

The Existence of Yogyakarta Transgender Family (KEBAYA) in The Consolidation of Community Organizations and The Struggle of Civil Rights

Eksistensi Keluarga Besar Waria Yogyakarta (KEBAYA) Dalam Konsolidasi Organisasi Masyarakat Dan Perjuangan Hak Sipil

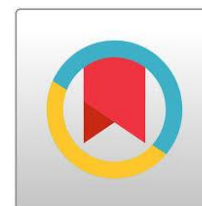
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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
Keywords Existence; Transgender; Kebaya Community; Civil Rights; Consolidation;	ABSTRACT The transgender community in Yogyakarta as a minority group still receives different treatment in human rights and the democratic process in Indonesia. This treatment has an impact on violations of the rights of transgender people as civil society, ranging from isolation by their families, being excluded from education, difficulty in getting jobs in the public sector, being isolated from religious worship, differences in treatment and neglect from the authorities and the government, to acts of harassment and violence from their surroundings. This study uses qualitative research with a case study approach, data collection through in-depth interviews with the community leader, and several Kebaya administrators. Data analysis was carried out thematically using a conceptual framework of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The purpose of this study is to examine the existence of the Kebaya community as one of the Civil Society Organizations and its role in the democratic process and a discussion of the internal and external factors of the organization in consolidating democracy. The results of this study indicate that Kebaya as a Civil Society Organization plays an important role in empowering transgender people in coaching and developing their potential, especially in terms of skills and improving their personal quality so that they can support themselves, as well as a place of rehabilitation for transgender people with HIV/AIDS who is in Yogyakarta. The transgender members of Kebaya are aware of their position in society with the stereotype attached to them. Kebaya carries out a strategy to eliminate discrimination in the form of soft diplomacy to discursive efforts. Kebaya formulates various strategies and special steps to no longer are resistant to their existence and activities, which are always considered negative nuances. They carry out a strategy with their human capital as one of the main components of intellectual capital and intangible assets by taking an important role in society with a socio-cultural approach, as well as monitoring as a control in advancing the public space of the Kebaya Community and the struggle for civil rights of transgender people in a democratic context.
Kata Kunci Eksistensi; Kaum Waria; Komunitas Kebaya; Hak-Hak Sipil; Konsolidasi;	ABSTRAK Komunitas Waria di Yogyakarta sebagai kelompok minoritas masih mendapatkan perlakuan yang berbeda pada konteks HAM dan proses demokrasi di Indonesia. Perlakuan tersebut berimbas pada pelanggaran hak kaum waria sebagai masyarakat sipil, mulai dari pengucilan oleh keluarga, tereksklusi di lingkungan pendidikan, sulit mendapat pekerjaan di sektor publik, terisolir dalam peribadatan agama, perbedaan perlakuan dan pengabaian

	<p>dari aparat maupun pemerintah, hingga tindakan pelecehan dan kekerasan dari lingkungan sekitar mereka. Studi ini menggunakan jenis penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus, pengumpulan data melalui in-depth interview dengan ketua komunitas dan beberapa pengurus Kebaya. Analisis data dilakukan secara tematik menggunakan kerangka konseptual tentang Civil Society Organization (CSO). Tujuan studi ini adalah mengkaji mengenai eksistensi komunitas Kebaya sebagai salah satu Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil dan perannya dalam proses demokrasi, serta pembahasan pada faktor internal dan eksternal organisasi tersebut dalam konsolidasi demokrasi. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Kebaya sebagai Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil memberikan peranan penting bagi pemberdayaan kaum waria dalam melakukan pembinaan dan pengembangan potensi, terutama dalam hal keterampilan dan peningkatan kualitas diri sehingga mereka mampu menghidupi dirinya, juga sebagai tempat rehabilitasi bagi waria penyandang HIV/AIDS yang berada di Yogyakarta. Bagi para waria anggota Kebaya, mereka menyadari betul posisinya di tengah masyarakat dengan stereotype yang melekat pada dirinya. Kebaya melakukan strategi untuk mengeliminasi diskriminasi dalam bentuk soft diplomacy hingga upaya-upaya diskursif. Kebaya menyusun berbagai strategi dan langkah-langkah khusus agar masyarakat tidak lagi resisten terhadap eksistensi dan aktivitas mereka yang selalu dianggap bernuansa negatif. Mereka melakukan strategi dengan human capital yang mereka miliki sebagai salah satu komponen utama dari intellectual capital dan intangible asset dengan mengambil peranan penting di tengah masyarakat dengan pendekatan sosio-kultural, serta melakukan monitoring sebagai kontrol memajukan ruang publik Komunitas Kebaya dan perjuangan hak sipil kaum waria dalam konteks demokrasi.</p>
<p>Article History Send 23th August 2020 Review 06th November 2020 Accepted 15th December 2020</p>	<p>Copyright ©2021 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p> <div data-bbox="1169 1283 1380 1328">  </div>

Introduction

Transgender as a minority group, is still a marginal group whose existence is often unexpected in society. Minority groups are not always numerical because they can include groups categorized as abnormal in the frame of religious, social, and cultural normativity (Kurniawan & Margiansyah, 2019). This is based on the dominant gender groups (men and women) in terms of social status, education, employment, wealth, and political power. This understanding is in line when looking at the reality that occurs in transgender groups included in the world of Rainbow Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersexual, and Queer (LGBTIQ).

Violations of transgender groups' rights occur in almost all aspects of human rights, including civil, political, economic, social, and cultural aspects. These violations range from exclusion by the family environment, being excluded from the education environment, being excluded from the work environment, differences in treatment by government officials, harassment by both state officials and the community in the neighbourhood where they are located. Therefore, transgender people as a minority group need a forum to be directed and organized according to their goals. Several organizations were born to accommodate the existence of transgender, such as the Yogyakarta Transgender Family (Kebaya) and several other organizations that sprang up and focused on fighting for this marginalized group's human rights.

Graham C. Lincoln defines minority groups as groups considered by elites as different and inferior based on specific characteristics and, consequently, are treated negatively. Yap Thiam Hien said that the minority does not determine the number, but the treatment that determines the status of the minority. According to him, many could have a minority status like the Indonesian people in colonial times, where a small number of Dutch people had a 'dominant' group position (Fadhli, 2014).

Not much different, Francisco Capotorti UN Special Rapporteur describes minorities as a numerically lower group than the rest of the population in a country. They are in a non-dominant position, whose members are citizens of that country and have different ethnic, religious, or linguistic characteristics from other residents. This will impact a sense of solidarity directed towards preserving culture, traditions, religion, and language within the group (Budiman, 2005).

From the perspective of sociology, what is meant by minorities are groups that at least fulfill the following three descriptions: 1) their members are very disadvantaged as a result of other people's acts of discrimination against them; 2) its members have group solidarity with

a "sense of common ownership," and they see themselves as entirely "different" from the majority group; 3) usually physically and socially isolated from larger communities (Terre, 2013).

In terms of the characteristics of minority groups, the discrimination obtained by transgender people in Yogyakarta does not lead to violence or restrictions on the space for movement in social and state life. The discrimination received by transgender comes from parties who directly or indirectly make this minority object. In this case, maybe transgender people in Yogyakarta do not get discrimination that leads to violence, but they want to get the recognition they deserve. For example, in the process of making a KTP, getting access to training and business capital.

This minority group carries out a strategy to eliminate discrimination and domination from the majority group. Modern society is increasingly faced with minority groups who demand recognition of their identity and acceptance of their cultural differences. Forms of resistance to discrimination then appear in various variations ranging from those taking place with soft diplomacy to discursive efforts. The politics of recognition and the politics of difference are forms of liberation movements whose collective political goals are mainly defined in cultural terms (Laclau & Mouffe, 2008). The critics of this movement tend to be impressed that they do not care about socio-economic inequality and political dependence, even though these two issues have a significant influence on the ongoing practices of injustice they oppose.

Although transgender people are rights holders, including minority rights, the problem of minorities can only be understood in the context of the struggle for recognition of collective identities. The human rights discourse then raises the question of what rights can be given to these minority groups. Human Rights (HAM) is a set of rights inherent in humans as God's creatures. All his gifts should be respected, respected, upheld, protected by the State, law, government, and every human being for the sake of honour and protection of dignity. Given that human rights are inherent in every human being, everyone has the right to obtain and defend their rights as human beings. At the international level, LGBT people (including transgender) have long been excluded from 'mentally disabled.' The hope of the transgender people who are still running is to urge psychiatrists to help eliminate the stigma of homosexuality as a mental illness because society still links the two things.

In the current era of democratization in Indonesia, discrimination against minority groups should not occur. Moreover, Indonesia has ratified various international conventions that are closely related to the promotion and protection of human rights, such as Article 28G

paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, Law Number 5 of 1998 concerning Ratification of Covenants against Torture or Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Actions and Punishment. Another dignity, Article 33 paragraph (1) of Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which was ratified by Law Number 12 of 2005 concerning Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights should be able to become a strong legal basis to demand recognition, fulfilment, and protection of the rights of vulnerable groups of people, including transgender.

This article further examines the existence of the Yogyakarta Transgender Family Community (Kebaya) as one of the Civil Society Organizations and its efforts to socially adjust and interact with the patterns of discrimination in society. Understanding the strategies, they are carrying out by consolidating through their communities in the struggle for civil rights. A discussion on the internal and external factors that influence the Kebaya community is also presented to identify the challenges they face in the civil rights struggle.

Method

Research on the Kebaya community's existence uses a qualitative method with a case study approach that aims to find out in-depth individual personal experiences but still requires secondary data from people other than the main participants. The type of case study in this research is an instrumental case study aiming to understand or re-explain a generalization process. This method is expected to answer the formulation of research questions; How do Kebaya's efforts to adjust socially and interact from the patterns of discrimination they feel? Moreover, how is the effort made by the Kebaya community in the struggle to achieve consolidation?

The selection of informants or subjects in this study used vital informants by conducting in-depth interviews with the chairman and founder of the Kebaya community, namely Mami Vin and several of its administrators. The focus of this research is on the *Sanggar Rumah* Kebaya (Yogyakarta Transgender Family). Data collection techniques in this study used semi-structured interviews and semi-participant observation.

The data analysis technique in this study used thematic analysis. Thematic analysis techniques allow researchers to involve theory in analysing more in-depth data. (Braun & Clarke, 2006) revealed six steps in carrying out a thematic analysis, namely: (1) re-reading the data, recording important ideas, and understanding the data; (2) transcribing data by grouping important data or ideas into certain codes (coding); (3) collect relevant codes in a

larger theme; (4) re-check whether the theme is related to the code and the rest of the data; (5) define the theme and name the theme; and (6) analysing the theme by relating it to the literature.

Results and Discussion

History and Main Work Program of Kebaya

As a form of community organization, Kebaya Community was founded on December 18, 2006, initiated by a transgender person named Mami Vin. Initially, Kebaya was not an NGO, but only a shelter for people with AIDS. Here, people living with AIDS can gather and support each other. However, over time, the Kebaya shelter (shelter) eventually became a non-governmental organization with a vision to reduce the rate of HIV infection and the handling of AIDS cases among transgender in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, Kebaya's mission is to improve the standard of living for transgender women in other communities and fight for civil rights or rights as Indonesian citizens.

Kebaya formation aims to; (1) provide information, education, and advocacy to transgender groups about HIV and AIDS; (2) provide counselling and psychosocial support to transgender groups who are at risk of contracting HIV and their transgender friends who are already People Living with HIV; (3) provide assistance to transgender friends in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Currently, Kebaya's activities increase the knowledge and awareness of Strategic Partners against Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), HIV, and AIDS. It also provides skills education for elderly transgender women and the "Violet Community" activity, a peer group meeting so that people living with HIV can interact and encourage one another.

In this study, it is necessary to describe the history of the Kebaya studio or community that was pioneered by Mami Vin. From the results of the interview with him, it was recognized that:

"Not all transgender wants to be born transgender, and they are like this because they have feelings like women in general. To become transgender is not easy for them; they must bear the risks that will arise in society. Shame and inferiority are often problems with transgender women; they want to be like other people whose appearance is male or female. The transgender world is closely related to free sex. Free sex in transgender has become a necessity and is intertwined with their search for economic fulfilment. Free sex is hard to get rid of because it has been happening for a long time. Of course, free sex has a bad impact on transgender women as they will be infected with the HIV/AIDS. It is common knowledge that this virus

is a deadly, and no vaccine has been found” (V. Mami Vin, personal communication, 2018).

This inspires Mami Vin, who is also a transgender woman, to establish an NGO called *Rumah Kebaya* (the Yogyakarta Transgender Family), which is located on Gowongan Lor Street JT III / 148 Yogyakarta. Kebaya had 412 transgender members, is an NGO that cares about the fate of transgender women in Yogyakarta, especially those who are favourable for the HIV / AIDS virus.

At the beginning of the Kebaya community formation, it was pioneered by a donor organization that saw that many transgender women in Yogyakarta died from HIV / AIDS. Thanks to this donor organization's assistance, "Mami Vin," as the leading pioneer, felt moved to create an institution devoted to a person or citizen infected with HIV / AIDS, especially transgender people. In this case, donor agencies provide material assistance to some transgender women as much as 10 million rupiahs for one person. The material or money given to transgender women is recommended to create employment opportunities for transgender women, such as making a salon, make-up, trading capital, or a business according to their expertise.

A part from this, the supporting factors also come from the government and residents by involving transgender women in certain events such as welcoming essential guests with an unforgettable dance performed by the transgender. Others were invited to a commemoration event on August 17, where transgender was given the opportunity to test their potential and talents in the field of Volleyball. "Mami Vin" admits this is one of the supports from community groups so that transgender people can be accepted well in the surrounding environment.

In carrying out its program, "Mami Vin" as the director of the kebaya community does not run alone but is also assisted by several administrators who enter the structure and division. Kebaya community itself is very active in realizing its vision and mission. Mami Vin herself has been very frequent in providing counselling about HIV / AIDS in various regions. There are different expectations in fighting for the rights of transgender women, which, in the eyes of the ordinary people, these people are often considered "strange." Also, this community cooperates with the Social Service in carrying out or carrying out its mission. Thus, it is hoped that there will be many positive activities provided by the government for transgender.

In essence, it is not easy to provide understanding or to learn about HIV / AIDS to transgender people. It needs a process that requires patience and persistence in delivering

learning or knowledge to transgender women. Sometimes, they often forget what has been taught about HIV / AIDS. Therefore, transgender women need more attention. In carrying out its activities, the Kebaya community certainly requires funds or accommodation costs. For example, housing costs are also used as a place for the rehabilitation of transgender women who are HIV / AIDS positive, who are still contracting. Not to mention financing the food and beverage needs of the transgender women who live in the centre. Not all transgender can live in a rehabilitation house. The house is devoted to transgender people living with HIV or who have HIV / AIDS. This policy was made because it was impossible to provide shelter to around 412 members of the Kebaya community.

The Kebaya community also has the responsibility to explain to the community how and who are transgender themselves. A good ability is needed to describe the identity of transgender women themselves to the community because, in essence, transgender women receive "different" treatment in the community process.

Challenges Faced by the Kebaya Community

a. Internal factors

As stated by the informants, the inhibiting factor faced by transgender women is in the form of a negative stigma about their inherent identity, so that the transgender women will find it challenging to work in the public sector. This paradox is also exacerbated by the condition and quality of human resources for transgender women with limited education and abilities, especially their appearance. Their education is low due to their lousy economy, and they come from lower-middle-class families. Their limited skills make them trapped in economic marginalization. They can do work that does not need skills and capital Education or training, such as busking or being commercial sex workers. On the other hand, they want to develop their horizons and wish to rise from their adversity to improve the quality of life.

The limited access to work and the lack of education they have is because many do not want to continue their schooling. When transgender was studying at school, they often faced pressure from the social environment because their personalities were contrary to gender normativity prevailing in the society. Ridicule, shame, and fear of their families, and the people around them have indirectly isolated transgender people so that they finally must stop going to school and stay away from their social world.

Another obstacle is the gender identity attached to him. In civil status, the majority of transgender are, of course, still recorded as men. Nevertheless, their

appearance resembles that of women, so that this creates limitations in their space for movement. Not only because gender is an issue, but not infrequently, these transgender women get different treatment by the community because of their appearance. People often see transgender as just a person who creates anxiety and makes them restless or uncomfortable creates fears due to their behaviour.

b. External Factors

In the external aspect, several important things are of concern, that basically, Kebaya is an organization that has relations to zones outside the community. How is the relationship between Kebaya and the community in the surrounding environment? What are Kebaya's efforts or agendas concerning the external environment, be it the community or certain institutions, and most importantly, their relationship with the Government?

First namely, the relationship between Kebaya and the community in the neighbourhood. That in general, the kebaya has a mutual relationship with the community. Until now, the kebaya's existence has never been questioned or opposed by the people in the surrounding environment. In other words, the Kebaya community has a harmonious relationship with the community. Kebaya is not completely self-sufficient, meaning that the Kebaya organization in maintaining its existence still has a relationship with a government institution, namely the Social Service. In its history, Kebaya received quite a large cash assistance from the Social Service in 2010 to empower transgender women. However, it turns out that the provision of funds provided by the Social Service is not the right solution for transgender women in terms of empowering them because most of these funds are still not properly used. Therefore, cash assistance in the following year was stopped by the local Social Service. Even so, Kebaya is the only transgender empowerment organization that has ever received cash assistance for its members. For now, Kebaya's existence is under the auspices of the social service, meaning that the lives of transgender women basically get the same rights and public access in society.

Kebaya Director 'Mami Vin,' apart from giving counselling to its members, also often gives public lectures at several universities in Yogyakarta such as FK UGM; he even gave several presentations abroad, such as Australia. As for the surrounding environment, she is always invited to attend several PKK activities. The inhibiting factor for the transgender community is that they have limited jobs because the community has

not accepted the existence of transgender women in their midst. As a result, their role is very limited to their workspace, which causes many transgender women to depend on being commercial sex workers. Also, stereotypes in society have not provided space for transgender women to enter formal employment opportunities. The labelling aimed at them causes them to associate in their communities and among themselves and with a limited type of work. This also has implications for the choice of work for transgender, most of them can are e to access jobs from their transgender friends, namely, working as a makeup artist in a salon.

Limited employment opportunities and insufficient income for daily living have made many transgender women practice prostitutions as a part-time job. Transgender people who do not have the skills to make up and work in salons usually prefer to go to the streets to earn income for their daily meals. However, it is not uncommon for them to receive poor treatment by those who exploit them, or even conflicts between transgender women due to struggling for land to earn a living.

Strategies carried out by the Kebaya Community

a. Maximizing Human Capital

The capital owned by the Kebaya community is human capital as one of the main components of intellectual capital and intangible assets. Human Capital Management is an effort to manage and develop human capabilities to achieve a significantly higher performance level. Also capable of creating value through people and is a philosophy of human development. Human capital can help make decisions to focus on human development by emphasizing investment in education (including training) to improve organizational quality as part of nation-building. The handling of human resources as human capital shows that the return on non-physical investment is much higher than investment in physical development (Ulm, 2013).

Human capital is important because it is a source of innovation and strategic renewal that can be obtained from brainstorming through research, management dreams, process reengineering, and skills improvement or development. Besides, human capital provides added value to the organization every day through motivation, commitment, competence, and teamwork effectiveness (Ongkorahardjo et al., 2008). The added value that can be contributed by members of the organization/community is the form of competency development owned by the organization, transfer of knowledge from leadership to members.

Mami Vin's role as the leader of the Kebaya community is not without reason. Mami Vin's initial choice was Mami's network and ability (experience) to other transgender friends. Then, with the existence of a donor agency from the United States, namely the Global Fund, together with the Yogyakarta Government through the Social Service, it provided strength and encouragement for Mami Vin to maintain the existence of Kebaya. However, this assistance has often not continued in recent years, thus demanding Kebaya to use independent self-help funds. They are looking for sources of funds obtained from invitations to dance from community friends to participate in Yogyakarta events, such as the Yogyakarta Anniversary event, 17 August celebration events, events in villages, sub-districts, and others. From the business results, some of the money is used to pay for the rent in the house where they currently live.

b. Monitoring as Control for Promoting Kebaya Public Spaces

It is not easy to control a large organization such as Kebaya, which has 412 members, let alone Kebaya, an organization whose members are transgender. Transgender as a negatively stigmatized minority from the family, community, to religious leaders, needs a strategy of living in the public sphere. In this case, "Mami Vin" as a leader tries to change the public's view of a transgender person who is always considered to be disturbing and unsettling for the community. This is done as an effort and resistance in the form of soft diplomacy.

One of the efforts made to advance the kebaya public space in the community is to carry out guerrillas to participate in all residents' activities. At that moment, they were able to explain who they were and why they became transgender and explain what activities they would do so that the community understood and could accept their existence. This was done by 'Mami Vin' from the smallest neighbourhood, starting from RT, RW, and the sub-district. As Mami said in the interview:

"From the beginning, we had permission by explaining what activities we were doing, then carrying out guerrillas at each door one by one to all the residents. From the RT level to the RW and then to the sub-district village and explaining who is transgender and why they understand that transgender is formed from instinct" (V. Mami Vin, personal communication, 2018).

However, it is not easy to control a transgender woman when her mother, as a Kebaya leader, fights for the rights of transgender women as a minority to get freedom in

the same public space as men and women. But on the other hand, there are still many transgender people who still do things that are considered negative. As Mami put it as follows:

"Like eating *simalakama* fruit, on the one hand, Mami fight for their rights in society, but on the other hand, they also do negative things. Going out at night, committing a criminal act, harassing society, when busking is not given money continues to swear " (V. Mami Vin, personal communication, 2018).

It needs to be controlled in the Kebaya community so that what the transgender people have been fighting for so far does not go in vain. Because when there is a struggle for transgender people in the Kebaya community trying to reduce the negative stigma in society about transgender that has been attached to society for a long time. On the other hand, there are still many transgender people who continue to do harmful things that will impact themselves, where public spaces that will gradually open up will instead be closed again by negative behaviour by their entities.

In exercising control over transgender in Yogyakarta, Kebaya has various ways to minimize them from doing harmful things, free sex. Between transgender and free sex are closely related, like a vicious circle that will never end. Therefore, Kebaya always provides information to its members about the harmful dangers of free sex itself. As Mami said in the following interview:

"Mami is not tired of giving fundamental information to transgender women, one of which is a barrier to HIV / AIDS from being transmitted by using condoms, and giving them the activities they want such as sewing, cooking, salon, and public speaking to reduce these actions" (V. Mami Vin, personal communication, 2018).

In addition to providing activities to control transgender activities, Kebaya also imposes a control carried out structurally, such as program managers, field coordinators, and field officers. This control was carried out so that the kebaya would continue to run even though there were no donors from government or private institutions. As a person in charge of Kebaya, Mami Vin is also positioned as a parent, and as parents, in general, take care of these members like their own children. From the control process carried out and with the character of Mami Vin, the transgender members of the Kebaya community have more awareness and influence them in behaving and behaving in the community.

The awareness and behaviour of transgender women will determine the surrounding community to behave towards them more permissively or refuse.

Kebaya as a Civil Society Organization (CSO)

Organizations also play a role in showing the community that transgender also has potential, both in the arts, sports, and intellectual ways, by promoting them as is done by the Kebaya Community as a form of NGO organization. Through its management, Kebaya promotes its members through seminars and social activities such as transgender women who have a catering business, bridal make-up business, animal husbandry, and others. So that people know that transgender has potential. The empowerment carried out by this organization cannot be separated from various obstacles.

The empowerment efforts carried out by Kebaya have been optimal. However, every transgender person has a different will; as Mami Vin said, it is not easy to build a transgender mentality because they are found on the street. They used to do work instantaneously, so it was not easy to be invited to process first and accept challenges. Only transgender women who have the will and enthusiasm to move forward can empower and improve their lives.

Referring to Larry Diamond, civil society encompasses an organized social life that is open, voluntary, born independently, at least partially self-sufficient, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or a set of shared values. The definition of society, in general, is the involvement of citizens who collaborate in the public space to express their interests, desires, choices, and the public for them, to exchange information, achieve collective goals, put forward demands on the state, improve the structure and function of the state, and to hold state officials accountable. Civil society is essentially market-oriented so that the actors in it recognize the principles of state authority and the rule of law (Diamond, 1994). Civil society includes a variety of orientations, formal and informal, including:

1. Economy: productive commercial associations and networks.
2. Cultural: institutions and associations that are religious, ethnic, communal, and others that defend collective rights, values, beliefs, beliefs, and symbols.
3. Information and education: organizations devoted to the production and dissemination (whether for profit or not) side of general knowledge, ideas, news, and public information.
4. Interests: groups that seek to promote or defend the material or functional interests of their members (for example, trade unions, associations of veterans and retirees, and professional groups)

5. Development: organizations that pool the resources and talents of individuals to improve infrastructure, institutions, and the quality of life of their communities.
6. Issue-oriented: movements for protection, land reform, consumer protection, and the rights of women, ethnic minorities, indigenous people, people with disabilities, and victims of discrimination and other persecution.
7. Citizenship: groups that seek (non-partisanship) to improve the political system and make it more democratic.

Diamond describes civil society organizations as different from other groups in society in five ways; First, civil society focuses on public goals rather than private ones. Second, civil society is related to the state but does not try to seize power over the state or gain a position in the state. Third, civil society includes pluralism and diversity. Fourth, civil society does not try to represent all personal or community interests. Fifth, civil society must be distinguished from the civic community phenomenon, which more clearly enhances democracy.

The Larry Diamond concept above can be used as an analytical knife to study the transgender community that forms an organization other than a unifying vessel and an adhesive for solidarity. It is also primarily a space for them to express their hobbies, pleasures, and life's needs. Besides, the social organizations they form can be used as a forum for the struggle for equality of human rights and recognition of the identity of transgender women as a strategy in fighting for their existence in the context of society and a democratic state.

As a long-standing transgender community organization, Kebaya was established and aims to empower transgender women and develop the potential of transgender women. Especially in terms of skills and improving the human resources of transgender people to contribute to development in society, especially in Yogyakarta. These roles can be seen in the presence of transgender women who can establish and create their jobs. They also collaborate with local government institutions, in this case, the Social Service, in carrying out empowerment activities with positive aims. Some of the activities they do, for example, regularly are transgender sports and arts week (*Porseni*), transgender queen contest, social service, and several other activities that support the creation of better community empowerment.

This organization provides excellent benefits for members of the Kebaya. This can be seen, among other things, a sense of belonging and social responsibility between them. Besides, they can also open their eyes regarding their life as transgender women and the

stigmatization inherent in them so that they feel the need to have specific skills to work and legally support themselves. Another benefit that is also felt is that some Kebaya members are often invited to attend certain events from many parties to feel accepted by those circles, even if only as entertainment.

Kebaya Consolidation Strategy with a Socio-Cultural Approach in Society

Everyone needs recognition for his existence. Recognition of existence seems to be the most crucial thing, especially for marginalized groups of people, likewise with transgender people who try to fulfil their need for recognition. People who are in our midst and are part of the dynamics of life are often marginalized due to some of our society's views. The assumptions and lousy treatment they receive from people in the surrounding environment make psychological pressure that persists.

For the transgender group, they get this negative behaviour in almost every existing social space. It starts from family, residence, and the broader social sphere. They must mingle with other social worlds such as job opportunities, involvement in the development process, and consolidating democracy. Negative assumptions and rejection of their existence, such as ridicule and sometimes harsh treatment (symbolic or physical violence), are strong reasons why transgender then prefer a whole life and only hang out among their groups. They find it challenging to integrate into society because their existence is often unwanted.

The exclusivity of transgender people occurs due to society's unacceptability of them. According to them, being transgender is not scary or even something that can harm other people. They assume that their existence is not at all to interfere with others' lives and never wish to interfere with the lives of others. However, the stereotype that develops in society that views transgender people is not the case, and the proof is that they are stigmatized as people who create anxiety and discomfort.

As a minority who is considered "wrong" for the public because they are different from the dominant gender (men and women), transgender people have lived many twists and turns and problems here and there. The community still cannot accept the existence of transgender women in total, as stated by the Kebaya members above. Clear rejection, such as insults or repressions, namely physical pressure in the form of beatings against transgender women, is something they often get in the public space. Whereas there are many positive roles played by transgender in Yogyakarta, but this has never been well exposed. The coverage of transgender women tends to be dark side only, such as being involved in

criminality and sexuality violence issues. The media's reality creates them to be something that should not be recognized and shunned even if they can be eliminated.

Transgender as part of civil society, is an essential component in the democratization process. The essence of democracy, which affirms people's sovereignty, shows that the success or failure of the government in the democratization process depends on whether the civil society supports the democratic system. Civil society is used as a benchmark for the democratization process. The active involvement of civil society in the political process and its involvement in influencing policies are references in the democratization process. In a democracy, the struggle for interests in society is a regular thing. It is precisely the struggle for interests that will lead to a better direction in-state development. In that struggle, no one forces his will to use violence, which can hinder other individuals' freedom.

Civil Society, as its pioneers conceptualized it, has three main characteristics. First, there is a relatively high level of independence from individuals and groups in society, especially when dealing with the state. Second, there is a free public space (the free public sphere) as a vehicle for citizens' active political involvement through discourse and praxis related to the public interest. Third, limit state power so that it is not interventionist (Hikam, 1996).

In Indonesia, civil society's role is an exciting topic to discuss, regarding its position and involvement in the political process and democratization. The idea of civil society is an alternative model for the struggle for interests in the political process. The change in authoritarian government style to a more democratic government in the reform era opened comprehensive openness for civil society to enter the political process. During the New Order regime, the role of civil society was practically minimal in the political process. At that time, the government considered the turmoil in society to be subversive and was considered a threat that was always responded to in repressive ways (Hadi, 2010).

Civil society's minimal role then changed when the New Order regime collapsed; there was a significant change in society. There was tremendous freedom at that time, which led to the emergence of many civil society organizations, political parties, and NGOs at the beginning of the reformation. This diversity then provides a new colour that can colour the development of Indonesia's democratization, precisely after the reformation. This diversity will later contribute ideas and encourage the country in the context of a better Indonesia (Hadi, 2010).

Kebaya's position as an organization with the central vision of fighting for its members' welfare as transgender women, both economically and socio-politically. They say,

"In order to get the same rights as other citizens of the country." It must be admitted that the level of welfare for transgender is still relatively low because of their limited access to work in the public sector, formal institutions, both public and private. So, what they can do is in informal activities that are vulnerable, such as busking to commercial sex workers.

Transgender in this case, is undoubtedly a part of society that experiences a dissociative social process. Its presence amid society is not acceptable. In their neighbourhood, they are isolated from family and playmates because of their condition, so they are forced to find friends with the same fate. Likewise, on several occasions, in a religious environment, they have not fulfilled their obligations as religious followers, such as prayer, recitation, or in other religious activities. They still receive ridicule and gossip from the public. This impacts their lives socially, economically, and even politically and can be said about every aspect of life they want to live well.

The social problems that become social barriers are experienced by transgender people covering almost all aspects of social life such as educational opportunities, work opportunities, opportunities in religious activities, family life opportunities, and obstacles to legal protection opportunities. The problems of transgender people related to their condition result in the separation of transgender relations with their social environment, both in the work environment, religious environment, and social environment. This makes it difficult for them to get better jobs and access existing sources; the low income causes their basic needs (clothing, food, housing, health, and education) are not fulfilled properly. Mami Vin, as the Kebaya administrator, demands advocacy and human rights given by the government to immediately address the problem of discrimination that occurs to transgender women. Because so far, the rights of transgender have always been ignored. "The government is obliged to fulfil the rights of every citizen, including the rights of transgender people" (V. Mami Vin, personal communication, 2018).

The most striking example of discrimination against transgender, he added, occurs in the world of work. According to him, most government agencies, and the private sector refuse to employ transgender. No law or government regulation prohibits transgender from working in the public sector, agencies, or companies. "So, there should be no reason to refuse transgender to work in an agency or department". Discrimination against transgender in the world of work, he continued, makes them forced to choose risky sectors.

We can see that transgender people in Yogyakarta have the awareness to fight for their existence towards society. They have a need to be noticed and recognized by society at large. Transgender is also quite aware of the social and political reality that they cannot be

entirely accepted quickly. However, they still hope that society will start to revise negative opinions and misunderstandings of society about many things about the existence of transgender people as a marginalized group. One of these efforts is carried out through various kinds of activity programs that are positive and constructive, as described in the previous section. They cannot change the reality of their way of life as transgender and consider being transgender a life choice and gift to be grateful for. Also, many transgenders have slowly begun to dare to state that they do not want to change themselves to their original nature. There is no compromise on their cultural identity as society members, both as individuals and as groups.

From the above statements, an explanation is obtained that there is a clash between people's understanding and the understanding of transgender women themselves. In society's view, a transgender person is a group that violates the rules of gender norms. Simultaneously, while transgender believes that being transgender is something natural and deserves to be grateful for its existence, this then results in a condition in society that rejects transgender people in Yogyakarta. While every human being needs recognition and acceptance in the society in which they live, so do transgender people as a particular social group.

Transgender women in Yogyakarta are fully aware of the community's need for these various things, then try to formulate various strategies and specific steps to no longer be resistant to their existence and activities, which are sometimes only considered negative nuances. For example, if someone is in a community that cares about a comfortable and fuss-free environment, they will maintain good behaviour among their neighbours. Likewise, suppose they are in a pragmatic criminal society. In that case, they will be willing to make sacrifices and are willing to spend a certain amount of money to avoid security threats, even if necessary, "sex for security". This is to be more accepted and live together with other members of society without any significant disturbance.

Therefore, why then transgender in Yogyakarta can maintain their existence until now is more because the cultural strategy carried out by them can operate effectively. Although it can be concluded that they will continue to do this struggle for existence because there are still many other society members who have not accepted them entirely. The reasons are very varied and closely related to their cultural background and their perspective on seeing transgender.

Conclusion

From the results of this study, the existence of the Transgender Yogyakarta Family (Kebaya) community has an essential role in Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The existence of Kebaya in Yogyakarta has survived until now due to socio-cultural approaches and compromises so that society's acceptance of the Kebaya community can be more comfortable. This acceptance occurs because some community members consider the Kebaya Community to provide social, economic, and political benefits to them. Even though it seems to be exploited, it is just that this condition can also benefit transgender women to continue building social relationships with community members who carry out the social process.

Organizational consolidation carried out by the Kebaya community is to build the image of transgender women and participate in associative social processes in the surrounding community. The kebaya community interprets this social consolidation as part of a democratic process that involves all aspects of civil society without discriminating against self-identity. It becomes an opportunity to conduct social negotiations between the two because, on sure sides, two different normative values can be brought together and establish cultural harmonization. Every value has elements that are necessarily interrelated with one another. Opportunities to accept (compromise) cultures that were previously mutually contradictory become possible and create cultural harmony in a society.

The challenge faced by the Kebaya community lies in how their strategy is to survive amid heteronormativity and the difficulty of gaining equal access in the context of civil society. Kebaya communities are still unable to fulfil their basic needs because of the limitations and pressures they face, both from the broader community's perspective to policies that are still not on their side. It requires a response from various government and private agencies to expand the empowerment of transgender women to have entrepreneurial skills. It is expected to increase the resilience of transgender women and minimize risky work, such as HIV / AIDS transmission and crime.

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