

NEW AMERICA  
FOUNDATION

**Pakistanis Strongly Back Negotiations with Al Qaeda and Taliban over Military Action; Public Support for Al Qaeda Gaining Ground.**

**Nawaz Sharif and His Party Surge in Public Favor; Pakistanis Cannot Afford Flour and Blame their Government for Growing Food Crisis.**

**Results of a New Nationwide Public Opinion Survey of Pakistan before the June 2008 Pakistani By-Elections**

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## **Executive Summary:**

In a resounding setback for American policy, Pakistanis strongly favor their own government not fighting against Al Qaeda and the Taliban, but negotiating with them instead. Public support for Al Qaeda is also gaining ground since earlier this year.

Important Parliamentary by-elections are scheduled in Pakistan for June 26<sup>th</sup>. In the first poll before the elections, our survey shows that Nawaz Sharif is now the most popular political leader in Pakistan. Mr. Sharif's party, the PML-N, would emerge as the clear winner in any national contest, far eclipsing the current largest party in Parliament, the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).

These are among the many findings of a new and extensive nationwide public opinion survey from May 25<sup>th</sup> to June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008 across Pakistan, covering both urban and rural areas and all provinces. The survey, with face-to-face interviews of 1,306 Pakistanis age 18 or older and a margin of error of 3 percent, was conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow: The Center for Public Opinion, in collaboration with the New America Foundation, and field work inside Pakistan by the Pakistan Institute for Public Opinion, an affiliate of Gallup Pakistan. The survey is the third nationwide poll over the past nine months conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow and Gallup Pakistan.

### **Public Support for Al Qaeda, the Taliban and Bin Laden Increases; Pakistanis Decisively Favor Negotiations over Military Action**

Half of all Pakistanis want their government to negotiate and not fight Al Qaeda, with less than a third saying military action by the Pakistani government against Al Qaeda is called for. (For Pakistani Taliban, 58 percent favor negotiating to 19 percent for military action.)

Pakistan is considered by most national security experts to be the home base of Osama Bin Laden, Al Qaeda and many Taliban fighters. From a safe haven in the border areas of Pakistan, they are free to train, plan and launch attacks inside Afghanistan and elsewhere. Indeed, last week, Admiral Michael Mullen, Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that the planning to hit America itself with another terrorist attack is now taking place—and that it would come from Pakistan.

The new Pakistani civilian government has begun a controversial policy of negotiating with certain Pakistani Taliban fighters—though not with Al Qaeda.

In stark opposition to American policy, the Pakistani people themselves would go even further than their own government and not only negotiate with Pakistani Taliban fighters, but with both Arab Al Qaeda and Afghan Taliban fighters as well, decisively opposing any military action.

Even before the latest American military incursion (which occurred after our poll was complete), a mere 12 percent of Pakistanis supported any unilateral American military action against Al Qaeda fighters inside Pakistan. Strong opposition to the US military has also intensified since earlier this year.

Favorable opinion toward Al Qaeda is mounting inside Pakistan. A third of Pakistanis now voice a positive view, nearly double the percentage from earlier this year. Similarly, for Bin Laden, 34 percent currently have a favorable opinion, up from 24 percent in January (but still below the 46 percent who thought so in August 2007). Trust for American motives has sunk to new lows: Three quarters of Pakistanis say that the real purpose of the US-led war on terror is to weaken the Muslim world and dominate Pakistan.

Significantly, when asked who was most responsible for the violence that is occurring in Pakistan today, more than half (52 percent) blame the United States—only 8 percent Al Qaeda fighters.

Despite the spate of suicide bombings that have shaken Pakistan at the apparent hands of Al Qaeda and the Taliban, Pakistanis see the United States as posing the greatest threat to their own personal safety. 44 percent of Pakistanis think the United States poses the greatest threat to their personal safety (traditional enemy India is next at 14 percent). By contrast, a mere 6 percent feel Al Qaeda is a threat, with 4 percent the Afghan Taliban and 8 percent the Pakistani Taliban.

### **Pakistanis Agree with Al Qaeda Goals, but Not Tactics**

Al Qaeda's considerable goodwill inside Pakistan is generated by their perceived goals, which Pakistanis say they largely share. More than any other goal, Pakistanis think that standing up to America is the goal of Bin Laden and Al Qaeda—and 57 percent agree with that Al Qaeda goal. Likewise, the most important reason for backing Al Qaeda/Bin Laden for almost two-thirds of their supporters was the perception that they stand up to America and lead a defensive jihad against it.

Pakistanis, however, continue to oppose suicide attacks, with 14 percent thinking these attacks can often or sometimes be justified. Pakistani opposition to suicide attacks extends to whoever is the intended target, with opposition equally highest to both Pakistani and American civilians and dropping slightly for Pakistani and American military personnel.

### **Before Upcoming By-Elections, Nawaz Sharif and the PML-N overtake the PPP as the Most Popular Party in Pakistan**

In another dramatic reversal of Pakistani public opinion, Nawaz Sharif has emerged, by far, as the most popular political leader in Pakistan today. In advance of the June 26<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary by-elections in Pakistan, a striking 86 percent of Pakistanis have a favorable opinion of Mr. Sharif, a former Pakistani

Prime Minister with conservative Islamist ties that have made some American policy makers indicate concern.

Mr. Sharif has also seen a steady rise in his popularity, from 57 percent favorable in our August 2007 poll, to 74 percent in January 2008 and 86 percent today. As significantly, those with a very favorable opinion have almost doubled since January 2008 to 43 percent now—a level no other political figure in Pakistan comes even close to. (By comparison, Mr. Zardari, leader of the PPP, just has a 13% very favorable rating.)

If national elections were held today, Mr. Sharif's party, the PML-N, would emerge as the clear winner, garnering 42 percent of the vote to the PPP's 32 percent. The PML-N has witnessed a significant surge in popularity. From only 15 percent saying they would vote for them in our August 2007 poll, to 25 percent in our pre-election January poll (which mirrored the actual election results), the Party today stands at 42 percent, the most popular party in Pakistan.

### **Pakistanis Hold their Government Responsible for the High Food and Fuel Prices; Want Independent Judiciary and Blame PPP and Musharraf for Impasse over Restoring Judges**

The reasons for the rise of Mr. Sharif and the declining fortunes of others inside Pakistan can be found in widespread Pakistani discontent with the status quo.

The high cost of food and fuel is hitting ordinary Pakistanis hard. An overwhelming 86 percent of Pakistanis have faced increasing difficulty in obtaining flour for their daily food consumption—primarily because of high prices. And Pakistanis consider their own government most responsible.

Similarly, 81 percent have been affected by the high price of fuel, with again, in their view, the Pakistani government most responsible, only for fuel closely followed by American and Western oil companies.

Overall, just 20 percent of Pakistanis think their country is heading in the right direction. With the highest priority Pakistanis have for their government (even slightly higher than the economy) an independent judiciary, most Pakistanis now blame the PPP and President Musharraf for failing to restore the judges sacked by Mr. Musharraf last fall. Almost three-quarters of Pakistanis want Mr. Musharraf to resign and if he doesn't, to be removed by Parliament as President.

Dissatisfaction with the current civilian government does not mean, however, that the public wants the Pakistani military to return to political affairs. In our survey last August, 45 percent approved of the military playing a role in the political and economic affairs of the country. That number has now dropped to 28 percent, while those who disapprove have steadily risen from 46 percent last August to 64 percent now, with those strongly disapproving doubling to over half.

## **Opinion of the U.S. Still Negative, but Open to Change**

While attitudes towards the United States and particularly the American war on terror remain strongly negative, Pakistanis say that a change in American policy toward Pakistan would bring about a stunning change in Pakistani public opinion toward the United States.

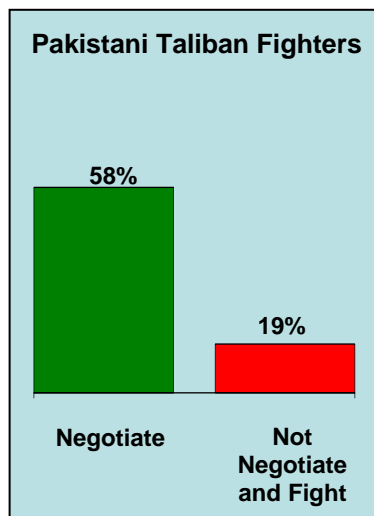
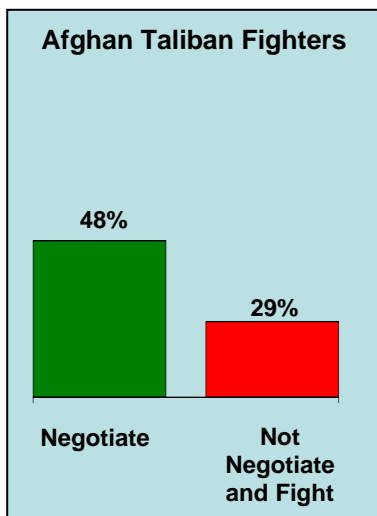
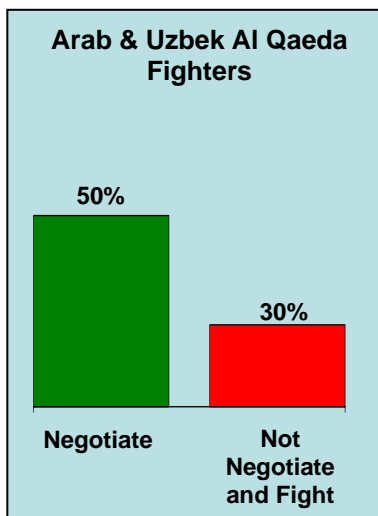
Two-thirds of Pakistanis said that policies ranging from increased American business investment, free trade, educational aid, disaster assistance, medical care/training and increased U.S. visas for Pakistanis would significantly improve their opinion of the United States.

More than two-thirds of Pakistanis who now have favorable views of Al Qaeda and Bin Laden said they would also significantly change their opinion of the U.S. with these new American policies.

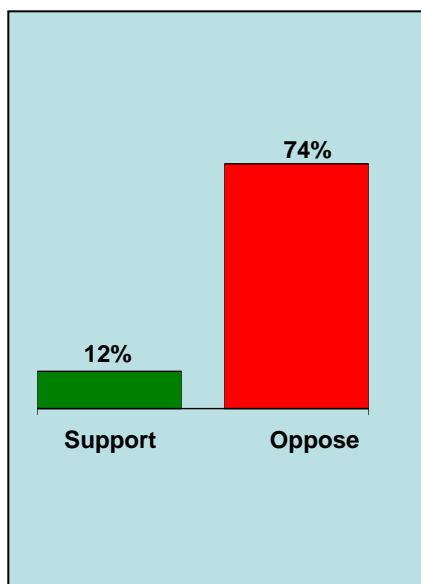
Indeed, the number of Pakistanis who are now willing to view the United States more positively with new American actions is higher than at any other time that we have measured in our surveys.

A full statement on survey methods, topline questions and answers, charts and background information follows.

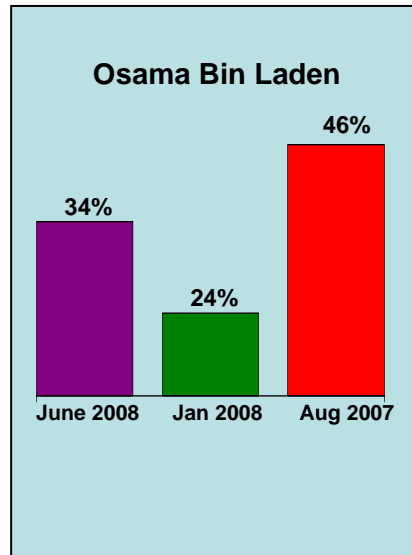
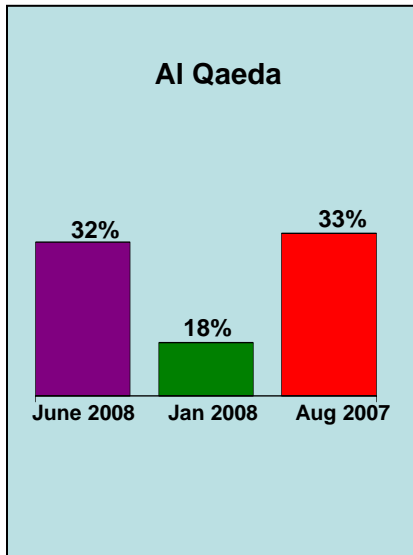
## Should the Pakistani Government Negotiate with or Continue to Fight:



## Pakistanis who Support/Oppose US Military Action against Al Qaeda and Taliban:



**Pakistanis Who Have Favorable Opinion of:**



**Top Goal of Al Qaeda and Bin Laden as Chosen by 80 percent of Pakistanis:**

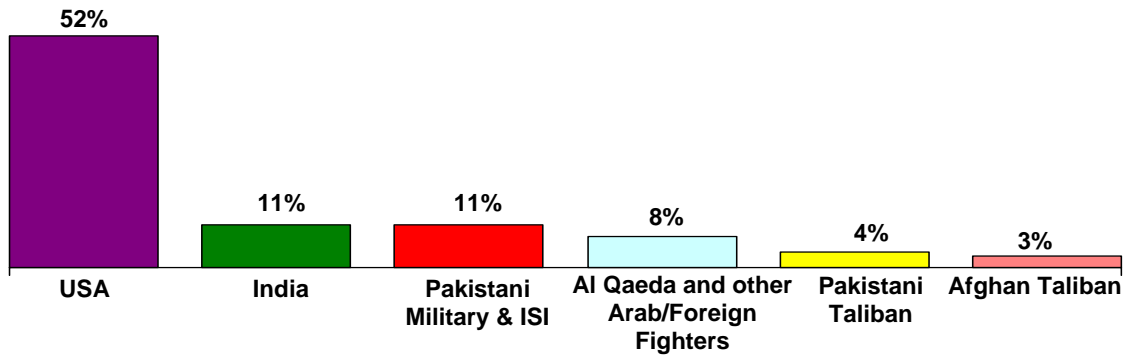
**Standing up to America.**

**Pakistanis who agree with top Al Qaeda goal of standing up to America:**

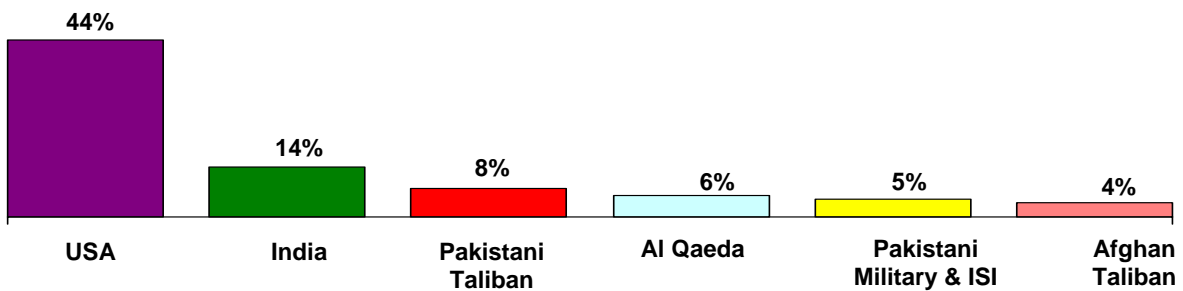
**57 percent.**



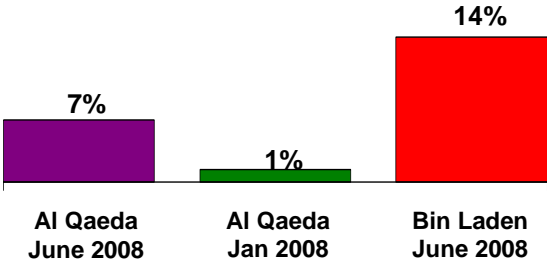
## Who Do You Consider Most Responsible for the Violence that is Occurring in Pakistan Today?



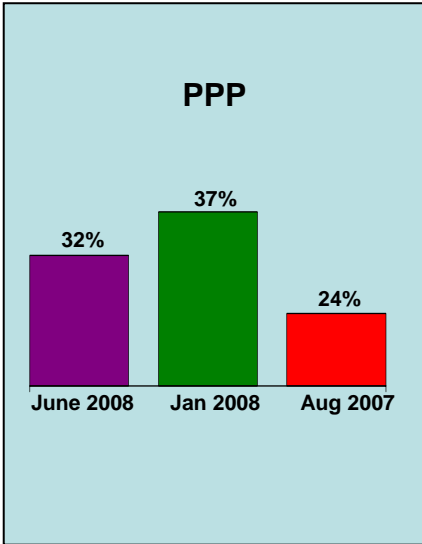
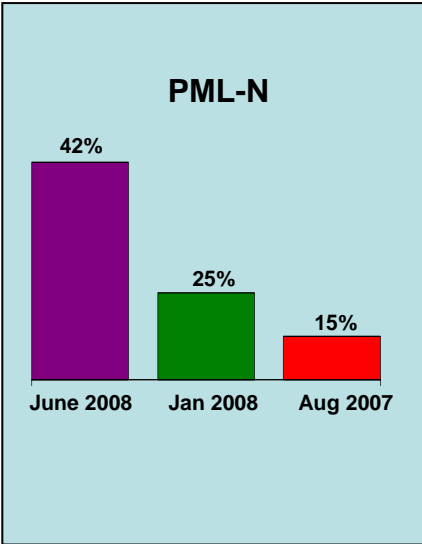
## Which of the following Countries or Groups do you Think Pose the Greatest Threat to your Personal Safety?



**If Al Qaeda and Bin Laden Were on the Ballot, Percent of Pakistanis Who Would Vote for Them:**

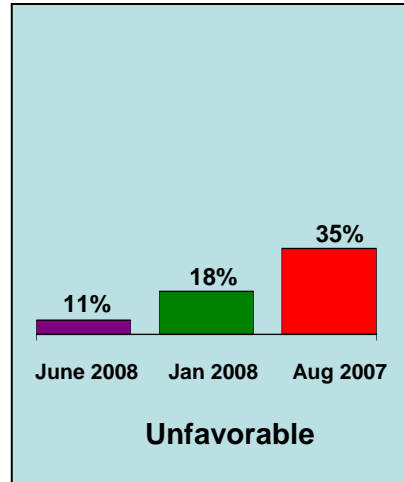
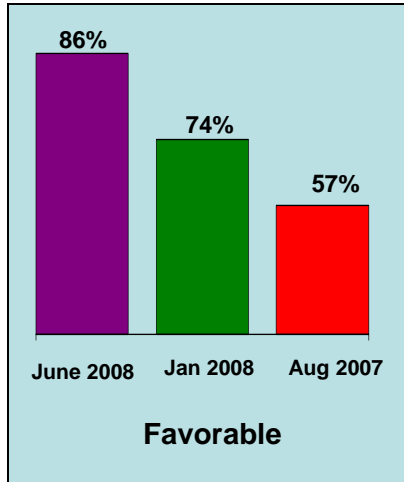


**Which Party Will You Vote For?**



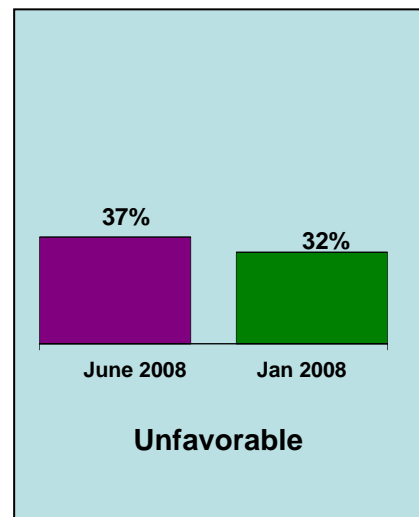
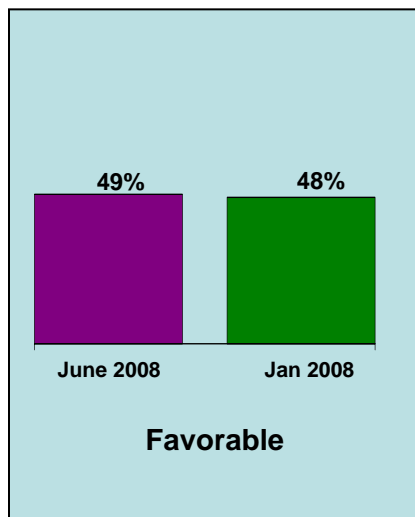
**Favorable/Unfavorable Views of:**

**Nawaz Sharif**



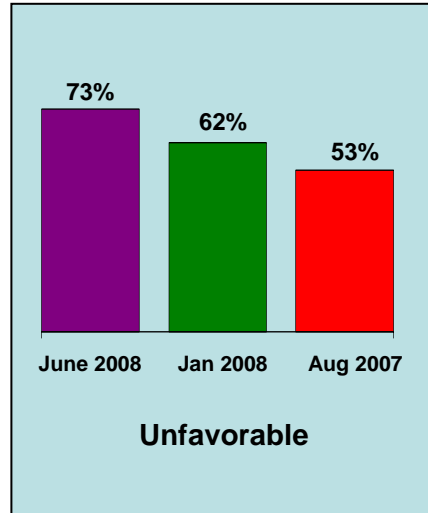
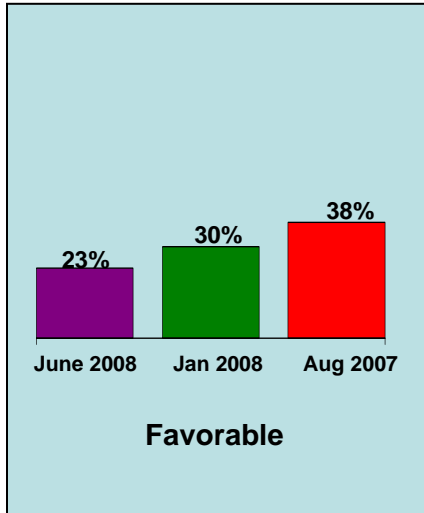
**Favorable/Unfavorable Views of:**

**Asif Ali Zardari**



**Favorable/Unfavorable Views of:**

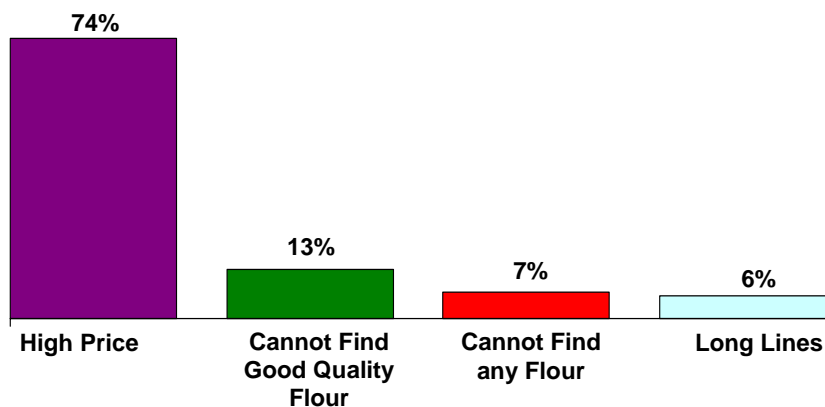
**Pervez Musharraf**



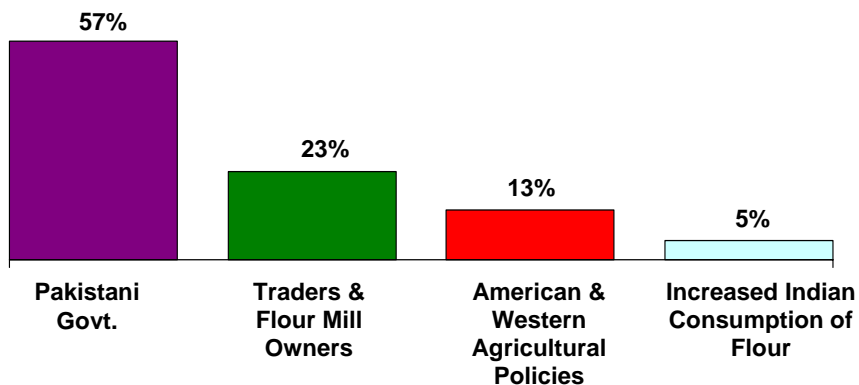
## Percentage of Pakistanis Who Face Difficulty Obtaining Flour for their Daily Food Consumption:

**86 percent.**

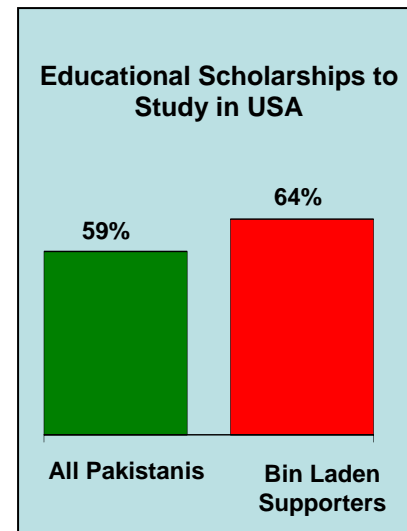
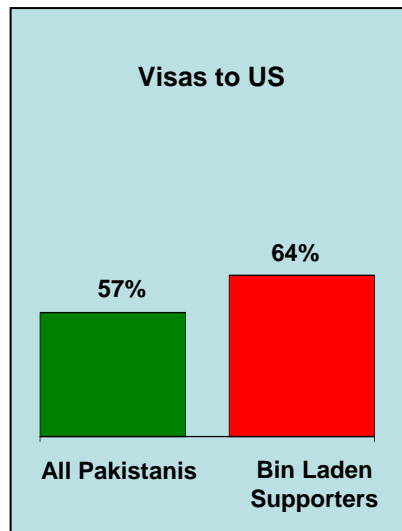
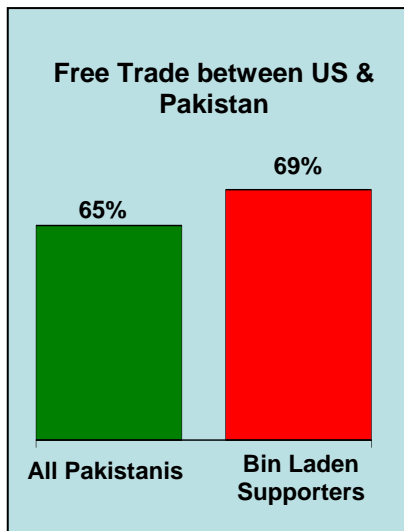
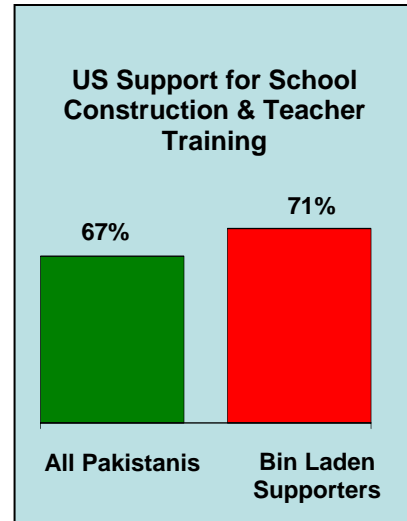
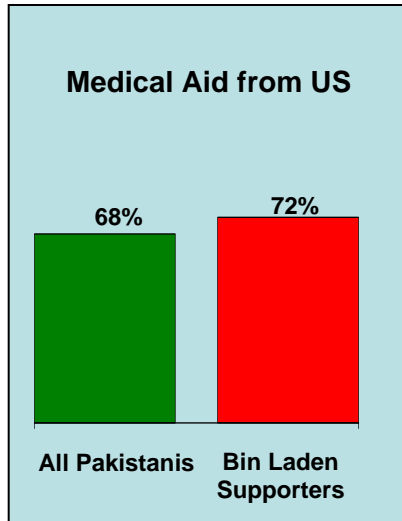
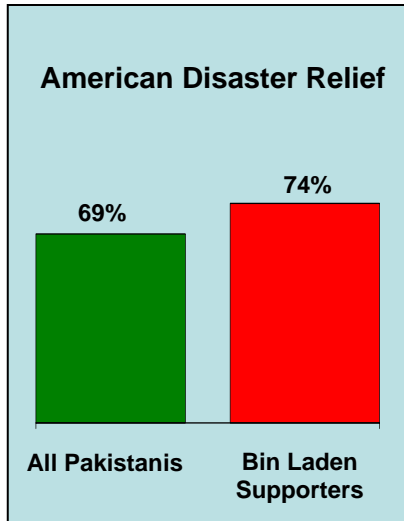
### The Most Important Reason Cited for the Hardship:



### Who Pakistanis Think is Most Responsible for Food Hardship:



## What Would Improve Pakistani Opinion of the United States?



## Background on TFT:

**Terror Free Tomorrow: The Center for Public Opinion (“TFT”)** is a non-partisan, 501(c) (3) not-for-profit established in Washington, D.C.

Terror Free Tomorrow finds out why people support or oppose extremism. Our work is pioneering. TFT is the first to conduct uncensored, independent, comprehensive nationwide public opinion surveys in Iran, Saudi Arabia and Syria, path breaking surveys in Pakistan, and the first surveys of Indonesia following the tsunami in December 2004 and Pakistan after the October 2005 earthquake.

Covered by every major media outlet throughout the world, TFT surveys have been the subject of editorials in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Guardian*, *The Economist*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *International Herald Tribune*, etc., front page news articles in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, and featured coverage by the Associated Press, CNN, NBC, etc.

Since 2005, Terror Free Tomorrow has conducted more than thirty nationwide public opinion surveys around the world, including in Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Syria, Turkey, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, India, the United Arab Emirates and elsewhere.

- IN **PAKISTAN**, Terror Free Tomorrow’s nationwide pre-election survey in February 2008 was front page news and the subject of editorials in every major newspaper. Denounced by Pakistani government spokesmen and official state television, even President Musharraf responded by claiming that TFT and other polling “*have value in developed nations but not here in Pakistan.*” But, as a leading national independent Pakistani newspaper (*The News*) concluded, TFT’s survey helped make “*rigging of the elections somewhat difficult.*”

Indeed, a feature article from one of Pakistan’s leading newspapers (*Daily Times*) found that the Pakistani government had a plan to rig the Pakistani elections, but that Terror Free Tomorrow’s public opinion poll helped to “*definitely prevent the government from massive rigging.*”

According to the article, a senior government official with ties to Pakistani intelligence confirmed that “*a plan to rig the elections was in the works,*” but that the polling “*created an atmosphere where there was no choice but to have free and fair elections.*” The article also quotes one of the highest officials in President Musharraf’s own political party, who admitted that the polling “*deter[ed] any state-sponsored manipulation.*”

In the U.S. and West, the poll was relied on in commentary from the *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Los Angeles Times*, to CNN, *The*

*Economist, Financial Times* and the Council on Foreign Relations, with news coverage in the *New York Times, Washington Post, AP* and around the world.

- **IN SAUDI ARABIA**, TFT's unprecedented survey in December 2007 was hailed by the major reform-minded Arabic press as "*a survey of profound importance*" (*Al-Watan; Asharq Al-Awsat*), and extensively reported in front page coverage throughout Saudi and Arabic media. According to *Al-Watan*, the leading reform newspaper in Saudi Arabia, TFT's survey was "*a rare and remarkable in-depth study of Saudi society*" that can help "*bear witness to a new consciousness in the Arab and Muslim world.*"

For the U.S., the poll was relied on in commentary from the *Christian Science Monitor* to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, with the *International Herald Tribune* citing the survey as "a highly regarded study." News coverage was global, including AP, the *New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, USA Today, Reuters, CNN* and more.

- **IN PAKISTAN**, TFT's nationwide survey in August 2007 was the "*oft-quoted standard*" for the democracy debate inside Pakistan (*The News*).

In the American foreign policy debate, the survey was relied on in editorials from the *Washington Post* to the *Los Angeles Times*, part of front page coverage in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, a feature story on CNN, and in hearings before the House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees.

- **IN IRAN**, TFT's surveys were the first uncensored poll of the Iranian people in five years, headlined by the leading student organization in Iran, throughout Iranian blogs and by the leaders of the pro-democracy movement.

Our Iran survey made a real impact to Iranians themselves. Called "*an act of bravery by ordinary citizens,*" TFT's survey "*after so many years of isolation, and despite the risk,*" is giving the Iranian people themselves a voice (*International Herald Tribune*).

For the American and international policy debate, our surveys have been featured in a lead news story by the *Washington Post* and in editorials in the *Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Economist, Guardian* and *New York Post*, among others. One editorial concluded that Terror Free Tomorrow findings provide "*the most complete and nuanced understanding of one of the most important foreign-policy challenges we face in the 21st century.*"

TFT's work is also impacting the highest levels of the U.S. Congress and Administration.

Our first Iran survey was the featured topic of a hearing before the House National Security Subcommittee, with TFT President Ken Ballen the lead witness. Our surveys have also been the topic for testimony in other Congressional



hearings before the House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a key finding behind new legislation by Senators Russ Feingold (D-WI) and Norm Coleman (R-MN).

TFT's work has been relied on by the State Department as an independent benchmark in evaluating the success of American foreign policy (*State Dept Performance and Accountability Report*), and by the Department of Defense in the *National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism*.

Admiral Michael Mullen, Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated that TFT surveys were a "critical factor" in launching the Navy's humanitarian medical missions. TFT surveys showed that the Navy's hospital ship, treating 61,000 needy patients, changed public opinion favorably toward the United States—resulting, according to Admiral Mullen, in new humanitarian missions by the Navy throughout the world.

As Admiral Mullen testified in March 2007 before the House Armed Services Committee: "Terror Free Tomorrow's results provide real indication of the power of international humanitarian partnership."

Praised by leading experts, scholars and think-tanks such as the Council on Foreign Relations, the New America Foundation, Brookings, CSIS, the Heritage Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment and the Nixon Center, our surveys have been featured in editorials spanning the political spectrum from *The Wall Street Journal* to *The New York Times*, from the *Washington Post* to the *Los Angeles Times*, *Financial Times*, *The Economist* and the *Guardian*.

TFT findings have also been relied on cited in important books on foreign policy, such as Senator Barack Obama's *The Audacity of Hope*; Benazir Bhutto's posthumous *Reconciliation*; Kishore Mahbubani, *The New Asian Hemisphere*; Peter Beinart's *The Good Fight*; and Peter Bergen's *The Osama bin Laden I Know*, among others.

### **Recent Work in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Syria:**

Our two recent Pakistan surveys were featured on CNN, including in a special report on CNN's *Anderson Cooper*, as well as in front page news stories by both the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* and extensive wire reports from AP, etc.

The coverage was global, from a feature story on CNN and the CNN.com website, to front page articles in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, as well as the *Financial Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Roll Call*, *The New Republic*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Newsday*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Guardian*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *San Diego Union Tribune*, etc.

According to *Newsweek*, Pakistan is now the most dangerous country in the world. Before the Feb 18, 2008 election, there was much reason to believe that the military dictatorship of General Pervez Musharraf would attempt to rig the elections, as the government clearly did in the last Pakistani elections held in 2002. Every national security expert feared the consequences in this country, which is home to Al Qaeda and the only nuclear-armed Muslim nation, if Musharraf tried to rig the elections.

Terror Free Tomorrow's nationwide pre-election survey was front page news and the subject of editorials in every major newspaper across Pakistan. Denounced by Pakistani government spokesmen and official state television, even President Musharraf responded by claiming that TFT and other polling "*have value in developed nations but not here in Pakistan.*"

But, as a leading national independent Pakistani newspaper concluded and reported in the *Christian Science Monitor*, TFT's survey helped make "*rigging of the elections somewhat difficult.*"

Indeed, TFT's pre-election survey of Pakistan in January 2008 reflected the actual election results on February 18, 2008 at the margin of error of our January survey.

Terror Free Tomorrow's recent survey of Saudi Arabia is also having an important impact inside Saudi Arabia and the Arab world as well. Hailed by the major reform-minded Arabic press as "a survey of profound importance" (*Al-Watan; Asharq Al-Awsat*), the survey has been extensively reported in front page coverage throughout Saudi and Arabic media. According to *Al-Watan*, the leading reform newspaper in Saudi Arabia, our survey is: "a rare and remarkable in-depth study of Saudi society" that can help "bear witness to a new consciousness in the Arab and Muslim world."

The Saudi survey has also been reported on by the *New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *USA Today*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Miami Herald*, *Examiner*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Boston Globe*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Forbes*, *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, *Yahoo News*, *AOL News*, CNN, FOX NEWS, CBS NEWS and Associated Press, Reuters and UPI wire reports throughout the world.

Our recent Iran surveys have been featured in editorials in the *Chicago Tribune*, *the Guardian*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times* and the *Washington Times* and *The Economist*.

Terror Free Tomorrow's Iran survey has been the topic of a hearing before the House National Security Subcommittee, where TFT President Ken Ballen was the lead witness, as well as the topic for testimony in other Congressional hearings

before the House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees. In addition, TFT has presented our findings at key think tanks in Washington, DC, such as the Heritage Foundation, the Nixon Center and CSIS. The latter event was nationally televised live by C-SPAN.

The survey has received news coverage in the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, CNN, NBC News *The Today Show*, the Associated Press, the Council on Foreign Relations, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Newsday*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Guardian (UK)*, *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, *Jerusalem Post*, *USA Today*, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Post*, ABC News, CBS News, the BBC, PBS, C-SPAN, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Miami Herald*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Boston Globe*, *San Diego Union Tribune*, *Forbes*, *Yahoo News*, *AOL News*, BBC Persian, VOA Persian, Radio Farda, and others throughout the world, and throughout the blogosphere.

TFT has also released the first uncensored nationwide poll of Syria ever conducted. This survey has received coverage from a lead commentary in the *Wall Street Journal* to numerous articles in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Newsday*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Guardian*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Miami Herald*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *San Diego Union Tribune*, *Forbes*, *Jerusalem Post*, *Ha'aretz (Israel)*, and others throughout the Middle East.

### **Indonesia, Bangladesh, Turkey and Nigeria**

In Indonesia and Bangladesh, Admiral Michael Mullen, Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—the nation’s highest ranking military officer—stated that TFT surveys were a “critical factor” in launching the Navy’s humanitarian medical missions. TFT surveys showed that the Navy’s hospital ship, treating 61,000 needy patients, changed public opinion favorably toward the United States and against terrorism—resulting, according to Admiral Mullen, in new medical missions by the Navy.

Admiral Mullen has written that TFT’s findings provided the proof to “one of the defining moments of this new century.” According to Admiral Mullen, TFT’s surveys have directly led to continuing successful humanitarian missions by the U.S. Navy around the world. As Admiral Mullen testified in March 2007 before the U.S. House Armed Services Committee:

“In public opinion surveys conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow, Indonesians and Bangladeshis overwhelmingly indicated their support of the Navy’s humanitarian missions. In Indonesia, 85% of those aware of *MERCY*’s visit had a favorable opinion, and in Bangladesh this figure was 95%. Further, 87% of those polled in Bangladesh stated that *MERCY*’s activities made their overall view of the United

States more positive. These polling results provide real indication of the power of partnership humanitarian missions.”

Earlier in the year, TFT completed a public opinion survey of Turkey—the first on an issue of vital importance to both Turkey and the United States, namely the U.S. Congressional resolution formally recognizing as organized genocide the mass killings of Armenians from 1915-23 in Turkey’s predecessor state of the Ottoman Empire. Our unprecedented survey showed that the resolution would actually set back the cause it purported to achieve: namely, Turkey’s recognition of its own past and reconciliation with Armenia today.

The TFT survey was featured in front page news coverage by both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*—in fact, in no less than two front page stories by the *New York Times* (as well as coverage elsewhere such as the *Washington Times*, *Baltimore Sun*, etc.) The survey served as a critical element in the Congress’ deliberations over the resolution, cited in statements on both the House Floor and by leading Members of Congress as a critical factor in the Congressional debate.

Lee Hamilton, Co-Chair of the 9/11 Commission and the Iraq Study Group, has commented on another one of TFT’s surveys—this time of Nigeria:

"Terror Free Tomorrow's new survey of Nigerian opinion reinforces a lesson that America has learned in places as diverse as Pakistan and Indonesia: in the struggle against extremism, the effective and targeted use of U.S. assistance can be as effective - if not more effective - than the deployment of bombs and guns. To win the war of ideas and to combat the swelling turmoil around the world, the United States must use all aspects of American power - including the power of American generosity."

News coverage of that survey, as well as two lead editorials in the *Christian Science Monitor*, authored by TFT’s President, also appeared.

### **Additional Background on TFT:**

Since 2005, Terror Free Tomorrow has conducted more than twenty-five nationwide public opinion surveys around the world, including in Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Syria, Turkey, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, India, the United Arab Emirates and elsewhere.

Terror Free Tomorrow’s surveys have been cited by former Presidents Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush, in the US Congress (on the Senate Floor, by key Senators and Congressmen, and in both House and Senate testimony), at the United Nations, and by the US Department of State and Department of Defense, as well as prominent leading think-tanks such as the Heritage Foundation, the Brookings Institution, the Nixon Center, the Center for Strategic and

International Studies (CSIS), the Council on Foreign Relations, the Carnegie Endowment and the Clinton Global Initiative.

Terror Free Tomorrow's President, Ken Ballen, successfully prosecuted international terrorists and played a leading role in some of the most important Congressional investigations over the past two decades. Our distinguished international Advisory Board is led by Senator John McCain, former 9/11 Commission Co-Chair Lee Hamilton and former Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist.

Terror Free Tomorrow was the first to conduct a nationwide poll in Indonesia after the tsunami. President Bush, and former Presidents Clinton and Bush, all cited the poll as a key reason for sustained American tsunami relief. The US State Department also relied on TFT polling in testimony before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

In addition, Terror Free Tomorrow conducted the first and only poll in Pakistan after the devastating October 2005 earthquake. The poll was featured in *The Wall Street Journal*, CNN and international media. Moreover, the poll served as the principal finding by the US Senate for the United States "to take the lead" in relief efforts to Pakistani earthquake victims (Senate Resolution #356, co-sponsored by Senators Lugar and Biden, Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee).

Terror Free Tomorrow's surveys have been relied on as one of the key findings for new legislation to strengthen America's public diplomacy and humanitarian efforts, introduced by Senators Russ Feingold (D-WI) and Norm Coleman (R-MN). TFT findings have also been relied on by the State Department as an independent benchmark in evaluating the success of American foreign policy (*State Dept Performance and Accountability Report*), and by the Department of Defense in the *National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism*.

TFT's work has also been covered extensively in leading news media, including lead editorials and featured stories in, among others, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, Associated Press, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *USA Today*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Financial Times*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Baltimore Sun*, *The Economist*, CNN, NBC News, National Public Radio, *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, and *U.S. News & World Report*. Other coverage includes MSNBC, ABC News, CBS News, FOX News, *Chicago Tribune*, *Newsday*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Reuters*, *The Washington Times*, *The New York Post*, *The National Review*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Houston Chronicle*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *United Press International*, *The White House Bulletin*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *The Afghanistan Times*, *The Jakarta Post* (Indonesia), Metro TV Indonesia, *Tempo* (Indonesia), *Kompas* (Indonesia), TV/Radio Australia, *Straits Times* (Malaysia), *Pakistan Dawn*, *The Nation* (Pakistan), GEO TV Pakistan, *Pakistan Daily Times*, Voice of America, *Journal do Brasil*, *Die Welt* (Germany), *Le Monde* (France), BBC, *The*

*Guardian* (UK), *The Daily Yomiuri* (Japan), *The Jerusalem Post*, *The China Post*, *The Seoul Times*, *The Indian Express* (India), *The Hindu* (India), *The Turkish Daily News*, *The Turkish Press*, *Zaman* (Turkey), *The Oman Tribune*, *The Gulf News* (UAE and pan-Arab), *The Middle East Times*, *The Muslim News*, and *The Daily Star* (Lebanon and pan-Arab), among others. TFT has also been extensively covered in blogs throughout the Internet.

Terror Free Tomorrow findings have also been cited in scholarly journals including the *Harvard International Review*, the *New England Journal of Medicine*, and important books on American foreign policy, such as Senator Barack Obama's *The Audacity of Hope*; Peter Beinart's *The Good Fight*; Benazir Bhutto's posthumous *Reconciliation*; Kishore Mahbubani, *The New Asian Hemisphere*; Tony Smith's *Washington's Bid*; Carnes Lord's *Losing Hearts and Minds*; and Dick Martin's *Rebuilding Brand America* and Peter Bergen's *The Osama bin Laden I Know*, among others.

## **Methodology:**

This survey was conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow, in collaboration with the New America Foundation and field work in Pakistan by the Pakistan Institute for Public Opinion (PIPO), an affiliate of Gallup Pakistan. Interviews were conducted face-to-face with 1,306 Pakistanis age 18 or older across 131 urban and rural sampling points in all four provinces of Pakistan. The fieldwork was conducted from May 25th to June 1st, 2008.

The questionnaire consisted of 36 substantive questions, 14 demographic questions, and 23 quality control questions. Respondents were selected using a multi-stage random stratified sampling methodology. During the course of fieldwork, there were 2,255 contacts attempts made. Of these, 584 resulted in non-contacts, yielding a non-contact rate of 26%. There were 359 refusals giving the study a net response rate of 84%. The poll has a +/- 3% margin of error at the 95% confidence interval.

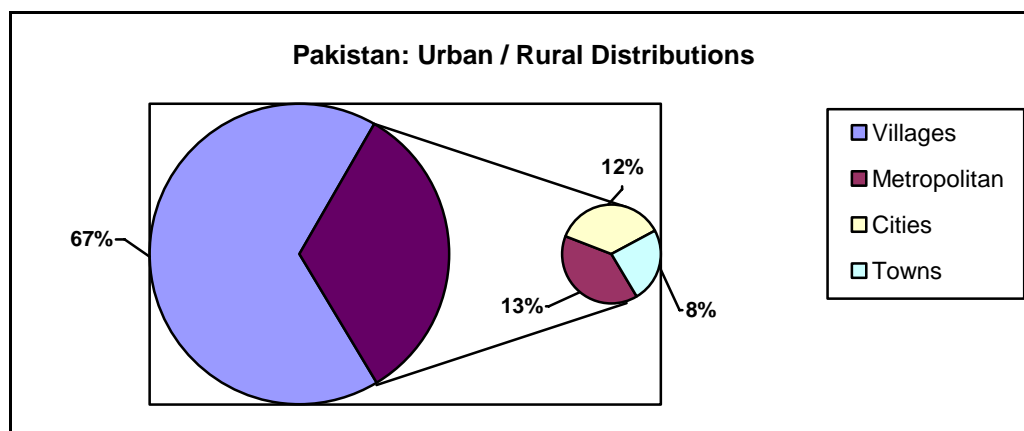
TFT and PIPO use face-to-face research in Pakistan. Interviews were conducted by 56 trained interviewers who are native Pakistanis. Interviewers were briefed on a number of items including, but not limited to, the objective of the program and survey details, selection of respondents, the questionnaire (both asking of questions and recording of responses), timing and control issues, and usage of the questionnaire. Interviews were subjected to numerous quality control procedures including direct supervision of interviews in 12% of the interviews and in-person back checks by supervisors for 11% of the interviews.

The target sample was a random selection of Pakistani nationals, both male and female, above the age of 18. The sample covered all four provinces of Pakistan, with the number of sampling points chosen in proportion to the size of each province's population, as well as both urban and rural strata.

Pakistan's population is approximately 160 million. The population is heavily rural; however, urbanization has been rising from 18% in 1951 after its independence to 33% in the latest census (1998).

TFT's previous nationwide surveys with PIPO of Pakistan, used for comparison, were conducted from August 18 to 29, 2007, and from January 19 to January 29, 2008, employing the same methodology and coverage. Those surveys can be also be accessed in the Polls section of [www.terrorfreetomorrow.org](http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org).

Pakistan has a federal structure with four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan. The federal capital Islamabad is situated in Punjab, which is by far the largest province in terms of population size (58%) followed by Sindh (24%), NWFP (14%) and Balochistan (5%). All provinces of Pakistan were covered in the sample, including urban and rural areas of the NWFP but did not include the more remote, inaccessible Federally Administered Tribal Areas. The population is divided further into the following segments (chart follows).



The National Census data from 1998 are used as the universe for this sample. The national census is classified by villages as the primary unit in the rural areas and urban census circles in the urban areas. We have adopted the same as our primary sampling units. Using a multi-stage random stratified sampling method, we selected over 100 primary sampling units, comprising villages and urban circles in all the four provinces. The completed sample contains 131 sampling points; in which approximately 10 interviews were carried out in households selected using a random walk. A total of 1,306 men and women belonging to a national cross section in terms of gender, age and other socio-economic characteristics are represented in the sample.

The first household in a sampling point was chosen by drawing slips of paper on which the house numbers which are present on that street are written. After the first household is randomly selected, the interviewer follows a random walk selecting every third household on the right hand side of the street. The

respondent (male/female adult 18+) is chosen randomly using a Kish grid. The data represented in this sample are weighted for province and urban /rural distribution, as follows:

**TFT Pakistan Survey – May-June 2008**  
**National Census vs. Unweighted Demographics**

	<b>Share in National Census Population</b>	<b>Share in Unweighted Sample TFT Wave-3</b>	<b>Share in Weighted Sample TFT Wave-3</b>
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	52%	52%	53%
Female	48%	48%	47%
<b>Age<sup>1</sup></b>			
18-29	42%	41%	41%
30-49	37%	47%	47%
50 +	21	12%	12%
<b>Geographic Code</b>			
Urban	33%	33%	33%
Rural	67%	67%	67%
<b>Province / City / Region</b>			
Punjab	58%	40%	58%
Sindh	24%	25%	24%
NWFP	14%	25%	14%
Balochistan	5%	10%	5%



## Terror Free Tomorrow Pakistan-Wave 3 Topline Frequencies

**Q1: Would you say that Pakistan in general is heading in the right or wrong direction?**

	Frequency	Percent
Right Direction	266	20.4
Wrong Direction	982	75.2
Refused	13	1.0
Don't Know	45	3.4
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q2a: Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or strongly disapprove of the job performance of?**

**Pervez Musharraf**

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Approve	90	6.9
Approve Somewhat	231	17.7
Disapprove Somewhat	250	19.2
Strongly Disapprove	684	52.4
Refused	10	.8
Don't Know	40	3.1
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q2b: Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or strongly disapprove of the job performance of?**

**Yousaf Raza Gilani**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Approve</b>	170	13.0
<b>Approve Somewhat</b>	703	53.8
<b>Disapprove Somewhat</b>	232	17.7
<b>Strongly Disapprove</b>	71	5.5
<b>Refused</b>	33	2.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	97	7.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q2c: Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or strongly disapprove of the job performance of?**

**Nawaz Sharif**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Approve</b>	447	34.2
<b>Approve Somewhat</b>	604	46.2
<b>Disapprove Somewhat</b>	147	11.2
<b>Strongly Disapprove</b>	68	5.2
<b>Refused</b>	10	.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	31	2.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q2d: Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or strongly disapprove of the job performance of?**

**Asif Ali Zardari**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Approve</b>	166	12.7
<b>Approve Somewhat</b>	492	37.7
<b>Disapprove Somewhat</b>	290	22.2
<b>Strongly Disapprove</b>	232	17.7
<b>Refused</b>	43	3.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	83	6.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3a: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**China**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	367	28.1
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	709	54.3
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	84	6.5
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	39	3.0
<b>Refused</b>	19	1.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	87	6.6
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3b: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**United States**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	25	1.9
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	195	15.0
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	421	32.2
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	543	41.6
<b>Refused</b>	12	.9
<b>Don't Know</b>	110	8.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3c: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Saudi Arabia**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	551	42.2
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	617	47.3
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	54	4.2
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	9	.7
<b>Refused</b>	7	.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	68	5.2
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3d: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**India**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	20	1.5
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	456	34.9
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	418	32.0
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	274	21.0
<b>Refused</b>	22	1.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	116	8.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3e: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**United Kingdom**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	9	.7
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	266	20.4
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	439	33.6
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	354	27.1
<b>Refused</b>	30	2.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	207	15.8
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3f: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**France**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	28	2.1
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	310	23.8
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	395	30.3
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	240	18.3
<b>Refused</b>	47	3.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	287	22.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3g: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Afghanistan**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	72	5.5
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	478	36.6
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	343	26.2
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	155	11.9
<b>Refused</b>	58	4.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	199	15.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q3h: Please tell me your opinion of each country. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Iran**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	261	20.0
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	644	49.3
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	143	11.0
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	57	4.3
<b>Refused</b>	37	2.9
<b>Don't Know</b>	164	12.5
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q4a: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Chinese**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	398	30.5
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	697	53.4
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	89	6.8
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	23	1.8
<b>Refused</b>	15	1.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	83	6.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q4b: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Arabs**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	534	40.9
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	623	47.7
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	59	4.5
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	22	1.7
<b>Refused</b>	6	.4
<b>Don't Know</b>	62	4.8
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q4c: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Americans**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	38	2.9
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	283	21.6
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	418	32.0
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	403	30.9
<b>Refused</b>	15	1.2
<b>Don't Know</b>	149	11.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008



**Q4d: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**French**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	34	2.6
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	353	27.0
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	365	28.0
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	254	19.5
<b>Refused</b>	29	2.2
<b>Don't Know</b>	271	20.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q4e: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**British**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	16	1.2
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	317	24.3
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	378	29.0
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	311	23.8
<b>Refused</b>	35	2.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	247	18.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q4f: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Indians**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	26	2.0
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	468	35.9
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	368	28.1
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	238	18.3
<b>Refused</b>	26	2.0
<b>Don't Know</b>	180	13.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q4g: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Afghans**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	102	7.8
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	527	40.4
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	281	21.5
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	126	9.6
<b>Refused</b>	45	3.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	225	17.2
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q4h: Please tell me your opinion of each group of people. Is your opinion very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

**Iranians**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	251	19.2
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	649	49.7
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	144	11.0
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	44	3.3
<b>Refused</b>	32	2.4
<b>Don't Know</b>	188	14.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q5: Some people favor strong and close relations between Pakistan and the United States; some favor normal relations; and some favor no relations at all between the two countries. Do you favor strong and close relations, normal relations or no relations at all?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Favor Strong &amp; Close Relations b/t Pakistan &amp; US</b>	247	18.9
<b>Favor Normal Relations b/t Pakistan &amp; US</b>	564	43.2
<b>Favor No Relations at All b/t Pakistan &amp; US</b>	400	30.7
<b>Refused</b>	35	2.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	60	4.6
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q6: Now, turning to aid provided by the United States, which of the following comes closest to your opinion?**

	Frequency	Percent
US Should Give Aid Directly to People of Pakistan	557	42.6
US Should Give Aid Directly to Gov't of Pakistan	265	20.3
US Should Give Aid Directly to Business & Banks of Pakistan	129	9.9
US Should Not Give Any Aid to Pakistan	268	20.5
Refused	20	1.5
Don't Know	68	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7a: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**More business investment in Pakistan**

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	331	25.3
Somewhat	570	43.6
Not Significantly	255	19.5
Not At All	92	7.1
Refused	13	1.0
Don't Know	46	3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7b: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**Free trade between the U.S. and Pakistan**

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	293	22.4
Somewhat	550	42.1
Not Significantly	296	22.7
Not At All	105	8.1
Refused	12	1.0
Don't Know	49	3.8
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7c: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**Support for Pakistani school construction and teacher training for Pakistanis**

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	382	29.2
Somewhat	491	37.6
Not Significantly	266	20.4
Not At All	106	8.1
Refused	13	1.0
Don't Know	48	3.7
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7d: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**Help in responding to a natural disaster in Pakistan, like an earthquake**

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	361	27.6
Somewhat	534	40.9
Not Significantly	239	18.3
Not At All	90	6.9
Refused	16	1.2
Don't Know	66	5.1
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7e: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**Medical care and training for Pakistanis**

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	316	24.2
Somewhat	568	43.5
Not Significantly	229	17.6
Not At All	108	8.3
Refused	19	1.5
Don't Know	65	5.0
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7f: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**Military equipment and training to the Pakistani armed forces**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>A Great Deal</b>	239	18.3
<b>Somewhat</b>	478	36.6
<b>Not Significantly</b>	273	20.9
<b>Not At All</b>	203	15.5
<b>Refused</b>	21	1.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	92	7.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7g: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**U.S. increasing visas for Pakistanis to work or study in the United States**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>A Great Deal</b>	268	20.5
<b>Somewhat</b>	479	36.7
<b>Not Significantly</b>	293	22.4
<b>Not At All</b>	144	11.0
<b>Refused</b>	32	2.4
<b>Don't Know</b>	91	7.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7h: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**U.S. increasing educational scholarships for Pakistani students to study in the United States**

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	270	20.7
Somewhat	494	37.8
Not Significantly	278	21.3
Not At All	129	9.8
Refused	24	1.8
Don't Know	112	8.6
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q7i: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**Withdrawal of U.S. military from Iraq**

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	354	27.1
Somewhat	454	34.8
Not Significantly	219	16.8
Not At All	136	10.4
Refused	21	1.6
Don't Know	122	9.3
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008



**Q7j: Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?**

**US brokering a comprehensive Middle East peace between Israelis and Palestinians**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>A Great Deal</b>	337	25.8
<b>Somewhat</b>	427	32.7
<b>Not Significantly</b>	228	17.4
<b>Not At All</b>	147	11.3
<b>Refused</b>	24	1.9
<b>Don't Know</b>	143	10.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8a: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Ensuring an independent judiciary**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	760	58.2
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	462	35.4
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	38	2.9
<b>Not At All Important</b>	15	1.1
<b>Refused</b>	4	.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	27	2.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8b: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Ensuring free elections**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	611	46.8
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	499	38.2
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	134	10.3
<b>Not At All Important</b>	30	2.3
<b>Refused</b>	2	.2
<b>Don't Know</b>	30	2.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8c: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Ensuring a free press**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	586	44.8
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	492	37.7
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	128	9.8
<b>Not At All Important</b>	43	3.3
<b>Refused</b>	6	.4
<b>Don't Know</b>	51	3.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8d: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Improving the Pakistani economy**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	701	53.7
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	443	33.9
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	95	7.3
<b>Not At All Important</b>	31	2.4
<b>Refused</b>	4	.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	32	2.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8e: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Expelling Al Qaeda fighters from Pakistan**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	389	29.8
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	455	34.9
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	189	14.4
<b>Not At All Important</b>	155	11.9
<b>Refused</b>	21	1.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	97	7.5
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8f: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Seeking better trade and political relations with Western countries**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	355	27.2
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	530	40.6
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	213	16.3
<b>Not At All Important</b>	85	6.5
<b>Refused</b>	16	1.2
<b>Don't Know</b>	108	8.2
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8g: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Implementing strict Sharia law throughout Pakistan**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	480	36.8
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	495	37.9
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	154	11.8
<b>Not At All Important</b>	94	7.2
<b>Refused</b>	14	1.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	68	5.2
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8h: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Protecting civil society groups like election monitors, pollsters, etc.**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	381	29.2
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	508	38.9
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	180	13.8
<b>Not At All Important</b>	78	6.0
<b>Refused</b>	23	1.8
<b>Don't Know</b>	136	10.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q8i: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan. Please tell me whether you think these goals are important - unimportant:**

**Defeating Taliban fighters inside Pakistan**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Important</b>	299	22.9
<b>Somewhat Important</b>	477	36.5
<b>Somewhat Unimportant</b>	198	15.2
<b>Not At All Important</b>	175	13.4
<b>Refused</b>	23	1.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	134	10.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q9: According to the Daily Times, Pakistani government officials admitted that public opinion surveys helped prevent them from rigging the February 18th election. How important do you think public opinion surveys are to the future of Pakistani democracy?**

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	620	47.5
Somewhat Important	384	29.4
Somewhat Unimportant	103	7.9
Not At All Important	37	2.8
Refused	19	1.5
Don't Know	144	11.0
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10a: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable /unfavorable?**

**Al Qaeda**

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	93	7.1
Somewhat Favorable	328	25.1
Somewhat Unfavorable	289	22.1
Very Unfavorable	305	23.3
Refused	61	4.7
Don't Know	231	17.7
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10b: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Pakistan People's Party (PPP)**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	326	24.9
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	594	45.5
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	215	16.5
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	69	5.2
<b>Refused</b>	46	3.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	58	4.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10c: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	76	5.8
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	427	32.7
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	429	32.9
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	139	10.6
<b>Refused</b>	56	4.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	179	13.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10d: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N)**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	437	33.4
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	614	47.0
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	133	10.2
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	63	4.9
<b>Refused</b>	14	1.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	44	3.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10e: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q)**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	52	4.0
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	199	15.2
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	341	26.1
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	592	45.4
<b>Refused</b>	35	2.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	87	6.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008



**Q10f: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) (Pakistani Taliban)**

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	61	4.7
Somewhat Favorable	279	21.3
Somewhat Unfavorable	357	27.3
Very Unfavorable	208	16.0
Refused	73	5.6
Don't Know	328	25.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10g: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Afghan Taliban**

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	61	4.6
Somewhat Favorable	237	18.2
Somewhat Unfavorable	314	24.0
Very Unfavorable	310	23.8
Refused	75	5.7
Don't Know	309	23.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10h: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Lashkar-i-Tayyiba/Jamaat-ud-Dawa**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	55	4.2
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	221	16.9
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	327	25.0
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	283	21.7
<b>Refused</b>	65	5.0
<b>Don't Know</b>	355	27.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10i: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Laskhar-e-Jhangvi**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	23	1.7
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	188	14.4
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	344	26.3
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	301	23.1
<b>Refused</b>	75	5.8
<b>Don't Know</b>	374	28.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q10j: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties? (Rotate choices): Is that very or somewhat favorable/unfavorable?**

**Kashmiri Jihadi groups**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	106	8.1
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	326	24.9
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	266	20.4
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	233	17.8
<b>Refused</b>	51	3.9
<b>Don't Know</b>	324	24.8
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q11a: Do you support or oppose: The Pakistani military pursuing Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters inside Pakistan**

**Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Support</b>	235	18.0
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	378	29.0
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	270	20.6
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	265	20.3
<b>Refused</b>	28	2.2
<b>Don't Know</b>	129	9.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q11b: Do you support or oppose: The U.S. military working with the Pakistani military to pursue Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters inside Pakistan**

**Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	Frequency	Percent
<b>Strongly Support</b>	51	3.9
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	184	14.1
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	361	27.7
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	540	41.4
<b>Refused</b>	22	1.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	148	11.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q11c: Do you support or oppose: The U.S. military pursuing Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters by itself inside Pakistan without working with the Pakistani military?**

**Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	Frequency	Percent
<b>Strongly Support</b>	46	3.5
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	104	8.0
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	282	21.6
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	681	52.1
<b>Refused</b>	17	1.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	176	13.5
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12a: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Pervez Musharraf**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	91	6.9
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	210	16.1
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	259	19.8
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	690	52.8
<b>Refused</b>	9	.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	47	3.6
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12b: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	327	25.0
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	656	50.3
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	137	10.5
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	59	4.5
<b>Refused</b>	12	.9
<b>Don't Know</b>	116	8.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12c: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Imran Khan**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	154	11.8
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	686	52.5
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	223	17.1
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	105	8.1
<b>Refused</b>	22	1.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	115	8.8
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12d: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Bilawal Bhutto Zardari**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	339	26.0
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	532	40.8
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	112	8.6
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	33	2.5
<b>Refused</b>	34	2.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	256	19.6
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12e: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Nawaz Sharif**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	561	43.0
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	564	43.2
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	88	6.7
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	60	4.6
<b>Refused</b>	7	.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	26	2.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12f: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Yousaf Raza Gilani**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	310	23.7
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	681	52.1
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	126	9.7
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	72	5.5
<b>Refused</b>	30	2.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	87	6.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12g: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**George Bush**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	16	1.2
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	108	8.3
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	253	19.4
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	673	51.6
<b>Refused</b>	40	3.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	215	16.5
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12h: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Monmohan Singh**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	20	1.6
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	184	14.1
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	321	24.6
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	444	34.0
<b>Refused</b>	74	5.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	263	20.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008



**Q12i: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Asif Ali Zardari**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	174	13.4
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	471	36.0
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	278	21.3
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	199	15.2
<b>Refused</b>	42	3.2
<b>Don't Know</b>	142	10.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12j: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Fazl-ur-Rahman**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	43	3.3
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	421	32.2
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	347	26.5
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	233	17.9
<b>Refused</b>	29	2.2
<b>Don't Know</b>	233	17.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12k: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Qazi Hussain Ahmed**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	78	6.0
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	496	38.0
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	272	20.9
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	201	15.4
<b>Refused</b>	23	1.8
<b>Don't Know</b>	235	18.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12l: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Osama bin Laden**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	96	7.3
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	345	26.4
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	236	18.1
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	284	21.7
<b>Refused</b>	49	3.8
<b>Don't Know</b>	297	22.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12m: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Mullah Omar**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	89	6.8
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	227	17.4
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	242	18.5
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	291	22.3
<b>Refused</b>	53	4.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	403	30.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12n: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Baitullah Mehsud**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	47	3.6
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	207	15.8
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	223	17.1
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	312	23.9
<b>Refused</b>	60	4.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	457	35.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q12o: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (ROTATE CHOICES):**

**Abdul Aziz Ghazi**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Very Favorable</b>	74	5.6
<b>Somewhat Favorable</b>	246	18.8
<b>Somewhat Unfavorable</b>	224	17.2
<b>Very Unfavorable</b>	250	19.1
<b>Refused</b>	82	6.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	430	32.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q13a: Do you support or oppose the presence of the following groups inside Pakistan today? The United States military**

**Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Support</b>	46	3.5
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	152	11.6
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	257	19.7
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	691	52.9
<b>Refused</b>	20	1.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	140	10.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q13b: Do you support or oppose the presence of the following groups inside Pakistan today? Arab and Uzbek Al Qaeda fighters**

**Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Support</b>	43	3.3
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	238	18.2
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	259	19.9
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	551	42.2
<b>Refused</b>	43	3.3
<b>Don't Know</b>	172	13.2
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q13c: Do you support or oppose the presence of the following groups inside Pakistan today? Afghan Taliban fighters**

**Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Support</b>	60	4.6
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	197	15.1
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	261	20.0
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	556	42.6
<b>Refused</b>	35	2.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	198	15.2
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q13d: Do you support or oppose the presence of the following groups inside Pakistan today? Pakistani Taliban fighters**

**Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Support</b>	105	8.0
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	283	21.7
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	200	15.3
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	487	37.3
<b>Refused</b>	28	2.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	203	15.6
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q14: Who do you consider the most responsible for the violence that is occurring in Pakistan today?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Al Qaeda &amp; Other Arab &amp; Foreign Fighters</b>	103	7.9
<b>Pakistani Military &amp; ISI</b>	139	10.7
<b>India</b>	148	11.3
<b>USA</b>	677	51.8
<b>Afghan Taliban</b>	39	3.0
<b>Pakistani Taliban</b>	54	4.2
<b>Others</b>	15	1.1
<b>Refused</b>	14	1.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	116	8.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q15a: Do you think the Pakistani government should negotiate with any of the following groups, or do you think the government should not negotiate and continue to fight against the following groups?**

**Arab and Uzbek Al Qaeda fighters**

	Frequency	Percent
Negotiate	647	49.6
Not Negotiate & Fight	392	30.0
Refused	69	5.3
Don't Know	198	15.1
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q15b: Do you think the Pakistani government should negotiate with any of the following groups, or do you think the government should not negotiate and continue to fight against the following groups?**

**Afghan Taliban fighters**

	Frequency	Percent
Negotiate	628	48.1
Not Negotiate & Fight	376	28.8
Refused	88	6.8
Don't Know	214	16.4
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q15c: Do you think the Pakistani government should negotiate with any of the following groups, or do you think the government should not negotiate and continue to fight against the following groups?**

**Pakistani Taliban fighters**

	Frequency	Percent
Negotiate	761	58.2
Not Negotiate & Fight	245	18.7
Refused	57	4.4
Don't Know	243	18.6
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q16a: Some people have a favorable opinion of Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda. Some people do not.**

**IF you personally have a favorable opinion, what would you say is the most important reason that you have a favorable opinion?**

**IF YES, ASK Q.16a; IF NO, skip to Q.16b**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Osama Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Stand up to America	321	24.6	43.5
Osama Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Lead Defensive Jihad against America	155	11.8	20.9
Osama Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Fight against Repressive Gov'ts	120	9.2	16.3
Osama Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Stand up for Dignity of Muslims Worldwide	98	7.5	13.3
Refused	19	1.5	2.6
Don't Know	25	1.9	3.3
Total	738	56.5	100.0
Missing NO - Not Asked	568	43.5	
Total	1306	100.0	

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008



**Q16b: What about other people? What do you think is the most important reason that some people support Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda? (Rotate choices)**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Osama Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Stand up to America	377	28.9
Osama Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Stand up for Dignity of Muslims Worldwide	203	15.5
Osama Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Fight against Repressive Gov'ts	177	13.5
People Who Support Osama Bin Laden & Al Queda Are Poor & Lack Opportunities	153	11.7
People Who Support Osama Bin Laden & Al Queda Are Indoctrinated into Misguided Interpretation of Islam	128	9.8
People Who Support Bin Laden & Al Queda Do Not Understand What Bin Laden & Al Qaeda Stand for	114	8.8
Refused	44	3.4
Don't Know	109	8.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q17a: I would now like to ask you about the by-elections scheduled for June 26th. If the by-elections were held today, which party would you vote for?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Pakistan People's Party (PPP)</b>	415	31.8
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N)</b>	548	41.9
<b>Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q)</b>	60	4.6
<b>Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)</b>	77	5.9
<b>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JU)</b>	13	1.0
<b>Awami National Party (ANP)</b>	12	.9
<b>Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)</b>	6	.4
<b>Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)</b>	9	.7
<b>Independents</b>	27	2.1
<b>None</b>	42	3.2
<b>Other</b>	10	.8
<b>Will Not Vote</b>	34	2.6
<b>Refused</b>	14	1.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	41	3.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q17ba: If any of the following groups or parties were on the ballot for the by-elections, would you vote for one of them instead of the parties listed above?**

**Al Qaeda**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>No</b>	1210	92.6
<b>Yes</b>	96	7.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q17bb: If any of the following groups or parties were on the ballot for the by-elections, would you vote for one of them instead of the parties listed above?**

**New independent Party headed by Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry**

	Frequency	Percent
No	663	50.8
Yes	643	49.2
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q17bc: If any of the following groups or parties were on the ballot for the by-elections, would you vote for one of them instead of the parties listed above?**

**New independent Party of the Pakistan Taliban headed by Baitullah Mehsud**

	Frequency	Percent
No	1213	92.9
Yes	93	7.1
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q17b\_ref: If any of the following groups or parties were on the ballot for the by-elections, would you vote for one of them instead of the parties listed above?**

**Refused**

	Frequency	Percent
No	1171	89.6
Yes	135	10.4
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q17b\_dk: If any of the following groups or parties were on the ballot for the by-elections, would you vote for one of them instead of the parties listed above?**

**Don't know**

	Frequency	Percent
No	894	68.5
Yes	412	31.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q18: If the by-election were held in your constituency today, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? Select one only.**

	Frequency	Percent
Asif Ali Zardari	279	21.4
Nawaz Sharif	589	45.1
Imran Khan	48	3.7
Aitaz Ahsan	72	5.5
None	134	10.3
Other	39	3.0
Will Not Vote	66	5.1
Refused	34	2.6
Don't Know	45	3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q19: If any of the following were on the ballot and the by-election occurred today, which of the following would you vote for?**

	Frequency	Percent
Osama Bin Laden	184	14.1
Baitullah Mehsud	45	3.4
Mullah Omar	43	3.3
None of These	494	37.8
Other	8	.6
Will Not Vote	328	25.1
Refused	34	2.6
Don't Know	171	13.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q20: In your opinion, what should happen to President Musharraf?**

	Frequency	Percent
Musharraf Should Resign, & If He Doesn't, Parliament Should Remove Him from Office as President	961	73.5
Musharraf Should Stay In Office & Parliament Should Not Remove Him	252	19.3
Refused	9	.7
Don't Know	84	6.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q21a: Who do you think is the best leader for Pakistan?  
(Rotate choices)**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Pervez Musharraf</b>	116	8.9
<b>Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry</b>	94	7.2
<b>Yousaf Raza Gilani</b>	109	8.3
<b>Bilawal Bhutto Zardari</b>	125	9.5
<b>Nawaz Sharif</b>	520	39.8
<b>Asif Ali Zardari</b>	149	11.4
<b>Osama Bin Laden</b>	23	1.8
<b>Fazl-Ur-Rahman</b>	11	.8
<b>Qazi Hussain Ahmed</b>	10	.8
<b>Ashfaq Pervaiz Kiyani</b>	16	1.3
<b>Imran Khan</b>	23	1.8
<b>Other/None of Above</b>	52	4.0
<b>Refused</b>	15	1.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	45	3.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q21b: If that person was not available to lead Pakistan, who would your second choice be?**

	Frequency	Percent
Pervez Musharraf	20	1.5
Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry	203	15.5
Yousaf Raza Gilani	125	9.5
Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	139	10.6
Nawaz Sharif	212	16.3
Asif Ali Zardari	148	11.3
Osama Bin Laden	30	2.3
Fazl-Ur-Rahman	16	1.2
Qazi Hussain Ahmed	24	1.8
Ashfaq Pervaiz Kiyani	37	2.8
Imran Khan	94	7.2
Other/None of Above	81	6.2
Refused	36	2.7
Don't Know	143	10.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q22: Who do you consider the most responsible for impasse over the restoration of the judges fired by President Musharraf, which has led to the PML-N withdrawing its cabinet ministers from the government?**

	Frequency	Percent
Asif Ali Zardari & PPP	322	24.7
Nawaz Sharif & PML-N	99	7.6
President Musharraf & PML-Q	387	29.6
USA	277	21.2
Others	57	4.3
Refused	34	2.6
Don't Know	130	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q23a: Have you recently faced increased difficulties, or have you not faced difficulties in obtaining aata (flour) for your daily food consumption? IF YES, ASK Q.24b; IF NO, skip to Q25.**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1124	86.0
No	158	12.1
Refused	6	.5
Don't Know	18	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q23b: What is the most important reason you have had difficulty in obtaining aata (flour) for your daily food consumption?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
High Price	826	63.2	73.5
Cannot Find Good Quality Aata (Flour)	148	11.4	13.2
Long Lines To Obtain Aata (Flour)	66	5.0	5.9
Cannot Find Any Aata (Flour) At All	81	6.2	7.2
Refused	3	.2	.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1124</b>	<b>86.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Missing Not Asked	182	14.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008



**Q24: Who do you think is most responsible for the difficulties now facing Pakistanis in obtaining aata (flour)?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Pakistani Gov't</b>	739	56.5
<b>Traders &amp; Flour Mill Owners</b>	297	22.8
<b>Increased Indian Consumption of Flour</b>	58	4.5
<b>American &amp; Western Agricultural Policies</b>	171	13.1
<b>Refused</b>	10	.7
<b>Don't Know</b>	31	2.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q25: How much do increases in the price of oil and gasoline affect, or not affect, your personal life?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Not At All</b>	50	3.9
<b>Not Significantly</b>	69	5.3
<b>Somewhat</b>	96	7.3
<b>A Great Deal</b>	1054	80.7
<b>Refused</b>	1	.1
<b>Don't Know</b>	35	2.7
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q26: Who do you think is most responsible for the rising price of oil and gasoline?**

	Frequency	Percent
Pakistani Gov't	580	44.4
American & Western Oil Companies	495	37.9
Increased Indian & Chinese Consumption of Oil	75	5.7
Oil Producing Countries Like Saudi Arabia	73	5.6
Refused	10	.8
Don't Know	74	5.7
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q27: Do you approve or disapprove of the Pakistani military playing a role, in not just military and security matters, but also in the political and economic affairs of Pakistan? Is that strongly or somewhat approve/disapprove?**

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Approve	134	10.2
Somewhat Approve	233	17.8
Somewhat Disapprove	153	11.7
Strongly Disapprove	687	52.6
Refused	11	.8
Don't Know	89	6.8
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q28: Which of the following countries or groups do you think pose the greatest threat to your personal safety?**

	Frequency	Percent
Pakistani ISI & Military	61	4.7
USA	576	44.1
India	178	13.7
Al Qaeda	78	6.0
Pakistani Taliban	105	8.1
Afghan Taliban	46	3.5
Refused	30	2.3
Don't Know	231	17.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29a1: Turning to Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, please tell me if you think the following are their goals...**

**To stand up to America?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1038	79.5
No	268	20.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29a2: AND if you agree or disagree with that goal....**

**To stand up to America?**

	Frequency	Percent
No	268	20.5
Yes, Agree	745	57.1
Yes, Disagree	117	8.9
Refused	14	1.1
Don't Know	161	12.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29b1: Turning to Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, please tell me if you think the following are their goals....**

**To kill as many Americans as possible?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	798	61.1
No	508	38.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29b2: AND if you agree or disagree with that goal....**

**To kill as many americans as possible?**

	Frequency	Percent
No	508	38.9
Yes, Agree	482	36.9
Yes, Disagree	144	11.1
Refused	13	1.0
Don't Know	159	12.2
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29c1: Turning to Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, please tell me if you think the following are their goals.....**

**To establish Sharia law in all Muslim lands?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	909	69.6
No	397	30.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29c2: AND if you agree or disagree with that goal....**

**To establish Sharia law in Muslim lands?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
No	397	30.4
Yes, Agree	637	48.8
Yes, Disagree	107	8.2
Refused	10	.8
Don't Know	155	11.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29d1: Turning to Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, please tell me if you think the following are their goals...**

**To expel America from all Muslim lands?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	816	62.5
No	490	37.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29d2: AND if you agree or disagree with that goal....**

**To expel America from all Muslim lands?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
No	490	37.5
Yes, Agree	527	40.3
Yes, Disagree	114	8.7
Refused	12	.9
Don't Know	164	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29e1: Turning to Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, please tell me if you think the following are their goals...**

**To establish an Islamic Caliphate across all Muslim lands?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	862	66.0
No	444	34.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29e2: AND if you agree or disagree with that goal....**

**To establish an Islamic Caliphate across Muslim lands?**

	Frequency	Percent
No	444	34.0
Yes, Agree	577	44.2
Yes, Disagree	102	7.8
Refused	14	1.1
Don't Know	169	12.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29f1: Turning to Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda, please tell me if you think the following are their goals....**

**To impose their vision of Islam on the world?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	800	61.2
No	506	38.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q29f2: AND if you agree or disagree with that goal....To impose their vision of Islam on the world?**

	Frequency	Percent
No	506	38.8
Yes, Agree	494	37.8
Yes, Disagree	124	9.5
Refused	12	.9
Don't Know	170	13.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q30: Do you think that suicide bombings and attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?**

	Frequency	Percent
Often Justified	46	3.5
Sometimes Justified	140	10.7
Rarely Justified	91	7.0
Never Justified	954	73.0
Refused	21	1.6
Don't Know	55	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q31a: Do you think that suicide bombings and attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified, when the intended target of the suicide attack is the following?**

**The Pakistani military and police**

	Frequency	Percent
Often Justified	76	5.8
Sometimes Justified	136	10.4
Rarely Justified	161	12.4
Never Justified	795	60.9
Refused	13	1.0
Don't Know	125	9.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q31b: Do you think that suicide bombings and attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified, when the intended target of the suicide attack is the following?**

**The U.S. military**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Often Justified</b>	124	9.5
<b>Sometimes Justified</b>	177	13.6
<b>Rarely Justified</b>	169	12.9
<b>Never Justified</b>	682	52.2
<b>Refused</b>	11	.8
<b>Don't Know</b>	144	11.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q31c: Do you think that suicide bombings and attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified, when the intended target of the suicide attack is the following?**

**Pakistani civilians**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Often Justified</b>	102	7.8
<b>Sometimes Justified</b>	89	6.8
<b>Rarely Justified</b>	124	9.5
<b>Never Justified</b>	850	65.1
<b>Refused</b>	10	.8
<b>Don't Know</b>	130	10.0
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008



**Q31d: Do you think that suicide bombings and attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified, when the intended target of the suicide attack is the following?**

**American civilians**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Often Justified</b>	42	3.2
<b>Sometimes Justified</b>	120	9.2
<b>Rarely Justified</b>	152	11.7
<b>Never Justified</b>	821	62.9
<b>Refused</b>	19	1.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	152	11.6
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q32: Do you agree or disagree that the suicide bombing and attack resulting in the death of Benazir Bhutto was justified? Is that strongly or somewhat agree/disagree?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	41	3.2
<b>Agree Somewhat</b>	99	7.6
<b>Disagree Somewhat</b>	111	8.5
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	1007	77.1
<b>Refused</b>	8	.6
<b>Don't Know</b>	40	3.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q33: In your opinion, who do you think is responsible for the death of Benazir Bhutto?**

	Frequency	Percent
Al Qaeda	63	4.8
President Musharraf	426	32.6
Baitullah Mehsud & His Allies	91	6.9
Pakistani Intelligence Agencies	386	29.6
USA	147	11.2
Others	43	3.3
Refused	18	1.3
Don't Know	133	10.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q34: Some Ulema think that Islam permits suicide bombing attacks against civilians. Other Ulema think that Islam does not permit suicide bombing attacks against civilians. In your opinion, does Islam permit suicide bombing attacks against civilians?**

	Frequency	Percent
Often Permitted	27	2.1
Sometimes Permitted	75	5.7
Rarely Permitted	75	5.7
Never Permitted	1061	81.2
Refused	6	.4
Don't Know	62	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q35: Do you support or oppose the U.S.-led war on terror? Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?**

	Frequency	Percent
<b>Strongly Support</b>	116	8.9
<b>Somewhat Support</b>	142	10.9
<b>Somewhat Oppose</b>	150	11.5
<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	789	60.4
<b>Refused</b>	12	.9
<b>Don't Know</b>	97	7.4
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**Q36: What do you think is the real purpose of the US-led war on terror? (Rotate choices)**

	Frequency	Percent
<b>To Weaken &amp; Divide Islamic World</b>	756	57.9
<b>To Defeat Al Qaeda &amp; Its Allies</b>	182	14.0
<b>To Ensure American Domination over Pakistan</b>	197	15.1
<b>To Defeat Terrorists around World</b>	81	6.2
<b>Others</b>	3	.2
<b>Refused</b>	7	.5
<b>Don't Know</b>	80	6.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

# Demographics

## D1: Respondent Gender

	Frequency	Percent
Male	697	53.3
Female	609	46.7
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

## D2: How old were you on your last birthday? (Record actual age. If respondent refuses to respond or does not know, please estimate). Grouped

	Frequency	Percent
18-24	308	23.6
25-34	426	32.6
35-44	328	25.1
45-54	160	12.2
55+	85	6.5
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

## D3: How many years of formal education have you completed?

	Frequency	Percent
0	295	22.6
5	257	19.7
8	233	17.8
10	319	24.4
12	130	10.0
14	54	4.1
16	10	.8
18	1	.1
Refused	7	.5
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D3a: Did you attend a madrassa? How many years of religious education have you completed?**

	Frequency	Percent
0	761	58.3
1	144	11.0
2	148	11.3
3	83	6.4
4	31	2.4
5	29	2.2
6	6	.5
7	5	.4
8	13	1.0
9	1	.0
10	5	.4
11	1	.0
Refused	80	6.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

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**D4a: What is your job status? Are you....**

	Frequency	Percent
Working Full-Time (40 hours+)	582	44.6
Working Part-Time (less than 40 hours)	48	3.7
Unemployed, Looking for Work	14	1.1
Unemployed, Not Looking for Work	19	1.5
Housewife (not working outside of the home)	563	43.1
Student/Apprentice	65	5.0
Retired/Disabled	11	.8
Don't Know	4	.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D4b: (Ask if the Respondent is working, currently unemployed or is retired): What is/was your primary occupation?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Agricultural Laborer	121	9.3	17.9
Farm Owner	112	8.6	16.7
Unskilled Laborer	43	3.3	6.4
Skilled Laborer	149	11.4	22.0
Technician	8	.6	1.1
Clerical Employee	28	2.2	4.2
White Collar/Employee	9	.7	1.3
Management/Supervisor	13	1.0	2.0
Small Business Owner	85	6.5	12.6
Large Business Owner	30	2.3	4.5
Gov't Employee	22	1.7	3.3
Military, Police, Security	3	.2	.4
Other	1	.1	.1
Hard To Answer	4	.3	.6
No Answer	47	3.6	6.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>674</b>	<b>51.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Missing Not Asked	632	48.4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

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**D5: Are you the head of household?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	456	34.9
No	848	64.9
Refused	2	.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D6a: (Ask if respondent is NOT the head of household in D-5) What is the job status of the head of household?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Working Full-Time (40 hours+)	794	60.8	93.5
Working Part-Time (less than 40 hours)	48	3.6	5.6
Unemployed, Not Looking for Work	5	.4	.6
Retired/Disabled	2	.2	.3
Refused	1	.0	.1
Total	850	65.1	100.0
Missing Not Asked	456	34.9	
Total	1306	100.0	

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**D6b: (Ask if the Respondent is working, currently unemployed or is retired in D-6a): What is/was the primary occupation of the head of household (chief wage earner)?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Agricultural Laborer	81	6.2	9.5
Farm Owner	132	10.1	15.6
Unskilled Laborer	72	5.5	8.5
Skilled Laborer	184	14.1	21.7
Technician	18	1.4	2.1
Clerical Employee	36	2.8	4.3
White Collar/Employee	25	1.9	3.0
Management/Supervisor	26	2.0	3.1
Small Business Owner	134	10.3	15.8
Large Business Owner	49	3.7	5.7
Gov't Employee	74	5.6	8.7
Military, Police, Security	10	.8	1.2
Other	5	.4	.5
Hard To Answer	1	.1	.1
No Answer	2	.2	.3
Total	849	65.0	100.0
Missing Not Asked	457	35.0	
Total	1306	100.0	

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D7a: What is your marital status? Are you ...**

	Frequency	Percent
Married?	962	73.7
Widowed or Divorced?	19	1.5
Single?	322	24.6
Refused	3	.2
Total	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D7b: (Ask if Married in D-7a) In what year were you married?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
1958	1	.0	.1
1960	4	.3	.4
1962	1	.1	.1
1963	1	.0	.1
1966	2	.1	.2
1968	16	1.2	1.6
1970	3	.2	.3
1971	2	.1	.2
1973	12	.9	1.3
1974	2	.1	.2
1975	2	.2	.2
1976	9	.7	1.0
1977	3	.3	.3
1978	33	2.5	3.4
1979	7	.5	.7
1980	11	.9	1.2
1981	4	.3	.5
1982	10	.7	1.0
1983	40	3.1	4.1
1984	6	.4	.6
1985	12	.9	1.3
1986	17	1.3	1.8
1987	3	.3	.4
1988	58	4.4	6.0
1989	9	.7	.9



1990	21	1.6	2.2
1991	14	1.1	1.4
1992	7	.5	.7
1993	60	4.6	6.3
1994	15	1.1	1.5
1995	26	2.0	2.7
1996	46	3.5	4.7
1997	16	1.3	1.7
1998	82	6.3	8.6
1999	25	1.9	2.6
2000	60	4.6	6.3
2001	36	2.7	3.7
2002	35	2.7	3.6
2003	73	5.6	7.6
2004	42	3.2	4.3
2005	63	4.8	6.5
2006	47	3.6	4.9
2007	28	2.1	2.9
<b>Total</b>	962	73.7	100.0
<b>Missing</b>	<b>Not Asked</b>	344	26.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0	

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D8: (Ask All) What is your household's total monthly income from all sources, that is, all types of income for all persons living at this address?**

	Frequency	Percent
RS 1,000 or Less	14	1.1
RS 1,001 to 3,000	11	.9
RS 3,001 to 5,000	112	8.6
RS 5,001 to 7,000	260	19.9
RS 7,001 to 10,000	423	32.4
RS 10,001 to 15,000	261	20.0
RS 15,001 or More	203	15.5
Refused	10	.7
Don't Know	12	.9
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D9: Do you consider yourself to be ...**

	Frequency	Percent
Punjabi?	619	47.4
Sindhi?	149	11.4
Pashtun?	164	12.5
Baloch?	19	1.5
Muhajir?	170	13.0
Other?	69	5.3
Refused	4	.3
Saraeki	113	8.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D10: What is your religious belief? Are you ...**

	Frequency	Percent
Sunni Muslim?	1196	91.5
Shi'a Muslim?	77	5.9
Believer of Another Faith?	21	1.6
Other	13	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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**D11a: (Ask if Answered "1" or "2" to D-10): Please tell me whether you regularly, sometimes, or never engage in the following religious practices. Pray five times a day**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Regularly	573	43.9	45.1
Sometimes	649	49.7	51.0
Never Engage	38	2.9	3.0
Refused	12	.9	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1273</b>	<b>97.4</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Missing Not Asked	34	2.6	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D11b: (Ask if Answered "1" or "2" to D-10): Please tell me whether you regularly, sometimes, or never engage in the following religious practices. Fast during Ramadan**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Regularly	902	69.1	902
Sometimes	352	27.0	352
Never	14	1.1	14
Engage Refused	4	.3	4
Total	1273	97.4	1273
Missing Not Asked	34	2.6	34
Total	1306	100.0	

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D12: (Ask if Answered "1" or "2" to D-10): How often do you attend mosque?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Daily	256	19.6	20.1
Several Times Week	255	19.5	20.0
Once Week	136	10.4	10.7
Monthly	10	.7	.8
Several Times Year	13	1.0	1.0
Once Year Or Less	104	8.0	8.2
Never	489	37.4	38.4
Refused	10	.8	.8
Total	1273	97.4	100.0
Missing Not Asked	34	2.6	
Total	1306	100.0	

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**D13: How many people live here now?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>1</b>	8	.6
<b>2</b>	11	.9
<b>3</b>	24	1.9
<b>4</b>	74	5.6
<b>5</b>	155	11.8
<b>6</b>	176	13.5
<b>7</b>	209	16.0
<b>8</b>	191	14.6
<b>9</b>	159	12.2
<b>10</b>	115	8.8
<b>11</b>	62	4.8
<b>12</b>	50	3.9
<b>13</b>	25	1.9
<b>14</b>	11	.9
<b>15</b>	18	1.4
<b>16</b>	7	.6
<b>17</b>	3	.2
<b>18</b>	4	.3
<b>21</b>	1	.1
<b>24</b>	1	.0
<b>25</b>	1	.0
<b>30</b>	2	.1
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

Terror Free Tomorrow: Pakistan National Survey, May-June 2008

**D14: Would you be willing to participate in another of our surveys later in the year?**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Yes</b>	1251	95.7
<b>No</b>	56	4.3
<b>Total</b>	1306	100.0

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