Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: September 12-28, 2007  Margin of Error: +/- 3.3 %
Sample Size: 907

Q1. Would you favor or oppose the following:

Q1a. Benazir Bhutto returning to Pakistan to stand for elections?
   Favor ............................................................................................. 50%
   Oppose ...........................................................................................34
   Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................15

Q1b. Nawaz Sharif returning to Pakistan to stand for elections?
   Favor ............................................................................................. 51%
   Oppose ...........................................................................................35
   Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................14

Q1c. Benazir Bhutto becoming Prime Minister?
   Favor ............................................................................................. 40%
   Oppose ...........................................................................................40
   Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................20

Q2. Do you think the Pakistan government should or should not allow American or other foreign troops to enter Pakistan to pursue and capture al Qaeda fighters?

   The Pakistan government should allow troops to enter Pakistan to pursue al Qaeda ........................................ 5%

   The Pakistan government should not allow this ........................................ 80

   Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................15
Q3. What about allowing foreign troops to pursue and capture Taliban insurgents who have crossed over from Afghanistan?

- Pakistan government should allow this........................................... 9%
- Pakistan government should not allow this ................................. 77
- Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 14

Q4. Do you favor or oppose the Pakistani army entering federally administered tribal areas to pursue and capture al Qaeda fighters?

- Favor ............................................................................................. 44%
- Oppose ........................................................................................... 36
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 20

Q5. What about allowing the Pakistani army to pursue and capture Taliban insurgents who have crossed over from Afghanistan?

- Favor ............................................................................................. 48%
- Oppose ........................................................................................... 34
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 18

Q6. Do you think the Pakistani security forces should have used force to take over the Red Mosque, or do you think that this was a mistake?

- Should have used force ................................................................. 22%
- Was a mistake ................................................................................ 64
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 13

Q7. Who do you think would be the best person to lead Pakistan? Pervez Musharraf, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, Iftikhar Chaudhry, Shaukat Aziz, or someone else?

- Pervez Musharraf ......................................................................... 21%
- Benazir Bhutto ............................................................................... 27
- Nawaz Sharif .................................................................................. 21
- Iftikhar Chaudhry ............................................................................ 3
- Shaukat Aziz .................................................................................... 2
- Imran Khan ....................................................................................... 2
Q8. As compared to current Pakistan law, do you think that Shari’a should play a larger role, a smaller role, or about the same role in Pakistan law as it plays today?

- A larger role: 60%
- A smaller role: 11%
- About the same role as it plays today: 15%
- Refused/Don’t know: 15%

Q9. Do you think Pakistan’s economy is moving in the right direction, or has it gone off on the wrong track?

- Right direction: 26%
- Wrong track: 68%
- Refused/Don’t know: 6%

Q10. As compared to Pakistan, do you think India’s economy is growing much faster, a little faster, about the same speed, a little slower, or much slower?

- Much faster: 30%
- A little faster: 26%
- About the same speed: 11%
- A little slower: 7%
- Much slower: 9%
- Refused/Don’t know: 17%

Q11. When you think about yourself, please tell me which of the following is most central to your sense of self or identity: [READ:]

- A Pakistani: 29%
- A Muslim: 61%
- An individual: 7%
- A citizen of the world: *
- A member of your ethnic group: 2%
- Refused/Don’t know: 1%
Q11a. And which of these would you say is the second most important?

A Pakistani ................................................................. 56%
A Muslim ................................................................. 31
An individual ............................................................. 8
A citizen of the world .............................................. 1
A member of your ethnic group ................................. 3

Refused/Don’t know .................................................. 1

Q12-18 to be released separately.

Q19. As a general rule, should the armed forces be limited to strictly military matters, or should they take a wider role in the country’s affairs?

Limited to strictly military matters ............................. 41%
Take a wider role ....................................................... 33

Refused/Don’t know .................................................. 26

Q20. Thinking about the current Afghan government and the former Taliban government, which one do you think has had the best approach to governing Afghanistan?

Current Afghan government ........................................ 9%
Former Taliban government ....................................... 34
Neither (accept as vol.) .............................................. 24

Refused/Don’t know .................................................. 33

Q21. Do you think the Pakistan government is seriously trying to stop the Taliban from operating in Afghanistan, or is it allowing the Taliban to operate in Afghanistan?

Allowing the Taliban to operate in Afghanistan ............ 4%

Seriously trying to stop the Taliban from operating in Afghanistan ......................................................... 33

Helping the Taliban to operate in Afghanistan (accept as vol.) ...... 3

Depends (accept as vol.) ............................................. 3

Neither (accept as vol.) .............................................. 13
Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 36

Q22. Do you think the cooperation in the last few years between Pakistan and the US on security and military matters has mostly benefited Pakistan, the United States, or both equally?

   Mostly benefited Pakistan...................................................... 6%
   Mostly benefited the United States ........................................ 44
   Benefited both equally........................................................... 12
   Neither (accept as vol.).......................................................... 11
   Refused/Don’t know ............................................................. 26

[IF “mostly benefited the US”:]
Q23. Do you think it has also helped Pakistan, or has it hurt Pakistan?

   Has also helped Pakistan....................................................... 9%*
   Has hurt Pakistan ............................................................... 29
   Had no effect either way (accept as vol.)............................... 6
   Refused/Don’t know ............................................................ 1

Q24. Here is a list of possible threats to the vital interests of Pakistan 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. The development of China as a world power

   A critical threat ................................................................. 10%
   Important but not critical .................................................... 32
   Not an important threat at all .............................................. 51
   Refused/Don’t know ........................................................... 7

Q24b. India’s growing influence in the world

   A critical threat ................................................................. 44%
   Important but not critical .................................................... 27
   Not an important threat at all .............................................. 18
   Refused/Don’t know ........................................................... 11

* Percent of total.
Q24c. The possibility of Iran developing nuclear weapons

A critical threat ................................................................. 16%
Important but not critical .................................................. 34
Not an important threat at all ............................................. 37
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 14

Q24d. Closer relations between India and the United States

A critical threat ................................................................. 53%
Important but not critical .................................................. 24
Not an important threat at all ............................................. 11
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 12

Q24e. Closer relations between India and China

A critical threat ................................................................. 23%
Important but not critical .................................................. 37
Not an important threat at all ............................................. 25
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 15

Q24f. Tensions between India and Pakistan

A critical threat ................................................................. 53%
Important but not critical .................................................. 26
Not an important threat at all ............................................. 12
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 9

Q24g. Tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan

A critical threat ................................................................. 40%
Important but not critical .................................................. 27
Not an important threat at all ............................................. 21
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 12

Q24h. The US military presence in Asia

A critical threat ................................................................. 72%
Important but not critical .................................................. 12
Not an important threat at all ............................................. 6
Refused/Don’t know .................................................................10

Q24i. The US military presence in Afghanistan

A critical threat ........................................................................68%
Important but not critical .........................................................15
Not an important threat at all ......................................................6

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................11

Q24j. Violence between different religious groups in Pakistan

A critical threat ........................................................................51%
Important but not critical .........................................................26
Not an important threat at all ......................................................11

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................12

Q24k. Violence between different ethnic groups in Pakistan

A critical threat ........................................................................49%
Important but not critical .........................................................25
Not an important threat at all ......................................................12

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................13

Q25. For each of the following people, would you say your feelings are very positive, somewhat positive, mixed, somewhat negative, or very negative?

Q25a. Osama bin Laden

Very positive..............................................................................13%
Somewhat positive ....................................................................18
Mixed .......................................................................................19
Somewhat negative ....................................................................8
Very negative ..............................................................................8

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................35

Q25b. Mullah Omar

Very positive...............................................................................8%
Somewhat positive ....................................................................14
Mixed .......................................................................................17
Somewhat negative ....................................................................10
Very negative .................................................................................................9
Refused/Don’t know ..................................................................................42

Q26. Just based on your impressions, which do you think is more likely to be true:

Osama bin Laden is somewhere in Pakistan......................... 2%
Osama bin Laden is somewhere in Afghanistan................. 18
Osama bin Laden is in some other country ......................... 13
Osama bin Laden is in the United States (accept as vol.)....... 8

Refused/Don’t know ............................................................................59

Q27. Suppose the Pakistani government learned that Osama bin Laden was in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and found his exact location. Do you think then that the government should or should not attempt to capture him?

Should ...................................................................................................... 24%
Should not .............................................................................................. 39

Refused/Don’t know .............................................................................37

Q28. 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.

[IF RESPONDENT SAYS “Yes, a threat”: READ] Do you see this as a critical threat, or an important but not critical?

Q28a. Activities of Sindhi nationalists in Pakistan

Yes, critical threat ................................................................. 18%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat ....................... 28
Not a threat ......................................................................................... 41

Refused/Don’t know ............................................................................13

Q28b: Activities of Mohajir nationalists in Pakistan

Yes, critical threat ................................................................. 22%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat ....................... 33
Not a threat ......................................................................................... 32
Refused/Don’t know ........................................................................... 13

Q28c. Activities of Baluch nationalists in Pakistan

Yes, critical threat ........................................................................... 17%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat ................................... 26
Not a threat .................................................................................. 41

Refused/Don’t know ........................................................................... 17

Q28d. Activities of Islamist militants and local Taliban in FATA and settled areas

Yes, critical threat ........................................................................... 34%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat ................................... 26
Not a threat .................................................................................. 18

Refused/Don’t know ........................................................................... 22

Q28e. Activities of al Qaeda

Yes, critical threat ........................................................................... 41%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat ................................... 21
Not a threat .................................................................................. 14

Refused/Don’t know ........................................................................... 24

Q28f. Activities of “Askari tanzeems” in Pakistan

Yes, critical threat ........................................................................... 38%
Yes, an important, but not a critical threat ................................... 23
Not a threat .................................................................................. 17

Refused/Don’t know ........................................................................... 22

Q29. Please tell me whether you approve strongly, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or disapprove strongly of the way Pakistan’s government is handling the following issues.

Q29a to be released separately.

Q29b. The situation in the FATA

Approve strongly ........................................................................... 14%
Approve somewhat ........................................................................ 34
Disapprove somewhat ................................................................... 22
Disapprove strongly ........................................................................ 12
Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 18

*Q29c to be released separately.*

Q29d: The economy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approval Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Approve strongly</td>
<td>23%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approve somewhat</td>
<td>32%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disapprove somewhat</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disapprove strongly</td>
<td>9%</td>
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Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 12

Q29e: The educational system

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<td>30%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approve somewhat</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove somewhat</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove strongly</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 9

Q29f: Religious extremism such as the Lal Masjid

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<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approve strongly</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approve somewhat</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disapprove somewhat</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove strongly</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
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Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 13

Q29g: Relations with Afghanistan

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Approval Level</th>
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<td>Approve strongly</td>
<td>17%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approve somewhat</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disapprove somewhat</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disapprove strongly</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
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Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 15

Q29h: Relations with the United States

<table>
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<th>Approval Level</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Approve somewhat</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove somewhat</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Disapprove strongly ........................................................................ 22
Refused/Don’t know ........................................................................ 14

Q30. Thinking now about US actions around the world, please tell me if you think the following are or are not US goals.

Q30a. To spread Christianity in the Middle East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely a goal of the US</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably a goal of the US</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not a goal of the US</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not a goal of the US</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused/Don’t know</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Q30b. To prevent more attacks such as those on the World Trade Center in September 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Definitely a goal of the US</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably a goal of the US</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not a goal of the US</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not a goal of the US</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused/Don’t know</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q30c. To maintain control over the oil resources of the Middle East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely a goal of the US</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably a goal of the US</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not a goal of the US</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not a goal of the US</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused/Don’t know</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q30d. To weaken and divide the Islamic world

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely a goal of the US</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably a goal of the US</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not a goal of the US</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not a goal of the US</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused/Don’t know</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q31-40 to be released separately.
Q41. Here is a statement that some people make. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with it; somewhat or strongly. “Pakistan has a moral obligation to protect Muslims anywhere in South Asia.”

Agree strongly ................................................................. 36%
Agree somewhat ............................................................. 30
Disagree somewhat .......................................................... 8
Disagree strongly ............................................................... 13

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 13

[IF “agree strongly” OR “agree somewhat,” ASK:]

Q42. To protect Muslims in South Asia, do you think Pakistan should use any means, including force, or do you think Pakistan should only use peaceful means?

Any means, including force ................................................ 12%
Only peaceful means ......................................................... 51

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 3

Q43. Thinking about all the recent major events happening in Pakistan, how much of these would you say are controlled by the US—very little, some, most, or nearly all?

Very little ........................................................................... 4%
Some .................................................................................. 22
Most ..................................................................................... 32
Nearly all ............................................................................... 24

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 18

Q44 to be released separately.

Q45. Are you aware of the Durand Line, dividing Pakistan and Afghanistan?

Yes .................................................................................. 15%
No ..................................................................................... 63

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 21

** Percent of total.
[IF YES to Q45, then ask Q46.]

Q46. Please tell me your impression of what Afghanistan’s position is: [READ:]

Statement A—Afghanistan accepts the Durand Line as its international border with Pakistan

Statement B—Afghanistan does not accept the Durand Line, and says that some Pakistani territory belongs to Afghanistan.

Statement C—Afghanistan does not accept the Durand Line, but does not make any claims on Pakistani territory

Afghanistan’s position is A........................................................... 5%*
Afghanistan’s position is B..............................................................6
Afghanistan’s position is C..............................................................2
Refused/Don’t know ........................................................................2

Q47. Thinking about the following kinds of attacks, please tell me if you approve of them, disapprove of them, or have mixed feelings about them? [If approve or disapprove] Do you feel that way somewhat or strongly?

Q47a. Attacks by the Taliban against NATO [western] troops in Afghanistan

Strongly approve................................................................. 12%
Somewhat approve..............................................................18
Mixed feelings .................................................................18
Somewhat disapprove ......................................................6
Strongly disapprove ...........................................................9
Refused/Don’t know ............................................................37

Q47b. Attacks by the Taliban against Afghan troops and police in Afghanistan

Strongly approve................................................................. 5%
Somewhat approve..............................................................13
Mixed feelings .................................................................14
Somewhat disapprove ......................................................14
Strongly disapprove ...........................................................15
Refused/Don’t know ............................................................38

* Percent of total
Q48. Which of the following statements about FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) comes closer to your view?

Statement A—Pakistan’s government should exert control over FATA, even if it means using military force to do so.

Statement B—The government should not try to exert control over FATA but should try to keep the peace through negotiating deals with local Taliban.

Statement C—The government should withdraw its forces from FATA and leave the people alone.

Statement A ................................................................................... 23%
Statement B .................................................................................... 46%
Statement C .................................................................................... 12%
Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 18%

Q49. Which of the following statements about FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) comes closer to your view?

Statement A—in FATA, the Frontier Crimes Regulation [or: special legal code for the area] should be left unchanged.
Statement B—in FATA, The Frontier Crimes Regulation [or: special legal code for the area] should be modified slowly over time, such that eventually the people there should have the same rights and responsibilities as all other Pakistanis.
Statement C—in FATA, The Frontier Crimes Regulation [or: special legal code for the area] should be abolished, and the people there should have the same rights and responsibilities as all other Pakistanis.

Statement A ..................................................................................... 8%
Statement B .................................................................................... 46%
Statement C .................................................................................... 26%
Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 20%

Q50. Would you like to see the Talibanization of daily life in Pakistan increase, decrease, or stay about the same? [IF INCREASE OR DECREASE] Would you say that a little, or a great deal?

Increase a great deal ........................................................................ 4%
Increase a little ............................................................................... 11%
Stay about the same ....................................................................... 21%
Decrease a little ............................................................................... 18%
Q51. What about the secularization of daily life in Pakistan? Would you like to see that increase, decrease, or stay about the same? [IF INCREASE OR DECREASE] Is that a little, or a great deal?

- Increase a great deal: 7%
- Increase a little: 6%
- Stay about the same: 5%
- Decrease a little: 5%
- Decrease a great deal: 12%
- It should not occur (vol.): 52%
- Refused/Don’t know: 15%

Q52. How important is it for the unity of Pakistan to protect ethnic minorities in Pakistan?

- Very important: 59%
- Somewhat important: 24%
- Not very important: 5%
- Not important at all: 4%
- Refused/Don’t know: 8%

Q53. Do you think ethnic minorities get such protection almost always, most of the time, some of the time, or hardly ever?

- Almost always: 33%
- Most of the time: 33
- Some of the time: 17
- Hardly ever: 7
- Refused/Don’t know: 9
Q54. Thinking about groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jamaat ul Dawa, Hizbol Mujahadeen, and Jaish e Mohammad among other tanzeems, do you think they provide social and community services, or are these not part of their activities?

Yes ................................................................................................ 23%
No...................................................................................................42

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................35

IF YES: [OPEN-ENDED. INTERVIEWER CHECKS ALL BOXES THAT APPLY]
Q55. Please mention a few services you are aware of.

Deeni Madrassas ................................................................. 22%*
Schools that are not deeni madrassas.............................................15
Medical care or services.................................................................16
Humanitarian assistance during floods, earthquakes, famine......19
Financial help with marriage and burials................................. 11
Do not provide social and community services (from Q54)........42

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................29

Q56. How important is it for the unity of Pakistan to protect religious minorities in Pakistan?

Very important .............................................................................. 58%
Somewhat important .................................................................... 23
Not very important ........................................................................ 5
Not important at all .........................................................................3

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................11

Q57. Do you think religious minorities get such protection almost always, most of the time, some of the time, or hardly ever?

Almost always............................................................................... 38%
Most of the time............................................................................31
Some of the time ............................................................................15
Hardly ever.......................................................................................6

Refused/Don’t know .........................................................................9

* Multiple responses allowed, total will add to more than 100%.
Q58. Some people think that bombing and other types of attacks intentionally aimed at civilians are sometimes justified while others think that this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that such attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

- Often justified ................................................................................. 7%
- Sometimes justified ........................................................................ 8
- Rarely justified ............................................................................... 11
- Never justified ............................................................................... 55
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 20

Q59. For each of the following types of attacks, please tell me if you personally feel that these are sometimes justified or never justified:

Q59a. Attacks conducted against government institutions (like the national Parliament in Delhi and state assemblies).

- Sometimes justified ....................................................................... 15%
- Never justified ............................................................................... 64
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 21

Q59b. Attacks conducted against Indian targets like subways, stock exchanges, and tourist sites

- Sometimes justified ....................................................................... 12%
- Never justified ............................................................................... 68
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 20

Q59c. Attacks in India on families of Indian military personnel

- Sometimes justified ....................................................................... 13%
- Never justified ............................................................................... 67
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 19

Q59d. Attacks in Pakistan on Shi’a

- Sometimes justified ....................................................................... 5%
- Never justified ............................................................................... 78
- Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................... 17
Q59e. Attacks in Pakistan on Ahmadiyya

Sometimes justified................................................................. 6%
Never justified........................................................................ 75
Refused/Don’t know ............................................................. 19

Q60. As you may know, groups such as Jaish e Mohammad, Hizbol Mujahadeen and Lashkar e Taiba have fought in occupied Kashmir in the past.

Q60a. Do you think that when Jaish e Mohammad has fought in occupied Kashmir, it has intentionally targeted civilians in attacks, or do you think it has never intentionally targeted civilians?

Has intentionally targeted civilians........................................ 6%
Has never intentionally targeted civilians.............................. 40
Refused/Don’t know ............................................................. 54

Q60b. How about Hizbol Mujahadeen?

Has intentionally targeted civilians........................................ 6%
Has never intentionally targeted civilians.............................. 42
Refused/Don’t know ............................................................. 53

Q60c. How about Lashkar e Taiba?

Has intentionally targeted civilians........................................ 6%
Has never intentionally targeted civilians.............................. 40
Refused/Don’t know ............................................................. 53

Q61. What do you think best describes the relationship, if any, between these groups and the Pakistani army and intelligence agencies? (PROMPT: RESTATE NAMES IF NECESSARY)

There is no relationship at all.................................................. 25%
There are some contacts......................................................... 14
Some elements within the army and intelligence agencies provide support such as money, training, advice and weapons........ 5
The army and intelligence services as a whole work closely with these groups .........................................................5

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................51

Q62. Do you think there will or will not be general elections taking place in this year, 2007?

Believe there will be elections ................................................. 60%
Believe there will not be elections ............................................. 17

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................23

Q63. Assuming that there are general elections as scheduled, how confident are you that they will be free and fair?

Very confident ............................................................................. 11%
Somewhat confident ................................................................... 28
Not very confident ....................................................................... 27
Not at all confident ....................................................................... 17

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................17

Q64. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed by representatives elected by the people? On this scale where 1 means “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely important” what position would you choose?

1 (Not at all important) ............................................................ 2%
2 ............................................................................................. 2
3 ............................................................................................. 3
4 ............................................................................................. 2
5 ............................................................................................. 4
6 ............................................................................................. 4
7 ............................................................................................. 7
8 ............................................................................................. 9
9 ............................................................................................. 12
10 (Absolutely important) ......................................................... 50

Mean ......................................................................................... 8.4

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................6
Q65. And how much do you think Pakistan is governed by representatives elected by the people? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means “not at all” and 10 means “completely,” what position would you choose?

1 (Not at all) .............................................................................................................. 14%
2 ......................................................................................................................... 9
3 ......................................................................................................................... 9
4 ....................................................................................................................... 12
5 ....................................................................................................................... 12
6 ......................................................................................................................... 9
7 ......................................................................................................................... 8
8 ......................................................................................................................... 7
9 ......................................................................................................................... 4
10 (Completely) ................................................................................................. 7

Mean .................................................................................................................. 4.8

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................................... 8

Q66. For each of the following institutions, how much confidence do you have that they are serving the interests of the people as a whole? A great deal of confidence, quite a lot, not very much, or none at all?

Q66a. The national public education system

A great deal .................................................................................................. 22%
Quite a lot ..................................................................................................... 36
Not very much .............................................................................................. 31
None at all ..................................................................................................... 5

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................................... 5

Q66b. The local police

A great deal .................................................................................................. 9%
Quite a lot ..................................................................................................... 20
Not very much .............................................................................................. 53
None at all ..................................................................................................... 13

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................................................... 6

Q66c. The national government as a whole

A great deal .................................................................................................. 8%
Quite a lot ..................................................................................................... 25
Not very much................................................................. 48
None at all........................................................................... 11

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................... 8

Q66d. The justice system in my country

A great deal...................................................................... 13%
Quite a lot......................................................................... 30
Not very much................................................................. 37
None at all......................................................................... 10

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................... 9

Q66e. The National Assembly

A great deal....................................................................... 6%
Quite a lot......................................................................... 23
Not very much................................................................... 45
None at all......................................................................... 14

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................... 12

Q66f. Provincial Assembly

A great deal....................................................................... 6%
Quite a lot......................................................................... 23
Not very much................................................................... 44
None at all......................................................................... 14

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................... 12

Q66g. The office of the president

A great deal....................................................................... 8%
Quite a lot......................................................................... 22
Not very much................................................................... 42
None at all......................................................................... 13

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................... 15

Q66h. Local government such as the Nazims

A great deal....................................................................... 14%
Quite a lot......................................................................... 30
Not very much................................................................... 37
None at all......................................................................................10
Refused/Don’t know .................................................................9

Q66i. The army and other armed forces

A great deal................................................................................... 34%
Quite a lot.......................................................................................35
Not very much................................................................................18
None at all........................................................................................5
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................9

Q66j. The intelligence agencies

A great deal................................................................................... 14%
Quite a lot.......................................................................................28
Not very much................................................................................29
None at all........................................................................................9
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................21

Q67. As you may know, the government passed a law called the “Women’s Protection Act,” which made changes in laws called the “Hudood Ordinances.” Would you say you support or oppose this—somewhat or strongly?

Support it strongly......................................................................... 14%
Support it somewhat ......................................................................24
Oppose it somewhat........................................................................12
Oppose it strongly ..........................................................................15
Have not heard of this (accept as vol.)...........................................16
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................................19

Q68. If someone in your family suffered from a serious crime, which of the following would you have the most confidence to effectively deal with it in the right way?

My family or clan.......................................................................... 25%
The local police.............................................................................14
Judiciary or courts..........................................................................34
Local elected political leader .........................................................2
A local religious leader ..................................................................2
A community leader ......................................................................1
A Jirga............................................................................................2
A Panchayat .................................................................................2
A Mohalla committee .................................................................3
Depends (accept as vol.) ..............................................................5
None (accept as vol.) .................................................................1

Refused/Don’t know .......................................................................9

Q69. Have you or someone in your family been personally affected by an act of corruption by government officials in the past 12 months?

Yes ............................................................................................. 3%
No...................................................................................................88

Refused/Don’t know .......................................................................9

STATEMENT: Now I’m going to ask you some questions about Pakistan’s army.

Q70. Please tell me for each area whether you think the army is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job:

Q70a. Defending Pakistan’s borders and territory

Excellent job ................................................................. 56%
Good job .................................................................................28
Only a fair job .............................................................................10
Poor job ......................................................................................2

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................4

Q70b. Helping with economic growth and development

Excellent job ................................................................. 31%
Good job .................................................................................35
Only a fair job .............................................................................22
Poor job ......................................................................................6

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................6

Q70c. Taking part in how Pakistan is governed

Excellent job ................................................................. 25%
Good job.................................................................................28
Only a fair job .............................................................................21
Poor job ......................................................................................15

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................11
Q71. Please tell me if you think the army has had a mostly positive or mostly negative influence on each of the following:

Q71a. On the economy

Mostly positive................................................................. 23%
Mostly negative............................................................... 32
Both (accept as vol.) ...................................................... 22
Neither (accept as vol.) .................................................... 5
Depends (accept as vol.) .................................................. 2

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 15

Q71b. On National Reconstruction, as instituted by the National Reconstruction Bureau

Mostly positive................................................................. 29%
Mostly negative............................................................... 19
Both (accept as vol.) ...................................................... 23
Neither (accept as vol.) .................................................... 7
Depends (accept as vol.) .................................................. 4

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 18

Q71c. On the justice system

Mostly positive................................................................. 17%
Mostly negative............................................................... 27
Both (accept as vol.) ...................................................... 27
Neither (accept as vol.) .................................................... 9
Depends (accept as vol.) .................................................. 5

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 15

Q71d. On the public education system

Mostly positive................................................................. 23%
Mostly negative............................................................... 23
Both (accept as vol.) ...................................................... 24
Neither (accept as vol.) .................................................... 11
Depends (accept as vol.) .................................................. 3

Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 16
Q71e. On the press, radio and television

- Mostly positive: 21%
- Mostly negative: 26%
- Both (accept as vol.): 20%
- Neither (accept as vol.): 7%
- Depends (accept as vol.): 4%
- Refused/Don’t know: 22%

Q71f. On the constitution and the rule of law

- Mostly positive: 18%
- Mostly negative: 24%
- Both (accept as vol.): 25%
- Neither (accept as vol.): 7%
- Depends (accept as vol.): 4%
- Refused/Don’t know: 22%

Q72. How important is it for you to live in a country where the decisions of the courts are independent from influence by political and military authorities? On this scale where 1 means it is “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely important” what position would you choose?

1 (Not at all important) ................................................................. *
2 ........................................................................................................ 1
3 ........................................................................................................ 2
4 ........................................................................................................ 3
5 ........................................................................................................ 5
6 ........................................................................................................ 4
7 ........................................................................................................ 5
8 ...................................................................................................... 8
9 ...................................................................................................... 11
10 (Absolutely important) ............................................................. 52

Mean ............................................................................................. 8.6

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................... 8
Q73. And how much do you think that in Pakistan, the decisions of the courts are independent from influence by political and military authorities? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means “not at all” and 10 means “completely,” what position would you choose?

1 (Not at all) ........................................................................................................... 7%
2......................................................................................................................... 8
3......................................................................................................................... 8
4......................................................................................................................... 11
5......................................................................................................................... 11
6......................................................................................................................... 9
7......................................................................................................................... 9
8......................................................................................................................... 8
9......................................................................................................................... 7
10 (Completely) ............................................................................................ 11

Mean ................................................................................................................. 5.6

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................................. 13

Q74. How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in our country? Do you feel there is: [READ]

A lot of respect for individual human rights........................................ 24%
There is some respect........................................................................ 26
There is not much respect ................................................................. 21
There is no respect at all ................................................................. 21

Refused/Don’t know .................................................................................. 8

Q75. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed according to Islamic principles? On this scale where 0 means it is “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely important,” what position would you choose?

0 (Not at all important) .................................................................................. *%
1...................................................................................................................... *
2...................................................................................................................... 1
3...................................................................................................................... 1
4...................................................................................................................... 2
5...................................................................................................................... 4
6...................................................................................................................... 3
7...................................................................................................................... 3
8...................................................................................................................... 9
9...................................................................................................................... 11
Q76. And how much do you think Pakistan is governed according to Islamic principles? Again using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “not at all” and 10 means “completely,” what position would you choose?

0 (Not at all) ................................................................. 12%
1 ........................................................................ 9
2 ........................................................................ 8
3 ........................................................................ 8
4 ........................................................................ 9
5 ........................................................................ 15
6 ........................................................................ 9
7 ........................................................................ 7
8 ........................................................................ 3
9 ........................................................................ 4
10 (Completely) ........................................................... 10

Mean ........................................................................ 4.6

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................... 6

Q77. As you may know, the government has proposed a plan to reform the madrassas. This plan would require madrassas to register with the government and to spend more time in class on subjects like math and science. Do you favor or oppose this idea—somewhat or strongly?

Favor strongly .............................................................. 36%
Favor somewhat ......................................................... 28
Oppose somewhat ....................................................... 9
Oppose strongly .......................................................... 8

Refused/Don’t know ...................................................... 19
Q78. I’m going to read you five things different people sometime say about what makes a school a good school. Then I’ll ask you which of these is most important to you.

[READ:]

Statement A—Some people say that a good school teaches students how to read and write. In other words, good schools provide students with basic reading skills and basic math skills.

Statement B—Some people say that a good school is a school that creates good Muslims. In other words, good schools provide students with strong values and strong religious beliefs.

Statement C—Some people say that good schools teach students how to solve problems and think for themselves.

Statement D—Some people say that good schools prepare students to provide good jobs.

Statement E—Some people say that good schools make sure that every student becomes a good citizen, showing respect for the laws of their country.

Which of these is most important to you?

Statement A.............................................................. 25%
Statement B.............................................................. 32
Statement C.............................................................. 14
Statement D.............................................................. 5
Statement E.............................................................. 17

Refused/Don’t know ..................................................... 7

[IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS Statement A THROUGH Statement E IN Q78:]

Q79. And which of these is the second most important to you?

Statement A.............................................................. 12%*
Statement B.............................................................. 21
Statement C.............................................................. 19
Statement D.............................................................. 15
Statement E.............................................................. 26

Refused/Don’t know .................................................... *

Q80-83 to be released separately.

* Percent of total.
Q84. Turning to something else, do you believe that globalization, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for Pakistan?

Mostly good ................................................................. 48%
Mostly bad ................................................................. 16
Refused/Don’t know ......................................................... 36

Q85. Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for:

Q85a. The Pakistani economy

Good .................................................................................. 77%
Bad ..................................................................................... 13
Refused/Don’t know .............................................................. 11

Q85b. Pakistani companies

Good .................................................................................. 67%
Bad ..................................................................................... 16
Refused/Don’t know .............................................................. 17

Q85c. Consumers like you

Good .................................................................................. 57%
Bad ..................................................................................... 22
Refused/Don’t know .............................................................. 21

Q85d. Creating jobs in Pakistan

Good .................................................................................. 68%
Bad ..................................................................................... 18
Refused/Don’t know .............................................................. 14

Q85e. The environment

Good .................................................................................. 52%
Bad ..................................................................................... 25
Refused/Don’t know ................................................................. 23

Q85f. Job security for Pakistani workers

Good .................................................................................. 63%
Bad ..................................................................................... 19
Refused/Don’t know .............................................................. 18

Q85g. Your own standard of living

Good .................................................................................. 61%
Bad ..................................................................................... 16
Refused/Don’t know .............................................................. 22

Q86-88 to be released separately.

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

Q89a. US

Not at all ............................................................................... 49%
Not very much ....................................................................... 15
Somewhat ............................................................................. 16
A great deal ........................................................................... 7
Refused/Don’t know .............................................................. 13

Q89b-d. and Q90-91 to be released separately.
DEMOGRAPHICS

D1. Province

Punjab ........................................................................................... 46%
Sind ................................................................................................ 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

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.