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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, August 13, 2009, 11:00 AM EDT

Pakistani Public Opinion

**GROWING CONCERNS ABOUT EXTREMISM, CONTINUING DISCONTENT
WITH U.S.**

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August 13, 2009

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Pakistani Public Opinion
GROWING CONCERNS ABOUT EXTREMISM, CONTINUING DISCONTENT WITH U.S.

Pakistanis see their country in crisis. They give their national government lower ratings than at any time in this decade, and almost no one is satisfied with national conditions. Crime and terrorism are seen as major problems by virtually everyone. And huge percentages of Pakistanis also see their country struggling mightily with corruption and a deteriorating economy.

A long-standing concern about Islamic extremism has grown even greater over the past year. No fewer than 69% of the Pakistanis questioned worry that extremists could take control of the country. At the same time, indifference and mixed opinions about both al Qaeda and the Taliban have given way to a strong condemnation of both groups. In 2008, just 33% held a negative view of the Taliban; today, 70% rate it unfavorably. Similarly, the percentage of Pakistanis with an unfavorable opinion of al Qaeda has jumped from 34% to 61% in the last year.

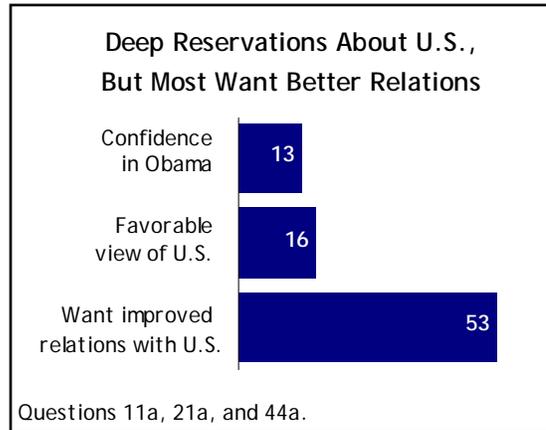
However, growing concern about Islamic extremism has not resulted in an improved view of the United States. Opinions of America and its people remain extremely negative. Barack Obama’s global popularity is not evident in Pakistan, and America’s image remains as tarnished in that country as it was in the Bush years. Only 22% of Pakistanis think the U.S. takes their interests into account when making foreign policy decisions, essentially unchanged from 21% since 2007. Fully 64% of the public regards the U.S. as an enemy, while only 9% describe it as a partner.

Further, many express serious concerns about the U.S.-led effort to combat terrorism, both globally and in Pakistan specifically. In particular, many who are aware of the drone strikes

Less Support for al Qaeda, Taliban; More Concern About Extremism			
	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>Change</u>
<i>View of al Qaeda</i>	%	%	
Favorable	25	9	-16
Unfavorable	34	61	+27
Don't know	41	30	-11
<i>View of Taliban</i>			
Favorable	27	10	-17
Unfavorable	33	70	+37
Don't know	40	20	-20
<i>Extremism in our country</i>			
Concerned	72	79	+7
Not concerned	12	10	-2
Don't know	16	11	-5
Questions 23b, 23d, and 19.			

targeting extremist leaders believe these strikes are causing too many civilian deaths and are being carried out by the U.S. without the consent of the Pakistani government.

However, for all the anti-American sentiment, the new survey by the Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project also finds an openness to improving relations with the U.S. and considerable support for the *idea* of working with it to combat terrorism. By a margin of 53% to 29% Pakistanis say it is important that relations between the two countries improve.



Moreover, many endorse U.S. assistance for the Pakistani government in its fight with extremist groups. Nearly three-fourths of those interviewed (72%) would support U.S. financial and humanitarian aid to areas where extremist groups operate. As many as 63% back the idea of the U.S. providing intelligence and logistical support to Pakistani troops who are combating these groups. And after being asked about these forms of cooperation between Pakistan and the U.S., nearly half (47%) then say they would favor U.S. missile strikes against extremist leaders.

Current Strikes Viewed Negatively*

	Agree %	Disagree %	DK %
Missile strikes... Are necessary	34	58	8
Kill too many civilians	93	5	2
Are conducted without Pakistani gov't approval	58	27	14

*Asked of the 32% who have heard about missile strikes.

But Supported in Context of Collaboration

Support U.S. efforts to...	Support %	Oppose %	DK %
Provide aid	72	12	16
Provide intelligence	63	12	25
Conduct missile strikes	47	24	29

Questions 60ga, 60gb, 60gc, 64a, 64b, 64c.

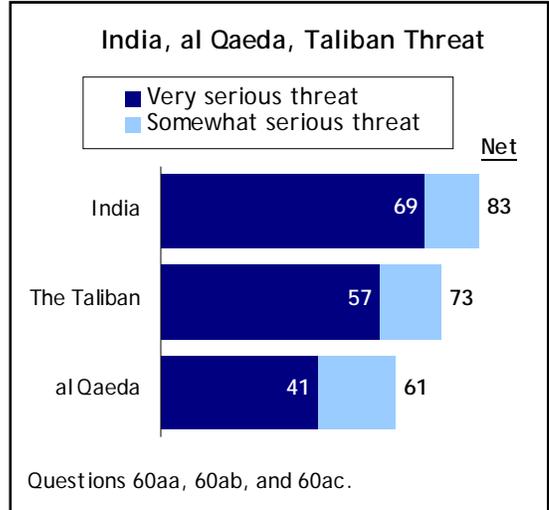
It is not surprising that American cooperation with the Pakistani military is popular, given the confidence that Pakistanis have in it. As many as 86% say the military is having a good influence on the country, which is far greater than the number who feel that way about the police (39%), courts (58%), and even religious leaders (64%). Just 36% say the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) is having a good impact, although many respondents (41%) do not offer an opinion.

These are the latest findings from the 2009 Pew Global Attitudes survey of Pakistan. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1,254 adults in Pakistan between May 22 and June 9, 2009. The sample, which is disproportionately urban, includes Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). However, portions of Baluchistan and the NWFP are

not included because of instability. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) were not surveyed. The area covered by the sample represents approximately 90% of the adult population.¹ (*Pakistan was surveyed as part of the Spring 2009 Pew Global Attitudes Survey, which included 24 nations and the Palestinian territories. For more findings from this survey, see “Confidence in Obama Lifts U.S. Image around the World; Most Muslim Publics Not So Easily Moved,” released July 23, 2009.*)

Concerns About India

Long-running concerns about India are also reflected in the poll. The dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir is cited as a major problem facing the country by no fewer than 88%. And growing worries about extremism notwithstanding, more Pakistanis judge India as a very serious threat to the nation (69%) than regard the Taliban (57%) or al Qaeda (41%) as very serious threats. Most Pakistanis see the U.S. as on the wrong side of this issue: by a margin of 54% to 4% the U.S. is seen as favoring India over Pakistan.



While fears about India persist, Pakistanis express overwhelmingly positive opinions about another Asian giant – 84% have a favorable view of China and 80% consider China a partner to their country.

Support for Severe Laws

One of the ironies in the survey is the extent to which Pakistanis embrace some of the severe laws associated with the Taliban and al Qaeda, even as they reject Islamic extremism and these extremist groups. The new poll finds broad support for harsh punishments: 78% favor death for those who leave Islam; 80% favor whippings and cutting off hands for crimes like theft and robbery; and 83% favor stoning adulterers.

	Favor %	Oppose %	DK %
Stoning adulterers	83	8	9
Whipping/cutting off hands of thieves	80	12	9
Death penalty if leave Islam	78	13	9
Give power to religious judges	71	13	16

	Girls %	Boys %	Equal %	DK %
Education more important for...	3	6	87	4

Questions 62a, 62b, 62c, 62d, and 55.

Pakistani public opinion departs significantly from the Taliban on the issues of girls’ education

¹ For more details, see the Methods Section of this report.

and extremist violence. As many as 87% of Pakistanis believe it is equally important for boys and girls to be educated. The poll also finds that support for suicide bombing that targets civilians in defense of Islam remains very low. Only 5% of Pakistani Muslims believe these kinds of attacks can often or sometimes be justified; as recently as 2004 roughly four-in-ten (41%) held this view. Fully 87% now say such attacks can *never* be justified – the highest percentage among the Muslim publics included in the 2009 survey.

Breaking Down Views Toward the Taliban and Al Qaeda

Analysis of the survey data finds a number of important patterns regarding views of the Taliban and al Qaeda. First, both groups are unpopular across the board. Among all the major subgroups within Pakistani society analyzed in the study, negative views of the Taliban and al Qaeda outweigh positive views.

Second, support for both groups is low even among those who agree with some of the severe punishments endorsed by the Taliban and al Qaeda, such as stoning adulterers, cutting off the hands of thieves, and executing people who leave Islam. Still, those who disagree with these harsh measures are somewhat more likely to express an unfavorable view of both groups. For instance, among Pakistanis who *support* the death penalty for people who leave Islam, 69% have a negative view of the Taliban, while 77% of those who *oppose* the death penalty in such cases give the Taliban a negative rating.

Third, education plays a role in views about extremism. Pakistanis with higher levels of education are consistently more likely to reject the Taliban and al Qaeda.

Fourth, the Taliban and al Qaeda tend to be unpopular across regions, including the NWFP, where government forces are currently fighting extremist groups. However, Sindh stands out as the region with the

	Taliban		al Qaeda	
	Fav %	Unfav %	Fav %	Unfav %
Total	10	70	9	61
Education*				
High	11	80	10	75
Middle	12	74	12	63
Low	8	60	7	49
Region				
Punjab	13	67	11	55
Sindh	7	82	7	80
NWFP	3	75	5	58
Baluchistan	8	35	2	45
Death penalty for those who leave Islam				
Favor	11	69	10	60
Oppose	9	77	9	70
Stoning adulterers				
Favor	11	69	10	60
Oppose	3	80	4	70
Cutting off hands of thieves				
Favor	12	68	10	59
Oppose	4	83	7	72
Worried about extremists taking control of country				
Very/Somewhat worried	7	77	8	65
Not too/Not at all worried	18	68	15	66

Questions 23b and 23d.
 *"High" is defined as having at least some secondary education; "middle" is defined as having at least some primary but no secondary education; "low" is defined as having no formal education.

most negative views. For example, 82% in Sindh have a negative opinion of the Taliban, compared with 75% in the NWFP and 67% in Punjab. More than half in Baluchistan do not offer opinions about the Taliban or al Qaeda.

Fifth, and perhaps unsurprisingly, views about the Taliban are linked to the extent to which people believe the country is threatened by extremist groups. Analysis of the data shows that people who think extremist groups may be able to seize control of the country are more likely to voice negative views about the Taliban, which has been engaged in armed-conflict with the Pakistani military.

Also of Note:

- The nation-state is of great significance to Pakistanis, and despite important ethnic and regional differences, national identity is strong throughout the country. Overall, 89% say they think of themselves first as Pakistani, rather than as a member of their ethnic group.
- Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari's ratings have plummeted: Last year, 64% had a favorable opinion of him; now just 32% hold this view.
- Zardari is much less popular than the other public figures tested: opposition leader Nawaz Sharif (79% favorable), Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani (67%) and Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry (61%).
- About seven-in-ten (72%) want the U.S. and NATO to remove their military troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible. Only 16% approve of Obama's decision to send more troops to Afghanistan.
- In 2008, 53% said the economy would improve in the next 12 months. This year, only 23% believe the economy will get better.
- The Pakistani media receives very high ratings – 77% say it is having a good influence on the country.
- While views about national conditions are overwhelmingly negative, most Pakistanis are upbeat about their personal lives – 74% say they are very or somewhat satisfied with their overall lives, and most are satisfied with their family lives and incomes. Nonetheless, compared with other nations, levels of personal satisfaction in Pakistan are relatively low.

About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project* conducts public opinion surveys around the world on a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Since its inception in 2001, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* has released 25 major reports, as well as numerous commentaries and other releases, on topics including attitudes toward the U.S. and American foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democratization.

Findings from the project are also analyzed in *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked* by Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, international economics columnist at the *National Journal*. A paperback edition of the book was released in May 2007.

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Stonebridge Group, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP.

Pew Global Attitudes Project staff includes Richard Wike, Erin Carriere-Kretschmer, Kathleen Holzwart, Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Jacob Poushter and other Pew Research Center staff, including Elizabeth Mueller Gross, Jodie T. Allen, Carroll Doherty, Michael Dimock and Michael Remez. Additional members of the team include consultants Bruce Stokes; Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates

International; and Wendy Sherman, principal at the Albright Stonebridge Group. The *International Herald Tribune* is the project's international newspaper partner. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team regularly consults with survey and policy experts, regional and academic experts, journalists, and policymakers whose expertise provides tremendous guidance in shaping the surveys.

All of the project's reports and commentaries are available at www.pewglobal.org. The data are also made available on our website within two years of publication.

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Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys		
<u>Survey</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Summer 2002	44 Nations	38,263
November 2002	6 Nations	6,056
March 2003	9 Nations	5,520
May 2003	21 Publics*	15,948
March 2004	9 Nations	7,765
May 2005	17 Nations	17,766
Spring 2006	15 Nations	16,710
Spring 2007	47 Publics*	45,239
Spring 2008	24 Nations	24,717
Spring 2009	25 Publics*	26,397

* Includes the Palestinian territories.

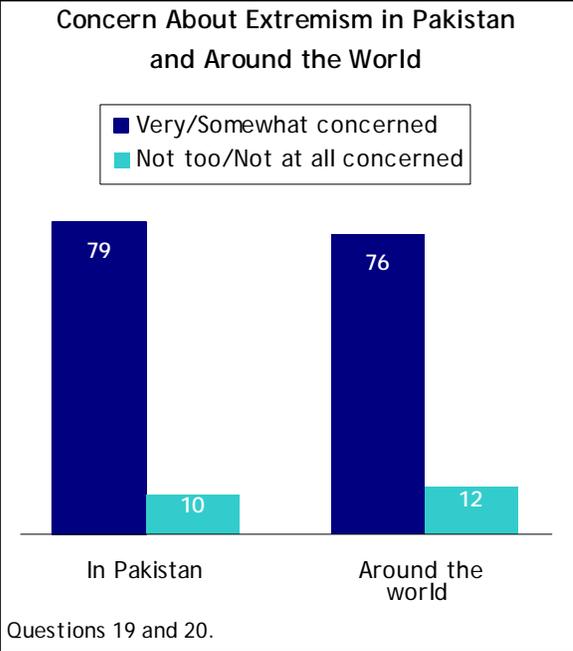
Roadmap to the Report

The first chapter looks at the battle against extremism in Pakistan, including views on the Taliban, al Qaeda, suicide bombing, and U.S. efforts to combat extremist groups. The next chapter explores a number of issues concerning religion, law, and society. Chapter 3 examines Pakistani attitudes toward the United States, as well as attitudes toward China, while Chapter 4 looks at opinions of U.S. President Barack Obama and his foreign policies. Chapter 5 explores relations between Pakistan and India. Chapter 6 investigates ratings for key leaders and institutions. Chapter 7 examines how Pakistanis assess national conditions. Finally, Chapter 8 looks at how Pakistanis rate conditions in their own lives.

1. The Battle Against Extremism

Pakistanis remain concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism in their country and around the world, and views of Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda and the Taliban have grown more negative since last year. In addition, a growing percentage of those who think there is a struggle between groups who want to modernize Pakistan and Islamic fundamentalists say they identify with the modernizers. And the view that suicide bombing is *never* justified is close to unanimous.

Opinions about how to handle the threat of extremism are mixed. A majority opposes U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism. However, there is support for using the Pakistani army to fight extremist groups in parts of the country and for financial and intelligence assistance from the United States. About half support U.S. missile strikes against leaders of extremist groups, but large majorities of Pakistanis who have heard about the ongoing drone missile attacks think they are a bad thing and that they are being conducted by the United States without the approval of the Pakistani government.



Concerns About Extremism

Nearly eight-in-ten Pakistanis (79%) are concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism in their country, and 69% worry that extremist groups could take control of Pakistan. These concerns are widespread across demographic and ethnic groups as well as in Punjab, Sindh and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP).

In the NWFP, a hotbed of militant activity which borders Afghanistan, about three-quarters (74%) worry that extremist groups could take control of Pakistan, including nearly half (47%) who say they are *very* worried about this possibility. Similarly, 70% in Punjab and 69% in Sindh worry about extremists taking over.

	Total	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP
	%	%	%	%
Very worried	45	48	42	47
Somewhat worried	24	22	27	27
Not too worried	10	7	13	14
Not at all worried	10	11	11	6
Don't know	11	11	6	6

Question 60c.

Concern about extremism among Pakistanis has increased somewhat over the past year. Still, overwhelming majorities already expressed concern about the rise of Islamic extremism in their country (72% in 2008 and 74% in 2006) and around the world (73% in 2008 and 71% in 2006) in recent Pew Global Attitudes surveys.

Al Qaeda and Taliban Seen as Threats

About six-in-ten (61%) Pakistanis express an unfavorable opinion of al Qaeda, and just 9% say they view Osama bin Laden’s group favorably. Views of the Taliban are even more negative; 70% have an unfavorable opinion and 10% have a favorable opinion of that group.

Unfavorable opinions of al Qaeda and the Taliban are especially widespread among the most educated. Three-quarters (75%) of those with at least some secondary education have a negative view of al Qaeda, compared with 49% of those with no formal education (45% in that group did not offer an opinion). Similarly, 80% in the more educated group view the Taliban unfavorably, while 60% of those with no formal education share that opinion.

Ratings of...			
al Qaeda			
	Fav	Unfav	DK
	%	%	%
Spring 2009	9	61	30
Spring 2008	25	34	41
The Taliban			
	Fav	Unfav	DK
	%	%	%
Spring 2009	10	70	20
Spring 2008	27	33	40
Questions 23b and 23d.			

Views of al Qaeda and the Taliban are much more negative than they were a year ago. In 2008, about a quarter of Pakistanis said they had a favorable opinion of al Qaeda (25%) and the Taliban (27%), and about one-third viewed each group unfavorably (34% and 33%, respectively). The image of these groups has slipped across regions as well as across educational and income groups.²

Pakistanis see the Taliban as a more serious threat than al Qaeda. Nearly three-quarters (73%) say the Taliban poses a threat to their country, compared with 61% who say the same about al Qaeda. Those in Sindh and in the NWFP are considerably more likely to see the Taliban as a threat to Pakistan (85% each) than are those in Punjab (68%). Al Qaeda is seen as more of a threat in Sindh (71%) than in the NWFP (63%) and Punjab (59%).

Concerns about al Qaeda and the Taliban are widespread across ethnic groups. More than eight-in-ten Pashtuns (85%) say the Taliban poses a serious threat to Pakistan, as do 80% of

² For income, respondents are grouped into three categories of low, middle and high. Low-income respondents are those with a reported monthly household income of 7,000 rupees or less, middle-income respondents fall between the range of 7,001 to 15,000 rupees per month, and those in the high-income category earn 15,001 rupees or more per month.

Muhajirs, 77% of Sindhis and 71% of Punjabis. Al Qaeda is viewed as a serious threat by nearly seven-in-ten Muhajirs (68%), and about six-in-ten Punjabis, Sindhis and Pashtuns (62% each).³

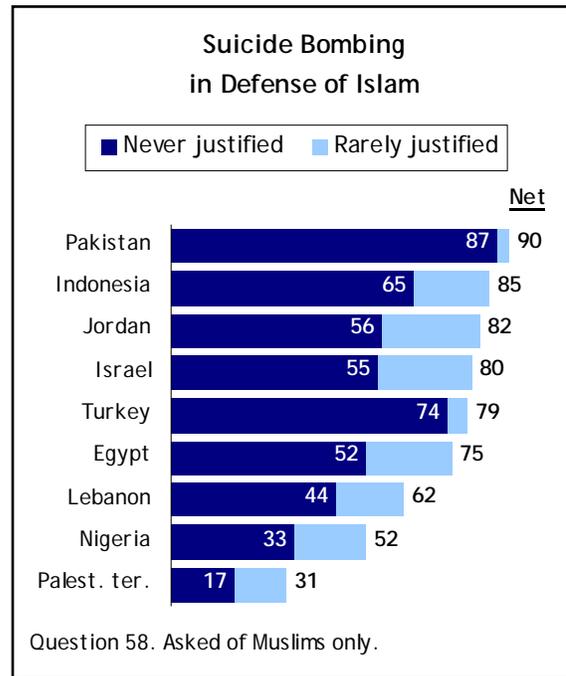
Opinions about Osama bin Laden have also grown more negative over the past year. Nearly half of Pakistanis (47%) now say they have little or no confidence in bin Laden to do the right thing regarding world affairs and 18% have at least some confidence in the al Qaeda leader. In 2008, more Pakistanis said they had confidence in bin Laden to do the right thing when it came to world affairs (34%) than said they did not have confidence in him (28%).

Pakistani Muslims Say Suicide Bombing Not Justifiable

Opposition to suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets is nearly unanimous among Pakistani Muslims. Nine-in-ten say such acts are rarely or never justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies, with nearly all of those saying it is *never* justified. This sentiment holds true across demographic, regional and partisan groups.

Among Muslims in the nine countries surveyed where there are sizable Muslim populations, those in Pakistan are the most opposed to suicide bombing. Significant majorities in Indonesia (85%), Jordan (82%), Israel (80%), Turkey (79%), Egypt (75%), and Lebanon (62%) also say such acts of violence are rarely or never justified. However, in no other country is the percentage expressing that view as high as in Pakistan, and the percentage of Muslims in Pakistan who say suicide bombing is *never* justified is much higher compared with other Muslim publics.

Muslims in Pakistan have not always rejected suicide bombing. In 2002, one-third said suicide bombing was often or sometimes justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies, while about four-in-ten (43%) said it was rarely or never justified. Opinions



	Often/ Sometimes %	Rarely/ Never %	DK %
Spring 2009	5	90	5
Spring 2008	5	91	4
Spring 2007	9	81	10
Spring 2006	14	77	8
May 2005	25	64	11
March 2004	41	43	16
Summer 2002	33	43	24

Question 58. Asked of Muslims only.

³ “Muhajirs” includes those who describe their ethnicity as “Urdu.”

were even more divided in 2004, when about an equal number of Pakistani Muslims said suicide bombing was at least sometimes justified (41%) as said it was not (43%).

More Muslims Identify with Modernizers

Four-in-ten Muslims say there is a struggle in Pakistan between those who want to modernize the country and Islamic fundamentalists. Of those who say there is a struggle, nearly three-quarters (73%) identify with the modernizers.

The view that there is a struggle between modernizers and fundamentalists is more prevalent among those with higher incomes; 62% of affluent Pakistani Muslims see a struggle, compared with 43% of those with middle incomes and 37% of those with low incomes. Similarly, those who are better educated are more likely to say there is a struggle between those who want to modernize Pakistan and Islamic fundamentalists. There are no significant differences of opinion on this matter, however, between men and women or across age groups.

In Sindh, more than half of Muslims (52%) say there is a struggle between modernizers and fundamentalists in Pakistan. By contrast, 39% in Punjab and 26% in the NWFP share that view (fully 63% in the NWFP did not offer an opinion).

While the percentage of Pakistani Muslims who see a struggle between modernizers and Islamic fundamentalists in their country has remained relatively stable, many more now identify with modernizers than did so in the past. Of those who see a struggle, 73% now say they identify with the modernizers and 16% identify with fundamentalists; in 2008, those who said there was a struggle in their country were nearly evenly divided (51% sided with modernizers and 44% sided with fundamentalists).

	Most Who See Struggle Side with Modernizers		
	See a struggle*	---and identify with**--- Groups who want to modernize or Islamic fundamentalists	
	%	%	%
Total	40	29	7
Men	42	32	5
Women	38	26	9
18-29	41	29	7
30-39	41	31	6
40-49	42	31	6
50+	32	23	6
Some secondary or more	54	39	10
At least some primary	41	30	6
No formal education	29	21	5
High income	62	45	10
Middle income	43	30	8
Low income	37	25	8
Urban	51	35	10
Rural	34	26	4
Sindh	52	33	14
Punjab	39	30	5
NWFP	26	21	1

* % of total Muslim sample saying there is a struggle in Pakistan between groups who want to modernize the country and Islamic fundamentalists.
 ** % of total Muslim sample saying they identify with groups that want to modernize or with Islamic fundamentalists. Question asked only of those who see a struggle.
 Questions 56 and 57. Asked of Muslims only.

Identification with groups that want to modernize Pakistan is now more common across all key demographic groups, but the change has been greatest among those with no formal education. In 2008, nearly six-in-ten (58%) Muslims with no formal education who said there was a struggle sided with Islamic fundamentalists and 37% sided with modernizers. In the current survey, about three-quarters (74%) in that group identify with those who want to modernize and just 16% identifies with fundamentalists.

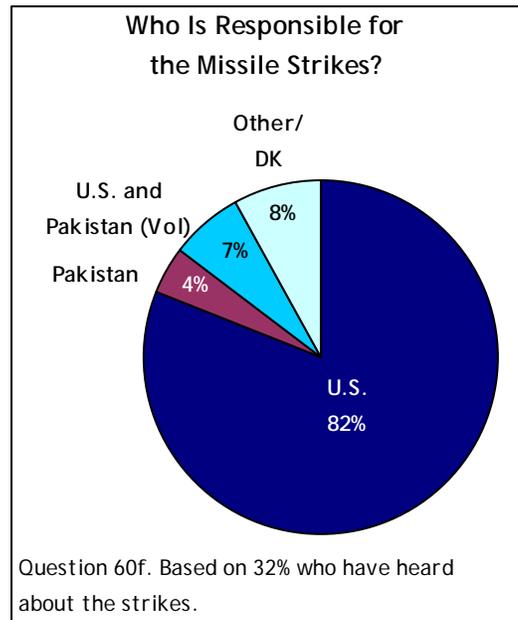
Opposition to Drone Attacks

Despite their concerns about the rise of Islamic extremism and the threat it poses to their country, Pakistanis who have heard about ongoing missile strikes from drone aircraft that target leaders of extremist groups broadly oppose such attacks.⁴ About six-in-ten (62%) among those who have heard of the missile strikes say they are a very bad thing, and another 33% say they are a bad thing.

	Agree %	Disagree %	DK %
Are necessary	34	58	8
Kill too many innocent people	93	5	2
Are being done without gov't approval	58	27	14

Questions 60ga, 60gb, and 60gc. Based on 32% who have heard about the strikes.

Those who have heard about the missile strikes generally say they are not necessary to defend Pakistan from extremist groups. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say the attacks are not necessary and just about a third (34%) say they are necessary. Moreover, almost all respondents who are aware of the strikes say they kill too many innocent people (93%).



About eight-in-ten (82%) among those who have heard about the missile strikes say they are being launched by the United States, and most think the attacks are being conducted without the approval of the Pakistani government. About six-in-ten (58%) say the attacks are being done without government approval, while 27% disagree.

⁴ Only 32% say they have heard about the missile strikes. Because we later ask who is launching the strikes, the question did not specify that these were U.S. missile strikes. According to researchers in Pakistan, many more respondents may have said they have heard of the missile strikes if we had described them as “U.S. missile strikes.”

U.S. Role in Fighting Extremism

More than half in Pakistan (56%) oppose U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism and 72% think the U.S. and NATO should remove their military troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible. Yet, many see a role for the United States in the battle against extremism.

An overwhelming majority of Pakistanis (72%) support the U.S. providing financial and humanitarian aid to areas where extremist groups operate. There also is broad support for the U.S. providing intelligence and logistical support to Pakistani troops fighting extremist groups; 63% favor this.

Pakistanis are less supportive of the U.S. taking part in military action. Still, after being asked about ways in which the U.S. can assist Pakistan in the fight against extremism, nearly half (47%) say they would favor the U.S. conducting missile strikes against leaders of extremist groups.

	<u>Support</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Providing financial and humanitarian aid to areas where extremist groups operate	72	12	16
Providing intelligence and logistical support to Pakistani troops fighting extremist groups	63	12	25
Conducting missile strikes against leaders of extremist groups	47	24	29
Questions 64a, 64b, and 64c.			

Pakistan's Role in Fighting Extremism

About half of Pakistanis (53%) support and 24% oppose using their country's army to fight extremist groups in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and in the NWFP. Similarly, half of Pakistanis would favor and 29% would oppose their country assuming more responsibility to combat terrorism around the world.

Those in Punjab are especially likely to say that the Pakistani army should be used to fight extremists in FATA and in the NWFP; 60% in this region express that view. By contrast, about four-in-ten (42%) in the NWFP want the army to fight extremist groups in their province and in the tribal areas; 27% in the NWFP oppose using the army to fight extremists groups and 31% do not offer an opinion.

2. Religion, Law, and Society

Pakistanis give religious leaders high marks for the influence they are having on the way things are going in their country, and overwhelming majorities express support for giving religious judges and Muslim leaders the power to decide family and property disputes. The survey also finds broad support for severe laws, such as the death penalty for people who leave the Muslim religion, across all segments of the population.

Yet, despite expressing harsh views about crime and punishment, Pakistanis are much more progressive in opinions about the importance of educating girls. As Taliban militants continue their efforts to prevent girls from receiving an education by burning down and bombing girls' schools, the public is now nearly unanimous in saying that both boys and girls should be educated.

The survey also finds that majorities of Pakistanis in all major ethnic groups think of themselves first as Pakistani rather than identifying primarily with their ethnicity. This is especially the case among the Punjabis, the Pashtuns, and the Muhajirs. Sindhis are more likely than other groups to say they identify first with their ethnic group.

High Regard for Religious Leaders

Nearly two-thirds (64%) in Pakistan say that religious leaders are having a good influence on the way things are going in their country; in 2007, 61% expressed this view while in 2002 just half said religious leaders were having a positive influence. Moreover, about seven-in-ten (71%) favor giving Muslim leaders and religious judges the power to decide family and property disputes.

Women are somewhat more likely than men to say that religious leaders should have the power to decide family and property disputes, but solid majorities in both groups share that view. Nearly three-quarters of women (74%) favor giving religious judges and Muslim leaders this power, compared with 68% of men.

Surprisingly, those who say religious leaders are having a bad influence on Pakistan are as likely as those who say they are having a good influence to favor giving Muslim leaders and religious judges the power to decide family and property disputes. More than seven-in-ten in both groups say they favor it.

Most Favor Giving Religious Judges the Power to Decide Family and Property Disputes

	<i>Influence of religious leaders is...</i>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>
	%	%	%
Favor	71	72	73
Oppose	13	14	13
Don't know	16	15	14

Question 62a.

Support for Severe Laws

Pakistanis overwhelmingly favor stoning people who commit adultery (83%), and comparable percentages favor punishments like whippings and cutting off of hands for crimes like theft and robbery (80%), and the death penalty for people who leave the Muslim religion (78%). Support for strict punishments is equally widespread among men and women, old and young, and the educated and uneducated.

	<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Stoning people who commit adultery	83	8	9
Whippings and cutting off of hands for crimes like theft and robbery	80	12	9
The death penalty for people who leave the Muslim religion	78	13	9
Questions 62b, 62c, and 62d.			

Even those who say they identify with the modernizers in a struggle between Islamic fundamentalists and those who want to modernize the country support these measures. About nine-in-ten (91%) Pakistanis who side with the modernizers favor stoning adulterers. A similar proportion of those who side with modernizers (89%) favor punishments like whippings and cutting off of hands for theft and robbery, and 86% favor the death penalty for people who leave Islam. These views are virtually identical to the views of those who identify with Islamic fundamentalists.

Widespread Support for Educating Boys and Girls

The view that it is equally important for boys and girls to be educated is nearly unanimous in Pakistan; 87% say that is the case, while 6% say education is more important for boys and 3% say it is more important for girls. In 2007, about three-quarters (74%) said it was just as important for girls to get an education as it was for boys.

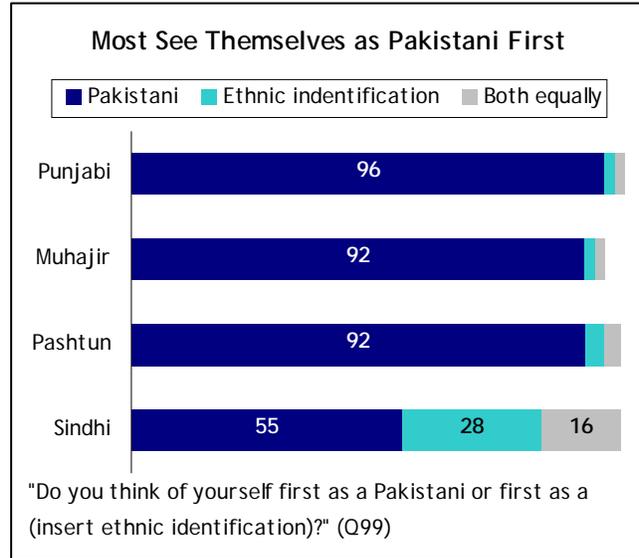
<i>More important to educate...</i>	<u>2007</u> %	<u>2009</u> %	<u>Change</u> %
Boys	17	6	-11
Girls	7	3	-4
Both equally	74	87	+13
Question 55.			

Identical proportions of men and women now say education is equally important for boys and girls (87% each), but men are more likely than women to say that it is more important for boys to be educated (9% of men say this, compared with 3% of women). In 2007, 17% of men and 16% of women said it was more important for boys to receive an education; 72% of men and 76% of women expressed support for educating boys and girls two years ago.

Most Say They Are Pakistanis First

When asked whether they think of themselves primarily as Pakistani or as a member of their ethnic group, roughly nine-in-ten (89%) say they see themselves first as Pakistani.

Majorities among all four major ethnic groups analyzed say they think of themselves first as Pakistani. Close to all Punjabis (96%) – the nation’s largest group – say they see themselves first as Pakistanis, as do 92% each of those who identify themselves as Pashtuns or Muhajirs.



Sindhis are somewhat more likely than other ethnic groups to identify with their ethnicity. Just over half of Sindhi people (55%) say they see themselves as Pakistani first, while close to three-in-ten (28%) say they first identify as Sindhi; another 16% volunteer that they see themselves as both equally.

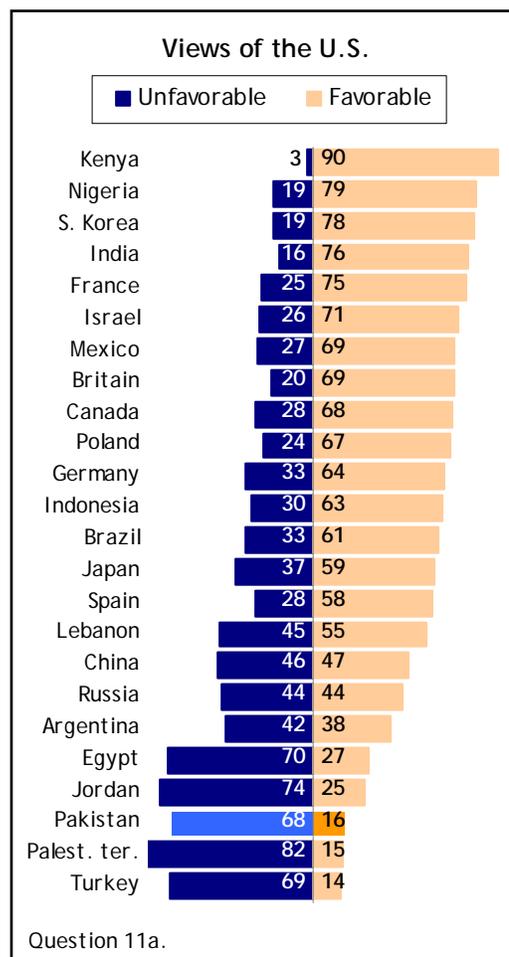
In terms of Pakistan’s regions, large majorities in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (98%) and Punjab (96%) say they see themselves as Pakistanis first, rather than identify themselves first by their ethnic background. Ethnic identification is slightly more common in Baluchistan and Sindh. In Baluchistan, the southwestern territory with rugged terrain and sparse population, 32% say they identify themselves first by their ethnicity and 58% say they identify themselves first as Pakistanis. In Sindh, with its concentration of Sindhi people, 72% say they think of themselves first as Pakistani rather than by their ethnic background; 13% think of themselves first by their ethnic identification; and 10% volunteer that they think of themselves as both equally.

3. Attitudes Toward the United States

The image of the United States is overwhelmingly negative in Pakistan. At 16%, America’s favorability rating there ranks near the bottom among the 24 publics other than the U.S. included in the 2009 Pew Global Attitudes survey. Pakistan is one of three nations – along with the Palestinian territories and Turkey – in which fewer than one-in-five express a positive view.

Most Pakistanis consider the U.S. an enemy, while only about one-in-ten say it is a partner. Distrust of American foreign policy runs deep, and few believe the U.S. considers Pakistani interests when making policy decisions. Moreover, most think that American policy in South Asia favors Pakistan’s archrival India.

However, even though most Pakistanis hold negative opinions of the U.S., most also want relations between the two countries to improve; just over half (53%) say it is important for relations between the U.S. and Pakistan to improve.



U.S. Seen Negatively Throughout Decade

Negative attitudes toward the U.S. in Pakistan are not new – throughout this decade overall ratings for the U.S. have been consistently low. In many other nations, the U.S. received generally positive reviews at the beginning of the decade, before plummeting in 2002 and 2003, as publics around the world reacted negatively to the Iraq war and other elements of President George W. Bush’s foreign policy. However, even at the start of the decade, few Pakistanis expressed favorable views of the U.S.

The only recent Pew Global Attitudes survey in which more than one-quarter voiced a positive opinion of the U.S. was in 2006 (27% favorable), when America’s image improved slightly in Pakistan. This was tied at least in part to the fact that the U.S. provided a significant amount of aid to the country following the October 8, 2005 earthquake that struck about 50 miles outside of Islamabad, killing approximately 75,000 people.

Currently, only 16% of Pakistanis express a favorable view of the U.S., essentially unchanged from last year’s 19%, making Pakistan one of the few countries surveyed in which America’s overall image did not improve in 2009. Among the 20 nations other than the U.S.

	1999/ 2000								
<i>View of U.S.</i>	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Favorable	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19	16
Unfavorable	--	69	81	60	60	56	68	63	68
DK	--	20	6	18	18	17	16	17	16

1999/2000 survey trend provided by the Office of Research,
U.S. Department of State.
Question 11a.

surveyed in both 2008 and 2009, the percentage offering a favorable assessment of the U.S. rose in 16 and stayed about the same in four, including – in addition to Pakistan – Turkey, Russia and Poland.

The U.S. receives slightly higher ratings in Sindh (28% favorable) than in other regions, including Punjab (13%) and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (9%). And those who identify with the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) (23%), which has its political base in Sindh, tend to give the U.S. slightly higher ratings than those who identify with the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) (13%).

Slightly more than half (55%) of those surveyed think the U.S. has a great deal or a fair amount of influence in Pakistan, and among those who believe this, the overwhelmingly consensus is that America’s impact is a negative one: 78% say the U.S. is having a bad impact.

In addition to the views about the U.S. as a country, Pakistanis also tend to give the American people unfavorable ratings – 57% say they have a negative impression of Americans. Looking at the 25 nations surveyed in 2009, Pakistanis are among the least likely to say they have a favorable opinion of Americans – just 20% hold this view. Once again, the least positive views are found in Pakistan, the Palestinian territories (20%) and Turkey (14%).

Part of America’s image challenge in Pakistan is that key elements of American foreign policy have been overwhelmingly unpopular there in recent years. Reservations about American policy and America’s role in the world continue to be widespread in the Obama era. As noted elsewhere in this report, American anti-terrorism efforts are widely unpopular and most Pakistanis want U.S. and NATO forces out of neighboring Afghanistan (see Chapter 1).

More broadly, the U.S. is seen as acting unilaterally in world affairs. Fewer than one-in-four (22%) Pakistanis believe the U.S. considers the interests of countries like theirs a great deal or a fair amount when making foreign policy decisions. More than half (53%) say it does not consider their interests much or at all, while 26% do not offer an opinion.

Relations with the U.S.

Few Pakistanis (27%) believe relations between their country and the U.S. have improved in recent years, while more than four-in-ten (43%) say they have not improved and 30% do not have an opinion. When asked this question in 2006, about half (49%) of Pakistanis said relations between the U.S. and their country had recently improved.

Indians are more likely than Pakistanis to say that U.S.-Pakistani relations have improved recently. Roughly half (48%) in India think relations between the U.S. and Pakistan have gotten better, while 38% say they have not.



When asked about relations between their own country and the U.S., however, far more Indians (70%) say they have improved in the last few years, while just 18% say they have not improved and 12% do not know.

While few Pakistanis think relations between their country and the U.S. have been getting better, most want the relationship to improve. Just over half say that improving relations with the U.S. is either very (22%) or somewhat (31%) important. Only about three-in-ten say that better relations are either not too important (18%) or not at all important (11%), while 18% offer no response.

Improving relations is less of a priority in the NWFP (38% very or somewhat important) than in Sindh (56%) or Punjab (56%). In fact, a 41% plurality in the NWFP says better relations with the U.S. is not important.

Most Pakistanis Say U.S. Sides with India

A majority of Pakistanis (54%) believe U.S. policy in South Asia tends to favor India. Only 4% think American policy favors Pakistan, while 9% say the U.S. is fair and 32% offer no opinion.

In India, about four-in-ten (39%) say the U.S. favors their country, more than double the proportion saying that American policy leans toward Pakistan (18%).

	Fair %	Favor India %	Favor Pakistan %	DK %
India	29	39	18	13
Pakistan	9	54	4	32

"What's your opinion of U.S. policies toward India and Pakistan - would you say they are fair or do they favor India too much or do they favor Pakistan too much?" (Q45)

U.S. Viewed as Enemy, China as Partner

More than six-in-ten (64%) Pakistanis consider the U.S. an enemy of their country, while only 9% say it is a partner. Pakistan is one of only two nations in the Pew Global Attitudes survey where majorities perceive the U.S. as an enemy. The other is the Palestinian territories, where 77% see the U.S. as an enemy.

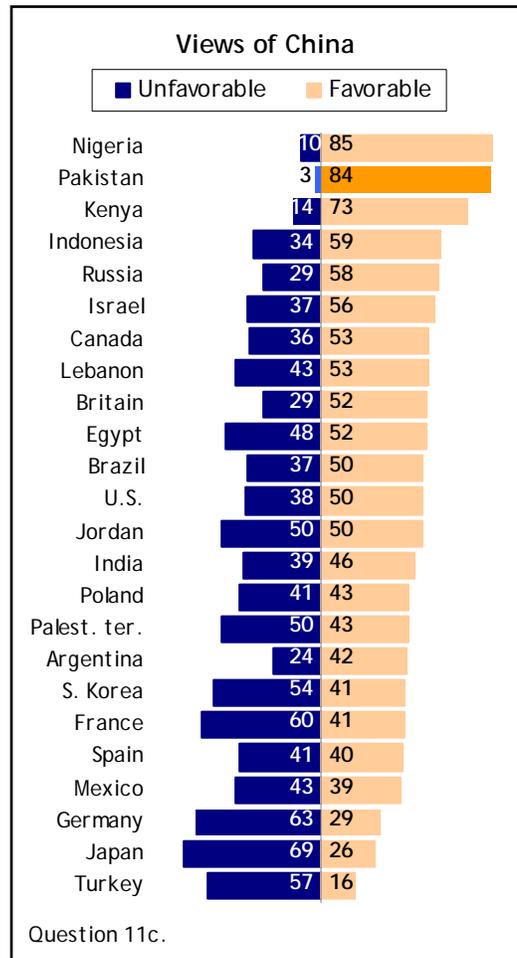
Ethnic Sindhis (33% enemy), those who live in the Sindh region (45%), and those who identify with the PPP (53%) are less likely than others to consider the U.S. an enemy.

Views about China are very different – eight-in-ten Pakistanis see China as a partner, while only 2% consider it an enemy.

Among the 24 nations other than China included in the survey, Pakistan gives China some of its highest ratings. Fully 84% of Pakistanis express a favorable view of China, up from 76% in 2008. Only Nigerians – at 85% favorable – give China a more positive review.

	U.S. %	China %
Partner	9	80
Enemy	64	2
Neither	12	5
Don't know	15	13

Questions 53 and 54.



4. Attitudes Toward President Barack Obama

The new Pew Global Attitudes survey shows that President Barack Obama is popular in much of the world, and is consistently more popular than his predecessor, George W. Bush. In Pakistan, however, only 13% say they have confidence that the new American president will do the right thing in world affairs, the lowest rating among the 25 nations included in the study, and only a slight improvement from what Bush received last year.

In fact, Pakistanis express more positive views of Osama bin Laden than they do of Barack Obama, even though views of the al Qaeda leader have grown more negative in recent years. Nearly one-in-five (18%) have confidence in bin Laden to do the right thing in world affairs.

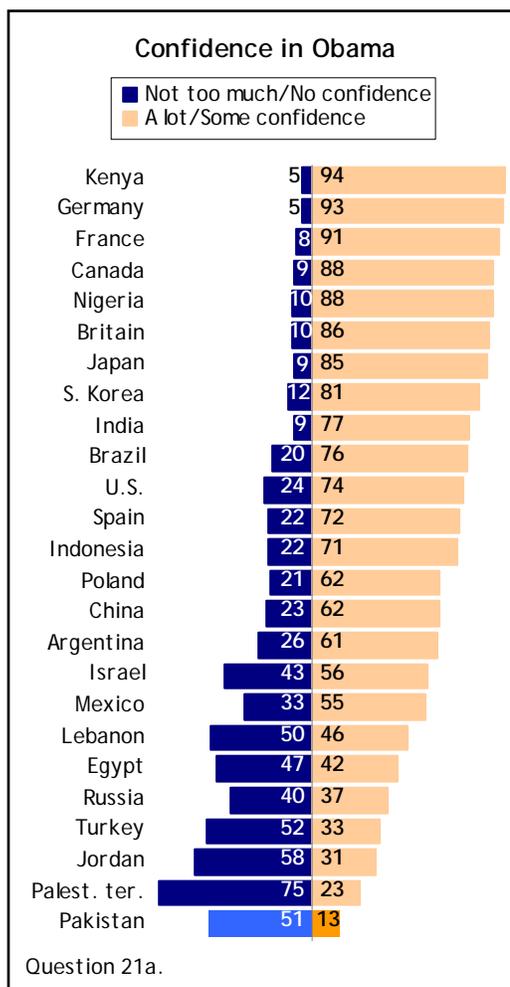
Most Pakistanis are unfamiliar with the other Western leaders included in the survey – 66% have no opinion about German Chancellor Angela Merkel, and the same proportion expresses no opinion about French President Nicolas Sarkozy. The most popular foreign leader tested is Saudi King Abdullah; 64% say they have a lot or some confidence in the Saudi monarch.

Only 18% believe Obama has a better understanding of Pakistan than most Western leaders. Twice as many (36%) say he does not, and 47% do not know.

Election Did Not Help U.S. Image

Majorities or pluralities in most of the nations surveyed say that Barack Obama's election improved their image of the United States. However, in Pakistan, only 9% feel this way, the lowest percentage among 24 countries in which this question was asked.

Even in Turkey and the Palestinian territories – which often, along with Pakistan, rank near the bottom in terms of positive views about the U.S. – significant shares of the public say the election led them to a more positive opinion: 38% of Turks take this view, along with 37% of Palestinians.



Pakistanis are actually more likely to say the election made them have a *less* favorable view (23%) than to say it led them to have a more favorable opinion. A similar proportion (26%) volunteers that the election had no impact on their assessment, while many (42%) do not have an opinion.

In 2005, after George W. Bush’s reelection, the percentage who said it improved their opinion of America (10%) was roughly equal to the percentage saying that today about Obama’s win. However, Bush’s victory engendered more negative reactions (36% less favorable) than Obama’s. One-in-five in 2005 volunteered that the election had no impact on their view and 34% did not answer.

	Bush 2005*	Obama 2009
	%	%
More favorable	10	9
Less favorable	36	23
No impact (Vol)	20	26
Don't know	34	42

*In 2005, the question asked about “the re-election of President George W. Bush.”
 “Did the election of President Barack Obama lead you to have a more favorable or less favorable opinion of the United States.” (Q46)

Limited Expectations for Obama

While expectations for Barack Obama are quite high in most of the nations surveyed, they are less so in Pakistan, where many are either pessimistic about the new president or are not sure what direction he will pursue on key foreign policy issues.

Only 26% think Obama will get the U.S. to take significant steps on the issue of global climate change, while 29% believe he will not, and 45% offer no opinion. Pakistanis are more than twice as likely to say Obama will not seek international approval before using military force (36%) as to say he will (17%).

	Yes %	No %	DK %
<i>He will...</i>			
Take steps on climate change	26	29	45
Seek int'l approval for military force	17	36	46
Be fair in Middle East	17	41	42
Consider our country's interests	17	44	39

Questions 48a, 48b, 48c, and 48d.

As in other Muslim-majority countries surveyed (with the exception of Indonesia), few Pakistanis (17%) think Obama will be fair in his dealings with the Israelis and the Palestinians. And a 44% plurality doubt that Obama will consider the interests of countries like Pakistan when making foreign policy decisions.

Support for Iraq Policy, Opposition to Afghanistan

When asked to give an overall evaluation of Obama’s international policies, only 12% say they approve, while 42% disapprove and 46% do not have an opinion.

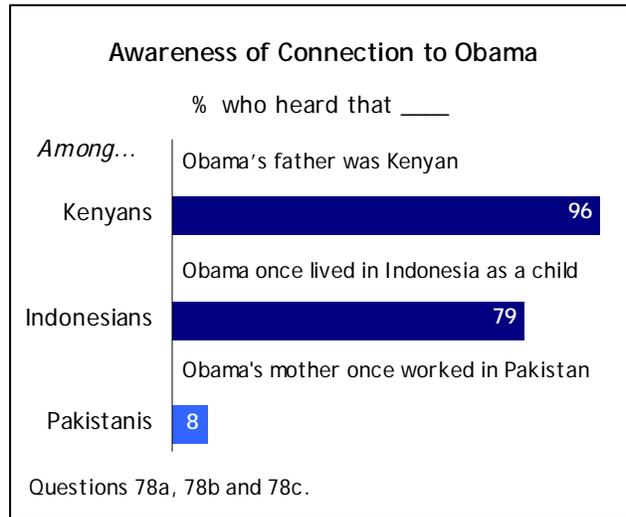
In addition to overall evaluations of Obama’s foreign policy, respondents were asked about several specific initiatives, including policies regarding Iraq, Guantanamo, and Afghanistan. A solid majority (63%) supports Obama’s plan to remove American combat forces from Iraq by December 2011; only 8% disagree with this policy, and 29% offer no opinion. One-third (33%) support closing the U.S. military prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, while about half that number (17%) opposes closing the prison. Half of those surveyed do not have an opinion on this issue. There is little support for Obama’s decision to send more troops to Afghanistan – only 16% approve. A clear majority (57%) disapproves, while 27% have no opinion.

	App-rove %	Dis-app %	DK %
Withdrawing from Iraq	63	8	29
Closing Guantanamo	33	17	50
More troops to Afghanistan	16	57	27

Questions 49a, 49b, 49c.

Few Familiar with Obama Connection

Only 8% of Pakistanis have heard that Barack Obama’s mother once worked in Pakistan. Obama’s personal connections to Kenya and Indonesia are much better known in those countries. Nearly all Kenyans surveyed (96%) have heard that Obama’s father was Kenyan. And about eight-in-ten (79%) Indonesians are aware that Obama lived in their country as a child.



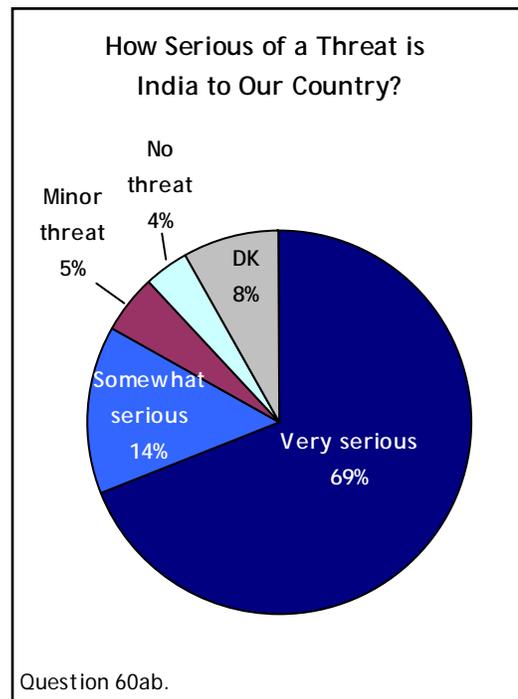
5. Relations with India

The long history of war and hostility between India and Pakistan are clearly reflected in Pakistani public opinion. Indeed, most in Pakistan view India as a serious threat and many believe it poses a greater threat to their country than the Taliban or al Qaeda. But putting the past aside, majorities believe that it is important to improve relations between the two countries.

Much of the tension within the relationship between India and Pakistan stems from the long-standing conflict over the situation in Kashmir. Anxiety over the dispute is prevalent among Pakistanis, and most feel strongly that the situation needs to be resolved.

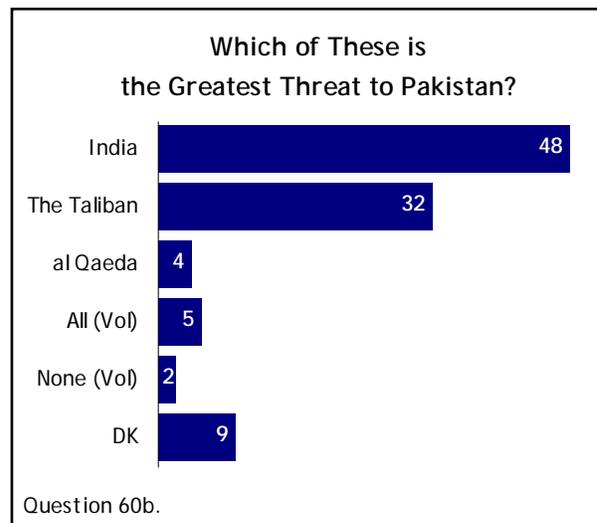
The Threat of India

There is widespread concern over the threat posed to Pakistan by India. More than eight-in-ten (83%) believe that India is a serious threat to their country, with most saying it is a *very* serious threat (69%). By comparison, only a handful of respondents think that India is a minor threat (5%) or not a threat at all (4%). Notably, more Pakistanis cite India as a serious threat to their country than say the same about the Taliban (73%) and al Qaeda (61%).



Anxiety over India is nearly universal among Pakistanis in the Punjab province, where over nine-in-ten (95%) believe that their country's neighbor is a serious threat. A similar fear of India is common among those living in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (88%), and to a lesser extent among respondents in the Sindh province (63%).

When asked to name the greatest threat to Pakistan – among India, the Taliban and al Qaeda – more Pakistanis cite India than mention

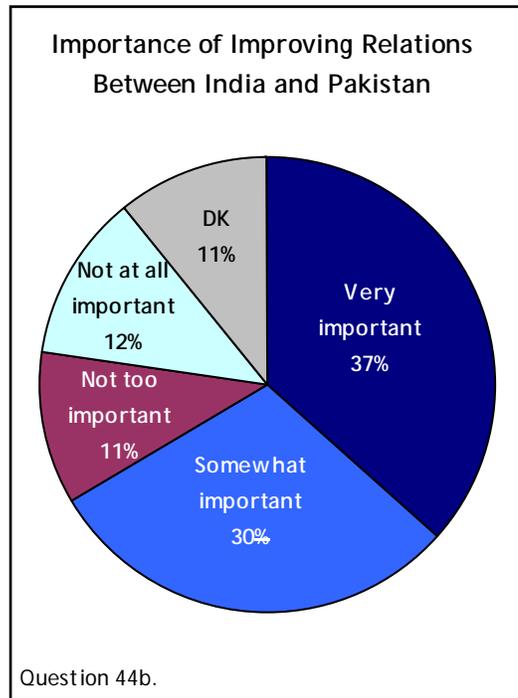


either extremist group. Nearly half (48%) say that India poses the greatest threat to their country, while significantly fewer say that about the Taliban (32%). Just 4% say al Qaeda poses the greatest threat to Pakistan.

Concerns about India are highest in Punjab, where 70% cite India as the greatest threat to the country. By contrast, roughly half in Sindh (51%) and even more in the NWFP (59%) cite the Taliban as the biggest threat to Pakistan. Additionally, respondents who affiliate with the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) are more likely to name India as the greatest threat to Pakistan than those affiliated with the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) (67% vs. 35%).

Most Want Better Relations

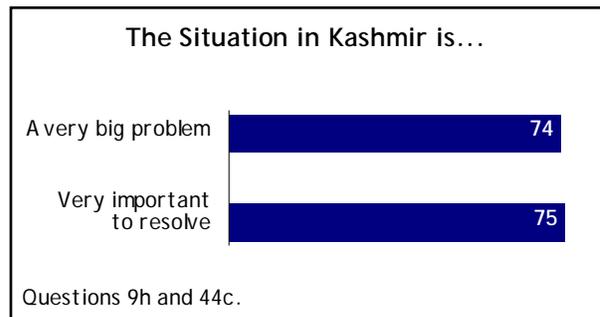
While many Pakistanis remain worried over the threat posed by India, there is widespread agreement that it is important to develop better relations between the two countries. Two-thirds believe it is important for relations between Pakistan and India to improve, with more than a third (37%) saying that it is *very* important. On the other side, roughly a quarter (23%) say that it is not too important or not at all important to improve relations.



Standing in the Way of Closer Ties: Kashmir

The long-standing conflict in Kashmir remains a major obstacle to the development of closer ties between India and Pakistan. Indeed, a large majority of Pakistanis (88%) view the situation in Kashmir as a big problem, with most (74%) saying it is a *very* big problem. Few in Pakistan (9%) think the Kashmir conflict is a small problem or not a problem at all.

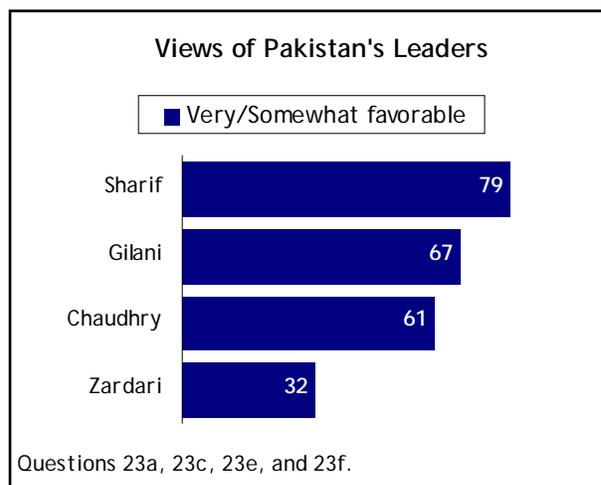
Worries about the dispute over Kashmir are common among the old and young, men and women, rich and poor, as well as those with some education and those with no formal education. Moreover, concern about this issue is nearly ubiquitous among respondents in the Punjab province, which borders Indian-controlled areas of Kashmir: more than nine-in-ten (96%) in Punjab believe that the situation in Kashmir is a big problem.



Many also believe it is important that the dispute over Kashmir be resolved. Nine-in-ten (90%) say it is important for this to happen, and three-quarters (75%) think that it is *very* important. Just 4% say it is not important to find a resolution.

6. Ratings of Leaders and Institutions

Views of President Asif Ali Zardari have turned negative in the past year, as he has made the transition from new widower of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to leader of a troubled nation. The once-popular Zardari is now viewed unfavorably by a majority of Pakistanis. Opposition leader Nawaz Sharif remains widely popular, and Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani and newly-reinstated Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry also receive favorable ratings from solid majorities of Pakistanis.



Pakistanis hold their country's military in high regard, and most also express positive attitudes about the media, religious leaders, and the court system. The national government, on the other hand, is now viewed as having a negative influence by a majority in Pakistan.

Zardari vs. Sharif

Nearly two-thirds of Pakistanis (65%) offer an unfavorable opinion of Zardari and just 32% give the president a favorable rating. In April 2008, before Zardari announced his candidacy for president, 64% had a positive opinion of him and 24% had a negative opinion.

Unfavorable views of Zardari are widespread across most demographic groups. And even among those who are affiliated with the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), which Zardari co-chairs with his son, views of the president are mixed. A small majority (52%) offers a positive opinion and 45% offer a negative opinion of Zardari.

Opposition Leader Seen Much More Favorably than President Zardari

	2008	2009	Change
Views of Zardari			
Favorable	64	32	-32
Unfavorable	24	65	+41
Don't know	11	4	-7
Views of Sharif			
Favorable	76	79	+3
Unfavorable	20	17	-3
Don't know	4	3	-1

Questions 23a and 23c.

Nawaz Sharif, on the other hand, continues to enjoy high favorable ratings from the Pakistani public. About eight-in-ten (79%) have a positive opinion of Zardari's political rival and 17% have a negative opinion, largely unchanged from last year. While Sharif receives near unanimous support from those affiliated with his party – 98% in the Pakistani Muslim League-

Nawaz (PML-N) offer a favorable opinion – he also enjoys broad support from those in the PPP (71% favorable).

Prime Minister, Chief Justice Viewed Favorably

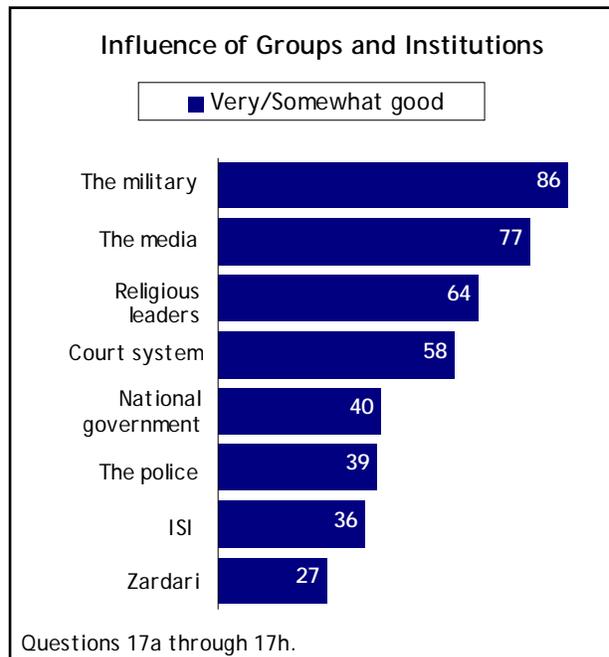
While Pakistanis express largely negative views of their country’s president, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, vice-chairman of Zardari’s party, is widely popular. Two-thirds have a favorable opinion and just 19% have an unfavorable opinion of the prime minister, who has sought to distance himself from Zardari on some issues in recent months. Gilani is well-regarded by members of the two leading political parties – 69% of those in the PPP see the prime minister in a positive light, and even more (78%) in the PML-N, the opposition party, share that view.

Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, who was recently reinstated as Pakistan’s Chief Justice after being suspended and placed under house arrest by former President Pervez Musharraf, also receives positive ratings from a clear majority of Pakistanis. About six-in-ten (61%) say they have a favorable opinion of Pakistan’s chief justice, while 18% say they have an unfavorable impression. More than one-in-five (22%) did not offer an opinion.

Views of Groups and Institutions

Fully 86% say the military is having a good influence on the way things are going in Pakistan, up from 68% in 2007. More than three-quarters (77%) also see the media as having a positive impact, and somewhat smaller majorities say the same about religious leaders (64%) and the court system (58%).

On the other hand, just 40% say the national government is having a good influence on the way things are going in Pakistan, while slightly more than half (53%) say it is having a bad influence. Views of the national government have become more negative over the years. In 2002, more than seven-in-ten said the national government (72%) was having a positive influence on the way things were going in Pakistan, while 19% saw it as having a bad influence. By 2007, about one-third (32%) said the national government was having a negative impact on the way things were going in Pakistan.



President Zardari receives even more negative ratings than the national government – about two-thirds (68%) see the president as having a bad impact. By contrast, in 2007, just 36% said President Pervez Musharraf was having a negative influence on Pakistan and more than half (56%) said he was having a good influence.

The Pakistani police also receive low marks from the public – 55% say it is having a negative influence and 39% say it is having a positive influence on the way things are going in the country. Just 36% see the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) as having a good impact, but 41% did not offer an opinion about the agency.

7. Views of National Conditions

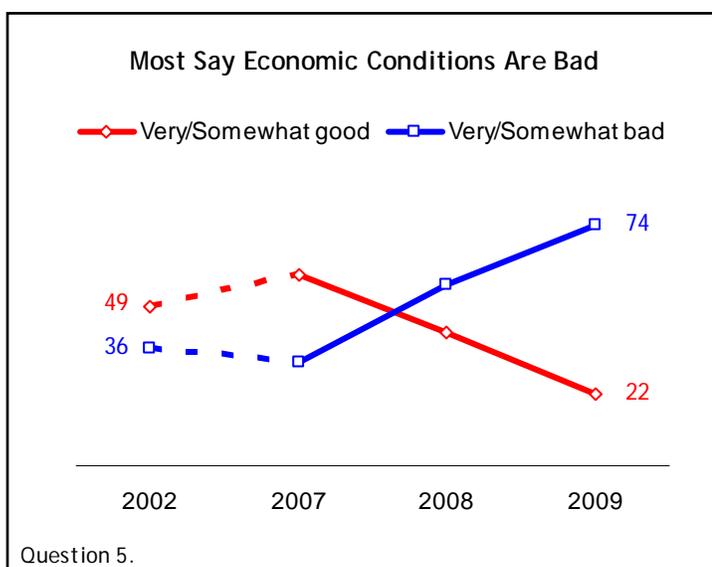
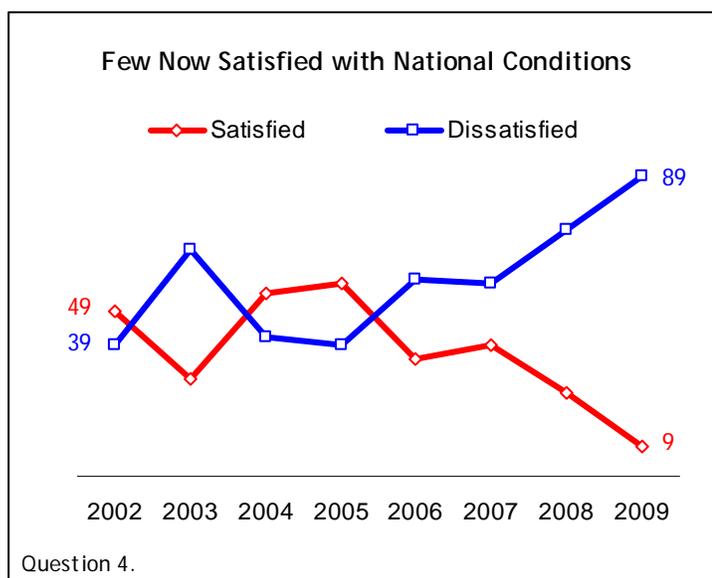
As Pakistan struggles with a troubled economy, political tensions and fighting between government and extremist forces, about nine-in-ten of its people say they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country today. That is up sharply from two years ago.

About three-quarters say the nation's economy is in bad shape and most voice pessimism about the economy in the near term. More than six-in-ten say the economic situation will get worse or stay the same over the next year. Meanwhile, large majorities see their country as plagued by problems such as crime, terrorism, illegal drugs and corruption.

Widespread Dissatisfaction

The number of Pakistanis saying they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country has risen sharply in recent years, to 89% currently. In 2005, just 39% expressed dissatisfaction with national conditions. At that time, a majority (57%) said they were satisfied with the way things were going, compared with just 9% today.

Large shares of all demographic groups express dissatisfaction. Members of the two main political parties show almost identical levels of dissatisfaction: 91% among those who belong to the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and 93% among members of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).



A Troubled Economy

About three-quarters (74%) of Pakistanis see the nation’s economic situation as bad, and half say conditions are *very* bad. In 2008, 56% said economic conditions were bad, including 35% who said conditions were *very* bad. In the spring of 2007, a much greater share saw conditions as good (59%) than bad (32%).

In Pakistan, there is little expectation that economic circumstances will improve in the next year. More than six-in-ten (63%) say they expect the economic situation there to worsen (35%) or stay the same (28%). Only about a quarter (23%) say they expect the economy to improve, down 30 percentage points from a year ago, when 53% said they expected the economy to improve. At that time, roughly a third said the economy would either worsen (16%) or stay the same (18%).

<i>Economy in next 12 months will...</i>	<u>2008</u> %	<u>2009</u> %	<u>Change</u>
Improve	53	23	-30
Remain the same	18	28	+10
Worsen	16	35	+19
DK	12	14	+2

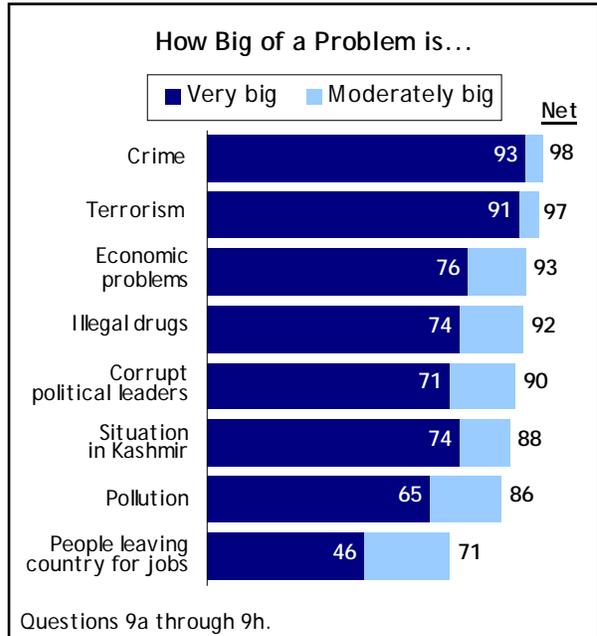
Question 6.

Regionally, people in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) are more pessimistic than elsewhere, with nearly six-in-ten (57%) saying they expect conditions to worsen over the next 12 months. In Baluchistan, 38% say they think economic conditions will worsen, as do about a third of those in Sindh (33%) and Punjab (31%).

Crime, Terrorism Top Concerns

Most Pakistanis see their country facing a long list of serious problems, including crime, terrorism, illegal drugs and corruption. More than nine-in-ten consider crime (93%) and terrorism (91%) to be very big problems. Large majorities already saw both as very big problems in 2007 (85% and 76%, respectively), but concerns have risen significantly.

About three-quarters (76%) also say the economy is a very big problem, while a similar share (74%) says the same about illegal drugs and the situation in Kashmir (For more on Kashmir, see Chapter 5).



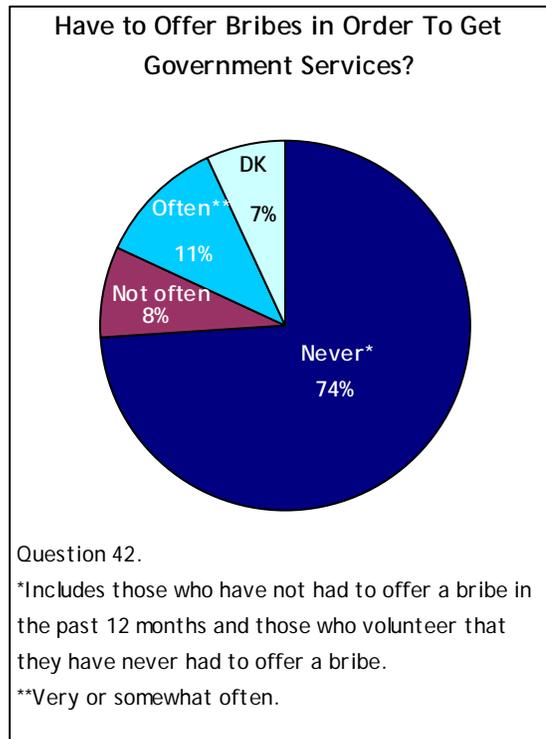
Corruption also troubles Pakistanis: 71% say corrupt political leaders are a very big problem, up from 64% in 2007 and 58% in 2002. Those aligned with the PML-N are especially

concerned about corruption – 80% say it is a very big problem in their country – but a majority (57%) of those who identify with President Zardari’s PPP also say corruption is a very big problem in Pakistan.

Roughly two-thirds (65%) say pollution is a very big problem, a decline from 72% in 2007. And a smaller share (46%) says that people leaving the country for jobs is a very big problem, down from 53% two years ago.

Few Have Paid Bribes

When asked how often in the past year they had to do a favor, give a gift, or pay a bribe to a government official to get services or a document that the government is supposed to provide, a majority (58%) volunteers that they have never had to do it and another 16% say they have not had to do it in the past year. About one-in-ten (11%) say they have had to do so at least somewhat often in the past twelve months, while 8% say they have done it, but not often.



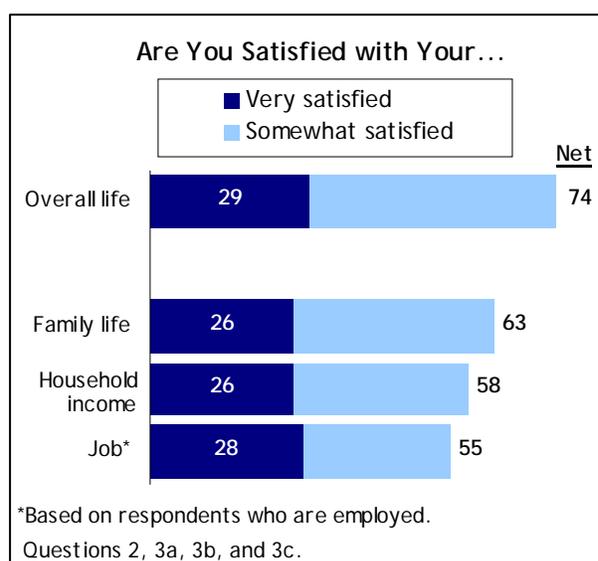
8. Pakistanis View Their Lives

Personal contentment is not only common in Pakistan, but has changed little over the years. Currently, majorities express satisfaction with their overall life and specifically with certain aspects of their personal lives, including their family life, income and job. However, by global standards, levels of personal satisfaction in Pakistan are relatively low. And while many remain satisfied with much of their personal lives, fewer Pakistanis say their personal finances are in good shape this year compared with last year.

Pakistanis Rate Their Personal Lives

Roughly three-quarters (74%) of Pakistanis are satisfied with their overall life, and 29% say they are *very* satisfied.

When asked about specific aspects of their personal lives, a majority expresses satisfaction with their family life (63%) and, to a lesser extent, with their household income (58%) and jobs (55% of those who are employed). And roughly a quarter say they are *very* satisfied with these elements of their personal life.



But when compared with the personal satisfaction levels of other publics, Pakistanis' satisfaction with their overall life, family life, household income and job appear low. On the Pew Global Attitudes 2009 survey of 25 nations, Pakistan ranks 15th in terms of overall life satisfaction, 14th on household income, and ranks much lower on job satisfaction (20th) and family life (24th).

Trends in personal satisfaction have, for the most part, changed little over the years among Pakistanis. Currently, more than six-in-ten (63%) say they are satisfied with their family life, largely unchanged from past surveys (62% in 2007; 60% in 2002).

Satisfaction with household income has also remained steady over the last several years – about six-in-ten (58%) are satisfied with their household income, unchanged from 2007.

Are You Satisfied with Your...			
	2002	2007	2009
	%	%	%
Family life			
Satisfied	60	62	63
Dissatisfied	36	36	37
Household income			
Satisfied	56	58	58
Dissatisfied	42	39	42
Job*			
Satisfied	57	49	55
Dissatisfied	38	46	40

*Based on respondents who are employed.
Questions 3a through 3c.

Job satisfaction among those who are employed has fluctuated slightly over the past few years. After a small drop from 57% in 2002 to 49% in 2007, job satisfaction has recovered in 2009; 55% currently report being satisfied with their jobs.

Wealth and Education Tied to Satisfaction

Life satisfaction is often higher among wealthier and more educated Pakistanis. For example, more than eight-in-ten (83%) of those with relatively high levels of education or more are satisfied with their lives overall, while 75% of those with at least some primary education and 66% of those with no formal education feel the same way. Along the same lines, high income earners in Pakistan (89%) are more likely to express overall life satisfaction than middle income (80%) or low income respondents (61%).

About seven-in-ten (69%) in the highest education category are happy with their income, compared with slightly fewer of those with at least some primary education (60%) and even fewer respondents with no formal education (48%). And not surprisingly, Pakistanis in the middle and high income brackets are much more likely to express satisfaction with their income than those in the lowest income bracket (71% in the high income group and 70% in the middle group vs. 45% in the low group).

For Pakistanis, education and income also play a role in personal satisfaction with family lives and jobs. Respondents with at least some formal education are more likely to express satisfaction with their family life and job than those who have no formal education. Similarly, those in the middle and high income groups are happier with their jobs and family life than those in the lower income group.

	% very or somewhat satisfied			
	Overall life %	Family life %	Household income %	Job* %
Total	74	63	58	55
Age				
18-29	79	69	63	66
30-39	70	58	54	46
40-49	77	61	57	58
50+	60	54	45	44
Education				
High	83	75	69	66
Middle	75	69	60	59
Low	66	50	48	42
Income				
High	89	76	71	64
Middle	80	78	70	67
Low	61	51	45	45

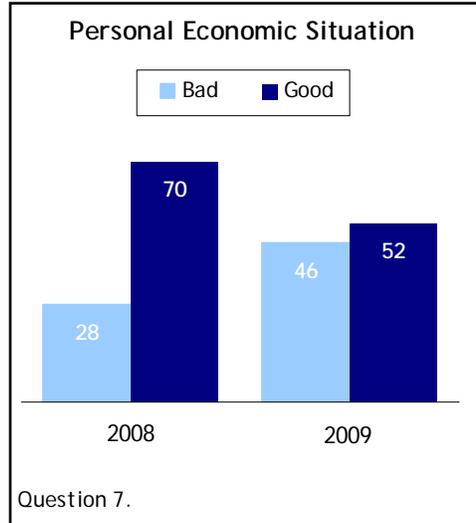
*Based on those who are employed. Questions 2, 3a, 3b and 3c.

Positive Views of Personal Economic Situation Decline

Pakistanis are not as upbeat about their personal economic situation this year as they were last year. Currently, just over half (52%) say their personal economic situation is good, compared with 70% in 2008. Notably, this is the largest drop of any of the 21 publics included in both the 2008 and 2009 Pew Global Attitudes surveys.

Across many demographic groups, fewer Pakistanis say their personal economic situation is good than did so last year. For instance, positive views declined across all income levels, but for those in the lowest income bracket positive ratings of their personal economic situation dropped dramatically – from 67% in 2008 to 39% in 2009. Similarly, among all age groups fewer say their personal economic situation is good this year than did so last year.

Respondents in the lowest education category are much less likely this year than last year to say their personal finances are good. Roughly six-in-ten (61%) of those with no formal education described their personal economic situation as good back in 2008, but this year only about four-in-ten (39%) share the same sentiment.



	% very or somewhat good		
	2008	2009	Change
Total	70	52	-18
Men	72	44	-28
Women	67	60	-7
Age			
18-29	72	58	-14
30-39	69	47	-22
40-49	67	54	-13
50+	66	36	-30
Education			
High	81	66	-15
Middle	71	55	-16
Low	61	39	-22
Income			
High	77	69	-8
Middle	75	61	-14
Low	67	39	-28

Question 7.

2009 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in Pakistan --Survey Methods--

Results for the survey are based on face-to-face interviews conducted May 22 to June 9, 2009. The survey in Pakistan is part of the larger 2009 Pew Global Attitudes survey conducted in 24 nations and the Palestinian territories from May 18 to June 16, 2009, under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. *(For more results from the 25-nation 2009 poll, see “Confidence in Obama Lifts U.S. Image Around the World,” released July 23, 2009.)*

The table below provides details about the survey’s methodology, including the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in Pakistan. For the results based on the full sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

The sample covers roughly 90% of the adult population. All four provinces of Pakistan were sampled excluding areas of instability in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. Instability also made it impossible to survey the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA), and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). The sample is disproportionately

Survey Details	
Sample Design	Probability
Mode	Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages	Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Sariki, Hindko, Balochi
Fieldwork dates	May 22 to June 9, 2009
Sample size	1,254
Margin of error	3%
Representative:	Disproportionately urban

urban due to the greater heterogeneity of the urban population. The sample is 55% urban while Pakistan’s population is roughly 33% urban. Data are weighted to reflect the actual urban/rural split in Pakistan.

Notes on the topline results:

- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns always show 100%, however, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- The 2007, 2008, and 2009 Global Attitudes surveys use a different process to generate topline than previous Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from previously published numbers.
- Questions previously released in “Confidence in Obama Lifts U.S. Image Around the World” include Q2-8, Q11a-c, Q11e-f, Q11j, Q12-16, Q18-20, Q21a-e, Q21h, Q22, Q25-32, Q36-40, Q46-47, Q48-50, Q53-54, Q58, Q60, Q76-Q77, and Q78a-Q79c.
- Questions held for future release: Q1, Q8a, Q9a-Q9g, Q10, Q11d, Q11g-i, Q11k-l, Q17a-g, Q21f-g, Q21i-l, Q24a-c, Q33-Q35, Q42, Q51-Q52, Q59, Q61, Q68-Q75, Q78, Q82-Q88, and Q90-Q94.
- In the following topline, the results for questions Q2-Q7, Q11a, Q11b, Q11c, Q19-20, Q21a, Q21e, Q25-29, Q39-40, Q47, Q48a-Q49c, Q53-54, Q58, and Q60 are shown for Pakistan only, but are available for the other 24 publics in “Confidence in Obama Lifts U.S. Image Around the World.”

The 2009 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in Pakistan Final Topline

		Q2 Next, please tell me how satisfied you are with your life overall -- would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied					
		Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	29	45	18	8	0	100

		Q3a As I read each of the following, please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with this aspect of your life: a. your household income?					
		Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	26	32	27	15	0	100
	Spring, 2007	22	36	20	19	3	100
	Summer, 2002	21	35	21	21	2	100

		Q3b As I read each of the following, please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with this aspect of your life: b. your family life?					
		Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	26	37	26	11	0	100
	Spring, 2007	25	37	21	15	2	100
	Summer, 2002	23	37	20	16	4	100

		Q3c As I read each of the following, please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with this aspect of your life: c. your job? (BASED ON THOSE WHO ARE EMPLOYED)						
		Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	28	27	24	16	5	100	512
	Spring, 2007	20	29	24	22	5	100	1419
	Summer, 2002	23	34	20	18	6	100	1746

		Q4 Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?			
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	9	89	2	100
	Spring, 2008	25	73	2	100
	Spring, 2007	39	57	4	100
	Spring, 2006	35	58	7	100
	May, 2005	57	39	4	100
	March, 2004	54	41	5	100
	May, 2003	29	67	4	100
	Summer, 2002	49	39	12	100

		Q5 Now thinking about our economic situation, how would you describe the current economic situation in Pakistan – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	2	20	24	50	4	100
	Spring, 2008	8	33	21	35	4	100
	Spring, 2007	20	39	20	12	9	100
	Summer, 2002	8	41	16	20	14	100

		Q6 And over the next 12 months do you expect the economic situation in our country to improve a lot, improve a little, remain the same, worsen a little or worsen a lot?						
		Improve a lot	Improve a little	Remain the same	Worsen a little	Worsen a lot	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	4	19	28	19	16	14	100
	Spring, 2008	14	39	18	8	8	12	100
	Summer, 2002	7	33	18	6	5	30	100

		Q7 Now thinking about your personal economic situation, how would you describe it – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	11	41	27	19	2	100
	Spring, 2008	14	56	18	10	2	100

		Q9a Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: a. crime					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	93	5	1	0	1	100
	Spring, 2007	85	12	2	0	2	100
	Summer, 2002	84	9	2	1	5	100

		Q9b Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: b. corrupt political leaders					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	71	19	5	1	4	100
	Spring, 2007	64	23	4	1	8	100
	Summer, 2002	58	19	3	1	19	100

		Q9c Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: c. terrorism					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	91	6	1	0	1	100
	Spring, 2007	76	18	3	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	78	11	2	1	9	100

		Q9d Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: d. people leaving our country for jobs in other countries					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	46	25	14	8	8	100
	Spring, 2007	53	21	11	6	10	100
	Summer, 2002	34	20	10	9	28	100

		Q9e Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: e. illegal drugs					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	74	18	5	1	3	100
	Spring, 2007	67	19	6	1	6	100

		Q9f Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: f. pollution					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	65	21	9	2	4	100
	Spring, 2007	72	19	3	1	4	100

		Q9g Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: g. economic problems					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	76	17	3	1	3	100

		Q9h Now I am going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. Tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all: h. The situation in Kashmir					
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	74	14	7	2	3	100

		Q11a Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of: a. The United States					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	3	13	14	54	16	100
	Spring, 2008	6	13	11	52	17	100
	Spring, 2007	4	11	14	54	16	100
	Spring, 2006	7	20	14	42	17	100
	May, 2005	6	17	12	48	18	100
	March, 2004	4	17	10	50	18	100
	May, 2003	3	10	10	71	6	100
	Summer, 2002	2	8	11	58	20	100

		Q11b Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of: b. Americans					Total
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	3	17	18	39	22	100
	Spring, 2008	4	16	17	39	24	100
	Spring, 2007	4	15	18	42	21	100
	Spring, 2006	5	22	18	34	20	100
	May, 2005	5	17	14	41	22	100
	March, 2004	5	20	13	34	27	100
	May, 2003	8	30	11	40	11	100
	Summer, 2002	3	14	12	50	22	100

		Q11c Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of: c. China					Total
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	57	27	2	1	13	100
	Spring, 2008	54	22	3	5	16	100
	Spring, 2007	57	22	2	4	15	100
	Spring, 2006	47	22	4	3	23	100
	May, 2005	56	23	2	2	17	100

		Q17a As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: a. our national government					Total
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	9	31	23	30	7	100
	Spring, 2007	24	35	18	14	9	100
	Summer, 2002	38	34	8	11	9	100

		Q17bpak As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: b. President Asif Ali Zardari ¹					Total
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	8	19	20	48	4	100
	Spring, 2007	24	32	19	17	8	100
	Summer, 2002	42	34	7	9	8	100

1. In 2002 and 2007 question asked about President Pervez Musharraf.

		Q17c As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: c. the military					Total
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	47	39	7	5	3	100
	Spring, 2007	38	30	15	7	10	100
	Summer, 2002	57	27	4	5	8	100

		Q17d As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: d. the media - such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	32	45	13	3	7	100
	Spring, 2007	31	34	13	8	13	100
	Summer, 2002	25	37	11	10	17	100

		Q17e As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: e. religious leaders					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	18	46	17	12	8	100
	Spring, 2007	27	34	14	10	15	100
	Summer, 2002	21	29	11	11	28	100

		Q17f As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: f. court system					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	16	42	18	13	11	100

		Q17g As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: g. the police					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	7	32	19	36	6	100

		Q17h As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Pakistan: h. Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	10	26	12	11	41	100

		Q19 On a different subject, how concerned, if at all, are you about the rise of Islamic extremism in our country these days? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?					
		Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not too concerned	Not at all concerned	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	52	27	5	5	11	100
	Spring, 2008	54	18	6	6	16	100
	Spring, 2006	50	24	4	4	18	100

		Q20 How concerned, if at all, are you about the rise of Islamic extremism around the WORLD these days? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?					
		Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not too concerned	Not at all concerned	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	41	35	6	6	11	100
	Spring, 2008	53	20	5	4	18	100
	Spring, 2006	42	29	4	5	19	100

		Q21a For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all: a. U.S. President Barack Obama					
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	2	11	7	44	36	100

		Q21e For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all: e. Osama bin Laden					
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	4	14	13	34	35	100
	Spring, 2008	15	19	9	19	38	100
	Spring, 2007	19	19	10	20	32	100
	Spring, 2006	17	21	10	20	32	100
	May, 2005	29	22	11	12	27	100
	May, 2003	24	21	7	19	28	100

		Q21m For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all: m. Saudi King Abdullah ²					
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	41	23	3	4	29	100
	Spring, 2007	52	18	3	5	23	100
	May, 2003	26	34	7	9	24	100

2. Asked about Saudi Crown Prince and Prime Minister Abdullah in May 2003.

		Q23a Now I'd like to ask your views about some additional political leaders and organizations. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion: a. Nawaz Sharif					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	45	34	9	8	3	100
	Spring, 2008	43	33	10	10	4	100

		Q23b Now I'd like to ask your views about some additional political leaders and organizations. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion: b. al Qaeda					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	1	8	20	41	30	100
	Spring, 2008	9	16	14	20	41	100

		Q23c Now I'd like to ask your views about some additional political leaders and organizations. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion: c. Asif Ali Zardari					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	9	23	20	45	4	100
	Spring, 2008	29	35	13	11	11	100

		Q23d Now I'd like to ask your views about some additional political leaders and organizations. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion: d. The Taliban					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	1	9	17	53	20	100
	Spring, 2008	12	15	14	19	40	100

		Q23e Now I'd like to ask your views about some additional political leaders and organizations. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion: e. Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	25	36	9	9	22	100

		Q23f Now I'd like to ask your views about some additional political leaders and organizations. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion: f. Yousaf Raza Gilani					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	28	39	10	9	16	100

		Q25 In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think the United States takes into account the interests of countries like Pakistan – a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all?					
		Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	4	18	15	38	26	100
	Spring, 2007	5	16	19	35	25	100
	May, 2005	12	27	20	21	20	100
	March, 2004	3	15	16	32	34	100
	May, 2003	4	19	22	40	15	100
	Summer, 2002	5	18	9	27	41	100

		Q26 And which comes closer to describing your view? I favor the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism.			
		I favor the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism	I oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	24	56	20	100
	Spring, 2007	13	59	28	100
	Spring, 2006	30	50	19	100
	May, 2005	22	52	27	100
	March, 2004	16	60	25	100
	May, 2003	16	74	10	100
	Summer, 2002	20	45	35	100

		Q27 Would you favor or oppose Pakistan assuming more responsibility to combat terrorism around the world?			
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	50	29	22	100

		Q28 Overall, how much influence do you think the United States is having on the way things are going in our country? Would you say it is having a great deal of influence, a fair amount, not too much, or no influence at all?					
		A great deal	A fair amount	Not too much	No influence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	24	31	7	13	25	100
	Spring, 2008	36	23	10	6	25	100

		Q29 ASK IF 'A GREAT DEAL' OR 'A FAIR AMOUNT' IN Q28: Is this a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?					
		Good	Bad	Neither	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	9	78	8	5	100	674
	Spring, 2008	10	83	5	2	100	754

		Q39 Now thinking about the situation in Iraq, do you believe that efforts to establish a stable government in Iraq will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail?					
		Definitely succeed	Probably succeed	Probably fail	Definitely fail	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	12	30	9	12	37	100

		Q40 Do you think the U.S. and NATO should keep military troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. and NATO should remove their troops as soon as possible?			
		Keep troops in Afghanistan	Remove their troops	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	4	72	24	100
	Spring, 2008	9	72	19	100
	Spring, 2007	3	75	22	100

		Q42 In the past year, how often, if ever, have you had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe to a government official in order to get services or a document that the government is supposed to provide?						
		Very often	Somewhat often	Not too often	Not at all	Never (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	4	7	8	16	58	7	100
	Spring, 2007	9	7	5	15	50	14	100
	Summer, 2002	8	5	3	16	63	6	100

		Q43 Do you think relations between Pakistan and the U.S. have improved in recent years, or don't you think so? ³			
		Yes - have improved	No - have not improved	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2009 --	48	38	14	100
	Spring, 2006	40	41	19	100
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	27	43	30	100
	Spring, 2006	49	20	30	100

3. In India, question started with transition, "Now thinking about Pakistan..."

		Q44 Do you think relations between India and the U.S. have improved in recent years, or don't you think so?			
		Yes - have improved	No - have not improved	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2009 --	70	18	12	100
	Spring, 2006	70	20	10	100

		Q44a How important is it that relations improve between Pakistan and the U.S., very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?					
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	22	31	18	11	18	100

		Q44b How important is it that relations improve between Pakistan and India, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?					
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	37	30	11	12	11	100

		Q44c How important is it that the dispute over Kashmir be resolved, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?					
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	75	15	3	1	5	100

		Q45 What's your opinion of U.S. policies toward India and Pakistan – would you say they are fair or do they favor India too much or do they favor Pakistan too much?				
		Fair	Favor India	Favor Pakistan	DK/Refused	Total
India	Spring, 2009 --	29	39	18	13	100
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	9	54	4	32	100

		Q46 Did the election of President Barack Obama lead you to have a more favorable or less favorable opinion of the United States?				
		More favorable	Less favorable	No change (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	9	23	26	42	100

		Q47 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the international policies of President Barack Obama?			
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	12	42	46	100

		Q47a Do you think President Barack Obama has a better understanding of Pakistan than most western leaders, or don't you think so?			
		Yes - has better understanding	No - does not have better understanding	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	18	36	47	100

		Q48a Now I'm going to read you some statements about what President Obama might do. Please tell me whether you think this is something he will or will not do. a. Be fair in dealing with the Israelis and the Palestinians?				
		Will	Will not	DK/Refused	Total	
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	17	41	42	100	

		Q48b Now I'm going to read you some statements about what President Obama might do. Please tell me whether you think this is something he will or will not do. b. Take into account the interests of countries like ours when making intl policy decision				
		Will	Will not	DK/Refused	Total	
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	17	44	39	100	

		Q48c Now I'm going to read you some statements about what President Obama might do. Please tell me whether you think this is something he will or will not do. c. Get the United States to take significant measures to control global climate change?			
		Will	Will not	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	26	29	45	100

		Q48d Now I'm going to read you some statements about what President Obama might do. Please tell me whether you think this is something he will or will not do. d. Seek international approval before using military force?			
		Will	Will not	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	17	36	46	100

		Q49a As I read some specific policies of President Barack Obama tell me if you approve or disapprove of them: a. Closing the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay?			
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	33	17	50	100

		Q49b As I read some specific policies of President Barack Obama tell me if you approve or disapprove of them: b. Withdrawing U.S. combat forces from Iraq by December 2011			
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	63	8	29	100

		Q49c As I read some specific policies of President Barack Obama tell me if you approve or disapprove of them: c. Sending additional troops to Afghanistan			
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	16	57	27	100

		Q53 Overall, do you think of China as more of a partner of Pakistan, more of an enemy of Pakistan, or neither?				
		More of a partner	More of an enemy	Neither	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	80	2	5	13	100
	Spring, 2008	78	3	5	14	100

		Q54 Overall, do you think of the U.S. as more of a partner of Pakistan, more of an enemy of Pakistan, or neither?				
		More of a partner	More of an enemy	Neither	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	9	64	12	15	100
	Spring, 2008	11	60	13	16	100

		Q55 Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about educating children?				
		It is more important for boys than for girls	It is more important for girls than for boys	It is equally important for boys and girls	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	6	3	87	4	100
	Spring, 2007	17	7	74	2	100

		Q56 ASK MUSLIMS ONLY: Do you think there is a struggle in our country between groups who want to modernize the country and Islamic fundamentalists or don't you think so?				
		Yes, there is a struggle	No, there is not a struggle	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	40	22	38	100	1197
	Spring, 2008	46	20	34	100	1198
	Spring, 2007	37	25	38	100	1930
	Spring, 2006	37	14	49	100	1233

		Q57 ASK IF THERE IS A STRUGGLE IN Q56: Which side do you identify with more in this struggle, the groups who want to modernize the country or Islamic fundamentalists?				
		Groups who want to modernize	Islamic fundamentalists	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	73	16	11	100	481
	Spring, 2008	51	44	5	100	542
	Spring, 2007	51	41	8	100	696
	Spring, 2006	61	34	6	100	508

		Q58 ASK MUSLIMS ONLY: Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies.. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is...?						
		Often justified	Sometimes justified	Rarely justified	Never justified	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	3	2	3	87	5	100	1197
	Spring, 2008	1	4	10	81	4	100	1198
	Spring, 2007	4	5	9	72	10	100	1930
	Spring, 2006	7	7	8	69	8	100	1233
	May, 2005	12	13	18	46	11	100	476
	March, 2004	27	14	8	35	16	100	1183
	Summer, 2002	19	14	5	38	24	100	1982

		Q60 How worried are you, if at all, that the U.S. could become a military threat to our country someday? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?					
		Very worried	Somewhat worried	Not too worried	Not at all worried	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	49	30	7	4	10	100
	Spring, 2007	49	23	7	7	13	100
	May, 2005	43	28	8	10	11	100
	May, 2003	47	25	9	14	5	100

		Q60aa How serious of a threat is The Taliban to our country? Is it a very serious threat, a somewhat serious threat, a minor threat or not a threat at all?					
		Very serious threat	Somewhat serious threat	Minor threat	No threat at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	57	16	7	6	13	100

		Q60ab How serious of a threat is India to our country? Is it a very serious threat, a somewhat serious threat, a minor threat or not a threat at all?					
		Very serious threat	Somewhat serious threat	Minor threat	No threat at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	69	14	5	4	8	100

		Q60ac How serious of a threat is al Qaeda to our country? Is it a very serious threat, a somewhat serious threat, a minor threat or not a threat at all?					
		Very serious threat	Somewhat serious threat	Minor threat	No threat at all	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	41	20	11	4	24	100

		Q60b Of all of these threats I have named, which of these is the greatest threat to our country?						
		The Taliban	India	al Qaeda	All of these (VOL)	None of these (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	32	48	4	5	2	9	100

		Q60c How worried are you, if at all, that extremist groups could take control of Pakistan?					
		Very worried	Somewhat worried	Not too worried	Not at all worried	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	45	24	10	10	11	100

		Q60d Have you heard about missile strikes from drone aircraft that target leaders of extremist groups, or haven't you heard of this?			
		Have heard	Have not heard	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	32	59	9	100

		Q60e ASK IF 'HAVE HEARD' OF DRONE STRIKES IN Q60D: Do you think these strikes are a very good thing, good thing, bad thing, or very bad thing?						
		Very good	Good	Bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	1	2	33	62	2	100	421

		Q60f ASK IF 'HAVE HEARD' OF DRONE STRIKES IN Q60D: Who do you think is launching these missile strikes, the Pakistani government, the United States government, or someone else?						
		Pakistani government	U.S. government	Someone else	Both Pakistan and US (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	4	82	2	7	6	100	421

		Q60ga ASK IF 'HAVE HEARD' OF DRONE STRIKES IN Q60D: For each of the following statements about the missile strikes, please tell me whether you agree or disagree: a. They are necessary to defend Pakistan from extremist groups			Total	N
		Agree	Disagree	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	34	58	8	100	421

		Q60gb ASK IF 'HAVE HEARD' OF DRONE STRIKES IN Q60D: For each of the following statements about the missile strikes, please tell me whether you agree or disagree: b. They kill too many innocent people.			Total	N
		Agree	Disagree	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	93	5	2	100	421

		Q60gc ASK IF 'HAVE HEARD' OF DRONE STRIKES IN Q60D: For each of the following statements about the missile strikes, please tell me whether you agree or disagree: c. They are being done without approval of Pakistani govt			Total	N
		Agree	Disagree	DK/Refused	Total	N
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	58	27	14	100	421

		Q62a Do you favor or oppose the following: a. giving Muslim leaders and religious judges the power to decide family and property disputes?			Total
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	71	13	16	100

		Q62b Do you favor or oppose the following: b. the death penalty for people who leave the Muslim religion?			Total
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	78	13	9	100

		Q62c Do you favor or oppose the following: c. punishments like whippings and cutting off of hands for crimes like theft and robbery			Total
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	80	12	9	100

		Q62d Do you favor or oppose the following: d. stoning people who commit adultery			Total
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	83	8	9	100

		Q63 Do you support or oppose using the Pakistani army to fight extremist groups in Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the North West Frontier Province?			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	53	24	22	100

		Q64a Now I'm going to read you a list of things the US might do to combat extremist groups in Pakistan. Do you support or oppose: a. Providing financial and humanitarian aid to areas where extremist groups operate			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	72	12	16	100

		Q64b Now I'm going to read you a list of things the US might do to combat extremist groups in Pakistan. Do you support or oppose: b. Providing intelligence and logistical support to Pakistani troops fighting extremist groups			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	63	12	25	100

		Q64c Now I'm going to read you a list of things the US might do to combat extremist groups in Pakistan. Do you support or oppose: c. Conducting missile strikes against leaders of extremist groups			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	47	24	29	100

		Q78a On another topic, had you heard that President Barack Obama's mother once worked in Pakistan, or hadn't you heard this?			
		Had heard	Had not heard	DK/Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	8	77	15	100

		Q99 Do you think of yourself first as a Pakistani or first as a (insert ethnic identification)?						
		Pakistani	Ethnic identification	Both equally (Volunteered)	Other (Volunteered)	Don't know	Refused	Total
Pakistan	Spring, 2009 --	89	6	4	1	0	0	100