



# DiGeSt

Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies

## *Priawan* in Indonesia: A Study of Transmasculine Female-to-Male Individuals

Myrtati Dyah Artaria, Sayf Muhammad Alaydrus, Azzah Kania  
Budianto, Dwi Prasetyo, Charanjit Kaur and Maciej Henneberg

*DiGeSt Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies, Volume 11, Issue 1*

<https://doi.org/10.21825/digest.90113>

Print ISSN: 2593-0273. Online ISSN: 2593-0281

Content is licensed under a Creative Commons BY

DiGeSt is hosted by Ghent University Website: <https://www.digest.ugent.be/>

# *Priawan* in Indonesia: A Study of Transmasculine Female-to-Male Individuals

Myrtati Dyah Artaria

Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia  
[myrtati.artaria@fisip.unair.ac.id](mailto:myrtati.artaria@fisip.unair.ac.id)

Sayf Muhammad Alaydrus

Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia  
[sayf.muhammad.alaydrus-2021@fisip.unair.ac.id](mailto:sayf.muhammad.alaydrus-2021@fisip.unair.ac.id)

Azzah Kania Budianto

Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia  
[azzah.kania.budianto-2021@fisip.unair.ac.id](mailto:azzah.kania.budianto-2021@fisip.unair.ac.id)

Dwi Prasetyo

Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Komunikasi – Almamater Wartawan Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia  
[dipasso@gmail.com](mailto:dipasso@gmail.com)

Charanjit Kaur

Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR), Kampar, Malaysia  
[charanjit@utar.edu.my](mailto:charanjit@utar.edu.my)

Maciej Henneberg

University of Adelaide, Adelaide, Australia  
[maciej.henneberg@adelaide.edu.au](mailto:maciej.henneberg@adelaide.edu.au)

## **Abstract**

Topics surrounding transmasculinity, especially in Indonesia, are still overlooked, degraded, and understudied. This paper aims to explore the experience of *priawan* in Indonesia. Differentiating from the globally-renowned term ‘trans men’, a *priawan* identifies as a female-to-male transmasculine individual. We conducted in-depth interviews with eleven qualified informants. These interviews shed light on gender dysphoria or fluidity, gender-affirming processes, and discriminations they have faced, with hopes of proving and validating their existence. Eight of the informants express themselves as masculine and identify as lesbians. The most common gender-affirming process that they chose is name updating, followed by chest binding and hormone therapy. Five out of eleven reported having faced discrimination in various forms, such as verbal abuse, misgendering, stereotyping, and physical abuse. This study adds a new perspective on regional variability in transmasculine identities. Further research on chosen family dynamics and generational differences are encouraged to accentuate the visibility of transgender individuals in existing queer studies.

## **Keywords**

Female-to-male, Gender fluidity, Gender-based violence, LGBT rights, Trans men, Transmasculine.

## Introduction

Historically and culturally speaking, several indigenous societies in Indonesia recognized the existence of gender diversity (Vincent & Manzano, 2017). Buginese society in South Sulawesi recognizes five genders, one of which is *calalai*, a local term used to identify female-to-male transmasculine individuals (similar to *priawan*) (Davies, 2001, 2010). In its neighboring society, Torajan people also recognize a third gender named *to' burake*, a trans feminine male-to-female. Both *to' burake* and *calalai* were respected due to their social and gender roles in their respective society (Dalidjo, 2020). Interestingly, in ancient Javanese society, trans women were given the role of the royals' servants. Believed to possess spiritual and magical powers, they gained quite significant political powers in this society. However, the general public of ancient Javanese society often labeled them as disabled, even equating them with albinos, dwarfs, hunchbacks, and many more (Alnoza & Sulistyowati, 2021).

As previously mentioned, the terms that were used to describe trans identities and individuals have continuously evolved. It is important to note that existing literature is heavily drawn on trans women. The term *banci* was quite popular in postcolonial Indonesia, until the term *wadam* (a portmanteau of *Hawa* or Eve and Adam) became popularized in the 1950s-1960s. Later, the term *waria* as a portmanteau of *wanita* or female/women and *pria* or male/men became more commonly used. Now, the terms *banci*, *wadam*, and *waria* are often considered derogatory by the Indonesian trans and queer community due to their negative use by society. The terms insinuate that trans people are not whole but rather considered half-men or half-women while the spectrum of gender and sexual fluidity actually appears to be endless. Therefore, the preferred term to describe trans women is *transpuan* as a portmanteau of *trans(gender)* and *perempuan* or female/women (Boellstorff, 2004; Hegarty, 2019, 2021, 2022).

Meanwhile, the term *transpria* is commonly used to describe trans men, which is a portmanteau of *trans(gender)* and *pria* (Rahmawati, 2021). However, the term *priawan* is preferred by some Indonesian trans men to reflect a gender identity that is distinct from the global term *trans men*. *Priawan* is derived from the words *pria* and a shortened version of *wanita* and stands for female-to-male transmasculine individuals. Transmasculine itself is an umbrella term coined to define individuals who were assigned females at birth but identify with masculinity (Aboim & Vasconcelos, 2022; Anzani, et al., 2023). A previous study showed that *priawan* individuals often do not undergo any medical or physical change to alter their female anatomy. The authors drew three conclusions regarding *priawan*'s gender fluidity. First, a *priawan* might identify themselves as a man, trans man, nonbinary, or other gender identities. Second, a *priawan* might have a feminine, masculine, androgynous, and fluid gender expression. Finally, a *priawan* might label their sexual orientation as gay, lesbian, straight, pansexual, bisexual, or unlabeled. In other words, just like any other 'Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, and Sex Characteristics' (SOGIESC) aspect, the *priawan* identity is very diverse and fluid (Prasetyo, et al., 2019).

In modern-day Indonesia, the cisheteronormative and gender binary system is still commanding the social perception of trans individuals and other gender variations in society. Cisheteronormativity can be defined as a societal assumption that cisgender (i.e. those whose gender identity aligns with the sex they were assigned at birth) and heterosexual (i.e. those who are attracted to individuals of the opposite sex) individuals represent the norm and that other forms of gender identity and sexual orientation are abnormal or deviant (Franco-Rocha, et al., 2023; Jones, et al., 2023). They are often labeled as sinners and heathens from a religious perspective since they do not follow the gendered social construct. Based on this religiosity, a majority of Indonesian people oppose the existence of LGBTQ+ individuals, thus rendering them a target for hate crimes, discrimination, stigmatization, and persecution (Arbani, 2012; Jasruddin & Daud, 2017; Maharani & Zafi, 2020; Sailana, 2020; Widiastuti, et al., 2016).

Structural discrimination based on gender identity is a common experience for many trans individuals. Many trans men and trans women are rejected or fired from their jobs due

to their gender identity. A study conducted by Wahyu, et al. (2023) also showed that trans persons were more severely impacted than cisgender individuals by the Covid-19 pandemic. The Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) that was provided by the government did not include trans persons, hence the increased difficulty for them to access Covid-19-related social welfare. The study showed that trans persons faced reduced income, slimmer job opportunities, and proneness to gender-based discrimination in healthcare assistance (Wahyu, et al., 2023). On a personal scale, being misgendered and deadnamed is also an enormous challenge for trans individuals, often causing them to feel invisible and insignificant (Bolger, et al., 2014; Truszczynski, et al., 2022). Similar to English, the Indonesian language has pronouns that are associated with the state of whether an individual is a man/masculine or woman/feminine. For example, being referred to as *mbak* (a feminine pronoun) instead of *mas* (a masculine pronoun) or *kak* (a gender-neutral pronoun) can be triggering for trans men and transmasculine individuals (Alaydrus, et al., 2023). The patriarchal nature of society plays a part in forming toxic masculinity as we know it today, causing trans men to feel like they are not ‘man enough’ just because they were born female and have relatively more feminine biological features compared to cis men (Rahmawati, 2021; Saeidzadeh, 2020).

Previous studies have mentioned that discrimination and invalidation experienced by LGBTQ+ people, including transmasculine individuals, might damage their mental and physical health. The increased rate of depression, gender dysphoria, anxiety, and body dissatisfaction might affect their day-to-day life—sleeping patterns, for example, might cause their physical health to slowly deteriorate (Harry-Hernandez, et al., 2020; Kamody, et al., 2020; Pfeffer, 2008; Tabaac, et al., 2018). Yet, when they attempt to access health care, they face discrimination which leads them to avoid proper health care and neglect their well-being. Consequently, they develop various coping mechanisms to deal with their issues, such as talking to their friends, self-acceptance, and using substances to calm their nerves (Chakrapani, et al., 2021; Puckett, et al., 2020; Reisner, et al., 2015; Truszczynski, et al., 2022; Westmoreland, et al., 2021).

Trans issues, especially trans men and transmasculine ones, are often neglected within the LGBTQ+ community itself. In Indonesia, the term *trans* is overwhelmingly understood as describing trans women. According to Jansen's study (2023), the cisheteronormative and patriarchal structure disproportionately excludes individuals who were assigned female at birth—such as trans men and queer women—from both queer and cisheteronormative space and discourses. Overall, studies focusing on transmasculinity and trans men are thus scarce in comparison to trans women and femininity (Chakrapani, et al., 2021; Reisner, et al., 2013, 2015). In Puerto Rico, for instance, HIV/AIDS research on trans men remains largely underdeveloped compared to research on trans women (Ramos-Pibernus, et al., 2020). Their perceived lack of acceptance in society durably hinders trans men voices (Prasetyo, et al., 2019; Rahmawati, 2021). Given that trans men receive less attention, it is not unexpected that trans men groups are smaller and less numerous than those of trans women. However, their societal invisibility allows trans men and queer women to have increased anonymity compared to trans women and queer men. Anonymity in a cisheteronormative environment might benefit queer people since it allows them to focus on their self-expression, to form deeper and wider connections, and to feel safer in public (Blackwood, 2009).

The objective of this study is to understand the informants' experience before, during, and after their process of self-identification as *priawan*. This paper aims to discuss the informants' life experience, their gender-affirming process, gender fluidity, the discrimination they faced, and their gender dysphoria. This study depicts the social realities of Indonesia's transmasculine and *priawan* groups, which tend to receive less attention in gender studies.

## **Methodology**

We adopted a qualitative descriptive approach to analyze and understand the experience of the informants. The information was acquired through and in-depth interviews with individuals who provided informed consent. The informants were selected using the purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling is a strategy frequently employed in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases to maximize the use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). This entails finding and choosing individuals or organizations with specialized expertise or experience in a topic of interest (Cresswell & Clark, 2011). In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979) emphasized the importance of the informant's availability, willingness to engage, and the capacity to share experiences and viewpoints articulately, expressively, and reflectively.

Based on these criteria, eleven informants were selected to participate in this study. The informants lived in several provinces in Indonesia: East Java, Central Java, West Java, West Kalimantan, and Jakarta. Some of the interviews were conducted online via video calls due to the Covid-19 pandemic. However, several interviews were conducted in-person in Jakarta and Surabaya. The interviews investigated the informants' construction of their gender identity, more specifically their life history, body, expression, social relations, experiences of discrimination, and survival mechanism, including their 'coming out' journey and gender-affirming process. All eleven informants who participated in this study are members of local or national LGBTQ+ organizations, namely Yayasan GAYa Nusantara, *Priawan* Indonesia, Transmen Indonesia, Arus Pelangi, and Persatuan Tomboy Pontianak (Pertopan). All of them identify as *priawan* or transmasculine and are between 22 to 47 years old. Regarding their sexual orientation, eight of them identify as lesbian, EV chose not to disclose their sexual orientation, MM identifies as heterosexual, and ST does not see the importance of a label (Table 1). Since Indonesia is diverse in ethnicity, our informants' ethnicities include Javanese, Malay, Banjar, Chinese, and Mixed. Six informants are currently employed during the time of the interview, and five informants chose not to disclose their employment statuses.

An in-depth thematic analysis of the data was conducted following the transcription of the interviews. We sorted and divided the data into several subchapters to allow for more detailed analyses. We then interpreted, discussed, and compared our data with regard to the existing literature. During this study, some limitations were encountered. First, some of the interviews were conducted by video calls due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This poses a limitation due to technical issues faced during online interviews, which hindered the rapport-building between informants and researchers. The uncontrolled environment of the informants during the video calls could also raise distractions, affecting the quality of answers from the informants (e.g., unfocused discussion resulting in shallow answers). As opposed to online interviews, in-person meetings were held only when circumstances deemed safe. The second limitation of this study is the challenge of locating potential informants who are receptive to interviewing given the conservative society they were raised in and the widespread concern over data leakage. Four potential informants withdrew from our study for such reasons during the investigation process.

Table 1. Personal characteristics and experience of the informants.

Informant	Personal characteristics					Gender-affirmation process			Experience of discrimination	
	Age	Occupation	Gender Identity	Gender Expression	Sexual Orientation	Name updating	Chest binding	Hormone therapy	Faced discrimination	Type of discrimination
SS	24	Employee	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Androgynous	Lesbian	✓			✓	Misgendering, cisheteronormative stereotyping
TT	27	Employee	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Lesbian		✓		✓	Physical abuse, cisheteronormative stereotyping
ST	30	Employee	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Fluid	Unlabelled					
MM	29	Employee	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Heterosexual				✓	Misgendering, cisheteronormative stereotyping
EV	25	Employee	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Undisclosed		✓	✓		
KN	22	Employee	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Lesbian		✓			
UC	46	Undisclosed	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Lesbian	✓				
AZ	30	Undisclosed	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Lesbian	✓			✓	Verbal abuse
DI	39	Undisclosed	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Lesbian	✓			✓	Verbal abuse
FE	47	Undisclosed	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Lesbian	✓				
OJ	44	Undisclosed	<i>Priawan</i> , transmasculine	Masculine	Lesbian	✓				

## Results

### *The Priawan identity*

As seen in Table 1, all informants identify themselves as *priawan* or transmasculine. During the interview, however, we learnt that several informants also accepted the identity of trans men and tomboy men. In the portmanteau term *priawan* (defined earlier in this article), the usage of *pria* first instead of *wanita* was chosen to antonym the already established term *waria* which refers to trans women or transfeminine individuals. The informants further explained that the term was preferred because it sounded simpler and more familiar to the general Indonesian public.

I told them [my family] that I am a trans man. I want everyone to know me, accept me, and appreciate me for my choice to live as a trans man, and my identity is *priawan*. (EV)

During the interview, many of our informants, such as SS, TT, ST, MM, and EV, used the terms *priawan*, trans man, and transmasculine interchangeably. This is indicative of the fluidity of the informants' gender identity. Though *priawan* is perhaps a commonly used term within their community, they are comfortable being referred to as trans men or transmasculine as well. This suggests that the term *priawan* is not too different from transmasculine or trans men. Interestingly, it is a product of their gender identity and expression intermixing with their national (Indonesian) identity.

Table 1 also displays the fluidity of our informants' SOGIESC. Gender expression-wise, nine informants identified themselves as masculine, while the other two mentioned that their expressions are fluid and androgynous. Though ten of them enjoyed having a romantic and sexual relationship with women, one informant viewed himself as heterosexual, while the other eight considered themselves lesbian. Based on the interviews and observations, we inferred that MM identify as heterosexual because they consider themselves as a masculine man and they associate their sexual orientation with their gender identity (*priawan*). The other eight rather viewed their sexual orientation as something that relates to their assigned sex at birth.

Regarding the informants' self-acceptance toward their gender identity, we identified four recurring themes throughout the interviews: angry; disappointed; accepting; and self-blaming. Those who felt disappointed and angry perceived themselves as unhelped individuals in their family and society. TT viewed their identity as a gift from God, but they fully acknowledged that discriminative values in society certainly do not help fellow *priawan* individuals to conceptualize their identity more positively.

In regard to disappointment... I don't think I experienced that. Well... Everything happens according to God's will, right? There is nothing to regret, and all of us just have to live our lives accordingly. (TT)

The informants' age is also displayed in Table 1. It is important to note that there is a relatively significant age gap between the youngest (22 years old) and the eldest informant (47 years old). Even though this study did not explore the generational gap within the *priawan* individuals, we acknowledge the importance of addressing this issue since there might be a difference in life history, experience, and other sociocultural contexts that shape our informants. Therefore, we recommend further studies on *priawan* to emphasize the various experiences of a certain age group that might differ from another age group.

### *Gender dysphoria and gender-affirming process*

All informants are familiar with gender dysphoria, and they have their own mechanisms for lowering its levels. The description of the gender-affirmation process experienced by

informants is shown in Table 1. At least six informants indicated that they had changed their names. Their new names are masculine-leaning and/or gender-neutral. One informant mentioned receiving hormone therapy to naturally inhibit their menstrual cycle and shrink their breasts. None of the informants had undergone top (chest) or bottom (genital) surgery, nor did they desire to. Their reasons for not engaging in a gender-affirming surgery vary. However, several informants, such as EV and TT, said that their body had been ‘created in God’s image’. They intend to ‘respect’ their God by not radically altering their body. EV, as the only *priawan* who has undergone hormone therapy, further explained that the only thing that matters to them is the bodily discomfort felt by trans individuals regardless of their chosen gender-affirming care.

It is fine that I am a man living in a female’s body. In fact, many of us feel this way, too. And it is okay if there is a woman that feels trapped in a male’s body. We don’t have to vulgarly and radically change our body. (EV)

### ***Experience of discrimination***

Five informants disclosed that they had experienced discrimination because of their gender identity (see Table 1). The types of discrimination include misgendering, stereotyping, verbal abuse, and physical abuse. It is possible that the other six participants did not want to or were unable to discuss their own experiences due to the sensitivity of the subject. It is also important to note that not all informants have disclosed their affirmed gender identity to their relatives and home environment.

Based on the interviews, all informants considered themselves lucky for having a relatively supportive social environment. Even though most of them do not find comfort in their respective family or neighborhood, they are involved and accepted by a ‘chosen community’. Some also seek comfort in their romantic partner, namely SS, TT, ST, MM, EV, and KN. This finding highlights the importance of communities in responding to and reducing the discrimination and hatred experienced by the LGBTQ+ community, especially in Indonesia. For TT, being a part of a *priawan* community also helps their self-acceptance and gender-affirming process, while at the same time, providing a ‘safe haven’ to not overthink about the hatred that they routinely receive.

### **Discussion**

Transmasculine is an umbrella term referring to individuals who were assigned female at birth based on their external genitalia but who later identify or conform with masculinity. Transmasculine individuals may not necessarily identify as men but may feel a connection with masculinity in terms of their personal identity, expression, and societal roles. Hence, transmasculine individuals might identify as a man, woman, nonbinary, genderfluid, genderqueer, and/or other identities while identifying or conforming to their masculine side (Anzani, et al., 2023; Hansbury, 2005). Based on the definition, the *priawan* identity can fall under the larger umbrella term of transmasculine or trans men, although some might simply identify themselves as having other identities. Aside from its categorization, this study explores variations within the *priawan* identity.

This study also identifies an interesting relationship between the fluidity of sexual orientation and gender identity. MM, who identifies as straight, explained that they are ‘just like other men’ and that they are attracted to women. Eight other informants are also attracted to women but chose to identify as lesbians. This shows the sexual orientation diversity in the trans spectrum, specifically in the transmasculine community, where they are not bound to only one self-identification (Hansbury, 2005; Milton, 2021; Prasetyo, et al., 2019).

Nine informants recognized that they are masculine-presenting. When asked about their gender expressions, the informants described that they primarily wear ‘men’s’ clothing,



such as trousers and shirts, they cut their hair short and style them in a relatively masculine manner, such as mohawk and slicked-back hairstyles. Conversely, other do not necessarily present themselves as masculine individuals. SS for instance confirmed during the interview that they are androgynous-presenting, while similarly, ST mentioned that their gender expression is fluid. ST noted that their presentation depends on their partner, where they could be feminine with one partner and masculine with another. Our findings reveal that gender expression is not a one-size-fits-all system. Consequently, it is neither rigid nor compatible with a binary system. Instead, it is a wide spectrum of expressions, and the individual has every right to change from one spot of the spectrum to another due to the fluid nature of gender expressions (Bornstein, 1994; Matsuno & Budge, 2017; Monro, 2019). Fluidity in gender expression manifest in a variety of ways. People who identify as trans, nonbinary, or gender nonconforming have been expressing themselves outside of the socially prescribed gender binary, typically through wardrobe choices (Diamond, 2020; Matsuno & Budge, 2017). Fluid clothing styles can also be seen in cisgender and/or heterosexual individuals, who tend to alter between masculine, feminine, and androgynous expressions (Akdemir, 2018; Bennett, 2018). The forced rigidity and non-fluidity can be seen as a result of cisheteronormativity, where products of everyday life are attached to certain genders, such as clothing, makeup, beauty products, and many more (Ben-Zeev & Dennehy, 2014; Gansen & Martin, 2018; Ulasewicz, 2007). The unnecessary gender boxes of products, especially in clothing, have faded in the recent flood of refusal to conform to traditional gender roles (Jordan, 2017; Reddy-Best & Pedersen, 2015; Zaslow, 2018).

We have previously stated that our informants' expressions diverge. Yet, this does not determine who they are as a *priawan* and/or transmasculine person. This demonstrates that one's gender identification and gender expression do not always correspond to one another. For instance, AA and ST identify as transmasculine even though their gender expressions are not constantly masculine. Their gender expression might rather be an attempt to lessen their gender dysphoria. Hence, the term 'gender-affirming process' or 'gender-affirming care' is more appropriate to describe the method of overcoming gender dysphoria (D'Angelo, et al., 2021).

The gender-affirming process consists of one or several interventions done to support and affirm one's gender identity. Such intervention could be in the form of psychological, social, behavioral, and medical acts (Boyle, 2022; Wagner, et al., 2019). Common interventions used by transgender and nonbinary (TGNB) individuals include, but are not limited to, chest binding, genital tucking, hormone therapy, top surgery, and bottom surgery. Name updating and using the correct pronouns are also parts of gender-affirming care. These procedures are used by TGNB individuals to reduce their gender dysphoria and improve their overall well-being (Clark, et al., 2018; Galupo, et al., 2021; Johnson, et al., 2020; Pulice-Farrow, et al., 2020; Richards, et al., 2016).

It is important to remember that the transition process differs from one individual to another and that every TGNB individual's transition journey is unique (Parker, 2016; Pfeffer, 2008). In our study, none of the informants felt the need to affirm their gender identity with surgery at the time of the interviews. This is interesting since surgery is a relatively possible and popular option in Indonesia, since there is no specific regulation that prohibits top and bottom surgeries for various reasons, including gender-affirmation (Agustin & Ahmad, 2023). This finding can be explained by Loos's review (2020) of Judith Butler's infamous book, *Gender Trouble*, within the context of Southeast Asia. She argued that despite the dysphoria, bodily acceptance is often still achieved by most Southeast Asians, including Indonesians. She further explained that in Southeast Asian cultures, there is a nonparallel relationship between one's physical body and their gender identity, meaning that one's assigned sex at birth does not dictate one's gender. Davies's ethnographic study (2010a) of the Bugis society unveiled that neither *calalai* (masculine female), *calabai* (feminine male), nor *bissu* (nonbinary/metagender) denied their assigned sex at birth despite their current gender identity, thus they had no interest in altering them through surgical procedures.

Religion plays a part in shaping society's cultural mindset of gender and sex (Blackwood, 2010). Both Islam and Christianity, the two major religions in Indonesia, consider the human body as God's perfect creation and recognize that everyone serves a sacred purpose on Earth (Awijaya, 2021; Ichwan, 2014; Maharani & Zafi, 2020). This argument is notably echoed by TT, who stated that their body and identity are God's creation and that they have to accept His will.

As shown in Table 1, the informants' ways of affirming their gender varied. However, not all of them were willing to discuss this issue. On the one hand, hormone therapy was not a popular option among our informants, as only one of them opted for this form of gender-affirming care. On the other hand, all of them agreed that altering their name is the main way to affirm one's gender identification. They notably request others to use their preferred pronouns and give them names that had a male slant or were gender-neutral. Several studies have shown that using correct names and pronouns for TGNB individuals is life-saving (Barnes, et al., 2020; Boyle, 2022; DeChants, et al., 2022; Knutson, et al., 2019; Loeppky, 2022; Markovic, et al., 2021; Matouk & Wald, 2022). Finally, our study shows that none of our informants were willing to modify or transform their body.

'For me, if I change my body, it'd be for someone else, not for myself. A body that is compatible with its supposed gender identity... is not what I want.' (ST)

'I feel grateful about my female body... I am grateful with the card that I was dealt.' (AZ)

Nonetheless, there were at least five informants who admitted discomfort of having breasts. Having breasts acts as a 'visual reminder' of their gender assigned at birth, which causes their gender dysphoria (Galupo, et al., 2021; Harry-Hernandez, et al., 2020; Pulice-Farrow, et al., 2020). This discomfort results in chest binding, which is a method that is commonly used in the transmasculine, nonbinary communities to give the appearance of a flat chest (Bell & Telfer, 2019; Jarrett, et al., 2018; Lee, et al., 2019; Peitzmeier, et al., 2022). Although chest binding is critical for TGNB individuals' mental well-being and safety, risks such as physical discomfort or frequent rib fractures have been reported (Jarrett, et al., 2018; Julian, et al., 2021; Lee, et al., 2019; Peitzmeier, et al., 2017, 2021, 2022). This highlights the urgency of providing accessible clinical care and to educate transmasculine and nonbinary individuals on gender-affirming care to allow them to make informed decisions regarding their choices.

Furthermore, the dissemination of information on gender-affirming care can lead to a reduction in the incidence of discrimination. At least five of the eleven informants reported having experienced forms of gender-based violence and discrimination, from verbal to physical abuse. They face discrimination in various private, public and professional places, notably at home, on campus, or in their neighborhood. Mental and physical health issues might result from discrimination and violence (Başar, et al., 2016; Harry-Hernandez, et al., 2020; Richards, et al., 2016).

One informant (MM) experienced discrimination on campus and mentioned how other students often call lesbians 'weird and taboo'. Yet, higher institutions should be safe and open places for every gender variant to just be their authentic selves without facing prejudice and discrimination. Studies have indeed shown that higher education institutions and their campus cultures are not as open and safe for gender and sexual minorities (Goldberg, et al., 2019; Goldberg & Kuvalanka, 2018; Hoxmeier & Madlem, 2018; White & Jenkins, 2017). Altering these cultures is challenging in Indonesia because the nation's values and religiosity contradict non-normative gender identities and sexualities (Garcia Rodriguez, 2024). Indonesian LGBTQ+ individuals' rights are still argued over on many platforms, and there was talk of the criminalization of "LGBT behavior" on RUU (the national bills) in 2022 (Amindoni, 2022). The cause is presumably the lack of gender and sexuality education, thus prolonging the existing cycle of ignorance and close-mindedness (Bolger, et al., 2014; Budge, et al., 2020; McFarland, et al., 2017). Several studies showed that indigenous

Indonesian cultures, such as Toraja and Bugis, were once queer-friendly societies until the Dutch colonization (Dalidjo, 2020; Davies, 2010). Colonists notably forced the Indonesian people to convert to Christianity. Along the process, the Dutch cisheteronormativity slowly percolated in Indonesian society (Blackwood, 2005; Hegarty, 2022; Thajib, 2022; Vincent & Manzano, 2017). A similar transformation also occurred in other nations colonized by the British Empire, such as Senegal and Namibia. Aside from forced evangelization by the missionaries, the growth of cisheteronormativity in the British colonies was reinforced through a legal act that criminalized homosexuality within the colonies (Currier, 2010; Han & O'Mahoney, 2014; M'Baye, 2013).

Two of our informants mentioned that they had been verbally abused, without providing more details on their experience. SS reported having been discriminated against by medical professionals. Studies indeed suggest that the healthcare system tends to be less accommodating to trans and nonbinary individuals (Clark, et al., 2018; Hughto, et al., 2018; Mujugira, et al., 2021; Reisner, et al., 2015; Seelman & Poteat, 2020). In a societal context, informants SS and TT reported experiencing discrimination and transphobia. TT's neighbors often mocked them, saying that they did not act like a traditional woman. In Indonesia, women who go out all night and get home in the morning are considered 'naughty', 'wild', and 'not woman enough' (Aldilla, 2020; Humaeni, 2016; Muttaqin, 2020; Tilotama, 2017). Considering TT's gender identity, being perceived as a woman and being publicly mocked for it might affect the severity of their gender dysphoria (Harry-Hernandez, et al., 2020; James, et al., 2016). Similarly, SS was stigmatized and stereotyped due to their gender identity and sexual orientation. Indonesian society's perspective on individuals who adhere to the 'childfree lifestyle' is generally discriminative, which is why SS was called out for being a lesbian and shamed for not being able to conceive a child on their own (Agrillo & Nelini, 2008; Alyssa, 2022; Basten, 2009; Koropecj-Cox, et al., 2018; Marfia, 2022; Pelton & Hertlein, 2011).

Because of their gender identity, TT also endured physical abuse that was perpetrated by a member of their own family. They recalled having been slapped by their sister as an attempt to 'preserve their family's dignity' as TT suspects that having a trans person in the family goes against 'traditional Indonesian family values'. The violence experienced by the informants and its physical and psychological consequences highlight the need for gender and sexuality education in conservative societies like Indonesia (Clark, et al., 2018; Dimant, et al., 2019; Haverkamp, 2018; Paechter, et al., 2021).

Although Garcia Rodriguez (2024) found that queer Muslims in Indonesia still place biological ties at the center of their idea of 'home', which directly ties to their feelings of belonging, our study, on the other hand, reflects on the significance of the 'chosen family' for these *priawan* individuals in Indonesia. Due to the reluctance of several families and blood relatives in accepting queer family members, the LGBTQ+ community is also known for providing a 'chosen family' to their members. A 'chosen family' within the context of LGBTQ+ studies refers to close relationships and support networks that LGBTQ+ individuals form with people who are not necessarily related by blood and marriage. These relationships can be lifesaving since they might help LGBTQ+ individuals to cope and develop a sense of resilience from societal rejection, discrimination, hate speech, among others. In Indonesia, there is still much to be explored regarding the queer chosen family. As mentioned by some of our informants, they have not disclosed their *priawan* identity to their family yet, but they have opened up to their chosen family (Blair & Pukall, 2015; Hailey, et al., 2020; Hull & Ortyl, 2019). It is also important to note that all of our informants are part of a regional or national LGBTQ+ organization in Indonesia, which allows them to form connections and develop a safety net in order to feel affirmed and validated. We would like to highlight the significance of community development in Indonesia, especially for the marginalized, to ensure that marginalized identities can feel and advocate to increase their sense of freedom, safety, and equity within the community and society in general (Alaydrus, et al., 2023).

## Conclusion

The existence of individuals who identify as *priawan* highlights the extent of gender diversity in Indonesia. Their gender identities, gender expression, and sexual orientation are fluid, thus further departing from the deeply rooted cisheteronormative ideal in Indonesian society. The results of this study show that *priawan* experience a variety of difficulties, most notably discrimination and gender dysphoria, both within and outside their immediate environments. They change their names, bind their chests, and undergo hormone therapy as coping mechanisms. In addition, informants reported experiencing various types of discrimination, both verbally and physically. They further report being the target of cisheteronormative stereotypes as well as gender invalidation. Such experiences of discrimination and violence constitute human right issues faced by *priawan* in Indonesia. We recommend inclusive gender and sexuality education, whether it be formal or nonformal education, to tackle systemic gender-based discrimination and abuse to ensure *priawan* individuals a safe space to exist and express themselves.

## Declaration of Conflict Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## References

- Aboim, S., & Vasconcelos, P. (2022). What does it Mean to be a Man? Trans Masculinities, Bodily Practices, and Reflexive Embodiment. *Men and Masculinities*, 25(1), 43–67. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X211008519>
- Agrillo, C., & Nelini, C. (2008). Childfree by choice: a review. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 25(3), 347–363. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08873630802476292>
- Agustin, T. V., & Ahmad, Muh. J. (2023). Legalitas Operasi Pergantian Gender di Indonesia. *Seminar Nasional: Penguatan Kapasitas Sumber Daya Manusia Menuju Indonesia Emas 2045*, 260–265.
- Akdemir, N. (2018). Deconstruction of Gender Stereotypes Through Fashion. *European Journal of Social Science Education and Research*, 8(2), 259–264. <http://dx.doi.org/10.26417/ejser.v5i2.p185-190>
- Alaydrus, S. M., Budianto, A. K., Artaria, M. D., Kaur, C., & Henneberg, M. (2023). Marginalized Communities During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Adaptation Strategies of Transgender Individuals in Indonesia. *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya*, 25(3), 255–268. <https://doi.org/10.55981/jmb.2023.2154>
- Aldilla, R. (2020). Kesetaraan Gender dan Sudut Pandang Masyarakat Mengenai Perempuan Pulang Malam di Desa Sidodadi Dusun III Kec. Sekampung Kab. Lampung Timur. *SETARA: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak*, 2(2), 83–92. <https://doi.org/10.32332/jsga.v2i2.2363>
- Alnoza, M., & Sulistyowati, D. (2021). Konstruksi Masyarakat Jawa Kuno terhadap Transgender Perempuan pada Abad ke 9-14 M. *AMERTA*, 39(1), 51–64. <https://ejournal.brin.go.id/amerta/article/view/3293>
- Alyssa, C. (2022). Konsep Diri Perempuan Childfree di Indonesia (Studi Komunikasi Perempuan yang Memilih Tidak Memiliki Anak), Skripsi thesis, Universitas Tarumanagara. <http://repository.untar.ac.id/34302/>
- Amindoni, A. (2022, May 22). *RKUHP: Wacana kriminalisasi LGBT, "Indonesia akan jadi negara paria."* BBC News Indonesia.
- Anzani, A., Decaro, S. P., & Prunas, A. (2023). Trans Masculinity: Comparing Trans Masculine Individuals' and Cisgender Men's Conformity to Hegemonic Masculinity. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 20, 539–547. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-021-00677-5>
- Arbani. (2012). Kejahatan Kebencian (Hate Crime) terhadap Transgender (Male to Female) dan Waria (Studi Kasus pada Shandiya, Mami Yuli dan Jeng Ayu), Fakultas Ilmu

- Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Indonesia.  
<https://lib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20354793&lokasi=lokal>
- Awijaya, A. P. (2021). Surga Itu Tak Beratap: Refleksi atas Spiritualitas Kaum Non-Heteronormatif dan Gerakan Melawan Diskriminasi Berbasis Gender dan Seksualitas yang Dilakukan atas nama Agama. *Indonesian Journal of Theology*, 9(2), 195–220. <https://doi.org/10.46567/ijt.v9i2.189>
- Barnes, H., Morris, E., & Austin, J. (2020). Trans-inclusive genetic counseling services: Recommendations from members of the transgender and non-binary community. *Journal of Genetic Counseling*, 29(3), 423–434. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jgc4.1187>
- Başar, K., Öz, G., & Karakaya, J. (2016). Perceived Discrimination, Social Support, and Quality of Life in Gender Dysphoria. *The Journal of Sexual Medicine*, 13(7), 1133–1141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsxm.2016.04.071>
- Basten, S. (2009). Voluntary childlessness and being Childfree. *The Future of Human Reproduction: Working Paper #5*, 1–23.
- Bell, J., & Telfer, N. (2019, March 5). “Chest binding: tips and tricks for trans men, nonbinary, and genderfluid people”. Clue. <https://helloclue.com/articles/cycle-a-z/chest-binding-tips-and-tricks-for-trans-men-nonbinary-and-genderfluid>
- Ben-Zeev, A., & Dennehy, T. C. (2014). When boys wear pink: A gendered color cue violation evokes risk taking. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 15(4), 486–489. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034683>
- Bennett, P. (2018). “Menswear in the millennium: Bending the gender binary”. In A. Lynch & K. Mendeleev (Eds.), *Fashion, Agency and Empowerment: Performing Agency, Following Script* (pp. 63–81). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Bernard, H. R. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (3rd ed.). Alta Mira Press.
- Blackwood, E. (2005). Gender Transgression in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64(4), 849–879. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911805002251>
- Blackwood, E. (2009). Trans Identities and Contingent Masculinities: Being Tombois in Everyday Practice. *Feminist Studies*, 35(3), 454–480. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40608385>
- Blackwood, E. (2010). *Falling into the Lesbi World: Desire and Difference in Indonesia*. University of Hawai'i Press. <https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824834425.001.0001>
- Blair, K. L., & Pukall, C. F. (2015). Family matters, but sometimes chosen family matters more: Perceived social network influence in the dating decisions of same- and mixed-sex couples. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality*, 24(3), 257–270. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cjhs.243-A3>
- Boellstorff, T. (2004). Playing Back the Nation: Waria, Indonesian Transvestites. *Cultural Anthropology*, 19(2), 159–195. <https://doi.org/10.1525/can.2004.19.2.159>
- Bolger, A., Jones, T., Dunstan, D., & Lykins, A. (2014). Australian Trans Men: Development, Sexuality, and Mental Health. *Australian Psychologist*, 49(6), 395–402. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ap.12094>
- Bornstein, K. (1994). *Gender outlaw: on men, women and the rest of us*. Vintage Books New York.
- Boyle, P. (2022). “What is gender-affirming care? Your questions answered”. *Association of American Medical College*. <https://www.aamc.org/news-insights/what-gender-affirming-care-your-questions-answered>
- Budge, S. L., Domínguez, S., & Goldberg, A. E. (2020). Minority stress in nonbinary students in higher education: The role of campus climate and belongingness. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 7(2), 222–229. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000360>

- Chakrapani, V., Scheim, A. I., Newman, P. A., Shunmugam, M., Rawat, S., Baruah, D., Bhattar, A., Nelson, R., Jaya, A., & Kaur, M. (2021). Affirming and negotiating gender in family and social spaces: Stigma, mental health and resilience among transmasculine people in India. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 24(7), 951-967. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2021.1901991>
- Clark, B. A., Veale, J. F., Townsend, M., Frohard-Dourlent, H., & Saewyc, E. (2018). Non-binary youth: Access to gender-affirming primary health care. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, 19(2), 158-169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2017.1394954>
- Cresswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. SAGE.
- Currier, A. (2010). Political Homophobia in Postcolonial Namibia. *Gender & Society*, 24(1), 110-129. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243209354275>
- D'Angelo, A. B., Argenio, K., Westmoreland, D. A., Appenroth, M. N., & Grov, C. (2021). Health and Access to Gender-Affirming Care During COVID-19: Experiences of transmasculine individuals and men assigned female sex at birth. *American Journal of Men's Health*, 15(6), 15579883211062681. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15579883211062681>
- Dalidjo, N. (2020). "Gender Ketiga dalam Tradisi Toraja". *Medium*. <https://medium.com/nurdiyansah-dalidjo/gender-ketiga-dalam-tradisi-toraja-e77fd94c0de9>
- Davies, S. G. (2001). Negotiating Gender: *Calalai* in Bugis Society. *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, 6, 1-14. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue6/graham.html>
- Davies, S. G. (2010). *Gender Diversity in Indonesia: Sexuality, Islam and Queer Selves*. Routledge.
- DeChants, J. P., Price, M. N., Green, A. E., Davis, C. K., & Pick, C. J. (2022). Association of Updating Identification Documents with Suicidal Ideation and Attempts among Transgender and Nonbinary Youth. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 19(9), 5016. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19095016>
- Diamond, L. M. (2020). Gender Fluidity and Nonbinary Gender Identities Among Children and Adolescents. *Child Development Perspectives*, 14(2), 110-115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12366>
- Dimant, O. E., Cook, T. E., Greene, R. E., & Radix, A. E. (2019). Experiences of Transgender and Gender Nonbinary Medical Students and Physicians. *Transgender Health*, 4(1), 209-216. <https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2019.0021>
- Franco-Rocha, O. Y., Wheldon, C. W., Osier, N., Lett, E., Kesler, S. R., Henneghan, A. M., & Suárez-Baquero, D. F. M. (2023). Cisheteronormativity and its influence on the psychosocial experience of LGBTQ+ people with cancer: A qualitative systematic review. *Psycho-Oncology*, 32(6), 834-845. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pon.6133>
- Galupo, M. P., Pulice-Farrow, L., & Pehl, E. (2021). 'There Is Nothing to Do About It': Nonbinary Individuals' Experience of Gender Dysphoria. *Transgender Health*, 6(2), 101-110. <https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2020.0041>
- Gansen, H. M., & Martin, K. A. (2018). "Becoming Gendered". In B. J. Risman, C. M. Froyum, & W. J. Scarborough (Eds.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender* (pp. 83-93). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76333-0\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76333-0_6)
- Garcia Rodriguez, D. (2024). Reimagining home and responsibility: The case of queer Indonesian Muslims. *Sexualities*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13634607241248894>
- Goldberg, A. E., & Kivalanka, K. A. (2018). Navigating identity development and community belonging when 'there are only two boxes to check': An exploratory study of nonbinary trans college students. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, 15(2), 106-131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19361653.2018.1429979>

- Goldberg, A. E., Kuvalanka, K. A., Budge, S. L., Benz, M. B., & Smith, J. Z. (2019). Health Care Experiences of Transgender Binary and Nonbinary University Students. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 47(1), 59–97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019827568>
- Hailey, J., Burton, W., & Arscott, J. (2020). We Are Family: Chosen and Created Families as a Protective Factor Against Racialized Trauma and Anti-LGBTQ Oppression Among African American Sexual and Gender Minority Youth. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 16(2), 176–191. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2020.1724133>
- Han, E., & O'Mahoney, J. (2014). British colonialism and the criminalization of homosexuality. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 27(2), 268–288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2013.867298>
- Hansbury, G. (2005). The Middle Men: An Introduction to the Transmasculine Identities. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 6(3), 241–264. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15240650609349276>
- Harry-Hernandez, S., Reisner, S. L., Schrimshaw, E. W., Radix, A., Mallick, R., Callander, D., Suarez, L., Dubin, S., Khan, A., & Duncan, D. T. (2020). Gender Dysphoria, Mental Health, and Poor Sleep Health Among Transgender and Gender Nonbinary Individuals: A Qualitative Study in New York City. *Transgender Health*, 5(1), 59–68. <https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2019.0007>
- Haverkamp, A. (2018). The Complexity of Nonbinary Gender Inclusion in Engineering Culture. 2018 ASEE Annual Conference & Exposition Proceedings. <https://doi.org/10.18260/1-2--31084>
- Hegarty, B. (2019). The Perfect Woman: Transgender Femininity and National Modernity in New Order Indonesia, 1968–1978. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 28(1), 44–65. <https://doi.org/10.7560/JHS28102>
- Hegarty, B. (2021). Governing Nonconformity: Gender Presentation, Public Space, and the City in New Order Indonesia. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 80(4), 955–974. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911821000747>
- Hegarty, B. (2022). The Made-Up State: Technology, Trans Femininity, and Citizenship in Indonesia. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501766664>
- Hoxmeier, J. C., & Madlem, M. (2018). Discrimination and Interpersonal Violence: Reported Experiences of Trans\* Undergraduate Students. *Violence and Gender*, 5(1), 12–18. <https://doi.org/10.1089/vio.2017.0003>
- Hughto, J. M. W., Pachankis, J. E., & Reisner, S. L. (2018). Healthcare mistreatment and avoidance in trans masculine adults: The mediating role of rejection sensitivity. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 5(4), 471–481. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000296>
- Hull, K. E., & Ortyl, T. A. (2019). Conventional and Cutting-Edge: Definitions of Family in LGBT Communities. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 16(1), 31–43. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-018-0324-2>
- Humaeni, A. (2016). Tabu Perempuan dalam Budaya Masyarakat Banten. *Jurnal Humaniora*, 27(2), 174. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.v27i2.10585>
- Ichwan, J. (2014). The Influence of Religion on the Development of Heterosexism in Indonesia. *Religi3n e Incidencia P3blica*, 2, 197–223.
- James, S. E., Herman, J. L., Rankin, S., Keisling, M., Mottet, L., & Anafi, M. (2016). The Report of the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey. In National Center for Healthcare Equality.
- Jansen, W. (2023). Living on the Line: Gendered Invisibilities among Queer Women and Transmen in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 47(2), 300–317. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2022.2090502>
- Jarrett, B. A., Corbet, A. L., Gardner, I. H., Weinand, J. D., & Peitzmeier, S. M. (2018). Chest Binding and Care Seeking Among Transmasculine Adults: A Cross-Sectional Study. *Transgender Health*, 3(1), 170–178. <https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2018.0017>



- Jasruddin, J., & Daud, J. (2017). Transgender Dalam Persepsi Masyarakat. *Equilibrium Jurnal Pendidikan*, 3(1), 19–28. <https://doi.org/10.26618/equilibrium.v3i1.509>
- Johnson, K. C., LeBlanc, A. J., Deardorff, J., & Bocking, W. O. (2020). Invalidation Experiences Among Non-Binary Adolescents. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 57(2), 222–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2019.1608422>
- Jones, M. C., Forsythe, D., Friedensen, R., Vaccaro, A., Miller, R. A., Kimball, E., & Forester, R. (2023). Disrupting cisheteronormativity in STEM through humanism. *Frontiers in Education*, 8, 1154275. <https://doi.org/10.3389/educ.2023.1154275>
- Jordan, P. (2017). Gender fluidity in men’s fashion: From Shakespeare’s modern English to the new millennium. *Critical Studies in Men’s Fashion*, 4(2), 171–184. [https://doi.org/10.1386/csmf.4.2.171\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/csmf.4.2.171_1)
- Julian, J. M., Salvetti, B., Held, J. I., Murray, P. M., Lara-Rojas, L., & Olson-Kennedy, J. (2021). The Impact of Chest Binding in Transgender and Gender Diverse Youth and Young Adults. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 68(6), 1129–1134. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2020.09.029>
- Kamody, R. C., Yonkers, K., Pluhar, E. I., & Oleski, C. L. (2020). Disordered Eating Among Trans-Masculine Youth: Considerations Through a Developmental Lens. *LGBT Health*, 7(4), 170–173. <https://doi.org/10.1089/lgbt.2019.0354>
- Knutson, D., Koch, J. M., & Goldbach, C. (2019). Recommended terminology, pronouns, and documentation for work with transgender and non-binary populations. *Practice Innovations*, 4(4), 214–224. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pri0000098>
- Koropecyj-Cox, T., Çopur, Z., Romano, V., & Cody-Rydzewski, S. (2018). University Students’ Perceptions of Parents and Childless or Childfree Couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, 39(1), 155–179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X15618993>
- Lee, A., Simpson, P., & Haire, B. (2019). The binding practices of transgender and gender-diverse adults in Sydney, Australia. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 21(9), 969–984. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2018.1529335>
- Loeppky, J. (2022, June 27). “Call Me By My Name: Name Changes Positively Effect Trans People”. *Verywell Mind*. <https://www.verywellmind.com/name-changes-positively-effect-trans-people-5496617>
- Loos, T. (2020). Reading Gender Trouble in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 79(4), 927–946. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911820002387>
- M’Baye, B. (2013). The Origins of Senegalese Homophobia: Discourses on Homosexuals and Transgender People in Colonial and Postcolonial Senegal. *African Studies Review*, 56(2), 109–128. <https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2013.44>
- Maharani, S., & Zafi, A. A. (2020). Respon Masyarakat kepada Pelaku Transgender. *Jurnal Intelektualita: Keislaman, Sosial Dan Sains*, 9(1), 193–202. <https://doi.org/10.19109/intelektualita.v9i1.5603>
- Marfia, S. M. (2022). Tren Childfree Sebagai Pilihan Hidup Masyarakat Kontemporer Ditinjau dari Perspektif Pilihan Rasional (Analisis Pada Media Sosial Facebook Grup Childfree Indonesia). UIN Sunan Ampel.
- Markovic, L., McDermott, D. T., Stefanac, S., Seiler-Ramadas, R., Iabloncsik, D., Smith, L., Yang, L., Kirchheiner, K., Crevenna, R., & Grabovac, I. (2021). Experiences and Interactions with the Healthcare System in Transgender and Non-Binary Patients in Austria: An Exploratory Cross-Sectional Study. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(13), 6895. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18136895>
- Matouk, K. M., & Wald, M. (2022, March 22). “Gender-affirming Care Saves Lives”. *Columbia Psychiatry*. <https://www.columbiapsychiatry.org/news/gender-affirming-care-saves-lives#>
- Matsuno, E., & Budge, S. L. (2017). Non-binary/Genderqueer Identities: A Critical Review of the Literature. *Current Sexual Health Reports*, 9(3), 116–120. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11930-017-0111-8>



- McFarland, W., Wilson, E. C., & Raymond, H. F. (2017). HIV Prevalence, Sexual Partners, Sexual Behavior and HIV Acquisition Risk Among Trans Men, San Francisco, 2014. *AIDS and Behavior*, 21(12), 3346–3352. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10461-017-1735-4>
- Milton, E. (2021, August 12). “Living in a gray area: The border between butch and trans man”. *The Daily of the University of Washington*. [https://www.dailyuw.com/arts\\_and\\_culture/living-in-a-gray-area-the-border-between-butch-and-trans-man/article\\_3fa2c856-24a2-11eb-be9d-0f3ccb3af4d4.html](https://www.dailyuw.com/arts_and_culture/living-in-a-gray-area-the-border-between-butch-and-trans-man/article_3fa2c856-24a2-11eb-be9d-0f3ccb3af4d4.html)
- Monro, S. (2019). Non-binary and genderqueer: An overview of the field. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, 20(2–3), 126–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2018.1538841>
- Mujugira, A., Kasiita, V., Bagaya, M., Nakyanzi, A., Bambia, F., Nampewo, O., Kamusiime, B., Mugisha, J., Nalumansi, A., Twesigye, C. C., Muwonge, T. R., Baeten, J. M., Wyatt, M. A., Tsai, A. C., Ware, N. C., & Haberer, J. E. (2021). ‘You are not a man’: a multi-method study of trans stigma and risk of HIV and sexually transmitted infections among trans men in Uganda. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, 24(12), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jia2.25860>
- Muttaqin, Z. (2020). Bahasa Subordinasi Perempuan Sasak. *Hasta Wiyata*, 3(1), 7–16.
- Paechter, C., Toft, A., & Carlile, A. (2021). Non-binary young people and schools: pedagogical insights from a small-scale interview study. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 29(5), 695–713. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2021.1912160>
- Parker, S. (2016). “Gender Fluidity”. In *Ethical Ripples of Creativity and Innovation* (pp. 165–173). Palgrave Macmillan UK. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137505545\\_19](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137505545_19)
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods (3rd ed.)*. Sage Publications.
- Peitzmeier, S. M., Gardner, I. H., Weinand, J., Corbet, A., & Acevedo, K. (2022). Chest binding in context: stigma, fear, and lack of information drive negative outcomes. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 24(2), 284–287. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2021.1970814>
- Peitzmeier, S. M., Gardner, I., Weinand, J., Corbet, A., & Acevedo, K. (2017). Health impact of chest binding among transgender adults: a community-engaged, cross-sectional study. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 19(1), 64–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2016.1191675>
- Peitzmeier, S. M., Silberholz, J., Gardner, I. H., Weinand, J., & Acevedo, K. (2021). Time to First Onset of Chest Binding-Related Symptoms in Transgender Youth. *Pediatrics*, 147(3). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-0728>
- Pelton, S. L., & Hertlein, K. M. (2011). A Proposed Life Cycle for Voluntary Childfree Couples. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, 23(1), 39–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08952833.2011.548703>
- Pfeffer, C. A. (2008). Bodies in Relation—Bodies in Transition: Lesbian Partners of Trans Men and Body Image. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 12(4), 325–345. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160802278184>
- Prasetyo, D., Arimbi, D. A., Davies, S. G., Suen, M. W., & Artaria, M. D. (2019). Priawan: Indonesian male transgenders. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, 32(3), 303–311. <https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V32I32019.303-311>
- Puckett, J. A., Maroney, M. R., Wadsworth, L. P., Mustanski, B., & Newcomb, M. E. (2020). Coping with discrimination: The insidious effects of gender minority stigma on depression and anxiety in transgender individuals. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 76(1), 176–194. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.22865>
- Pulice-Farrow, L., Cusack, C. E., & Galupo, M. P. (2020). ‘Certain Parts of My Body Don’t Belong to Me’: Trans Individuals’ Descriptions of Body-Specific Gender

- Dysphoria. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 17(4), 654–667. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-019-00423-y>
- Rahmawati, H. N. (2021). ‘Am I Man Enough?’: Diskriminasi terhadap Identitas Transpria Muda (Studi Analisis Video YouTube Trans Men Talk Indonesia). *Jurnal Studi Pemuda*, 10(1), 55–74. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.65214>
- Ramos-Pibernus, A. G., Rivera-Segarra, E. R., Rodríguez-Madera, S. L., Varas-Díaz, N., & Padilla, M. (2020). Stigmatizing Experiences of Trans Men in Puerto Rico: Implications for Health. *Transgender Health*, 5(4), 234–240. <https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2020.0021>
- Reddy-Best, K. L., & Pedersen, E. L. (2015). The relationship of gender expression, sexual identity, distress, appearance, and clothing choices for queer women. *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, 8(1), 54–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17543266.2014.958576>
- Reisner, S. L., Gamarel, K. E., Dunham, E., Hopwood, R., & Hwahng, S. (2013). Female-to-Male Transmasculine Adult Health. *Journal of the American Psychiatric Nurses Association*, 19(5), 293–303. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078390313500693>
- Reisner, S. L., Pardo, S. T., Gamarel, K. E., Hughto, J. M. W., Pardee, D. J., & Keo-Meier, C. L. (2015). Substance Use to Cope with Stigma in Healthcare Among U.S. Female-to-Male Trans Masculine Adults. *LGBT Health*, 2(4), 324–332. <https://doi.org/10.1089/lgbt.2015.0001>
- Richards, C., Bouman, W. P., Seal, L., Barker, M. J., Nieder, T. O., & T’Sjoen, G. (2016). Non-binary or genderqueer genders. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 28(1), 95–102. <https://doi.org/10.3109/09540261.2015.1106446>
- Saeidzadeh, Z. (2020). ‘Are trans men the manliest of men?’ Gender practices, trans masculinity and mardānegī in contemporary Iran. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 29(3), 295–309. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2019.1635439>
- Sailana, D. C. (2020). Parents’ understanding of gender towards parenting to teenagers. *Indonesian Journal of Social Sciences*, 12(1), 20. <https://doi.org/10.20473/ijss.v12i1.21157>
- Seelman, K. L., & Poteat, T. (2020). Strategies used by transmasculine and non-binary adults assigned female at birth to resist transgender stigma in healthcare. *International Journal of Transgender Health*, 21(3), 350–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2020.1781017>
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Tabaac, A., Perrin, P. B., & Benotsch, E. G. (2018). Discrimination, mental health, and body image among transgender and gender-non-binary individuals: Constructing a multiple mediational path model. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 30(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2017.1408514>
- Thajib, F. (2022). Discordant emotions: The affective dynamics of anti-LGBT campaigns in Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 50(146), 10–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2022.2005312>
- Tilotama, G. (2017). “Perempuan Pulang Malam Bukan Perempuan ‘Nakal’”. *Magdalene*. <https://magdalene.co/story/perempuan-pulang-malam-bukan-perempuan-nakal>
- Truszczynski, N., Singh, A. A., & Hansen, N. (2022). The Discrimination Experiences and Coping Responses of Non-binary and Trans People. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 69(4), 741–755. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2020.1855028>
- Ulasewicz, C. (2007). “The gendered meaning of dress”. In G. B. Stahly (Ed.), *Gender Identity, Equity, and Violence: Multidisciplinary Perspectives through Service Learning* (pp. 45–60). Stylus Publishing, LLC.
- Vincent, B., & Manzano, A. (2017). “History and Cultural Diversity”. In C. Richards, W. P. Bouman, & M. J. Barker (Eds.), *Genderqueer and Non-Binary Genders*. 1st ed. (pp. 11–30). Palgrave Macmillan UK. [https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51053-2\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51053-2_2)

- Wagner, J., Sackett-Taylor, A. C., Hodax, J. K., Forcier, M., & Rafferty, J. (2019). Psychosocial Overview of Gender-Affirmative Care. *Journal of Pediatric and Adolescent Gynecology*, 32(6), 567–573. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpag.2019.05.004>
- Wahyu, M., Bakar, A., & Tajuddin, M. S. (2023). Transwomen in Pandemic: Rights, Access and Exclusion. *Jurnal HAM*, 14(1), 55–68. <https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2023.14.55-68>
- Westmoreland, D. A., Carrico, A. W., Goodwin, R. D., Pantalone, D. W., Nash, D., & Grov, C. (2021). Higher and Higher? Drug and Alcohol Use and Misuse among HIV-Vulnerable Men, Trans Men, and Trans Women Who Have Sex with Men in the United States. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 56(1), 111–122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10826084.2020.1843057>
- White, C. R., & Jenkins, D. D. (2017). College students' acceptance of trans women and trans men in gendered spaces: The role of physical appearance. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 29(1), 41–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2016.1261749>
- Widiastuti, R. S. K., Risakotta, F. A., & Syamsiyatun, S. (2016). Problem-problem minoritas transgender dalam kehidupan sosial beragama. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 10(2), 83–110. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2016.1002-06>
- Zaslow, E. (2018). Pink toenails and princess boys: contemporary discourses of boys' gender-fluidity in USA television news. *Journal of Children and Media*, 12(3), 243–257.