



CSIS – March 12, 2010

Gary Langer, Director of Polling, ABC News



ABC News/BBC/ARD polls in Afghanistan

- National, area-probability samples
- Random selection, in-person interviews
- Fifth in a series:
 - Dec. 11-23, 2009
 - Dec. 30, 2008-Jan. 12, 2009
 - Oct. 28-Nov. 7, 2007
 - Oct. 14-19, 2006
 - Oct. 8-18, 2005
- Consistent methodology/reliable time trend



- Methodology: 194 random sampling points, stratified urban/rural, PPS to district, SRS at settlement level.
- Provincial oversamples: Balkh, Helmand, Herat, Kandahar, Kunduz, Logar, Nangarhar, Wardak.
- Field: Area probability, random route, Kish grid. 168 Afghan interviewers, 87/81 m/f, 31% supervised or back-checked, logical controls in DP.
- Weighted to population of province and sex by region using CSO population projections.
- Average 32-minute interview. Contact rate 89 percent, co-operation rate 97 percent, net RR 86 percent, MOE 3 points inc. DEFF of 1.46.
- *Field work: ACSOR, subsidiary of D3 Systems Inc.*



Sampling challenges/validation

- 11 of 101 randomly drawn districts were inaccessible for security reasons; replaced by random draw.
- No female interviews in Paktika, Uruzghan and Zabul provinces; 1.7, 1.3 and 1.2 percent of nat. pop.
- Evaluated Jan. '09 data w/out inaccessible districts:
 - Nationally, 1 sig. diff in 144 variables;
 - 3/144 in Southwest;
 - None elsewhere.



Takhar

(ACSOR photo)



Kunar

(ACSOR photo)



Kunduz
(ACSOR photo)



Takhar
(ACSOR photo)



Panjshir
(ACSOR photo)



Samangan

(ACSOR photo)



Bamiyan
(ACSOR photo)



Takhar
(ACSOR photo)



Laghman
(ACSOR photo)



Parwan
(ACSOR photo)



Field Reports

Helmand

- “In Garemsir and Nawzad districts, many development projects have started.”
- “Sangin Qala district is now out of the control of the Taliban and the ANA and ANP have control over this district.”
- “Military operations are going on in different parts of the province ... and removing the Taliban from the territory.”
- “The government and foreign forces are paying a lot of attention to this province and the roads in Lashkargah have been paved which makes people very happy about it.”
- “Many schools have been built by Holland government. And the salaries for teachers have been increased.”

Kandahar

- “More ANA and ANP are seen in different parts of the province.”
- “More operations have been conducted for removing of the Taliban.”
- “The capital of the province has been reconstructed and also Panjwaye, Arghandab and Daman districts.”

Balkh

- “Better security and good salary for the teachers. Roads have been reconstructed and rehabilitated in different districts of this province.”
- “The government has more control over the province. Some military operations have been conducted in Charbolak and Chimtal districts and a lot of Taliban members have been detained during these operations.”

Herat

- “An ex-commander ... who was involved in different types of crimes ... was killed by the government security forces... Also there have been an increase in the number of ANP, ANA and Afghan civil order police present in these districts.”
- “More reconstruction projects have been implemented by community development councils in almost all districts, more significantly the projects have been implemented in Injil, Goryan and the Herat city itself.”
- “Also better education system in this province has caused optimism about the future of people’s children.”

Paktia

- “Military operations conducted by ANA, ANP and the foreign forces in Zormat, Shwak and Jani Khil district and ANP and ANA have established checkpoints.”
- “The work on the roads of Khost and Grdiz is going on and also the roads between Said Karam and Ahmad Aba districts are being paved.”
- “The community development councils have also worked a lot in Laja Ahmad Khil, Sekmani, Zazi and Dand-e-Patan districts, such as providing electricity, providing drinking water and distribution of solar for providing electricity.”

Badakhshan

- “The main road of Faizabad and Talqan ... has had a very significant change in people’s lives. Due to this road the price for foods and fuel has gone down. And a group of active Taliban in Wardoj district has been detained by the PRT team of this province.”

Compare to 1/09

Pawran: “The last explosion had a bad effect on people, they all seemed afraid and had concern about security.”

Khost: “Last week coalition forces searched two houses and they killed the head of the family and injured women and children.”

Kandahar: “In suburban areas there is no control of government according to the feeling of the people.”

Nimroz: “Taliban kidnapped two workers of voter registration program and they are searching cars on the roads.”

Herat: “Several members of the police force were arrested for helping Taliban on 30th December... about a dozen others defected to the Taliban.”

Zabul: “The people encountered by the field team complained about security and there was a sense of dissatisfaction with foreign forces, ANA and ANP.”

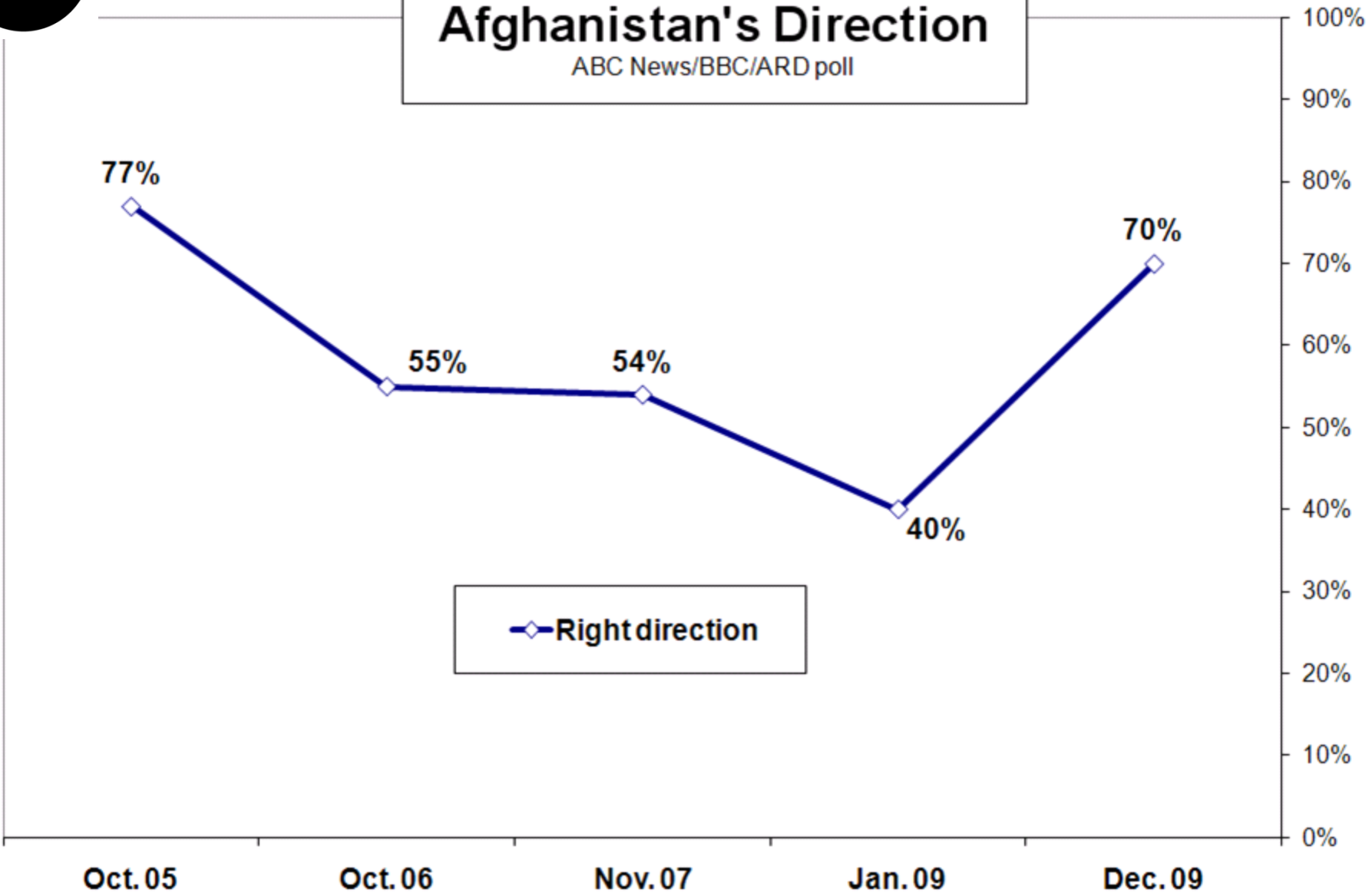


Key Findings



Afghanistan's Direction

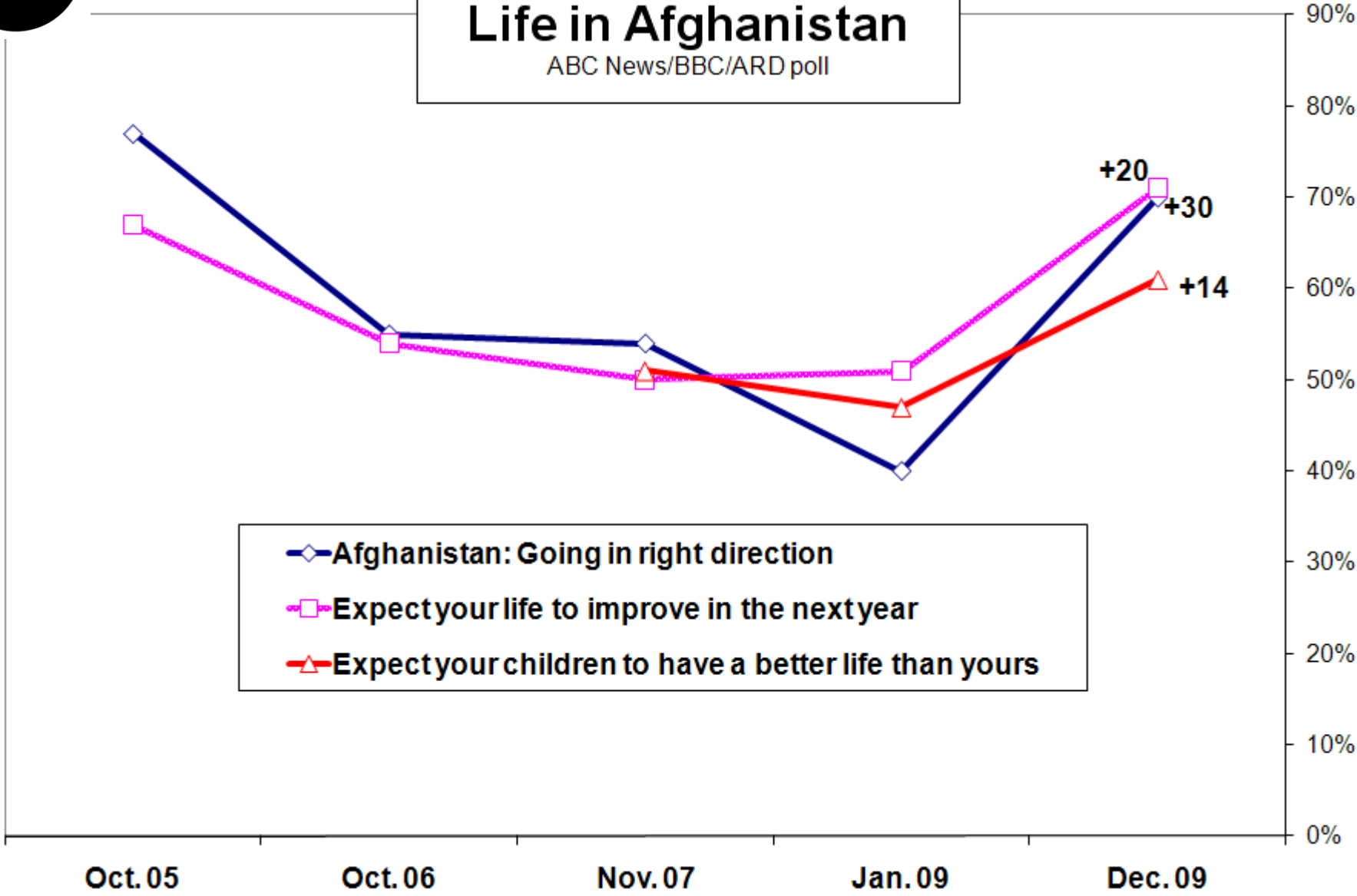
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Life in Afghanistan

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll



◆ Afghanistan: Going in right direction
□ Expect your life to improve in the next year
△ Expect your children to have a better life than yours



Positive Ratings of Karzai's Work as President

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

83%

68%

63%

52%

71%

Also: Personal favorability: 82%

Oct. 05

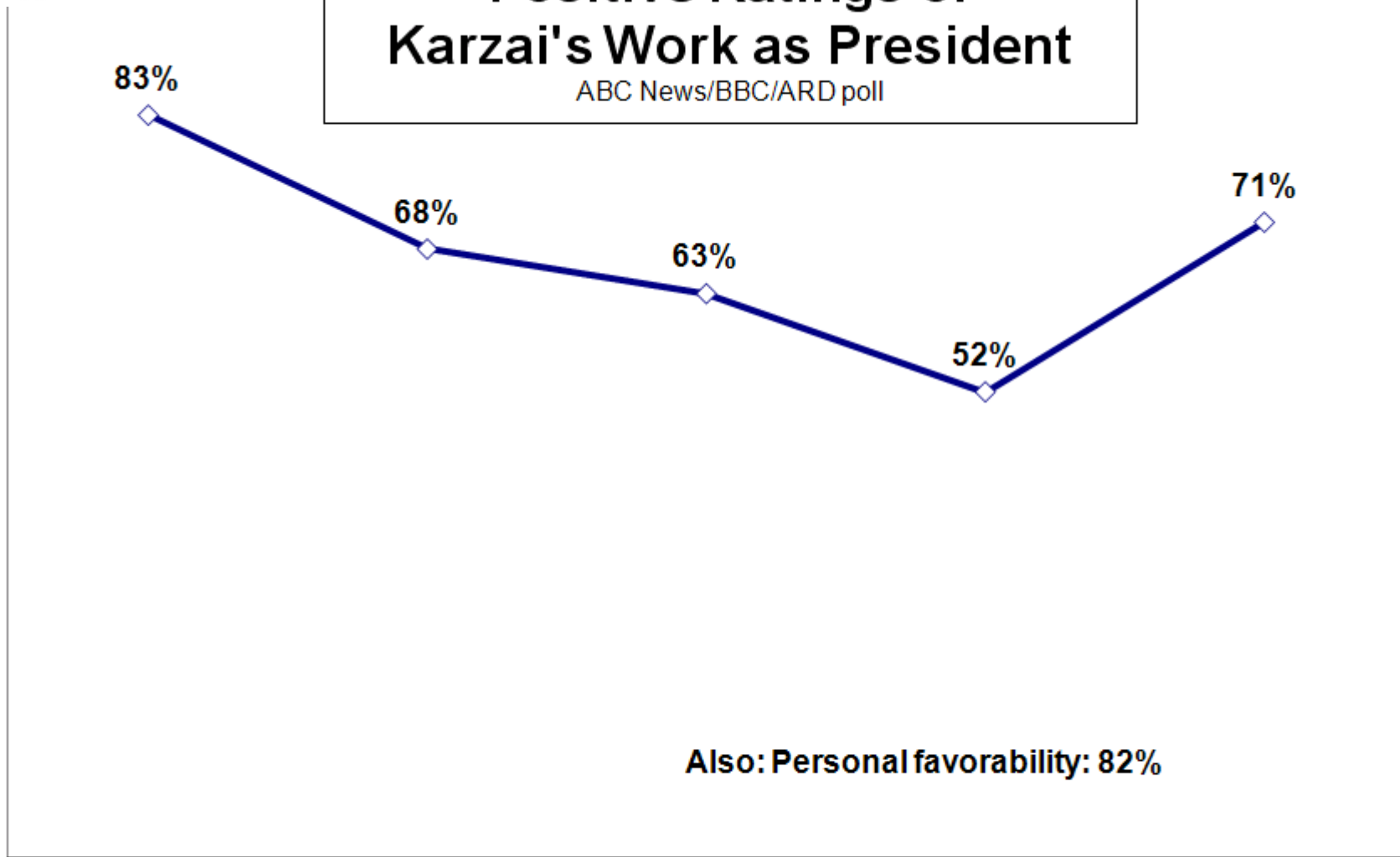
Oct. 06

Nov. 07

Jan. 09

Dec. 09

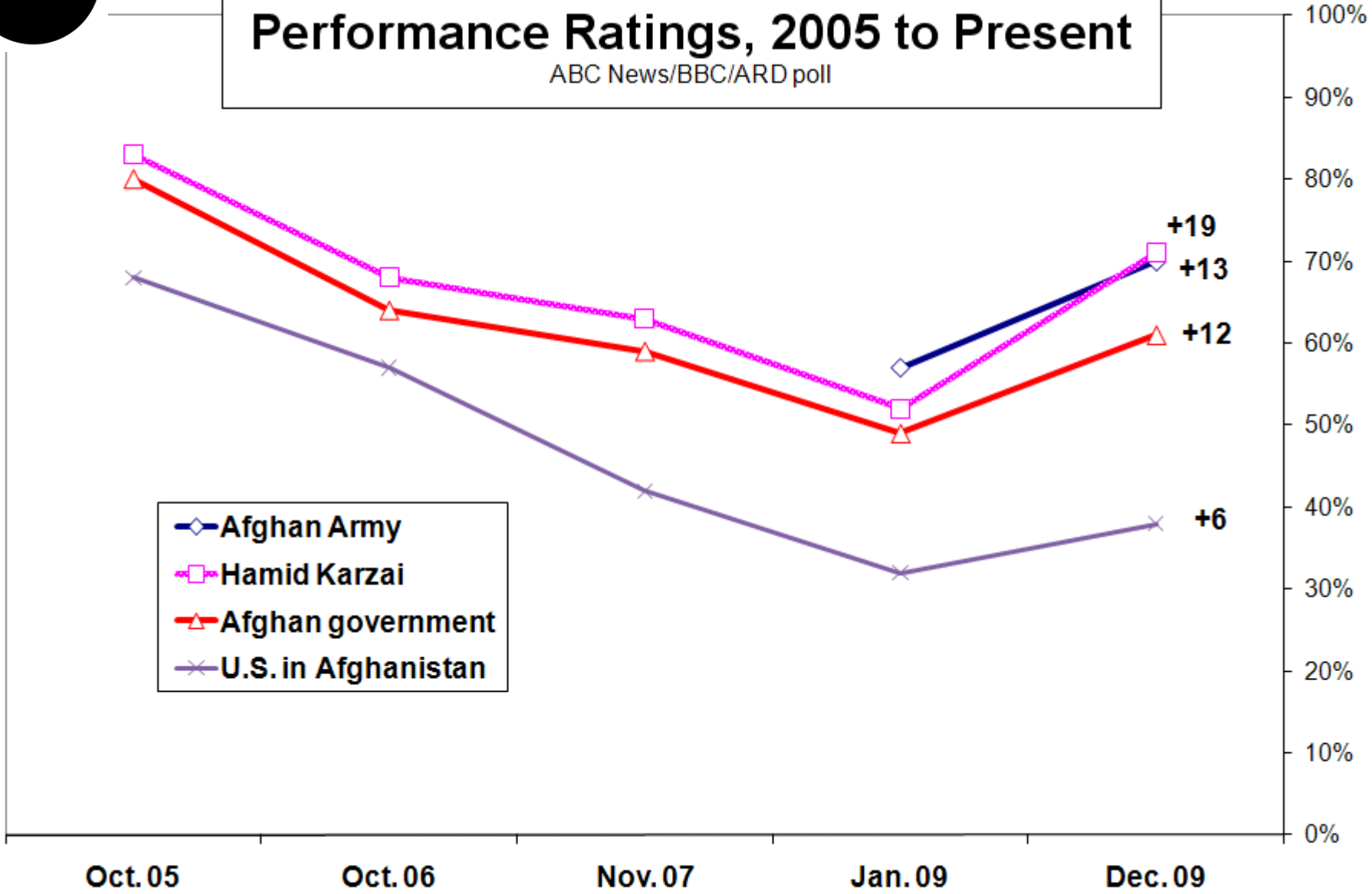
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%





Performance Ratings, 2005 to Present

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Factors

- Development/economic advances (e.g. PRTs)
- Peaceful election outcome (inc. assertion of leadership & campaign-related expectations)
- Diminished blame for civilian casualties
- Strengthened U.S. commitment (surge 12/1/09)
- Rising pressure on the Taliban (inc. Pakistan)



Challenges

- Continued security concerns, experience of violence, development needs
- Corruption
- Sharp regional differences; far greater negativity in the South and East
- Continued sensitivity to casualties and criticism of U.S., NATO/ISAF performance
- Revived expectations



Context for gains: A U.S. comparison

Obama favorability

9/08 to 1/09

1/16/09 79% (+21)

11/2/08 63

10/23/08 63

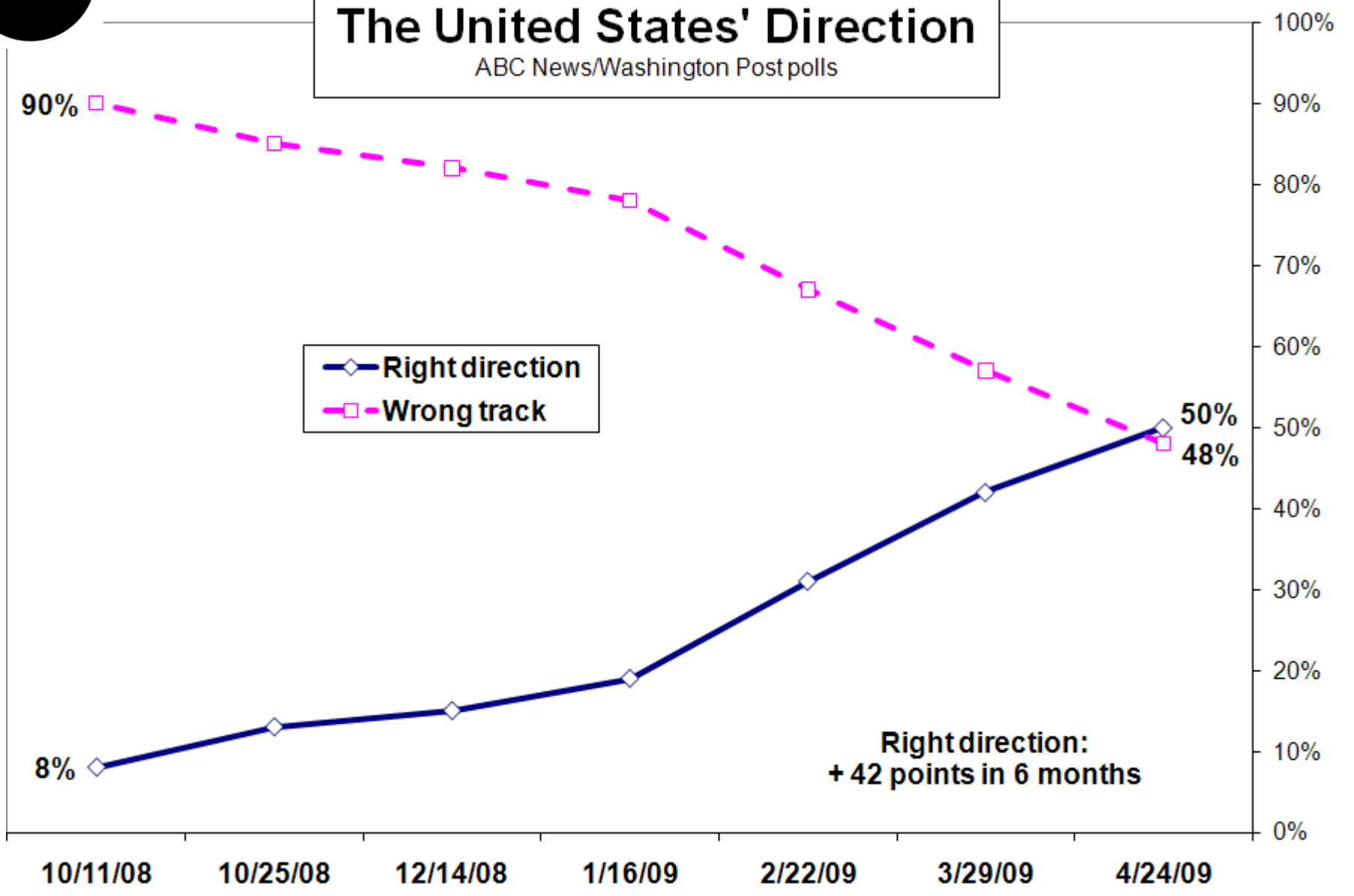
10/11/08 64

9/7/08 58



The United States' Direction

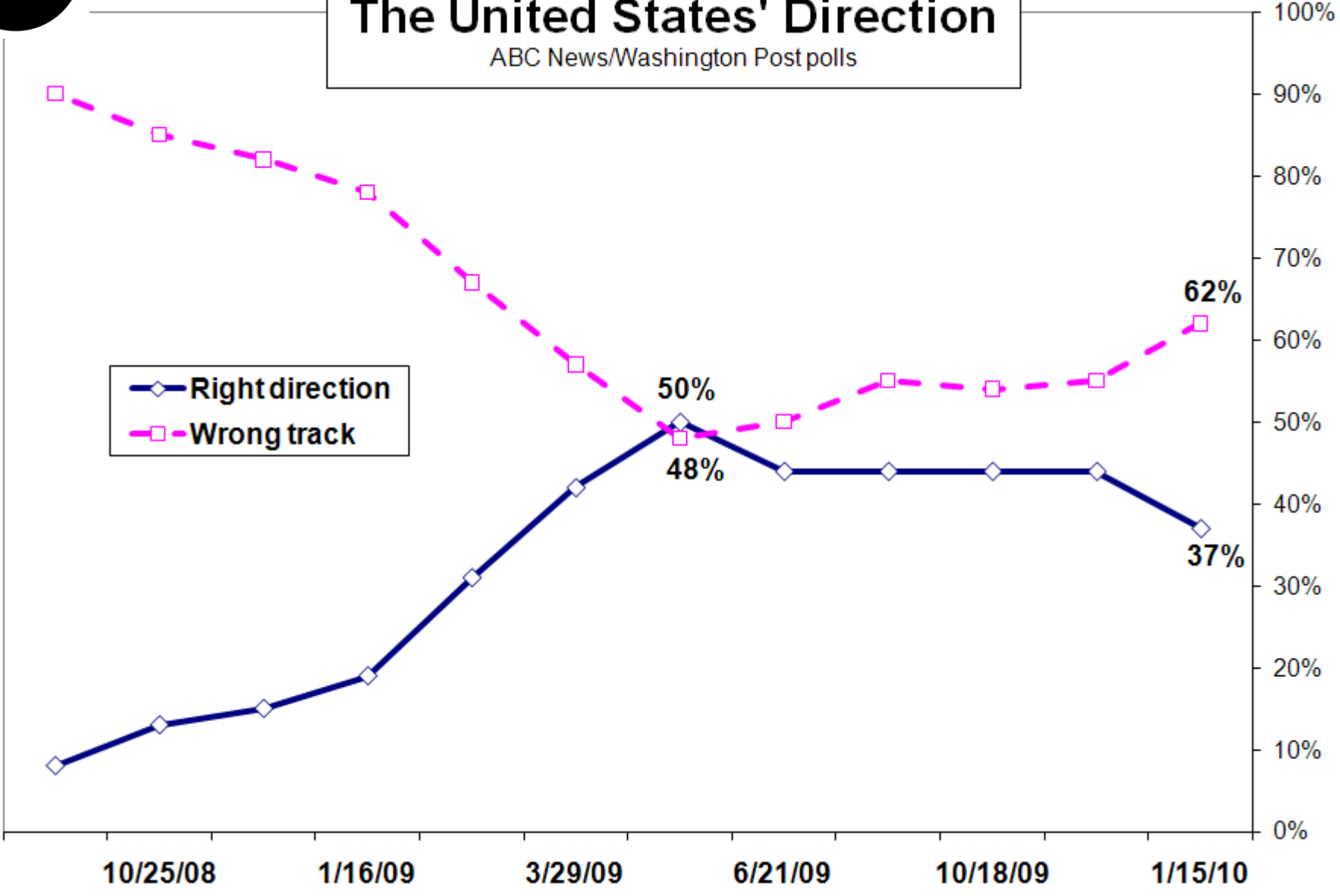
ABC News/Washington Post polls





The United States' Direction

ABC News/Washington Post polls





Security



Civilian Casualties

- Key finding of our 1/09 poll: *The corrosive effect of civilian casualties on support for the U.S./NATO/ISAF mission.*
- “I believe the perception caused by civilian casualties is one of the most dangerous enemies we face.”
-Gen. McChrystal, Senate confirmation hearings, 6/2/09
- “We must avoid the trap of winning tactical victories — but suffering strategic defeats — by causing civilian casualties or excessive damage and thus alienating the people.” *-McChrystal directive to ISAF forces, 7/2/09*



Assigning Blame

United Nations, 1/10:

Civilian deaths attributed to

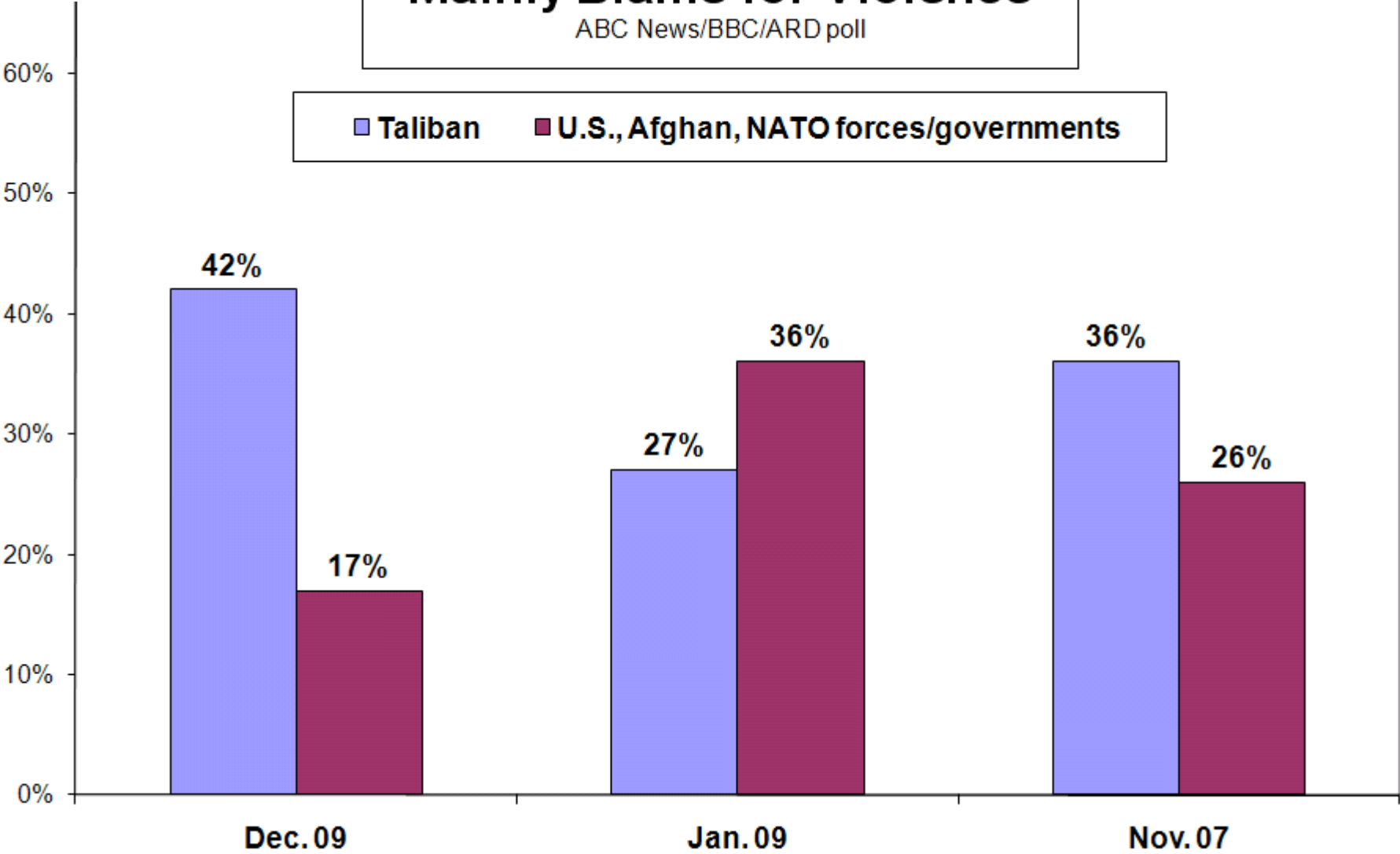
	ISAF/NATO	Anti-gov't forces
2009	596	1,681
2008	828	1,160
Change	-28%	+45%



Mainly Blame for Violence

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

■ Taliban ■ U.S., Afghan, NATO forces/governments

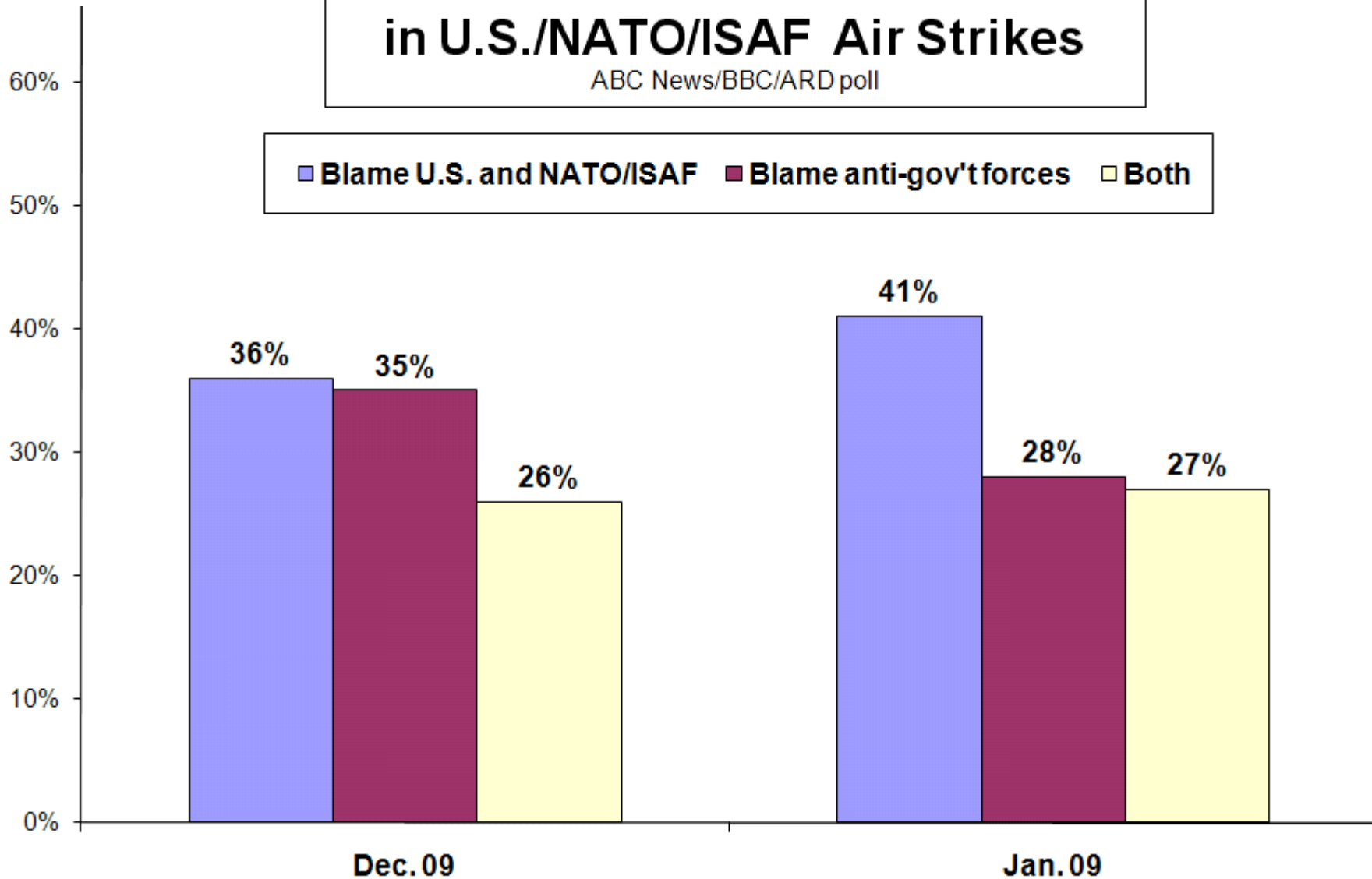




Blame for Civilians Harmed in U.S./NATO/ISAF Air Strikes

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

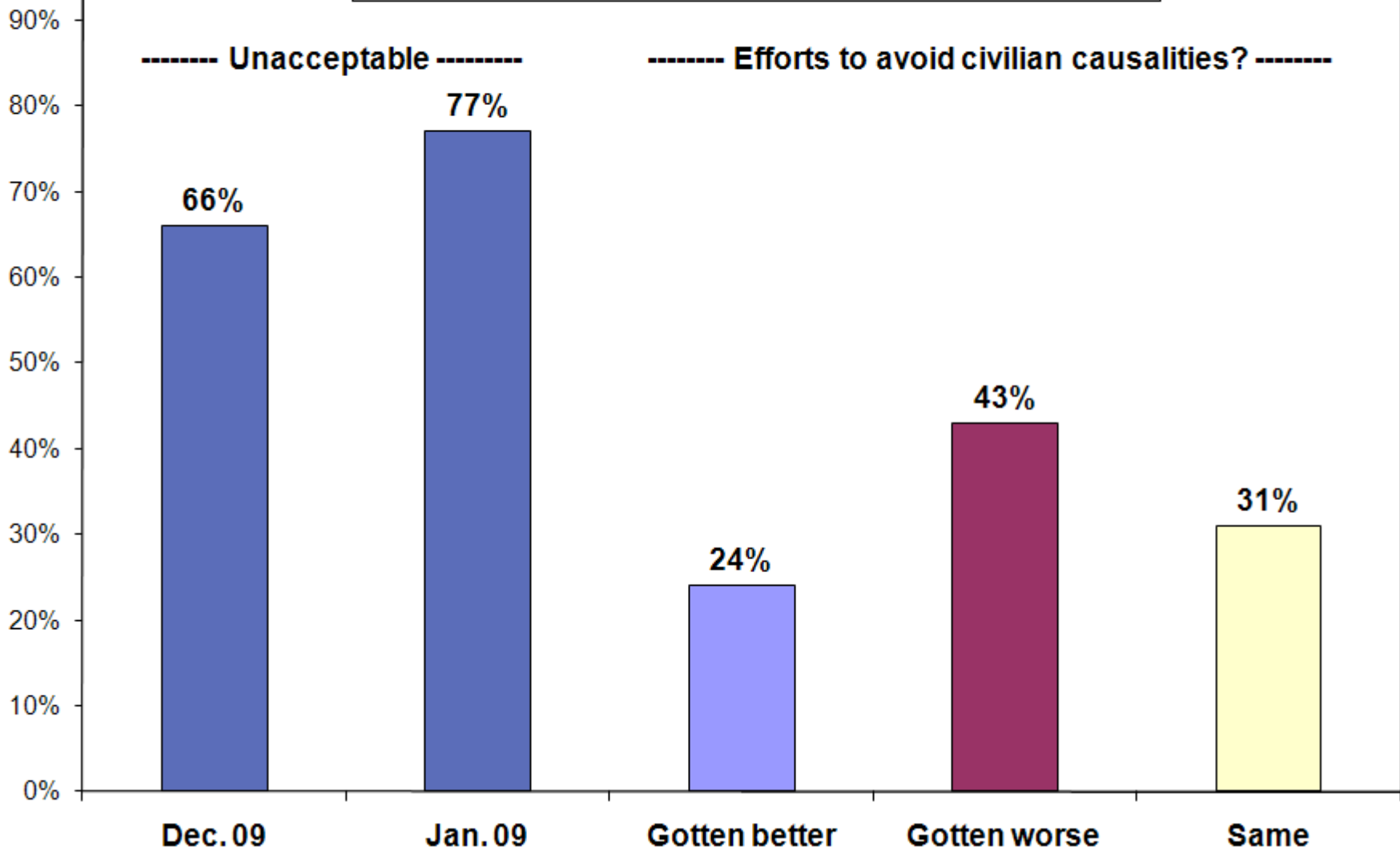
■ Blame U.S. and NATO/ISAF ■ Blame anti-gov't forces ■ Both





U.S./NATO/ISAF Air Strikes

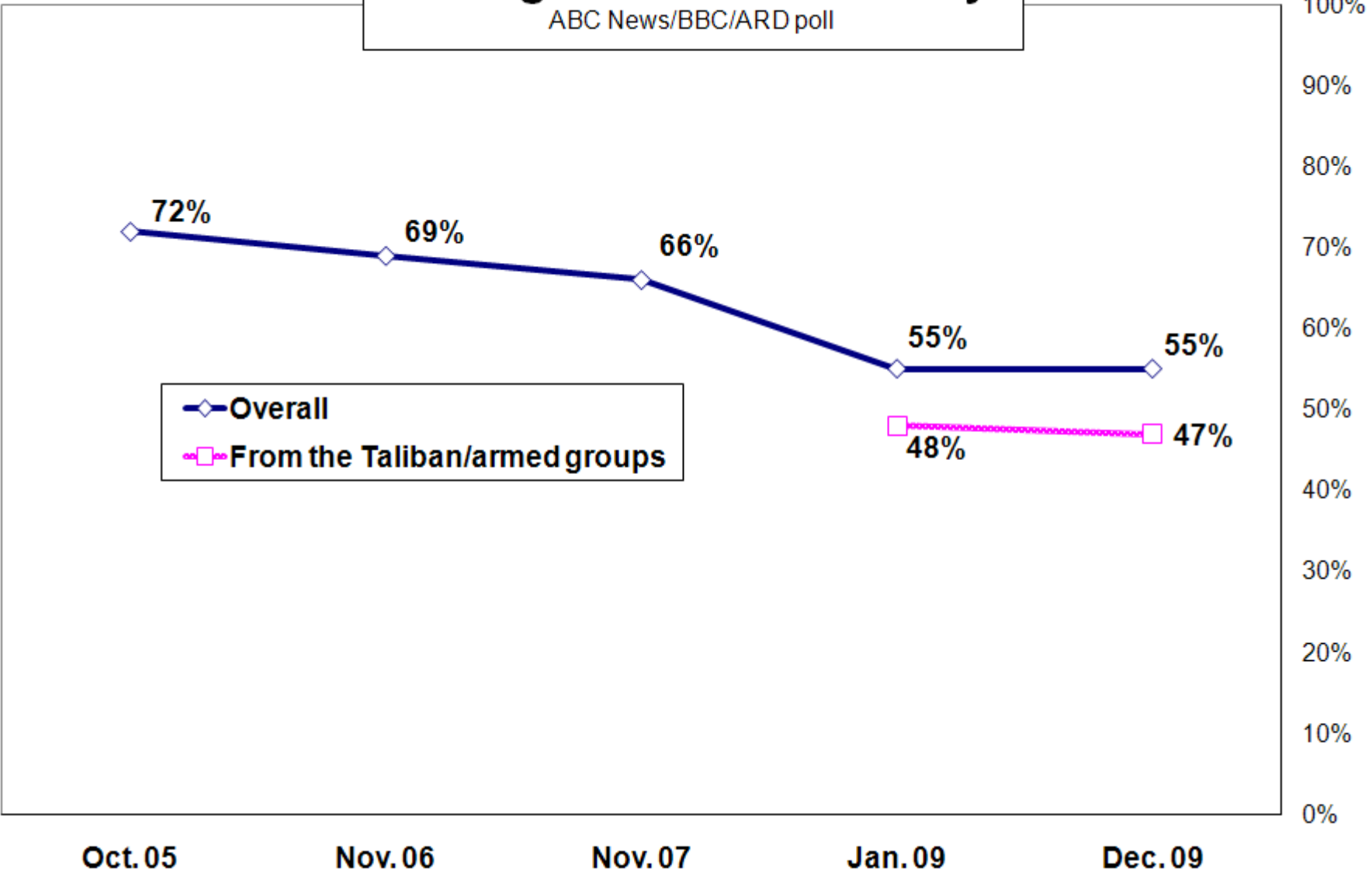
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Ratings of Local Security

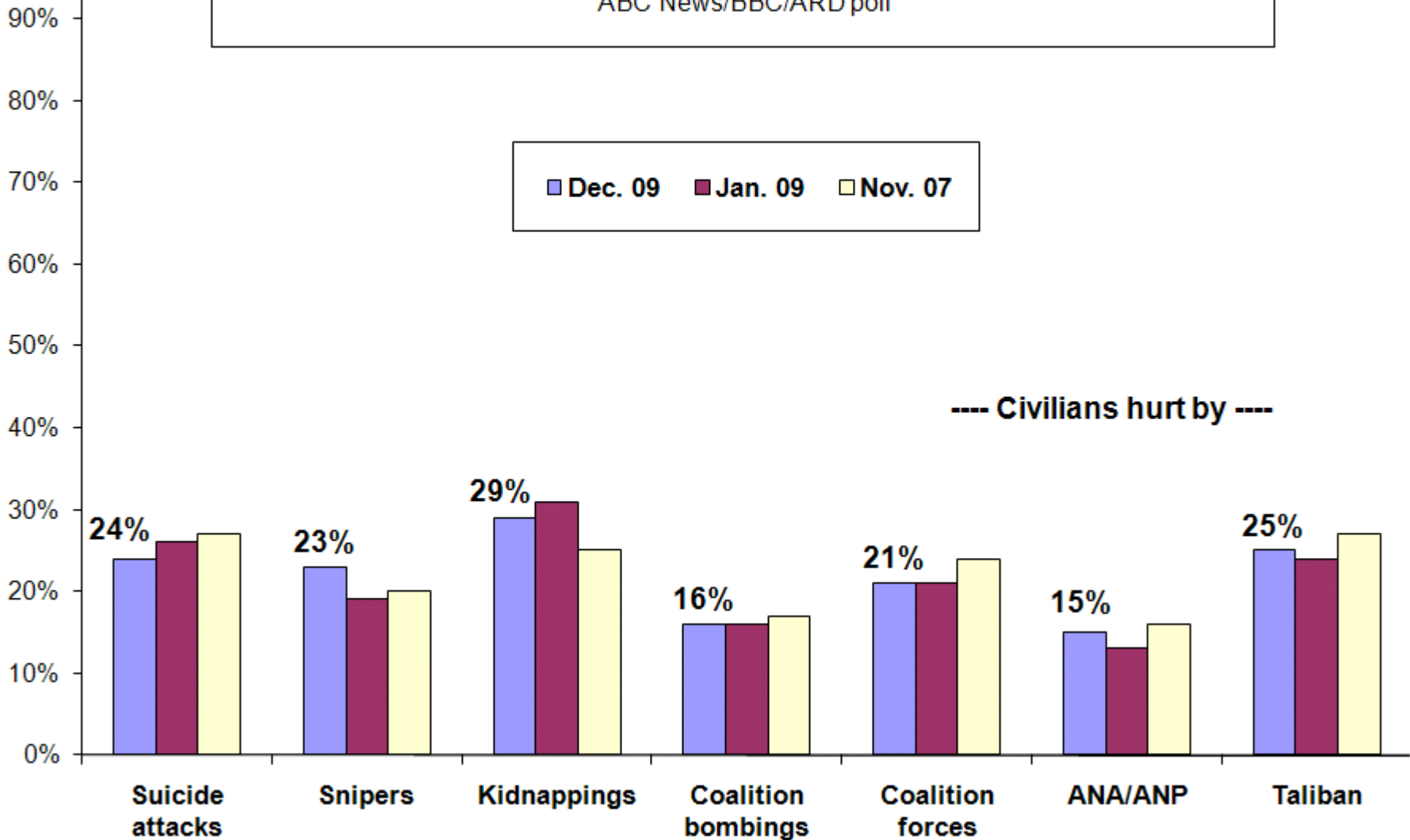
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Experience of Violence in the Past Year

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll



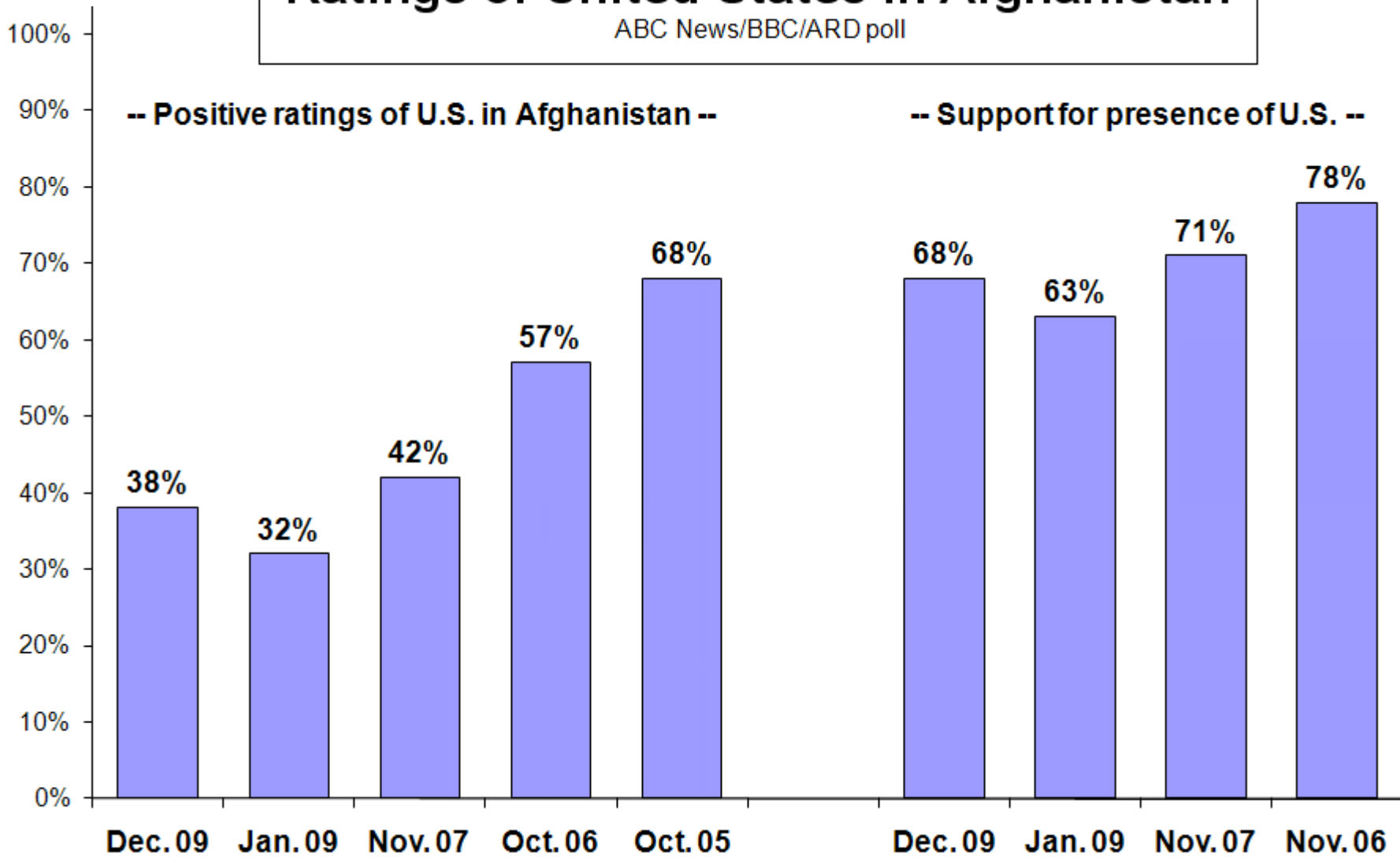


The United States and NATO/ISAF



Ratings of United States in Afghanistan

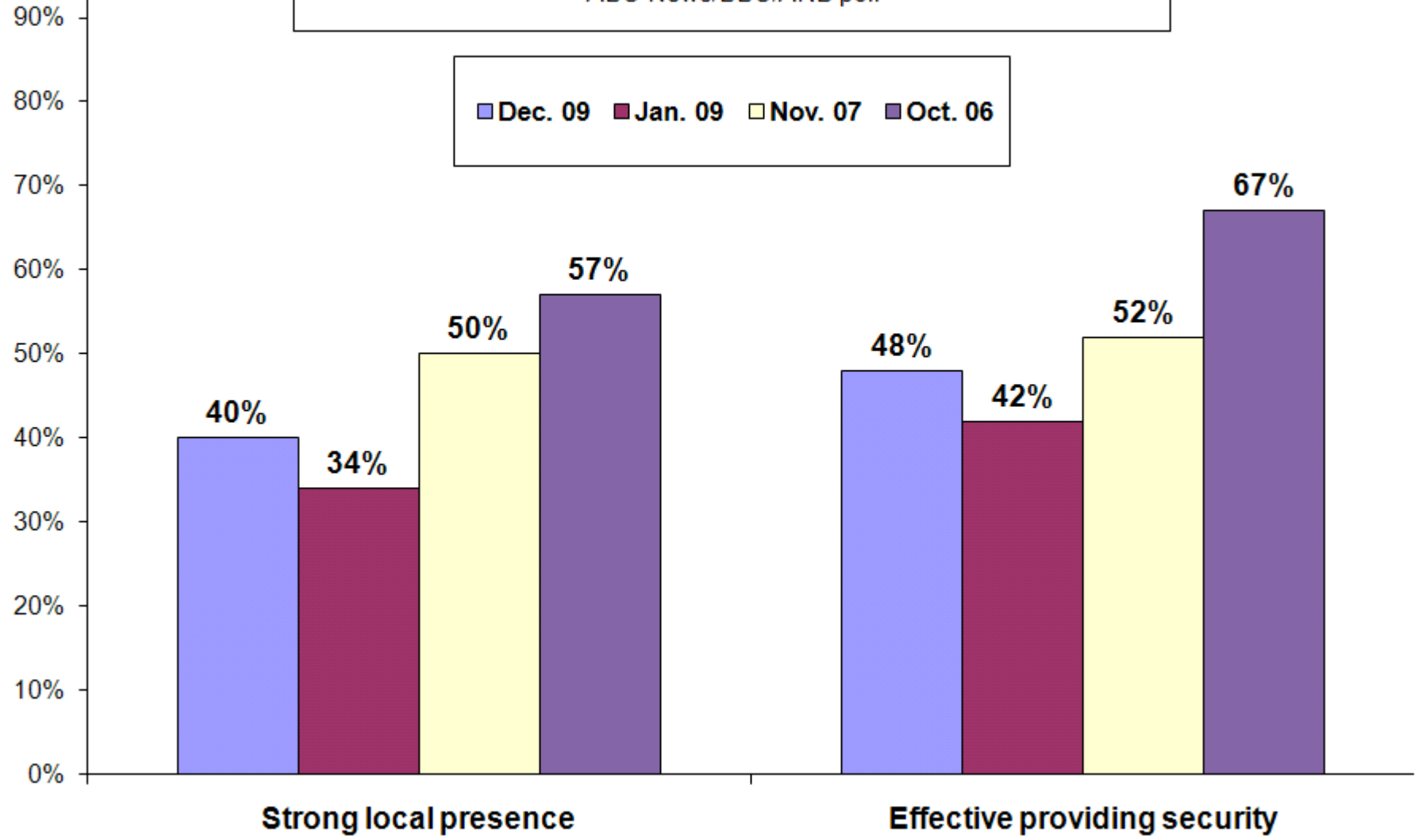
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Views of U.S./NATO/ISAF Forces

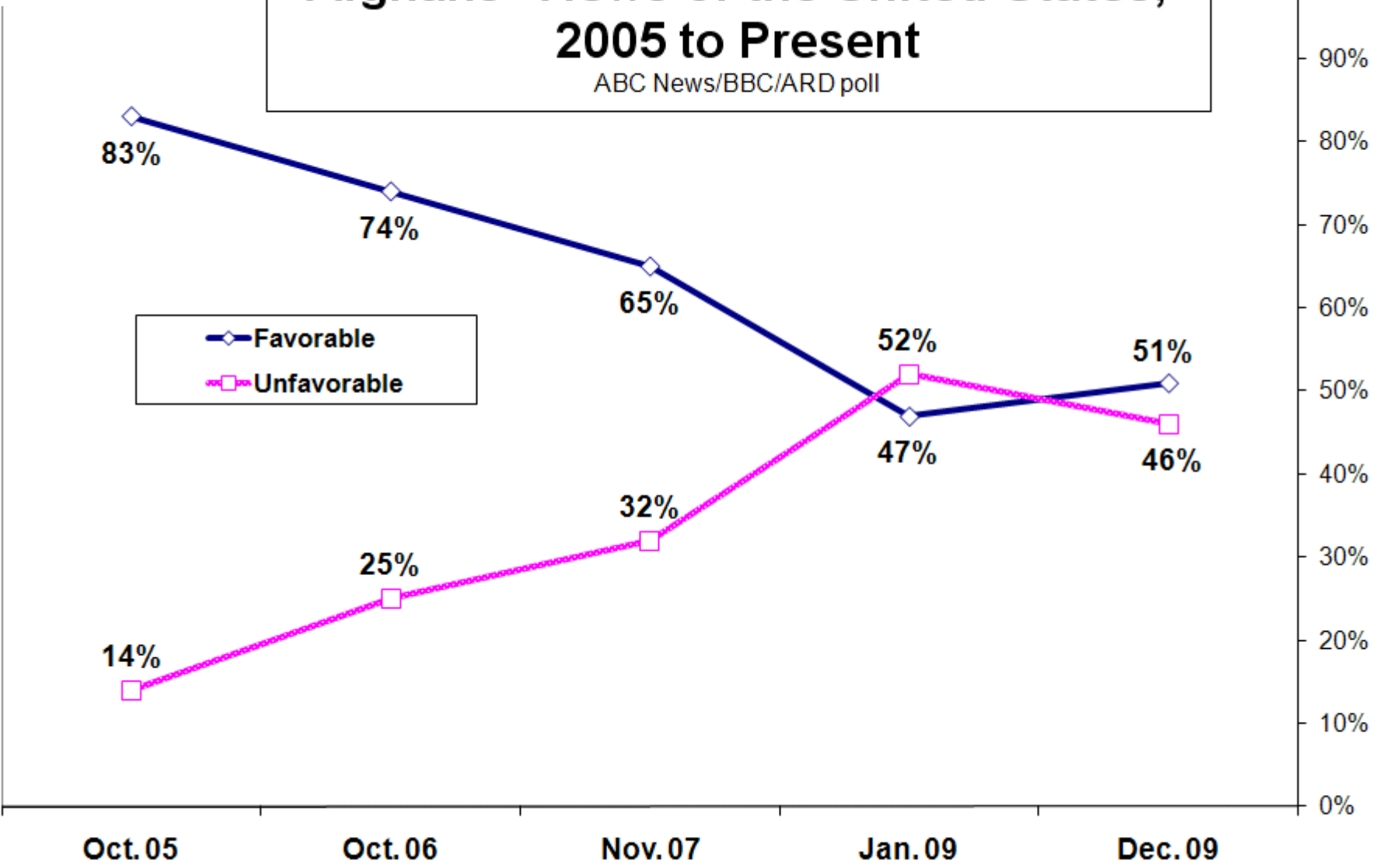
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Afghans' Views of the United States, 2005 to Present

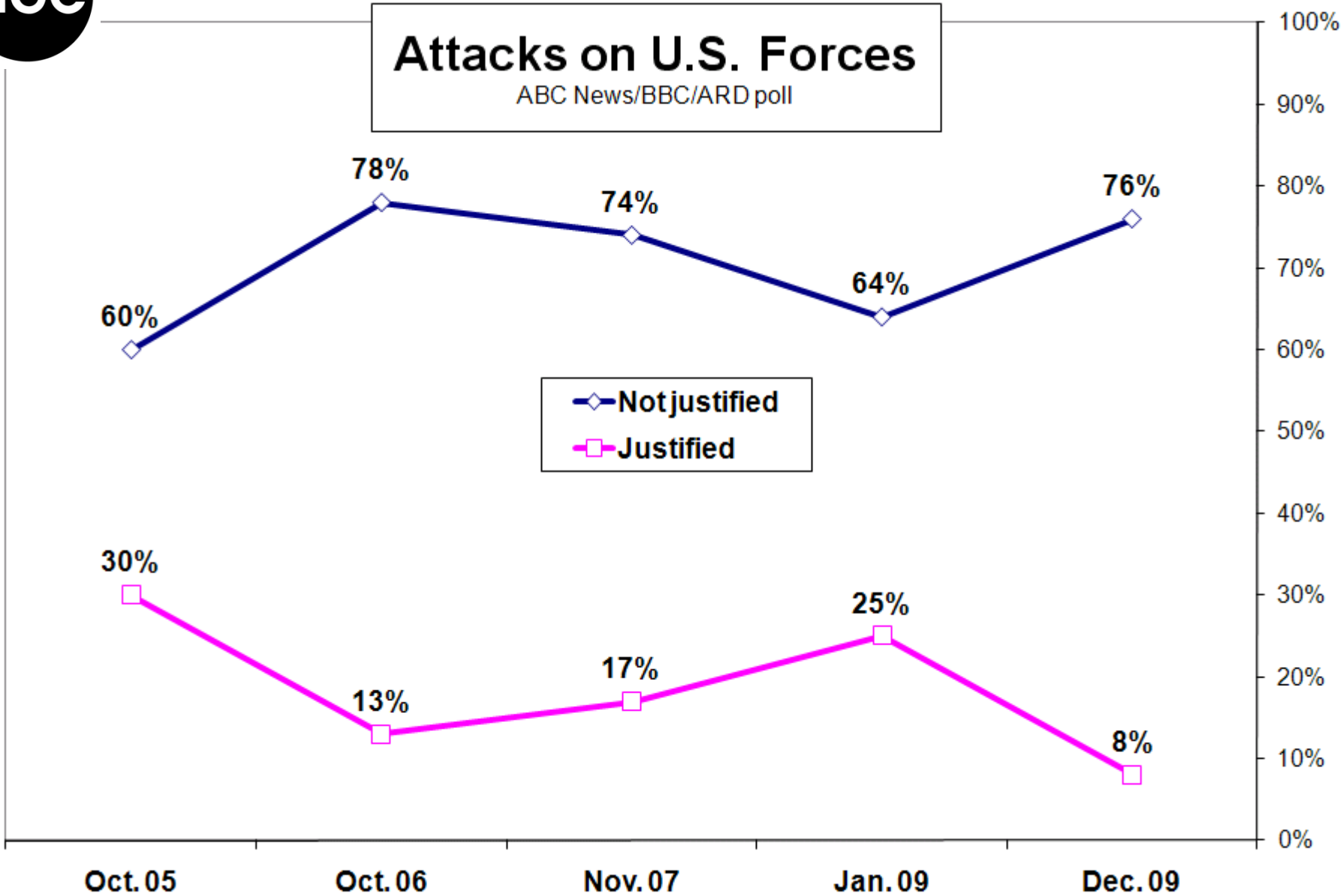
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Attacks on U.S. Forces

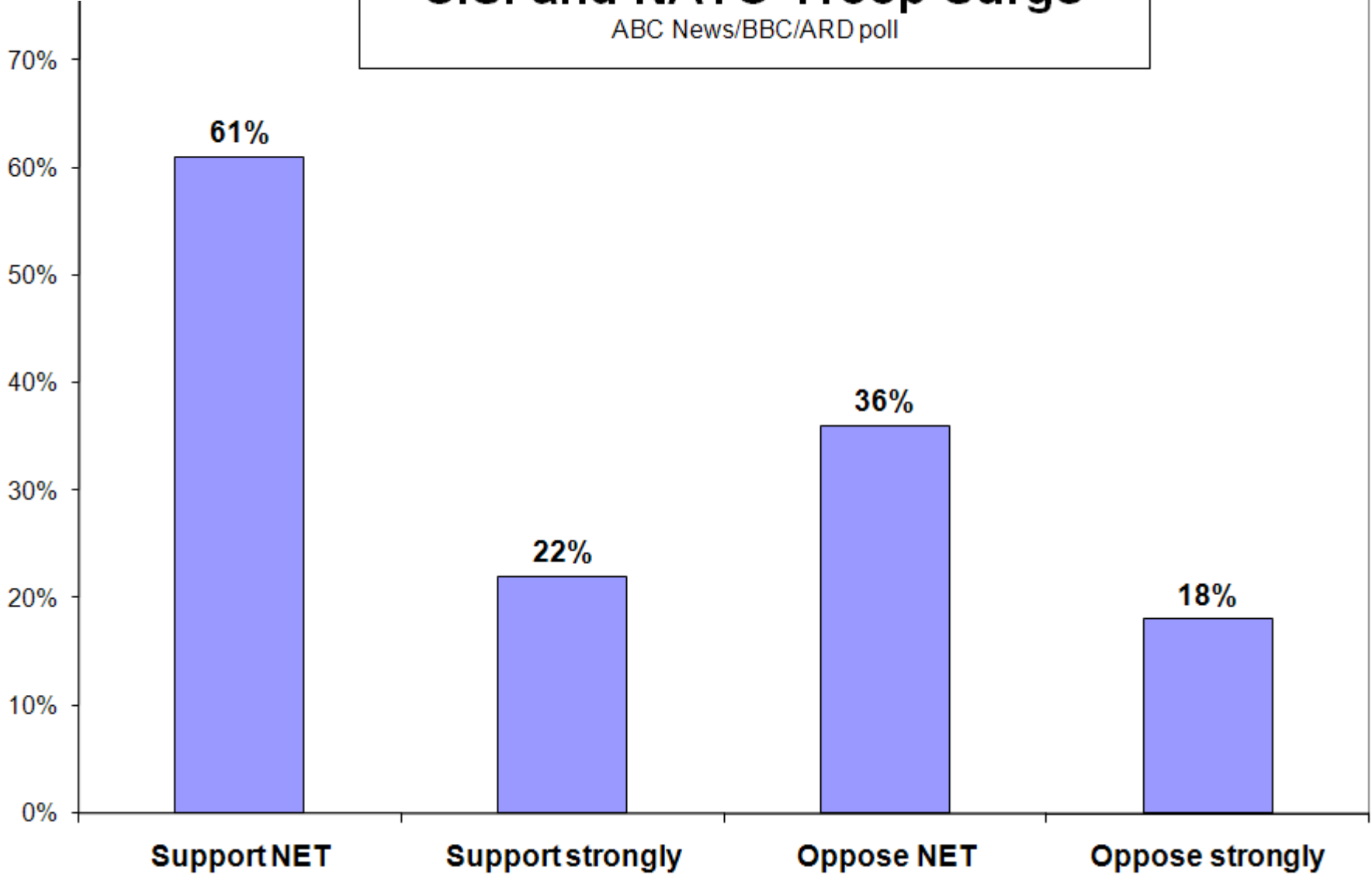
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





U.S. and NATO Troop Surge

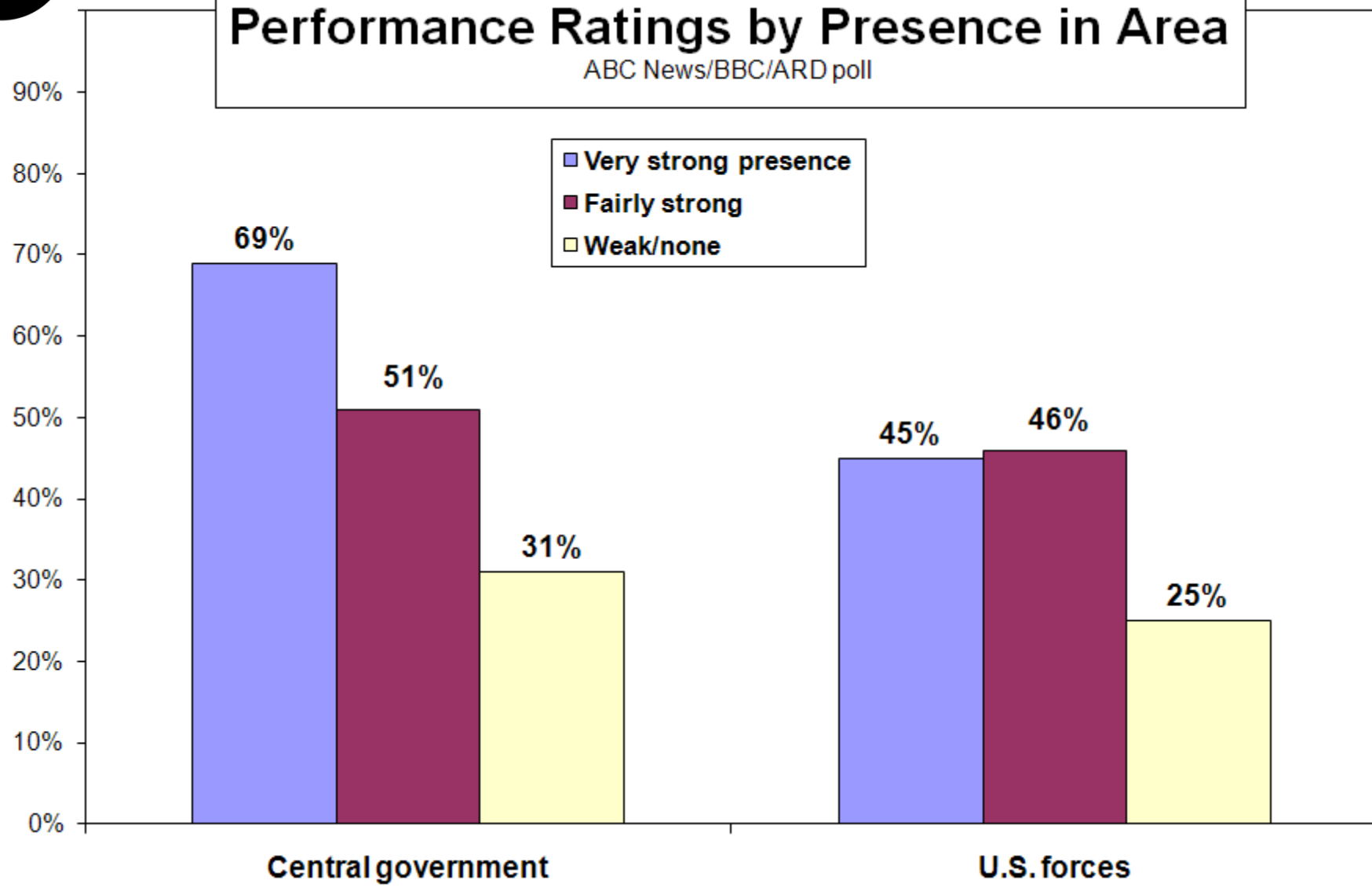
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Performance Ratings by Presence in Area

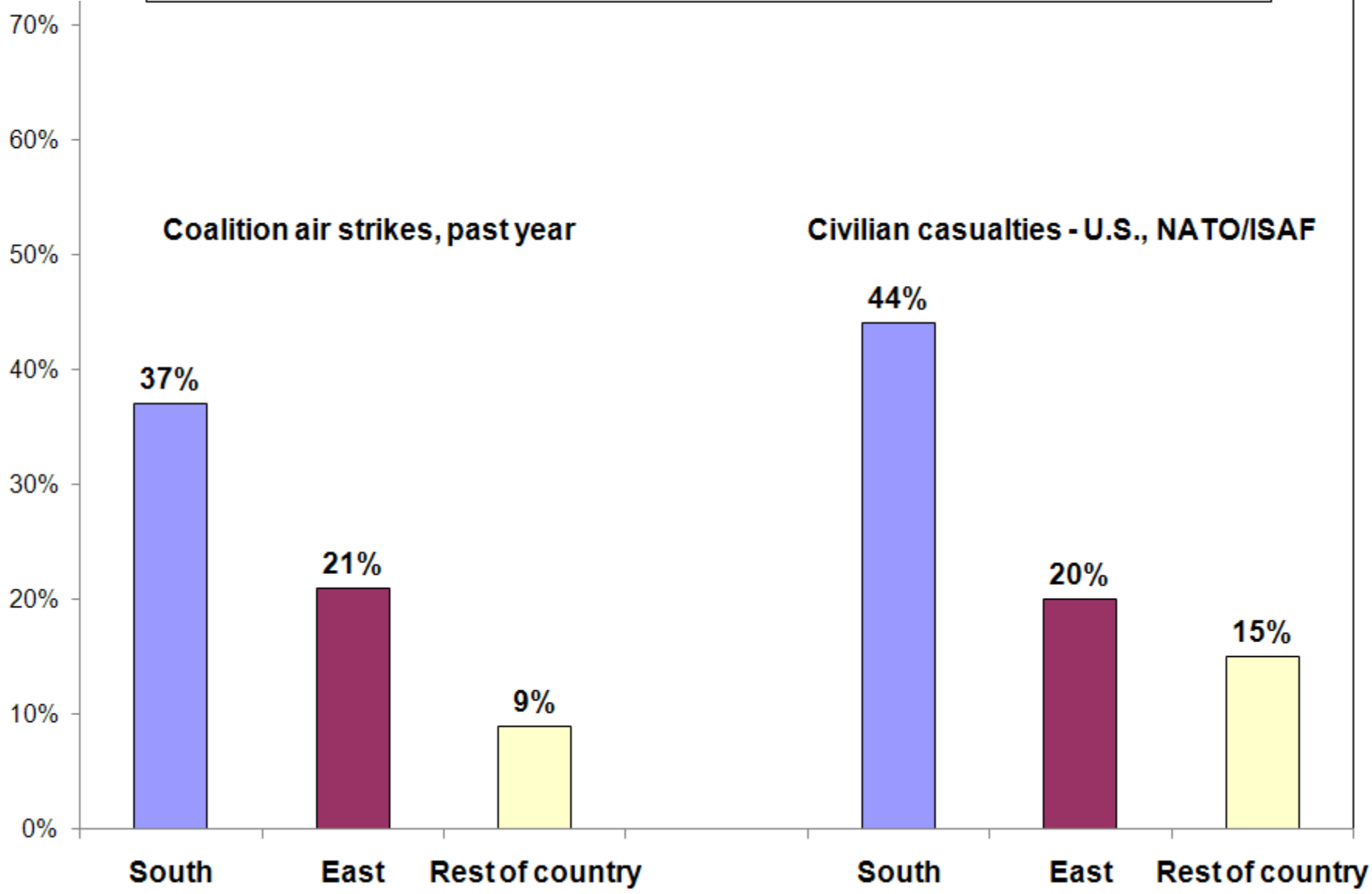
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Air strikes and Civilian Casualties by Region

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

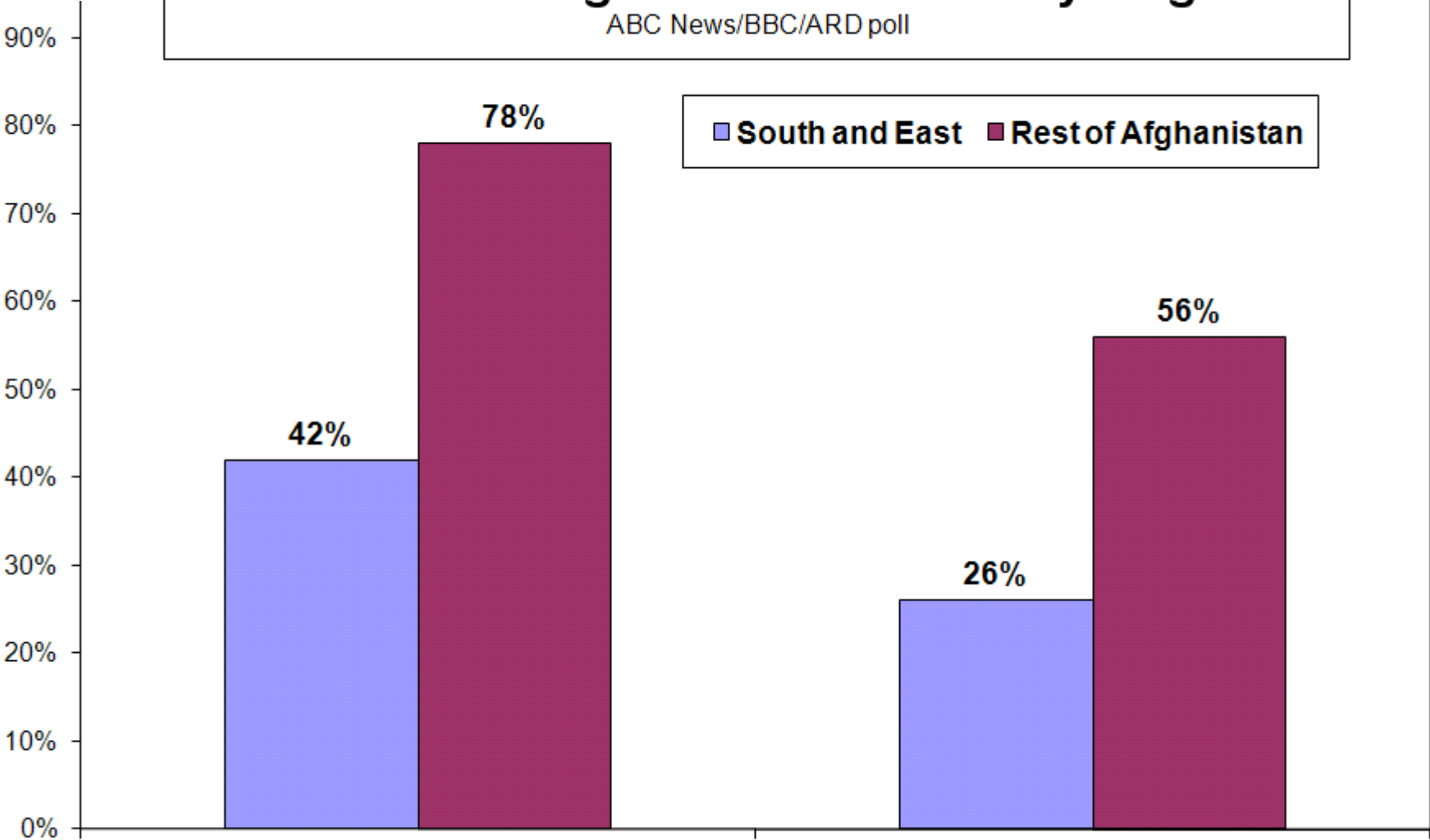




Positive Ratings of U.S. Forces by Region

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

■ South and East ■ Rest of Afghanistan



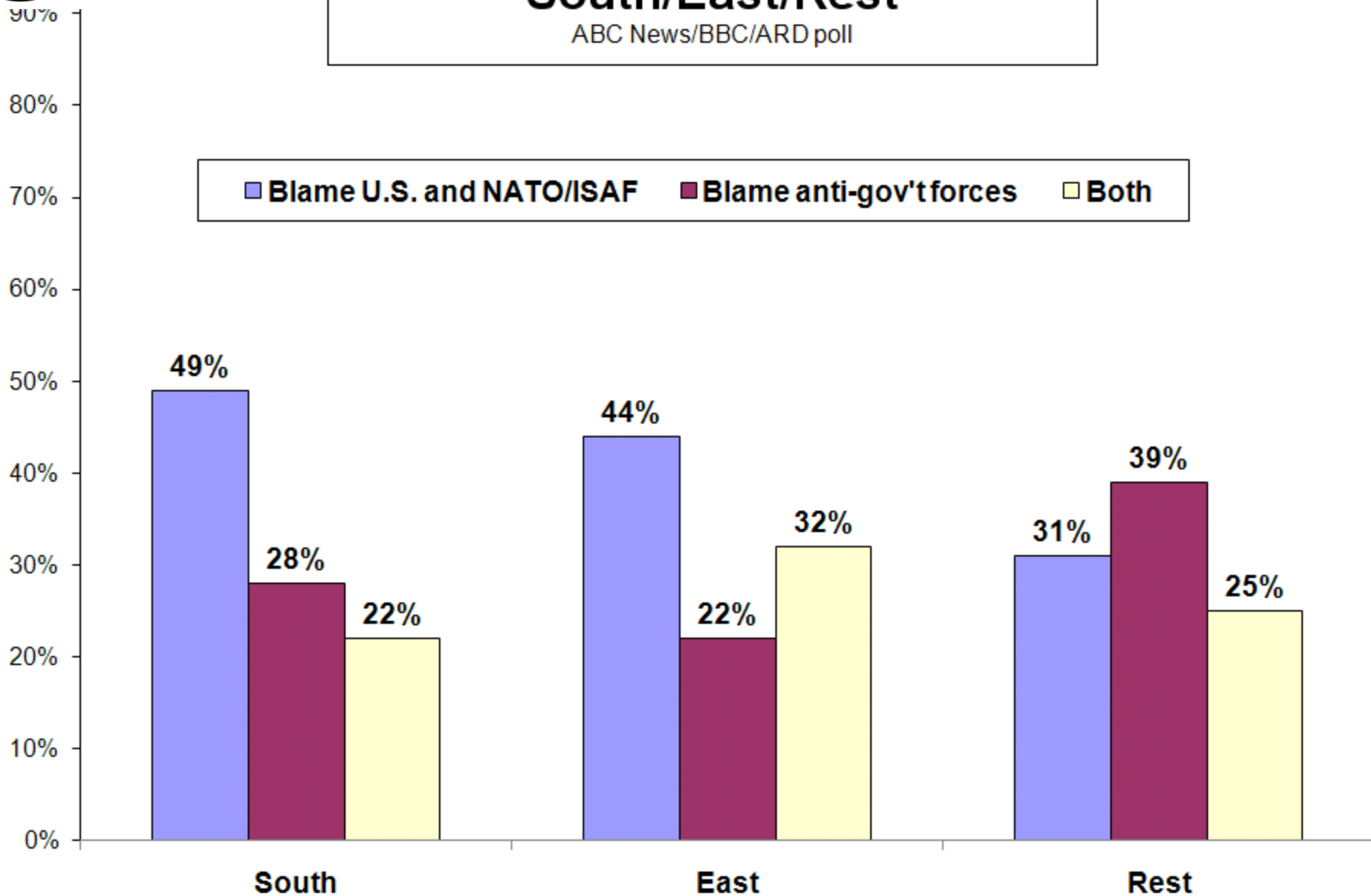
Support presence of U.S. forces

Confident in U.S. to provide security



Blame for Civilian Casualties - South/East/Rest

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Consider: Helmand



	<u>Helmand</u>	<u>Rest</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
U.S./NATO bombing, past yr.	60%	16%	44 pts.
Civ. casualties by U.S./NATO	58	19	39
% pos.: Central gov't	25	62	-37
U.S. performance	19	39	-20
Provincial gov't	17	59	-42
Support U.S. presence	36	69	-33
Confident in security from:			
Provincial gov't	36	77	-41
Central gov't	54	84	-30
Local police	22	77	-55
U.S. forces	27	49	-22
Strong local support:			
for U.S.	18	40	-22
for Taliban	25	11	14
Any local support			
for U.S.	58	73	-15
for Taliban	44	25	19



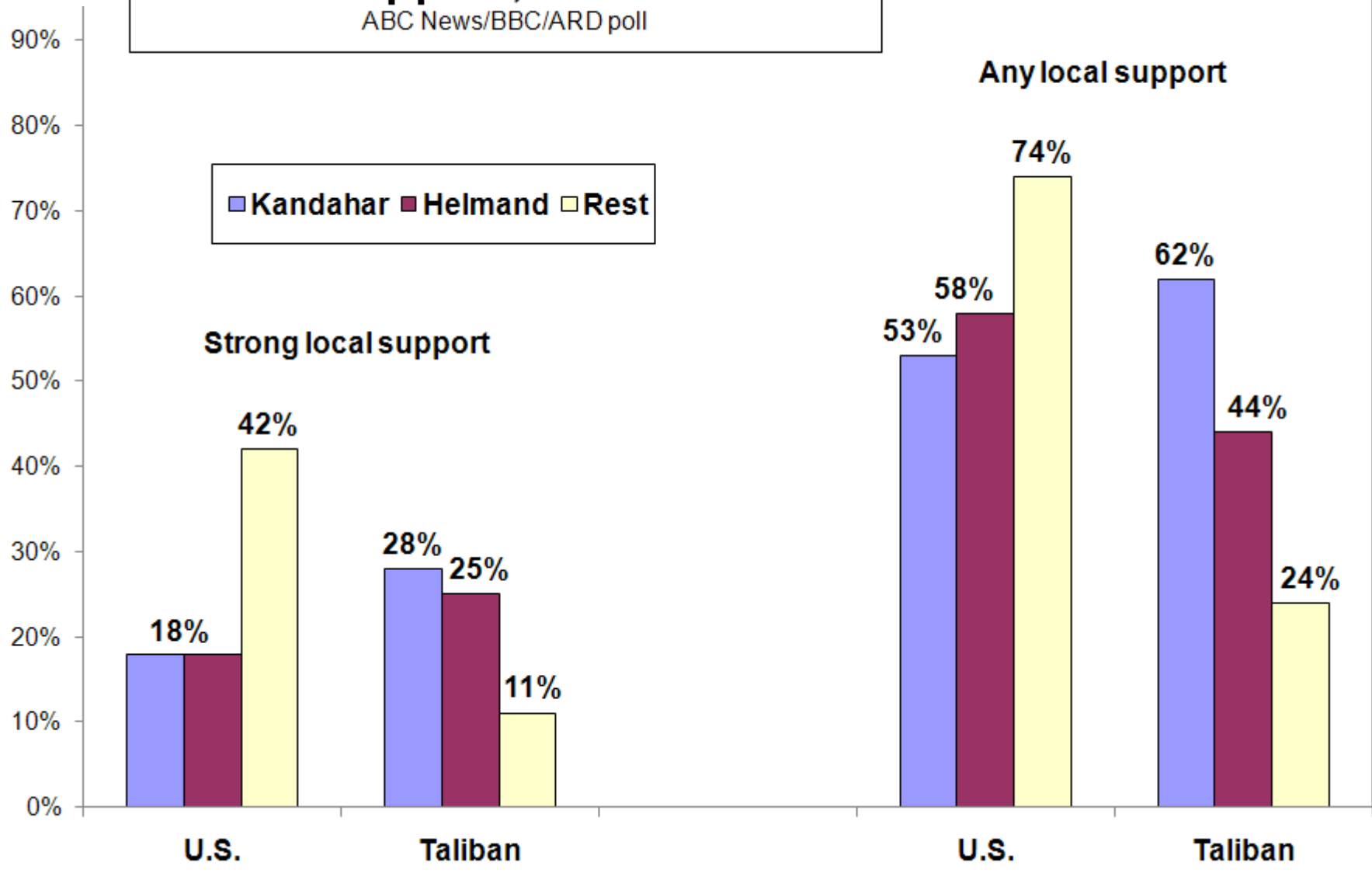
Next, Kandahar....

	<u>Kandahar</u>	<u>Rest</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
U.S./NATO bombing, past yr.	45%	13%	32 pts.
Civ. casualties by U.S./NATO	55	18	37
% pos., U.S. performance	7	41	-34
Support U.S. presence	31	71	-40
Strong local support			
for U.S.	18	42	-24
for Taliban	28	10	18
Any local support			
for U.S.	53	74	-21
for Taliban	62	23	39
Confident in security from:			
U.S. forces	19	50	-31
Biggest danger: Taliban	37	71	-34



Local Support, U.S./Taliban

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





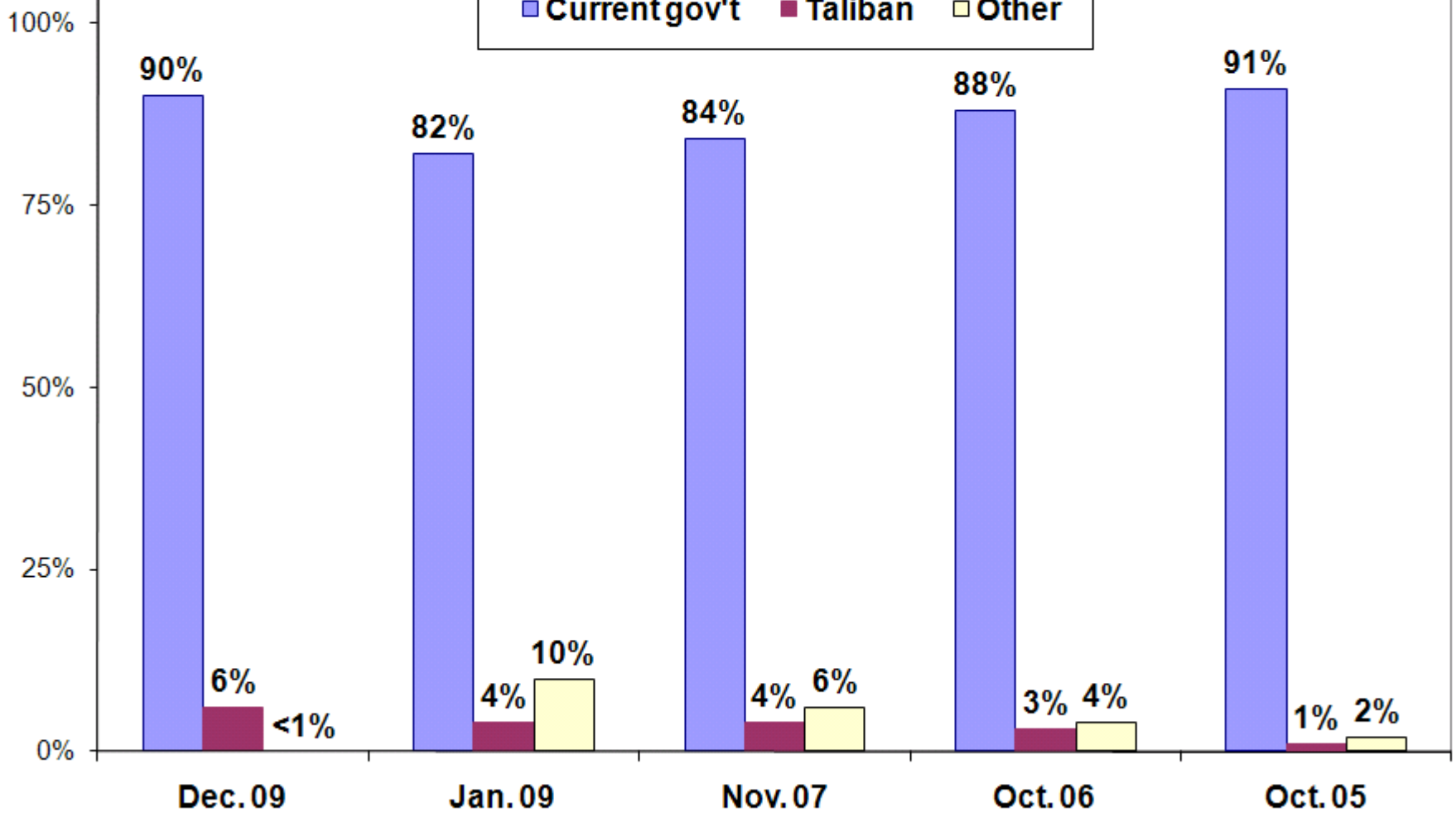
The Taliban



Prefer to Rule Afghanistan

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

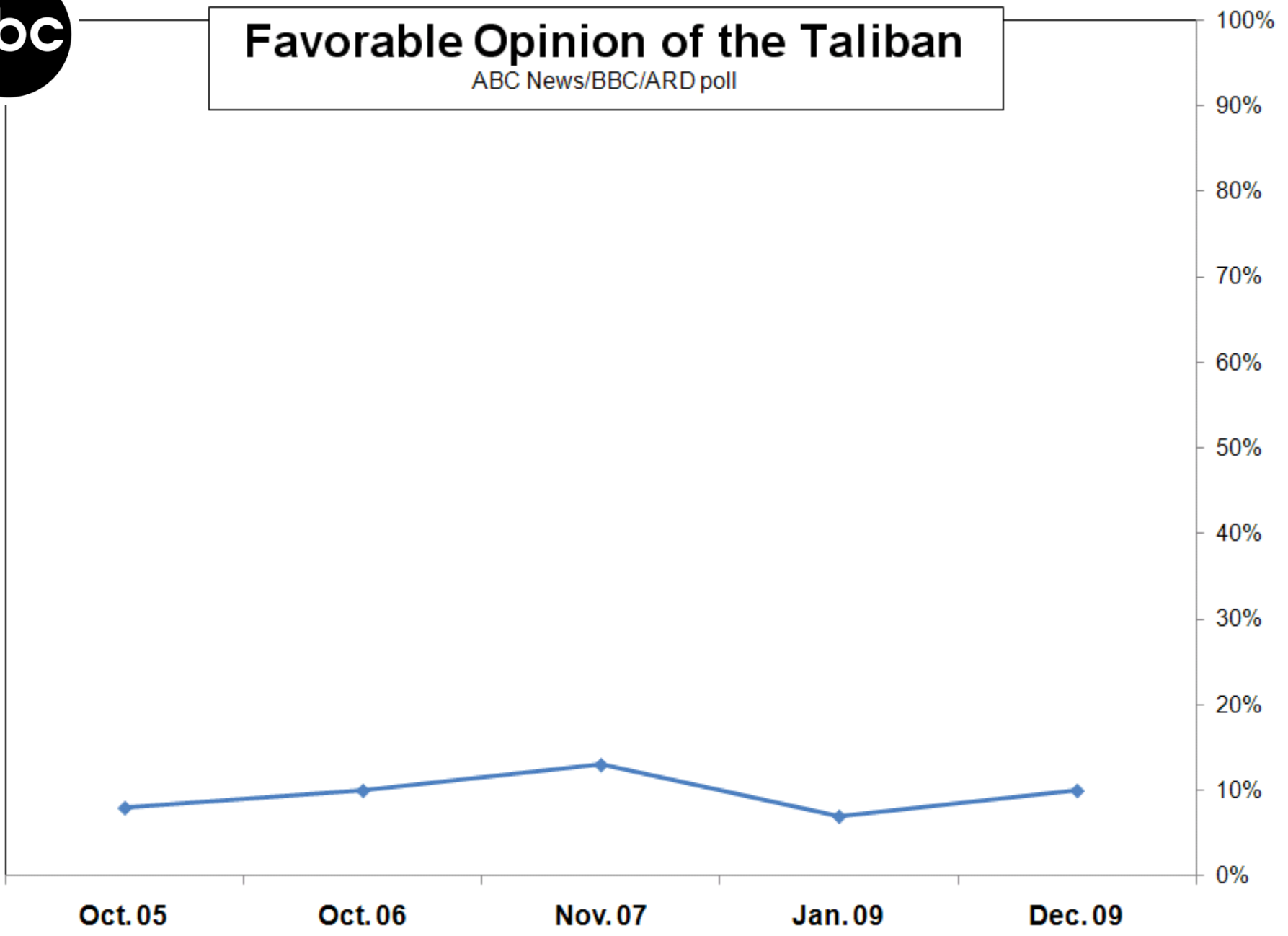
■ Current gov't ■ Taliban ■ Other





Favorable Opinion of the Taliban

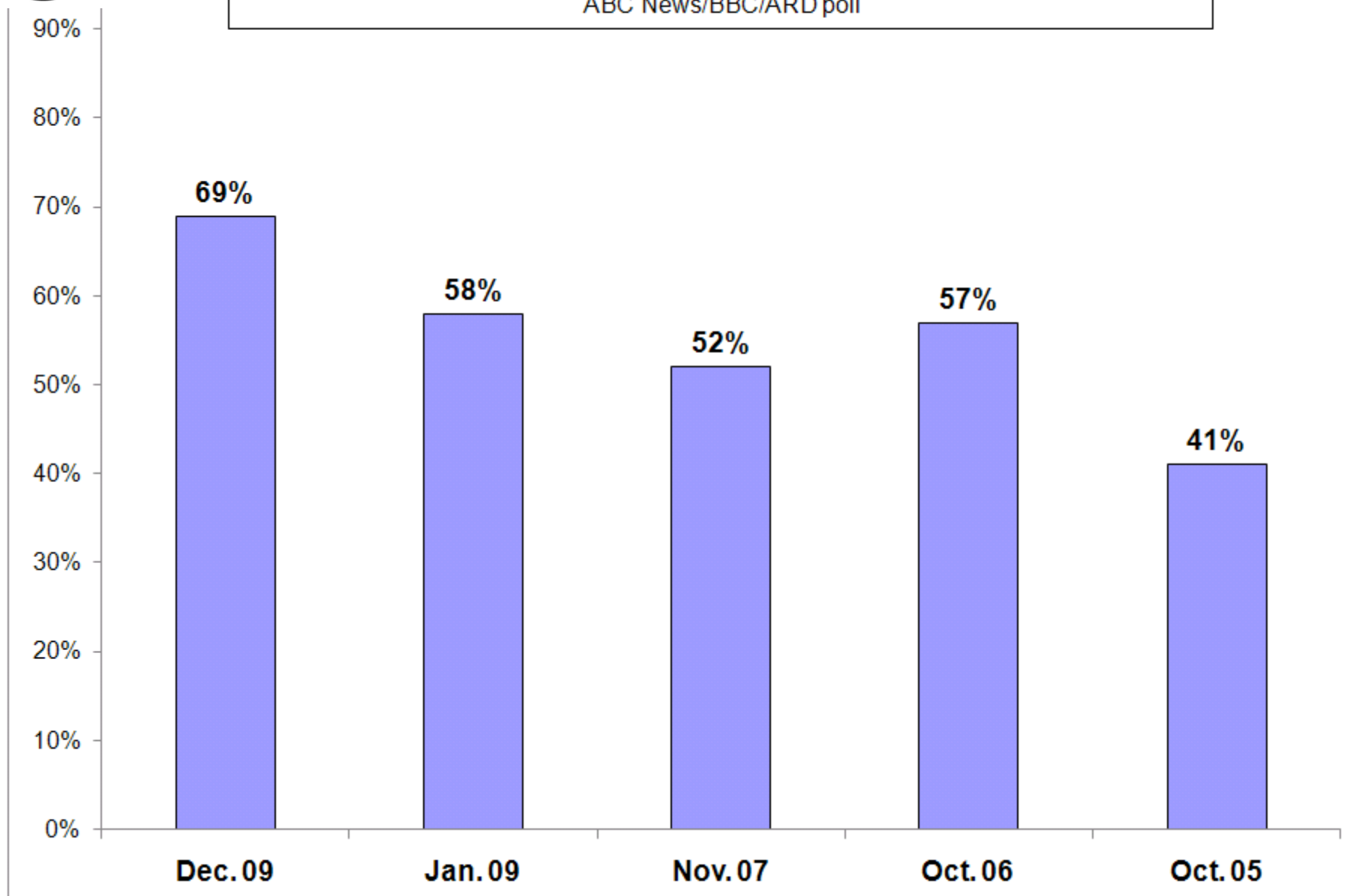
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Country's Greatest Threat: The Taliban

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

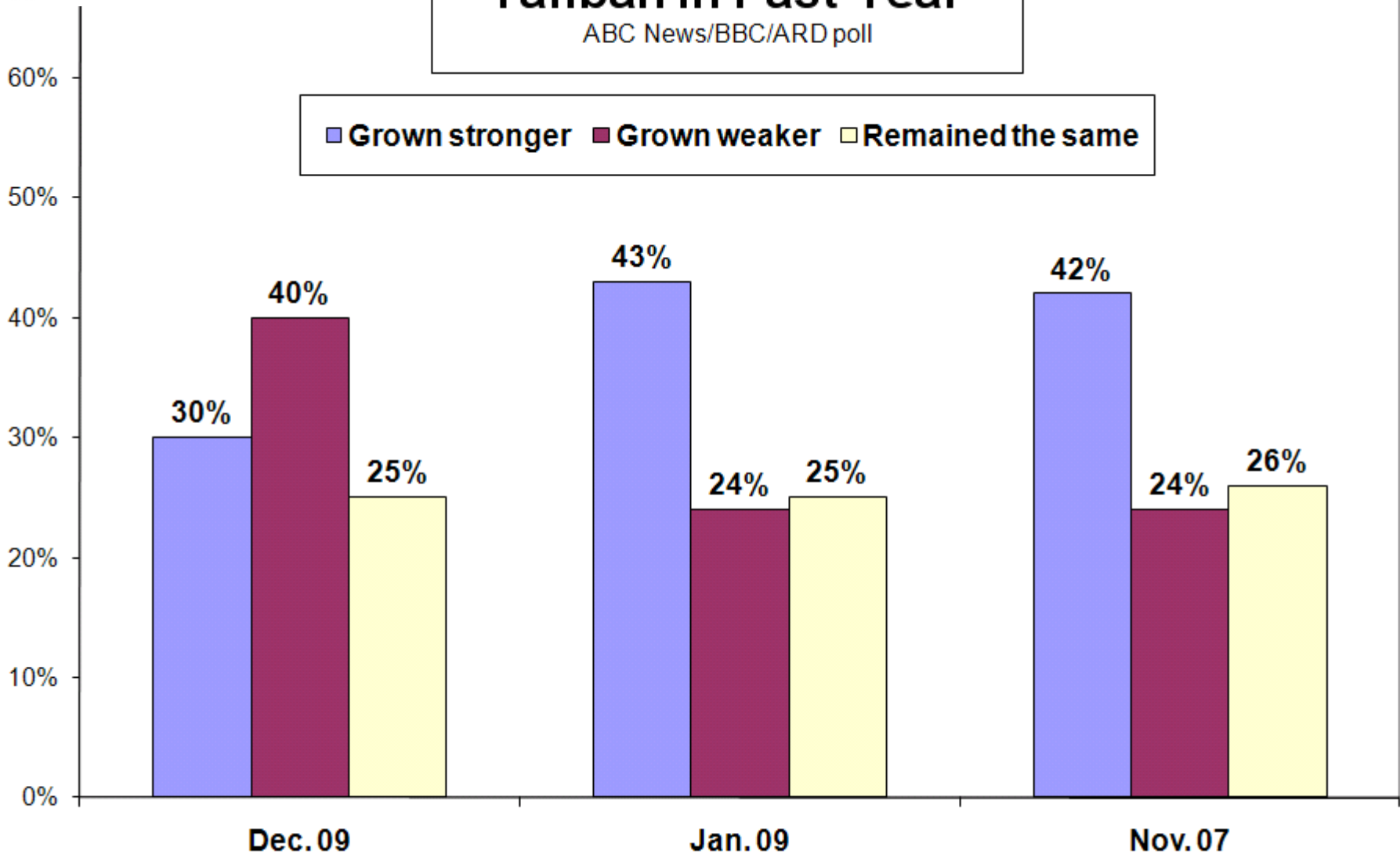




Taliban in Past Year

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

■ Grown stronger ■ Grown weaker ■ Remained the same

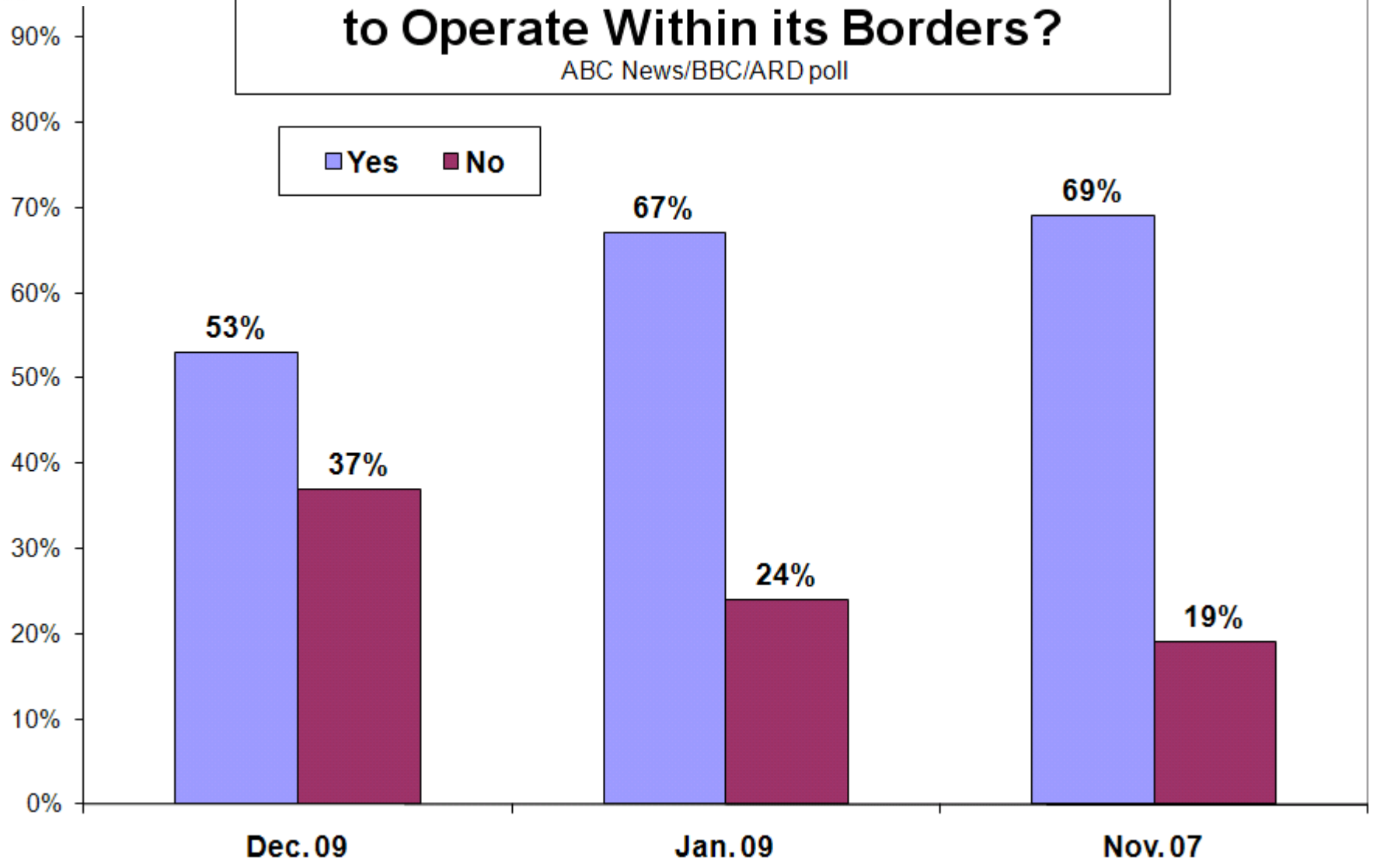




Is Pakistan Allowing the Taliban to Operate Within its Borders?

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

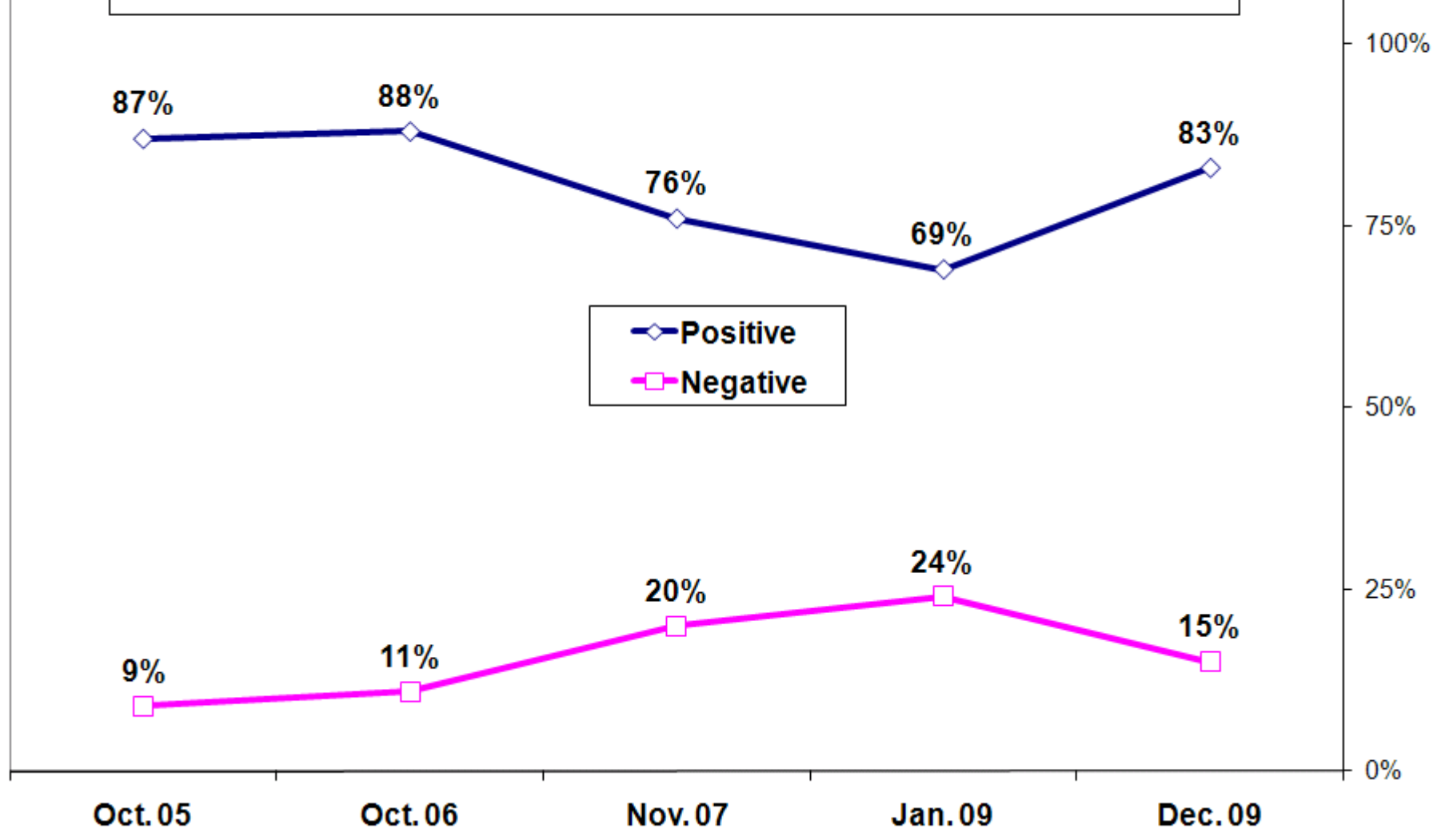
Yes No





Views of the U.S.-Led Ouster of the Taliban

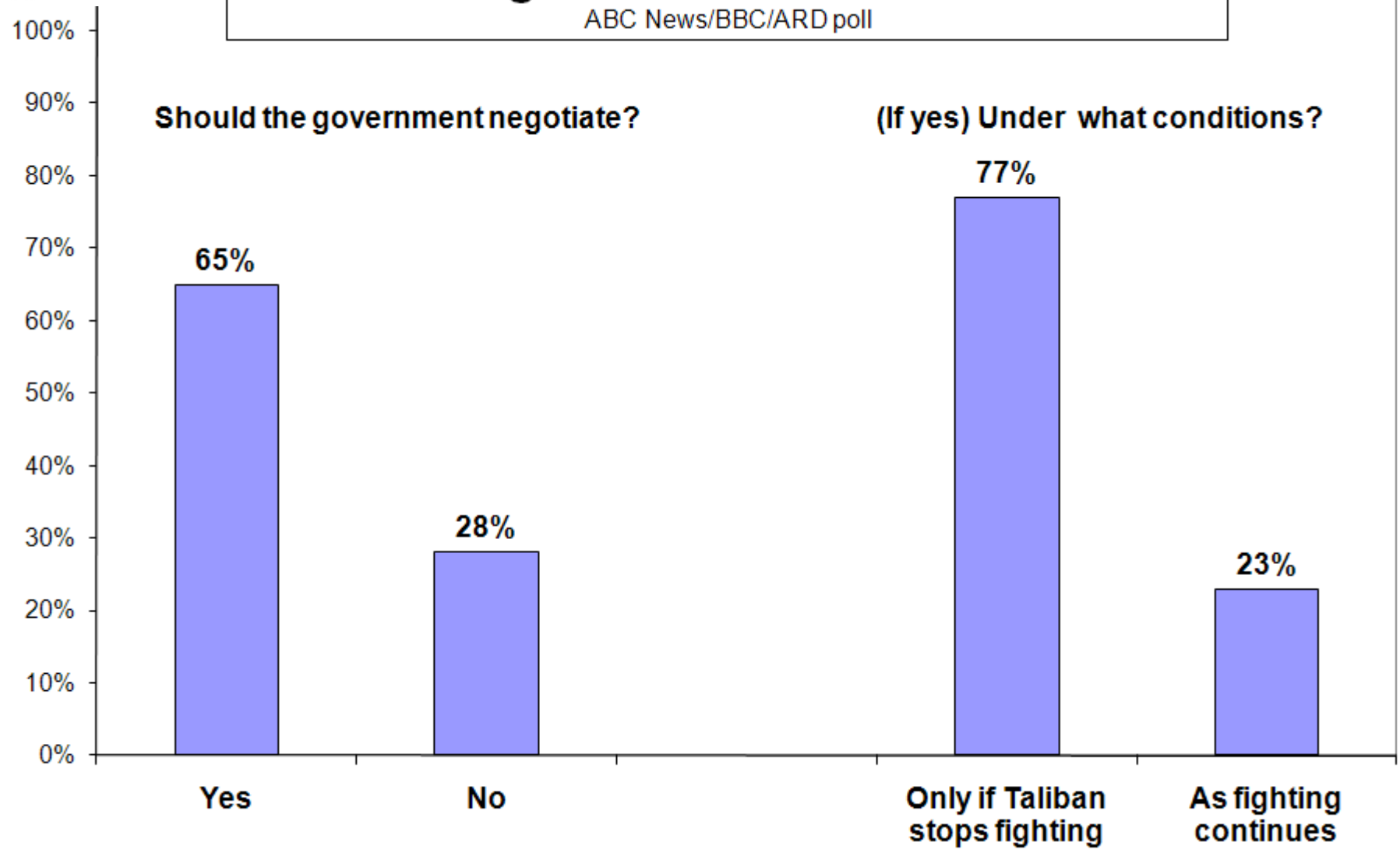
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Taliban Negotiations and Preconditions

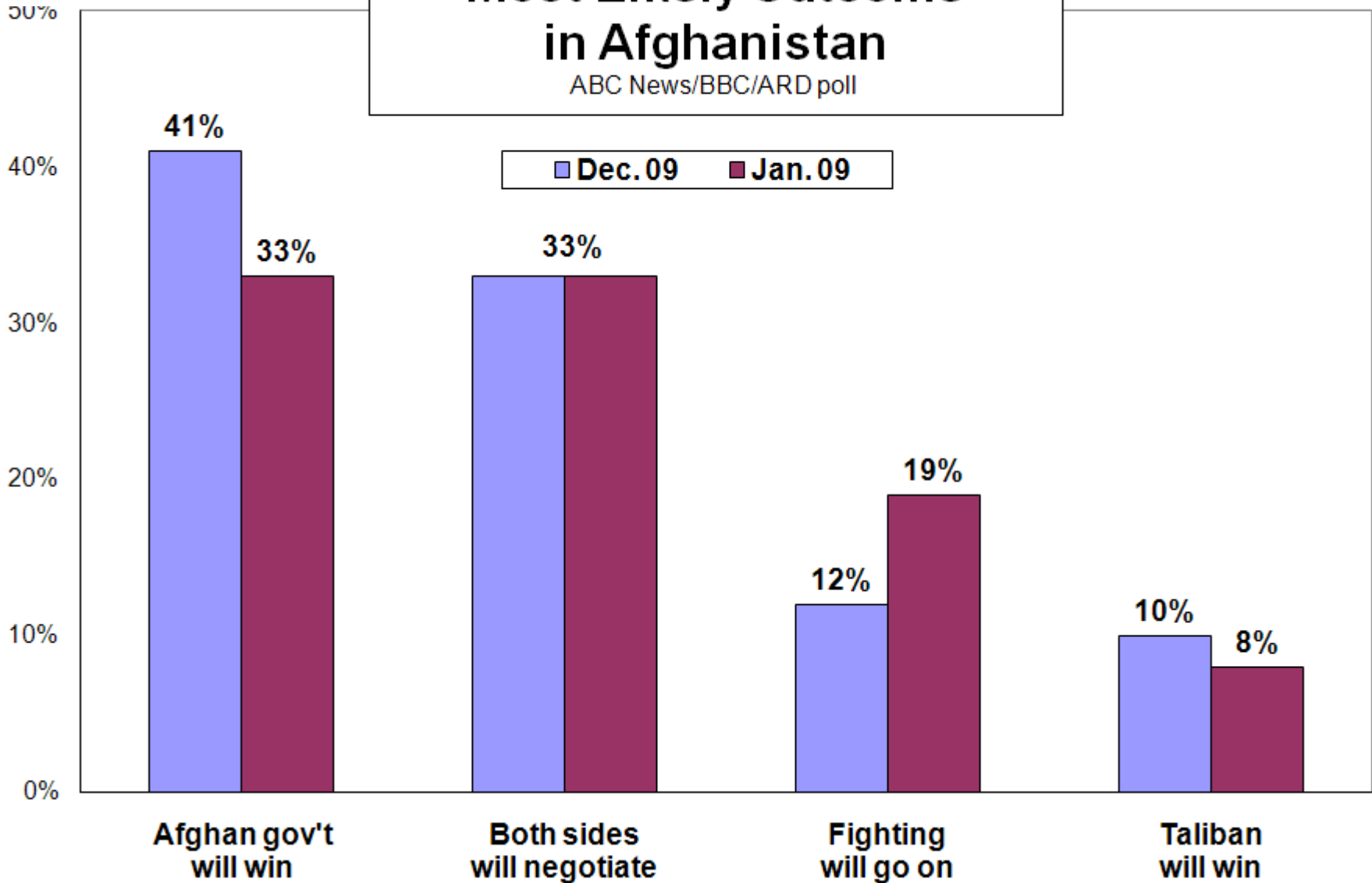
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Most Likely Outcome in Afghanistan

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





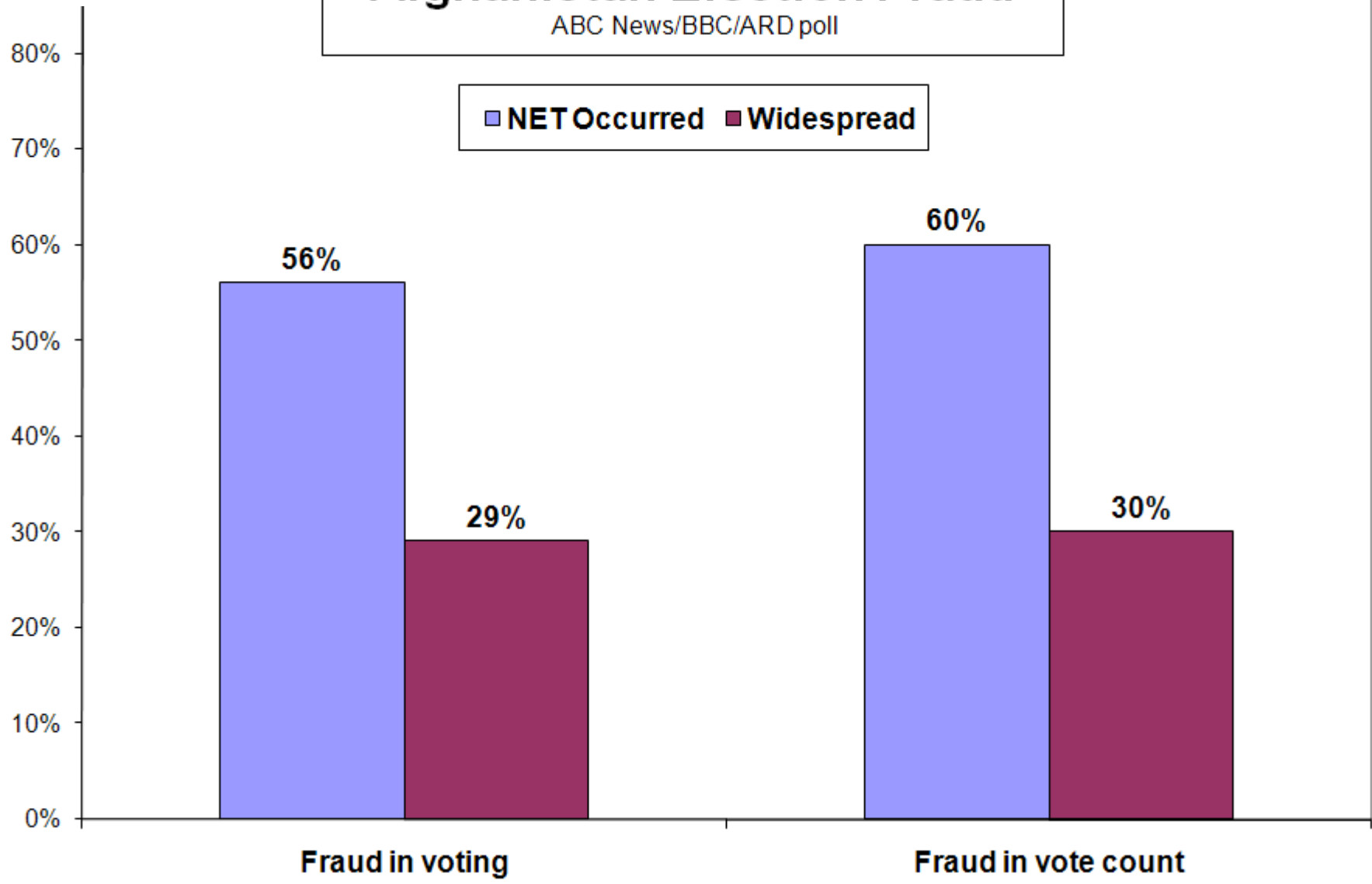
The Election



Afghanistan Election Fraud

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

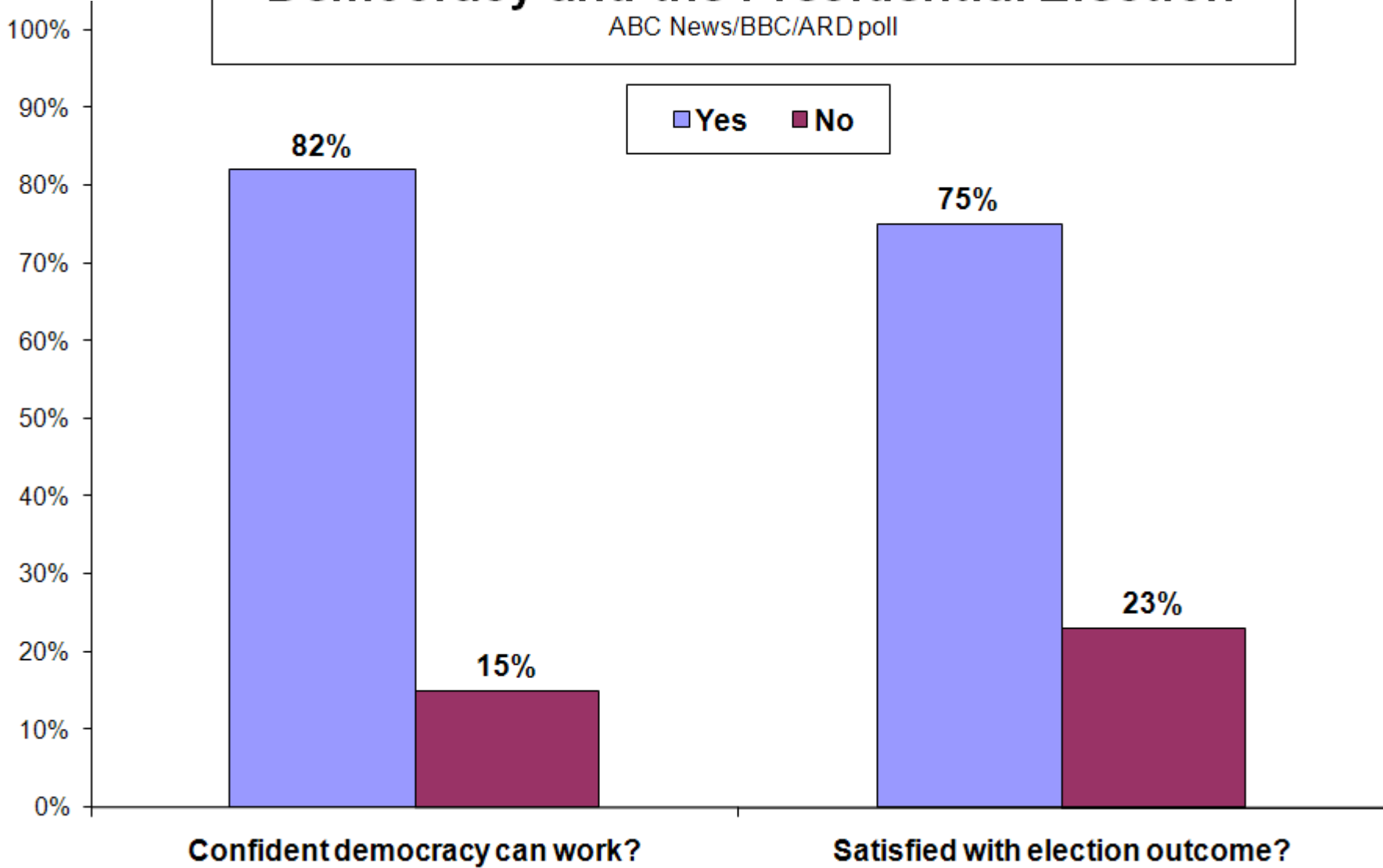
■ NET Occurred ■ Widespread





Democracy and the Presidential Election

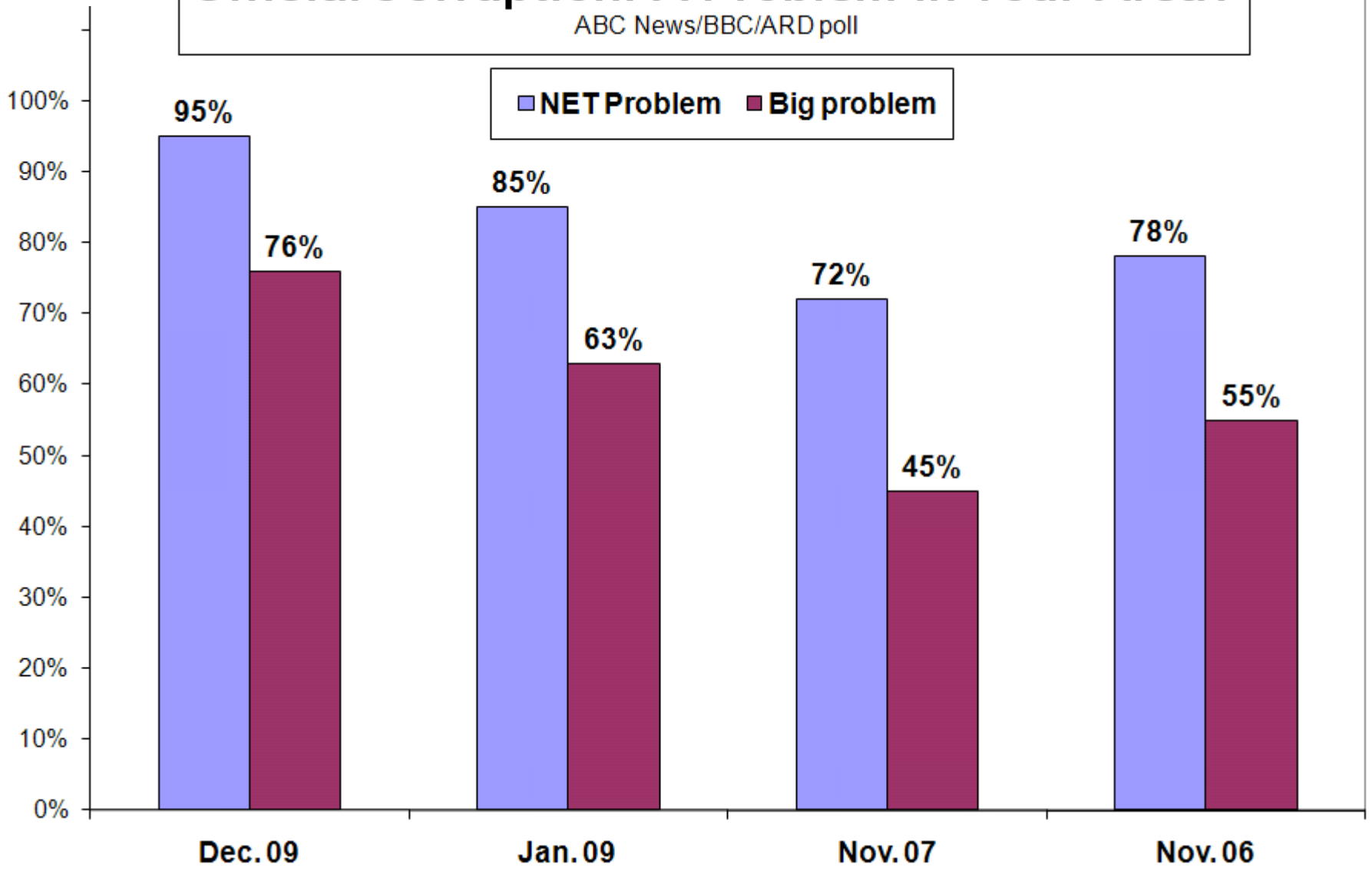
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Official Corruption: A Problem in Your Area?

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





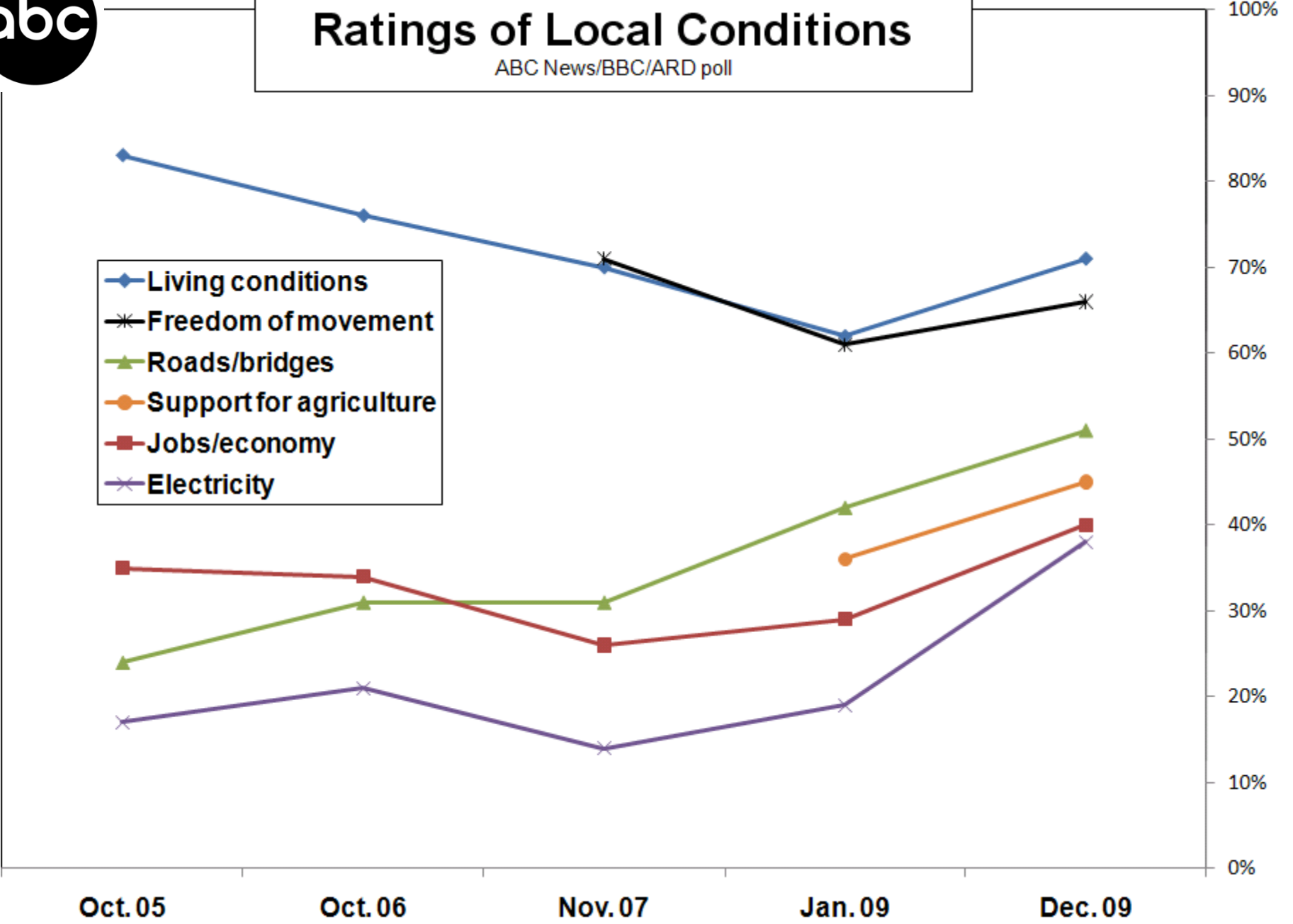
Development



Ratings of Local Conditions

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

- ◆ Living conditions
- * Freedom of movement
- ▲ Roads/bridges
- Support for agriculture
- Jobs/economy
- × Electricity

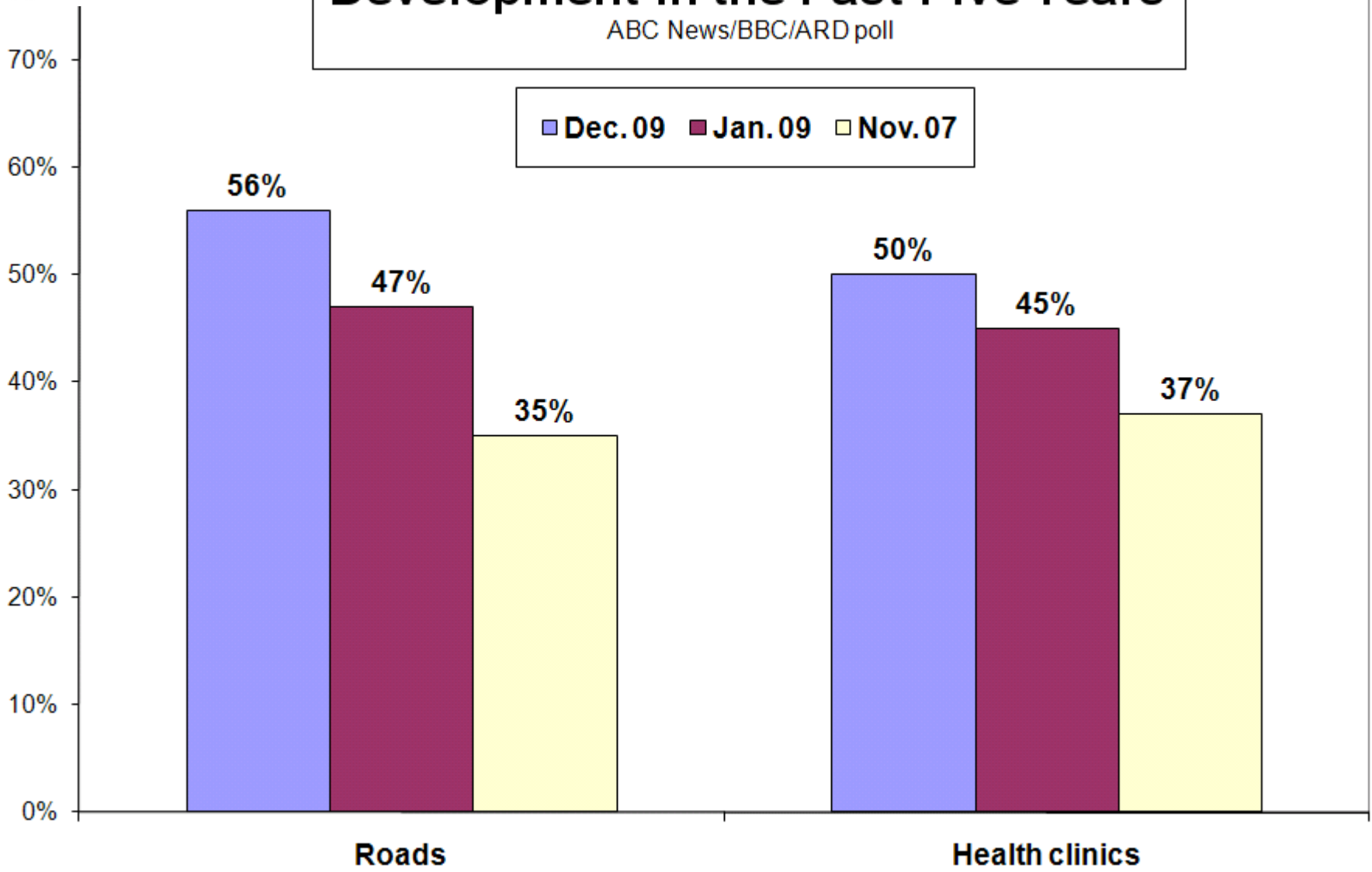




Development in the Past Five Years

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll

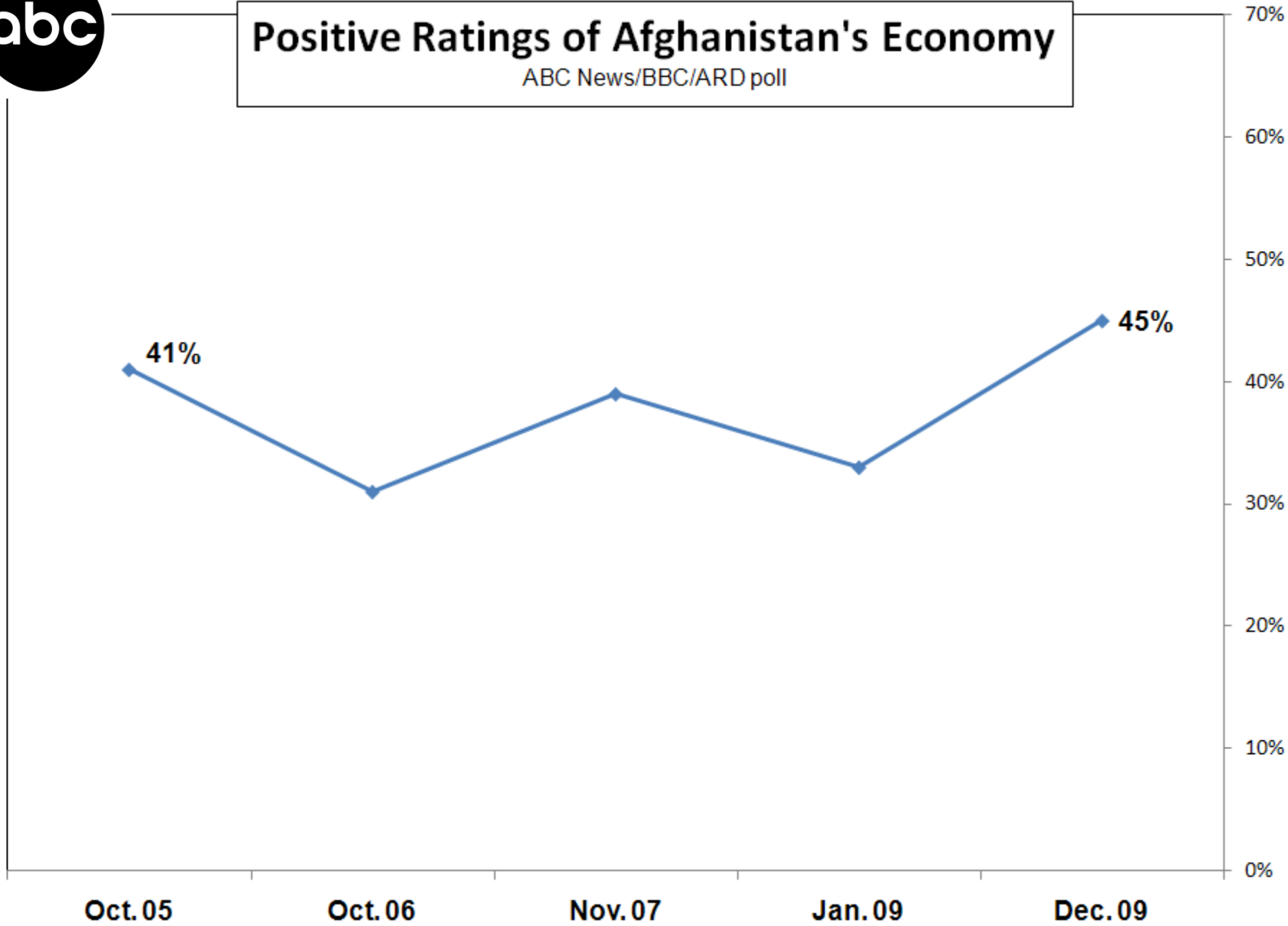
■ Dec. 09 ■ Jan. 09 ■ Nov. 07





Positive Ratings of Afghanistan's Economy

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





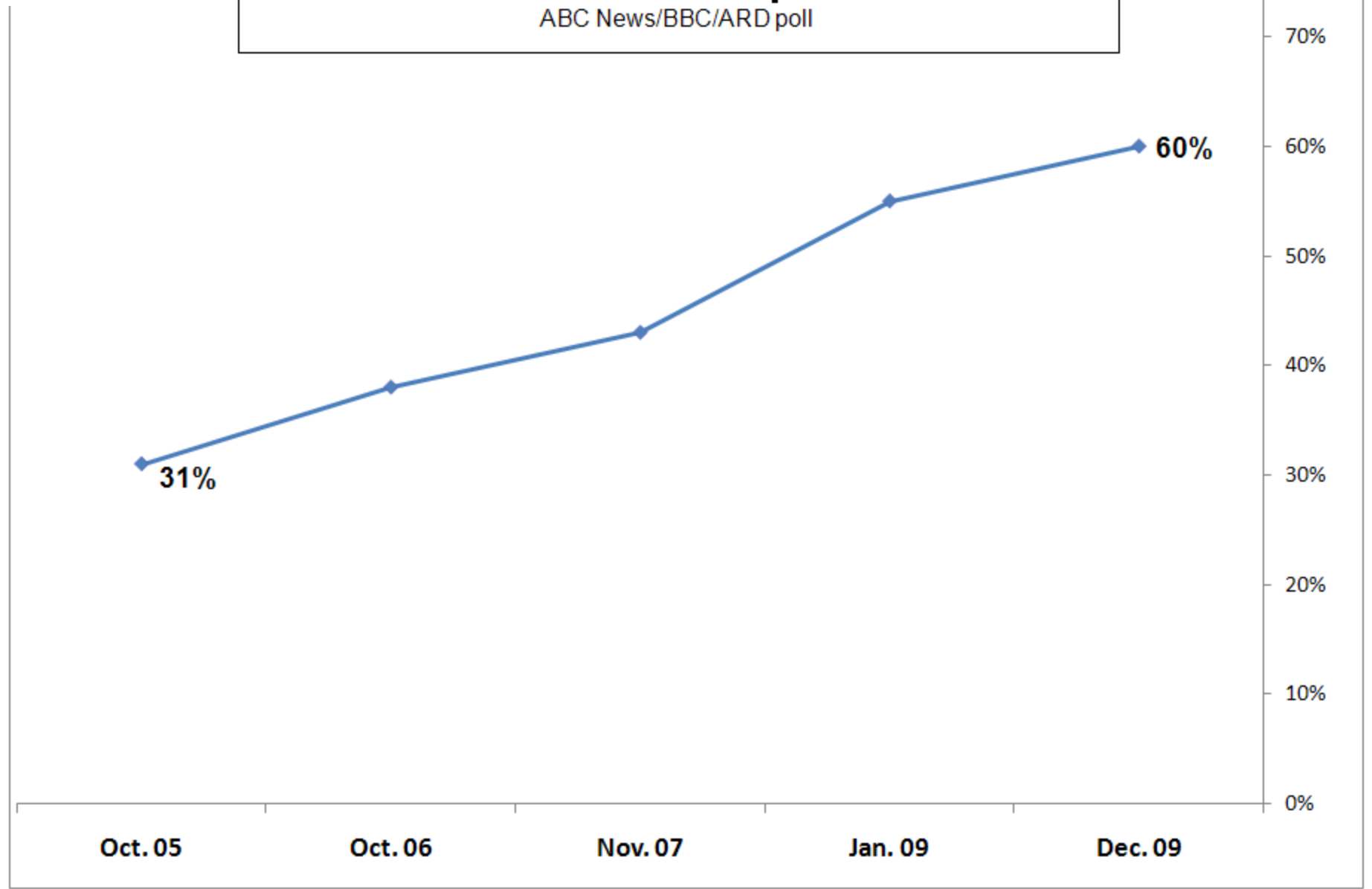
Demographic Profile

- 56% have no formal education
- 93% monthly incomes <\$300; 57% <\$100
- 44% have no electric power. Of rest: 13% own generator, 15% share generator, 26% power line
- 81% of men employed, 7% women; of those working, 64% are farmers, laborers or artisans
- 55% of adults under age 35 (comp. 31% U.S.)
- Radio 81%, TV 47%, work animal 44%, refrigerator 13%.
And...



Cell Phone Ownership Since 2005

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Predicting Progress

- Regression models predicting
 - “Right direction”
 - Positive U.S. ratings
 - Presence of U.S. forces



Predicting “right direction”

- Six models ranging from 20 to 56 items
- R-squareds .279 to .353
- Significant across models:
 - Rating of local conditions overall
 - Index of rebuilding
 - Security from Taliban/blame for violence
 - Freedom of movement
 - Satisfaction with election/confidence in Karzai
 - Positive views of U.S.
 - Positive on income or household finances



Predicting positive ratings of the U.S.:

- U.S./NATO/ISAF presence in local area
- Ratings of jobs/economic opportunity
- Index of rebuilding

Predicting support for U.S. presence:

- Index of rebuilding
- Index of local violence



End Notes

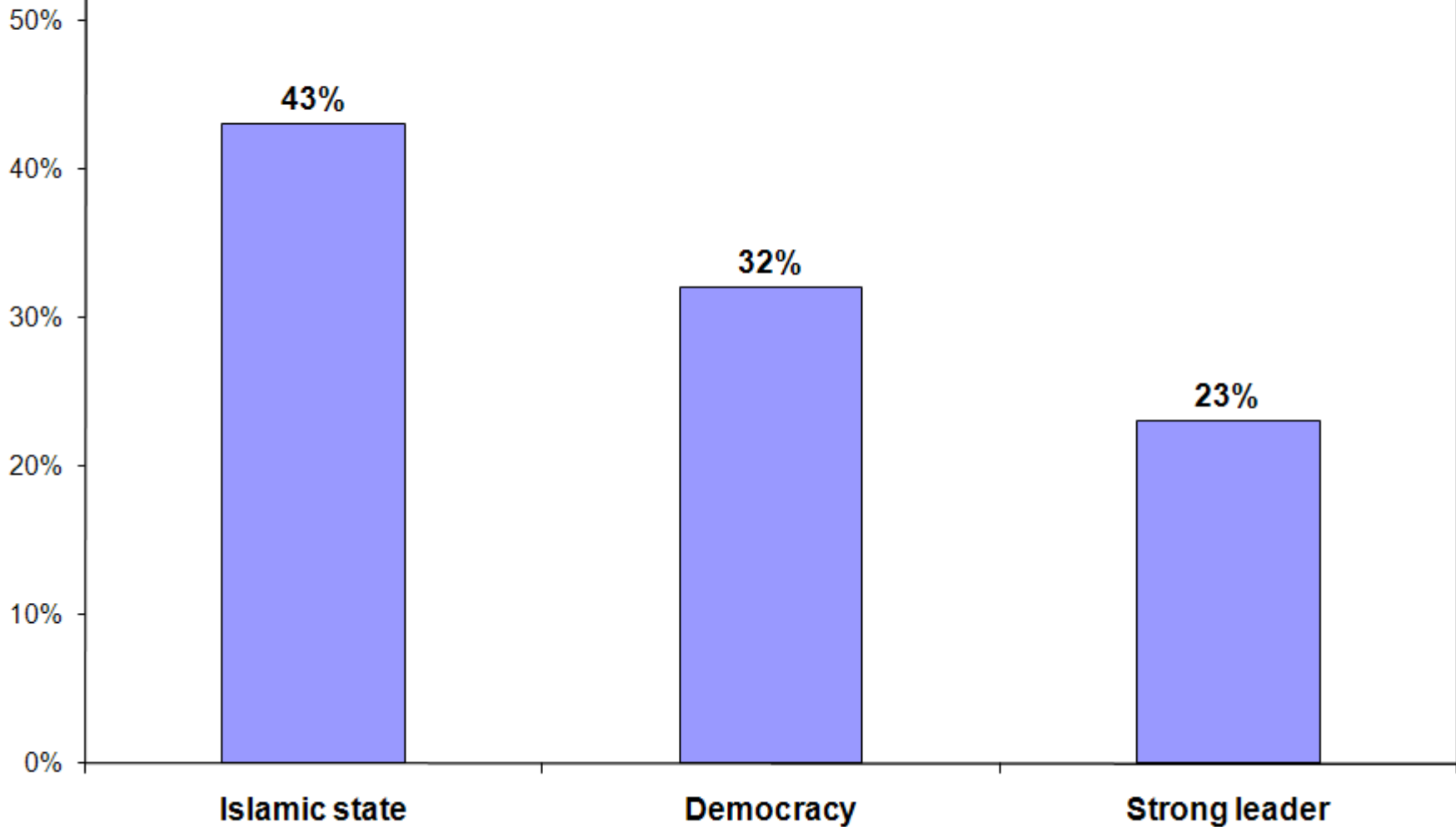


Not Kansas



Preferred Political System for Afghanistan

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Preferred Political System for Iraq

ABC News/BBC/NHK poll

◆ Democracy □ Strong leader ▲ Islamic state

49%

28%

21%

2004

2005

2007

Now

64%

19%

14%

100%

90%

80%

70%

60%

50%

40%

30%

20%

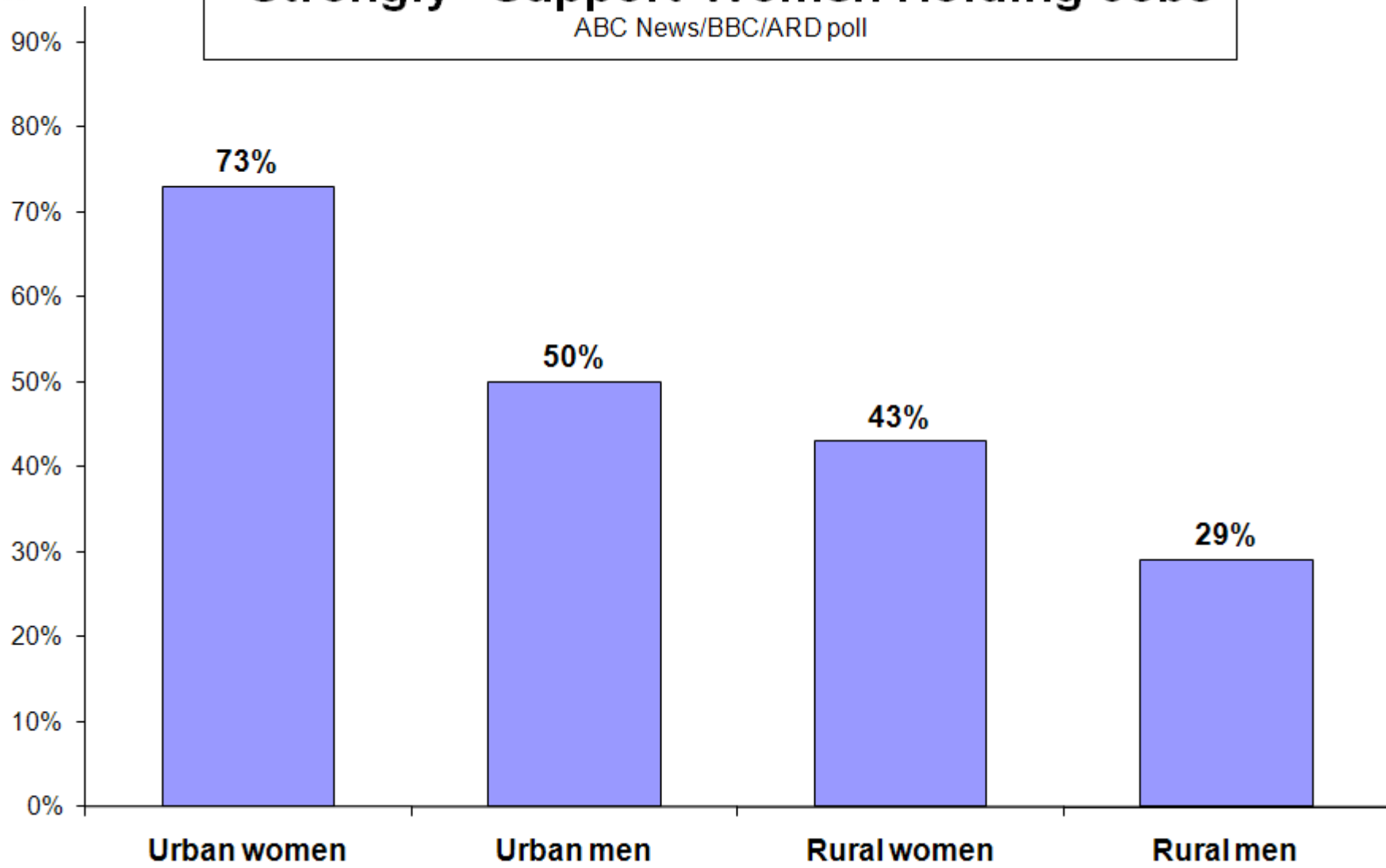
10%

0%



"Strongly" Support Women Holding Jobs

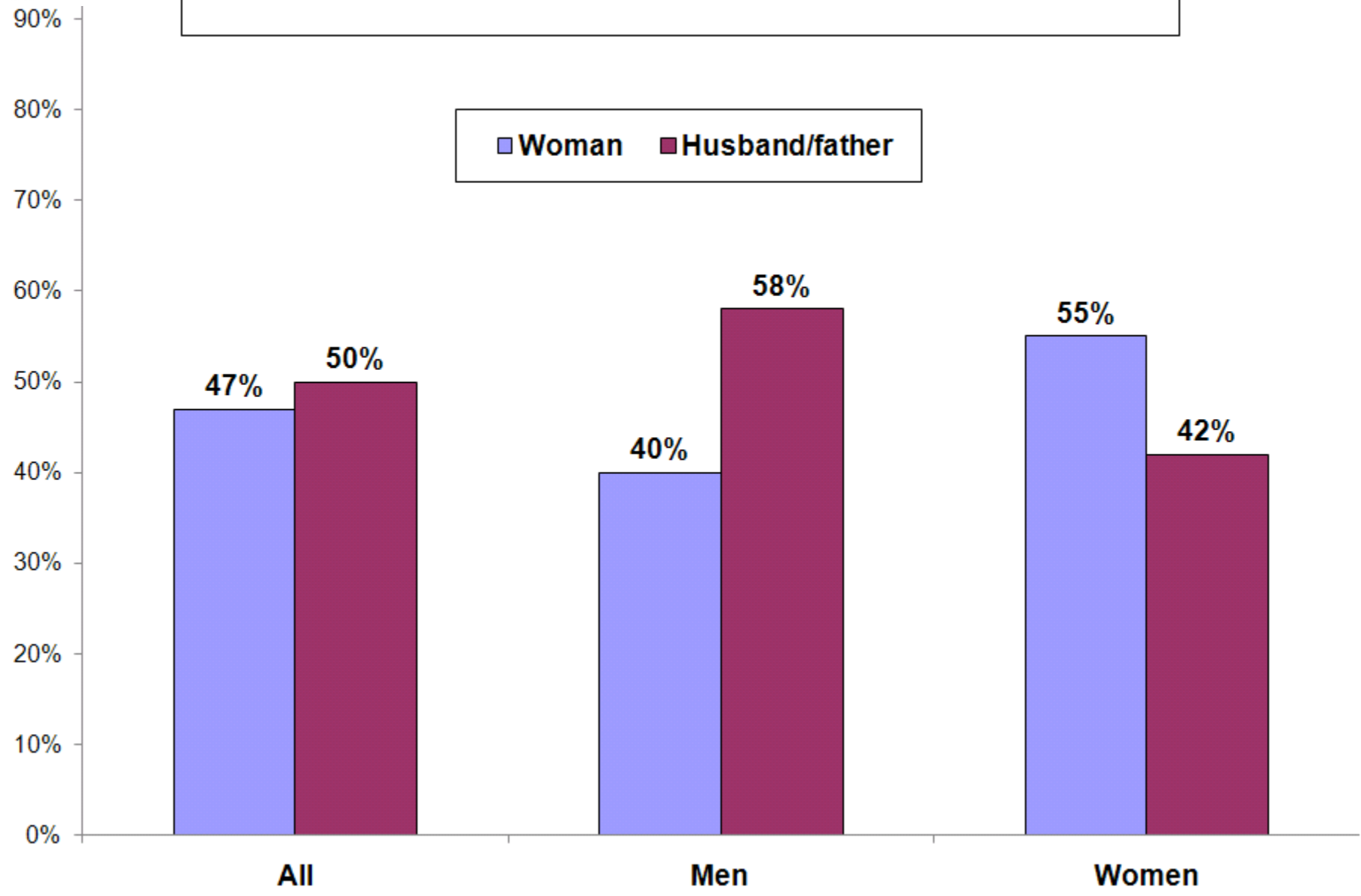
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Wearing the Burqa: Who Should Decide?

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





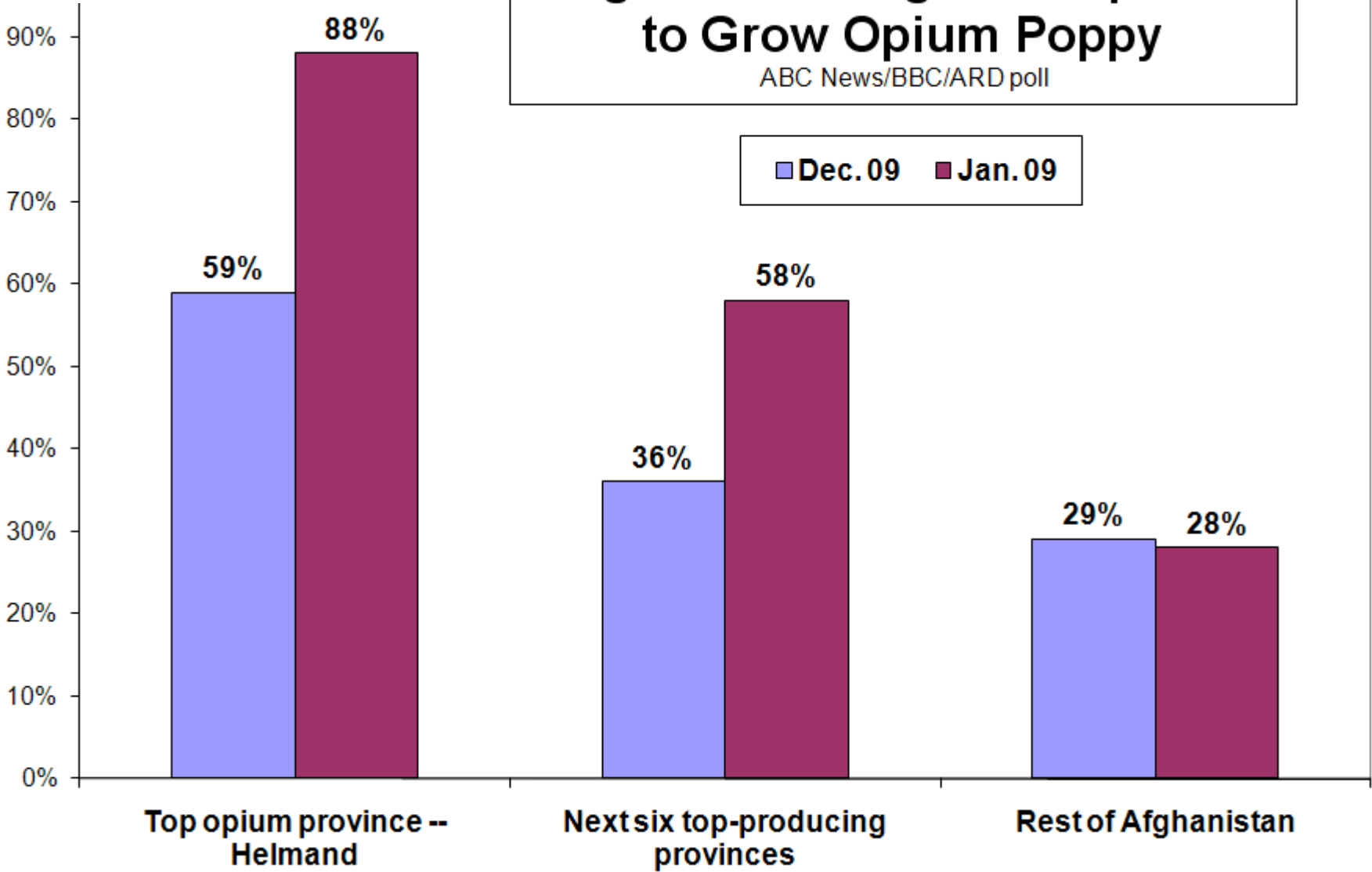
UNODC, 9/09:

- 2009 cultivation -22%
- In Helmand -33%
- Opium production -10%
- Credits: Political leadership, better enforcement, promotion of alternative crops



Afghans Calling it Acceptable to Grow Opium Poppy

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll



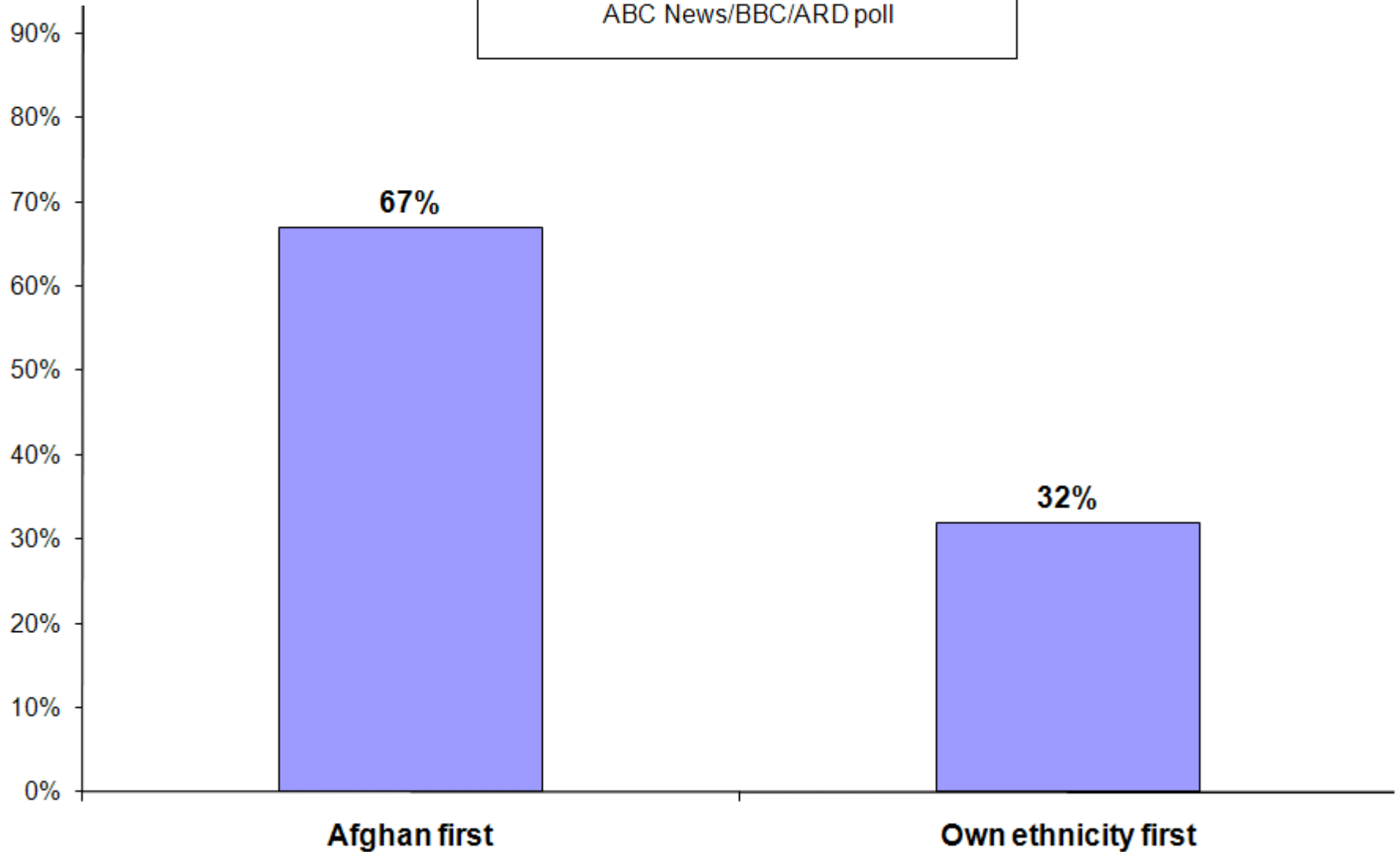


**National identity
and confidence in institutions**



National Identity

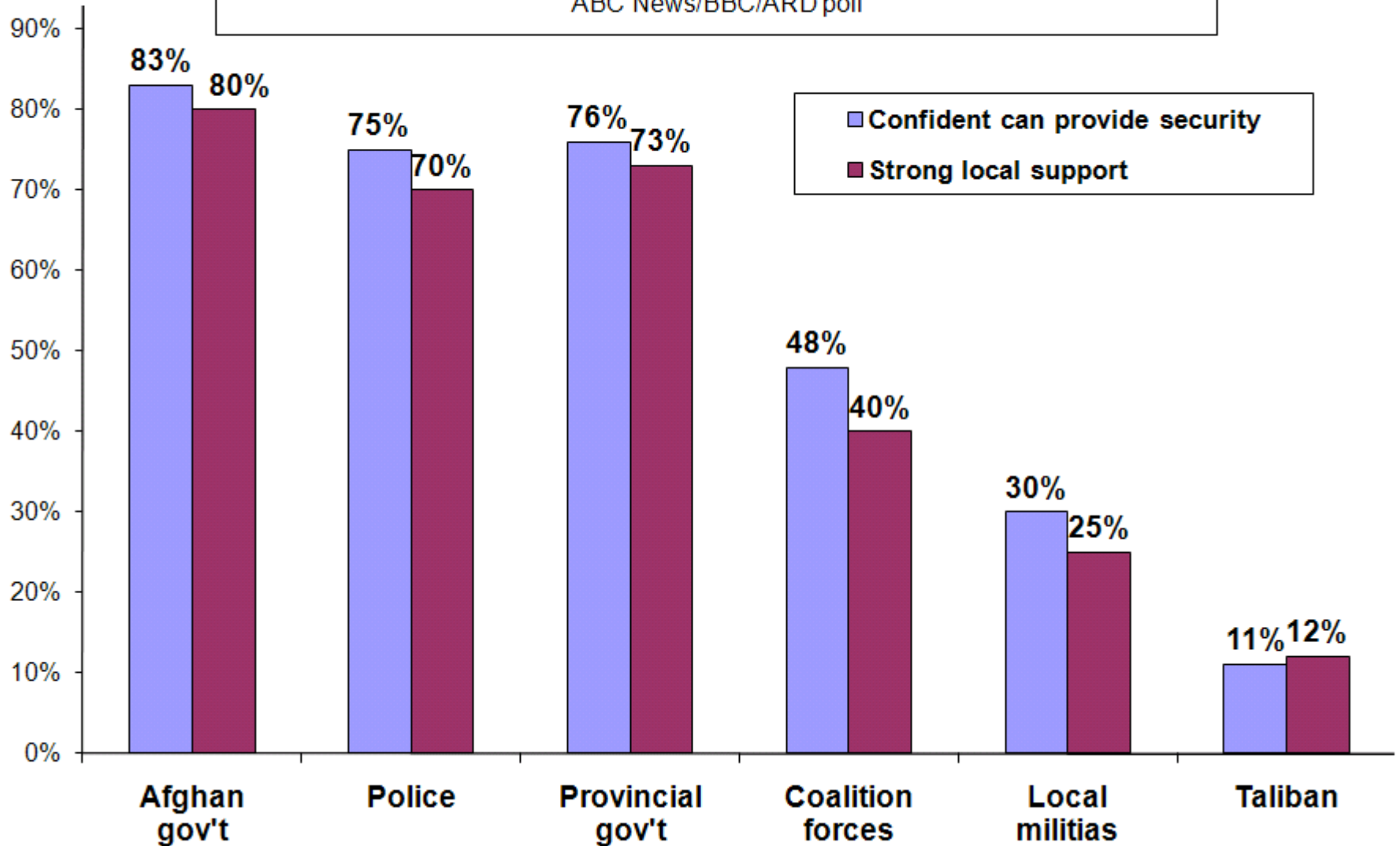
ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





Public Confidence and Local Support

ABC News/BBC/ARD poll





CSIS – March 12, 2010

Gary Langer, Director of Polling, ABC News