



The Center for Public Opinion

**Pakistani Support for Al Qaeda, Bin Laden Plunges;
Moderate Parties Surge; 70 Percent Want President
Musharraf to Resign:**

**Results of a New Nationwide Public Opinion Survey of
Pakistan before the February 18th Elections**

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Executive Summary:

In dramatic reversal from just a few months ago, Pakistanis have turned against Osama Bin Laden, Al Qaeda and the Taliban. And in an equally stunning turnaround, in advance of Pakistan's upcoming February 18th elections, nearly two-thirds of Pakistanis now intend to vote for the moderate political parties on the ballot.

These results are from a new nationwide public opinion survey conducted from January 19 to 29, 2008 across Pakistan, covering both urban and rural areas and all provinces. The survey, with face-to-face interviews of 1,157 Pakistanis and a margin of error of 3 percent, was conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow: The Center for Public Opinion, D3 Systems and the Pakistan Institute for Public Opinion.

The momentous events of the past several months—President Musharraf's crackdown against the press and opposition figures, increased terrorist attacks by Al Qaeda and the Taliban, and the assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto—have resulted in a sea change in Pakistani public opinion.

Public Support for Al Qaeda, the Taliban and Bin Laden Drops by Half

Pakistani public support for Al Qaeda, the Taliban, Bin Laden and other radical Islamist groups has dropped by half. TFT's previous nationwide survey across Pakistan in August 2007 (also conducted with D3 and PIPO) showed that anywhere from a third to one-half of Pakistanis had a favorable opinion of Al Qaeda and related radical Islamist groups. Those numbers have now plummeted to the teens.

In August, 46 percent of Pakistanis had a favorable opinion of Bin Laden—that's down to 24 percent now, while Al Qaeda has dropped from 33 to 18 percent, the Taliban from 38 percent to 19 percent, and other related radical Islamist groups from nearly half of the Pakistani public with a favorable view to less than a quarter today.

Significantly, if Al Qaeda were on the ballot as a political party in the February 18th election, only 1 percent of Pakistanis would vote for them. (The Taliban would draw just 3 percent of the vote.)

70 percent of Pakistanis want Musharraf to immediately Resign; 58 percent Think Musharraf and the Government is Responsible for Mrs. Bhutto's Assassination

The Pakistani people give an equally stinging rebuke to President Musharraf and his political allies. 70 percent want Musharraf to resign immediately as President.

More people think that Musharraf is responsible for the assassination of Benazir Bhutto than any other person or group—indeed, 58 percent of Pakistanis think Musharraf, government allied politicians and Pakistani government agencies are responsible for the death of Benazir Bhutto. Only 7 percent believe Al Qaeda and/or the Taliban is responsible, less than those who hold the United States responsible.

Nearly Two-thirds of Pakistanis Will Vote for the Two Leading Moderate Political Parties on the Ballot.

While the public has overwhelmingly turned against Musharraf, Bin Laden, Al Qaeda and the Taliban, the people have also made a dramatic shift in support of Pakistan's moderate, democratic political forces.

In TFT's previous August survey, less than 40 percent said they would vote for the leading moderate political parties, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) led by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Now, 62 percent of Pakistanis said they would vote for the PPP and the PML-N.

Importantly, in the latest survey before the February 18th vote, nearly two-thirds of Pakistanis said they would vote for the moderate parties of the PPP and PML-N. If these parties garner two-thirds of the seats in Pakistan's Parliament, they will have enough votes potentially to remove President Musharraf from office.

Nawaz Sharif, leader of the PML-N, has also become the most popular political figure in Pakistan, with a favorable rating of 73 percent and 18 percent unfavorable (Musharraf stands at just 30 percent favorable; 62 percent unfavorable.) Benazir Bhutto's son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari enjoys the second highest favorable rating at 64 percent, but the late Mrs. Bhutto's husband does not enjoy similarly high favorable ratings, with only 48 percent expressing a favorable opinion, and 32 percent unfavorable. Of course, final election results will be affected by voter turnout and events between now and the elections. Events on the ground, such as the killing of Benazir Bhutto in December, can substantially affect opinion and voting behavior.

Public Support for Al Qaeda, the Taliban and Bin Laden Also Declining in the Northwest Frontier Province; Opinion of the U.S. Still Negative, but Open to Change

In a possible harbinger of future success against Al Qaeda and the Taliban, they are losing public support in areas in or near their home base. Favorable opinions of Al Qaeda and the Taliban in the North-West Frontier Province have dropped to single digits. And while in TFT's last survey, 70 percent in the NWFP expressed a favorable opinion of Bin Laden—that's now plunged to only 4 percent.

Declining support for terrorists does not mean, however, that Pakistanis back American military action against Al Qaeda and the Taliban. 64 percent of

Pakistanis oppose the U.S. military pursuing Al Qaeda and Taliban fighters inside Pakistan, though this is down from the 74 percent who expressed opposition in TFT's August 2007.

Opinions of the United States itself, however, have remained steadily negative, with two-thirds voicing an unfavorable view. Yet as we found in our prior survey, potential changes in American policies could result in profound changes in opinions of the United States itself. Anywhere from a majority to more than two-thirds of Pakistanis said that policies ranging from increased American business investment, free trade, educational aid, disaster assistance, medical care and training and increased U.S. visas for Pakistanis would significantly improve their opinion of the United States.

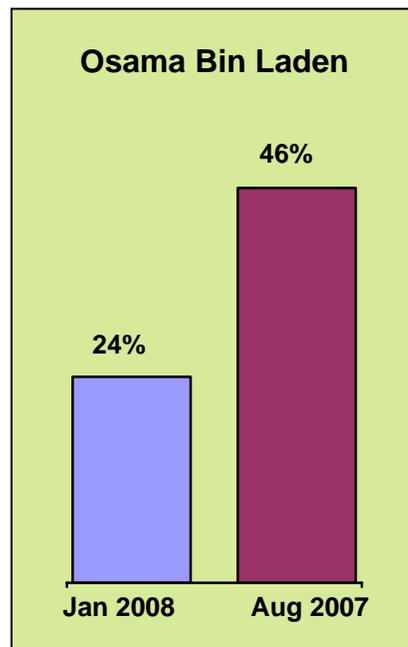
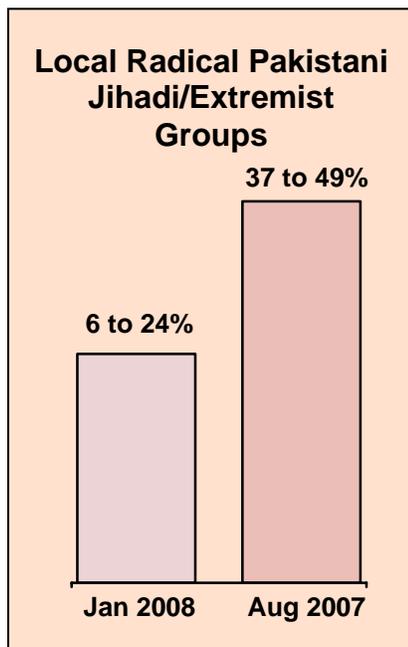
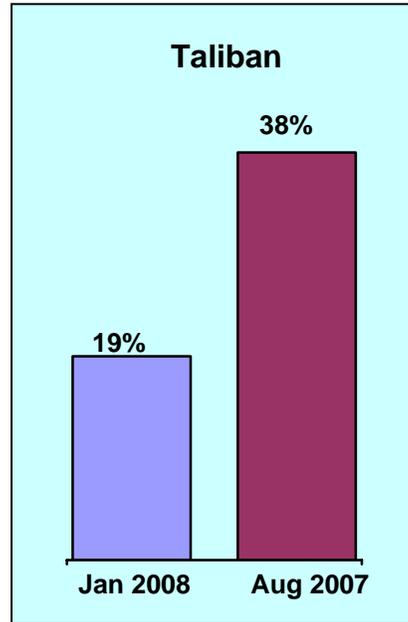
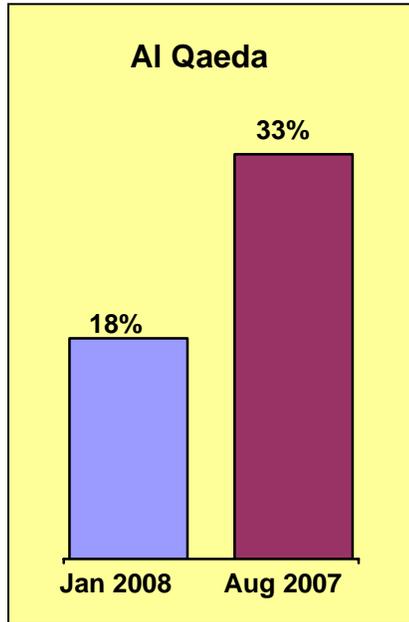
Pakistanis See their Country Moving in the Wrong Direction; Democracy and Economy Highest Priorities

Overall, 82 percent of Pakistanis see their country headed in the wrong direction. Ensuring an independent judiciary, free elections, a free press and improving the Pakistani economy were their most important priorities—while support for defeating Al Qaeda, Taliban and other Jihadi groups nearly doubled as a priority from August.

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

Views of Pakistanis

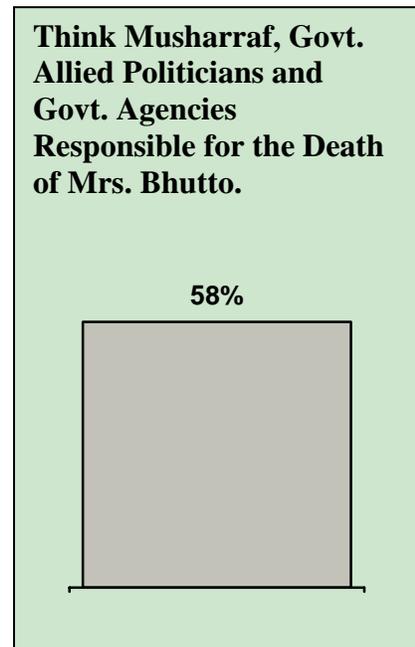
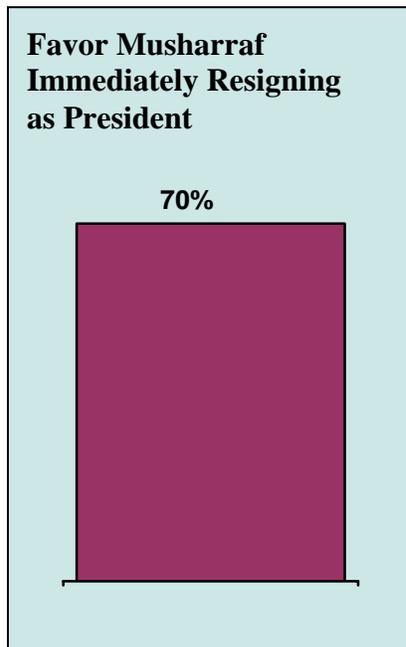
Percent Who Have Favorable Opinion of:



If Al Qaeda and Taliban Were on the Ballot, Percent of Pakistanis Who Would Vote For Them:

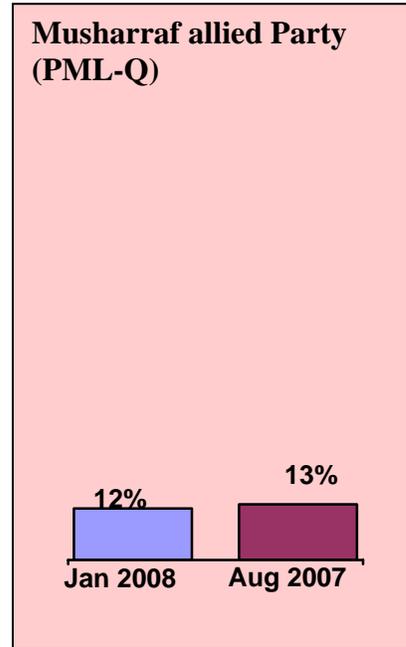
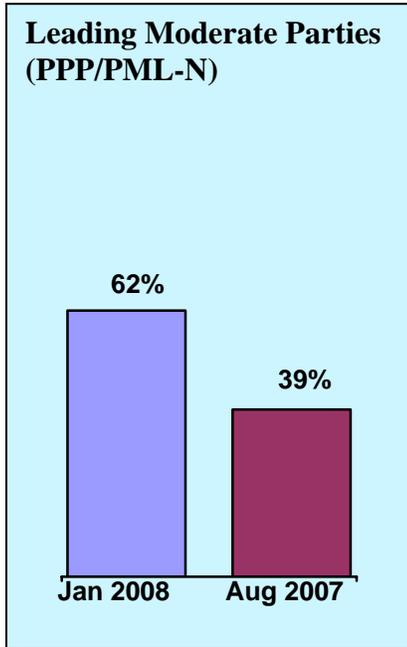


Percent of Pakistanis Who:

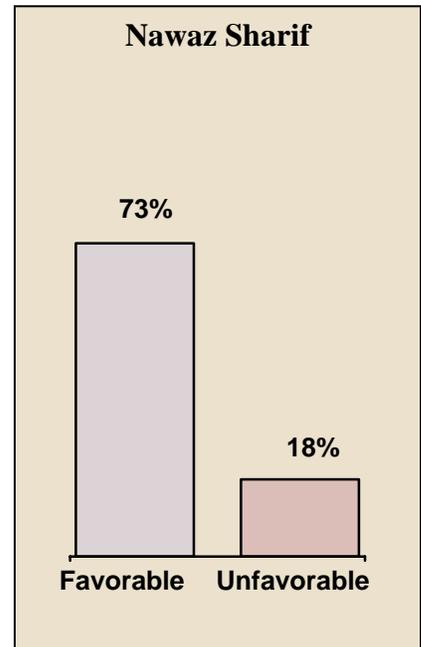
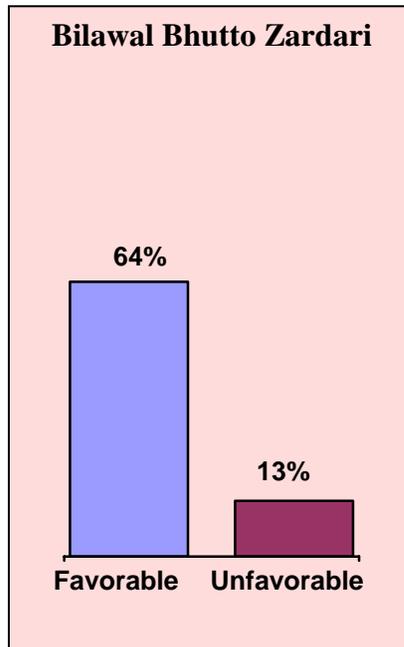
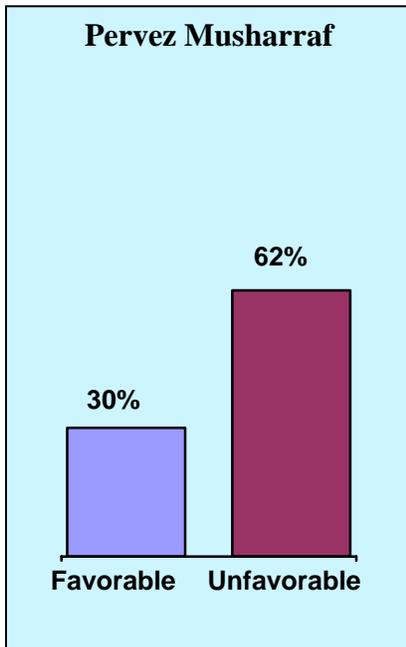


Feb 18 Elections

Who Would You Vote For?



Views of Pakistanis On:



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 and Pakistan after the earthquake.

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

- **IN SAUDI ARABIA**, TFT’s unprecedented survey is 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, 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.*”

For the U.S., the poll is relied on in commentary from the *Christian Science Monitor* to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, with news coverage in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, AP, Reuters, CNN and more.

- **IN PAKISTAN**, TFT’s nationwide survey is the “*oft-quoted standard*” for the democracy debate inside Pakistan (*The News*).

In the American foreign policy debate, the survey is relied on in editorials from the *Washington Post* to the *Los Angeles Times*, with 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 survey is 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 is making a real impact to Iranians themselves. Called “*an act of bravery by ordinary citizens,*” our survey “*after so many years of isolation, and despite the risk,*” is giving the Iranian people themselves a voice (*International Herald Tribune*).

For the U.S. policy debate, the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Economist* and *New York Post*, among others, rely on the survey in editorials. One editorial (*Washington*

Times) concludes 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.”

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

Praised by leading Iranian experts, scholars and think-tanks such as CSIS, the Heritage Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment and the Nixon Center, the Iran survey has also been featured in editorials spanning the political spectrum from *The Wall Street Journal* to *The New York Times* and the *Washington Times*, from the *New York Post* to the *Huffington Post* to the *Jerusalem Post*, *The Economist* to *Front Page*.

The Iran survey is now informing American policy makers at the highest levels of the Congress and the Administration. Terror Free Tomorrow’s Iran survey has been the featured 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 *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 unprecedented survey has received extensive 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.

The Pakistan survey was featured in a special report on CNN’s *Anderson Cooper*, as well as in front page news stories by both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

Indeed, like Iran and Syria, the coverage was global, from a feature story on CNN and the CNN.com website, to front page articles in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*,

as well as the *Financial Times*, *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*, and *Forbes*, as well as extensive reporting in all media throughout Pakistan itself.

Like the Iran survey, the Pakistan poll is having an important impact in Pakistan itself. One of Pakistan's principal newspapers, *The News*, in a lead editorial referred to "the oft-quoted survey released by the Washington-based think tank Terror Free Tomorrow" as setting the standard for the current debate over democracy inside Pakistan. At the same time, military dictator General Musharraf's top political ally, Pakistan Muslim League President Shujaat Hussain, has publicly called into question the "authenticity" of the TFT 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.

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 shows that the resolution would actually set back the cause it purports 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, has also appeared.

Additional Background on TFT and D3 Systems:

Since 2005, Terror Free Tomorrow has conducted more than twenty nationwide public opinion surveys around the world, including in Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Syria, Turkey, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, 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 Terror Free Tomorrow 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*; 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*.

Terror Free Tomorrow's field partner and project manager is the international research specialists, D3 Systems, Inc. at: www.D3systems.com

D³ has conducted widely praised surveys in Iran, Syria and Pakistan with Terror Free Tomorrow, in addition to Iraq and Afghanistan for ABC News, *USA Today*, BBC and others. D³ is internationally recognized for its expertise in overseeing research projects from design through analysis in some of the most difficult research environments around the globe.

Since 1988, D³ Systems has developed a particular expertise on research in the Middle East. D³ Systems has developed unique research capabilities from scratch in Afghanistan and Iraq. D³ founded, in 2003, the first registered opinion research firm in Afghanistan: the *Afghan Center for Socio-economic and Opinion Research (ACSOR)*. ACSOR has conducted qualitative and quantitative research projects for an international client group including the Asia Foundation, the US State Department, the BBC, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe. D3 has also conducted a number of quantitative surveys in Iraq for ABC News, *USA Today*, the BBC, the Voice of America, *Deutsche Welle*, Radio Sawa, and others.

Beginning in Europe in the early 1990s, D³ has played a leading role in the international use of telephone research for opinion polling and media audience measurement and evaluation into denied or limited access countries. While international telephone research from a central site (CATI) is an established method for consumer or business-to-business surveys, D³ has pioneered its use to reach publics in societies where on the ground, random probability sampling with sensitive questionnaires is not possible.

Methodology:

This survey was conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow, D3 Systems of Vienna, Virginia, USA, and the Pakistan Institute for Public Opinion (PIPO). Interviews were conducted face-to-face with 1,157 Pakistanis age 18 or older across 115 urban and rural sampling points in all four provinces of Pakistan. The fieldwork was conducted from January 19 to January 29, 2008.

The questionnaire consisted of 28 substantive questions, 12 demographic questions, and 26 quality control questions. Respondents were selected using a multi-stage random stratified sampling methodology. During the course of fieldwork, there were 1,842 contacts attempts made. Of these, 507 resulted in non-contacts, yielding a non-contact rate of 28%. There were 178 refusals giving the study a net response rate of 86%. The poll has a +/- 3% margin of error at the 95% confidence interval.

TFT, D3 Systems and PIPO use face-to-face research in Pakistan. Interviews were conducted by 53 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 1.2% of the interviews and in-person back checks by supervisors for 15% of the interviews.

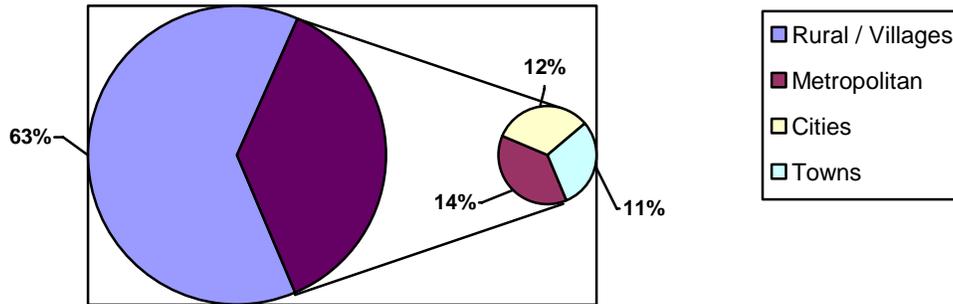
The target sample was a random selection of Pakistani nationals, both male and female, above the age of 18. The sample covered all four provinces of Pakistan, with the number of sampling points chosen in proportion to the size of each province's population, as well as both urban and rural strata.

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 survey of Pakistan, used for comparison, was conducted from August 18 to 29, 2007, employing the same methodology and coverage. That survey can be also be accessed in the Polls section of 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).

Pakistan: Urban / Rural Distributions



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 115 sampling points; in which approximately 10 interviews were carried out in households selected using a random walk. A total of 1,157 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 is 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 gender, age, province, and urban / rural distribution, according to the following chart.

TFT Pakistan Survey – January 2008
National Census vs. Unweighted Demographics

	Share in National Census Population	Share in Unweighted Sample TFT	Share in Weighted Sample TFT
Gender			
Male	52%	50%	52%
Female	48%	50%	48%
Age			
18-29	42%	37%	42%
30-49	37%	50%	37%
50 +	21%	13%	21%
Geographic Code			
Urban	33%	37%	33%
Rural	67%	63%	67%
Province / Region			
Punjab	58%	52%	58%
Sindh	24%	25%	23%
NWFP	14%	15%	14%
Balochistan	5%	8%	5%

Terror Free Tomorrow January, 2008 Pakistan Complete Topline Results

M7: Region

	Frequency	Percent
Balochistan	62	5.3
North-West Frontier Province	162	14.0
Punjab	668	57.8
Sind	265	22.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

M8: Urbanization

	Frequency	Percent
Village	779	67.3
Town	104	9.0
City	117	10.1
Major Metro (Karachi, Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore)	157	13.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q1: Do you listen to radio programs?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	423	36.6
No	726	62.8
Refused	6	.5
Don't Know	2	.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q2: Do you watch television programs?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1003	86.7
No	149	12.9
Refused	3	.3
Don't Know	2	.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q3: Which of the following sources do you use most often for news and information?

	Frequency	Percent
Television	911	78.8
Radio	88	7.6
Newspapers	46	4.0
Internet	0	.0
Mosque	12	1.0
Friends and family	83	7.2
Refused	13	1.2
Don't Know	3	.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q4: Do you have access to the Internet?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	61	5.3
No	1037	89.7
Refused	19	1.7
Don't Know	39	3.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q5: (ASK ONLY THOSE WHO RESPONDED "YES" TO Q4): How many days a week do you access the Internet?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Every Day or Almost Every Day	10	.8	16.0
Three or Four Days a Week	26	2.2	42.3
One or Two Days a Week	14	1.2	23.1
Less Than Once a Week	5	.4	8.4
Never	5	.4	8.3
Refused	1	.1	1.3
Don't Know	0	.0	.6
Total	61	5.3	100.0
Missing Not Asked	1096	94.7	
Total	1157	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q6: Would you say that Pakistan in general is heading in the right or wrong direction?

	Frequency	Percent
Right Direction	146	12.6
Wrong Direction	953	82.4
Refused	18	1.6
Don't Know	40	3.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q7: Overall, would you say you strongly approve, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or strongly disapprove of the job performance of

President Musharraf?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Approve	113	9.8
Approve Somewhat	231	20.0
Disapprove Somewhat	207	17.9
Strongly Disapprove	577	49.9
Refused	7	.6
Don't Know	21	1.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q8a: Is your opinion of the following country very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

China

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	351	30.4
Somewhat Favorable	601	51.9
Somewhat Unfavorable	30	2.6
Very Unfavorable	13	1.1
Refused	12	1.0
Don't Know	150	12.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q8b: Is your opinion of the following country very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Japan

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	179	15.5
Somewhat Favorable	629	54.4
Somewhat Unfavorable	73	6.3
Very Unfavorable	24	2.0
Refused	23	2.0
Don't Know	229	19.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q8c: Is your opinion of the following country very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

The United States

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	53	4.6
Somewhat Favorable	172	14.9
Somewhat Unfavorable	321	27.8
Very Unfavorable	453	39.1
Refused	16	1.3
Don't Know	143	12.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q8d: Is your opinion of the following country very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Saudi Arabia

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	607	52.5
Somewhat Favorable	410	35.4
Somewhat Unfavorable	19	1.7
Very Unfavorable	18	1.5
Refused	4	.4
Don't Know	98	8.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q8e: Is your opinion of the following country very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

India

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	21	1.8
Somewhat Favorable	370	32.0
Somewhat Unfavorable	367	31.8
Very Unfavorable	184	15.9
Refused	27	2.3
Don't Know	187	16.2
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q8f: Is your opinion of the following country very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Afghanistan

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	25	2.2
Somewhat Favorable	246	21.3
Somewhat Unfavorable	234	20.2
Very Unfavorable	177	15.3
Refused	58	5.0
Don't Know	416	36.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q8g: Is your opinion of the following country very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

European Union

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	93	8.0
Somewhat Favorable	340	29.4
Somewhat Unfavorable	250	21.6
Very Unfavorable	118	10.2
Refused	43	3.7
Don't Know	312	27.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q9: Now, Turning To Aid Provided By the United States of America Specifically, Which of the Following Comes Closest to Your Opinion?

	Frequency	Percent
The United States Should Give Aid Directly To The People of Pakistan	459	39.7
The United States Should Give Aid Directly to the Government of Pakistan	169	14.6
The United States Should Give Aid Directly to the Businesses and Banks of Pakistan	159	13.8
The United States Should Not Give Any Aid to Pakistan	247	21.4
Refused	26	2.2
Don't Know	96	8.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q10a: Would Pakistan receiving any of the following types of US aid, trade or investment improve your opinion of the United States? It would improve my opinion not at all, not significantly, somewhat, or a great deal?

More business investment in Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	287	24.8
Somewhat	401	34.7
Not Significantly	126	10.9
Not at All	133	11.5
Refused	27	2.3
Don't Know	184	15.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q10b: Would Pakistan receiving any of the following types of US aid, trade or investment improve your opinion of the United States? It would improve my opinion not at all, not significantly, somewhat, or a great deal?

Free Trade Treaty Between the U.S. and Pakistan.

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	185	16.0
Somewhat	429	37.1
Not Significantly	157	13.6
Not at All	142	12.2
Refused	31	2.7
Don't Know	213	18.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q10c: Would Pakistan receiving any of the following types of US aid, trade or investment improve your opinion of the United States? It would improve my opinion not at all, not significantly, somewhat, or a great deal?

Support for Pakistani school construction and educational scholarships for Pakistanis.

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	313	27.0
Somewhat	451	39.0
Not Significantly	129	11.1
Not at All	147	12.7
Refused	26	2.2
Don't Know	92	7.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q10d: Would Pakistan receiving any of the following types of US aid, trade or investment improve your opinion of the United States? It would improve my opinion not at all, not significantly, somewhat, or a great deal?

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

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	334	28.9
Somewhat	454	39.2
Not Significantly	123	10.6
Not at All	126	10.9
Refused	27	2.4
Don't Know	92	8.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q10e: Would Pakistan receiving any of the following types of US aid, trade or investment improve your opinion of the United States? It would improve my opinion not at all, not significantly, somewhat, or a great deal?

Medical Care And Training for Pakistanis.

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	322	27.8
Somewhat	435	37.6
Not Significantly	120	10.4
Not at All	139	12.0
Refused	46	3.9
Don't Know	96	8.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q10f: Would Pakistan receiving any of the following types of US aid, trade or investment improve your opinion of the United States? It would improve my opinion not at all, not significantly, somewhat, or a great deal?

Military Equipment and Training to the Pakistani Armed Forces.

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	241	20.8
Somewhat	371	32.1
Not Significantly	163	14.1
Not at All	199	17.2
Refused	50	4.3
Don't Know	133	11.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q10e: Would Pakistan receiving any of the following types of US aid, trade or investment improve your opinion of the United States? It would improve my opinion not at all, not significantly, somewhat, or a great deal?

U.S Increasing Visas for Pakistanis to Come to America to Work or Study.

	Frequency	Percent
A Great Deal	269	23.2
Somewhat	345	29.9
Not Significantly	143	12.4
Not at All	179	15.5
Refused	48	4.2
Don't Know	172	14.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q11: Some people favor strong and close relations between Pakistan and the United States. Some do not. In general, do you favor strong and close relations between the United States and Pakistan, or do you oppose close relations?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Favor	129	11.2
Somewhat Favor	399	34.5
Somewhat Oppose	198	17.1
Strongly Oppose	331	28.6
Refused	18	1.6
Don't Know	81	7.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q12a: 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 very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan:

Ensuring an independent judiciary

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	677	58.6
Somewhat Important	312	27.0
Somewhat Unimportant	44	3.8
Not At All Important	9	.8
Refused	7	.6
Don't Know	108	9.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q12b: 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 very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan:

Ensuring Free Elections

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	609	52.7
Somewhat Important	378	32.7
Somewhat Unimportant	58	5.0
Not At All Important	10	.9
Refused	10	.8
Don't Know	92	7.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q12c: 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 very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan:

Ensuring a Free Press

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	575	49.7
Somewhat Important	371	32.1
Somewhat Unimportant	66	5.7
Not At All Important	22	1.9
Refused	7	.6
Don't Know	116	10.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q12d: 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 very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan:

Improving the Pakistani Economy.

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	627	54.2
Somewhat Important	375	32.5
Somewhat Unimportant	57	4.9
Not At All Important	15	1.3
Refused	7	.6
Don't Know	76	6.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q12e: 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 very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan:

Defeating Al Qaeda, Taliban and Other Jihadi Groups.

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	361	31.3
Somewhat Important	298	25.7
Somewhat Unimportant	185	16.0
Not At All Important	84	7.2
Refused	20	1.8
Don't Know	209	18.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q12f: 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 very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan:

Seeking Better Trade and Political Relations With Western Countries

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	386	33.4
Somewhat Important	395	34.2
Somewhat Unimportant	125	10.8
Not At All Important	57	4.9
Refused	17	1.5
Don't Know	176	15.2
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q12g: 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 very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan:

Implementing Strict Sharia Law Throughout Pakistan.

	Frequency	Percent
Very Important	488	42.2
Somewhat Important	363	31.4
Somewhat Unimportant	123	10.6
Not At All Important	63	5.4
Refused	30	2.6
Don't Know	89	7.7
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13a: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Al Qaeda

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	66	5.7
Somewhat Favorable	142	12.3
Somewhat Unfavorable	342	29.6
Very Unfavorable	224	19.4
Refused	33	2.9
Don't Know	349	30.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13b: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Pakistan People's Party (PPP-P)

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	385	33.3
Somewhat Favorable	479	41.4
Somewhat Unfavorable	159	13.7
Very Unfavorable	29	2.5
Refused	30	2.6
Don't Know	76	6.6
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13c: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	65	5.6
Somewhat Favorable	331	28.6
Somewhat Unfavorable	373	32.3
Very Unfavorable	106	9.1
Refused	46	4.0
Don't Know	236	20.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13d: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N)

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	254	22.0
Somewhat Favorable	535	46.2
Somewhat Unfavorable	185	16.0
Very Unfavorable	69	6.0
Refused	31	2.7
Don't Know	81	7.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13e: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q)

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	97	8.4
Somewhat Favorable	203	17.5
Somewhat Unfavorable	290	25.1
Very Unfavorable	385	33.2
Refused	37	3.2
Don't Know	146	12.6
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13f: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM-Altaf)

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	41	3.6
Somewhat Favorable	140	12.1
Somewhat Unfavorable	297	25.7
Very Unfavorable	295	25.5
Refused	47	4.1
Don't Know	337	29.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13g: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	65	5.6
Somewhat Favorable	434	37.6
Somewhat Unfavorable	230	19.9
Very Unfavorable	96	8.3
Refused	51	4.5
Don't Know	280	24.2
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13h: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Jamaat-ud-Dawa

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	29	2.5
Somewhat Favorable	164	14.2
Somewhat Unfavorable	236	20.4
Very Unfavorable	182	15.7
Refused	67	5.8
Don't Know	478	41.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13i: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Laskhar-e-Jhangvi

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	6	.5
Somewhat Favorable	63	5.5
Somewhat Unfavorable	238	20.6
Very Unfavorable	242	20.9
Refused	90	7.8
Don't Know	518	44.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13j: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Kashmiri Jihadi groups

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	50	4.3
Somewhat Favorable	228	19.7
Somewhat Unfavorable	175	15.1
Very Unfavorable	150	13.0
Refused	68	5.8
Don't Know	486	42.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q13k: Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups or parties?

Taliban

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	63	5.4
Somewhat Favorable	154	13.3
Somewhat Unfavorable	196	17.0
Very Unfavorable	236	20.4
Refused	56	4.9
Don't Know	452	39.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q14a: Some people support or oppose each of the following. What is your opinion? Do you support or oppose:

The Pakistani military pursuing Taliban and al Qaeda fighters inside Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	273	23.6
Somewhat Support	386	33.4
Somewhat Oppose	178	15.4
Strongly Oppose	120	10.4
Refused	21	1.8
Don't Know	178	15.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q14b: Some people support or oppose each of the following. What is your opinion? Do you support or oppose:

The U.S. military working with the Pakistani military to pursue Taliban and al Qaeda fighters inside Pakistan

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	109	9.4
Somewhat Support	204	17.6
Somewhat Oppose	277	23.9
Strongly Oppose	338	29.2
Refused	20	1.7
Don't Know	209	18.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q14c: Some people support or oppose each of the following. What is your opinion? 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

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	72	6.2
Somewhat Support	110	9.5
Somewhat Oppose	255	22.0
Strongly Oppose	484	41.8
Refused	26	2.3
Don't Know	210	18.2
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15a: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Pervez Musharraf

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	115	10.0
Somewhat Favorable	227	19.6
Somewhat Unfavorable	283	24.4
Very Unfavorable	434	37.5
Refused	35	3.1
Don't Know	63	5.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15b: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	174	15.0
Somewhat Favorable	530	45.8
Somewhat Unfavorable	173	15.0
Very Unfavorable	49	4.2
Refused	30	2.6
Don't Know	202	17.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15c: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Imran Khan

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	75	6.5
Somewhat Favorable	577	49.9
Somewhat Unfavorable	228	19.8
Very Unfavorable	55	4.8
Refused	33	2.8
Don't Know	189	16.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15d: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	329	28.5
Somewhat Favorable	415	35.9
Somewhat Unfavorable	110	9.5
Very Unfavorable	35	3.1
Refused	43	3.7
Don't Know	224	19.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15e: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Nawaz Sharif

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	306	26.4
Somewhat Favorable	543	46.9
Somewhat Unfavorable	155	13.4
Very Unfavorable	56	4.8
Refused	36	3.1
Don't Know	62	5.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15f: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

George Bush

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	4	.4
Somewhat Favorable	85	7.3
Somewhat Unfavorable	284	24.6
Very Unfavorable	526	45.5
Refused	56	4.8
Don't Know	202	17.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15g: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Monmohan Singh

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	10	.9
Somewhat Favorable	168	14.5
Somewhat Unfavorable	340	29.4
Very Unfavorable	296	25.6
Refused	64	5.6
Don't Know	279	24.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15h: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Asif Ali Zardari

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	171	14.8
Somewhat Favorable	389	33.6
Somewhat Unfavorable	218	18.8
Very Unfavorable	149	12.9
Refused	50	4.3
Don't Know	180	15.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15i: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Fazl-ur-Rahman

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	48	4.2
Somewhat Favorable	343	29.6
Somewhat Unfavorable	307	26.6
Very Unfavorable	133	11.5
Refused	50	4.3
Don't Know	276	23.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15j: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Qazi Hussain Ahmed

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	69	6.0
Somewhat Favorable	440	38.0
Somewhat Unfavorable	230	19.9
Very Unfavorable	117	10.1
Refused	47	4.1
Don't Know	254	21.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15k: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Osama bin Laden

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	78	6.8
Somewhat Favorable	193	16.7
Somewhat Unfavorable	242	20.9
Very Unfavorable	201	17.4
Refused	58	5.0
Don't Know	383	33.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15l: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	105	9.1
Somewhat Favorable	147	12.7
Somewhat Unfavorable	180	15.6
Very Unfavorable	134	11.6
Refused	83	7.1
Don't Know	508	43.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q15m: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very favorable opinion of:

Baituallah Mehsud

	Frequency	Percent
Very Favorable	16	1.4
Somewhat Favorable	79	6.8
Somewhat Unfavorable	168	14.5
Very Unfavorable	269	23.3
Refused	95	8.2
Don't Know	529	45.7
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q16a: If The General Elections Were Held Next Week, For Which Party Would You Vote For?

	Frequency	Percent
Pakistan People's Party (PPP-P)	425	36.7
Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N)	293	25.3
Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q)	139	12.0
Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)	36	3.1
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)	30	2.6
Awami National Party (ANP)	12	1.0
Independents	55	4.7
None	41	3.6
Other	39	3.4
Will Not Vote	32	2.8
Refused	18	1.6
Don't Know	36	3.2
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q16b: If any of the following groups or parties were on the ballot, would you vote for one of them instead of the parties listed above

	Responses	
	N	Percent
Al Qaeda	15	1.3%
New Independent Party Headed By Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry	278	24.4%
Jamaat-ud-Dawa	25	2.2%
Taliban	38	3.4%
Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)	177	15.6%
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	203	17.8%
Refused	200	17.5%
Don't Know	203	17.8%
Total	1140	100.0%

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q17: Some people think that the general elections scheduled for February 18th can only be free and fair if they are fully observed and monitored by international organizations. Other people think that Pakistan should conduct its own elections without outside interference.

Do you support or oppose international monitors for Pakistan's general elections?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	369	31.9
Somewhat Support	318	27.5
Somewhat Oppose	174	15.0
Strongly Oppose	210	18.1
Refused	9	.8
Don't Know	77	6.7
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q18: Some people favor a boycott of the general elections scheduled for February 18th. Some oppose a boycott. Do you support or oppose a boycott of Pakistan's elections on February 18th?

Is that strongly or somewhat support/oppose?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	150	13.0
Somewhat Support	204	17.6
Somewhat Oppose	206	17.8
Strongly Oppose	522	45.1
Refused	8	.7
Don't Know	67	5.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q19: Some people think Pervez Musharraf should immediately resign as President; some do not. Do you agree or disagree that Mr. Musharraf should resign immediately as President of Pakistan?

Is that strongly or somewhat agree/disagree?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	548	47.4
Somewhat Agree	262	22.6
Somewhat Disagree	119	10.3
Strongly Disagree	179	15.5
Refused	15	1.3
Don't Know	33	2.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q20a: Who Do You Think is the Best Leader for Pakistan?

	Frequency	Percent
Pervez Musharraf	191	16.5
Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry	101	8.7
Imran Khan	33	2.9
Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	278	24.1
Nawaz Sharif	285	24.6
Asif Ali Zardari	59	5.1
Osama bin Laden	11	.9
Fazl-ur-Rahman	25	2.2
Qazi Hussain Ahmed	23	2.0
Other / None of the Above	74	6.4
REFUSED	42	3.6
DON'T KNOW	34	3.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q20b: If That Person Was Not Available to Lead Pakistan, Who Would Your Second Choice Be?

	Frequency	Percent
Pervez Musharraf	33	2.8
Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry	144	12.5
Imran Khan	70	6.0
Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	147	12.7
Nawaz Sharif	210	18.1
Asif Ali Zardari	145	12.5
Osama bin Laden	19	1.6
Fazl-ur-Rahman	17	1.4
Qazi Hussain Ahmed	56	4.8
Other / None of the Above	97	8.4
REFUSED	52	4.5
DON'T KNOW	167	14.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q21: Some people approve of the Pakistani military playing a role in the civilian affairs of Pakistan. Some disapprove. 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	109	9.4
Somewhat Approve	320	27.6
Somewhat Disapprove	228	19.7
Strongly Disapprove	404	34.9
Refused	10	.9
Don't Know	86	7.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q22: Some people agree that the MMA has fulfilled its campaign promise; some people disagree. Do you agree or disagree that the MMA has fulfilled its campaign promises to improve conditions in the provinces they are now running?

Is that strongly or somewhat agree/disagree?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	122	10.5
Agree Somewhat	288	24.9
Disagree Somewhat	193	16.7
Strongly Disagree	249	21.5
Refused	17	1.5
Don't Know	288	24.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q23: Some people think that suicide bombings and attacks are justified. Some people think that suicide bombings and attacks are not justified.

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

	Frequency	Percent
Often Justified	32	2.8
Sometimes Justified	121	10.4
Rarely Justified	145	12.5
Never Justified	835	72.2
Refused	2	.2
Don't Know	22	1.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q24a: 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	41	3.5
Sometimes Justified	150	13.0
Rarely Justified	142	12.3
Never Justified	704	60.9
Refused	9	.8
Don't Know	109	9.4
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q24b: 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 Are Justified

	Frequency	Percent
Often Justified	95	8.2
Sometimes Justified	107	9.3
Rarely Justified	119	10.3
Never Justified	628	54.3
Refused	16	1.4
Don't Know	192	16.6
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q24c: 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 Are Justified

	Frequency	Percent
Often Justified	48	4.1
Sometimes Justified	101	8.7
Rarely Justified	120	10.4
Never Justified	749	64.7
Refused	21	1.8
Don't Know	118	10.2
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q24d: 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 Are Justified

	Frequency	Percent
Often Justified	29	2.5
Sometimes Justified	84	7.3
Rarely Justified	115	10.0
Never Justified	695	60.1
Refused	28	2.4
Don't Know	206	17.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q25: Some people think that the suicide bombing and attack resulting in the death of Benazir Bhutto was justified. Some people think that the suicide bombing and attack resulting in the death of Benazir Bhutto was not justified.

Do you agree or disagree that the suicide bombing and attack resulting in the death of Benazir Bhutto was justified?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	33	2.9
Agree Somewhat	46	4.0
Disagree Somewhat	143	12.3
Strongly Disagree	920	79.5
Refused	6	.5
Don't Know	9	.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q26: In your opinion, who do you think is responsible for the death of Benazir Bhutto?

	Frequency	Percent
Al Qaeda and/or the Taliban	78	6.7
President Musharraf	274	23.7
Government allied politicians	188	16.2
Pakistani government agencies	214	18.5
The United States	126	10.9
Others	30	2.6
Refused	25	2.1
Don't Know	222	19.2
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q27: Some people think that the death of Benazir Bhutto can only be fully and fairly investigated by international organizations. Other people think that Pakistan should conduct its own investigation without outside interference.

Do you support or oppose a full international investigation for the death of Benazir Bhutto?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	393	34.0
Somewhat Support	290	25.0
Somewhat Oppose	142	12.3
Strongly Oppose	246	21.3
Refused	6	.5
Don't Know	80	6.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Q28: Some people support the U.S.-led war on terror. Some people oppose the U.S.-led war on terror. What is your opinion?

Do you support or oppose the U.S.-led war on terror?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	92	7.9
Somewhat Support	183	15.8
Somewhat Oppose	233	20.2
Strongly Oppose	434	37.5
Refused	9	.8
Don't Know	206	17.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

Demographics

D1: Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	598	51.7	51.7	51.7
Female	559	48.3	48.3	100.0
Total	1157	100.0	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D2: Age Group: Age as of Last Birthday

	Frequency	Percent
Valid 18-24	258	22.3
25-34	364	31.5
35-44	215	18.6
45-54	171	14.8
55+	149	12.9
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D3: How Many Years of Formal Education Have You Completed

	Frequency	Percent
0	332	28.7
5	192	16.6
8	189	16.4
10	291	25.2
12	105	9.0
14	38	3.3
16	9	.7
Refused	1	.1
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D4a: What is Your Job Status? Are You...

	Frequency	Percent
Working Full-Time (40 hours+)	496	42.9
Working Part-Time (less than 40 hours)	52	4.5
Unemployed, Looking for Work	14	1.2
Unemployed, Not Looking for Work	8	.7
Housewife (not working outside the home)	502	43.4
Student/Apprentice	75	6.4
Retired/Disabled	8	.7
Refused	4	.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D4b: (Filtered: If Respondent is Working, Unemployed or Retired) What Is/Was Your Primary Occupation?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Agricultural Laborer	68	5.9	11.8
Farm Owner	105	9.1	18.2
Unskilled Laborer	55	4.8	9.6
Skilled Laborer	119	10.3	20.5
Clerical Employee	35	3.0	6.1
White Collar Employee	11	1.0	1.9
Management/Supervisor	117	10.1	20.2
Large Business Owner	10	.9	1.8
Government Employee	31	2.7	5.4
Military, Police, Security	4	.4	.8
Refused	20	1.7	3.5
Don't Know	1	.1	.1
Total	577	49.9	100.0
Not Asked	580	50.1	
Total	1157	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D5: Are You the Head of the Household

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	405	35.0
No	747	64.6
Refused	4	.4
Don't Know	1	.0
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D6a: (Filtered: If Respondent is Not the Head of Household) What is the job status of the head of the household now?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Working Full-Time (40 hours+)	725	62.7	96.4
Working Part-Time (less than 40 hours)	19	1.6	2.5
Retired/Disabled	7	.6	.9
Refused	1	.1	.2
Total	752	65.0	100.0
Not Asked	405	35.0	
Total	1157	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D6b: (Filtered: If Respondent is Not the Head of Household) What is / was the primary occupation of the head of the household?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Agricultural Laborer	73	6.3	9.7
Farm Owner	117	10.1	15.6
Unskilled Laborer	65	5.6	8.6
Skilled Laborer	176	15.2	23.5
Clerical Employee	30	2.6	4.0
White Collar Employee	24	2.1	3.2
Management/Supervisor	192	16.6	25.6
Large Business Owner	8	.7	1.1
Government Employee	50	4.3	6.6
Military, Police, Security	12	1.0	1.6
Other	3	.3	.5
Total	751	64.9	100.0
Not Asked	406	35.1	
Total	1157	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D7a: What is Your Marital Status? Are You...?

	Frequency	Percent
Married	834	72.1
Widowed or Divorced	40	3.4
Single	279	24.1
Refused	3	.3
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D8: 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	11	.9
Rs. 1,001 - 3,000	42	3.6
Rs. 3,001 - 5,000	180	15.5
Rs. 5,001 - 7,000	264	22.8
Rs. 7,001 - 10,000	323	27.9
Rs. 10,001 - 15,000	162	14.0
Rs. 15,001 or more	132	11.4
Refused	12	1.0
Don't Know	32	2.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D9: Do You Consider Yourself to Be...

	Frequency	Percent
Punjabi	600	51.9
Sindhi	137	11.8
Pashtun	106	9.1
Baloch	27	2.3
Muhajir	99	8.5
Other	183	15.8
Refused	5	.5
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D10: What Is Your Religious Belief? Are You...

	Frequency	Percent
Sunni Muslim	1026	88.7
Shi'a Muslim	57	4.9
Christian	12	1.1
A Believer of Another Faith	41	3.6
Other	10	.9

Refused	9	.8
Total	1157	100.0

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D11a: 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	471	40.7	43.4
Sometimes	573	49.5	52.9
Never	31	2.6	2.8
Refused	9	.8	.9
Total	1083	93.7	100.0
Missing Not Asked	73	6.3	
Total	1157	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D11b: Please tell me whether you regularly, sometimes, or never engage in the following religious practices.

Fast During Ramadan?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Regularly	718	62.1	66.3
Sometimes	334	28.9	30.9
Never	12	1.1	1.1
Refused	18	1.6	1.7
Total	1083	93.7	100.0
Missing Not Asked	73	6.3	
Total	1157	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008

D12 (Filtered) How Often Do You Attend Mosque?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Daily	243	21.0	22.5
Several Times A Week	202	17.4	18.6
Once a Week	77	6.6	7.1
Monthly	33	2.8	3.0
Several Times a Year	23	2.0	2.1
Once a Year or Less	66	5.7	6.1
Never	402	34.8	37.1
Refused	38	3.3	3.5
Total	1083	93.7	100.0
Missing Not Asked	73	6.3	
Total	1157	100.0	

Pakistan: Terror Free Tomorrow Survey, January 2008