

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA  
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Saiful Mujani

## Anti-Americanism in Contemporary Indonesia

**Abstraksi:** Menyusul runtuhnya komunisme, Islam diyakini akan tampil sebagai satu kekuatan yang berhadapan langsung dengan Barat. Benturan peradaban Islam vis-a-vis Barat sebagaimana dilansir Huntington akan menjadi peta baru politik global. Di samping alasan-alasan sosio-ekonomi dan politik—khususnya politik luar negeri Barat (baca: Amerika Serikat) terhadap dunia Muslim—unsur keagamaan juga menjadi faktor penting yang mendasari terjadinya benturan peradaban tersebut. Islam dan Barat (Kristen) mewakili corak keagamaan yang sama-sama mengedepankan klaim kebenaran mutlak, dan karenanya tidak bisa hidup berdampingan berdasarkan prinsip-prinsip toleransi. Kebijakan Amerika di negara-negara Muslim lebih banyak dipahami dalam kerangka ketidakadilan, bahkan anti-Islam, dan karenanya dilihat sebagai bentuk baru kolonialisme Barat terhadap Islam.

Tulisan ini menyajikan satu pembahasan khususnya menyangkut poin kedua di atas, sikap dan perilaku anti-Amerika di kalangan Muslim Indonesia. Tulisan didasarkan pada hasil survei nasional yang dilakukan LSI (Lembaga Survei Indonesia) pada Desember 2004 dan Desember 2005, ditambah hasil survei khusus di Aceh dan Nias. Memasukkan Aceh dan Nias tentu saja sangat beralasan. Penduduk dua wilayah tersebut mewakili masing-masing mayoritas Kristen (Nias) dan Islam (Aceh); dan kedua wilayah tersebut—khususnya pasca tragedi tsunami—memiliki pengalaman berhubungan langsung dengan Amerika Serikat dan Barat secara umum yang ikut serta dalam program kemanusiaan rekonstruksi Aceh dan Nias. Dengan demikian, hasil survei dari kedua wilayah tersebut bisa memberi gambaran perbedaan lebih tegas tentang sikap dan perilaku kelompok keagamaan (Muslim dan Kristen) terhadap Amerika Serikat.

Anti-Amerika dalam survei ini dirumuskan ke dalam dua jenis pertanyaan untuk mengukur perilaku dan dukungan terhadap sejumlah isu berkaitan dengan nilai-nilai dan kebijakan politik negara adi daya ini. Dan hasil survei ini menunjukkan bahwa secara umum sikap dan perilaku anti-Amerika di kalangan Muslim Indonesia relatif kecil. Mereka yang menjawab per-

nah melakukan tindakan anti-Amerika rata-rata di bawah 2%. Dalam lima tahun terakhir, mereka yang menyatakan pernah demonstrasi menentang kebijakan politik luar negeri Amerika hanya 1,5%, demonstrasi menentang dukungan Amerika atas Israel 1,9%, dan demonstrasi menentang invasi Amerika ke Irak dan Afghanistan hanya 1,7%.

Proporsi lebih besar terjadi pada tingkat sikap terhadap Amerika. Di sini, ditemukan bahwa mereka yang mengaku membenci Amerika mencapai 16% pada 2005, sedikit lebih kecil dari survei 2004 yang berjumlah 21%. Proporsi lebih besar lagi berlaku untuk nilai-nilai tertentu yang diakui sebagai bagian dari Amerika, yakni kebebasan individual dan toleransi; sebagian besar responden (44%) menyatakan bahwa nilai-nilai tersebut positif, dan hanya 27% yang menyatakan sebaliknya. Proporsi yang kurang lebih sama berlaku untuk aspek lain dari sikap anti-Amerika, yakni tingkat dukungan terhadap kebijakan Amerika khususnya menyangkut Islam dan umat Muslim.

Terhadap invasi Amerika ke Irak dan Afghanistan, misalnya, sebanyak 41% dari responden menyatakan mendukung sebagai invasi atau serangan terhadap umat Islam. Prosentase dukungan yang hampir sama (44%) dialamatkan untuk pernyataan bahwa tindakan-tindakan anti-Amerika harus didukung oleh Muslim Indonesia. Hal ini berarti sebanyak 42% responden mendukung—meski tidak melakukan—berbagai aksi demonstrasi anti-Amerika. Prosentase tersebut memang sejalan dengan tingkat dukungan terhadap sejumlah pernyataan berikut: Amerika sering melanggar hak asasi manusia (42%), dan kampanye anti-terorisisme pasca tragedi 11 September adalah untuk menyerang Islam (37%).

Poin penting berikutnya untuk diperhatikan adalah bahwa sikap dan perilaku anti-Amerika di atas dipengaruhi faktor keagamaan. Hasil survei 2004 dan 2005 menunjukkan bahwa di kalangan Muslim Indonesia terdapat 25,2% responden pada survei 2004 dan 30,9% pada 2005 menyatakan tidak membenci Amerika. Angka tersebut jauh di bawah prosentase yang diperoleh dari umat Kristen Protestan (80% pada 2004 dan 61,8% pada 2005) dan Katolik (50% pada 2004 dan 57% pada 2004).

Lebih jauh, faktor keagamaan tersebut diperkuat hasil survei lokal di Aceh dan Nias, yang mewakili masing-masing umat Muslim dan Kristen. Pada survei 2004, proporsi masyarakat Aceh yang menyatakan mendukung atau menyukai Amerika hanya 25.2 %, dan 30.9 % pada 2005. Prosentase tersebut jauh dari masyarakat Nias; mereka yang menyatakan menyukai Amerika mencapai 80% pada 2004 dan 61,8% pada 2005; sementara dari umat Katolik Nias pada survei 2004 terdapat 50% dan 57.4% pada 2005. Dengan demikian, thesis Huntington tentang benturan peradaban memiliki dasar yang kuat di Indonesia.

## Anti-Americanism in Contemporary Indonesia

خلاصة: إن محوري العالم المتواجهين عقب انهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي هما الإسلام والغرب (أمريكا)، بل وعند فرضية صاموئيل هانتجتون (Samuel Huntington) أن الإسلام تهديد للحضارة الغربية. وصراع الحضارتين الإسلامية والغربية يدل على منافسة ملموسة، وبخاصة في خريطة السياسة والعلاقات الدولية التي تتسم بتبادل الاتهام والارتياب بين دولة وأخرى. ويعتد الموقف المضاد لأمريكا بآسيا وأوروبا على السواء من المنافسة. ويوجد هذا الموقف في بعض المدن الكبيرة بإندونيسيا، خاصة بعد حرب أمريكا على أفغانستان والعراق. والحق أن هذا الموقف قد ظهر مدة طويلة منذ الحرب الباردة بين أمريكا والاتحاد السوفياتي الذي انهار في أواخر الثمانينات. وبخصوص المجتمع الإندونيسي أن هذا الموقف يرتبط بسياسة أمريكا الخارجية التي تطبق الكيل بمكيالين تجاه العالم الإسلامي وآسيا على السواء. لذا، فإن ظاهرة الموقف تصف المنافسة الحضارية (الدينية) التي ليست مقصورة على دولة شعبية.

هذا المقال يعرض نتائج دراسة مسحية أجراها هيئة إندونيسيا للدراسة المسحية في ديسمبر ٢٠٠٤ وديسمبر ٢٠٠٥ في بعض محافظات إندونيسيا بالإضافة إلى المنطقتين اللتين أصابهما تسونامي (المد البحري)، وهما أتشيه (Aceh) ونياس (Nias). وثمة سببان لتحديد المنطقتين موضوعا للدراسة، أولهما أن المنطقتين نالتا مساعدة أمريكية، وثانيهما أن نياس تمثل مجتمعا نصرانيا، بينما أتشيه تمثل مجتمعا أغلب سكانها مسلمون. وتصبح كلتا المنطقتين صورة توضح: هل العامل الديني يؤثر أو لا يؤثر في السلوك المضاد أو المقاوم لأمريكا؟ ينشأ الموقف المضاد لأمريكا في أوساط المجتمع الإندونيسي نتيجة افتراض مفاده أن أمريكا تطبق السياسات غير العادلة، خاصة السياسات العسكرية، والاقتصادية، والعلاقة الدولية. والتقدير السيئ إزاء أمريكا يرتبط بتدخلها في شؤون إندونيسيا الداخلية، ومن أمثال ذلك تدخلها في الآونة الأخير في شأن بابوا (Papua) أو في شأن حركة الإسلام السياسي. والسلوك المضاد لأمريكا يتمثل في نشاطين هما: أولا القيام بالمظاهرة ومقاطعة المنتجات الأمريكية، وثانيا

دعوة الناس إلى الموقف المضاد لأمريكا. وبالنسبة للنشاط الأول أن القائمين بالسلوك المضاد لأمريكا يعبرون عن طموحهم بمقاطعة المنتجات الأمريكية، وتشجيع أعضاء البرلمان لقطع العلاقة الدبلوماسية بين الجمهورية الإندونيسية وأمريكا، وحتى اكتساح واندفاع الأمريكان بقوة في بعض المدن. بينما النشاط الثاني هو دعم هؤلاء القائمين بالسلوك المضاد لأمريكا، رغم أنهم لا يشاركون في النشاط مباشرة. ولكنه إذا نظرنا من ناحية كمية للسلوك المضاد لأمريكا، وجدنا أن عدد المقاومين لأمريكا يميل إلى الانخفاض نسبيًا. ثمة اثنان من مائة عينة من المستجيبين قالوا إنهما لا يحبان أمريكا، بل وإن هذه الدراسة المسحية التي أجراها في الفترة ما بين ٢٠٠٤ و ٢٠٠٥ تدل على درجة الانخفاض للموقف المضاد لأمريكا.

وهذه الدراسة جذابة أكثر لأن فرضية صاموئيل هانتينجتون بشأن صراع الحضارات بين الغرب والإسلام لا تزال ملائمة. وصحة هذه الفرضية لا تزال في حاجة إلى التحقق، وخاصة عند النظر إلى إندونيسيا وأمريكا. هل يعتبر هجوم أمريكا على أفغانستان والعراق هجوما على الإسلام، رغم أن الهجوم أطلقت عليه أمريكا هجوما على مركز الإرهاب؟ وتبين من هذه الدراسة أن أمريكا مماثلة للغرب النصراني الذي دفع إلى كره المجتمع ضد أمريكا. بعبارة أخرى أن الدين أصبح آصرة قوية تربط الشعوب.

ويتجلى تحقيق صحة العلاقة الارتباطية بين الدين والشعوب في دراسة مسحية أجريت بأثنيه ونياس بعد حادثة تسونامي بأيام، بحيث أن العامل الديني لا يزال يلعب دورا هاما، ففي عام ٢٠٠٤، كان ٢٥،٢% من سكان أثنيه الذين أغلبتهم مسلمون يعبرون عن دعمهم لأمريكا، وارتفعت نسبة الدعم لتبلغ ٣٠،٩% في عام ٢٠٠٥. وعكس ذلك أن سكان نياس الذين أكثرتهم بروتستانتيون معظمهم يحبون أمريكا (٨٠%)، وانخفض الدعم لها ليصل إلى ٦١،٨% في عام ٢٠٠٥، غير أن ٥٠% فقط من الكاثوليكين من سكان نياس يحبون أمريكا في عام ٢٠٠٤، وارتفع الدعم لها لتبلغ ٥٧،٤% في عام ٢٠٠٥. ومن المفترض أن دعم البروتستانتين لها أكبر من دعم الكاثوليكين بسبب الرابطة الدينية المشتركة، بحيث أن أغلبية الأمريكان بروتستانتيون دون الكاثوليكين.

وإذا نظرنا من ناحية العلاقة الوجدانية الدينية، أثبتت لنا بوضوح أن الرابطة الدينية لا تزال عاملا حتميا لدعم المجتمع لأمريكا. وذلك يدل على أن مواجهة الإسلام والنصرانية باعتبارهما أكبر أديان العالم، وفي اعتبار هانتينجتون أنهما يثيران صراع الحضارة، لا تزال صحيحة. وفوق كل ذلك أن أمريكا المتجانسة للنصرانية وسياستها الخارجية تميل إلى الكيل بمكيالين تجاه بعض الدول، خاصة دول العالم الإسلامي، تصير وتثير صراعا يحدث في أي وقت.

Anti-Americanism is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. Attitudes and even actions, peaceful as well as violent, with an anti-American nuance have often emerged in segments of the Indonesian community, just as it has in other parts of the world. The question is, why do anti-American attitudes emerge? To summarize the issue, there are at least two reasons for rise in anti-Americanism in the contemporary world. The first is political factors, namely the foreign policy of the United States — commonly perceived to be the world's most powerful country — which harms or damages other states and peoples. The roots of this view of anti-Americanism are located in national interests that differ between America and other countries.<sup>1</sup> The second reason, closely connected to the first, is that many U.S. foreign policies are opposed because they are considered unjust. Conceptions of injustice are in turn rooted in civilizational differences. These differences lead to conflict between American civilization and the civilization of those other countries or societies that are anti-American.<sup>2</sup>

This paper attempts to explore these two basic arguments. To that end we need first to discuss what is meant by “anti-Americanism,” then what is meant by “unjust American foreign policies,” and thirdly what is meant by “civilization” in the context of Indonesian Muslim society.

“Anti-Americanism” in the international context is an individual or group attitude or action that reflects a feeling of dislike, hatred or intolerance toward America as a nation, or America as defined by the attitudes or behavior of the American government toward other countries.<sup>3</sup> It is not easy to decide how to measure these anti-American attitudes or actions. One way to uncover anti-American symptoms is by observing public opinion, and it is in this context that a number of public opinion surveys have tried to better examine this concept of anti-Americanism. Although several of the concepts in this field have been borrowed from other sources for the surveys that Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesian Survey Institute, or LSI) has conducted in the last two years, the majority we have developed ourselves in order to achieve a better fit within the Indonesian Islamic context.<sup>4</sup>

In this paper, anti-American behavior or actions are understood as actions that are carried out by individual Indonesian citizens that reflect an anti-American attitude. Anti-American actions are then demonstrated by a number of actions that have been carried out by individuals in the last five years. These include: (1) persuading others that America is a threat toward the Muslim community; (2) urging members of Parliament, the regional legislatures, or government officials to break relations with America; (3) boycotting goods or services made in America; (4) demonstrating

in opposition to American foreign policies that are considered to harm Muslim countries; (5) demonstrating in opposition to policies/actions of the American government that support Israel in its conflict with Palestine; (6) demonstrating in opposition to the occupation of Iraq or Afghanistan by America; (7) demonstrating in opposition to American internal intervention in Indonesia in the struggle against terrorism.

At the level of attitudes, this study gauges anti-Americanism sentiments via a number of indicators. These include: (1) favorable or unfavorable opinion about America as a nation; (2) support or lack of support for the boycotting of American-made products; (3) attitude towards values that are considered important to Americans; and (4) the level of appreciation for American culture as it appears in music and films from America.

### Foreign Policy

Actions against American foreign policy are symbolized by the four following types of action<sup>5</sup>: (1) demonstrations opposing American foreign policy that are considered to harm Muslim countries; (2) demonstrations opposing the policies and actions of the American government that support Israel in its conflict with Palestine; (3) demonstrations opposing the occupation of Iraq or Afghanistan by America; and (4) demonstrations opposing what is regarded as American internal intervention in Indonesian politics in its dealing with terrorism.

Furthermore, with regard to attitudes, opposition to American foreign policy is examined using the following nine statements: (1) agree or disagree that the recent American attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq represent an attack on Islam as a whole; (2) agree or disagree that anti-American actions are caused by the actions of America itself toward other countries and must be carried out by the Indonesian Muslim community; (3) agree or disagree that America often violates basic rights in other countries; (4) believe that the international campaign against terrorism is for the purpose of preventing terrorist actions such as those that occurred in America on 11 September 2001, or that the campaign is only an excuse to attack Islam and Muslims; (5) support or do not support demonstrations against America; (6) support or do not support criticism of American actions that harm other countries; (7) support or not support efforts to pressure the Indonesian government to break relations with America; (8) agree or disagree that America treats Indonesia with dignity; and (9) agree or disagree that America doesn't understand the problems that Indonesia confronts today.



## Religion

For Huntington, religion represents the root of a civilization, and religious difference gives birth to differences in civilization. In the context of Muslim society, anti-Americanism in the framework of Huntington is rooted in the difference between Islam and Christianity. Muslims become anti-American because their religion is Islam, and America is a country with a predominantly Christian population and civilization. Both Islam and Christianity are missionary religions. Both claim superiority over the other.

In that context, in this study what is meant by “religion” is in the first instance “the religion to which one formally adheres” and in Indonesian society this mainly means Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism. Among these religions the relevant ones both theoretically and practically in terms of observation are Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism.

But for a part of Muslim society, Islam is not only a “nominal identity” but a complete way of life, guiding an individual in every aspect of his or her daily life. Islam which is perceived in this way we call “Islamism.”

There are several components in this concept of Islamism. The first component we call the “Islamist agenda.” This has a number of aspects, here limited to the following beliefs: (1) the law of amputation for thieves must be implemented by the government of our country; (2) men may have more than one wife; (3) bank interest is prohibited; (4) women are prohibited to become leaders, including president; (5) in inheritance law, daughters must receive half as much as the portion given to sons; (6) a conviction that non-Muslims will never be happy with Muslims until those Muslims join their (non-Muslim) religion; (7) adulterers must be stoned until they die; (8) Muslim women may not marry men who are not Muslims.

Anti-Americanism takes the form of attitudes and actions, and because of that it constitutes a socio-political movement. In a movement, a psychological factor that is believed to be influential is alienation, and this is often represented — among other things — as “a feeling of being treated unjustly.” In the context of Muslim society, and in line with Huntington’s hypothesis, we measure the “feeling of being treated unjustly” in the statement “Do you feel that the Muslim community is treated unjustly by adherents of other religions.” We refer to this as “Islamist alienation”, and this is the second component of Islamism.

The logic behind Huntington’s conflict of civilizations is the conviction that Islam and Christianity are missionary religions and its followers tend to want to vanquish one another. This means that there is a connection

with the problem of toleration. Muslims will not be tolerant toward Christians and visa-versa. In this context, the third component of Islamism is “intolerance toward Christians,” which in this study is gauged by three indicators: objection to Christians becoming teachers in state schools; objection to Christians holding religious activities/services in Muslim-majority areas; and objections to Christians building churches in Muslim-majority areas.

## Method and Data

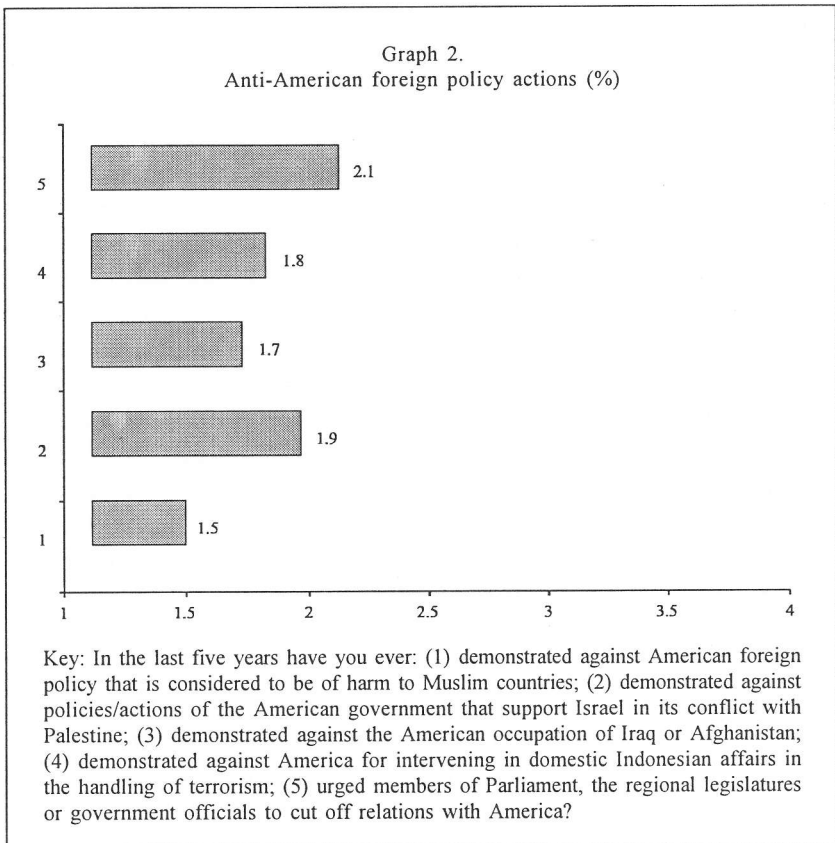
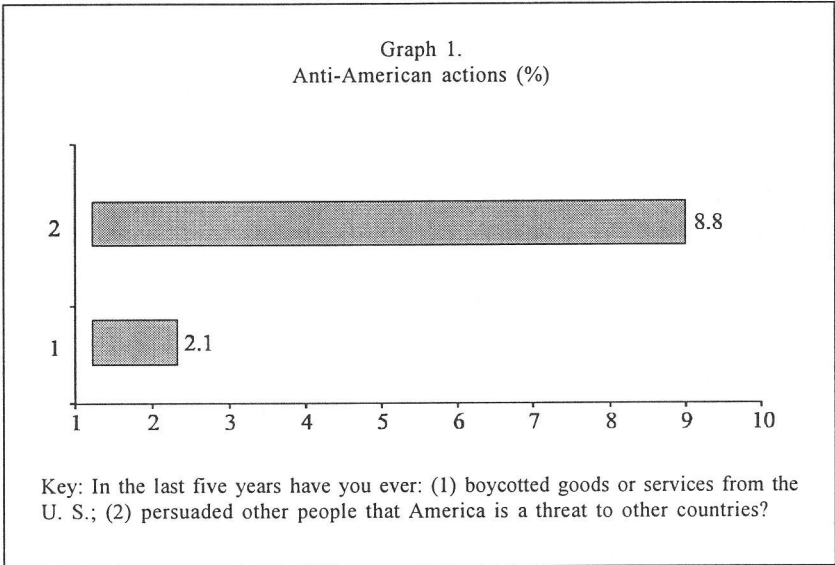
The LSI data that is used in this paper is based primarily on a national public opinion survey carried out in December 2004, together with some data from the December 2005 national survey and the 2005 local surveys in Aceh (Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, N=800) and Nias (N=400), plus some data from a PEW survey. LSI surveys use the method of probability or multi-stage random sampling.

## Findings

### *Anti-American Attitudes and Actions*

Data from the national survey shows that in general relatively few Indonesians have been involved in anti-American actions in the last five years (Graph 1). Only .1.5% of the respondents say that they have ever carried out a demonstration opposing American foreign policy that is considered to be of harm to Muslim countries. Other actions are reported at about the same level, on average no more than 2% of the total adult Indonesian population. In other words, only about two out of every hundred Indonesians have ever carried out anti-American actions directly in one form or another during the last five years. The only exception is with regards to the action of convincing others that America represents a threat towards the Muslim community. In this instance only about nine out of every one hundred Indonesians reports that he or she has participated in such an action.

This fact shows that there is relatively little anti-American activity carried out by Indonesians. Anti-American demonstrations that often occur in the capital, in front of the American embassy, at most involve hundreds of thousands of people. Of course this is not a small number, but its importance is often exaggerated by the Indonesian media. In any event it is too small to make a claim that Indonesian society is anti-American. Nonetheless, the percentage of the population that acts to advance political causes like anti-American demonstrations — not just talking with or convincing others, and also not just keeping a feeling of dislike in the heart — is usually small everywhere in the world. But this small group often makes important news, especially if a majority of the citizens to some extent support them.



We should not be surprised by the relatively low level of participation in the types of action described above. How does this level differ though when we look at people's support for the anti-American actions of others? This is important to examine, for most people, in spite of the anti-American sentiments they hold, do not carry out actions. There are a number of reasons for this. One, perhaps, is rational, that is they know that the results of acting and not acting will be the same. So they take the view that there's little benefit in doing anything at all. This may also be closely related to the Islamic concept of *farḍ kifāyah* (Ar. *farḍ al-kifāyah*), which basically means that the religious obligations of a Muslim are fulfilled without doing anything if a sufficient number of other people are carrying out this duty. This may be particularly true concerning anti-American action that might contain some risk, such as being arrested by the police, or wounded, for example.

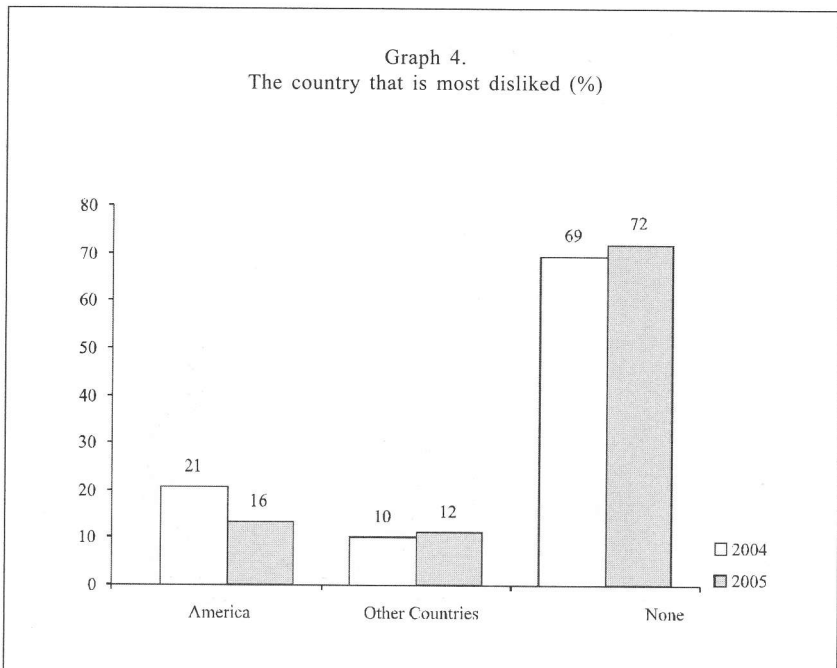
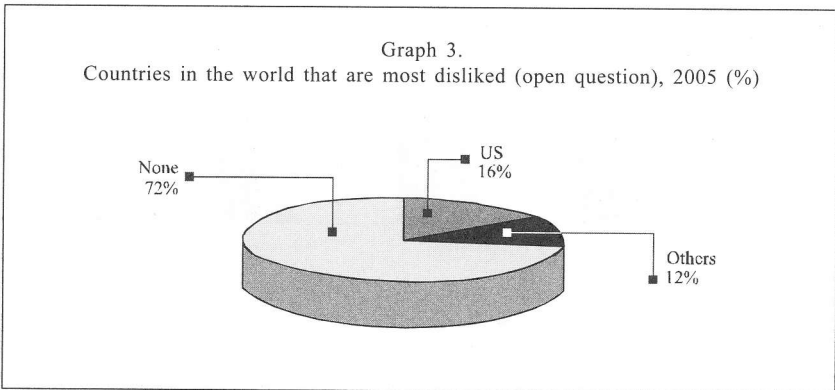
To obtain a general picture concerning anti-American attitudes — as opposed to anti-American action — in Indonesian society, in the 2005 national survey members of Indonesian society were first asked “Is there a country in the world that you most dislike?” In answering this question 28% admit that there is a country that they most dislike. This means that about three out of every ten Indonesians have such an attitude. A further question was asked of this group: “What country is that?” As many as 58% name America as the most disliked country. This means that as a percentage of the whole population, about 16%, or about two out of every ten Indonesians dislike America (see Graph 3). When we compare these figures to those of the previous year (2004), we find that negative sentiments amongst Indonesians have declined. At that time about 21% of Indonesians named America as the country they most disliked (Graph 4).

When America and a number of other countries were mentioned and then asked to be evaluated in terms of like or dislike toward those countries, the anti-American attitude became stronger (Graph 5).<sup>6</sup> About four of every ten Indonesians say that he or she doesn't like America. Of significance also is that about three out of every ten Indonesians do not like Australia. This compares to only one out of ten Indonesians who say that they don't like Saudi Arabia.

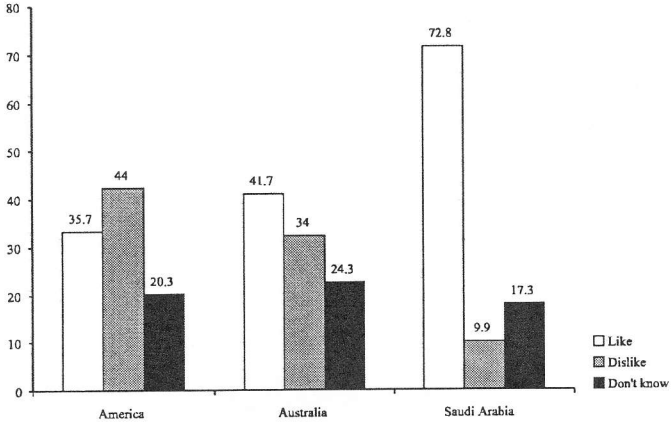
The number of people who feel that they dislike America is larger than the number who has a favorable opinion of America even though the difference is not great. In addition there has also been a rising curve of support for America in the past two years. While the percentage of respondents who like America in 2004 was about 31%, in 2005 the figure rose to 36%. Conversely, favorable attitudes toward Saudi Arabia have declined sharply from about 82% in 2004 to approximately 73% in 2005 (Graph 6).<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the general attitude towards America, favorable and unfavorable opinions of America in the 2004 survey were also assessed in terms of

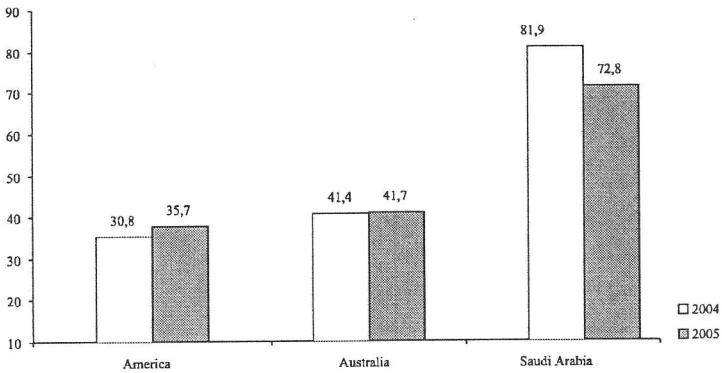
values considered important for American society. The largest group (20%) said that individual freedom was the most important value for Americans, followed by tolerance (9%, Graph 8). More important, however, is how Indonesians perceived those values, whether they considered them as positive or negative qualities in a society. More Indonesians said that the values are positive (44%) compared with those who viewed them to be the opposite (27%, see Graph 9). Most specifically, was individual freedom was viewed by respondents to be more positive or negative, with 35% saying it was a positive value as opposed to 59% who felt that it was a negative one (Graph 10).

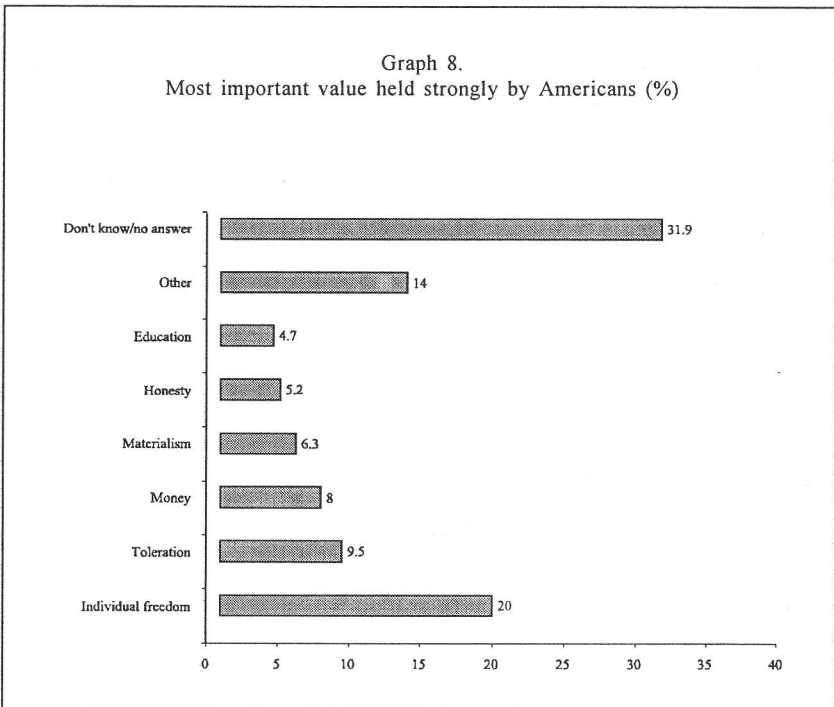
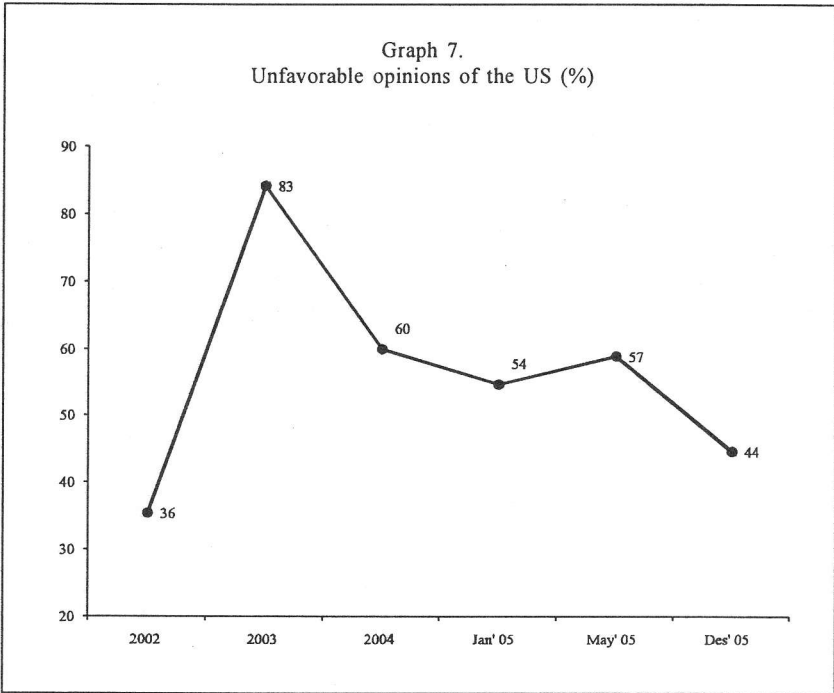


Graph 5.  
Favorable or unfavorable opinion towards a state (2005) (%)

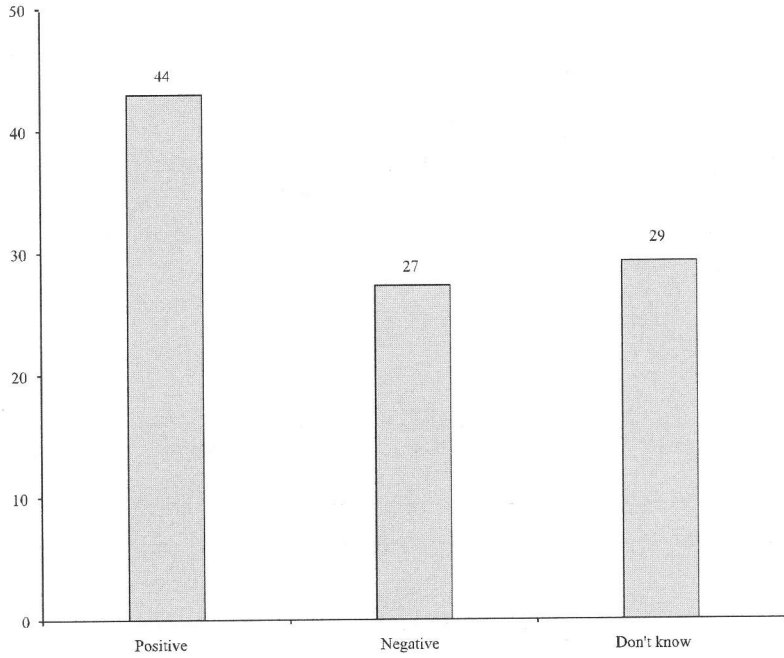


Graph 6.  
Favorable opinions toward the following countries, 2004 and 2005 (%)

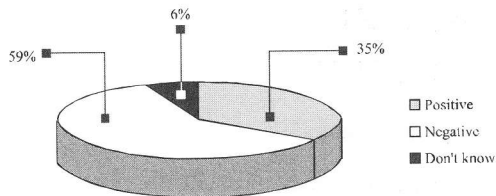




Graph 9.  
Are those American values positive or negative?



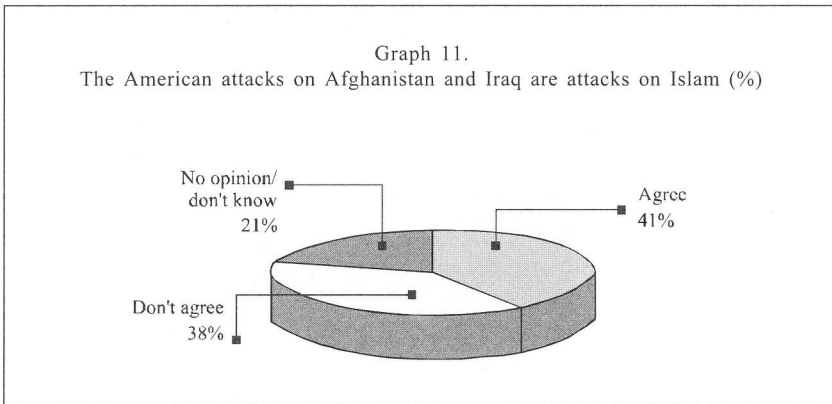
Graph 10.  
Evaluation of individual freedom (%)



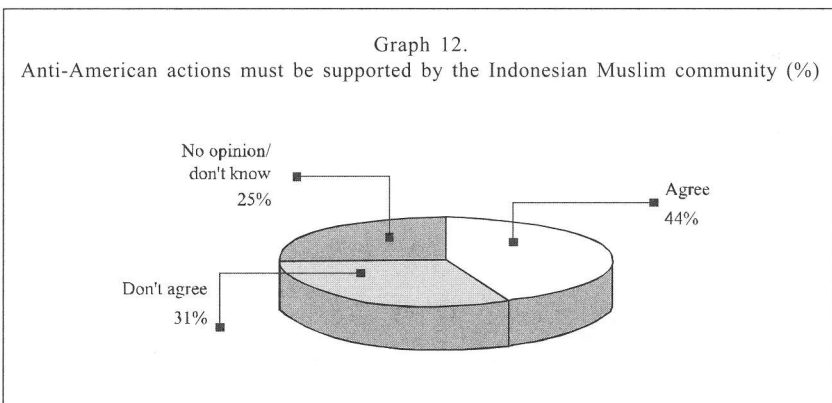


### *Attitudes towards American Foreign Policy*

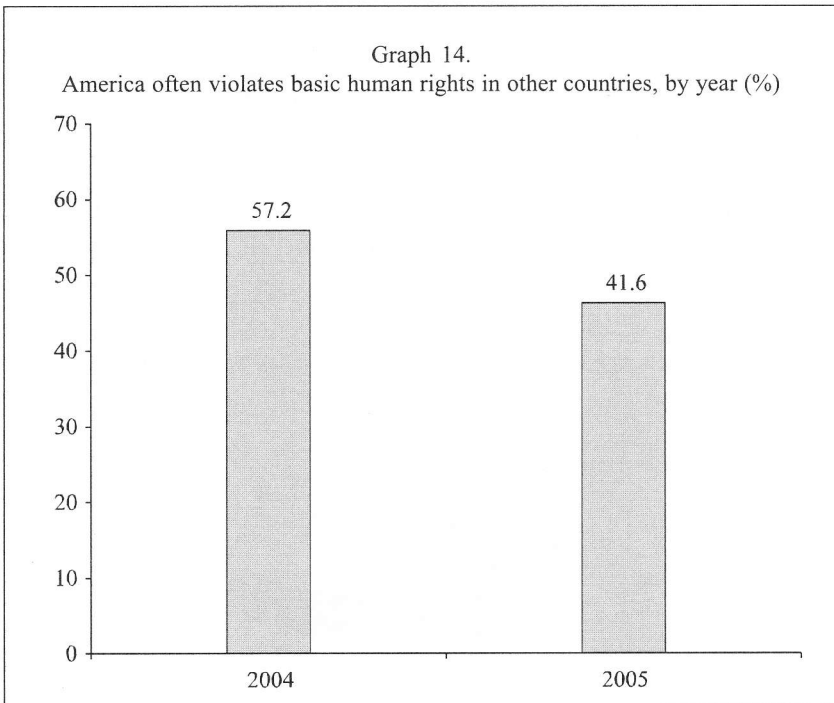
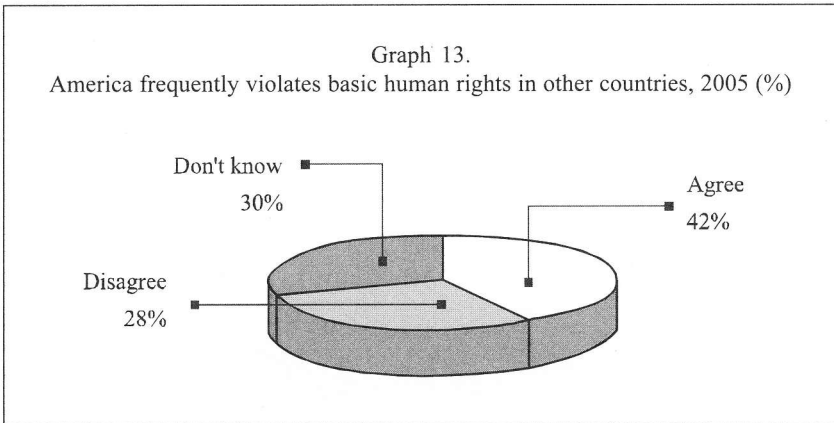
Aside from the general evaluations of people's sentiments towards America and the values that are highly regarded by Americans, another important factor to consider is America's relations with other countries. Concerning this issue, respondents were first asked if they agreed or disagreed that the American attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq represented an attack against Islam as a whole (Graph 11). Four out of every ten Indonesians agreed with this position. A similar proportion disagreed, indicating that on this matter Indonesian society is divided almost evenly.



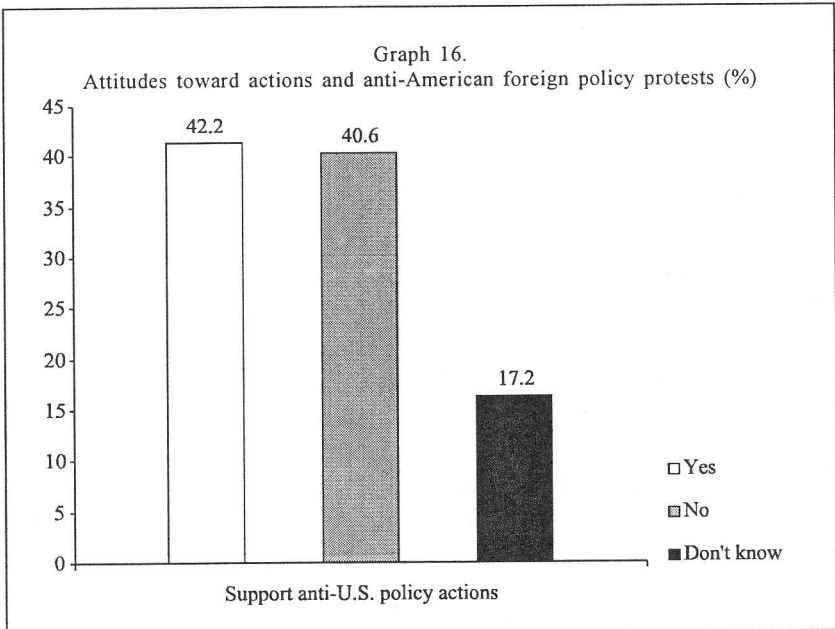
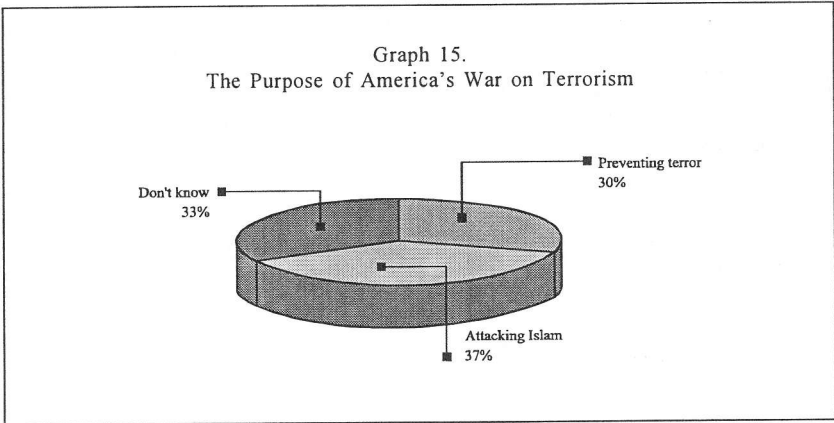
Negative sentiments toward America of about the same proportions was also apparent when respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed that anti-American actions must be taken by members of the Indonesian Muslim community because of the actions of America against other countries. Four out of ten Indonesians agreed while three out of ten Indonesians said the opposite (Graph 12).



The proportion of negative sentiment toward America was about the same when it was asked whether or not respondents agreed that America often violates basic human rights in other countries. In the 2005 survey, four out of ten Indonesians said that they agreed with this opinion, and three of ten Indonesians said the opposite (Graph 13). This proportion shows a decline in negative sentiments towards America compared with the results of the survey of the previous year (Graph 14).

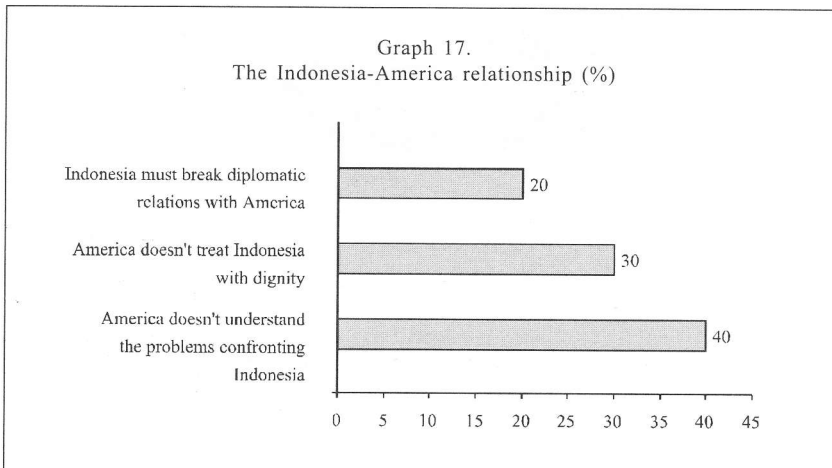


Since the September 11 tragedy, America has conducted an aggressive international anti-terrorist campaign. What are the attitudes of Indonesians toward this campaign? Is it seen as a genuine attempt to prevent a repetition of the September 11 tragedy, or only an American excuse to attack Islam and Muslims? On this issue, the 2004 survey results showed that four out of ten Indonesians believe that the purpose of the campaign is to attack Islam, and three out of ten Indonesians believe that the campaign is truly to prevent terrorism (Graph 15), showing that a greater percentage of Indonesians are quite pessimistic of America's war on terrorism.



Anti-American attitudes are also visible in the responses of Indonesians concerning support for demonstrations against America. Concerning this issue, the 2004 survey showed that 42% of respondents support or agree with, even though they haven't participated in, demonstrations opposing America. Although this figure is relatively large, it still represents less than a majority of the total population (Graph 16).

This attitudinal pattern is also reflected in three issues that are connected to the relationship between Indonesia and America. When they were asked in general terms if America did not make an effort to understand problems confronted by Indonesia, four of ten Indonesians answered "yes" to the question. When they were asked if America treats Indonesia with respect and dignity, three of ten Indonesians said no. And, when respondents were asked whether Indonesia should break diplomatic ties with the U. S, only two out of ten Indonesians said yes (Graph 17).

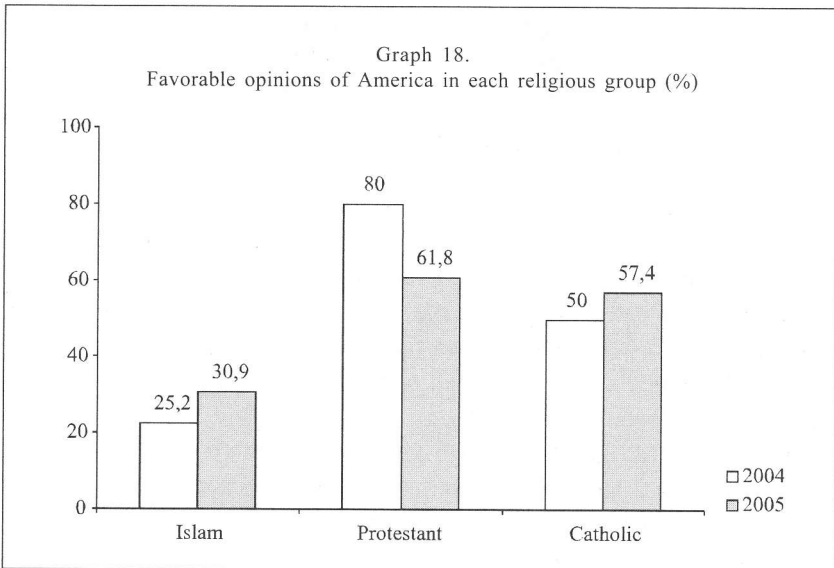


Seen in terms of the attitude toward America as a nation, certain values, and the relationship with other countries, anti-Americanism varies considerably but is in general rather large, especially if compared to anti-Americanism at the level of behavior or action. All of the indicator scores on ordinal scales concerning anti-American attitudes were added to create an index on a scale of one to five of anti-Americanism.<sup>8</sup> A score of one indicates very positive attitudes and five indicates very negative attitudes toward America. A score of three indicated a neutral position. The average score of this index is 3.11. This means that in general Indonesian society has adopted a neutral position. Nonetheless there are more of those who tend to have very strongly negative attitudes (a score of > 3.5) than those who have a strongly positive score (a score of < 2.5), or 21% to 15% respectively.

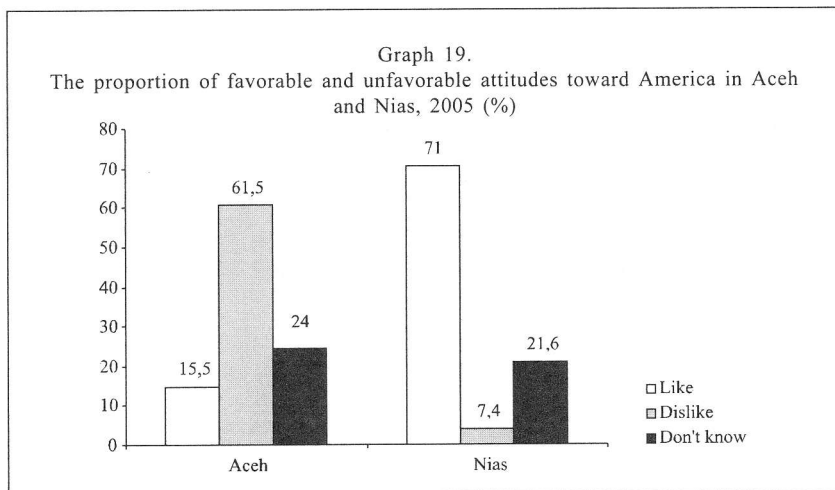
### *Religion and Islamism*

How much does religion affect Indonesian's sentiments toward America? To begin, what is meant by religion is one's formal affiliation to a particular religion, in this case mostly Islam and Christianity.

Graph 18 shows that religious differences amongst Indonesian Muslims are related to attitudes toward America. A much lower percentage of Muslims say that they like America (25% in 2004, 31% in 2005) compared with Protestants (80% and 62% in 2004 and 2005) and Catholics (50% and 57% in 2004 and 2005).<sup>9</sup>

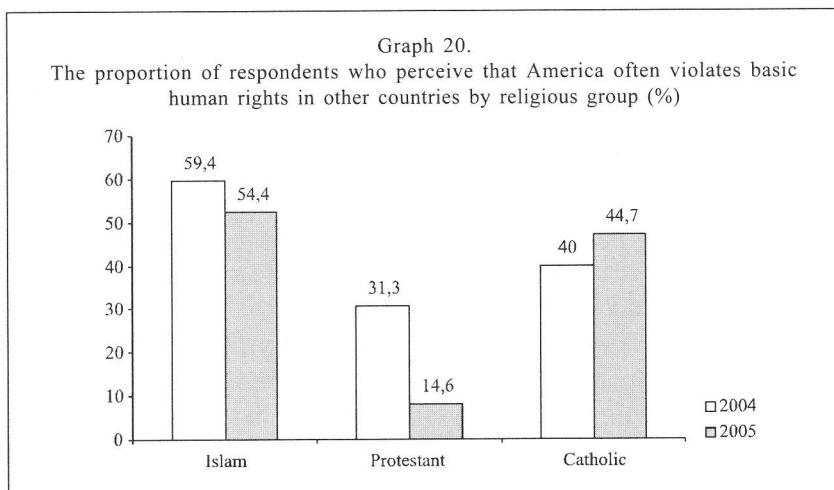


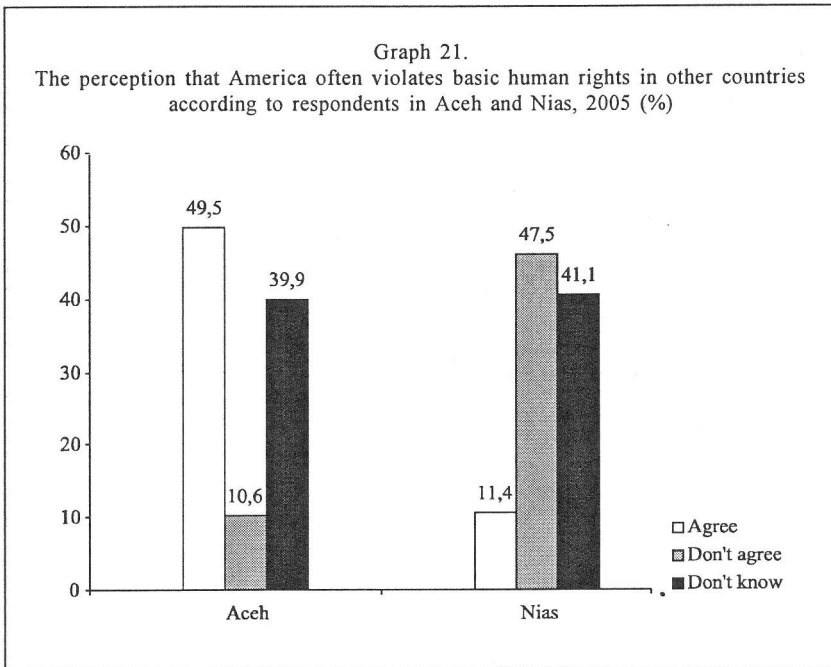
A significant connection between religious affiliation and attitude toward America is consistent across the local surveys of Aceh and Nias society. These two societies were struck together by the tsunami disaster and their socio-economic situation is about the same. Both have been recipients of considerable American assistance, although there has been much more focus on Aceh than on Nias. What mainly differs between the two regions is religion. Almost all Acehnese are Muslims and almost all of the people of Nias are Protestants or Catholics. In their attitude toward America the two also differ sharply (Graph 19). Only 15.5% of the Acehnese like America, while 71% of the people of Nias like America. At the other end of the spectrum, 61% of the Acehnese dislike America, while only 7% of the people of Nias fall into this category. Even though more Acehnese have been helped by America than in the case of Nias, dislike of America amongst Acehnese is still greater than in Nias.



The significant influence of this religious difference on anti-American sentiments remains more or less stable when anti-Americanism is defined in terms of the view that America violates basic human rights in other countries. In the national survey, a majority of Muslims are convinced that America often violates basic human rights in other countries. Conversely, among Christians, a majority is not convinced that America violates the rights of many people (Graph 20).

This is also true of the attitudes of Christians in Nias and Muslims in Aceh in the local surveys. Nearly half of the people of Aceh have the opinion that America frequently violates basic human rights in other countries, and nearly half of the people of Nias say the opposite (Graph 21).

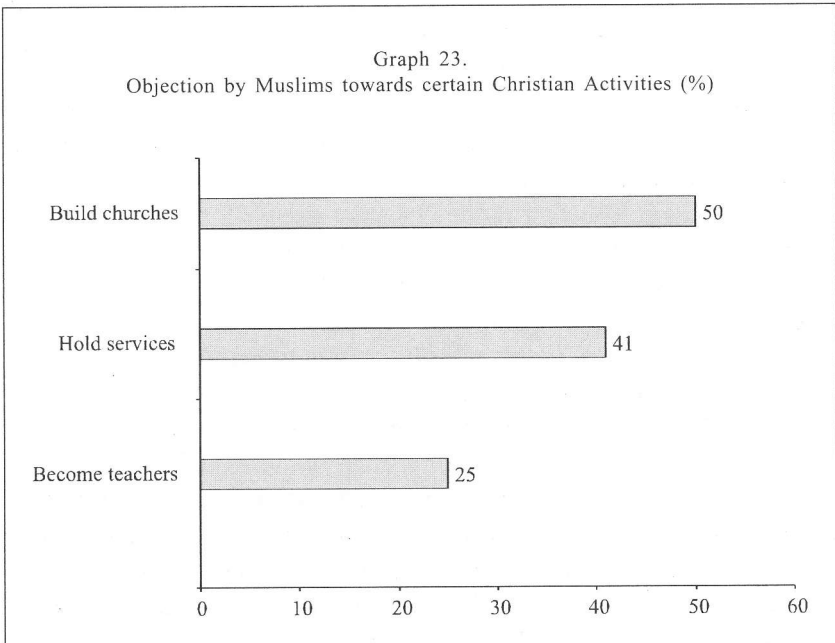
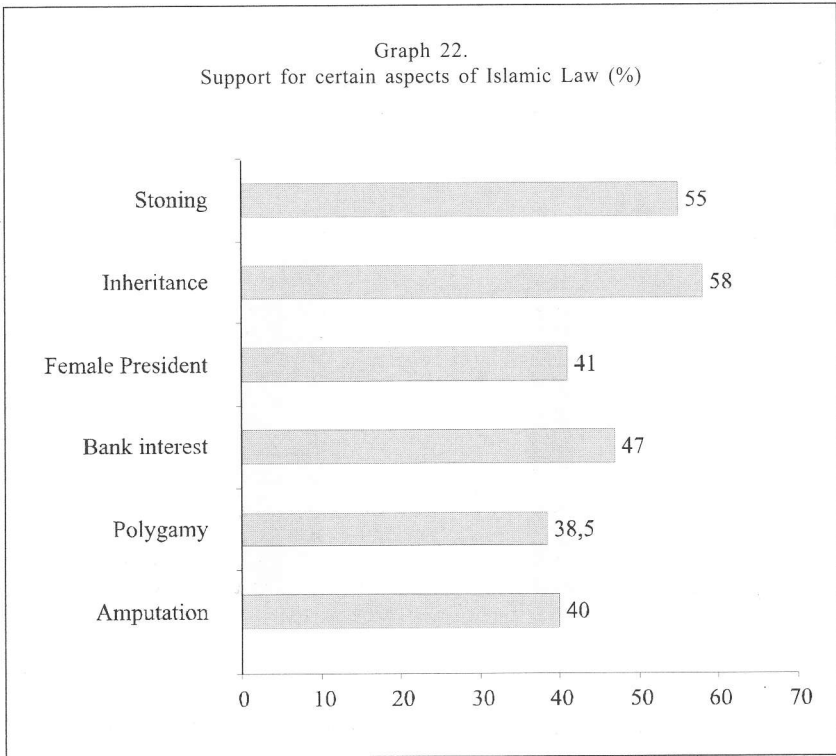




Islam as an identity greatly influences people's anti-American attitudes. But Islam is not homogenous in the sense that people's understanding of Islam and practices based on that understanding vary. For example, there are Muslims who are "liberal" and those who are "Islamist." How far does this variation influence anti-American attitudes?

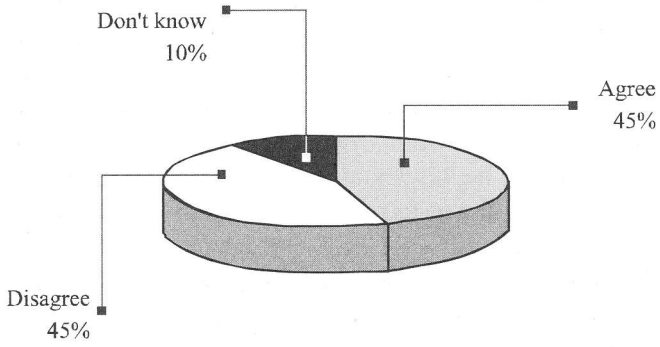
Before answering this question we will present a number of indicators of Islamism from the findings of the 2004 survey. Islamism as an understanding that Islam regulates all aspects of a Muslim's life comprises several dimensions. The first is the "Islamist agenda", that is support for certain aspects of Islam for which Islamists believe every effort must be made to put them into practice. In the 2004 survey, these included attitudes toward the law of stoning, the cutting off of hands of thieves, polygamy, bank interest, prohibition for women to become state leaders or president, and the law of inheritance.

Graph 22 shows the proportion of positive attitudes of Indonesian Muslims toward a number of aspects of Islamic law. The majority support the implementation of the law of stoning and the imbalance in the division of inheritance between male and female children. Support for the implementation of other aspects of Islamic law is substantial, even though it doesn't reach a majority. In general it can be said that the Indonesian Muslim community is divided in its attitude toward the implementation of Islamic law.<sup>10</sup>

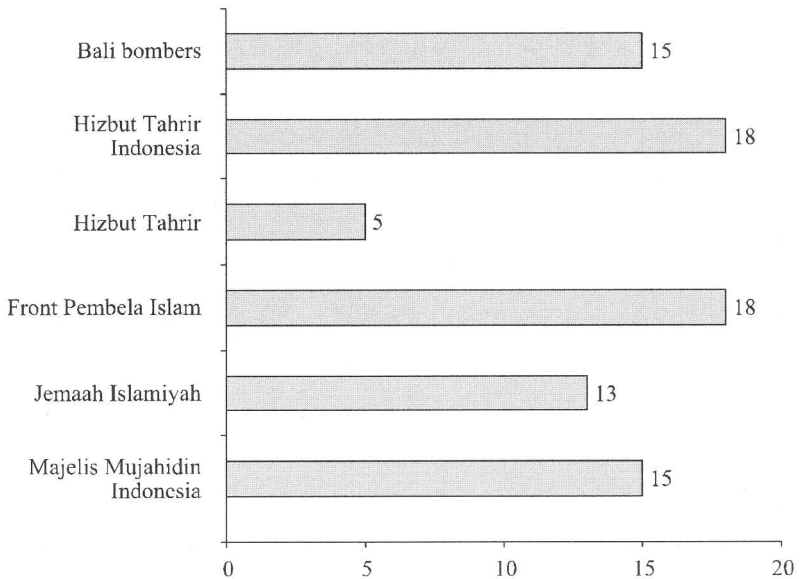




Graph 24.  
Muslims world-wide are often treated unjustly by other religious groups (%)



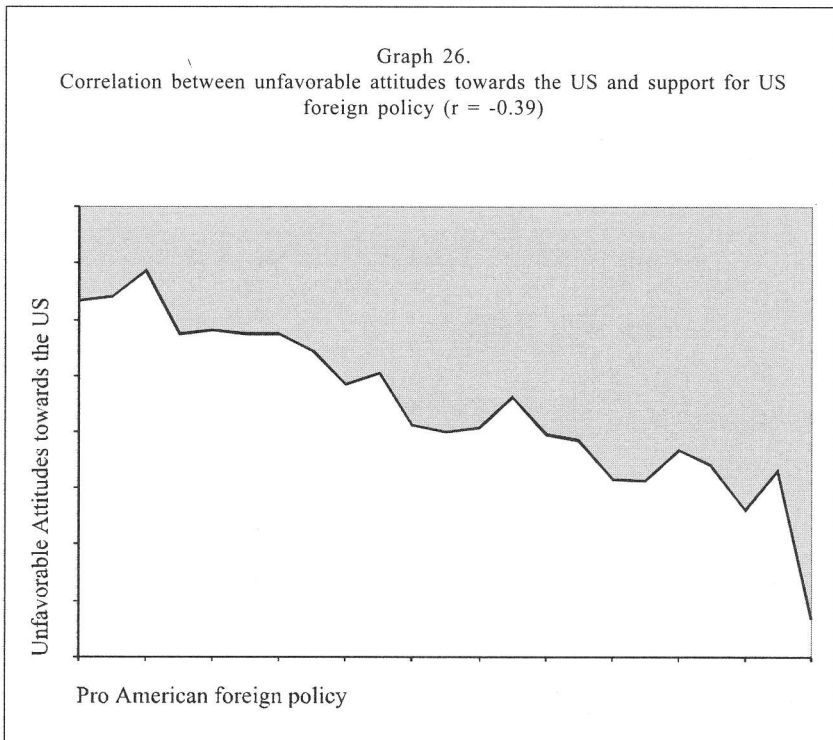
Graph 25.  
Support for various Islamist groups (%)



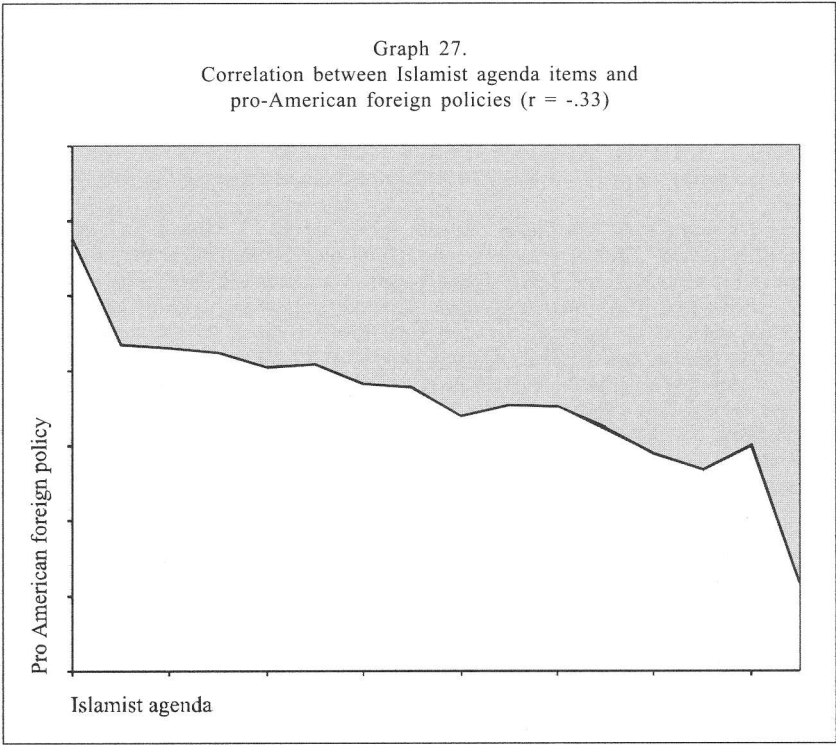
*Anti-Americanism, foreign policy, and religion*

Analysis of the data shows that anti-American attitudes are triggered by American foreign policy that is perceived to harm or damage other countries, including Muslim countries (Graph 26). Religious difference and variations in degree of Islamism shape the perceptions of American foreign policies (Graph 27). Muslims, compared with Christians, and more Islamist Muslims tend to have a negative impression of the connection between America and other countries, including American foreign policies. Evaluation of the relationship between America and other countries and American foreign policies is framed by religious identity and Islamism.<sup>11</sup> In other words, the argument of a clash of civilizations, lying beneath an apparent conflict of interest between nations, accurately portrays the Indonesian situation.

In addition to American foreign policies themselves, perceived injustice toward Muslims, tolerance, support for Islamist groups and the Islamist agenda are crucial in shaping anti-Americanism in Indonesia. We may conclude therefore that efforts to reduce the attractive power of Islamism among Indonesian Muslims may help to reduce anti-Americanism among Indonesians.



Graph 27.  
Correlation between Islamist agenda items and  
pro-American foreign policies ( $r = -.33$ )



## Footnotes

1. Fawaz Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
2. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998).
3. Alvin Z. Rubinstein and Donald E. Smith, "Anti-Americanism in the Third World." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 497 (May 1988): 35-45.
4. See for example the Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, "U.S Image up Slightly, but Still Negative" [2005], available online from <http://pewglobal.org/report/display.php?reportID=247>; and Terror Free Tomorrow Nationwide Poll [February 2005]; Available from <http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimages.tft/Full Report.pdf>
5. A number of these measures are replicated from surveys in several countries in the Middle East by Mark Tessler and his colleagues. Their results have not yet been published, but we have been given permission to replicate several of the measures.
6. The same question was used in the PEW Global Attitudes Project survey.
7. The data for 2002, 2003, and May 2005 are from the Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, February 2005 is from the Terror Free Tomorrow Nationwide Poll, and the data for 2004 and December 2005 are from LSI.
8. Fifteen items concerning anti-American attitudes that are ordinally scaled are positively correlated. On this basis an index of anti-American attitudes can be constructed by adding all the scores for these fifteen items. The coefficient of reliability (alpha) index is 0.79.
9. The relationship between religious difference and attitude towards America is statistically significant.
10. The scores of these six aspects of Islamic law were added to form an "Islamist agenda index" with scores from 1 (strongly support) to 5 (strongly not support). The average score was 3.0, meaning that the Indonesian Muslim community in general neither supports nor rejects the Islamist agenda.
11. Our multivariate analysis indicates that the negative impact of Islamism on U.S. foreign policy remains significant.

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- Gerges, Fawaz. 1999. *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1998. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- LSI
- Pew Global Attitudes Project, "U.S Image up Slightly, but Still Negative" [2005], available online from <http://pewglobal.org/report/display.php?reportID=247>
- Rubinstein, Alvin Z., and Donald E. Smith. "Anti-Americanism in the Third World." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 497 (May 1988).
- Terror Free Tomorrow Nationwide Poll [February 2005]; Available from [http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimages.tft/Full Report.pdf](http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimages.tft/Full%20Report.pdf)

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