CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY OF INDONESIAN MUSLIMS: THE ROLE OF EPISTEMIC MOTIVATION, AUTHORITARIANISM AND ISLAMIC TOTALISM

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ABSTRACT

This research proves that religiosity (Islamic totalism) is a predictor of conservative ideology, as is the need for cognitive closure and right wing authoritarian which has been proven as a psychological variable that affects conservative ideology. The ideology of conservatism emphasizes on the tendency to preserve what is already established, resist change and maintain existing orders whether social, economic, legal, religious, political, or cultural (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). This research utilized a quantitative survey method. Participants of this study were 528 college students from Jakarta with multiple regression analysis. The results obtained are 1) Islamic totalism, cognitive closure and right wing authoritarian are social and economic conservatism predictors; 2) only Islamic totalism is a religious conservatism predictor; 3) Islamic totalism has the greatest influence on social, economic and religious conservatives.

Keywords: Need for Cognitive Closure, Right Wing Authoritarian, Islamic Totalism, Conservatism

INTRODUCTION

In 2002 there was a refusal to include sharia references (Jakarta Charter) in the constitution. The rejection at the level of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) is aspirated to the district level which has the right of autonomy to adopt regulations with sharia elements such as spelling out dress codes and norms of good behavior for women, recitation of the Koran, prayers in congregation and so on (Bruinessen, 2013).

A movement to refuse Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) to become the governor of DKI Jakarta because not being a Muslim is a reason to create an Islamic society where the government must be led by a Muslim. This phenomenon is a question whether there is an increase in conservatism among Indonesian Muslims (Lindsey, 2016) or as an indication of major changes in religion, social and politics or just political dynamics so that it is impossible to become an influential pattern in the coming years? (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018).

The escalation of conservatism in Muslims can be interpreted as a symbol of Islamism, namely the idealization of Islam (Islam, 2015). Surveys conducted in 2002 and 2010 showed an escalation in Islamism among Indonesian Muslims (Liddle, Mujani, & Liddle, 2013; Sakai & Fauzia, n.d.).

An "Islamist" is someone who places a Muslim identity into his political practice, sees their political future through the prism of Islam, reconstructs society with Islamic principles and uses Islam as a total outlook in life. The view of life using the teachings of Islam as a whole is called Islamic totalism. Islamic totalism is the tendency to view Islam not only as "religion" in the narrow sense of theological beliefs, personal prayer and ritual worship, but also as a total way of life as guidance for political, economic, and social behavior (Shepard, 1987).

In practicing their beliefs, Muslims use the teachings of Islam as a whole in their daily lives. Islamic Sharia (law sent down by God) is not limited in regulating human relations with God but also relationships with fellow humans and the life of the universe. Islamic Sharia has a central position, namely as "the superiority of the Islamic way of life", the main guideline or view of Islamic life. According to a PEW survey (2013), 72% of Muslims in Indonesia want sharia law to be implemented in Indonesia.

Sharia is not only important or fundamental, but is obligatory to be carried out in the whole life of Muslims (holistically) without exception including in the life of the state or society. Holism is based on absolute inseparability from the trinity of *diin* (Religion), *dunya* (Way of Life) and *dawla* (Government). There is no single aspect of life that is separated from the Islamic arrangement so that Islam must be believed, understood and practiced in all aspects with totality or *kaffah*,may not be half or partial (Nashir, 2013).

The most prominent feature of Islam is Islam is everywhere or its omnipresence. This omnipresence is a view that recognizes that the presence of Islam always provides "true moral guidance for human action (Effendy, 1998). Guides in all aspects of life including politics. True Muslim politics must place God's sovereignty above all else, that is desired by the Islamic state legislation in accordance with the spirit of sharia.

The view of Muslims who believe that Islamic law by the guidance of the Koran and the Sunnah as a guide in all aspects of life is called Islamic totalism. Operationally the concept of Islamic totalism is the tendency of Muslims to use Islamic teachings as a guide in all aspects of life including politics. It is different from the concept of *kaffah* or Islam Kaffah in the Koran which means "holistic" religion. The kaffah phrase contains the meaning and purpose of the way or condition into Islamic teachings (Nashir, 2013). The author predicts Islamic totalism to be a predictor of Muslim conservative ideology in Indonesia. Islamic totalism is also predicted to be able to map the typology of Islamic political ideology (Shepard, 1987) but it has not been empirically proven.

Social psychology has done a lot of research related to motivation and psychological tendencies that underlie ideological differences between left and right politics. Starting with the alleged personality factor that underlies conservative politics, which finds there is a relationship between right wing authoritarianism and the support of conservative ideology. Some empirical research has proven this assumption even though it has received criticism because it is full of values in correlating general psychological profiles with certain ideological beliefs (Altemeyer, 1988; Altemeyer, 1998).

Furthermore, the social motivation approach to cognition explains theories and findings that link social-cognition motivation with certain political attitudes. Some individuals embrace political conservatism because conservative ideology's functions to reduce fear, anxiety, and uncertainty; to avoid change, disturbance, and ambiguity; and justifies inequality between groups and individuals. This social-cognition motivation approach provides an integrative framework for understanding motivation (epistemic and existential) work to reduce and manage fear and uncertainty (Jost et al., 2003).

Epistemic needs are the drive to reduce uncertainty, complexity, ambiguity and closed cognitive processes (need for cognitive closure). The high need to reduce uncertainties and threats encourages individuals to choose stable conditions and accept inequality, ultimately leading individuals to identify themselves with conservative politics (Jost, 2009). It was also

found that the need for cognitive closure and authoritarianism is linearly related to the right-wing political orientation that is the role of authoritarianism mediating the influence of need for cognitive closure on political orientation (Chirumbolo, 2002). Authoritarianism is related to rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity and irrational cognitive functions, and generally conservative (Crowson & Thoma, n.d.).

The core value of conservatism seems to be very attractive to people who are situationally or dispositionally inclined to experience uncertainty. Belief in a conservative ideology is considered can help to reduce uncertainty because it has a definite knowledge structure in seeing the world (De Grada, Kruglanski, Mannetti, & Pierro, 1999; Jost et al., 2003).

Conservatism in the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences is defined as the opposition to disturbing changes in social, economic, legal, religious, political or cultural order. The essence of conservatism is fear of change. A link between conservatism with resilience in supporting moral, traditional value and traditional religion has been found in the United States of America citizens since 1990 (Jost et al., 2003).

Religion and fundamentalism become the choices for individuals in facing modernity and globalization that are considered to be able to change the social order. Fundamentalists consider God to be the source of true morality, which is revealed to humans through religious texts. It was found that there is a relationship between Christian fundamentalism and conservative political ideology related to moral processes that focus on obedience and the rules implementation without exception (Young, Willer, & Keltner, 2013).

Ideology as a set of attitude that are interrelated between values and beliefs, cognitive, affective, and motivational nature,

that helps individuals interpret the social world, determine the best way to overcome life's problems in formulating certain policies. Different ideologies produce and express at least a difference in the social, cognitive, and motivational tendencies of their adherents (Jost, 2006, 2009).

Ideology is important for human life because one of the ideological functions is to provide guidance in opinion and behavior in general in dealing with any issues that arise so that it can position the individuals (Freeden, 2003), ideology helps individuals determine attitudes in governing a country and how to achieve it (Erikson & Tedin, 2015). But ideology can also lead to feelings of superiority in ingroups and to degrade groups that have different ideologies. Ideology can lead to conflict and hatred between groups with different ideologies (Staub, 2005).

The ideological structure is often questioned in social and political psychology research on how to determine politics with cognitive understanding by one or more dimensions of preference or judgment. (Converse, 2000; *Duckitt,2001*;Eagly & Chaiken 1998). The researchers assume that ideology is represented in the memory of some sort of schema, namely the structure of knowledge that consists the networks of beliefs, opinions and values that are interrelated (Erikson & Tedin 2015). In the analysis of contemporary western democracy, the spectrum of political ideology usually moves from conservative or right wing to liberal or left wing (Malka, Soto, Inzlicht, & Lelkes, 2014), or stretches from "liberal" or "left wing" on one side and "conservative" or "right wing" on the other hand (Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008).

The research of Feldman and Johnston (2014) shows that ideology has a complex structure. Ideology cannot be reduced to a single value or measure that accurately

represents the political beliefs of all citizens. Liberalism and conservatism that ignore complexity in meaning and structure have failed to detect some important aspects of ideological determinants and their consequences. It is not always easy to link theoretical concepts with attitudes that obtained empirically because ideology is related to people's attitudes and culture (Todosijević, 2015).

Research conducted by Universitas Indonesia's political psychology laboratory (in the process of publication) conceptualizes ideology as an individual orientation (attitude/values/belief) about how the state should be regulated which consists of three domains; social (individual orientation about the extent to which the state needs to be involved in cultural arrangements; ethnic traditions, norms, and morality of society), economy (individual orientation about the extent of the role of the state in regulating the people's economy; redistribution of results, competition, citizens's welfare, and ownership) and religious (individual orientation regarding religious separation/inseparation in political activities) (Muluk, H. et all., 2017).

Conservatism as an ideological belief system is manifested in many ways, for example the desire for order and stability, adherence to pre-existing social norms, idealization of authority figures and support of social and economic equality. Conservatism as a product of needs related to fear and anxiety. Various sources of threat or uncertainty include death, anarchy, dissent, complexity, novelty, ambiguity, and social change. Responses to conservative attitudes towards these sources of uncertainty include religious dogmatism, ethnocentrism, militarism, authoritarianism, punishment, conventionality, and rigid morality (Jost et al., 2003).

Another factor underlying conservatism is religious tendencies. In real historical continuity there is a relationship between religiosity and political conservatism (Glassman & Karno, 2007; Jost et al., 2008). It was found that highly religious individuals tend to have more conservative political positions than individuals who are less religious (Cohen & Miller, 2012; Kelly, 2008; Layman, et al, 2005). In a national survey in the United States from 1996 to 2008 it was found that religiosity was related to attitudes and conservative values in individuals involved in politics, but the relationship was weak in individuals who were less involved in politics (Cohen & Miller, 2012).

Politics and religion are two things that cannot be separated. Some psychological models propose that politics and religion are substitutes for each other because they are rooted in the same psychological needs (Friesen et al., 2014) including psychological needs to manage uncertainty, threats and social ownership (Hennes, Nam, Stern, & Jost, 2012).

In this study, religious factors become the main focus considering the subjects in this study are Muslims. The role of Muslims, amounting to more than 1.3 billion in the world and more than 50 Muslim majority countries, is still the concern of researchers. However, some research that has been done sometimes does not involve Muslims with internal dynamics and pluralism. For example the study of Jost et al. (2014) concerning religious ideology involving almost all religions except Islam. Indonesia as a country with the largest number of Muslims with all cultures in it makes researchers want to study the dynamics of Muslims in Indonesia because the Muslim community in Indonesia has "indigenised" so as to provide variants in the implementation of their religion (Fealy & White, 2008). In addition, Whitehead and Perry (2019) find that nationalist Christians

tend to have an authoritarian and exclusive attitude. This finding should see not only followers of Christianity but also other religions, especially Islam.

The purpose of this study is to explain the role of religion (Islamic totalism) in predicting Muslim political ideologies, as well as epistemic motivation and authoritarianism that have been shown to be able to predict conservative ideologies. Islamic totalism as a form of religiosity is predicted to be a predictor of conservative ideology because the motives underlying conservatism also underlie various other characteristics, including religious tendencies, and can help explain the real historical continuity in the relationship between religiosity and political conservatism (Jost et al., 2007, 2008). Religion is also known to have a relationship with obedience (Ginges et al., 2009; Saraglou, 2010). It is known that obedience is one of the characteristics of authoritatinism, obedience to authority and adherence to established values (Altemeyer, 1998; Altemyer & Hunsberger, 1992)

As explained earlier that epistemic motivation is motivation to reduce uncertainty that is usually measured by the need for cognitive closure, henceforth this study uses the Need for Cognitive Closure (NFCC) to explain the relationship with conservative ideology. Likewise, authoritarianism is defined as a personality syndrome described as an individual with traits, obedient, aggressive, rigid and conventional (Oesterreich, 2005) and to measure it the Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale is used. RWA is defined as a direct measure of authoritarian personality syndrome, which consists the variation of three highly correlated traits (Altemeyer, 1998) that have characteristics of trust in social control, obedience, respect for authority, adjusting to moral, traditional and religious norms that

correlate with religiosity (Duckitt & Sibley, 2009).

The conceptualization and measurement of religious fundamentalism has often been carried out in the same way from several different religions. There is a suspicion that between one religion and another may have differences in capturing the context of fundamentalism. In this research the concept and measurement of Islamic fundamentalism uses the concept of Islamic totalism which is expected to be able to describe the "indigenization of Islam". Islamic totalism is to use the Koran and Sunnah as a guide to life for total behavior in the political, economic, and social fields by using Islamic Sharia as a source of law. Islam in a general sense is religion or teachings (*din*) and in a spesific definition is Islamic law (*sharia*) when it is constructed by its adherents it forms many different religious orientation tendencies. Some Muslims believe that Islamic law is carried out as a whole (totalism) while other Muslims acculturate Islamic values with local culture.

This can be because fundamentalists and conservatives are individuals with a high need for cognitive closure (need cognitive closure) who believe in an opinion or view strongly and stable yet quick and refuse when their views are confronted (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994).

Lifton identified totalism as synonymous with 'religious and political fundamentalism' because fundamentalism is the tendency to define the world in absolute terms. Fundamentalism as the quest for absolute or totalistic belief system, religious beliefs characterized by literal sacred texts that contain absolute truth (Lifton, 1989). There are similar cognitive traits related to cognitive processing between fundamentalism and conservatives. Conservative politics may be more inclined to avoid ambiguous stimuli and prefer certainty, so religious

fundamentalists want to avoid issues from more than one perspective and tend to submit to religious fatwas (Young et al., 2013) This can be due to fundamentalists and conservatives are individuals with a high need for cognitive closure (need cognitive closure) who believe in an opinion or view with a strong and stable and quickly and reject when their views are confronted (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994).

Need For Cognitive Closure (NFCC) is defined as the urge to immediately formulate and maintain opinions in order to avoid confusion and ambiguity, want a definite answer, it can be a dispositional variable and a situational variable (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). (Calogero, Bardi, & Sutton, 2009) defines the Need for Cognitive Closure as a motivational factor of cognition that is used in understanding the social world that can affect how to interpret and respond to the social environment.

Uncertainty about attitudes, beliefs, feelings, perceptions and relationships with others is generally avoided by individuals, because uncertainty produces anxiety (Izard, 1991). Uncertainty also removes self-confidence, how to behave and what is expected from the physical and social environment of individuals. Individual behavior is motivated to reduce uncertainty, by rejecting anything that is unclear, ambiguous and unknown. Need for cognitive closure has psychological characteristics such as closed thinking, avoiding uncertainty, and intolerance towards ambiguous matters. Individuals with a high need for cognitive closure tend to choose definitive answers, are not immune to additional information that opposes their conclusions, which reduces discomfort and uncertainty. In the otherhand, individuals with low need for cognitive closure tend to make conclusions by searching for and analyzing additional information that might change the decision

making process (Reyna, Brandt, & Reyna, 2010).

To manage the need for cognitive closure, individuals use strategies such as religious fundamentalism to protect certainty and reduce ambiguity. Fundamentalists can manage uncertainty by following, learning and internalizing teachings from religious sources. These teachings provide epistemic authority for most aspects of life, for example the holy book which is believed to have offered good guidance, provides a source of consistent and traditional knowledge. Another strategy is the support for traditionalism values such as conservatism and religion to manage the uncertainties caused by modernity (Jost et al., 2003, 2007; Saroglou, Delpierre, & Dernelle, 2004).

The need for cognitive closure and authoritarianism are found to be linearly related to political orientation, where individuals with right-wing political orientation have higher scores on need for cognitive closure and are more authoritarian than subjects with left-wing political orientation. Authoritarianism or right wing authoritarian is defined as a syndrome, a combination of many different personality traits, has three dimensions include aggression, submission, and conventionalism (Altemeyer, 1998; Mavor, Louis, & Sibley, 2010).

As the need for cognitive closure, authoritarianism has a relationship with religiosity because religion is related to obedience (Ginges et al., 2009; Saroglou, Lamkaddem, Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009) and reluctance to integrate various perspectives (Hunsberger, Pratt, Pancer, Hunsbergert, & Praltt, 1994). Individuals who prefer literal interpretation of the Bible are more likely to avoid other interpretations and are more assertive because of their obedience. This is evident in Christian fundamentalism which is related to low motivation to integrate

perspectives that conflict with Bible decrees (Ginges et al., 2009; Saroglou et al., 2009). The core values of religious fundamentalism include obedience to sacred texts (authoritarian) and conservative (traditional) norms (Brandt, 2014).

Politics and religion are two things that cannot be separated. Religion and politics play an important role in shaping the attitudes of many people, and their influence on individuals has been widely studied (Arbuckle, 2016). The psychological model proposes that politics and religion are substitutes for each other because they are rooted in the same psychological needs (Friesen et al., 2014) including psychological needs to manage uncertainty (needs for cognitive closure), threats and social ownership (Hennes et al. , 2012). Individuals with a high need for cognitive closure (need cognitive closure) who believe in an opinion or outlook are strong and stable and quickly and reject when their views are confronted (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994) as well as religious fundamentalists want to avoid issues from more one perspective and tends to submit to religious fatwas (Young et al., 2013).

The majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim, as much as 95 percent of Indonesians say that religion is very important in their lives (PEW, 2015). The more important religion for someone causes someone will see aspects of life from a religious perspective (Mujani, 2007). The concept of Islamic totalism is the tendency to view Islam as a total way of life with guidelines for political, economic and social behavior predicted to map the typology of Islamic political ideology (Shepard, 1987).

Researchers suspect that Islamic totalism is related to conservative ideological predictors, including the need for cognitive closure and authoritarianism. This is because traditional values and religious values can reduce anxiety and uncertainty felt by individuals (Arndt, Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 2015). Traditional values and religious values are at the core of conservative ideology (Jost et al., 2003).

Religion functions adaptively in the sense that it helps provide a sense of coherence, control, and reduction of ambiguity (Hood, Hill, & Williamson, 2005; Kay, Gaucher, Napier, Callan, & Laurin, 2008). Islam as a teaching that comes from God is sacred, believed by Muslims to be able to offer certainty and comfort. Islamic Sharia through the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet contains conventional values that must be maintained. Muslims are taught to be obedient to the Qur'an and the Sunna. Compliance or submission is one dimension of the right wing authoritarian. There was found a relationship between fundamentalism and authoritarian right wing with three dimensions, including aggression, submission, and conventionalism (Mavor, Macleod, Boal, & Louis, 2009). Individuals who score high in religious fundamentalism also score highly in dogmatism, bigotry, belief in a dangerous world (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004) and secrecy (Reyna et al., 2010; Saraglou, 2010).

As mentioned above, several studies have proven several predictors that influence conservative ideology, such as the need for cognitive closure and the right wing authoritarian. In this study, we want to prove that Islamic totalism also plays a role in influencing the attitude of Muslim conservatism in Indonesia, considering that religion is considered to be very important in Muslim's economic, social and political life. To prove thehypothesis, researchers focus on conservative ideologies with economic, social and religious dimensions. Researchers used political ideology measurement tools developed by the Political Psychology Laboratory of the University of Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a survey method by taking data using accidental sampling on students from two tertiary institutions in Jakarta. The data collected were 528 participants. The average age of respondents was 21.4 years (SD = 3.36). Participants responded (self-reported) to the research questionnaire (Stangor, 2011). Measuring instruments are given directly (paper-and-pencil). The measuring instrument starts with the consent sheet, the filling of demographic factors and the questionnaire filling of the main predictor variables, namely the need for cognitive closure, the right wing authoritarian and Islamic totalism as well as the conservative ideological variables.

Research Instrument

Some operational definitions and research instruments that will be used as follows. The operational definition of conservative ideology is an individual's attitude about how the Indonesian state should be regulated. Measuring using the Indonesian version of the Political Ideology Scale compiled by the Universitas Indonesia's Political Psychology laboratory (12-item short version) with social, economic and religious dimensions. (Muluk, et.all, 2017). This scale has a 7-point segment (1 = Liberal, 7 = Conservative) and (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). An example of a social dimension item is "Religious offenders must be put to death", an example of an economic dimension item is "The government should provide cheap staples for the people", while an example of a religious dimension. The alpha coefficient of scale in this study (two-dimensional union) is .83. While Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) is an operational authoritarian personality is the individual's tendency to obey authority and follow tradition. Measured by the Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale, 12 items were used with three dimensions of submission,

aggression, conventionalism (Passini, 2008). The sample item is "It is important for children to learn to obey authority", with the alpha coefficient of this scale in Study 2 being .73.

The need for cognitive closure is operationalized as an impetus to reduce uncertainty. Epistemic motivation was measured using the scale of need for closure (15 items) adapted from the scale of need for closure of (Roets & Hiel, 2011). An example of the item is "I enjoy a clear and structured lifestyle", with the alpha coefficient of this scale in Study 2 being .79. And operational Islamic totalism is an individual score supporting Islam as a whole way of life in all areas of social life. This scale has a 7-point segment (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). An example of Islamic totalism items is "Muslim societies must be based on the Qur'an and Sharia law", with the alpha coefficient of this scale in Study 2 being .90.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Total respondents were 528 people (Male = 138, Female = 383). The average age of respondents was 21.4 years (SD = 3.36). As many as 47% of respondents are Javanese, 22% are Sundanese, 15.7% Betawi, and the rest are Batak, Minang, Malay, Chinese and other ethnic groups (mixed). As for educational background, 87.6% have high school as their last education. Based on SES, 86.8% of respondents had monthly expenses less Rp 4,000,000, the rest were above Rp. 4,000,000. All respondents are Muslims who live in Jadebotabek. The correlation between variables is done to prove the relationship between variables of Islamic totalism, authoritarian right wing, social dominance orientation and need for cognitive closure with conservative ideology.

Based on table 1, the correlation shown for each variable based on the total value indicates acceptance of the level of

significance to near zero or can be concluded to be very significant.

Table 1.
Descriptive Statistics of Correlation Between Variables

	1	2	3	4
1.Totalisme Islam				
2.Right Wing Authoritarian	.30**			
3.Need for Cognitive Closure	.17**	.22**		
4. Ideologi Konservative	.66**	.26**	.22**	
M	21.84	27.15	18.79	62.11
SD	4.31	5.46	4.25	11.61

** p <.01

This shows that the correlation between each variable. The greatest correlation value is shown by the relationship between Islamic totalism and Conservative Ideology. This value shows a correlation of up to 0.65. Islamic totalism has also been shown to have a significant correlation with predictors of conservative ideology, such us the right wing authoritarian and the need for cognitive closure.

Table 2.
Regression Hierarchy

	Dependant variables		
	Conserv-atife Economic	Conserv-atife Social	Conserv-atife Religious
Model 1			
Motivation Factor			
Need for Cognitive Closure	.57***	.43***	.36***
Right Wing Authoritarian	.62***	.32***	.37***
R^2	.96	.94	.89
ΔR^2	.96	.94	.89
Model 2			
Motivation Factor			
Need for	.32***	.20*	.02
Cognitive Closure			
Right Wing Authoritarian	.31***	.04***	.04
Factor Religious			
Islamic Totalism	.61***	.54***	.82***
R^2	.97	.96	.93
ΔR^2	.97	.96	.93

* p <.05
*** p <.00

The regression model in Table 2 consists of two models, the Motivational Factor Model and the Motivational Factor and Religious Factor Models. In the first model or the Motivational Factor Model, all the first models of each classification of conservative ideology groups show a good level of significance for each regression coefficient. The coefficient of regression in both variables (Need for Cognitive Closure and Right Wing Authoritarian) is very significant. The model can also explain its influence on each conservative ideology group that are Conservative Economic Ideology (96%), Conservative Social Ideology (94%), and Conservative Religious Ideology (89%). In retrospect, the NFCC and RWA variables have the least contribution to the regression equation of the Conservative Religious Ideology (89%) of the influence is explained by NFCC and RWA.

In the second model, modeling adds religious factors in the form of Islamic totalism variables. Motivational factors and religious factors are significant for all models except those in the conservative religious domain that shows insignificant. The addition of religious factors affects the conservative religious domain. The significant increase was seen to be influenced by Islamic totalism.

The results of the analysis reinforce the results of research that consistently find a relationship between fundamentalismmore

specifically Islamic totalism with the need to manage uncertainty and the desire for a solid knowledge structure. Individuals who are more religious generally have more dogmatic, authoritarian characteristics (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004; Altemyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and have higher levels of cognitive closure (NFC) needs (Saraglou, 2010) compared to less religious ones. Muslims with high scores on Islamic totalism have higher cognitive closure (NFC) needs and authoritarian tendencies compared with Muslims with lower Islamic totalism.

The correlation of need for cognitive closure with the right wing authoritarian confirms previous research that the need for cognitive closure is related to authoritarianism, dogmatism and ambiguity intolerance (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994). Both the need for cognitive closure and the right wing authoritarian, both have a linear relationship with the political orientation of the right wing or conservative (Chirumbolo, 2002). Likewise in this study it was found that Islamic totalism also had a positive and significant relationship with conservative ideology on all dimensions. This finding corrects the results of research (Feldman & Johnston, 2014) which found no correlation between authoritarian right wing, need for cognitive closure and religiosity in conservative economies. In this study all three predictors have a correlation with conservative economics.

The concept of Islamic totalism has not been explained in the taxonomy of the orientation of the Islamic movement (Islamic reformism or modernism, salafism, fundamentalism, neo-fundamentalism, Islamism, and political Islam). But Islamic totalism has a close concept with fundamentalism. Fundamentalists have a holistic and comprehensive view of Islam. Islam is a religion, the world and the state (*din, dunya, dawlah*). This holistic

perspective implies the necessity of collective action to bring the totality of Islam into reality (Ayubi, 1991).

The function of religion in general and fundamentalism more specifically can calm instability and provide epistemic certainty. Religion as an epistemic authority is often considered sacred or perfect and provides absolute truth (Hood et al., 2005; Woodberry, 2014). These religious teachings provide epistemic authority for most aspects of life (Brandt and Reyna, 2010). Islamic totalism also believes that there is one authority figure that regulates all aspects of life, namely the teachings of Islam through Islamic law, which have a central position, that is the superiority of the Islamic way of life, based on the Koran and sunnah. Scripture as an epistemic authority is believed to offer guidance for most humans, providing a consistent and traditional source of knowledge. Like fundamentalism, conservative ideology also offers traditionalism that arises from the need to manage uncertainty (Jost et al., 2003, 2007).

Although taxonomically, Islamic totalism does not yet have a clear position, this study shows that religion in the concept of Islamic totalism plays a role in identifying Muslim ideology in accordance with Shepard's prediction (Shepard, 1987).

Islamic totalism is able to predict Muslim conservative ideologies in social, economic and religious dimensions complementing other predictors such as need for cognitive closure and right wing authoritarianism (Chirumbolo, 2002) and (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010). Individuals who have a high Islamic totalism score tend to have an ideology of social conservatism (reject LGBT rights, alcoholism, and discotheques), support a populist economy (support for economic equality, subsidy sustainability, decrease in staples, increase in regional minimum wages) and want a

religious state (execute a religious blasphemer, want a leader in the same faith, support the establishment of a religious state). The conservative attitude is influenced by individual beliefs in carrying out the teachings of Islam as a whole in aspects of their lives.

Values in religiosity make people prefer conservative social policies (Feldman & Johnston, 2014; Layman, et all, 2005). Values and preferences related to religiosity are naturally related to conservative preferences because conservatives are more concerned with religious issues related to holiness (Hunter, 1991). In economic policy, in accordance with the principal of Islamic economics is to realize distributive justice that is all economic conditions must meet the balance (*al-adl* and *al-ihsan*) by realizing the welfare of individuals who are disadvantaged in society (Anam & Mubin, 2003) so that the government needs to regulate equality , subsidies, cost of goods and wages.

CONCLUSION

This research found that there is a relationship between fundamentalism more specifically Islamic totalism with the need to manage uncertainty and the desire for a solid knowledge structure. Individuals who are more religious generally have more dogmatic, authoritarian characteristics and have a higher level of need for cognitive closure (NFC) compared to less religious ones. The tendency of Muslims to use Islamic teachings in all aspects of their lives (Islamic totalism) has more influence on the tendency of conservative ideology than the need for cognitive closure (NFC) and authoritarian tendencies.

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