

POSITIVE DEVIANCE CASES ON SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF ELDERLY WARIA (CASE STUDY ON THE ANAK RAJA WARIA SHELTER DEPOK, WEST JAVA)

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Article history: received 13 May 2021; revised 28 May 2021; accepted 06 June 2021

Abstract. In developing societies, the elderly in Indonesia are generally cared for by their own families traditionally. However, that does not appear to the transgender community in their old age. The discrimination experienced by waria (transgender in Bahasa, red.) begins when they decide to follow their identity as a woman at an early age. During their lifetime, transgender women frequently get discrimination and rejection from the social environment, which causes them to be unable to function socially in a proper way. Fortunately, those experiences are not the case for elderly transgender who lives under the protection of Anak Raja Transgender Shelter established by the Indonesian Transgender Communication Forum (FKWI). This study examines how elderly transgender women in Anak Raja Transgender Shelter can function socially and be accepted by the environment. The case of positive deviance that occurs in elderly transgender women, in social science studies, is said as a case of Positive Deviance. This research is a qualitative study that applies in-depth interviews for data collection. The main informants are elderly transgender women who are more than 60 years old and have been under the protection of Anak Raja Waria Shelter for at least 1 year. Social functioning in the elderly is a multidimensional concept so that the assessment requires several things to be explored such as social support, social networks, social resources, social roles, role functioning, and social activities. This study found that elderly transgender women at the Anak Raja Waria Shelter can fulfill the five assessments because the strong social support comes from both the community itself and the social environment in where they live.

Keywords: social functioning, positive deviance, waria, the elderly

I. INTRODUCTION

Poverty and neglect are the aspects that make the elderly unable to function socially in a proper way. (Directorate of Elderly Social Services, Ministry of Social Affairs, 2011) [1]. Following the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 8 of 2012, elderly people with this condition are classified as Persons with Social Welfare Problems (PMKS) and entitled to receive support to re-function in the social community. PMKS problems are often not only attached to a problem. Apart from neglected elderly people, another PMKS who cannot carry out social functions properly is the Minority Group. According to the official website of the Ministry of Social Affairs, Minority Groups are defined as groups that experience difficulties in carrying out their social functions due to social exclusion and discrimination. These limitations make them vulnerable to social problems because they have different sexual orientations such as in groups of gays, waria (transgender women), lesbians, etc.

Social functioning is the main focus of this research. To be able to measure social functioning, proper assessment is needed. According to Levin in Kodaruddin [2], social functioning in the elderly is a multidimensional slices concept. Five main things should be considered in improving the social functioning of the elderly, including Social

Support, Social Networking, Social Resources, Social Roles and Role Functioning, and Social Activities.

Earlier, the problems and improvement of the social functioning of elderly waria have not been touched by many policymakers. Determining interventions must be accompanied by a map of the problems that occur in the field. Formerly, the social problem that frequently happens to elderly waria is the difficulty of health services access. When an elderly transgender perishes, no party willing to take care, and accept them, including the family. A large number and complicated social problems that occur in the waria community become the main reason for the establishment of Anak Raja Waria Shelter.

The Anak Raja Waria Shelter was founded by FKWI (Indonesian Waria Community Forum) in 2019 with the main mission of providing a long-term platform as well as a shelter for a homeless elderly transgender, drops out of school, unemployed, expelled from their families, and involving in prostitution place.

The Anak Raja Waria Shelter teaches various skills to young and elderly waria. They carry out empowerment programs in the form of skill development. In the future, it is hoped that they can improve the socio-economic condition of waria and can create humanity for them, either by opening their own business or working for others according to the skills they achieved through this empowerment. By the

implementation of various types of training, the elderly waria able to carry out their social functions properly so that they can create positive cases of deviance.

One social approach that is still not widely used is the Positive Deviance (PD) approach. The concept of the Positive Deviance approach originates from the health sector and is one of the theories from a study in the discipline of nutrition. In 1990, Sternin [3] reduced the high number of malnourished children under five in Vietnam. Sternin [3] applies a positive deviance approach to look for positive behavior in families who share limited resources but have children with good nutritional status. In the first year, more than 1000 children under five were involved and succeeded in reducing the rate of malnutrition by 80%.

In solving problems faced by society, positive deviance solutions are sought based on beliefs that in principle already exist in the community itself. This means the problem-solving approach focuses on finding what can be done, not on solving the problem or the source of the problem. The search for positive deviations will encourage people to see, seek, and explore existing sources and rebuild their strength to solve existing problems (Durá & Singhal [4]).

Based on this background, it can be concluded that the negative stigma and discrimination experienced by waria often hinder them from carrying out their social functions in society. They always try to adjust themselves to be able to escape from the difficulties experienced until their old age. The value system that exists in a community environment will influence and direct both transgender and neglected elderly so that they can function again in their social environment. If the elderly with a clear and recognized gender are being neglected, then it is more likely that the elderly transgender women experience discrimination and neglect during their lifetime.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

The approach applied in this research is a qualitative research approach. This research was conducted by collecting data, analyzing data on field findings, and presenting them descriptively [5]. A qualitative approach is used in this study to obtain in-depth and accurate data adapted to conditions in the field (Neuman [6]). The total informants collected in this study were 10 elderly waria. The researcher selected the sample using the purposive sampling method, which means that the determination of the informants was based on the criteria that had been determined by the researcher [7]. These criteria are elderly transgender people who live or have joined the Anak Raja Waria Shelter for at least 1 year, more than 60 years old and actively involved in activities organized by the shelter. In addition, the founder and chairman of the Indonesian Waria Community Forum (FKWI) and the community around the shelter were also used as additional informants to complement information on how elderly transgender women can function socially in a proper way.

Description of Research Location. This research was conducted in the city of Depok, West Java Province. This location was chosen to be the focus of the research because it is an area where the Indonesian Waria Community Forum (FKWI) has established The Anak Raja Waria Shelter. This house is located at Gang Golf RT 03 RW 013 No. 145 Kelurahan Rangkap Jaya Baru, Pancoran Mas Parung Bingung Meruyung, Depok - West Java. This place was chosen because it is the only home for waria – transgender women – in Indonesia that accommodates elderly waria to live together. In addition, this waria shelter house is also active in community development activities for both the waria themselves and the people in the area where they live so that it has the potential to create strong social capital and a good social system because it gets support from the community.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Elderly Transgender Social Support

Social support is support from the social environment which is usually provided through social networks owned by the elderly. These types of social support include emotional support, peer support, material support, and general support. For the waria informant in this study, more social support was obtained in the form of emotional support from peers in organizations and the community where they live. Anak Raja Waria Shelter plays a major role in creating social support both emotionally and materially.

Based on the statement of Mami Yuli as the founder and administrator, the Anak Raja Transgender Shelter only accepts elderly transgender people with high-priority problems and neglect. Some registered elderly waria come from outside the region and live far from their families without any family support. As the narrative from this elderly waria below:

I was from Kalimantan. My family doesn't acknowledge my existence anymore because of their orthodox-minded. My parents are ABRI, so they raise me the strict way. I am also the victim of my parents' separation. I did not belong on both sides, they do not accept me. Because I could no longer afford it, I finally separated myself from my family and moved to Jakarta. When I met my friends at Taman Lawang who shared the same problem, it didn't take long for me to be invited to work in the Salon. At that point, I continued to learn until I finished working from salon to salon. - OD, Elderly Waria, 70 Years.

This story is quite representative and illustrates how more social support is obtained from peers even though family support is not available. In addition, from a young age, it is also easy for elderly waria to get peer support through providing job recommendations. However, the Anak Raja Waria Shelter always tries to provide social support for elderly waria from their neighborhood, religious organizations, or in the FKWI community itself.

Anak Raja Waria Shelter also plays an active role in educating elderly transgender women about ethics, how to

behave, how to dress, and how to socialize well so that they can be accepted in the community. Almost all the informants in this study admitted that they were fully accepted in the environment where they lived. This finding was supported by the head of the local RT who stated:

The elderly waria are well-accepted here because they have high socialization. In the neighborhood outside the RT, the residents also know them well. No one bothered the residents. The same responses also come from RW, we realize that waria also need help. Besides, we also see sadness, seeing old waria made the heart trembling. If young waria on the streets are scary, they like to get angry or something, the elderly one looks normal. All I know and accept is only elderly waria so far. - Mutiri, Chairman of RT 03 RW 13 Kel. Meruyung, Kec. Limo, Depok City.

Based on the narrative by the head of the RT who represents the opinion of the surrounding community, elderly waria tend to be accepted by the community because they have good ethics and behavior, unlike the stereotypes of waria who are generally rude and emotionally unstable. In addition, the community also considers that the elderly transgender people living in the environment are harmless and need help.

The availability of social support that is obtained from both peers and the environment, in which they live daily, shows that elderly waria can function socially well. The informant in this study can be said to be positive deviance because in general, transgender women are often difficult to accept in the community.

Elderly Waria Social Network

Social networks are media that affect the fulfillment of social support. Social networks consist of assistance, support, or services from certain parties for the elderly. Levin [8] also revealed that the elderly's social network consists of the size of the social network, how often the elderly make contact with their social support, the types of activities they do together, and the elderly's satisfaction with the social network.

In the case of this study, the elderly waria informant had a strong social network because they had already joined the FKWI community. Elderly waria actively participate in various activities that add skills. From these joint activities, the social network indirectly can be formed. The functioning of the social networks owned by elderly waria was revealed by OD, who was trying to sell cookies before Eid al-Fitr and was then assisted by other parties for the marketing.

In late 2018, I joined activities to learn how to make cakes, massage courses, reflexology, but it turned out that I had fun making cakes. In the past, we received a lot of orders, so thank God we can get a lot of profit. We work together with our friends, we share it equally. Alhamdulillah, I got 2.1 million last year just last year. After the pandemic, I went on hiatus, and yesterday my friend from church asked me to make a tester ... hopefully we can run smoothly again. - OD, Elderly Waria, 70 Years.

Social networks play an active role when elderly waria sell something to increase financial income. From this

network, elderly transgender women can take advantage of someone's support to buy their wares or when they need help in their business. This study also found several other informants, such as the US, who looked after a neighbor's shop or DB who always brought peekaboo merchandise and snacks when there were joint activities. FKWI supports the ease of access for elderly transgender people to social networks. As stated by Mami Yuli as the founder of the shelter house as well as the chairman of FKWI as follows:

So we often get training from the Cathedral, then from them, there is a special visit to the homes of each elderly transgender who gets business assistance by seeing what elderly transgender women sell, what they can help too. So they are not only educating to let it go, they are helping. How much capital do you need? Take 300.000 for example, for what? For selling cakes, can we order the cake for example if there is an event at a church? So they helped, they just kept on accompanying me. What they have here is the form of heart and religion for helping others. - Mami Yuli, Founder of Anak Raja Waria Shelter.

Based on this narrative, it is clear that the social networks owned by elderly waria come from the FKWI Community and religious organizations run by the Cathedral Church. With the availability of a strong social network, it can be said that the elderly transgender women who become informants in this study are positive deviance and can function socially well.

Elderly Waria Social Resources

To support the sustainability of the organization and the implementation of beneficial activities for elderly transgender people, the Anak Raja Waria Shelter collaborates with other parties such as the Ministry of Social Affairs, NGOs, donor agencies, or social institutions to provide financial assistance.

From 2014 to 2020, the Anak Raja Waria Shelter received support from the Ministry of Social Affairs by providing funds of 15 million rupiahs per month. The provision of routine funds is carried out as a form of the Ministry of Social Affairs in overcoming the problems of Minority Groups. Routine funds provided by the Ministry of Social Affairs are used by the Anak Raja Waria Shelter to carry out empowerment programs for transgender women who need social protection and also with the health issue. The shelter can accommodate 30 people. These numbers of people are expected to be independent, so the shelter manager will provide Rp. 150,000 as capital for every expert elderly waria. However, as of the post-COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the Ministry of Social Affairs has stopped financial assistance and only provides nutritional assistance and light medicines that are needed.

Apart from getting help from the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Anak Raja Waria Shelter also regularly receives assistance from Religious Organizations in the Cathedral Church until now. The routine assistance provided is the provision of necessities and the provision of money for the rent for the elderly waria's residence, which is collected from congregational donations. As said by Mami Yuli in an

in-depth interview related to the accommodation where elderly waria live outside open houses as follows:

We also see how our abilities are. For example, someone comes to this shelter and says they need money for a place to live, we continue to collect donations. Others, if they suddenly get sick or can't pay for the rent, we can help. But I am trying to find other solutions with capable churches to help register elderly waria who cannot afford their lives. The money is not through the organization, but I also have direct contact with the owner of the house. We don't give directly to the waria, but they give the bank account of property's owner. - Mami Yuli, Founder of Anak Raja Waria Shelter & Chair of FKWI.

Kane in Kodaruddin [2] reveals that social resources greatly affect social functioning. Social resources can be measured in terms of finance, environment, and community resources [9]. With the lack of these resources, the elderly will find it difficult to be able to function socially properly. Based on the things that have been disclosed, it can be concluded that elderly transgender women have excellent social resources because they have the full support of the Anak Raja Waria Shelter and religious organizations in the Cathedral Church. By fulfilling the financial aspects of the environment and community resources, it can be said that the elderly transgender women who became informants in this study can function socially well and are positive deviance.

Social Role and Role Functioning.

Social roles and role functioning are assessed through a process of evaluating what roles an individual has. In related matters, the roles that a person may have are related to work, marriage, or society. This study reveals that some elderly waria informants choose to have the role of being a mother, a mother as well as a father, a husband, or a wife despite their status as waria. DB, one of the elderly transgender informants in this study revealed that he was officially married to a woman and assumed the status of a father because he already had 1 child, as stated in the following:

Alhamdulillah, I am married now. But still don't deviate from that. I already have a wife and a kid. So I moved to Citayem. My wife didn't know from the beginning, but slowly I had to tell her about my past. At first, she knew that I only worked in a salon. But gradually I told her the truth. Thank God, yes it is good for me because my wife is also a religious person. So yes, maybe this is a miracle from God, with my patience and prayer, right? I also have a daughter, so I also educate her in Islam. Hopefully, I want her to be a good girl, useful for the country, religion, and my family. - DB, Waria Elderly, 60 years old.

In contrast to DB, who performs his normal function in the social environment as a father, husband, and head of the family, some elderly waria in this study chose to have a foster child to carry out a social role as a mother as described by TN, elderly waria, 73 years.

Previously, I raised my adopted child with my husband, and my child was financed by him. Food, house, and health care

are provided by my husband. My role is only taking care of the kid. When my kid sick, we took care of him. I wait him in the school, for a few hours from kindergarten to grade 4. My husband used to repair the refrigerator. His salary was enough, can be millions a day. We live in a proper situation. At first, my kid didn't know about my situation. I have breasts hahaha. He finally found out from a neighbor, "That's your sissy mother". The child is already grown up, my husband has not yet seen the child marry, and he died 7 years ago around 2014. - TN, elderly transgender, 73 years.

TN told in full how the life of herself and her small family before her husband died. TN admits that she has never been legally married because she has the same gender partner, but daily she has a social role as a mother and a partner. Several other elderly transgender women who were met in this study also had social roles as partners, such as the recognition that US had been with their partner for 6 years. In addition, other elderly transgender women choose a social role as a mother because they consider the child belonging to a neighbor or relative who has been cared for since childhood by them as their child. Siporin, Achlis, and Garthwait in Levin [8] convey that the ability to carry out social roles is one of the most important things for a person's social functioning.

Regarding the role they have in work and the community environment, the majority of elderly waria do not have this role because they have entered old age. Based on these accounts, the majority of waria who became informants in this study chose the role of a mother or a partner to carry out social roles and maintain the functioning of their roles. It is rare for elderly waria to have a partner and have good abilities to choose the role of mother. So the elderly waria who are in this study can be said to be positive deviance.

Social Activities

Every individual must have social activities related to membership in social groups or organizations, work, community activities, entertainment activities, and so on (Levin [8]). Assessment of social activities is used to provide an overview of the elderly's daily life and other things that can affect the social functioning of the elderly. The elderly waria who became informants in this study had quite good social activities because they were basically under the protection of the FKWI organization. The organization also plays an active role in creating independence for elderly waria so they can get a job following their capacity through training activities. In the case of this research, the social activities of elderly waria are mostly supported by religious organizations held in the Cathedral Church. As the following FR and OD narrative:

I have been with the Anak Raja Shelter for a long time, participating in training at the Cathedral, continuing with briefings. The ones who organized the cathedral, which gave training were the leaders, the administrators there LDD, the name was Lembaga Daya Dharma. I like to take part in craft training, sometimes making boxes, crafts from paper that are rolled up. Then yesterday there was also cellphone service

training, the main point is that there are many types of training, but now it's on holiday. - FR, Elderly Waria, 66 years old.

From the beginning, I worked in a salon. Before the pandemic there was training on how to make cakes, I finally swerved the steering wheel to make cakes. But thank God the cake is progressing. We, as the production, and Church provides the orders - OD, Elderly Waria, 70 years old.

FR explained an overview of the training activities provided by the Daya Dharma Institute in the Cathedral Church. Based on her narrative also, many elderly transgender women were involved in the training. Both young and old waria, all get the same opportunity to learn skills at the Cathedral Church. Apart from being a means to increase skills, training at the Cathedral Church also enables elderly waria to carry out social activities by becoming members of these social groups or organizations.

Slightly different from FR, OD also experienced the same thing. OD in this study stated that he attended training in making cakes and this skill was very useful because it could provide a profitable income. FR and OD as informants in this study can prove that they are positive deviance because they can carry out social activities well.

IV. CONCLUSION

To assess social functioning, several main elements are needed to be seen, such as social support, social networks, social resources, social roles, and role functioning, as well as social activities. This study has proven that elderly transgender women can become positive deviance due to the availability of strong social support from the community in the surrounding environment as well as from the social organizations they join. What happened to the elderly transgender women at the Anak Raja Waria Shelter can be declared a positive case of deviance because this approach can identify what is happening right in the community to be strengthened. In addition, positive deviance also begins with developing local wisdom beneath in the community and looking for solutions and benefits that can be applied and maintained. The waria who became informants in this study proved to function socially well because until they entered old age, they could still live independently even though they had experienced discrimination during their life and did not get the support of their biological family at all.

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