POLITICAL TOLERANCE IN INDONESIAN-MUSLIM

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Abstract. In the field of political behavior, tolerance is a crucial element to keep harmonious relationship. Studies should be able to measure a valid construct of tolerance in an effort to understand it further. Ferrar (1979) conducted a research focusing on the concept of political tolerance and theorized political tolerance to have three dimensions, namely flexible, approval, and allowance. This study aims to construct a political tolerance scale based on Ferrar's concept and dimensions. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) is employed to test the construct validity and dimensionality of the Political Tolerance Scale. Participants were 300 Indonesian-Muslims. The results support the Political Tolerance Scale as a unidimensional scale consists of flexible, approval, and allowance dimensions. However, the limitation of the samples' characteristic suggests future studies to conduct further researches on samples with different characteristics.

Keywords: tolerance; tolerance scale; construct validity; CFA; Indonesian-Muslims

Abstrak. Dalam ilmu perilaku politik, toleransi adalah merupakan elemen penting untuk menjaga keharmonisan hubungan. Kajian saintifik harus mampu mengukur konstruk toleransi yang valid dalam upaya memahaminya lebih jauh. Ferrar (1979) melakukan penelitian yang berfokus pada konsep toleransi politik dimana toleransi politik diteorikan memiliki tiga dimensi, yaitu fleksibel, persetujuan, dan pengakomodiran. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkonstruksi alat ukur toleransi politik. Analisis faktor konfirmatori (CFA) digunakan untuk menguji validitas konstruk dan dimensi Skala Toleransi. Pesertanya adalah 300 orang Muslim Indonesia. Hasil yang didapat mendukung Skala Toleransi Politik sebagai skala unidimensional yang terdiri dari dimensi fleksibel, persetujuan, dan pengakomodiran. Namun, keterbatasan karakteristik sampel mendorong studi selanjutnya untuk melakukan penelitian lebih lanjut pada karakteristik sampel yang berbeda
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Kata Kunci: toleransi; skala toleransi; validitas konstruk; CFA; Muslim Indonesia

Introduction

Indonesia is a genuine democracy incorporating open society and religious and ethnic pluralism. Its national motto even translates as 'Unity in Diversity". For decades, it has advertised itself to the world as a shining example that Islam and democracy are not incompatible. But the bitter election campaign to choose Jakarta's next Governor gives the lie to these claims, conducted as it has been in an increasingly tense atmosphere of religious and racial discrimination and rising intolerance that has seen the incumbent candidate (Ahok) accused of blasphemy and Islamist hard-liners charged with treason. This tense atmosphere also occurs in Indonesian-Muslims' society, which is polarized into two groups: those who agree and those who disagree with voting for Ahok as the next Governor. Political disagreement produces patterns of partisan polarization by increasing negative emotions (i.e., anxiety, anger) toward out-groups and out-group members and decreasing positive emotions (i.e., enthusiasm, hope) toward in-groups and in-group members, such as political parties or candidates (Parsons, 2010).

We suspect that Indonesian-Muslims' society holds important potential in explaining their tolerance attitudes to resolve this disagreement. Experiencing debate over even the most fundamental of disagreements with a reciprocal exchange of views can instill a powerful sense of tolerance for those expressing those view, but on the other hand, exposure to disagreements may also lead to intergroup conflict (Djupe & Calfano, 2012).

Tolerance is important to prevent disputants from creating a sharp conflict situation. Tolerance is a critical topic in the study of politics because without tolerance for differing ideas, democracy cannot be long-lived (Parsons, 2010). Political tolerance is one of the most important values among those that make up the characteristics of democratic living.

Several studies on tolerance has been conducted by researchers to strengthen the foundation of tolerance concept with various combinations of dimension (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Christie & Dawes, 2001; Ibadova, 2011; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Rindisbacher, 2018). The great amount of tolerance concept proposed by many researchers evokes a question as to which concept represents tolerance the best. Nevertheless, these researches have something in common specifically on the dimension of approval of tolerance. Tolerance has always been referring to the absence of prejudice and willingness to accept large and organizationally established minority groups. Tolerance also refers to the acceptance of differing opinion or ideas which is crucial for harmonious political and social life.

The concept of tolerance may have different contexts depending on the aim of the study. A study conducted by (Brewer & Pierce, 2005) focused on social outgroup tolerance. This tolerance concept emphasizes the social context by examining tolerance toward outgroups which is associated with social identity complexity, Another research by (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) examined tolerance in intergroup relations. Both studies and several other studies put emphasis on social context, while a study by Ferrar (1979) focused on the political tolerance rather than social (Christie & Dawes, 2001; Ibadova, 2011). In contrast, very few tolerance studies examine the political context in which tolerance may work. Stouffer (1955) conducted a research focusing on tolerance in political context. However, his study focuses on liberalism and right-wing or left-wing political spectrum. Many argues that Stouffer's concept and scale may not measure the tolerance but rather liberalism Thus, the tolerance concept by Ferrar is more relevant to this study background and phenomena compared to other studies since his dimensions and concept specifically explain political tolerance.

Literature Review

Political Disagreement

In the realm of political behavior, a recent revival of interest in disagreement stems from normative theories of political deliberation that promote a different view of how representative democracy functions effectively. Though liberal democratic theories emphasize the need for individuals to be educated and civically engaged in order to be politically active, deliberative theories focus on collective processes and the exchange of viewpoints. While theoretical discussion of deliberative democracy is lively and well developed, empirical scholarship on the mass public has focused principally on the question of the behavioral impact of political disagreement.

In short, the consequences of everyday political disagreement remain unclear. Some research indicates that disagreement between citizens makes those in the minority less likely to vote in line with their underlying partisanship (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1988; Sokhey and McClurg 2012), that it increases opinion ambivalence (Mutz 2002, 2006), and that it decreases political participation (McClurg, 2003; Mutz, 2002; 2006). Other research suggests that such findings are overstated either because they are conditional on other attributes of social networks or are nonexistent (Huckfeldt, Johnson, and Sprague 2004; Nir 2005). Clarity about what produces such divergent results is needed so we can better assess how political conflict between individuals affects the quality of citizenship. It is in this intellectual context that we revisit what is meant by "everyday political disagreement," that we reconsider how to measure it in the real world, and that we reassess its implications for empirical analyses and, ultimately, democratic practice.

Everyday political disagreement refers to conversations where individuals are exposed to viewpoints that are different from their own. Such exchanges are particularly important for understanding political behavior because without the possibility of learning new information or views, there is little opportunity for social communication to alter past patterns of behavior. Put another way, disagreement drives social influence (McPhee, 1963; Sprague, 1982). Political disagreement is also important because it may help us understand how individual preferences translate into citizen inputs into the political system. When there is no exchange of views between citizens, the lines of debate are hard and fast and potentially inhibit compromise among representative officials. That is, preferences are relatively fixed, and the ability of governments to provide representation becomes largely a function of institutional design (Dahl, 1963). Yet when there is some exchange of views between citizens, public representation becomes a matter not just of how we aggregate preferences through institutions, but of how the public reacts to different viewpoints and adjusts its own behavior. For example, if conflicting views create intolerance for others' preferences, it can delegitimize governing elites who do not share the ideas of majorities. Or, if conflict causes some groups of voters (e.g., majority opinion holders) to express their opinions more insistently and to participate more than other groups (e.g., minority opinion holders), then government may be more responsive to some groups than others. Of course, it is also possible that disagreement affects preferences themselves, suggesting that what is in the public's interest is a dynamic phenomenon that changes as we deliberate, potentially leading to "better" public opinion and policy outputs (e.g., Fishkin 1995).

Political Tolerance

Tolerance for dissenting beliefs and conduct is considered to be essential to the sustenance of democratic societies. In "On Liberty", John Stuart Mill (1956) argued that tolerance for conflicting opinions encourages the exchange of ideas and provides an opportunity for identifying inaccurate propositions and pursuing the truth, and for developing efficient solutions to problems. In addition, tolerance is thought to be essential for the protection of individual autonomy and rights. Tolerance is thus valued on both pragmatic and moral grounds. Nevertheless, a number of social scientists and philosophers have argued that, however desirable on balance, tolerance is not an absolute value, and that not every decision to limit certain types of ideas, behaviors, or institutions is an instance of narrow-minded intolerance (Bishop, 1989; Hatch, 1983; McClosky & Brill, 1983; Williams, 1972). Instead, societies and individuals must wrestle with questions about the kinds of dissent that are to be tolerated and the grounds on which they are to be tolerated or suppressed. This is particularly true when the dissent refers to different moral beliefs and practices which, although rooted in cultural traditions, may also be seen as oppressive or harmful, such as the subordination of women in some Islamic countries (Goodwin, 1994), bride burning and dowry deaths in India (Bumiller, 1990), or nose bleeding rites among male teenagers in New Guinea (Herdt, 1990). Some have argued that a call for blanket tolerance of diversity (i.e., the injunction that all diversity ought to be tolerated) may result in indiscriminate approval of harmful, coercive, or unjust beliefs and practices and foster an unwarranted and conservative commitment to an undesirable status quo (Baumrind, 1998; Hatch, 1983).

The concept of tolerance is in a state of disarray. Although social scientists periodically explore the invisible topography of national attitudes in order to explain and predict the visible quality of democracy, these soundings rarely explore the same depths. The tolerance label is typically pasted over conglomerate indices of attitudes, opinions, behaviors and beliefs which assume some unspecified definition of tolerance. This practice would be unremarkable if the assumed definitions were consistent from study to study, but such is not the case. In fact, at least three distinct definitions of tolerance are concealed within the literature. They are: (1) Flexible, examined attitudes toward groups, beliefs or practices which permit non-categorical evaluation of particular individuals, believers or practitioners. (2) Approval of a wide range of beliefs and practices. (3) Allowance of a wide range of rights and privileges.

Each dimension has its own definition, first, the dimension of flexible, refers to examination of attitudes toward groups, beliefs or practices which has no categorizing evaluation done by individuals, believers or practitioners.

The approve dimension of tolerance is often concealed within the allow dimension. Wallace Dynes, for example, investigates the relationship between education and tolerance and creates an index of tolerance based on opinions as to "whether certain speech behavior on the part of others is protected by the Bill of Rights" (Dynes, 1967). (These "others" include critics of the president, pro communists, supporters of fascism and dictatorship and anti-religionists). The approve dimension of tolerance is, by itself, more a measure of political and social beliefs than an indicator of tolerance. When the approve dimension is concealed within the allow dimension, belief and toleration are indistinguishable from each other. Therefore, in order to describe the sources and determinants of tolerance, measures of approval must be coupled with (but distinct from) measures of allowance and sources of belief.

Just as research on the examined-unexamined dimension of tolerance has been highly influenced by two seminal compendiums (Adorno et al., 1950; Rokeach, 1960), so the allow dimension has been dominated by a major piece of research: Samuel Stouffer's Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (1955). Conducted in the heat of one of America's periodic spasms of restrictive action, Stouffer's survey was an attempt to appraise Americans' willingness to grant each other civil liberties.

Political tolerance becomes an apparent need for individuals, particularly Indonesian-Muslim as the majority of population in Indonesia. Therefore, this study aims to construct a unidimensional scale consists of three dimensions, namely flexible, approval, and allowance. This scale is intended to measure political intolerance as an effort to further the understanding of the concept of political intolerance so that research in political intolerance may advance in the future.

Method

Participants

The sample employed in this study consisted of the Indonesian social media user (N = 390). As a screening process, we administered a question whether they ever engage in political disagreements within the last 1 month. A demographic data also administered, questioning their gender, ages, economic status, education, and ethnic.

Materials and Procedure

The Political Tolerance scale was constructed based on Ferrar (1979) Theory about The Dimensions of Tolerance. The scale consists of six items with three dimensions, namely: (1) flexible, examined attitudes toward groups, beliefs or practices which permit non-categorical evaluation of particular individuals, believers or practitioners; (2) approval of a wide range of beliefs and practices; and (3) allowance of a wide range of rights and privileges. Political tolerance is measured with 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = strongly disagree , to 5 = strongly agree. The blueprint and items for the scale is shown in table 1:

Table 1. Political Tolerance Scale by Ferrar (1979) Theory about The Dimensions of Tolerance,

| No.	Dimension	Indicator	Items
1	Flexible	examined attitudes toward groups, beliefs or practices permit of non-categorical evaluation of particular individuals, believers or practitioners	1, 2
2	Approval	approval of a wide range of beliefs approval of a wide range of practices	3, 4
3	Allowance	allowance of a wide range of rights allowance of a wide range of privileges	5, 6

* Reverse item

Construct Validity Test

The construct validity of the Political Tolerance Scale was tested with using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) to determine if the scale was unidimensional and to determine if some items should be evaluated or dropped.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis was employed through several steps as shown below (Umar, 2012):

1) Creating or compiling an operational definition of the concept that is to be measured. To measure the concept, an item (stimulus) is needed as the indicator.

2) Formulating a hypothesis/theory where all items compiled are valid and able to measure the defined construct. In other words, theorizing or building hypothesis that there is only one factor that is measured, namely the construct that is currently defined (unidimensional model).

3) Based on the data obtained, the correlation matrix between items, which is called the S matrix is then calculated.

4) The correlation matrix is used to estimate the correlation matrix what should happen according to the established theory or model.

5) The construct validity test is carried out by testing the hypothesis that S or can be written as H0: S - = 0. This hypothesis test, for example, is carried out using the Chi-Square test and RMSEA, where if the Chi-Square is not significant (p>0.05) it can be concluded that the null hypothesis (H0) is not rejected. This means the theory which says that all items only measure one the construct alone proved to be in accordance with the data. Meanwhile, if RMSEA (< 0.05) is not significant (>0.05) it can be concluded that the null hypothesis (H0) is not rejected. This means the theory which says that all items only measure one the construct alone proved to be in accordance with the data.

6) If it has been proven that the unidimensional (one factor) model fits the data then selection of items can be done using three criteria, that is:

   - Items whose factor loading coefficient is not significant are eliminated because they do not provide statistically meaningful information;

   - Items that have a negative factor loading coefficient are also eliminated because they measure the opposite of the defined concept. However, researchers should check which item statement is unfavorable or negative, then the score is adjusted (reverse) so that it becomes positive. This applies specifically to items where there is no right or wrong answer (eg, personality measurement tools, motivation, perception, etc.);

   - Items can also be eliminated if the residual (measurement error) correlated with many other residual items, meaning that the item measures something other than the construct to be measured. If the above steps have been carried out, then a valid item is obtained.

The results of Confirmatory Factor Analysis obtained model fit after three modifications by allowing measurement error between items to correlate. Furthermore, researchers used Phi standardization for standardizing technique. The results showed the following fit indexes, Chi-Square = 6.31, p-value of Chi-Square = 0.38928, RMSEA = 0.011, p-value of RMSEA = 0.83. The scale's path diagram is shown in figure 1 and the items significance test is shown in table 2 below:
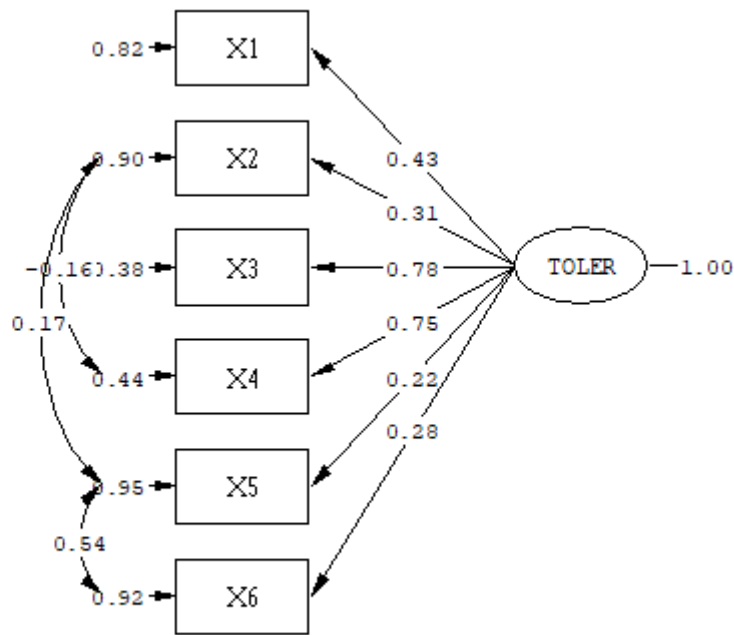
Chi-Square=6.31, df=6, P-value=0.38928, RMSEA=0.011

Figure 1. Path diagram of political tolerance scale

Table 2. Factor loading of political tolerance scale

Item	Estimate	Standard Error	t-value	Validity
1	0.43	0.05	7.92	Valid
2	0.31	0.06	5.14	Valid
3	0.78	0.06	13.49	Valid
4	0.75	0.06	12.76	Valid
5	0.22	0.06	3.87	Valid
6	0.28	0.06	5.02	Valid

Table 2 shows the result of significance test in order to consider item dropping. There are three main requirements to declare an item significant: (1) positive factor loading; (2) t-value > 1.96; and (3) less than three modifications for an item. From the result above, all the items are valid with positive factor loading, t-value > 1.96, and only three modification (item 2 and 4, item 2 and 5, item 5 and 6) as can be seen in path diagram. Thus, all items significantly measure one factor, namely political tolerance.

Discussion and Conclusion

Tolerance refers to the acceptance of differing opinion or ideas which is crucial for harmonious political and social life. In political life, differing opinions or views are common phenomena in which they may be destructive. Thus, this study aims to construct a tolerance scale that is capable of measuring political tolerance comprised of three dimensions, namely flexible, approval, and allowance.

First, a tolerant individual will have a flexible characteristic where he or she has examining attitude toward groups, beliefs or practices of others. A flexible person will not judge or befall their prejudice upon differing groups, beliefs or practices. They will examine the differing groups or

individuals before determining the evaluation and conclusion of others. Upon the arrival of final evaluation, a flexible individual will permit non-categorical evaluation of particular individuals, believers, or practitioners. Non-categorical evaluation refers to the act of not categorizing groups, believers or practices into certain or particular types or category. This non-categorical evaluation will characterize the political tolerance as it shows how a tolerant individual will not cast their judgment or prejudice toward differing political groups, opinions or practices. The items measuring this dimension are a favorable stating "I can choose a leader from an ethnic minority if he/she is qualified" and an unfavorable item stating "Public officials must be elected by the majority". Both items show how a tolerant person will face no issue when electing or voting for leaders from minority groups or ethnics.

Second, the approval dimension indicated that tolerant individual will possess approval of a wide range of beliefs in which case the belief refers to one's belief toward political stances. The item stated that "No matter what one's political beliefs are, everyone is entitled and has equal rights in law and protection" shows that political beliefs do not hinder the approval of rights. Another indication of approval dimension is the approval of a wide range of practices which is stated in the item: "I believe everyone has the freedom to express their views". The item suggests that individuals have the freedom to express and carry out their political practices. Thus, approval dimension shows that people have equal standings in front of the law and have the rights of protection despite their political beliefs or practices.

Third, allowance is the last dimension of political tolerance indicated by the allowance of a wide range of rights as shown in the unfavorable item: "I can violate the rights of others if that person does not have the same beliefs as me". The unfavorable item measures the opposite of allowance dimension, meaning that tolerant individuals will not allow rights violation of people of differing political beliefs. Another indicator of allowance dimension is the allowance of a wide range of privileges measured by an unfavorable item: "Everyone can hide behind the law, even if he actually violates the law." This unfavorable item measures the opposite of allowance of privileges indicator, meaning that tolerant individuals will be against the injustice and inequity done by people with privileges. Thus, allowance dimension generally measures one's allowance of human rights and opposition of law violation.

This research employed Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) to test the construct validity of Tolerance Scale based on the theory stated by Ferrar (1979). The results of construct validity test using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) shows that the scale is fit and unidimensional, meaning that the scale only measure one factor. There are two modifications, by allowing measurement error between items to correlate, on item 2 and 4, item 2 to 5, as well as item 5 to 6. There are three the three criteria of significant items: (1) positive factor loading; (2) t-value > 1.96; and (3) less than three modifications for an item. Based on said criteria, all items significantly measure one factor, namely political tolerance. All items show positive factor loading, t-value > 1.96 and less than three modifications for each item, meaning all items are valid.

From the obtained results, item 3 measuring the approval dimension, approval, has the highest factor loading of 0.78 among other items, meaning that item 3 is the strongest item measuring political tolerance. Furthermore, item 5 (unfavorable) measuring the allowance dimension has the lowest factor loading of 0.22, meaning that item 5 is the weakest item measuring political tolerance. In conclusion, the results determined that political tolerance is a unidimensional construct comprises of three dimensions, namely flexible, approval and allowance.

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Appendix

Five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree

No.	Dimension	Indicator	Items in Bahasa Indonesia	Items in English
1	Flexible	examined attitudes toward groups, beliefs or practices	1. Saya dapat memilih pemimpin dari etnis minoritas jika memang berkualitas	1. I can choose a leader from an ethnic minority if he/she is qualified
		permit of non-categorical evaluation of particular individuals, believers or practitioners	2. Pejabat publik harus dipilih oleh kaum mayoritas*	2. Public officials must be elected by the majority *
2	Approval	approval of a wide range of beliefs	3. Tidak peduli apa keyakinan politik seseorang, setiap orang berhak dan memiliki hak sama dalam hukum dan perlindungan	3. No matter what one's political beliefs are, everyone is entitled and has equal rights in law and protection
		approval of a wide range of practices	4. Menurut saya, semua orang memiliki kebebasan berbicara mengutarakan pandangan yang ia miliki	4. I believe everyone has the freedom to express their views
3	Allowance	allowance of a wide range of rights	5. Saya dapat melanggar hak orang lain jika orang tersebut tidak memiliki keyakinan yang sama dengan saya *	5. I can violate the rights of others if that person does not have the same beliefs as me *
		allowance of a wide range of privileges	6. Setiap orang dapat bersembunyi di balik hukum, meski ia sebenarnya melanggar hukum. *	6. Everyone can hide behind the law, even if he actually violates the law. *

*Reverse item