IRI Index
Pakistan Public Opinion Survey
October 15-30, 2008
Survey Methodology

- In-person, in-home interview
- National representative sample of adult residents of Pakistan.
- n = 3,500
- Conducted between October 15-30, 2008
- Margin of error ± 1.66 percent overall
- Data collected by Socio Economic Development Consultants (SEDCO)
- A multi-stage probability sample was used. In the first stage, the sample was stratified into four provinces. In the second stage, the sample was further stratified into districts within each province by rural and urban categories. In the third stage each district was further stratified by Union Councils.
- The sample was distributed at the provincial level, rural and urban, in all four provinces of Pakistan (except for the Federally Administrative Tribal Areas (FATA), Chitral and Kohistan). The sample was then post-weighted to make it proportionate to national representation by province.
- The eligibility criteria is age, which for this survey is 18 years and above.
- The response rate was just over 90 percent.
- The interview teams were comprised of both of males and females; the female respondents were interviewed by female interviewers and male respondents by male interviewers.
- Kish method was used to select respondents 18 years and older within the randomly selected household. The right hand method was used to select every third household in localities selected through area probability sample.
- The information in this report has been compiled in accordance with international standards for market and social research methodologies. Figures in charts and tables may not sum to 100 percent due to rounding error.
# Survey Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male 53% Female 47%</th>
<th>Monthly Household Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban 32.5% Rural 67.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 25 30%</td>
<td>Up to Rs 3,000 9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35 33%</td>
<td>Rs 3,001 – 10,000 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-50 25%</td>
<td>Rs 10,001 – 15,000 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+ 12%</td>
<td>Rs 15,001 – 25,000 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than Rs 25,000 4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urdu 15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi 43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seraiki 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindko 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochi 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other .3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acronyms Legend

- Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N)
- Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q)
- Awami National Party (ANP)
- Muttahida Quami Movemnet (MQM)
- Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf (PTI)
- Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)
- Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP)
- Pakistan Peoples Party-Parliamentarians (PPPP). This is the parliamentary bloc allied with PPP.
- Pakistan Peoples Party-Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB)
- Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP)
- Balochistan National Party (BNP)
- Jamote Qaumi Movement (JQM)
- Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Faction (JUI-F)
- Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP)
- Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)
INDICATORS
Do you think that Pakistan is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?
In the past year, has your personal economic situation improved, worsened or stayed the same?
Thinking about next year, do you expect the economic situation in Pakistan to get better, get worse or stay the same?
Agree or Disagree?
I feel more secure this year than I did last year.

Oct-08: Agree 19%, Disagree 78%, DK/NR 3%
Jun-08: Agree 32%, Disagree 63%, DK/NR 6%
Jan-08: Agree 12%, Disagree 85%, DK/NR 3%
Nov-07: Agree 27%, Disagree 66%, DK/NR 7%
Sept-07: Agree 23%, Disagree 65%, DK/NR 12%
Jun-07: Agree 39%, Disagree 56%, DK/NR 6%
THE NEW GOVERNMENT
In your opinion, how has the government performed on the issues most important to you?
Do you think that things will be better in Pakistan now that there is a democratically-elected parliament and president?
Over the past few months, a new parliament and a new president were democratically-elected, the positions of Army chief of staff and president were separated, and Musharraf was forced to resign from first the Army and then the presidency. Given these events, do you think that the country has made important steps towards democracy?
The PPPP/PML-N ruling coalition has fallen apart now that Nawaz Sharif pulled out of the government. What is your opinion on the matter?

- 30% wanted the coalition to stay together
- 41% do not care one way or the other
- 13% wanted the coalition to break apart
- 16% DK/NR
Do you want PML-N to rejoin the government?

- Yes: 42%
- Maybe: 14%
- No: 31%
- DK/NR: 13%
Who do you believe is to blame for the coalition breaking apart, Nawaz Sharif or Asif Zardari?

- 60% Asif Zardari
- 19% Nawaz Sharif
- 21% DK/NR
Agree or Disagree?
Some people are saying that now is the time for national unity to solve the many problems facing the country, yet Nawaz Sharif pulled out of the government because he only wanted more power.
Now that PML-N has left the ruling coalition, PPPP might form a new coalition with PML-Q. Would you support a PPPP/PML-Q coalition?

- **Oct-08**: Support 27%, Oppose 48%, DK/NR 25%
- **Jun-08**: Support 19%, Oppose 53%, DK/NR 28%
Should PML-Q form a coalition with PPPP or merge with PML-N?

### Oct-08
- PPPP: 17%
- PML-N: 51%
- DK/NR: 32%

### Jun-08
- PPPP: 16%
- PML-N: 20%
- DK/NR: 64%
KEY ISSUES
What is the most important issue facing Pakistan?

- Inflation: 58%
- Unemployment: 12%
- Suicide Bombings: 10%
- Poverty: 7%
- Electricity & Water: 7%
- Law & Order: 3%
- Corruption: 2%
- Education: 1%
- Democratic Reforms: 1%
- Development: 1%
Agree or Disagree? The shortages of wheat, petrol, natural gas and electricity are a serious problem.
JUDGES
Of the 64 judges that Musharraf deposed when he declared an emergency last year, 58 have been restored by the new government. Do you think that this good enough?
Some people are saying that Pakistanis should continue to protest until all of the judges are restored, including former Chief Justice Chaudhry, while other people are saying that it is good enough that most of the judges have been restored, and now it is time for Pakistan to focus on more important issues, such as security and the economy.

Which of these opinions is closest to your own?
TERRORISM
Agree or Disagree?
I support a peace deal with the extremists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK/NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun-08</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-08</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agree or Disagree?
Religious extremism is a serious problem in Pakistan.

Oct-08: 60% Agree, 34% Disagree, 7% DK/NR
Jun-08: 61% Agree, 27% Disagree, 12% DK/NR
Jan-08: 73% Agree, 24% Disagree, 2% DK/NR
Nov-07: 66% Agree, 31% Disagree, 3% DK/NR
Sept-07: 74% Agree, 21% Disagree, 5% DK/NR
Jun-07: 64% Agree, 21% Disagree, 16% DK/NR
Agree or Disagree?
The Taliban and Al-Qaeda operating in Pakistan is a serious problem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK/NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct-08</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-08</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-08</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-07</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept-07</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agree or Disagree?
I support the Army fighting the extremists in NWFP and FATA.

Oct-08: 38% Agree, 50% Disagree, 12% DK/NR
Jun-08: 27% Agree, 51% Disagree, 22% DK/NR
Jan-08: 33% Agree, 64% Disagree, 3% DK/NR
Nov-07: 40% Agree, 56% Disagree, 4% DK/NR
Sept-07: 28% Agree, 63% Disagree, 9% DK/NR
Agree or Disagree?
I support the Army fighting Al-Qaeda.

Oct-o8
34% Agree
52% Disagree
13% DK/NR

Jun-o8
22% Agree
52% Disagree
26% DK/NR
Agree or Disagree?
I support the Army fighting the Taliban

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Oct-08</th>
<th></th>
<th>Jun-08</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td></td>
<td>51%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NR</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- **Agree**
- **Disagree**
- **DK/NR**
Agree or Disagree?
The extremists in the tribal areas are foreigners receiving support from foreign sources to plan suicide attacks to kill Pakistanis and weaken the nation. Therefore, the Pakistani Army needs to use military force to fight these foreign extremists to protect the nation and extend government control over the whole of Pakistan.
Do you think that Pakistan should cooperate with the United States on its war against terror?
Agree or Disagree?
I support the U.S. making military incursions in the tribal areas
Agree or Disagree?
The United States should assist Pakistan in fighting these foreign extremists in the tribal areas. This assistance should include providing funding and intelligence. This should also include missile strikes and small raids on foreign training camps where foreign extremists are building suicide bombs, as long as the Pakistan government is informed first and the attacks are coordinated with the Pakistani Army.
Who do you think is responsible for the recent suicide attack on the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad? (open-ended)

- DK/NR: 50%
- America: 20%
- Gov't of Pakistan: 13%
- Taliban: 5%
- Foreign Agencies: 5%
- Terrorists: 2%
- India: 2%
- Zardari: 2%
- Intelligence Agencies: 1%
- Hotel Management: 1%
- Musharraf: 1%
- Lack of Security: 0%
- Israel: 0%
Does the bombing of the Marriott hotel in Islamabad make you more or less likely to support the Army fighting foreign extremists in the tribal areas?
Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of...?

Hamid Karzai
- Favorable: 23%
- Unfavorable: 64%
- DK/NR: 13%

Afghanistan
- Favorable: 35%
- Unfavorable: 56%
- DK/NR: 9%
Do you think that the Karzai government in Afghanistan is pro-Indian or not?

- Yes: 54%
- No: 24%
- Neither: 22%
Which concerns you more, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban using Pakistan as a base of operations to attack Afghanistan or the United States occasionally firing missiles at terrorist camps in Pakistan?

- Taliban & Al-Qaeda using Pakistan as a base of operations to attack Afghanistan: 54%
- United States occasionally firing missiles at terrorist camps in Pakistan: 23%
- DK/NR: 23%
Agree or Disagree?

When extremists conduct a bombing, they kill non-combatants, women, children, and the elderly, as well as commit suicide. Sometimes they bomb mosques and kill people while they are praying. They have also killed peace negotiators. All of these things are prohibited by the Koran. Some people are saying that this means that they are not true Muslims and that they are bringing disgrace upon our religion of peace. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS
Recent amendments to the constitution strengthen the powers of the president to dissolve the national assembly, appoint judges and Army chiefs. Should President Zardari retain these powers or give them back to the parliament?

![Bar chart showing preferences]

- President: 38%
- National Assembly: 48%
- DK/NR: 14%
Agree or Disagree?
The Army should have no role in the civilian government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK/NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun-08</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-08</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan says the military should work under the civilian leadership. In your opinion, how much control should civilian leadership have over the military?
Some people say the military has the right to take over from civilian leaders when they have become too corrupt or fail to govern. Under what circumstances should the military be able to do this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whenever it wants</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only in an emergency</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NR</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Who should control the military, the president or prime minister?

- President: 45%
- Prime Minister: 40%
- DK/NR: 15%
As compared to current Pakistan law, how would you change the role Sharia plays?

- **38%** Much Larger Role
- **62%** Somewhat Larger Role
- **14%** About The Same Role
- **9%** Somewhat Smaller Role
- **5%** Much Smaller Role
- **10%** DK/NR
INSTITUTIONAL RATINGS
How would you rate the following institutions? (percent saying favorable)

*NOTE: A new government took office between the Jan 08 and June 08 polls*
How would you rate the following institutions? (percent saying favorable)

- **Taliban**
  - Jun-08: 23%
  - Oct-08: 21%

- **Al-Qaeda**
  - Jun-08: 18%
  - Oct-08: 14%
LEADERSHIP RATINGS
Which one leader do you think can best handle the problems facing Pakistan?

- Nawaz Sharif: 31%
- Asif Zardari: 29%
- Amin Fahim: 8%
- Imran Khan: 4%
- Pervez Musharraf: 4%
- Altaf Hussain: 3%
- Shabaz Sharif: 2%
- Bilawal Bhutto: 2%
- Qazi Hussain: 1%
- Fazl Rehman: 1%
- Asfanyar Wali: 1%
- No One: 1%
- DK/NR: 1%
Do you approve or disapprove of the job President Zardari is doing?
Do you support or oppose the recent election of Asif Zardari as president of Pakistan?
Do you think that Musharraf resigning from the presidency is good or bad for the country?

- **57%** Good
- **37%** Bad
- **6%** DK/NR
Would you say you liked or disliked the following political personalities?
Would you say you liked or disliked the following political personalities?

- Javed Hashmi: 56% Like, 29% Dislike, 15% Neither/DK/NR
- Qazi Hussein: 59% Like, 27% Dislike, 14% Neither/DK/NR
- Pervez Elahi: 64% Like, 24% Dislike, 12% Neither/DK/NR
- Maulana Fazalur-Rehman: 63% Like, 27% Dislike, 10% Neither/DK/NR
- Altaf Hussein: 70% Like, 20% Dislike, 10% Neither/DK/NR
- Aitzaz Ahsan: 57% Like, 35% Dislike, 8% Neither/DK/NR
- Baitullah Mehsud: 62% Like, 30% Dislike, 8% Neither/DK/NR
- Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain: 67% Like, 25% Dislike, 7% Neither/DK/NR
- Asfandyar Wali: 66% Like, 27% Dislike, 6% Neither/DK/NR
- Mushahid Hussain: 65% Like, 29% Dislike, 6% Neither/DK/NR

Legend: Like, Dislike, Neither/DK/NR
Would you say you liked or disliked the following political personalities? (June vs. October Favorability Ratings)
Who would you rather have as the president of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif or Asif Zardari?
What do you think should happen to former President Musharraf? (open-ended)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punished</th>
<th>Forgiven</th>
<th>DK/NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Should be punished</td>
<td>No one should do anything to him; he should stay in Pakistan</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should be hanged</td>
<td>Returned to presidency</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrown out of the country</td>
<td>Re-enter politics</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move to United States</td>
<td>Should be forgiven</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov’t should deal with him</td>
<td>Allah bless him; not a bad man</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>59%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21%</strong></td>
<td><strong>20%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ELECTIONS
If the elections for national assembly were held next week, for which party would you vote?

NATIONAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>PPP</th>
<th>PML-Q</th>
<th>PML-N</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>MQM</th>
<th>PTI</th>
<th>DK/NR</th>
<th>Will not cast vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept-06</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-07</td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June-07</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept-07</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-07</td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-08</td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-08</td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-08</td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If the elections for national assembly were held next week, for which party would you vote?

PUNJAB

- PPP
- PML-Q
- PML-N
If the elections for national assembly were held next week, for which party would you vote?

SINDH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>PPP</th>
<th>PML-Q</th>
<th>PML-N</th>
<th>PPP-SB</th>
<th>MQM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb-07</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June-07</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept-07</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-07</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-08</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-08</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-08</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If the elections for national assembly were held next week, for which party would you vote?

NWFP
If the elections for national assembly were held next week, for which party would you vote?

BALOCHISTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>PPP</th>
<th>PML-Q</th>
<th>PML-N</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>MQM</th>
<th>PTI</th>
<th>ANP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb-07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June-07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept-07</td>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov-07</td>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-08</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-08</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the past few months, PPP has restored most of the judges and forced Musharraf to resign, and now is focusing on the economy and improving security. Do these actions give you a better or worse opinion of PPP?
If there is an election next year, and between now and then the PPP government has stabilized the security situation, stopped the price hikes, and improved the economy, for which party would you vote?
If there were parliamentary elections held next week and the following were your choices, for whom would you vote?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jun-08</th>
<th>Oct-08</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coalition of religious parties led by PML-N</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition of secular parties led by PPP</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NR</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>