

Public Attitudes and Discontent: Extremism and Governance in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Indonesia

Survey Research Findings

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Briefing

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Study Methodology

- **Hard data lacking on basic questions regarding support for extremism, government, and counter-terrorism in Muslim countries.**
- **Goal: develop methods to evaluate levels of these issues, compare across countries, and find their drivers.**
- **Surveys in key countries: Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh**
 - All in Nov. 2006 with common questionnaire/country-specific answers
 - National sample of 1000 (error margin +/- 3%), plus two 100 case over-samples per country. (Only omission: FATA/Pakistan).
 - Interviewing by leading local polling firms (AC Nielsen Indonesia and Pakistan, SRGB Bangladesh)
 - Questionnaire, analysis by Charney Research, New York
 - Research support from Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, New York
- **3 key issues broken down into components, metrics created to score responses to every component.**
 - Responses reported for every question (150 in total)
 - Key components for each cumulated nationally and indexed to provide a country score from 0 (worst) to 100 (best)

Today's Presentation

- **Ideological Issues (Extremism)**
- **State Capacity (Governance)**
- **Support for Counter-Terrorism**
- **Policy Implications**

Ideological Issues: Components of Extremism

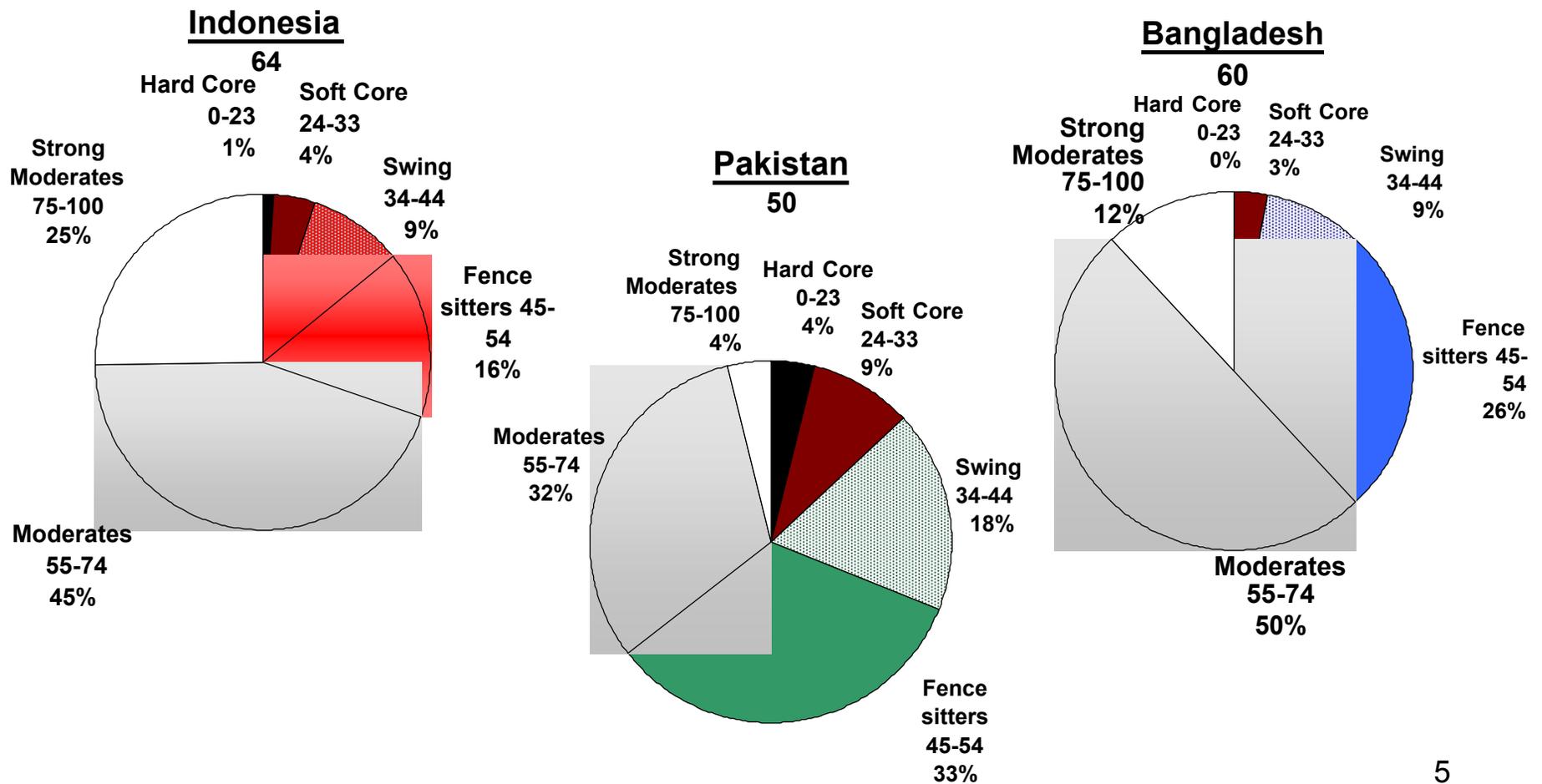
Percent Scoring in Worst (0-33) Range on Each Index

	Indonesia	Pakistan	Bangladesh
Perceptions of Moderate Islam (Hostile)	16%	18%	10%
Resonance of Extremist Ideology (Favorable)	6%	40%	38%
Extremist Parties, Leaders, Movements (Favorable)	32%	17%	9%
Islamic Extremists vs Present Government (Don't prefer present govt)	22%	31%	31%

Ideological Issues: X (Extremism) Index

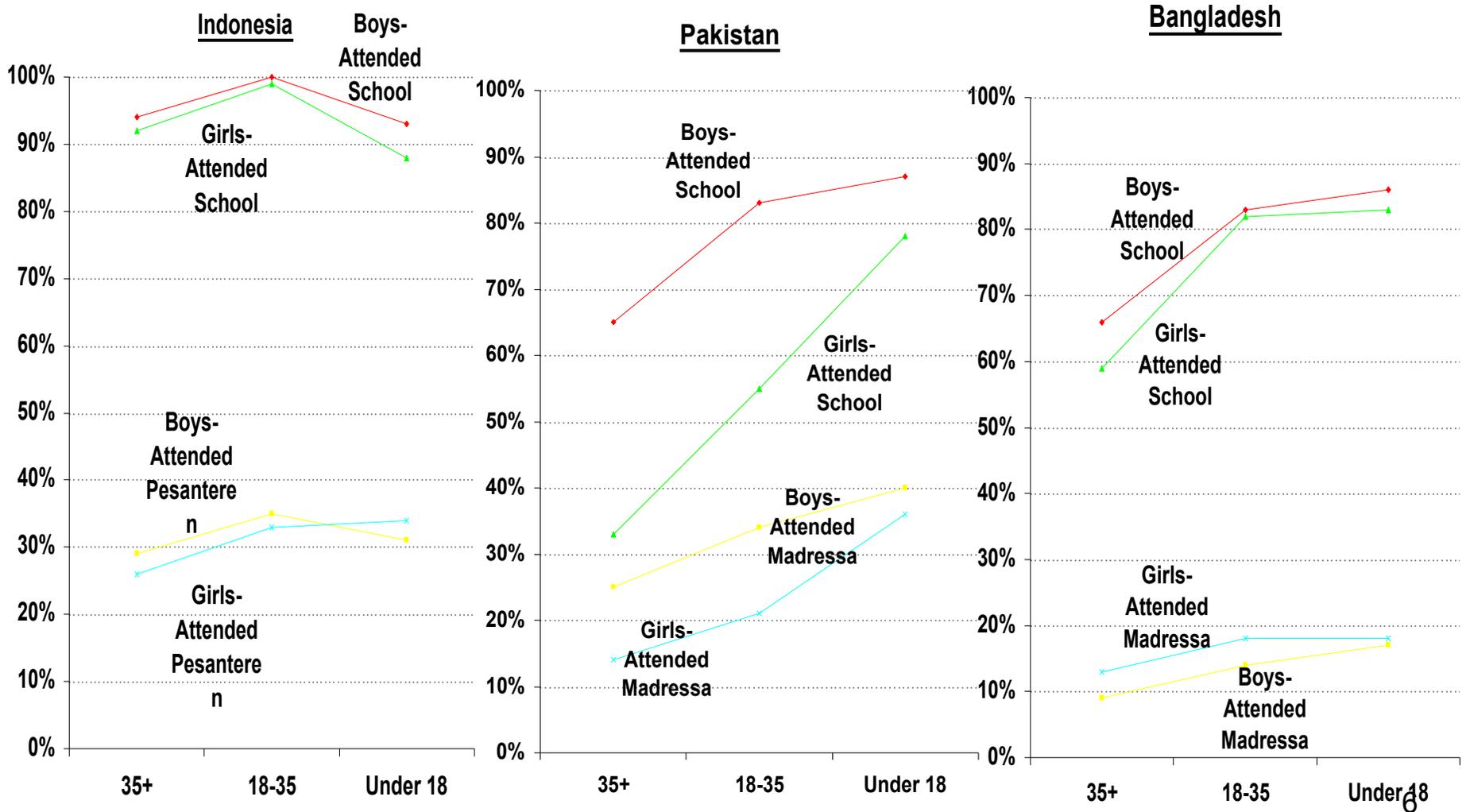
Country labels show average index score. Index includes results on Perceptions of Moderate Islam, Resonance of Extremist Ideology, Favorability to Local Extremists, and Extremist vs. Present Govt

Low scores (0-33) are worst, High (66-100) are best



Ideological Issues: School/Madressa Enrollment Trends

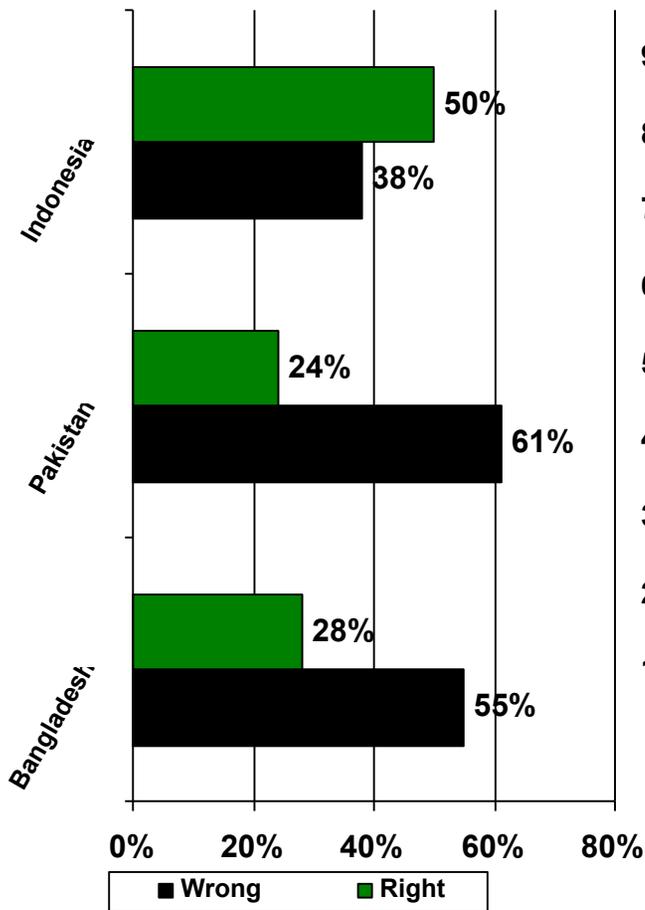
Percent of given age group who attended school/madressa



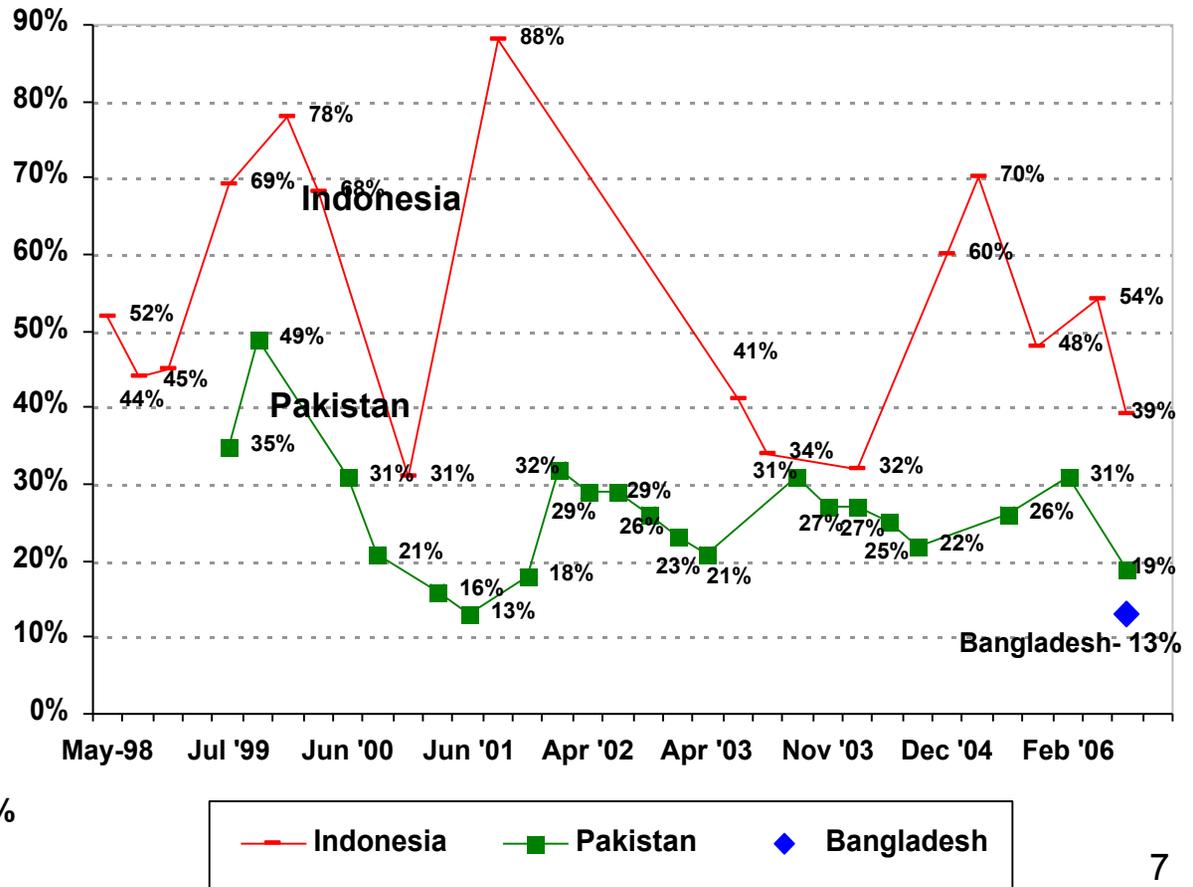
State Capacity Country Direction - Trends

Generally speaking, do you think things in... are going in the right direction or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?

National results



Urban Population Only - Percent Saying Right Direction



State Capacity Country Direction - Reasons

Generally speaking, do you think things in... are going in the right direction or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? Why do you say that? (Multiple responses allowed)

Reasons Given by 10% or More

Indonesia		Pakistan		Bangladesh	
<u>Right direction reasons</u>					
Better economy	41%	Development	29%	No terrorism	34%
Violence ends	30%	Security good	24%	Development	29%
Free schools	20%	Better economy	18%	Rule of law	21%
Anti-corruption	15%	Good gov't	18%		
Gov't subsidies	12%				
<u>Wrong direction reasons</u>					
Economy	78%	Economy	76%	Political Instability	52%
Violence	19%	Terrorism	17%	Economy	41%
Disasters	17%			Corruption	18%
Corruption	16%				

State Capacity

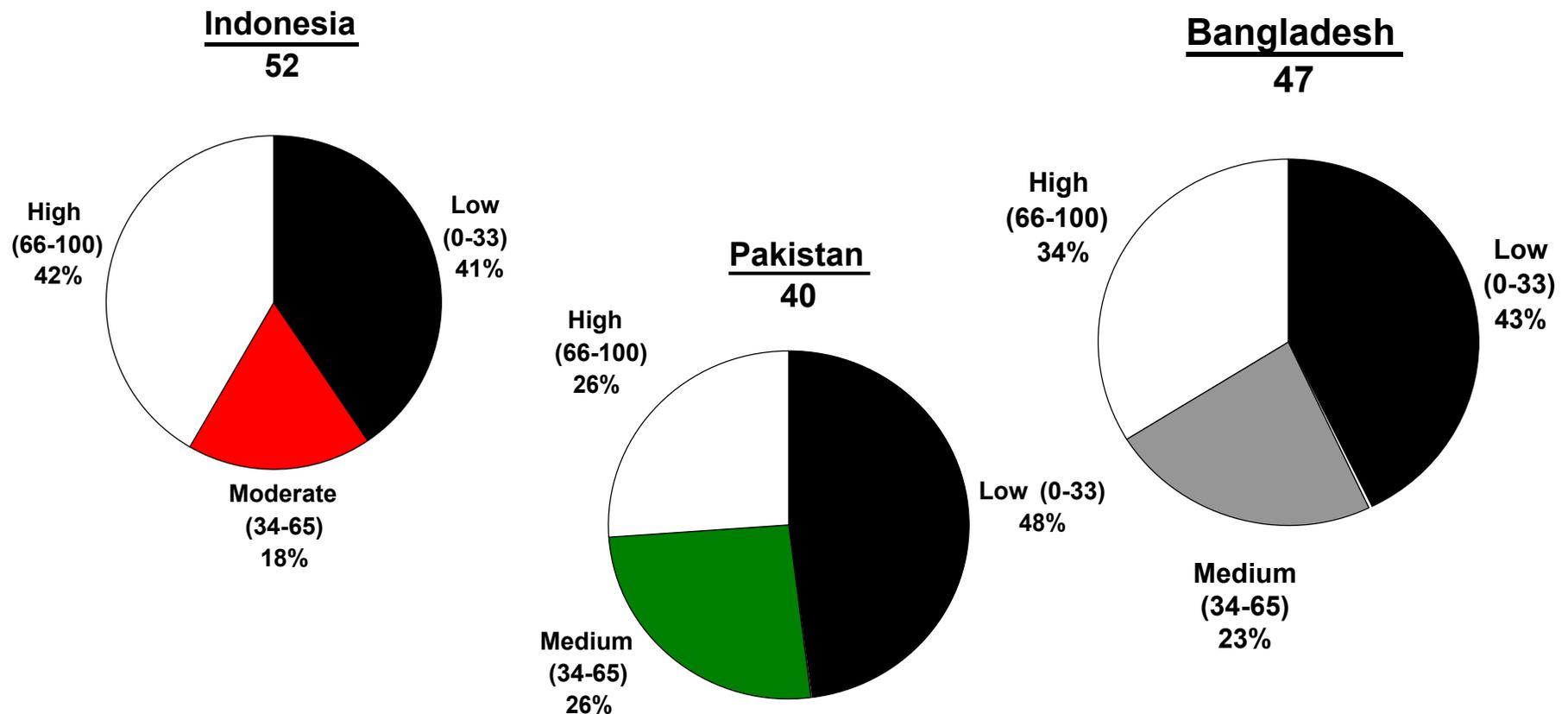
Leader Job Performance and Favorability

	Indonesia	Pakistan	Bangladesh
National leader job performance (good/excellent)	<u>SBY</u> - 45%	<u>Musharraf</u> - 34%	<u>Zia</u> - 34%
Favorable to national leader	<u>SBY</u> - 85%	<u>Musharraf</u> - 60%	<u>Zia</u> - 65%
Favorable to Opposition leader	<u>Sukarnoputri</u> - 76%	<u>Bhutto</u> - 54%	<u>Wajed</u> - 66%
Favorable to moderate Muslim leader	<u>Shihab</u> - 40%	<u>Sharif</u> - 51%	<u>Yunnus</u> - 84%

State Capacity Governance (G) Index

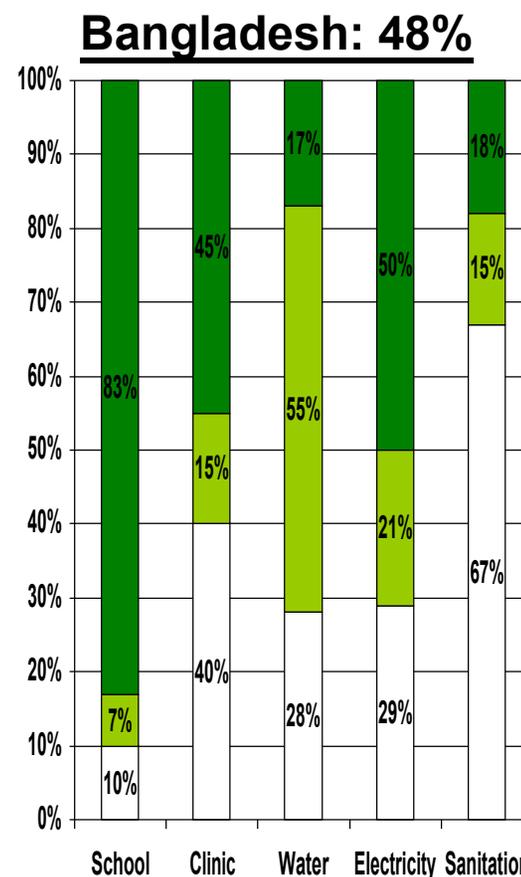
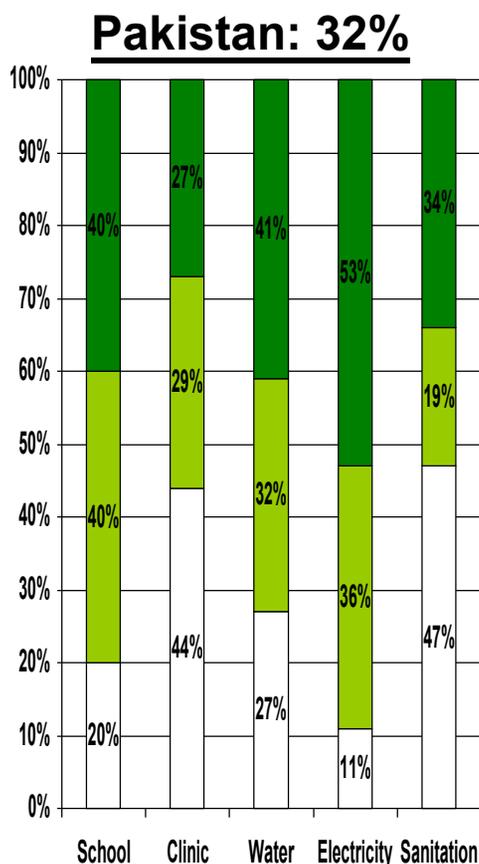
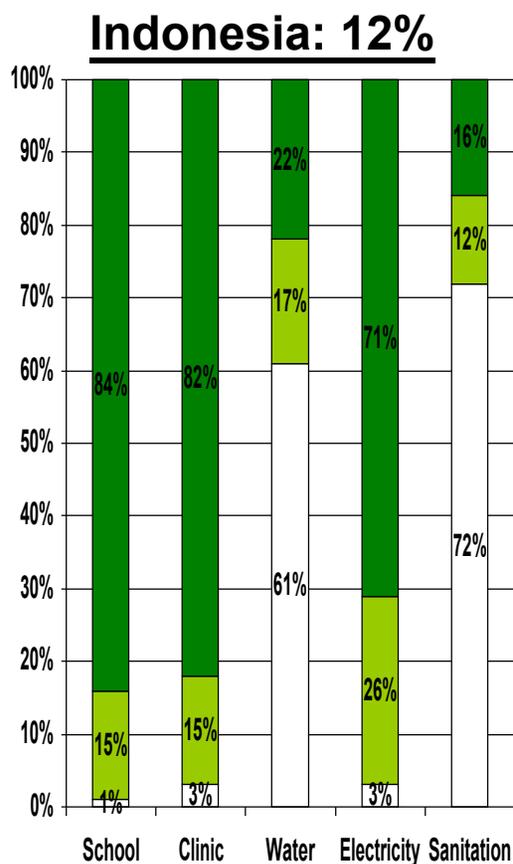
Country labels show average index score. Index includes results on Country Direction, Leader/Govt Job Performance, Leader Favorability

Low scores (0-33) are worst, high (66-100) are best



State Capacity Service Provision

Country labels show percent in each country in low range on overall service satisfaction index.
Bars show percent receiving and satisfied with each listed service.



Charney Index TO8.2C2,
Q 31-35

State Capacity

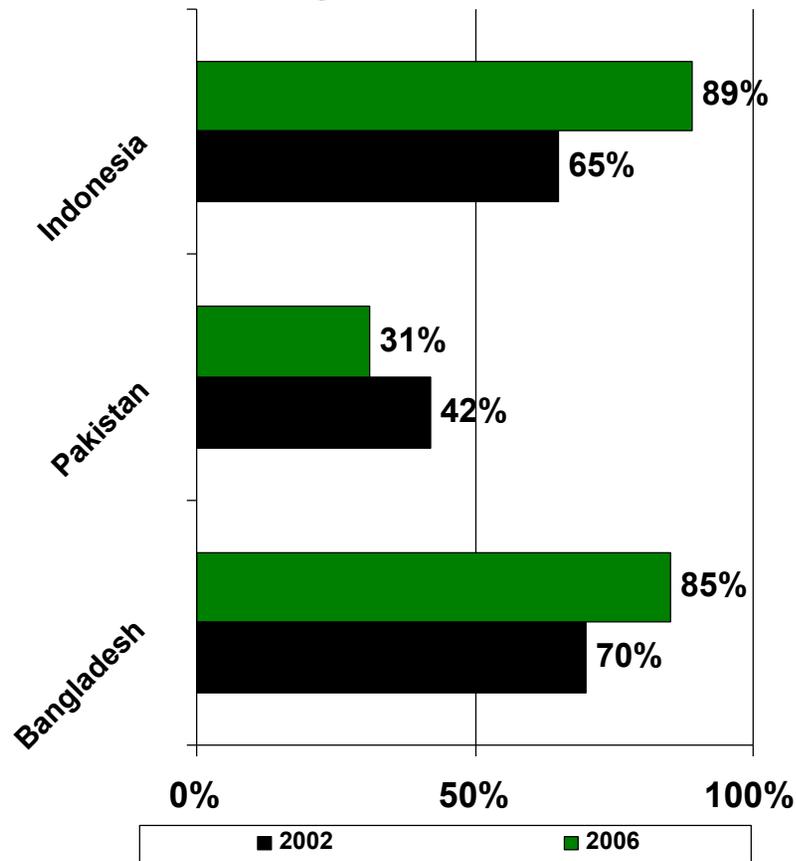
Consolidation of Democracy: Trends

Some feel that we should rely on a democratic forms of government to solve our country's problems. Others feel that we should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve our country's problems, even if they are not democratic. Which is closer to your view?

If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you?

Responses given by 10% or more in any country

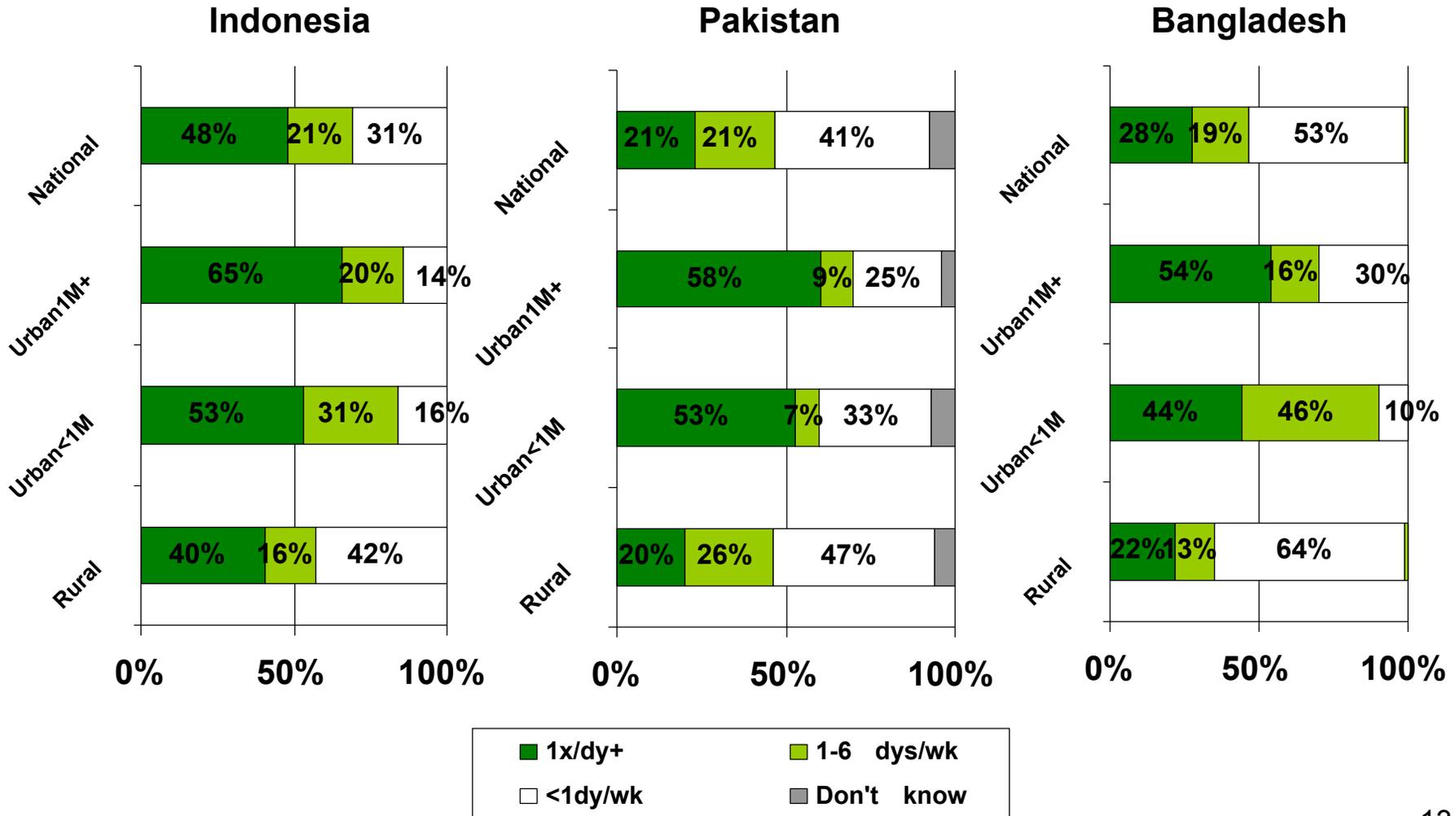
Percent Preferring Democratic Government



	Indonesia	Pakistan	Bangladesh
Free Speech	26% (2003:+7)	4%	14%
People's Sovereignty	11% (2003:+6)	8%	21%
Free Elections	3% (2003:same)	12%	18%
Freedom	3% (2003:+3)	14%	0%
Don't Know	36% (2003: -17)	61%	21% ₁₂

Support for Counter-Terrorism Police Presence

Reported frequency of seeing police

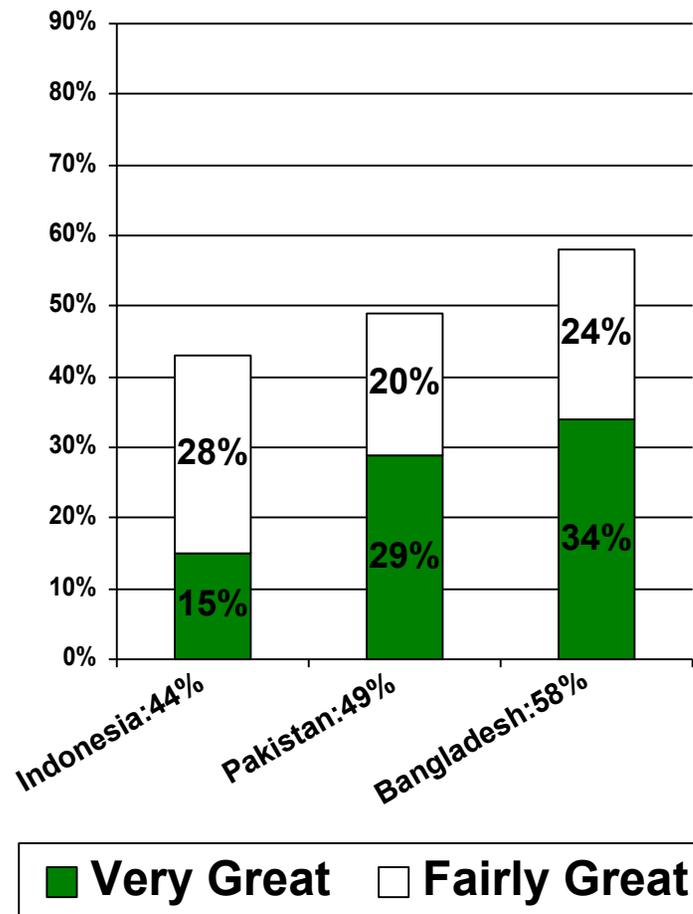


Support for Counter-Terrorism Conflict Potential and Resolution

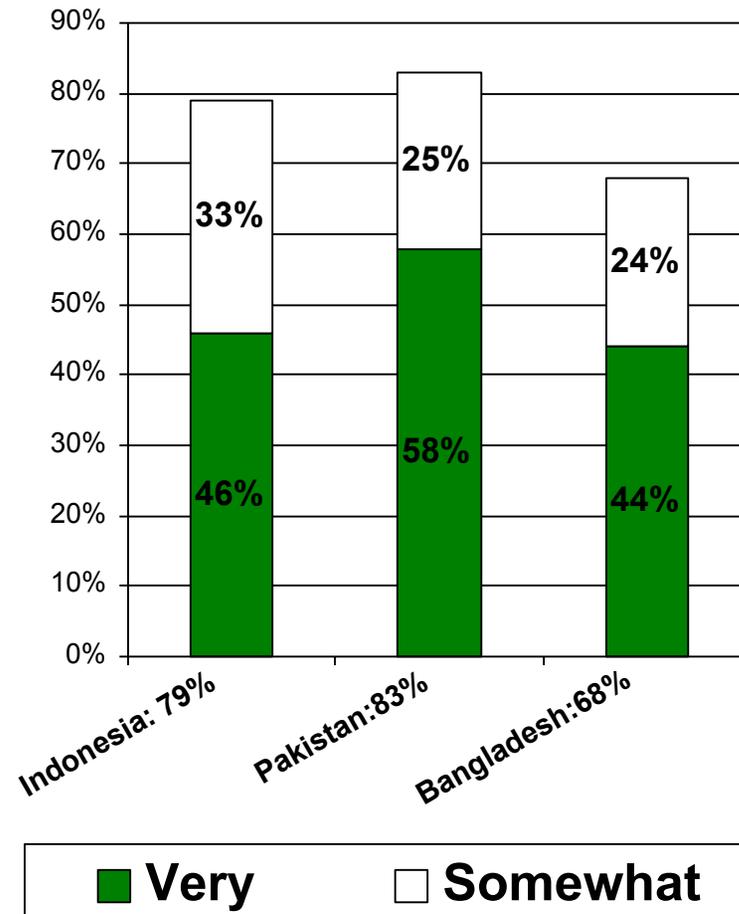
	Indonesia	Pakistan	Bangladesh
Favorable to Police	71%	42%	72%
Favorable to Army	87%	70%	90%
Social conflict in community in past 5 yrs	11%	28%	47%
Non Violent Conflict Resolution- <i>High index score</i>	60%	20%	36%
Capacity to police- <i>High index score</i>	81%	52%	73%

Support for Counter-Terrorism Concern about Extremism/Terrorism

“How much of a threat, if any, does Islamic extremism pose to our country these days ...”



How concerned are you about the danger of terrorism in”



Support for Counter-Terrorism Levels and Trends

Percent Favorable to:

	Indonesia	Pakistan	Bangladesh
Police fighting terrorism	93%	62%	94%
Army fighting terrorism	92%	61%	91%
International WOT	66%	44%	64%
US-led GWOT	49% (2002: 31%)	37% (2002: 20%)	63% (2002: 21%)

Support for Counter-Terrorism Views of US and Allies: Levels and Trends

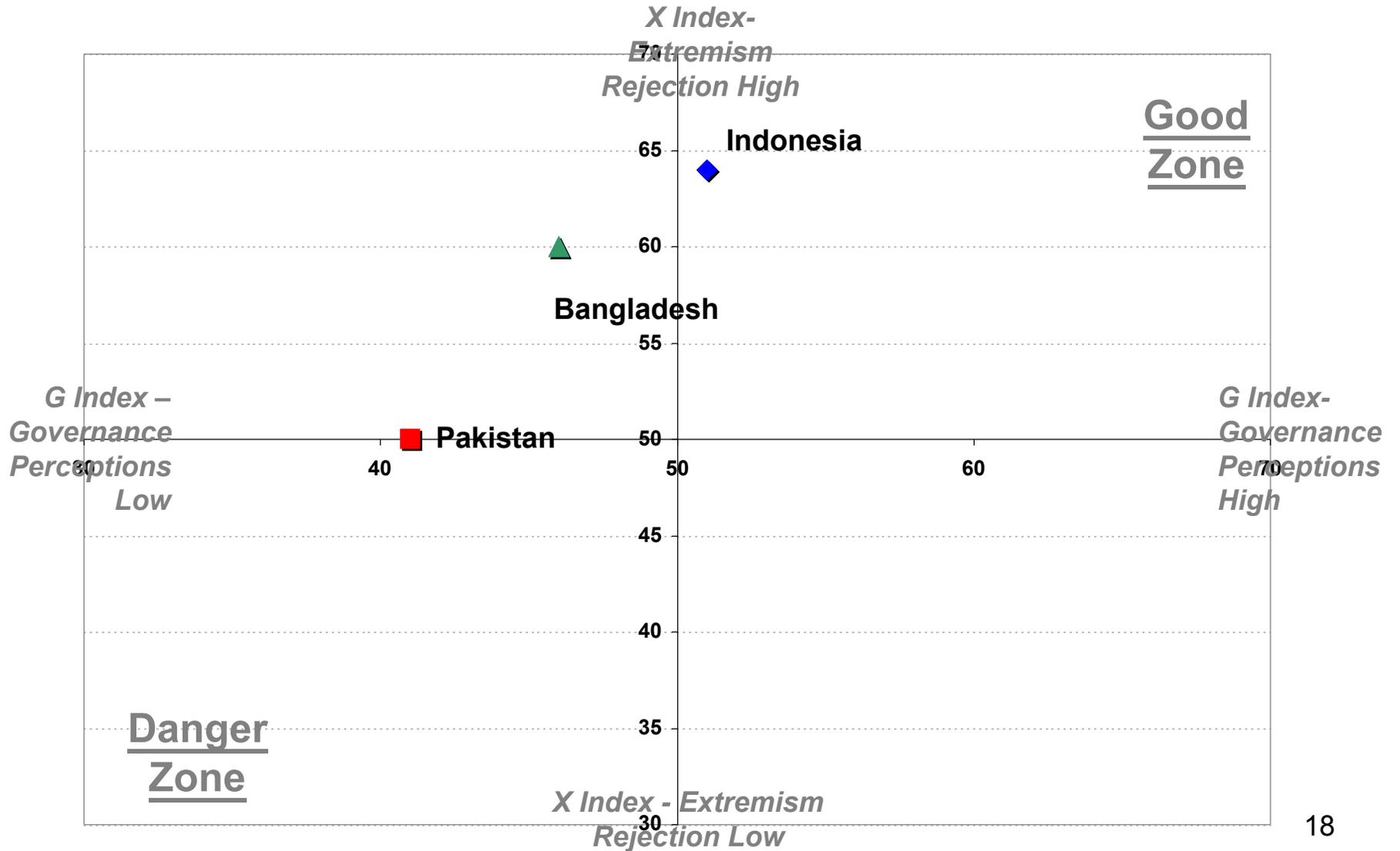
Percent Favorable to:

	Indonesia	Pakistan	Bangladesh
The United States:	30% (2003:+15)	16% (2002:+3)	48% (2002: +3)
Regional Ally:	(Australia) 27%	(Britain) 12%	(Britain) 29%
George W. Bush:	18% (2003:+10)	5% (2003: unchanged)	14%
US Military Forces:	16% (2003:-38)	6% (2003:-20)	18%
Allied Military Forces:	(Australia) 17%	(Britain) 7%	(Britain) 15%

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Policy Implications

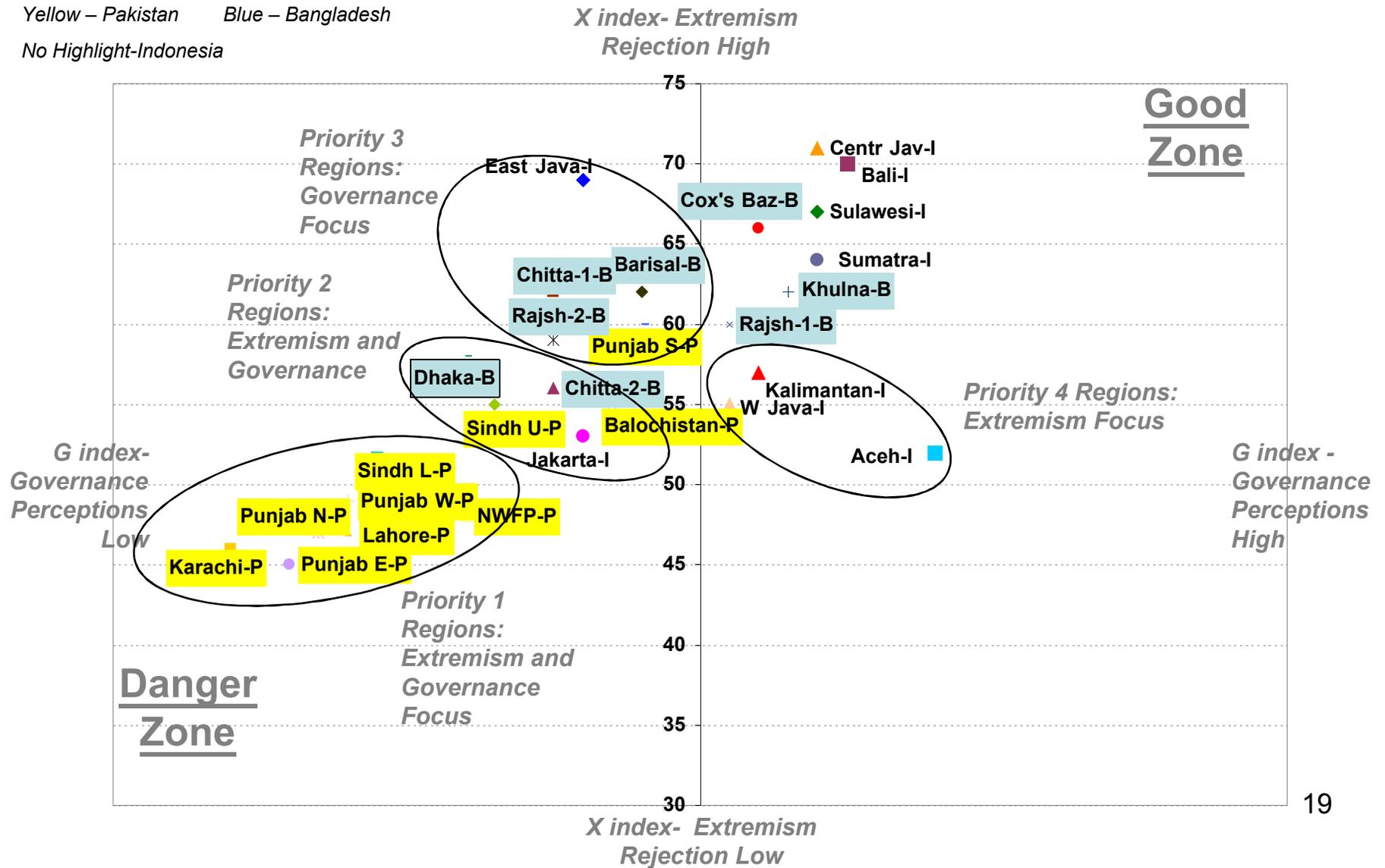
Extremism vs. Governance: Country Comparisons



Policy Implications

Extremism vs. Governance: Regional Priorities

Yellow – Pakistan Blue – Bangladesh
 No Highlight-Indonesia



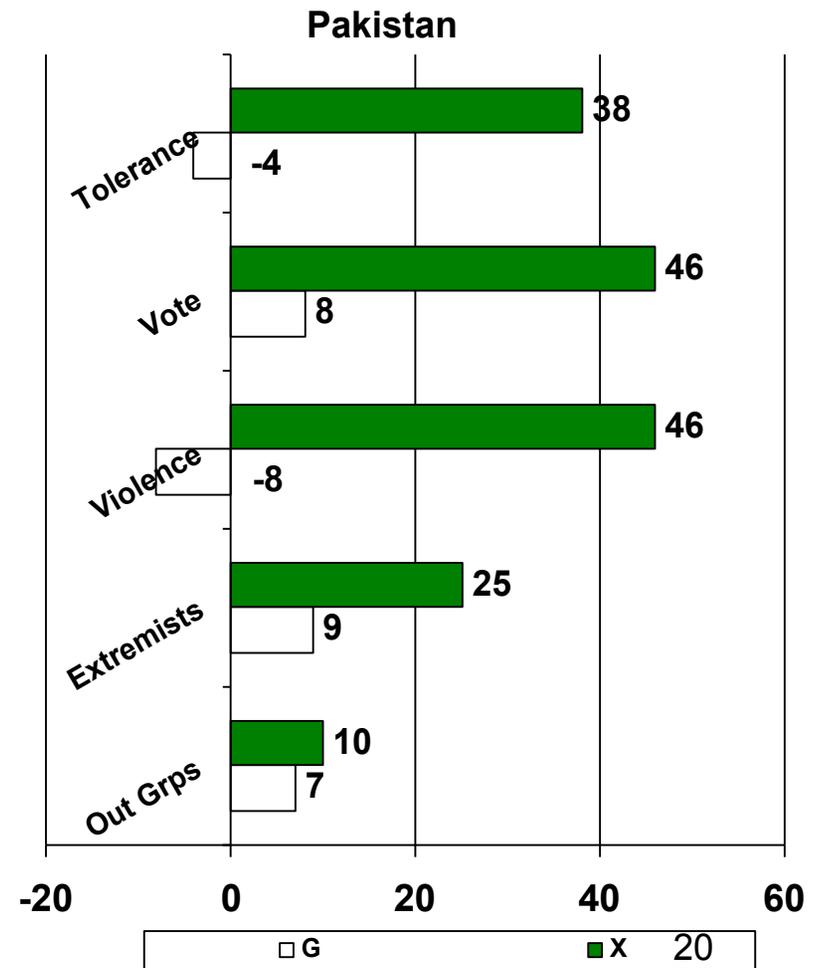
Policy Implications

X (extremism) index : Attitude Drivers

Groups with largest proportions in low ranges of extremism index components in all three countries. Higher scores reflect a larger percentage of named group in the low ranges

	Indonesia National: 76	Pakistan National: 105	Bangladesh National: 88
Religious Tolerance (Low)	100	143	111
Vote Intention (Extremist party)	163	151	113
Rejection of Violence (Low)	95	151	133
Favorable to bin Laden, Taliban	115	130	90
Hostile to religious out-groups	100	115	76

Scores of groups in table on left on extremism and governance perceptions, compared to the national average on each index



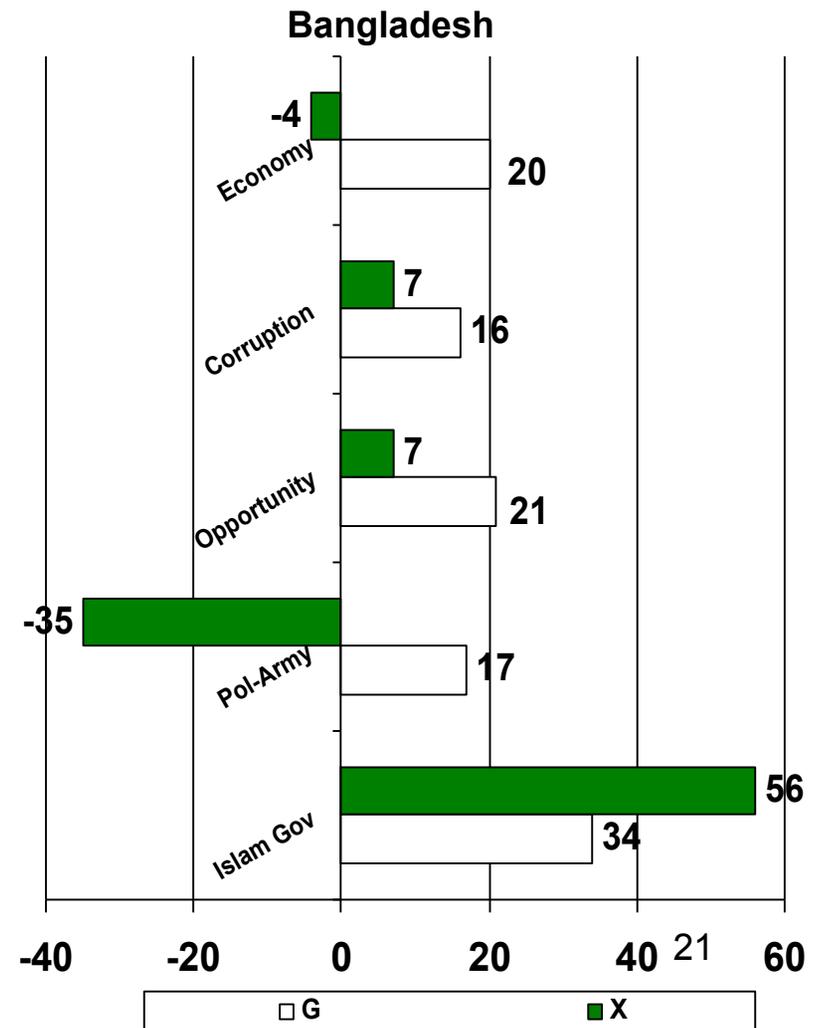
Policy Implications

G (Governance) Index: Attitude Drivers

Groups with largest proportions in low ranges of performance index components in all three countries. Higher scores reflect a larger percentage of named group in the low ranges

	Indonesia National: 86	Pakistan National: 113	Bangladesh National: 110
Economic Conditions (Poor)	98	131	130
Perceived Corruption (High)	122	129	126
Opportunity, Rules, Hope (Lack)	113	134	131
Attitudes: Police-Army (Unfavorable)	108	137	127
Prefer Islamic to present govt	114	131	144

Scores of groups in table on left on extremism and governance perceptions, compared to the national average on each index



Policy Implications: Extremism

	DoD	State/ USAID	NGOs Foundations Universities	US Private Sector
Promoting Religious Tolerance •Within Islam •Between religions	Model religious tolerance and diversity Mil to mil exchanges and training	Fund relevant programming More exchanges (teachers, students, journalists, religious leaders)	Promote Islamic pluralism/debate Madressa reform Strengthen women's groups Teacher training	Model religious tolerance Social responsibility Support NGOs Business exchanges and education
Combating Violent Extremism	International rather than US-led Partner strengthening Intelligence, planning, operational support	Police training Judicial system strengthening Public diplomacy	Research on extremism and reducing it	
Anti-Violence Activities		Fund relevant programs Relevant exchanges (organizational)	Anti-violence education Conflict resolution programs Local governance programs	Supporting NGOs Modeling conflict resolution Aid conflict resolution
Challenging International Extremism	Provide information on extremists Support media campaigns	Provide information on extremists Support media campaigns	Educational programs about extremism	

Policy Implications: Governance

	DoD	State/ USAID/	NGOs Foundations Universities	US Private Sector
Improving Economic Conditions	Local sourcing and purchasing	Investment promotion Economic support Economic reform aid Supporting expansion of services Education reform	Research on growth promotion Research on education reform Teacher education programs	Investment Better conditions for workers/communities Aiding science / math / computer education Aiding English education
Promoting Opportunity, Rules, and Hope	Modeling and encouraging fair training and promotion procedures	Micro-credit and microenterprise aid Legal reform Titling efforts Funding civil society programs	Research on social mobility Scholarship and school retention programs Civic education Media reform	Modeling fair recruitment and promotion Scholarships Model schools Social responsibility
Reducing Corruption	Anti corruption efforts in local sourcing	Anti corruption and legal reform programs	Research on corruption and legal reform	Modeling fair sourcing and no kickback policies Backing legal reform
Improving Attitudes to Police and Army	Partner Strengthening Programs Exchange and education programs Modeling behavior	Police reform programs Exchanges (police)	Research - police reform Research on civil-military affairs Police-community programs	