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Pakistani and Indian Public Opinion on Kashmir and Indo-Pakistani Relations

Questionnaire

Pakistan

Dates of Survey: September 12-28, 2007

Margin of Error: +/- 3.3 %

Sample Size: 907

India

Dates of Survey: Two waves were conducted during October-November, 2007

Margin of Error: +/- 2.8 %

Sample Size: 1258

Q1-11 previously released.

Q12. How involved would you like to see the US be in diplomatic efforts to improve relations between Pakistan and India—more than it is now, less than it is now, or about the same as it is now?

	Pakistanis	Indians
More involved than it is now	27%	18%
Less involved than it is now.....	26	25
About the same as it is now	22	19
Refused/Don't know	25	38

Q13. In the tensions between Pakistan and India, do you think the United States primarily takes Pakistan's side, takes India's side, or tries to be even-handed?

	Pakistanis	Indians
Takes Pakistan's side	8%	19%
Takes India's side	57	29
Tries to be even-handed.....	17	24
Refused/Don't know	17	28

Q14. Now I'd like you to think about the money that the government of [country] spends on defense and the military. Do you think defense spending should be expanded, cut back, or kept about the same?

	Pakistanis	Indians
Expand	31%	31%
Cut back	36	22
Keep about the same	21	26
Refused/Don't know	11	21

Q15. Thinking about how the government has handled the [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir] problem in the last few years, would you say the government has been too reluctant to compromise with [India/Pakistan], too willing to compromise with [India/Pakistan] or has their cooperation been about right?

	Pakistanis	Indians
Too reluctant to compromise	18%	15%
Too willing.....	29	30
About right.....	33	23
Refused/Don't know	20	32

Q16. How effective would you say the Indian government is in assuring the safety and security of Muslim citizens of India? [READ]

	Pakistanis	Indians
Very effective.....	8%	25%
Somewhat effective.....	28	28
Not very effective	22	18
Not effective at all.....	29	11
Refused/Don't know	13	19

Q17. Do you think the way the government has handled the problem of Occupied Kashmir has tended to: [READ:]

	Pakistanis
Hurt the development of Pakistan's economy	22%
Help the development of Pakistan's economy.....	16
Not made much difference one way or the other.....	37
Refused/Don't know	25

Q18. Just based on your impressions, do you think Pakistan's government is providing support or is not providing support to militant groups that conduct attacks against civilians living in India?

	Pakistanis	Indians
Providing support.....	10%	53%
Not providing support.....	53	20
Refused/Don't know	37	27

Q19-23 previously released.

Q24. Here is a list of possible threats to the vital interests of Pakistan/India in the next ten years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, important but not critical, or not an important threat at all?

Q24a-c previously released.

Q24d. Closer relations between [India/Pakistan] and the United States

	Pakistanis	Indians
A critical threat	53%	42
Important but not critical	24	24
Not an important threat at all	11	9
Refused/Don't know	12	25

Q24e previously released.

Q24f. Tensions between India and Pakistan

	Pakistanis	Indians
A critical threat	53%	53
Important but not critical	26	19
Not an important threat at all	12	8
Refused/Don't know	9	19

Q24g. Tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan

	Pakistanis	Indians
A critical threat	40%	22
Important but not critical	27	34
Not an important threat at all	21	17
Refused/Don't know	12	27

Q24h-i previously released.

Q25. [Pakistan: For each of the following people,] would you say your feelings [India: about Osama bin Laden] are very positive, somewhat positive, mixed, somewhat negative, or very negative?

Q25a. Osama bin Laden

	Pakistanis	Indians
Very positive.....	13%	5
Somewhat positive.....	18	11
Mixed.....	19	16
Somewhat negative.....	8	14
Very negative.....	8	29
Refused/Don't know.....	35	25

Q25b and Q26-28 previously released.

Q29. Please tell me whether you approve strongly, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or disapprove strongly of the way [country's] government is handling the following issues.

Q29a: The situation in [occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir]

	Pakistanis	Indians
Approve strongly.....	32%	24%
Approve somewhat.....	36	33
Disapprove somewhat.....	13	16
Disapprove strongly.....	9	9
Refused/Don't know.....	9	18

Q29b previously released.

Q29c: Relations with [India/Pakistan]

	Pakistanis	Indians
Approve strongly.....	21%	19%
Approve somewhat.....	43	31
Disapprove somewhat.....	19	14
Disapprove strongly.....	8	15
Refused/Don't know.....	9	22

Q29d: The economy

	Pakistanis	Indians
Approve strongly.....	23%	25%
Approve somewhat.....	32	28
Disapprove somewhat.....	25	7
Disapprove strongly.....	9	15

Refused/Don't know12 26

Q29e-f previously released.

Q29g: Religious extremism

	Indians
Approve strongly	14%
Approve somewhat	25
Disapprove somewhat.....	23
Disapprove strongly	14
Refused/Don't know	23

Q29h. Relations with the United States

	Pakistanis	Indians
Approve strongly	10%	24%
Approve somewhat	29	25
Disapprove somewhat.....	25	11
Disapprove strongly	22	14
Refused/Don't know	14	26

Q30 previously released.

Q31. How effective would you say the Indian government is in assuring the safety and security of Muslim citizens of [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir]?

	Pakistanis	Indians
Very effective.....	3%	24%
Somewhat effective.....	17	27
Not very effective	20	17
Not effective at all.....	46	12
Refused/Don't know	13	21

Q32. Suppose the US gave Pakistan a guarantee that it would defend Pakistan against an attack by India. Do you think this would enhance Pakistan's security:

	Pakistanis
A great deal	4%
Somewhat.....	20
Not very much.....	18
Not at all.....	37
Refused/Don't know	21

[THOSE WHO SAY “A great deal,” “somewhat,” or “not very much” READ Q33:]

Q33. If the US were to give Pakistan a guarantee that it would defend Pakistan against an attack by India, please tell me if you think you would favor or oppose making the following changes:

Q33a. Decrease Pakistan’s spending on defense

	Pakistanis
Favor	24% [*]
Oppose	15
Refused/Don’t know	3

Q33b. Have normal relations with India

	Pakistanis
Favor	25% [†]
Oppose	12
Refused/Don’t know	5

Q33c. Turn the Line of Control into a normal international border

	Pakistanis
Favor	21% [‡]
Oppose	13
Refused/Don’t know	7

Q33d. Spend more on social programs like education and healthcare

	Pakistanis
Favor	28% [§]
Oppose	9
Refused/Don’t know	5

* Percent of total.

† Percent of total.

‡ Percent of total.

§ Percent of total.

Q34. I'm now going to read you some possible outcomes of the situation with occupied Kashmir, and for each one I'd like you to tell me if it would be desirable, acceptable, tolerable, or unacceptable for you.

Q34a. [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir] remains under Indian control in its present status

	Pakistanis	Indians
Desirable	2%	26%
Acceptable.....	9	29
Tolerable	7	10
Unacceptable.....	71	12
Refused/Don't know	10	22

Q34b. [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir] gains greater self-rule, but is still inside India

	Pakistanis	Indians
Desirable	2%	9%
Acceptable.....	7	25
Tolerable	14	21
Unacceptable.....	66	18
Refused/Don't know	10	27

Q34c. [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir] is divided so that some joins Pakistan and some joins India

	Pakistanis	Indians
Desirable	3%	6%
Acceptable.....	14	10
Tolerable	20	15
Unacceptable.....	52	42
Refused/Don't know	11	26

Q34d. [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir] is jointly managed by India and Pakistan

	Pakistanis	Indians
Desirable	6%	6%
Acceptable.....	12	6
Tolerable	21	16
Unacceptable.....	50	48
Refused/Don't know	10	25

Q34e. [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir] becomes an independent country

	Pakistanis	Indians
Desirable	53%	6%
Acceptable.....	22	8

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Tolerable	7	15
Unacceptable.....	10	50
Refused/Don't know	7	21

Q34f. [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir] becomes part of Pakistan

	Pakistanis	Indians
Desirable	60%	3%
Acceptable.....	24	4
Tolerable	7	7
Unacceptable.....	4	61
Refused/Don't know	5	26

Q35. Thinking about [Azad Kashmir/Pakistan-occupied Kashmir], is it your impression that a majority of people there probably would prefer

	Pakistanis	Indians
To be part of Pakistan	54%	15%
To be part of India.....	2	43
For Kashmir to be an independent country.....	39	9
Refused/Don't know	6	33

Q36. Thinking about [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir], is it your impression that a majority of people there probably would prefer

	Pakistanis	Indians
To be part of Pakistan	47%	7%
To be part of India.....	1	45
For Kashmir to be an independent country.....	45	10
To divide Occupied Kashmir so that some joins Pakistan and some joins India	1	10
Something else (vol.)	N/A	13
Refused/Don't know	6	15

Q37. Do you think the Pakistani government does or does not give weapons and money to some militant groups that fight in the Indian-controlled region of [Occupied Kashmir/Jammu and Kashmir]?

	Pakistanis	Indians
Does give weapons and money.....	13%	47%
Does not give weapons and money.....	40	23

Refused/Don't know47 30

Q38. Thinking about Pakistani militant groups [Askari Tanzeem] that operate in Occupied Kashmir: do you think that, on balance, they help Pakistan's security, hurt Pakistan's security, or have no effect either way on Pakistan's security?

Help Pakistan's security..... 20%
Hurt Pakistan's security17
Have no effect either way26

Refused/Don't know38

Q39. What about the security of people in occupied Kashmir?

[IF NECESSARY: REPEAT "Do you think these groups help the security of people in Occupied Kashmir, hurt it, or have no effect either way?"]

Help Kashmiris' security 39%
Hurt Kashmiris' security.....9
Have no effect either way15

Refused/Don't know37

Q40. Thinking about the part of Pakistan administered by India, for each of the following steps, please tell me if you would favor or oppose taking them in support of freeing it from Indian control.

Q40a. Putting pressure on India by supporting militant groups in Occupied Kashmir.

Favor 37%
Oppose26

Refused/Don't know37

Q40b. Adding more Pakistani army troops along the line of control and along the international border.

Favor 42%
Oppose22

Refused/Don't know35

Q40c. The Pakistan Army trying to take control and annex territory in occupied Kashmir, to annex it to Pakistan.

Favor	35%
Oppose	26
Refused/Don't know	39

Q41-43 previously released.

Q44. In the context of the conflict in occupied Kashmir, for each of the following types of people, please tell me if you think that attacks against them are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

Q44a. Indian policemen

Often justified	18%
Sometimes justified.....	20
Rarely justified.....	14
Never justified.....	35
Refused/Don't know	13

Q44b. Indian intelligence agents

Often justified	19%
Sometimes justified.....	17
Rarely justified.....	16
Never justified.....	34
Refused/Don't know	14

Q44c. Indian military and paramilitary troops

Often justified	19%
Sometimes justified.....	20
Rarely justified.....	15
Never justified.....	33
Refused/Don't know	13

Q44d. Indian government officials

Often justified	11%
Sometimes justified.....	14
Rarely justified.....	19

Never justified.....41

Refused/Don't know16

Q44e. Women and children

Often justified 1%

Sometimes justified.....1

Rarely justified.....7

Never justified.....76

Refused/Don't know15

Q44f. Wives and children of the military

Often justified 1%

Sometimes justified.....2

Rarely justified.....8

Never justified.....75

Refused/Don't know15

Q45-79 previously released.

Q53: Suppose the majority of all Kashmiris, including those on both sides of the Line of Control and refugees, want Kashmir to be an independent state. In that case would you regard an independent Kashmiri state as desirable, acceptable, tolerable, or unacceptable?*

	Pakistanis	Indians
		2/08
Desirable	21%	13%
Acceptable.....	32	24
Tolerable	13	14
Unacceptable.....	11	35
Refused/Don't know	22	15

Q54-86 previously released.

* This question was fielded by CVoter in India (1023 respondents, MoE ±3.1%) concurrent with our WPO project on February 25-29, 2008, and by Gallup Pakistan (1401 Respondents, MoE ±2.7%), in late February and the first week of March 2008.

Q87. Do you think that China's economy will someday grow to be as large as the US economy?

	Pakistanis	Indians CCGA 7/06
Yes	60%	22%
No.....	18	36
Refused/Don't know	22	42

Q88. If China's economy were to grow to be as large as the US economy, do think that would be mostly positive, mostly negative, or equally positive and negative?

	Pakistanis	Indians CCGA 7/06
Mostly positive.....	55%	28%
Mostly negative.....	7	31
Equally positive and negative	14	20
Refused/Don't know	23	21

Q89. How much do you trust the following countries to act responsibly in the world?

Q89a. US

	Pakistanis	Indians CCGA 7/06
Not at all.....	49%	27%
Not very much.....	15	25
Somewhat.....	16	22
A great deal.....	7	17
Refused/Don't know	13	9

Q89b. China

	Pakistanis	Indians CCGA 7/06
Not at all.....	4%	19%
Not very much.....	8	30
Somewhat.....	31	30
A great deal.....	45	12
Refused/Don't know	12	9

Q89c. India

	Pakistanis
Not at all.....	38%
Not very much.....	30
Somewhat.....	15

A great deal4
 Refused/Don't know14

Q89d. Japan

	Pakistanis	Indians CCGA 7/06
Not at all.....	11%	19%
Not very much.....	17	22
Somewhat.....	38	30
A great deal.....	16	16
Refused/Don't know	18	13

Q90. Which statement comes closest to your position?

	Pakistanis	Indians CCGA 7/06
As the sole remaining superpower, the US should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems.....	12%	34%
The US should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries.....	45	42
The US should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.....	23	10
Refused/Don't know	21	13

Q91. Please select if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The US is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

	Pakistanis	Indians CCGA 7/06
Agree.....	27%	53%
Disagree	43	33
Refused/Don't know	30	14

DEMOGRAPHICS FOR PAKISTAN

D1. Province

Punjab	46%
Sindh	35
NWFP	13
Baluchistan.....	7

D2. Gender

Male	51%
Female.....	49

D3. Education

Uneducated	29%
1-13 years education	60
BA+.....	11

D4. Can you read any languages with understanding?

Yes	69%
No.....	20
Don't know/ refused	11

D5. Can you write any languages with understanding?

Yes	51%
No.....	38
Don't know/ refused	11

D6. Can you solve simple math?

Yes	75%
No.....	14
Don't know/ refused	11

D7. What religion do you follow?

Muslim	92%
Christian.....	5
Hindu.....	1
Sikh	1
Other	*

D7a. What sect you belong if you are Muslim?

Ahl-e-Sunnat	61%
Barelvi.....	10
Deobandi.....	10
Ahl-e-Hadith	3
Shia	3
Only Muslim.....	2
Other	*
Not Muslim, Don't know, Refused.....	11

D8. Age

18-29	37%
30-44	39
45-59	17
60+	7

D9. Has any member of your household participated in jihad in Afghanistan in the past?

Yes	1%
No.....	99

DEMOGRAPHICS FOR INDIA

D1. Gender

Male	52%
Female.....	48

D2. Monthly family income

Less than Rs 3,000	10%
Rs 3,000-6,000	13
Rs 6,000-10,000.....	27
Rs 10,000-20,000	26
More than 20,000.....	12
Can't say	11

D3. Religion

Hindu.....	76%
Muslim	14
Christian.....	6
Sikh	2
Other	2

D4. Age

18-24	24%
25-34	38
35-44	22
45-54	8
55+	8

D5. Location

Ahmedabad	10%
Bangalore	10
Chennai	10
Delhi.....	11
Hyderabad.....	10
Indore	6
Kochi.....	10
Kolkata.....	10
Mumbai.....	10
Pune.....	10

METHODOLOGY

This survey of the urban population of Pakistan was carried out by AC Nielsen – Pakistan using a questionnaire developed by WorldPublicOpinion.org. All interviewing was conducted in Urdu. A total of 907 face-to-face interviews across 182 primary sampling units in 19 Pakistan cities were carried out between September 12 and September 28, 2007. Sampling error for a sample of this size is approximately +/- 3.3 percentage points.

In India, the survey was carried out by Team CVoter. A face-to-face survey with 1,258 respondents was conducted in two waves during October and November of 2007 in 10 of the largest metropolitan areas. India's population is about 30 percent urban. Sampling error for a sample of this size is approximately +/-2.8 percentage points.