and three female informants. The three informants named UF, MG, DA are not much different from the lives of the four male informants. The three female informants also have gender differences when cosplaying and in their daily lives. The three female informants display a feminine gender when in their social life, not displaying a masculine gender at all. However, this did not apply when the three informants became cosplayers. The three informants often change gender when they are cosplayers, as are the four informants. On the other hand, the three informants also did not persist in displaying a masculine gender. For the three informants, the gender they display often changes according to the character they want to display. As stated by the three informants:

"When it comes to cosplay, it depends sometimes it's a girl and sometimes it's macho". MG, Malang, September 2020.

"Changing the appearance, especially in terms of clothing is the most important". DA, Malang, October 2020.

"Cosplay was originally feminine but changed, sometimes like a boy, sometimes still a woman, depending on the situation". UF, Malang, July 2020.

Several attempts were made by the three female informants to look like a man, namely changing their appearance, such as wearing male costumes, men's haircuts, and even the three informants were trying to hide their breasts. Hiding the breast by covering it with a cloth so that it doesn't stand out too much and looks more broad. In addition, the three informants also changed their voices and walking styles so they didn't look feminine. This is as expressed by:

"When I cosplay like a boy, I try to dress up like a boy" UF, Malang, July 2020.

"Covering my breasts, amplifying my voice, imitating a man's walk, wearing a male costume" UF, Malang, July 2020.

"When women cosplay, nothing changes, because I'm a woman so nothing changes, at least the costumes are different" UF, Malang, July 2020.

Their efforts are part of gender performance. The gender performance that is carried out gradually makes them affirm their gender identity. The three female informants stated that their gender identity is flexible, not completely certain. This is due to erratic gender changes.

It can be seen that the gender division is feminine and masculine. Feminine and masculine are often attached to sexual identity. There is a dominant discourse circulating in society which requires that when someone is born a man he must be masculine and have a relationship with a woman, and vice versa. This is what is called the heteronormativity framework. When someone who is born male but is not masculine he will get a bad view from society. This is because it is considered to have left and deviated from the norm of heteronormativity.

A Butler assesses the body as part of the aspect of morality. Values that exist in society bind a person's body. In fact, according to Butler, the body has had its own space. Butler clearly denies that a person's sex is a determinant of gender. According to Butler's view, between gender and sex does not have any relation as well as sexual orientation. Gender is a social product which eventually becomes determinism for the subject (Butler, 1990). Butler's concept of sex and gender is not a unified imperative. It doesn't matter if someone has a feminine gender identity and the next day a masculine gender identity, as well as male feminine or female masculine. It can be seen that it doesn't matter if a male cosplayer displays masculine or feminine gender, as well as female cosplayers. Gender identity can be formed through actions that take place continuously in their daily lives. Thus, the act of gender repetition carried out by cosplayers is able to make themselves determine their gender identity.

Based on the results of observations and observations in the field regarding cosplayer studies analyzed using Judith Butler's theory, it can be seen that a cosplayer who has gender differences in social life with cosplay is not a problem. According to Judith Butler's point of view, the act of gender performance carried out by cosplayers when they have two genders and then the gender can change at any time is not an abnormality. However, it is a freedom to express gender. However, with the dominant discourse circulating regarding heteronormativity norms having an impact on cosplayers who have gender differences with their gender, the impact experienced by cosplayers is stigma.

Butler in his view sees gender as something fluid that can change at any time without being tied to sex or sexual orientation. In Butler's view, the actions taken by cosplayers to change gender are not an abnormality that will lead to labeling in the form of stigma. However, it is a freedom of gender expression and not a person who experiences sexual deviance.

The formation of a cosplayer's gender

identity begins with a gender performance that takes place repeatedly and continuously. It can be seen that cosplayer's identity is formed by a set of actions that are performed repeatedly and continuously. The mention of "flexible" gender identity is due to the repetition of gender which changes at any time, therefore cosplayers mention gender identity as a flexible gender. This is because there is a change in gender, currently showing the feminine gender, and then showing the masculine or vice versa and so on. The actions taken by cosplayers can be referred to as gender performance. Therefore, this is where gender identity can be formed.

The mention of gender identity for "feminine or masculine" cosplayers is by changing their appearance in such a way. Changes occur in the way cosplayers change the identity of the name to match the gender played, appearance, style, and several other actions. When a cosplayer mentions herself, her gender is flexible. This does not mean that cosplayers have not taken any action, but that cosplayers have taken various actions which in the end no longer call themselves masculine or feminine. Of the seven informants, they often said that they were feminine or masculine, very flexible. According to Butler, the series of actions taken by the seven informants were not abnormal. According to Butler, gender identity is not related to sex or sexual orientation. Therefore, it is legal if a male cosplayer has a feminine gender and vice versa.

Gender differences that take place in a cosplayer's life are normal and according to Butler, these actions are not abnormal. In fact, cosplayers are stigmatized for not showing their gender according to their gender. Gender discrepancy makes cosplayers get stigma from their environment. Discussing Butler's theory on the cosplayer phenomenon, it can be seen that the actions taken by cosplayers are not an abnormality, but a form of freedom in displaying gender expression. According to Butler, gender is not tied to sex or sexual orientation. Gender is something that is fluid.

The actions taken by cosplayers in "showing gender" reap negative percep-

tions from the social environment. Not only people who are not familiar with the world of cosplay, but those who are cosplay connoisseurs consider it abnormal. It is not uncommon for cosplayers who display a different gender to get suspicion from fellow cosplayers. A cosplayer who displays gender differences is often stigmatized. Stigma as a homosexual or commonly called liking the same sex. According to Erving Goffman, stigma is an attribute that discredits a person as not the same or different from normal humans, stigma leads to differences that lead to negative. For example, it is marked by differences in skin color (ethnicity), body size (obesity), appearance (economics), physiology (gender) which are stigmatized by the general public (Larson and Corrigan, 2008).

Stigma is a form of deviation from the assessment of a group that exists in society when individuals are wrong in their social interactions (Elliott in Brohan, Slade, Clement and Thornicroft, 2010). It is not new if a cosplayer who crosses gender (there is a gender difference between sex/gender) when his identity is revealed will be ostracized from the social environment. For the four male informants, they are more prone to get views in the form of stigmatizing homosexual actors. The four informants realized that men were more prone to being stigmatized as homosexuals than women. The stigmatization of the four informants is clearly untrue, because the four informants still like women and it is not uncommon for them to date a woman. It's just that it's difficult to get a partner, often the four informants play anime characters as partners.

The stigma attached to the three female cosplayer informants explained that the stigma experienced was not as terrible as that experienced by men. When their identity is revealed, it is true that there is a stigma that they like a woman, it's just that they don't get ostracized from the social environment. Sometimes, female cosplayers who cross genders when displaying good looks get compliments from their environment. For the three female informants, instead of being stigmatized as homosexuals, the stig-

ma that is more often attached to female cosplayers who cross genders is "ungrateful humans". The labeling of "ungrateful humans" is based on the presence of female cosplayers changing their appearance.

Of the two seven informants, the stigma experienced by men is heavier than women. Often male informants are invited to have romantic relationships with other men. This is due to the stigma attached to the four informants. Not only that, one of the four informants had an offer to sleep together. It can be seen that when a male cosplayer gets a homosexual stigma, the action received by male cosplayers is heavier. Not infrequently the four informants wanted to be angry but they held it in. For women, the stigma that is given is only verbal and does not involve action. The form of action from the stigma attached to female cosplayers is nothing more than "rumor or gossip", so far there has been no action like what was experienced by the four male informants. However, female cosplayers with feminine appearances often experience sexual harassment. Sexual harassment, which is not uncommon, occurs when someone asks for a photo and then holds hands and even holds a forbidden part of a woman's property.

The stigma experienced by cosplayers is due to the norm of heteromativity. The seven informants are considered to have come out of heteronormativity so that they get stigmatized. The difference between gender and sex is considered an abnormality for the social environment. For Goffman, identity is divided into two, namely virtual social identity which is a social identity that is formed from the characters we assume or what we are thinking. The next identity, namely the actual identity of social identity is a social identity that has been formed through characters that have been proven in social life (Goffman, in Kurniawati, 2016). When someone has a gender difference that is generally displayed by the dominant society, that's when cosplayers get stigmatized. The stigma that appears and is experienced by cosplayers is because of the gaps that the seven informants have. From the stigma attached to the cosplayer's body, the four male

informants received ostracism, ridicule and even sexual harassment. This is due to the gender discrepancy displayed by the four informants, based on the statement of one of the informants regarding the stigma they experienced:

“Impact huh? Of course, yes, I don’t change gender when I’m cosplaying, how come I’m bullied especially if I find out I’m a girl when I cosplay.” CO, Malang, August 2020.

“Some people already know, because I’ve been caught and I was said to be gay, the position is that I don’t have a partner, yes, when they were accused. More bad talk.” CO, Malang, August 2020.

“The bullying that I get is often said to be abnormal, it’s funny that some have even said they were disgusted because I dressed like a woman in cosplay. Even though I cosplay as a fictional female character, I still like women”. CO, Malang, August 2020.

A person can experience stigma because of the bad attributes attached to a person’s body. Just as a cosplayer is considered abnormal because it does not display a gender that fits the heteronormativity framework. Stigma can make a person’s situation worse. Stigma is also a physical or social attribute that can reduce social identity, eliminating a person from acceptance of his environment (Goffman, in Santoso 2016). According to Goffman, stigma is divided into three types, namely abominations of the body (physical inequality). This stigma refers to a person’s physical problems such as limping, deaf or mute. The second stigma is Blemishes of individual character. This stigma relates to damage to individual characters such as homosexuals, drunkards, addicts and rapists. The third stigma is tribal stigma, namely stigma related to ethnicity, religion and nation.

Based on the phenomena experienced by cosplayers, the stigma experienced is classified as stigma blemishes of individual. The seven informants have left the framework of heteronormativity norms. Cosplayers play gender regardless of gender, cosplayers don’t care about the gender attached to their

bodies. For the seven cosplayer informants that gender is part of freedom, only when a cosplayer is a cosplayer is a cosplayer free to play any gender. The actions taken by the seven informants only created a stigma for themselves. For the four male informants, they received the stigma of homosexual perpetrators who liked the same sex. For the three female informants, it is not uncommon to get stigmatized as liking other women, and are considered as ungrateful human beings.

CONCLUSION

From the research entitled “Gender Performance, Gender Identity and Stigma in the Life of Cosplayers in Malang City” it can be concluded as follows:

1. A cosplayer displays gender according to his wishes. There is a desire to display an anime character. The gender performance displayed is not always the same, it can change at any time. A cosplayer performs a gender performance only when cosplaying.
2. Cosplayer gender identity is formed from the existence of gender performance in cosplay life. The seven informants have flexible gender. Changes in gender identity depend on the gender performance of a cosplayer.
3. The stigma experienced by the seven informants is different. The four informants received a stigma in the form of homosexuals, for the three informants the stigma of liking fellow women and humans who were not good at being grateful. The impact of the stigma for the four male informants is in the form of ostracism and sexual harassment. The three female informants received gossip and word of mouth.

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