Transphobia and Social Exclusion: Exclusion Error by Design?

Access to the National Economic Recovery Program for
Transgender People in Indonesia

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Disclaimer:

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Abstract

The social assistance in Indonesia is closely related to the country's poverty eradication plans and their four fundamental goals: enhancing social protection programs, improving access of poor people to essential services, empowering the community, and building inclusive development. However, in its implementation, exclusion errors are part of the most talked problems. Exclusion errors may result in the ineffectiveness of social assistance programs, including the National Economic Recovery program, a series of activities to accelerate the handling of the COVID-19 (coronavirus disease 2019) pandemic and to face threats that endanger the national economy. This study looks at how transgender people, one of the most marginalised communities in Indonesia, access the National Economic Recovery program from the social exclusion approach. The study is based on primary data collected from 114 individual, including 67 transgender respondents, and five civil organisations that focus on the rights of the transgender community in Indonesia.

On the basis of this primary data, the study reveals that gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location significantly contribute to the perception of social exclusion. However, the result also shows different signs of correlation among independent variables. Positive correlations appear between social exclusion and transgender; social exclusion and urban areas (Jakarta, the country's capital). In contrast, negative correlations appear between income classes and social exclusion, employment status and social exclusion, and between age and social exclusion. The results about different perceptions between transgender people and non-transgender people show that the non-transgender group sees that they received more assistance from neighbourhood associations in accessing the national Economic Recovery program, while the transgender group feels that they received more assistance from non-governmental organisations (NGOs). From qualitative analysis, the study finds that the requirement to provide identity cards is one of the main constraints the transgender community has to face in accessing the program. In addition to social exclusion, they receive from the neighbourhoods which may block their access to social assistance

Keywords*: Social exclusion, social policy, poverty, transgender, gender identity, COVID-19, discrimination, human rights, social assistance, deserving/undeserving poor.*

Relevance to Development Studies

The research study contributes to the development of inclusive social policy, where there is little to no study providing more detailed information about the exclusion problem experienced by the transgender community, especially in poverty eradication and government relief fund initiatives. By bringing the transgender community as a target group of Indonesia's National Economic Recovery program, this research paper attempts to fill the gap and contributes to the knowledge creation of these potential actors and policymakers.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Pandemic and Socio-Economic Welfare

The current global pandemic caused by the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) has created a global health crisis. From its first case at the end of 2019 until early November 2021, the virus has contracted more than 240 million people and caused death to more than 5 million worldwide (Worldometers.info, 2021). Indonesia is no exception. As the most populous country in Southeast Asia, Indonesia ranks the highest in total cases and death cases in the region. As of early November 2021, Indonesia doubled the Philippines, the second highest, in total cases and tripled its total deaths caused by COVID-19 (coronavirus disease 2019) (ibid.).

Not only affecting public health, the COVID-19 pandemic also has negative economic effects. As the pandemic spread quickly, many countries have implemented business and border closures to stop the outbreak, creating economic shocks (Baldwin and Weder di Mauro, 2020) and unemployment (Chen *et al.*, 2020). The World Bank (2021) estimated that there were around 120 million new poor in 2020 induced by the COVID-19, while Statistics Indonesia (2021a) announced that there were 2.76 million new poor in the country in September 2020 year-on-year 2019.

To mitigate the COVID-19 situation in Indonesia and to reduce its economic effects, the President of Indonesia issued Presidential Regulation No. 82/2020 and No. 108/2020 on Committee for Handling COVID-19 and National Economic Recovery (Komite Penanganan COVID-19 dan Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional, KPCPEN). The committee itself has two task forces that focus on different aspects: handling the COVID-19 and helping the national economic recovery.

At the end of 2020, Indonesia has spent more than IDR 500 trillion (approximately EUR 28.8 billion), or 72.3 per cent of the total budgeted National Economic Recovery (Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional) program (KPCPEN, 2020a) to help its economy and residents' economic welfare. The government divided the recovery program into several clusters, such as social protection, micro-small-medium enterprises, health, and business incentives. The social protection cluster, the focus of this research, has distributed foods and unconditional cash transfers to 67.54 million poor and vulnerable families, conditional

cash transfers to 5.6 million recipients, and electricity discounts to 31.4 million households (ibid.).

The National Economic Recovery program relies on the Integrated Social Welfare Database (Data Terpadu Kesejahteraan Sosial, DTKS). DTKS is an electronic data system that contains social, economic, and demographic information on about 40 per cent of the total Indonesian population in the lowest socio-economic conditions that was updated in 2015 (TNP2K, 2021a). While the COVID-19 relief figures look massive and inclusive, implementing the National Economic Recovery program has its own challenges. Exclusion error is the main problem, especially for undocumented vulnerable groups, such as the transgender community, which are not registered in the DTKS.

1.2 Discrimination against Transgender People in Indonesia

According to a Jaringan Gaya Warna Lentera Indonesia survey in four cities in Indonesia (GWL-INA, 2017), 34.1 per cent of the transgender respondents did not have KTP (Kartu Tanda Penduduk, a government-issued identity card). In another survey, Praptoraharjo *et al.* (2015) found that almost 30% of transgender women living in the Greater Jakarta Area did not have KTP because the cards were lost (40%), expired (40%), or because of other reasons that made them ineligible to request new cards (19%). Respondents could not make new KTP because: (i) they were cheated by their brokers in the process, (ii) they failed to provide proof of residency or change of address documents, and (iii) they lacked supporting documents because they could not go back to their hometown (ibid.). Thus, they are automatically excluded from the recipient list of the National Economic Recovery program.

Exclusion error experienced by the transgender community is not only caused by their inability to provide identity cards. The transgender community is one of the most socially excluded groups in Indonesia. Arus Pelangi, one of the most prominent LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) organisations in Indonesia, conducted research about discrimination against the LGBT community in 2017. Throughout the year, from 973 victims of stigma, discrimination, and violence based on sexual orientation, gender identity, and expression outside heteronormative-binary norms in Indonesia, almost three-quarters of them were transgender people (Carolina, 2019).

The violence against transgender women in Indonesia happened countrywide. The Community Legal Aid (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Masyarakat, LBH Masyarakat) through its Bahaya Akut Persekusi LGBT (Acute Danger of the LGBT Persecution) report observed that there were at least three murder cases of transwomen in 2017 in different places: South Sulawesi, Lampung, and Central Java provinces (Zakiah, 2018). The following year, police in Aceh province, the only region in Indonesia which implements sharia law, made unlawful arrest and detained 12 transwomen in February 2018 (BBC Indonesian, 2018). They then cut transwomen's long hair as a corrective action to change their gender expression to be more 'masculine'. At the end of 2018, another harassment against transwomen happened in Lampung province, where three transwomen were hosed down with water from a fire truck (Harsono, 2018). Two years later, a transwoman in Jakarta was burned to death because she was accused of theft without any evidence. This is the second case in recent years after a transwoman in West Java was burned to death because she was accused of stealing an amplifier from a nearby religious place (Amnesty.id, 2020).

Throughout 2021 alone, there were at least three incidents of murder of transwomen in three different provinces in Indonesia. In February, a transwoman in Central Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, was killed by two men who just had sexual activities with her. The perpetrators murdered her by slitting the victim's throat with a razor blade and robbed her (Viva.co.id, 2021). This modus operandi of larceny also happened in Gorontalo City, Gorontalo. After dating a transwoman, the perpetrator murdered her and took off with her belongings, such as bags, cell phones, and bank cards (Ibrahim, 2021). The third incident happened a month later in Medan, North Sumatra. A transwoman was killed when the perpetrator had sexual relations with her (Piring, 2021).

Indonesia is home to Yogyakarta Principles, a universal guide to human rights that affirm binding international legal standards relating to sexual orientation and gender identity. However, the country does not provide specific regulations to protect transgender people from discrimination nor support the community with social protection initiatives. Sanggar SWARA, a non-governmental organisation that focuses on the rights of transgender women in Jakarta, held a preliminary assessment in the early pandemic period. The organisation found that more than 640 transgender people in the Greater Jakarta Area have lost their jobs, leaving them vulnerable to fall into poverty (UNAIDS, 2020). As a

result of the ongoing social exclusion and discrimination against the transgender community and the lack of support from public services and government relief funds, they are very vulnerable to poverty, especially during this COVID-19 situation.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

This research explored the rights of the transgender community from social inclusion perspectives, primarily related to the community's access to the National Economic Recovery program. The analysis is based on how transgender people access the government's relief funds, such as (un)conditional cash transfers, utility subsidies, and meal vouchers, and compare them with non-transgender people. The research study contributes to the development of inclusive social policy, where there is little to no study providing more detailed information about the exclusion problem experienced by the transgender community, especially in poverty eradication and government relief fund initiatives. By bringing the transgender community as a target group of Indonesia's National Economic Recovery program, this research paper attempts to fill the gap and contributes to the knowledge creation of these potential actors and policymakers.

The main research questions of this study are:

1. What is the relationship amongst gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location on social exclusion?
2. What are the differences in perceptions towards access to the National Economic Recovery program between transgender and non-transgender people?
3. To what extent do transgender people have access to the National Economic Recovery program?

   With sub-questions:

   - To what extent does the Indonesian government provide assistance to transgender people to access the National Economic Recovery program?
   - What are the constraints/barriers for transgender people to access the National Economic Recovery program?

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Discourses of Social Exclusion

In recent years, the term 'inclusive economy' or 'inclusive development' has been increasingly used throughout the global development agendas. The term 'inclusive' itself indicates progress, an effort to make the previously excluded group move together with the included group. Gupta and Vegelin (2016) introduced social inclusiveness as a way to bring marginalised groups to a more open social scene and is closely linked to human rights, inequality, and redistribution. In contrast, there is also a poor condition experienced by individuals caused both by their low levels of welfare and their inability to participate effectively in social life; that is called social exclusion (Gore and Figueiredo, 1997).

The concept of social exclusion was developed in the 1970s. Réné Lenoir (1974, cited in Sen, 2000) used the term to describe 'the excluded' of the French population, such as people with mental illnesses, drug users, single parents, and abused children. Silver (1994, cited in Levitas 2005) described exclusion as a condition that separates individuals from society structurally, culturally, and morally, which family instability is the leading cause. Kruger (1997, cited in Bowring, 2000, p. 308) defined social exclusion as exclusion from access to the ladders of social improvement. Amartya Sen (2000) argued that the concept of social exclusion is almost interchangeable with poverty as capability deprivation. Meanwhile, Jackson (1996) differentiated these two concepts, noting that poverty policies cannot be used to tackle all social exclusion problems because some issues such as gender inequality and discrimination against sexual orientation and gender identity are not caused by poverty.

Even though poverty and social exclusion are closely related, it is crucial to differentiate the two concepts. Fischer (2018) introduced two dimensions of relativity in relation to the idea of social exclusion. The first dimension is causal relativity. It is defined as a condition where a person experiences multiple processes of inclusionary and exclusionary at the same time (ibid., p. 168). In some ways, the excluded people are almost included, such as Dalits ('untouchables', lowest caste) in India who are excluded from the four primary castes but play essential roles in the labour hierarchy. Other examples of causal relativity that can also be used to differentiate the concept of poverty and social exclusion are Chinese Indonesians, or the Jakarta Post (Utama, 2016) called them

synonymous with wealth and discrimination. Despite the fact that some of the major economic engines of the country come from this group, Chinese Indonesians still experience social exclusion in Indonesia. The second dimension is positional relativity. It is a condition where a person can be an excludee or excluder based on their relative position in a social hierarchy, both objectively and subjectively (Fischer, 2018, p. 169). For example, in a household where gender inequality still exists, a diva (successful female singer) practices types of exclusion outside a household. At the same time, she experiences types of exclusion from her husband within the household.

Levitas (2005) formulated three discourses that can create a condition where there is an excluded minority and an included majority. The first discourse is redistributionist. This discourse views poverty as the primary cause of social exclusion. The second discourse is the moral underclass. This discourse sees people's behaviour as a factor that creates inequality. Individuals with undesirable attitudes, such as transgender, drug users, and people living with contagious diseases, will be socially excluded. The last discourse is social integrationist. This discourse highlights the importance of paid work as a glue to social inclusion, making the informal workers or homemakers the excluded minority groups.

The redistributionist discourse is characterised through several attributes, such as it believes that more benefits may lead to less poverty, potentially recognises unpaid work, and highlights the process that produces inequality (Levitas, 2005, p. 14). It implies a redistribution of resources and focuses on material inequality to address social, political, and cultural dynamics (ibid).

The moral underclass discourse has main characteristics. It shows the underclass as a non-mainstream and focuses more on the behaviour rather than the social structure of the society (Levitas, 2005, p. 21). It is a gendered discourse that praises masculinity and does not respect unpaid work (ibid). It also highlights the concept of a traditional family that should have a working husband, a stay-at-home wife, and children and supports the control of heterosexuality as standard moral and political practices (Concannon, 2008).

The social integrationist discourse squeezes the definition of social inclusion to only someone's ability to participate in paid work (Levitas, 2005, p. 26). It does not

recognise inequality between paid workers and between resource owners and working-class members (ibid.). It ignores women's contribution to unpaid work and potentially fails to recognise the gender pay gap (ibid, pp. 26-27).

2.2 Deserving/Undeserving Poor

Social exclusion is closely related to how certain groups may or may not receive government relief funds. The concept can be traced back to the Elizabethan Poor Laws that classified those who were eligible and not eligible to receive the reliefs. In his report on the Poor Laws, Josiah Quincy (1821, cited in Katz, 1989) divided the poor into two types. The first type was the impotent poor, including all who were incapable of work, such as the elderly, sick people, and infants. The second type was the able poor, including all who were capable of work but had capacity differences. Supporting the report, a French aristocrat, Alexis de Tocqueville, also published an essay called 'Memoir on Pauperism'. In his paper, Tocqueville (1833, cited in Breman, 2018) described the deserving non-labouring poor as all those of elderly, widowed, people living with disabilities and chronic diseases. They could receive the relief funds with the condition that they did not receive support from family members or other donors. The Poor Laws also excluded those of the working-age poor. The decision to attach several conditions and proper behaviour to receive poor relief was caused by the need to show the wealthier public that supports would only be granted to deserving poor so the government would gain more trust and willingness from them to pay taxes (ibid., p. 144). This separation leads to the concept of 'deserving poor' and 'undeserving poor', where society agreed on helping the former but disagreed on helping the latter.

Quincy (1821, cited in Katz, 1989) also mentioned the difference between the poor and paupers, where the poor carried no stigma, and the paupers were attributed to the moral condition. These moral and behavioural conditions were also observed by other scholars in defining the undeserving poor, paupers, and underclass. The British Conservative Minister Joseph once stated that Britain could be destroyed from the inside if the country did not apply the remoralisation of groups and classes (Joseph, 1974, cited in Biressi and Nunn, 2013). Joseph's arguments were based on a behavioural approach rather than structural or economic reform. The New Yorker journalist Ken Auletta (1982, cited in Biressi and Nunn, 2013) also used behavioural model in popularising the term

underclass as a group of ex-convicts, drug users, people with mental illnesses, people in debt and welfare supports.

Levitas (2005) used the deserving/undeserving poor concept to explain the duality of the New Right of the 1980s. She divided those who really needed help and those who exploited the social policy as the deserving and undeserving poor, respectively. 'At least for the deserving poor, benefits were generally seen as good for the individual recipients, if expensive for society as a whole' (Levitas, 2005, p. 15). Townsend (1978, cited in Levitas, 2005, p. 15) used the term deserving poor and underclass interchangeably, referring to different groups of the elderly, people living with disabilities, people with chronic illnesses, long-term unemployed groups, and single-parent households.

2.3 Social Assistance Programs

2.3.1 Social Assistance Programs in Indonesia

The social assistance program in Indonesia is closely related to poverty eradication plans that the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan, TNP2K) manages. The team has four fundamental goals: enhancing social protection programs, improving access of poor people to essential services, empowering the community, and building inclusive development (TNP2K, 2021b).

The government has implemented targeted poverty eradication programs through several agencies in four clusters: households, communities, micro and small enterprises, and people-oriented programs (TNP2K, 2021c). The first cluster is poverty eradication programs which targets are households/families. These programs include the Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH, conditional cash transfers), unconditional cash transfers, direct assistance in the form of non-cash, such as food assistance programs. The second cluster is poverty eradication programs which target is the community. The community-targeted poverty eradication programs use the principle of community empowerment, such as the Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri (PNPM Mandiri, community empowerment program). The third cluster is the poverty eradication program which targets micro and small enterprises. The purpose of this program is to provide access to funding for micro and small-scale business actors. The fourth cluster is poverty eradication

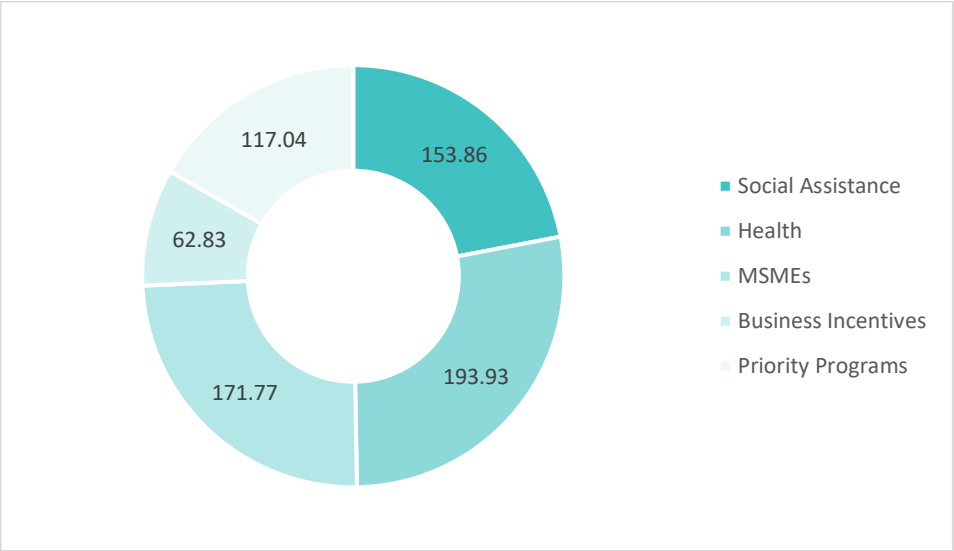
programs that aims to improve access to essential services and improve the quality of life of the poor. All other poverty programs that can directly or indirectly increase the poor's economic welfare are included in this cluster.

In 2013, the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs issued a decree No. 146/HUK/2013 on Stipulation of Criteria and Documenting the Poor and Vulnerable People. Provisions in that decree ruled out several criteria to categorise households that are eligible to receive social assistance programs. There are at least nine criteria that families should meet to obtain government-funded health insurance and other social assistance programs. Some of the requirements are: unemployed or employed household members but the income are not enough to cover basic necessities, household members cannot afford to send children to senior high schools, the household has limited access to electricity, and the house is not bigger than eight sqm/household member.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the government has launched the National Economic Recovery Program, a series of activities to accelerate the handling of the COVID-19 pandemic and to face threats that endanger the national economy. The government divided the recovery program into several clusters, including social protection, the focus of this research, consists of food assistance, cash transfers, electricity discounts. Other clusters include micro-small-medium enterprises (MSMEs) capital assistance and income subsidy.

In 2021, the Indonesian government has budgeted almost IDR 700 trillion (around EUR 41.5 billion) for the National Economic Recovery program (KPCPEN, 2021b). From the budget, IDR 193.93 trillion (28 per cent, approximately EUR 11.49 billion) is used for health spendings, such as the vaccination program and other COVID-19-related health expenses. Meanwhile, IDR 153.86 trillion (22 per cent, approximately EUR 9.12 billion) is allocated for social assistance programs, including conditional cash transfers PKH, unconditional cash transfers for Greater Jakarta and outside Greater Jakarta, non-cash food assistance BPNT (Bantuan Pangan Non-Tunai, non-cash food assistance), direct cash assistance BLT Dana Desa (direct cash assistance for villages) and electricity subsidies.

Figure 1 National economic recovery budget in 2021 (in IDR trillion)



Source: KPCPEN (2021b)

As part of the National Economic Recovery program during the COVID-19 outbreak, the Indonesian government has transferred around EUR 1.39 billion for the third cluster, MSMEs, for more than 9 million enterprises in August 2020 as the first cycle of transfer (Akhlas and Rahman, 2020). Each enterprise received IDR 2.4 million (around EUR 142). The program continued in 2021 with a budget of IDR 171.77 trillion. The intention to target MSMEs is due to a significant contribution to GDP, more than 60 per cent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Ministry of Finance, 2020). The Government hoped that by incentivising this sector, the decline in GDP growth is not as significant as other neighbouring countries, such as Singapore with a 13.2% fall (Subhani, 2020) or Thailand with a 12.2% fall (Bloomberg, 2020) compared to last year.

The last two clusters of the National Economic Recovery program are business incentives and priority programs. IDR 62.83 trillion (9 per cent, approximately EUR 3.72 billion) will be used to give tax incentives for businesses, while IDR 117.04 trillion (17 per cent, around EUR 6.94 billion) will be used to fund priority infrastructure projects.

2.3.2 Access to Social Assistance Programs for Transgender People

Various studies have shown multiple co-occurring problems among transgender people. Issues such as high violence cases, high rates of sexual abuse and assault, and severe mental health problems (including depression and suicidal thoughts) are commonly

experienced by the transgender community. These problems are closely linked with social inequalities received by the community, including their limited access to government-issued documents that match their gender identity, discrimination in the workplace and limited options of employment due to gender expression, and street harassment (Bradford *et al.*, 2013; Kenagy, 2005; Lombardi *et al.*, 2002; Operario and Nemoto, 2010).

Eastwood *et al.* (2019) conducted a study that involved transwomen of colour in nine HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) care locations in the US between 2012 and 2017. The result showed that transwomen of colour cannot fulfil their basic needs and are in deep poverty. In 2019, William Institutes published a report titled: "LGBT Poverty in the United States". Among the LGBT groups, transgender people have the highest poverty rate of 29.4 per cent, almost double the poverty rate of cisgender heterosexual people (Badgett *et al.*, 2019).

In more recent years, many studies have started to bring up the Indonesian transgender community as the central research subject. However, most of them focus on sexual health and rights only (Cempaka *et al.*, 2020; Fauk *et al.*, 2021; Hartono, 2018; Nugroho *et al.*, 2019). Even though several organisations such as UNDP and Atma Jaya HIV/AIDS Research Center have mentioned the economic well-being of transgender individuals in their reports, the topic was only part of a broader theme. Until recently, two reports about the social and economic well-being of transgender people have been published, each by Kebaya Foundation, a transgender organisation based in Yogyakarta, and Crisis Response Mechanism consortium, an ad-hoc working group to help LGBT people in Indonesia during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In 2014, UNDP (2014) published a report called "Being LGBT in Asia: Indonesia Country Report". In its report, UNDP stated that discrimination against LGBT people in the workplace happens because no regulations protect LGBT individuals. Transgender women are the most suffered individuals, with little access to employment and a higher chance of prejudice and discrimination (ibid.).

Praptoraharjo *et al.* (2015) conducted a survey on around 100 transgender women in Indonesia about their quality of life, focusing on transgender access to social welfare programs. From the survey, only 27.3 per cent of the total transgender respondents have

access to national health insurance (ibid., p. 32). Meanwhile, there were 156 million people in Indonesia who subscribed to the national health insurance, or around 61.4 per cent of the total population in 2015 (BPJS Kesehatan, 2020). However, in terms of unconditional cash transfers, 14.14 per cent of the transgender respondents utilised the unconditional cash transfers program, higher than the general figure of 6.27 per cent, or 16 million recipients of the total population in 2015 (Suryahadi, 2019).

In 2017, Atma Jaya HIV/AIDS Research Center (Praptoraharjo *et al.*, 2017) published its second policy brief with one chapter focuses on the rights of transgender women on social assistance. The transgender community is categorised as a minority group in the categorisation of the Penyandang Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial (PMKS, people with social welfare problems). Even though the program gave the right to transgender people to access social assistance, it has two significant critiques: (i) the program was problematic by putting transgender people as individuals who have deviant behaviours to make them categorised as vulnerable individuals and (ii) the cash transfer amount received by the transgender community was far from decent, or only around IDR 100,000 (less than EUR 6) per month (ibid., p. 27). As a comparison, the policy brief stated that the minimum living cost to cover basic necessities is IDR 2,000,000. Thus, the assistance program only covered 5 per cent of the living cost.

The Crisis Response Mechanism consortium in 2021 published a report to assess the social and economic situation of gender and sexual minorities in Indonesia. Of 300 LGBT respondents, 37 per cent were not protected by the national health insurance scheme (CRM, 2021). Almost half of them, or 49 per cent, said that they could not afford to pay the premiums (ibid., p. 19). In the same year, Kebaya Foundation found that from April to December 2020, three transgender women in Yogyakarta passed away due to limited access to medication, even though the existing health conditions were categorized as treatable (Mallay *et al.*, 2021).

2.4 Conceptual Framework

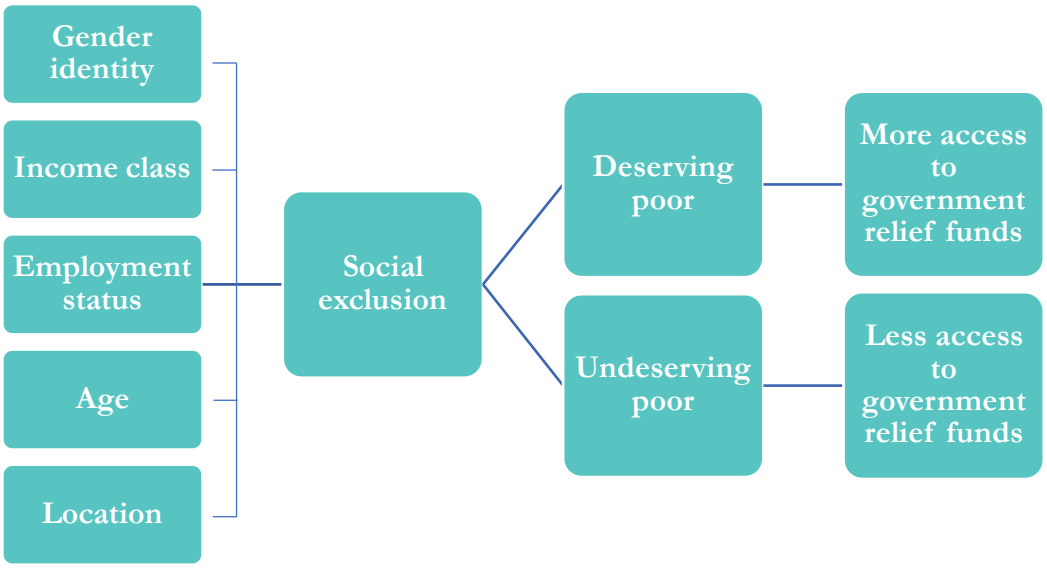
This research uses Levitas' social exclusion discourses as its leading theory. Levitas (2005, p. 7) defined these three discourses as:

> *'A redistributionist discourse (RED) developed in British critical social policy, whose prime concern is with poverty; a moral underclass discourse (MUD) which centres*

on the moral and behavioural delinquency of the excluded themselves; and a social integrationist discourse (SID) whose central focus is on paid work. They differ in how they characterize the boundary, and thus what defines people as insiders or outsiders' (Levitas, 2005, p. 7).

Since the focus of this research is about the transgender community, the researcher uses gender identity to represent the moral underclass discourse. Meanwhile, income class will reflect the redistributionist discourse and employment status will symbolise the social integrationist discourse.

Figure 2 Conceptual framework



In addition to these three discourses, the researcher also includes both age and location as factors that may affect social exclusion. Regarding the age variable, various studies have shown that young adults are more at risk for social exclusion than their older generations (Backeberg and Tholen, 2017; Ghanem, 2016; Teater *et al.*, 2021). Ghanem (2016) found that the younger generation is one of the largest excluded groups, other than small farmers and women in Arab economies, due to limited government-provided resources and tougher competition in the job market. Supporting Ghanem, Backeberg and Tholen (2017) also found that young people are vulnerable to social exclusion due to insecurities and a lack of opportunities (Backeberg and Tholen, 2017). In terms of financial stability, the increasing wage gap between new hires and experienced hires and a rising in housing prices make younger groups feel more insecure and excluded compared to their

older colleagues (Clark, 2007). Meanwhile, in the context of the pandemic, Teater *et al.* (2021) conducted a research study about social needs and loneliness. They found that young adults were the most at risk of being socially isolated compared to their older age groups, both prior to and during the pandemic.

With respect to the location variable, Barnes *et al.* (2006) found that neighbourhood social exclusion was closely related with urban setting. Living in urban areas has a different exposure compared to its rural counterparts because urban areas like Jakarta are considered a melting pot where many people come from other areas with less attachment to neighbourhoods. A research study from Dahlberg and McKee (2018) about adults in the U.K. also showed that people living in urban areas are more exposed with social exclusion, specifically in terms of neighbourhood alienation and neighbourhood threat. Fischer (2018) also introduced the term dynamics of exclusion by giving an example with a case of rural-urban movement in China. Wealthier rural people who migrate to urban environments are more exposed to social exclusion in their new settlements. In contrast, the poorer rural group avoids the exclusions by staying in their rural, less developed areas (Fischer, 2018, pp. 171-172). Thus, it may create a condition where people that live in urban areas feel more socially excluded than people that live in rural areas.

Chapter 3 Methodological Approach

3.1 Methods of Data Collecting

Conducting a research study that involves vulnerable groups like the transgender community can result in a low number of participants. Faugier and Sargeant (1997) said that the more sensitive a research topic, the less likely for respondents to voluntarily involve in the study and the more difficult the sampling is expected to be. The study of sexual orientation and gender identity is a sensitive subject and may lead to a loss of employment, harassment, and violence (Browne, 2005). Thus, snowball sampling is used in this research study due to hard-to-reach populations (see Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981; Browne, 2005; Faugier and Sargeant, 1997).

This research used primary data as its main source. Online interviews and surveys were conducted in the months of July and August 2021. The online data collection was

chosen to reach a wider area and to mitigate the sudden imposition of emergency measures in Indonesia since 3 July 2021 amid coronavirus cases spike (Widianto and Lamb, 2021). The survey's primary focus was to gather information on household livelihoods, perceptions on social exclusion, the understanding of the National Economic Recovery program, and to find similarities or differences of these variables between transgender persons and control group individuals.

In total, 14 interview sessions were conducted to gain more knowledge about the access of transgender people to the National Economic Recovery program, consisting of nine interview sessions with transgender individuals and five interview sessions with non-governmental organisations focusing on the rights of the transgender community in Indonesia. These five organisations are:

- The Crisis Response Mechanism (CRM) consortium. The CRM is a civil society collective initiated by the Joint United Nations Progrmme on HIV/AIDS Indonesia (UNAIDS Indonesia), LBH Masyarakat, Sanggar SWARA, GWL INA (Gaya Warna Lentera Indonesia), and Arus Pelangi to raise funds for the LGBT community.
- Suara Kita. It is a Greater Jakarta-based LGBT organisation that is recently advocating for the right of the transgender community to have government-issued identity cards in Tangerang, a satellite city of Jakarta, and home for Soekarno-Hatta International Airport, Indonesia's main gateway.
- INTAN (Inklusi TransPerempuan) Foundation. INTAN Foundation is a newly-launched civil society organisation that focuses on the rights of senior transgender women in the Greater Jakarta Area.
- Kebaya Foundation. It is an organisation providing shelter for people living with HIV and elderly transgender women in the province of Yogyakarta.
- Komunitas Waria 'Fajar Sikka', a transgender organisation based in Maumere, Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province. This organisation was chosen to represent the eastern, less developed region of Indonesia.

After conducting interviews with these five organisations, an online questionnaire was published in a limited scope of distribution. An anonymous link was snowballed to transgender individuals with the help of transgender organisations that were interviewed. Follow-up interviews were conducted with nine transgender individuals that gave their consent to be interviewed during survey distribution.

A control group was selected based on similarity to the target population, except for the treatment of interest (gender identity). Thus, this research study used the same snowball sampling, with criteria (i) respondents were part of the vulnerable group in the COVID-19 pandemic categorised by TNP2K (2020), such as women, people living with disabilities, elderly, informal workers, and (ii) respondents thought that they are eligible to receive the government relief funds. In total 47 non-transgender respondents and 67 transgender respondents were able to complete the survey.

3.2 Methods of Analysis

This research study used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method was used to answer the first two research questions: (i) the relationship amongst gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location on social exclusion and (ii) the differences in perceptions towards access to the National Economic Recovery program between transgender and non-transgender people, while the qualitative method was used to gather information in answering the third research question: (iii) to what extent do transgender people have access to the National Economic Recovery program?

The quantitative approach in this study was carried out using Microsoft Excel for Mac version 16.43, IBM SPSS Statistics version 27, StataMP version 16, and Tableau version 2019.3.19. Data were analysed in several steps. First, descriptive statistics were conducted for all variables. Second, the author analysed the results of the ordinal logistic regression of gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location on social exclusion. Finally, an independent-samples nonparametric test was run to compare outcomes in perceptions towards access to the National Economic Recovery program between two independent groups: transgender people and non-transgender people.

The qualitative approach in this study was carried out using semi-structured interviews with transgender organisations and individuals. Interviews are crucial in answering the third research question. Interviews also allowed the researcher to gain more knowledge on perspectives, stories, and insights that are not provided by the quantitative figures.

3.3 Operational Variables

The quantitative approach in this research is used to answers two out of three research questions. The first question about the relationship amongst gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location on social exclusion uses an ordered logistic regression with the social exclusion variable as the dependent variable.

$$Exclusion_i = a_0 + a_1 GenderId_i + a_2 Income_i + a_3 Employment_i + a_4 Age_i + a_5 Location_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Equation 1 Research model of the first question

With,

$Exclusion_i = Social\ exclusion\ component\ for\ sample\ i$
$GenderId_i = Gender\ identity\ component\ for\ sample\ i$
$Income_i = Income\ class\ component\ for\ sample\ i$
$Employment_i = Employment\ status\ component\ for\ sample\ i$
$Age_i = Age\ component\ for\ sample\ i$
$Location_i = Location\ component\ for\ sample\ i$

- Social Exclusion variable: A Likert-type statement to measure respondents' agreement of being socially excluded.
- Gender Identity variable: a binary variable that was used to categorise respondents into two groups: transgender and cisgender. In practice, the researcher used two questions to know about respondents' gender identity. The first question was about respondents' sex assigned at birth, while the second question was about how the respondents identify themselves in terms of gender identity. The researcher used the American Psychological Association's definition of transgender as '*an umbrella term used to describe the full range of people whose gender identity and/or gender role do not conform to what is typically associated with their sex assigned at birth'* (APA, 2015, p. 863). From this definition, the researcher categorised respondents who identified their gender as the same as their sex assigned at birth as cisgender and included those who chose differently as transgender. The researcher is aware that even though the term transgender is commonly used, not all transgender and gender nonconforming (TGNC) people self-identify as transgender. However, with respect to the TGNC community, the researcher included the community as

transgender for the purpose of simplification, which can also be seen as a possible limitation.

- Income variable: A categorical variable to group respondents into several income classes. The researcher used the World Bank's categorisation of income classes in Indonesia (World Bank, 2019). These five income classes are: poor, vulnerable, aspiring middle class, middle class, and upper class.
- Employment variable: A categorical variable that divided respondents into three categories: unemployed, partly employed (less than 40 hours a week), and fully employed (40 hours a week). In practice, the researcher was aware that there might be employment conditions that do not fit into these categories. Thus, another choice, 'others', was provided to allow text entry so respondents could explain their employment situations.
- Age variable: A categorical variable to categorise respondents into different age groups.
- Location: A binary variable to group respondents into two major categories: Jakartans and non-Jakartans. In practice, the researcher used a drill-down question about respondents' province of residence, consisting of 34 choices representing 34 provinces in Indonesia

3.4 Limitations

This research study has some limitations. First, the transgender survey does not attempt to describe all transgender people in Indonesia, considering the methodology used and the number of respondents.

The original questions in the survey were developed in English, while it is not the primary language of most Indonesians, especially the underprivileged. Thus, translation from English to Bahasa Indonesia was needed. However, semantic barriers happened during the translation. For example, Bahasa Indonesia translates "exclusion" to "ekslusi", same as it translates "promotion" to "promosi", "identification" to "identifikasi", "percussion" to "perkusi", and "persecution" to "persekusi". However, all of the mentioned loan words are commonly used in daily conversation in Bahasa Indonesia, except for the "exclusion". Thus, the researcher found difficulties in explaining the meaning of the word since there is no exact translation of the word.

The study was conducted during the COVID-19 period. It limited the movement of the researcher and the methods used. While the questionnaires still could be filled out online, other challenges followed. Most of the research samples, if not all, were from underprivileged groups. Many potential respondents faced difficulties in filling out the survey, such as slow or no internet access, no access to smartphones or computers, and limited knowledge in accessing digital technologies. This issue might contribute to the limited number of samples.

Chapter 4 Results and Findings

4.1 Quantitative Analysis

4.1.1 Descriptive Statistics

- *Geographic Distribution*

This quantitative analysis was based on the results of 114 respondents from 20 provinces in Indonesia. The top three provinces with the most respondents contributed to 64.91 per cent of the total respondents. These provinces were Jakarta, the capital, with 35 respondents (30.7 per cent), Yogyakarta with 20 respondents (17.5 per cent), and West Java with 19 respondents (16.7 per cent). Table 1 below shows the detailed breakdown of the geographic distribution of respondents, while Figure 3 shows the distribution in the form of a map of Indonesia run by Tableau version 2019.3.19.

Table 1 Geographic distribution of respondents

Province	Number of Respondents
Bali	7
Banten	4
Bengkulu	1
DI Yogyakarta	20
DKI Jakarta	35
Jambi	1
Jawa Barat	19
Jawa Tengah	3
Jawa Timur	3
Kalimantan Tengah	1

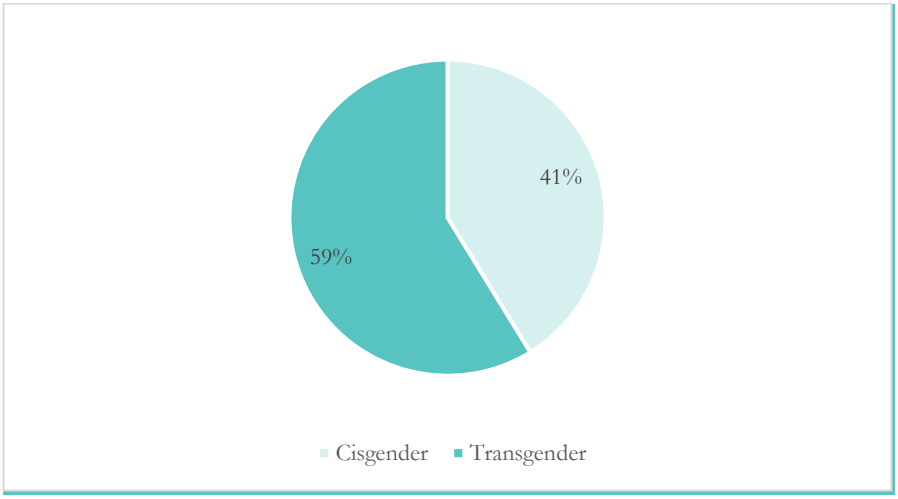
Kep. Bangka Belitung	1
Lampung	1
Nusa Tenggara Barat	3
Nusa Tenggara Timur	1
Papua	1
Papua Barat	6
Sulawesi Selatan	1
Sulawesi Tengah	3
Sulawesi Tenggara	1
Sumatera Utara	2
Total	**114**

Figure 3 Map of geographic distribution of respondents

- *Gender Identity*

Out of 114 respondents, 47 people (41.2 per cent) identified their gender identity the same as their sex assigned at birth, while the rest (67 people or 58.8 per cent) identified that their gender identity does not conform to what is typically associated with their sex assigned at birth. In this research, the former was categorised as cisgender, while the latter was labelled as transgender.

Figure 4 Gender identity of respondents



- *Income Classes*

In this research study, the income groups were based on the World Bank's 2019 income categorisation for Indonesians. The first category was the poor people who spent less than IDR 354,000 (around EUR 20.90) per capita per month. There were nine respondents (7.9 per cent) who placed themselves under this category. The second category was vulnerable people. This group spent between IDR 354,000 to IDR 532,000 (around EUR 20.90 to EUR 31.40) per capita per month. This category consisted of 21 respondents (18.4 per cent). The third category was the aspiring middle class. People in this category spent between IDR 532,000 to IDR 1.200.000 (around EUR 31.40 to EUR 70.85) per capita per month. There were 38 respondents (33.3 per cent) under this category. The next category was the middle class. This group members spent between IDR 1.200.000 to IDR 6.000.000 (around EUR 70.85 to EUR 354.25) per capita per month. This category consisted of 41 respondents (36.0 per cent). The last category was the upper class, which spent more than IDR 6.000.000 (around EUR 354.25) per capita per month. There were five respondents (4.4 per cent) who categorised themselves as part of this category. Table 2 shows the summary.

Table 2 Income classes of respondents

Income Class	Number of Respondents
Poor	9
Vulnerable	21
Aspiring middle class	38
Middle class	41
Upper class	5
Total	**114**

- *Age Groups*

Respondents from all different age groups represented this research study. There were five respondents (4.4 per cent) below twenty years old, 46 respondents (40.4 per cent) between twenty to thirty years old, 37 respondents (32.5 per cent) between thirty to forty years old, eleven respondents (9.6 per cent) between forty to fifty years old and between fifty to sixty years old each, and four respondents (3.5 per cent) above sixty years old. Table 3 below summarise the age group classification.

Table 3 Age groups of respondents

Age Group	Number of Respondents
<20 years old	5
20-30 years old	46
30-40 years old	37
40-50 years old	11
50-60 years old	11
>60 years old	4
Total	**114**

- *Employment Status*

Of 114 respondents, 36 respondents (31.6 per cent) considered themselves unemployed, while 60 respondents (52.6 per cent) were employed. Of the 36 unemployed respondents, 24 of them (66.67 per cent) were actively looking for employment. The employment termination during the COVID-19 pandemic and government restrictions on close contact services such as hairdressers and sex workers, two common occupations for transgender individuals, mainly caused the high unemployment rate of the respondents. There were 18 respondents (15.8 per cent) who did not fit into either of these two groups

because of their complicated employment status, such as they volunteered full-time, they had small businesses that were closed due to pandemic, or they had very limited working hours a week which was considered as almost unemployed. Out of the employed group, 55 per cent of total employed respondents were part-time, while 45 per cent worked full-time. Table 4 below shows the employment status summary.

Table 4 Respondents' employment status

Employment Status	Number of Respondents
Unemployed	36
Employed, part-time	33
Employed, full-time	27
Others	18
Total	**114**

- *Social Assistance Recipients*

This research study consisted of 44 respondents (38.6 per cent) who claimed that they had received at least one of several social assistance programs that the Indonesian government runs. Meanwhile, fewer respondents (30.7 per cent) had received the time-specific government relief funds during the COVID-19 pandemic. Table 5 shows the summary.

Table 5 Program recipients

Program Recipient	Social Assistance	National Economic Recovery
Yes	44	35
No	70	79
Total	**114**	**114**

4.1.2 Relationship amongst Gender Identity, Income Class, Employment Status, Age, and Location on Social Exclusion

From the nature of the dependant variable in this research model, the researcher run the logistic regression, specifically the ordered logistic regression. The ordered logistic regression is an extension of the logistic regression. While logistic regression is used when the dependant variable is dichotomous, the ordered logistic regression is utilised when

there are three or more categories with a natural ordering between them (see Hosmer *et al.*, 2013; Kremelberg, 2011; Menard, 2010).

- *Multicollinearity Test*

Logistic regression is nonparametric. Thus, several parametric assumptions, such as normality and homoscedasticity, are not relevant to be tested in this regression. However, some features are still needed to be tested. One of them is the multicollinearity test, a test to know when there are strong linear dependencies between independent variables (Allison, 1999; Osborne, 2015). Since the nature of this research study's variables are ordinal, the Spearman rank-order correlation is used to test the correlation between variables and to avoid multicollinearity (Chen and Popovich, 2002; Menard, 2010). The variables are categorised as highly correlated if the Spearman's rho is above 0.80 (Osborne, 2015). This research study used SPSS Statistics version 27 to run Spearman's correlation coefficient test.

Table 6 Spearman's correlation coefficient test

		Exclusion	GenderId	Income	Employment	Age	Location
Exclusion	Cor. Coefficient	**1.000**					
	Sig. (2-tailed)						
	N	114					
GenderId	Cor. coefficient	**0.210***	**1.000**				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.025					
	N	114	114				
Income	Cor. coefficient	**-0.198***	**0.257****	**1.000**			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.035	0.006				
	N	114	114	114			
Employment	Cor.coefficient	**-0.225***	**-0.053**	**0.058**	**1.000**		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.027	0.608	0.571			
	N	96	96	96	96		
Age	Cor. coefficient	**-0.239***	**0.097**	**0.060**	**0.016**	**1.000**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.011	0.305	0.523	0.873		
	N	114	114	114	96	114	
Location	Cor. coefficient	**0.088**	**-0.099**	**0.095**	**-0.033**	**0.102**	**1.000**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.351	0.293	0.314	0.747	0.278	
	N	114	114	114	96	114	114

From Table 6, the highest number of the coefficient correlation is 0.257. Since it is far below 0.80, we can conclude that there is no strong correlation between variables.

The researcher also ran the variance-inflating factor (VIF) as an indicator of the presence of multicollinearity. VIF *'shows how the variance of an estimator is inflated by the presence of multicollinearity'* (Gujarati and Porter, 2009, p. 328). The rule of thumb of this calculation is that if the VIF of a variable is more than 10, that variable is highly collinear (Gujarati and Porter, 2009; Wooldridge, 2016). The researcher used SPSS Statistics version 27 to run the VIF.

Table 7 Variance-inflating factor

Model	Collinearity Statistics VIF
(Constant)	
GenderId	1.105
Income	1.131
Employment	1.009
Age	1.051
Location	1.044

Dependent variable: Exclusion

Table 7 shows that the VIFs of all independent variables are far below 10. Thus, it indicates that multicollinearity is not present.

- *Proportional Odds*

One of the assumptions underlying ordered logistic regression is the proportional odds. The term refers to the same relationship of independent variables regardless of what two outcome groups are being tested (Osborne, 2015). The assumption is important because, in ordered logistic regression, we want to create a single estimate that predicts the movement in the dependent variable by changing the independent variables (Osborne, 2015, p. 21). Several statistics programs have different names. In SPSS, for example, the test is called the 'test of parallel lines', while in SAS, it is called the 'score test for the proportional odds assumption'.

The null hypothesis for this test is that location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories. Meanwhile, the research hypothesis in this test is that location parameters (slope coefficients) are not the same across response categories. Using SPSS Statistics version 27, the researcher ran the test of parallel lines with the below result in Table 8.

Table 8 Test of parallel lines

Model	-2 log likelihood	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Null hypothesis	207.045			
General	193.454	13.590	15	0.557

With a p-value (0.557) is greater than the significant level of 0.05, the decision is to retain the null hypothesis. This means that location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories.

- *Regression*

This research study used SPSS Statistics version 27 to run most of the ordered logistic regression results, such as model fitting information, goodness-of-fit, and pseudo R^2. In addition, the researcher used StataMP version 16 to run the odds ratios since SPSS Statistics version 27 does not provide it.

Table 9 Model fitting information

Model	-2 log likelihood	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Intercept only	238.321			
Final	207.045	31.276	5	<0.001

Table 9 above shows the model fitting information result. The null hypothesis in this test is that all of the regression coefficients in the model are equal to zero. The small p-value from the likelihood ratio test concludes that at least one of the regression coefficients in the model is not equal to zero. In other words, the final model is significantly different from the intercept-only model. Thus, the independent variables, as a group, contribute significantly to the prediction of the outcome (Petrucci, 2009).

Table 10 Goodness-of-fit

	Chi-square	df	Sig.
Pearson	260.573	251	0.326
Deviance	181.149	251	1.000

SPSS also shows the goodness-of-fit values every time we run the ordinal regression. The null hypothesis in this test is that the model fits the data well, while the research hypothesis is that there is some unspecified problem with the fit, or called the lack of fit (Fagerland and Hosmer, 2017). A small p-value indicates the problem with the model from the result. From Table 10, we accept the null hypothesis that the model fits the data well.

The R^2 in the linear model is defined as the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable that the independent variables can explain. However, we need to be careful in interpreting the pseudo-R^2 in ordered logistic regression since there is no clear interpretation of the term regarding the variance of the outcome (Hu *et al.*, 2006).

Table 11 Pseudo-R-square

Pseudo-R^2	Value
Cox and Snell	0.278
Nagelkerke	0.296
McFadden	0.116

In this regression, SPSS shows three different R^2 statistics. From the model in this research study, the value of the R^2 ranges between 0.116 to 0.296, as shown in Table 11. If using the R^2 interpretation in the linear model, it means that the dependent variable in this model (social exclusion) can be explained between 11.60% to 29.60% by gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location variables.

Table 12 below shows parameter estimates of the independent variables. The coefficient value in the ordered logistic regression can be interpreted as for every one-unit increase in the independent variable, the dependent variable level is expected to change by the coefficient when other variables in the model are held constant (IDRE, 2021a; Kremelberg, 2011; Menard, 2010).

Table 12 Parameter estimates

Variable	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.
GenderId	1.321	0.420	9.886	1	0.002
Income	-0.649	0.223	8.500	1	0.004
Employment	-0.512	0.242	4.456	1	0.035
Age	-0.581	0.187	9.688	1	0.002
Location	1.021	0.429	5.662	1	0.017

The null hypothesis for the 'GenderId' variable in this test is that there is no association between gender identity and social exclusion, while the alternative hypothesis for this variable is that there is an association between gender identity and social exclusion. From Table 12, we know that the associated p-value is 0.002. Thus, the observed difference between cisgender people and transgender people on social exclusion was found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level when controlling other variables. From the ordered log-odds estimate, we can interpret that if a subject were transgender, their ordered log-odds of being in a higher social exclusion category would increase by 1.321 while the other variables in the model are held constant.

The null hypothesis for the 'Income' variable in this test is that there is no association between income class and social exclusion, while the alternative hypothesis for this variable is that there is an association between income class and social exclusion. From Table 12, we know that the associated p-value is 0.004. Thus, the observed difference between income classes on social exclusion was found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level when controlling other variables. From the ordered log-odds estimate, we can interpret that a one-unit increase in the income class category would result in a 0.649 unit decrease in the ordered log-odds of being in a higher social exclusion category while the other variables in the model are held constant.

The null hypothesis for the 'Employment' variable in this test is that there is no association between employment status and social exclusion, while the alternative hypothesis for this variable is that there is an association between employment and social exclusion. From Table 12, we know that the associated p-value is 0.035. Thus, the observed difference between employment status on social exclusion was found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level when controlling other variables. From the ordered log-odds estimate, we can interpret that a one-unit increase in the employment status category would

result in a 0.512 unit decrease in the ordered log-odds of being in a higher social exclusion category while the other variables in the model are held constant.

The null hypothesis for the 'Age' variable in this test is that there is no association between age and social exclusion, while the alternative hypothesis for this variable is that there is an association between age and social exclusion. From Table 12, we know that the associated p-value is 0.002. Thus, the observed difference between age on social exclusion was found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level when controlling other variables. From the ordered log-odds estimate, we can interpret that a one-unit increase in the age group category would result in a 0.581 unit decrease in the ordered log-odds of being in a higher social exclusion category while the other variables in the model are held constant.

The null hypothesis for the 'Location' variable in this test is that there is no association between location and social exclusion, while the alternative hypothesis for this variable is that there is an association between location and social exclusion. From Table 12, we know that the associated p-value is 0.017. Thus, the observed difference between respondents who live in Jakarta and outside Jakarta on social exclusion was found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level when controlling other variables. From the ordered log-odds estimate, we can interpret that if a subject lives in Jakarta, their ordered log-odds of being in a higher social exclusion category will increase by 1.021 while the other variables in the model are held constant.

Table 13 Odds ratios

Variable	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	Z	P > I z I
GenderId	3.748	1.579	3.14	0.002
Income	0.522	0.116	-2.92	0.003
Employment	0.599	0.144	-2.14	0.033
Age	0.559	0.113	-2.89	0.004
Location	2.776	1.199	2.37	0.018

Since SPSS Statistics version 27 does not show the odds ratio in its ordinal regression results, the researcher used StataMP version 16 to calculate the results. Odds ratios can be helpful to interpret that for every one unit change in the independent variable, the odds for cases in a group that is > k versus ≤ k are the proportional odds times larger

(IDRE, 2021b). From Table 13 above, we can conclude that each independent variable was found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level when controlling other variables.

For the 'GenderId' variable, we can interpret that for transgender respondents, the odds of the 'strongly agree with being socially excluded' category versus the combined lower four categories are 3.748 times higher than for cisgender respondents, given the other variables are held constant. Likewise, the odds of the combined categories of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' with being socially excluded versus the combined lower three categories are 3.748 times higher for transgender people compared to cisgender people, given the other variables are held constant in the model.

For the 'Income' variable, the interpretation is that for a one-unit increase in income class category, the odds of the 'strongly agree with being socially excluded' category versus the combined lower four categories are 0.522 times lower, given the other variables are held constant in the model. Likewise, for a one-unit increase in income class category, the odds of the combined categories of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' with being socially excluded versus the combined lower three categories are 0.522 times lower, given the other variables are held constant in the model.

For the 'Employment' variable, the interpretation is that for a one-unit increase in employment status category, the odds of the 'strongly agree with being socially excluded' category versus the combined lower four categories are 0.599 times lower, given the other variables are held constant in the model. Likewise, for a one-unit increase in employment status category, the odds of the combined categories of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' with being socially excluded versus the combined lower three categories are 0.599 times lower, given the other variables are held constant in the model.

For the 'Age' variable, the interpretation is that for a one-unit increase in age group category (older), the odds of the 'strongly agree with being socially excluded' category versus the combined lower four categories are 0.559 times lower, given the other variables are held constant in the model. Likewise, for a one-unit increase in the age group category, the odds of the combined categories of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' with being socially excluded versus the combined lower three categories are 0.559 times lower, given the other variables are held constant in the model.

For the 'Location' variable, we can interpret that for respondents that live in Jakarta, the odds of the 'strongly agree with being socially excluded' category versus the combined lower four categories are 2.776 times higher than for respondents that live outside the capital, given the other variables are held constant. Likewise, the odds of the combined categories of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' with being socially excluded versus the combined lower three categories are 2.776 times higher for respondents who live in Jakarta compared to respondents who live outside Jakarta, given the other variables are held constant in the model.

4.1.3 Differences in Perceptions towards Access to the National Economic Recovery Program between Transgender and Non-Transgender People

To compare differences between two independent populations when the dependent variable is at least ordinal, The Mann-Whitney U test is used (Bonnini *et al.*, 2014; Taeger and Kuhnt, 2014). Since the nature of the second research question is to know whether there are different perceptions towards access to the National Economic Recovery program between transgender and non-transgender groups, the researcher utilised the Mann-Whitney U test to know the answer.

In total, 14 Likert-type statements were sent out to 114 respondents to measure the differences in three perception categories: understanding, assistance, and constraints towards the National Economic Recovery program between the two groups.

Table 14 Likert-type statements

Variable	Likert-type Statement
ER_Und1	I know about the National Economic Recovery program
ER_Und2	I have sufficient information about the National Economic Recovery program
ER_AstGov1	The government gives sufficient information for me to access the National Economic Recovery program
ER_AstGov2	The government helps me in accessing the National Economic Recovery program benefits
ER_AstNGO1	A non-governmental organisation gives sufficient information for me to access the National Economic Recovery program
ER_AstNGO2	A non-governmental organisation helps me in accessing the National Economic Recovery program benefits
ER_AstCom1	My neighbourhood associations give sufficient information for me to access the National Economic Recovery program
ER_AstCom2	My neighbourhood associations help me in accessing the National Economic Recovery program benefits

ER_CstIncome	My financial condition contributes to my eligibility in getting National Economic Recovery program benefits
ER_CstIdentity	My identity and behaviour affect me in getting National Economic Recovery program benefits
ER_CstEmployment	My employment status contributes to my eligibility in getting National Economic Recovery program benefits
ER_CstIDCard	Possession of a letter of domicile/ID card contributes to my eligibility in getting National Economic Recovery program benefits
ER_CstLocation	The location where I live affects me in getting National Economic Recovery program benefits
ER_CstRelation	My interpersonal closeness with my neighbourhood association heads affects me in getting National Economic Recovery program benefits

Table 14 shows the full list of the statements. Five agreement levels were provided to be chosen by respondents, starting from 'strongly disagree', 'disagree', 'neutral', 'agree', to 'strongly agree' to the above statements.

The researcher ran the SPSS Statistics version 27 to find whether two independent populations (transgender and non-transgender) differ statistically by a shift in location (Taeger and Kuhnt, 2014). The null hypothesis in this research model is that the perception distribution of two populations are equal, while the alternative hypothesis is that the perception distributions of two populations are not equal. Equations 2 & 3 show formulate the problem:

$$H0 : T(t) = C(t)$$

Equation 2 Null hypothesis of the second question

$$H1 : T(t) = C\ (t - \Delta) with\ \Delta \neq 0$$

Equation 3 Alternative hypothesis of the second question

With,

$T(t) = Distribution\ of\ the\ Transgender group$

$C(t) = Distribution\ of\ the\ Non - Transgender\ (Cisgender)\ group$

The researcher ran the SPSS Statistics version 27 to find whether two independent populations (transgender and non-transgender) differ statistically by a shift in location (Taeger and Kuhnt, 2014). The null hypothesis in this research model is that the perception distribution of two populations are equal, while the alternative hypothesis is that the

perception distributions of two populations are not equal. Equations 2 & 3 show formulate the problem:

Table 15 Independent-samples Mann-Whitney U test summary

Variable	Sig.	Decision
ER_Und1	**0.040**	**Reject the null hypothesis**
ER_Und2	0.300	Retain the null hypothesis
ER_AstGov1	0.140	Retain the null hypothesis
ER_AstGov2	0.070	Retain the null hypothesis
ER_AstNGO1	**0.005**	**Reject the null hypothesis**
ER_AstNGO2	**0.008**	**Reject the null hypothesis**
ER_AstCom1	**0.003**	**Reject the null hypothesis**
ER_AstCom2	**0.006**	**Reject the null hypothesis**
ER_CstIncome	**0.026**	**Reject the null hypothesis**
ER_CstIdentity	0.579	Retain the null hypothesis
ER_CstEmployment	0.107	Retain the null hypothesis
ER_CstIDCard	0.501	Retain the null hypothesis
ER_CstLocation	0.966	Retain the null hypothesis
ER_CstRelation	0.492	Retain the null hypothesis

The significance level is 0.050

From Table 15 above, we reject the null hypothesis from six statements. This can be interpreted that the distribution of perception between transgender and non-transgender groups are not equal.

- *ER_Und1: I know about the National Economic Recovery program*

From the Mann-Whitney U test above, we found that the p-value of the ER_Und1 variable is 0.040. Since it is below the significance level of 0.050, we reject the null hypothesis. Thus, we believe that there is a difference in the distribution of perception between transgender and non-transgender groups.

Figure 5 Distribution of ER_Und1

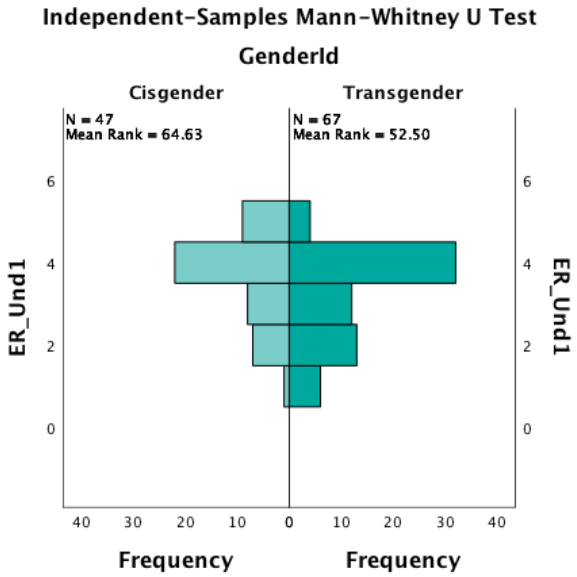


Figure 5 shows the distribution of perception between transgender and cisgender (non-transgender) groups regarding their understanding or knowledge about the National Economic Recovery program. The higher mean rank (64.63) for the cisgender group means that cisgender respondents tend to perceive more understanding about the National Economic Recovery program than transgender respondents, a statistically significant difference.

- *ER_AstNGO1: A non-governmental organisation gives sufficient information for me to access the National Economic Recovery program*

From the Mann-Whitney U test above, we found that the p-value of the ER_AstNGO1 variable is 0.005. Since it is below the significance level of 0.050, we reject the null hypothesis. Thus, we believe that there is a difference in the distribution of perception between transgender and non-transgender groups.

Figure 6 Distribution of ER_AstNGO1

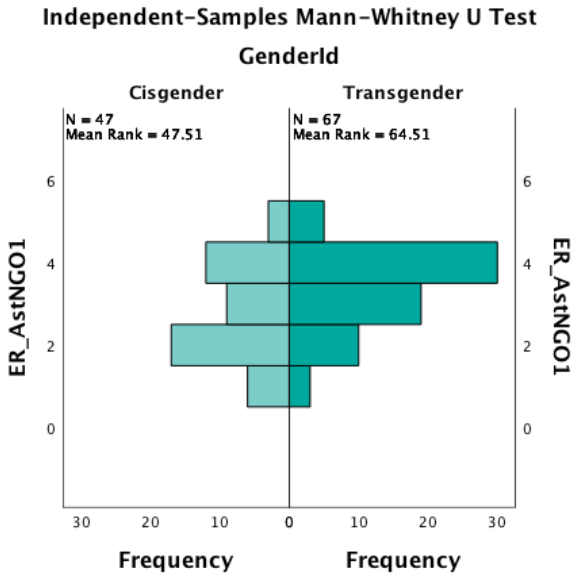


Figure 6 shows the distribution of perception between transgender and cisgender (non-transgender) groups in receiving assistance for the National Economic Recovery program. The higher mean rank (64.51) for the transgender group means that transgender respondents tend to believe that they receive more assistance from non-governmental organisations to access the National Economic Recovery program than cisgender respondents, a statistically significant difference.

- *ER_AstNGO2: A non-governmental organisation helps me in accessing the National Economic Recovery program benefits*

From the Mann-Whitney U test above, we found that the p-value of the ER_AstNGO2 variable is 0.008. Since it is below the significance level of 0.050, we reject the null hypothesis. Thus, we believe that there is a difference in the distribution of perception between transgender and non-transgender groups.

Figure 7 Distribution of ER_AstNGO2

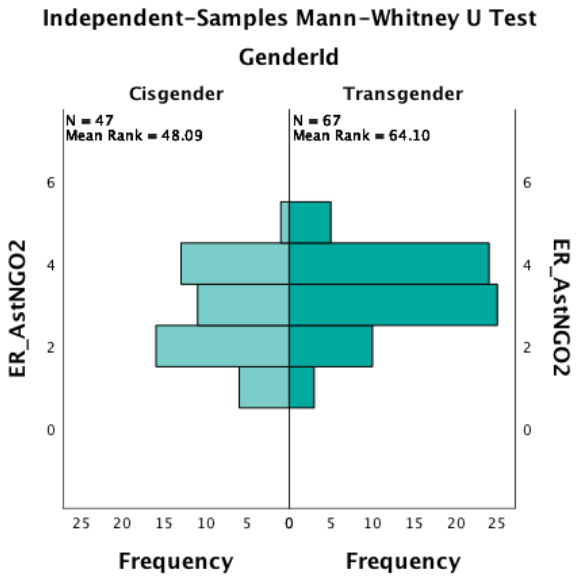


Figure 7 shows the distribution of perception between transgender and cisgender (non-transgender) groups in receiving assistance for the National Economic Recovery program. The higher mean rank (64.10) for the transgender group means that transgender respondents tend to believe that they receive more assistance from non-governmental organisations in terms of receiving help to access the National Economic Recovery program than cisgender respondents, a statistically significant difference.

- *ER_AstCom1: My neighbourhood associations give sufficient information for me to access the National Economic Recovery program*

From the Mann-Whitney U test above, we found that the p-value of the ER_AstCom1 variable is 0.003. Since it is below the significance level of 0.050, we reject the null hypothesis. Thus, we believe that there is a difference in the distribution of perception between transgender and non-transgender groups.

Figure 8 Distribution of ER_AstCom1

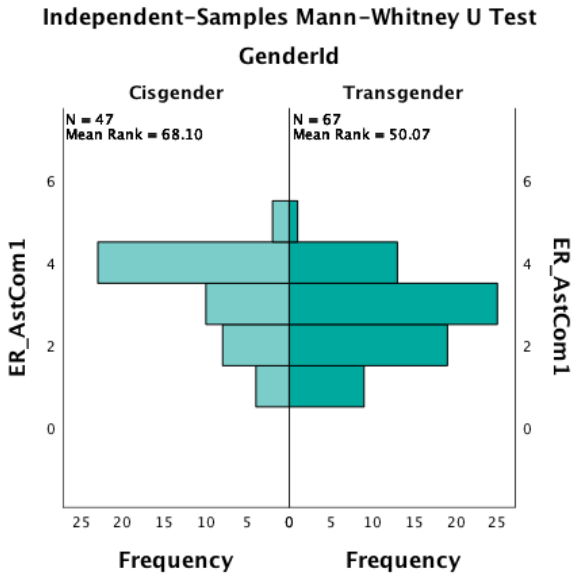


Figure 8 shows the distribution of perception between transgender and cisgender (non-transgender) groups in receiving assistance for the National Economic Recovery program. The higher mean rank (68.10) for the cisgender group means that cisgender respondents tend to believe that they receive more assistance from neighbourhood associations in terms of getting information to access the National Economic Recovery program than transgender respondents, a statistically significant difference.

- *ER_AstCom2: My neighbourhood associations help me in accessing the National Economic Recovery program benefits*

From the Mann-Whitney U test above, we found that the p-value of the ER_AstCom2 variable is 0.006. Since it is below the significance level of 0.050, we reject the null hypothesis. Thus, we believe that there is a difference in the distribution of perception between transgender and non-transgender groups.

Figure 9 Distribution of ER_AstCom2

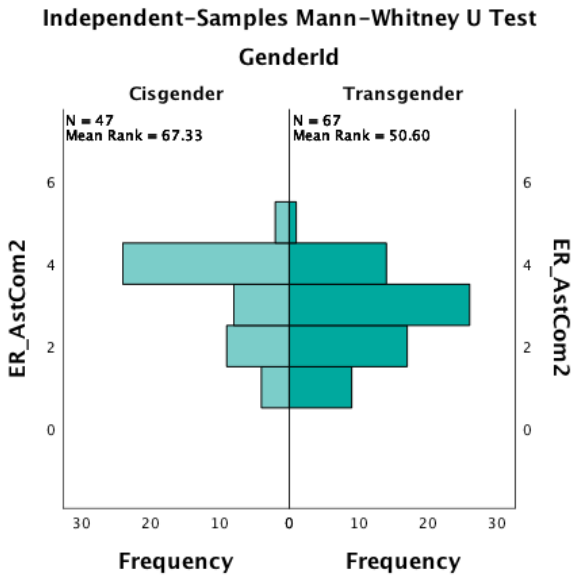


Figure 9 shows the distribution of perception between transgender and cisgender (non-transgender) groups in receiving assistance for the National Economic Recovery program. The higher mean rank (67.33) for the cisgender group means that cisgender respondents tend to believe that they receive more assistance from neighbourhood associations in terms of receiving help to access the National Economic Recovery program than transgender respondents, a statistically significant difference.

- *ER_CstIncome: My financial condition contributes to my eligibility in getting National Economic Recovery program benefits*

From the Mann-Whitney U test above, we found that the p-value of the ER_CstIncome variable is 0.026. Since it is below the significance level of 0.050, we reject the null hypothesis. Thus, we believe that there is a difference in the distribution of perception between transgender and non-transgender groups.

Figure 10 Distribution of ER_CstIncome

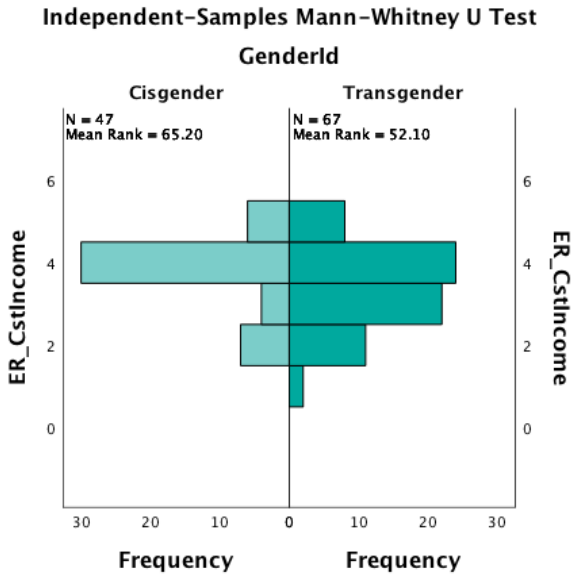


Figure 10 shows the distribution of perception between transgender and cisgender (non-transgender) groups regarding factors that contribute to their eligibility in receiving the National Economic Recovery program. The higher mean rank (65.20) for the cisgender group means that cisgender respondents tend to believe more than their financial condition contributes to the eligibility in receiving the National Economic Recovery program than transgender respondents, a statistically significant difference.

4.1.4 Findings

The three previous sub-subchapters show several findings regarding two main questions of this research study. Sub-subchapter 4.1.2 shows statistical results that can answer the first question of this research study, while sub-subchapter 4.1.3 presents the results to answer the second research question.

From the results above, we can conclude that all five variables: gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location significantly contribute to the perception of social exclusion. However, the result also shows different signs of correlation among independent variables. A positive sign in the 'GenderId' variable can be interpreted that a transgender respondent is more likely to be in a higher social exclusion category than

their cisgender counterparts when other variables are constant. The positive relationship also happens when a respondent lives in Jakarta with their perception of social exclusion. This means that a respondent who lives in Jakarta is more likely to be in a higher social exclusion category when compared to non-Jakarta respondents, while the other variables in the model are constant. In contrast, a negative correlation appears between income classes and social exclusion. It means that the higher the respondent's income class, the less likely for them to be in a higher social exclusion category. Negative correlations are also shown in employment status and age. It can be interpreted that the higher the employment status of a respondent, the less likely for them to be in a higher social exclusion category; and the higher the age group (older) of a respondent, the less likely for them to be in a higher social exclusion category.

The results from 'GenderId', 'Employment', and 'Income' variables align with Levitas' discourses theory on social exclusion (Levitas, 2005). The 'GenderId' variable represents the moral underclass discourses. This discourse sees people's behaviour as a factor that creates inequality. Individuals with undesirable attitudes or behaviour, in this case by being transgender, tend to feel that they are socially more excluded from society than their cisgender counterparts. The 'Income' variable represents redistributionist discourse which sees poverty as the cause of social exclusion. When income increases, respondents in this research tend to feel that they are less likely to be excluded from society. The last discourse is the social integrationist, which is represented by the Employment variable. In a culture that values formal paid work more than unpaid or informal work, respondents who have full-time employment tend to see themselves as less excluded from society than respondents with part-time jobs or unemployed respondents.

The 'Location' variable shows that respondents who live in Jakarta tend to see themselves as being more socially excluded than respondents who live outside the capital. The result may happen because of different social exclusion exposure where people who live in more urban areas, in this case Jakarta, experience more exclusion than people who live in less developed or less urban areas. The result is similar with Barnes *et al.* (2006) that found that neighbourhood social exclusion was closely related with urban setting and with the result from Dahlberg and McKee (2018) which said that people living in urban areas are more exposed with social exclusion, specifically in terms of neighbourhood alienation and neighbourhood threat.

The result from the 'Age' variable shows that respondents in lower age groups see themselves as being more socially excluded compared to older respondents. The result may happen because younger people are still discovering and developing their identities, making them feel less secure and less included than older people who are more settled financially. This result supports previous studies which found that young adults are more at risk for social exclusion compared to their older generations due to less access to resources and financial stability (Backeberg and Tholen, 2017; Clark, 2007; Ghanem, 2016; Teater *et al.*, 2021) and their feeling of more socially isolated (Teater *et al.*, 2021).

Sub-subchapter 4.1.3 shows the results for the second research question in comparing the differences in perceptions towards the National Economic Recovery program. From the list of statements, there are five differences in perceptions that are statistically significant between transgender and non-transgender respondents.

The result about respondents' understanding of the program shows the difference in perception on the level of understanding between transgender and cisgender groups. Cisgender respondents tend to know or understand more about the program. The result is closely related to the results from 'ER_AstCom1' and 'ER_AstCom2', variables that measure assistance from neighbourhood associations. The cisgender group sees that they received more assistance from neighbourhood associations in accessing the national Economic Recovery program compared to the transgender group. This perception may appear because, in Indonesia, the distribution of COVID-19 relief funds is majorly through neighbourhood associations, in this case Rukun Tetangga (RT), the lowest-level organisational unit. Thus, the cisgender group tend to receive more information and understand more about the National Economic Recovery program than the transgender group.

In contrast, the difference in perception about assistance from NGOs also happens in this research study. This result can be explained by the closeness between transgender groups and NGOs. Transgender people are more exposed to NGOs compared to cisgender people. NGOs are central to the transgender movement. Alongside the LGBT community in general, they work together to fight for the social, political, and economic rights of the community. In a country where 87.6 per cent of the public say that they feel

threatened by LGBT people (SMRC, 2018), the transgender community's dependence on NGOs, including getting information and assistance of government-funded programs, is indeed understandable.

4.2 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative method in this research study was developed from 14 interviews, including with five civil society organisations that focus on the rights of LGBT people generally and the transgender community specifically in Indonesia. Further interviews with nine transgender individuals were conducted to answer the third research question and its sub-questions, which are (i) the involvement of the Indonesian government in providing assistance to transgender people to access the National Economic Recovery program and (ii) the constraints that transgender people face during the distribution of the program benefits. Nine respondents were selected after they filled out the questionnaire and showed their interest to be contacted for follow-up interviews.

The individual interview was chosen over other qualitative data collection methods that involve interaction with more people, such as focus group or participatory action research, due to the sensitivity of the topic that is related to gender identity and household financial situation. The semi-structured interview was then conducted to address the specific topics related to the research study, while still giving space for respondents to tell their personal stories, insights, and views (Bryman, 2016; Galletta and Cross, 2013). It has both benefits of the structured interview's easiness to compare and unstructured interview's flexibility and sensitivity.

4.2.1 Identity Cards and Social Exclusion: Exclusion Error by Design?

The pandemic situation that has lasted for almost two years has an impact on the quality of life in Indonesia. Access to health services and economic well-being are the most hit by the pandemic, especially for the lower-middle class and those working in the informal sector. To answer such crisis, the government of Indonesia through several agencies provides assistance such as business incentives, relaxation of financial facilities, and social assistance programs to avoid the deepening economic impact caused by this pandemic, especially social assistance in the form of goods and cash which targets the

weakest economic group of all. This condition is exacerbated by the state of the health crisis in Indonesia: unavailability of health services and limited access to vaccines.

The transgender group is one of the most vulnerable groups affected by the pandemic due to their limited knowledge and information in accessing the assistance and their limitation in having required documents that are useful to record the distribution of relief funds and to access health services during the pandemic, such as the national health insurance and COVID-19 vaccines. Inequality in the distribution of social assistance[1], multi-layered and convoluted services[2], and corruption in relief funds[3] are also chronic issues that must be faced.

This situation forms a vicious cycle in which transgender people experience rejection, both health services and economic assistance. Transgender people affected by the COVID-19 pandemic must provide for themselves and their families, temporarily lose their jobs, and do not receive health and economic assistance. In addition, social assistance programs during the pandemic were mostly distributed through the local neighbourhood heads. This situation created an exclusion error where many transgender groups, who were actually eligible but had been socially excluded from their neighbourhood, failed to receive the program benefits. Many of the transgender people did not know where to go to access the assistance provided by the government. In some cases, even though they knew whom should be reached out, they did not want to show their identity cards because they were afraid that people would judge and stigmatize them for having different gender expressions than their legal documents, which may lead to persecution.

[1] In the context of his fieldwork and monitoring of the distribution of COVID-19 relief funds, the Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture Muhadjir Effendy admitted that there were still problems in the distribution of social assistance that were not evenly distributed due to inaccuracy of DTKS. See https://www.kemenkopmk.go.id/temukan-bansos-tidak-merata-di-kantong-kemiskinan-menko-pmk-data-lapangan-harus-disempurnakan

[2] At least until July 2021, there were many rules regarding the handling of COVID-19 that create many difficulties for the community in accessing several programs. For example, to get a COVID-19 vaccine, a person must have an identity card showing that they are domiciled in the neighborhood. If their identity card is lost, or not available (as most cases for transgender people), then they cannot get the vaccine. Worse, to access public services such as obtaining an identity card, one must already get the vaccine, at least the first dose. See https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/07/26/07465771/permudah-birokrasi-bagi-masyarakat-untuk-dapatkan-vaksin?page=all

[3] Former Indonesian Social Affairs Minister was sentenced to 12 years in prison over emblezzlement of more than IDR 15 billion worth (approximately EUR 910,000) of COVID-19 aid. Several other politicians are also suspects. See https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/ex-indonesian-minister-jailed-12-years-over-covid-19-graft-scandal-2021-08-23/

'The hardest thing to receive social assistance is related to the possession of identity cards. There are transgender people who do not have identity cards because they ran away from home. There are also those who are not comfortable showing their identity cards, especially for transgender individuals who have gone through the transition process', said a male transgender respondent.

In addition to the fear of transgender groups in revealing their identities, many of them do not even have identity cards at all, which are part of the requirements to obtain social assistance during the pandemic. Having an identity card is very important because it can open up various opportunities. With an identity card, a person can access health services, social protection programs, or social assistance during the current pandemic. Due to the limitations of transgender groups in having identity cards, many of them could not access assistance programs provided by the government, even though they desperately needed them. Based on research conducted by the CRM consortium during the pandemic, from 300 LGBT respondents, only 63.00 per cent of them had national health insurance. In addition, the transgender group received the least assistance from the government, which was only 31.30 per cent (CRM, 2021).

Many stories were also circulated within the transgender community about the difficulties they faced for not having an identity card. A transwoman respondent shared that recently an elderly transwoman died without any identity card. During the funeral process, friends of a deceased were asked to pay five times more expensive than usual. Realising the importance of the document, several organizations that focus on helping transgender groups started to incorporate identity card ownership into their advocacy agenda.

Starting from 2014 in Yogyakarta, the Kebaya Foundation has been advocating for the Sleman Regency to issue identity cards to 15 transgender women. In Maumere during the early days of the pandemic, Fajar Sikka Community helped transgender individuals in possession of identity cards. At that time, the Social Service Department (Dinas Sosial, Dinsos) was temporarily assisting the process so that that transgender people could receive social assistance from the government, such as cash transfers and micro-small-medium enterprise supports. In Tangerang, Suara Kita was successful in advocating the Civil Registry Office (Dinas Kependudukan dan Catatan Sipil, Disdukcapil) to cut off the

process of having an identity card for transgender individuals. The new process has succeeded in eliminating some complicated and discriminatory regulations, such as removing the statement of moving from the place of origin and eliminating the rules regarding gender expression when photographed for identity cards. In the pilot phase, around 50 transwomen were assisted in making identity cards. Not only that, Suara Kita also advocated the director-general of the Civil Registry Office, Zudan Arif Fakrulloh, to issue a circular letter to make it easier for transwomen groups to have identity cards in all local civil registry offices in Indonesia.

Anggun, a transwoman who also works for INTAN, supports Suara Kita's statement that the process of making identity cards is now much easier for transgender groups. During the interview, she said that in her early days of advocacy a few years ago, the advocacy was done through the Social Service Department. However, at that time, the advocacy stopped because the Social Service Department asked for a guarantor organisation in the form of, at least, a foundation and labelled the status of transgender individuals who did not have identity cards as abandoned people. However, the process now has been dramatically shortened, so transgender individuals do not need to return to their hometowns to request a domicile change certificate.

> *'We are only asked to state our birth names, our parents' names, our addresses, and other details that we can remember. If the biometric data appears in the Disdukcapil (the local acronym for the Civil Registry Office) system, the identity card will be printed immediately',* Anggun, a transwoman said.

However, right after it hits the news, a public uproar arose regarding the issuance of identity cards to transgender people, mainly because of the circulating issue regarding gender determination on identity cards (Arnani, 2021; Dukcapil, 2021; Watra, 2021). Although in the end the identity card still uses binary division based on sex assigned at birth and legal name, it is a small victory that needs to be celebrated by the transgender community.

Unfortunately, stories about improving access of transgender groups in obtaining identity cards are not evenly distributed nationally. Discriminatory practices against gender expression are still encountered. According to a report from INTAN, several public service officers still prohibit transgender individuals from taking pictures using their chosen

gender expression on the grounds that their appearance does not match the sex stated in their identity cards.

Another issue that still needs to be addressed when accessing social assistance is the concern over security and protection.

> *'Assistance from the government usually goes through complex mechanisms and administration requiring recipients to fill in detailed data. In a situation like this, where the state has an agenda to criminalise gender and sexual minorities, providing data to the government or public officials is dangerous because it is feared that it can open up new spaces for violence',* the project manager of the CRM Consortium stated.

4.2.2 Fundraising during COVID-19: Success Stories?

Due to the limited access of transgender groups in obtaining assistance from the government, the transgender community has been trying to obtain funds from various non-government sources, for example through public fundraising or approaching international donors. The Crisis Response Mechanism Consortium, for example, has been actively collecting money to be distributed to LGBT individuals, including the transgender community since early days of the pandemic. Around IDR 619 million (approximately EUR 36,651) has been collected from the fundraising and was given to 3,543 LGBT individuals in 20 provinces in Indonesia in the forms of cash for meals, housing, transportation to access health services, and allowances for self-isolation and COVID-19 tests.

Apart from CRM, the Kebaya Foundation also collected funds from individual donations and received international grants for handling COVID-19. They received assistance from two international donors: ViiV Healthcare and Bread for the World. From the collaboration of these two donor agencies, Kebaya Foundation had succeeded in organizing a COVID-19 emergency response program for transgender individuals by organising nine public kitchens, distributing basic necessities to 234 transwomen in Yogyakarta and 100 sex workers in Pasar Kembang (a red-light district since the Dutch colonial era), as well as organising a special public kitchen in Parangkusumo to help 75 PLWHA (people living with HIV/AIDS) and giving transportation cost allowances for

PLWHA in accessing antiretroviral drugs (ARVs). In addition, the Kebaya Foundation also held a series of workshops to develop COVID-19 protocols for sex workers and provided business stimulants to 16 individual and collective businesses.

In addition to that, Kebaya Foundation also opened a donation centre in July 2021 to help affected transgender individuals. This initiative was triggered by the deaths of eleven transwomen in Yogyakarta during the pandemic, of which seven of them died while in self-isolation without assistance from the government. Within seven days of collecting donations, IDR 146 million (around EUR 8,444) was collected and distributed to help 167 transwomen in Yogyakarta with basic necessities, masks, and medicines.

The fundraising stories conducted by transgender organisations above may be seen as success stories of how people were willing to help each other, especially the marginalised groups during difficult times like the pandemic – in a larger scale than usual. However, treating them as success stories may overshadow the main issue of the distrust to the government which failed to help vulnerable groups during the pandemic.

4.2.3 Discrimination against the Transgender Community: A Prolonged Pandemic?

Unlike society in general, gender and sexual minorities have experienced discrimination and social exclusion throughout history. Prior to the pandemic, these groups had very limited access to justice, identity cards, employment opportunities, and even they received threats and criminalisation agenda. The situation is exacerbated during the pandemic, which becomes a multidimensional crisis. When most of the social assistance programs during the pandemic required identity cards to access, many transgender people would not be able to access the programs because they do not have identity cards. During this public health crisis, many of them could not also receive health services if contracted by the coronavirus because their gender identity does not match the legal documents.

Discriminatory practices were also still felt by transgender groups in their efforts to get social assistance from the government. INTAN and Kebaya Foundation reported similar situations where neighbourhood association heads were transphobic and did not want to provide a domicile certificate for transgender individuals. Several rejection cases in burial services were also found by transgender organisations. For example, local officials in Sleman, Yogyakarta, complicated the funeral process for a transwoman who died during

the pandemic, even though the transwoman was a local resident. She was then transferred to a neighbouring province, Central Java, where the head of a hamlet was willing to accept her.

The discrimination faced by transgender groups during the pandemic was also related to their mobility and access to public transportation. Most transgender individuals, especially transwomen, work as buskers and sex workers because of their limitation in accessing formal employment and education. During the pandemic, they were often stigmatised as the spreaders of the coronavirus in their neighbourhoods. In terms of access to public transportation, when the Greater Jakarta Area intercity train required its passengers to provide additional documents in the form of a work certificate (Adri, 2021), several transwoman respondents said that they were denied service because they were considered ineligible passengers for not having a permanent 'work' destination.

The discrimination against the transgender community by public servants has been widely known. Not only public transportation officers, several discrimination cases where the actors came from public service and police officers were also found based on interview sessions with respondents in this research study. A transgender woman in Jakarta was verbally abused by a police officer at Polda Metro Jaya (the Greater Jakarta area police headquarters), where the person was seeking for simple service. A criminal case where a transgender woman was stabbed in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, did not proceeded by police officers and they blamed the victim instead for leaving the house during the local lockdown.

Some civil registry officers could also be the actors of discrimination. For example, a case of discrimination happened during the gender change application process. A civil servant at the civil registry office forced a transman to reveal his genital area even though he already provided a decision letter of gender reassignment from the court. Article 56 paragraph (1) of the Law No. 23/2006 on Population Administration stipulates that important events for which there have been a decision by a district court, including a change of gender, can be a legitimate proof to change someone's details on their ID cards, just by showing the decision letter. Thus, it is unnecessary for the civil servants to ask someone to reveal their private area in the case of a gender change request on identity cards.

Discrimination against transgender people is a prolonged pandemic that should be tackled. It has been widely spread across all levels of society, from rural villages to urban areas, from neighbourhood associations to law enforcement officers. One way to minimise the stigma and discrimination is by having meaningful and positive conversations and interactions between transgender and non-transgender people. (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). In Sikka, Maumere, East Nusa Tenggara, for example, stigma and discrimination against transgender people have been reduced since the transgender group created an active social movement. The transgender community has helped the local community by sharing basic necessities and sanitation products, thereby building trust and social openness from the community. It is proven that in the midst of this pandemic, Bunda Mayora, a transwoman, was elected to be the first transgender member of the BPD (Badan Perwakilan Desa, village representative body) in Indonesia and is actively working as a policymaker in the village.

> *'Indonesia is not only in Jakarta. Indonesia is not only the western part. Indonesia is also in the east, which many of us were born and live within the framework of a safe and peaceful Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity, the nation's official motto). If Maumere can be safe, if Maumere can love transgender people, if Maumere can love the LGBT community, why can't Jakarta? Why can't Indonesia? Bhinneka Tunggal Ika should be enough to love all types of diversity. On behalf of our friends who have experienced violence and discrimination, we ask you to please give us the opportunity to love Indonesia. How can we love Indonesia if Indonesia continues to bring us pain?', Bunda Mayora, Chairperson of Fajar Sikka.*

Most of the time, the transgender community has done their part. On the other side, the government needs to also do something to reduce stigma and discrimination against transgender people. 'The stigma that transgender is contagious, that transgender is a source of disease, or perhaps, that transgender is synonymous with criminal behaviour must be abolished', a transgender woman said. The negative stigma can be reduced through several initiatives from government agencies, such as the Ministry of Social Affairs that should exclude transgender people from being categorised as people with deviant behaviours in the PMKS (Kemensos, n.d.) and the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission that needs to stop banning all television and radio channels from airing men with feminine behaviour and mannerisms (CNN Indonesia, 2016; Taher, 2021).

The government should also have non-discriminatory mindset in every decision-making process. Once the regulations were produced, they should also be introduced to public officials, especially those who interact directly with the community so no one would experience discriminatory acts from public servants like a transman respondent who was asked by a civil registry employee to show his private area, even though the law clearly states that such act is not needed.

In a 2018 study about hate speech in Indonesia, in January and February alone, 45 hate speech cases were stated by state actors, including members of the parliaments and heads of local governments (Carolina, 2019). In relation to that, the CRM Consortium demanded that 'the government should stop producing policies, statements, or actions that lead to discrimination, persecution, and criminalisation of the LGBT group'. In addition, several local regulations to criminalise the LGBT community generally and transgender people specifically have been implemented or studied, including Pariaman City's Regional Regulation on Peace and Order, Bogor City's Draft Regional Regulation on Prevention and Eradication of Deviant Sexual Behaviors, and Depok City's Anti-LGBT Draft Regional Regulation (Sarbini & Has, 2020). As bodies that can cancel the city regional regulations by the Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Administration, governors should revoke these discriminatory regulations and prevent the same regulations to happen again.

In terms of the lockdown policy, there should be a different assistance mechanism for groups who cannot meet administrative requirements such as identity cards. Alternative regulations must be made to accommodate vulnerable groups without identity cards that really need help. For example, the Committee for Handling COVID-19 and National Economic Recovery could distribute the COVID-19 relief funds to specific communities through civil society organisations, such as transgender organisations. The committee, together with the Ministry of Health, could also be partnered with these organisations to distribute and record the vaccines for undocumented transgender people.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This research explored the rights of the transgender community from social inclusion perspectives, primarily related to the community's access to the National Economic Recovery program, the Indonesian government-funded COVID-19 relief funds. The researcher started this research study with three questions, moving gradually from a broader issue, which is social exclusion, to a specific study, which is the access of transgender people to the National Economic Recovery program. With three main research questions, this research study firstly investigated whether there is a relationship amongst gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location on social exclusion. Secondly, this research study analysed the differences in perceptions towards access to the National Economic Recovery program between transgender and non-transgender people. Lastly, this study conducted interviews to know how far the transgender community can access the National Economic Recovery program.

The questionnaire results revealed that gender identity, income class, employment status, age, and location are related to the perception of social exclusion. The results of this study suggest that transgender people are more prone to feel socially excluded compared to their cisgender counterparts. This study also shows that the higher income class and the more stable employment status may affect a lower feeling of social exclusion. Meanwhile, people who live in the capital city may feel more socially isolated than people outside the capital. In addition, the older the age group, the less they feel socially excluded. These results answered the first research question, showing that the relationship amongst income class, employment status, and age on social exclusion is negative, which means that the higher the income group, employment status, and age group, the less likely for respondents to fell socially excluded. For bivariate variables, respondents that live in Jakarta and are transgender feel more socially excluded than respondents that live outside Jakarta and are non-transgender.

Other questionnaire results also contributed to answering the difference in perceptions towards access to government-funded COVID-19 relief fund programs between transgender and non-transgender. Transgender people feel that NGOs help them more in accessing the funds, compared to neighbourhood associations. In contrast, non-transgender people believe that neighbourhood associations are more helpful. The results answered the second research problem, showing that the differences in perceptions

towards access to the National Economic Recovery program between transgender and non-transgender people were based on the actors who assisted them in accessing the relief program. Non-transgender respondents thought that the neighbourhood associations significantly helped them in accessing the program, while transgender respondents felt that NGOs were more actively providing assistance to them.

Some fundraising stories from this study indicate that transgender people did not wait for the government to help them. They believe that it is more difficult for them to access government funds than others because the current system lacks support for special cases, such as the transgender community. In many cases, transgender people do not have identity cards because they ran away from their families and hometown without bringing anything. However, since having an identity card is one of the requirements in accessing the relief funds, in addition to social exclusion they receive from neighbourhoods, transgender people are ones of the forgotten groups to receive the National Economic Recovery program benefits.

With all the prejudice and discrimination cases, there is hope for the transgender community in Indonesia. The Civil Registry Office has started to ease the process of creating identity cards for transgender people. Some municipalities are also having progress in transgender acceptance. Regions such as Maumere should be the benchmark for local societies and governments to be more transgender-friendly. These results answered the third research question, showing that even though there were no transgender-focused programs, the Indonesian government has tried to lessen its bureaucracy by easing the process of getting identity cards for transgender people so they can access the program. Furthermore, the possession of identity cards and social exclusion from neighbourhoods are two main constraints faced by the transgender community in accessing the National Economic Recovery program. This finding answered the last sub-question of the research study.

For development scholars, this research study provides insights on how the implementation of identity card-oriented social policy will potentially exclude the most alienated groups, such as transgender people, ethnic minorities, undocumented migrants, and homeless adolescents. Alternative mechanism should be set to accommodate these groups, as well as to speed up the development process.

The research study also contributes to the development of inclusive social policy. In implementing the top-down social policy, development scholars should also consider the cultural and social dynamics in society, so the policy can be beneficial for and accessed by the groups who are categorised as the underclass by the majority.

Finally, due to the limitation of this research study, it is essential to note that the results should not be generalised. However, the findings are worth to be taken into account in contributing to discussions that support the rights and well-being of marginalised groups, as well as in contributing to developing social policy strategies for marginalised communities, especially the transgender community.

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Appendix 1: SPSS Results

GenderId

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Cisgender	47	41.2	41.2	41.2
	Transgender	67	58.8	58.8	100.0
	Total	114	100.0	100.0	

Income

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Poor	9	7.9	7.9	7.9
	Vulnerable	21	18.4	18.4	26.3
	Aspiring middle class	38	33.3	33.3	59.6
	Middle class	41	36.0	36.0	95.6
	Upper class	5	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	114	100.0	100.0	

Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<20 years old	5	4.4	4.4	4.4
	20-30 years old	46	40.4	40.4	44.7
	30-40 years old	37	32.5	32.5	77.2
	40-50 years old	11	9.6	9.6	86.8
	50-60 years old	11	9.6	9.6	96.5
	>60 years old	4	3.5	3.5	100.0
	Total	114	100.0	100.0	

Employment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Unemployed	36	31.6	37.5	37.5
	Employed, part-time	33	28.9	34.4	71.9
	Employed, full-time	27	23.7	28.1	100.0
	Total	96	84.2	100.0	
Missing	System	18	15.8		
Total		114	100.0		

Correlations

			Exclusion1	GenderId	Income	Employment	Age	Location
Spearman's rho	Exclusion1	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.210*	-.198*	-.225*	-.239*	.088
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.025	.035	.027	.011	.351
		N	114	114	114	96	114	114
	GenderId	Correlation Coefficient	.210*	1.000	.257**	-.053	.097	-.099
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.025	.	.006	.608	.305	.293
		N	114	114	114	96	114	114
	Income	Correlation Coefficient	-.198*	.257**	1.000	.058	.060	.095
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.035	.006	.	.571	.523	.314
		N	114	114	114	96	114	114
	Employment	Correlation Coefficient	-.225*	-.053	.058	1.000	.016	-.033
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.027	.608	.571	.	.873	.747
		N	96	96	96	96	96	96
	Age	Correlation Coefficient	-.239*	.097	.060	.016	1.000	.102
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.305	.523	.873	.	.278
		N	114	114	114	96	114	114
	Location	Correlation Coefficient	.088	-.099	.095	-.033	.102	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.351	.293	.314	.747	.278	.
		N	114	114	114	96	114	114

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	4.532	.452		10.025	<.001		
	GenderId	.653	.202	.307	3.239	.002	.905	1.105
	Income	-.332	.107	-.298	-3.105	.003	.884	1.131
	Employment	-.239	.119	-.182	-2.011	.047	.991	1.009
	Age	-.232	.089	-.242	-2.611	.011	.952	1.051
	Location	.438	.208	.194	2.104	.038	.958	1.044

a. Dependent Variable: Exclusion1

Case Processing Summary

		N	Marginal Percentage
Exclusion1	Strongly disagree	12	12.5%
	Disagree	23	24.0%
	Neutral	29	30.2%
	Agree	30	31.3%
	Strongly agree	2	2.1%
Valid		96	100.0%
Missing		18	
Total		114	

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	238.321			
Final	207.045	31.276	5	<.001

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	260.573	251	.326
Deviance	181.149	251	1.000

Link function: Logit.

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	.278
Nagelkerke	.296
McFadden	.116

Link function: Logit.

Parameter Estimates

							95% Confidence Interval	
		Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Threshold	[Exclusion1 = 1]	-6.006	1.095	30.110	1	<.001	-8.152	-3.861
	[Exclusion1 = 2]	-4.290	1.008	18.113	1	<.001	-6.265	-2.314
	[Exclusion1 = 3]	-2.701	.948	8.118	1	.004	-4.560	-.843
	[Exclusion1 = 4]	.882	1.114	.627	1	.428	-1.301	3.064
Location	GenderId	1.321	.420	9.886	1	.002	.498	2.145
	Income	-.649	.223	8.500	1	.004	-1.086	-.213
	Employment	-.512	.242	4.456	1	.035	-.987	-.037
	Age	-.581	.187	9.688	1	.002	-.947	-.215
	Location	1.021	.429	5.662	1	.017	.180	1.862

Link function: Logit.

Test of Parallel Lines[a]

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Null Hypothesis	207.045			
General	193.454[b]	13.590[c]	15	.557

The null hypothesis states that the location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories.

a. Link function: Logit.

b. Maximum number of iterations were exceeded, and the log-likelihood value and/or the parameter estimates cannot converge.

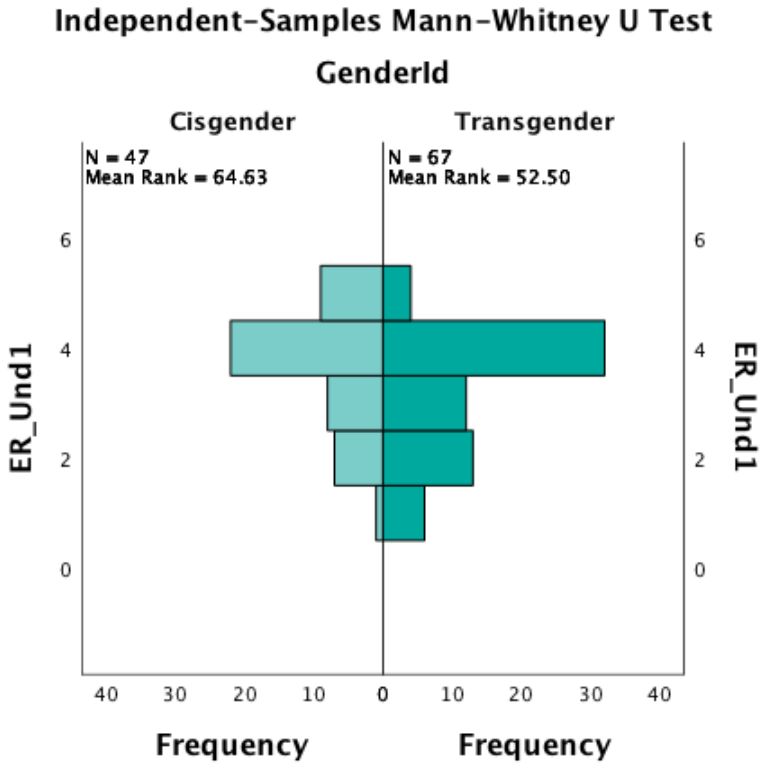
c. The Chi-Square statistic is computed based on the log-likelihood value of the last iteration of the general model. Validity of the test is uncertain.

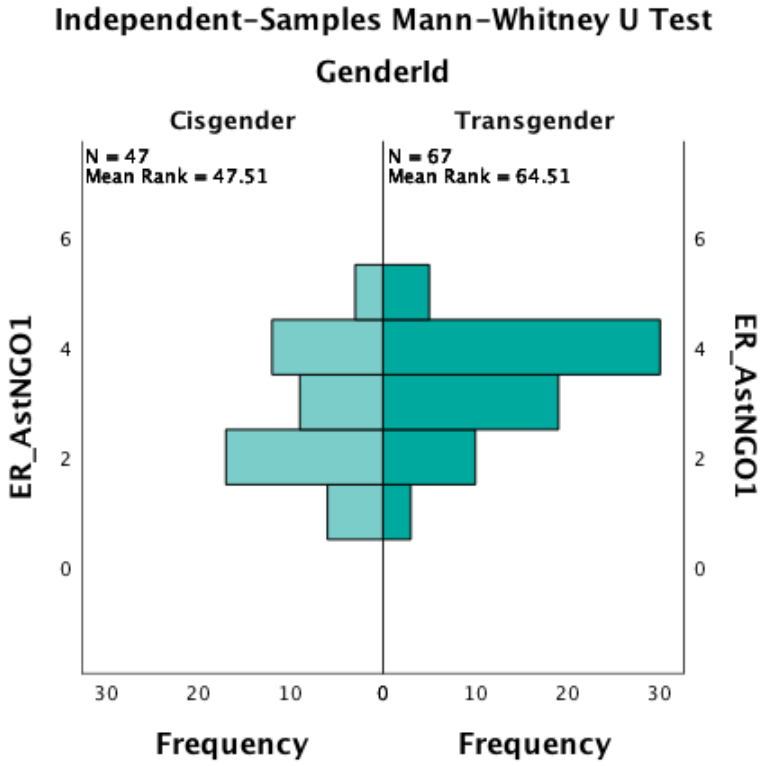
Hypothesis Test Summary

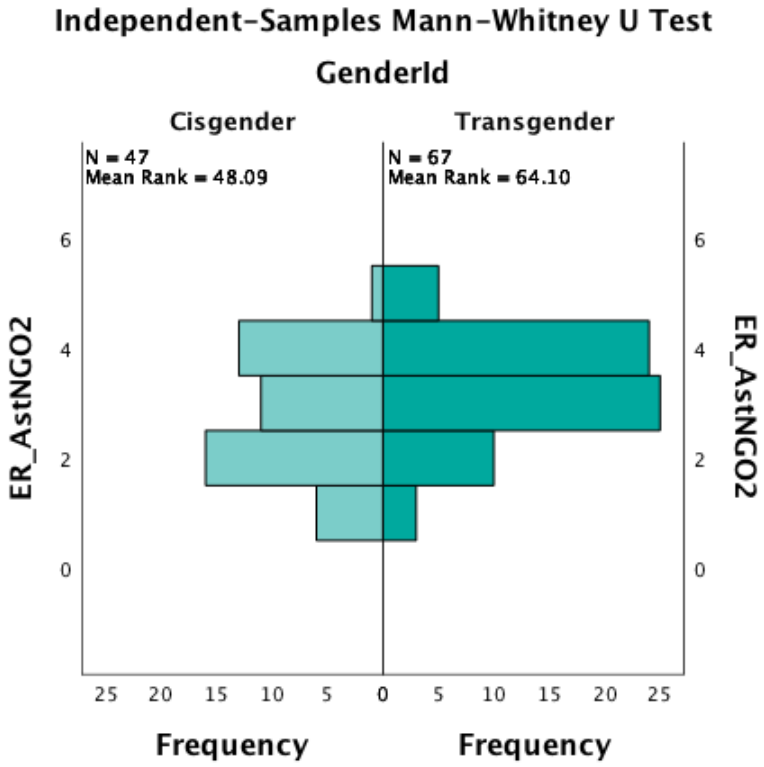
	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of ER_Und1 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.040	Reject the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of ER_Und2 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.300	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of ER_AstGov1 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.140	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of ER_AstGov2 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.070	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of ER_AstNGO1 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.005	Reject the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of ER_AstNGO2 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.008	Reject the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of ER_AstCom1 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.003	Reject the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of ER_AstCom2 is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.006	Reject the null hypothesis.
9	The distribution of ER_CstIncome is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.026	Reject the null hypothesis.
10	The distribution of ER_CstIdentity is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.579	Retain the null hypothesis.
11	The distribution of ER_CstEmployment is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.107	Retain the null hypothesis.
12	The distribution of ER_CstIDCard is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.501	Retain the null hypothesis.
13	The distribution of ER_CstLocation is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.966	Retain the null hypothesis.
14	The distribution of ER_CstRelation is the same across categories of GenderId.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.492	Retain the null hypothesis.

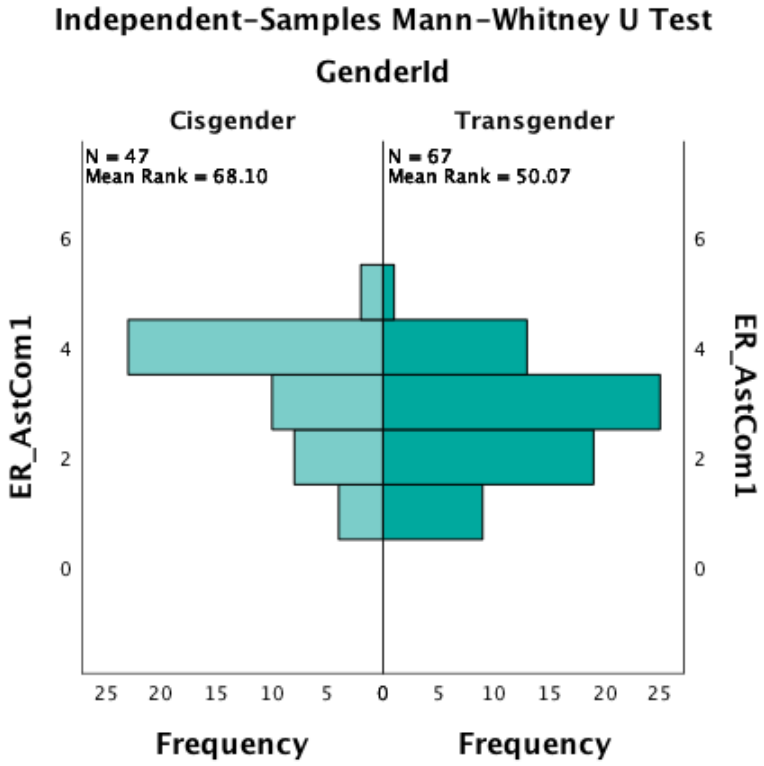
a. The significance level is .050.

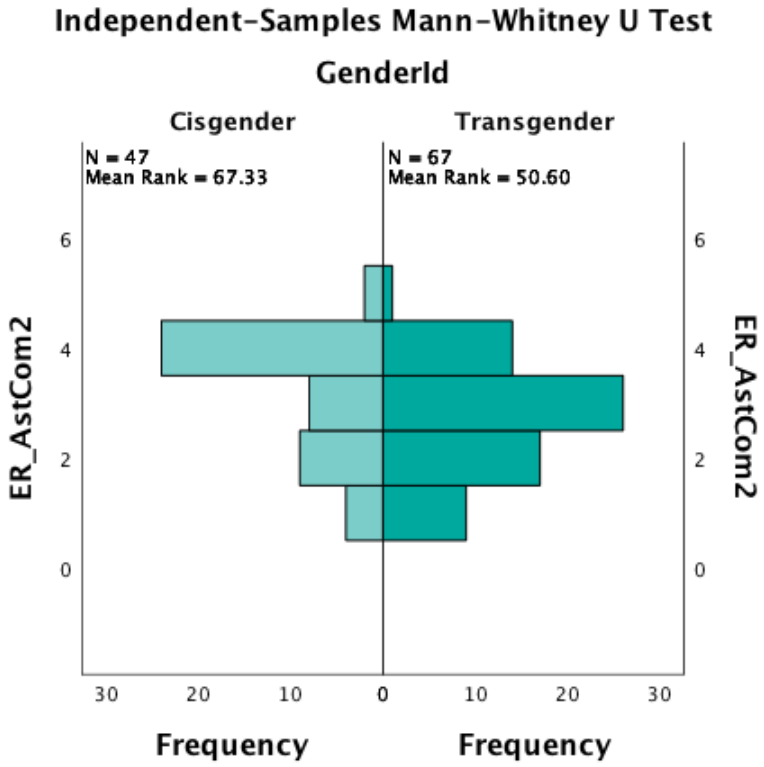
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

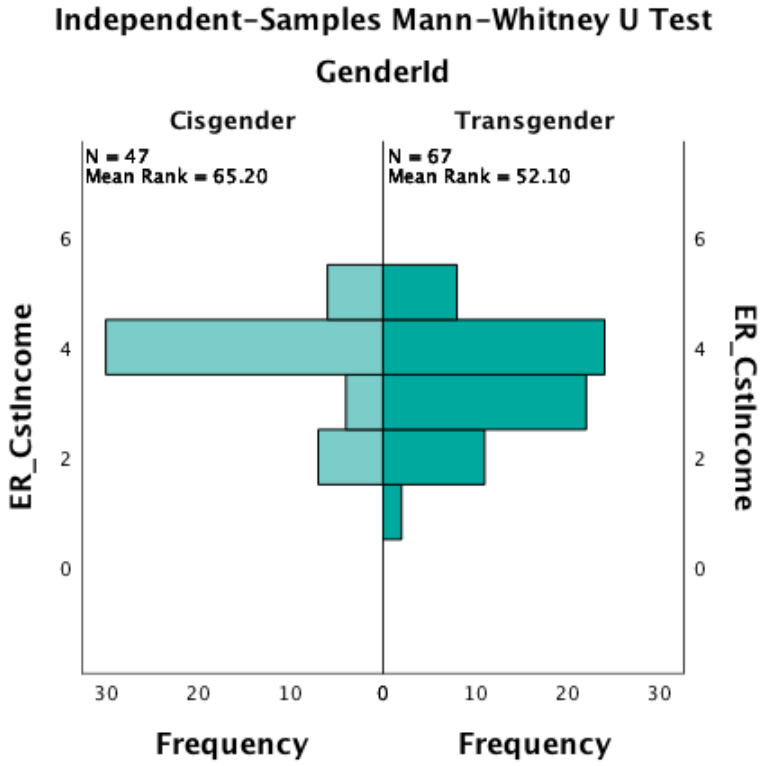

Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test
GenderId
Cisgender
Transgender
N = 47
Mean Rank = 64.63
N = 67
Mean Rank = 52.50
ER_Und1
ER_Und1
6
4
2
0
40
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
Frequency
Frequency


Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test
GenderId
Cisgender
Transgender
N = 47
Mean Rank = 47.51
N = 67
Mean Rank = 64.51
ER_AstNGO1
ER_AstNGO1
6
4
2
0
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
Frequency
Frequency


Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test
GenderId
Cisgender
Transgender
N = 47
Mean Rank = 48.09
N = 67
Mean Rank = 64.10
ER_AstNGO2
ER_AstNGO2
0
2
4
6
25 20 15 10 5 0 5 10 15 20 25
Frequency
Frequency


Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test
GenderId
Cisgender
Transgender
N = 47
Mean Rank = 68.10
N = 67
Mean Rank = 50.07
ER_AstCom1
ER_AstCom1
0
2
4
6
25 20 15 10 5 0 5 10 15 20 25
Frequency
Frequency


Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test
GenderId
Cisgender
Transgender
N = 47
Mean Rank = 67.33
N = 67
Mean Rank = 50.60
ER_AstCom2
ER_AstCom2
6
4
2
0
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
Frequency
Frequency


Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test
GenderId
Cisgender
Transgender
N = 47
Mean Rank = 65.20
N = 67
Mean Rank = 52.10
ER_CstIncome
ER_CstIncome
6
4
2
0
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
Frequency
Frequency

Appendix 2: Stata Results

```
. ologit Exclusion1 GenderId Income Employment Age Location

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -135.16838
Iteration 1:   log likelihood =  -119.9164
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -119.53088
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -119.53032
Iteration 4:   log likelihood = -119.53032

Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =         96
                                                LR chi2(5)        =      31.28
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -119.53032                     Pseudo R2         =     0.1157
```

Exclusion1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
GenderId	1.321227	.4211612	3.14	0.002	.4957662	2.146688
Income	-.6493058	.2222989	-2.92	0.003	-1.085004	-.213608
Employment	-.5117719	.2393972	-2.14	0.033	-.9809818	-.0425619
Age	-.5812688	.2013712	-2.89	0.004	-.9759491	-.1865885
Location	1.021167	.4317369	2.37	0.018	.1749785	1.867356
/cut1	-6.006466	1.08335			-8.129793	-3.883139
/cut2	-4.289744	.9972572			-6.244332	-2.335155
/cut3	-2.70149	.9357621			-4.53555	-.8674298
/cut4	.8817786	1.082073			-1.239046	3.002603

```
. ologit Exclusion1 GenderId Income Employment Age Location, or

Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -135.16838
Iteration 1:   log likelihood =  -119.9164
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -119.53088
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -119.53032
Iteration 4:   log likelihood = -119.53032

Ordered logistic regression                     Number of obs     =         96
                                                LR chi2(5)        =      31.28
                                                Prob > chi2       =     0.0000
Log likelihood = -119.53032                     Pseudo R2         =     0.1157
```

Exclusion1	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
GenderId	3.748017	1.578519	3.14	0.002	1.641756	8.556469
Income	.5224083	.1161308	-2.92	0.003	.3379006	.8076649
Employment	.5994325	.1435025	-2.14	0.033	.3749428	.9583311
Age	.5591884	.1126044	-2.89	0.004	.3768345	.8297851
Location	2.776434	1.198689	2.37	0.018	1.191221	6.471163
/cut1	-6.006466	1.08335			-8.129793	-3.883139
/cut2	-4.289744	.9972572			-6.244332	-2.335155
/cut3	-2.70149	.9357621			-4.53555	-.8674298
/cut4	.8817786	1.082073			-1.239046	3.002603

Note: Estimates are transformed only in the first equation.