

NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION // TERROR FREE TOMORROW PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

PUBLIC OPINION IN PAKISTAN’S TRIBAL REGIONS

SEPTEMBER 2010.

- People of Pakistan’s tribal areas strongly oppose the U.S. military pursuing al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters based in their region; American drone attacks deeply unpopular.
- Residents of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) back instead Pakistani military fighting against the militants.
- Scant support for al-Qaeda and Pakistani Taliban in FATA.

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Executive Summary

The New America Foundation and Terror Free Tomorrow have conducted the first comprehensive public opinion survey covering sensitive political issues in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan.

The unprecedented survey, from June 30 to July 20, 2010, consisted of face-to-face interviews of 1,000 FATA residents age 18 or older across 120 villages/sampling

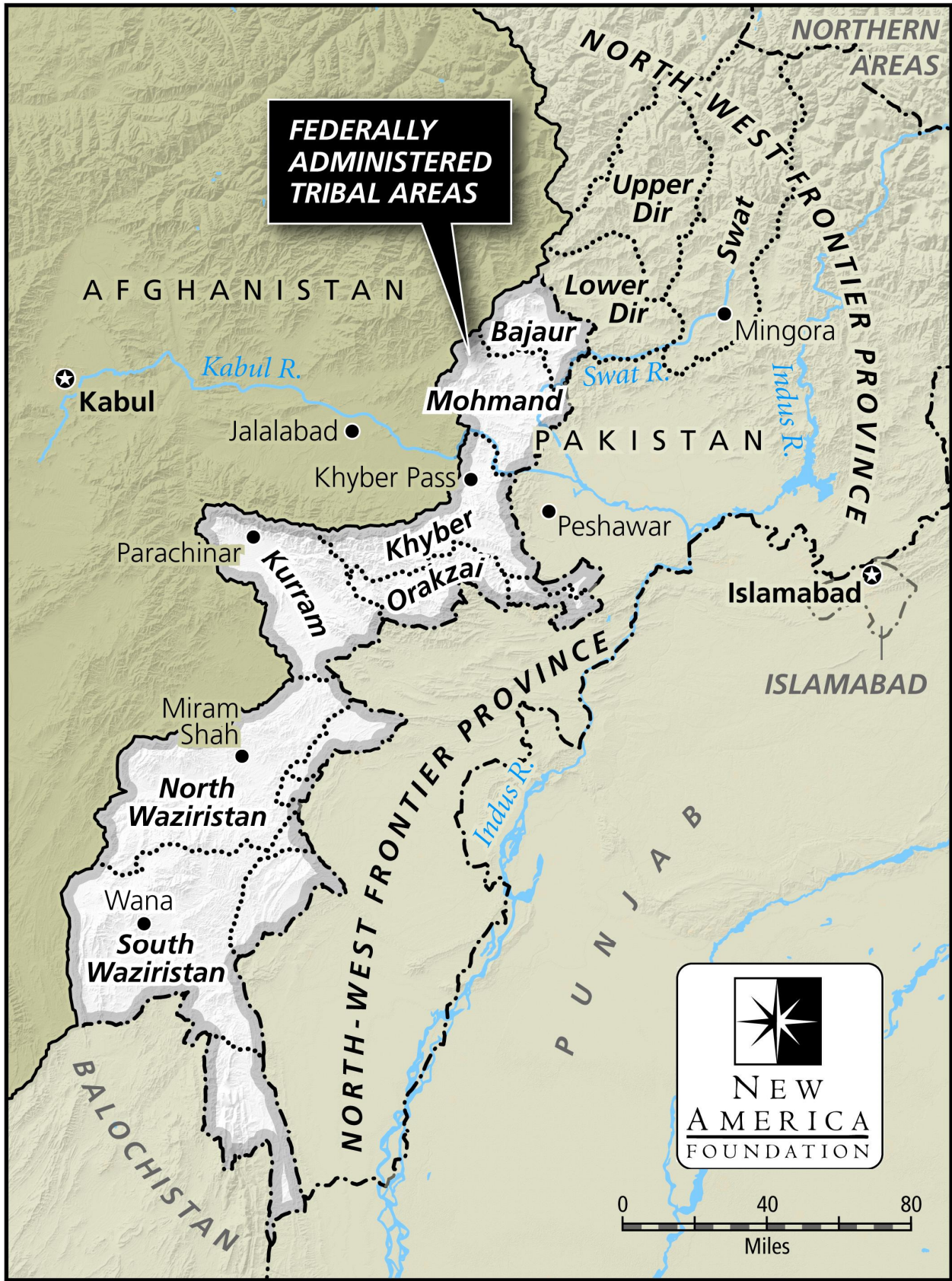
points in all seven tribal Agencies of FATA, with a margin of error of +/- 3 percent, and field work by the locally-based Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme. Funding for the poll was provided by the United States Institute of Peace, a congressionally funded think tank, which had no other role in the poll. The poll was conducted before the large-scale floods that have inundated Pakistan.

Public Opposition to the U.S. Military and Drone Campaign

Nearly nine out every ten people in FATA oppose the U.S. military pursuing al-Qaeda and the Taliban in their region. Nearly 70 percent of FATA residents instead want the Pakistani military alone to fight Taliban and al-Qaeda militants in the tribal areas.

The intensity of opposition to the American military is high. While only one in ten of FATA residents think suicide attacks are often or sometimes justified against the Pakistani military and police, almost six in ten

Results of Public Opinion Survey of FATA Region of Pakistan June-July 2010.



MAP BY GENE THORP OF CARTOGRAPHIC CONCEPTS, INC.

believe these attacks are justified against the U.S. military. (The United Nations has determined that many of the suicide attackers in Afghanistan hail from the Pakistani tribal regions.)¹

More than three-quarters of FATA residents oppose American drone strikes. Indeed, only 16 percent think these strikes accurately target militants; 48 percent think they largely kill civilians and another 33 percent feel they kill both civilians and militants. Directed by the Central Intelligence Agency, missiles are launched from unmanned drone aircraft in the FATA region of Pakistan. President Obama has dramatically ramped up the drone program, authorizing 122 so far during his administration, more than double the number authorized by President George W. Bush during his entire eight-years in office.² This may help account for why Obama is viewed unfavorably by 83 percent of FATA residents in our poll.

A plurality of FATA residents consider the United States to be the party most responsible for the violence that is occurring in their region today. Nearly 80 percent of the people in FATA also oppose the U.S.-led “war on terror,” and believe its real purpose is to weaken and divide the Islamic world, while ensuring American domination. Only 10 percent thought the U.S. was motivated to defeat Al-Qaeda and its allies. Similarly, three-quarters of FATA residents thought that the continuing American occupation of Afghanistan was because of its larger war on Islam or part of an effort to secure oil and minerals in the region. 11 percent said it was because of the 9/11

attacks, and just 5 percent to prevent the Taliban from returning to power.

FATA Residents Reject Al-Qaeda and the Taliban

Opposition to American policies in the region does not mean, however, that the people of FATA embrace either Al-Qaeda or the Taliban. More than three-quarters of FATA residents oppose the presence inside their region of Al-Qaeda and over two-thirds the Pakistan Taliban (60 percent oppose the Afghan Taliban led by Mullah Omar). Indeed, if Al-Qaeda or the Pakistani Taliban were on the ballot in an election, less than one percent of FATA residents said they would vote for either group.

FATA Residents Want Different American Policies in the Region

What is interesting about our findings, however, is that the intense opposition to the U.S. military and the drone program is *not* based on general anti-American feelings. Almost three-quarters of the people inside the tribal regions said that their opinion of the United States would improve if the U.S. increased visas for FATA residents and educational scholarships to America, withdrew the American military from Afghanistan or brokered a comprehensive peace between Israelis and Palestinians. A majority even said their opinions of the U.S. would improve a great deal. Two-thirds said that policies such as American aid for education and medical care would improve their opinions as well.

This dramatic willingness to think better of the America demonstrates a notable lack of deep-seated hostility. For many FATA residents, opposition to the U.S. is based on current American military policy, not any intractably held anti-American beliefs.

¹ United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan, “Suicide attacks in Afghanistan,” September 9, 2007, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/49997bood.pdf>.

² As of September 24, 2010. Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, “The Year of the Drone,” New America Foundation, September 24, 2010, <http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/drones>.

FATA Residents Decisively Back the Pakistani Army

While the United States' military, as well as Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters, enjoy little popular support in the region, the people overwhelmingly support the Pakistani Army. Nearly 70 percent back the Pakistani military pursuing Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters in the Tribal Areas. By a significant margin, the most popular individual among the people of FATA is General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, the Pakistani Army Chief of Staff. And even though American drone attacks are strongly opposed, the public's approval of the drones program actually almost splits even if those attacks were carried out by the Pakistani military instead. Indeed, when asked how FATA should be governed, 79 percent say it should be governed by the Pakistani military, followed by FATA becoming a separate province of Pakistan (70 percent). Becoming part of Afghanistan was the most unpopular choice.

Priorities of the people of FATA are Unemployment and Education

Unemployment is very high in FATA, with only 20 percent of respondents in our survey saying they were working full-time. Indeed, lack of jobs was chosen as the most important problem in the region by 95 percent of those surveyed. This was closely followed by lack of schools, good roads and security, poor health care and corruption of local official officials. Lesser problems to be addressed in descending order of importance were: drone attacks, Taliban and foreign fighters and problems involving refugees.

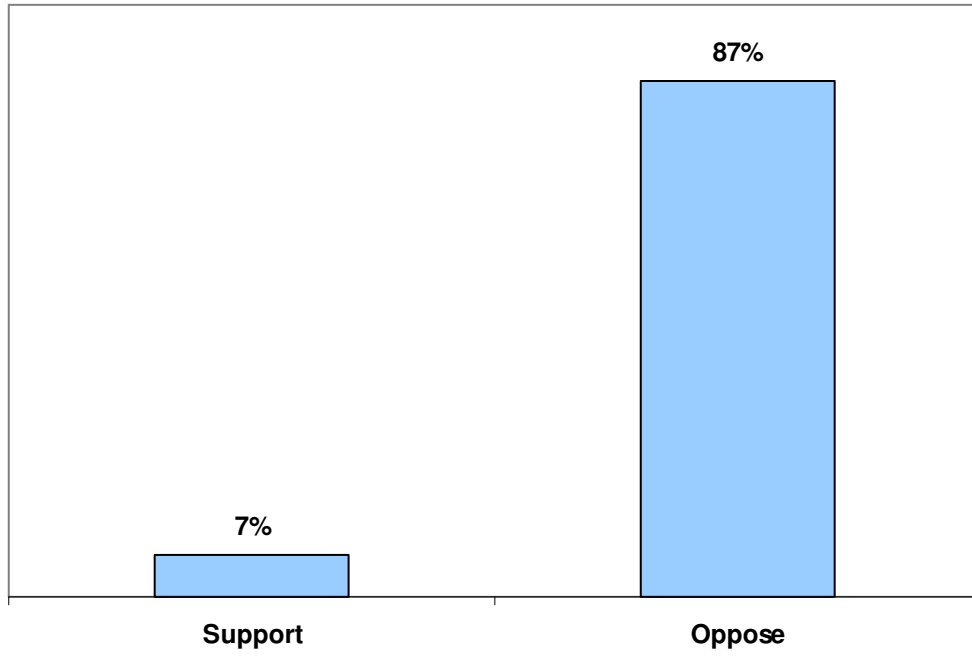
Despite the reputation that the people in FATA are socially conservative, nine out of every ten people identified lack of education and schools as their most important problem. Indeed, building new schools was chosen as a high priority for both boys and girls.

In terms of administering justice in the tribal regions, the least popular option was having justice delivered by the Taliban, with only 12 percent believing this to be very important. By contrast, nearly two-thirds chose to be governed by local tribal leaders.

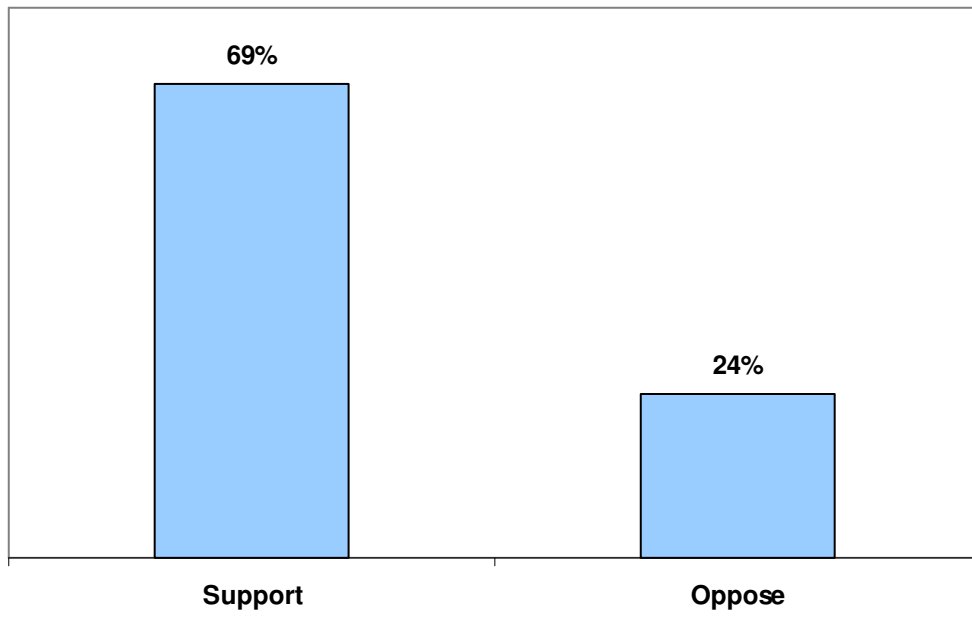
Views of FATA residents are not inconsistent with past Terror Free Tomorrow/New America surveys of Pakistanis generally, though the intensity of opposition to the U.S. military inside FATA is significantly higher.

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

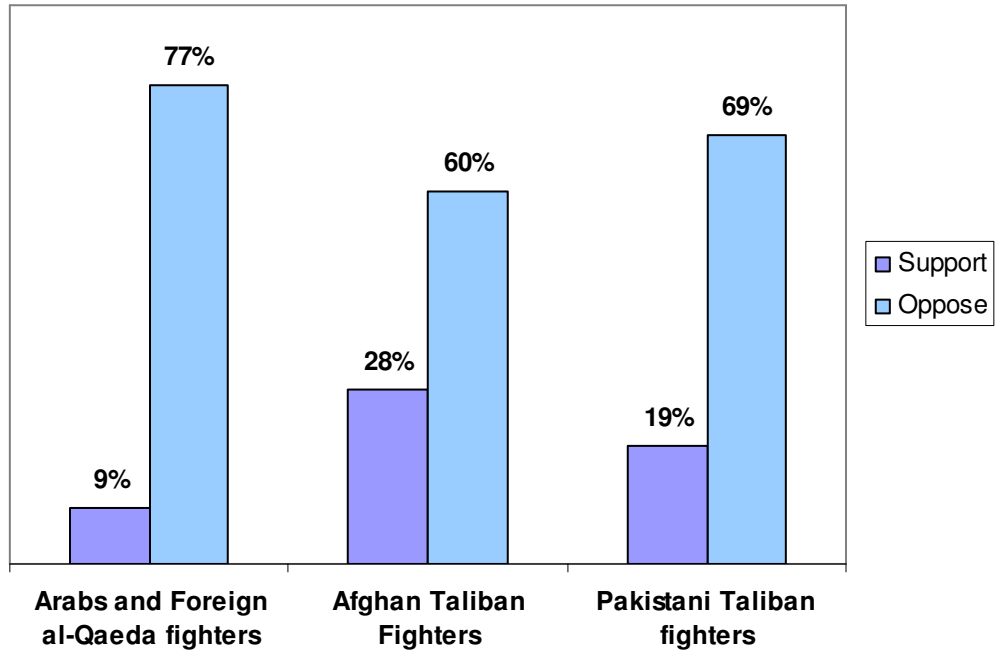
FATA Residents who Support/Oppose US Military Action against Al-Qaeda and Taliban in their Region



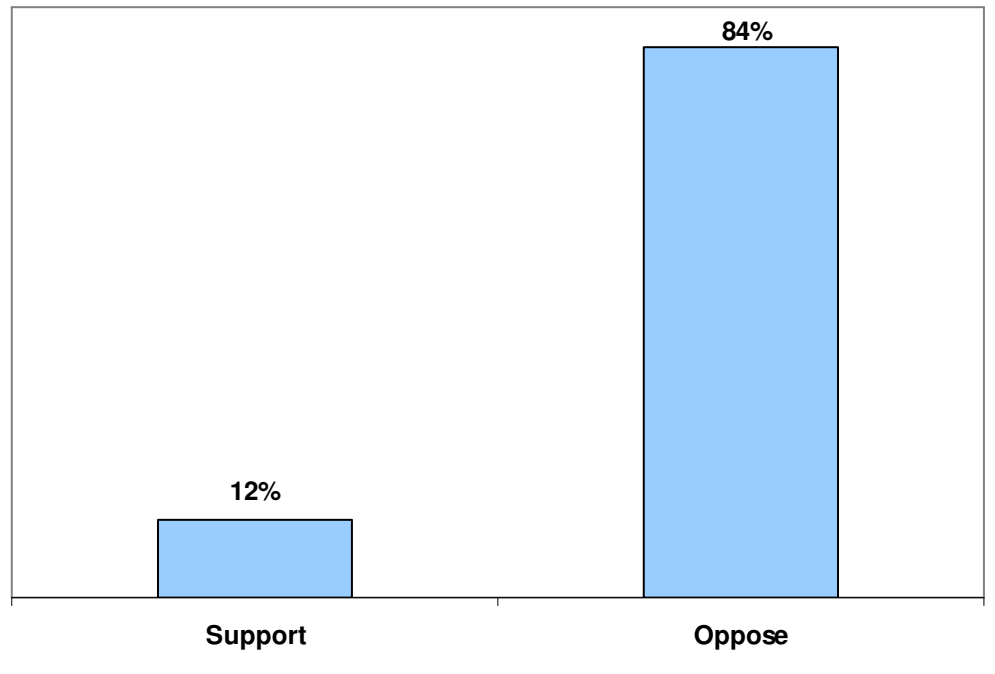
FATA Residents who Support/Oppose Pakistani Military Action against Al-Qaeda and Taliban in their Region



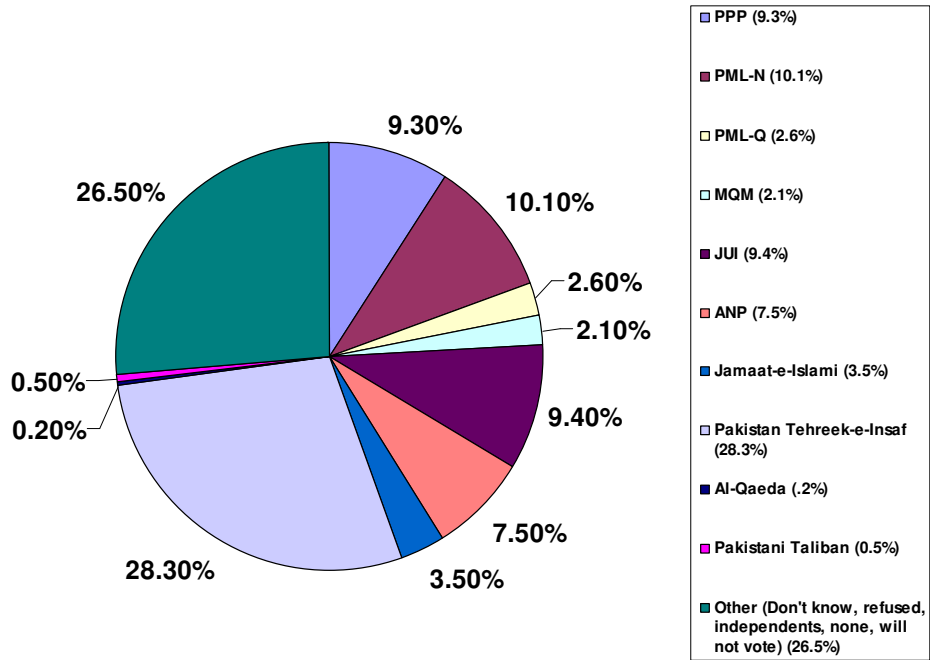
**FATA Residents who Support/Oppose inside FATA
the Presence of:**



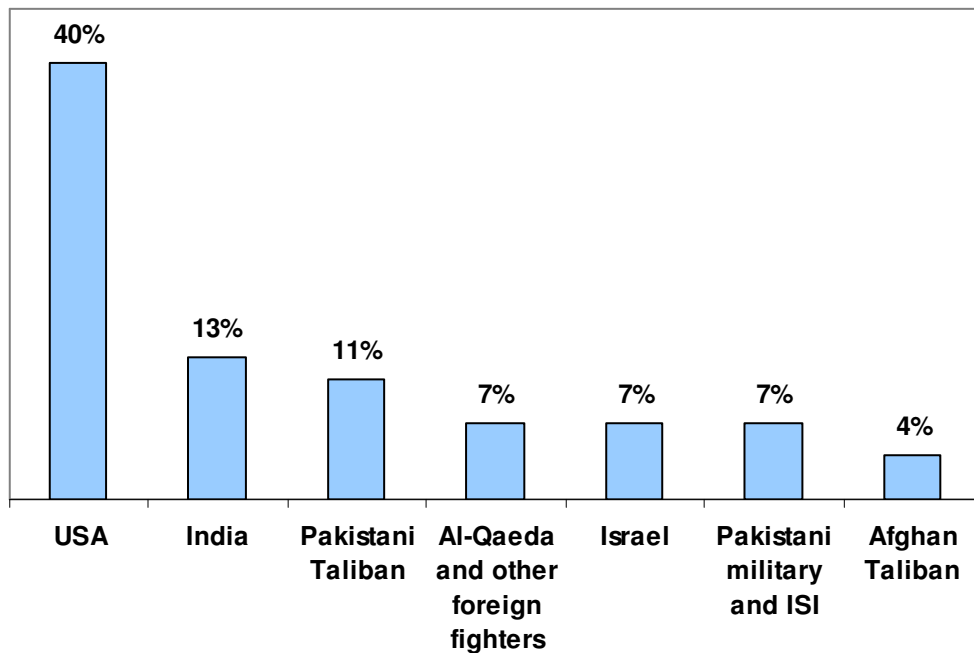
**FATA Residents who Support/Oppose inside FATA
the Presence of the U.S. Military:**



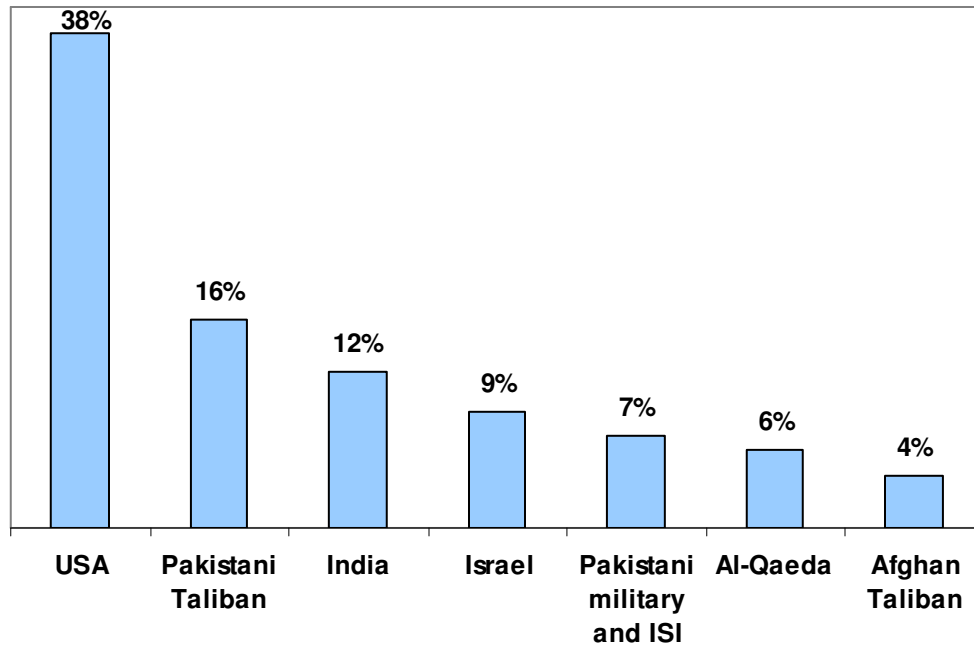
If you could vote for any, which would you vote for?



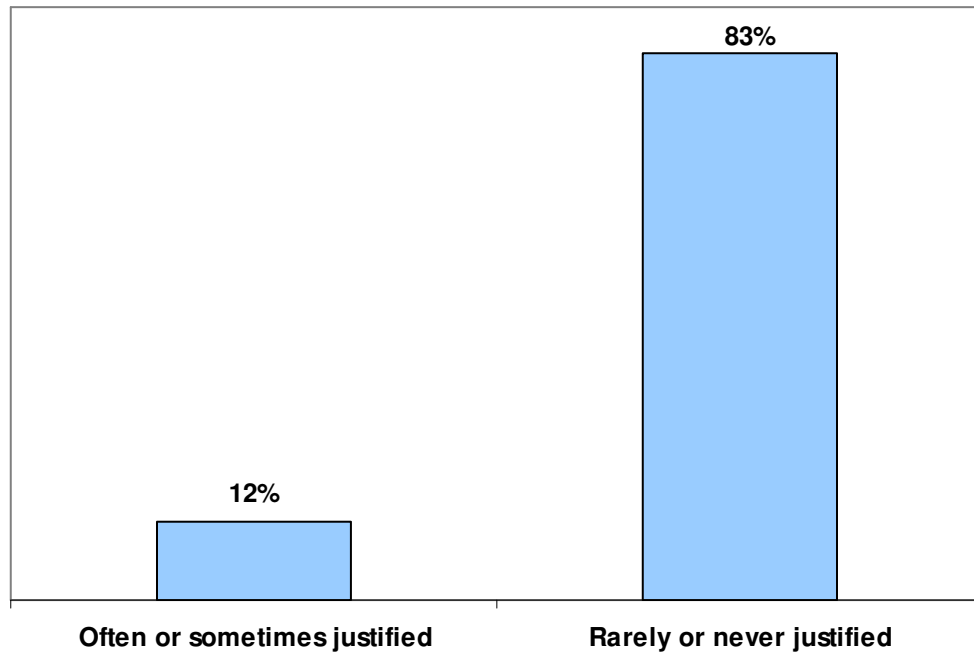
Who Do You Consider Most Responsible for the Violence that is Occurring inside FATA Today?



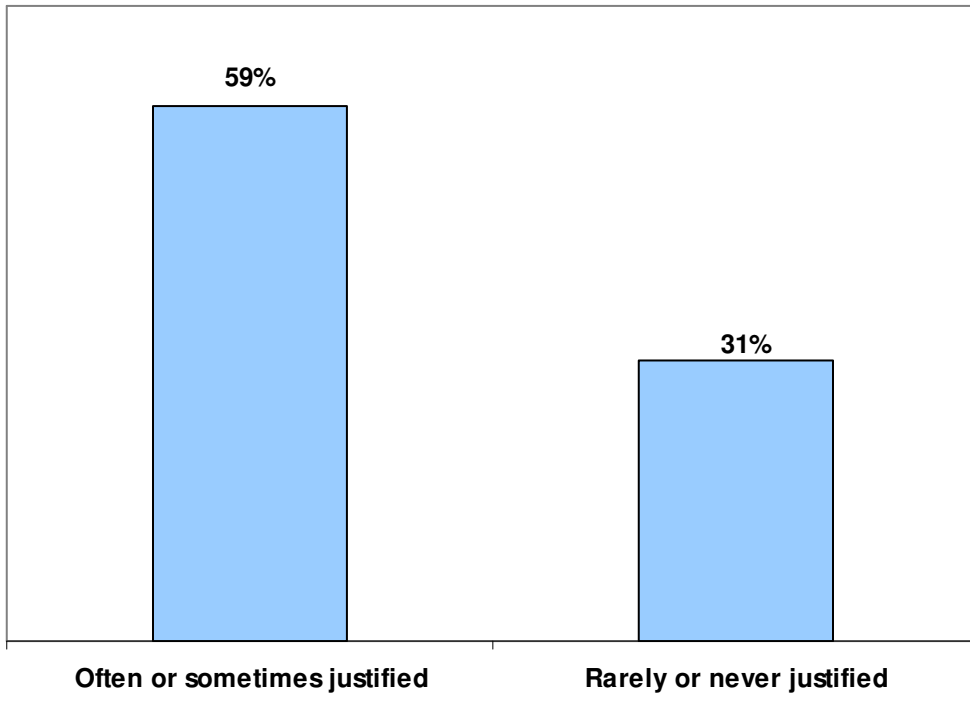
Which of the following countries or groups do you think pose the greatest threat to your personal safety?



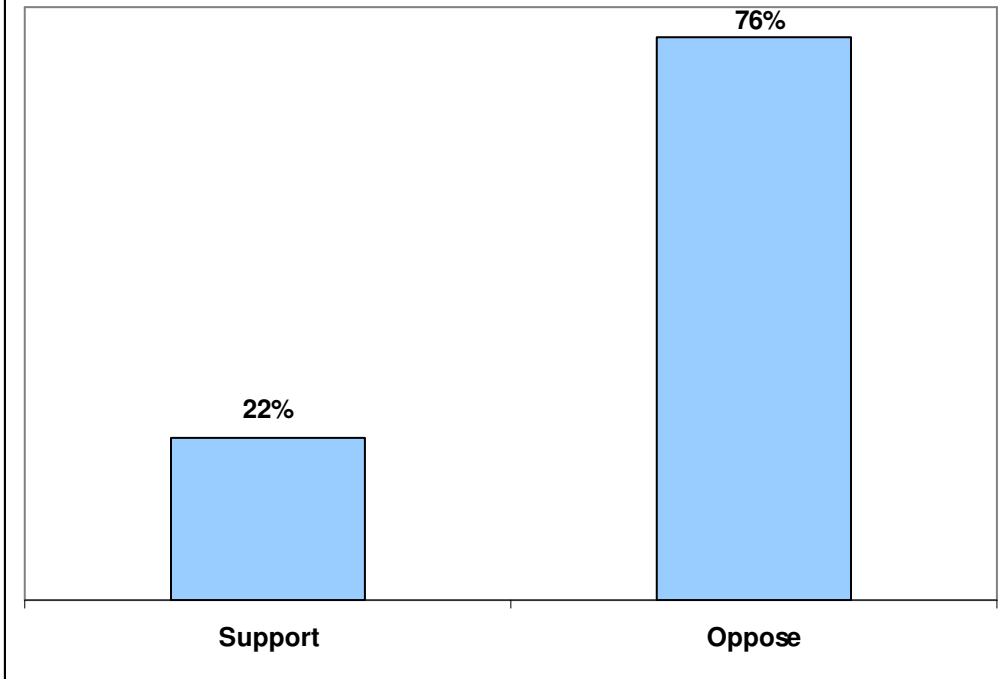
Suicide bombings against Pakistani military and police are:

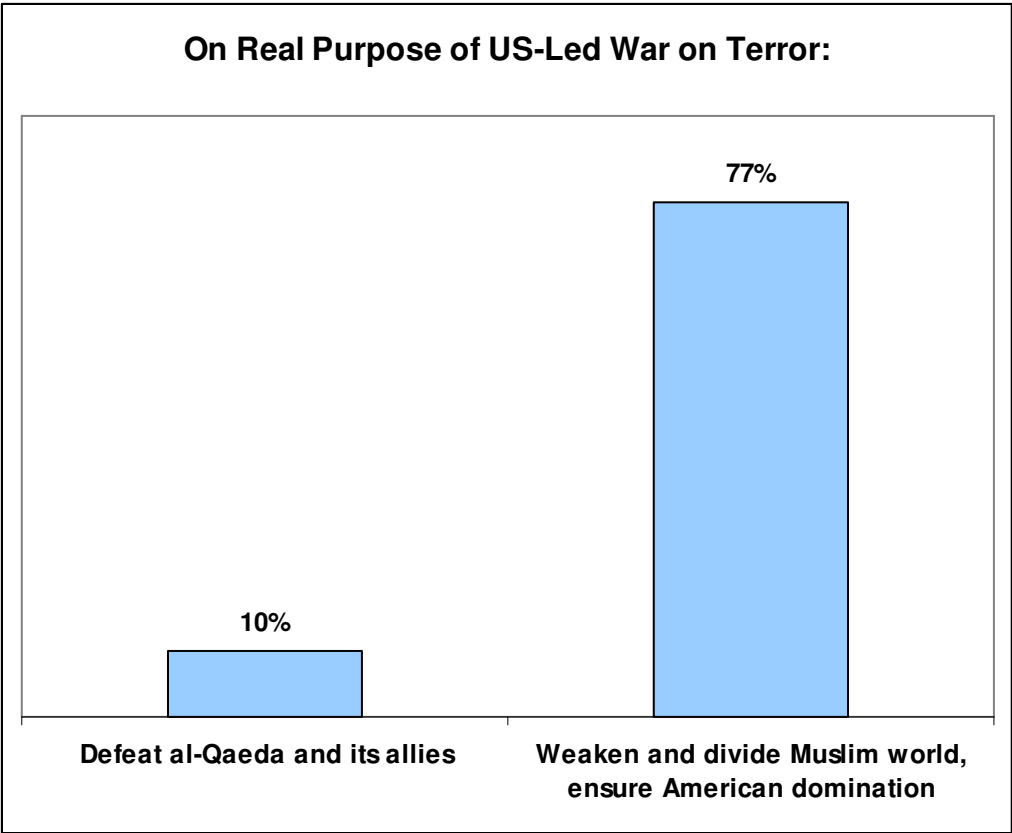
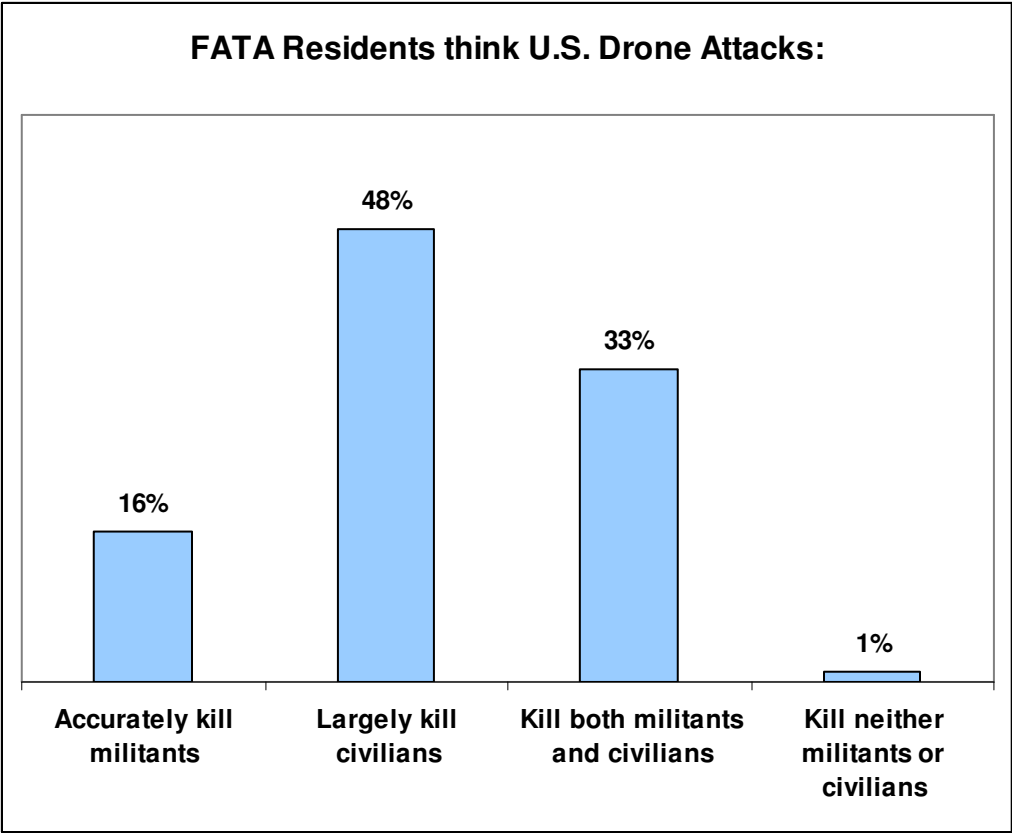


Suicide bombings against the U.S. military are:

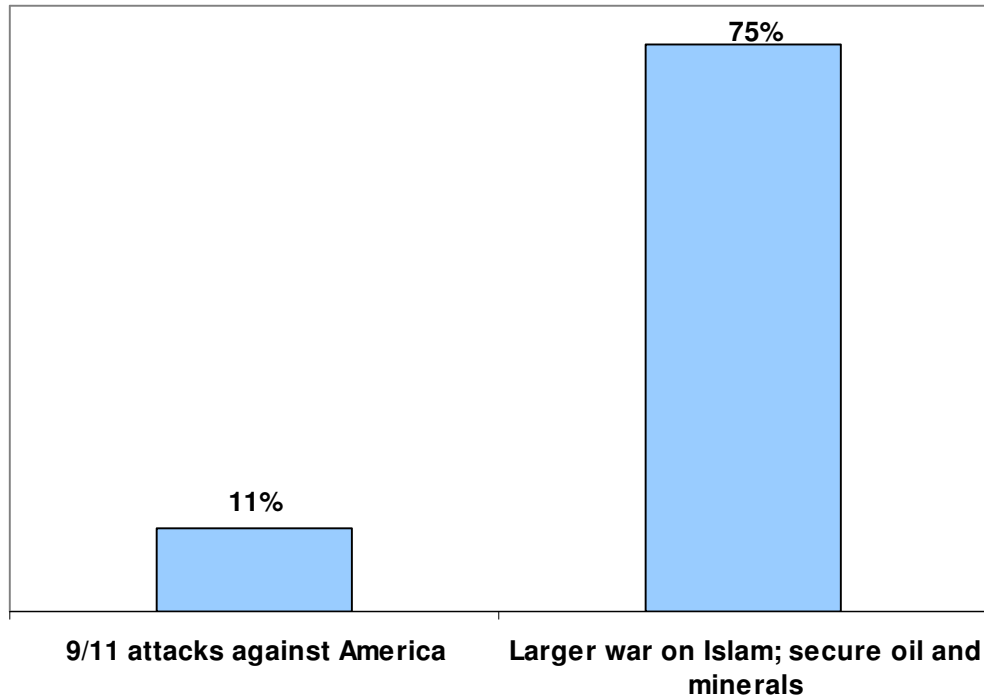


FATA Residents who Support/Oppose Drone Attacks inside FATA

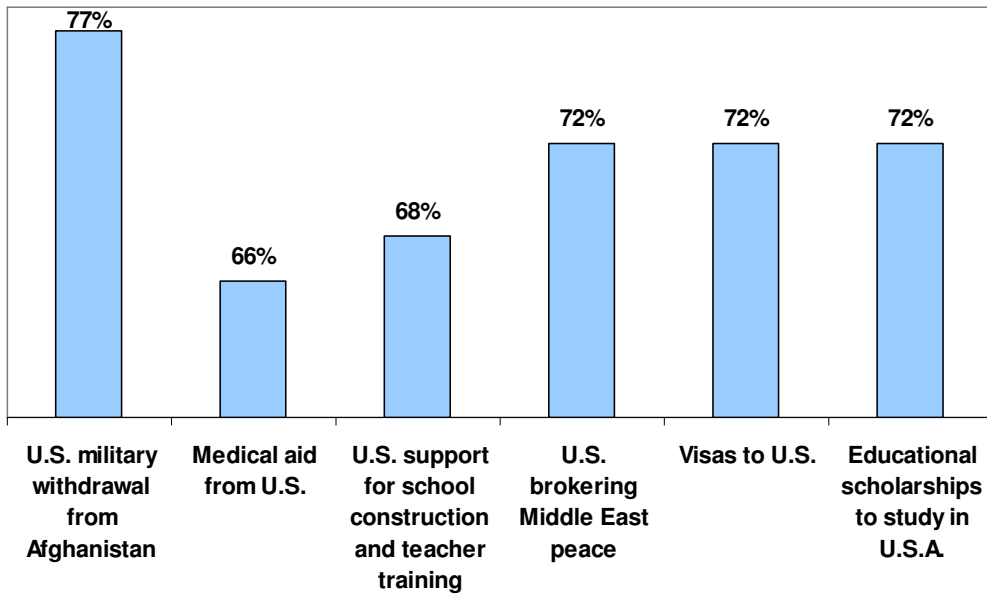




Why does America Continue to Occupy Afghanistan?



What Would Improve Opinion of the United States among FATA Residents:



Methodology

Note: This report was updated on Oct. 1, 2010, to clarify the polling methodology. When originally published, this section suggested the poll results included findings from 200 interviews with local maliks and tribal elders. As noted below, data from those interviews have not yet been published.

This survey was jointly conducted by the New America Foundation (NAF) and Terror Free Tomorrow (TFT), with field work in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA) by the Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP), a Pakistani NGO operating in FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. Interviews were conducted face-to-face with 1,000 FATA residents age 18 or older across 120 villages/sampling points in all seven tribal Agencies of FATA-Pakistan. The fieldwork was conducted from June 30 to July 20, 2010. NAF-TFT-CAMP also conducted 200 separate interviews with local *maliks* and tribal elders. This study is held for future release. The conclusions in this report are based solely on the 1,000-resident sample.

The questionnaire consisted of 43 substantive questions, 19 demographic questions, and 24 quality control questions. Respondents were selected using a multi-stage random stratified sampling methodology. During the course of fieldwork, there were 1,294 contacts attempts made. There were 294 refusals giving the study a net response rate of 77.3 percent. The poll has a +/- 3 percent margin of error at the 95 percent confidence interval.

TFT, NAF and CAMP used face-to-face research techniques in FATA. Interviews were conducted by 22 trained interviewers (male and female) and 6 field supervisors, all of whom are Pakistanis and residents of FATA.

Before sending the interviewers and supervisors to the field, extensive project orientation and training workshops

were conducted in Peshawar. During the training, interviewers and supervisors were briefed on a number of topics including, but not limited to, the objective of the survey and its details, selection of respondents, the questionnaire (both asking of questions and recording of responses), timing and control issues, and usage of the questionnaire. Mock interviews and field testing were also conducted.

Eleven survey teams were deployed, under the supervision of six supervisors. Each team was made responsible for interviewing respondents in their respective areas. Detailed field work-plan and list of villages were shared with the field teams before field deployment.

Interviews were subjected to numerous quality control procedures including 54.1 percent direct supervision of interviews, 27.8 percent back-check in person by the supervisor, and back-check by telephonic call by supervisor or the central office.

The survey was conducted in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The target sample was a random selection of Pakistani nationals having FATA residence, both male and female, above the age of 18. The sample covered all seven tribal agencies, namely Khyber, Mohmand, Bajaur, Kurram, Orakzai, North Waziristan and South Waziristan, with the number of sampling points chosen in proportion to the size of each Agency's population. Following is the sample plan of the survey.

Agency	Proportionate stratified Sample Size			
	Population	Sample	Leaders Sample	Total
Bajaur	595227	202	40	242
Mohmand	334453	114	23	137
Khyber	546730	186	37	223
Orakzai	225441	77	15	92
Kurram	448310	152	31	183
North Waziristan	361246	123	25	148
South Waziristan	429841	146	29	175
Total	2941248	1000	200	1200

Background on Terror Free Tomorrow and the New America Foundation

Our previous jointly conducted public opinion surveys of Pakistan and Iran were featured on many international media outlets and throughout the blogosphere.

Terror Free Tomorrow is a non-partisan, 501(c) (3) not-for-profit established in Washington, D.C. designed to find out why people support or oppose extremism. TFT was the first to conduct uncensored, independent, comprehensive nationwide public opinion surveys in Iran, Saudi Arabia and Syria, path breaking surveys in Pakistan, and the first surveys of Indonesia following the tsunami in December 2004 and Pakistan after the October 2005 earthquake. Since 2005, Terror Free Tomorrow has conducted more than thirty nationwide public opinion surveys around the world, including in Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Syria, Turkey, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, India, the United Arab Emirates and elsewhere. TFT's work has been covered by major media outlets around the world.

The New America Foundation is a nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy institute that invests in new thinkers and new ideas to address the next generation of challenges facing the United States. Launched in 1999, the foundation was guided through a period of rapid growth by founding president Ted Halstead. The institute is now led by President Steve Coll and a Board of Directors chaired by Eric Schmidt, Chairman and CEO of Google. New America is headquartered in Washington D.C. and also has a significant presence in California, the nation's largest laboratory of democracy. The New America Foundation's Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative, which is co-directed by New America senior fellow Peter Bergen and Steve Coll and advised by Patrick Doherty, aims to provide data-based analysis of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and international terrorism.

The National Census data from 1998 are used as the universe for this sample. The national census classifies villages as the primary unit in the rural areas. We used a multi-stage random stratified sampling method, selected over 120 primary sampling units, comprising villages in all the seven Agencies of FATA. The completed primary sample contains 120 sampling points; in which approximately 8 interviews were carried out in households selected in each village using a random walk. A total of 1,000 men and women from a scientific cross-section of FATA in terms of gender, age and other socio-economic characteristics are represented in the sample. For South and North Waziristan, however, local conditions only permitted CAMP personnel to sample men.

After selecting the villages, each village was divided into four hypothetical quarters. A starting point was selected in each quarter. Two starting points were selected for male respondents and two for female respondents. Three interviews were conducted around each starting point. Skipping of three households in Stratum I villages and skipping of three households in Stratum II villages were made after each successful interview. Male and female surveyors were used for male and females respondents respectively. For the selection of a household around a particular starting point the Right Hand Rule (RHR) was used for female interviewees and the Left Hand Rule (LHR) was used for male respondents.

TFT's previous nationwide surveys of Pakistan can be accessed in the Polls section of www.terrorfreetomorrow.org. Additional findings, particularly the survey of local leaders, have been held for future release.

Survey Results (Full Topline Questions/Answers)

Q1a-k. I am going to read you a list of possible problems in your area. Please tell me whether you think these problems are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important:

READ OUT a-k- DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know		Very important	Somewhat important	Somewhat unimportant	Not at all important	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. Corruption of local officials	Frequency	650	229	59	25	6	31	1000
	Percent	65.0	22.9	5.9	2.5	0.6	3.1	100.0
b. Lack of security	Frequency	654	243	62	31	2	8	1000
	Percent	65.4	24.3	6.2	3.1	0.2	0.8	100.0
c. Drone attacks	Frequency	600	152	76	154	8	10	1000
	Percent	60.0	15.2	7.6	15.4	0.8	1.0	100.0
d. Lack of jobs	Frequency	814	133	20	28	5	0	1000
	Percent	81.4	13.3	2.0	2.8	0.5	0.0	100.0
e. Foreign fighters	Frequency	504	181	94	84	37	100	1000
	Percent	50.4	18.1	9.4	8.4	3.7	10.0	100.0
f. Lack of schools and education	Frequency	673	246	45	32	1	3	1000
	Percent	67.3	24.6	4.5	3.2	0.1	0.3	100.0
g. Lack of good roads and transportation	Frequency	708	202	53	37	0	0	1000
	Percent	70.8	20.2	5.3	3.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
h. Poor health care and access to water	Frequency	700	175	76	40	2	7	1000
	Percent	70.0	17.5	7.6	4.0	0.2	0.7	100.0
i. Taliban fighters	Frequency	498	194	82	109	21	96	1000
	Percent	49.8	19.4	8.2	10.9	2.1	9.6	100.0
j. People fleeing from the area as refugees	Frequency	486	209	184	96	3	22	1000
	Percent	48.6	20.9	18.4	9.6	0.3	2.2	100.0
k. Afghan refugees coming into the area	Frequency	459	241	176	107	2	15	1000
	Percent	45.9	24.1	17.6	10.7	0.2	1.5	100.0

Q2a-i. I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Pakistan in the tribal areas. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Pakistan to do in the tribal areas:

READ OUT a-i – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know		Very important	Somewhat important	Somewhat unimportant	Not at all important	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. Building new schools	Frequency	803	170	24	3	0	0	1000
	Percent	80.3	17.0	2.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
b. Improving transportation	Frequency	773	208	15	3	0	1	1000
	Percent	77.3	20.8	1.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	100.0
c. Improving health care	Frequency	823	159	18	0	0	0	1000
	Percent	82.3	15.9	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
d. Improving the economy	Frequency	829	139	19	11	0	2	1000
	Percent	82.9	13.9	1.9	1.1	0.0	0.2	100.0
e. Expelling foreign fighters	Frequency	589	151	82	50	28	100	1000
	Percent	58.9	15.1	8.2	5.0	2.8	10.0	100.0
f. Supporting more drone attacks	Frequency	175	102	93	544	15	71	1000
	Percent	17.5	10.2	9.3	54.4	1.5	7.1	100.0
g. Implementing strict Sharia	Frequency	640	268	58	29	2	3	1000
	Percent	64.0	26.8	5.8	2.9	0.2	0.3	100.0
h. Ensuring an independent judiciary	Frequency	573	219	118	68	2	20	1000
	Percent	57.3	21.9	11.8	6.8	0.2	2.0	100.0
i. Defeating Taliban fighters	Frequency	523	173	63	104	19	118	1000
	Percent	52.3	17.3	6.3	10.4	1.9	11.8	100.0

Q3a-d. I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for education in the tribal areas. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important:

<i>READ OUT a-d – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know</i>		Very important	Somewhat important	Somewhat unimportant	Not at all important	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. Building new government schools for boys	Frequency	810	146	41	3	0	0	1000
	Percent	81.0	14.6	4.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
b. Building new government schools for girls	Frequency	613	301	50	36	0	0	1000
	Percent	61.3	30.1	5.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
c. Building new madrassas for boys	Frequency	763	207	23	7	0	0	1000
	Percent	76.3	20.7	2.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
d. Building new madrassas for girls	Frequency	765	196	26	12	0	1	1000
	Percent	76.5	19.6	2.6	1.2	0.0	0.1	100.0

Q4a-e. I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the economy in the tribal areas. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important:

<i>READ OUT a-e – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know</i>		Very important	Somewhat important	Somewhat unimportant	Not at all important	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. New jobs	Frequency	906	86	5	3	0	0	1000
	Percent	90.6	8.6	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
b. New Roads and transportation	Frequency	821	146	26	3	0	0	996
	Percent	82.1	14.6	2.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
c. Better Water/sanitation	Frequency	745	188	53	14	0	0	1000
	Percent	74.5	18.8	5.3	1.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
d. Better Agricultural assistance	Frequency	840	123	27	8	2	0	1000
	Percent	84.0	12.3	2.7	0.8	0.2	0.0	100.0
e. Land reform to allow for local ownerships	Frequency	439	229	128	128	0	76	1000
	Percent	43.9	22.9	12.8	12.8	0.0	7.6	100.0

Q5a-e. I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for governing in the tribal areas. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important:

<i>READ OUT a-e – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know</i>		Very important	Somewhat important	Somewhat unimportant	Not at all important	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. FATA should be governed as it now is	Frequency	346	300	108	206	9	31	1000
	Percent	34.6	30.0	10.8	20.6	0.9	3.1	100.0
b. Regular Pakistani criminal and civil laws should be extended to FATA	Frequency	269	310	165	196	3	57	1000
	Percent	26.9	31.0	16.5	19.6	0.3	5.7	100.0
c. FATA should become a separate Province	Frequency	532	163	90	212	0	3	1000
	Percent	53.2	16.3	9.0	21.2	0.0	0.3	100.0
d. FATA should become part of Afghanistan	Frequency	223	251	228	287	9	2	1000
	Percent	22.3	25.1	22.8	28.7	0.9	0.2	100.0
E FATA should be governed by the Pakistani military	Frequency	587	198	110	99	0	6	1000
	Percent	58.7	19.8	11.0	9.9	0.0	0.6	100.0

Q6a-d. I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for justice in the tribal areas. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important:

<i>READ OUT a-d – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know</i>		Very important	Somewhat important	Somewhat unimportant	Not at all important	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. The tribal areas should be governed by Pakistani government courts	Frequency	340	337	134	179	0	10	1000
	Percent	34.0	33.7	13.4	17.9	0.0	1.0	100.0
b. The tribal areas should be governed by local <i>jirga</i>	Frequency	647	184	87	82	0	0	1000
	Percent	64.7	18.4	8.7	8.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
c. FATA should be governed by strict Sharia	Frequency	596	293	87	15	0	9	1000
	Percent	59.6	29.3	8.7	1.5	0.0	0.9	100.0
d. Justice should be delivered by the Taliban	Frequency	119	172	95	492	30	92	1000
	Percent	11.9	17.2	9.5	49.2	3.0	9.2	100.0

Q7a-l. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion about each of the following groups?

READ OUT a-l – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. Arab and other Foreign Fighters	Frequency	54	135	138	535	30	108	1000
	Percent	5.4	13.5	13.8	53.5	3.0	10.8	100.0
b. American military	Frequency	15	108	77	793	3	4	1000
	Percent	1.5	10.8	7.7	79.3	0.3	0.4	100.0
c. Pakistani Army	Frequency	483	345	102	65	0	5	1000
	Percent	48.3	34.5	10.2	6.5	0.0	0.5	100.0
d. Frontier Corps	Frequency	415	433	86	34	2	30	1000
	Percent	41.5	43.3	8.6	3.4	0.2	3.0	100.0
e. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) (Pakistani Taliban)	Frequency	44	179	155	483	20	119	1000
	Percent	4.4	17.9	15.5	48.3	2.0	11.9	100.0
f. Afghan Taliban	Frequency	109	215	203	368	29	76	1000
	Percent	10.9	21.5	20.3	36.8	2.9	7.6	100.0
g. Federal Pakistani government in Islamabad	Frequency	201	357	195	196	13	38	1000
	Percent	20.1	35.7	19.5	19.6	1.3	3.8	100.0
h. Provincial government in Peshawar	Frequency	212	382	160	214	9	23	1000
	Percent	21.2	38.2	16.0	21.4	0.9	2.3	100.0
i. Political Agent	Frequency	228	431	107	231	1	2	1000
	Percent	22.8	43.1	10.7	23.1	0.1	0.2	100.0
j. Pakistani police	Frequency	96	308	215	374	0	7	1000
	Percent	9.6	30.8	21.5	37.4	0.0	0.7	100.0
k. FATA Secretariat	Frequency	222	357	136	184	11	90	1000
	Percent	22.2	35.7	13.6	18.4	1.1	9.0	100.0
l. FATA Development Authority (FDA)	Frequency	272	294	77	159	10	188	1000
	Percent	27.2	29.4	7.7	15.9	1.0	18.8	100.0

Q8a-h. Would any of the following improve your opinion of the United States?

READ OUT a-h DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know		A great deal	Some-what	Not Significantly	Not at all	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. U.S. business investment in FATA	Frequency	369	220	151	236	6	18	1000
	Percent	36.9	22.0	15.1	23.6	0.6	1.8	100.0
b. U.S. aid for school construction and teacher training in FATA	Frequency	451	253	118	171	3	4	1000
	Percent	45.1	25.3	11.8	17.1	0.3	0.4	100.0
c. U.S. aid for Medical care and training in FATA	Frequency	430	233	139	181	7	10	1000
	Percent	43.0	23.3	13.9	18.1	0.7	1.0	100.0
d. US Military equipment and training to the Pakistani armed forces in FATA	Frequency	357	225	139	237	1	41	1000
	Percent	35.7	22.5	13.9	23.7	0.1	4.1	100.0
e. U.S. increasing visas for people in FATA to work or study in the United States	Frequency	518	205	92	179	3	3	1000
	Percent	51.8	20.5	9.2	17.9	0.3	0.3	100.0
f. U.S. increasing educational scholarships for students in FATA to study in the United States	Frequency	532	183	115	139	28	3	1000
	Percent	53.2	18.3	11.5	13.9	2.8	0.3	100.0
g. Withdrawal of U.S. military from Afghanistan	Frequency	569	202	66	113	3	47	1000
	Percent	56.9	20.2	6.6	11.3	0.3	4.7	100.0
h. US brokering a comprehensive Middle East peace between Israelis and Palestinians	Frequency	462	258	52	157	6	65	1000
	Percent	46.2	25.8	5.2	15.7	0.6	6.5	100.0

Q9a-n. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of:

READ OUT a-n- DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know		very favorable	somewhat favorable	somewhat unfavorable	very unfavorable	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. Pervez Musharraf	Frequency	173	234	137	447	1	8	1000
	Percent	17.3	23.4	13.7	44.7	0.1	0.8	100.0
b. Barack Obama	Frequency	34	74	207	626	1	58	1000
	Percent	3.4	7.4	20.7	62.6	0.1	5.8	100.0
c. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani	Frequency	382	321	89	149	2	57	1000
	Percent	38.2	32.1	8.9	14.9	0.2	5.7	100.0
d. Jalaluddin Haqqani	Frequency	93	212	163	207	25	300	1000
	Percent	9.3	21.2	16.3	20.7	2.5	30.0	100.0
e. Nawaz Sharif	Frequency	236	311	170	273	5	5	1000
	Percent	23.6	31.1	17.0	27.3	0.5	0.5	100.0
f. Yousaf Raza Gilani	Frequency	318	357	96	221	0	8	1000
	Percent	31.8	35.7	9.6	22.1	0.0	0.8	100.0
g. Siraj Haqqani	Frequency	72	226	120	235	41	306	1000
	Percent	7.2	22.6	12.0	23.5	4.1	30.6	100.0
h. Manmohan Singh	Frequency	5	106	142	611	8	128	1000
	Percent	0.5	10.6	14.2	61.1	0.8	12.8	100.0
i. Asif Ali Zardari	Frequency	219	294	149	327	3	8	1000
	Percent	21.9	29.4	14.9	32.7	0.3	0.8	100.0
j. Fazl-ur-Rahman	Frequency	314	275	174	202	26	9	1000
	Percent	31.4	27.5	17.4	20.2	2.6	0.9	100.0
k. Qazi Hussain Ahmed	Frequency	304	302	115	234	4	41	1000
	Percent	30.4	30.2	11.5	23.4	0.4	4.1	100.0
l. Osama bin Laden	Frequency	184	152	149	320	32	163	1000
	Percent	18.4	15.2	14.9	32.0	3.2	16.3	100.0
m. Mullah Omar	Frequency	217	188	118	243	65	169	1000
	Percent	21.7	18.8	11.8	24.3	6.5	16.9	100.0
n. Sami ul-Haq	Frequency	157	374	86	200	18	165	1000
	Percent	15.7	37.4	8.6	20.0	1.8	16.5	100.0

Q10a-c. Some people support or oppose each of the following. What is your opinion? Do you support or oppose:

READ OUT a-c – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know		Strongly support	Somewhat support	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. The Pakistani military pursuing Taliban, Al-Qaeda and foreign fighters inside FATA	Frequency	514	174	120	120	11	61	1000
	Percent	51.4	17.4	12.0	12.0	1.1	6.1	100.0
b. The U.S. military working with the Pakistani military to pursue Taliban, Al-Qaeda and foreign fighters inside Pakistan	Frequency	78	197	94	565	12	54	1000
	Percent	7.8	19.7	9.4	56.5	1.2	5.4	100.0
c. The U.S. military pursuing Taliban, Al-Qaeda and foreign fighters by itself inside Pakistan, without working with the Pakistani military	Frequency	29	40	99	767	9	56	1000
	Percent	2.9	4.0	9.9	76.7	0.9	5.6	100.0

Qua-d. Do you support or oppose the presence of the following groups inside FATA today?

READ OUT a-d – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know		Strongly support	Somewhat support	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. The United States military	Frequency	12	107	54	821	1	5	1000
	Percent	1.2	10.7	5.4	82.1	0.1	0.5	100.0
b. Arab and Foreign Al-Qaeda fighters	Frequency	15	71	220	545	22	127	1000
	Percent	1.5	7.1	22.0	54.5	2.2	12.7	100.0
c. Afghan Taliban fighters (led by Mullah Omar)	Frequency	111	170	224	371	31	93	1000
	Percent	11.1	17.0	22.4	37.1	3.1	9.3	100.0
d. Pakistani Taliban fighters	Frequency	52	142	136	549	38	83	1000
	Percent	5.2	14.2	13.6	54.9	3.8	8.3	100.0

Q12. Who do you consider the most responsible for the violence that is occurring inside FATA today?

	Frequency	Percent
Al-Qaeda and other Arab and foreign fighters	73	7.3
Pakistani military and ISI	65	6.5
India	132	13.2
The United States	403	40.3
Afghan Taliban	39	3.9
Pakistani Taliban	110	11.0
Israel	74	7.4
Refused	35	3.5
Don't know	69	6.9
Total	1000	100.0

Q13a-d. Do you think the Pakistani government should negotiate with any of the following groups, or do you think the government should not negotiate and continue to fight against the following groups?

<i>READ OUT a-d choices – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know</i>		Negotiate	Not Negotiate and Fight	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. Arab and Foreign Al-Qaeda fighters	Frequency	402	470	38	90	1000
	Percent	40.2	47.0	3.8	9.0	100.0
b. Afghan Taliban fighters	Frequency	458	436	27	79	1000
	Percent	45.8	43.6	2.7	7.9	100.0
c. Pakistani Taliban fighters	Frequency	559	343	40	58	1000
	Percent	55.9	34.3	4.0	5.8	100.0
d. Other militant groups (e.g. Mangal Bagh's faction, etc.)	Frequency	478	425	30	67	1000
	Percent	47.8	42.5	3.0	6.7	100.0

Q14. Which of the following countries or groups do you think pose the greatest threat to your personal safety?

	Frequency	Percent
The Pakistani ISI and military	68	6.8
The United States	377	37.7
India	120	12.0
Al-Qaeda and other Foreign fighters	58	5.8
Pakistani Taliban	155	15.5
Afghan Taliban	35	3.5
Israel	92	9.2
Refused	57	5.7
Don't Know	38	3.8
Total	1000	100.0

Q15. If you could vote for any party or group in a Pakistani election, which one of the following would you vote for?

	Frequency	Percent
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	93	9.3
Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N)	101	10.1
Pakistan Muslim League (PML-Q)	26	2.6
Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)	21	2.1
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)	94	9.4
Awami National Party (ANP)	75	7.5
Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)	35	3.5
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	283	28.3
Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) (Pakistani Taliban)	5	.5
Al-Qaeda	2	.2
Refused	1	.1
Independents	83	8.3
None	68	6.8
Will Not Vote	93	9.3
Don't Know	20	2.0
Total	1000	100.0

Q16. Do you support or oppose United States military drone strikes by air inside FATA today?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	104	10.4
Somewhat Support	111	11.1
Somewhat Oppose	46	4.6
Strongly Oppose	708	70.8
Refused	7	.7
Don't Know	24	2.4
Total	1000	100.0

Q17. Some people think the United States military drone strikes by air in FATA accurately target militants. Some people think that these drone strikes largely kill civilians. Do you think the American drone attacks for the most, part accurately kill militants?

	Frequency	Percent
Kill militants	162	16.2
Kill civilians	478	47.8
Kill Both	331	33.1
Neither	7	.7
Refused	1	.1
Don't know	21	2.1
Total	1000	100.0

Q18. Some people think the Pakistani military should launch its own drone strikes by air in FATA. Some people think that the Pakistani military should never launch drone in FATA. Do you think the Pakistani military should launch its own drone attacks by air inside FATA?

	Frequency	Percent
Pakistani military should attack by drones in FATA	380	38.0
Pakistani military should never use drones in FATA	343	34.3
Neither	131	13.1
Refused	61	6.1
Don't know	85	8.5
Total	1000	100.0

Q19 a-i. I am going to read you a list of people who may be important in your area. Please tell me whether you think these people are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important:

<i>READ OUT a-i – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know</i>		very important	somewhat important	somewhat unimportant	not at all important	Refused	Don't know	Total
a. Maliks	Frequency	522	303	69	97	1	8	1000
	Percent	52.2	30.3	6.9	9.7	0.1	0.8	100.0
b. Political agents	Frequency	386	476	74	60	3	1	1000
	Percent	38.6	47.6	7.4	6.0	0.3	0.1	100.0
c. Pakistani Army	Frequency	605	265	77	42	3	8	1000
	Percent	60.5	26.5	7.7	4.2	0.3	0.8	100.0
d. Frontier Corps	Frequency	547	302	92	24	3	32	1000
	Percent	54.7	30.2	9.2	2.4	0.3	3.2	100.0
e. Arab and other Foreign fighters	Frequency	54	85	186	508	27	140	1000
	Percent	5.4	8.5	18.6	50.8	2.7	14.0	100.0
f. Local Imams and Mullahs	Frequency	395	352	151	86	10	6	1000
	Percent	39.5	35.2	15.1	8.6	1.0	0.6	100.0
g. Taliban fighters	Frequency	139	223	92	406	37	103	1000
	Percent	13.9	22.3	9.2	40.6	3.7	10.3	100.0
h. Political leaders	Frequency	349	353	149	134	2	13	1000
	Percent	34.9	35.3	14.9	13.4	0.2	1.3	100.0
i. NGOs	Frequency	224	329	203	214	1	29	1000
	Percent	22.4	32.9	20.3	21.4	0.1	2.9	100.0

Q20. Some people think that suicide bombings and attacks are justified. Some people think that suicide bombings and attacks are not justified. Do you think that suicide bombings and attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

	Frequency	Percent
Often Justified	30	3.0
Sometimes Justified	143	14.3
Rarely Justified	114	11.4
Never Justified	576	57.6
Refused	43	4.3
Don't Know	94	9.4
Total	1000	100.0

Q21. Some people think that suicide bombings and attacks are justified, depending on who the target of the attack is. Some people do not. Do you think that suicide bombings and attacks are often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified, when the intended target of the suicide attack is the following?

<i>READ OUT a-d – DO NOT READ Refuse or Don't Know</i>		Often Justified	Sometimes Justified	Rarely Justified	Never Justified	Refused	Don't Know	Total
a. The Pakistani military and police	Frequency	27	88	36	791	13	45	1000
	Percent	2.7	8.8	3.6	79.1	1.3	4.5	100.0
b. The U.S. military	Frequency	449	141	83	222	21	84	1000
	Percent	44.9	14.1	8.3	22.2	2.1	8.4	100.0
c. Pakistani civilians	Frequency	46	22	24	871	8	29	1000
	Percent	4.6	2.2	2.4	87.1	0.8	2.9	100.0
d. American civilians	Frequency	136	132	70	598	8	56	1000
	Percent	13.6	13.2	7.0	59.8	0.8	5.6	100.0

Q22. Some people support the U.S.-led war on terror. Some people oppose the U.S.-led war on terror. What is your opinion? Do you support or oppose the U.S.-led war on terror?

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Support	37	3.7
Somewhat Support	139	13.9
Somewhat Oppose	91	9.1
Strongly Oppose	644	64.4
Refused	9	.9
Don't Know	80	8.0
Total	1000	100.0

Q23. What do you think is the real purpose of the US-led war on terror?

	Frequency	Percent
To weaken and divide the Islamic world	509	50.9
To defeat Al-Qaeda and its allies	95	9.5
To ensure American domination	265	26.5
To defeat terrorists around the world	73	7.3
Don't know	58	5.8
Total	1000	100.0

Q24. Why do the United States and its allies continue to occupy Afghanistan?

	Frequency	Percent
Is it because of the attacks on Washington and New York on September 11 2001?	112	11.2
Is it to prevent the Taliban from returning to power?	48	4.8
Is it part of a larger war on Islam?	485	48.5
Is it to secure access to oil and minerals in the region?	263	26.3
Is it for the benefit of India?	41	4.1
Other	4	.4
Don't know	47	4.7
Total	1000	100.0

Demographics

D-1. Respondent Gender

	Frequency	Percent
Male	635	63.5
Female	365	36.5
Total	1000	100.0

D-2. How old were you on your last birthday?

	Frequency	Percent
18 - 25 Years	197	19.7
26 - 35 Years	348	34.8
36 - 45 Years	249	24.9
46 - 55 Years	125	12.5
56 + Years	81	8.1
Total	1000	100.0

D-3. How many years of education have you completed?

	Frequency	Percent
0	287	28.7
1	4	.4
2	29	2.9
3	33	3.3
4	19	1.9
5	69	6.9
6	26	2.6
7	20	2.0
8	67	6.7
9	5	.5
10	104	10.4
11	1	.1
12	74	7.4
14	60	6.0
15	36	3.6
16	63	6.3
Refused	69	6.9
Don't Know	34	3.4
Total	1000	100.0

D-3a. Did you attend a madrassa? How many years of religious education have you completed?

	Frequency	Percent
0	407	40.7
1	70	7.0
2	136	13.6
3	59	5.9
4	19	1.9
5	85	8.5
6	13	1.3
7	1	.1
8	13	1.3
10	11	1.1
12	4	.4
14	1	.1
15	1	.1
Refused	95	9.5
Don't Know	85	8.5
Total	1000	100.0

D-4. What is your job status? Are you....

	Frequency	Percent
Working Full-Time (40 hours+)	200	20.0
Working Part-Time (less than 40 hours)	161	16.1
Unemployed, Looking for Work	150	15.0
Unemployed, Not Looking for Work	54	5.4
Housewife (not working outside the home)	300	30.0
Student/Apprentice	89	8.9
Retired/Disabled	11	1.1
Other	29	2.9
Refused	5	.5
Don't Know	1	.1
Total	1000	100.0

D-5a. [Question D-5a pertains to the leaders interviews, a study that is being held for future release.]

D-5b. [Question D-5b pertains to the leaders interviews, a study that is being held for future release.]

D-5c. What is your tribal affiliation?

	Frequency	Percent
Refused	28	2.8
Don't Know	9	.9
AFRIDI	94	9.4
ALI SHERZAI	15	1.5
AURAKZAI	40	4.0
BANGASH	39	3.9
BARA KHEL	2	.2
CHAMKANI	4	.4
DAWAR	71	7.1
DAWOODZAI	5	.5
GHALJAY	5	.5
HALEM ZAI	16	1.6
JAJI	2	.2
KABUL KHEIL	1	.1
KHAROTAY	2	.2
KOKI KHEL	33	3.3
MALAK DIN KHEIL	5	.5
MAMONZAI	1	.1
MANDAN	1	.1
MANGAL	3	.3
MANI KHEIL	23	2.3
MANTWAL	7	.7
MAQBAL	3	.3
MIAN	1	.1
MOHMAND	44	4.4
MUHAMMAD KHEIL	5	.5
MULAGORI	19	1.9
MUSAZAI	24	2.4
NUSRAT KHEIL	1	.1
QAMBAR KHEIL	4	.4
RANNA KHEIL	1	.1

SAHT KHEIL	1	.1
SAIDAN	5	.5
SANGAR WALI BEG	1	.1
SEPOY	5	.5
SHAT KHEIL	6	.6
SHINWARI	38	3.8
TARKANI	136	13.6
TORI	32	3.2
UTMAN KHEIL	65	6.5
WALI BAIG	3	.3
WAZIR	197	19.7
YOUSAF KHEL	3	.3
Total	1000	100.0

D-7a. What is your marital status? Are you ...

	Frequency	Percent
Married	727	72.7
Widowed or divorced	41	4.1
Single	229	22.9
Refused	3	.3
Total	1000	100.0

D-7b. In what year were you married?

	Frequency	Percent
Not Asked	1	.1
Refused	12	1.2
1950	1	.1
1954	2	.2
1955	1	.1
1958	1	.1
1960	1	.1
1963	1	.1
1964	2	.2
1965	2	.2
1966	1	.1
1967	2	.2

1968	5	.5
1969	2	.2
1970	7	.7
1971	3	.3
1972	2	.2
1973	6	.6
1974	2	.2
1975	12	1.2
1976	9	.9
1977	8	.8
1978	7	.7
1979	6	.6
1980	23	2.3
1981	6	.6
1982	6	.6
1983	11	1.1
1984	6	.6
1985	33	3.3
1986	11	1.1
1987	14	1.4
1988	38	3.8
1989	17	1.7
1990	37	3.7
1991	12	1.2
1992	18	1.8
1993	22	2.2
1994	15	1.5
1995	22	2.2
1996	17	1.7
1997	23	2.3
1998	36	3.6
1999	30	3.0
2000	37	3.7
2001	27	2.7
2002	26	2.6
2003	20	2.0
2004	25	2.5
2005	20	2.0
2006	28	2.8
2007	17	1.7

2008	14	1.4
2009	17	1.7
2010	3	.3
Total	727	72.7
Missing System	273	27.3
Total	1000	100.0

D-8. What is your household's total monthly income from all sources, that is, all types of income for all persons living at this address?

	Frequency	Percent
Rs 1,000 or less	17	1.7
Rs. 1,001 – 3,000	102	10.2
Rs. 3,001 – 5,000	132	13.2
Rs. 5,001 – 7,000	176	17.6
Rs. 7,001 – 10,000	112	11.2
Rs. 10,001 – 15,000	144	14.4
Rs. 15,001 or more	307	30.7
Refused	1	.1
Don't Know	9	.9
Total	1000	100.0

D-9. Do you consider yourself to be ...

	Frequency	Percent
Pashtun	996	99.6
Baloch	1	.1
Muhajir	3	.3
Total	1000	100.0

D-10. What is your religious belief? Are you ...

	Frequency	Percent
Sunni Muslim	876	87.6
Shi'a Muslim	124	12.4
Total	1000	100.0

D11a. Pray five times a day

	Frequency	Percent
Regularly	955	95.5
Sometimes	41	4.1
Never	3	.3
Not Asked	1	.1
Total	1000	100.0

D11b. Fast during Ramadan

	Frequency	Percent
Regularly	964	96.4
Sometimes	32	3.2
Never	3	.3
Not Asked	1	.1
Total	1000	100.0

D12. How often do you attend mosque?

	Frequency	Percent
Daily	537	53.7
Several Times A Week	84	8.4
Once A Week	8	.8
Monthly	5	.5
Never	315	31.5
Not Asked	17	1.7
Refused	25	2.5
Don't Know	9	.9
Total	1000	100.0

D-14. Would you be willing to participate in another of our surveys later in the year?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	845	84.5
No	155	15.5
Total	1000	100.0



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