

THE SUCCESS OF TRANSGENDERS IN THE ELECTION PROCESS FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS: A PUBLIC POLICY REFORM IN INDONESIA

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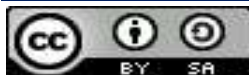
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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to examine transgender people's success in Indonesia's election for public officials. This victory is the first that happened in the country's public officials election. As transgenders face discriminative acts which impede their public opportunities, it is interesting to investigate the factors contributing to this election victory. This is a public policy reform in Indonesia. This present study incorporated a focus group discussion (FGD) approach and in-depth interviews with some key informants. Thirty-two key informants were selected, followed by document reviews. The results showed that the transgender success in elections for public officials is due to utilizing the shift in the heteronormative habitus in society, the possessed capital, and the social domain by building relationships and communication between organizations and institutions. This study contributes to empirical evidence that transgender people could win the election for public officials in a society that firmly holds the values of first and second or male and female gender identity. Practically, it provides input to policymakers to make requirements as public officials limited to men and women and also include transgender as a third gender identity.

KEYWORDS

public policy reform; the election process for public officials; transgender



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INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to determine a transgender's success in the election for public officials. It is essential because Bunda Mayora, a transgender person, was elected as a member of the Village Consultative Body (BPD) (The Village

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Consultative Body (BPD) is a legislative body in the village. The duties and roles of the BPD are the same as the Parliament at the national/regional level, such as exploring, processing, and channeling community aspirations, supervising the implementation of the village head's duties, making and enacting village regulations, including carrying out budgeting tasks or setting Village Budget (APBDes)) in Habi Village, Kangae Sub-district, Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, in 2020. Bunda Mayora became the first transgender state official in Indonesia through an election process that uses a one-man-one-vote system at the village level. This is a public policy reform in Indonesia. Until now, none of the laws and regulations regarding the election of public officials through the electoral process are discriminatory based on gender. This means that men, women, and transgenders have the same opportunity to become public officials. However, before Bunda Mayora, no transgender has become a public official in Indonesia.

This study becomes critical as transgenders in Indonesia often get negative stigma and discriminatory treatment. Ministry of Social affairs revealed that there were 31,179 transgenders spread across 33 provinces in 2012 (Indonesia, No, & Timur, 2020), accounting for 0.012 % of Indonesia's population. Therefore, they are a minority and marginal group based on the total population. In recent years, the discriminatory treatment of transgenders has been marked by increased violence cases against them. These include five murder cases in 2018 and six in 2019 (Komnas, 2016). For instance, in 2020, there was a case involving a transgender called Mira being burned on charges of stealing. Another case was transgender people being humiliated by a YouTuber who performed a prank by giving food that was, in fact, stale food.

The two cases seriously hurt the justice and morals of the Indonesian people. Another problem faced by transgender groups is discriminative treatment due to their different identity, which differs from heteronormative gender identity.. *First*, they are considered abnormal because they do not behave according to widely accepted standard behavior. In fact, transgenders are seen as men physically, but they psychologically behave like women, making most people regard their behavior as deviant (Widiastuti, 2017). *Second*, it is difficult for transgenders to obtain and use an identity card, which every Indonesian people should own. The card has essential information, including full name, place, date of birth, gender, religion, occupation, and address. The gender preference of transgender people is not in line with their condition, and they must select gender identity as male or female. Transgenders must show a family card received upon their birth certificate to obtain their identity card. Problems arise when the identities on the birth certificate and the identity card differ.

The *third* issue regards job opportunities, where transgenders in Indonesia hardly find formal and professional jobs because most do not have higher education. Moreover, although some are highly educated, they face difficulties finding legal and professional jobs. This is because the jobs, including working in well-known companies and as state civil servants, are usually offered only to men or women. Therefore, most transgenders do not have proper jobs and predominantly work in beauty salons, street buskers, and commercial sex workers.

The *fourth* problem is issues concerning the implementation of worship and religious sharia (In general, sharia is defined as a set of norms that comprehensively regulate all aspects of life, from aqidah and banking to lawful social behavior, which is based mainly on the Qur'an as the holy book of Islam and hadith as a collection of sayings and descriptions of the sunnah, or exemplary and normative behavior of the Prophet Muhammad), especially for Muslim transgenders. The Islamic procedure for worship and dress is regulated based on gender. In the rules for congregational prayers, men become imams standing before women and have separate places, becoming a problem for Muslim transgenders. In performing prayers, women wear a robe covering the head and body (In Indonesia, it is known as mukena). In contrast, men wear trousers or sarongs (Sarong is a long cloth that covers the body from the navel to the heels). The different prayer rules for Muslim men and women create problems for transgenders because their feelings differ from their physical appearance. Furthermore, Muslim transgenders cannot quickly pray anywhere and anytime because they should cover their entire body as women, except the face.

Fifth, transgenders in Indonesia cannot freely use public facilities, such as toilets, which are only for women and men. Therefore, transgenders are not free to use female or male toilets. They prefer the female bathroom, though other women may ban them. *Sixth*, some regulations discriminate transgenders. The Minister of Social Affairs Regulation Number 8 of 2012 classifies transgenders as People with Social Welfare Problems (PMKS). This regulation stipulates that as a PMKS group, transgenders are a marginal group with impaired social functioning and deviant sexual behavior due to the discrimination and marginalization received. Consequently, their limitations make them vulnerable to social problems (USAID & UNDP, 2013, p. 28). This regulation issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs wants to protect transgenders but categorizes them as groups with deviant sexual behavior. Furthermore, many provincial and regency or city laws and regulations are discriminatory, unprotected, and even criminalize transgenders, including lesbians, gays, and bisexuals (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender are popularly referred to as the LGBT group). According to (Ariyanto & Triawan, 2008), these regulations include (1) South Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 13 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Immorality in the South Sumatra Province. It criminalizes LGBT groups by categorizing them as part of the act of prostitution. (2) Palembang City Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2004 concerning the Eradication of Prostitution criminalizes LGBT groups by categorizing them as part of the act of prostitution. The Palembang City Government equates prostitution with sexual orientation deviations. (3) Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage only states that a valid marriage is performed by two heterosexual people. (4) Jakarta Regional Regulation Number 8 of 2007 concerning Public Order criminalizes informal jobs carried out by the urban poor. As a result, transgender groups with informal jobs experience the direct impact of this regional regulation. (5) Law Number 23 of 2006 concerning Population Administration and Government Regulation Number 37 of 2007 only recognizes transsexual identities. These include transgender people that have

performed sex-change surgery and are far less in number than those that have not performed sex-change surgery.

Several national and local regulations are discriminatory against transgenders. However, the state has implemented its obligations to give transgenders the right to be elected as public officials. This happened in 2007 when two transgender activists, Yulianus Rettoblaut or Mami Yuli and Nancy Iskandar, ran for membership in the National Human Rights Commission (Rakhmi & Rahayu, 2012). During nomination, the executive committee did not question the participation of the two transgenders. This was seen when they passed the first stage election stage but failed at the fit and proper test stage at Commission III of the Indonesian Parliament. They failed because the commission members only considered them transgenders and did not see their abilities.

In 2012, Mama Yuli was re-nominated as a National Human Rights Commission member with Dede Oetomo, a prominent gay activist. In this second nomination, Mama Yuli only reached the second stage. However, Dede Oetomo qualified for the fit and proper test stage in Commission III of the Parliament and 30 other candidates. Dede Oetomo was not elected a member of the National Human Rights Commission. However, there was a positive development in understanding of the existence of transgenders from parliamentary members (USAID & UNDP, 2013, pp. 49-50). Based on the transgender failure in the nomination and election process, it is essential to examine why Bunda Mayora, a transgender, won the election for members of the Village Consultative Body in Habi Village, Kangae Sub-district Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara in 2020. Therefore, this study aimed to examine the factors driving the success of transgender people in the election for public officials. This present provides empirical evidence, that transgender people could win the public officials election in a society that firmly holds the values of first and second or male and female gender identity. Practically it provides input for policymakers to include transgenders as a third identity in the public election process. Therefore, they can implement a more comprehensive strategy to win the election.

RESEARCH METHOD

The case study methodology was used to explain the success of transgenders in the election for public officials in a society that firmly holds heteronormative values in viewing a person's gender. According to Yin, a case study is a methodology for holistically understanding contemporary phenomena in real-life contexts (Yin, 2009). Therefore, the case study methodology was used to explain the success of transgenders in the election for public officials in a society that firmly holds heteronormative values in viewing a person's gender. Therefore, this study could not use the survey method (Merriam, 1998).

This study used focus group discussion (FGD), in-depth interviews, and document or secondary data. FGDs and interviews were used because this qualitative study aimed to obtain facts about a phenomenon's opinions, attitudes, experiences, processes, behaviors, and predictions (Rowley, 2012).

FGDs and in-depth interviews were used to obtain primary data from key informants determined using purposive sampling. According to Rowley, selecting these informants affects the findings. This study used 20 informants comprising various elements, such as Bunda Mayora, a transgender elected as a member of the BPD. Other informants included the village head of Habi, the village apparatus, members of BPD, traditional and religious leaders, the community of Habi Village, prospective members of the BPD that did not qualify, and the Election Committee for the BPD Members of Habi Village in 2020.

In-depth interviews were conducted with selected and potential participants to explore the information provided in the FGDs. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used because this study is qualitative (Gubrium, Holstein, Marvasti, & McKinney, 2012). Ten questions were prepared as a guide in the semi-structured interviews, and the informants were given the freedom to answer (Rubin, 2002). Several key informants were interviewed first before the snowballing technique was used to find other informants by asking for phone numbers or recommendations of other potential informants. The saturation point principle was used to determine when the interview time elapsed when no new information was obtained, and no new themes emerged (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). The saturation point is known as knowledge saturation (Bertaux-Wiame, 1981). Data were then analyzed when sufficient information had been obtained (O'reilly & Parker, 2013); (Walker, 2012); (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006).

This study also used document or secondary data collected based on netnography initiated by Robert Kozinets. According to Kozinets, netnography combines archive work, communication, participation, and online observation (Kozinets, 2010). This method was used because technology and social media development has formed new communities and interconnections in social interactions with different emotional depth. The secondary data were collected from various articles and social media sharing, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube. In addition, other information was related to Bunda Mayora's activities as a transgender and social interaction with the community.

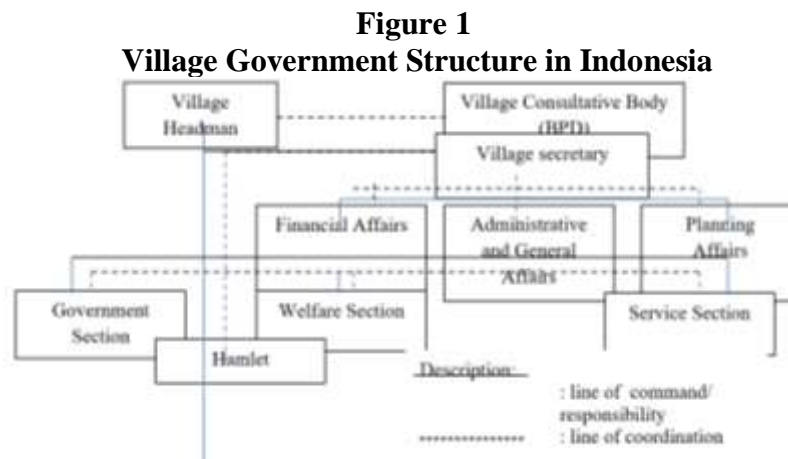
Qualitative data analysis was conducted by focusing on the data validity and reliability. According to Denzin and Lincoln, information and data are confirmed from informants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). A triangulation process or mechanism is conducted to obtain data validity and reliability (Moleong, 2021). The triangulation process involves checking for validity using data from sources and other collection techniques, time, and. This study was triangulated by cross-checking information data from FGDs and interviews with key informants.

The analysis involved reducing or selecting the data relevant to this study, categorizing data based on specific themes, and checking data validity and interpretation. The steps align with the opinion that data analysis involves reduction, presentation, and concluding or verifying (Miles & Huberman, 1994)

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Village Consultative Body (BPD) as a village democratic institution

The Indonesian government system comprises national, provincial, regency, city, and village governments. Figure 1 displays the organizational structure of the village government.



Source: (Amanulloh, 2015)

The Village Consultative Body (BPD) performs the checks and balances function of the village government. This institution accommodates and channels the community's aspirations, discusses and agrees on draft regulations with the village heads, and supervises their performance. As a result, the BPD becomes the key to implementing good governance because it is the control of the village head in running the village government.

Law Number 6/2014 on Villages holds that BPD is a stakeholder in village democracy. It promotes a gender-just democratic life in village governance (Amanulloh, 2015). As a custodian of the village democracy, the selection mechanism for BPD members should be democratic in the election process, membership structure, and performance. This is to realize village democracy oriented to community interests, deliberation, participation, volunteerism, tolerance, humanity, gender justice, transparency, and accountability. Therefore, the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 110/2016 regulates BPD, including membership and election process. The number of BPD members is odd, with a minimum of five people and a maximum of nine based on the population and the village's financial capacity. The regulation stipulates that BPD members represent the village population based on regional and women's representation. The filling is conducted through a direct election process or a democratic representative deliberation. This is based on the regional model to elect candidates for BPD members from representatives of electoral regions in the village. Furthermore, filling based on women's representation aims to select one woman as a BPD member. These representatives can voice and aspire for women's interests.

The regulation only regulates BPD membership based on regional and women representatives. Therefore, when selecting BPD members from Habi Village,

Kangae Sub-district, Sikka Regency, and East Nusa Tenggara in 2020, it is interesting to conduct a study when one of the selected is a transgender person.

Transgender as a third gender identity

Sexual identity is a unique condition related to the genitals' shape, and biological characteristics identified as male or female at birth become an inherent identity for life (Herdt, 2020). In the tradition of Western thought until the early 20th century, a person has only one sex identity, male or female, innate from birth and a gift from God. According to Rubin, heteronormative ideology indoctrinates society that an average sex identity only comprises males and females because both sexes are natural (Rubin G., 1984). Heteronormative ideology requires men and women to submit to the heterosexuality rules cored in the imperative of sexuality procreative function.

In its development, this dichotomous perspective between men and women gets new challenges and thoughts. Freud stated that men and women are the primary social structures formed according to human development. However, Freud recognized hermaphrodite groups, though they have abnormal physical and psychological conditions and exist between men and women. Therefore, Freud included hermaphrodites as a third sexuality category different from the heteronormative ideology believed by most people. In the mid-20th century, the third gender was still considered a conception that deviated from heteronormative culture. The third gender conception recognizes intersex and raises phenomena such as homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender. In social life, a transgender person is physically male but has a soul and behaves womanly. Transgenders narrate themselves as women and act according to the socially constructed roles of women. This phenomenon has always existed and will continue to live in society.

The transgender concept is related to the subaltern as a marginalized group. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) promoted the term subaltern by referring to a junior officer in the British army. In a book entitled *The Prison Notebooks*, which contains a lawsuit against Mussolini's fascist government in Italy, Gramsci used the term subaltern to describe a hegemonic group, giving rise to class. (Merli, 2014). In its development, Gramsci used the term to designate inferior groups as the hegemony subject of the ruling classes. Farmers, laborers, and other groups with no hegemonic power could be referred to as a subaltern class. Gramsci stated that a subaltern is a group excluded from the social order.

Spivak stated that subaltern is related to the oppressed class and everything related to access restrictions. The subaltern is essentially used to identify marginalized or oppressed groups, including transgender people. It becomes a distinction space with a reasonably broad connotation referring to a population socially, politically, and geographically outside the colonial nation's hegemonic power structure.

Previous studies on transgenders used a sociological perspective, such as patterns of social transgender interaction and people's perceptions of the groups. In contrast, this study used a political perspective by analyzing the success of a transgender Hendrikus Kelan/Bunda Mayora in winning the contestation in the election for BPD members in Habi Village, Kangae Sub-district, Sikka Regency,

East Nusa Tenggara. The success made Bunda Mayora become Indonesia's first transgender public official.

3.3. Social Practice Theory

This study used the theory of social practice from Bourdieu to explain the success of transgenders in the election for BPD members. Bourdieu stated that a person, agent, or actor could build social relations by utilizing habitus, capital, and the surrounding environment. This means that the individual is an agent influenced by the habitus and actively forms the habitus through the capital at stake in the realm (Bourdieu & Richardson, 1986).

Habitus is a system of dispositions or various permanent attitudes to be, see, act, and think. It is a person's habit formed based on individual interactions with society for a relatively long time. Furthermore, habitus is related to how individuals learn and implement social values for a long time and affects the individual's thoughts and behavior (Bourdieu in (Nur, M, Nirzalin, Alwi, & Fakhrurrazi, 2020). Indonesia has long implemented a heteronormative habitus that affects people's thinking and behavior in defining gender, partly explaining the discrimination and pressure against transgender people. Therefore, this study aimed to describe how transgender people negotiate habitus to change heteronormative social habitus.

Individuals should have material and non-material capital or resources in social interactions and relations, especially when they want to gain power. This capital is economical, cultural, social, and symbolic. Economic capital is a material resource that could be converted into money and institutionalized as property rights. Cultural capital is a non-material resource but could be converted into financial capital and institutionalized as educational qualifications. Furthermore, social capital is a resource for owning permanent institutional relationships based on mutual knowledge and recognition. Symbolic capital is a power that makes things happen through words, could make people know and believe, and able to transform world visions and actions. The realm is a social space to fight over and risk limited resources (capital) (Nur, M, Nirzalin, Alwi, & Fakhrurrazi, 2020). Social realms include education, religion, politics, and business, each with a different habitus and capital. Therefore, this study aimed to examine how a transgender agent could utilize the social realm gaps and relate with other agents in the same realm.

Social practice and success of transgenders in the election for BPD members

The election mechanism for members of the BPD as a guardian of democracy in the village should be democratic. This is to realize village democracy oriented to community interests, deliberation, participation, volunteerism, tolerance, humanity, gender justice, transparency, and accountability. The regulation states that BPD members represent the village population based on regional and women's representation. In this case, the filling is conducted through a direct election process or democratic representative deliberation. It is based on regional representation to elect candidates for BPD members from representatives of electoral regions in the village. Based on women's representation, they are Filling aims to select one woman as a BPD member. These representatives can voice and fight for women's interests.

The regulation only regulates BPD membership based on regional and women representatives. Therefore, it becomes an interesting question why a transgender person won the election for BPD members in Habi Village, Kangae Sub-district,

Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara in 2020. This made him the first transgender in Indonesia to become a public official. The quick answer to this question is that transgenders utilize the shift in social heteronormative habitus, the possessed capital, and social space by relating and communicating with organizations and institutions. Based on Bourdieu's theory of social practice, the transgenders' ability as agents in building social relations in Habi Village affects their success in the election for BPD members. This quick theoretical question was answered through a discussion of the empirical findings.

Findings and Discussion

Based on the Indonesian constitution, BPD is an institution that performs government functions at the village level (The village is the lowest government in Indonesia). The members are elected based on regional and women's representation democratically. Therefore, BPD is also often referred to as a village democratic institution with gender justice. Based on regulation (Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 110/2016), the number of BPD members is odd, with a minimum of five people and a maximum of nine based on the population and the village's financial capacity.

The Sikka Regency Government has issued Regional Regulation Number 12/2015 to conduct the election of BPD members in all villages. According to the regulation, the Habi Village BPD has five to seven members from three hamlets (Habi village consists of three hamlets, such as Habi Gahar, Habi Langir, and Wair Habi). (Murni, 2021) Therefore, the Habi Village Government conducted the election process for BPD members in March 2020. Bunda Mayora was one of the five people (There are 5 BPD members of Habi Village, 2 people from Habi Hamlet, 2 people from Wair Habi Hamlet, and 1 person from Habi Langir Hamlet) (Yunita, 2021) selected from 16 participants (Coming from 3 hamlets).

The election of Bunda Mayora as a Habi Village BPD member makes him the first and only transgender serving as a public official in Indonesia in 2020-2025. Therefore, it is interesting to elaborate on how and why a transgender won the election for BPD members in a society that firmly holds the heteronormative or male and female gender identity values. Therefore, this study used Bourdieu's social practice theory to analyze Bunda Mayora's success in the election for Habi Village BPD members. Bourdieu stated that in social life, including in gaining power, a person, agent, or actor could build social relations by utilizing habitus, capital, and the surrounding environment.

Bunda Mayora underwent a long and difficult struggle to win the election for BPD members, making him the first transgender in Indonesia as a public official. Born as a male in Maumere, East Nusa Tenggara, in 1986, his behavior has been feminine since childhood. However, Bunda Mayora was forbidden by his environment, especially his parents, encouraging him to become a Bruder (A male monk in Catholicism). After becoming a Bruder, Bunda Mayora felt confused and uneasy, causing inner and psychological conflicts because being a man meant not being himself. This internal conflict over gender identity impacts Bunda Mayora's faith by suing and blaming God (Mayora, Anxiety being a man, 2021). Moreover, one FGD informant stated that Bunda Mayora felt uncomfortable and depressed and even wanted to end his life (Kolit, 2021).

In 2008, Bunda Mayora went to Yogyakarta to calm down, continue his spiritual education at a university, and visit a transgender pesantren (A formal educational institution that studies Islam). From the learning process at the two educational institutions, Bunda Mayora has peace and shows his identity as a transgender without neglecting God (Mayora, The spiritual journey of a transgender, 2021). One FGD informant confirmed this, and Bunda Mayora even started to become a church activist (Lay, 2021). Bunda Mayora met his family, which had moved to Merauke, Papua but returned to Yogyakarta in 2015. Later, Bunda Mayora returned to his homeland in Habi Village, Kangae Sub-district, Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara because he could not find a job after three years living in Yogyakarta. Bunda Mayora began building his new life by trading in small businesses, establishing the Fajar Sikka organization, and serving the church and society with his transgender identity (Fattah, 2021).

The empirical data shows that Bunda Mayora experienced difficulty establishing his transgender identity. At first, Bunda Mayora received negative stigma and discriminatory treatment from the community. However, Bunda Mayora was finally accepted by the Habi Village community, a heteronormative habitus. This finding supports Bourdieu's theory that individuals are agents influenced by habitus and actively form habitus. As a transgender, Bunda Mayora negotiates to change heteronormative habitus in building social relations, strengthening the theory used in this study.

Habi Village comprises three hamlets (Habi Gahar, Habi Langir, and Wair Habi) and is one of the nine villages in the Kangae Sub-district, Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. As many as 70% of the community are poor and have difficult economic conditions, especially during the dry season (Murni (Habi Village Head), 2021). Although 98% of the community is Catholic, they respect followers of other religions, such as Protestant, Muslim, and Hindu. The social interactions are also harmonious, tolerant, and prioritize love among God's creatures. Therefore, the Habi Village community accepts the existence of transgender people.

The existence of transgenders in Habi Village initially created a negative stigma in the community. Some people feel uncomfortable about the presence of transgenders because they are considered to violate norms and are outside the heteronormative gender category. However, this condition changed due to the role of religious and traditional leaders, as well as transgenders themselves, in approaching the community. This is because the Habi Village community lives in a pluralistic society, and traditional and religious leaders emphasize the importance of living in peace, upholding love, and tolerance. One FGD informant, a Protestant spiritual leader, stated that their religion teaches the importance of love. Transgender is part of God's creation, meaning they should accept Bunda Mayora as part of the community (Noeh, Transgenders should be invited to the church community, 2021). Another informant stated that their religion only recognizes men and women, but the Catholic church accepts transgenders as friends, family, and children. The church cannot throw them away because they are part of the community. The informant accepts transgenders as brothers and sisters, especially Bunda Mayora because he helps with mentoring and church activities (Krisna,

2021). Moreover, an Islamic religious leader in the FGD forum stated that the Habi Village community has a high tolerance, and transgenders are not their fault but a destiny from Allah. For the informant, the important thing is that transgenders maintain relationships and do good (Yasin, 2021).

A traditional leader and an FGD informant stated that the openness of the Habi Village community to transgenders is due to their large number in Maumere, constituting most of the village population. Therefore, the community is accustomed to the existence of transgenders and has a high tolerance (Markus, 2021). The shift in habitus is caused by external and internal factors, such as Bunda Mayora as a transgender. Acceptance depends on the transgender's personality, as Bunda Mayora often relies on his identity in interacting with the community. Bunda Mayora emphasizes his feminine and masculine sides when interacting with women and men. This is in line with his statement that people's opinions about transgenders are different, resulting in varied communication between people. Bunda Mayora tries to be flexible and is usually graceful and gentle when meeting women.

Conversely, Bunda Mayora reduces his graceful and gentle nature when meeting men (Mayora, Flexibility in communication, 2021). Based on interviews with one Habi Village community member, Bunda Mayora was contextual when communicating and interacting with the community (Priyanto, 2018). Furthermore, Bunda Mayora builds a good image, including initiating various social activities such as distributing free necessities, helping the community make e-identity cards, and conducting weaving training (Nuryati, 2021).

The empirical data shows that the Habi Village community recognizes heteronormative habitus, which teaches society that an average sex identity only consists of men and women. This habit affects the mindset and behavior of the Habi Village community in viewing transgenders. Initially, the district rejected transgenders but eventually accepted them due to the role of religious and traditional leaders in forming the community's high tolerance attitude towards the existence of transgenders. This finding negates Bourdieu's theory that habitus is a person's permanent habit formed based on individual interactions with society for a relatively long time. Therefore, this study shows that habitus could change due to external factors.

Bunda Mayora only uses his cultural and social capital to approach and attract the sympathy of the Habi Village community. According to an FGD informant, Bunda Mayora uses education and conflict management ability to help the community convey aspirations to the Habi Village government and participate in solving problems (Eustachia, 2021). Moreover, he uses social capital to build relationships with the community, religious leaders, and government institutions. The interaction intensely creates social networks or bonds of knowing, acknowledging, and trusting one another, even acceptance and support for third gender identity. Through the Fajar Sikka organization, Bunda Mayora provided health service assistance for the elderly and people with disabilities and conducted natural schools. He also assisted in the form of money and goods to communities affected by Covid-19 (Tonce, Bunda Mayora's social activities, 2021).

The empirical evidence shows that Bunda Mayora uses his cultural and social capital to interact well with the Habi Village community and build social networks

with many actors. The interactions and social networks have enabled him to contest the election of public officials. This finding is in line with Bourdieu's theory that individuals should have material and non-material capital or resources in social interactions and relations, especially when they want to gain power.

The realm is a social space for fighting over and risking limited resources. The types of realms include education, religion, and social or political. In this study, almost every realm could be accessed by Bunda Mayora. He often provides education to children by forming study and playgroups, as well as nature schools (Delelis, 2021). This is an advantage because he builds relationships with children, teachers, and housewives. In the religious realm, Bunda Mayora is close to religious leaders, attends worship every Sunday, and participates in church activities. An informant stated that Bunda Mayora is a regular church member and often participates in church activities. He usually helps with makeup and becomes the master of ceremonies (MC) (Noeh, Bunda Mayora's Participation in the Church, 2021). This indirectly forms the bond between Bunda Mayora with religious and community leaders regularly worshipping at the church.

Bunda Mayora is also active in various social activities, including distributing free necessities and helping to make e-identity cards. He also helps carry out free health checks and population administration for the elderly. This was stated by one FGD informant (Tair, 2021) and confirmed by an interview with (Astri, 2021). Bunda Mayora is close to several public officials in the political realm, including village heads, regents, and other government officials. A community member stated that Mayora has many friends from various backgrounds, including doctors, the Chair of the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) Sikka Regency Branch, the Sub-district Head of Kangae, and businessmen. Additionally, he is active in many transgender associations and PKK women's organizations (Tonce, Bunda Mayora's closeness to various circles, 2021).

The empirical data shows that Bunda Muyor's social relations and interactions in these realms were established before the election of Habi Village BPD members. However, his public acceptance in these various realms shows that he plays a positive role and contributes to society as a transgender. This has become a resource for him to be elected as a Habi Village BPD member. The finding strengthens Bourdieu's theory that to gain power, an individual should build interactions and social relations in various realms. This makes a significant and valuable contribution to achieving social support.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this present study found that transgenders win in the election for public officials using the shift in social heteronormative habitus, the possessed capital, and social domain by relating and communicating with organizations and institutions. This finding contributes to empirical evidence that transgenders could win in the election for public officials in a society that firmly holds the values of first and second or male and female gender identity. Practically, the finding men, women, and the third gender identity or transgender. The limitation is that this finding only applies to a society that does not recognize the third gender identity

and provides input to policymakers to make requirements for public officials to include firmly holds heteronormative values in viewing a person's gender. Therefore, further studies should use similar topics in a society that recognizes the third gender identity and has no solid heteronormative values in viewing a person's gender.

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