



Santri Waria Social Space: Study of the Phenomenon of Waria Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School Yogyakarta

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Abstract

This research is about how the social space of transvestite students towards the community around the Al-Fatah transvestite boarding school. The Al-Fatah transvestite boarding school is a very rare boarding school, where this transvestite boarding school contains special transvestite students who want to undergo their spiritual needs comfortably. Where transgender people always get discrimination due to their differences. In addition, we know that there are many transgender communities in Indonesia, but they mostly focus on health and HIV prevention. However, this transgender boarding school has a religious focus, besides that this transgender boarding school is one of the only ones in Indonesia, precisely in the city of Yogyakarta. This research focuses on how fellow humans respect and honor each other.

Introduction

Homosexuality is a taboo phenomenon for Indonesian society itself, how not, homosexual perpetrators are a strange act and sexual deviation according to the lens of a heterosexual. Homosexuality is also an event that is always hot to be discussed from year to year, in this case researchers of homosexual perpetrators will be objectified to waria, because waria are not separated from being identified with homosexual perpetrators, because waria is definitely oriented to the same sex.

In essence, God created humans to be social creatures, because humans are actually weak creatures, where fellow humans need help from each other, our position as humans must indeed be maintained well with other fellow humans. As social creatures, humans always live in groups, where a small example is that neighbors are obliged to help them, then what about when being social to minority groups such as a transwoman? An example where society is very sensitive and always thinks negatively about waria, where waria are still considered sexual deviants, even they violate the rules of God's nature as men. But as fellow human beings, they cannot blame them completely, transvestites or transwomen will never ask to be born as transvestites to God, they feel that they are women trapped in a male body. Waria, especially in society in Indonesia, are still considered taboo, until they get various criticisms, ranging from intimidation, sexual harassment and their social space is confiscated, so that many waria do not get justice and protection. In fact, transvestites and gay and lesbian perpetrators, even heterosexuals are both creatures created by God, just as fellow humans should be equally protective and respectful (Moradi, 2023).

According to Nadia in her book that discusses waria (2005) is, there are factors that cause becoming a waria, namely developmental factors and, personality from birth, then there are habits of deviant behavior that continue and there is no affirmation, there is an attitude or view in a deviant direction, in this case when a waria is a teenager they feel different, until their

behavior acts like a woman is more feminine, but this attitude is still maintained in her, because they think they will feel inferior, then there is a supporting factor of the presence of friends that will continue and continue, namely when they are adults they will look for friends whose attitude is the same as hers, in this case the attitude of waria will continue until her wariness is attached to her (Rabbani & Imelda, 2021).

Then regarding the communities, waria will also have their own community, with the aim of fighting for their rights and so that they get protection, because waria are still vulnerable in the eyes of ordinary people. In life there is a community that sometimes its existence is hated by society, even waria places and communities are considered heretical and sexual deviant, even though ordinary people do not explore it further, they only accept the negative side. Even some of them want to dissolve their communities and places, such as waria huts, waria Islamic boarding schools that were originally located in Sleman in Yogyakarta.

Some people accept their existence, but not a few people support the existence of this waria Islamic boarding school, there are even some people who do not accept the existence of this waria Islamic boarding school. Because the Islamic boarding school is actually a place of noble assembly, where the place of the Islamic boarding school is actually a place to gain religious knowledge and grow students who are religious and clean-spirited. And there are only two distinctive Islamic boarding schools, namely Salafiyah and modern Islamic boarding schools, therefore some people who do not like the existence of waria pesantren try to close the place because it violates religious rules and religious norms (Lenggogeni et al., 2021).

The purpose of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school is so that minorities like them, feel comfortable when undergoing their worship and spiritual needs, as we know some of these Al-Fatah waria students still wear the attributes of women, namely mukena, if they worship in a place other than the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, it is likely to cause a great sense of misunderstanding, for the purpose of this waria Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school provides comfort to students when performing a worship. Therefore, researchers are very interested in researching this study, because of this place, ordinary people will throw away the stigma if waria do not escape sex workers, because what we know is that many waria who are still sex workers only meet their daily needs, but not infrequently waria do sex work, Some waria hold the profession of buskers (Nugroho et al., 2023).

Furthermore, regarding the response of the community around the waria Islamic boarding school, in his research Roudatul Jannah (2013) at the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school, community and waria relations were very good and even the community cooperated and mutual cooperation in the affairs of the waria Islamic boarding school. Waria are always enthusiastic in activities held by the community, for example such as community service, obituaries and regular recitations and others, there is no conflict between the community and the waria. In this study between society and waria has a very extraordinary tolerance trait (Putri et al., 2021).

Then how did the community react outside the waria Islamic boarding school, the waria community certainly did not escape rejection, especially the existence of the waria Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, quoted in Yazid article (2022), this place had wanted to be disbanded en masse, this rejection took place in 2016 from a group of people from certain organizations who organized an action to reject the presence of waria huts, because they were considered to violate religious rules and norms, Even at that time waria were forced to move because they thought that in religion it was not allowed, because waria were homosexuals, that is, their actions were *already Fahisyah*. Not stopping until rejection, they mass in the name of the word santri for waria. Finally, the caregiver of the waria Islamic boarding school, Ibu Shinta, the reason for using the name of the word santri is because the waria in that place aims to learn

religion and some students who live in the waria Islamic boarding school. In this rejection the organizations as if the label of sin is pinned on waria, then as if the word santri is considered haram and a great sin (Khairunnisa & Indrawati, 2017).

Then if waria social interaction with society is pro and con, then how does waria social space affect? In Yazid (2020) article on the influence of social space for waria, after the rejection of the waria Islamic boarding school, some waria had experienced severe trauma after the forced dissolution of the period, some waria had never come to the place of the Islamic boarding school again, because they felt afraid and threatened, so that the Islamic boarding school was empty and abandoned by these waria students. But not a few who support the existence of this waria Islamic boarding school, many of the surrounding communities support the existence of waria Islamic boarding schools, so it takes months to restore their trauma and confidence to carry out religious activities again at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, many ustadz are willing to teach at this waria Islamic boarding school, until now they continue to carry out religious activities well, without feeling any discrimination. In this explanation, transvestites are confident to study religion and feel at peace in their spirits. This is evidenced by the community that supports them, and until now waria are trying to fight for their full social space rights, because also some people still do not fully accept them (Kaharfin & Mariana, 2023.)

In this case, if waria and homosexual perpetrators have a lot of rejection and condemnation from the people of the State of Indonesia, then how do religionists respond, maybe if the response of scholars about homosexual perpetrators is *Fahisyah's act*, which is a very heinous act both according to Islam, even homosexual perpetrators get the death penalty by torture first, therefore if you do not want to add to the great sin by committing homosexuality, Then the offender must repent first. Maybe there are not many Muslim citizens, including the Indonesian state, who support the existence of LGBT, because some homosexuals are also diverse in Islam. maybe some Indonesians only support the existence of LGBT around their environment, it does not mean to eliminate or legalize LGBT, because even so waria or homosexual perpetrators they are also both creatures of God who must be respected and get the same justice as normal people get justice (Klein & Gorzalka, 2009).

In addition to the response of Muslim religionists, then how do religionists respond other than Islam? well here I as a researcher will explain a little about how the response of religionists other than Islam, namely one of the priests named *Pope Francesco* he is Catholic in his documentary entitled *Francesco* Saying "that homosexuals have the right to have a family, they are children of God and have the right to a family, no one should be thrown away or made miserable, because, what we have to make is a civil union law, that way they are protected by law". In the statement mentioned earlier by *Pope Francesco* it can be concluded that even gays, lesbians and even transvestites, they are all creatures of God, they also have the right to express their orientation to those they want and they also have the right to have a spouse of their choice. In fact, they deserve justice and protection against discrimination. It was in this statement that *Pope Francesco* immediately received such an extraordinary appreciation for the rainbows. Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism are not very strict in banning homosexuality, but Islam and critical religions strongly prohibit homosexuals and even a great crime and sin. But here I as a researcher have very difficult to find references to the names of these religionists, here can only explain about the prohibition (Faidah, 2014).

In my opinion, as a researcher of this study, maybe Indonesia is partly pro-contra to the existence of LGBT, maybe not many of them support, because LGBT is a taboo for Indonesian society, therefore living as gay, lesbian and even living as a waria often gets bullied a lot. Especially seeing the current phenomenon passing through social media, many celebrities are no longer ashamed to publicize their identities as lesbian, gay, transvestite. Until many of them

get the fruit of negative scorn, in this case also includes strong rejection of homosexuals. In Indonesia, some people support the existence of LGBT, but that does not mean allowing LGBT. In doing this research, of course, there are differences between previous research, maybe the similarity is that they both study waria but different studies (Khairunnisa & Indrawati, 2017).

In my research, I quote what will be used as further research, namely his book entitled "*The life of Santri Waria, Al-Fatah Yogyakarta*" and the journal entitled "*Social Construction of Social Society towards Waria*" in research have differences, where masturiyah research is legitimizing waria, namely that waria must be recognized, they exist and are also religious, And they also deserve peace of mind in life without discrimination against them. While the word journal is that if Indonesian people hate LGBT, then they still exist. In journal research, the word is the rejection of Indonesian society towards waria, so waria is considered a disgrace to their families, so as a result they do not get proper justice like normal humans in general. But what I have not found in this study is the social space for them, namely in the form of organizations and mass organizations, where many Indonesians have not fully recognized the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school and even the waria hut has not been accepted by the treasures of the ordinary Muslim community. Because of the commonplace elements of the Islamic boarding school, there are only Salafiyah and modern pesantren. The conclusion is that masturiyah studies legitimize waria, that waria need to be recognized, while word research that no matter how Indonesian people hate LGBT they still exist. And the difference from them, so here is to conduct a research where waria Islamic boarding schools are given social space and recognition both organizationally and mass organizations, because until now waria boarding schools are still not registered with the ministry of religion. Therefore, I did research in essence, if many waria Islamic boarding schools are still not recognized, why not change it to a waria community, so that people do not misunderstand the word pesantren. Because the word Islamic boarding school provides education and teaching to spread the religion of Islam (Gelarina, 2016; Munifah, 2018).

Methods

This study examines how the social space of waria students studies the phenomenon of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school Yogyakarta using descriptive qualitative, using objective facts. Data sources in this study include primary and secondary data, namely: Primary data, is data obtained from interviews with the head of the lodge and one of the waria students. Secondary data, researchers get from literature related to research in the form of library materials, both in the form of journals, books and articles. The research data was collected by observation techniques in the field. The presence of researchers in the study becomes a participant involved in the research location.

This research uses sociological and phenomenological approaches, based on the focus of its research which is based on social interaction between waria students and society. How is the interaction of waria with the community and vice versa the interaction of the surrounding community with waria. The phenomenology chosen by researchers to try to explore and find ways to socialize with fellow humans well and not discriminate gender (Sholeh, 2016).

In addition, using interview techniques by observation, documentation and literature studies are carried out to complement and perfect the data obtained both from interviews and observations in the field. In addition, for theoretical purposes, in order to obtain valid data and expand references to research problems related to the social space of waria students to study the phenomenon of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school. The interview technique is a form of two-person communication, which involves someone who wants to get data

information by asking questions with the aim of wanting to get data information (Nuryana et al., 2019).

After the data is collected, then the data is tested for validity with data triangulation techniques. Then edited and sorted. Qualitative data collected by participating observations, in-depth interviews and documentation studies, were analyzed with interactive models. This study uses *purposive* techniques where researchers look for informants who have deep knowledge of the data needed by researchers. Researchers tried to approach the head of the waria Islamic boarding school, Bunda Yuni Shara, where she was the new chairman, because the long-time leader had died. And the current residence has long moved, because the old place has been taken by the family of the first leader, Mrs. Sinta, she passed away in 2022.

Results and Discussion

History of Pondok Pesantren waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta

Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school was established in 2008, the beginning of the establishment of Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school was the idea of a transwoman from Yogyakarta named Maryani. Before the idea of establishing a waria Islamic boarding school, Maryani always attended the recitation, which at that time was attended by 3000 worshippers led by Kh. Hamrolie. KH. Hamrolie is Maryani's schooltime friend, from this activity KH's friendly relationship. Hamrolie and maryani are getting closer. Until finally Maryani invited the Muslim waria community to take part in the KH study. Hamrolie at his residence, including Sinta Ratri and other Muslim waria friends (Marwinata et al., 2020).

But in 2006, when Yogyakarta was hit by an earthquake that was so devastating, that some waria community in Yogyakarta died, an estimated 15 transwomen died. From this incident, Maryani had the initiative to hold a recitation in order to pray together for the death of her waria friends. A few lapses later KH. Hamrolie gave the idea to Maryani to build a special Islamic boarding school for Muslim waria, where at first KH. Hamrolie aims that waria do not need to follow distant taushia studies, Maryani certainly agrees with the proposal with KH. The Hamrolie (Interview with Mother Ruli, one of the waria students of Al-Fatah. On Sunday, March 3, 2024, at the residence of Mother Ruli at Waria Center at 13:00-14:15 WIB).

The Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school was originally called the waria hut Monday-Thursday, because the waria students carried out activities every Monday and we at the same time did not escape praying for their waria friends who had died due to the earthquake. This waria Islamic boarding school at that time was chaired by Maryani and led by KH. Hamrolie because he was also the one who taught the transvestite students at that time. Waria Islamic boarding school which was originally located in Notoyudan Hamlet, Pringgokusuman Village, Gedontengen District, Yogyakarta City. Basically, this waria Islamic boarding school was inaugurated in 2008, where at that time there were the names of three founders, namely Maryani, Kh.Hamrolie and Sinta Ratri.

But a few months later there was a conflict between KH. Hamrolie and Maryani, because of the original purpose of KH. Hamrolie's purpose to hold the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school is for waria students to return to their nature as men. But Maryani did not accept KH's purpose. Hamrolie, because according to Maryani being a waria is not wrong and being a waria is not an option, being a waria is a destiny from God that is accepted. So that the conflicts had entered several newspaper media (Syamsuddin & Hartini, 2022).

After the incident, the waria Islamic boarding school remained active in carrying out recitation activities, so Maryani passed away, where at that time the leader of the waria Islamic boarding school Al-Fatah Yogyakarta was led by Sinta Ratri's mother. The name of the Al-Fatah waria

Islamic boarding school at that time was very famous to academics, so many final students wanted to do a research at the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school, because according to academics the waria boarding school was a very rare community. After Maryani's death, the waria students were located at Sintra Ratri's residence in Sleman Bantul, Yogyakarta, where at the beginning the name of the Islamic boarding school was only Monday-Thursday to change patents to Waria Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school. The students always actively participate in activities at the Islamic boarding school (Interview with Mother Ruli, one of the waria students of Al-Fatah. On Sunday, March 3, 2024, at the residence of Mother Ruli at Waria Center at 13:00-15:00 WIB).

In 2016, the Islamic boarding school was suddenly attacked by one of the Islamic communities called the Islamic Jihad Front. This incident was reported on Indonesian TV media at the time. Where according to the views of the FJI community in Islam waria is not, and is very perverted. Even the existence of waria Islamic boarding schools is very inappropriate, because the purpose of Islamic boarding schools is only to improve themselves. So that Sinta Ratri as the leader clarified on TV media, Sinta Ratri believes that the purpose of this waria Islamic boarding school is a comfort space for waria students. Where many waria experience intimidation when performing worship in mosques, because they feel uncomfortable and different from others. So that the existence of this waria Islamic boarding school makes them comfortable when doing worship according to their wishes. Because before that waria preferred to pray in their respective homes for fear of misunderstandings, because some waria performed prayers wearing mukenah. In addition, the purpose of waria Islamic boarding schools is more focused on religion, where other waria communities focus more on health-themed communities, HIV prevention and waria Islamic boarding schools are more focused on religion so that waria can do spiritual needs in this place calmly.

In 2022, Sinta Ratri passed away, so many waria and including the waria community are saddened by Sinta Ratri's passing. Because he is very instrumental to this Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school, so that the community around the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school does not mind the existence of this waria Islamic boarding school, because many surrounding communities sometimes contribute to attending studies at the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school. After the death of Sinta Ratri, the waria students were confused about where to move, because the place of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school was Sinta Ratri's house, which was taken over by her family. So that in October 2023, researchers received information that waria students moved to the location of Jetis Harjo sub-district, which is currently led by Bunda Yuni Shara. Until now, recitation activities continue (Umrah, 2022).

Social space of Santri Waria in the Community Environment

Before the researcher explained, the explanation of this research, flasback when waria students were still at Sinta Ratri's residence. Humans actually live in society and will need each other. Social space is one of the most important spaces for community life in urban and rural areas, where this area often escapes the attention of planners or related parties. In fact, social spaces are like a type of coffee shop that grows in various urban or rural areas that are able to accommodate the process of social interaction and form cultural networks that strengthen social bonds between communities in it. Therefore, this study aims to identify the behavior of waria students towards the community in utilizing the existence of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school. And vice versa, how is the interaction of the surrounding community with waria students (Khafsoh et al., 2022).

The community of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school certainly has a considerable influence on the existence of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school. Waria students and

the surrounding community always maintain a good relationship with the surrounding community. Therefore, it is proven by the good relationship between waria satri and the surrounding community. In addition, when waria Islamic boarding schools held events, the community was also present and enlivened the event. The event is held from free clinics, *soft skills* training, to events on Islamic religious holidays. In this case, it is proven how the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school makes the best use of it so that relations are well established with the community. So that the negative feelings and the emergence of negative thoughts towards transwomen are not what they imagined. This study does not mean supporting LGBT, but this study focuses on how others respect and respect each other. Because in the word of Allah surah Al-Hujarat 49:11

Meaning: O believers, let not one group of men despise another, perhaps the one who is laughed at is better than them. And let not one group of women demean another, perhaps the one who is degraded is better. And do not be reproachful of yourself and do not call with titles that contain ridicule. As bad as vocations are after faith and those who do not repent are tyrants.

In the above verse it is affirmed that otherwise one should revile one another and exorcise the ugliness of another. Because humans are not free from mistakes, it is best for humans to advise enough. If the person no longer listens to him as a fellow human being, just pray.

During the Al-Fatah waria boarding school at Sintia Ratri's residence, the waria and the community had a very good relationship. There was even one of the residents who was willing to teach the Qur'an to the waria student. In addition, the existence of this Islamic boarding school throws away the negative stigma against the community who think that waria is always identified with ugliness. Therefore, this waria Islamic boarding school is where waria students have the right to full opportunity to learn about Islam in depth.

Furthermore, regarding the social waria students in the new place, namely Jetis Harjo sub-district, so far the surrounding community has accepted the existence of the Islamic boarding school. Because this new place cannot be actively inhabited but only a place like a secretariat, but for the recitation activities of waria students are still carried out even though once a week, namely every Sunday afternoon morning at 15:00 WIB. For waria students, some live in a boarding house and some have their own houses. In addition, waria students continue to do their daily work, where waria students work as buskers, work in factories and offices, besides that waria students have their own businesses such as beauty salons and open cafes or installments in their homes (Interview of Bunda Yuni Shara as the head of the Al-Fatah waria Islamic boarding school Yogyakarta. At 15:00 WIB, February 29, Wednesday. In the place of Waria Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, Jetis Harjo District).

Minorities (Transwomen) In the interpretation of the Quran

The Qur'an has since reminded its people not to make the position of minorities always underestimated. Though the Quran does not introduce the concept of majority and minority like these transvestites. The Qur'an introduces the concept of al-musawa i.e. equality, rights and duties for all citizens without emphasizing the existence of majorities and minorities.

Surah Al-Hujarat verse 13 (mutual respect for fellow human beings)

Meaning: O man! Truly, We created you from a man and a woman, and We made you into nations and tribes so that you might know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious. Truly, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Knowing.

Tafsir Al-Musayar

In the interpretation of Al-Musayar's tafsir it is explained that Allah actually created man one father and one mother, namely Adam and Eve. Then do not be arrogant because truly as a creature God created will Return to him. Allah made his servants into nations and tribes through the process of descent so that Some of you might know each other. Indeed, the one who begins among men is the most pious.

Tafsir Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah

After Allah commands believers to become brothers, then as beings must live peacefully without conflict. Even in this verse Allah forbids ridicule, reproach and prejudice and find faults and gossip. It is understandable, especially to minorities such as transwomen, many of them experience intimidation and verbal and non-verbal abuse. So this verse also proves that as fellow human beings it is not permissible to gossip to these minorities. Regardless of deviant behavior is enough as humans remind each other, if they don't listen then enough we pray for them. In addition, some transwomen are also entitled to perform a virtue as a human being such as undergoing prayer and fasting (Abdillah & Izzamillati, 2021).

In this presentation, waria violate the nature of being men, where they should behave like men in general, instead they change themselves as women. But on the other hand as humans can't blame them, because they also don't want to be born as transvestites. The existence of this Islamic boarding school is intended so that waria students have the opportunity to improve themselves. Regardless of deviant behavior is their business with their god. In this study it is not supporting LGBT but this research focuses on how to do good and socialize to fellow humans (Arfanda & Anwar, 2015).

Conclusion

In essence, God created human beings who are social, where they help and need each other. Man's position in God's eyes is the same, even God forbids vilifying, killing, harassing others. In this conclusion we focus on minorities, namely transwomen or waria. Where they always experience intimidation and harassment verbally and non-verbally.

Transwomen especially in Indonesia always experience discrimination, so that transwomen stand with various communities. One of them is the waria Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, where the purpose of this Islamic boarding school is to focus on religion and so that students undergo their spiritual worship comfortably. In addition, the purpose of the waria Islamic boarding school is to discard the negative stigma against people who have thought negatively.

The surrounding community began to accept the existence of the Islamic boarding school, because waria also have the right to do good, with the existence of this waria Islamic boarding school Some waria no longer do negative work such as prostitutes. Because waria students mostly work from being buskers to working in offices.

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