

FUNDAMENTALISM AMONG ACEHNESE YOUTH: ACEHNESE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' ATTITUDES ON RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM, RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM, AND MILITIA SENTIMENTS

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Abstract

Purpose: This study aims to measure the attitude levels of Acehneese university students on religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments and determine whether there are strong correlations between these attitudes.

Methodology: A modified Islamic and Indonesian version of the Revised Religious Fundamentalism Scale, the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale, and the Militia Scale were employed in an online survey. The survey gathered 308 responses and 85 of them completed.

Results: Acehneese Muslims display a 69.3%, 54% and 58% attitude level of religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments respectively, displaying attitudes significantly higher than Toronto Muslims, Hindus, Jews, United States and Canadian Christians, and Ghanaian Christians and Muslims. Religious fundamentalist attitudes correlated 72% with right-wing authoritarian attitudes and 62% with militia sentiments. Right-wing authoritarianism correlated 61% with militia sentiments.

Implications: The findings of this study are useful in understanding the interlocking social relationships of religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments. Specifically, these findings indicate the challenges the Indonesian government still face in empowering democracy and restoring the central government's legitimacy in Aceh.

Originality: This study adapts well-known scales into a unique Indonesian and Islamic context, providing a unique perspective in the discussion of religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments. It elucidates the unique personality of Acehneese youth, whom have been under studied.

Keywords: *Aceh, Religious Fundamentalism, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Militia Sentiments, Survey*

INTRODUCTION

Aceh is the only province in Indonesia that implements Sharia law. The region is popularly known as the Veranda of Mecca and has a culturally strong Muslim identity. [Pearlman \(2014\)](#) reports that the province is falling prey to rising Islamic fundamentalism, where extreme applications of Sharia law has been imposed, such as public caning against extramarital and homosexual sex, lookouts against unmarried couples, and prohibition against tight-fitting cloths. In fact, religious fundamentalism has been rising throughout Indonesia. After decades of dictatorship, increasing influence of Middle Eastern style Islam, and the emergence of more politically visible Islamist parties and movements, fundamentalism has shown itself through events such as the 2017 mass demonstrations against Jakarta's Christian governor who was accused of blasphemy against Islam ([Allen-Ebrahimian, 2017](#)). The SMRC 2016 national survey measured Muslims' level of religious tolerance towards Christian and found that Aceh ranked the most religiously intolerant province, with its lowest score being the national lowest and its highest score still falling below zero, indicating that the most tolerant respondents were still categorized as religiously intolerant ([Sumaktoyo, 2018](#)).

In the 2014 presidential election. 54.4% of Acehneese voted for ex-General Prabowo Subianto ([KPU, 2014](#)), an outright authoritarian populist ([Heufers, 2017](#)), who was a high-ranking military officer of Indonesia's special forces under President Soeharto. [Heufers \(2017\)](#) writes that Prabowo played on fears of foreign domination and loss of cultural identity, likening him to authoritarian populists such as Donald Trump, Geert Wilders, and Marine Le Pen.

Additionally, Aceh was once ground-zero of a brutal conflict between armed rebel, called the Free Aceh Movement, and the Indonesian military. [Tan \(2009\)](#) writes that Acehneese insurgency for independence came out of a rejection of Jakarta's legitimacy and authority, defined as a form of Muslim separatism, and fuelled by resentment over Javanese domination, corruption, widespread poverty, and discrimination. The agreed upon 2005 Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding between the Free Aceh Movement and the Indonesian government, after the devastating 2004 Aceh Tsunami, ended armed conflict and granted greater regional autonomy to Aceh. However, unresolved historical grievances still linger, creating doubts on the possibility of lastly peace in the area ([Tan, 2008](#)).

This research focuses on Acehneese youth, specifically university students, in measuring their attitude level on religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments. The objectives of the research are three folds. The first objective is to develop scales which measure religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments

within the Islamic and Indonesian context of Acehese university students. The second objective is to determine the statistics of Acehese students' attitudes on religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments and compare them with other groups. Lastly, we investigate the level of correlation among the three attitudes among these university students.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Religious fundamentalism is defined as “the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that clearly contains the fundamental, basic, intrinsic, essential, inerrant truth about humanity and deity; that this essential truth is fundamentally opposed by forces of evil which must be vigorously fought, that this truth must be followed today according to the fundamental, unchangeable practices of the past; and that those who believe and follow these fundamental teachings have a special relationship with the deity” (Altemeyer and Hunsberger, 1992, p. 118). Kirkpatrick, Hood, and Hartz (1991) explains that religious fundamentalism, relates not to the content of a belief system (orthodoxy), but to the centralized organization of those beliefs into a closed system which fosters prejudice to other groups. Equally important, the definition of religious fundamentalism presented here is not confined to Christian fundamentalism, but a personality that can be found in other religions, such as Islam, Judaism, and Hinduism (Hunsberger, 1996).

According to Altemeyer (2006), right-wing authoritarianism is a personality that exists among right-wing authoritarian followers and right-wing authoritarian leaders. Psychologically, right-wing authoritarians have a high degree of submission to traditional authorities, such as government officials and religious leaders, are willing to commit high levels of aggression on behalf of their authorities and have high levels of conventionalism (Altemeyer, 2006). Right-wing authoritarian leaders would agree and display similar characteristics as right-wing authoritarian followers, but where followers do not have ambitions to gain power for themselves, leaders do. This willingness for power is different from right-wing authoritarianism and is better represented in the concept of social dominance (Altemeyer, 2006).

Militia sentiment is a personality found in people who have high prejudice, hostility, and distrust towards “other peoples” in power (Altemeyer, 1998). Militia sentiments is different from left-wing revolutionary sentiments, because where the left-wing revolutionaries oppose historically established and privileged authorities, such as the capitalists, the patriarchs, and religious leaders, people with militia sentiments oppose governments they perceive are being controlled by groups who are not from those established and privileged authorities, such as socialists, feminists, and atheists, and wish to re-establish “proper figures” into governance (Altemeyer, 1998).

As we will discuss more thoroughly later, tools to measure religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments have been developed, which are the Religious Fundamentalism Scale (RF scale), Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA Scale), and Militia Scale (MS scale), respectively. The RF and RWA scale were first used on Christian students and parents at the University of Manitoba and Wilfred Laurier University, from 1990 – 1991 (Altemeyer and Hunsberger, 1992). They were later expanded by Hunsberger (1996) who employed the RF and RWA scale on Toronto Muslims, Hindus, and Jews. Later, samples of Muslim and Christian Ghanaians were also presented with the RF and RWA scale (Hunsberger, Owusu, and Duck, 1999). These three studies found high correlation between religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and hostility towards homosexuals among all religious groups. Hunsberger, Pratt, and Pancer (2002) registered the RF and RWA scales on Christian high school students in Ontario, to study religious doubts acquired over time. Laythe, Finkel, Bringle, and Kirkpatrick (2002) used the RF and RWA scales to measure Christian university students in the USA, to predict prejudicial attitudes. Rowatt and Franklin (2004), used the RF and RWA scale to predict implicit racial prejudice. The MS scale has also been reliably used to predict right and left-wing authoritarianism, social dominance, ethnocentrism, and religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer, 1998).

METHODOLOGY

The scales

To measure religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments, this study utilized a modified version of the Revised Religious Fundamentalism Scale, developed by Altemeyer & Hunsberger (2009), Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale, developed by Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992), and Militia Scale, developed by Altemeyer (1998).

The Revised RF Scale improves upon the original RF Scale presented in Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992). It is a 12-item 9-point Likert scale, with 6 pro-trait and 6 con-trait items. The Revised RF Scale (from this point forward simply RF Scale) has been proven to be an unidimensional and reliable measurement, with inter-item correlations ranging between .47 to .49 and Cronbach alphas of .91 to .92. The RF scale has strong correlations with other religiosity measurements such as dogmatism, zealotry, worship attendance, and self-righteousness (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2009 and Hunsberger, 1996)

The RWA scale is a 30-item (32 including the mock items) 9-point Likert scale, with 15 pro-trait and 15 con-trait items. The RWA scale has a mean inter-item reliability of .29 and Cronbach alpha of .92. As mentioned previously, the RWA scale has been used in numerous researches and has consistently predicted right-wing authoritarian behaviours such as prejudice and hostility towards sexual minorities, racial minorities, and women (Altemeyer, 1998).

The MS scale is a 12 item 9-point Likert scale, with 6 pro-trait and 6 con-trait items. The MS scale has a mean inter-item reliability of .39 and Cronbach's alpha of .88. It has high correlation with religious fundamentalist, people with high social

dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and left-wing authoritarianism. In [Altemeyer \(1998\)](#), men and lower income individuals scored slightly higher on the MS scale.

Modifications to the scales

A list of modifications is presented in Table 1. The modifications are slight changes in wording to better represent the Islamic and Indonesian context of our research population. To fit the Islamic context, for example, the 3rd question in the RF scale mentions Satan “fighting against God”, a statement most Muslims would find objectionable to their concept of God’s omnipotence. We modified the question to remain essentially about the respondents’ view of Satan’s relationship with evil in the world but worded as Satan tempting “humans away from God’s path”, which is a more Islamically sound wording of the issue. The 9th question in the RF scale and the 4th and 24th question of the RWA scale were modified similarly to fit the Islamic context. Social issues and ethnic minorities in the RWA and MS scale also require modification to fit the Indonesian context. The issue of abolishing school prayer in the 11th question of the RWA scale has not risen to be a prominent social issue among Indonesians and would come off as a very radical liberal idea for our research population. Instead, the issue of abolishing religious status on IDs is more relevant and palatable. Modifications for social issues are present in the 14th question of the RWA scale and the 9th and 11th question of the MS scale. Though anti-Semitism can be understood on an international scale, the virtually non-existent Jewish community in Indonesia means that anti-Semitism is hard to understand on a national scale. As such, mentions of Jews among national affairs in the MS scale are instead changed to mention people of Chinese descent, to reflect the anti-Chinese sentiments that do exist in Indonesia. All other questions were deemed to be appropriately worded, thus the original wordings were used in the survey.

Table 1. List of modified survey questions

Scale, #	Original wording	Modified wording*
RF, 3	The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously fighting against God	The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously tempting humans away from God’s path
RF, 9	“Satan” is just a name people give to their own bad impulses. There really is <i>no such thing</i> as a diabolical “Prince of Darkness” who tempts us	“Satan” is just a name people give to their own bad impulses. There really is <i>no such thing</i> as a diabolical “Iblis” who tempts us
RWA, 4	Atheist and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly	Atheist and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who visit the mosque regularly
RWA, 11	You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority’s view by protesting for women’s abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer	You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority’s view by protesting for women’s rights, for animal rights, or to abolish religious status on IDs
RWA, 14	God’s law about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished	God’s law about hijab, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished
RWA, 22	People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral	People should pay less attention to the Al-Qur’an and the old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral
MS, 3	Our country is basically controlled by Jewish-owned financial institutions	Our country is basically controlled by Chinese-owned financial institutions
MS, 4	If people knew the truth, they’d know that Jews are causing most of the corruption and suffering in our country	If people only knew the truth, they’d know that Chinese are causing most of the corruption and suffering in our country
MS, 9	Our national government has been taken over by homosexuals, radical feminists, atheistic Communist-types, and especially, by Jews	Our national government has been taken over by liberals, radical feminists, atheistic Communist types, and especially, by Chinese
MS, 10	Our country is a much better place because of the Jews who live in it	Our country is a much better place because of the Chinese who live in it
MS, 11	Powerful elements of our government, led by Jews, want to take all the guns and spirit from the people so they can enslave us	Powerful element of our government, led by Chinese, want to take the economic sector and spirit from the people so they can enslave us

*In the survey, the modified questions were appropriately translated to Indonesian

Participants and procedures

The survey was distributed online. 308 undergraduate and graduate students had accessed the survey and filled the respondent information page, but only 85 respondents completed the entire survey, a 28% response rate.

We conducted a quick interview with respondents that did not complete the survey to uncover the main reasons for incompleteness. Respondents reported main two reasons for not completing the survey. The first reason that was reported to us was that many respondents felt that the questions were too controversial and were uncomfortable with answering the questions. Many among them felt pessimistic about their ability to answer the religious questions “correctly” even though the survey only intends to record respondents’ own personal opinions. Many respondents felt that there had to be a correct answer on the religious questions and felt that they could not identify the correct answers. Others reported that they did not know enough about the government or politics to confidently answer the survey, eluding possibly to the RWA and MS scales which had governance and political themes. Even though the survey provides a “Neutral/Don’t Know” option for all items, the respondents were still unwilling to answer the survey because they felt the issues were too difficult to answer. The second reason, which was reported by a fewer number of respondents, was that they disagreed with the conduct of surveying these issues. They felt particularly that the religious issues should not be surveyed, because religious issues were not a matter of opinion but on correct interpretation. Some were suspicious that the survey was measuring religiosity of some sort and disagreed that the concept of religiosity being measured in a “scientific” or “quantitative” way.

Of the 85 respondents that completed the survey, 52.4% identified as women and 47.6% identified as men. Their average time spent living in Aceh was 17 years. Respondents did not have to study at an Acehese university but only had to live a substantial amount of time in the province. All respondents identified as Muslim. Respondents were promised that five among them would be randomly selected to receive a prize of IDR 100,000.

Like other studies that administered the RF, RWA, and MS scales, this survey did not make it explicitly apparent to respondents that we were measuring their levels of religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments. Instead, respondents were only briefly told that this survey sought to find out Acehese university student’s stances on various social issues. This decision was taken because, at least in public, being labelled as a religious fundamentalist, authoritarian, or having militia sentiments have very negative connotations. We thus feared that if respondents were told about the objectives of the research, they would consciously alter their opinions to conform to societal expectations. Respondents were also allowed to fill in their initials instead of their names, to further avoid the feeling that we would judge their answers.

To analyse the results of the survey and compare them with the results of other literatures, all scores were interpolated onto a scale of 0 – 100%. This was done for four reasons; the first is because each scale had a different number of items which meant that total scores of each scale were not comparable. The second reason was because most literatures had still used the original 20-item RF scale instead of the Revised 12-item RF scale, which meant that the maximum score would also be different. Third, some literatures had not used all the items in their survey (i.e. [Hunsberger, Owusu, and Duck, 1999](#)), for various reasons, also resulting in different maximum scores that could be obtained. Lastly, different literatures had decided to present their data in average scores (i.e. [Rowatt and Franklin, 2004](#)), instead of total score. To adjust for all these differences, interpolation was used to allow for comparable results on a 0-100% scale. Since standard deviations, unlike means, can’t be interpolated, we presented the interpolated results of the 95% accepted range using simple t-confidence interval analysis, as a close substitute for variability. It is important to note, that similar with all other previous literatures, the scales do not allow for a negative score. The scales can only measure the respondents’ level of having religious fundamentalist, right-wing authoritarian, or militia sentiments attitudes and personality, and not their theoretical inversions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIN

In Table 2, the psychometric information for the RF, RWA, and MS scores were presented. In the table we included the means, 95% range value, average inter-item correlations, and Cronbach’s alphas of our own sample and samples of previous literatures ([Hunsberger, 1996](#), [Rowatt and Franklin, 2004](#), [Altemeyer and Hunsberger, 1992](#), and [Hunsberger, Owusu, and Duck, 1999](#)).

Table 2. Psychometric Information for the RF, RWA, and MS Scales for Various Sample Groups

	Acehnese	Toronto ^a			Christians		Ghanaian
	Muslims	Muslims	Hindus	Jews	USA ^b	Canadians ^c	Muslims ^d
n	85	21	21	32	158	491	57
RF							
M	69.3	57.7	40.3	17.7	55.2	40.3	54.4
95% range	3.5	11.5	9	4.8	2.8	1.8	3
Average r	0.28	0.43	0.33	0.24	-	0.37	0.16
Cronbach α	0.81	0.94	0.91	0.85	0.89	0.92	0.87
RWA							
M	64	59	60.5	33.7	55	52.7	53
95% range	12.1	28.7	22	41	0.92	37.4	22.2
Average r	0.27	0.11	0.07	0.28	-	0.24	0.13
Cronbach α	0.91	0.79	0.70	0.92	0.87	0.91	0.85
MS							
M	58					-	

95% range	4.45	-
Average r	0.33	.39 ^e
Cronbach α	0.85	.88 ^e

- ^a[Hunsberger \(1996\)](#)
- ^b[Rowatt and Franklin \(2004\)](#)
- ^c[Altemeyer and Hunsberger \(1992\)](#)
- ^d[Hunsberger, Owusu, and Duck \(1999\)](#)
- ^e[Altemeyer \(1998\)](#)

For our RF scale, the average inter-item correlation is high ($r=.28$) and scored higher than Toronto Jews, Ghanaian Christians, and Ghanaian Muslims. It produced a Cronbach's alpha of .81. A Cronbach's alpha of .81 is still high enough to deem the scales consistent to measure our construct of religious fundamentalism. It is quite possible that the original RF scale could have produced even lower Cronbach's alpha value for our research population, so it is still unclear whether our lower value compared to other groups is caused by our modifications.

The RWA scale also produced a high average inter-item correlation ($r=.27$), which is higher than all other groups and only comparable with Toronto Jews. The Cronbach's alpha is .91, which shows a higher internal consistency as a scale that when measuring other religious groups and again comparable with Toronto Jews. Finally, the MS scale produced a high average inter-item correlation of .33 and good Cronbach alpha of .85. This is comparable to the MS scale results produced by [Altemeyer \(1998\)](#).

Our survey found that Acehese Muslims have a RF, RWA, and MS scores of 69.3, 64, and 58%, respectively. All the scores are very high, indicating that on average, each Acehese Muslim display approximately 70% religious fundamentalist attitudes, personalities, and behaviours. For the RF scale, Acehese Muslims have the highest level of religious fundamentalism ($M=69.3\%$) when compared to all our other religious groups. As shown in Figure 1, the RF score of only a small amount of Toronto Muslims, whom score highest, display similar levels of religious fundamentalism as Acehese Muslims. Using a t-confidence interval (95% range=3.5), we found that Acehese Muslims with the lowest RF scores are still significantly higher scores than other religious groups with the highest RF scores.

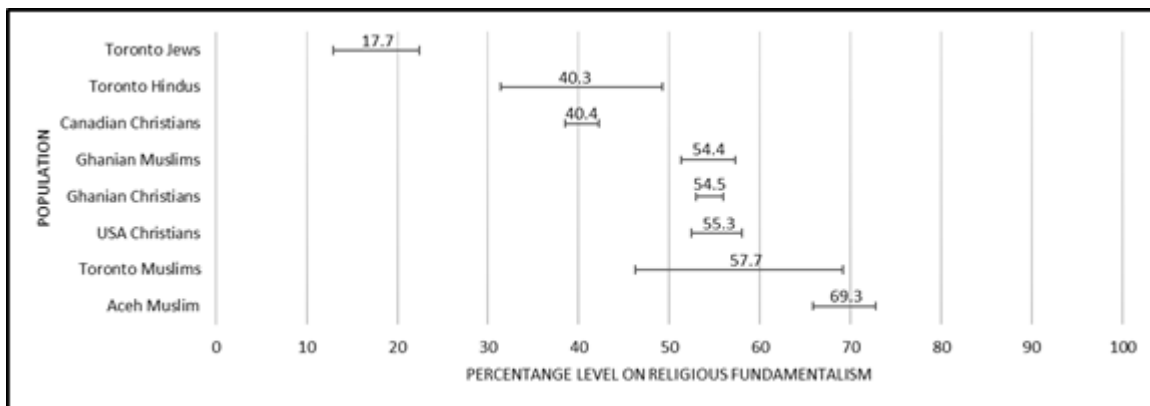


Figure 1: Level and Range of Religious Fundamentalism of Many Religious Groups

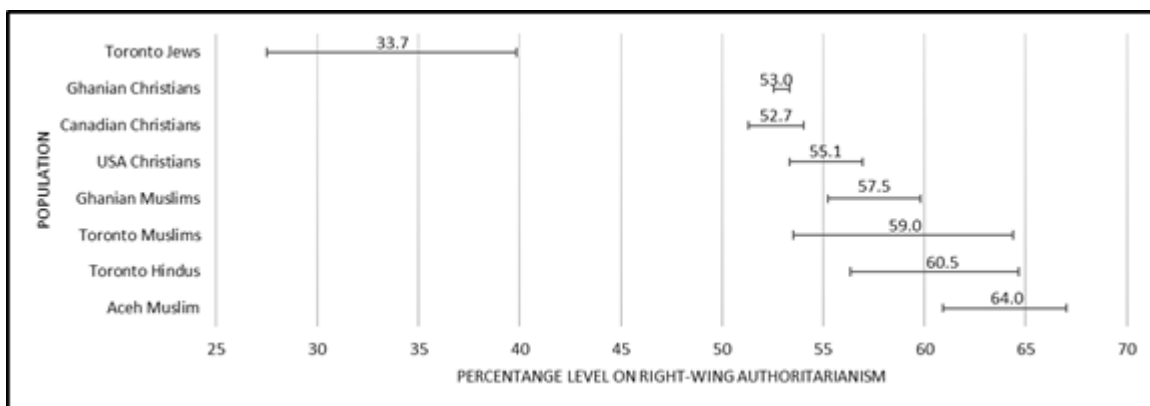


Figure 2: Level and Range of Right-Wing Authoritarianism of Many Religious Groups

For the RWA scales, Acehese Muslims mean percentage level is 64% and 95% range is 12.1%. This means that Acehese Muslims' level of right-wing authoritarianism is very high, only slightly lower than their levels of religious fundamentalism. Compared to other groups, Acehese Muslims displayed the highest level of right-wing authoritarianism. Only the highest scoring Toronto Hindus and Muslims are comparable with the lower scoring Acehese Muslims. Even among Toronto

Hindus and Muslims, there is a larger range of scores where right-wing authoritarian levels are significantly lower, but the Acehese Muslim range is shorter, meaning that their levels of right-wing authoritarianism are clustered closer together.

The average MS score of Acehese Muslims are 58% with a 95% range of 4.45. Lack of past literature on the MS scale means that comparison is unavailable. 58% is high score, meaning that the average Acehese Muslim displays a 58% level of militia attitudes, personalities, and behaviours. Looking at Table 3, we present the gender statistics and found that using the Welch confidence interval, only the MS scores of Acehese Muslims are significantly different based on gender. This result shows how the context of our research population, being in a Muslim province in a developing country, can produce different gender results as studies conducted in Western countries.

Table 3. Gender statistics

n	Total 100%	Men 47.6%	Women 52.4%	Welch Interval	Significance
RF Mean	69.3%	65.4	72	(-1.31, 14.45)	Not Significantly Different
RWA Mean	64	62.9	66	(-3.89, 10.09)	Not Significantly Different
MS Mean	58	52	63.2	(3.24, 19.42)	Significantly Different

Table 4 and Figure 3 displays the correlation coefficients among the different attitudes. Religious fundamentalism has a very high correlation with right-wing authoritarianism, higher than all the other religious groups, except for Ghanaian Muslims. This indicates that there is a strong relationship between the manifestation of religious fundamentalism and right-wing authoritarianism in Acehese Muslims. Specifically, it supports the conclusions of other studies that state that religious fundamentalism is essentially right-wing authoritarianism within a religiously defined dimension. The RF and RWA correlation to the MS scales are .62 and .61. This is also a very high score, indicating that the level of militia sentiments can be highly linked to the forms of religious fundamentalism and right-wing authoritarianism among Acehese Muslims. This is to say that the more religiously fundamentalist someone is, the more likely they are to believe that the current government is being led by improper leaders. Similarly, the more right-wing authoritarian someone is, the more likely they are to oppose the government they view as not having established leaders.

Table 4. Correlations between the scores

	Acehnese Muslims	Toronto ^a Muslims	Hindus	Jews	USA ^b	Christians Canadians ^c	Ghanaians ^d	Ghanaian Muslims ^d
n	85	21	21	32	158	491	243	57
RF-RWA	.72	.60	.47	.67	.71	.68	.62	.80
RF-MS	.62					.29		
RWA-MS	.61					.43		

^aHunsberger (1996)

^bRowatt and Franklin (2004)

^cAltemeyer and Hunsberger (1992)

^dHunsberger, Owusu, and Duck (1999)

^eAltemeyer (1998)

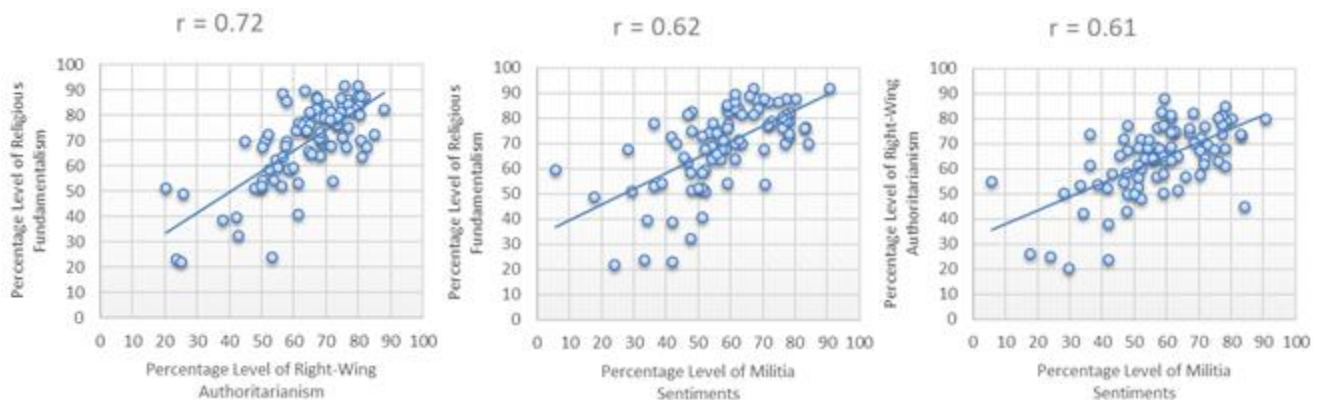


Figure 3: Scatterplots with Correlation of All Three Attitudes

CONCLUSION

In this study, we were able to successful develop modified versions of the RF, RWA, and MS scales that fits with Aceh's Islamic and Indonesian context, indicated by high Cronbach's alphas that show that the scores are internally consistent. These scales are thus suitable expansions of Altemeyer's and Hunsberger's original scales, particularly for research populations with a noticeably distinct Islamic and developing country characteristics.

Though the scales were successfully developed, not all respondents were willing to completely answer the survey, with a response rate of 28%. When we interviewed some of the respondents with incomplete answers, they reported two reasons for their incompleteness. The first reason was due to hesitation among some respondents that they did not have enough knowledge on religion, governance, and politics to answer the questions correctly. Even though the survey explicitly told respondents that we were gathering their personal opinions on social issues, the persistent perception that there had to be a correct answer deterred some respondents from completing the survey. The second reason was because some respondents objected to the researcher's approach of measuring or quantifying issues on religion. They believed that religious issues were a matter of correct interpretation, not opinion, and thus opposed any scientific approach at measuring it.

The levels of religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments of Acehese youth is very high, with an average percentage level for every individual of 69.3, 64, and 58%, respectively. These scores were consistently higher than any other religious group that have been measured with these scales. Additionally, women had higher militia sentiments than men, differing with other previous literatures on gender prediction. This is probably due to the different cultural, religious, and developmental background of our research population, eluding to the importance of diverse research.

There is also very high correlation among each construct. Religious fundamentalism correlated had a correlation coefficient of .72 with right-wing authoritarianism, .62 with militia sentiments, and right-wing authoritarianism had a correlation coefficient of .61 with militia sentiments. These scores support past studies conclusions that there is an interlocking relationship between these constructs, specifically the understanding that religious fundamentalism is just right-wing authoritarianism defined among religious dimensions. It seems that the current manifestation of religious fundamentalism, means that increasing religious fundamentalism among Acehese Muslims will be met with an increased level of right-wing authoritarianism and militia sentiments. Also, this means that viewing the government as being illegitimately ruled by improper leaders would also increase as religious fundamentalism and right-wing authoritarianism increased.

Further research is recommended to expand these scales to fit more diverse groups. Particularly, research on groups from democratic developing countries are highly encouraged, since we see the rise of right-wing authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism among these new democracies. Research in Indonesia are also encouraged, to analyse whether Acehese Muslims are a unique group in Indonesia or whether these levels of religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism, and militia sentiments can be found in other provinces. Qualitative approaches to uncover explanations for levels and correlations would also provide better understanding of these constructs.

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