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Examining predictors of tolerance and helping for Islamic religious minorities in Indonesia

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Abstract

The reputation of Indonesia as a multicultural country has been recently debated, owing to the persecutions and attacks on members of Islamic minority Shiite and Ahmadiyya. The aim of this study was to examine the members of Muslim majority's tolerance for Shi'a and Ahmadis and their support for governmental helping dedicated to these religious minority groups. Results (N= 384) demonstrated that minority helping was directly predicted by tolerance, which also mediated the effects of multiculturalism and continuation threat on the helping. We also predicted and found that national identification directly predicted multiculturalism and continuation threat, and these latter variables mediated the effect of the former variable on tolerance and minority helping. We discussed findings in this study in terms of both theoretical and practical implications.

Keywords: minority helping; tolerance; continuation threat; multiculturalism; national identification

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1. Introduction

The implementation of Indonesian national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (In English: *Unity in Diversity*), which constitutes an ideological legitimacy for the Indonesian people to express and maintain their diverse ethnicities, cultures, and religions, has recently received incisive criticism. The core issue of this criticism is revolving around the Islamist militant groups' brutal attacks on members of religious minority groups and their houses of worship (Hewson, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2013; Pearlman, 2013; Spielmann, 2013). Indeed, recent research about religious freedom in Indonesia reported 216 incidents of aggressions on religious minorities in 2010, which increased to 244 in 2011 and 264 in 2012 (Human Rights Watch, 2013)

Shi'a and Ahmadis are two Islamic minority groups within the majority of Sunni Muslims in Indonesia. Due to human rights violations persecuted by some Muslim radicals, those minority groups are calling for helpings by the Indonesian authorities. They are asking the Indonesian government to rebuild their destroyed houses and mosques, to enjoy a normal life as other communities (Amnesty International, 2013; Sihite, 2013). But herein then emerges the problem: the effectiveness of Indonesian government's facilitation will depend much on supports by the Muslim majority (Anwar, 2012; Bandow, 2013). Whereas some Islamic radical groups clearly demonstrate their opposition toward the governmental facilitation, the attitudes and reactions of more moderate Sunni majority in Indonesia are still unclear. The aim of this study is to clarify this issue by exploring intergroup tolerance, perceived continuation threat, multiculturalism, and national identification as predictors of the Muslim majority's support for the governmental facilitation to help Islamic minority groups in Indonesia.

2. Literature review

2.1 Tolerance for minority groups

Existing literature on the domain of minority helping has primarily focused on the host society's endorsement for helping immigrant groups (e.g, Cunningham & Platow, 2007; Jackson & Esses, 2000; Mashuri, Burhan, & van Leeuwen, 2012). One study that has explicitly addressed an issue of religious minority helping was conducted by Jackson and Esses (1997). They found that participants with high religious fundamentalism are reluctant to help homosexuals because they consider members of this group as threatening their religious values. In multifarious studies, religious fundamentalism admittedly reduces intergroup tolerance (Ellison & Musick, 1993; Rogers et al., 2007; Tamney & Johnson, 1997; Wrench, Corrigan, McCroskey, & Punyanunt-Carter, 2006), a psychological capital that is of very importance for promoting people's positive attitudes toward minority groups (Jackman, 1977; Weldon, 2006).

In a general term, Allport (1954) differentiated two types of tolerance. The first type of tolerance represents one's ability to endure anything which one perceives objectionable or one dislikes. The second type of tolerance involves one's feeling of insensitivity and friendliness toward all sorts of people, thrusting one to not only endure but also accept these people. According to Powell and Clarke (2013), tolerance has two characteristics. The first is that tolerance is activated when one lets any practices to take place, despite one's disagreement with the practices. Tolerance in this regard is based on people's mindfulness, and not indifference, in overriding their disapproving reasons toward any practices (Williams, 1996). The second is that tolerance requires people's positivity concerning certain actions or practices. In line with this definition, intolerance, an opposite concept of tolerance, is operationally measured using a least-liked groups paradigm, in which participants are asked to select from the list groups they most dislike (Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus, 1982). This paradigm is hinged on a

rationale that intolerance appears when people not only regard certain out-group's practices (i.e. Norms, values) as different but also dislike such practices (Powell & Clarke, 2013). In conclusion, tolerance, as argued by Vogt (1997), prevents negative attitudes and beliefs in terms of prejudice and bias, which are inevitable in the social life, from being transformed into negative actions in terms of discrimination, persecution, and so forth. Tolerance thus is a fundamental prerequisite for constructive intergroup relations (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007).

In intergroup perspective, drawing on Self-Categorization Theory (SCT: Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) some scholars (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Waldzus & Mumendey, 2004; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003) conceptualize that tolerance has to do with how members of a group cope with intergroup differences. For tolerance to occur, group members should judge intergroup differences as normative and valuable, thereby fostering their appreciation and acceptance of out-group. However, this positive evaluation toward intergroup differences requires one condition: a super-ordinate category that transcends and includes both in-group and out-group. In this regard, tolerance is defined as the representation of a super-ordinate category in such an inclusive way in order to include out-groups and recognize their positive and normative existence. On the contrary, intolerance evolves from the claim that the in-group is the most prototypical or representative of a super-ordinate category, which in turn becomes an exclusive criterion to evaluate out-group.

It is stemming from such intolerance that Muslim radicals in Indonesia virulently attacked members of the Muslim minority. This attack was ignited by the radical groups' conviction that the religious teachings and practices of Ahmadiyya and Shiite are blasphemous, heretic, and deviant (Amnesty International, 2012; Bostom, 2012). After the attack, the followers of Shiite and Ahmadiyya were pressured to convert to Sunni; otherwise they should live in an isolated part of Indonesia (OnIslam & Newspaper, 2013; Younger, 2013; The Jakarta Post, 2013). This implies that intolerance for religious minority groups in Indonesia, thus, flares up due to the combination of Muslim majority' abhorrence of the minority Islamic groups and their unilateral claim that Sunni is the only true Islam.

Based on the intergroup perspective of tolerance stated above, we propose that to be more tolerant the Indonesian Muslims, in responding to Muslim minority, should widen their categorization of in-group (Muslim majority) and out-group (Muslim minority) into a more inclusive super-ordinate category that transcends Islam: United State of Indonesia (NKRI: Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia). Although more than 80 percent of Indonesians are Muslims, Indonesia is a politically secular country (Taipei Times, 2013). The Indonesian state ideology is called *Pancasila* (The Five Pillars), with the first pillar declaring 'Belief in the One Supreme God' (Azra, 2006). *Pancasila* is therefore a very tolerant, non-sectarian state ideology which appreciates and protects religions in Indonesia provided that these religions recognize only One God (Ramage, 1995). Viewed from a wider lens of *Pancasila*, Shi'a and Ahmadis should not be considered as deviant, and therefore be tolerated, since these religious minority groups declare only One God, despite their one or more different practices with the Sunni Muslim majority. Concisely speaking, identification with, or the degree to which Indonesian Muslims feel emotionally attached to the NKRI along with its ideology *Pancasila* really matters in determining tolerance for religious minority groups in Indonesia.

2.2 National Identification and Continuation Threat

Based on Social Identity Theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Blank and Schmidt (2003) defined national identification as the degree to which people are emotionally attached to their nation. In line with this definition, Huddy (2001, 2003) proposed that national identification refers to the degree to which people have an internalized sense of belonging to their nation. Since there are multiple groups within a nation, national identification is very relevant to shed light on understanding how the majority groups respond to the minority groups (Verkuyten, 2009).

According to the model of 'group identity lens' (Turner & Reynolds, 2001), social identification provides

people with a medium through which people perceive and make a meaning of the world. Social identification leads people to be more sensitive and more concerned with anything that could be beneficial or harmful to their group. Consequently, higher social identification is contributing to greater perceived threat, and this perceived threat in turn promotes particular, mostly negative, intergroup responses (Verkuyten, 2009). Stated another way, this model posits that perceived intergroup threat mediates the effect of social identification on intergroup attitudes and behaviors. In support of this model, a meta-analysis by Riek, Mania, and Gaertner (2006) revealed that social identification indeed has significant effects on intergroup threat, and intergroup threat has significant impacts on intergroup attitudes. More specifically, Verkuyten (2009) for instance found that the role of national identification with the Netherlands in explaining tolerance for minority groups (i.e., immigrants) was significantly mediated by perceived threat toward these groups.

We in this study modified the model of group identity lens in two ways. First, the locus of intergroup threat which is centered on sub-group categorization of majority versus minority (or vice versa) is moved to a super-ordinate categorization of a nation within which both groups (the majority and the minority) are included. In doing so, we examined a novel concept of intergroup threat called *continuation threat*. Van Leeuwen and Mashuri (2013) defined continuation threat as a threat to the future sustainability and viability of super-ordinate categories people belong to. These super-ordinate categories can take in multifaceted forms, such as organization, religion, or a nation/country. Second, the model of group identity lens basically posits that perceived threat has negative effects on intergroup relations. The more people perceive particular groups as threatening their in-group the more likely it is that these people are prejudiced, discriminatory, and biased against these groups. In a stark contrast to this rationale, we proposed that the more people perceive particular groups as threatening the integrity of a super-ordinate category of a nation the more likely it is that people, in respect to the nation, have positive attitudes and behaviors toward these groups. Support for this argumentation is evidenced in the study by van Leeuwen and Mashuri (2013), which found that the more separatist minority groups are described as threatening the integrity of United State of Indonesia (NKRI) the more the Javanese majority people are willing to include the separatist groups.

2.3 Multiculturalism

There are multifarious definitions of multiculturalism (Rosado, 1996). The focus of this study is on the definition as proposed by Verkuyten and de Wolf (2002) who distinguished two models of multiculturalism: unidimensional and bidimensional. In the unidimensional model, multiculturalism as freedom of members of minority groups to express and maintain their unique cultures and ways of life is framed as a zero-sum game. That is, the freedom has a direct consequence of abandoning the majority's cultures and ways of life.

On the contrary, the bidimensional model posits that multiculturalism is not a zero-sum game. This means that members of minority groups can express their diverse cultures and ways of life and at the same time, they can retain the majority's cultures and ways of life. In Indonesia, multiculturalism is ideologically endorsed by the authorities, stipulated in the national motto 'Unity in Diversity'. Thus, bidimensional model than unidimensional model of multiculturalism seems more suitable for Indonesian context. This is the case inasmuch as in Indonesia, the expression of cultures and ways of life of majority groups and minority groups can coexist, without victimizing one another (Hoon, 2006).

Some research reported that multiculturalism is positively associated with tolerance for minority groups. Based on a national survey in Canada, Berry and Kalin (1995) found that Canadians' support for multiculturalism was significantly correlated to tolerance for accepting minority groups that are culturally and ethnically different from the host population. In the Netherlands, Verkuyten (2009) found that the more the Dutch are supportive of multiculturalism in their country the more they are tolerant for the Muslim minority to teach and make a public speech in their school. In this study, moreover, the native Dutch's national identification was found to negatively correlate to support for multiculturalism. This finding is reasonable because national identification in the Netherlands overlaps with and is heavily structured by the native Dutch's ethnic

identification (Verkuyten, 2007). Moreover, several studies in the Netherlands (such as: van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002) published that the Dutch majority prefers assimilation to multiculturalism for minority groups living in that country. In Indonesia, we expect a reverse direction in which national identification is positively associated with support for multiculturalism. The argumentation is that multiculturalism has been ideologically legalized as an Indonesian national motto and national identification in Indonesia is not exclusively hinged on ethnicity but inclusively on nationhood (Barker, 2008).

2.4 The current study

We assessed predictors of religious minority helping in this study on the basis of a structural equation modeling (SEM) using LISREL 8.8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2007). In this analysis, we specified tolerance for religious minority helping as a proximal predictor while continuation threat, multiculturalism, and national identification as distal predictors. We also limited the target of religious minority groups in this study to only Islamic sects of Shi'a and Ahmadiyya, in spite of the factual reports on increasing discriminations and attacks against minority Christians in Indonesia (Cochrane, 2013; Vaswani, 2013).

Based on theoretical rationales and empirical findings as elaborated in the previous sessions, we specified several hypotheses. First, we hypothesized that tolerance for religious minority group had a direct effect in predicting participants' support of the minority helping (*Hypothesis 1*). Second, we hypothesized that continuation threat had a direct effect in predicting tolerance for religious minority group (*Hypothesis 2*). Third, we hypothesized that multiculturalism had a direct effect in predicting tolerance for religious minority group (*Hypothesis 3*). Fourth, we hypothesized that national identification had direct effects in predicting both multiculturalism and continuation threat (*Hypothesis 4*). Fifth, we hypothesized that continuation threat had an indirect effect in predicting minority helping (*Hypothesis 5*). Sixth, we hypothesized that multiculturalism had an indirect effect in predicting minority helping (*Hypothesis 6*). Seventh, we hypothesized that national identification had an indirect effect in predicting tolerance (*Hypothesis 7*) and minority helping (*Hypothesis 8*).

3. Methods

3.1 Participants and design

Participants were 200 students from the Department of Psychology, University of Brawijaya Malang, and 184 students from the Department of Psychology, IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Of the total participants ($Mean_{age}$ = 20.27; SD_{age} = 1.14), 241 (62.8%) were females and 143 (37.2%) were males. All of the participants admitted as Sunni Muslim. The dominant participants' ethnic was Javanese (N = 336 or 87.5%) and small portions of them were non-Javanese (N = 48 or 12.5%). Participants were recruited in exchange of no rewards and selected using a convenient non-random sampling whereby this selection was based on their willingness to take part in this study. Designed as a correlation study, unless otherwise indicated, all variables in this research are measured instead of manipulated.

3.2 Procedure and Measures

This study was conducted in a classroom setting, in which participants, after declaring their agreement with the inform consent, were asked to answer all items compiled in a questionnaire. Scales measuring each variable was created by averaging, and not summing the items. Scores on each item was measured using a *Likert*-type scale, which ranged from 1 (*Totally Disagree*) to 5 (*Totally Agree*). We developed and created all scales in this study.

In the first part of the questionnaire, participants were presented, and asked to indicate their agreement with four items to measure *national identification* (e.g. "I am proud of being Indonesian"; "I feel happy to be an Indonesian; α = .87, corrected item-total correlations ranged between .67 and .77). In the second part of the

questionnaire, participants were asked to answer two scales. The first scale was to measure *support for multiculturalism*, consisting of four items (e.g., "Religious and cultural diversity in Indonesia should be respected and protected"; "The right of every Indonesian citizen to express their diverse religions and faith should be guaranteed"; α = .78; corrected item-total correlations ranged between .53 and .65). The second scale was four items to measure perceived *continuation threat* (e.g., "Due to discriminatory treatments by the Indonesian government toward members of Islamic minority groups, the sustainability of the United Nation of Indonesia will be threatened in the future"; α = .83,corrected item-total correlations ranged between.63 and .70).

In the third part of the questionnaire, participants were asked to indicate their agreement with four items to measure *tolerance for minority group* (e.g., "The Islamic religious groups in Indonesia should not be coerced to be the same as Islamic majority"; α = .66; corrected item-total correlations ranged between .35 and .54). This scale was followed with five items to measure support for religious *minority helping* (e.g., "The Indonesian government should give legal permission for Islamic minority groups to build and use their mosques"; α = .92; corrected item-total correlations ranged between .73 and .81). At the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, ethnicity, and religion, and finally debriefed and thanked.

4. Results

4.1 Preliminary analyses

As demonstrated in Table 1, all inter-correlations were significant, except for the correlation between continuation threat and religious minority helping. Inspection of *one sample t-test* revealed that the scores of each variable are high, exceeding the midpoint of 3-for national identification, $t = 40.59$, $p = .000$; for multiculturalism, $t = 61.84$, $p = .000$; for continuation threat, $t = 24.48$, $p = .000$; for tolerance, $t = 19.21$, $p = .000$; for minority helping, $t = 10.1$, $p = .000$.

Table 1

Correlations and descriptive statistics of variables in the study

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
National Identification (1)	--	.35**	.14**	.11*	.11*
Multiculturalism (2)		--	.31**	.23**	.18**
Continuation Threat (3)			--	.29**	.05
Tolerance (4)				--	.35**
Minority Helping (5)					--
Mean	4.35	4.56	3.87	3.64	3.45
SD	.65	.50	.70	.65	.87

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$

To examine the construct validity of the measurement model on each variable, we conducted an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). As pointed out by O'Leary-Kelly and Vokurka (1998), EFA is one of construct validity techniques, especially to explore underlying dimensions or factors in a data set. Regarding the rotation methods in EFA, many researchers recommend oblique rotation instead of orthogonal rotation (e.g., Conway & Huffcutt, 2003; Gorsuch, 1997). The main reason is that oblique rotation tends to be more realistic because factors tend to have some degree of inter-correlations in most situations. We chose *Promax* as an oblique rotation that yields a factor solution allowing correlations among factors (Pett, Lackey, & Sullivan, 2003; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

Construct validity can be satisfactorily met if factor loadings of each item on its corresponding factor are higher than .4 (convergent validity) and cross-loadings of each item on its opposing factor are less than .4 (discriminant validity) (Hinton, Brownlow, McMurray, & Cozens, 2004; Brzoska & Razum, 2010). As shown in Table 2, The EFA revealed five factors which explained 65.54% of the total variance. Each variable turned out to have items that have factor-loadings higher than .4 on their corresponding factors. At the same time,

cross-loadings of all items in each variable on their opposing factors were less than .4. Thus, both convergent and discriminant construct validity of each variable or scale were satisfactorily supported.

Table 2

Loadings and variances explained based on Exploratory Factor Analysis of all items in the study

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
IDENT1	.113	.886	.063	.246	.072
IDENT2	.096	.879	.088	.248	.039
IDENT3	.103	.803	.193	.366	.155
IDENT4	.068	.805	.121	.328	.095
MULTI1	.143	.225	.284	.748	.145
MULTI2	.125	.222	.324	.711	.244
MULTI3	.143	.255	.196	.835	.168
MULTI4	.155	.380	.156	.817	.149
CONTI1	-.011	.110	.786	.198	.263
CONTI2	.042	.089	.851	.205	.247
CONTI3	.049	.142	.809	.286	.240
CONTI4	.100	.093	.790	.302	.225
TOL1	.161	.013	.097	.082	.645
TOL2	.165	.074	.226	.096	.682
TOL3	.294	.084	.323	.255	.778
TOL4	.381	.121	.217	.226	.705
HELP1	.881	.100	.076	.144	.295
HELP2	.885	.104	-.029	.160	.261
HELP3	.862	.067	.026	.089	.284
HELP4	.840	.115	.054	.207	.283
HELP5	.825	.091	.113	.196	.316
% Variance Explained	24.13	15.63	12.7	7.41	6.30

Note. IDENT1 – IDENT4: National Identification items number 1 to 4; MULTI – MULTI4: Multiculturalism items number 1 to 4; CONTI1 – CONTI4: Continuation threat items number 1 to 4; TOL1 – TOL4: Tolerance for minority items number 1 to 4; HELP1 – HELP5: Minority helping items number 1 to 5

In terms of CFA, as recommended by Kelloway (1998), we examined the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), and the Normed Fit Index (NFI). Hu and Bentler (1999) proposed that as a rule of thumb, RMSEA values less than .08, CFI and NFI values of .09 or greater confirm good fits. We specified the first measurement model in which items of minority helping, tolerance for minority group, continuation threat, multiculturalism, and national identification loading on five latent factors, allowing inter-correlations among the latent factors. This model resulted in good fits to the data, (Chi-Square (df = 179) = 390.88, $p < .001$; *RMSEA* = .056; *CFI* = .96; *NFI* = .93). The second measurement model loaded items of minority helping, tolerance for minority group, continuation threat, multiculturalism, and national identification on one latent factor. The results of this model showed worse goodness of fits to the data, (Chi-Square (df = 189) = 3320.30 $p < .001$; *RMSEA* = .208; *CFI* = .61; *NFI* = .59). The $\chi 2$ difference (10) between the one latent factor and the five latent factors was 2929.42 and this difference was significant ($p < .001$, for the test of Chi-square difference, see http://www.ma.utexas.edu/users/davis/375/popecol/tables/chisq.html). These findings were consistent with EFA, corroborating that each item measuring minority helping, tolerance for minority group, continuation threat, multiculturalism, and national identification is distinct, and not overlapping one another.

4.2 Main Analyses

To test hypotheses in this study, we conducted a full model which combined both measurement model and structural model, with specific commands in accordance with the courses or paths in the hypotheses. The results demonstrated good fits to the data, (Chi-Square (df = 184) = 426.84 $p < .001$; *RMSEA* = .059; *CFI* = .96; *NFI* = .93). This full model accounted for 18% variance of minority helping, 17% of minority tolerance, 2% of continuation threat, and 15% of multiculturalism (see the values of R^2 in Figure 1).

As demonstrated in Figure 1, all path coefficients were significant ($p < .05$), and in the hypothesized directions. The direct effect of tolerance in minority helping was significant, β = .42, t = 5.07, $p < .001$. The direct effects of continuation threat and multiculturalism on tolerance were also significant—for the effect of continuation threat, β = .33, t = 4,16, $p < .001$; for the effect of multiculturalism, β = .22, t = 3.4, $p < .01$. National identification also had significant direct effects on multiculturalism, β = .39, t = 5.99, $p < .001$ and continuation threat, β = .14, t = 2.9, $p < .01$. Table 3 summarized both direct effect and indirect effect of variables in the model. As we can see in Table 3 (column B), the indirect effect of continuation threat on minority helping was significant, β = .14, t = 4.16, $p < .001$. The indirect effect of multiculturalism on immigrant helping was also significant, β = .09, t = 3.13, $p < .01$. Finally, the indirect effects of national identification on tolerance, β = .13, t = 3.47, $p < .001$ and immigrant helping, β = .06, t = 3.46, $p < .001$ were significant. These findings thus corroborated all hypotheses specified in this study.

Table 3

Standardized coefficients of direct and indirect effects of variables in the study

Variables	National Identification		Multiculturalism		Continuation Threat		Tolerance	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Multiculturalism	.39***	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Continuation Threat	.14**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tolerance	--	.13***	.22**	--	.33***	--	--	--
Minority Helping	--	.06***	--	.09**	--	.14***	.42***	-

Note: ** = p < .01; *** = p < .001; A = Direct effects; B = Indirect effects

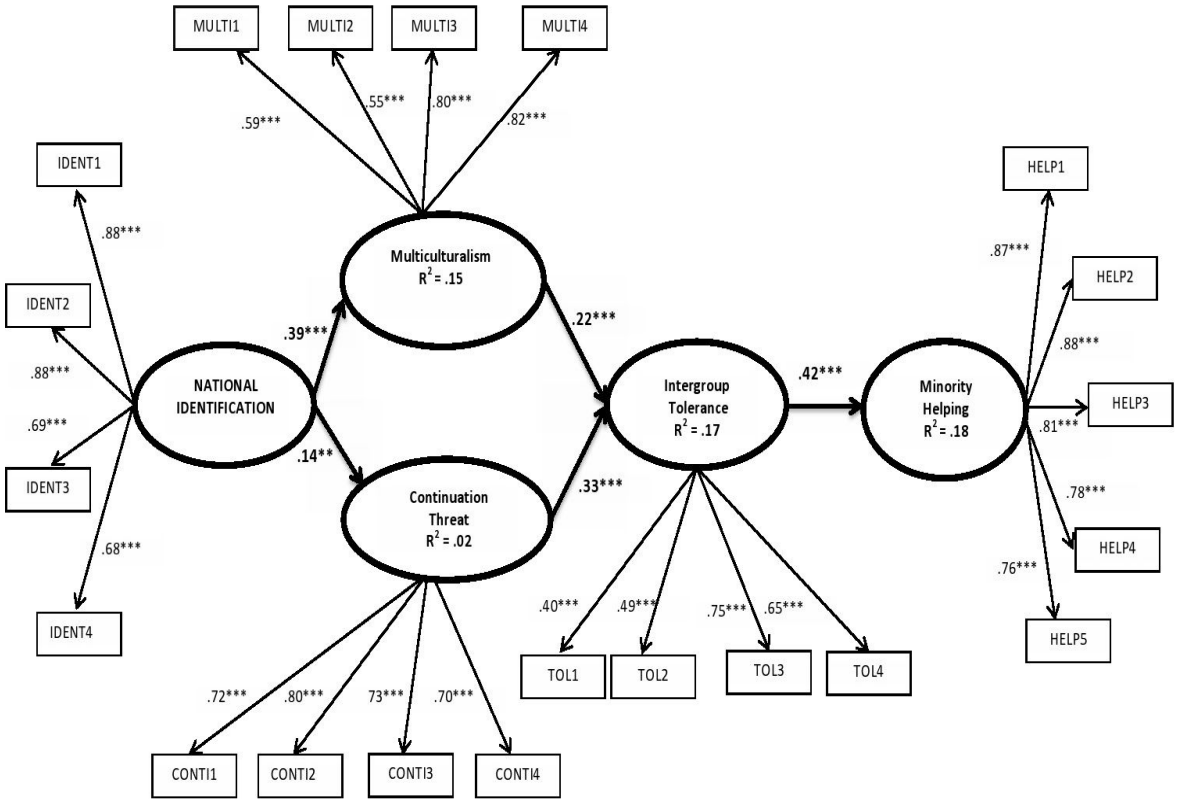

Figure 1. Measurement and structural model of the relationships among minority helping, tolerance for minority group, continuation threat, multiculturalism, and national identification. Numbers in the model are standardized path coefficients. *** = p < .001; ** = p < .01

5. Discussion

All hypotheses in this study were supported. Tolerance towards Islamic minority groups prompts the Muslim majority supporting for the Indonesian government's facilitation to help these minority groups. Tolerance is also found to mediate the direct effect of continuation threat, multiculturalism and national identification on the religious minority helping. National identification has direct effects in predicting continuation threat and multiculturalism. In addition, continuation threat and multiculturalism significantly mediate the direct effects of national identification in predicting the tolerance and minority helping.

Existing literature on intergroup helping has distinguished strategic motives and pro-social motives. One of strategic motives of intergroup helping is called restoring a threatened identity (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010). Support for the role of this motive was reported in the study by van Leeuwen (2007) in which the more the Dutch participants perceive that their nation is under threat the more they are supportive of the governmental actions to help Tsunami victims in South East Asia. Pro-social motive proponents contend that out-group helping is activated more because people feel a shared identity with (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) or empathic toward (Batson, 1994) the help recipients. The finding in this study that tolerance for minority groups mediates the effect of continuation threat on endorsement for minority helping brings a theoretical implication of the possibility to combine a strategic motive and a pro-social motive of out-group helping. More specifically, strategic motive and pro-social motive can coexist, and not be mutually exclusive, in promoting intergroup helping.

The concept of continuation threat examined in this study potentially develops social psychological accounts of Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Threat should not be merely placed on a sub-category of in-group versus out-group, but also on super-ordinate category. More specifically, intergroup threat may originate from the perception that the integrity of a nation people value is in jeopardy in the future. Moreover, the threat should not be always depicted as triggering negative intergroup attitudes. As evidenced in this study, the more the Muslim majority perceives the continuation of United State of Indonesia in the future is under threat the more they tolerate for the Islamic minority.

The role of national identification in promoting the majority groups' support for multiculturalism as found in this study is in line with integration as an acculturation strategy practiced in Canada (Berry, 2005). In integration strategy, multiculturalism is bidimensional in nature, in which unique cultures of the minority groups can harmoniously coexist with dominant cultures of the majority groups. In a stark contrast with this argumentation, multiculturalism in the Netherlands is unidimensional in nature, in which assimilation is deemed by the native Dutch majority as the best acculturation strategy the minority groups should implement (Schalk-Soekar & van de Vijver, 2008). In the lines of this unidimensional model of multiculturalism, national identification instead impairs the majority groups' support for multiculturalism (Verkuyten, 2009).

We acknowledge some limitations in this study. First, this study involved mainly the Javanese Muslims as a majority ethnic group in Indonesia. To enhance generalizability of these research findings, next studies necessitate recruiting Indonesian Muslims from multifarious ethnic minorities. Second, the focus of the target of intergroup helping in this study is on Islamic minority groups (Shi'a and Ahmadis) whereas in Indonesia there are some minority religious groups other than Muslims such as Christians, Hindu, and Buddhists. Next studies may observe stronger support for non-Muslims minority helping. This can be potentially the case given that literature on the 'black-sheep effect' posits that deviant in-groups (i.e., Shi'a and Ahmadis) are perceived as more threatening and less tolerated than deviant out-groups (i.e., Christians, Hindu, and Buddhists, and so forth) (Marques & Paez, 1994). Follow-up studies also need to measure not only national identification but also sub-group identification (identification with Muslims) and dual identification (identification with Indonesia and Muslims). As reported by Waldzus et al. (2003), dual identification is more effective than national identification in encouraging the majority groups to be more tolerant for the minority, especially in the case in which the majority groups' national identification is rivaled by their strong sub-group identification.

We propose some practical implications of this study. First, given the significance of multiculturalism in enhancing tolerance for religious minority groups, the Indonesian government should be more unequivocal in punishing Muslim radicals who attacked Muslim minority groups. This step is of very importance for strengthening the image and evidence that *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) are not a mere jargon or a slogan, but real Indonesian multicultural ideologies that are reliably enforced. Second, The Indonesian Muslim Assembly (Majelis Ulama Indonesia: MUI) as the representative of Muslim authority should not easily issue the doctrine of blasphemy against Islamic minority groups in Indonesia, which probably inspires Moslem radicals to feel and think legitimate to attack the minority groups. Third, interfaith dialogues between majority and minority religious groups need to be actualized and maintained substantively, not just formally and ceremonially. This way, both parties get involved in an ongoing communication process to achieve mutual understanding and mutual trust, which can be an effective way to nourish religious tolerance (Jemadu, 2012). Fourth, practioners, teachers, and Indonesian government should cooperate in terms of intensively internalizing an inclusive national ideology *Pancasila*. This cooperation can be concretely implemented by inculcating *Pancasila* into academic curriculums in elementary and high schools, which is of pivotal avail for cultivating and promoting nationalism (Nishimura, 1995) and more particularly religious tolerance in Indonesia (Christy & Daslani, 2012).

6. Conclusion

This study potentially provides some interesting significances in the sense that it is the first to investigate phenomenon of Islamic minority groups and the Islamic majority responses to these groups in Indonesia, which employed a quantitative approach. Likewise, this study is also the first to uniquely explain intergroup helping addressed to members of Islamic minority, more particularly in the lens of group-based variables: intergroup tolerance, continuation threat, multiculturalism, and national identification. Third, this study identifies a new insight into intergroup threat, more particularly a threat to sustainability of super-ordinate category of nation (i.e., continuation threat), which paves the way for non-violent responses to religious minority groups in terms of tolerance for these groups.

This study demonstrated the importance of transcending an exclusive sub-group categorization of in-group versus out-group into a more inclusive super-ordinate categorization of a nation for the Indonesian Muslim majority groups to be more tolerant for, and in turn be more supportive of governmental helpings to Islamic minority groups. More particularly, the Indonesian Muslim majority needs to see the problem of Islamic minority groups from a wider lens. Followers of Shiite and Ahmadiyya should not be seen as minority Moslem per see, but, more importantly, as fellow countrymen who can express and maintain their unique religious practices as ideologically protected in Indonesian national ideology *Pancasila* and in the national motto 'Unity in Diversity'. The Muslim majority also has to consider that mistreatments toward these Islamic minority groups can threaten the feasibility of United State of Indonesia in the future. Finally, to have such wider perspective, the Indonesian Muslim majority also needs to feel deeply attached to, and to have a strong sense of belonging to Indonesia.

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