

Is Women Becoming More Tolerant Through Age?

Lintang Ratri Rahmiaji¹, Turnomo Rahardjo², Hapsari Dwiningtyas Sulistyani³
{lintang.ratri@live.undip.ac.id}

Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia^{1,2,3}

Abstract. This study was conducted with the aim of knowing whether women's age affects social differences based on religious differences, the results of this study will answer the question of whether women are more tolerant as they age. Referring to the Wahid Institute [1] study which states that women are more tolerant than men, and also Najmi's research [2] which confirms that there are indeed differences between women and men in tolerance. Women are interesting to study because they are considered more tolerant, with the assumption that the addition of knowledge, and organizational experience with age, the level of tolerance in women can change. This is important because most women will become mothers who educate children, the mother's perspective on religious differences and attitudes that are developed will also affect children as a form of value transformation. This research then uses quantitative research on 66 high school students and 184 female students to answer who is more tolerant to other people of different religions. The result shows social prejudice against people of different religions is evident in women, which sometimes shows intolerance behavior. Social prejudice is seen in the proportion of respondents who talk negatively and label people with different religions, where the proportion of older respondents is higher than the proportion of younger respondents. This research actually provides new data that is different from the initial assumption, namely that women turn out to be more intolerant to others with different religion, as they get older. Of course this needs to be studied further qualitatively which is able to explain more deeply about why and how the process of social evaluation of women towards people who are considered liyan. This is expected to be able to provide a solution to overcome social chaos, especially in Indonesia's multicultural and multicultural society.

Keywords: Women, Social Prejudice, Tolerance, Age, Social Development

1 Introduction

This research aims to inquire whether the age of women affects the level of social prejudice based on religious difference, the research results will answer the question of whether women become more tolerant as they get older. Tolerance originates from the Latin word *tolerantia* which means to hold back, if it refers to the meaning in English, *tolerance* means to let, acknowledge, respect the beliefs of others without requiring approval, and taking the same equivalent in Arabic, i.e. *tasamuh*, which means to allow each other, facilitate each other. Said Agil Husin Al Munawar, minister of religion in *gotong royong* cabinet (2001-2004) explains that tolerance is an attitude of refraining from using negative ways in responding to different opinions and beliefs. In other implications, tolerance can also be manifested in the form of not interfering, not intervening, and being generous.

Meanwhile, Wahid Institute defines intolerance as any attitudes and actions aimed at inhibiting or opposing the fulfilment of citizenship rights guaranteed by the constitution. This attitude is manifested in the behaviour of rejection, bullying, and even take the lives of groups considered different (*liyan*). This attitude is usually aimed at people of different religion/belief, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and now in addition, of different political choice. Indonesia itself has dark history of social conflicts that claimed many victims such as Sambas and Sanggau Ledo riots in West Kalimantan (1999), Ambon (1999), Poso in Central Sulawesi (1998-2000), Sampit in Central Kalimantan (2001), Sampang in Madura (2004), Tanjung Balai in North Sumatra (2016). This social conflict stems from intolerance based on ethnicity and religion, Indonesia's pluralism makes the country vulnerable to the emergence of prejudice, discrimination and inter-group conflict. A series of inter-group conflicts that have occurred in Indonesia cannot be separated from ethnicity and religion dimensions, regardless of any other supporting factors that trigger the conflict, such as structural gaps, system injustice or merely a matter of political contestation [3].

As a country with Muslim majority while still acknowledging the existence of other religions, religion is indeed an important issue in Indonesia. Even referring to Pew Research Center Survey (2019), Indonesia is one of the most religious countries out of 32 other countries. Research results show that 96% of respondents from Indonesia value religion and belief in God as one of the pillars that determine daily behaviour. Unfortunately, this data is inversely proportional to the intolerance assessment of the religious Indonesian people. Impartial data states, in the period 2018-2019 there have been at least 31 cases of intolerance in Indonesia. The most frequent acts of intolerance are the prohibition of religious activities which have occurred at least 12 times in the past year. This is called *velleity*, a concept proposed by Edward Stevens through his work *The Moral Games* (1974), that a person considers religion as the top priority, however this is not reflected in his life behaviour. The behaviour of radicalism, extremism, violence, and intolerance, become a phenomenon of *velleity*; because every religion teaches moderation, *adab*, love, meakness, and *tasamuh*.

Horizontal-centrism religious conflicts on large scale may potentially cause humanitarian crisis. Physical violence, such as murder, massacre, deprivation and others against people of different religions, injures humanity if allowed to escalate without adequate communication space. As in the 2018-2019 period, the number of complaints received by Indonesian National Human Rights Commission relating to alleged violations of the right to freedom of religion and belief, especially related to the construction of houses of worship, increased in 2019, namely 23 (twenty-three) religious conflict complaints related to communal issues (interreligion) and 12 cases of conflict related to sectarian issues (intrareligion).

Communal religious conflicts are dominated by the rejection of places of worship construction as in 2018, for example, Council of Church in Jayapura Regency (PGGJ) rejected the renovation of Al-Aqsa Great Mosque in Sentani, Papua, by the reason of the mosque's minaret being taller than the church around the location, on Jalan Raya Abepura. Furthermore, the rejection of temple construction in Sukaurip Village, Bekasi Regency (2019), and the conflict of Indonesian Baptist Church construction completion in Semarang City; and rejection of houses of worship construction of other religious communities. Sectarian religious conflicts are related to the rejection of certain religious communities such as the rejection of Ahmadiyya Community in Bogor Regency, the destruction of Al Kautsar Mosque of Gemuh Ahmadiyya Congregation, Kendal; or the rejection of the worship of Al-Quran Tafsir Council Congregation in Wonosobo Regency. Setara Institute states that West Java is the city with the highest level of intolerance during 2014-2019 with a total of 162 violations of religious freedom, followed by DKI Jakarta and East Java. Halili Hasan, director of Setara Institute

explains that this is because many local actors constantly persecute minorities, for example GARIS (Islamic Reform Movement) in West Java.

Why Indonesian people who are bound by the value of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (unity in diversity) are so sharply conflicted on the basis of religious differences, several studies explain perceptions and attitudes towards religious tolerance. Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in 2012 in a survey of religious intolerance in 23 Provinces with 2213 respondents, found 33.7 percent of respondents answered that they objected to living next door to people of other religions. Furthermore, 68.2 percent of respondents expressed their disapproval of the construction of houses of worship of other religions in their environment.

A national survey entitled "Potential Intolerance and Social-Religious Radicalism among Indonesian Muslims" [4], conducted by Wahid Foundation in collaboration with Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) found that of a total of 1,520 respondents, 59.9 percent has a hated group. The hated groups include those with non-Muslim religious backgrounds, Chinese groups, communists, and others. Of the 59.9 percent, 92.2 percent do not agree if members of the groups they hate become government officials in Indonesia. 82.4 percent even refuses the members of the hated group to be their neighbours. There is something interesting in National Survey on Socio-Religious Tolerance Trends among Indonesian Muslim Women [1], organized by LSI and Wahid Institute. The analysis results shows that in fact Muslim women are more supportive of the freedom to practice religious teachings or beliefs than men. The majority of women and men agree with the statement that Indonesian citizens are free to practice any their religion beliefs, but compared to men, more women agree, namely 80.7% while men 77.4%.

Furthermore, a number of studies confirm that the attitude of openness and respect for differences, including towards minority and marginal groups, of education actors in Indonesia is highly concerning (Setara Institute, 2016; PPIM, 2017, 2018; Wahid Institute, 2018). In the realm of higher education, a number of studies show that radicalism spreads among universities (Setara Institute, 2019, 2020); Muslim student activists tend to hold closed religious understandings (CSRC, 2017); radicalism and extremism infiltrate campus environment through campus mosques (INFID, 2018). The latest PPIM study (2021) at three State Religious Universities (UIN Jakarta, UIN Bandung and UIN Yogyakarta) shows unstable external and internal empathy values in almost all groups, either student, lecturers and education staff. This indicates a serious issue for religious moderation implementation, because the realm of education, which should actually teach us to think fairly and equally, has become a space for intolerance to grow.

Understanding the continuous occurrence of intolerance phenomenon, more in-depth observations are needed on what affects the conditions to realize religious tolerance. Muhid and Fadeli's research [5] shows that tolerance and social prejudice have significant correlation, that the higher a person's social prejudice, the lower the religious tolerance, and conversely, the lower one's social prejudice, the higher the religious tolerance. This is in accordance with what is stated by Baron and Byrne [6] that the manifestation of intolerance is the existence of social prejudice between groups in social life. This research also explains that students tend to have prejudice. Meanwhile, Najmi [2] in his research entitled "Differences in Tolerance Between Male Students and Female Students in Riau Province Sports Public High School", shows a significant difference in tolerance between male students and female students in Riau Province Sports Public High School.

Prejudice can grow within every individual, without exception, to anyone, even to people with the closest relationship, such as spouse, children, parents, siblings. However, social prejudice can grow faster and more intensely towards strangers, people you have never met,

people you only meet online (distanced through social media), and above all due to difference. Being different here is the main determining factor, especially different religions and beliefs, including people who are of the same religion but different sects, as well as different ethnicities [7].

Social prejudice [8] is defined as a condition related to attitudes and beliefs, tends to be negative, manifested in hostile attitudes or discriminatory behaviour towards members of other groups. Prejudice also underlies certain cases related to sexism and racism. Social prejudice, which is originally only negative feelings, develops into discriminatory actions against people considered part of the prejudiced group, for subjective reasons. This prejudice can be sourced from socio-psychological impulses, cognitive processes, and the influence of sociocultural conditions on individuals and groups. This is in line with the definition of Baron and Byrne [6] which sees prejudice solely based on their membership in a group with a certain perspective on other groups considered different or opposite. Someone who has prejudice against a particular individual or group tends to evaluate its members in the same way (negatively) simply because they belong to a particular group.

Group cohesiveness explains that social prejudice in religious plurality occurs due to a lack of individual or group information in understanding various religious events that occur in their area and concerns about the domination of a religious group over other religious groups [9]. In addition, individually, the variables of religious maturity and religious knowledge directly affect social prejudice [10]. This is also a finding in the study on "Social Prejudice Against Non-Muslims Assessed from Fundamentalism, Social Identity, and Religiosity in Students", of which the results found a significant influence of fundamentalist ideology, positive attitudes towards social identity and religious behaviour towards social prejudice, that the more fundamental and religious, the more prone to prejudice, while the more positive attitude towards social identity, the lower the level of social prejudice.

Referring to Brigham's [11] thought, social prejudice is influenced by several factors, namely the pattern of interaction between groups, behaviour differentiating ingroup and outgroup, as well as differences that may lead to prejudice. Tajfel and Turner [12] corroborate this statement and state that status differences may lead to ethnocentrism and this may trigger social prejudice. Brigham [11] also adds that people tend to dislike other people who do not share their beliefs and values.

Prejudice refers to an irrational understanding or hatred towards a particular group, race, religion, or sexual orientation. Stereotypes and prejudices are interrelated because they both assess individuals based on group membership [13]. These deep sentiments take the form of anger, fear, hatred, and anxiety towards cultural groups without the need to present any evidence at all or shared experiences. [13][14]. Like stereotypes, prejudice is something learned. Conceptually, prejudice can be expressed in several ways, whether vague or indirect or directly stated [15]. The expression of social prejudice, referring to Allport's [16] thought which is the basis for the assessment of intolerance in this research, is the stages of intolerance behaviour, namely antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and extermination.

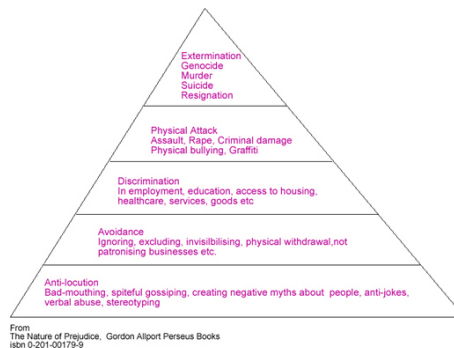


Fig. 1. The Nature of Prejudice
(Allport [16])

Antilocution is talking about a member of the target group in a negative and stereotyped manner. Avoidance occurs when a person avoids contact or interaction with an unwelcome group. The third form of prejudice is discrimination, a person will try to deny all members of different groups in the scope of work, settlements, political rights, educational opportunities, places of worship, hospitals or any other types of social institutions. Physical violence is manifestation of the fourth expression of prejudice, such as the phenomenon of vandalism or burning of places of worship that has been described previously. The fifth form of prejudice is extermination. The actions taken lead to physical violence against outgroup, for example Hitler's "master plan", Cambodia's "killing fields", Serbian "ethnic cleansing". In the Indonesian context, the expression that leads to extermination appears in the conflicts between Dayak/Malay ethnics and Madurese in Sambas, Sampit, and Sanggauledo, and the violence in the May 1998 Tragedy against the Chinese in Jakarta.

How then is the fact of intolerance starting from this prejudice contextualized to women? Referring to the Wahid Institute [1] study which states that women are more tolerant than men, and Najmi's research [2] which confirms that there are indeed differences between women and men in tolerance. Women are interesting to study because they are considered more tolerant, assuming that improvement of knowledge, and organizational experience with age, may change the level of tolerance in women. This is important because most women will become mothers who teach their children, the mother's perspective on religious differences and the developed attitudes will also affect children as value transformation. So, the researcher intends to prove whether the older women will be more tolerant? The hypothesis proposed is that women become more intolerant as they get older, which the tolerance assessment is based on indicators of social prejudice stated by Allport. This refers to Baron and Bryne's [6] statement that the higher the social prejudice, the lower the tolerance.

2 Method

This research uses a quantitative approach that aims to observe women's social prejudice attitudes towards people of different religion by age categorization, which is then expected to explain the level of tolerance of respondents. Social prejudice will be measured from the expression of prejudice based on the Allport prejudice scale, namely antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and termination.

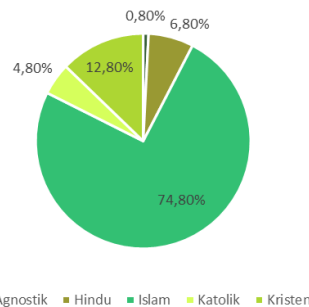
The method used is a survey method by distribution of online questionnaires. The population in the survey of women and social prejudice is individual college students and high school students/equivalent of 250 respondents, consisting of 184 female college students and 66 high school students. The findings will be analysed descriptively. This research uses the Allport prejudice scale of which validity and reliability has been proven to date in assessing the level of individual social prejudice.

3 Result and Discussion

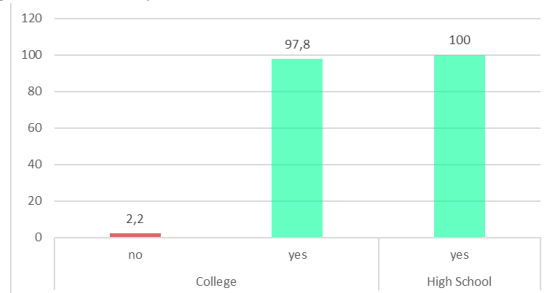
Research on women, social prejudice and tolerance is based on the problem of observing whether women as they get older will become more tolerant of other people of different religions. This is important because most women will become mothers who teach their children, the mother's perspective on religious differences and the developed attitudes will also affect children as a form of value transformation. Here, we categorize age simply in terms of differentiating high school students and college students, who are assumed to be more independent in thinking and behaviour, but there are different psychological and socio-cultural situations in their development.

The profiles of 250 respondents in this research are all women of age ranging from 15 - 18 years for high school students and 17 - 31 years for college students. Of the 250 respondents, the majority are Muslims 74.8%, then Christians, Hindus, Catholics and 2 people claim to be agnostics. 44% of respondents admits to attend organizations, where organizational affiliations are highly diverse, from youth, sports, arts, environment and spirituality. Respondents come from several cities in Indonesia, namely Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Malang, Surabaya, Padang, Palembang, Bali, Makassar and Jogjakarta with quite diverse ethnic backgrounds, although most of them come from Javanese ethnic group.

Graph 1. Profile Respondent Based on Religion



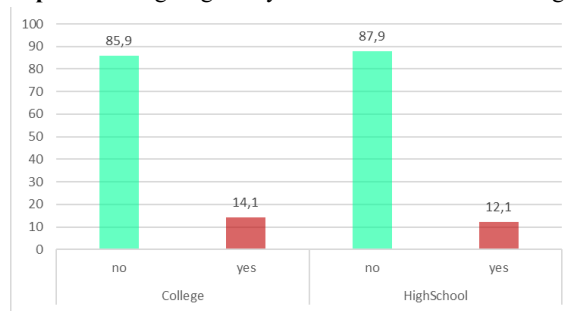
Graph 2. Initiatively Communicate to Other with Different Religion



This segment will present the research results related to the research hypothesis which states that women become more tolerant as they get older. This research observes how women raise prejudices against people of different religions in either vague or indirect expressions or prejudices expressed directly in the form of gossiping, avoiding, discriminating, social punishment, and physical punishment [15].

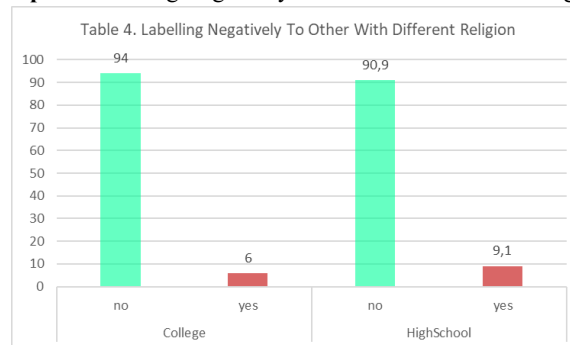
The initial prejudices that arise at the stage of starting a conversation with people who are considered different or outgroup will show how individuals limit communication based on the first social prejudice, namely ant locution. Table 2 shows that of 2.2% college student respondents tend to close social relations even at the earliest stage while younger respondents have no limitation in communicating with people of different religions. Remaining in the antilocution stage, a question is asked whether the respondent had ever talked negatively about people of different religions, Table 3 shows that of 14.16% college student respondents answer yes, while high school student respondents are recorded lower at 12.1%. How women discipline others through negative conversation shows the internalization of dominant ideology on how to behave with others is already at the level of alienating those considered different.

Graph 3. Talking Negatively to Other with Different Religion

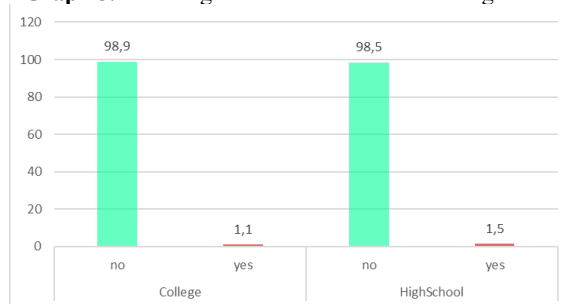


At the next level, antilocution will lead to giving negative nicknames or labelling (stigma, stereotypes) to other people considered different and or have values considered deviant (abnormal, wrong, inappropriate, sinful). Table 4 shows that younger respondents have a higher percentage of 9.1% compared to college student respondents, which is 6% in terms of labelling other people of different religions.

Graph 4. Labelling Negatively to Other with Different Religion

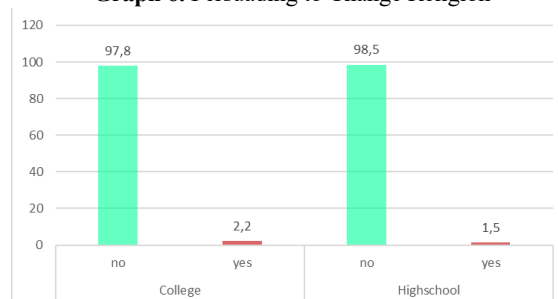


Graph 5. Avoiding Persons with Different Religion



Social prejudice will also lead to avoidance behaviour that leads to the isolation of those who are different. Avoidance behaviour shows that prejudice has made a person try not to relate to those who are different, thus it leads to isolation even though it has not been openly. Avoidance is a latent behaviour of isolation that indicates a refusal to build social relationships. Table 5 shows that 1.5% of high school students respondents choose to avoid communicating with people of different religions, while 1.1% of college student respondents have the same attitude. However, Table 6 shows that there are efforts to persuade other people of different religions to convert to the respondent's beliefs, where the percentage of older respondents is 2.2% higher.

Graph 6. Persuading to Change Religion



This research also finds that the stage of social prejudice ceases at this stage, because all respondents, both older and younger, do not think physical attack is necessary and much less extermination to people of different religions. Respondents emphatically rejected the idea of imposing physical sanctions such as slapping, beating, stoning, raping, or taking the lives of those with different religions.

In Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, people with other religions are indeed a minority and often experience discrimination. Analysis of the research results found new data on whether women become more tolerant as they get older, the study results found the contrary. This is indicated by the research results, that of eight questions based on the Allport social prejudice scale, shows that college student respondents are more intolerant towards people of different religions. It is important to note, the data also show that social prejudice is higher in terms of the behaviour of talking negatively (antilocution).

Even though all respondents choose that extreme measures such as physical attacks or extermination are not deemed necessary to apply, as well as the percentage seems low, the low number does not mean there are no problems in social prejudice. This figure should be seen as

a significant number considering the minority position of people of different religions in Indonesia. In addition, the number of rejections towards others has reached the point where this discrimination is allowed, which must be addressed immediately.

4 Conclusion

Social prejudice against people of different religions is evident in women, which at the same time shows intolerance behaviour. Social prejudice is seen in the percentage of respondents who talk negatively and label people of different religions, where the percentage of older respondents is higher than the percentage of younger respondents. This research actually provides new data that is different from the initial assumption, namely that women in fact is more intolerant to other with different religion, as they get older. Certainly, this needs to be studied further qualitatively which is able to reveal more deeply on why and how the process of increasing expression of social prejudice from women to people considered as the other (*liyan*). This is expected to be able to provide a solution to reduce social prejudice, especially in Indonesia's pluralistic and multicultural society.

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