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Transformative Masculinity within Interreligious Organizations: Case Studies from Bali and Sidoarjo, Indonesia*

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Abstract

Women's involvement in the Forum of Religious Harmony (*Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama* - FKUB) is still rare. However, some FKUBs exhibit openness to women's engagement. This study examines whether women's involvement in the FKUB challenges the dominant beliefs and behaviors within religious groups and whether their involvement creates possibilities for change and contestation. Using a case study on the FKUB Bali and Sidoarjo and leveraging the theory from gender and masculinity studies to help frame the analysis, the study revealed two strategies used to involve women, which included forming a separate entity exclusively for women and developing an expanded familial framework inside FKUB. The findings also show that women's involvement is encouraged without altering the current structures. However, this study also discovered that the transformative masculinity exhibited by certain chairpersons contributed to the implementation of these strategies. They were strongly dedicated to gender equality, advocated for women's empowerment and involvement, and prioritized sustainable dispute resolution development. This study highlights the potential to expand research to include more cases, providing deeper insight into inclusion strategies and the role of transformative masculinity in progress toward gender equality.

Keterlibatan perempuan di dalam Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (FKUB) masih jarang. Akan tetapi FKUB terbuka untuk melibatkan perempuan. Studi ini mengkaji apakah keterlibatan perempuan menantang keyakinan dan perilaku dominan dalam kelompok agama, dan apakah keterlibatan mereka memungkinkan adanya perubahan dan kontestasi. Dengan menggunakan studi kasus di FKUB Bali dan Sidoarjo, dan memanfaatkan teori dari studi gender dan maskulinitas untuk membantu analisis, penelitian ini mengungkap dua strategi yang digunakan untuk melibatkan perempuan, yaitu membentuk badan terpisah khusus untuk perempuan dan mengembangkan kerangka kekeluargaan yang diperluas di dalam FKUB. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa keterlibatan perempuan didorong tanpa mengubah struktur yang ada saat ini. Akan tetapi, studi ini juga menemukan bahwa maskulinitas transformatif yang ditunjukkan oleh beberapa ketua berkontribusi pada penerapan strategi ini. Mereka sangat berdedikasi pada kesetaraan gender, mengadvokasi pemberdayaan dan keterlibatan perempuan, dan memprioritaskan pengembangan penyelesaian konflik yang berkelanjutan. Studi ini menyoroti potensi untuk memperluas penelitian agar mencakup lebih banyak kasus, yang akan memberikan wawasan yang lebih mendalam tentang strategi inklusi dan peran maskulinitas transformatif dalam memajukan kesetaraan gender.

Keywords: FKUB; interreligious; transformative masculinity; women

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Introduction

Interreligious dialogues have been prioritized by the Indonesian government and various institutions, including universities, non-governmental organizations, and religious and community organizations (Banawiratma et al. 2010). Unfortunately, this positive trend is not followed by equality, as women's participation in these organizations is generally limited. The Forum of Religious Harmony (*Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama* - FKUB) is a valuable example among these institutions. The participation of women in FKUB is minimal, as is the case with most organizations mentioned above. However, the FKUB proved to be a useful case study for exploring the dynamics of women's participation. This study examines women's participation in FKUB organizations to determine the critical success factors for their involvement and their impact on the otherwise male-dominant organizations.

FKUB was established following the Ministerial Joint Regulations (PBM) of the Minister of Rleigious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs No. 8 and Number 9 of 2006. These regulations provide guidelines for Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads to maintain religious harmony, empower FKUB, and establish houses of worship. The Minister of Religious Affairs and Home Affairs signed these regulations on March 21, 2006 (Badan Litbang Diklat Departemen Agama RI 2010). Despite varying public reactions, including immediate acceptance, consolidation of existing forums, and outright rejection (Firdaus 2014), FKUB has been established in 34 provinces and 509 regencies/cities, boasting over 9,000 members, as confirmed by data from the Centre for Religious Harmony (PKUB) under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Therefore, it can be asserted that the FKUB is highly strategic and crucial in promoting tolerance and fostering harmony within society. Multiple grounds substantiate this strategic posture. FKUB is organized hierarchically, with branches at the provincial, district/city, sub-district, and village levels. This structure facilitates the establishment of extensive and well-organized interreligious initiatives. Hence, it is unsurprising that the SETARA Institute designates FKUB as one of the top three non-state actors implementing the most commendable practices in 2018 and 2019 (Azhari and Halili 2021).

Furthermore, FKUB occupies an intermediary stance between religious communities and the government concerning regulations. It facilitates communication in both communities and government entities. FKUB also obtains financial assistance and resources from the regional government to implement its programs. Furthermore, FKUB membership ensures inclusivity across different religious and cultural backgrounds, fostering interfaith interactions that cultivate mutual respect among individuals. This, in turn, has a broader impact on the community (Mubarok 2014) FKUB also guarantees individuals the freedom to practice their religious rituals while maintaining a neutral and objective stance. As such, it can also act as an intermediary in resolving disputes among different religious groups (Baqir 2013).

Multiple studies have shown that a major drawback of FKUB is the limited participation of women compared to men, both as members and recipients. Our preliminary investigation from 2017 to 2019 also revealed that the Indonesian FKUB membership comprised 92 percent males and 8 percent females on average

(Rohmawati 2020). Similarly, according to the research conducted by PUSAD Paramadina (2021), out of the total of 5,736 members in 331 FKUBs, 91% of the management members were male, and 9% were female. This data indicates a significant disparity between the proportions of male and female members in FKUB. Various research on FKUB has also indicated that FKUB exhibits a significant male presence (Ismail 2010, 2016; Mubarok 2014), characterized by masculine traits and even hegemonic tendencies (Rohmawati 2020).

However, our more recent research, conducted between 2021 and 2022, shows that several FKUBs in Indonesia employ distinctive strategies to ensure the active participation of women as members, resource persons, and beneficiaries in their programs, such as those employed by the heads of FKUBs in Bali and Sidoarjo. Hence, it is crucial to conduct a deeper examination of the implementation of such integrated strategies.

This research aims to answer two questions. What strategies do FKUB Bali and FKUB Sidoarjo employ to engage and empower women in fostering interreligious harmony, and what are the critical success factors of successfully implementing these strategies? Furthermore, what is the efficacy of the selected strategy in engaging and empowering women? Analyzing these strategies by FKUBs in Bali and Sidoarjo will help promote the involvement and empowerment of women in fostering inter-religious harmony. We seek to identify the key factors that significantly contribute to implementing these strategies and evaluate the effectiveness of the chosen approaches in engaging and empowering women to promote interreligious harmony.

This study utilizes qualitative research methods, specifically the descriptive-analytical method. The research examines two FKUBs, namely FKUB Bali Province and FKUB Sidoarjo Regency. Data were collected from observations and interviews conducted in person and online. The methods involve organized and open-ended inquiries and diverse sources of documentation, including the decrees of FKUB members, photographs, profiles, articles, media coverage, books, and other information relevant to the research problem. Data were analyzed from the perspectives of hegemonic masculinity and transformative subjects and transformative masculinity.

Despite being predominantly masculine, movements within FKUB are creatively designed to broaden possibilities for women to participate in and contribute to fostering tolerance and harmony in society. At the same time, they preserve the current systems and structures. We assume that the two FKUBs under study changed the environment from dominantly masculine to less dominant or non-dominant. We believe that this change can be traced back to a process originating from the FKUB chairman's personal transformation and subsequently evolving into a collective transformation within the FKUB institution.

The Role of Transformative Masculinity in Challenging Hegemony

Both males and females possess characteristics of masculinity and femininity. However, masculinity is generally attributed to males. Connell defines it as "a set of social practices connected to men's position in the gender hierarchy, separate from practices associated with women's position" (Connell

2009). Similarly, Itulua-Abumere (2013) asserts that masculinity includes behavior, language, and traditions commonly found in particular cultural spheres and organizations, typically associated with males.

Connell's exploration of masculinity focuses on the configuration of gender dynamics, which generates the "gender order" prevalent in each society. These dynamics are historical constructs that have the potential to evolve throughout time (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Hence, masculinity (as well as femininity) is a product of social construction (Butler 2006). It varies across different contexts and can transform due to its social, cultural, historical, and political nature (Hearn and Collinson 1994; Itulua-Abumere 2013).

"Hegemonic masculinity" is a concept developed by Connell and Messerschmidt. It refers to practices that enable men to maintain their dominance over women. These practices are not limited to expectations, roles, or identities but also encompass cultural norms, institutional structures, and persuasive strategies (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Hence, hegemonic masculinity is not only contingent upon historical and contextual factors, but it is also subject to transformation (Seidler 2006). Hegemonic masculinity can manifest on an individual level or as a collective phenomenon, which can also be observed within an organization. Hegemony can be constructed when women are positioned as a subordinate group (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). In this instance, hegemonic masculinity is intricately linked to the subordinate position of women.

An examination of hegemonic masculinity in FKUB can be undertaken from a structural and cultural point of view. As stated earlier, there is a significant disparity between men and women in the leadership ranks of FKUB. This gap can be attributed to the fact that FKUB members, who are representatives of religious councils, are predominantly male. Therefore, it is unsurprising that FKUB administrations likewise possess highly masculine characteristics. Among the limited number of women involved in FKUB administration, very few are given roles as resource persons, facilitators, or mediators in FKUB activities. Women are mostly involved in domestic technical matters within FKUB. In addition, it is worth noting that the number of women who benefit from FKUB programs, including their participation in events, is generally low (Rohmawati 2020). The phenomenon is a result of the widespread impact of the patriarchal culture that remains firmly embedded throughout Indonesian society.

The chosen analytical instrument for this study is the concept of transforming masculinities proposed by Wening Udasmoro (2022). Udasmoro et al. describe them as "non-violent and peaceful masculinities" (Kunz, Myrttinen, and Udasmoro 2018). Within an organization's dominant and influential system and culture, the potential exists for what is known as transformative subjects. These subjects, previously seen as conforming to and perpetuating the dominant and harmful norms, can become valuable and constructive contributors. Udasmoro's studies in Ambon and Aceh revealed that combatants participating in conflicts underwent personal transformations through engaging in peace processes and post-conflict peacebuilding. This included developing cultural works that promote peace and actively participating in anti-violence initiatives (Kunz et al. 2018) (Udasmoro 2022). Udasmoro argues

that this transformation is possible when individuals recognize the significance of establishing themselves as equal subjects and "reexamine the practices of violent and toxic masculinities in which we remain to believe." (2022). This idea is relevant to this research since these changes have been observed at the FKUBs of interest, FKUB Bali, and FKUB Sidoarjo, albeit not yet at the prevailing trend (Oetomo 2000).

FKUB Strategies for Incorporating Women

FKUB Bali: Establishing an Interfaith Women's Forum (Forpela)[1]

Of the 4.27 million people living in Bali, 2.1 million (or 50.17%) are men and 2.13 million (or 49.83%) are women. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has reported that 86.70% of the population in Bali province adheres to Hinduism. The remaining 10.10% consists of Muslims. The religious affiliations, ranked in descending order of popularity, are as follows: Protestants at 1.67%, Catholics at 0.83%, Buddhists at 0.68%, and believers constituting less than 0.01% (Kemenag RI 2022).

Bali is a community with religion ingrained in the culture. Hinduism holds a significant societal position due to its prevalence, and as such, Hindu teachings impact the Balinese way of life. However, customs hold a higher value in Bali than religion does. Thus, the Banjar as traditional institution is crucial in preserving religious harmony as the community's hub for social and cultural events (Ismail 2010). In Bali, the practice of *menyama braya* embodies the principles of solidarity, cooperation, and tolerance. This tradition serves as social capital, fostering social cohesion and facilitating connections and collaboration among individuals of different ethnicities and religions in Bali. In addition, *Banjar Adat* has a *Sima Karma* tradition, defined as "a monthly, background-free attempt to assimilate community aspirations in the form of suggestions, input, and criticism." Visitors to the *Sima Karma* forum can enjoy open discussions, regardless of their religious background (Fajriyah, Midhio, and Halim 2027). Similarly, in Bali, there exists a practice known as the *Ngejot* tradition, when a dish is carefully cooked according to Muslim dietary guidelines to prevent any possible cross-contamination with pork (Ismail 2010; Kontiarta and Panuju 2018).

Regarding religious coexistence, Bali features a designated region known as *Puja Mandala*. In 2015, participants of the Parliamentary Event on Interfaith Dialogue from 17 countries utilized the *Puja Mandala* as a tolerance paradigm that their nations should strive to replicate. The persons living in the *Puja Mandala* possess a predisposition of acceptance based on the principles of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Religious institutions in this region exist near each other to prevent any confrontations arising from racial nuances (Waruwu 2017). FKUB is recognized as a prominent actor in promoting religious unity and preserving the positive customs of Balinese society.

Before the formation of FKUB, the Interreligious Communication Forum (*Forum Komunikasi Antar Umat Beragama* - FKAUB) was established in 1999 in Bali, with the approval of Governor Made Dewabrata. In 2008, FKAUB was consolidated into FKUB, with the same individuals involved. As mentioned by informant IPA, the establishment of FKUB in Bali

[1] FORPELA: Forum Perempuan Lintas Agama

in 2006 was not instantaneous due to the requirement of socializing and coordinating PBM no. 8 and 9 of 2006 (interview, January 23, 2022). The board members of FKUB Bali undergo a renewal process every five years. In addition to receiving financial assistance from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, FKUB Bali, like other FKUBs, also receives annual financial support from the Bali provincial government. The amount of this support ranges from 100 million to 1 billion. During the COVID-19 pandemic, financial assistance was redirected to address the pandemic's impact. In addition to financial resources, as stated by informant IPA, FKUB Bali consistently participates in all activities and contributes to the formulation of local policies (interview, January 23, 2022).

FKUB Bali programs conform to their responsibilities and roles as outlined in PBM No. 8 and 9 of 2006. These include facilitating interreligious dialogue, disseminating government laws and legislation about harmony, and giving recommendations for establishing places of worship. Regarding women's participation, IPA asserts that women have been actively engaged in FKUB Bali since its establishment, preceding the founding of the women's division at FKAUB. However, the participation of women is extremely limited due to the male-dominated nature of the religious councils that are the foundation of FKUB members (IPA, interview, January 23, 2022).

IPA and their colleagues at FKUB Bali took the initiative to create the Interfaith Women's Forum (Forpela) and the Interfaith Young Generation Forum (Forgimala),[2] which were formally established as independent organizations inside FKUB Bali. The rationale behind advocating for the construction of both entities is rooted in the idea that "constructing harmony in society solely through gentlemen is unattainable, particularly due to their advanced age, leadership positions at the religious councils, and retirement, which restricts their mobility" (IPA, interview, January 23, 2022).

Forpela's presence within FKUB Bali can be described structurally in Figure 1.

The purpose of establishing Forpela and Forgimala is to promote harmony, as gender equality dictates that both women and men possess a role and can be involved in cultivating interfaith harmony. According to informant IPA:

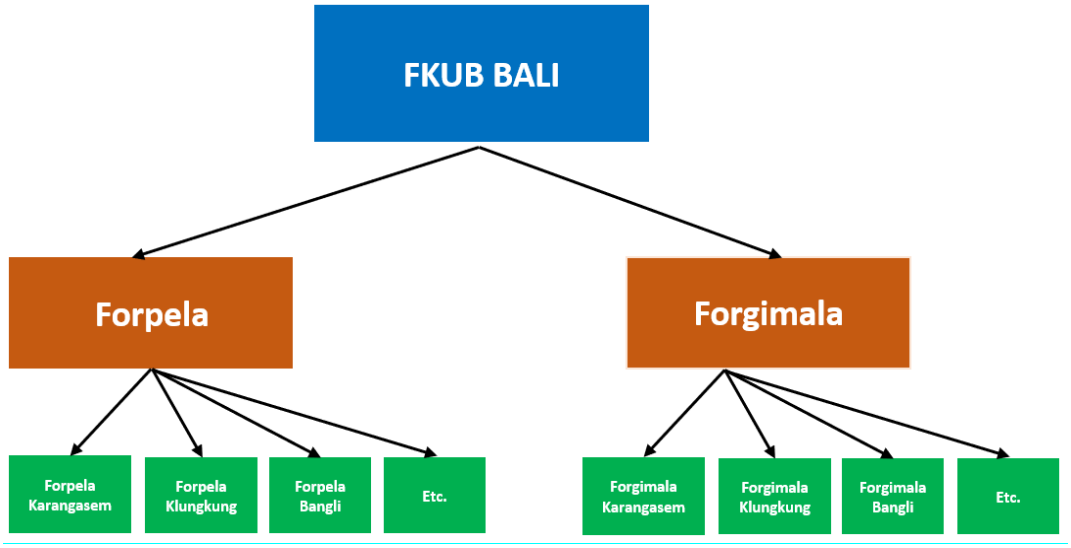
> "Regardless, it is imperative for FKUB to actively engage women and youth, particularly in socialization and fostering a philosophy of societal harmony. Women possess distinct societal functions while maintaining equal status to males. Although the responsibilities may appear nearly identical, they are occasionally truly indistinguishable. Occasionally, the household head is also a mother. Women often exhibit greater dominance and reliability than men when earning a living. Women can also be dependable in fostering interfaith cooperation." (IPA, interview, January 23, 2022).

Informant IPA further stressed the essentiality of women's participation in FKUB to promote and imbue the principles of harmony within homes and women's groups, such as Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK) and traditional activities in Banjar and other contexts.

The governor officially supported the establishment of Forpela. Subsequently, he spread it among the people of Bali, forming Forpela in every FKUB Regency/City in the province. Following that, a campaign was undertaken to promote Forpela further to other provinces in Indonesia. Women's participation is essential in interreligious harmony and developing the nation and state in all aspects of life.

[2] FORGIMALA: Forum Generasi Muda Lintas Agama

Figure 1
Structure of the Forpela at FKUB Bali



FKUB Sidoarjo: Implementing the Collaborative Governance

The population of Sidoarjo Regency, as reported in the 2020 Population Census, was 2,082,801 people. Among them, there were 1,048,574 males and 1,034,227 females. Regarding religion, 89.66% of Sidoarjo residents follow Islam, while 9.24% practice Christianity, with 6.54% Protestants and 2.70% Catholics. In addition, Buddhism accounts for 0.75% of the population, followed by Hinduism (0.32%) and Confucianism (0.02%) (BPS Kabupaten Sidoarjo 2021)

Sidoarjo is an industrialized city that supports Surabaya, East Java, resulting in a diversified population in terms of religion and culture. Sidoarjo comprises 18 sub-districts, subdivided into numerous villages and sub-districts (Kristanti and Adi 2019). The religious groups in Sidoarjo Regency are characterized by their favorable, tolerant, and harmonious way of life. An indication of this harmony is the presence of numerous adjacent places of worship in Sidoarjo. FKUB Sidoarjo is crucial in fostering religious unity in this context. It has fulfilled several duties, such as preserving religion as a kind of social capital, promoting harmony through social activities, advocating for the creation of houses of worship, and promoting tolerance to the population in Sidoarjo Regency (Kristanti and Adi 2019).

FKUB Sidoarjo was established in 2011, which informant MIK acknowledged as tardy. During the initial period from 2011 to 2016, most FKUB members were senior citizens, and their engagements mostly revolved around frequent meetings and social gatherings. In addition, the participation of women in FKUB Sidoarjo has been quite limited, with only three individuals involved since the establishment of FKUB. Hence, FKUB Sidoarjo lacks a positive

influence in fostering harmony and possesses limited capabilities in providing services and resolving conflicts (MIK, interview, February 23, 2022). In 2016, the implementation of "collaborative governance" was launched as a means to address these deficiencies in the care of religious communities. This concept arose due to the significant need for more involvement from religious communities, most notably women.

According to Ansell and Gash (2008), collaborative governance is as a set of formal arrangements where public institutions engage non-state stakeholders in a consensus-driven and deliberative policy-making process (Ansell and Gash 2008). This process aims to develop and implement public policies or regulate programs, public or assets (Kholiq 2022). Informant MIK states that this concept is unique to FKUB and is not present in other institutions (interview, February 23, 2022). Hence, this concept is intriguing and unparalleled.

The underlying premise of this notion is the significance of increased involvement from religious communities, namely women and youth, in fostering and upholding societal harmony, as elucidated by informant MIK in the following:

> ‘‘The fundamental principle underlying the strategy is that promoting religious harmony necessitates creating opportunities for active involvement by various faith groups. This is an innovative element that was absent in prior years. The institutional framework built by FKUB Sidoarjo plays a crucial role in facilitating the involvement of religious communities.” (MIK, interview, February 23, 2022).

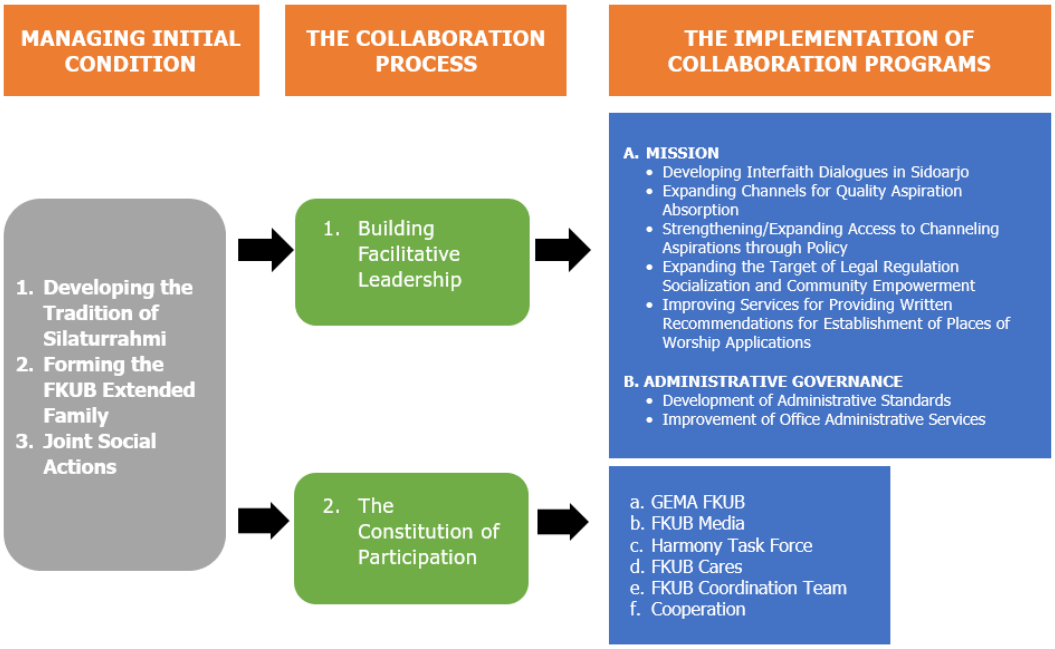
Two collaborative governance steps have been implemented. This section begins by charting the initial implementation conditions and identifying key actors. Then, the potential distribution of power, resources, and knowledge is analyzed to assess the balance. Additionally, the presence of incentives or barriers that may influence participation is examined, as well as the historical context of cooperation or conflict, including the level of trust at the outset.

Furthermore, the process of collaboration, facilitated by the institutional design and institutionalization of participation by FKUB, demonstrates the development of participatory leadership. The outcomes create a designated area for interreligious engagement and preserve social connections across religious groups (Kholiq 2022).

FKUB Sidoarjo aims to implement these two strategic measures in the given context (see Figure 2). The initial step involved managing the influential initial conditions by leveraging the tradition of friendship to reinvigorate the actors responsible for maintaining religious harmony in Sidoarjo. This was achieved by establishing the “Keluarga Besar FKUB” (FKUB Big Family) as an initial platform for religious participation and fostering experiences through social actions. Informant MIK emphasized the need to establish trust among individuals by actively engaging in visits to foster social cohesion and expose FKUB to the community. On average, individuals are unfamiliar with FKUB. “How can we establish collaborative efforts that benefit society if they are not even acknowledged?" (MIK, interview, February 23, 2022).

The creation of the FKUB Big Family (KB FKUB), positioned at the lowest level within the FKUB institutional framework, signifies that the primary source of power within FKUB in Sidoarjo lies within this Big Family. The KB FKUB was established through visits to various coffee shops and religious leaders' residences. This particular FKUB Big Family is unique to Sidoarjo and does not exist in other FKUBs.

Figure 2
The Collaborative Governance Scheme Implemented by FKUB Sidoarjo



Meanwhile, the second step (Kholiq 2022) involves collaborating with facilitative leadership to fulfill FKUB's service functions. This includes fostering friendship between religious leaders and developing performance and service guidelines for FKUB, such as actively involving religious leaders in preparing vision, mission, work programs, and early detection guidelines. An example of this collaboration is the issuance of the Decree of the Chairman of the FKUB of Sidoarjo Regency, Number 02/FKUB-SDA/I/2022, which provides guidelines for implementing the duties and budget of the FKUB Sidoarjo Regency for 2022. This decree was issued on January 10, 2022, by M. Idham Kholiq.

The process of institutionalizing participation involves the establishment of the "Koperasi FKUB" (FKUB Cooperative), the formation of the young generation group (GEMA) FKUB, the creation of FKUB media platforms such as the website www.fkubsidoarjo.com and the YouTube channel: Sidoarjo Regency FKUB. Additionally, the "Satgas FKUB" (FKUB Task Force) has been formed, and the "FKUB Peduli" (FKUB Care) has been established. Furthermore, a "Sekolah Moderasi Beragama" (Religious Moderation School) has been established, and a Women's Empowerment Committee has been set up. Therefore,

> "FKUB's formal tasks are easily accomplished with the assistance of our friends at the institutions we have established, a participating institution known as FKUB Big Family." (MIK, interview, February 23, 2022).

The establishment of the KB FKUB can be considered a significant approach implemented by the Chair of the FKUB Sidoarjo to provide an opportunity for the wider public, beyond religious elites, to actively contribute to fostering tolerance and harmony. Establishing a women's empowerment committee within the KB FKUB is a further strategy to guarantee a more active involvement of women in the KB FKUB. It also aims to provide female cadres with the necessary abilities and competence to be appointed as board members of FKUB Sidoarjo.

The data obtained from informants, including those from FKUB Bali and FKUB Sidoarjo, is highly valuable for investigating the presence and influence of transformative masculinity in FKUB's efforts to integrate women into its overall work.

The Presence of Transformative Masculinity in two FKUBs and Its Influence on Women's Empowerment

As mentioned in the introduction, the FKUB in Indonesia is predominantly masculine, even hegemonic. Therefore, there is a significant structural disparity between men and women at FKUB, which indicates unequal power relations between them at FKUB, including FKUB Bali and FKUB Sidoarjo. Religious councils, such as Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI), Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI), Bishops' Conference of Indonesia (KWI), etc., which serve as the foundation for membership in FKUB, also possess a culture and structure that are hegemonic and masculine, preventing women from attaining leadership positions. In addition, women's participation in FKUB as resource persons, facilitators, or mediators is extremely limited (Rohmawati 2020). Culturally, there is a prevailing male dominance in decision-making, with women being relegated to a subordinate position.

Hence, inside FKUB, the hierarchical dominance over women is distinctly exemplified, which is evident in both the organizational framework and societal norms of FKUB. The presence of hegemonic masculinity, as referred to by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) at FKUB, results from its impact by religious perspectives and institutions, including the religious councils, which serve as the foundation for administration at FKUB. Furthermore, the masculine religious organization's structure and culture are significantly shaped by an ingrained patriarchal society and a proclivity to align with orthodox religious doctrines in Indonesia (Baobaid 2006; Hidayat 2015).

Amidst the prevailing conditions of hegemonic masculinity, FKUB Bali and FKUB Sidoarjo have employed specific strategies to ensure greater female participation in fostering interfaith harmony in society. As previously mentioned, FKUB Bali devised a plan and established an Interfaith Women's Forum (Forpela) at the provincial and regency/city levels in Bali. Meanwhile, FKUB Sidoarjo developed "Keluarga Besar FKUB," or FKUB Big Family, which includes a Women's Empowerment Committee. FKUB will recruit female members for this committee.

The establishment of Forpela, according to the head of FKUB Bali, is founded on the belief that the inclusion of women in FKUB is vital for cultivating the principles of tolerance and harmony, particularly within households and communities (IPA, interview, January 23, 2022). In addition, according to the head of FKUB Klungkung, Bali, women are highly adept at serving as mediators in conflict resolution (IGMW, interview, January 25, 2022). These two

claims regarding women's pivotal roles and skillsets illustrate the strategic position of both women and men in fostering harmony and peace within society. As a result, the chairman of FKUB Bali and Klungkung holds a perspective that stands for gender equality.

The establishment of KB FKUB was motivated by the recognition that many women are employed at the grassroots level and that fostering harmony requires a foundation at the grassroots level. The head of FKUB Sidoarjo emphasizes that FKUB activities should extend beyond the elite level and encompass the grassroots, where women are crucial in providing direction to the community at the lowest level. Hence, the concept and implementation of harmony will be more readily achieved with increased female participation (MIK, interview, February 23, 2022).

In addition, based on information from multiple sources, women possess a greater capacity to effectively communicate and foster religious harmony and peace within society through diverse activities that may not be within men's capacity. According to MIK, distinct matters and endeavors in religious harmony are exclusively associated with and undertaken by women. He provided the following illustration:

> "In the housing complex, five individuals actively participated in the KB FKUB (Sidoarjo), consisting of three females and two males. These three individuals coordinated and instructed other mothers in programs deemed unfeasible for men. Therefore, specific institutionalization tailored to women was required. Subsequently, we established a committee focused on promoting women's empowerment, specifically targeting women mostly engaged in household duties, offering specialized training and developing expertise, focusing specifically on women." (MIK, interview, February 23, 2022).

MIK's perspective demonstrates that the chairman of FKUB Sidoarjo acknowledges the significance of women, alongside men, in fostering harmony, indicating a gender-inclusive perspective. He firmly asserts that women are superior to men in effectively handling and resolving conflicts at grassroots levels. The FKUB KB demonstrates the substantial contribution of women in fostering harmony.

Therefore, the strategies implemented by FKUB Bali and FKUB Sidoarjo incorporate transformative masculinity founded on the presence of transformative individuals (Udasmoro 2022). In this instance, the leaders of FKUB Bali and FKUB Sidoarjo underwent a transformation based on their belief in gender equality without explicitly challenging the dominant masculine structure of FKUB. Instead, they both employed strategies that allow the implementation of gender equality in FKUB. Moreover, the gender equality paradigm is founded on recognizing others as equal individuals. Haraway's concept of subject-subject relations, as outlined in her work on intersubjectivity (1990), serves as the foundation for transformative masculinity. In this framework, women and men are regarded as significant subjects in fostering and upholding societal tolerance and harmony. In this instance, individuals assume a friendly masculine approach. This mechanism will then create a collective mechanism, allowing for the forming of a habitus that encourages the development of transformative masculinity.

Implementing two initiatives by the chairman of FKUB Bali and the chairman of FKUB Sidoarjo is crucial to emphasize in the face of the prevailing patriarchal culture in society. However, within the specific sociocultural setting of Bali, according to informant NNM, a

female member of the Karangasem Regency FKUB, Balinese culture continues to adhere to a patrilineal system in its social and cultural practices. This system places men in a position of superiority over women resulting in significant male dominance (NNM, interview, January 24, 2022).

In this case, the establishment of Forpela does not adequately demonstrate that women have plenty of chances to articulate their thoughts where their voices are acknowledged and valued. According to a female informant from Bali, all of Forpela's activities and budget are still closely aligned with FKUB's activities because FKUB is considered Forpela's ‘‘parent” organization (N, interview, January 23, 2022). In other words, both FKUB and Forpela operate under the same umbrella (S, interview, January 24, 2022). Another female informant highlighted that despite having several ideas and great enthusiasm for activities, the members of Forpela could not execute them due to their dependence on a decision from FKUB (KWK, interview, January 25, 2022). Consequently, Forpela lacks autonomy and is restricted in acting independently.

Despite these important criticisms, establishing Forpela is a commendable first step in expanding opportunities for women to promote harmony and peace in society through FKUB. One possible strategy to enhance effectiveness would be to grant Forpella greater autonomy and flexibility in overseeing its activities.

Concerning the efficacy and influence of the establishment of Forpela, according to informant IPA, FKUB Bali became more vibrant and dynamic following the establishment of Forpela.

> "Its enthusiasm, movements, and efforts last long. The situation is more complex, involving several groups, including the youth, women, and fathers, resulting in a comprehensive representation. This is where FKUB will enhance its qualifications." (interview, January 23, 2022).

Meanwhile, at FKUB Sidoarjo, as part of the collaborative governance process, the establishment of the KB FKUB has effectively enhanced the involvement of religious communities in promoting religious harmony transparently and equitably. It has also fostered the growth and development of social capital within interfaith relationships (Kholiq 2022). According to informant LAM, a member of FKUB Sidoarjo, KB FKUB has demonstrated its ability to serve as a platform for individuals, including women, to promote religious harmony actively. This is achieved through the diverse opportunities KB FKUB provides in social, educational, women, and economic initiatives. Meanwhile, according to S, a member of FKUB Sidoarjo, KB FKUB has generously offered sufficient space for meetings despite the inadequate FKUB management structure (S, interview, January 3, 2022). Thus, the insufficient administration of the KB FKUB, contrary to the tenets of collaborative governance, is one of the weaknesses.

In contrast to Udasmoro's research, this study identifies transformative masculinity within an organizational setting characterized by hegemonic masculinity rather than in the context of open conflict or war. The research findings indicate that transformational masculinity can be achieved in the two FKUBs because of the transformative subject element, also referred to as the subject in the process, by Julia Kristeva (1982). The two leaders of FKUB, who emphasize gender equality, are employing

different strategies to ensure that women have ample opportunity to participate in FKUB while adhering to the present regulations and without necessitating structural modifications within FKUB. These strategies are effectively executed due to their institutionalization within the FKUB organization and the support from colleagues, the local government, and the community. Thus, the initial individual transformation evolved into a collective institutional transformation. Nevertheless, the two strategies that have been applied are not without limitations, as previously described.

Conclusion

This research highlighted two initiatives by FKUB Bali and FKUB Sidoarjo to foster women's involvement in building religious harmony and tolerance in society. The first initiative is forming a distinct organization exclusively for women, referred to as the Interfaith Women's Forum (Forpela), and the second initiative is creating a cohesive community known as the KB FKUB. These strategies are implemented by two leaders of FKUB who hold a gender equality perspective and are dedicated to bringing about change, advancing women's empowerment and involvement in FKUB, and encouraging sustainable conflict resolution.

Both strategies are successfully implemented due to the transformation experience of the two chairperson's of FKUB, as per transformative masculinity theory. These two chairpersons perceive other individuals, especially women, as equals with equivalent capabilities and entitlements. Amidst a predominantly male-dominant environment, the presence of transformative individuals becomes crucial in diminishing dominance and promoting the transition from individual actions to collective actions. These two FKUBs have demonstrated that transformational subjects are the foundation for alterations in the collective structure. Both strategies aim to create more opportunities for women to participate in FKUB actively. These two strategies have significantly improved women's involvement, making it broader, more substantial, and more comprehensive. The research findings demonstrate how implementing these two strategies might shift the prevailing hegemonic masculinity towards transformative masculinity, enabling women to participate in FKUB activities. This, in turn, leads to a greater female contribution to fostering tolerance and peace throughout society.

This study makes a valuable contribution to the advancement of research in the fields of masculinity studies and interfaith issues. Nevertheless, this study is constrained by its limited scope since it focuses on a small sample of FKUBs in Indonesia. We assume that comparable phenomena may occur in other FKUBs, which warrants further research. As a result, this study highlights the potential to expand to include more cases in broader contexts, which could provide deeper insight into inclusion strategies. This would also shed light on the transformative masculinity in other interfaith organizations and potentially inspire its incorporation in more FKUBs, thereby creating a trend that can foster gender equality in society.[]

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