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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 now .....86  
 Refused/Don't know .....5

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 know .....5

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%  
 Disapprove .....86  
 Refused/Don't know .....7

**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?

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>	<b>2/07</b>
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. ....	<b>5/09</b> 66%	<b>9/08</b> 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

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>	<b>2/07</b>
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

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>	<b>2/07</b>
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

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>	<b>2/07</b>
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?

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>	<b>2/07</b>
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?

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>	<b>2/07</b>
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?

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>
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?

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/08</b>
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 know .....5

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 goal .....11  
Probably not a goal .....2  
Definitely not a goal.....2  
  
Refused/Don't know .....3

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

Definitely a goal..... 75%  
Probably a goal .....17  
Probably not a goal .....4  
Definitely not a goal.....1  
  
Refused/Don't know .....3

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

Definitely a goal..... 14%  
Probably a goal .....11

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\* 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 know .....6

**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 unfavorable .....50

Refused/Don't know .....1

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

Very favorable ..... 60%  
Somewhat favorable.....27  
Somewhat unfavorable.....8  
Very unfavorable .....4

Refused/Don't know .....1

Q21c-P5. Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry

Very favorable ..... 39%  
Somewhat favorable.....43  
Somewhat unfavorable.....13  
Very unfavorable .....3

Refused/Don't know .....2

Q21d-P6. Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani

Very favorable ..... 33%  
Somewhat favorable.....47  
Somewhat unfavorable.....14  
Very unfavorable .....6

Refused/Don't know .....2

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 know .....3

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 mistake .....40  
 Refused/Don't know .....15

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 disapprove .....63  
 Refused/Don't know .....16

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 not .....69  
 Refused/Don't know .....8

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 not .....70  
 Refused/Don't know .....7

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 know .....9

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 know .....8

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 camps .....17  
 Refused/Don't know .....10

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 know .....10

**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

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/07</b>
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]\*

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/07</b>
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†

	<b>5/09</b>	<b>9/07</b>
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 know .....6

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 know .....9



## 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 know .....2

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

Yes ..... \*%

No.....97

Refused/Don't know .....2

## **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.