

Islam, Identity, and the Organizational Roots of Political Tolerance

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Tolerance Matters

“Putting up with” difference is essential for democracy, peace, and development in plural societies

OUR CONTRIBUTION

1. Situational conception of tolerance
2. Organizational roots of tolerance
3. Organizational identities, not membership, shape attitudes

Background

Existing research on tolerance tends to be

- Individualistic
- Decontextual
- Focused on beliefs

Existing research on identity tends to be

- Nationalistic
- OR
- Particularistic

Our View

Tolerance is situational: “Do you tolerate X doing Y”?

Tolerance is social: shaped organizational affiliations

Organizational effects are complex: membership is distinct from identity

The Indonesian Context

Lots of Muslims, lots of non-Muslims to tolerate

Three main Muslim mass organizations

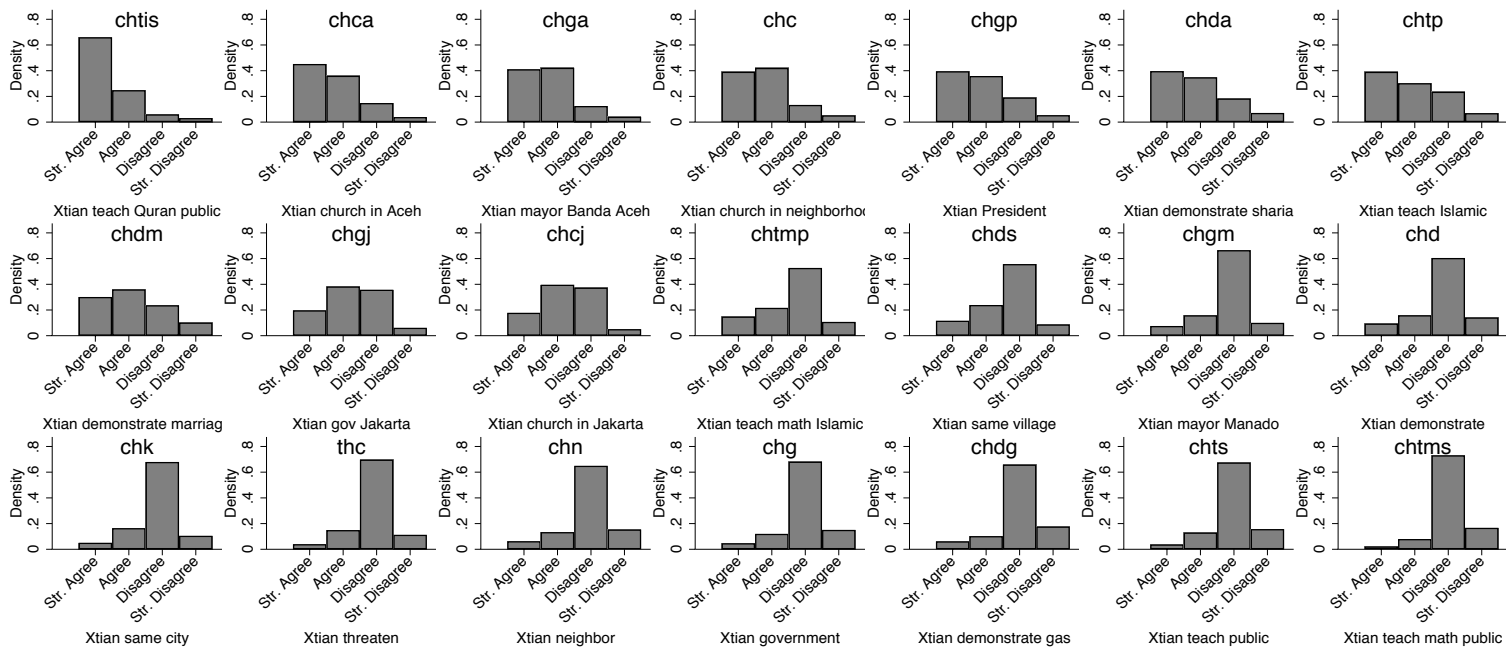
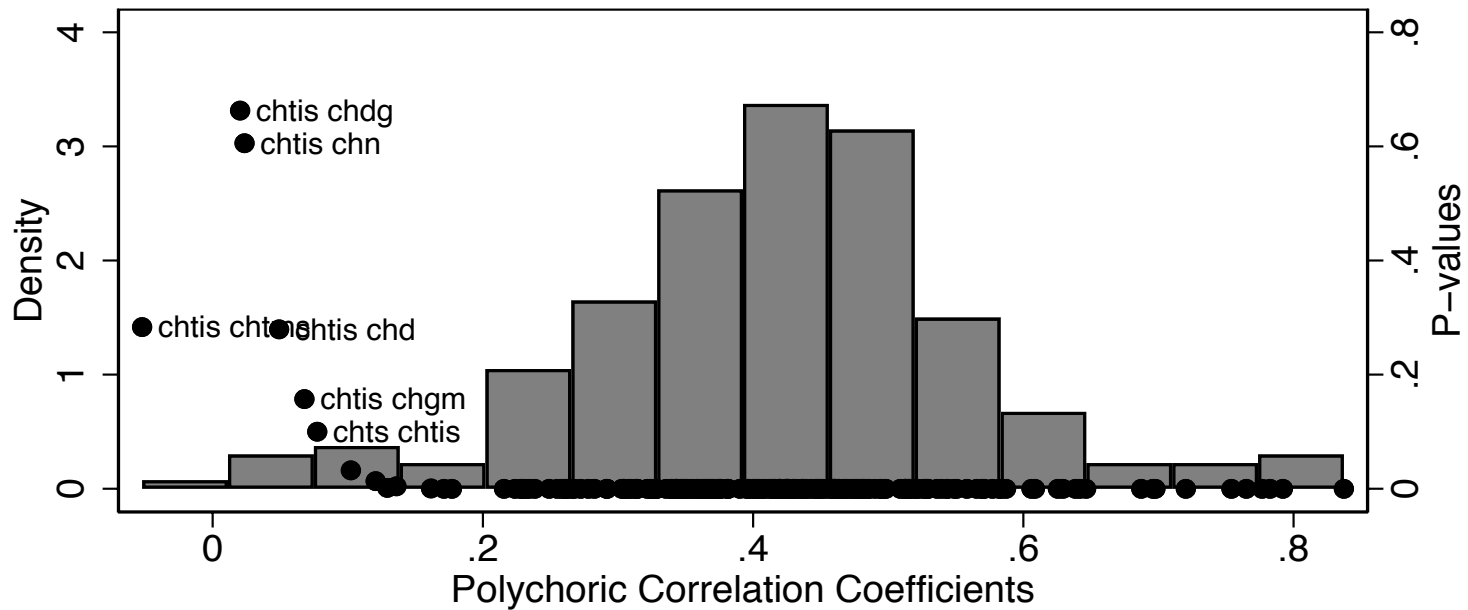
1. Nahdlatul Ulama (Reawakening of the Ulama): “traditionalist”
2. Muhammadiyah: “modernist”
3. Persis (Islamic Union): “Islamist”

Before you ask: none of these is “less religious” than the others

Measuring Tolerance

- Original survey of 1000 religious elites
- 21 questions about Christians in specific social situations

Variable	Situation
chts	Christians should be prohibited from teaching in public schools.
chtis	Christians should be prohibited from teaching Quranic exegesis at public schools.
chtp	Christians should be prohibited from teaching in Islamic schools.
chtmp	Christians should be prohibited from teaching math at Islamic schools
chtms	Christians should be prohibited from teaching math at public schools
chg	Christians should be prohibited from holding government office.
chgj	Christians should be prohibited from becoming the mayor in Jakarta.
chgm	Christians should be prohibited from becoming the mayor in Manado, North Sulawesi.
chga	Christians should be prohibited from becoming the mayor in Banda Aceh.
chgp	Christians should be prohibited from becoming the president of Indonesia.
chd	Christians should be prohibited from holding public demonstrations.
chdg	Christians should be prohibited from demonstrating in Jakarta about the price of gasoline.
chdm	Christians should be prohibited from demonstrating in Jakarta in favor of interfaith marriage
chda	Christians should be prohibited from demonstrating in Jakarta against the Shariah bylaws in Aceh.
chc	I would not want a new Christian church to be built in my neighborhood.
chcj	New Christian churches should be prohibited in Jakarta.
chca	New Christian churches should be prohibited in Banda Aceh.
chn	I would not want to live next door to a Christian.
chds	I would not want to live in the same village as a Christian.
chk	I would not want to live in the same city as a Christian.
thc	The behavior Christians threatens my way of life.

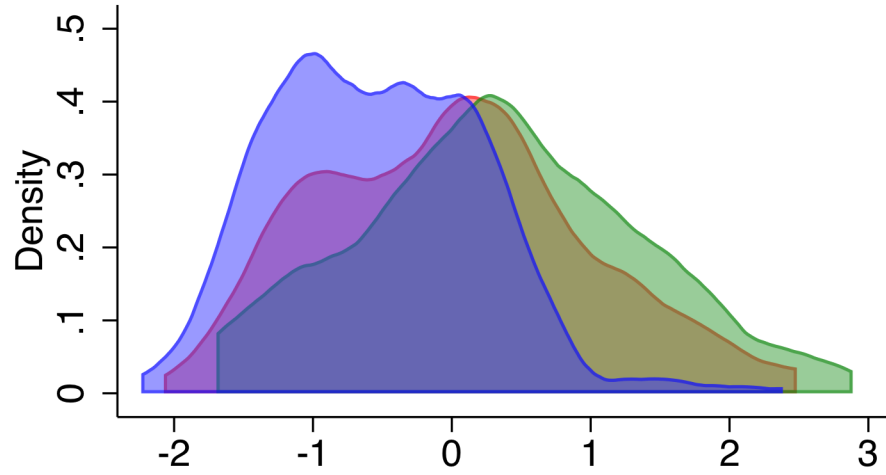


Measuring Tolerance

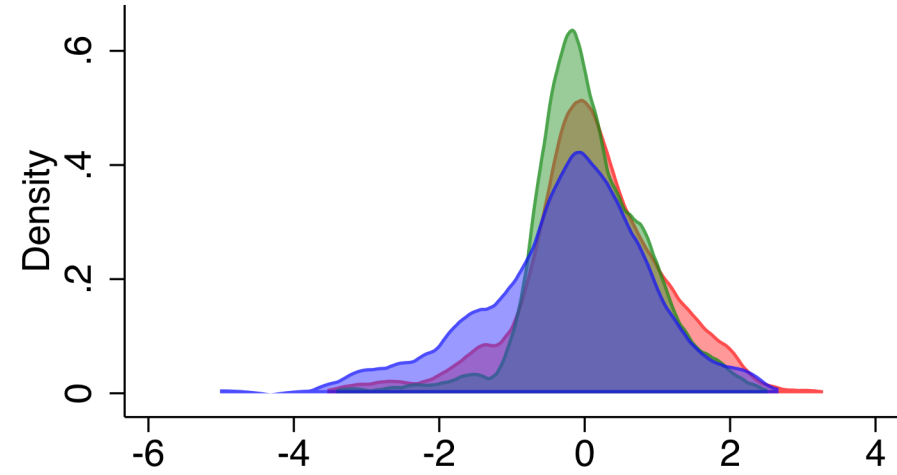
We find that there are conceptually distinct, situationally-derived dimensions within these data

1. Political tolerance (Christians as politicians in Muslim-majority areas)
2. Tolerance in public life (teaching, demonstrating)
3. Residential tolerance (living near Christians)
4. Tolerance for demonstrations on religious issues (Christians demonstrating about religious laws)
5. Educational tolerance (Christians teaching Islamic subjects, or in Islamic schools)
6. Religious tolerance (Christians constructing churches)

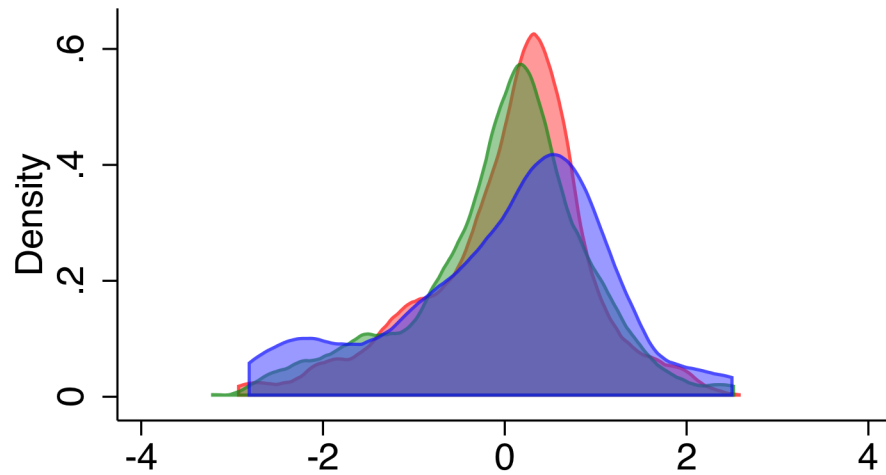
Political Tolerance



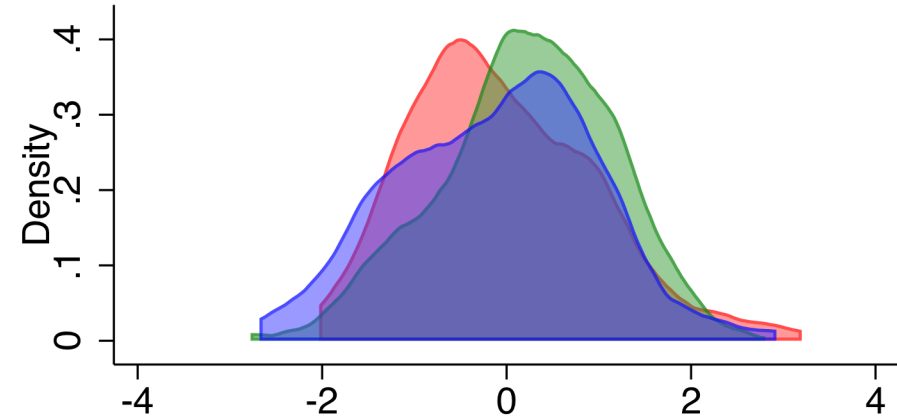
Tolerance in Public Life



Residential Tolerance



Tolerance for Public Demonstration on Interreligious Issues

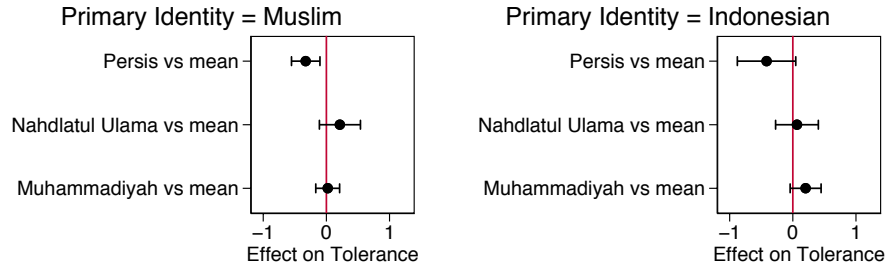


 Muhammadiyah

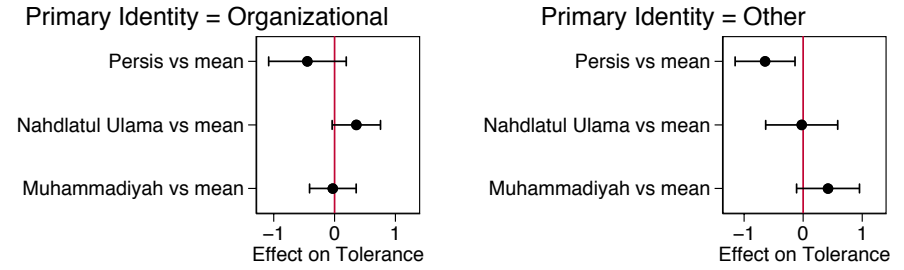
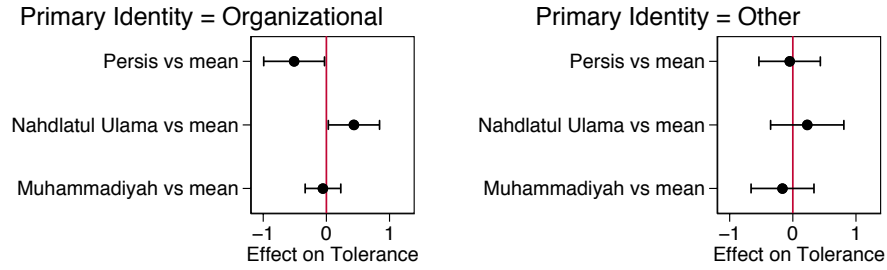
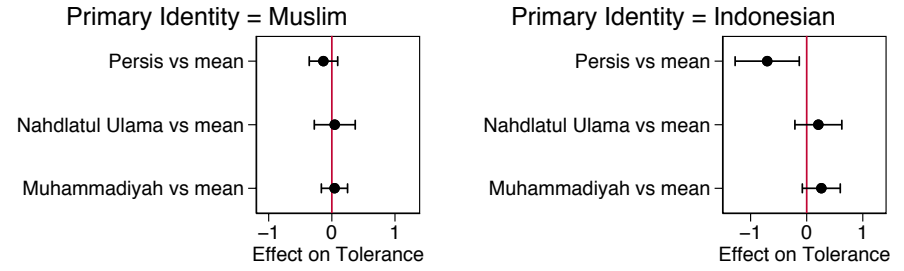
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 Persis

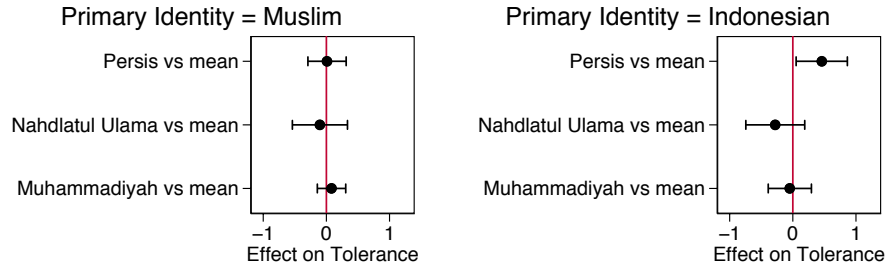
Political Tolerance



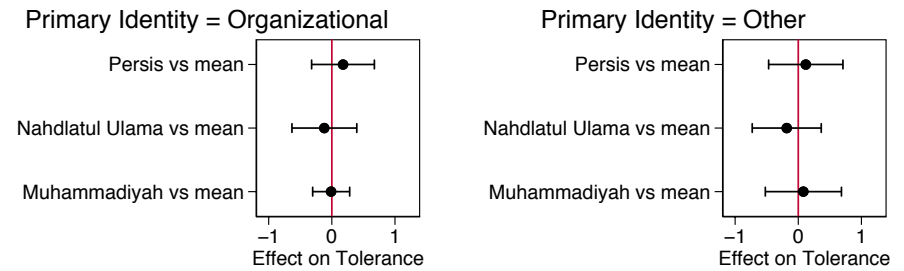
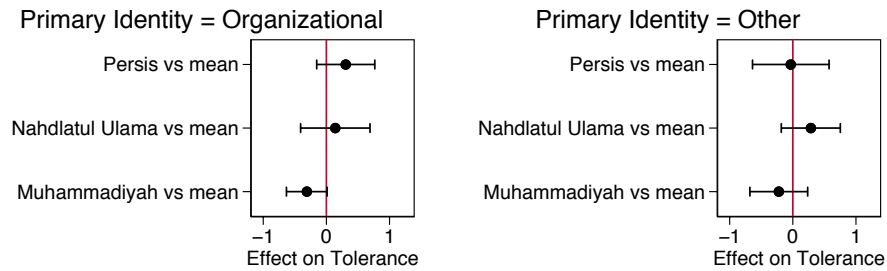
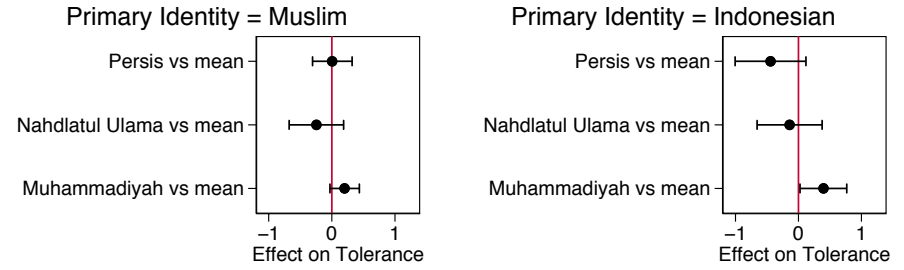
Tolerance in Public Life



Residential Tolerance



Tolerance for Public Demonstrations



Conclusion and Next Steps

Evidence of tolerance as multifaceted, situational, and shaped by both organization and identity

What about tolerance of other groups, e.g., Ahmadis, communists?

What about secondary and tertiary identities?