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Pakistani Public Opinion on the Swat Conflict, Afghanistan, and the US

July 1, 2009

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: May 17-28, 2009
Sample Size: 1000

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2 %

Q1-CE6. Now I am going to read a list of political leaders from around the world. Tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs—a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all.

US President Barack Obama

A lot of confidence.....	11%
Some confidence.....	19
Not too much confidence.....	21
No confidence at all.....	41
Refused/Don't know.....	8

Q2-Afg1. As you may know the UN has authorized a NATO mission in Afghanistan, manned by forces from the US and other countries. This mission is meant to stabilize Afghanistan and help the government defend itself from Taliban insurgents. Do you approve or disapprove of this mission?

Approve.....	18%
Disapprove.....	72
Refused/Don't know.....	10

Q3-Afg2. Do you think the NATO mission in Afghanistan should be continued or do you think it should be ended now?

NATO mission should be continued.....	13%
NATO mission should be ended now.....	79
Refused/Don't know.....	8

Q4-Afg3. Do you think that most people in Afghanistan want NATO forces to remain for now, or do you think most want the NATO forces to leave now?

Most want NATO forces to remain for now 9%
 Most want NATO forces to leave now86
 Refused/Don't know5

Q5-Afg4. If the Taliban were to regain power in Afghanistan do you think this would be very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?

Very good..... 7%
 Somewhat good.....17
 Somewhat bad.....7
 Very bad.....54
 Neither good nor bad (vol.).....10
 Refused/Don't know5

Q6-Afg5. As you may know, the Obama administration decided to increase the number of American troops in Afghanistan. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?

Approve..... 6%
 Disapprove86
 Refused/Don't know7

STATEMENT: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the following:

Q7-US1. The current US Government?

	5/09	9/08	2/07
Very favorable	12%	7%	4%
Somewhat favorable.....	15	10	10
Somewhat unfavorable.....	11	17	15
Very unfavorable	58	39	44
Refused/Don't know	6	28	27

Q8-US3. Which of these two views is closer to yours?

The US tries to promote international laws for other countries, but is hypocritical because it often does not follow these rules itself.	5/09 66%	9/08 78%
The US has been an important leader in promoting international laws, and sets a good example by following them.	28	20
Refused/Don't know	5	3

Q9-US4. In our government's relations with the US, do you think the US more often treats us fairly, OR abuses its greater power to make us do what the US wants?

Treats us fairly	6%
Abuses its greater power	90
Refused/Don't know	5

Q10. Thinking now about US actions around the world, please tell me if you think the following are or are not US goals. Please say if you think it is:

Q10a-US5. To impose American culture on Muslim society

Definitely a goal.....	79%
Probably a goal	10
Probably not a goal	3
Definitely not a goal.....	5
Refused/Don't know	3

Q10b-US6. To maintain control over the oil resources of the Middle East

	5/09	9/08	2/07
Definitely a goal.....	73%	45%	38%
Probably a goal	17	17	21
Probably not a goal	4	5	6
Definitely not a goal.....	3	3	3
Refused/Don't know	3	30	32

Q10c-US7. To see the creation of an independent and economically viable Palestinian state

	5/09	9/08	2/07
Definitely a goal.....	16%	17%	10%
Probably a goal	11	19	17
Probably not a goal	15	9	13
Definitely not a goal.....	53	13	15
Refused/Don't know	5	42	45

Q10d-US8. To weaken and divide the Islamic world

	5/09	9/08	2/07
Definitely a goal.....	78%	55%	51%
Probably a goal	10	19	16
Probably not a goal	8	5	6
Definitely not a goal.....	2	4	2
Refused/Don't know	2	18	25

Q11-ALQ1. How do you feel about al Qaeda?

	5/09	9/08	2/07
I support al Qaeda's attacks on Americans and share its attitudes toward the US.....	25%	16%	10%
I oppose al Qaeda's attacks on Americans but share many of its attitudes toward the US	34	15	6
I oppose al Qaeda's attacks on Americans and do not share its attitudes toward the US.....	28	22	16
Refused/Don't know	13	47	68

Q12-ALQ2. Overall, would you say your feelings toward Osama bin Laden are very positive, somewhat positive; mixed, somewhat negative, or very negative?

	5/09	9/08	2/07
Very positive.....	9%	10%	11%
Somewhat positive	14	15	14
Mixed	32	26	21
Somewhat negative	18	9	7
Very negative	15	6	6

Refused/Don't know	12	34	41
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Q13-US15. Which of the following three views is closest to yours?

	5/09	9/08
The US mostly shows respect to the Islamic world	7%	6%
The US is often disrespectful to the Islamic world, but out of ignorance and insensitivity.....	34	22
The US purposely tries to humiliate the Islamic world	55	52
Refused/Don't know	4	20

Q14-US17. Which of these three positions is closest to yours?

	5/09	9/08
The US opposes democracy in Muslim countries.....	25%	25%
The US favors democracy in Muslim countries, but only if the government is cooperative with the US	60	36
The US favors democracy in Muslim countries, whether or not the government is cooperative with the US	7	10
Refused/Don't know	9	30

Q15-ALQ3b. Overall, would you say your feelings toward al Qaeda are very positive, somewhat positive; mixed, somewhat negative, or very negative?

Very positive	5%
Somewhat positive	22
Mixed	16
Somewhat negative	23
Very negative	22
Refused/Don't know	12

Q16a-ALQ4b. Is it your impression that al Qaeda favors democracy or some other system of government?

Democracy [SKIP TO Q17]..... 7%
Some other system of government.....59

Refused/Don't know [SKIP TO Q17].....34

[ASK ONLY If "Some other system of government" ON Q16a-ALQ4b]

Q16b-ALQ5b. Do you have a mostly positive or mostly negative view of the governmental system al Qaeda favors?

Mostly positive..... 11%*
Mostly negative.....27
Neither positive nor negative (vol.)16

Refused/Don't know5

Q17. Do you think that US President Obama does or does not have the following goals? Please say if you think it is:

Q17a-US18. To impose American culture on Muslim society

Definitely a goal..... 82%
Probably a goal11
Probably not a goal2
Definitely not a goal.....2

Refused/Don't know3

Q17b-US19. To maintain control over the oil resources of the Middle East

Definitely a goal..... 75%
Probably a goal17
Probably not a goal4
Definitely not a goal.....1

Refused/Don't know3

Q17c-US20. To see the creation of an independent and economically viable Palestinian state

Definitely a goal..... 14%
Probably a goal11

* Percent of total.

Probably not a goal	18
Definitely not a goal.....	53
Refused/Don't know	5

Q17d-US21. To weaken and divide the Islamic world

Definitely a goal.....	78%
Probably a goal	12
Probably not a goal	6
Definitely not a goal.....	1
Refused/Don't know	3

Q18-US22. How much control does President Obama have over US foreign policy?

A lot	36%
Some	32
Just a little	22
None.....	4
Refused/Don't know	7

STATEMENT: Next, we will ask you some questions specifically about Pakistan

Q19-P1. As you know, the US has a new president this year. How do you think the policies of Barack Obama will be for Pakistan? Do you think they will be better, worse, or about the same? **[IF “BETTER” or “WORSE” READ THE FOLLOWING:** Would that be a little or a lot [better/worse]?)

A lot better	8%
A little better	24
About the same	26
A little worse.....	11
A lot worse.....	25
Refused/Don't know	6

Q20-P2. Do you think the current US drone aircraft [or: “Predator”] attacks that are aimed at militant camps in northwestern Pakistan, near the Afghan border, are justified or not justified?

Justified.....	13%
Not justified	82

Refused/Don't know6

STATEMENT: Please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the following leaders.

Q21a-P3. President Asif Ali Zardari

Very favorable 12%
Somewhat favorable.....20
Somewhat unfavorable.....18
Very unfavorable50

Refused/Don't know1

Q21b-P4. Opposition leader Nawaz Sharif [or: head of the PML-N]

Very favorable 60%
Somewhat favorable.....27
Somewhat unfavorable.....8
Very unfavorable4

Refused/Don't know1

Q21c-P5. Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry

Very favorable 39%
Somewhat favorable.....43
Somewhat unfavorable.....13
Very unfavorable3

Refused/Don't know2

Q21d-P6. Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani

Very favorable 33%
Somewhat favorable.....47
Somewhat unfavorable.....14
Very unfavorable6

Refused/Don't know2

Q21e-P7. Head of TNSM [Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi] Maulana Sufi Muhammad

Very favorable 10%

Somewhat favorable.....	8
Somewhat unfavorable.....	16
Very unfavorable	59
Refused/Don't know	7

Q22-P8. How much confidence do you have in the way that the government is dealing with the situation in the Malakand area in and around Swat?

A lot	41%
Some	28
Just a little	13
None.....	13
Refused/Don't know	5

Q23a-P9. As you may know, for some time in and around Swat, Pakistani Taliban forces have fought with government troops. How much have you heard about this conflict?

A lot	28%
Some	42
Just a little	16
Nothing	9
Refused/Don't know	6

Q23b-P10. How much confidence do you have in the way that military is dealing with the Pakistani Taliban?

A lot	40%
Some	32
Just a little	11
None.....	12
Refused/Don't know	5

Q24-P11. Are your sympathies more with the government or more with the Pakistani Taliban?

More with the government.....	70%
More with the Pakistani Taliban.....	5
Both equally (vol.)	10

Neither one (vol.)11
 Refused/Don't know3

Q25a-P12. As you may know, in April the government and Pakistani Taliban made an agreement. Government forces agreed to withdraw and allow the Taliban to establish a Sharia system in Swat, while the Taliban agreed to shut down their training camps and turn in their heavy weapons. Do you think that by making this agreement with the Taliban, the government did the right thing or made a mistake?

Did the right thing 45%
 Made a mistake40
 Refused/Don't know15

Q25b-P13. Do you think most people in Swat approve or disapprove of this agreement with the Pakistani Taliban?

Most people in Swat approve..... 21%
 Most people in Swat disapprove63
 Refused/Don't know16

Q26a-P14. As part of the agreement, the Pakistani Taliban has agreed to stop fighting, shut down their training camps, and turn in their heavy weapons. Do you think they will or will not fulfill this part of the agreement?

Will 23%
 Will not69
 Refused/Don't know8

Q26b-P15. As part of the agreement, the Pakistani Taliban has agreed to allow women to work and girls to attend school. Do you think they will or will not fulfill this part of the agreement?

Will 23%
 Will not70
 Refused/Don't know7

Q27c-P16. Do you think that the Pakistani Taliban will or will not accept these Sharia courts having the power to try Taliban members?

Will	19%
Will not	71
Refused/Don't know	11

Q28a-P17. As you may know, after the agreement with the government, the Pakistani Taliban sent their forces into more areas beyond Swat. How concerned are you about this development? Are you:

Very concerned	46%
Somewhat concerned	35
Not very concerned	3
Not at all concerned	12
Refused/Don't know	5

Q28b-P18. Do you think that sending their forces into more areas beyond Swat violated or did not violate the agreement that the Pakistan Taliban made with the government?

Violated the agreement	67%
Did not violate the agreement	22
Refused/Don't know	12

Q29a-P19. Do you think that Taliban groups who are trying to overthrow the government in Afghanistan are or are not operating from bases in Pakistan?

Are operating from bases in Pakistan	15%
Are not operating from bases in Pakistan	77
Refused/Don't know	8

Q29b-P20. Do you think that Bin Laden's group al Qaeda is or is not operating training camps in Pakistan?

Is operating training camps in Pakistan	12%
Is not operating training camps in Pakistan	76
Refused/Don't know	13

Q30: For each of the following please tell me if you think the Pakistani Taliban or the current government would do a better job?

Q30a-P21. Providing effective and timely justice in the courts

Pakistani Taliban.....	14%
Current government	56
Both / Neither (vol.).....	26
Refused/Don't know	5

Q30b-P22. Preventing corruption in government

Pakistani Taliban.....	9%
Current government	47
Both / Neither (vol.).....	38
Refused/Don't know	5

Q30c-P23. Helping the poor

Pakistani Taliban.....	7%
Current government	44
Both / Neither (vol.).....	44
Refused/Don't know	5

Q31a-P24. Do you think the Pakistan Taliban have the goal of gaining control of all of Pakistan and imposing their form of Sharia, or do you think they just want to control the northwestern part of the country?

Have the goal of gaining control of all of Pakistan.....	36%
Just want to control the northwestern part of the country	51
Refused/Don't know	13

Q31b-P25. Do you think it is likely or unlikely that the Pakistan Taliban will eventually gain control over all of Pakistan?

Very likely	17%
Somewhat likely.....	16

Somewhat unlikely.....	10
Very unlikely	48
Refused/Don't know	8

Q31c-P26. If the Pakistan Taliban were to gain control over all of Pakistan, do you think this would be mostly good or mostly bad? Would that be somewhat or very good/bad?

Very good.....	5%
Somewhat good.....	13
Somewhat bad.....	8
Very bad.....	67
Refused/Don't know	8

STATEMENT: Do you think in areas where the Pakistani Taliban have control, they do or do not allow the following:

Q32a-P27. Women working

Do allow.....	10%
Do not allow.....	81
Refused/Don't know	8

Q32b-P28. Girls going to school

Do allow.....	12%
Do not allow.....	80
Refused/Don't know	8

Q32c-P29. Children getting vaccinated

Do allow.....	19%
Do not allow.....	69
Refused/Don't know	12

Q33a-P30. Do you think that Bin Laden's group al Qaeda should or should not be allowed to operate training camps in Pakistan?

Should be allowed.....	3%
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Should not be allowed.....88
 Refused/Don't know9

Q33b-P31. Do you think that Taliban groups who are trying to overthrow the government in Afghanistan should be allowed to have bases in Pakistan?

Should be allowed..... 4%
 Should not be allowed.....87
 Refused/Don't know8

Q34a-P35. If the Pakistani government were to identify training camps of Bin Laden's organization al Qaeda operating in Pakistan, do you think it should or should not close these camps even if it requires the use of military force?

Government should close these camps 74%
 Government should not close these camps17
 Refused/Don't know10

Q34b-P36. If the Pakistani government were to identify bases in Pakistan of Taliban groups who are trying to overthrow the Afghan government, do you think the government should not close these bases even if it requires the use of military force?

Government should close these bases..... 78%
 Government should not close these bases.....13
 Refused/Don't know10

STATEMENT: Here is a list of groups in Pakistan that conduct various activities. For each one, please tell me whether you see these activities as a threat OR NOT to the vital interests of Pakistan in the next ten years.

[FOR EACH, IF RESPONDENT SAYS "YES, A THREAT", READ:]
 Do you see this as a critical threat, or an important but not a critical threat?

Q35a-P37. Activities of Islamist militants and local Taliban in FATA and settled areas

	5/09	9/07
Yes, critical threat	81%	34%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat.....	14	26

Not a threat.....	2	18
Refused/Don't know	3	22

Q35b-P38. Activities of Bin Laden's tanzeem, al Qaeda [Bin Laden ki tanzeem]*

	5/09	9/07
Yes, critical threat	82%	41%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat.....	12	21
Not a threat.....	2	14
Refused/Don't know	3	24

Q35c-P39. Activities of religious militant groups [larnewali tanzeems] in Pakistan as a whole†

	5/09	9/07
Yes, critical threat	67%	38%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat.....	18	23
Not a threat.....	11	17
Refused/Don't know	4	22

STATEMENT: As you may know there is some discussion these days about what is allowed under Shari'a. Please tell me whether you think Shari'a does or does not allow the following:

Q36a-P40. Women working

Does allow	75%
Does not allow	24
Refused/Don't know	1

Q36b-P41. Girls going to school

Does allow	83%
Does not allow	17
Refused/Don't know	1

* In 9/07 poll respondents the question wording was "Activities of al Qaeda."

† In 9/07 poll the question wording was "Activities of "Askari tanzeems" in Pakistan."

Q37a-P42. If the US were to identify training camps of Bin Laden's organization al Qaeda operating in Pakistan, do you think the US would or would not be justified in bombing these camps?

Would be justified..... 13%
Would not be justified.....81

Refused/Don't know6

Q37b-P43-US26. If the US were to identify bases in Pakistan of Taliban groups who are trying to overthrow the Afghan government, do you think the US would or would not be justified in bombing these bases?

Would be justified..... 13%
Would not be justified.....79

Refused/Don't know9

DEMOGRAPHICS

D1. Gender

Male	54%
Female.....	46

D2. Please tell me what is the highest level in school you have completed?

Illiterate.....	24%
Primary school or less.....	13
Some secondary school.....	25
Completed secondary school	26
Some college/intermediate.....	10
Completed university or higher	2
Refused/Don't know	1

D3. What religion do you follow?

Christian.....	1%
Muslim.....	99
Hindu.....	*
Refused/Don't know	*

D3a. If Muslim, what sect?

Sunni.....	95%*
Shi'a.....	4
Refused/Don't know	*

D4: Would you say you are...

Very religious.....	45%
Somewhat religious.....	42
Not very religious	6
Not at all religious.....	*
Refused/Don't know	6

D5. Age

16-29.....	41%
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* Percent of total.

30-39	27
40-49	20
50-59	9
60+	4

D6. Please tell me your total household income for 2008, before taxes. I am going read you a series of categories and please tell me when I have reached your income category.

Very low.....	7%
Low	48
Average/Median.....	26
High.....	11
Very high	1
Refused/Don't know	8

D7. Please tell me which political party you support?

PPP	23%
PML-Q	2
PML-N	49
Others.....	24
Refused/Don't know	2

D8. About how many people live in the place the interview was conducted?

Less than 10,000 (rural)	40%
10,000-100,000 (small town or city).....	17
100,000-1,000,000 (large city or urban area)	33
Greater than 1,000,000 (very large city).....	10
Refused/Don't know	*

D9. Geographic stratum by province:

Punjab	56%
Sindh.....	24
Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP)	14
Balochistan.....	6
Refused/Don't know	*

D10. Has any member of your household participated in jihad in Afghanistan in the past?

Yes	*/%
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No.....98

Refused/Don't know2

D11. Has any member of your household participated in jihad in Occupied Kashmir in the past?

Yes *%

No.....97

Refused/Don't know2

METHODOLOGY

This survey of the national population of Pakistan was carried out by SEDCO (Socio-Economic Development Consultants, Islamabad, Pakistan) using a questionnaire developed by WorldPublicOpinion.org. All interviewing was conducted in Urdu. A total of 1,000 face-to-face interviews were conducted across 64 primary sampling units in rural areas and 36 in urban areas. In order to properly capture opinion in Baluchistan (a multi-ethnic, sparsely populated province), it was oversampled; results were then weighted back to reflect true proportions among provinces. Interviews were conducted between May 17 and 28, 2009. Sampling error for a sample of this size is approximately +/-3.2 percentage points.