


Being Tolerant in Diaspora: Indonesian Islamic Religiosity, Islamism, and Attitude Towards Other Groups Among Indonesian Community in Australia

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Abstract

This study analyzes how the Indonesian Muslim community in Australia coexists with non-Muslim communities and how their religiosity and the tendency of Islamism influence their interactions. An online survey was done to collect data by using a questionnaire involving 106 respondents, all members of religious study groups (pengajian) in Sydney. All items satisfy the criteria of validity with a correlation value greater than 0.3, and the construct is also reliable with $\alpha = 0.872$, indicating good internal consistency. Analysis was done by means of Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) with $R^2 = 22.3\%$; the study shows that support for both religiosity and Islamism has a significant effect on attitudes toward other groups. Remarkably, Islamism is found to have a negative impact on positive attitudes towards non-Muslims ($R^2 = 19.15\%$), fortifying findings from similar research specifying that Islamists frequently oppose pluralism. In addition, the study suggests that performing obligatory rituals, such as Ramadan fasting and daily prayers, does not significantly affect positive attitudes towards non-Muslim groups ($R^2 = 0.052\%$). Nonetheless, distinct Islamic religious practices in Indonesia, e.g., yasinan, tahlilan, tasyakkuran, selamatan, mawlid an-Nabi (celebrating the Prophet Muhammad's birthday), and ziyarah, positively and significantly affect positive attitudes towards other communities in Australia ($R^2 = 3.055\%$). This reflects the nature of Indonesian Islamic religious practices that promote more tolerant and inclusive religiosity.

INTRODUCTION

It has been argued that Indonesian Muslims have a significant historical relationship with Australia (Fakhrurroji, 2019). Indonesian Muslims first entered the Australian continent through sailors from Makassar in the 1750s. However, according to Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016; 2021), only about 18-19 percent of all Indonesians in Australia are identified as Muslims in 2016 and 2021. Despite Indonesia being a Muslim-majority country and a close geographical neighbor, the Indonesian Muslim population in Australia makes up only about 3% of the total population. The largest concentrations of Indonesians in Australia are found in cities such as Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, and Brisbane.

Living in a liberal democratic country like Australia, Indonesian Muslims are expected to adopt democratic values better. However, they are very vulnerable to experiencing being a

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minority in religion and identity (Fakhrurroji, 2019) and being discriminated against because of Islamophobia (Akbarzadeh, 2016; Briskman, 2015; Safei et al., 2022). Muslims in Indonesia, on the other hand, are the majority who are politically dominant in a democratic system, albeit not so much economically.

Generally, the characteristics of Indonesian Muslims overseas are connected to the trend of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia (Hasyim, 2015; Sujadi, 2006; Wardana, 2014). Among contemporary issues faced by such Muslim communities are how to respond to pluralism and live in harmony with other groups. Concurrently, they face Islamism, the political paradigm to glorify Islam for holding power in the political arena (Toyibah, 2022; Toyibah et al., 2020). In Islamism, Muslims are expected to bring back the glory of classical Islam under the leadership of the prophet Muhammad, and Islam must lead the world (Mozaffari, 2007). On the other hand, the idea of living in harmony with others, including non-Muslims, means the ability to treat others equally introduced in a democratic system.

The issue of equal rights between Muslims and non-Muslims in Indonesia has been heatedly debated besides the ones on equal rights for men and women, freedom of religion, and pluralism (Abdillah, 1999; Fuad et al., 2007). The study by Barton (1999) has found that a higher level of orthodox religiosity leads to a negative attitude toward non-Muslims. However, it leads to lower support for terrorism. The paper by Mietzner & Muhtadi (2020) additionally found high support for the aspects of non-pluralist attitudes, such as support for the radical organizations and racial sentiment from the Nahdlatul Ulama grassroots. Those confirm the reality of the increasing attitude of non-democratic, non-pluralist Indonesian Muslims because of the sentiment of political Islam both in Indonesia (Sakai & Fauzia, 2013) and overseas (Toyibah et al., 2020).

Intolerance toward other groups has become an essential measure of decreasing freedom and democracy (Mujani, 2019). Various surveys have found that most respondents hate minorities and are reluctant to appoint non-Muslims to government official positions. They avoid living with non-Muslim neighbors, support radical groups, and are interested in participating in religious war (Wijaya Mulya & Aditomo, 2018). This is not only at the grassroots level but also among university students (Wijaya Mulya & Aditomo, 2018) and among those affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama, a traditional Muslim group associated with the defender of pluralism (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2020). These current studies oppose the previous image of Indonesian Islam that has been associated with the characteristics of tolerant, pluralist, non-radicalistic, democratic, supporting freedom, human rights, and women's rights (Azra, 2004, 2006; Barton, 1999).

The attitude of believing in pluralism and tolerance of otherness takes time to come (Dillon, 2010). Psychologically, people in groups come to feel more secure and cohesive when they perceive the "others" at a psychological distance (Brown & Brown, 2016). The sources of otherness are religion, race, social class, sexuality, or some intersecting mix of these and the other differences permeating everyday experiences (Dillon, 2010). Religious tolerance involves a form of pluralism: that is, the welcoming and fostering of religious diversity. Religious believers should be pluralists in this sense (Byrne, 2011). A tolerant person may act to protect and encourage another in behavior even that he or she thinks is mistaken (Byrne, 2011).

Brown & Brown (2016) use religious pluralism to measure respondents' willingness to be tolerant of persons of diverse faiths (support inter-faith alliance), support for religious diversity in the US, a belief that their country can be united despite its religious diversity, and support for one's congregations joining alliances with congregations of different faith background (support religious tolerance). Religious tolerance has been used in several studies in Indonesia (Formichi, 2013; Fuad et al., 2007; Saeed, 2007) and other countries.

Some previous research in Indonesia has shown that intolerant attitudes towards non-Muslims are almost similar to Islamism (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018, 2020; Mujani, 2019). The

term Islamism vs. democracy has been used by Hefner (1998) beside another comparable binary classification of Islam, such as moderate vs. radical, liberal vs. conservative, and puritanism vs. pluralism, to show the heterogeneity of Islamic interpretation. Islamists oppose pluralism, but for practical reasons, they accept the democratic procedure. Primarily, they oppose pluralism in politics and religion and hold a dream of the Islamic caliphate, Islamic purification, and Islamic sharia formalization, opposing democracy, other religions, and Western culture (Dzuhayatin, 2020).

However, tolerance, as mentioned above, is not only political tolerance but also religious and social tolerance. The former relates to rights for politics, and the latter relates to acceptance of diversity (Bilgili, 2015). Similarly, Hanif et al. (2020) measure tolerance with four dimensions of religious tolerance: respect, freedom, acceptance, and discrimination.

The relationship between Islamism and negative attitudes toward other groups is based on previous research indicating that a conservative religious trend currently prevails in Indonesia (Bruinessen, 2011). The connection between conservative religious attitudes and prejudice toward other groups is often observed as a natural outcome. Prior studies have demonstrated that religious exclusivism influences intolerant attitudes in Generation Z (Sukmayadi et al., 2023). Although conservative groups may claim social inclusivity, empirical data is needed to show that conservative religious attitudes contribute to intolerance toward other groups. This research aims to demonstrate that exclusive religious and political attitudes lead to exclusive behavior in social interactions. Islamism will be used as a measure of religious exclusivity, while religiosity is viewed as more neutral and capable of fostering both tolerance and intolerance (Carlile, 2020). The Allophilia scale will be employed to measure tolerance, as it evaluates positive attitudes toward other groups (Alfieri, 2011).

Using the Allophilia scale, Shen (2013) found that religiosity is associated with attitudes toward other groups of different racial and ethnic backgrounds but is positively correlated with negative attitudes toward groups perceived as violating traditional values (e.g., lesbians, gays, and atheists). Other studies using similar measures for tolerance have shown comparable results, indicating an association between religiosity and intolerant attitudes (Bilgili, 2015; Hanif et al., 2020).

As of current, studies regarding the positive attitudes that Indonesian Muslims express towards non-Muslim groups abroad, particularly in Australia, remain very slight. The present study is aimed at filling the gap by employing a robust framework, the Allophilia scale. The study is also aimed at examining whether levels of Islamism and religiosity significantly correlate with the tolerant attitudes of Indonesian Muslims in Australia.

METHODS

Participants and Procedures

Using a quantitative approach, this study collected survey data from the Indonesian Muslim diaspora in Sydney, Australia, as it hosts the largest Indonesian Muslim community in the country. Respondents were invited through social media groups, particularly WhatsApp. Initially, three key figures from religious study groups (*pengajian*) distributed the questionnaire, followed by 27 *pengajian* members who helped share it further, resulting in a total of 106 respondents. As seen in Table 1, the majority of respondents were classified as part of the millennial generation, as they were under 50 years old in 2017. Table 2. shows that the majority of the respondents (61.3%) have been part of the Indonesian Muslim diaspora in Sydney for less than 5 years, while smaller proportions have lived there for 5-10 years (16.0%), 10-20 years (14.2%), and over 20 years (8.5%).

Table 1. Respondents's Age

Age	Frequency	Percent
Millennial	92	86.8%
Non-Millennial	14	13.2%
Total	106	100.0%

Table 2. Respondents' Length of Being Diaspora in Australia

Length of being diaspora	Frequency	Percent
< 5 Tahun	65	61.3%
5 - 10 Tahun	17	16.0%
10 - 20 Tahun	15	14.2%
> 20 tahun	9	8.5%
Total	106	100.0%

Note:

Millennials: 28–43 years old (born in 1981–1996)

Non-Millennials: Generation Z (12–27 years old), Generation X (44–59 years old), Baby Boomers (60–78 years old), Silent Generation (79–96 years old)

Instruments: Validity and Reliability

The questionnaire consists of segments regarding demographic information, religiosity, Islamism, and positive attitudes toward other groups. A four-category Likert scale was used, i.e., strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree, to quantify perceptions and attitudes. The categories very often, often, rarely, never were used to measure questions pertaining to frequency and behavior.

Most construct items of Mandatory Religiosity (X1), Indonesian Islamic Rituals (X2), Islamism (X3), and Positive Attitude Toward Outgroups (Y) are reliable and valid according to the results of the reliability and validity tests. The criteria of validity are established by the Corrected Item Total Correlation value > 0.3 , while Cronbach's Alpha value measured reliability > 0.7 . Three out of four items for the Mandatory Religiosity construct (X1) are valid. The Q3 correlation value is at 0.279, below the criterion limit. The construct is, nonetheless, still declared reliable since it has an Alpha Cronbach's value of 0.748. On Indonesian Islamic Rituals (X2), all items satisfy the criteria of validity with a correlation value greater than 0.3, and the construct is also reliable since it has an Alpha Cronbach's value of 0.872, indicating good internal consistency.

Religiosity

In general, Islam as a religion covers beliefs, and they are manifested in Islamic teachings. Islam practiced in all Muslim countries relates to six principles of faith (*rukun iman*) and five principles of being Muslim (*rukun Islam*). Some Islamic rituals are recommended, not mandatory, meaning that those are good, but Muslims can leave them. In this study, the variable of religiosity is measured by 17 question items. Indonesian Islam includes not only six principles of faith (*rukun iman*) and five principles of being Muslim (*rukun Islam*) but also ritual tradition to combine Islam and local tradition.

The result of the reliability test of religiosity indicators in Indonesian Islamic traditions, calculated using Cronbach's Alpha, indicates that Mandatory Practices (Alpha: 0.748) consist of valid indicators such as daily prayers (0.662), zakat (0.663), and fasting (0.744), although Friday prayers (0.279) are shown to be invalid. Muhammadiyah Traditions (Alpha: 0.872) highlight simplicity with valid practices like 11 rakaats of Tarawih prayers (0.396), shadaqah (0.576), and tasyakuran (0.633). Nahdliyin Traditions emphasize cultural integration with valid indicators such as 23 rakaats of Tarawih prayers (0.395), Mawlid an-Nabi (0.43), Yasinan (0.641), grave visitation (0.714), and tahlilan (0.765). The scores above substantiate the

constructs' overall reliability while indicating the diversity of Islamic practices in Indonesia, balancing universal obligations with reformist and cultural traditions.

In this study, the delineation of religiosity within the Indonesian Islamic tradition distinguishes between obligatory and non-obligatory practices based on their validity and reliability as indicators of religious commitment. Fundamental duties, such as the performance of the five daily prayers and the observance of fasting during the month of Ramadan, function as robust measures of religiosity, whereas other practices, including zakat contributions and attendance at Friday prayers, exhibit varying degrees of correlation, with the latter regarded as an insufficient indicator due to its limited correlation. Non-obligatory practices, such as Tarawih prayers and communal religious assemblies, also display disparate levels of validity, with certain elements, like the quantity of rakaats in Tarawih, revealing weaker associations with essential religious obligations. This implies that although these practices play a role in the religious life of individuals, they may not consistently serve as accurate reflections of overall religiosity.

Islamism

Twelve question items measure the variable of Islamism. Those 12 questions are extracted from principles of Islamism, such as the belief that the Islamic caliphate is a must in the future because it is destiny and mentioned textually in the prophet tradition; the Islamic caliphate is an obligation as it will ensure the implementation of Islamic teachings (*shari'ah*); Islam includes not only religious teachings related to God but also all aspects of life (politics, economy, social, law system); and Muslims must lead politically everywhere and anywhere to ensure that Islam as the only right religion.

In this study, the validity and reliability of indicators for Islamism were categorized into three aspects: Shari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law, Political Islam and Khilafah, and Islamic Identity, with general reliability validated by high scores of Cronbach's Alpha. Shari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law (Alpha: 0.925) comprises valid indicators such as the application of Shari'ah in Muslim-majority and non-Muslim countries (0.79 and 0.743) and Hudud laws (0.882 and 0.632). Political Islam and Khilafah emphasize valid beliefs pertaining to rejecting female leadership in Muslim-majority nations (0.668), supporting a global caliphate (0.673), voting for Muslim candidates (0.705), choosing leaders who uphold Shari'ah (0.796), and voting for Islamic parties (0.816). Islamic Identity concentrates on daily practices such as consumption of halal products (0.422), use of Shari'ah-compliant banking (0.527), and wearing of the hijab (0.645), which are all deemed valid. The table corroborates solid reliability and varied indicators for measuring Islamism across aspects of law, politics, and identity.

The above categorization of Islamism variables emphasizes the enforcement of Islamic jurisprudence (Shari'ah) and Islamic penal codes (*hudud*) across both Muslim-majority and non-Muslim-majority nations. Metrics utilized to evaluate these variables are subjected to rigorous assessment for validity and reliability, with elevated correlation coefficients indicating robust associations with the fundamental construct of Islamism. For instance, the enforcement of Shari'ah in Muslim-majority nations, exemplified by Indonesia, has attained a high correlation coefficient of 0.925, establishing it as a credible indicator. In a similar vein, responses to targeted survey inquiries (Q18–Q21) demonstrate a pronounced consensus regarding the imperative of implementing Shari'ah and *hudud* laws, particularly within Muslim-majority environments, with Q20 showcasing a remarkable correlation of 0.882, reflecting substantial endorsement for *hudud* laws.

The investigation further explores viewpoints regarding the application of Islamic laws in non-Muslim-majority countries, such as Australia. Although there exists legitimate support for the implementation of Shari'ah for Muslims in these contexts, the correlation coefficients, as illustrated in Q19 and Q21, are comparatively lower, indicating a less cohesive agreement

relative to Muslim-majority nations. Collectively, the results underscore a significant propensity towards the acceptance of Islamic law within Muslim communities, emphasizing the influence of cultural and religious contexts in shaping attitudes towards Shari'ah and *hudud* laws.

Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups

The allophilia scale covers five factors: affection (positive affective evaluations of outgroup members), comfort (a feeling of ease with outgroup members), kinship (a feeling of closeness with outgroup members), engagement (a tendency to seek to affiliate and interact with outgroup members), and enthusiasm (having emotionally heightened positive attitudes about outgroup members) (Pittinsky et al., 2011). The allophilia scale is used to measure attitudes toward other groups, emphasizing the social aspect and eliminating the political dimension. It introduces the measurement of positive attitudes towards other groups.

In this study, the validity and reliability of the Allophilia Scale concentrate on Positive attitudes toward Other Groups with two aspects: Affection and Comfort and Kinship, Engagement, and Enthusiasm. Affection and Comfort (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.899) consists of valid indicators like feeling positive (0.611), having a sense of comfort (0.63), belonging (0.634), and ease (0.719) around non-Muslims. Kinship, Engagement, and Enthusiasm denote interest in understanding non-Muslims (0.382), feelings of admiration (0.587) and inspiration (0.612), and motivation to connect (0.677). The scale suggests solid reliability and emphasizes a positive orientation toward non-Muslims by means of active engagement and emotional connection.

The measurement of positive attitudes toward Non-Muslims in this study was based on various indicators assessing feelings of affection and comfort. With a high Cronbach's alpha of 0.899, the scale demonstrates strong reliability in capturing this construct. Individual indicators show varying levels of validity, with the statement "I have positive attitudes about Non-Muslims" displaying a moderate correlation of 0.521. This suggests that while it contributes to the overall measure, it may not be the strongest indicator of positive attitudes.

Stronger correlations are observed in statements like "I feel positively toward Non-Muslims" (0.611) and "I am comfortable when I hang out with Non-Muslims" (0.630), indicating that these items more effectively capture positive sentiments. Additionally, the statement "I feel a sense of belonging with Non-Muslims" has a correlation of 0.634, highlighting the role of social integration in shaping attitudes. These findings suggest that comfort and a sense of belonging are crucial factors in fostering positive relationships between Muslims and Non-Muslims.

Data Analysis

This study employed Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) to analyze the contribution of each item or indicator towards the latent variables and to measure the effects of exogenous latent variables, namely Islamism and religiosity, on endogenous latent variables, namely Attitude Toward Other Groups. The data is analyzed using Smart PLS version 2.0 software.

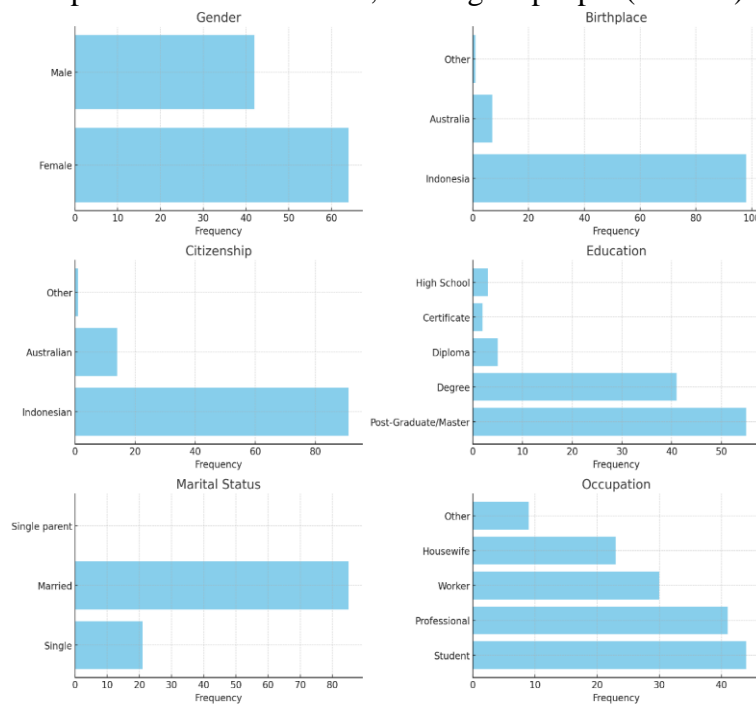
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

Respondents' Characteristics

As showcased in Graph 1 and Table 3, the current study found that (1) most of the respondents were women totaling 64 respondents (60.38%); (2) most of the respondents were Indonesian-born, totaling 98 people (92.45%); (3) most of the respondents were Indonesian citizens, totaling 91 people (85.85%); (4) most of the respondents were post-graduates, totaling

55 people (51.89%); (5) most of the respondents were married, totaling 85 people (80.19%); and (6) most of the respondents were students, totaling 44 people (41.51%).



Graph1. Demographic Data of Respondents

Table 3. Respondents' Characteristics

	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Female	64	60.38%
Male	42	39.62%
Birthplace		
Indonesia	98	92.45%
Australia	7	6.60%
Other	1	0.94%
Citizenship		
Indonesian	91	85.85%
Australian	14	13.21%
Other	1	0.94%
Education		
Post-Graduate/Master	55	51.89%
Degree	41	38.68%
Diploma	5	4.72%
Certificate	2	1.89%
High School	3	2.83%
Marital Status		
Single	21	19.81%
Married	85	80.19%
Single parent	0	0.00%
Occupation		
Student	44	41.51%
Professional worker	30	28.30%
Housewife	23	21.70%
Other	9	8.49%

The Path Diagram and Parameter Estimation Results

Diagram 1 is a path diagram of the Structural Equation Models (SEM) along with parameter estimation results with the Partial Least Square estimation method. This path diagram illustrates the relationship between indicators and latent variables and the effect of exogenous latent variables Mandatory Religiosity (X1), Religiosity of Indonesian Islamic Rituals (X2), and Islamism (X3) on the endogenous latent variable Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups (Y). Twelve question items measured the Islamism exogenous latent variable and overall had good validity in measuring its latent variables. As for endogenous latent variables, 16 question items measured Positive attitudes toward Other Groups, and from the results of preliminary structural modeling testing, two items were invalid in the measurement model. As a result, 14 question items were used in the measurement of latent variables.



Diagram 2. The Relationship Between Indicators and Latent Variables and the Effect of Exogenous Latent Variables on The Endogenous Latent Variable Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups

Assessment of Outermodel Fitness

Table 4 shows the standardized loading factor value and the calculated t statistic for the first-level measurement model for each latent variable.

Table 4. Outer Model Validity Test

Variables	Loading Factor	count	P-Value	Status
<i>Religiosity Mandatory</i>				
Q1. Praying regularly (5 times a day)	0.907	3.791	0.00	Valid
Q2. Fasting of Ramadan	0.889	3.581	0.000	Valid
<i>Religiosity Indonesian Islamic Rituals Muhammadiyah</i>				
Q6. Tarawih prayers 11 rakaats	0.643	6.004	0.000	Valid
Q7. Tasyakkuran (religious gathering to thank Allah on special happy occasions such as graduation days and birthdays)	0.812	26.800	0.000	Valid
Q8. Shadaqah is a donation in the form of money, food, and other similar items.	0.763	16.613	0.000	Valid
<i>Indonesian/Nahdliyin Tradition</i>				
Q9. Tarawih prayers 23 rakaats	0.631	8.607	0.000	Valid
Q10. Yasinan (recitation of Surah Yaasiin normally on Friday night)	0.769	16.245	0.000	Valid
Q11. Mawlid an-Nabi: Celebrating Prophet Muhammad's (s) Birthday	0.682	9.656	0.000	Valid
Q13. Request du'aa from Ustadz/Syeikh/Kyai	0.664	11.079	0.000	Valid
Q14. Performing the tahlilan (on certain occasions such as the 7th or the 40th-day commemoration of the dead family members)	0.756	17.414	0.000	Valid
Q15. Selamatan (religious gatherings to seek Allah's blessing in both happy and sad moments, such as the commemoration of dead family members and pre-wedding gatherings)	0.766	17.941	0.000	Valid
Q16. Visiting the graves of family members, guardians, or Syeikh/Kyai.	0.707	12.709	0.000	Valid
Q17. The recitation of the qunut prayer during the Subh prayer	0.686	10.139	0.000	Valid
<i>Islamism</i>				
<i>Syari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law</i>				
Q18. Islamic law (Shari'ah) must be implemented in the Muslim-majority countries such as Indonesia.	0.902	47.875	0.000	Valid
Q19. Islamic law (Shari'ah) must be implemented for the Muslim population in non-Muslim majority countries such as Australia.	0.883	50.250	0.000	Valid
Q20. I agree with the implementation of Hudud Islamic criminal laws in Muslim-majority countries such as Indonesia.	0.862	32.999	0.000	Valid
Q21. I agree with the implementation of Hudud Islamic criminal laws for Muslim populations in Non-Muslim majority countries such as Australia.	0.819	17.624	0.000	Valid
<i>Political Islam and Khilafah</i>				
Q22. The aim of the General Election (elections) in both Muslim and non-Muslim majority countries is to select leaders or	0.802	21.629	0.000	Valid

parliamentary members who can fight for the Islamic Shariah.				
Q23. In Elections, Muslims must choose an Islamic party.	0.907	54.252	0.000	Valid
Q24. In Elections, Muslims must choose a Muslim candidate.	0.856	20.612	0.000	Valid
Q25. A female president cannot lead Muslim-majority countries such as Indonesia.	0.743	12.066	0.000	Valid
Q26. I agree with the establishment of Khalifah/Khilafah Islamiyah for the unity of Muslims around the world.	0.770	14.803	0.000	Valid
<i>Islamic Identity</i>				
Q27. I only consume food products that have halal labels.	0.799	12.589	0.000	Valid
Q28. I only use Shari'ah Bank products.	0.806	25.674	0.000	Valid
Q29. A Muslim woman is obliged to wear the hijab.	0.811	24.810	0.000	Valid
<i>Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups</i>				
<i>Affection and Comfort</i>				
Q32. I like Non-Muslims	0.682	6.602	0.000	Valid
Q33. I feel positively toward Non-Muslims	0.672	8.033	0.000	Valid
Q34. I am at ease around Non-Muslims	0.813	17.915	0.000	Valid
Q35. I am comfortable when I hang out with Non-Muslims	0.878	29.763	0.000	Valid
Q36. I feel like I can be myself around Non-Muslim mates	0.765	15.245	0.000	Valid
Q37. I feel a sense of belonging with Non-Muslims	0.797	18.685	0.000	Valid
<i>Kinship, Engagement and Enthusiasm</i>				
Q38. I feel a kinship with Non-Muslims	0.767	16.905	0.000	Valid
Q39. I would like to be more like my Non-Muslim friends	0.630	9.888	0.000	Valid
Q40. I am truly interested in understanding the points of view of Non-Muslims	0.778	11.982	0.000	Valid
Q41. I am motivated to get to know Non-Muslim friends better	0.781	12.388	0.000	Valid
Q42. I am interested in hearing about the experiences of Non-Muslims friends	0.803	19.856	0.000	Valid
Q43. I am impressed by Non-Muslims friends	0.805	17.904	0.000	Valid
Q44. I feel inspired by Non-Muslims	0.763	14.964	0.000	Valid
Q45. I am enthusiastic about Non-Muslims	0.826	27.138	0.000	Valid
<i>Religiosity Indonesian Islamic Rituals</i>				
Muhammadiyah	0.852	41.698	0.000	Valid
Indonesian/Nahdliyin Tradition	0.875	48.191	0.000	Valid
<i>Islamism</i>				
Syari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law	0.934	83.005	0.000	Valid
Political Islam and Khilafah	0.924	57.874	0.000	Valid
Islamic Identity	0.806	22.891	0.000	Valid
<i>Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups</i>				
Affection and Comfort	0.910	51.457	0.000	Valid
Kinship, Engagement and Enthusiasm	0.949	92.350	0.000	Valid

* The Q3 (Friday prayers), Q4 (performing aqeeqah), and Q5 (alms or zakat payment) are less relevant to be classified as mandatory religiosity. In previous studies, it was also rarely used to measure mandatory religiosity. Despite being included in the questionnaire, the three indicators were not included in the modeling either for invalidity or poor modeling.

*Q12 (Halal bi halal (during Eid celebrations)), Q30 (In general, I have positive attitudes about Non-Muslim) and Q31 (I respect Non-Muslim) are invalid for model or poor modeling

Source: The Authors

Table 4 indicates that all standardized loading factors in the Outer Model measurement model produce good validity. According to the criteria for good validity, where the *count* value of the factor load is the critical value, the *standardized loading factor* value is the p-value <0.05 . Two aspects are identified in the religiosity variable: Religiosity of Indonesian Islamic Rituals and Mandatory Religiosity. The Indonesian Islamic Rituals were examined using two constructs, Muhammadiyah and Indonesian/Nahdliyin Tradition. Predicated on the *loading factor* value for *Religiosity* variables, the "Praying regularly (5 times a day)" item maintains the highest value of *loading factor* at 0.907, followed by "Fasting of Ramadan" at 0.889. This suggests that mandatory practices in Islam, e.g., Ramadan fasting and five daily prayers, are the key elements that shape religiosity.

In the Muhammadiyah construct, "*Tasyakuran*" (thanksgiving) had the highest *loading factor* value (0.812), implying that social activities by means of thanksgiving play a crucial role in assessing religiosity based on the Muhammadiyah perspective. The highest *loading factor* scores observed for "*Yasinan*" (0.769), "*Selametan*" (0.766), and "*Tahlilan*" (0.756) suggest that the distinctive Nahdliyin rituals, performed in moments of joy and grief, are vital elements in shaping religiosity according to the perspective of Nahdliyin. Lastly, in the concept of *Indonesian Islamic Rituals*, the Nahdliyin and Muhammadiyah sub-constructs maintain high *loading factor* values of 0.875 and 0.852, respectively. This indicates that locally rooted religious ritual practices hold a key role in shaping Indonesian religiosity.

Islamism was measured by using three aspects: Shari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law, Political Islam and Khilafah, and Islamic Identity. The Shari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law aspect shows the highest value of *loading factor* at 0.934, with statements such as "Islamic law (Shari'ah) must be implemented in Muslim-majority countries such as Indonesia" having a value of 0.902. The Political Islam and Khilafah aspect also displays a high value of *loading factor* at 0.924. The statement "In Elections, Muslims must choose an Islamic party" shows a value of 0.907, while "Muslims must choose a Muslim candidate" shows 0.856. The final aspect, Islamic Identity, showcases a *loading factor* value of 0.806, highlighting the significance of religious symbols in daily life, e.g., consumption of halal products (scoring 0.799) and use of Islamic bank products (scoring 0.806). Furthermore, the obligation for Muslim women to put on hijab (scoring 0.811) is also a key element in forming Islamic identity in the context of Islamism.

The Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups variable was measured using two aspects consisting of Affection and Comfort and Kinship, Engagement, and Enthusiasm. The Affection and Comfort aspect has an overall value of *loading factor* at 0.910. The statement "I am comfortable when I hang out with Non-Muslims" boasts the highest *loading factor* value of 0.878, which is followed by "I am at ease around Non-Muslims" at 0.813. The Kinship, Engagement, and Enthusiasm aspect has an overall value of *loading factor* at 0.949. The

Table 5. Test of Reliability Outer Model

Constructs	Discriminant Validity (AVE)	Composite Reliability (CR)	Status
Muhammadiyah	0.552	0.785	Fit
Indonesian/Nahdliyin Tradition	0.503	0.890	Fit
Mandatory	0.806	0.895	Fit
Syari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law	0.752	0.924	Fit
Political Islam and Khilafah	0.669	0.909	Fit
Islamic Identity	0.649	0.847	Fit
Affection and Comfort	0.595	0.897	Fit
Kinship, Engagement and Enthusiasm	0.595	0.921	Fit
Indonesian Islamic Rituals	0.757	0.862	Fit
Islamism	0.558	0.937	Fit
Positive Attitude toward Other Groups	0.516	0.936	Fit

Source: The Authors

Tabel 6. Test of Inner Model

Variabel Laten Endogen	R-Square (R^2)
Positive Attitude Toward Outgroups	0.223

Q-Square:

$$Q^2 = 1 - (1 - R^2)$$

$$Q^2 = 1 - (1 - 0.223)$$

$$Q^2 = 0.223$$

dominant indicator is "I am enthusiastic about Non-Muslims" at 0.826, which is followed by "I am interested in hearing about the experiences of Non-Muslim friends" at 0.803.

The results of reliability testing in Composite Reliability (CR) and Discriminant Validity (AVE) for each construct in the Outer Model measurement model are presented in Table 5. Table 5 corroborates the reliability and validity of all constructs. Mandatory practices construct showcases the highest validity (AVE: 0.806) and reliability (CR: 0.895). Constructs such as Syari'ah and Islamic Criminal Law, Political Islam, and Khilafah also display robust results. Social constructs like Affection and Comfort, Kinship, Engagement, and Enthusiasm are reliable (AVE: 0.595, CR > 0.89). Whereas Muhammadiyah and Positive Attitude toward Other Groups have marginally lower AVE values, all constructs satisfy the fit criteria. All aspects surpassed the 0.70 threshold, and the *Variance Extracted* value went beyond the 0.50 threshold according to the outer model reliability test. This demonstrates that the dimensional reliability level of each construct is high.

Alignment Evaluation of the Inner Model

The Table 6, presents the R-Square values of each dimension. Table 6 showcases the inner model by measuring the Positive Attitude Toward Outgroups as the endogenous latent variable. The value of R-Square (R^2) at 0.223 suggests that the predictors in the model clarify 22.3% of the variance in positive attitudes toward outgroups. The Q-Square (Q^2), evaluated at 0.223, corroborates the model's predictive relevance, implying that the model boasts moderate explanatory power for the latent variable. This indicates that the model effectively captured influential factors on attitudes toward outgroups, although its predictive power could be enhanced by having additional variables.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis testing aims to investigate the effect of exogenous latent variables on endogenous latent variables to determine the effect of *Mandatory Religiosity* ($X1$), *Religiosity of Indonesian Islamic Rituals* ($X2$), and *Islamism* ($X3$) on *Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups* (Y) (see Figure 1).

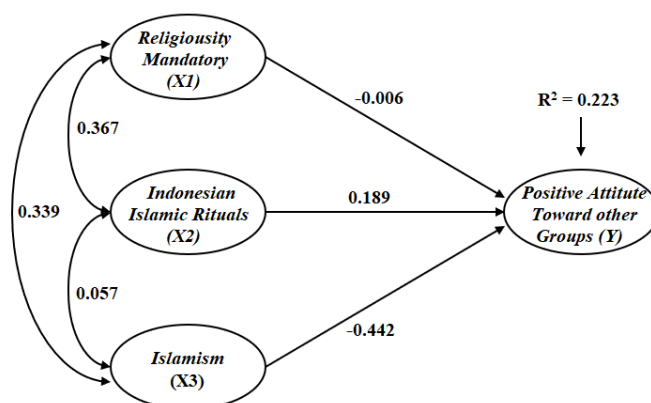


Figure 1. Structural Model (Inner Model)

Table 7. Summary of Path Coefficient Tests

No	Research Hypothesis	Hypothesis	Loading Factor	count (p-value)	Decision	Conclusion
1	The effect of the Religiosity Mandator (X1) on Positive attitudes toward other Groups (Y)	$H_0 : \gamma_1 = 0$ $H_1 : \gamma_1 < 0$	$\gamma_1 = -0.006$	0.567 (0.955)	H_0 Accepted	It has no negative significant effect
2	The effect of Indonesian Islamic Rituals (X2) on Positive attitudes toward other Groups (Y)	$H_0 : \gamma_2 = 0$ $H_1 : \gamma_2 > 0$	$\gamma_1 = 0.189$	2.542 (0.011)	H_0 Rejected	It has a positive significant effect
3	The effect of Islamism (X3) on Positive attitudes toward other Groups (Y)	$H_0 : \gamma_3 = 0$ $H_1 : \gamma_3 < 0$	$\gamma_1 = -0.442$	4.342 (0.000)	H_0 Rejected	It has a negative significant effect

Table 7 demonstrates a recapitulation of hypothesis testing. According to the test results presented in Table 10, *Mandatory Religiosity (X1)* negatively affects *Positive attitudes toward Other Groups (Y)* with a *loading factor* value of -0.006 (negative value). This implies that in cases where high respondent *Mandatory Religiosity* is found, there will be a decrease in Positive attitudes toward Other Groups and vice versa. The effect is, nevertheless, insignificant, with a p-value of 0.955 ($p > 0.05$) and a t-count value of 0.567 (< 1.96), resulting in the acceptance of H_0 . Accordingly, it is concluded that *Mandatory Religiosity* has no significant negative influence on *Positive attitudes toward Other Groups* (Figure 2).

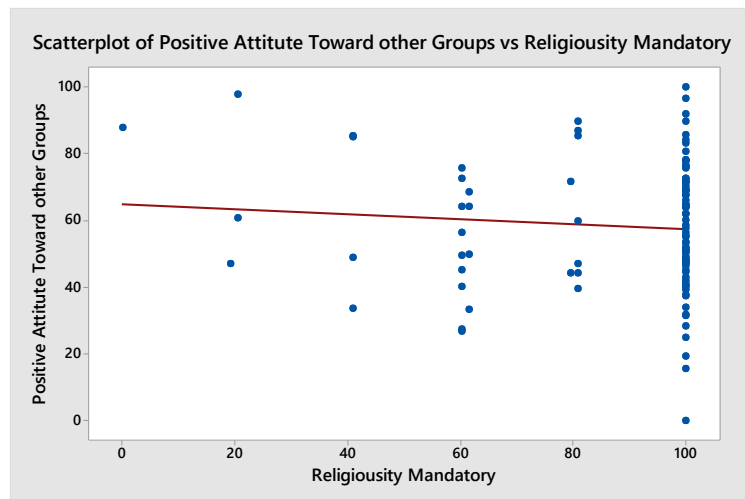


Figure 2. Mandatory Religiosity and Positive Attitude Towards Other Groups

Figure 2 suggests that numerous data points for *Mandatory Religiosity* converge at high values (close to 100). Nonetheless, the points are widely distributed high and low on the Y-axis (*Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups*). Contrastingly, upon examination of *Indonesian Islamic Rituals*, the results indicate a substantial favorable influence on *Positive attitudes toward Other Groups*, with a *loading factor* value of 0.189, a t-count value of 2.542, and a p-value of 0.011 ($p < 0.05$). This implies that Indonesian Islamic Rituals significantly and positively affect *positive attitudes towards other groups*. Simply put, in cases where a high level

of *religiosity in Indonesian Islamic rituals* is observed, there will also be a higher positive attitude towards other groups, and vice versa, as presented in Graph 3.

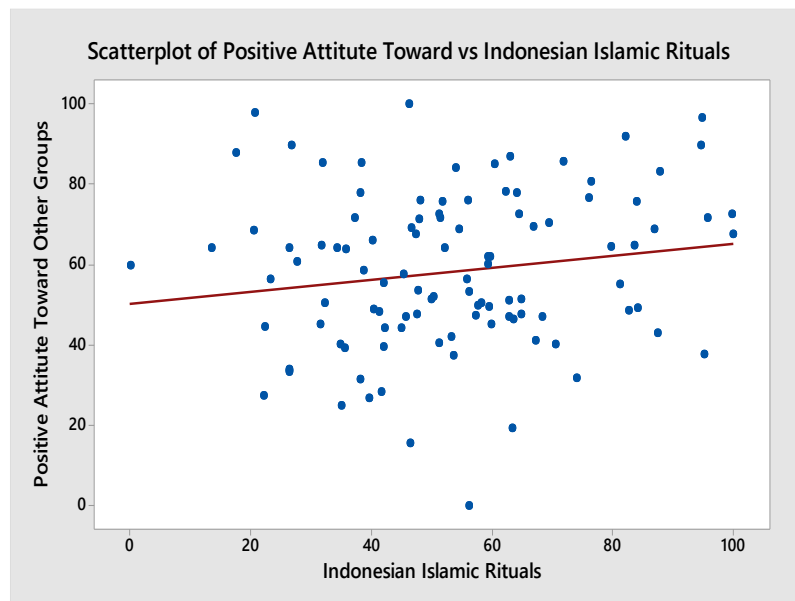


Figure 3. Indonesian Islamic Rituals and Positive Attitude Towards Other Groups

Figure 3 demonstrates a positive relationship between *Positive attitudes toward Other Groups* (Y-axis) and *Indonesian Islamic Rituals* (X-axis), as shown by the upward trend line despite a relatively minor slope. The data is dispersed broadly around the line, yet the positive direction suggests a significant positive effect despite only being moderate to mild.

As seen in Graph 4, the test on the effect that *Islamism* has on *Positive attitudes toward other Groups* presents a significant adverse effect, with values of *loading factor* at -0.442, *t-count* at 4.342, and *p-value* at 0.000 ($p < 0.05$). This implies the rejection of the null hypothesis, showing that Islamist ideology significantly and negatively influences *Positive attitudes toward Other Groups*. The points are more likely scattered along the pattern of the trend line, i.e., a noticeable decrease from left to right. This suggests that the negative trend between the two variables remains constant across the whole data range.

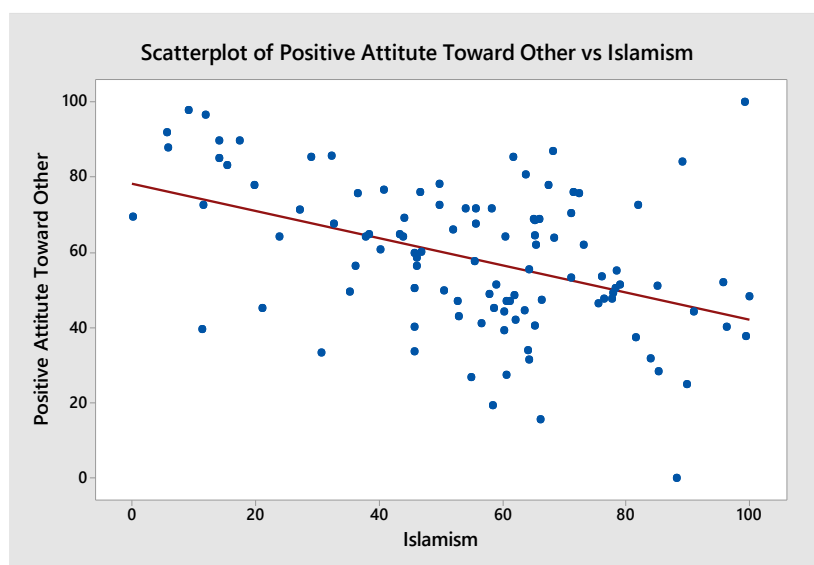


Figure 5. Islamism and Positive Attitude Towards Other Groups

Table 8. The Direct and Indirect Effects of Each Exogenous Variable on the Endogenous Variable

Variables	Effects	Percent	Total
Effect of Religiosity Mandatory (X1) on Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups (Y)	Direct Effect on Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups (Y)	0.004%	
	Indirect Effect on Indonesian Islamic Rituals (X2)	-0.042%	
			0.052%
	Indirect Effect of Islamism (X3)	0.090%	
Effect of Indonesian Islamic Rituals (X2) on Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups (Y)	Direct Effect on Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups (Y)	3.572%	
	Indirect Effect through Religiosity Mandatory (X1)	-0.042%	
			3.055%
	Indirect Effect through Islamism (X3)	-0.476%	
Effect of Islamism (X3) on Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups (Y)	Direct Effect on Positive Attitude Toward Other Groups (Y)	19.536%	
	Indirect Effect through Religiosity Mandatory (X1)	0.090%	
			19.150%
	Indirect Effect through Indonesian Islamic Rituals (X2)	-0.476%	
	Total		22.26%

Table 8, presents the results of the direct and indirect influences that each exogenous variable has on the endogenous. Table 8 indicates that *mandatory religiosity* has little direct influence on positive attitudes toward other groups, with a value of 0.004%. In comparison, the indirect effect via the variables of *Indonesian Islamic Rituals* and *Islamism* is evaluated at -0.042% and 0.090%, respectively, resulting in an aggregate effect of 0.052%. Meanwhile, the variable of *Indonesian Islamic Rituals* has a significant direct effect on positive attitudes towards other groups, valued at 3.572%. The indirect effects that *Mandatory Religiosity* and *Islamism* have are valued at -0.042% and -0.476%, respectively, making an aggregate effect of 3.055%. On the other hand, *Islamism* shows the most significant negative direct effect on positive attitudes towards other groups, with a value of 19.536%. Its indirect effect via *Mandatory Religiosity* is observed at 0.090%, and via *Indonesian Islamic Rituals* at -0.476%, resulting in an aggregate effect of *Islamism* on positive attitudes towards other groups evaluated at 19.150%. Ultimately, the total recorded effect these three variables have on *Positive attitudes toward Other Groups* is evaluated at 22.26%.

Discussion

Based on the analysis using path coefficient testing, the results of this research found that Islamism has a negative influence on positive attitudes toward Other Groups. However, it contributes only around 19.15%. Political Islamist views can negatively affect tolerance because they emphasize exclusivity and prioritize religious identity over pluralism. These views often promote strict religious laws, favor Muslim leaders, and create an "us versus them" mindset, which can lead to distrust or exclusion of other groups. The focus on implementing Shari'ah or establishing an Islamic state may undermine the values of diversity and coexistence. This rigid approach makes it harder for individuals to accept different beliefs or lifestyles, reducing overall tolerance. The rising Islamism in Indonesia is a fact (Arifianto, 2019; Azca et al., 2019; Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2019), and it is interesting that this similar pattern also connects to Indonesian Muslims overseas.

By contrast, Indonesian Islamic rituals, both Nahdliyin (NU) and Muhammadiyah rituals, influence positively but contribute only 3.055%. The 3.055% effect of Indonesian Islamic rituals on tolerance suggests that many factors beyond Indonesian Islam rituals, such as education, social interactions, and personal experiences, influence tolerance. Religiosity itself varies in how it is practiced and interpreted, with some approaches fostering tolerance and

others having little impact. Indonesian Islam is only one dimension of religiosity. Other measures of religiosity, such as psychology-related variables, were not included in the study. Indonesian Islamic rituals include the Muhammadiyah tradition, which is purely based on the holy Quran and prophetic tradition, and the *nahdliyin*, which includes Indonesian traditions and customs derived from local traditions.

The current study analyzed Indonesian Islamic religiosity and rituals, emphasizing the effect of traditional practices, particularly ones associated with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization. In contrast to other studies (Mujani, 2019; Prasetyo & Halimatusa'diyah, 2024) that concentrate on NU affiliation as an indicator, the present study highlights the practices *per se*. Intriguingly, practices that people often associate with one group, e.g., Muhammadiyah's commonly practiced 11-reka'at tarawih, are also noted among NU-affiliated respondents, who customarily perform the 23-reka'at tarawih. On a similar note, respondents affiliated with Muhammadiyah were found engaged in traditional practices associated with NU, such as *Tahlilan* and *Yasinan* (Toyibah, 2022). The study findings showcase a mixture of ritual practices across organizational lines. Corroborating Prasetyo & Halimatusa'diyah (2024), this study found that while Indonesian Islamic rituals significantly and positively affect intergroup attitudes, mandatory religiosity and rituals do not indicate significant influence. This emphasizes the inclusive and complex nature of Islamic practices in Indonesia.

Indonesian Islamic ritual practices build some religious values, contributing to nurturing tolerant and inclusive attitudes. Indonesian Islamic practices seem to not only promote and strengthen social solidarity among the internal Muslim community but also promote a more inclusive attitude towards other groups. *Tahlilan* not only symbolises the prayer for the deceased but also the '*gotong royong*' among communities to eliminate the grievances of the family who just missed their family. *Selamatan* symbolizes not only an appreciation of God's blessing but also praying together for the safety of the community. *Yasinan* symbolizes not only the Prophet's suggestion for reading the Quran during Friday night but also praying together for the *maslahat* of the community, *mawlid an-Nabi* (celebrating the Prophet Muhammad's birthday) symbolizes not only the love for the Prophet Muhammad PBUH but also religious festivals where the values of *gotong royong* are nurtured. *Tasyakkuran* symbolizes not only an appreciation of God's blessing but also celebrating such blessing together with the surrounding community. *Ziyarah* symbolizes not only the praying for the deceased relatives but also the cultural tradition of building the connection between living communities with their ancestors. In Putnam's theoretical perspective, such ritual practices not only promote 'bonding' social capital but also 'bridging' one (Putnam, 2000).

This research findings confirm the research conducted by Altinoğlu (2017), too. He claims that what leads to social intolerance towards outgroup members is adherence to a textualist-traditionalist understanding of Islam, which is based on a literal reading of sacred texts and a heavy reliance on tradition, which produces eternal and absolute standards of good and bad behavior. His research found that religious commitment exacerbates intolerance in the case of textualist-traditionalists but not always in the case of non-textualists. Religion is often considered one of the leading causes of extremist violence, such as suicide attacks. Beller & Kröger (2018) said that aspects of individual religiosity and even religious fundamentalism actually reduce individual support for extremist violence. In line with this research, (Dana et al., 2017) conducted research in America. They found a positive relationship between religious beliefs, attitudes, and belonging and perceived compatibility with the American democratic tradition.

Simply put, the most religious ones are the most likely to believe in political integration in the United States. The religiosity that most Muslims experience is generally not a barrier to civic engagement in non-Muslim majority countries. For example, their active involvement in the mosque tends to enhance their active citizenship. Some describe it as a religious obligation,

while for others, 'serving humanity' is a fundamental aspect of their lived religiosity (Peucker, 2018).

This pattern is remarkably different from some Islamic countries, such as Pakistan and Turkey and older research in the US. Previous findings have found that religiosity is linked to intolerant attitudes (Karpov & Lisovskaya, 2008; Wilcox & Jelen, 1990; Yeşilada, 2016). Barton (1999) noted that higher levels of orthodox religiosity are associated with negative attitudes toward non-Muslims but also correlate with lower support for terrorism. Most empirical studies report that religious people tend to be intolerant of social or political life.

Indonesian Muslims in Australia are expected to have a more pluralist attitude because they are exposed to a better system in a democratic liberal country. It is argued that a democratic system will treat all people equally and allow people to enjoy a better social life, education, and public facilities. However, Safei et al. (2022) describe the challenges faced by Indonesian Muslims in Australia that they are more comfortable mingling with the Indonesian community due to the difficulty of assimilating with local citizens and the negative image of Muslims from Australians as a result of 9/11, Bali bombing in 2002, Madrid in 2004, London in 2005. Several efforts have been developed, but the challenges for Muslims to integrate have been more substantial, including politicians who make racial issues their commodity.

To strengthen tolerance towards other groups, it is essential to foster a more contextual and inclusive interpretation of religious teachings that promotes mutual understanding and acceptance. Additionally, proactive efforts to address and mitigate Islamophobia are crucial to ensuring that Muslims in Australia do not feel marginalized, thereby fostering a more harmonious and equitable society.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This study was limited by the use of self-reported data, which may be subject to bias, and the relatively small sample size of respondents, which may not fully represent the broader Indonesian Muslim diaspora in Australia. The model can explain only 22.3%, meaning that many other factors still need to be explained. Future research could benefit from a larger, more diverse sample and the inclusion of qualitative data to provide deeper insights. Furthermore, longitudinal studies could help examine changes in attitudes over time and assess the long-term impact of exposure to a multicultural society on religious and social attitudes.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study indicate that Islamism has a negative impact on attitudes toward other groups, while religiosity has a positive influence. Indonesian Muslims in Australia are expected to adopt more pluralistic attitudes due to their exposure to the democratic and liberal system of the country. To enhance Muslim tolerance toward non-Muslims, effective policies should integrate multiple approaches. Firstly, multicultural education and interfaith dialogue in schools and universities should be promoted to foster understanding and tolerance. Secondly, community engagement should be increased through regular dialogue forums and joint activities between Muslim and non-Muslim groups to build mutual respect. Additionally, religious programs focusing on tolerance, such as leadership training and support for inclusive religious activities, should be developed. Efforts to counteract extreme Islamism should also include anti-radicalization education and prevention programs.

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