

NEW RELIGIOSITY TREND AMONG MINORITY MUSLIMS: THE CASE OF PONDOK PESANTREN WARIA AL FATAH IN YOGYAKARTA

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Abstract

This research explores the phenomenon of the Al-Fatah transgender Islamic boarding school in Yogyakarta as a representation of a new trend of religiosity among Muslim minorities. Through a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews and participant observation, this research reveals how the Islamic boarding school has become a space for waria to express their religious and gender identities simultaneously. The findings show that this Islamic boarding school creates an inclusive community that allows waria to feel spiritual closeness without fear of social stigma. Apart from that, this Islamic boarding school also provides religious training and daily life skills, strengthening the independence and empowerment of waria socially and economically. The results of this research provide new insight into the dynamics of minority religiosity in Indonesia and the importance of inclusion in creating space for all individuals to express their beliefs and identities. With systematic research, a model for establishing Islamic learning institutions for minority and marginalized groups can be adapted from the *Pesantren Waria* to be implemented in other communities.

Keywords: *Minority, Pesantren Waria, Religiosity Trend, Waria*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi fenomena pesantren waria Al-Fatah di Yogyakarta sebagai representasi tren baru religiositas di kalangan minoritas Muslim. Melalui pendekatan kualitatif dengan wawancara mendalam dan observasi partisipan, penelitian ini mengungkap bagaimana pesantren tersebut menjadi ruang bagi waria untuk mengekspresikan identitas keagamaan dan gender mereka secara bersamaan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa pesantren ini menciptakan komunitas inklusif yang memungkinkan waria merasakan kedekatan spiritual tanpa takut terhadap stigma sosial. Selain itu, pesantren ini juga memberikan pelatihan keagamaan dan keterampilan hidup sehari-hari, sehingga memperkuat kemandirian dan pemberdayaan waria secara sosial dan ekonomi. Hasil penelitian ini memberikan wawasan baru tentang dinamika religiositas minoritas di Indonesia dan pentingnya inklusi dalam menciptakan ruang bagi semua individu untuk mengekspresikan keyakinan dan identitas mereka.

Kata Kunci: *Minoritas, Pesantren Waria, Tren Religiusitas, Waria*

Introduction

Indonesia, as a multicultural country rich in ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. This diversity is an extraordinary social wealth when communities collaborate and work together to strengthen the nation. However, if not managed properly, this diversity can become a trigger for conflict and violence that disrupts the stability of communal life.¹ Therefore, sooner or later, the social development of Indonesian society will continue to follow the pace of changing times.² In Indonesia, education about

¹ N H A Zayd et al., *Reformation of Islamic Thought: A Critical Historical Analysis*, WRR Verkenningen Series (Amsterdam University Press, 2006), https://books.google.co.id/books?id=0UZc_Yvle_AC.

² T. Romi Marnelly, "DINAMIKA SOSIAL BUDAYA MASYARAKAT MELAYU PESISIR (Studi Pengelolaan Madu Sialang Di Desa Rawa Mekar Jaya)," *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya* 19, no. 2 (2018): 149, <https://doi.org/10.25077/jaisb.v19.n2.p149-154.2017>.

tolerance is closely related to the social dynamics of society, which are based on attitudes of mutual understanding and respect for fellow human beings regardless of ethnic, religious, racial, or social status differences.³

Tolerance in the context of Islamic education is taught, among other ways, through Islamic boarding schools (pesantren). Pesantren is the oldest Islamic educational institution that has long been recognized and is an integral part of Indonesian society's culture. Pesantren plays an important role as a center for learning and understanding in Islamic sciences, as well as a center for spreading Islamic teachings in society.⁴ Besides being centers of education, pesantren have also evolved into centers of empowerment in various fields, including social, economic, political, and community development.⁵

Amidst the dynamics of traditional and modern pesantren, there emerges an interesting new phenomenon, namely the establishment of Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School in Yogyakarta. The presence of a waria (transgender) pesantren is considered unusual in society, especially since traditional pesantren are typically regarded as sacred institutions focused on deepening Islamic values. As centers for learning and spreading religious teachings, pesantren generally do not cater to minority groups like waria, as it is seen as incompatible with their existence.⁶

In Indonesian society, which has a religious background with diversity in religion and culture, heterosexual orientation is commonly considered the norm, i.e., relationships between individuals of different genders. Meanwhile, other sexual orientations are seen as uncommon or deviant, such as homosexual, bisexual, and transgender orientations⁷, because they are perceived as not in line with the values and norms that have long been established in society.⁸

The presence of waria in society is an undeniable fact. According to Blackwood, transgender individuals in Indonesia often identify themselves as waria, which is an abbreviation for wanita-pria (woman-man).⁹ Waria are individuals who are born male but express themselves femininely or identify themselves as having a female soul.¹⁰ The mismatch in roles played by waria often leads to negative stigma from society, resulting in them being unrecognized in social environments. As a result, waria often become

³ Fajri Sodik, "Pendidikan Toleransi Dan Relevansinya Dengan Dinamika Sosial Masyarakat Indonesia," *Tsamratul Fikri / Jurnal Studi Islam* 14, no. 1 (2020): 1, <https://doi.org/10.36667/tf.v14i1.372>.

⁴ Setiyawan, "Model Pendidikan Toleransi Di Pesantren Modern Dan Salaf Ali Maksum," *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 53, no. 9 (2017): 1689–99.

⁵ Irham Abdul Haris, "Pesantren: Karakteristik Dan Unsur-Unsur Kelembagaan," *An-Najah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam Dan Sosial Agama* 02, no. 04 (2023): 1–9, <https://journal.nabest.id/index.php/annajah>.

⁶ V S R Umroh, "Advokasi Terhadap Kaum Waria Di Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 6 (2022): 11288–95, <https://www.jptam.org/index.php/jptam/article/view/4229%0Ahttps://www.jptam.org/index.php/jptam/article/download/4229/3537>.

⁷ Diyala Gelarina, "Proses Pembentukan Identitas Sosial Waria Di Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisiplin* 2, no. 1 (2016): 31–59.

⁸ Putri Lenggogeni, Firman, and Rusdinal, "Pandangan Masyarakat Terhadap Waria (Studi Kasus Padang Barat)," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 5, no. 1 (2021): 69–72.

⁹ Asrul Nur Iman et al., "A Study of Transvestites: The Self-Presentation of Bissu," *Journal of Social Sciences Research*, no. Specialissue2 (2018): 70–75, <https://doi.org/10.32861/jssr.spi2.70.75>.

¹⁰ Amirah Fadhlina, "Waria, Worship, and Welfare: Exploring Trans Women's Conditions of Precarity Amidst COVID-19 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 2024, 78–94, <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2024.1>.

victims of intolerance in society.¹¹ Waria are often associated with street life, commercial sex work, and other terms with negative connotations. Quitting such jobs often leads to economic and social changes, ultimately causing stress due to various psychosocial pressures they experience. Even if a waria pursues a different profession, they may not necessarily be accepted by society due to negative stereotypes deeply rooted in societal norms.¹² Waria should have the same rights as other humans to live decently. However, because they often face discrimination, they become marginalized minority groups. Even in religious aspects, waria are often considered sinful humans and are hindered from worshiping, with the belief that they should return to their original identity as males. As a result, waria often face discrimination when attempting to perform religious rituals.¹³

This research discusses the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School in Yogyakarta as a manifestation of the growing religiosity trend among minority Muslim groups. In this context, minority Muslim groups such as waria feel the need to have adequate space to deepen their understanding of their religion and practice their religious beliefs without experiencing discrimination or restrictions. Moreover, this pesantren also serves as a platform to strengthen the religious identity of waria, provide social support, and care for their holistic well-being. The following research will investigate the driving factors behind its emergence, its impact on the structure, learning patterns and curriculum, activities at the pesantren, as well as the adaptation of waria pesantren to religious and cultural values in Indonesia. The aim is to provide a deeper understanding of the waria pesantren phenomenon and its implications for religious and social dynamics in Indonesia, as well as to create a model for developing inclusive preaching institutions for marginalized groups.

Method

This research employs a qualitative research method aimed at investigating phenomena in-depth, considering differences between cases, and understanding the researched issues carefully.¹⁴ This study focuses on understanding the phenomenon of the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School in Yogyakarta as a trend of religiosity among minority Muslim communities in Indonesia.

Data collection techniques for the research will be obtained through two methods: field research involving interviews with respondents and library research encompassing literature review including journals, books, and others. Field research is a type of research that utilizes information obtained from individuals or groups who are the subjects of the research, referred to as respondents and informants. This information is collected through data collection tools such as questionnaires, observations, interviews, and the like.¹⁵ The research materials include primary and secondary data. Primary data will be obtained from

¹¹ Muhyidin Abdillah Nila Izzamillati, "Menyelesaikan Masalah Intoleransi: Analisis Peran Dan Bentuk Komunikasi (Studi Kontroversi Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Komunikasi Makna* 9, no. 1 (2021): 21–28, <http://jurnal.unissula.ac.id/index.php/maknaDOI:http://dx.doi.org/10.30659/jikm.9.1.21-28>.

¹² Anya Mahfirahtikha et al., "Coping Stres Pada Waria Yang Berhenti Menjadi Pekerja Seks Komersial," n.d., 1–13.

¹³ Andika Dwi Amrianto et al., "Diskriminasi Terhadap Kelompok Waria Di Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta," *Binamulia Hukum* 12, no. 1 (2023): 65–80, <https://doi.org/10.37893/jbh.v12i1.185>.

¹⁴ Syafrida Hafni Sahir, *Metodologi Penelitian* (Bantul: Penerbit KBM Indonesia, 2021).

¹⁵ Rahmadi, *Pengantar Metodologi Penelitian* (Antasari Press, 2011), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=linKEAAQBAJ>.

the actual research location, namely the Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School in Yogyakarta, located in Cokrodingratan, Yogyakarta City, Special Region of Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, secondary data will be obtained from sources other than the original, such as journals, books, and others.

Result and Discussion

The History and Factors Behind the Establishment of Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah

The establishment of Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah originated from the 2006 earthquake in Yogyakarta, which inspired the transgender community to hold joint prayers for the earthquake victims, including transgender individuals. This joint prayer event was led by KH. Hamroeli, who was the leader of Majelis Mujahadah, a religious gathering in Pathuk. Maryani, a 52-year-old transgender woman, felt the high level of social and religious discrimination against transgender individuals in society. Maryani wanted to prove to society that transgender individuals have the right to worship and should not be subjected to discriminatory treatment.¹⁶ The establishment of this boarding school is motivated by several factors, including the frequent challenges faced by transgender individuals such as rejection from family, discriminatory treatment from the surrounding community, and often becoming victims of both verbal and non-verbal violence. As a result, they feel isolated and marginalized by their families and society, leading to many people not accepting the existence of the transgender community.¹⁷ On the other hand, transgender individuals also need a safe and comfortable place to practice their spiritual worship.

This boarding school was originally called the Monday-Thursday Waria Boarding School. Pondok Pesantren Waria "Senin-Kamis" Al-Fatah is located in Notoyudan, Pringgokusuman Village, Gedong Tengen Sub-district, Special Region of Yogyakarta. The exact address is Kampung Notoyudan GT II/1294 RW 24 RT 85.¹⁸ This was realized after several months of Maryani attending religious studies, and finally KH. Romlie proposed to establish a boarding school so that transgender individuals could practice their worship properly. The three main figures who founded Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah were Maryani, Shinta Ratri, and Ust. KH. Hamroeli.¹⁹

The naming of the transgender boarding school did not happen spontaneously, as previously the Yogyakarta Family Planning Association (PKBI), which had provided support to the transgender community, proposed that the boarding school be named the LGBT Boarding School (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender), with the aim of accommodating the spiritual needs of the lesbian and gay groups as well. However, during the meeting, Vionila Wakijo, as the chairwoman of KEBAYA Yogyakarta, objected to the name because the boarding school was specifically intended for transgender individuals and the initiative to establish the boarding school came from the transgender community itself. Therefore, the decision was made to name the boarding school Pondok Pesantren

¹⁶ Laelatul Nadziroh, "Strategi Pembinaan Santri Waria Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Fatah Yogyakarta" (Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga, 2023).

¹⁷ Mirna Nur and Alia Abdullah, "Eksistensi Komunitas Srikandi Pasundan Bagi Transpuan," 2022, 1329–40, <https://doi.org/10.32884/ideas.v8i4.991>.

¹⁸ Arif Nuh Safri, "PESANTREN WARIA SENIN-KAMIS AL-FATAH YOGYAKARTA: Sebuah Media Eksistensi Ekspresi Keberagamaan Waria," *ESENSIA* 15, no. 2 (2014): 251–60.

¹⁹ Fauzan Maulana Ikhsan, "Pola Adaptasi Praktik Shalat Santri Waria Di Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2020).

Waria instead of Pondok Pesantren LGBT. The name “Senin-Kamis” was given because of the religious study activities led by KH. Hamroeli with the community usually took place on Mondays and Thursdays. This boarding school adopted the format and name of the religious studies practiced by KH. Hamroeli for their activities, which took place from Sunday afternoon to Monday morning, and Wednesday night to Thursday morning.²⁰

The establishment of the boarding school was not without its difficult and lengthy dynamics. It began with an internal conflict between K.H. Hamroli and Maryani regarding the original purpose of establishing the boarding school. He proposed the Waria Boarding School for transgender individuals to repent and become true men according to their nature, while Maryani and the students rejected it. They considered being transgender as fate rather than a disease to be cured. K.H. Hamroli chose to withdraw from the boarding school. Since then, activities in the boarding school became rare because it lacked a kyai (Islamic scholar) and guiding ustadz (religious teacher). After several months, Ustadz Abdul Muiz Ghazali came to help. The boarding school became active again.

Furthermore, when the Waria Boarding School became active again after the internal conflict, Maryani changed the name from Monday-Thursday Special Transgender Boarding School to Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah. This name change was made because the name Senin-Kamis Boarding School required transgender students to fast voluntarily on Mondays and Thursdays. On the other hand, Waria Al-Fatah Boarding School does not require transgender students to fast voluntarily but emphasizes the spiritual aspects of students in general, such as patience and contentment. The reason for this name change was also because Maryani wanted to express her gratitude for the kindness shown by K.H. Hamroeli. Therefore, Maryani chose to name the boarding school Pondok Pesantren Waria with the name Al-Fatah, which is the same name as the religious gathering led by the kyai.²¹

The Waria Boarding School also experienced conflict with the Islamic Jihad Front (FJI) amid the prevalent LGBT issues in Indonesia. In 2016, the FJI raided the boarding school citing Sharia violations. This was due to a misunderstanding caused by media publications reporting that the Waria Boarding School would compile transgender jurisprudence (fiqh). However, at that time, the Sharia Faculty of UIN Sunan Kalijaga collaborated with the Waria Boarding School to create a book on marginalized fiqh in general. This resulted in the boarding school being closed for up to 4 months. Despite the setback, the raid was actually the beginning of the resurgence of the Waria Boarding School. With the support of the community, local authorities, religious scholars, and families of the students, the Waria Boarding School was able to recover.²²

This boarding school also underwent several relocations. Initially, the boarding school was located in a rented house in Notoyudan owned by the first leader of the boarding school, Bunda Maryani. After Bunda Maryani passed away, the location of the boarding school was moved to Kotagede, to the house owned by Bunda Shinta Ratri. At that time, the boarding school experienced a period of hiatus due to changes in leadership and the relocation of the boarding school, which occurred after the death of Bunda

²⁰ Achmad Yazid, “Dinamika Ketahanan Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta 2006-2018 M,” *Journal of Islamic History* 2, no. 1 (2022): 63–91, <https://doi.org/10.53088/jih.v2i1.319>.

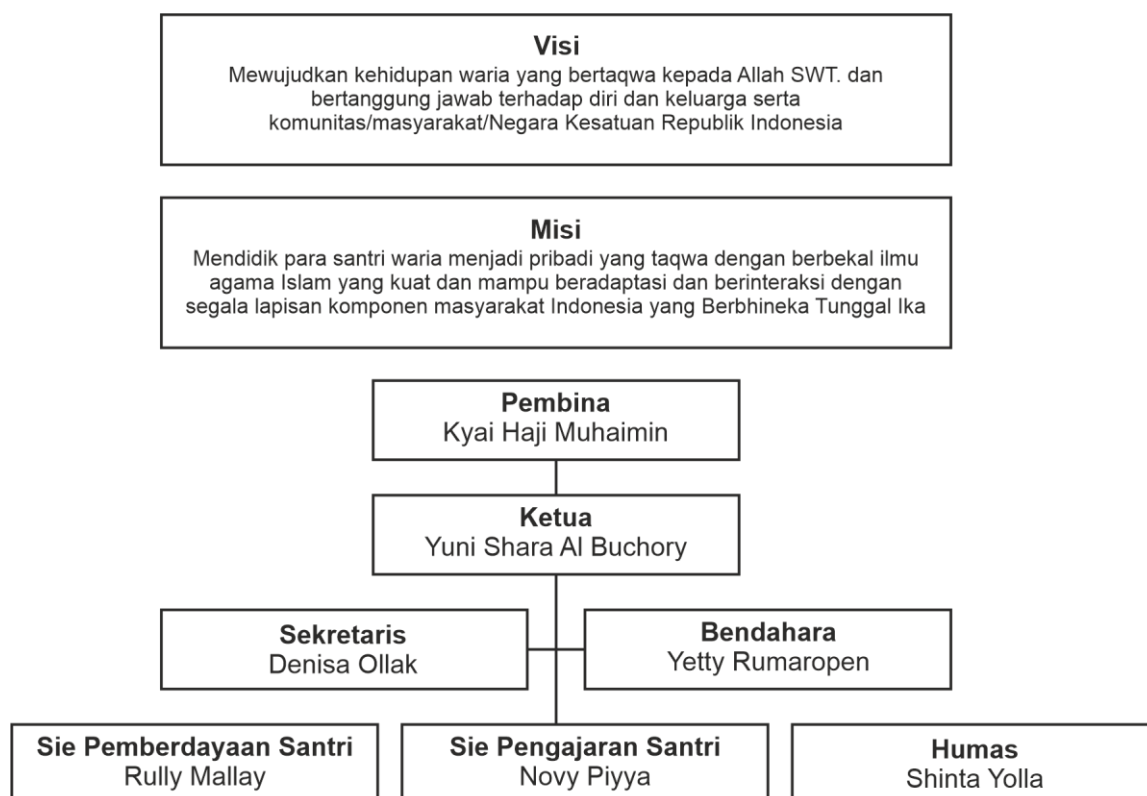
²¹ Masthuriyah Sa’dan, *Santri Waria Kisah Kehidupan Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2020).

²² Yazid, “Dinamika Ketahanan Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta 2006-2018 M.”

Maryani as the leader of the boarding school. This hiatus and relocation lasted for several months.²³ Then the boarding school moved again in October 2023, according to the current leader of the boarding school, Mrs. YS Al Buchory. She also mentioned that since Covid-19, many students have dropped out, from around 60, only about 40 students remain. The factors are varied. Since September 2023 until now, the Waria Al-Fatah Boarding School has been located in Cokrodiningratan.

The Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah has an organizational structure that includes a supervisor, chairman, secretary, treasurer, and various divisions. The supervisor plays a key role in directing policies, providing input and advice, and serving as a forum for aspirations in the development of the boarding school in accordance with the established vision and mission.

Chart 1. Vision, Mission, and Organizational Structure of Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta 2024



The Al-Fatah Boarding School is indeed focused on the spiritual development of waria as well as providing a safe and comfortable place for them to worship. In supporting religious development, the boarding school also brings in instructors from outside, including lecturers to nurture the spirituality of waria, such as Ustadz Arief (a lecturer from IIQ Yogyakarta), Kak Rosida, Mba Alfa, and Ibu Eni.

The leadership period of Mrs. Yuni Shara Al Buchory can be considered a transitional period after Mrs. Nyai Shinta Ratri passed away last year. The waria boarding school then relocated from its original location in Kotagede, Yogyakarta, to

²³ Yazid.

Cokrodiningratan Village, Yogyakarta. As a result, many things needed to be rectified and adjusted, including the organizational structure and student data. Mrs. YS stated,

"After the passing of Mrs. Nyai Shinta, there were quite a few tasks that we had to complete, starting from relocating the boarding school, as during Mrs. Shinta's leadership, the boarding school was located on her property. At that time, there were many offers for locations to continue the boarding school, but after I carefully considered and consulted with certain parties, my friends and I agreed to rent a house in the Cokrodiningratan area."

Table 1. Data of Students at Pesantren Waria 2024

No	Name	Birth name	Place & Date of Birth	Address
1	Agus/Betty	Agus Santoso	Yogyakarta, 11-08-1964	Miliran, UH 1/76B RT 08/RW 03, Yogyakarta
2	Alia Putri	Alex	Jakarta, 19-09-1991	Ambon, Maluku
3	Ari Pardiyana	Pardiyana	Yogyakarta, 02-04-1964	Mantrirejo, Yogyakarta
4	Benny	Yudhi Candra	Sleman, 23-02-1965	Palembang
5	Davina Hamiddah	Akprino Joni Saputra	Solo, 14-04-1984	Tipes, Solo
6	Endang Saleho	Tentrum	Kutoharjo, 08-03-1985	Kutoharjo
7	Erna Mandala	Mujiaman	Yogyakarta, 09-12-1953	Bantul, Yogyakarta
8	Ema Waing	Agus Budiono	Kediri, 27-07-1953	Kediri
9	Erni	Dadang	Bandung, 06-08-1978	Bandung
10	Erni Menyan	Mukhtar	Indramayu, 14-05-1956	Indramayu
11	Hana Kalista	Hendy Harmoko	Magelang, 06-06-1984	Purwokinanti PA 1/276 B Yogyakarta
12	Inez Monica	Candra Putra N.C	Yogyakarta, 01-08-1986	Ronodigdayan DN III/509 Yogyakarta
13	Inul	Wisnu Setiawan	Jakarta, 26-08-1971	Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta
14	Jamilah	Warisno	Kebumen, 06-09-1975	Kebumen
15	Juna	Junaidi	Yogyakarta, 03-01-1979	Depok, Sleman
16	Kadita	Muhammad Aditya	Semarang, 15-02-1985	Kedungmadu, Semarang
17	Meme	Eko Riyanto	Yogyakarta, 24-08-1980	Sosrodipuran GT I/446, Yogyakarta
18	Mimin Aminah	Suparmin	Yogyakarta, 06-07-1965	Danurejan, Yogyakarta

19	Nia	Afriyandi Setiawan Hendro	Yogyakarta, 08-12-1991	Gambiran UH 5, Umbulharjo, Yogyakarta
20	Novi	Ali Muzaijin	Surabaya, 25-05-1977	Surabaya
21	Nur Ayu	Nur Handoko Sakti	Yogyakarta, 29-10-1985	Bangunharjo, Bantul
22	Nur Safitri	Nurgianto	Bantul, 29-10-1985	Kasihani, Bantul
23	Ollak	Deni Yanuariki	Yogyakarta, 09-01-1987	Depok, Sleman
24	Oni Saputra	Oni Saputra	Bantul, 09-03-1973	Sewon, Bantul
25	Perse Bakri	Bakri	Bantul, 08-04-1956	Bantul, Yogyakarta
26	Purwanti	ALB. S. Purnomo	Sleman, 15-06-1955	Seyegan, Yogyakarta
27	Purwanti Dewi	Andreas Purnomo	Yogyakarta, 29-02-1960	Miliran UH II/269 Yogyakarta
28	Reni Sujarwo	Sujarwo	Bantul, 25-12-1964	Sambeng I, Bantul
29	Rere	Wisnu Setiawan	Bantul, 15-09-1991	Kotagede, Yogyakarta
30	Kharisma Abimanyu	Wawan Kusnawan	Pangandaran, 23-12-1986	Pangandaran
31	Rina	Muharram Syahrudin Siregar	Batang Taru, 30-07-1961	Batang Taru, Sumatra Barat
32	Rini Kaleng	Joko Kurnia	Jakarta, 27-09-1969	Tangerang, Banten
33	Rully Malay	Andi A Majid RR Gunadya	Yogyakarta, 05-05-1958	Watampone
34	Shanty	Rustamadji	Yogyakarta, 05-05-1958	Gowongan, Yogyakarta
35	Yuni Shara	Fahri Daulay	Medan, 21-09-1960	Medan

Characteristics of Religious and Social Guidance for Santri at Al-Fatah Yogyakarta Waria Islamic Boarding School

Religious guidance is an effort to assist fellow human beings in increasing their piety towards the Almighty God, enabling them to overcome spiritual difficulties in their living environment and face the challenges they encounter by surrendering everything to Allah SWT.²⁴ Al-Fatah Yogyakarta Waria Islamic Boarding School has its own unique characteristics of religious guidance for its students, where equality in diversity and inclusivity are the primary values of education in this boarding school. This allows individuals with different gender backgrounds and sexual identities like waria to exercise their religious practices freely without intimidation from certain parties. Waria often

²⁴ Wiwik Anggranti, "Pembinaan Keagamaan Dalam Peningkatan Kesadaran Beragama Warga Binaan Lapas Perempuan Dan Anak Kelas II Tenggarong," *JPM: Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat* 1, no. 1 (2022): 14–22.

become targets of intimidation because they express gender differently from the general society (heterosexual).²⁵

This waria boarding school is in line with conventional Islamic boarding schools in prioritizing the understanding and practice of religious teachings. However, the difference lies in the absence of dormitories, meaning the students do not reside in the boarding school, and the frequency of guidance is only once a week on Sundays, unlike conventional boarding schools that conduct guidance sessions every day. This is because waria students need to work to meet their daily needs. The guidance conducted at this Waria Islamic Boarding School is well planned to achieve the boarding school's vision and mission, especially in providing comfort for waria to perform their worship, enhancing their understanding of religious spirituality, advocating for the government's recognition of waria existence, and fostering societal acceptance of their presence as human beings with equal rights. The planning of this guidance takes the following forms:

No	Types of Activities	Name of Activities	Decription of Activities
1	Weekly Routine Activities	Quranic Studies and Halaqah	The weekly routine study begins at 16.00 by holding intensive Quran study halaqaahs, where students are grouped according to their Quran reading skills. Each student deposits the reading to the teacher with the sorogan learning method. Then a routine study before Maghrib filled by Ustadz which ended with a question-and-answer session. Then the Maghrib prayer is congregational, praying, dhikr, yasinan and ends with the congregational Isha prayer. Waria also perform social gatherings which are carried out in accordance with performing Isha prayers in congregation.
2	Monthly/Incidental Activities	Workshop, Training and Upgrading Skills	Seminar activities on discussions about gender issues, Living Law with experts or students. Pesantren also plans discussion activities with students on campuses.
3	Annual Activities	Commemoration of Islamic holidays, Transgender Day	Annual events at this pesantren include celebrations of Islamic holidays such as Mawlid Nabi and Isra Mi'raj, as well as holding annual commemorations such as IDAHOT (International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia) which rejects discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community and commemorates International Transgender Day.

²⁵ Gelarina, "Proses Pembentukan Identitas Sosial Waria Di Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta."

Religious education at Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School also emphasizes social inclusion and community empowerment. Students are encouraged to become agents of positive change in society, promoting tolerance, diversity, and social justice. They are also provided with entrepreneurship training such as business skills and other soft skills that can support their lives and prepare them for work, such as cooperatives owned by the boarding school that sell various daily necessities.

The Islamic religious guidance activities at Al-Fatah Waria Islamic Boarding School serve several diverse functions. Firstly, it serves as an awareness-raising tool for waria regarding their existence as servants of Allah, which entails following His commands, avoiding His prohibitions, and doing good to others. This is in line with the statement of Mrs. YS during the interview,

"Even though I haven't prayed the five daily prayers yet, I know that I need Allah. The existence of this boarding school provides a safe and comfortable place for waria to perform religious practices. There is a sense of peace when I pray here at the boarding school."

Second, as a guide in learning the correct way to repent and to withstand temptations and negative influences from the surrounding environment that try to bring them down. Ibu Rere expressed,

"One day, I once prayed at one of the community mosques, even though I had already prayed on the second floor of the mosque, but still, I became the subject of ridicule by young children who considered me strange."

Third, as a way to fill leisure time and as a means to draw closer to Allah SWT, thus eliminating boredom and providing inner peace. And finally, as a source of entertainment that provides spiritual refreshment to bring tranquility to the hearts of waria. Ibu YS stated,

"We, waria, are often negatively labeled by society because of our jobs as street performers, sex workers, etc. The presence of this waria boarding school is expected to be a place for waria to fulfill their religious needs as well as a safe and comfortable place to witness our spiritual journey."

The dynamics and challenges faced by Pondok Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah can be an important moment for waria to express their identity in society, even becoming a starting point to reshape perceptions and values within society towards waria identity. By utilizing the religious identity and the label "boarding school" that is associated with the waria community, they can change the stigma that has been ingrained in society.

The Developments at Al-Fatah as a Model and Alternative Boarding School

In the journey of seeking God, waria (transgender women) often face numerous trials and tribulations. Certainly, establishing a boarding school for minorities differs from establishing a typical boarding school. Therefore, Pesantren Waria (Transgender Boarding School) developed a strategic plan, as described in an interview conducted by the author with the leaders of Pesantren Waria:

"After relocation, we developed a clear strategic plan. This plan was formulated by us, the board members, along with the mentors, including Ustadz Arif Nuh Safri."

In this regard, the author will detail each aspect one by one:

Table 2. Strategic Planning of Pondok Pesantren Waria

Final goal: Minimum 35 happy pesantren students born and inner (in the sense: Santri transpuan has money and a permanent job)			
Outcome		Output	
1.1.	Gepeng Regional Regulation does not discriminate against transwomen		
1.1.1	Society values transwomen not as deviant behavior	1.1.1.1	People have an inclusive and tolerant understanding of religion
		1.1.1.2	People understand about SOGIESC (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, Expression, and Sex Characteristics)
1.2	Santri is mentally and spiritually healthy	1.2.1	Santri accepts/is at peace with himself and his spiritual
		1.2.2	Santri has financial management skills
		1.2.3	Santri is confident and ready to pray in congregation in public places
1.3	The boarding school work program is running smoothly		
1.3.1	Young students are active in organizations	1.3.1.1	Young transwomen are confident and dare to organize (active)
		1.3.1.2	Young transwomen dare to express their opinions
1.3.2	Management regeneration by transwomen or young students	1.3.2.1	Santri understands the security policies of the community or organization
		1.3.2.2	Ponpes has a security policy in writing and socialized

Zulhimma (2013) in his journal discusses the elements of the formation of pesantren. Among them are the kyai (religious teacher), pesantren (Islamic boarding school), mosque, students (santri), and teaching of classical Islamic texts. All of these are basic requirements of a pesantren. In the journey to realize its vision, Pondok Pesantren Waria has already fulfilled these characteristics. The first characteristic is the kyai, or teacher. Currently, as stated by Ibu YS Al Buchory, Pondok Pesantren Waria is initiating revitalization and improvement after relocation. There are at least 4 permanent teachers and one guiding kyai at the Pesantren Waria. As shown in output 1.2.1.2, spiritual cleansing activities with the teachers are conducted to fulfill the spiritual needs of the waria students.

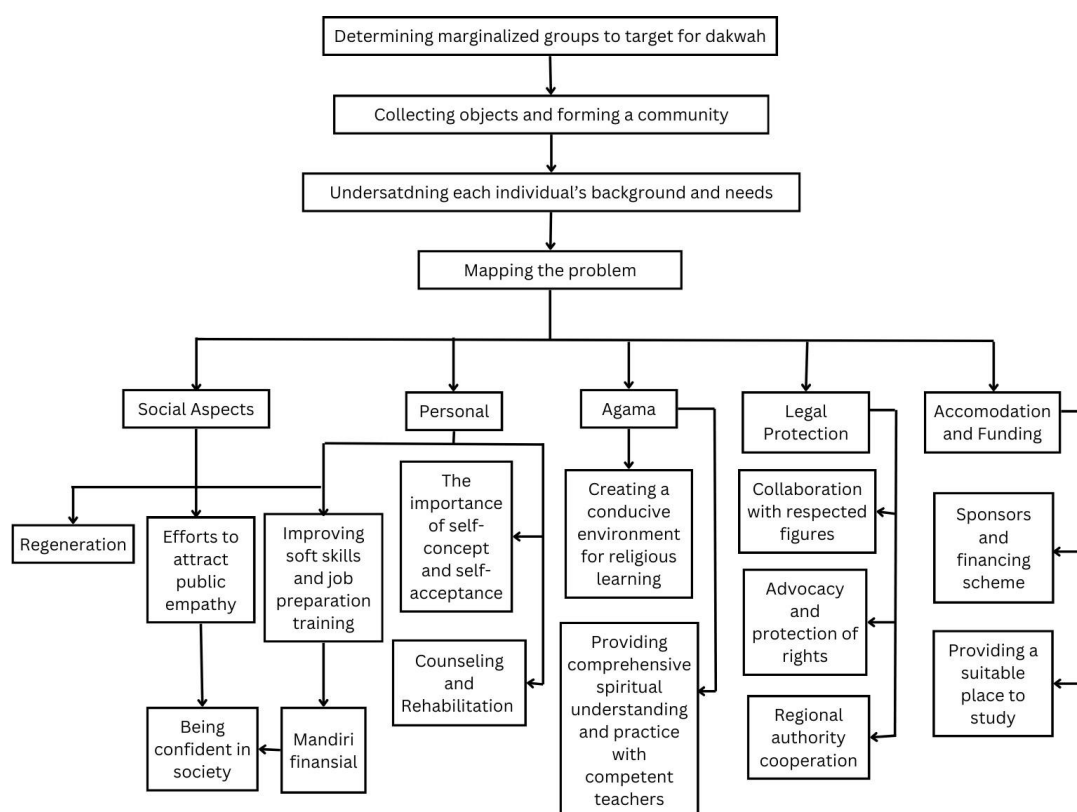
The next characteristic is the pesantren and mosque. The current location of the pesantren is in a small house in Cokrodingratan. This relocation is the third move. Although not large, it already has 1 hall used for teaching and worship activities, 1 workspace, 1 cooperative room, 1 bathroom, and 1 area for ablutions. The hall is considered adequate for activities considering the regular Islamic programs of the pesantren, which only occur on Sunday afternoons. Both students and teachers feel comfortable in the provided space during learning sessions. Next is the teaching of classical Islamic texts. In Pesantren Waria, besides learning Iqra', the Quran, and tahsin (Quranic recitation with Tajweed), students are also equipped with religious knowledge from classical texts with Ustadz Arif. Among the books taught are Kitab Bulughul Maram (certain chapters) and Bidayatul Hidayah. According to Ustadz Arif, these two books have been studied in the pesantren since the beginning, although their discussion is not always consecutive, but rather selective. These activities are conducted after Quranic recitation on Sundays.

In addition to the basic characteristics of a pesantren, as marginalized people, several other elements are needed to meet the needs of the students. As stated in the strategic planning, besides spiritual aspects, the social and economic aspects of the pesantren also need attention in outcomes 1.1 and 1.2. In the social aspect, for example, the pesantren invites and involves the community in every activity. Over time, the community also involves waria students in their activities. As mentioned by Ibu YS,

“Residents often send invitations to events such as Quranic recitations. The pesantren even collaborates internationally, such as with the Dutch embassy which has visited, and collaboration on a photography contest by Yoppy Pieter whose work was then awarded first place in an international photography contest.”

In terms of the economic aspect, in addition to being equipped with soft skills, students are also given training in good financial management. With different backgrounds, most waria students experience difficulties in meeting their daily needs. Therefore, the pesantren is also committed to continually monitoring the financial well-being of its students. Here is the model for the systemic planning of building an inclusive dakwah institution for marginalized communities:

Chart 2. Planning for the development of an inclusive dakwah institution for marginalized communities



As explained above, creating a spiritual sanctuary for marginalized communities is not just about addressing religious aspects alone; rather, various aspects of their lives need to be fulfilled to achieve spiritual goals. The above model of establishing a pesantren is expected to be applicable in building inclusive dakwah for other marginalized groups.

Conclusion

In its journey of dakwah, Islam, with its wasatiyyah principles, provides inclusive values that can reach minority groups, especially the waria community. Based on its elements, Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah has already met the criteria of being a pesantren. With additional aspects such as legal protection, social support, and economic empowerment, the development of this pesantren offers a new perspective on the perception of such institutions. Concrete steps are needed to establish inclusive dakwah institutions for marginalized communities, including identifying specific target groups, creating communities, understanding their backgrounds and needs, and mapping out issues. Certainly, inclusive dakwah for marginalized communities differs from conventional dakwah. Despite all challenges, Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah has emerged as a prominent example of religious trends within pesantren, albeit considered divergent, it has managed to sustain itself since 2006. This pesantren concept is mature yet accommodating, responsive, and successfully meets the religious demands of minority Muslim waria. Moving forward, research should focus on detailed learning, evaluation, and its implications on the pesantren system. Additionally, providing concrete evidence of alternative pesantren models applicable to inclusive dakwah for other minority groups would be beneficial.

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