

One Year Later: Humanitarian Relief **Sustains Change in Muslim Public** **Opinion**

Results from a New Poll in Indonesia



**TERROR FREE
TOMORROW**

**BUILDING A NEW STRATEGIC
FRAMEWORK TO DEFEAT
GLOBAL TERRORISTS**

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One Year Later: American Humanitarian Aid Sustains Change in Muslim Public Opinion

Results from a New Poll in Indonesia

Executive Summary

A new poll by Terror Free Tomorrow demonstrates that one year after the tsunami in Indonesia, the dramatic increase in Indonesian support for the United States and against Bin Laden has continued. American humanitarian aid to tsunami victims last year caused an overwhelming change of opinion in Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim country. The new nationwide poll throughout Indonesia reveals that this dramatic shift has not only been sustained, but has strengthened. In fact, for the first time in almost four years, more Indonesians are favorable to the United States than unfavorable, while support for Bin Laden and terrorism has dropped to its lowest level since 9/11.

Despite widespread stories on Koran desecration, Guantanamo, even the Danish cartoons, favorable opinion toward the United States in Indonesia has actually increased from 34 percent a year ago to 44 percent at the end of January 2006, while unfavorable views declined from 54 percent to 41 percent. Indeed, Indonesians with very unfavorable views of the United States have declined from 48 percent in 2003 to just 13 percent today.

The same trend is even more pronounced with respect to Bin Laden and terrorism. In 2003, 27 percent of Indonesians supported terrorist attacks and 58 percent had confidence in Bin Laden. In Terror Free Tomorrow's poll last February after American tsunami relief, only 9 percent felt suicide attacks were justified, while confidence in Bin Laden shrunk to 23 percent. Now, a mere 2 percent of Indonesians support such attacks, with less than 12 percent voicing confidence in Bin Laden.

The reason for this shift of opinion has been American tsunami relief. In February 2005, 65 percent of those surveyed said that American assistance had made them feel more favorable to the United States. In January 2006, that number has remained steady at 63 percent, within the margin of error for both polls. Another surprise: When it came to tsunami relief, the United States fared better in Indonesian public opinion than other Western or even Islamic countries, as well as local Islamist groups in Indonesia, who all provided assistance.

The conventional wisdom is that the favorable shift in Muslim public opinion caused by American humanitarian aid does not result in long-term changes in the public's view. The fact that more than a year after American help, Indonesians continue to appreciate America's role is stunning proof of the sustained power of positive and substantial assistance to radically change Muslim public opinion.

These findings in Indonesia are indeed part of a larger trend. 78% of Pakistanis had a more favorable opinion of the United States while support for Bin Laden dropped to its lowest since 9/11 because of American earthquake relief to Pakistan, according to another Terror Free Tomorrow poll in Pakistan after the 2005 earthquake.

Key Findings of Terror Free Tomorrow Poll in Indonesia:

- 63% of Indonesians continue to have a more favorable opinion of the United States because of the American response to the tsunami more than a year later.
- Favorable opinion among Indonesians to the United States has nearly tripled from 15% in May 2003 to 34% in January 2005 and more than 44% now, while the percentage of Indonesians with very unfavorable views declined from 48% in May 2003 to 21% last January and just 13% today.
- The United States fared better in Indonesian public opinion than other Western countries, other Islamic countries and local Islamist groups.
- Only a mere 2% of Indonesians surveyed now believe suicide terrorist attacks are ever justified, down from 27% after 9/11, and 9% last January.
- Support for Osama Bin Laden has declined significantly (58% favorable in May 2003 to 23% a year ago and just 12% now).

Critical Implications:

- American humanitarian assistance can make a significant and long-term difference in building goodwill toward the United States and eroding popular support for global terrorists.
- The United States must sustain its relief and reconstruction efforts in Indonesia in order to prevent popular support for Islamist radicalism from rebounding. Indeed, a majority of Indonesians want continued American assistance.
- The poll follows similar findings from previous Terror Free Tomorrow public opinion surveys in Indonesia, Pakistan and the Palestinian Territories. 78% of Pakistanis had a more favorable opinion of the United States because of American earthquake relief. Similarly, a strong majority of Palestinians want the United States to become more involved in resolving the Palestinian/Israeli conflict.
- These public opinion surveys, in three distinct regions of the Muslim world, demonstrate for the first time that American policies based on humanitarian interventions result in sustained, substantial, and favorable changes in Muslim opinion.

Chart I: Dramatic Increase In Support for the United States and Against Global Terrorists Among Indonesians Since Tsunami

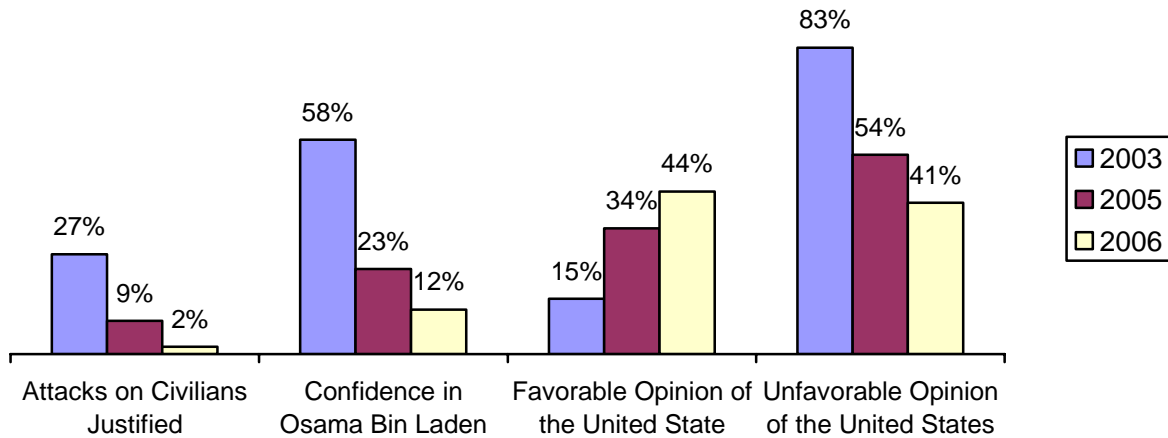
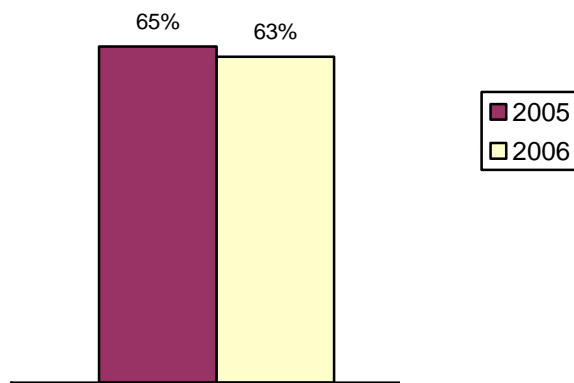


Chart II: Indonesians who Say American Tsunami Relief Causes More Favorable Opinion of the United States



Background

Terror Free Tomorrow is a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization, whose mission is to understand and undermine the popular support base that empowers global terrorists. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) and former 9/11 Commission Chairs Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton lead our distinguished Advisory Board. Other members include former Speaker/Ambassador Thomas Foley, former Senator and 9/11 Commissioner Slade Gorton, Dean Stephen Bosworth of the Fletcher School, former Army Secretary Louis Caldera, leading Pakistani commentator and scholar Husain Haqqani, Indonesian commentator and pollster Muhammad Qodari, Iraqi attorney Mohammed Al-Rehaief, and Robin Wiener from the Families of September 11.

Terror Free Tomorrow was the first to conduct a nationwide poll in Indonesia after the tsunami. President Bush, and former Presidents Clinton and Bush, all cited the poll as a key reason for sustained American tsunami relief. Terror Free Tomorrow polling was also relied on by US Department of State as an independent benchmark for evaluating American foreign policy in 2005 (*State Dept FY 2005 Performance and Accountability Report*).

In addition, Terror Free Tomorrow conducted the first and only poll in Pakistan after the devastating October earthquake. The poll was featured in *The Wall Street Journal*, CNN and media around the world. Moreover, the poll served as the principal finding by the US Senate for the United States “to take the lead” in relief efforts to Pakistani earthquake victims (Senate Resolution 356, co-sponsored by Senators Lugar and Biden, Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and unanimously adopted by the Senate).

Terror Free Tomorrow’s work has been cited by the White House, the United Nations, the US House and Senate (in Congressional testimony and on the Senate Floor), the Pentagon and leading media including *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Roll Call*, *Associated Press*, *Reuters*, CNN, ABC News, CBS News, MSNBC, FOX News, and internationally from South America to South Asia, from the Middle East to Southeast Asia.

The Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI), or the Indonesian Survey Institute, a highly respected, non-partisan public opinion research firm in Indonesia, undertook fieldwork for the Terror Free Tomorrow’s February 2005 poll, as well as the current January 2006 poll. This poll was conducted over January 23-28, 2006 as a nationwide poll in all provinces of Indonesia, which included 1,200 respondents with a margin of error of 2.9 percent.

LSI has a strong track record of high quality and accurate polling. Indeed, LSI’s election polls were the most accurate of all Indonesian pollsters. During the 2004 Indonesian elections (legislative and round one and two of the presidential elections), the LSI survey results were virtually the same as the actual election results. In the legislative election, LSI was able to predict the political parties’ votes within 1.64% of the actual vote. In the first round of the presidential election, LSI also correctly predicted that the SBY-Kalla team and the Megawati-Hasyim team would win. The LSI poll on the second round of the presidential elections was also

accurate. The LSI survey results not only predicted that SBY-Kalla would win the election, but also accurately predicted the actual vote percentage within 3.75% of the final vote tally.

Methodology

Field data for this survey was collected January 23-28, 2006. This national sample (including Aceh and Papua) consists of 1,200 respondents selected through the multistage random sampling method. However, only 1,177 respondents were successfully interviewed.

The population was initially stratified based on the population of each province throughout Indonesia, thus obtaining samples in proportional numbers on each of the provinces. The second step of stratification was classification based on the area of domicile: urban and rural, of which the proportion is 40% urban and 60% rural. In addition, stratification was also conducted on the population proportion based on gender: 50% male and 50% female.

Following stratification, the *rural* (rural villages—the smallest administrative area) or *kelurahan* (urban village) were selected as the primary sampling unit (PSU), and systematic random sampling was done on the villages (urban or rural) selected in each province according to its respective proportion of population. There were 150 rural and urban villages selected randomly, including 87 rural villages and 63 urban selected at random systematically. From these primary sampling units, eight respondents were selected, totaling overall in 1,200 respondents participating in the survey. The number of samples was determined to account for approximately $\pm 2.9\%$ margin of error with 95% reliability.

In each selected village, all *Rukun Tetangga* (RT—the smallest neighborhood unit) were listed, and then four RT were selected at random. In each selected RT, all of the households were listed, and two households were selected at random. In each selected household, all of the household members who retained the right to vote were listed, namely those aged over 17 years or married.

If a female respondent were selected from one household, a male respondent would be selected from the other household. After listing male and female members of households, one person was selected at random to be interviewed face-to-face with the aid of the *kish grid*.

To ensure that the interview was actually conducted by the assigned interviewer, LSI carried out layered spot-checks as quality control. The initial spot-checks were carried out by the persons-in-charge at the provincial level on 10% of the villages under his/her supervision. The next level of spot-checks were conducted by LSI researchers from the Jakarta office in 5 provinces selected at random. Spot-checks by LSI researchers were done in 10% of the villages in the selected provinces.

Detailed Results

Part I: The following charts show the results from the current 2006 Terror Free Tomorrow poll, along with comparisons (where they exist) with the results from identical questions asked in the Terror Free Tomorrow poll of February 2005, and polls commissioned by the Pew Research Center in 2002 and 2003.

Q1: Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified or never justified? **(Muslim respondents only)**

	2002	2005	2006
Often justified	5%	3.1%	0.5%
Sometimes justified	22	5.9	1.7
Rarely justified	16	13.5	10.9
Never justified	54	62.0	71.8
Don't Know / Not Answer	3	15.6	15.1
Total Justified	27	9.0	2.2
Total Not Justified	70	75.6	82.7

Q2: How much confidence do you have in Osama Bin Laden to do the right thing regarding world affairs?

	2003	2005	2006
A Lot of Confidence	19%	3.2%	2.2%
Some Confidence	39	20.0	9.5
Not Too Much Confidence	26	31.7	23.7
No Confidence At All	10	10.5	15.1
Don't Know/Don't Answer	7	34.6	49.4
Total Confident	58	23.2	11.7
Total Not Confident	36	42.2	38.8

Q3: Some people have a favorable opinion of the United States. Some don't. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.

	2003	2005	2006
Very favorable	2%	3.9%	2.7%
Somewhat favorable	13	29.8	41.1
Somewhat unfavorable	35	32.5	28.1
Very unfavorable	48	21.2	12.7
Don't Know / Not Answer	1	12.6	15.2
Total Favorable	15	33.7	43.8
Total Unfavorable	83	53.7	40.8

Q4: Which of the following phrases come closer to your view? I favor the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism, or I oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism?

	2003	2005	2006
Oppose	72%	35.8%	30.8%
Favor	23	40.1	35.7
Don't Know /Not answer	5	24.1	33.5

Q5: The United States is providing aid to help Aceh and North Sumatra tsunami victims. Please tell me if this makes your opinion of the United States much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable?

	2005	2006
Much More Favorable	17.4%	14.1%
Somewhat More Favorable	47.6	48.5
Somewhat Less Favorable	12.7	8.1
Much Less Favorable	5.0	2.3
Don't Know/Don't Answer	17.3	27
Total More Favorable	65.0	62.6
Total Less Favorable	17.7	10.4

Q5: Age Breakdown

	2005			
	All	Under 30	30 - 39 years	40 and Over
Total more favorable	65.0%	71.3%	66.0%	60.4%
Total less favorable	17.7	17.0	17.9	17.8

	2006			
	All	Under 30	30 - 39 years	40 and Over
Total more favorable	62.6	69.3	63.3	58.3
Total less favorable	10.4	10.7	11.9	9.4

Q5: Cross Tabulation with Views on Osama Bin Laden All Confidence in Bin Laden

	2005		
	All	Confidence in Bin Laden	Not confidence in Bin Laden
Total more favorable	65.0%	70.5%	72.7%
Total less favorable	17.7	18.2	22.0

	2006		
	All	Confidence in Bin Laden	Not confidence in Bin Laden
Total more favorable	62.6	65.2	74.7
Total less favorable	10.4	22.5	12.5

Q6: In forming your overall opinion of the United States, how important is American assistance for the tsunami victims?

	2005	2006
Very Important	23.6%	15.4%
Somewhat Important	39.6	38.4
Not Important At All	21.1	23.1
Don't Know/Don't Answer	15.7	23.1
Total Important	63.2	53.8
Total Not Important	21.1	23.1

Q7: Do you think the United States is doing enough to help victims of the tsunami in Aceh and North Sumatra?

	2005	2006
Yes	74.6%	53.6%
No	11.7	19.4
Don't Know/Don't Answer	13.6	26.9

Q8: The United States has provided immediate aid to tsunami victims in Aceh and North Sumatra. If Indonesia still needs support, in your opinion, do you think the United States should continue to provide assistance?

	2005	2006
Yes	51.7%	57.4%
No	34.7	18.4
Don't Know/Don't Answer	13.6	24.2

Q9: In your opinion, which of the following has been the most helpful in providing assistance to the tsunami victims? Please rank from most helpful to least helpful.

	2006
The United States	15.1%
Western Countries	8.4
Islamic Countries	5.1
Islamist groups in Indonesia	4.1
The Government of Indonesia	60.4
Don't Know	6.9

Part II: The following charts show the results from the Terror Free Tomorrow poll in Pakistan in November 2005 (after the earthquake), compared with the results from identical questions asked from the Terror Free Tomorrow poll in Indonesia in February 2005 (after the tsunami), and the current Terror Free Tomorrow poll in Indonesia in January 2006.

Q1: Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified or never justified?

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia (2006)
Often Justified	6.5%	3.1%	0.5%
Sometimes Justified	9.6	5.9	1.7
Rarely Justified	7.4	13.5	10.9
Never Justified	72.7	62.0	71.8
Don't Know/Don't Answer	3.7	15.6	15.1
Total Justified	16.1	9.0	2.2
Total Not Justified	80.1	75.5	82.7

Q2: How much confidence do you have in Osama Bin Laden to do the right thing regarding world affairs?

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia (2006)
A Lot of Confidence	10.8%	3.2%	2.2%
Some Confidence	22.7	20.0	9.5
Not Too Much Confidence	10.2	31.7	23.7
No Confidence At All	30.4	10.5	15.1
Don't Know/Don't Answer	26.0	34.6	49.4
Total Confident	33.5	23.2	11.7
Total Not Confident	40.6	42.2	38.8

Q3: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States?

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia (2006)
Very Favorable	9.5%	3.9%	2.7%
Somewhat Favorable	36.7	29.8	41.1
Somewhat Unfavorable	16.7	32.5	28.1
Very Unfavorable	28.0	21.2	12.7
Don't Know/Don't Answer	9.1	12.6	15.2
Total Favorable	46.2	33.7	43.8
Total Unfavorable	44.7	53.7	40.8

Q4: Which of the following phrases come closer to your view? I favor the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism?

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia 2006
Oppose	64.0%	35.8%	30.8%
Favor	24.6	40.1	35.7
Don't Know/Don't Answer	11.4	24.1	33.5

Q5: The United States is providing aid to help Pakistani earthquake victims/ Indonesian tsunami victims. Please tell me if this makes your opinion of the United States much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable?

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia (2006)
Much More Favorable	25.9%	17.4%	14.1%
Somewhat More Favorable	52.4	47.6	48.5
Somewhat Less Favorable	8.5	12.7	8.1
Much Less Favorable	6.1	5.0	2.3
Don't Know/Don't Answer	7.2	17.3	27
Total More Favorable	78.3	65.0	62.6
Total Less Favorable	14.5	17.7	10.4

Q6: In forming your overall opinion of the United States, how important is American assistance for the earthquake/ tsunami victims?

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia (2006)
Very Important	40.9%	23.6%	15.4%
Somewhat Important	40.3	39.6	38.4
Not Important At All	14.6*	21.1	23.1
Don't Know/Don't Answer	4.2	15.7	23.1
Total Important	81.2	63.2	53.8
Total Not Important	15.0	21.1	46.2
	*(Somewhat not important + not at all important combined for comparison purposes only)		

Q7: Do you think the United States is doing enough to help victims of the earthquake in Pakistan/ the tsunami in Indonesia?

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia (2006)
Yes	72.0%	74.6%	53.6%
No	20.4	11.7	19.4
Don't Know/Don't Answer	7.6	13.6	26.9

Q8: The United States has provided immediate aid to earthquake victims in Pakistan/ tsunami victims in Indonesia. If Pakistan/Indonesia still needs support, in your opinion, do you think the United States should continue to provide assistance? *

	Pakistan	Indonesia (2005)	Indonesia (2006)
Yes	78.0%	51.7%	57.4%
No	16.6	34.7	18.4
Don't Know/Don't Answer	5.4	13.5	24.2

* The second sentence in this question had a slightly different wording in the Pakistani poll. Rather than: "If Indonesia still needs support...." the question in the Pakistan poll was phrased: "If Pakistan still seeks assistance...."

Q9: In your opinion, which of the following has been the most helpful in providing assistance to the tsunami/earthquake victims? Please rank from most helpful to least helpful.

	Indonesia	Pakistan
The United States	15.1%	21.8%
Western Countries	8.4	5.1
Islamic Countries	5.1	23.9
Islamist groups	4.1	15.2
The Government of Indonesia/Pakistan	60.4	32.5
Don't Know	6.9	1.9

Demographic Profiles: Sample (LSI Survey) Compared to Population (Central Bureau of Statistics or BPS 2004)

	LSI sample (n = 1177) (January, 23-28 2006)	BPS (National Census 2004)
RURAL - URBAN		
RURAL	60.2	60
Urban	39.8	40
GENDER		
MALE	49.7	50
FEMALE	50.3	50
EDUCATION		
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL*	51	60
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	20.5	19
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL	21.5	18
UNIVERSITY	7.5	4
AGE		
19 years or younger	3.6	5
20-29 years	22.8	25
30-39 years	27.35	22
40-49 years	22.1	17
50 years or older	24.3	20
INCOME		
< Rp. 400.000	48.4	42
Rp. 400.000 – Rp. 1.000.000	33	38
> Rp. 1.000.000	18.6	20
RELIGION		
Muslim	87.6	87
Christian/Catholic	10.4	10
Hindu	1.5	2
Buddhist	0.5	1
ETHNIC		
Javanese	39.8	41.6
Sundanese	14	15.4
Malay	3.4	3.4
Madura	3.9	3.4
Minang	3.7	2.7
Bugis	3.8	2.5
Betawi	2.2	2.5
Other	29.2	28.5
ISLAMIIIC ORGANIZATIONS		
NAHDATUL ULAMA (NU)	40.9	

OTHERS	7.1	
NOT A PART OF ANY OTHER ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION	49.5	

*This data is not comparable as census data include elementary education level of all ages, while the survey data of the education level are limited to age 17 or older.

Cross Tabs

Q1: Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified or never justified?

	Often justified/ Sometimes justified	Rarely justified/ Never justified	Don't know/ Not answer
Rural-Urban			
Rural (%)	3.3	80.3	16.4
Urban (%)	0.4	89.3	10.3
Island			
Java (%)	2.1	87.1	10.9
Sumatera (%)	1.9	71.2	26.9
Kalimantan (%)	1.3	89.5	9.2
Sulawesi (%)	2.1	85.6	12.4
Others (%)	3.6	90.9	5.5
Gender			
Male (%)	2.7	86.6	10.6
Female (%)	1.5	81.2	17.3
Age Groups			
29 Years/younger (%)	3.9	84.8	11.3
30-39 Years (%)	0.9	87.8	11.3
40 Years/older (%)	1.8	81.2	17.0
Ethnicity			
Javanese (%)	2.6	82.2	15.2
Sundanese (%)	1.2	90.9	7.9
Others (%)			
Religion			
Islam (%)	2.2	82.7	15.1
Protestant/Catholic (%)	1.7	93.4	5.0
Hindu/Buddhism (%)			
Others (%)			
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance			
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	2.5	84.7	12.9
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	1.3	86.8	11.9
Don't know/don't answer (%)	6.8	40.9	52.3
Level of Education			

Elementary / lower (%)	3.2	77.1	19.7
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	1.2	89.7	9.1
Tertiary/higher (%)	0.0	97.7	2.3
Occupation			
Farmer (%)	4.2	74.4	21.4
Others (%)	1.8	88.4	9.8
Affiliation of Islamic Organization			
NU (%)	2.6	86.8	10.5
Muhammadiyah (%)	2.3	79.1	18.6
Other Islamic organization (%)	6.7	80.0	13.3
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	1.8	81.6	16.6
Don't know (%)	0.0	52.0	48.0
Religious Practice			
Often/Very often (%)	1.9	83.3	14.7
Seldom (%)	2.8	82.5	14.6
Never (%)	3.0	72.3	24.7

Q2: How much confidence do you have in Osama Bin Laden to do the right thing regarding world affairs?

	A lot of confidence/ Some confidence	Not too much confidence/ Not confidence at all	Don't Know/ Not answer
Rural-Urban			
Rural (%)	10.8	32.7	56.5
Urban (%)	13.3	48.0	38.8
Island			
Java (%)	12.0	40.4	47.6
Sumatera (%)	10.2	33.0	56.8
Kalimantan (%)	9.2	40.8	50.0
Sulawesi (%)	16.5	29.9	53.6
Others (%)	11.8	50.0	38.2
Gender			
Male (%)	15.3	43.2	41.5
Female (%)	8.3	34.4	57.3
Age Groups			
29 Years/younger (%)	16.5	45.0	38.5
30-39 Years (%)	11.9	40.1	48.0
40 Years/older (%)	9.0	34.3	56.6
Ethnicity			
Javanese (%)	11.3	35.8	52.9
Sundanese (%)	12.8	44.5	42.7
Others (%)	11.8	39.7	48.4
Religion			
Islam (%)	12.5	36.4	51.1
Protestant/Catholic (%)	7.4	54.5	38.0

Hindu/Buddhism (%)		65.2	34.8
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance			
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	11.7	38.0	50.3
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	12.6	41.9	45.5
Don't know/don't answer (%)	4.5	15.9	79.5
Level of Education			
Elementary / lower (%)	8.7	26.7	64.5
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	16.3	48.0	35.7
Tertiary/higher (%)	8.0	69.0	23.0
Occupation			
Farmer (%)	13.0	29.8	57.2
Others (%)	12.4	44.6	43.0
Affiliation of Islamic Organization			
NU (%)	13.6	37.8	48.6
Muhammadiyah (%)	9.3	48.8	41.9
Other Islamic organization (%)	23.3	30.0	46.7
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	11.5	35.6	53.0
Don't know (%)	8.0	20.0	72.0
Religious Practice			
Often/Very often (%)	12.7	36.3	51.0
Seldom (%)	12.9	38.1	49.0
Never (%)	6.9	24.7	68.4

Q3: Some people have a favorable opinion of the United States. Some don't. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.

	Very favorable/ Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable/ Very unfavorable	Don't know/ Not answer
Rural-Urban			
Rural (%)	43.5	37.3	19.3
Urban (%)	44.3	46.3	9.4
Island			
Java (%)	41.5	45.4	13.1
Sumatera (%)	38.6	37.5	23.9
Kalimantan (%)	50.0	36.8	13.2
Sulawesi (%)	43.3	42.3	14.4
Others (%)	65.5	24.5	10.0
Gender			
Male (%)	44.6	42.7	12.7
Female (%)	43.1	39.0	18.0
Age Groups			
29 Years/younger (%)	44.3	47.6	8.1
30-39 Years (%)	43.9	43.9	12.2
40 Years/older (%)	43.4	35.4	21.2

Ethnicity			
Javanese (%)	40.3	43.7	16.1
Sundanese (%)	39.0	47.6	13.4
Others (%)	48.4	36.2	15.3
Religion			
Islam (%)	38.2	45.6	16.1
Protestant/Catholic (%)	81.0	8.3	10.7
Hindu/Buddhism (%)	95.7	0.0	4.3
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance			
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	44.5	40.5	15.0
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	44.0	44.2	11.7
Don't know/don't answer (%)	31.8	9.1	59.1
Level of Education			
Elementary / lower (%)	40.7	35.6	23.7
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	44.9	47.4	7.6
Tertiary/higher (%)	56.3	42.5	1.1
Occupation			
Farmer (%)			
Others (%)	45.4	42.8	11.8
Affiliation of Islamic Organization			
NU (%)	36.6	48.8	14.6
Muhammadiyah (%)	39.5	58.1	2.3
Other Islamic organization (%)	30.0	60.0	10.0
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	40.9	41.1	18.0
Don't know (%)	20.0	44.0	36.0
Religious Practice			
Often/Very often (%)	37.4	46.5	16.1
Seldom (%)	40.4	44.1	15.5
Never (%)	36.8	42.9	20.3

Q4: Which of the following phrases come closer to your view? I favor the U.S led efforts to fight terrorism, or I oppose the U.S. led efforts to fight terrorism?

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Not answer
Rural-Urban			
Rural (%)	31.9	27.8	40.4
Urban (%)	41.5	35.3	23.1
Island			
Java (%)	33.9	35.5	30.7
Sumatera (%)	28.4	22.7	48.9
Kalimantan (%)	55.3	23.7	21.1
Sulawesi (%)	26.8	38.1	35.1
Others (%)	58.2	21.8	20.0
Gender			
Male (%)	38.3	32.9	28.8
Female (%)	33.2	28.6	38.1
Age Groups			

29 Years/younger (%)	38.8	35.9	25.2
30-39 Years (%)	37.9	32.0	30.1
40 Years/older (%)	32.8	27.3	39.9
Ethnicity			
Javanese (%)	31.9	33.0	35.1
Sundanese (%)	39.0	34.1	26.8
Others (%)	38.1	27.9	34.0
Religion			
Islam (%)	30.6	33.3	36.1
Protestant/Catholic (%)	66.9	14.9	18.2
Hindu/Buddhism (%)	95.7	4.3	
Others (%)	100.0		
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance			
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	36.3	29.3	34.4
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	36.3	34.6	29.1
Don't know/don't answer (%)	20.5	11.4	68.2
Level of Education			
Elementary / lower (%)	29.9	25.7	44.4
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	39.6	35.7	24.7
Tertiary/higher (%)	50.6	39.1	10.3
Occupation			
Farmer (%)	28.8	28.8	42.3
Others (%)	38.8	32.9	28.3
Affiliation of Islamic Organization			
NU (%)	30.9	37.6	31.6
Muhammadiyah (%)	39.5	32.6	27.9
Other Islamic organization (%)	20.0	53.3	26.7
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	31.4	29.1	39.5
Don't know (%)	8.0	24.0	68.0
Religious Practice			
Often/Very often (%)	30.4	32.5	37.1
Seldom (%)	31.8	34.8	33.4
Never (%)	27.7	34.2	38.1

Q5: The United States is providing aid to help Aceh and North Sumatra tsunami victims. Please tell me if this makes your opinion of the United States much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable?

	Much more favorable/ somewhat more favorable	Somewhat less favorable/ Much less favorable	Don't know/ Not answer
Rural-Urban			
Rural (%)	62.2	8.1	29.7
Urban (%)	63.2	13.9	22.9
Island			
Java (%)	64.4	14.2	21.4
Sumatera (%)	47.3	8.3	44.3
Kalimantan (%)	88.2	0.0	11.8

Sulawesi (%)	59.8	8.2	32.0
Others (%)	73.6	2.7	23.6
Gender			
Male (%)	65.5	11.1	23.3
Female (%)	59.7	9.7	30.7
Age Groups			
29 Years/younger (%)	69.3	10.7	20.1
30-39 Years (%)	63.3	11.9	24.8
40 Years/older (%)	58.3	9.4	32.3
Ethnicity			
Javanese (%)	63.4	9.9	26.8
Sundanese (%)	66.5	19.5	14.0
Others (%)	60.6	8.1	31.2
Religion			
Islam (%)	60.0	11.5	28.5
Protestant/Catholic (%)	77.7	3.3	19.0
Hindu/Buddhism (%)	95.7	0.0	4.3
Others (%)	100.0	0.0	0.0
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance			
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	64.1	8.0	27.9
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	62.9	14.5	22.6
Don't know/don't answer (%)	36.4	2.3	61.4
Level of Education			
Elementary / lower (%)	55.6	8.6	35.8
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	68.7	12.6	18.8
Tertiary/higher (%)	73.6	11.5	14.9
Occupation			
Farmer (%)	60.5	7.9	31.6
Others (%)	64.3	12.2	23.5
Affiliation of Islamic Organization			
NU (%)	63.6	13.6	22.7
Muhammadiyah (%)	74.4	9.3	16.3
Other Islamic organization (%)	73.3	3.3	23.3
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	57.1	10.5	32.4
Religious Practice			
Often/Very often (%)	61.0	10.6	28.4
Seldom (%)	59.6	12.6	27.8
Never (%)	48.9	17.8	33.3

Q6: In forming your overall opinion of the United States, how important is American assistance for the tsunami victims?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important at all	Don't know/ Not answer
Rural-Urban				
Rural (%)	15.9	36.8	20.5	26.8
Urban (%)	14.8	40.7	27.0	17.6
Island				

Java (%)	12.6	38.5	27.8	21.1
Sumatera (%)	6.8	36.4	19.3	37.5
Kalimantan (%)	36.8	46.1	9.2	7.9
Sulawesi (%)	16.5	40.2	25.8	17.5
Others (%)	36.4	35.5	12.7	15.5
Gender				
Male (%)	16.5	40.8	24.0	18.7
Female (%)	14.4	35.9	22.2	27.5
Age Groups				
29 Years/younger (%)	21.4	37.9	25.6	15.2
30-39 Years (%)	15.7	39.8	23.8	20.7
40 Years/older (%)	11.8	38.0	21.2	29.0
Ethnicity				
Javanese (%)	13.1	39.2	24.4	23.3
Sundanese (%)	19.5	36.0	26.8	17.7
Others (%)	16.3	38.4	20.9	24.4
Religion				
Islam (%)	12.5	38.0	25.0	24.5
Protestant/Catholic (%)	36.4	39.7	9.9	14.0
Hindu/Buddhism (%)	34.8	47.8	8.7	8.7
Others (%)	100.0			
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance				
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	14.0	40.6	20.9	24.5
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	18.2	37.5	26.6	17.6
Don't know/don't answer (%)	6.8	13.6	18.2	61.4
Level of Education				
Elementary / lower (%)	13.4	32.1	21.8	32.6
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	17.3	44.3	24.1	14.2
Tertiary/higher (%)	17.2	47.1	26.4	9.2
Occupation				
Farmer (%)	11.6	38.6	23.3	26.5
Others (%)	15.3	40.2	24.5	19.9
Affiliation of Islamic Organization				
NU (%)	13.6	39.7	26.1	20.6
Muhammadiyah (%)	4.7	60.5	27.9	7.0
Other Islamic organization (%)	10.0	40.0	40.0	10.0
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	12.1	35.6	23.5	28.9
Don't know (%)	20.0	24.0	8.0	48.0
Religious Practice				
Often/Very often (%)	12.3	38.7	24.0	24.9
Seldom (%)	13.5	37.0	26.9	22.7
Never (%)	7.8	33.3	28.6	30.3

Q7: Do you think the United States is doing enough to help victims of the tsunami in Aceh and North Sumatra?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Rural-Urban			

Rural (%)	52.8	18.7	28.5
Urban (%)	54.8	20.6	24.6
Island			
Java (%)	50.8	22.2	27.0
Sumatera (%)	51.9	14.0	34.1
Kalimantan (%)	36.8	38.2	25.0
Sulawesi (%)	64.9	17.5	17.5
Others (%)	75.5	5.5	19.1
Gender			
Male (%)	54.2	22.0	23.8
Female (%)	53.1	16.9	30.0
Age Groups			
29 Years/younger (%)	58.9	24.3	16.8
30-39 Years (%)	57.4	18.5	24.1
40 Years/older (%)	48.3	17.3	34.3
Ethnicity			
Javanese (%)	49.0	19.3	31.7
Sundanese (%)	50.6	25.6	23.8
Others (%)	58.6	17.7	23.7
Religion			
Islam (%)	50.6	20.6	28.8
Protestant/Catholic (%)	72.7	11.6	15.7
Hindu/Buddhism (%)	87.0	8.7	4.3
Others (%)	100.0		
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance			
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	55.4	17.3	27.3
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	52.8	23.5	23.7
Don't know/don't answer (%)	36.4	6.8	56.8
Level of Education			
Elementary / lower (%)	47.2	17.0	35.8
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	61.0	21.0	17.9
Tertiary/higher (%)	52.9	28.7	18.4
Occupation			
Farmer (%)	53.5	12.6	34.0
Others (%)	54.4	21.5	24.1
Affiliation of Islamic Organization			
NU (%)	53.1	23.2	23.7
Muhammadiyah (%)	41.9	23.3	34.9
Other Islamic organization (%)	40.0	30.0	30.0
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	51.2	18.2	30.6
Don't know (%)	32.0	12.0	56.0
Religious Practice			
Often/Very often (%)	51.5	20.3	28.2
Seldom (%)	50.3	20.9	28.8
Never (%)	39.0	24.2	36.8

Q8: The United States has provided immediate aid to tsunami victims in Aceh and North Sumatra. If Indonesia still needs support, in your opinion, do you think the United States should continue to provide assistance?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Rural-Urban			
Rural (%)	59.2	13.9	26.9
Urban (%)	54.6	25.3	20.1
Island			
Java (%)	57.2	21.7	21.1
Sumatera (%)	45.5	17.4	37.1
Kalimantan (%)	59.2	15.8	25.0
Sulawesi (%)	69.1	15.5	15.5
Others (%)	75.5	6.4	18.2
Gender			
Male (%)	58.5	20.8	20.8
Female (%)	56.3	16.1	27.6
Age Groups			
29 Years/younger (%)	63.4	21.0	15.5
30-39 Years (%)	60.2	17.2	22.6
40 Years/older (%)	52.4	17.7	29.9
Ethnicity			
Javanese (%)	57.4	18.2	24.4
Sundanese (%)	59.1	22.0	18.9
Others (%)	56.7	17.6	25.7
Religion			
Islam (%)	54.5	19.9	25.6
Protestant/Catholic (%)	75.2	9.1	15.7
Hindu/Buddhism (%)	91.3		8.7
Others (%)	100.0		
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance			
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied (%)	58.4	16.1	25.5
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	58.1	22.4	19.5
Don't know/don't answer (%)	34.1	9.1	56.8
Level of Education			
Elementary / lower (%)	52.8	14.6	32.6
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	63.1	20.6	16.3
Tertiary/higher (%)	54.0	33.3	12.6
Occupation			
Farmer (%)	56.3	14.9	28.8
Others (%)	59.0	19.3	21.7
Affiliation of Islamic Organization			
NU (%)	54.1	24.9	21.1
Muhammadiyah (%)	60.5	27.9	11.6
Other Islamic organization (%)	50.0	13.3	36.7
Not a part of Islamic organization (%)	56.1	16.2	27.7

Don't know (%)	28.0	8.0	64.0
Religious Practice			
Often/Very often (%)	54.4	20.1	25.5
Seldom (%)	55.3	19.2	25.5
Never (%)	50.6	22.1	27.3

Q9: In your opinion, which of the following has been the most helpful in providing assistance to the tsunami victims? Please rank from most helpful to least helpful.

	USA	Western Countries	Islamic countries	Islamist groups in Indonesia	The Government of Indonesia	Don't Know/ Not answer
Rural-Urban						
Rural (%)	13.5	7.8	5.8	3.5	62.6	6.8
Urban (%)	17.6	9.2	4.1	4.9	57.2	7.1
Island						
Java (%)	9.9	6.2	4.8	5.3	65.0	8.8
Sumatera (%)	22.3	15.5	8.3	2.3	47.0	4.5
Kalimantan (%)	18.4	1.3	6.6	5.3	52.6	15.8
Sulawesi (%)	10.3	6.2	2.1	5.2	75.3	1.0
Others (%)	29.1	10.0	0.9		59.1	0.9
Gender						
Male (%)	14.8	9.1	6.7	3.9	59.2	6.3
Female (%)	15.4	7.6	3.6	4.2	61.7	7.5
Age Groups						
29 Years/younger (%)	19.4	11.0	5.2	3.2	57.0	4.2
30-39 Years (%)	13.5	8.2	4.1	6.6	64.6	3.1
40 Years/older (%)	13.5	7.0	5.5	3.1	60.3	10.5
Ethnicity						
Javanese (%)	10.5	7.7	4.1	4.5	63.2	10.1
Sundanese (%)	9.8	4.3	6.1	5.5	64.6	9.8
Others (%)	20.7	10.0	5.7	3.3	56.9	3.3
Religion						
Islam (%)	11.3	8.1	5.6	4.7	62.6	7.7
Protestant/Catholic (%)	43.0	12.4	1.7		41.3	1.7
Hindu/Buddhism (%)	34.8				65.2	0.0
Satisfaction towards President SBY's performance						
Somewhat satisfied/Very satisfied	14.3	7.8	5.5	3.2	63.5	5.7
Unsatisfied/Not satisfied at all (%)	16.1	9.0	4.6	5.5	58.1	6.7
Don't know/don't answer (%)	15.9	9.1	4.5	2.3	40.9	27.3
Level of Education						
Elementary / lower (%)	12.3	5.9	5.2	3.4	63.9	9.4
Junior / Senior Secondary (%)	19.4	9.5	4.5	4.5	57.5	4.5
Tertiary/higher (%)	8.0	19.5	8.0	6.9	54.0	3.4
Occupation						
Farmer (%)	18.1	5.1	7.0	2.8	55.8	11.2
Others (%)	12.7	9.2	4.8	5.2	61.4	6.8

Affiliation of Islamic Organization						
NU (%)	12.2	5.3	5.0	5.5	63.9	8.1
Muhammadiyah (%)	9.3	7.0	2.3	9.3	67.4	4.7
Other Islamic organization (%)	10.0		3.3	6.7	80.0	
Not a part of Islamic organization	10.7	10.1	5.5	3.8	62.3	7.7
Don't know (%)	8.0	20.0	24.0		32.0	16.0
Religious Practice						
Often/Very often (%)	12.0	8.5	6.0	5.0	62.1	6.4
Seldom (%)	9.5	7.7	5.3	4.2	63.9	9.4
Never (%)	11.3	3.5	2.6	2.6	65.4	14.6