

The Identity of Garut Transgenders in Social Media

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Abstract: *The background of this research is the use of social media by transgenders in the Garut Regency, although the transgender issue is contradictory to Indonesian values. This qualitative research uses the Rational Choice Theory to analyze social media usage as an identity for transgenders in the Garut Regency. The data are collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and literature study. The results show that transgenders use social media as an associative interaction. It shows their identity by 'behaving gender' and expressing the 'sense of we' as Sundanese women.*

Keywords: *Garut, social media, Sundanese culture, transgender*

Abstrak: *Latar belakang penelitian ini adalah penggunaan media sosial oleh transgender di Garut, meskipun isu transgender bertentangan dengan nilai umum masyarakat di Indonesia. Metode penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggunakan teori pilihan rasional. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah menganalisis pemanfaatan media sosial sebagai identitas transgender di Kabupaten Garut. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan studi pustaka. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa transgender di Garut memanfaatkan media sosial dalam interaksi asosiatif yang menunjukkan identitas mereka dengan cara 'berperilaku gender' dan berbagi 'rasa yang sama' sebagai perempuan Sunda.*

Kata Kunci: *budaya Sunda, Garut, media sosial, transgender*

INTRODUCTION

Social media is very popular among Indonesian people. Almost all categories of social media users in Indonesia can be properly identified, including categories of media users based on gender, occupation, age, education level, and income level. Social media has become an increasingly popular leisure activity over the last decade, though most people's social media use is non-problematic, a small number of users appear to engage in social media excessively and/or compulsively (Andreassen et al., 2017, p. 1). Social media has become a

widely discussed media form, since users can share their opinions, emotions, and thoughts without having to impose self-censorship and because its content is created primarily by users (Gündüz, 2017, pp. 90–91).

Transgenders as social media users become uniqueness in Garut Regency. Like mass media, social media have the ability to transport their logic outside of the platforms that generate them, while their distinctive technological, discursive, economic, and organizational strategies with four main elements for: programmability, popularity,

connectivity, and datafication (van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p. 5).

Some of these transgender accounts even have a large number of followers. The social media for transgenders in Garut also shows the characteristics of the ethnic culture of the user's origin, namely Sundanese culture through the written language in the media display. Therefore, the background of this research is the existence of transgenders in Garut Regency present their identity on social media in terms of Sundanese ethnic culture considering that they are social media users even though the topic of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) is sensitive in Indonesian society.

Based on pre-research data, the number of transgenders assisted by Social Services in 2016 was 16 transgenders with the age range of 20-30 years. Based on data from the Indonesian Family Planning Association (PKBI) Garut, in 2018, 170 transgender women were coached. However, more transgenders are not registered because they are now scattered in several areas of the Garut Regency and do not reveal their identity of transgender except in the transgender community. Meanwhile, data from the Garut Regency AIDS Prevention Commission recorded no more than 200 people and there was no significant increase. In fact, there was decrease in the number of transgender people in 2019 due to migration to other cities and death.

The need to interact with the same community from other areas encourages high usage of social media because of the need

to maintain the existence of transgenders in society through social media. From the researchers' pre-observations, whether they are among non-problematic users, or appear to engage in social media excessively and/or compulsively, remains to be explored. The formation of communities on social media is because users feel they have found ways to interact with each other and convey ideas and hopes, so social media accounts grow and are used based on the characteristics of the user group, which in this research refers to the characteristics of the Sundanese ethnic group. Based on the results of previous research, the use of media as a means entertainment among people in Garut occupies the highest position compared to the use of media as a means of information and education (Raturahmi, 2018, p. 221).

Transgendered persons who find this apparent contradiction between sex and gender identity a source of intense discomfort, experience disgust with their bodies, or have difficulty functioning socially as a result of their gender dysphoria, may be diagnosed with Gender Identity Disorder (GID) and also have diverse experiences that make it difficult to draw general conclusions about biology and gender identity (Looy & Bouma III, 2005, pp. 168–170). Social environmental factors when a person grows up and differences in family parenting patterns are triggers for the emergence of transgender (Barmawi & Silmi, 2016, p. 381).

In Indonesia, there are only two sexes legally recognized, women and

men. Transgenders have to choose whether to become men or women to be legally recognized by law. The cause of their changes is no different from transgender people in other areas caused by psychological and sociocultural factors in which parenting plays a major role in shaping the character that ultimately makes them choose to become transgender. Thus, when the transgender group in Garut shows different gender role with their gender identity, the Garut community rejects their existence with a stigma. Stigma is a social process in the form of labeling, stereotyping, and rejection of differences between people as a form of social control that makes some transgender individuals choose to undergo social transition (e.g., changing name, pronouns, gender expression) and/or medical transition (e.g., cross-sex hormones, surgery) to align their gender expression with their gender identity, while others choosing to have an outside gender expression or identity traditional gender binary (Hughto et al., 2015, p. 222).

Transgender in this research is an umbrella term referring to all people living within, between, and/or beyond the gender binary, which may also be used to denote an individual gender identity (Sumerau et al., 2018, p. 3). The experiences of individuals who are transgender in social media face difficulties and marginalization as they continue to have difficulty establishing authentic relationships which often result in feelings of shame and fear among transgender individuals (Cannon et al., 2017, p. 83). Public sentiment generally

turned supportive as time went on where positive sentiment occurs through a long transition period that is generally difficult for transgender people and the people around them (Haimson, 2019, p. 756).

This research uses the Rational Choice Theory from James S. Coleman to identify the collective experience of using social media by transgenders in Garut. The purpose of the Rational Choice Theory is to explain social phenomena by assuming rational choice at the actor's level that an actor chooses an alternative that he/she believes brings about a social outcome that optimizes his/her preference under subjectively conceived constraints (Sato, 2013, p. 1). The formal components of rational choice theory for the internalists are beliefs, desires, and preferences are actual mental entities having motivational force; whereas, for the externalists, they are more than instrumental concepts that describe external conduct, i.e., the observable behavior influenced by contextual variables that accommodating identity to socially typified behavior can have a symbolic utility and thus be incorporated into an individual's utility function as the preference of a person for expressing their social being (Aguiar & de Francisco, 2008, p. 18). Also, behaviors, ideas, and beliefs, are produced by interpreting context and behavior in micro and macro levels in community. To the transgender community, a macro level intervention contains more inclusive language is an excellent example, and at the micro level intervention such as referring to a person by the pronouns and

name they utilize is a small action that has a great impact on one's self-esteem (Pazolt, 2020, p. 80).

In light of persistent discrimination, many individuals who are transgender lack a safe space to connect with others where social media has become a platform for establishing social ties, receiving education, and sharing resources that may not otherwise be available to individuals on the margins of society that the possible benefits and hindrances of social media for individuals who are transgender (Cannon et al., 2017, p. 78). While doing gender means creating differences between girls and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological with many situations are not clearly sex categorized to begin with, nor is what transpires within them obviously gender relevant (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 138).

In this phenomenon of media use by transgenders, the factors that foster the existence of transgenders on social media are the opportunity and space to communicate. It means that this interaction grows because there is an opportunity to communicate their ideas and also a media as a forum to communicate. In the Garut Regency, transgenders form a community so that speech participants are formed as users of a language combined with the regional language.

Even though several research studies have explored transgenders practice in social and/or digital media, this study explores actual social media use by local transgenders in the Sundanese community.

The main aim of this research is to develop a framework for understanding and analysing the usage of social media as a means of identity formation for transgender people in the Garut Regency. This research may contribute to readers and the community on how we understand the behavior of Garut Transgender as community members who build their social norms and systems to achieve balance in society.

METHOD

This research is a qualitative descriptive study. The theoretical approach used in this study is the Theory of Rational Choice from James S. Coleman which emphasizes the existence of a micro-level foundation to explain macro-level phenomena with the main elements of actors and resources that lead to collective behavior and norms. Two mechanisms or processes are analyzed to explain how the purpose of Theory of Rational Choice is realized: choice by actors and the macro-micro-macro transition which Theory of Rational Choice assumes that an actor chooses an alternative that he/she believes brings about a social outcome that optimizes his/her preference under subjectively conceived constraints (Sato, 2013, p. 1).

Data collection techniques were carried out through interviews with five informants and observations on the research subject's social media accounts. Researchers conducted interviews regarding media communication acts. Secondary data or supporting data was obtained through media users and literature reviews from previous research references. Data validity checking

was carried out through source triangulation to Eneng Rita a Transgender Community Outreach officer from Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia and Garut Regency Social Service.

Data collection in this research was carried out with the consent of the informant. With the principle of respecting participant autonomy; explanation to participants about the degree and duration of involvement without negative consequences of the research; preventing and minimizing losses and/or increasing benefits for all participants; respect the participant's personality, family and the values that matter to the participant; as well as ensuring that the benefits and consequences of research are distributed equally. Informant participation in this research was carried out by ensuring the confidentiality and identity of the informant. Information provided in this research used for the development of science and not for other purposes.

FINDINGS

Transgender Behavior in Using Social Media as a Resource of Interaction

Firstly, in this research, due to confidentiality considerations, informants' names were disguised in this report. The informants were:

Based on the research results, it is a long process that occurs in a man until he can play his role as transgender. Transgender in Garut first reveal their identity to their closest groups such as friends, then to other people who are willing to accept their situation as transgender, and finally to their families. Society's negative opinion of transgender occurs because in general, it is difficult for society to accept the existence of transgender groups. It is also hard to give transgenders a respected position in society. Thus, informants reveal their transgender identity in stages. First, transgender start with people who accept their situation, and the next disclosure stage is made to people who once alienated them. They promote themselves as transgender on social media, which means they are ready to do self-disclosure to the public, as shown in the research findings from informant 2 as follows Figure 2.

The meaning of the statement in Figure 1 is: "If anyone needs a friend, you can contact this number. Don't ask whether this belongs to a woman or a man, the important thing is that you call immediately". This informant has reached the stage of self-disclosure as transgender in the media space and addressed to anyone who reads her status. However, this informant still chose

Table 1 Detailed Information About Research Informants

Number	Informant's Name	Age	Profession
1	G	20	Dancer & Hairdresser
2	DMAD	21	Singer
3	AE	-	Make-up Artist, Singer & Sex Worker
4	R	22	Entrepreneur
5	D	29	Singer

Source: Primary Data (2019-2020)



Figure 1 Sundanese Language in Social Media Space

Source: Primary Data (2019-2020)

to undergo social transition by changing their name and using girls' make-up to align their gender expression with their gender identity. This showed the courage to fight stereotypes about transgender, by letting the public know that they are dealing with a transgender person.

The most used social media for these informants are *Facebook* and *Instagram* to update status, comments, direct messages, and personal chat. The social interaction is in the form of a combination of communication and expression of feelings when the informant uploads activities in their daily life in the form of a status statement, a short video post, or a selfie photo. Informants try to differentiate their posts in the media space so that their social

media accounts are in the spotlight.

According to the informant 1 and 3, social media has become a new space for interaction through the status update feature by uploading photos and videos on *WhatsApp*, *Instagram*, and *Facebook*. Their status expresses their feelings and is also a means of communication from friends, or trusted family members. This is not the same as the real world, when people interact to each other, there are rules in that interaction. But in social media, the advantage felt by informants is that they are not confined by rules and interactions, so they gain new freedom in their media space. Another freedom of media space is through the use of distinctive language, as listed in the following table 2.

Table 2 The Special Word in Transgenders Social Media Space

Number	Transgenders Words	Meanings in Bahasa	Meanings in English
1	<i>apose</i>	<i>Apa</i>	what is it?
2	<i>bancakan</i>	<i>Banci</i>	Sissy
3	<i>cucok</i>	<i>bagus, sesuai, keren</i>	nice, cool
4	<i>duta</i>	<i>Uang</i>	Money
5	<i>endess</i>	<i>Enak</i>	Delicious
6	<i>gedes</i>	<i>Besar</i>	Big
7	<i>habiba</i>	<i>Habis</i>	Empty
8	<i>jendes</i>	<i>Janda</i>	widow, single
9	<i>koling-koling</i>	<i>Telepon</i>	Call
10	<i>lambreta</i>	<i>Lama</i>	Slow
11	<i>manjah</i>	<i>manja/sayang</i>	spoil/darling
12	<i>nurjana</i>	<i>Norak</i>	Tacky

Number	Transgenders Words	Meanings in Bahasa	Meanings in English
13	<i>organda</i>	<i>Orang</i>	Human
14	<i>pancaroba</i>	<i>pasangan/kekasih</i>	Partner
15	<i>sindang</i>	<i>Sini</i>	Here
16	<i>tinta</i>	<i>Tidak</i>	No

Source: Primary Data (2019-2020)

Table 2 shows they use their special words to show their existence to be known by the public through social media. These special words are a means between the informant and followers without any limitations of space, time, and activity. The content of the interactions usually consists of light and informal conversations, containing everyday discussions, interspersed with several terms in Sundanese e.g *bancakan*. It also shows that the target of the message is young people aged between 15-30 years and have Sundanese cultural background. The informants defined themselves by asserting themselves through status statements using Sundanese, or through posting photos and videos on social media to achieve a new self-image and public recognition as Sundanese women.

Besides, in the philosophies of Sundanese people, the ones who are considered good people are those who are honest and wise, which is shown through communication behavior. This communication behavior is done as an effort to convey ideas, feelings, and hopes to the interlocutor for a specific purpose, which in transgender communication habits is a special message within their community or in situations where the conversation contains confidential matters. All informants interact with transgender communities from other regions through

social media to maintain their existence using transgender language and symbols.

Somehow, these transgender social media accounts contradict the reality of their lives because of the stigma that they behave defiantly and have the potential to sexually transmitted diseases. Some of them are isolated from the community and considered to be against religious norms and detrimental to society. When the transgender group in Garut showed their existence, the people of Garut rejected their existence. This is in accordance with findings from previous research that transgender people often carry a negative stigma based on their appearance which tends to be outside the general norms accepted by local society (Khasan & Sujoko, 2018, p. 105).

Based on research findings, the form of interaction on social media that occurs on their social media accounts is dissociative and associative conditions. Dissociative conditions include criticism in the comments column and personal chat. This criticism generally contains recommendations for transgender people to return to their nature as men and stop appearing as women. Associative conditions arise in the form of support from followers of their social accounts who like the appearance and interactions of transgenders. For all informants, this associative condition encouraged them

to actively share information about their transgender identity in their social media spaces. Interaction through the comments column is an ongoing interaction and usually more interactive communication occurs because it is based on things that are understood and liked by the informants and their followers.

In using their social media accounts, the informants do not set specific rules for speaking, choice of language, or anything related to the topic of conversation. However, they will ignore comments that make the informant feel unhappy, or the informant will occasionally give a warning so that there are no more problems in the future. The social interactions they carry out through social media aim to increase associative communication in the form of attention from other people, praise, and getting emotional support regarding their condition as transgender. Even if something dissociative happens, such as an insult to their account, this will be ignored. This is in accordance with informant 4's statement, who can still use their media space peacefully even though dissociative situations occur because they adhere to Sundanese cultural principles *sareudeuk saigel sabobot sapihanean* which means always being in one rhythm, harmonious, respecting each other, and not being hostile to each other.

The 5th informant chooses not to argue in the social media space because she wanted to live peacefully in accordance with the central *sineger* concept of Sundanese culture, and to be in line with Sundanese philosophy *pangartina sundek, tara aya pikiran nu panjang, paribasana oge jadi jelema kudu tungkul ka*

jukut, tanggah ka sadapan, nyindiran jalan katemenan ngawulana ka saha nu karasa ngayuga ka pribadina. This concept means that being human must be modest and try to do good for everyone. This is the life choice of the informants with Sundanese's values, as a person who are able to live in harmony, peace, able to give in, avoid conflict, and able to do good to others. The shared perceptions and feelings as a Sundanese community, that constitute the shared 'sense of we' motivate informants to act together in the name of Sundanese Culture thus generating a sense of cultural identity.

The Norms for Transgender people in Using Social Media

Transgenders in Garut Regency use social media for several purposes. Based on interviews with all informants, they use social media to show their existence to get recognition from their social environment, then self-actualization as professionals in making a living, and also as a means of promoting the goods and services. All of these goals are packaged in beautiful, successful and luxurious feminine attributions. Roles, privileges, and norms are then enacted through different forms of visualization in their social media. According to all informants, self-actualization through social media by publicizing a luxurious and glamorous personal life is done to equalize identity with other women in general who are fond of showing off through social media. They also upload their professional activities to increase job opportunities by promoting them on social media, as shown in the research findings from informants 3 as follows.



Figure 2 Norms in Social Media Space
Source: Primary Data (2019-2020)

Research findings from Figure 2, show that she often uploads photos as content on *Facebook* and get appreciated. It shows informant's behavior through the use of Sundanese cultural symbols in social media space are the same cultural norms as their followers. Informants use Sundanese ethnic language, make up and women's clothing from a traditional Sundanese wedding as norms in the social media space emphasize its position of respect for heritage ancestors according to Sundanese philosophy *geus pageuh pisan adatna urang Sunda ngukuhan kana babasan (cacandran) nini akina, pokna ciri sabumi cara sadesa, pangasuhna indung hukum bapa darigama*. This Sundanese philosophy means that a person's Sundanese customs must be strong as a legacy from their parents and ancestors.

Research findings also show that social media was an option for informants to simply share information and also to increase income by uploading interesting photos or videos through constructing her self-identity as transgender, as stated by informant 2 below:

Social media is a means for me to show my everyday life, such as my makeup and outfit, or also my professional life as an entertainer. Of course, this social media changed my life as a transgender. Previously in my social life, I was often inferior and cautious in revealing my transgender identity because my family often scolded me because they feel embarrassed. But when social media trends, I feel free. I can show my identity, without feeling burdened by my family. I know that some people blaspheme me on social media, but I don't want to respond harshly. Sundanese women are polite and

gentle, and I try to be like that. Although my heart was deeply hurt by their harsh statements, I tried to understand and forgive. They just haven't been able to accept our existence as transgender people, but I'm sure one day they will. (DMAD, singer, interview, 19 June 2019)

This is the popularity concept, which means persons communicating on social media have to be popular to attract followers and 'likes'. Informants communicate on social media to be popular, to attract followers and 'likes'. In this externalization process, transgenders try to adapt and construct themselves to be as equals as beautiful, gentle, and glamorous women. This popularity concept also stated by informant 3 below:

I interact on social media because I believe other people can accept me as transgender. It turns out, every day, there are people who are willing to chat with me, and want to meet me. I will definitely respond to that request. (AE, makeup artist, interview, 4 February 2020)

This shows that transgenders in the process of internalization have confidence in their life choices as a transgender and they can contribute to people's lives, as stated by the Informant 5 that she dressed up because she feels more confident even only to post a photo on social media. Being pretty make her feel happy, so others will be happy too. Informant realized that she might not be able to give much contribution to the community, but still want to be accepted as a real woman, who is able to share happiness with many people. These statements from informant 3 and 5 show that their identities are predicated, in part,

on community embracement of the relevant identity as a highly salient part of their personal identity and sense of self. And also, it shows how their Sundanese values and life choices are also based on the judgment of others around them.

Due to the discrimination against transgenders, informants stated that they often feel uncomfortable and unsafe when interacting with other people. Social media has helped them build social connections, popularity, and strengthening their individuality in authenticity as transgender. Their Sundanese belief helps them to show that they are a part of the Sundanese community. This cultural identity shows that the internalization process, which comes from their childhood, has built their self-confidence to becoming a Sundanese woman as their identity, and that being transgender is the desired life choice.

They transformed into true Sunda as in Sanskrit Sunda means shining brightly. They are good, beautiful, superior, and pretty human beings, and also friendly, polite, gentle, and respectful of elders, young love, and religious. Besides the externalization process that comes from the recognition of their existence, also ensures that the choice of life to be transgender does not conflict with community values. This is shown by the large number of followers who enjoyed each of their uploads, made positive comments, and supported them by sharing, interacting, and talking on the informant's social media account. Connectivity in this research shows the existence of reciprocal formation between users, platforms, and online performative environments between

account owners and their followers which may differ geographically or demographically.

The forms of interaction that occur in using this media are daily interactions and spontaneous interactions. Daily interactions are free and contain information about the informant's daily activities and work, which is then responded to by followers through the comment feature. Meanwhile, spontaneous interactions contain special posts, sometimes very personal, but still get responses from account followers. This shows that public sentiment in their social media space generally turned supportive as time went on. Based on research findings, researchers describe the model as follows Figure 3.

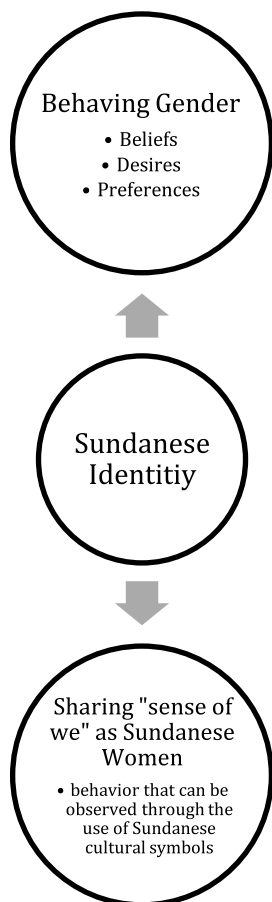


Figure 3 Models of Transgender Identity in the Garut Regency

Source: Primary Data (2019-2020)

DISCUSSION

By using Sundanese language in their social media, informants show their cultural identity, and also as the connectivity concept that was stated by Van Dijck and Poell. They share and interact with followers though this connectivity is a double-edged sword. Some followers appreciate the posts and connect them to like-minded people, preferred items, or individualized tastes; others loathe posts as a signal of intruded privacy or exploitation of user information. This connectivity also obscures problems associated with control, giving the wrong impression that interactions are in an equal position. This was because their collective identity as women and their identities who were born as men were different.

They shared a 'sense of we' as Sundanese people, as seen in status, so other's perceptions and feelings may act together in the name of their collective agency. When they are activated or infused effectively and morally in everyday social media life, it means that they have been transformed into collective identities. They show some ethical values of the Sundanese culture that represent prosperity and kindness through their outlook on life, language, and behavior in social media. When their followers respond to their social media appearance through Sundanese conversations, these transgenders also respond in Sundanese, accompanied by typical Sundanese behavior that is friendly and humorous.

Furthermore, the interaction of transgenders by using Sundanese slang e.g

bancakan, is a form of individual action in the form of associative interactions among transgenders in their social media communication. This associative interaction also occurs in the agreement of symbols through clothing, makeup, and hair, as well as facial and gestural expressions that appear in short photos or videos on the status of transgender social media. This was a form of objectivation and as stated by West & Zimmerman “doing gender” when they referred to themselves as Sundanese women with beliefs, desires, and preferences.

Based on the information from Eneng Rita, a Transgender Community Field Outreach officer at PKBI Garut Regency, most of the transgenders change their physical characteristics to resemble women’s bodies. They also change their character to be gentler and more feminine. As this study focuses on their gender difference, their new identity; is maintained and changed through community actions and interactions. This new objectivity occurs through the repeated affirmation of Sundanese Woman as their formal components of beliefs and desires.

Collective identities and personal identities are still very much interconnected in the sense that collective identities are predicated, in part, on constituents’ embracement of the relevant collective identity as a highly salient part of their personal identity and sense of self. While the attribution or avowal of all identities is interactionally contingent, these collective identities tend to be more fluid, tentative,

and transient than either categorically based social identities or even personal identities.

The analysis revealed acts of resistance toward media use, especially some elder informants, that the feminine narratives were their manifestations of “doing gender” on social media. This is a form of existence of their gender difference as their micro-level foundation, though Sundanese culture does not accept the “doing gender”. In many ancestral stories, Sundanese culture only recognizes the sexes of men and women, along with the gender roles attached to these genders. Although these transgenders have made a lot of efforts for society’s acceptance, they are still sexual deviants to the community. Their marginal behavior in competitive situations in which selective pressures screen out those who do not maximize dominant public values.

The form of objectivation and also as stated by West & Zimmerman “doing gender” when they referred to themselves as Sundanese women. This collective identity referred to the Sundanese view of human relations with society ‘Siger Tengah’ or ‘Middle Siger’ in positioning themselves in every situation. ‘Siger Tengah’ philosophy help them connect and has the potential to reshape existing relations between public and private interests. Their interaction forms – ‘Silih asah’ (improve each other equally), ‘silih asih’ (love each other), and ‘silih asuh’ (mutual care) - are the foundation of Sundanese relationships in their society. Their Sundanese behavior show social dilemmas that are affected by many variables, such as heterogeneity of

their followers which consists of various groups of users who support and do not support them.

The explanation above refers to the interaction between actors and resources. Social media is a resource that attracts attention and can be controlled by the perpetrators, where the actors in this research finding are transgender social media users. then in this case there are hundreds, even thousands of actors involved in the use of social media systems where they are attracted to each other, need each other, and also control each other. Undoubtly, each of them has their respective goals, but in general, it can be concluded that they are looking for recognition of the complex existence in the system of gender division of society that only recognizes men and women.

Referring to the division of social groups in society, the social groups formed through the similarity of objective values in the use of social media of transgender people are in the form of informal-secondary social groups. Members of this community have the awareness and factors in common that they understand how these men use feminine attributions to themselves in finding self-happiness and understand the purpose of maintaining the existence of transgenders in formal groups of society through self-existence on social media. Whereas if it refers to the different sex categories, namely the biological sex category and the cultural sex category, what these transgender people do is an effort to rid themselves of their physiological

nature and then defend themselves from social pressure by only receiving support externally and ignoring those who reject them. Then the transgenders may feel that they are in a social group that accepts their existence culturally, a Sundanese community.

Social media for the transgender community is currently used as a means and supporting media for the activities of transgenders. Some use social media to gain professional recognition as a singer or makeup artist to be accepted by the public, some use it as a base for 'commercial sex workers' who were originally on the road now shifting to social media. Transgender people tend to get negative stigma from the community because they are considered to have no ability and can only be the perpetrators of social deviation.

In micro-macro relationships, or how a combination of individual actions leads to social system behavior, it can be seen how each transgender user of social media states their needs and relies on one another to strengthen and acknowledge their existence in extensive social connectivity through social media, founded on the notion of sharing, interacting, and talking. Their collective behavior and norms are recognizing the rights that an individual has towards another individual and that a person has the right to determine his gender role even though his gender contradicts the prevailing gender role in the society in which the individual is located. In this case, what these men do, who dress up and behave as women, is a right. These transgender people

maximize their existence by mobilizing awareness of their rights on social media. Massive posts, then only accept followers who support the existence of transgender, are a form of control in transgender social media norms.

They control the subtle and simultaneous use of other social media users to acknowledge their existence as transgender so that in the end there is a balance of norms. Other members of society are forced to accept and cannot blame transgender behavior because this is considered a human norm, even though in the culture of Sundanese culture where transgender are not accepted. So, in this case, what arises is a consensus to prevent imbalances due to transgender collective behavior. These are the simple micro-foundations that they were actors using cultural resources to pursue their interests.

Concerning the first concept of van Dijck and Poell, programmability, these transgenders through their interaction influence communication and information activated by the Sundanese trans platform. This shows that when informants use social media, it can trigger and steer informant's creative or communicative contributions, and through their interaction with their followers, may in turn influence the flow of communication and information activated by their media platform. Their communicative environment such as 'liking', 'sharing', and 'friending', affect their follower's relations and interactions. They had the ability of a social media platform to trigger and steer their creative or communicative

contributions. Their collective norm on social media life was realizing Sundanese culture as their macro norms represented by their programmability, connectivity, and popularity among their followers. They adopted the 'Siger Tengah' philosophy in the Sundanese culture, so their existence was accepted by society.

CONCLUSION

Each of the transgender is unique as their gender identity. Garut Regency through the comments, chat, and DM features was an associative interaction even though there were several dissociative conditions. This interaction used Sundanese slang, fashion symbols, facial makeup, and hair, that appear in photos or short videos in their social media status representing that they are part of the Sundanese community. Their Sundanese beliefs show that they are part of Sundanese society, which they acquired in the long process of forming a cultural identity as their identity. The form of social contact that occurred in the use of social media such as 'liking', 'sharing', and 'friend' among individuals, groups, communities, and the global community represented their programmability, connectivity, and popularity. The purpose of using transgender social media in Garut Regency was to acknowledge their existence as part of the community within 'doing gender', and share a 'sense of we' as Sundanese Women.

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