



Pakistani Public Opinion on Democracy, Islamic Militancy, and Relations with the US

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: September 12-28, 2007 Sample Size: 907	Margin of Error: +/- 3.3 %
Q1. Would you favor or oppose the following:	
Q1a. Benazir Bhutto returning to Pakistan to stand	for elections?
FavorOppose	
Refused/Don't know	15
Q1b. Nawaz Sharif returning to Pakistan to stand for	or elections?
FavorOppose	
Refused/Don't know	14
Q1c. Benazir Bhutto becoming Prime Minister?	
Favor Oppose	
Refused/Don't know	20
Q2. Do you think the Pakistan government should of foreign troops to enter Pakistan to pursue and captured to the pursue and capt	
The Pakistan government should allow troo to enter Pakistan to pursue al Qaeda	-
The Pakistan government should not allow	this80
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 admini areas to pursue and capture al Qaeda fighters?	stered tribal
Favor	
Refused/Don't know	20
Q5. What about allowing the Pakistani army to pursue and capture Taliba who have crossed over from Afghanistan?	an insurgents
Favor	
Refused/Don't know	18
Q6. Do you think the Pakistani security forces should have used force to Red Mosque, or do you think that this was a mistake?	take over the
Should have used force	22%
Was a mistake	
Refused/Don't know	13
Q7. Who do you think would be the best person to lead Pakistan? Pervez Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, Iftikhar Chaudhry, Shaukat Aziz, or some	
Pervez Musharraf	21%
Benazir Bhutto	27
Nawaz Sharif	21
Iftikar Chaudhry	
Shaukat Aziz	
Imran Khan	.2

Oth	er	7
Refu	used/Don't know	18
-	npared to current Pakistan law, do you th ler role, or about the same role in Pakist	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
A sr	nrger rolemaller role	11
	out the same role as it plays today	
Refu	used/Don't know	15
Q9. Do you on the wron	think Pakistan's economy is moving in g track?	the right direction, or has it gone off
	ht directionong track	
	used/Don't know	
-	mpared to Pakistan, do you think India's about the same speed, a little slower, or	
Muc	ch faster	30%
	ttle faster	
	out the same speed	
	ttle slower	
Muc	ch slower	9
Refu	used/Don't know	17
-	n you think about yourself, please tell me our sense of self or identity: [READ:]	e which of the following is most
ΔΡ	akistani	29%
	Iuslim	
	individual	
	itizen of the world	
	nember of your ethnic group	
Refi	used/Don't know	1

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Q11a.	And which of these would you say is the second most important	?
	A Pakistani	
Q12-1	8 to be released separately.	
	As a general rule, should the armed forces be limited to strictly mind they take a wider role in the country's affairs?	litary matters, or
	Limited to strictly military matters Take a wider role	
	Refused/Don't know	.26
-	Thinking about the current Afghan government and the former Talone do you think has had the best approach to governing Afghani	_
	Current Afghan government	.34
	Refused/Don't know	.33
-	Do you think the Pakistan government is seriously trying to stop ting in Afghanistan, or is it allowing the Taliban to operate in Afgl	
	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.)	.12
	Neither (accept as vol.)	13

Refused/Don't know36	
222. Do you think the cooperation in the last few years between Pakistan an ecurity and military matters has mostly benefited Pakistan, the United State qually?	
Mostly benefited Pakistan	Ď
Refused/Don't know	
IF "mostly benefited the US":] 23. Do you think it has also helped Pakistan, or has it hurt Pakistan?	
Has also helped Pakistan	ŧ
Refused/Don't know1	
Q24. Here is a list of possible threats to the vital interests of Pakistan in the rears. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, in ot critical, or not an important threat at all.	
224a. The development of China as a world power	
A critical threat)
Refused/Don't know7	
24b. India's growing influence in the world	
A critical threat)
Refused/Don't know11	

* Percent of total.

Q24c. The possibility of Iran developing nuclear weapons	
A critical threat	
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	
Not an important threat at all	
Refused/Don't know	.15
Q24f. Tensions between India and Pakistan	
A critical threat	53%
Important but not critical	
Not an important threat at all	
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	
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	

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Refused/Don't know	10
Q24i. The US military presence in Afghanistan	
A critical threat	68%
Important but not critical	
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	
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	
Refused/Don't know	13
Q25. For each of the following people, would you say your feeling somewhat positive, mixed, somewhat negative, or very negative?	gs are very positive,
Q25a. Osama bin Laden	
Very positive	13%
Somewhat positive	
Mixed	
Somewhat negative	
Very negative	
Refused/Don't know	35
Q25b. Mullah Omar	
Very positive	8%
Somewhat positive	
Mixed	17
Somewhat negative	10

Very negative9
Refused/Don't know42
Q26. Just based on your impressions, which do you think is more likely to be true:
Osama bin Laden is somewhere in Pakistan
Refused/Don't know59
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
Refused/Don't know37
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
Refused/Don't know13
Q28b: Activities of Mohajir nationalists in Pakistan
Yes, critical threat

Not a threat......32

	Refused/Don't know13
Q28c. A	Activities of Baluch nationalists in Pakistan
	Yes, critical threat
]	Refused/Don't know17
Q28d. A	Activities of Islamist militants and local Taliban in FATA and settled areas
]	Yes, critical threat
Q28e. A	Activities of al Qaeda
,	Yes, critical threat
]	Refused/Don't know24
Q28f. A	activities of "Askari tanzeems" in Pakistan
	Yes, critical threat
-	ease tell me whether you approve strongly, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat prove 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

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	Refused/Don't know	8 ا
Q29c 1	to be released separately.	
Q29d:	The economy	
	Approve strongly	23%
	Approve somewhat	32
	Disapprove somewhat	25
	Disapprove strongly	.9
	Refused/Don't know	2
Q29e:	The educational system	
	Approve strongly	
	Approve somewhat	
	Disapprove somewhat2	
	Disapprove strongly	.7
	Refused/Don't know	.9
Q29f:	Religious extremism such as the Lal Masjid	
	Approve strongly 1	2%
	Approve somewhat1	9
	Disapprove somewhat	27
	Disapprove strongly	29
	Refused/Don't know	13
Q29g:	Relations with Afghanistan	
	Approve strongly	7%
	Approve somewhat	
	Disapprove somewhat	
	Disapprove strongly	.5
	Refused/Don't know	5
Q29h.	Relations with the United States	
	Approve strongly	0%
	Approve somewhat	29
	Disapprove somewhat	25

Q31-40 to be released separately.

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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	
Disagree somewhat	
Disagree strongly	
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	
7 1	
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	
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	
Refused/Don't know	21

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^{**} 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	
Afghanistan's position is C	
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	
Mixed feelings	18
Somewhat disapprove	
Strongly disapprove	
Refused/Don't know	37

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

Strongly approve	5%
Somewhat approve	
Mixed feelings	
Somewhat disapprove	
Strongly disapprove	
Refused/Don't know	38

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^{*} 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	
Stay about the same	
Decrease a little	

and Jaish e Mohammad among other tanzeems, do you think they provi community services, or are these not part of their activities?	de social and
Yes	23%
No	
Refused/Don't know	35
IF YES: [OPEN-ENDED. INTERVIEWER CHECKS ALL BOXES TI Q55. Please mention a few services you are aware of.	HAT APPLY]
Deeni Madrassas	22%*
Schools that are not deeni madrassas	
Medical care or services	
Humanitarian assistance during floods, earthquakes, famine	
Financial help with marriage and burials	
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 makistan?	ninorities in
Very important	. 58%
Somewhat important	
Not very important	
Not important at all	
•	
Refused/Don't know	11
Q57. Do you think religious minorities get such protection almost alway time, some of the time, or hardly ever?	ys, most of the
Almost always	. 38%
Most of the time	
Some of the time	
Hardly ever	
Refused/Don't know	9

Q54. Thinking about groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jamaat ul Dawa, Hizbol Mujahadeen,

^{*} 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.	
J	
Refused/Don't know	21

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

Sometimes justified	12%
Never justified	68
J	
Refused/Don't know	20
Refused/Don t know	20

Q59c. Attacks in India on families of Indian military personnel

Sometimes justified	13%
Never justified	
J	
Refused/Don't know	19

Q59d. Attacks in Pakistan on Shi'a

Sometimes justified	5%
Never justified	
J	
Refused/Don't know	17

Q59e. Attacks in Pakistan on Ahmadiyya
Sometimes justified
Refused/Don't know19
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
Refused/Don't know54
Q60b. How about Hizbol Mujahadeen?
Has intentionally targeted civilians
Refused/Don't know53
Q60c. How about Lashkar e Taiba?
Has intentionally targeted civilians
Refused/Don't know53
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
There are some contacts14
Some elements within the army and intelligence agencies provide support such as money, training, advice and weapons5

	The army and intelligence services as a whole work closely with these groups	5
	Refused/Don't know	.51
Q62. D 2007?	Oo you think there will or will not be general elections taking place	e in this year,
	Believe there will be elections Believe there will not be elections	
	Refused/Don't know	.23
_	Assuming that there are general elections as scheduled, how confidill be free and fair?	dent are you that
	Very confident	.28 .27 .17
elected	How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed by by the people? On this scale where 1 means it is "not at all impo "absolutely important" what position would you choose?	-
	1 (Not at all important) 2	2 3 4 4 7

10 (Absolutely important)......50

Refused/Don't know6

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	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
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	
	Not very much	
	None at all	
	Refused/Don't know	5
Q66b.	The local police	
	A great deal	9%
	Quite a lot	
	Not very much	
	None at all	
	Refused/Don't know	6
Q66c.	The national government as a whole	
	A great deal	8%
	Quite a lot	25
	•	

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N	40
Not very much	
None at all	11
Refused/Don't know	8
Q66d. The justice system in my country	
A great deal	13%
Quite a lot	
Not very much	
None at all	
Refused/Don't know	9
Q66e. The National Assembly	
A great deal	6%
Quite a lot	
Not very much	
None at all	
Refused/Don't know	12
Q66f. Provincial Assembly	
A great deal	6%
Quite a lot	23
Not very much	
None at all	
Refused/Don't know	12
Q66g. The office of the president	
A great deal	8%
Quite a lot	
Not very much	
None at all	
Refused/Don't know	15
Q66h. Local government such as the Nazims	
A great deal	14%
Quite a lot	
Not very much	

A Panchayat2

Depends (accept as vol.)	5
None (accept as vol.)	1
Refused/Don't know	9
Q69. Have you or someone in your family been per corruption by government officials in the past 12 m	•
Yes	3%
No	
Refused/Don't know	9
STATEMENT: Now I'm going to ask you some qu	estions about Pakistan's army.
Q70. Please tell me for each area whether you think job, only a fair job, or a poor job:	the army is doing an excellent job, a good
Q70a. Defending Pakistan's borders and territory	
Excellent job	56%
Good job	
Only a fair job	
Poor job	
Refused/Don't know	4
Q70b. Helping with economic growth and develop	ment
Excellent job	31%
Good job	
Only a fair job	
Poor job	
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
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Mostly positive	23%
Mostly negative	32
Both (accept as vol.)	
Neither (accept as vol.)	
Depends (accept as vol.)	
Refused/Don't know	15
Q71b. On National Reconstruction, as instituted by t	he National Reconstruction Bureau
Mostly positive	29%
Mostly negative	19
Both (accept as vol.)	
Neither (accept as vol.)	
Depends (accept as vol.)	
Refused/Don't know	18
Q71c. On the justice system	
Mostly positive	17%
Mostly negative	
Both (accept as vol.)	
Neither (accept as vol.)	
Depends (accept as vol.)	
Refused/Don't know	15
Q71d. On the public education system	
Mostly positive	23%
Mostly negative	
Both (accept as vol.)	
Neither (accept as vol.)	
Depends (accept as vol.)	
Refused/Don't know	16

Q71e. On the press, radio and television

Mostly positive	21%
Mostly negative	
Both (accept as vol.)	
Neither (accept as vol.)	
Depends (accept as vol.)	4
Refused/Don't know	22
Q71f. On the constitution and the rule of law	
Mostly positive	18%
Mostly negative	
Both (accept as vol.)	
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	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	8
9	
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	
4	
5	
6	
7	
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	
There is not much respect	21
There is no respect at all	
•	
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	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	11

10 (Absolutely important)	61
Mean	9.0
Refused/Don't know	5

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	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10 (Completely)	
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	
Oppose somewhat	9
Oppose strongly	
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
D 6 10 11	
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?

• •	
Refused/Don't know	36
Q85. Overall, do you think inte	rnational trade is good or bad for:
Q85a. The Pakistani economy	
Refused/Don't know	11
Q85b. Pakistani companies	
Refused/Don't know	17
Q85c. Consumers like you	
Refused/Don't know	21
Q85d. Creating jobs in Pakistan	ı
Refused/Don't know	14
Q85e. The environment	

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Refused/Don't know	23
Q85f. Job security for Pakistani workers	
GoodBad	
Refused/Don't know	18
Q85g. Your own standard of living	
GoodBad	
Refused/Don't know	22
Q86-88 to be released separately.	
Q89. How much do you trust the following countries to act respons	sibly in the world?
Q89a. US	
Not at all Not very much Somewhat A great deal	15 16 7
Refused/Don't know	13

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

DEMOGRAPHICS

D1. P	Province	
	Punjab	35
D2. G	Gender	
	MaleFemale	
D3. E	Education	
	Uneducated	60
D4. C	Can you read any languages with understanding?	
	Yes No Don't know/ refused	20
D5. C	Can you write any languages with understanding?	
	Yes No Don't know/ refused	38
D6. C	Can you solve simple math?	
	Yes No Don't know/ refused	14
D7. W	Vhat religion do you follow?	
	Muslim Christian Hindu Sikh Other	5 1

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	
60+	7

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

Yes		%
N_{α}	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.