

ARTICLE

Examining Peacebuilding Strategies Amid Socio-Religious Conflicts: The Case of Pesantren Waria in Yogyakarta

Published 2024-04-29

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Article History:

Submitted: January 12, 2024

Reviewed: February 18, 2024

Accepted: August 21, 2024

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How to Cite:

Analyzing Religious and Socio-Economic Dimensions in Conflict Resolution Issues in Indonesia: The Case of the Pesantren Al-Fattah and Islamic Jihad Front (FJI) Conflict. (2024). *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 18(2). <https://doi.org/10.14421/5s2qy843>

Abstract

The establishment of Pesantren Waria in Yogyakarta has faced various challenges, reflecting broader tensions between religious conservatism and the rights of transgender individuals in Indonesia. Since its founding, the pesantren has provided a safe space for *waria* (trans women) to practice their faith. However, it has encountered significant opposition, including its forced closure by the Front Jihad Islam (FJI) in 2016. This study aims to examine the conflict between Pesantren Waria and FJI and to identify appropriate peacebuilding interventions. The research focuses on understanding the socio-economic and religious dimensions of the conflict and how these factors have contributed to its escalation. This study employs a qualitative approach, including a literature review, interviews, and the use of Johan Galtung's ABC Triangle of Conflict and Lisa Schirch's peacebuilding model. The findings reveal that the conflict was driven not only by religious factors but also by socio-economic motivations, particularly FJI's desire to control local resources. While religious interpretation played a role, the conflict extended beyond theological debates. The study highlights the importance of involving local authorities, particularly the Yogyakarta Palace, in fostering sustainable peace. Effective interventions must consider the interests of all parties and the local context, rather than focusing solely on religious reconciliation.

Keywords: *Pesantren Waria; Religious Conservatism; Peacebuilding; and Transgender Rights.*

Pendirian Pesantren Waria di Yogyakarta menghadapi berbagai tantangan, hal ini mencerminkan ketegangan yang lebih luas antara konservatisme agama dan hak-hak individu transgender di Indonesia. Sejak awal pendiriannya, pesantren ini menyediakan ruang aman bagi waria (trans perempuan) untuk beribadah. Namun mendapat perlawanan signifikan, termasuk penutupannya secara paksa oleh FJI (Front Jihad Islam) pada tahun 2016. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji konflik antara Pesantren Waria dan FJI serta menemukan intervensi perdamaian yang tepat. Fokus penelitian adalah memahami dimensi sosial-ekonomi dan agama dari konflik tersebut serta bagaimana faktor-faktor ini mempengaruhi eskalasinya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berupa tinjauan literatur, interview, serta menggunakan kerangka analisis konflik Segitiga ABC Johan Galtung dan model perdamaian Lisa Schirch. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa konflik ini dipicu tidak hanya oleh alasan agama, tetapi juga faktor sosial-ekonomi, terutama keinginan FJI untuk mengendalikan sumber daya lokal. Sementara interpretasi agama berperan, konflik ini melampaui perdebatan teologis. Studi ini menekankan pentingnya keterlibatan otoritas lokal, khususnya Keraton Yogyakarta, dalam menciptakan perdamaian yang berkelanjutan. Intervensi yang tepat harus mempertimbangkan kepentingan semua pihak dan konteks lokal, bukan hanya berfokus pada rekonsiliasi agama.

A. INTRODUCTION

As the first principle of Pancasila, the state philosophy of Indonesia, "*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*" (Belief in the One and Only God) guarantees the freedom of religion and belief for all Indonesian citizens. Islam, being the dominant religion in Indonesia, is practiced by over 900 million adherents (Satu Data Kementerian Agama RI 2022). However, Muslim trans women, or *waria*, face considerable challenges in exercising their religious freedoms compared to other Muslims in Indonesia. They often struggle to openly express their identity and perform religious practices such as *sholat* (the primary Islamic prayer) in public spaces. This stems from widespread confusion among Indonesian Muslims regarding the status of trans women in Islam, with some believing that being transgender is inherently sinful. In 1997, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) issued a fatwa deeming the actions of trans women as haram (Anon 2003), a stance reaffirmed in 2016 when MUI and other religious institutions declared LGBT activities to be against religious values and Pancasila (Rakhmawaty 2016). While not all Indonesian Muslims align with MUI's views, these fatwas continue to serve as a basis for the condemnation of trans women within the Muslim community.

Transphobia and discrimination against transgender individuals in Indonesia largely stem from conservative and literal interpretations of Islamic teachings. Islam, known for its deeply patriarchal traditions since its inception (Livingston 2009), is often interpreted in ways that struggle to accommodate gender diversity and non-binary identities (Rodriguez 2022). Furthermore, the heteronormative ideals reinforced by both Islamic and Christian teachings have shaped societal views on gender and sexuality in the region since the pre-Indonesian era (Ichwan 2014). Abrahamic religions emphasize that gender and sex are divinely assigned and unchangeable, a belief that remains deeply embedded in Indonesian society and fuels the rejection of the transgender community.

To address the need for a safe space for *waria* to practice their religious rights, Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah was established in Yogyakarta. This Islamic boarding school, devoted to *waria* across the region, is frequently cited as the only *pesantren* for transgender people in Indonesia (Renaldi 2019). The term *waria*, derived from a combination of *wanita* (woman) and *pria* (man) in Indonesian, refers to individuals assigned male at birth whose gender identity and/or expression is female (Badgett, Hasenbush, and Luhur 2017). This paper adopts the term *waria* in recognition of its historical and cultural significance within Indonesian society (Widyantoro 2016).

Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah has undergone various transformations since its founding in 2008 by Mariani, the *pesantren's* first leader. In 2011, it gained official recognition as a religious institution (Sa'dan 2020). Under the leadership of Shinta Ratri, the *pesantren* has continued to provide a sanctuary for *waria* to worship and learn about Islam, helping them to affirm their identity as both Muslims and ordinary Indonesians (Toomistu 2022). Despite Indonesia's reputation as a nation unsupportive of the LGBTIQ+ community, largely due to religious factors, the persistence of Pesantren Waria is noteworthy.

However, Indonesia's history of gender diversity, such as the existence of '*Bissu*' in Bugis culture, has been marred by the influence of Islamic heteronormativity, which has diminished the role of non-binary identities and contributed to violence against them (Peletz 2011; Ismoyo 2020). This marginalization of gender diversity has created a precarious environment for *waria* and other LGBTIQ+ individuals. In 2016, Indonesia witnessed a surge in violence and hate crimes against the LGBTIQ+ community, with *waria* often being targeted due to their visible non-conformity to societal gender norms (Edrianto 2016). The closure of Pesantren Waria by local authorities that year, prompted by pressure from conservative Islamic groups such as the Front Jihad Islam (FJI), highlights

the ongoing discrimination faced by transgender individuals in Indonesia (BBC News Indonesia 2016).

This research seeks to explore the following questions: 1) How did the conflict between Pesantren Waria and FJI escalate into confrontation? 2) What peacebuilding interventions are necessary to address this conflict, particularly in the socio-economic context? This study argues that the conflict was driven by two main factors: religious justification and FJI's desire to control economic resources, which led to the *pesantren's* closure as a means of garnering public attention. The involvement of Yogyakarta Palace and local government is crucial for de-escalating the conflict and fostering sustainable peace between the parties. This paper further investigates the case through conflict transformation frameworks, including Johan Galtung's ABC Triangle of Conflict and Lisa Schirch's peacebuilding model, with the aim of developing comprehensive strategies for lasting peace. Understanding the root causes of the conflict and identifying appropriate conflict resolution methods are central to this analysis.

B. METHODOLOGY

The primary source of data for this study was existing literature on the subject, including books, news articles, and relevant research. Quotations from personal communication were utilized to provide an updated understanding of the current situation among the parties involved. The analysis in this study focused on the 2016 case between Pesantren Waria and FJI, which led to the closure of Pesantren Waria. The analysis was structured around a specific timeline of the conflict, allowing for the development of comprehensive intervention strategies aimed at de-escalating the conflict and supporting peacebuilding efforts.

To identify suitable peacebuilding interventions for a conflict, it is crucial to examine how the conflict arose and escalated into direct violence

against individuals or groups. This research employed the concept of conflict stages to map the conflict between Pesantren Waria and FJI. These stages formed a wave-like model illustrating the escalation and resolution processes of the conflict. The conflict stage concept consists of several phases, including latent conflict, emergence, escalation, (hurting) stalemate, de-escalation, settlement/resolution, and post-conflict peacebuilding and reconciliation (Brahm 2003). It is important to note that stages in this model may recur multiple times during the conflict.

Mapping the conflict through these phases serves as a benchmark for further investigation into the root causes of the conflict between the involved parties. Conflict may arise when individuals or groups have differing interests, which reflect their expectations (Pruitt and Rubin 1986). The parties' interests become evident through their actions and words, which can be understood more deeply within the context of when and where the conflict occurred. Therefore, this research applied Johan Galtung's ABC Triangle of Conflict to analyze the case beyond the immediate interests of the parties. This framework aims to examine both the causes and impacts of the conflict (Mondragon 2013). It explores three dimensions: Attitude, where conflict arises from negative perceptions of the other party; Behavior, which reflects the actions taken in response to these perceptions; and Contradiction (or context), which refers to the underlying reality shaped during the conflict (Galtung 2013). Galtung posits that conflict occurs when attitude and behavior intersect within a contradictory context. He also emphasizes that the attitude and context aspects of conflict are not always as visible as the behavioral dimension. For this study, the analysis centered on the socio-economic context underlying the conflict.

Once the causes of the conflict have been identified, peacebuilders can design appropriate strategies to transform the conflict and foster peacebuilding. Peacebuilding interventions encompass prevention, reduction, transformation, and helping individuals recover from violence,

while empowering them to build relationships at all levels between themselves and their environment (Schirch 2004). Conflict management is an integral part of peacebuilding, aimed at developing and sustaining a peaceful society. Lisa Schirch outlines four key approaches for creating peacebuilding interventions: waging conflict non-violently, reducing direct violence, transforming relationships, and building capacity.

The peacebuilding intervention tools outlined here offer new possibilities for conflict transformation and may reveal overlooked aspects of the conflict that require further investigation. This paper focuses on analyzing the socio-economic dimensions of the conflict to develop peacebuilding strategies tailored to the specific context.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. The stages of conflict between Pesantren Al-Fatah and Front Jihad Indonesia

Conflicts still happen throughout society, although they do not necessarily manifest as confrontations. It might be indicated through a sense of disinterest in a particular person or group that appears in certain internal environments. However, this sense might go unnoticed and lead to judgments for the lack of conflicts. The stages of conflict diagram could help to examine closely how the hidden hatred towards Pesantren Waria eventually developed and became confrontational through the closure of the *pesantren*.

In the first stage, or latent conflict, the sentiment of Pesantren Waria from its surrounding, but it was implicit. The conflict arose due to the publication of two articles by Panjimas.com titled "*LGBT Merajalela, Pesantren Waria akan susun Kitab Fiqih Waria*" (LGBT is on the Rise, Pesantren Waria Will Compose Fiqh Book of Waria) and "*Waduh, Kitab Fiqih Waria akan Bahas Hubungan Seks Waria*" (Oh Gosh! Fiqh Book of Waria Will Discuss about Waria Sexual Intercourse) in the early of February 2016. The

materials for the articles were collected through an interview between the media and Ratri, the current head of Pesantren Waria (Sa'dan 2020).

During this year, the *pesantren* was in a partnership with the Faculty of Sharia Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga (UIN Sunan Kalijaga) to compose *fiqh* for *warias* as a part of the compilation in *Fiqh Marginal* (Fiqh for Marginal People), involving several other minority groups besides Pesantren Waria (Sa'dan 2020). The faculty requested the *pesantren* to participate in the *fiqh* formulation, and the *pesantren* management agreed because the *warias* still had challenges practicing several Islamic teachings in their everyday lives. However, the Panjimas articles emphasized the misinformation that it was Pesantren Waria who initiated the *fiqh* preparation (Anon 2016), and the report only focused on the discussion of sexual intercourse for transgender people (Anon 2016). The reporting of Panjimas developed assumptions in several Muslim communities that Pesantren Waria was the initiator of the *fiqh* development, and it drove sentiments towards the *pesantren*.

The articles from Panjimas.com became the trigger of the conflict escalation between Pesantren Waria and FJI. Panjimas' article encouraged the visibility of people who had the same concern for the existence of the *warias* and the *pesantren*. The distribution of the articles could drive FJI to enforce individuals and groups who had the same goals with them to express the disinterest of Pesantren Waria. The Conflict Escalation stage happened when the FJI went to the Pesantren Waria establishment on February 19 after the Friday congregational prayer. The commander of FJI, Abdurrahman, stated that FJI came to meet Pesantren Waria administrators in order to *tabayyun* (search for clear information) regarding the drafting of *fiqh for waria* (Anon 2016). During the visit, the members of Pesantren Waria were already moved to a safe house because they acknowledged the circulation of FJI's internal messages with the invitation to close Pesantren Al-Fatah (Ahnaf and Salim 2017).

The Stalemate stage happened when the local government decided to close Pesantren Waria on February 24. This decision was declared during the mediation forum conducted by Jagalan Sub-district. Besides Pesantren Waria and FJI, there were several representatives from the sub-district, village, police, *Rukun Tetangga* (RT), and local residents who attended the forum (Fadjri 2016). There were several reasons stated to promote the closure. Abdurrahman accused the *pesantren* of providing alcohol and drugs, while Jagalan sub-district officials assumed that the presence of the *pesantren* was a mistake (Sa'dan 2020). The demands of FJI, which started by requesting clarification towards the development of the *fiqh* of waria, then shifted to the closing of Pesantren Waria. It was because FJI found that the local authority supported their views to justify the members of the *pesantren* as deviants. The *pesantren* also invited other external parties during the meeting to provide help and maintain their place, such as Ustadz Arif Nuh Safri and the staff from Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH - Legal Aid Organization) of Yogyakarta. The presence of religious figures and legal institutions aimed to accommodate the needs of the *pesantren*, but the local government still insisted on closing the *pesantren*.

The Pesantren Al-Fatah did not agree with the decision and attempted to fight for their religious rights through the reopening the *pesantren*. The stage of conflict started in the Deescalation stage when Pesantren Waria endeavored to form partnerships and gain support from other institutions. On March 5, Rully, the representative of Pesantren Waria, met the mayor of Yogyakarta, Haryadi Suyuti, to explain the discrimination that had happened to the *pesantren*. During the meeting, several Islamic mass organizations, including FJI, confronted Rully and shouted hateful comments, such as "Kill this Satan," although several police were guarding nearby (Sa'dan 2020).

The efforts of Pesantren Waria to maintain their school generated good results. The conflict shifted to the Dispute Settlement stage when the

representative of Pesantren Waria met Queen Hemas of Yogyakarta. It happened during a dialogue meeting regarding intolerance in Yogyakarta with other minority groups around the city on April 8 (Tirtana 2016). In the meeting, Ratri explained the chronology of the issue between the pesantren and FJI to Queen Hemas (Tribun Jogja 2016). The queen ensured Pesantren Waria would be reopened in June to facilitate the *warias'* participation in worship during the Ramadan month.

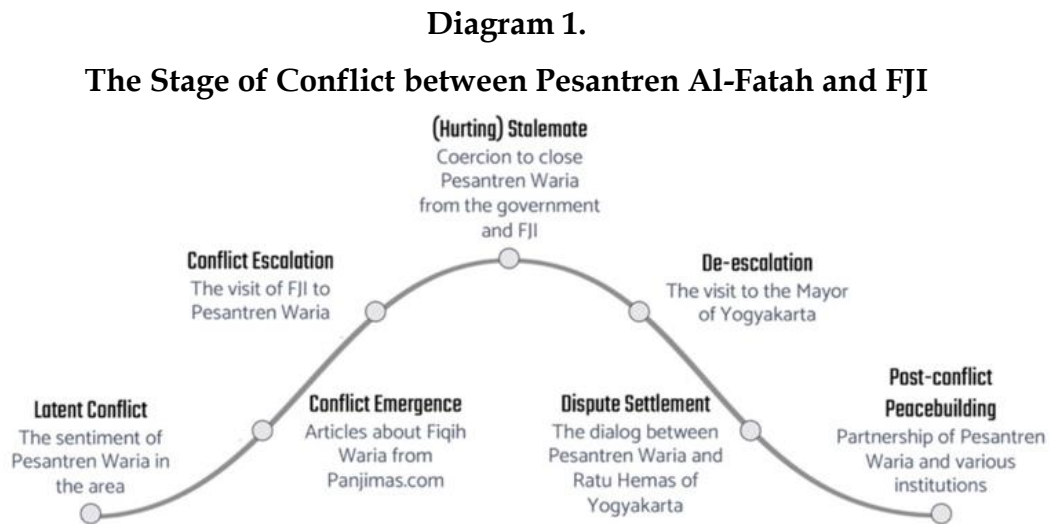
Ratri and the other administrators reopened Pesantren Waria in the early part of June, and it has been continuing to operate until now. This case reached its last stage, Post Conflict Peacebuilding, where the *pesantren* actively sought allies to maintain its existence in the city until the present time. According to Ratri, there was no written agreement between the parties involved (Pesantren Waria, the local government, and the Islamic mass organizations) to resolve the conflict (Sa'dan 2022). Moreover, the Faculty of Sharia UIN Sunan Kalijaga eventually proceeded with the publication of *Fiqih Marjinal* without involving the Pesantren Waria and informing the *pesantren* administrators (Sa'dan 2020).

The concern that similar issues may happen to Pesantren Waria in the future is inevitable, and the effects of the violence still remain traumatizing for the *pesantren's* students. The members of the *pesantren* explicitly said that the 2016 incident with FJI left disadvantaged effects on them, as the hatred also influenced the locals who previously welcomed them¹. YS Albuchori, a representative of the Pesantren Waria, explained that the event caused trauma for the members to gather and practice their religion in the *pesantren* as they were scared the mass organization would commit similar acts². Albuchori claimed that the hatred towards Pesantren Waria remains due to the fundamental groups that could not respect the *warias* in the *pesantren*.

¹ Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah and Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies Universitas Gadjah Mada, focus group discussion on a workshop, February 7, 2024.

² YS Albuchori, interview during workshop of Pesantren Waria Al-Fatah and CRCS UGM, February 7, 2024.

There are some significant points that could be examined deeper to understand that conflict resolution and peacebuilding interventions might be beyond formal agreement. The mapping of the stage of conflict between Pesantren Waria and FJI is summarized in the diagram below.



2. *The Needs of FJI for Claiming Economic Resources*

The aspect of religious values ignited by FJI has become a crucial factor to insist in the closure of the *pesantren*. . . It is expressed through the invitation in FJI's internal message, which included the message "*Menyelamatkan Ummat dr Penyakit Menyimpang Syariat Islam*" (Saving the Ummah from the Perversion of Islamic Law). Through John Galtung's ABC of the triangle concept, it could further examine the complex context that happened during the case. This finding would explore deeper the three aspects in the context of the conflict, which are the rise of LGBTIQ+ sentiments in Indonesia, the vigilantism that FJI established throughout the years in Yogyakarta, and the "mutual relationship" between FJI and the local elites in the government.

Table 1.
Analysis of Pesantren Al-Fatah and FJI case
through the Triangle of ABCs

Pesantren Waria's Perspective	
Attitude	
Pesantren Waria Self-Perception	Pesantren Waria Views of FJI
<p><i>Warias</i> still need guidance to practice Islam</p> <p>Discriminated due to their gender identities</p> <p>Creating a safe place for <i>warias</i> to perform their Islamic religiosity</p>	<p>Intolerant towards the <i>warias</i> community</p> <p>Had tendencies to perform violent acts</p> <p>Justifying Islamic teachings to discriminate Pesantren Waria</p>
Behaviour	Context
<p>Accepted the collaboration with UIN Sunan Kalijaga to develop <i>fiqh</i> for marginalized people</p> <p>Evacuated students due to the pressure from FJI</p> <p>Reporting the acts of FJI to the local police</p> <p>Attended several meetings with the local authorities</p> <p>Conducted interviews with media.</p> <p>Cooperated with local governments and other institutions to gain support</p>	<p>Negative sentiment towards the LGBTIQ+ in Indonesia arose</p> <p>Most Muslims in Indonesia forbade <i>warias</i> to pray in public</p> <p>FJI had a history of violence against the LGBTIQ+ community in Yogyakarta</p>

Front Jihad Islam's Perspective	
Attitude	
FJI Self-Perception	FJI Views of Pesantren Waria
<p>The defender of Islamic values</p> <p>Acts to violence were required to "enforce" Islamic law</p> <p>The local government and local community in Yogyakarta supported their action to close Pesantren Waria</p>	<p>The guise of immorality</p> <p><i>Warias</i> violated Islamic values</p> <p><i>Warias</i> were the part of the LGBTIQ+ community and were potentially contagious</p>
Behaviour	Context
<p>Distributed messages to reject Pesantren Waria</p> <p>Actively invited the members to close Pesantren Waria</p> <p>Demanded justification of their actions to the local authorities</p> <p>Promoting their acts to the <i>pesantren</i> through various media</p>	<p>Mutual relationship between FJI and the local authorities</p> <p>FJI was active in performing vigilantism against the minority groups</p>

The effort to close Pesantren Al-Fatah emerged in the early part of 2016, when government officials, fundamentalist Muslims, and religious institutions in Indonesia started to express rhetorical hatred towards LGBTIQ+ and its allies (Knight, Harsono, and Bauchner 2016). Before the 2016 incident, there was no formal complaint to close down Pesantren Waria, which had been active for the previous years. However, due to the momentum of discrimination legitimization against the LGBTIQ+ in Indonesia by numerous authorities, this hatred also affected Pesantren Waria, which had been known as a religious haven for Muslim *warias*.

Through the ABC Triangle of Conflict, it should be seen that the violence against Pesantren Al-Fatah was not purely because of religious justification.

Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf and Hairus Salim (2016) categorized violence cases conducted by Muslim-based mass organizations towards several minority groups in the Yogyakarta region as vigilantism acts. In their research, Ahnaf and Salim found 71 violence cases in Yogyakarta from several of these mass organizations during 2000–2016, including FJI. Their research found that religiously motivated vigilantism could not be interpreted as a product of religious intolerance alone. Rather, it was a product of socioeconomic shifts that produced places and regional configurations that represent conflicts over socioeconomic resources. The religious intolerance and radicalism characteristics were utilized as tools in order to gain certain economic resource and power in the city (Takwin et al. 2016).

FJI was known as one of the famous Muslim-based mass organizations in Yogyakarta. It emerged from the disagreement of several former members of Front Pembela Islam (FPI) Yogyakarta. They departed their membership from FPI and established FJI in 2006, which was marked by a declaration from Ustadz Abu Bakar Baasyir in Padokan Mosque, Bantul (Maknun 2016). The notion of the organization is "*amarmakruf nahi munkar*" (enjoin good, prevent evil) and being "adhesive" to Islam, as they claimed that the members come from various Islamic organizations (Ahnaf and Salim 2017).

FJI received its legal status in 2015 after joining the Amaliyah Nurus Syahid Foundation, but the government already recognized its existence due to the violent crimes perpetrated by this organization (Maknun 2016). There were several cases conducted by FJI besides the Pesantren Waria case in the previous years, such as the dismissal of the Advent youth camp in Cangkiran (2014) and the disbandment effort of Rausyan Fikr's event (2015). FJI and other local mass organizations in Yogyakarta selectively

chose to commit violence towards the smaller and weaker groups, including the LGBTIQ+ community, rather than focused on places that were considered sin in Islamic teachings (Ahnaf and Salim 2017).

At the grass-roots level, FJI was one of the mass organizations that had a strong base throughout the Special Region of Yogyakarta without establishing many formal branches (Takwin 2016). In the Rausyan Fikr case, FJI could lead its people to commit closure of the *Rausyan Fikr's* event, although the organization did not have any formal branch in the Gunungkidul area. Many young people in Yogyakarta at the grass-roots level decided to join FJI and similar organizations because they could not compete with the process of industrialization that is continuously developing in the region. Ahnaf and Salim (2017) highlighted parking lot management as an example of the institutionalization of the Islamic mass organization's economic role in Yogyakarta. Most of the members of these organizations were economic actors in parking lot management. *Forum Komunikasi Kawasan Ngabean* (FKKN) controlled the management of the bus parking lot and several economic actors around the area of Ngabean. The structure of the forum was filled with members of FJI and other Islamic mass organizations. Their economic role was also strengthened by the local government through the issue of Regional Regulation of the Yogyakarta City (*Peraturan Daerah Kota Yogyakarta*) No. 18 of 2009. The regulation permitted private organizations to operate certain parking lots in the city. Furthermore, FJI also argued that their strong base might assist the local administration in maintaining regional security as a justification for putting pressure on opposing parties (Takwin 2016).

Ian Wilson (2014) referred to organizations similar to FJI as "populist pragmatic Islamic militancy" due to their emphasis on confrontational language, blending social conservatism with Islamic practice and tradition, and their motivation to achieve political and economic gains. They also lacked strict ideological or political programs. In order to exhibit their

existence, FJI periodically showed themselves through acts of violence towards the minority groups in Yogyakarta. It aimed to continuously produce images of their significant position in the area without directly challenging the government authority in Yogyakarta. They committed to engaging in issues opposing various minority groups in the city to display their existence and power to a larger society while attracting non-members who had similar opinions with them.

In the case of Pesantren Waria, FJI tried to portray themselves as the defenders of Islam against the *pesantren*, who were framed as the deviants. Before the confrontation with FJI happened, the LGBTIQ+ issue was the subject of national-scale reports. FJI realized that participating in the LGBTIQ+ discourse could upscale their visibility in the public and gain support from their networks, especially in Yogyakarta. Several media outlets reported FJI actions and cited the representatives of the organization in their reports after the incident (Anon 2016; Kresna 2016; Permana 2016; Tirtana 2016). The Islamic media outlets, such as Panjimas, which had similar views as FJI, also released a number of stories to strengthen support for FJI's actions.

These reports from local, national, and international media were increasingly revealing the existence of FJI to a wider audience. The local government took a while to respond to this matter, despite critiques and opposing stories about FJI's actions. Even though the government guaranteed the freedom to practice one's religion, certain government officials appeared to be in favor of the FJI's demand to close Pesantren Waria. The *pesantren* also considered the involvement of the local government to be significant in defending their religious rights. Thus, the government played a crucial role in conducting conflict transformation.

3. *Involvement of the Palace of Yogyakarta in Deescalating the Conflict*

The confrontation with FJI appears to have ended, but it does not stop the possibility of violence against Pesantren Waria in the future from the same perpetrator or another similar organization. The current concern of Pesantren Waria about confrontation with the *pesantren* due to the disinterest in the *warias* existence remains present. The conflict between FJI and Pesantren Waria did not meet formal reconciliation, and the *pesantren* could reopen the school without any further disruption. However, the *pesantren* had to wait for several months until they decided to continue the activity of the *pesantren*. The conflict might be solved faster if the parties involved, or the peacebuilder could identify the main core of the conflict to strategize de-escalation and build continuous peace. Lisa Schirch's (2004) analysis tool for peacebuilding intervention could help the identification of conflict be more comprehensively examined to identify where the peacebuilder could intervene.

Table 2.
Analysis of Peacebuilding Intervention

Conflict Stages	Escalation	Management	Transformation	Prevention
Peace-building Strategies	Waging conflict nonviolently	Reducing Direct Violence	Transforming Relationship	Building Capacity
Activities	Monitoring issues and advocating for changes Raising awareness about the	Fair law enforcement Official statement from the government	Mediation with Islamic leaders Official support from the local authorities	Develop spaces for discussion about Islam Further evaluation

Conflict Stages	Escalation	Management	Transformation	Prevention
	persecution of LGBTIQ+ community	Create safe space for the students	Organizing public activities with the students	

As previously found through the examination of conflict with the ABC's Triangle concept, the closeness between FJI and the local government elites became an opportunity to be utilized as a strategy of conflict resolution and peacebuilding intervention in this case. Through the analysis of conflict escalation, management, transformation, and prevention stages, the presence of the Palace of Yogyakarta was identified as the authority figure in Yogyakarta society. The Palace of Yogyakarta provided guaranteed protection to the *pesantren*, while FJI engaged in a mutual socio-economic relationship with the local government. The relationship between organizations like FJI and government elites, which was based on mutual interests, also perpetuated the organizations' vigilantism towards minority groups (Ahnaf and Salim 2016). The visible support from the Palace of Yogyakarta to Pesantren Waria could overshadow the involvement of the sub-district and the village encouragement of FJI to close the *pesantren*. FJI tended to avoid different views from the palace in order to maintain their position in the city.

There were shifted responses from FJI to the treatments from the local government during this case. In the mediation that presented the representatives from Banguntapan district and Jagalan sub-district, FJI clearly showed its disinterest towards Pesantren Waria and forced the closing of the *pesantren*. This attitude of hostility from FJI to Pesantren Waria was still expressed when the representative of Pesantren Waria held a meeting with the Mayor of Yogyakarta. However, when the Palace of

Yogyakarta responded to the case by inviting Pesantren Waria to meet Queen Hemas, there was no significant counter from FJI. After the meeting, the *pesantren* could continue its activity. If FJI continued to maintain its rejection of the *pesantren*, they would oppose the highest local authority in Yogyakarta. It could disturb their position in the landscape of socio-economic source distribution with the local government elites. Furthermore, this issue had been covered by media sources globally (Anon 2016; Knight 2016; Kresna 2016), and FJI had already fulfilled its need to reestablish itself through recognition as the city's protector of Islam and maintained its socio-economic influence in the city.

Pesantren Waria experienced lasting disadvantages due to the closure. In establishing the peacebuilding intervention, the peacebuilder should focus on helping *the pesantren* members recover from the trauma and reducing stigma in the *pesantren's* neighborhood as well. The hatred from FJI might influence the local people's growing hatred and justification towards the *pesantren*. Involving the local authority of Yogyakarta should be necessary, especially as FJI continuously attempts to manage good relations with the government and avoid disagreements about the government's decisions. The good relations between Pesantren Waria and the local government of Yogyakarta might prevent other violence from FJI or other similar organizations.

D. CONCLUSION

In summary, the study reveals that *Pesantren Waria* has faced significant conflicts since its inception, particularly driven by both religious and socio-economic factors, complicating peacebuilding efforts in Yogyakarta. The death of Shinta Ratri in 2023 further increases the potential for future conflicts, making it crucial to continue protecting vulnerable groups like *Pesantren Waria* and safeguarding their rights as citizens. The study emphasizes that while peace has been sustained through

collaboration among various parties, local authorities, particularly the Yogyakarta Palace, play a pivotal role in ensuring lasting societal change.

The study's limitations include its reliance on existing literature and interviews, which may not fully capture the evolving dynamics of local power structures. Future research should focus on real-time conflict monitoring and explore the role of other regional authorities in conflict resolution. Additionally, further investigation into the socio-economic drivers of religious-based conflicts could offer deeper insights into more effective, context-specific peacebuilding strategies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Countless gratitude that I would like to share with Mr. Mohammad Iqbal Ahnaf and Mr. Michael Quinlan as my mentors in the Religion, Violence, and Peacebuilding class in the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies at Universitas Gadjah Mada (CRCS UGM). Besides that, I would like to thank Mr. Andri Rosadi from Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif for numerous comments during the 7th JSR Conference. Their constructive input helped me make this paper eligible to publish.

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