

## **SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND WARIA RELIGIOUSITY: A NETNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF AL-FATAH ISLAMIC BOARDINGSCHOOL YOGYAKARTA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*Research on transgender religiosity is interesting to study more deeply. This is because of the public's view that transgenders are justified as a nuisance or disturbing people's lives. However, something different happened at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School. Pesantren is used as a place to instill religious values in transgender people. So that it becomes a place for waria to develop religion, or as a place for waria to return to the right path, without the element of coercion. Never view transgenders negatively. The purpose of this study is to get an idea of how the public views transgenders in Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School and a picture of the growth of transgender religious values in Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School. This research method uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a virtual netnography approach. Netnography is the process of browsing an entity while using internet processes. This article proves the tips on community solidarity in instilling religious values in transgender women at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School there are also other findings, namely the side of tolerance for human characters that are different from others.*

*Keywords: Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, Religiosity, Social Solidarity*

### **ABSTRAK**

*Penelitian tentang Religiuitas waria menarik untuk dikaji lebih mendalam. Hal itu karena pandangan masyarakat selama ini bahwa waria dijustifikasi sebagai pengganggu atau yang meresahkan kehidupan masyarakat. Tetapi hal yang berbeda terjadi di Pesantren Al-Fatah. Pesantren tersebut dijadikan tempat untuk menumbuhkan nilai-nilai religiusitas pada waria. Sehingga menjadi wadah waria untuk mengembangkan keagamaan atau sebagai wadah waria untuk kembali ke jalan yang benar, tanpa unsur pemaksaan. Bahkan tidak memandang waria dalam pandangan yang negatif. Adapun tujuan penelitian penelitian adalah memperoleh gambaran tentang seperti apa pandangan masyarakat terhadap waria di lingkungan Pesantren Al-Fatah, dan deskripsi tentang penumbuhan nilai-nilai religius waria di Pesantren Al-Fatah. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan kualitatif yang bersifat deskriptif dengan pendekatan netnografi virtual. Netnografi adalah proses eksplorasi terhadap sebuah entitas saat menggunakan proses internet. Artikel ini membuktikan kiat dalam solidaritas masyarakat dalam menanamkan nilai-nilai religius pada waria di Pesantren Al-Fatah, terdapat pula temuan lain yaitu sisi toleransi terhadap karakter manusia yang berbeda dari yang lainnya.*

*Kata Kunci: Pesantren Al-Fatah, Religiuitas, Solidaritas Sosial,*



## INTRODUCTION

Yogya is made of miss, home, and angkringan (*Yogya terbuat dari rindu, pulang, dan angkringan*), Joko Pinurbo's poem which went viral in the mass media really symbolizes a city of Yogyakarta which is famous for its tranquility and peace, as well as its cultural features. This is what makes Yogyakarta crowded with immigrants. They come in droves from other cities, with religious goals, including to enjoy the beauty of a special city, some are trying their luck in terms of material, and some are continuing their studies. One of the people who try their luck in this city is the waria (transvestites). Waria is referred to as a substitute for the word "wadam", which once sparked controversy where it was an acronym for Eve and Adam. These people are often viewed negatively by the community, especially in Yogyakarta, so that various problems arise. The emergence of transvestites was first initiated by Alamsyah Raty Pewiranegara who served as Minister of Religion in 1978-1983 (Gelarina, 2019).

One of the problems that are often reported by the mass media, namely the existence of Islamic boarding schools in Yogyakarta that accommodate transvestites to study religion (Gelarina, 2019). The research that examines Islamic boarding schools for waria, which explains that waria who come from various regions make the city of Yogyakarta a place to find and explore their potential as well as a place to find work. Based on the interview information from the research, there are 400 waria who have an average profession as sex workers and buskers in Yogyakarta. (Salmah, 2010). Yogyakarta is a stopover for waria who work as buskers, sex workers and open beauty

salons to show their transvestite. Some people are actually not bothered by using waria as a form of entertainment (Safri, 2017).

So far, there have been many articles discussing the theme of social solidarity and transgender religiosity at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school in Yogyakarta. *First*, an article that discusses transgender mental issues through worship or religious values, (Nurhidayati, 2010), (Hayati, 2019), (Safri, 2017), (Milandria & Abidin, 2017). *Second*, articles that discuss the issue of identity politics, (Gunawan et al., 2020), (Gelarina, 2019), (Ikhsan et al., 2019), (Abdillah & Izzamillati, 2021). *Third*, articles that discuss the issue of social interaction, (Anggorowati, 2009), (Sofiyana, 2013), (Sadiyyah et al., n.d.), (Mufarrihah, n.d.), (Hendrayani, 2019). Observing the tendency of the article that there is a lot of discrimination against waria who want to grow their religious side. However, the search for social topics in transgender Islamic boarding schools is still not well mapped. Moreover, the data collection process has not been updated from time to time. In this case, the researcher uses the mass media as data that has been circulating in the novelty. Because, by doing the mapping, it will be possible to understand the arguments for and against the issue of transgender religiosity in the stigma of society. Because, after all, waria need to get important attention in Indonesia.

This article responds to a limitation of previous studies, by discussing the issue of social solidarity in relation to religiosity for discriminated people (waria) circulating in the mass media. There were two main questions discussed: (a) What is the shape of the public's view of transgender people in the Al-Fatah

Islamic Boarding School? (b) What are the implications for the growth of religious values on transgender women at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School? These two questions become important discussions to show the relationship between social solidarity and religiosity. In line with that, this article is projected on a theoretical discussion on mechanism solidarity and religiosity in Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School. The findings on this aspect are at least a very important consideration regarding religious discrimination against transgender people, which seems to be a bad stigma in the eyes of the Indonesian people.

IFYAYO (*Ikatan Waria Yogyakarta*—Yogyakarta Transgender Association) This organization was formed as a data collection of transgender people who visited and settled in Yogyakarta. In Yogyakarta from year to year the waria is increasing, up to 400 immigrants. This is driven by low economic factors. Some waria live in poverty and carry the HIV virus. That's why transgenders move around because they can't stand the public's view of the negative issues of transgender people (Salmah, 2010). Problems so arise in the month of Ramadan, when some waria are rejected by the community, because they want to fast and pray tarawih. This issue then triggered the formation of the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school as a forum for transgender solidarity. This boarding school is devoted to transgender people to improve religion and learn in the right direction. Because being a transvestite is a personal and environmental need. While on the other hand waria are educated as religious families since childhood and have a desire to return to the right path (Indonesia, 2019).

## RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method, with a virtual netnography approach. This approach aims to understand and observe a phenomenon that occurs and is experienced by research subjects as a whole as it is. Researchers try to study symptoms in natural conditions and try to form an understanding of the phenomenon according to the usual meaning for the subject in the field.

Netnography also aims to provide a global understanding of the views and values of society, as a way of explaining the attitudes of members of that society. Netnography is a methodology that is often used in investigating field cases through the exploration process of an entity when using the internet process. Netnography is often done to reflect on the implications of internet-mediated communication processes.

Data is collected using techniques from documentation and news that have been broadcast and are crucial in various mass media (Kozinets, 2015). The research method is used to examine natural conditions, namely single and partial objects. The point is that researchers are intended to describe existing phenomena, both natural and man-made phenomena. The phenomena can be in the form of activities, characteristics, changes, relationships, similarities, and differences between one phenomenon and another. With the netnographic approach method, researchers can study subjective beliefs, values and cultural customs as well as the behavior of certain people or groups from the mass media.

## DISCUSSION RESULT

### The History of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School

The transgender Islamic boarding school or Al-Fatah is a place for transgenders to deepen Islamic religious knowledge. In addition to the boarding school, the transgender group also considers this boarding school to be a place to return to the creator. The pesantren, which was founded in 2008, has already received 300 waria as santri, the average group being from the islands of Java to Kalimantan. As usual, every Sunday at 16.00 WIB the students come to the Al-Fatah cottage with the Al-Qur'an to study of it until 18.00 WIB. There are several classes at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school such as Iqra classes, short suras, recitations to memorizing prayer reading classes as a basis. (Tiyas Titi, 2021). On the other case, the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School also conducts training in reading the Qur'an based on Humanism, the training is carried out in the context of a community service program, which is integrated with the Directorate of Islamic Religious Higher Education (Dit PTKI) and the Director General of Islamic Education of the Ministry of Islam (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia) (Rahman Ahdori & Setiawan, 2021).

At the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, dozens of waria who become students on average work as buskers (15 people) while the rest are more focused on developing Non-Governmental Organizations—*swadaya masyarakat* (4 people), commercial sex workers (8 people), and self-employed sector workers (13 people). In terms of the age of the students who are fostered the average age is 45 years.

In this case, the final education of the santri is very diverse. Some have just graduated from elementary-school, some have just graduated from college. However, high school is still the majority of these students (Rahman Ahdori & Setiawan, 2021). At that time, the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school had become a trending topic like the New York Times, Time, and BuzzFeed. In particular, there was Shinta's initiative to care for waria who were affected by the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake. The founder of the waria wanted 40 students to provide assistance and shelter. ("Mengenal Al-Fatah, Pondok Pesantren Waria Pertama Dunia Ada Di Yogyakarta," 2020).

The Al-Fatah Transgender Islamic Boarding School is the main pioneer of the transgender boarding school that was established in Indonesia. This matter can be concluded in the congregation of Kyai H. Hamroli Harun, where he sparked an idea to establish a transgender Islamic boarding school which was originally named "*Pondok Pesantren Waria Senin-Kamis Al-Fatah*, and this intention was also welcomed by fellow waria strugglers who wanted to deepen their religion. Until now, the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school has developed and has received support from colleagues or the transgender community in Yogyakarta (Zahra, 2021). In this case, the awareness to create an Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school is due to new organizations and communities that are much more specific in carrying out the bond between faith and diversity in sexuality as its vision. (Awijaya, 2021).

## **Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School Yogyakarta Social Solidarity**

The originator of the perspective of social solidarity is Emile Durkheim who was born on April 15, 1858, in Eplinal, France, and is a descendant of the Rabbis. However, when he was a teenager, Durkheim denied his lineage. His passion for science is getting bigger. Especially, when traveling to Germany. Durkheim had published works describing his experiences in Germany, to the point that the following year, his doctoral thesis in French was published "*The Division of Labor in Society*." Durkheim's interest in the issue of socialism served as evidence against the idea that Durkheim was a conservative, but Durkheim's theory of socialism became more recent and the interest of Karl Marx and his followers. Durkheim died on November 15, 1917, his most charismatic figure in the eyes of French intellectuals. Namely, when Talcott Parsons published the book *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), the following works were very significant in socialists in the United States (Ritzer & Goodman, 2017).

Durkheim calls it mechanical solidarity, where the solidarity is formed by repressive laws or perpetrators of crime, deviant behavior must be punished, and this is done because it will repay the collective consciousness that is violated by the crime. which is where there is a shared moral belief even a violation of the system or values. Violations will be punished by a collective moral system, even though it is explained as a small moral violation, it can be punished with a large violation, this solidarity is widely specialized in urban communities and very rarely in traditional societies, social facts are

divided into 3 characters including social phenomena external to the individual, coercive to the individual, and general in nature or widespread in a society (Diah Retno et al., 2018).

Social solidarity is Durkheim's theory which is very influential in the world until today, changes in a division of labor have implications for the structural problems of society. What is meant by change here is a change in the ways in which people survive and how they see themselves as part of a whole. Solidarity strongly refers to a situation in an individual that is strengthened by his emotional experience, two of the concepts of solidarity according to Durkheim. *First*, Solidarity Mechanisms are formed by repressive laws such as deviant perpetrators will be punished and will eventually form collective consciousness. *Second*, organic solidarity is a restetutive law, in which solidarity does not aim to punish. Instead, it is precisely for the restoration of norms, violations are seen as individual attacks. In this society, the development of independence actually raises the awareness of each individual (Diah Retno et al., 2018).

Previously, Durkheim had stated that "the standard element in society is the factor of solidarity. In this case, community factors are distinguished from mechanical and organic factors. In a mechanical solidarity society, it is citizens who have differentiation or division of labor. However, this is still said to be solidarity because it has the same interests. Meanwhile, organic solidarity society is a development of mechanical solidarity, which is the opposite by having certain work specialists (Alhafizah et al., 2019). Changes in the division of labor

actually have enormous implications for the structure of society. That is why Durkheim was interested in changes in the way in which social solidarity is formed, so that changes in the ways in which society is so persistent with how its members view the whole of society. (Umanailo, 2019). The development of an independence resulting from the development of the division of labor can give rise to specific individual consciousnesses. However, at the same time they become increasingly dependent on each other, because each individual process is only a small part of a social division of labour (Arif, 2020).

There is little difference of opinion between Durkheim and Herbert Spencer. Spencer's description is so specific that it goes against the tide of Durkheim's pressure, as does the social fact that transcends the individual. Spencer assumes that society is actually the result of the consent of individuals who agree to pursue their individual interests. Meanwhile, Durkheim emphasized that the possibility of contractual agreement was reached if there was already a society that was formed and did not enter into a contractual relationship if it did not have the same social ties. At least there is a moral consensus regarding the nature of a binding contract (Arif, 2020).

In retrospect, Josep R Rouse and Rolan S Warren, briefly explained the problem of a social group, which is a group consisting of two or more humans in it, among whom have patterns of interaction that can be understood by other members as a whole. Actually, with Durkheim's patterns of thought. Abdul Syani also said that, the formation of a social group is due to human instincts that always want to live together

through mutual psychological ties and influences. For example, the desire to unite with the surrounding humans, as well as the desire to unite in natural situations. In this case, the social group consists of several conditions in between. First, have awareness first. Second, equality of fate, interests, ideology, goals, even enemies (Saidang & Suparman, 2019).



*Picture 1. Islamic Jihad Front Conflict against Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School.*

On February 19, 2016, the mass media was in an uproar when the Waria Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school was visited by the Islamic Jihad Front community organization with its mass. There are several issues circulating about the cause of FPI's desire to close the pesantren, this is due to the rise of LGBT and conservative fiqh issues that discuss transgender issues. (Munifah, 2018). The conflicts that have occurred several times between the Islamic Jihad Front and transgender Islamic boarding schools can actually be categorized as social conflicts wrapped up in religious issues, because there is gender identity discrimination. Most waria are actually restrained in their freedom of expression, one of which is the freedom to practice their religion. Not only that, in fact transvestites are also classified as very weak economically, along the way of their lives,



transgenders are forced to leave their families without capital, without skills, even without documents that make a decent job easy. It can be realized that waria are not only affected by external but internal discrimination as well (Antoro, 2019).



*Picture 2. Arif Nuh Saftri Sitompul in a CNN Indonesia TV interview.*

Based on observations made by researchers on the Mass Media, especially by the CNN channel entitled “Pahlawan Waria dari Yogyakarta,” the results of an interview with Arif Nuh Saftri Sitompul, one of the teachers of the transgender boarding school, stated that the waria in this pesantren had been discriminated against for a long time, since they admitted that they were transgender, not only shunned by the community, they were also shunned by the family environment and in this pesantren. as a place for transgenders to learn religion because transgenders are also human (Indonesia, 2019). This is also related to the news conveyed by VOA Indonesia, the only Islamic boarding school in Indonesia that accepts students from transgender people was forced to close in February 2016 by hardline Muslims. In fact, until now, if anyone asked the community around Kotagede about the Al-Fatah boarding school, they would probably accept it with a blank stare.

However, if you ask a question “rumah ibu sinta” then, it will be delivered there immediately (“Menentang Diskriminasi, Pesantren Transgender Indonesia Buka Kembali,” 2017).

The social pressures felt by the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School strongly encourage the emergence of solidarity. In particular, the growth of mutual aid measures regarding economic, educational and social matters (Ikhsan et al., 2019). The formation of the social group of this pesantren is based on humans who are social and religious beings. As social beings, it reminds us of Sigmund Freud, the super ego of the human person which is formed from the age of 5-6 years, and the development of the super-ego consists of conscience, norms and values. individual norms and ideals that are impossible to form because they develop without socializing humans. Thus, humans without association with other humans will not be able to develop as complete humans. With this social interaction, humans can realize their individual lives which are good. In this case, without reciprocity in interaction, there is no possibility for human potential to grow and adapt to their environment. (Fatih, 2018).



*Picture 3. Shinta Ratri, the founder and leader of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in an interview with CNN Indonesia.*

In line with the statement made by Shinta Ratri on CNN, which said that waria are also humans, waria are the same as other creatures who want to eat, want to do work activities, and even want to learn religion. (Indonesia, 2019). To strengthen the two statements above based on the results from the Indonesian media, the researcher also took footage from the Mia Waniah documentary taken from via youtube which contains the results of research at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school in 2019, the source in the documentary video is 51-year-old Hirbaskoro who has been around for a long time. being a student at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school stated that waria were not formed because of a curse, but spontaneously formed when they were children, not only people who could not accept waria, even Hirbaskoro could not accept himself as a teenager, there was a rejection because of his identity as a transgender because of discrimination. from society, but finally admitted that he was born as a transvestite (Waniah, 2018).

The views of the surrounding community are not far from the view of discrimination on the issue of transgender women, however, there are still some people who actually support the activities at the transgender boarding school, the researchers took the results of interviews from a documentary that was accessed on YouTube entitled “Kami Juga Manusia” by Tania Qolbuna, in this film, interview samples are taken, one of which is people who support and have solidarity with transgender women. Sunardi stated that as a representative of local residents, if the activities of the transgender

boarding school were positive and uphold goodness and build religious values, the residents would support it. (Qolbuka, 2019). In this case, the community actually supports the activities of the pesantren. In which case, the discriminatory issue is a matter of stigma from external groups who think that transgenders are just troublemakers or bullies.



Picture 4. Documentary Film by Tania Qolbuna  
“Kami Juga Manusia”

Positive public statements about the existence of waria, make waria feel safe, however, it is really sad when there are people who discriminate against waria, this is in line with Nur Ayu’s statement, whose real name is Nur Handoko, one of the transgender pesantren students who was interviewed in the documentary “Kami Juga Manusia”. Every waria, including waria buskers, must have felt unpleasant behavior from the surrounding environment, whether they were bullied, ridiculed or even physically abused, some waria complained of being scolded when they looked for economic needs, being buskers, for example, while waria thought that they had dreams and desires. especially want to be religious like the rest of the general public (Qolbuka, 2019).

In line with the statement by the leader of the Waria Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, Shinta Ratri from the results of an



interview by VOA Indonesia, that it is not only discrimination against the surrounding environment, even when the Islamic boarding school uses the name “Santri”, In fact, these words are called haram in the view of the people who do not support it, while the will of the word “Santri” This is because many want to study religion at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School (Sucahyo, 2020). A sense of solidarity arises, when conflicts involving the majority and minorities are very rampant in the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, cannot be separated from the human social environment, such as religion, ethnicity and race. This sense of solidarity can be concluded as the reason for the formation of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School as a forum and concern for transgender people who want to study religion. Conflicts that occur in waria pesantren can be categorized as social conflicts wrapped in religion. Transgender groups are very often associated with sub-altern groups in social life, the term sub-altern comes from the Italian thinker, Antonio Gramsci. peasants and groups who do not have access to hegemonic power, in other words sub-altern is a relationship of oppression and oppression (Abdillah & Izzamillati, 2021).

In Indonesia, the issue of social solidarity is actually often seen as a collective consciousness that is important to become a basis or foundation. Because, after all, solidarity is an inspiration for the birth of a pluralistic community regardless of class, economic strata and culture. In this case, the most important thing is if the group becomes a creative community that actively participates in encouraging the creation of creative and progressive movements when it comes to

matters of common interest. (Funay, 2020). Therefore, social integrity is not something that just happens, but happens consciously on the consensus of the community. Displacement from mechanical solidarity occurs as a result of social change due to the emergence of organic solidarity. The two types of solidarity are highly dependent on collective consciousness. Without this, regardless of the type of social organization, society will experience social problems and bankruptcy (Kamirudin, 2017).

### **The Growth of Religious Values at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in Yogyakarta**

The thought of spiritual development is certainly not far from feeling, it is not focused on the normative rituality aspect of religious truth, but rather tends to affect the mental processes of each individual (Sari, 2020). It is concluded that the influence of religion on an individual or the growth of spirituality can be observed from the process of symptoms in behavior, actions or emotions that are expressed. Spiritual growth when viewed in general, maybe some people see the issue of age as a factor, however, spiritual growth can grow at any time because it is *Qalbu* (Heart). Aspects of the growth of spirituality can grow from various kinds, we take a small example is the influence of religion in life. First, religion as a development ethos. Second, religion as a builder's motivation. Throughout the present time, the increasing development of dzimir assemblies, religious studies, has developed a lot in big cities and villages, in this case, religious learning has become a benchmark in the development of spirituality. According to

Martsof Mickey, spirituality concerns meaning, values, transcendency, connecting and becoming (Jalaluddin, 2015)

Spirituality is more captured with the five senses where there is always something deconstructed or non-stop interpretation activity. Spirituality is not an interpretation of past problems (logos, Oidos, God, or revelation) but there is a reflection to change oneself for the better and continuous exploration of life to achieve a good that is desired by each individual (Naim, 2013). Before the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school was closed, about 20 transgender people continued to regularly recite the Koran and study religion. However, based on an interview with BBC Indonesia media who visited the site on Wednesday afternoon, only a few transgender people live in the house in Kota Gede. Transgenders can be said to be under mental stress, because the attack at the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School cannot be said to be an occasional one (Lestari, 2016).

In line with the pattern of people's lives, which are increasingly cultured with increasingly high demands for life, Islamic boarding school education is aimed not only at developing skills, but also fostering religion and abilities (cognitive) based on scientific reasoning as well as internalizing religious values (Juminto et al., 2020). The presence of pesantren is a very interesting thing. Namely, present in complex problem conditions in society, because of the many violators of norms that arise such as free sex, drugs and discrimination. Therefore, departing through conscious efforts of the community to overcome these problems in line with understanding and increasing religious values that must be carried out (Juminto et al., 2020).

Islam is a guide for people's lives, which teaches what is complex in it. One of the efforts that can be done to transfer religious values is pesantren, as a booster to provide an understanding of these religious values.



*Picture 5. Anna Marsiana Podcast Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, Ruang Demokrasi Pencarian diri dan Spritualitas Waria.*

The result of a statement from a podcast interview broadcast on March 20, 2021 by Anna Masriana via youtube by interviewing Shinta Ratri as the founder of the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, said that this pesantren was founded in the 2006 earthquake, the idea for the pesantren was formed from Kiyai H. Hamroli, which wants its transgender students to not only stop at the end of the road, but also practice prayer, study the Koran, *Ta'lim* and study of Islam, especially discussing the acceptance of Islam as a forum for transgender people who want to get closer to religion. , even looking at the condition of transgender people, many people do not accept their situation to study religion (Marsiana, 2021). Previously, in 2006 after Yogyakarta was hit by an earthquake, Maryani was the first person to have the idea of initiating the Waria Islamic boarding school. At that time the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School invited priests and other religious leaders. As many as 200 waria participated in

the event. The event actually became the initial milestone of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School's establishment (Ervina, 2014).

Affirmation of Y.S, Al Bukhori's statement as the secretary of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in the podcast, that actually the students at this pesantren come from various backgrounds, they are looking for a place to study religion, apart from these reasons, usually for the growth of spirituality, this transgender boarding school uses a cultural approach, socializing to local residents, especially when the waria pesantren has changed places to study. Not only do they socialize the activities of the waria pesantren, because of their spirituality and desire to deepen their religion, the waria pesantren also organizes free clinics for waria as a place of trust in the eyes of the wider community. In line with the interview statement from the podcast by Rully Malay as the empowerment of Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school students. The importance of developing backgrounds and educating transgender issues as well as accommodating transgender people who want to worship, especially when those who want to develop spirituality are deemed illegitimate in the eyes of the public. In empowering santri, it will certainly educate more about issues of spirituality and anti-discrimination, that there is nothing that distinguishes transgenders except for the issue of piety.



*Picture 6. Arumce as the Division of the Campaign and the Santri of Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School*

Reinforced by Arumce's statement as the campaign division and santri at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school in the podcast, concluding that transgenders are also proud and happy while living in Yogyakarta, especially the existence of IWAYO (Yogyakarta Waria Association) and the pesantren which was established as a forum for transgender women to grow religious spirituality and solidarity, transgenders can empower and protect and advocate for each other (Marsiana, 2021). Recalling naturally, humans are actually part of God, if humans forget Him, there must be an imbalance with the universe of life. Where, the highest goodness of spirituality is the human ability to unite his desires with God's will, both from all activities and treatment of oneself, towards others, even to the non-physical realm. As a consequence of spiritual closeness, such as a state of mental condition that is determined from anxiety about certain decisions (Muthohar, 2016).

Religious attitudes that influence the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School can also be said to foster aspects of religious tradition, in which religious tradition is an environment that contributes to values, as well as norms for a person's religious behavior patterns. Likewise, the religious tradition greatly influences the formation of religious experience and awareness so that it will form a religious attitude in a person within a certain religious tradition such as Islam. (Kamsi, 2017). In full spirituality, it is a long process of building closeness with God that occurs through the formation of spirituality. Evidently, the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding

School is very resistant to community conflicts due to clashes with the goals of religious closeness. Therefore, spiritual maturity requires a re-arrangement of priorities, change and obedience to religious values. The key to this maturity is perseverance and consistency in carrying out the religious closeness. So, it is this spirituality that moves individuals to show concern for the welfare of others (Mutak, 2018).

The presence of conflict actually spurred pesantren to carry out positive activities, and actually tested the consistency of transgenders in learning religion and cultivating spirituality. Without realizing it, solidarity grows when pesantren responds to conflict or discrimination from the community. Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school education to the community, such as opening clinics, seminars and so on is very open to the public's insight about the existence of social tolerance, so without realizing that spirituality is there meaning, values, transcendency, connecting and becoming, grow from the transvestite. Spirituality is often used as an opportunity to solve problems in various ways, because spirituality is the most important part in the needs of every human being. Every human being, even transgender people, definitely needs spirituality as a motivation for a tougher, more meaningful and purposeful life, so that the perception of faith and sexuality becomes a strong fact in society, especially transgender people. (Milandria & Abidin, 2017).

Explaining a little about Durkheim, that the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school unconsciously fosters mechanical solidarity, in which solidarity grows because of conflicts

and differences in ideological beliefs between groups, starting from people who discriminate against while the pesantren is actually more active in studying religion and they religiosity grows in each of them. each individual. With this solidarity, the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School group is looking for a strategy to invite the community to also grow their spirituality in alternative ways or in different forms with the same interests. Based on interviews spread in the media, they also collect tangible evidence of the purpose of Islamic boarding schools, where pesantren as a social institution as a center for educational, cultural, political and socio-religious change, the pesantren is a place to accommodate children from all walks of life who are underprivileged without discriminating in status. social, economic and so on (*Dinamika Pesantren Kumpulan Makalah Internasional Role of Pesantren in Education and Community Development in Indonesia*, 1987).

## CONCLUSION

Solidarity must be owned by the community, an attitude of tolerance that must be firmly held. Gender differences do not prevent a person from developing spirituality. There are still people's views that consider the issue of waria to be discriminatory, especially to those who consider waria to be pests and make noise. Transgenders are still human, it is precisely the role of the community here that really needs to straighten their steps to the right path because religiosity is a process that must be obtained for all individuals, especially individuals who always want to explore their life problems or are reflective. However, in the values of religiosity, it is formed based on direct experience of individual life and aspects

of supporting the social environment such as society, peers and also support from parents. Which is where the external and internal environment is also an established support in the process of discovering individual religiosity.

Therefore, there is a separate way that the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school does in the growth of religiosity, especially for different groups of people including education, socialization and cultural approaches in order to foster trust in society about spirituality, namely by mechanical solidarity, they rise from oppression of discrimination from groups. - certain groups. Solidarity was formed from the conflicts that occurred in the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, from the attacks of the majority. The proof of the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school is also that we can see that the purpose of the pesantren, apart from being an educational institution, is to become a social institution which is a place to accommodate the community regardless of social, economic, racial, custom or culture.

The most important of all these sacred things is the ability to arouse feelings of admiration for the adherents of that religion, and actually solidarity can be said to be the driving force for individuals to have a stronger closeness to religion itself. Religion has the ability to evoke a feeling of admiration for its adherents. So, people will be obedient to something they admire, especially those who are admired have extraordinary powers. Basically, religion arises because of a vibration and an emotion that is generated in the soul of an individual, and can be related to each other when the individual has the same interests. The positive impact of the pattern

of forming social solidarity in Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school is so great, such as the creation of harmony and the avoidance of conflict, as well as the creation of community harmony or the formation of vertical and horizontal cooperation. However, in the line drawn, the pattern of solidarity formation is considered successful if the community's anxiety in the environment disappears.

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