# Record Number Favors Removing U.S. Troops from Afghanistan 

## Andrew Kohut

President, Pew Research Center
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock
Associate Directors
Scott Keeter
Director of Survey Research

1615 L St, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 419-4350
Fax (202) 419-4399
www.peoplepress.org

## Record Number Favors Removing U.S. Troops from Afghanistan

As President Obama prepares to announce his policy for drawing down U.S. forces in Afghanistan, the percentage of Americans who favor removing the troops as soon as possible has reached an all-time high in Pew Research Center surveys.

For the first time, a majority (56\%) says that U.S. troops should be brought home as soon as possible, while $39 \%$ favor keeping troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized.

The proportion favoring a quick withdrawal of U.S. forces has increased by eight points since last month (from 48\%), immediately after the killing of Osama bin Laden. A year ago, just $40 \%$ favored removing the troops as soon as possible, while $53 \%$ favored keeping them in Afghanistan until the situation stabilized.

## Sharp Rise in Percentage Backing U.S. Troop Pullout



PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 15-19, 2011.

Americans continue to say the decision to use force in Afghanistan was the right one, and $58 \%$ believe the United States will definitely or probably succeed in achieving its goals in Afghanistan. That is largely unchanged from the $62 \%$ who said the U.S. would achieve its goals in Afghanistan shortly after Osama's death. But at the same time, a majority (56\%) says it is unlikely that Afghanistan will be able to maintain a stable government after the U.S. military leaves.

Even among those who predict the U.S. will be successful in Afghanistan, nearly as many favor removing the troops as soon possible (46\%) as favor keeping then there until the situation is stable (51\%). Among those who say the U.S. will definitely or probably fail in achieving its goals $-34 \%$ of the public - a large majority ( $75 \%$ ) supports removing the troops as soon as possible.

Over the past year, support for removing U.S. troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible has increased across nearly all political and demographic groups.

Two-thirds of Democrats (67\%) now say troops should be removed as soon as possible, up from $43 \%$ a year ago. A majority (57\%) of independents also support immediate troop withdrawal, an increase of 15 points from last year.

Republican support for removing U.S. troops as soon as possible has risen 12 points since last June. At that time, $65 \%$ of Republicans favored keeping U.S. forces in Afghanistan until the situation is stabilized while $31 \%$ favored

Across-the-Board Increase in Support for Removing Troops as Soon as Possible

| \% remove troops as | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & 2010 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { April } \\ & 2011 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { May 5-8 } \\ 2011 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { June } \\ & 2011 \end{aligned}$ | Change 10-11 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| soon as possible | \% | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 40 | 50 | 49 | 56 | +16 |
| Men | 40 | 48 | 46 | 52 | +12 |
| Women | 41 | 53 | 51 | 60 | +19 |
| 18-29 | 45 | 53 | 37 | 53 | +8 |
| 30-49 | 36 | 49 | 50 | 54 | +18 |
| 50-64 | 37 | 47 | 52 | 58 | +21 |
| 65+ | 47 | 54 | 53 | 62 | +15 |
| Republican | 31 | 40 | 34 | 43 | +12 |
| Democrat | 43 | 55 | 53 | 67 | +24 |
| Independent | 42 | 52 | 54 | 57 | +15 |
| Among Reps and Rep leaners |  |  |  |  |  |
| Agree with Tea Party | 21 | 39 | -- | 42 | +21 |
| Disagree/No opinion | 39 | 48 | -- | 47 | +8 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 15-19, 2011. Q75 |  |  |  |  |  | removing them as soon as possible. In the current survey, $53 \%$ support keeping the troops there and $43 \%$ favor their withdrawal.

Over the past year, support for withdrawing the troops has doubled among Republicans and GOP-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party. A year ago only 21\% favored immediate troop withdrawal; that has risen to $42 \%$ currently.

## War Still Viewed as Right Decision

A majority (57\%) continues to say the U.S. made the right decision in using military force in Afghanistan while $35 \%$ said it was the wrong decision. Republicans are more likely than Democrats and independents to say it was the right decision.

The public's assessments of the military effort in Afghanistan have changed little over the past few months - $53 \%$ say the military effort is going at least fairly well. Republicans are far more likely than Democrats and independents to say the effort is going well.

Optimism about success in Afghanistan increased after bin Laden's death and remains higher than it was last year - $58 \%$ say the U.S. will definitely or probably succeed in achieving its goals in Afghanistan. But Republicans (67\%) and Democrats (61\%) are more optimistic about success than independents (51\%).

Only 38\% says that it is likely Afghanistan will

## Majority Still Sees War as Right Decision

|  | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Using military force in | \% | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| Afghanistan was the... | 57 | 68 | 54 | 56 |
| Right decision | 35 | 25 | 39 | 38 |
| Wrong decision | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
| Don't know | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |


| Will U.S. achieve goals |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| in Afghanistan? |  |  |  |  |
| Definitely/probably succeed | 58 | 67 | 61 | 51 |
| Definitely/probably fail | 34 | 27 | 33 | 40 |
| Don't know | $\underline{8}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{9}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |


| How well is the U.S. <br> military effort going? |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very/Fairly well | 53 | 65 | 51 | 51 |
| Not too/Not at all well | 40 | 30 | 44 | 43 |
| Don't know | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{6}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |


| How likely maintain stable <br> government? |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very/Somewhat likely | 38 | 41 | 41 | 34 |
| Very/Somewhat unlikely | 56 | 56 | 54 | 62 |
| Don't know | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 15-19, 2011. Q72-74, 77.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding. be able to maintain a stable government when U.S. military forces leave the country while $56 \%$ say it is unlikely. In November 2009 the public was more optimistic about Iraq - $52 \%$ said it was at least somewhat likely Iraq would be able to maintain a stable government after U.S. forces left. There are very little partisan differences - a majority across party lines says it is unlikely Afghanistan will be able to maintain a stable government.

## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted June 15-19, 2011 among a national sample of 1,502 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (1,001 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 501 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 200 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://people-press.org/methodology/

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the $95 \%$ level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

| Group | Sample Size | Plus or minus ... |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Total sample | 1,502 | 3.5 percentage points |
|  |  |  |
| Republicans | 408 | 6.0 percentage points |
| Democrats | 495 | 5.5 percentage points |
| Independents | 479 | 5.5 percentage points |

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.
In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS JUNE 2011 POLITICAL SURVEY <br> FINAL TOPLINE <br> June 15-19, 2011 <br> $\mathrm{N}=1502$

QUESTIONS 1-2, 7-8, $16-18,30-35,37-42,49-51,53-57,60-61$ 78-83 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

NO QUESTIONS 3-6, 9-15, 19-29, 36, 43-48, 52, 58-59, 62-71

## ASK ALL:

Thinking about Afghanistan
Q. 72 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

|  | Right <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 52 | 38 | 10 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8,2009 | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 64 | 25 | 11 |
| Feb, 2008 | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| Dec, 2006 | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| Jan, 2006 | 69 | 20 | 11 |

ASK ALL:
Q. 73 How well is the U.S. military effort in Afghanistan going? [READ IN ORDER]

Jun 15-19, 2011

| Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at <br> all well | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10 | 43 | 28 | 12 | 7 |
| 7 | 43 | 29 | 15 | 7 |
| 8 | 39 | 28 | 15 | 10 |
| 9 | 40 | 31 | 9 | 11 |
| 8 | 40 | 32 | 13 | 7 |
| 9 | 43 | 22 | 13 | 13 |
| 7 | 39 | 32 | 11 | 10 |
| 4 | 32 | 41 | 16 | 6 |
| 7 | 38 | 34 | 11 | 10 |
| 10 | 38 | 31 | 10 | 11 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 74 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Afghanistan, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Afghanistan?

|  | Definitely <br> succeed | Probably <br> succeed | Probably <br> fail | Definitely <br> fail | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 13 |  | 45 |  | 26 |
| May 5-8, 2011 | 19 | 43 | 18 | 6 | 8 |
| May 2,2011 | 19 | 44 | 20 | 6 | 13 |
| Dec 1-5,2010 | 9 | 40 | 30 | 9 | 10 |
| Jun 16-20,2010 | 14 | 45 | 26 | 7 | 11 |
| Mar 10-14,2010 | 12 | 46 | 22 | 7 | 8 |
| Dec 9-13,2009 | 11 | 48 | 25 | 7 | 12 |
| Jan 7-11,2009 | 13 | 49 | 23 | 6 | 10 |

[^0]
## ASK ALL:

Q. 75 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should remove troops as soon as possible?

|  | Keep troops <br> in Afghanistan | Remove <br> troops | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 39 | 56 | 4 |
| May 5-8, 2011 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| May 2, 2011 | 47 | 48 | 4 |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 |  | 54 | 6 |
| Dec 1-5, 2010 | 44 | 50 | 8 |
| Jul 8-11, 2010 | 44 | 47 | 11 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 47 | 42 | 6 |
| Apr 15-May 5, 2010 (GAP) | 53 | 40 | 7 |
| Sep 10-15, 2009 (GAP) | 50 | 45 | 7 |
| June, 2009 (GAP) | 57 | 43 | 7 |
| Mid-Sept, 2008 | 61 | 38 | 5 |
| April, 2008 (GAP) | 50 | 33 | 6 |
| Late Feb, 2008 | 61 | 44 | 6 |
| May, 2007 (GAP) | 50 | 32 | 7 |

## NO QUESTION 76

## ASK ALL:

Q. 77 All things considered, how likely is it that Afghanistan will be able to maintain a stable government after most U.S. forces leave the country? [READ]

| Jun 15-19 |  | Iraq <br> $\frac{2011}{5}$ |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Oct28-Nov 8 <br> 33 | Very likely | 2009 <br> 31 |
| 25 | Somewhat likely | 44 |
| 5 | Very unlikely | 22 |
|  | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 20 |
|  |  | 7 |

[^1]
## ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?
ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):
PARTYLN
As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

|  |  |  |  | (VOL.) No | (VOL.) Other | (VOL.) | Lean | Lean |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | preference | party | DK/Ref | Rep | Dem |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 26 | 34 | 32 | 4 | * | 4 | 13 | 13 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 24 | 33 | 38 | 3 | * | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 25 | 32 | 37 | 3 | * | 3 | 17 | 16 |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 24 | 33 | 38 | 3 | * | 2 | 17 | 15 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 24 | 33 | 37 | 3 | * | 3 | 15 | 16 |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 | 24 | 31 | 39 | 3 | * | 2 | 16 | 16 |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 27 | 32 | 35 | 4 | * | 2 | 15 | 14 |
| Dec 1-5, 2010 | 25 | 33 | 34 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 14 |
| Nov 4-7, 2010 | 26 | 30 | 37 | 4 | * | 2 | 17 | 13 |
| Oct 27-30, 2010 | 25 | 34 | 31 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 11 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 25 | 31 | 36 | 4 | * | 3 | 16 | 13 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 24 | 32 | 39 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 26 | 33 | 34 | 4 | * | 3 | 14 | 14 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 27 | 34 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 15 |
| Yearly Totals |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2010 | 25.2 | 32.7 | 35.2 | 3.6 | . 4 | 2.8 | 14.5 | 14.1 |
| 2009 | 23.9 | 34.4 | 35.1 | 3.4 | . 4 | 2.8 | 13.1 | 15.7 |
| 2008 | 25.7 | 36.0 | 31.5 | 3.6 | . 3 | 3.0 | 10.6 | 15.2 |
| 2007 | 25.3 | 32.9 | 34.1 | 4.3 | . 4 | 2.9 | 10.9 | 17.0 |
| 2006 | 27.8 | 33.1 | 30.9 | 4.4 | . 3 | 3.4 | 10.5 | 15.1 |
| 2005 | 29.3 | 32.8 | 30.2 | 4.5 | . 3 | 2.8 | 10.3 | 14.9 |
| 2004 | 30.0 | 33.5 | 29.5 | 3.8 | . 4 | 3.0 | 11.7 | 13.4 |
| 2003 | 30.3 | 31.5 | 30.5 | 4.8 | . 5 | 2.5 | 12.0 | 12.6 |
| 2002 | 30.4 | 31.4 | 29.8 | 5.0 | . 7 | 2.7 | 12.4 | 11.6 |
| 2001 | 29.0 | 33.2 | 29.5 | 5.2 | . 6 | 2.6 | 11.9 | 11.6 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 30.9 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 5.2 | . 6 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 9.4 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 27.3 | 34.4 | 30.9 | 5.1 | . 6 | 1.7 | 12.1 | 13.5 |
| 2000 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 29.1 | 5.5 | . 5 | 3.6 | 11.6 | 11.7 |
| 1999 | 26.6 | 33.5 | 33.7 | 3.9 | . 5 | 1.9 | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998 | 27.9 | 33.7 | 31.1 | 4.6 | . 4 | 2.3 | 11.6 | 13.1 |
| 1997 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 32.0 | 4.0 | . 4 | 2.3 | 12.2 | 14.1 |
| 1996 | 28.9 | 33.9 | 31.8 | 3.0 | . 4 | 2.0 | 12.1 | 14.9 |
| 1995 | 31.6 | 30.0 | 33.7 | 2.4 | . 6 | 1.3 | 15.1 | 13.5 |
| 1994 | 30.1 | 31.5 | 33.5 | 1.3 | -- | 3.6 | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.6 | 34.2 | 4.4 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 11.5 | 14.9 |
| 1992 | 27.6 | 33.7 | 34.7 | 1.5 | 0 | 2.5 | 12.6 | 16.5 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | 0 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 14.7 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 30.9 | 33.2 | 29.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

## ASK ALL: <br> TEAPARTY2

From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

Jun 15-19, 2011
May 25-30, 2011
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011
Mar 8-14, 2011
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011

| Agree | $\frac{\text { Disagree }}{}$ | No opinion <br> either way |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20 | 26 | 50 |
| 18 | 23 | 54 |
| 22 | 29 | 47 |
| 19 | 25 | 54 |
| 20 | 25 | 52 |


| (VOL.) <br> Haven't <br> heard of | Not <br> (VOL.) | Nefused <br> heard of/ | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{2}{2}$ |  | -- |  |
| 1 |  | 1 | -- |
| 1 |  | -- |  |
| 2 |  | 2 | -- |
| 2 | -- |  |  |

## TEAPARTY2 CONTINUED...

Feb 2-7, $2011^{3}$
Jan 5-9, 2011

| Agree | Disagree | No opinion either way | Haven't heard of | (VOL.) <br> Refused | heard of/ DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22 | 22 | 53 | 2 | 2 | -- |
| 24 | 22 | 50 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| 22 | 26 | 49 | 2 | 2 | -- |
| 27 | 22 | 49 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 29 | 25 | 32 | -- | 1 | 13 |
| 28 | 24 | 30 | -- | 1 | 16 |
| 29 | 26 | 32 | -- | 1 | 13 |
| 22 | 18 | 37 | -- | 1 | 21 |
| 24 | 18 | 30 | -- | * | 27 |
| 25 | 18 | 31 | -- | 1 | 25 |
| 24 | 14 | 29 | -- | 1 | 31 |


[^0]:    1
    In October 2009, the question was worded: "Do you think the United States' initial decision to use force in Afghanistan was the right decision or the wrong decision?"

[^1]:    2 In surveys conducted March 30-April 3, 2011 and before, the question was worded "Do you think the U.S. and NATO should keep military troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. and NATO should remove their troops as soon as possible?"

