



## **Arab Barometer II**

### **Sudan Country Report** July 2012

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# Arab Barometer Report: Sudan

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## I. Introduction

Based on the second wave of the Arab Barometer survey, this report presents the opinions of Sudanese citizens on social, economic and political issues. Specifically, the report focuses on the following themes: (1) the economic situation of the country, (2) religious practices and the role of religion in society and politics, (3) political systems, democracy, the assessment of the government and public institutions in terms of efficiency, corruption and transparency, (4) the role of women in society, and (5) international relations and the United States. Sudan Polling and Statistics Center (SPSC) conducted the survey between 10/12/2010 and 30/12/2010.

In total, 1,538 respondents participated in the survey. The sample is composed as follow. The interviews were conducted in Khartoum, Aljazeera, Sennar, North Kordofan, South Darfur, Red Sea, Kassala, Gedaref, the Northern Province, White Nile, North Darfur, South Kordofan and River Nile provinces, with the following geographic distribution:

**table 1: Respondents according to the Sudanese Provinces**

Province	%
<i>Khartoum</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Aljazeera</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Sennar</i>	<i>5</i>

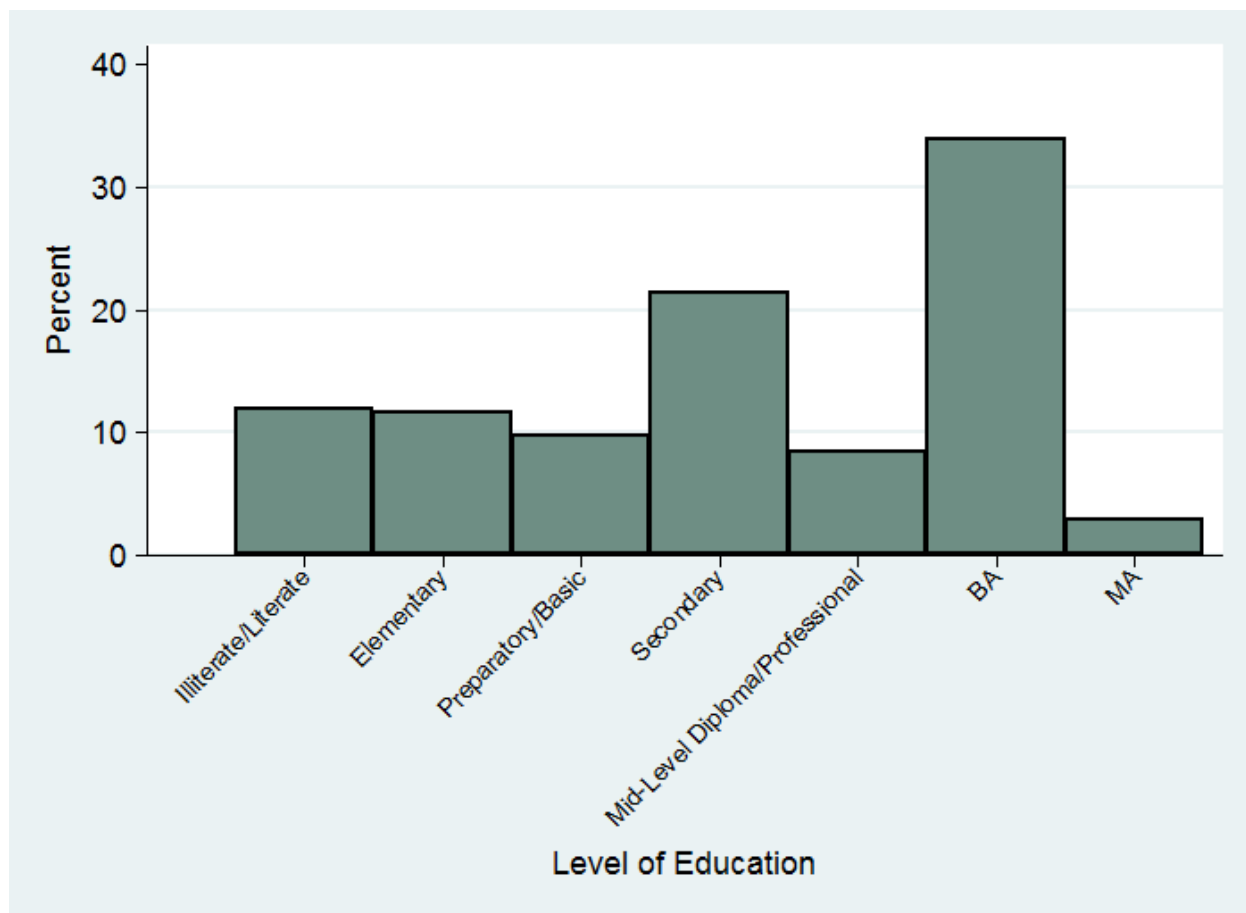
<i>North Kordofan</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>SouthDarfur</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Red Sea</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Kassala</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Gedaref</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>the Northern Province</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>White Nile</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>North Darfur</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>South Kordofan</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>River Nile</i>	<i>4</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

. The gender distribution of the sample is 56.18% male and 43.82% female. The age of the respondents ranges from 18 to 85 years old, and age groups are divided into four categories, with the 26-35 age group being the largest. As shown in Table 1, more than 80 percent of the respondents were under the age of 45. Moreover, 1,525 respondents or about 99 percent of the sample were Muslims. More than 30 percent of the respondents had a Bachelor's degree, and 51 percent of them had some sort of formal education, ranging from elementary to mid-level degrees. Only about 3 percent of the respondents had a Master's degree or above. Figure 1 shows the distribution of respondents by education levels.

**Table 2: Ages of Respondents**

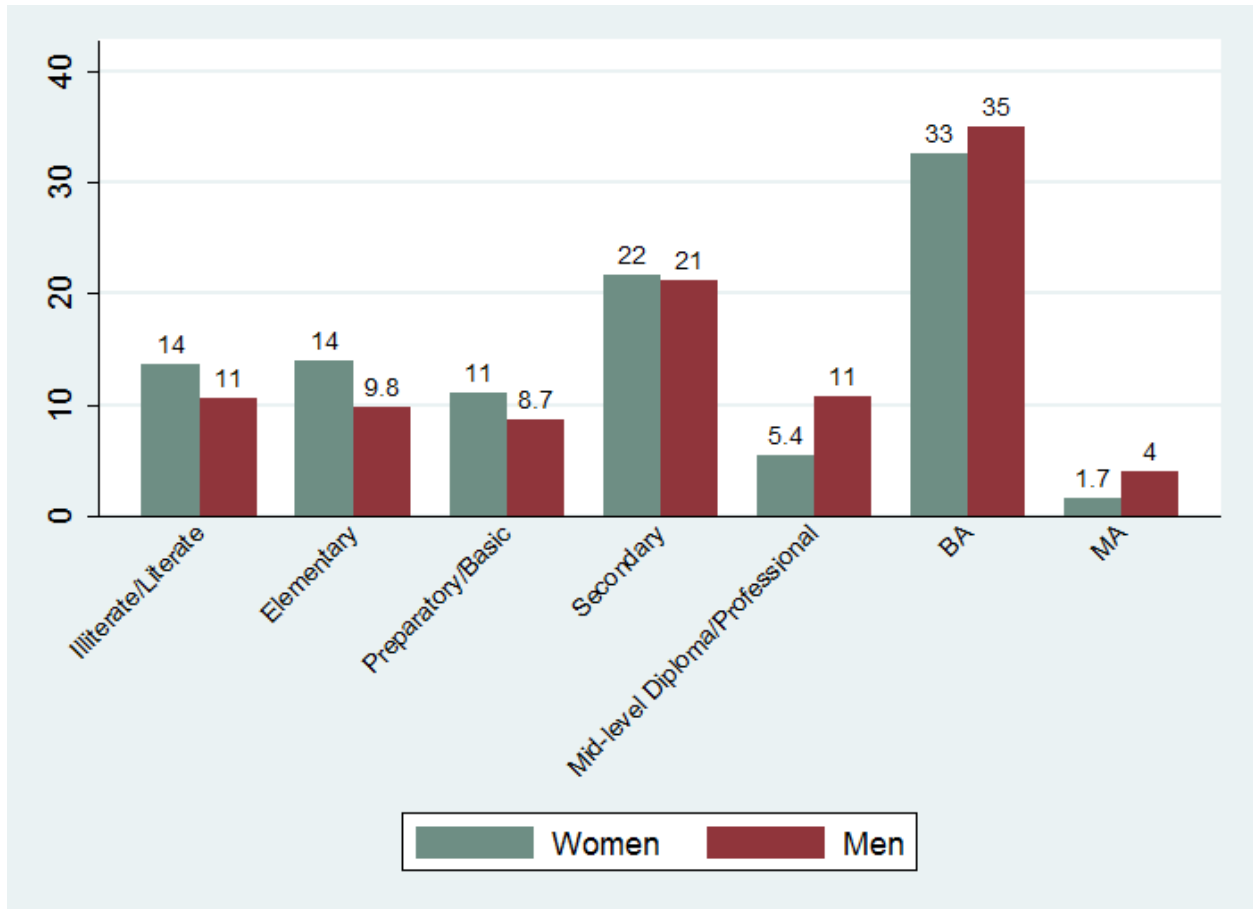
<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<i>18-25</i>	325	21.13
<i>26-35</i>	463	30.10
<i>36-45</i>	445	28.93
<i>46+</i>	305	19.83
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,538</b>	<b>100</b>

**Figure 1: Education Levels of Respondents**



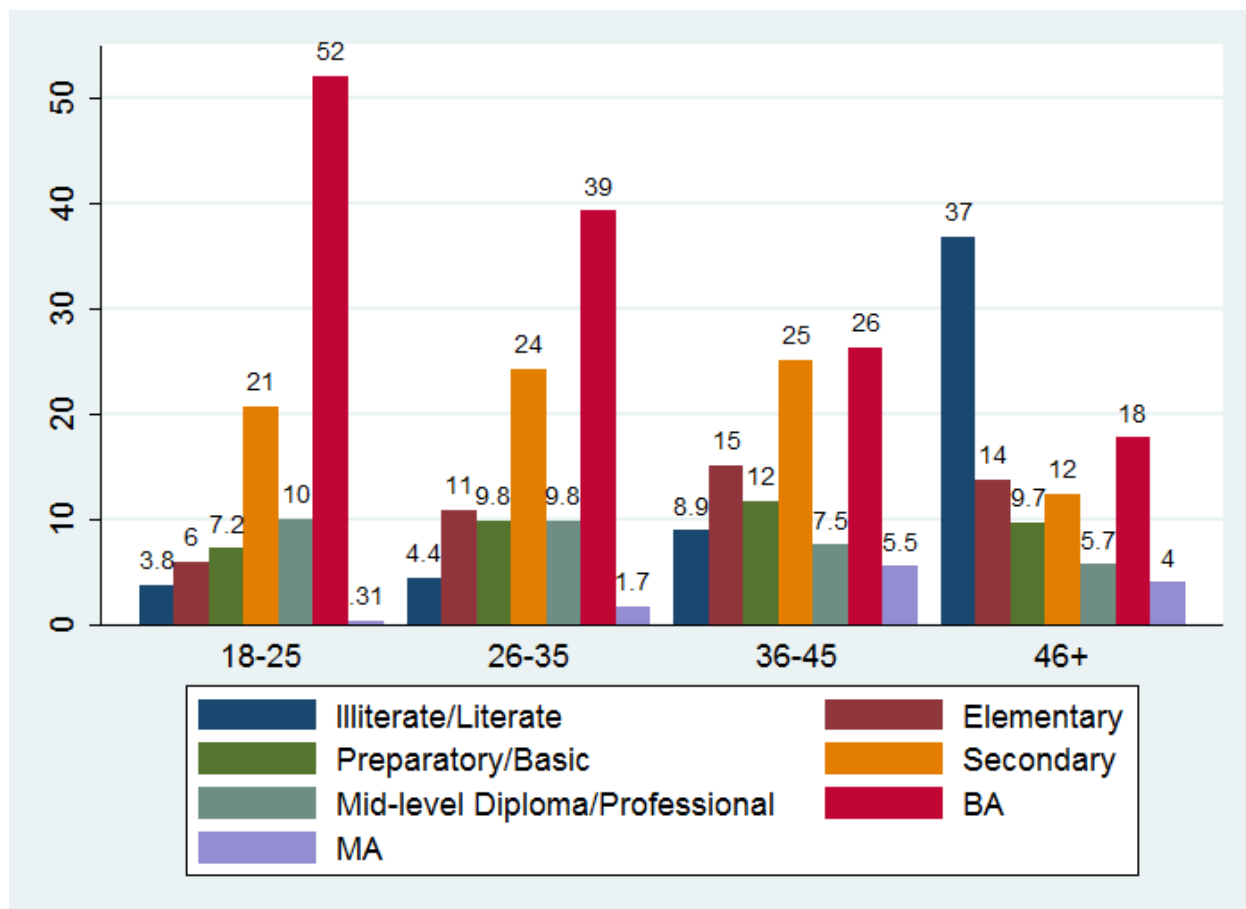
It is worth noting that the gender distribution of the respondents is not balanced across education levels. As illustrated in Figure 2, women make up at least half of the respondents among the three lowest levels of education, while they constitute a minority in the four highest levels. Women make up 50 percent of the respondents in the illiterate group, 53 percent of the elementary education group, and 50 percent of the preparatory education group. Male respondents constitute 56 percent of the secondary education group, 72 percent of the mid-level diploma group, 58 percent of the BA group, and 76 percent of the MA group.

**Figure 2: Education Levels of Respondents, by Gender**



Similarly, the distribution of education levels by age groups is imbalanced. Members of the older group are generally less educated than members from younger age groups. For example, more than half of the members of the younger group (18-25) have a College degree, compared to less than 20 percent among respondents of the older group.

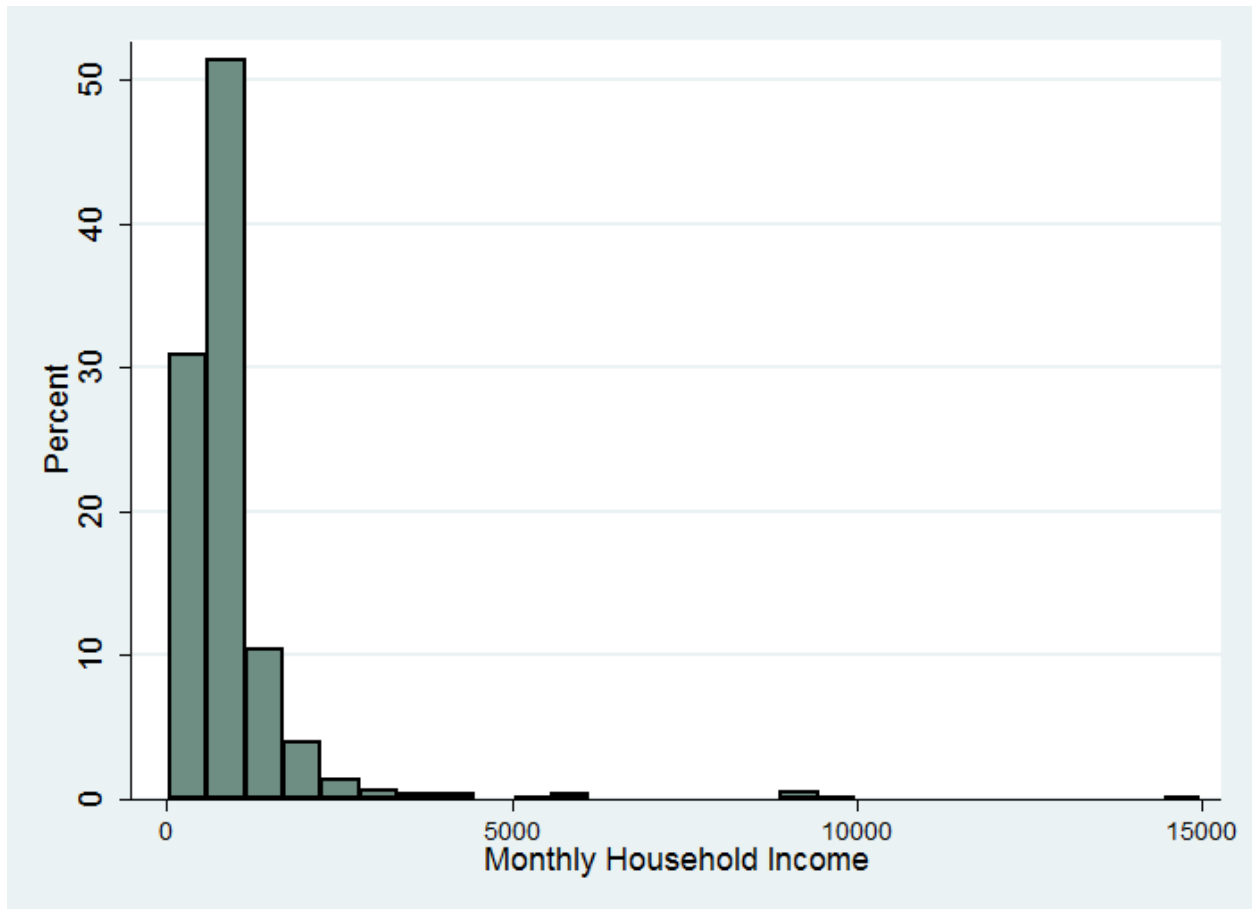
**Figure 3: Age Groups of Respondents, by Education Levels**



The average monthly household income of the respondents is 927.2 Sudanese pounds (SDG), and the median income is SDG 750. The 25<sup>th</sup> percentile of income among the respondents is SDG 500, and the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile is SDG 1000. When asked whether the household income covers the expenses of the household, more than 30 percent of the respondents responded positively, while approximately 66 percent of the respondents claimed that their household income did not cover the expenditure needs of the household. Among the

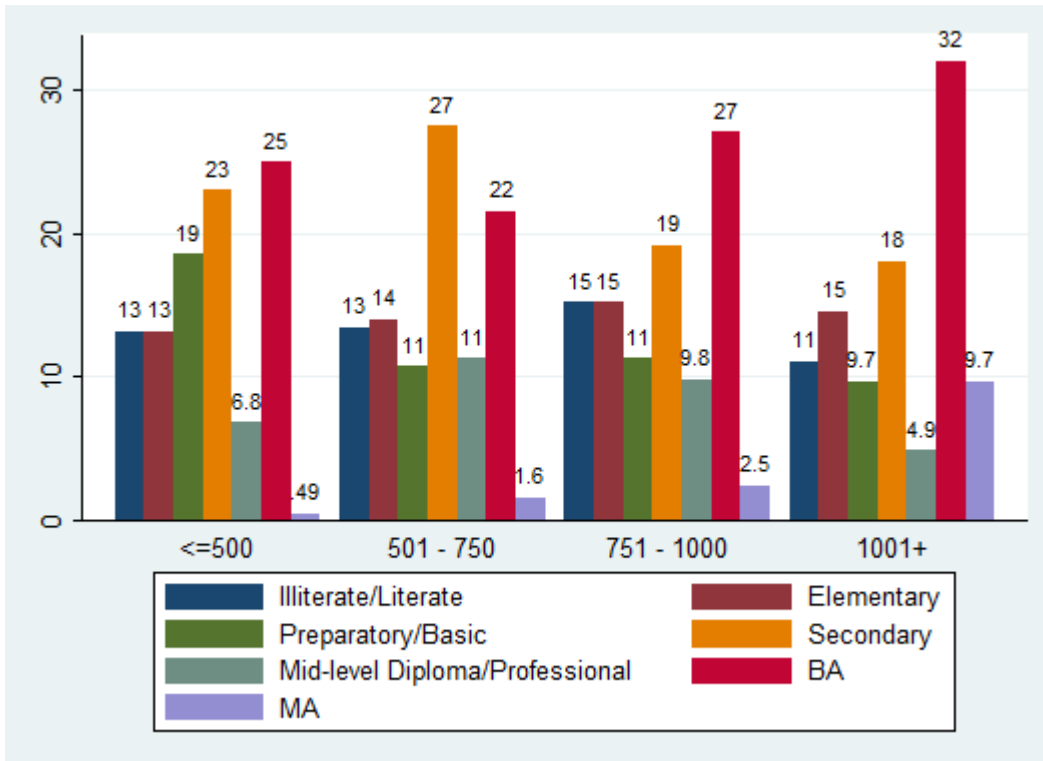
64 percent of those with financial difficulties, 25 percent acknowledged significant difficulties in meeting their needs with their household income.

**Figure 4: Monthly Household Income**



Finally, it seems that the education level of an individual is not a perfect predictor of his household income level. For example, 25 percent of the respondents from the lowest income group have a College education, while 26 percent of them have no or little education.

**Figure 5: Income Groups, by Education Levels**

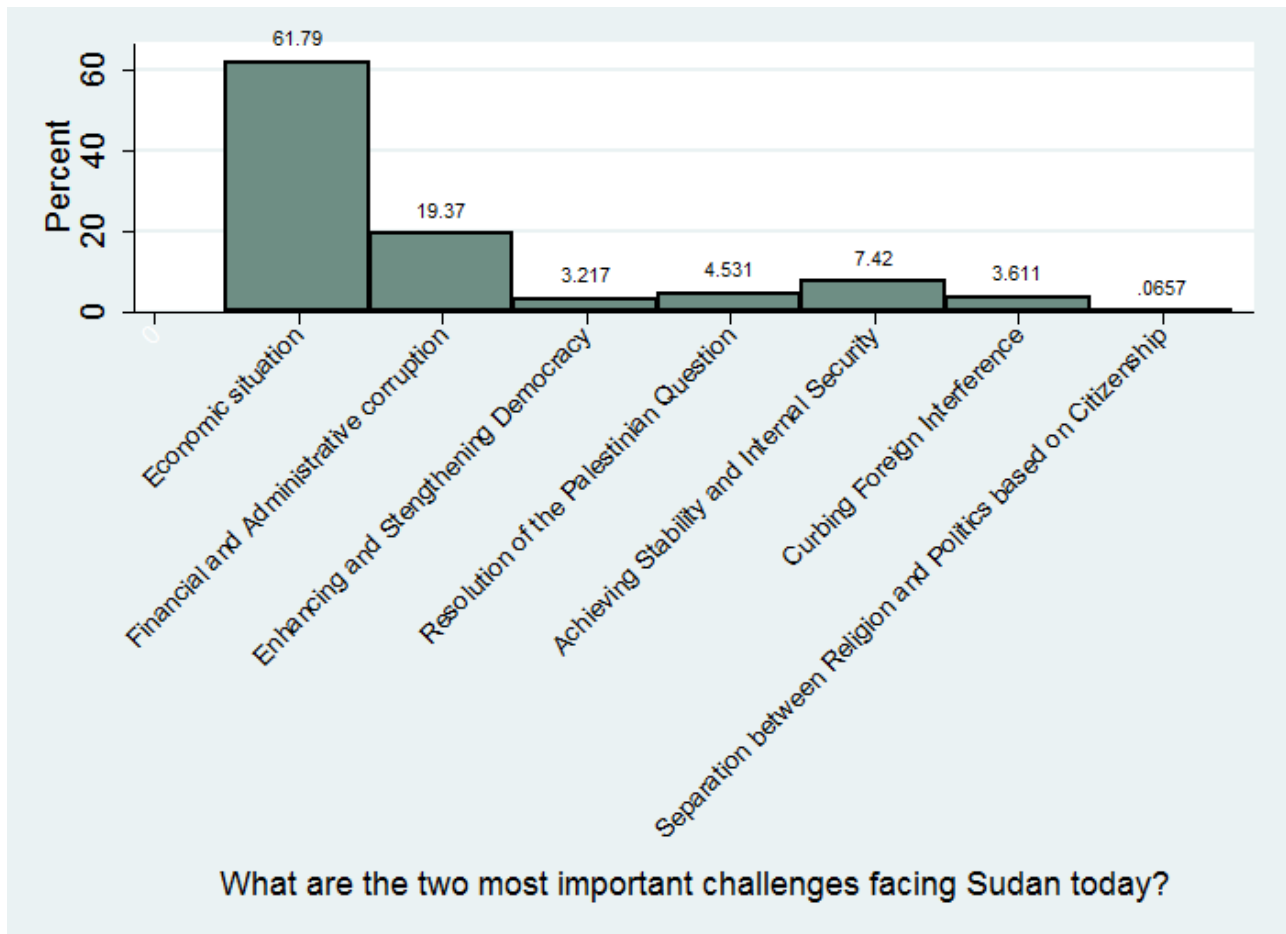




## II. Economy

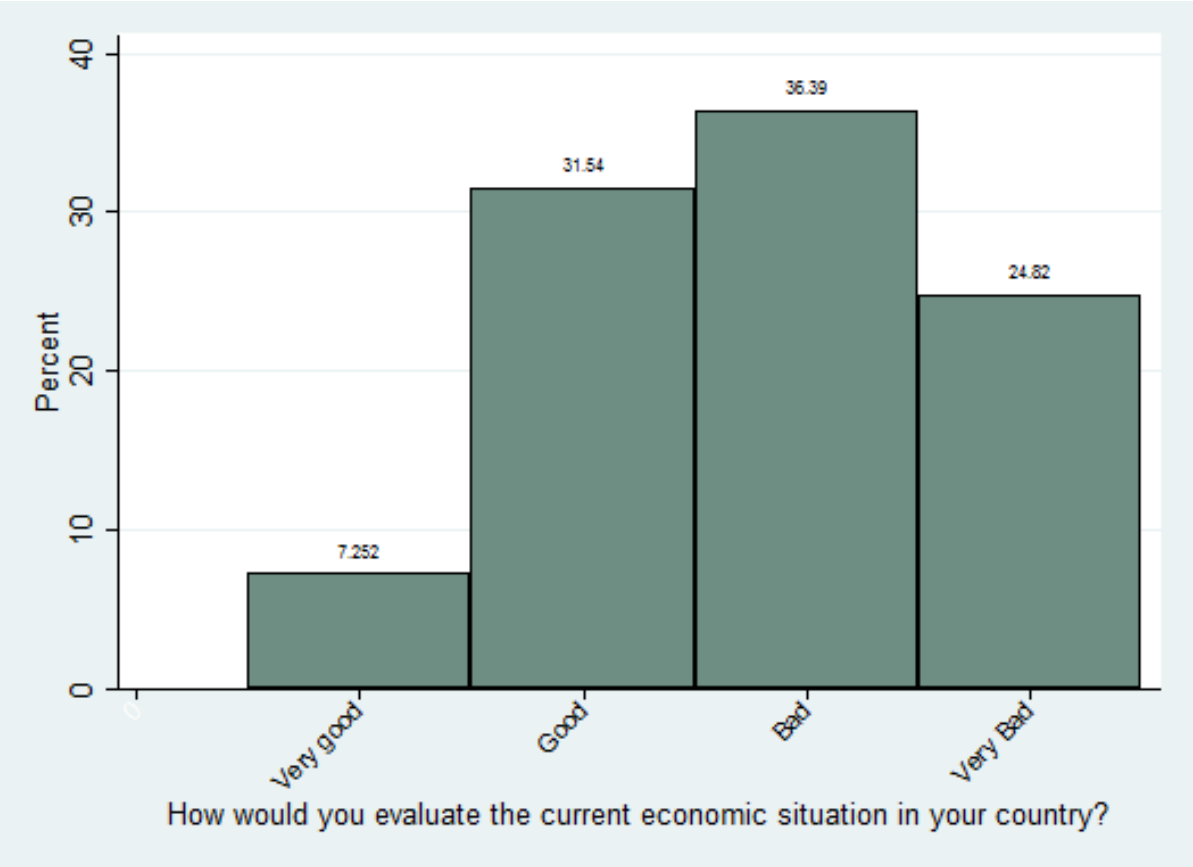
The survey evaluates the overall opinion of the Sudanese about the economic situation of their country. When asked to identify the two most important challenges facing their country today, about 62 percent of the respondents identified the economic situation as the most important challenge, while 19 percent named financial and administrative corruption as the major challenge (see Figure 6). Only 3 and 7 percent of the respondents identified respectively enhancing democracy and internal security as a major concern. More surprising is that, in the midst of talks on partitioning the country, respondents did not identify territorial integrity or cultural fragmentation as important challenges facing the Sudan.

**Figure 6: Most Important Challenges Facing Sudan Today**



As illustrated by Figure 7, more than 60 percent of the respondents qualified the economic situation as “bad” or “very bad”. In addition, 46 percent of the respondents believe that the situation will improve over the next 3 to 5 years, while approximately 31 percent believe that the economy will worsen.

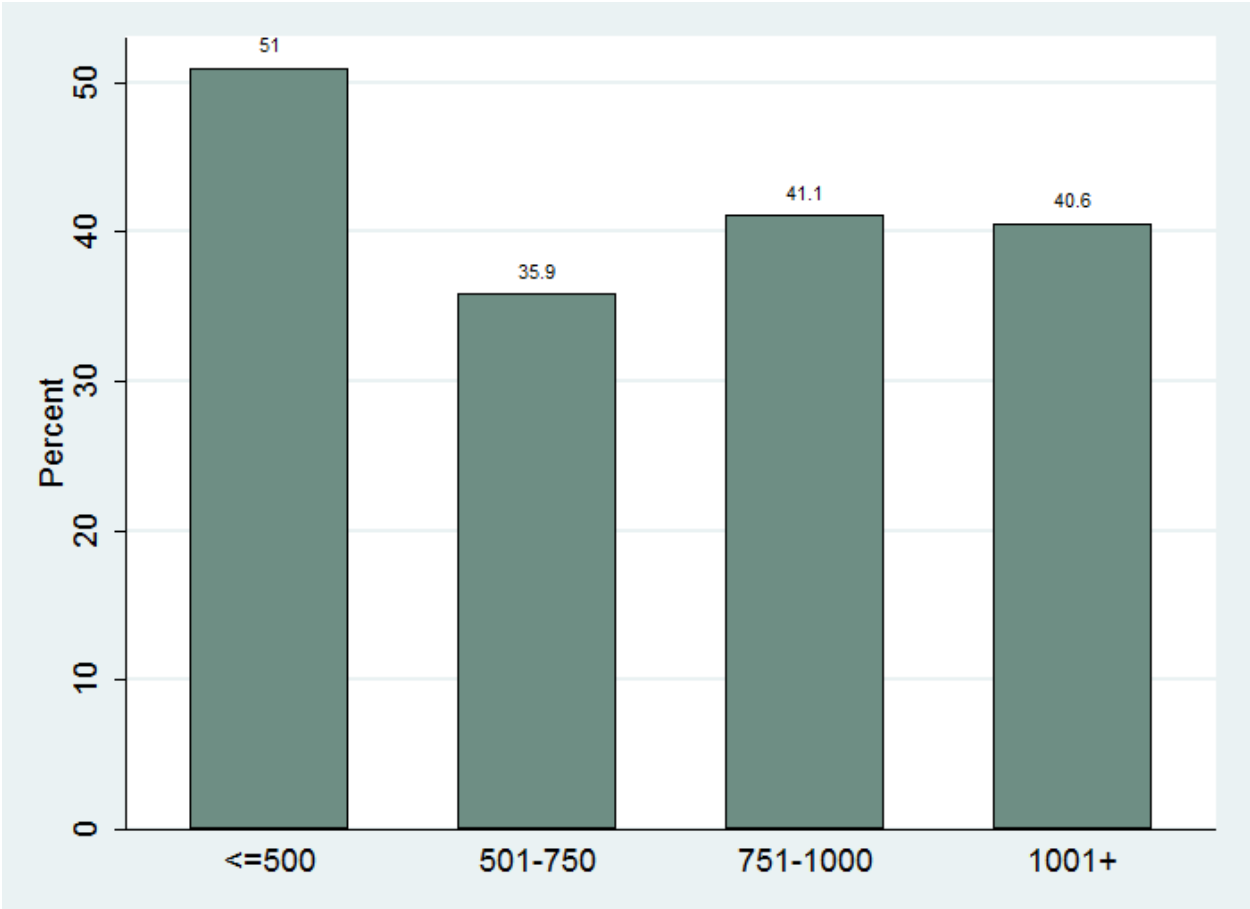
**Figure 7: Evaluation of the Current Economic Situation of the Sudan**



It appears that the respondents’ assessment of the country’s economic situation does not vary sharply by income level. Surprisingly, the poorest citizens are 10 percentage points more likely to qualify the economic situation as “good” or “very good” compared to the richest citizens. As shown in Figure 8, about 41 percent of the richest respondents believe that the

economic situation of the country is “good” or “very good”, while 51 percent of the poorest citizens share the same opinion.

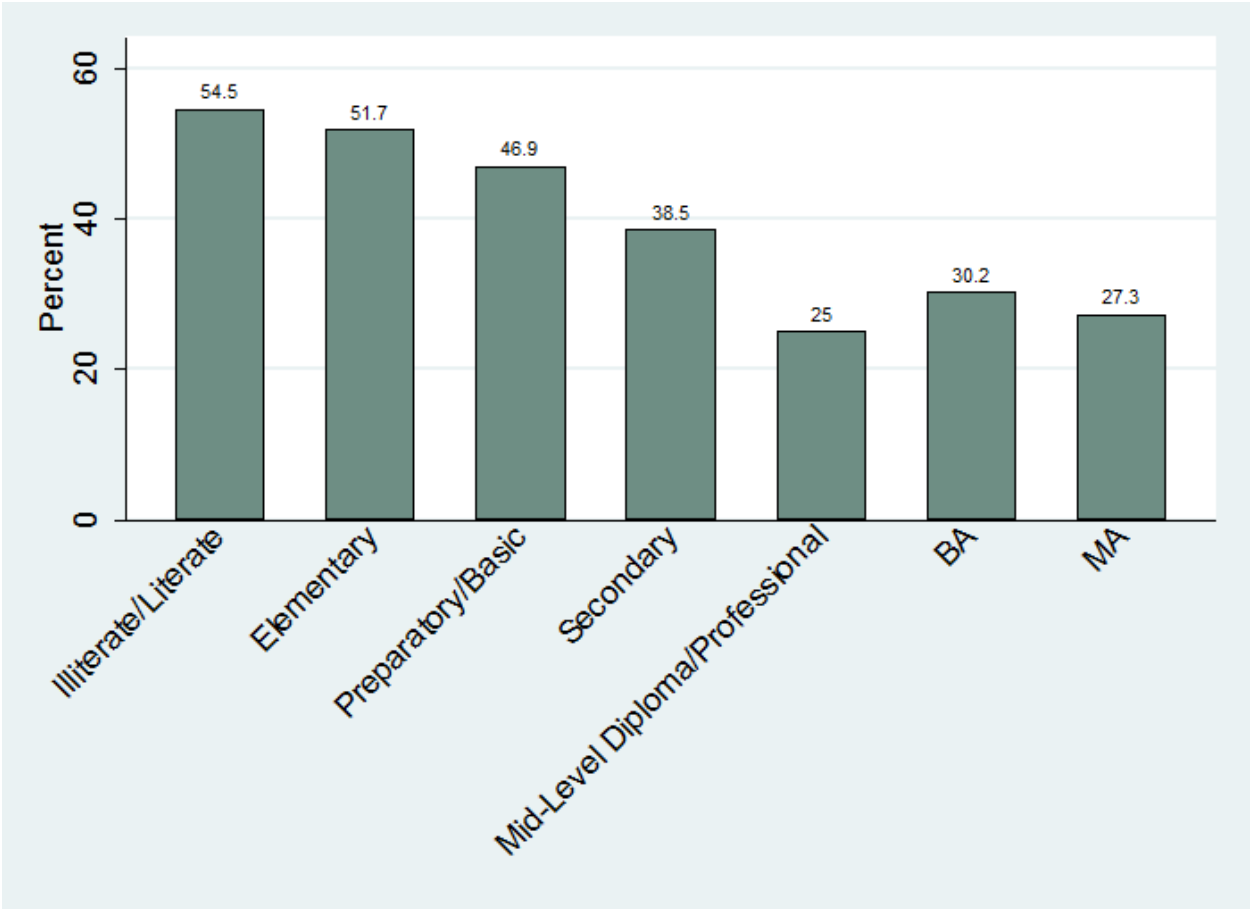
**Figure 8: Positive Evaluation of the Economic Situation, by Income Groups**



By contrast, opinions about the state of the economy vary more significantly across education levels. For example, it is interesting to note that only about 30 percent of the respondents with a Bachelor’s degree qualified the economy as “good” or “very good”, compared to 55 percent of respondents among the illiterate/literate group. Figure 9 shows the proportion of the respondents that qualified the economic situation as “good” or “very good” by education level, signifying that less educated citizens are more optimistic about the

economy than more educated citizens. This seems to indicate that holding a higher education degree does not necessarily improve the individual’s economic prospects.

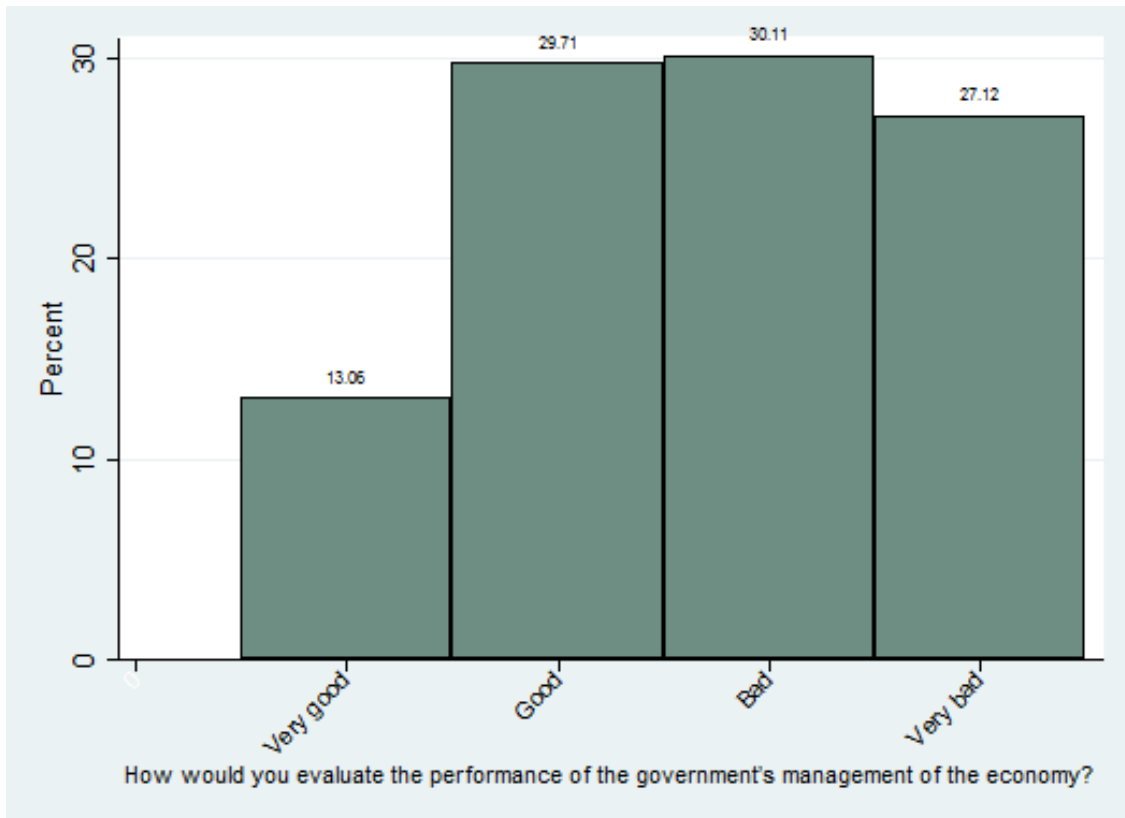
**Figure 9: Positive Evaluation of the Economic Situation, by Education Levels**



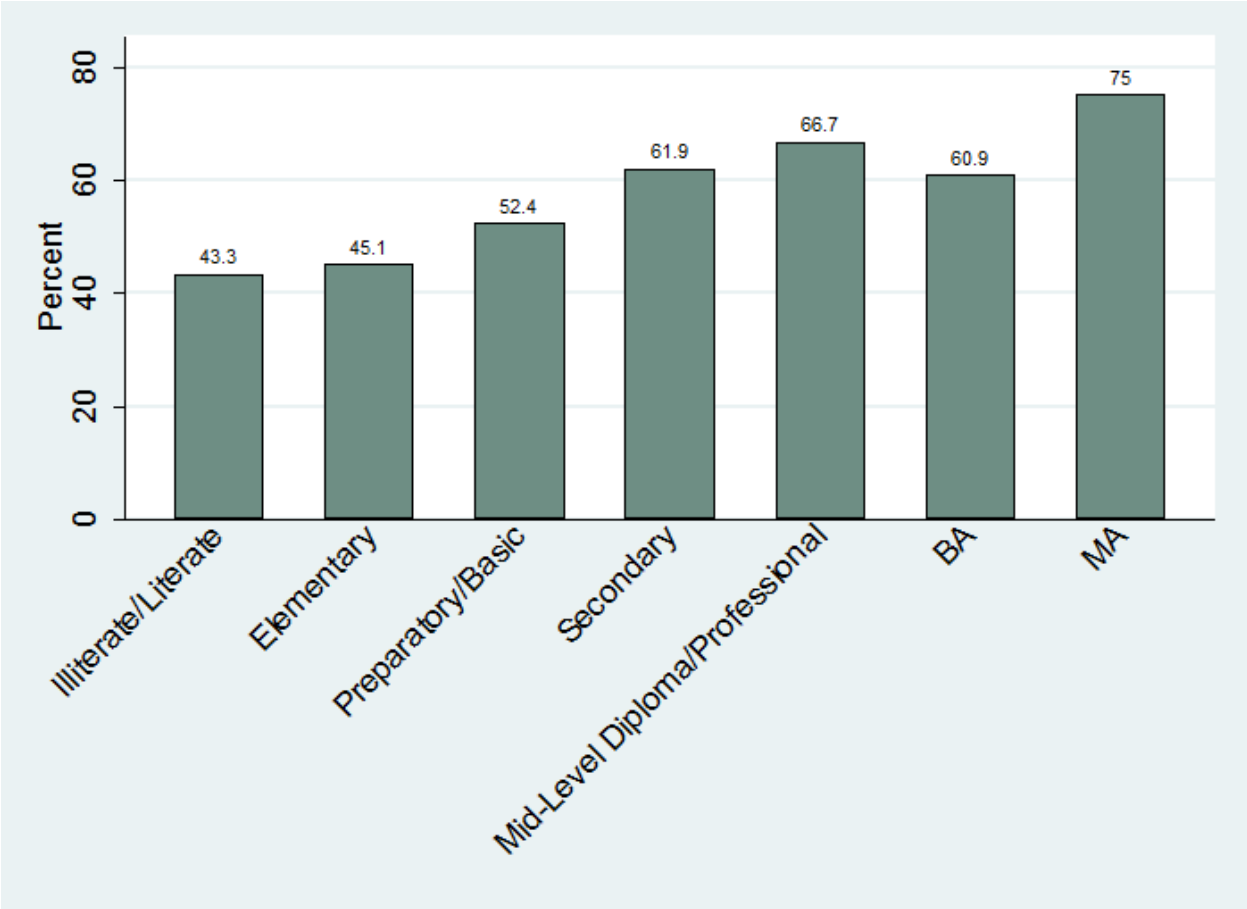
Paralleling the dominant opinion that the country’s economic situation is “bad” or “very bad”, respondents largely consider that the government has done a poor job at managing the economy. Indeed, 56 percent of the respondents qualified the government’s economic performance as “bad” or “very bad” (see Figure 10). The discontent is higher among the more educated citizens. Seventy-five percent of MA holders, 61 percent of BA holders and 67 percent of mid-level degree holders think that the government’s management of the economy is “bad”

or “very bad”. By contrast, only 45 percent of elementary degree holders share the same opinion (see Figure 11). As a result of the economic situation, 29 percent of the respondents consider emigrating for economic reasons and 15 percent for both economic and political reasons. Among those with a Bachelor’s degree, 33 percent were thinking about emigrating for economic reasons, and 38 percent of those considering emigration for economic reasons had a BA.

**Figure 10: Evaluation of the Government’s Management of the Economy**



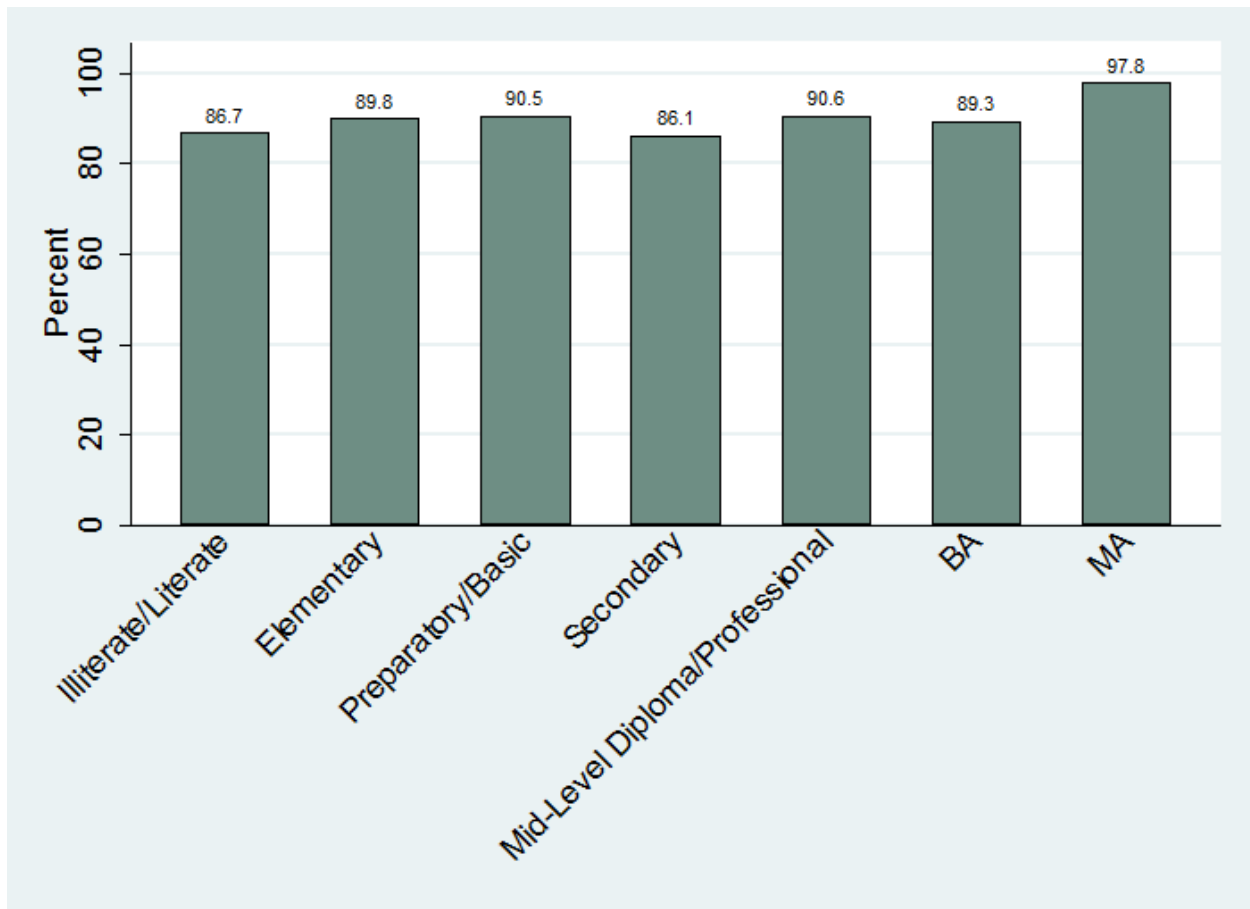
**Figure 11: Negative Assessment of the Government's Economic Management, by Education Levels**



### III. Religion

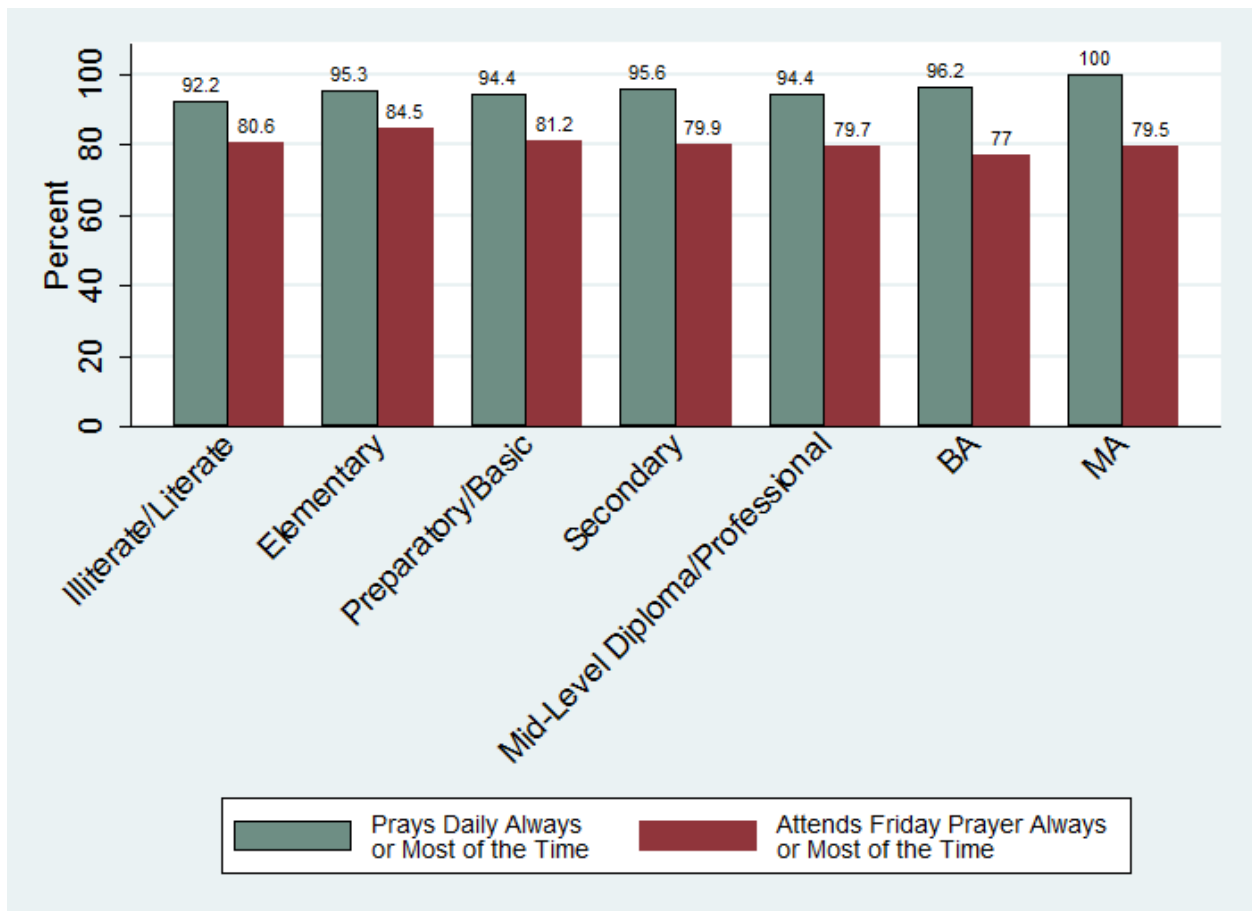
The Arab Barometer survey asks a series of questions to evaluate the role of religion in society and how it relates to political attitudes and opinions. Among the 1,538 Sudanese respondents, about 99 percent were Muslims, and about 89 percent described themselves as either “religious” or “somewhat religious”. Among those who hold a Bachelor’s degree, approximately 39 percent identify themselves as “religious” and 51 percent as “somewhat religious”. Interestingly, the respondents holding a Master’s degree are 11 percentage points more likely to identify themselves as “religious” or “somewhat religious” than illiterate/literate respondents. Figure 12 shows the percentage of respondents who identify themselves as “religious” or “somewhat religious”, by education levels.

**Figure 12: Religious Attitude, by Education Levels**



Regarding religious practices, more than 86 percent of the respondents report always praying daily, and more than 65 percent always attends Friday prayers. Religious practices seem to be consistent across education levels. Approximately 91 percent of BA holders and 84 percent of the illiterate/literate group report always praying daily. Again, MA holders are more likely than any other group to report praying daily; however, the sample of MA holders is too small to draw any conclusions.

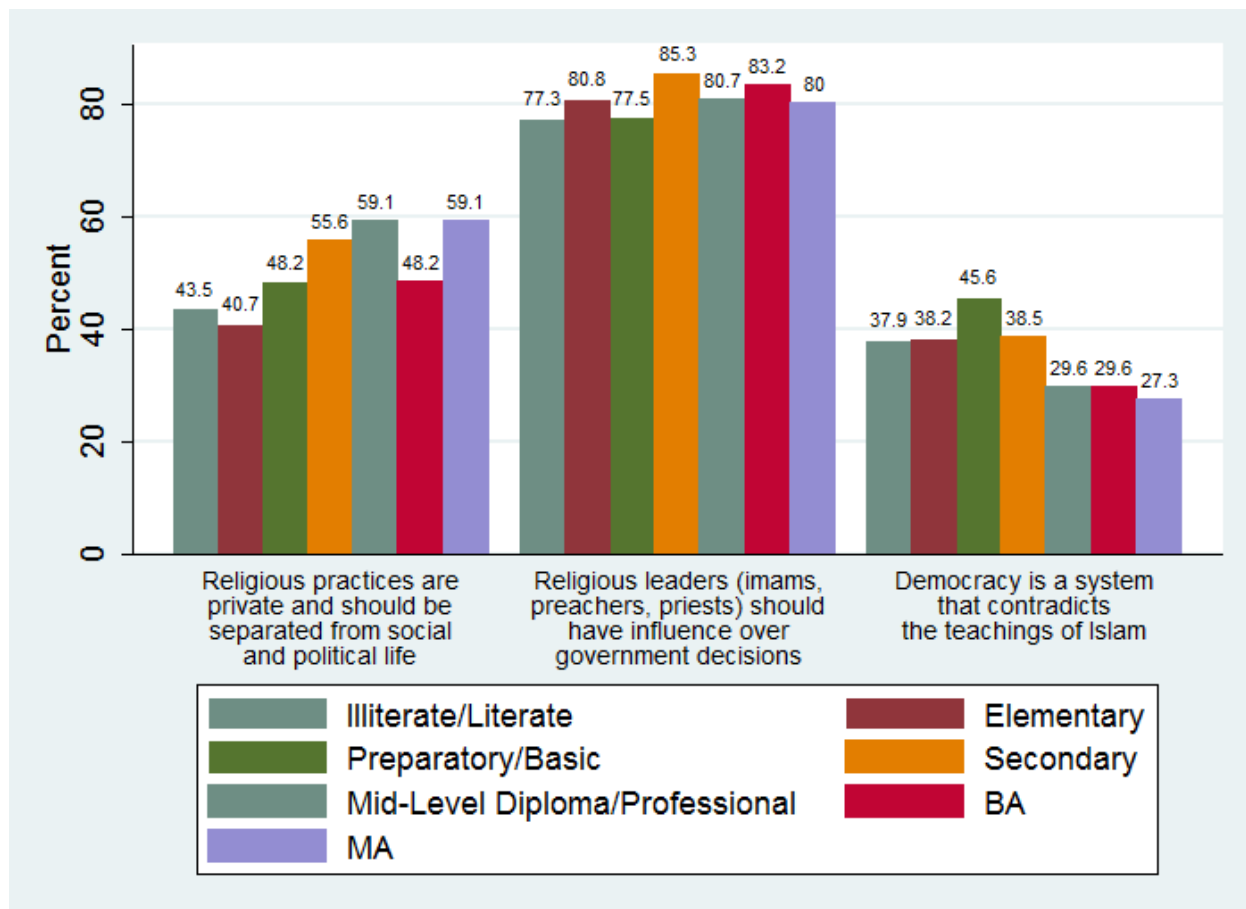
**Figure 13: Religious practices, by Education Levels**





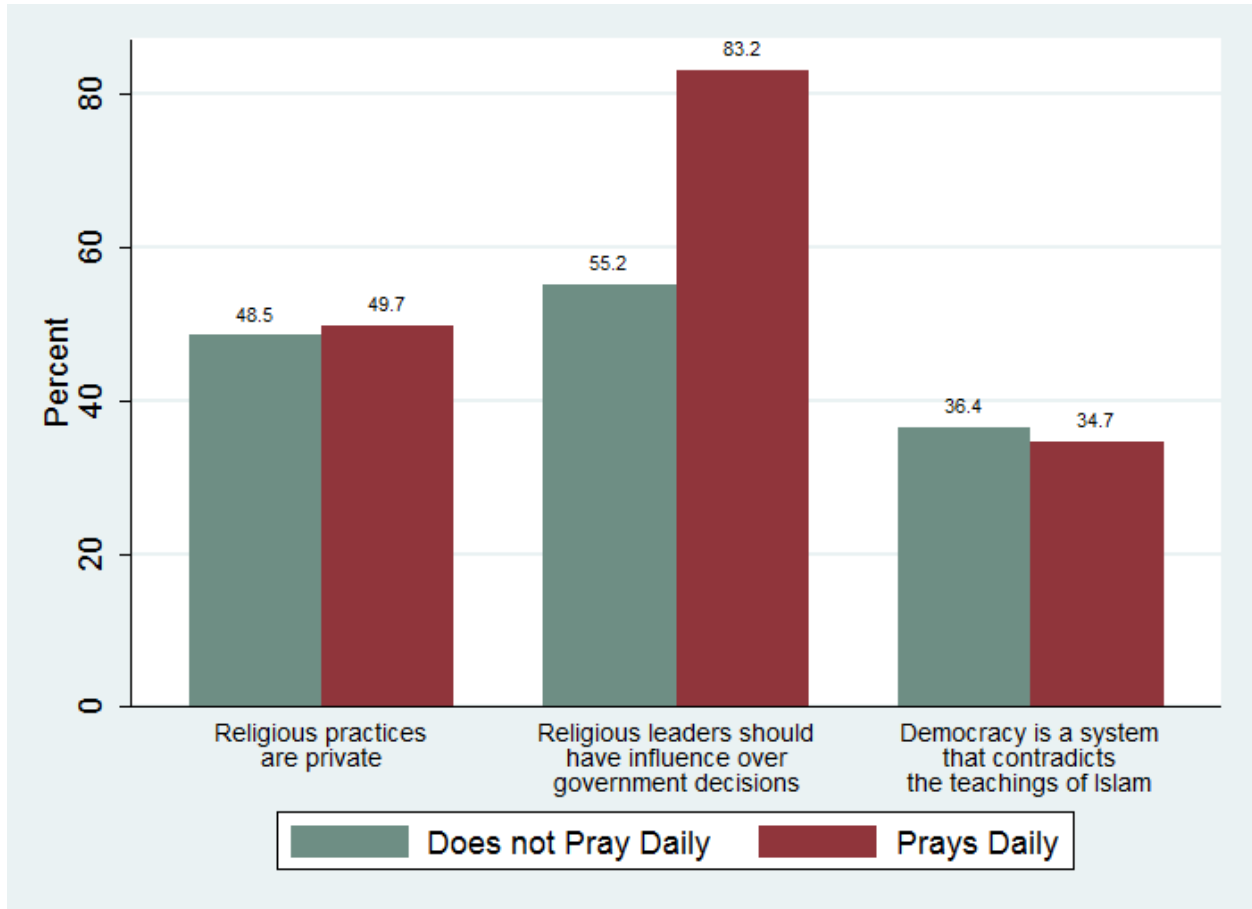
Several questions of the survey focused on the relationship between religion and politics. Specifically, respondents were asked their opinions on the political role of religious authorities, democratic values, and the enactment of Islamic law versus civil/common law. When asked whether democratic systems contradict the teachings of Islam, 65 percent of the respondents “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the claim. Almost half of the respondents “agree” or “strongly agree” with the fact that religious practices should be private and separated from social and political life. Almost 82 percent of the respondents believe that religious leaders should have influence over government decisions. As shown in Figure 14, the answers somewhat vary by education level, although not in a consistent manner. Individuals from the illiterate/literate group are 10 percentage points more likely than MA holders to believe that democracy contradicts the teachings of Islam, but 3 percentage point less likely than MA holders to claim that religious leaders should influence the decisions of the government. Similarly, 59 percent of MA holders believe religious practices should be private, but 80 percent of them also claim that religious leaders should influence governmental decisions.

**Figure 14: Religion and Politics – Percentage of Respondents who “(Strongly) Agree” with the Following Statements, by Education Levels**



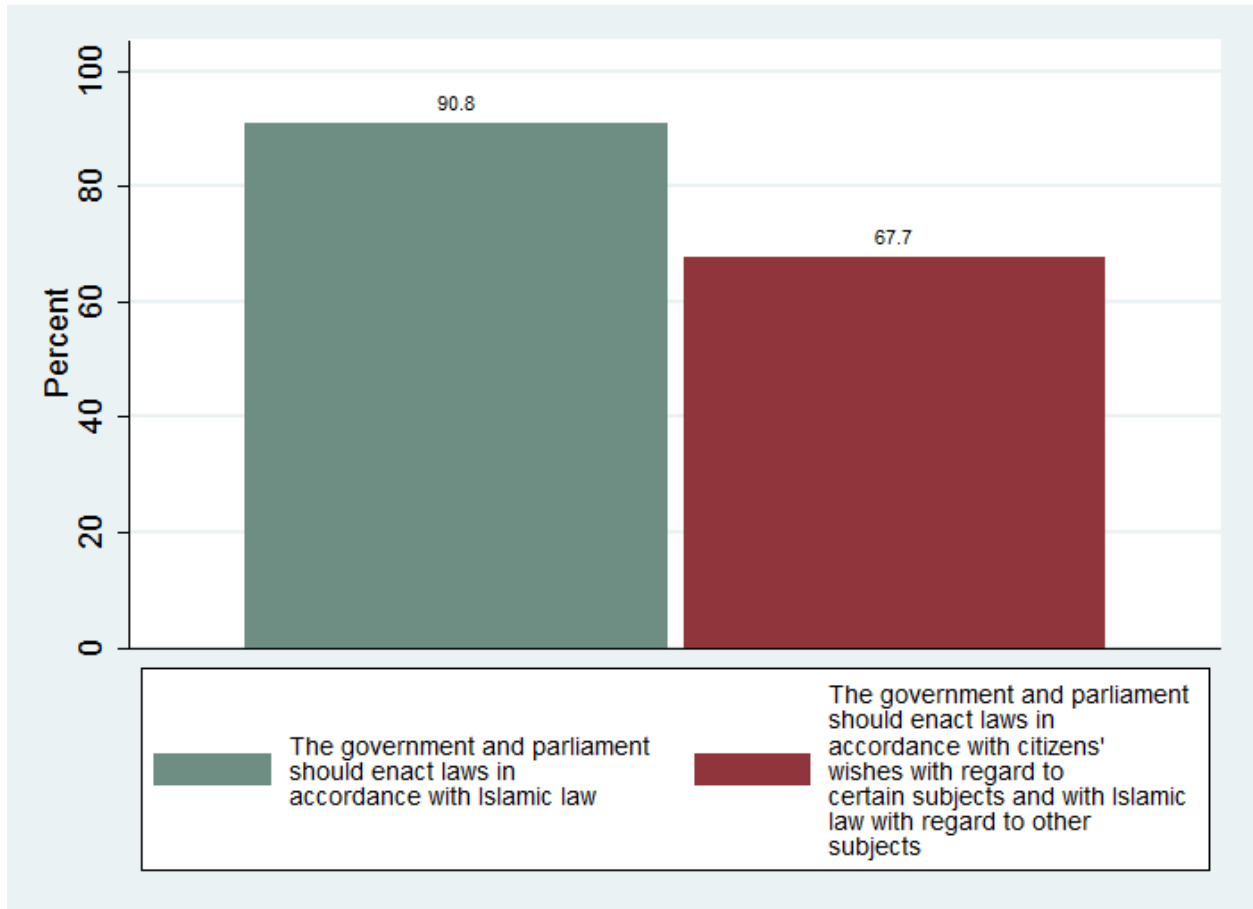
Individuals’ opinions on the role of Islam or religious authorities in politics are partly influenced by their religiosity. Figure 15 illustrates the link between religious practices, such as praying daily, and political opinions. For example, 83 percent of those who pray daily claim that religious leaders should have influence over government decisions, compared to 55 percent among those who do not pray daily. They are, however, slightly less likely to believe that democratic values contradict the teachings of Islam. Similarly, 77 percent of those who pray daily believe that their country would be better off if religious people held public positions in the state, while only 40 percent of those who do not pray daily share the same opinion.

**Figure 15: Religion and Politics – Percentage of Respondents who “(Strongly) Agree” with the Following Statements, by Daily Prayer**



With regards to the judicial and legal system, 91 percent of the respondents believe that laws and regulations should be enacted in accordance to Islamic law, and 68 percent believe that laws should be enacted in accordance to citizens’ wishes with regard to certain subjects and to Islamic law with regard to other subjects (see Figure 16). Personal religiosity influences one’s preference for the enactment of an Islamic legal system. Indeed, individuals who pray daily are 20 percentage points more likely to believe that the government and parliament should enact laws in accordance with Islamic law.

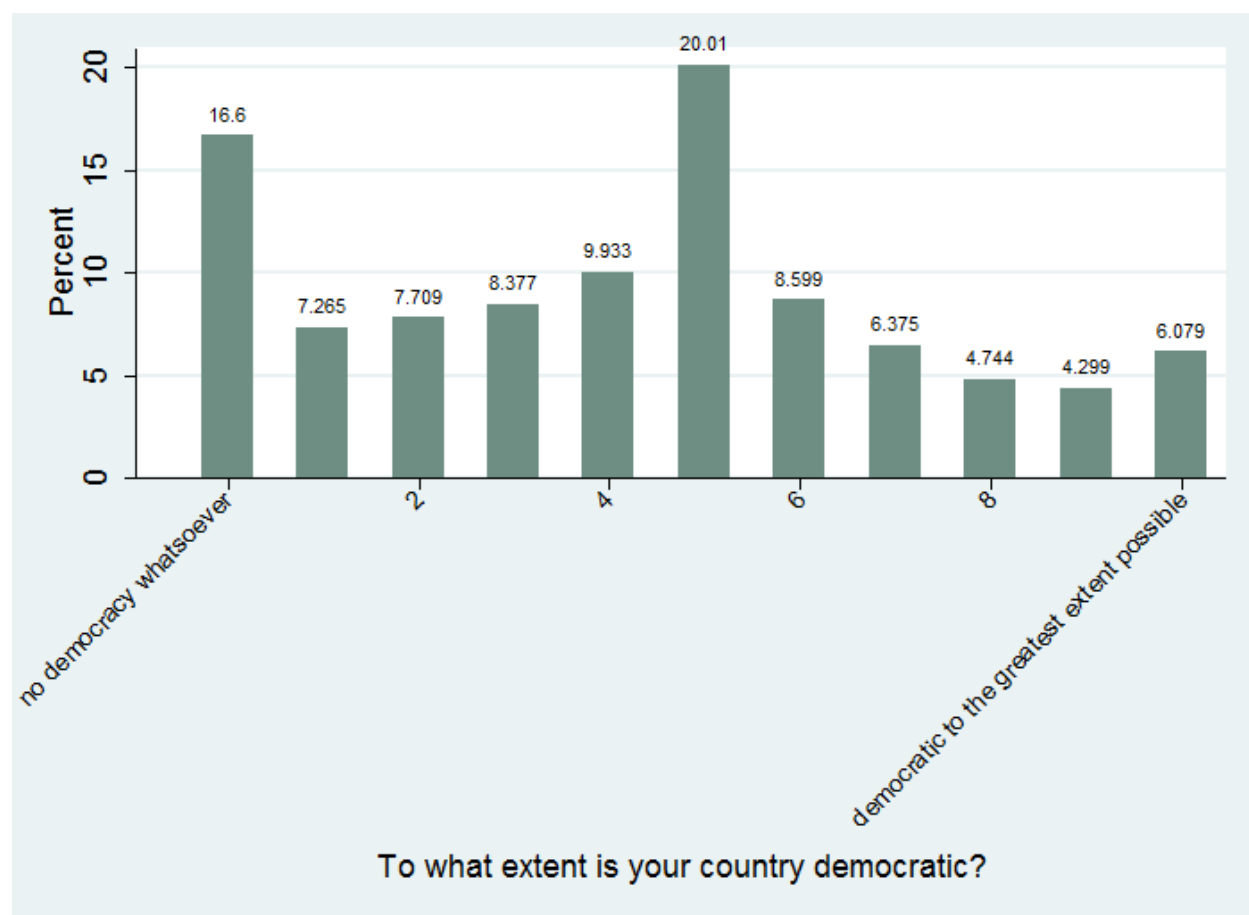
Figure 16: Religion and Islamic Law – Percentage of Respondents who “(Strongly) Agree” with the Following Statements



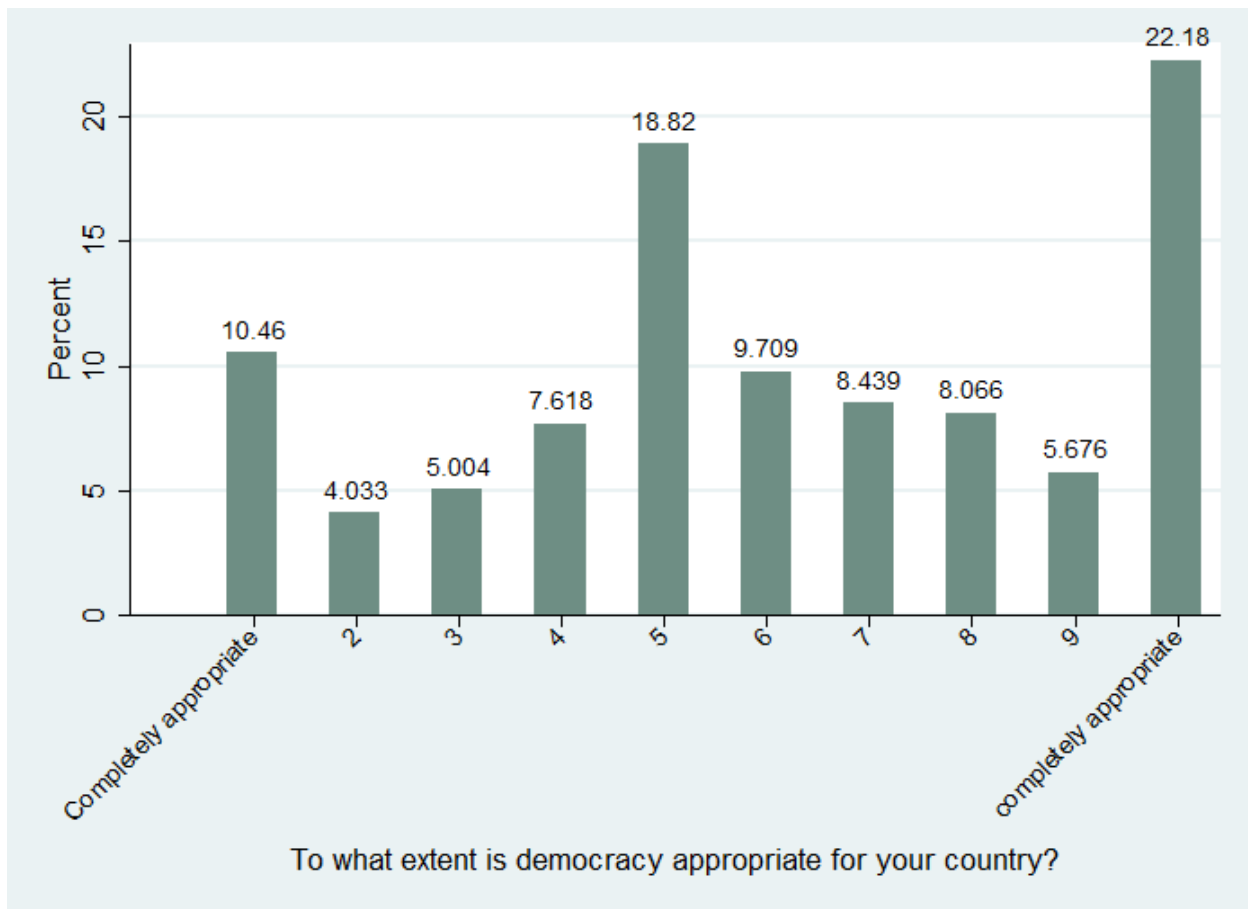
#### IV. Political Systems, Democracy and Public Institutions

A series of questions in the Arab Barometer aims to evaluate respondents' opinions on the political system currently in place in Sudan, features of various political systems, specific characteristics of democratic regimes, and overall satisfaction with public institutions. Figure 17 shows that, when asked to evaluate on the 0-to-10 scale the extent to which the political regime currently in place in Sudan is democratic, about 50 percent of the respondents said there was no or limited democracy in Sudan (from 0 to 4). As illustrated by Figure 18, approximately 54 percent of the respondents claim that democracy was a suitable regime type for Sudan (from 6 to 10 on a 1-to-10 question's scale).

**Figure 17: Assessment of Democratic Level in Sudan**

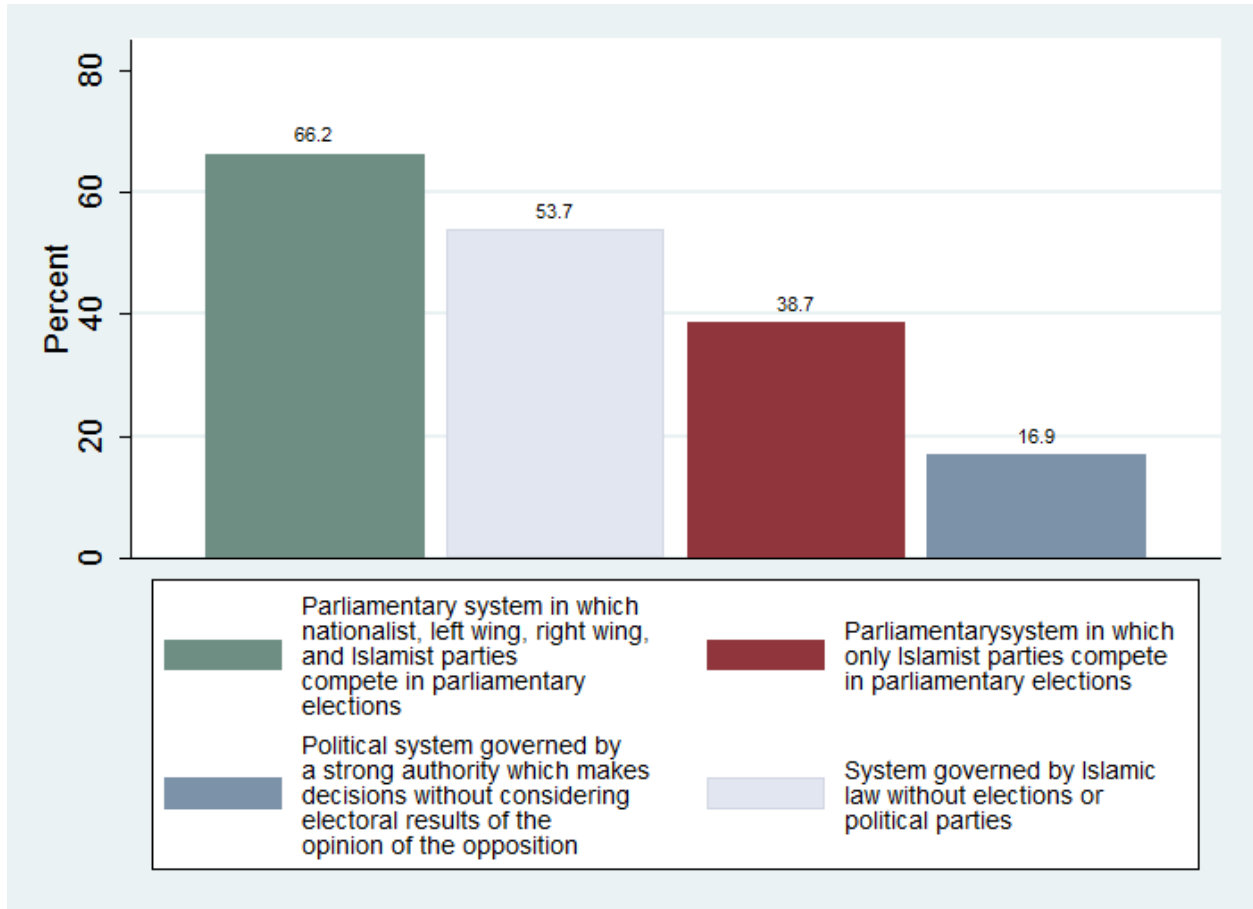


**Figure 18: Assessment of Suitability of Democracy in Sudan**



The respondents were also asked to identify, among existing political systems in the Middle East and North Africa, the system that would be appropriate for Sudan. As illustrated in Figure 19, a majority of the respondents believe that a competitive parliamentary system is the most appropriate regime for their country. Sixty percent of the respondents find “very appropriate” or “appropriate” a parliamentary system in which all types of parties can compete in elections; 34 percent share the same opinion regarding a parliamentary system in which only Islamist parties can compete in elections. While only 15 percent of the respondents find a strong authoritarian regime to be appropriate, up to 48 percent of them positively evaluate a system governed by Islamic law without elections or political parties. Opinions do not seem to vary much by education levels. Up to 56 percent of illiterate/literate respondents, 51 percent of BA holders and 40 percent of MA holders believe that an Islamic regime without elections is an appropriate system for Sudan.

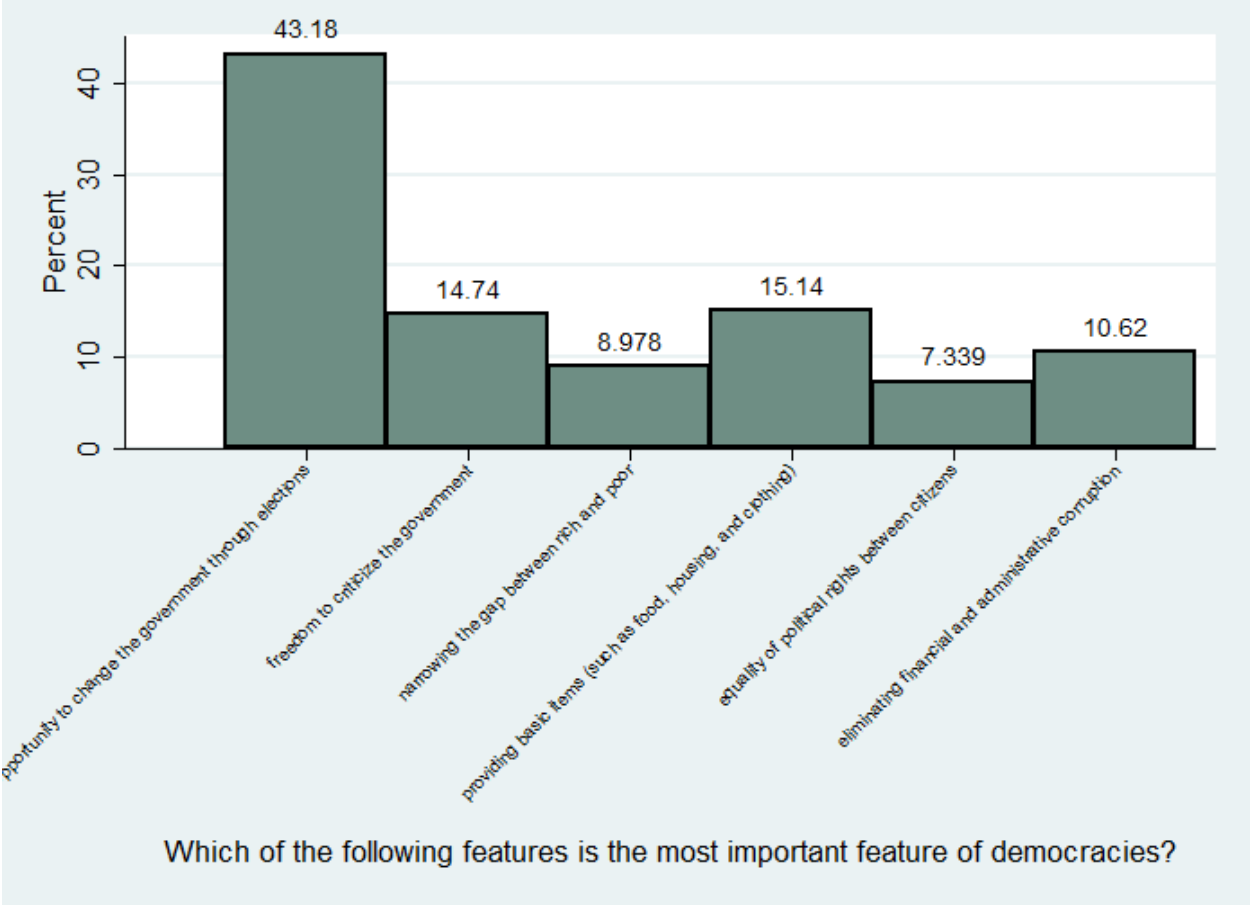
**Figure 19: Assessment of various Middle Eastern Political Systems**



Given that many respondents believe democracy to be a suitable regime type for their country, it is important to understand what they believe a democratic system is. Figure 20 illustrates the responses. Forty-three percent of the respondents identify the opportunity to

change the government as the single most important feature of a democratic system, while about 15 percent identify both the freedom to criticize the government and the provision of basic items as a democracy’s most important characteristic. In addition, when asked whether a democratic political system is good for a country’s governance, 81 percent of the respondents said “very good” or “good”.

**Figure 20: Democracy’s Most Important Feature**

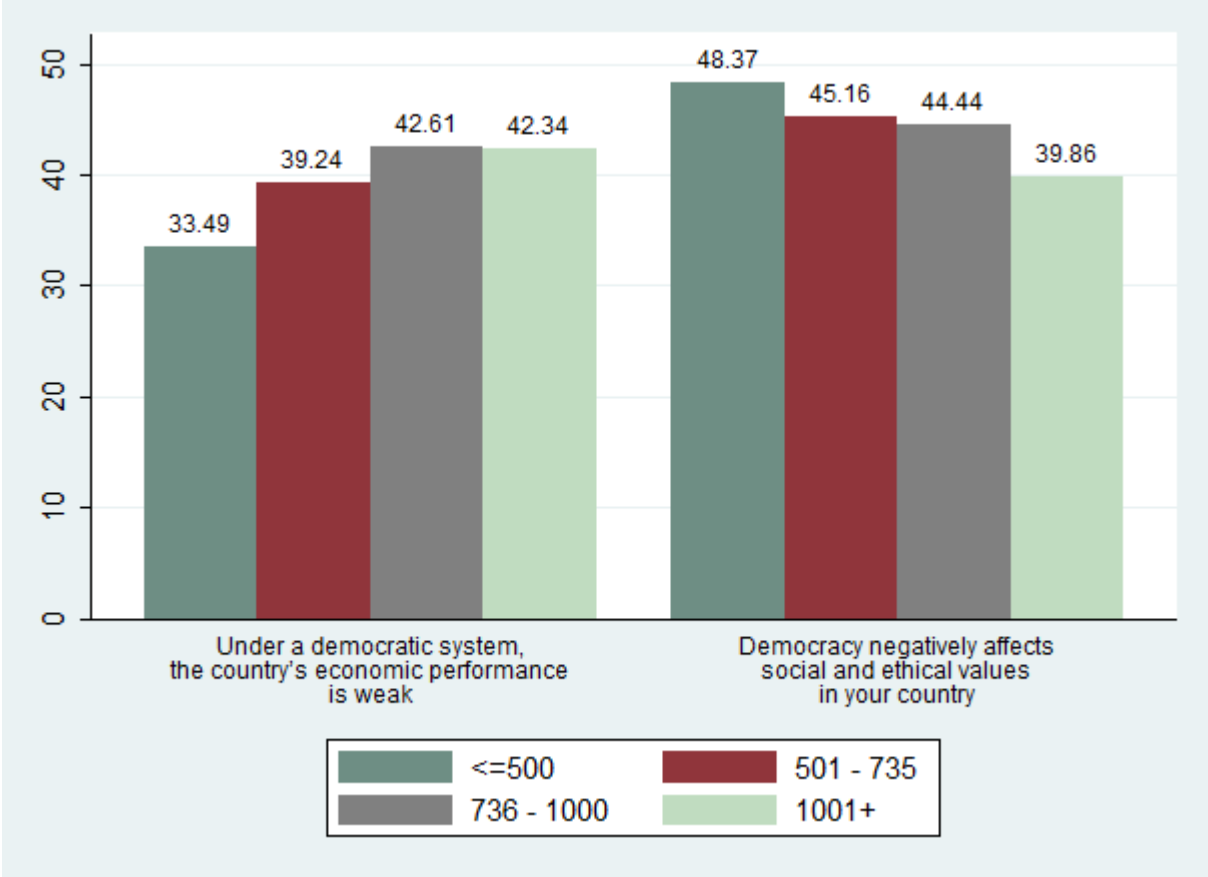


Despite the dominant preference for a democratic regime, respondents identify several important problems that come with a democratic system. Specifically, 37 percent of the respondents believe that economic performance under a democratic rule is weak; 36 percent believe that democratic systems are not effective at maintaining order; and 37 percent share



the opinion that a democratic system would negatively affect Sudan’s social and ethical values. Opinions vary slightly by income level. For example, the wealthiest respondents are 9 percentage points more likely to “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement that the country’s economic performance is weaker under a democracy, 9 percentage points less likely to believe that social and ethical values will be negatively affected by a democratic system (see Figure 21).

**Figure 21: Negative Effects of Democratic Regimes, by Income Groups**



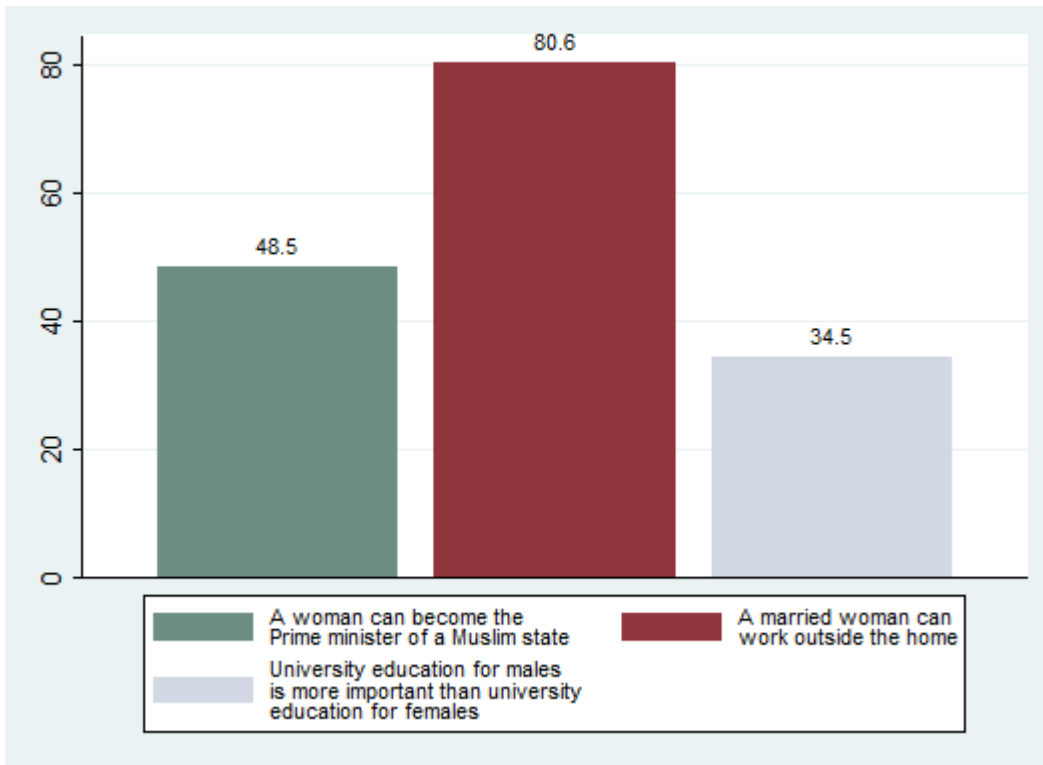
Nevertheless, more than 70 percent of the respondents still believe that, in spite of their problems, democratic systems are very good systems. This opinion is relatively stable across income groups and education levels. For example, 60 percent of the respondents in the illiterate/literate group believe democratic systems are very good, compared to 66 percent of MA holders.

Respondents were also asked to evaluate the extent to which they are satisfied with their government. Fifty-six percent of the respondents declared trusting the government to a “great” or “medium” extent, and 45 percent similarly trust the elected body of representatives. In parallel, the performances of the government and the parliament were qualified as “very good” or “good” respectively by 42 and 35 percent of the respondents.

## **v. Women in Society**

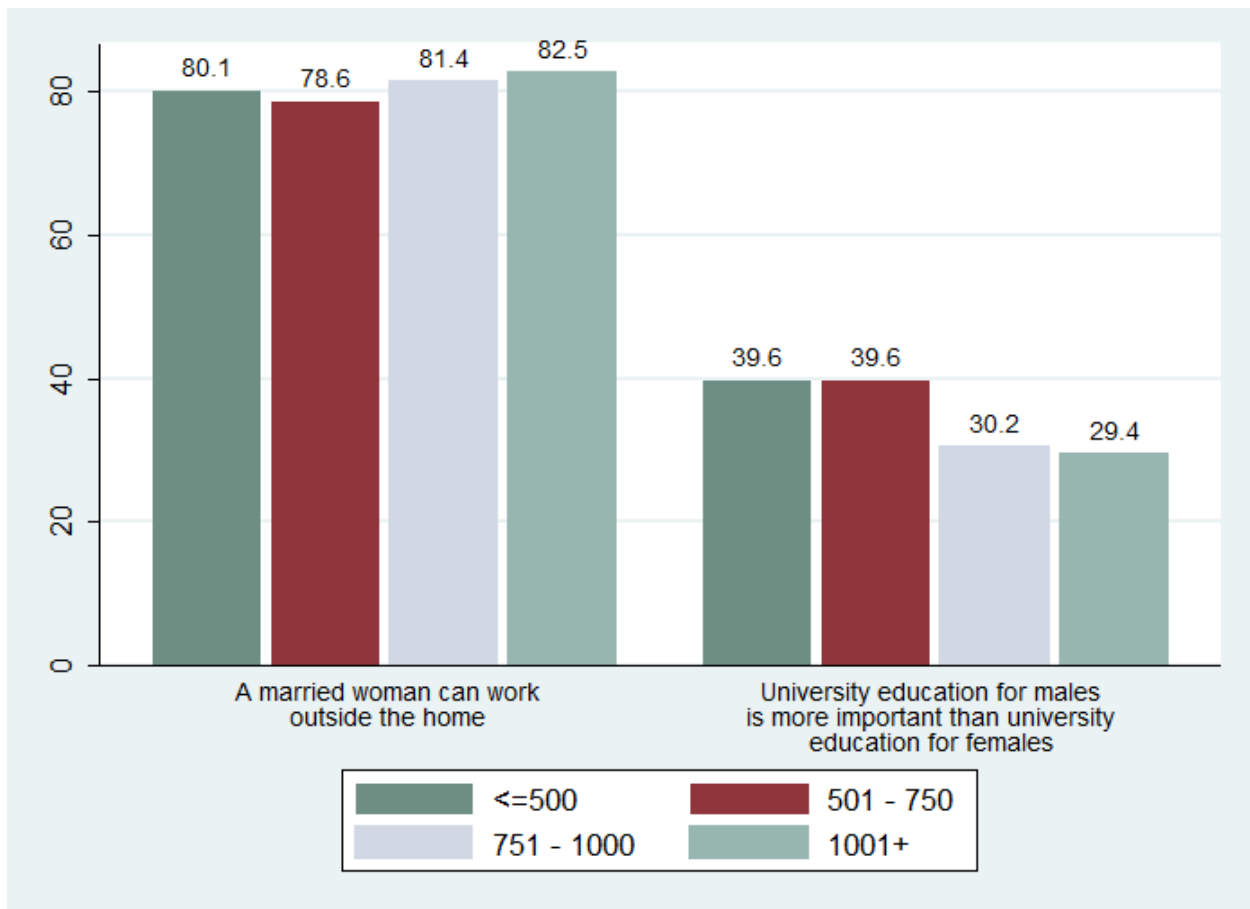
The Arab Barometer survey evaluates opinions about women's rights, their role in society and politics, and their relative position vis-à-vis men in several aspects of their lives. Questions can be divided into two categories: questions related to women's lives outside of their home, and those related to women's life within their home. With respect to women's lives outside their private sphere, a series of questions evaluates the extent to which women should have equal access to post-secondary education, the freedom to work outside their home, or the opportunity to become a high-profile political figure. The vast majority of the respondents believe that women can assume political or judicial functions, although they still believe that men are better suited for leadership roles than women. For example, While 82 percent think that women can become ministers, only 48 percent agree with the fact that a woman can become the prime minister or president of a Muslim state. Similarly, 81 percent of the respondents "agree" or "strongly agree" with the fact that married women should be able to work outside their home, and only 35 percent "agree" or "strongly agree" with the fact that post-secondary education is more important for men than women (see Figure 22).

**Figure 22: Attitudes toward Women’s Rights outside their Home**

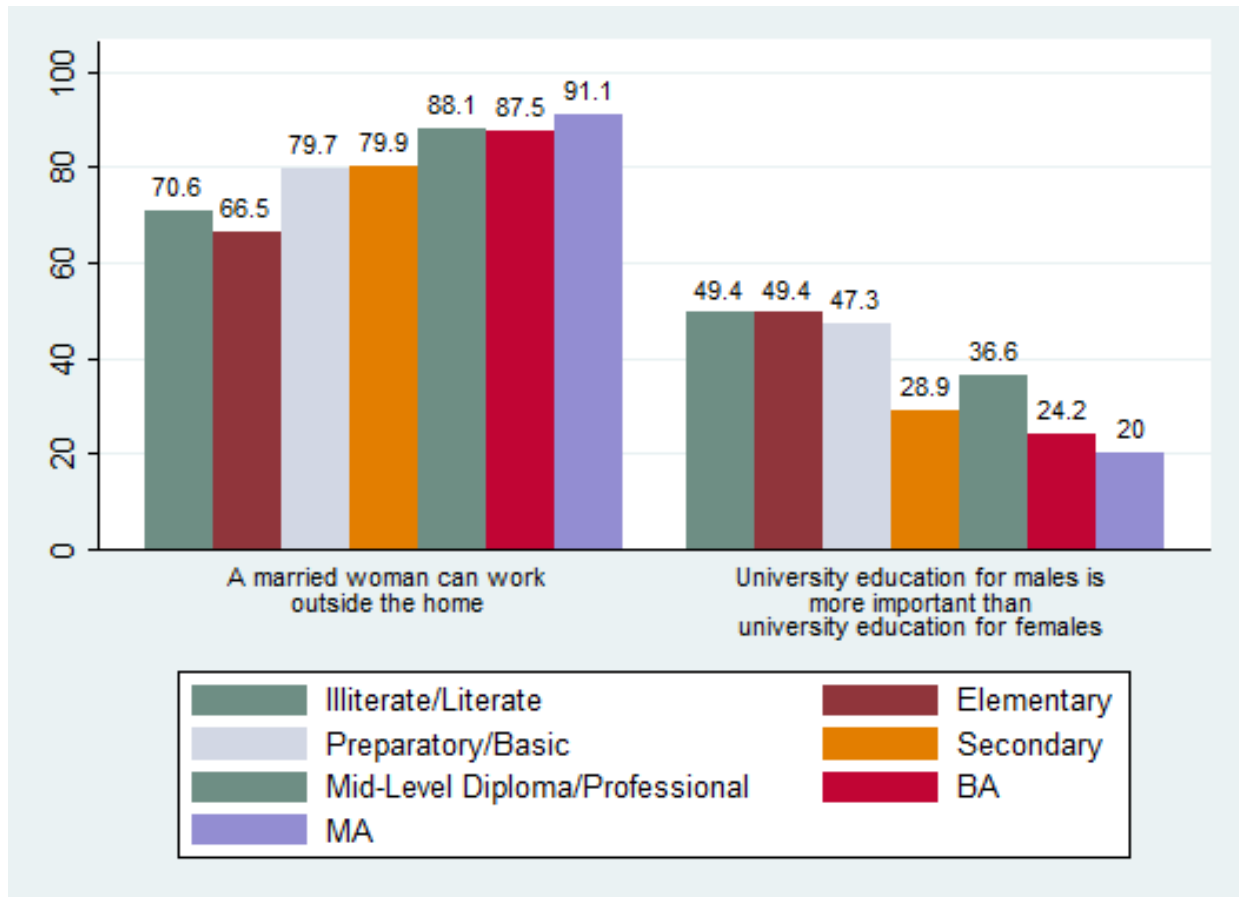


Figures 23 and 24 show that attitudes toward women’s rights outside their home are stable across income groups, but somewhat vary by education levels. Indeed, an MA holder is 21 percentage points more likely to believe that married women should be able to work outside their home than a member of the illiterate/literate group. MA holders are also 29 percentage points less likely to agree that post-secondary education is more important for men than it is for women.

Figure 23: Attitudes toward Women's Rights outside their Home, by Income Groups

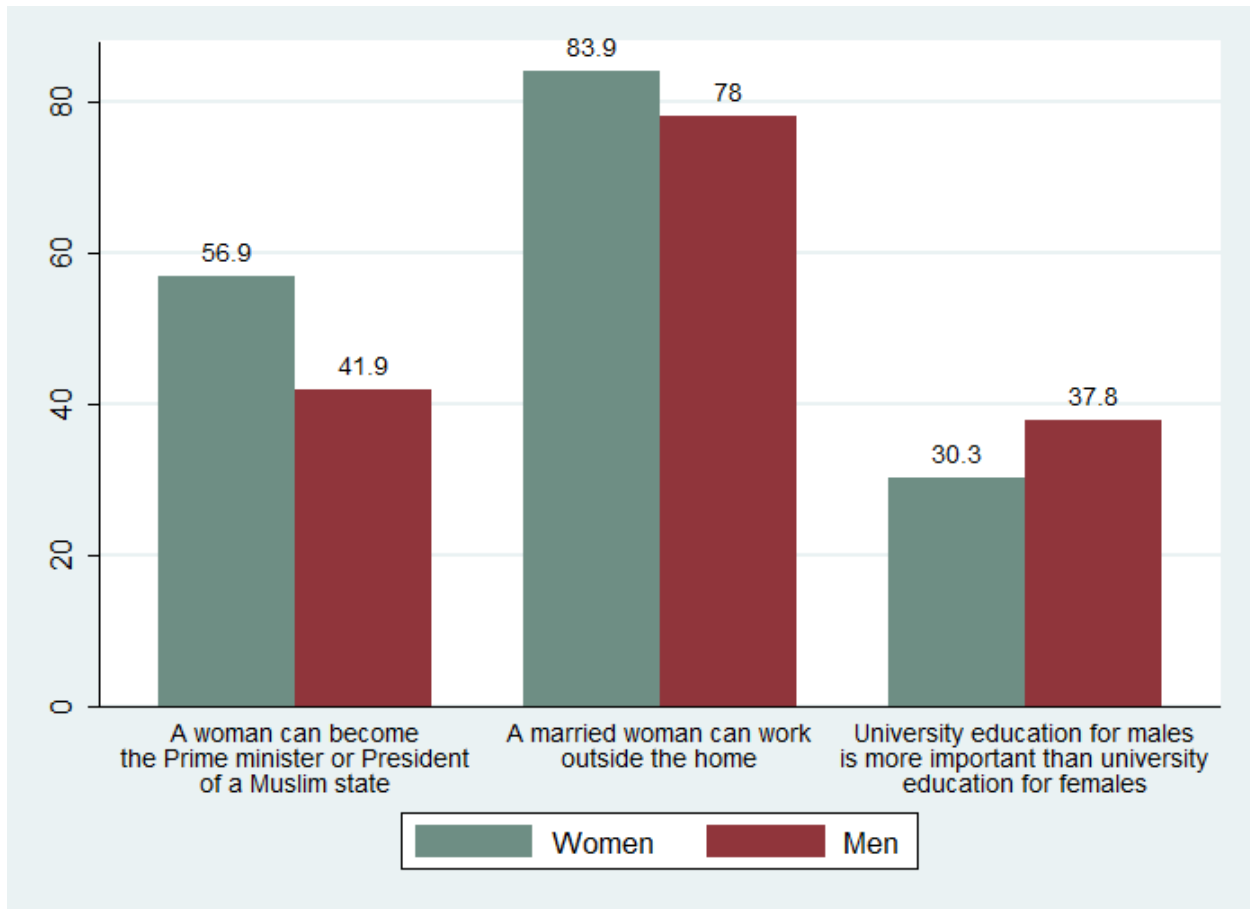


**Figure 24: Attitudes toward Women’s Rights outside their Home, by Education Levels**



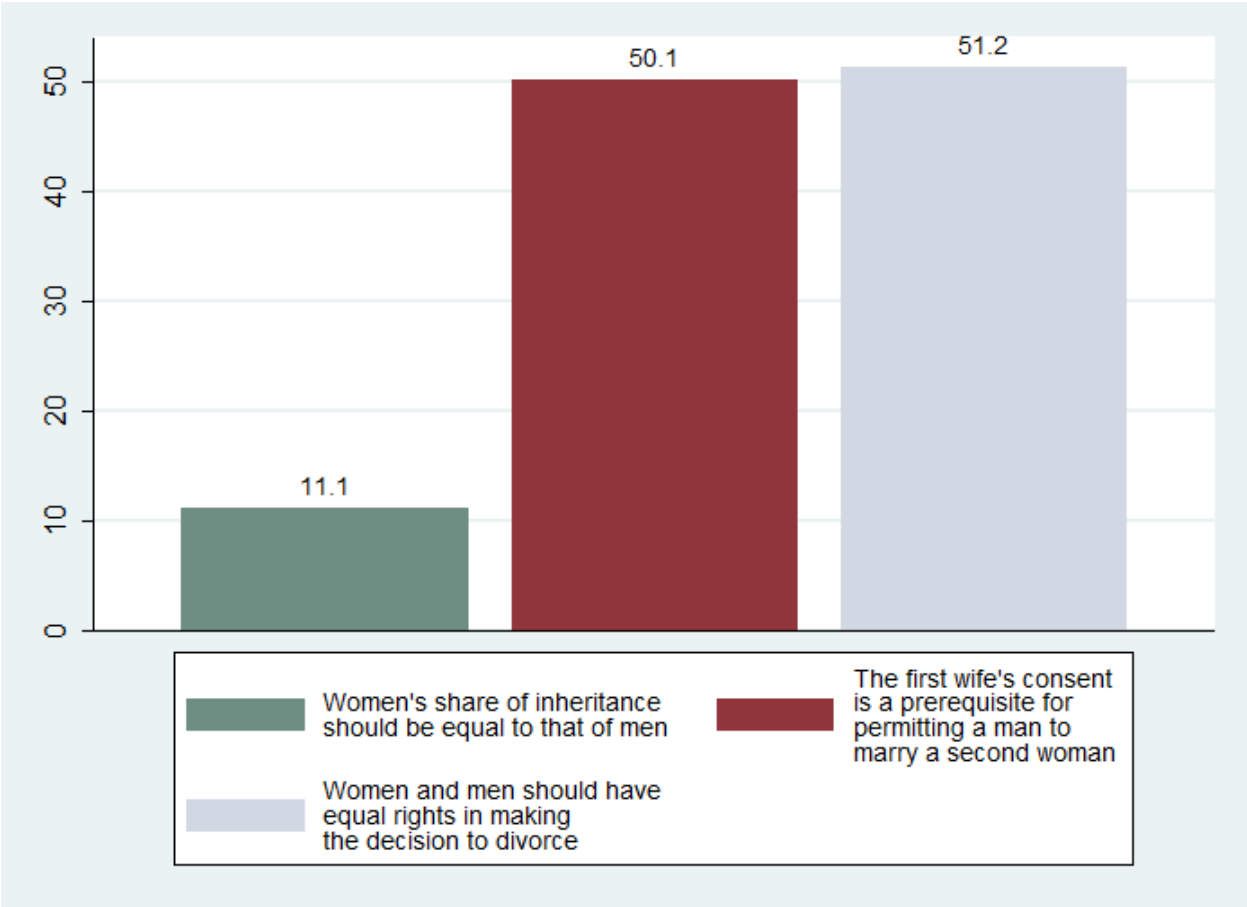
Attitudes toward women’s rights outside their home also vary by gender. Female respondents are more likely to believe that married women can work outside their home, or that a Muslim state can be headed by a home. Female respondents are also about 8 percentage points less likely to believe that university education is more important for men than it is for women (see Figure 25).

**Figure 25: Attitudes toward Women’s Rights outside their Home, by Gender**



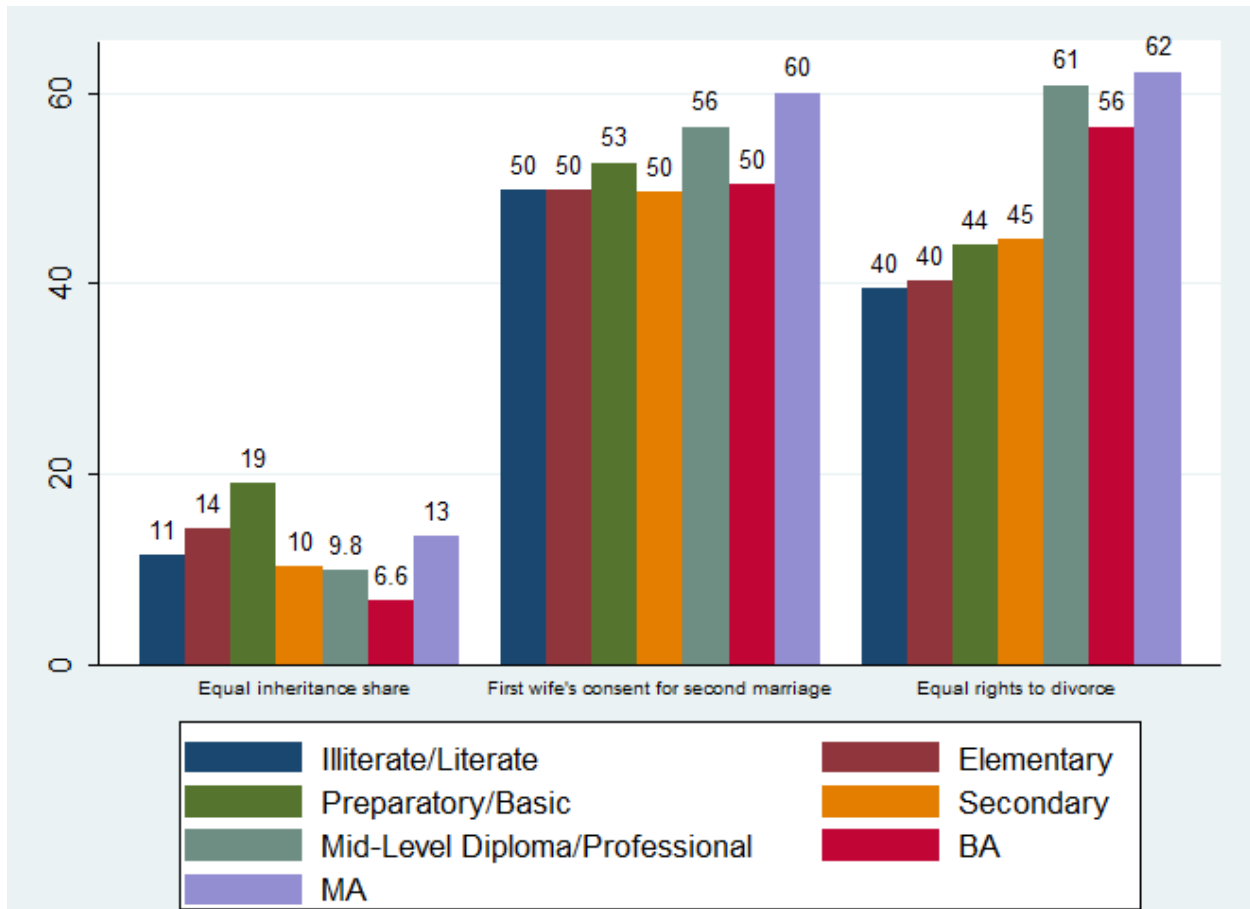
With respect to women’s lives inside their home, various questions relate to the share of inheritance, polygamy, or the equal right to ask for a divorce. As illustrated by Figure 26, although 94 percent of the respondents “agree” or “strongly agree” that women should not be denied their inheritance share, less than 12 percent support that women’s inheritance should be equal to a man’s inheritance share. About 50 percent of the respondents believe that the first wife’s consent should be a prerequisite for allowing a man to take a second wife, and slightly less than 51 percent believe that women should have equal rights to ask for a divorce than men. Figure 27 shows the somewhat limited variation in the respondents’ opinions by education levels. Surprisingly, BA holders seem to be more conservative with respect to women’s rights inside their home than both mid-level degree holders and MA holders.

Figure 26: Attitudes toward Women's Rights inside their Home



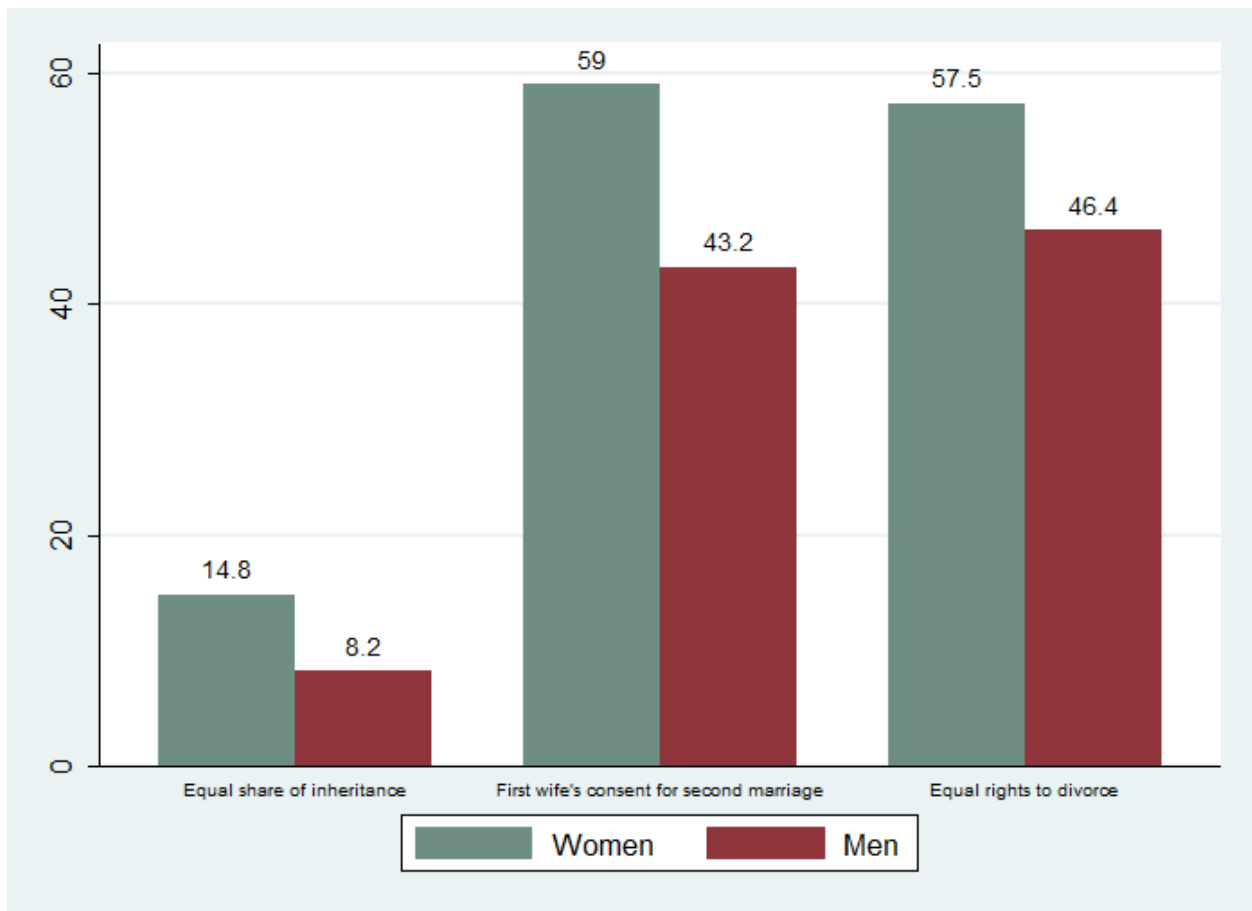


**Figure 27: Attitudes toward Women’s Rights inside their Home, by Education Levels**



Finally, as expected, female respondents are much more likely to support gender equality in decisions pertaining to the family or their home. As shown in Figure 28, women are 16 percentage points more likely to support the first wife’s right to be consulted if her husband wants to get a second wife. Similarly, women are 7 percentage points more likely to support women’s right to an equal share of inheritance, and 11 percentage points more likely to support their equal right to divorce.

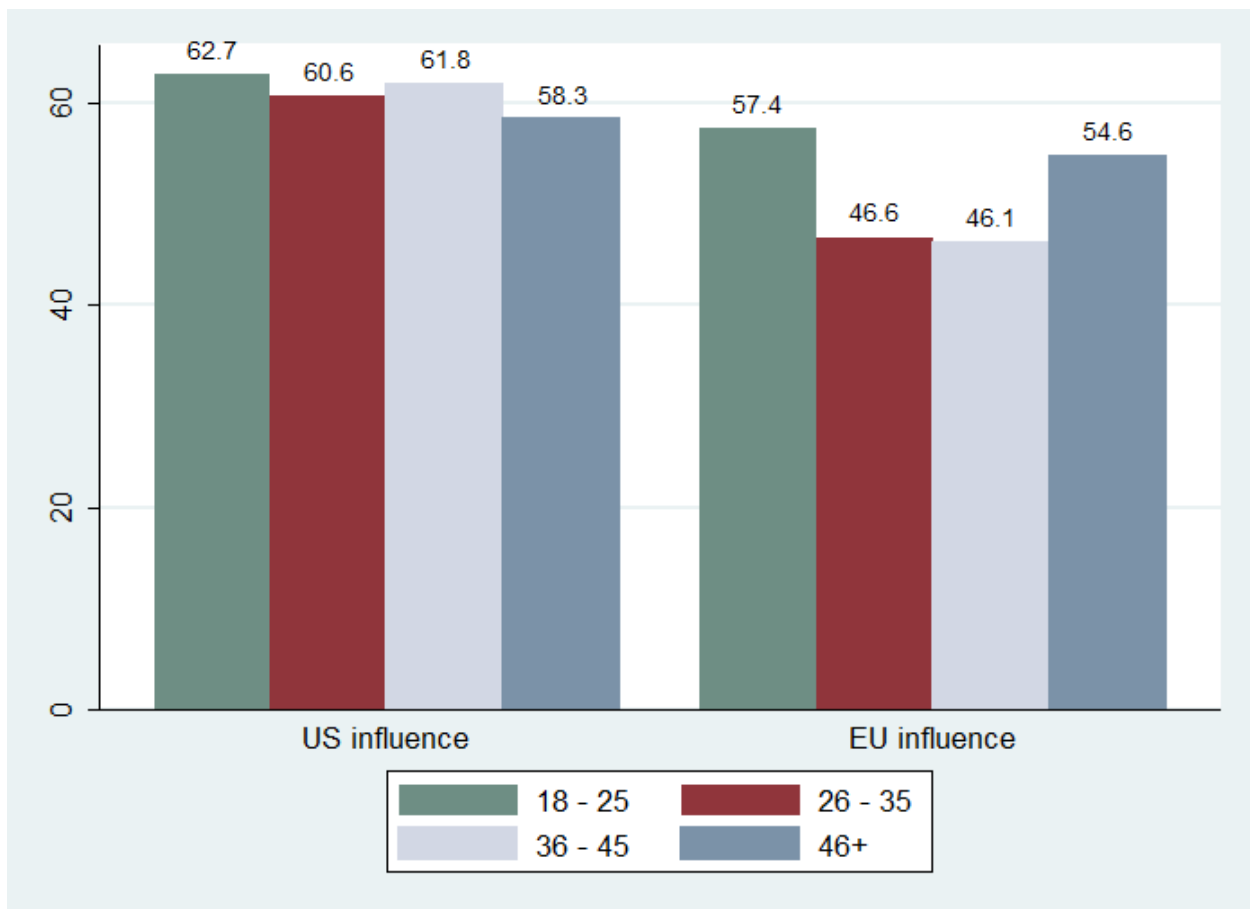
Figure 28: Attitudes toward Women's Rights inside their Home, by Gender



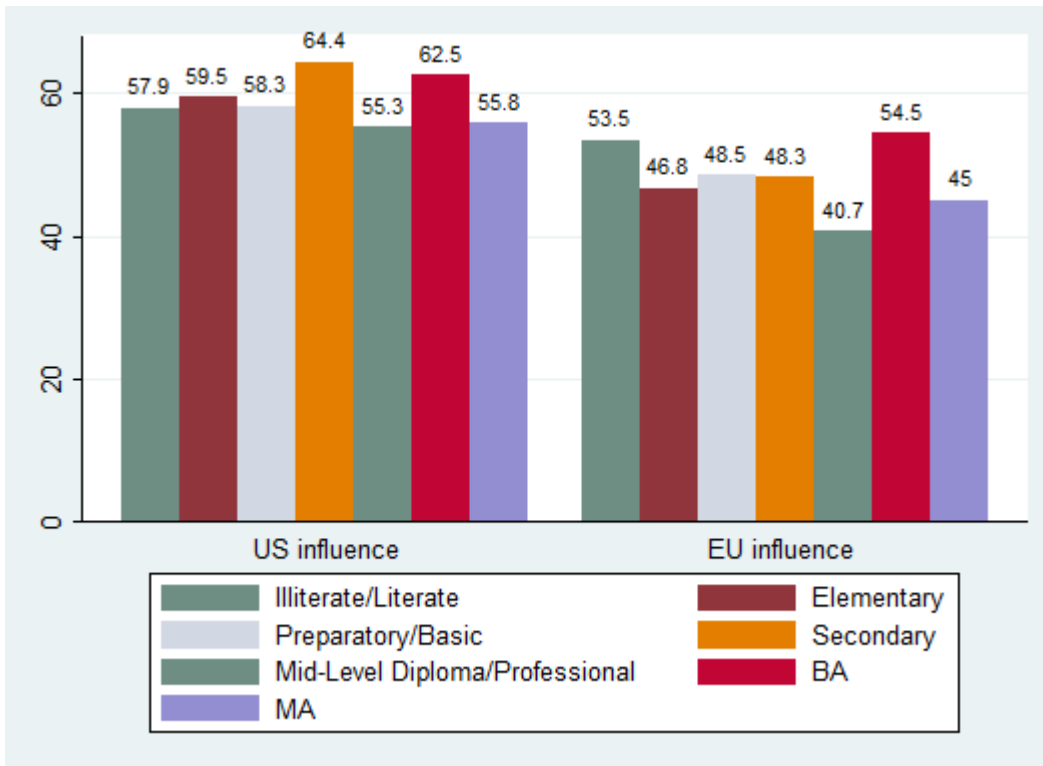
## VI. International Relations and the United States

The last section of the Arab Barometer survey focuses on the respondents' perceptions of international affairs, the United States, and the West. In general, Sudanese respondents evaluate the influence of the West on the development of democracy in Sudan as "somewhat negative" or "very negative". Their opinion is more negative with respect to the United States than it is with respect to the European Union. About 50 percent of the respondents qualify the EU's influence as "somewhat negative" or "very negative", against 61 percent with respect to the US's influence. This negative opinion about Western influence is relatively constant across age and income groups, but varies across education groups – although not in a linear fashion.

**Figure 29: Negative Attitudes toward EU and US Influence on the Development of Democracy, by Age Groups**

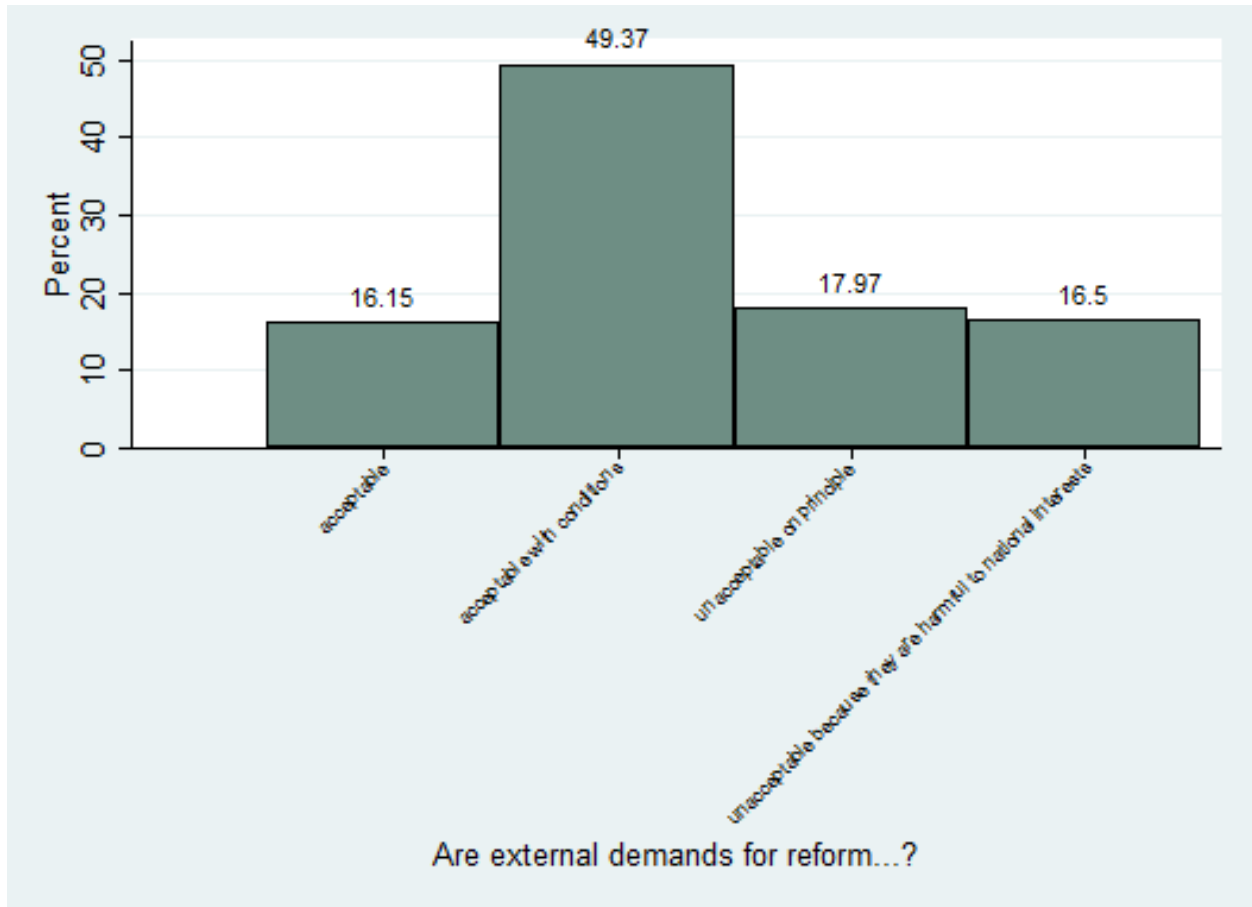


**Figure 30: Negative Attitudes toward EU and US Influence on the Development of Democracy, by Education Levels**



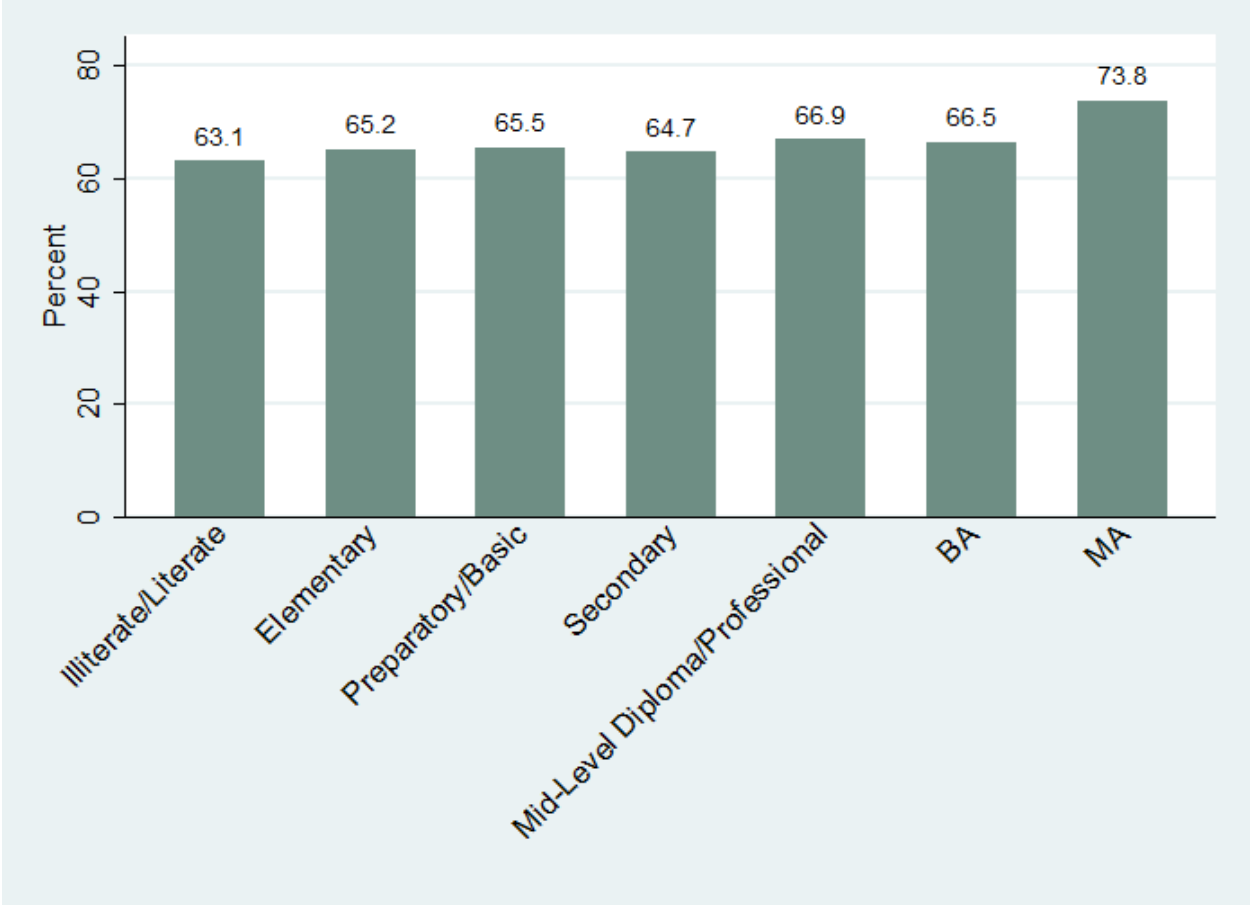
Paralleling the respondents' evaluation of foreign intervention in domestic political development, 34 percent of the respondents qualify external demands for reform as "unacceptable", either on principle or because they are harmful.

**Figure 31: Legitimacy of External Demands for Reform**



Opinions regarding external demands for reform are relatively stable across age groups and education level. Indeed, MA holders are only 10 percentage points more likely to find foreign pressure for reforms as “acceptable” or “acceptable with conditions” than respondents from the illiterate/literate group. While a majority of the respondents believe that external demands for reform are acceptable, 30 percent of them also identify external factors as the most important cause explaining the lack of development in the Arab world.

**Figure 32: Legitimacy of External Demands for Reform, by Education Levels**



Attitudes toward the United States vary according to an individual's religiosity. As shown in Figure 33, respondents who always pray daily are 23 percentage points more likely to agree with the proposition that the US interference in the region justifies armed operations against the US. However, they are respectively 6 and 3 percentage points more likely to believe that American people are good, or that American and Western culture has positive aspects.

**Figure 33: Attitudes toward the US, by Daily Prayer**

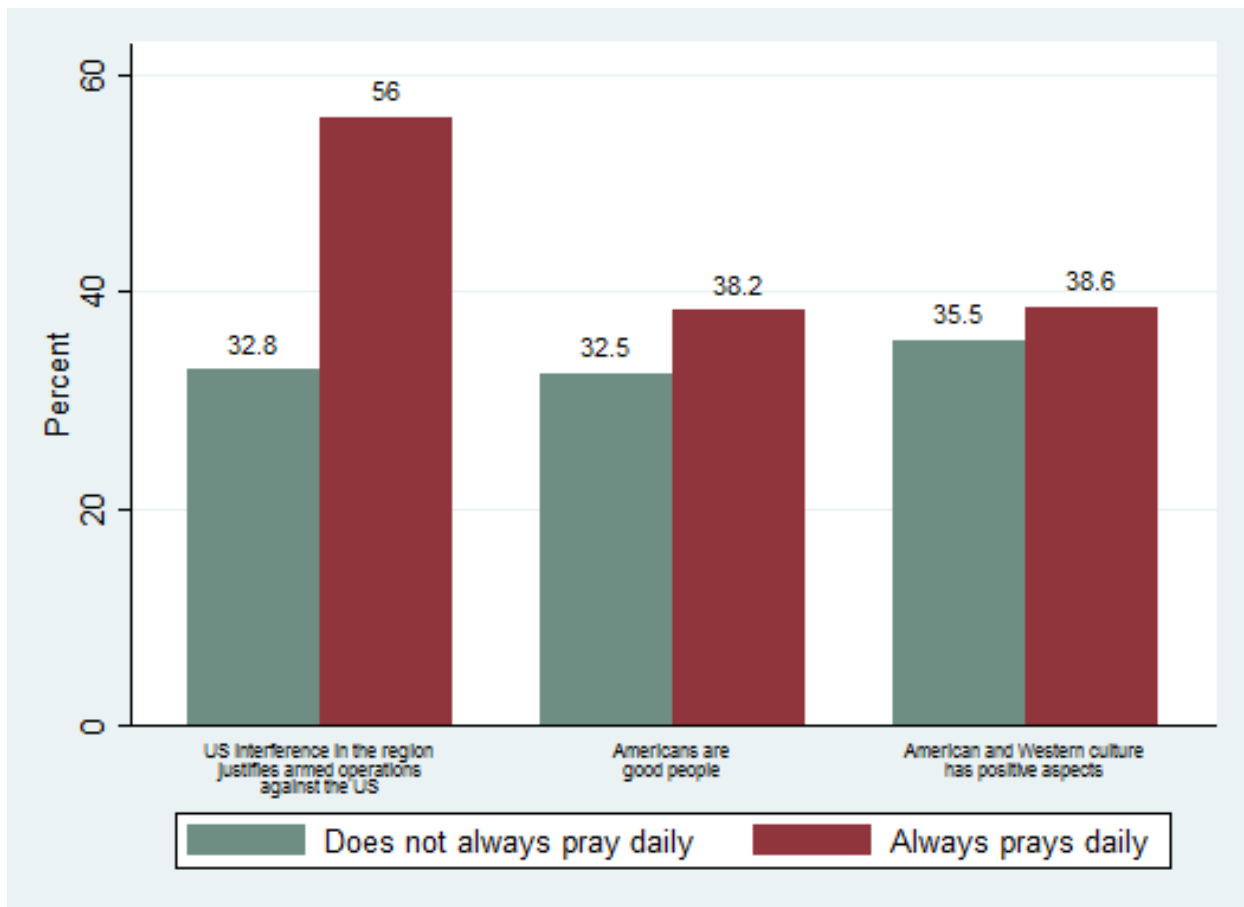
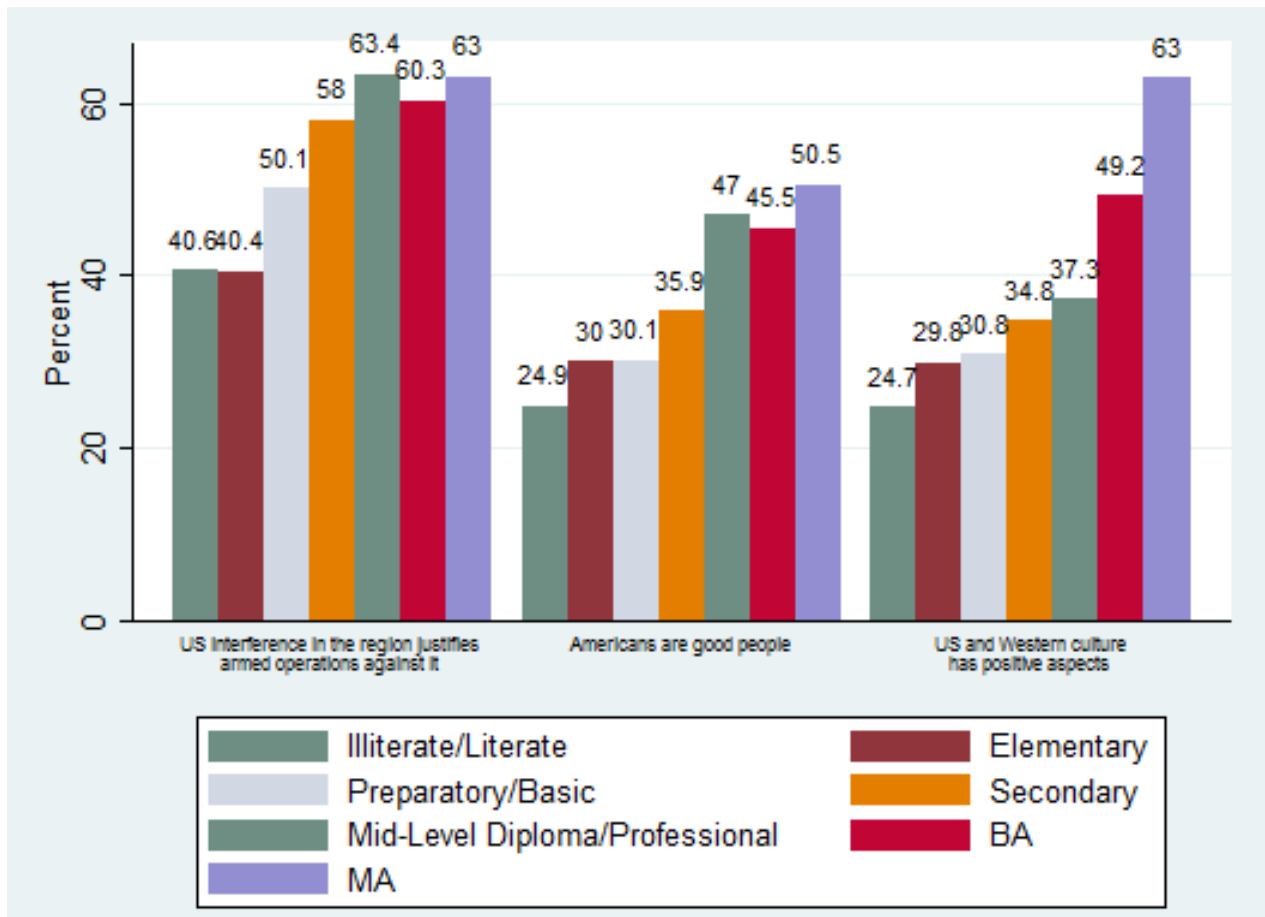


Figure 34 illustrates variation in attitudes toward the US by education levels. There is a clear upward sloping trend in positive opinions vis-à-vis the US by education levels. An MA holder is 26 percentage points more likely to believe that Americans are good people despite their government’s foreign policy than an uneducated individual, and 38 percentage points more likely to find positive aspects in Western and American culture.

**Figure 34: Attitudes toward the US, by Education Levels**





## VII. Conclusion

Although the findings have to be interpreted carefully, as always, the survey highlights several important trends. Surprisingly, results did not consistently vary by income groups, education levels or age. First, the results show that the majority of the respondents are concerned about the current and future economic situation of the country. Interestingly, respondents with higher education levels or higher income evaluate hold more pessimistic views on the economy than the uneducated or poorer citizens. This could indicate the fact that there are limited job prospects for BA or MA holders in an economy that is still very underdeveloped.

Second, religion is an important aspect of Sudanese's lives. Up to 90 percent of the respondents identify themselves as religious, and the vast majority of them prays daily and goes to Friday prayers at the Mosque. The level of religiosity influences the respondents' views on democracy and legislative practices. By and large, the Sudanese respondents support a pluralist political system where all parties can compete in parliamentary elections. Although most of the respondents believe that democracy is the best regime and that its principles do not contradict Islamic values, they also believe that religious leaders should have influence over government decisions, and that laws and regulations should be enacted in accordance to Islamic law.

Third, most respondents support to some extent gender equality with respect to women's rights outside their home. They believe that women should have access to post-secondary education, the freedom to work outside their home, or the opportunity to become a high-profile political figure. However, respondents seem less supportive of gender equality in women's rights inside their home and family. A minority of male respondents believe that women should have equal right to ask for a divorce or an equal share of inheritance.

Finally, the majority of respondents seem relatively hostile to the West in general and the United States in particular. Most respondents believe that the US or EU interference in the

democratic development of their country has a negative impact. When asked their opinion about the United States more specifically, the major part of the respondents believe that armed interventions against the US are justified by the US intervention in the region, and that American and Western culture does not have positive aspects.

## VIII. Appendix: Frequencies of Responses

### Q101: How would you evaluate the current economic situation in your country?

Very good	7.09%
Good	30.82%
Bad	35.57%
Very bad	24.25%
I don't know	1.50%
Declined to answer	0.78%

### Q102: What do you think will be the economic situation in your country during the next few years (3-5 years) compared to the current situation?

Much better	14.24%
Somewhat better	32.12%
Almost the same as the current situation	19.70%
Somewhat worse	11.25%
Much worse	19.38%
I don't know	2.99%
Declined to answer	0.33%

### Q103: Generally speaking, do you think most people are trustworthy or not?

Most people are trustworthy	21.39%
Most people are not trustworthy	74.45%
I don't know	2.99%
Declined to answer	1.17%

### Q104: Do you think about emigrating from your country?

Yes, for economic reasons	27.61%
Yes, for political reasons	3.98%
Yes, for economic and political reasons	14.80%
No, I do not think about emigrating	46.08%
I don't know	2.11%
Declined to answer	0.50%

**Q105: Do you currently feel that your own personal as well as your family's safety and security are ensured or not?**

Fully ensured	22.82%
Ensured	45.77%
Not ensured	21.52%
Absolutely not ensured	7.87%
I don't know	1.30%
Declined to answer	0.72%

**Q106: To what extent do you feel that you are being treated equally to other citizens in your country?**

To a great extent	26.33%
To a medium extent	35.44%
To a limited extent	20.48%
Not at all	15.60%
I don't know	1.11%
Declined to answer	1.04%

**Q1016: I will read you some statements related to your household income. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your household income?**

Our household income covers our expenses well and we are able to save	8.97%
Our household income covers our expenses without notable difficulties	22.43%
Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face some difficulties in meeting our needs	38.95%
Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face significant difficulties in meeting our needs	25.36%
I don't know	2.47%
Declined to answer	1.82%

**Q512: Suppose there was a scale from 1-10 measuring the extent to which democracy is suitable for your country, with 1 meaning that democracy is absolutely inappropriate for your country and 10 meaning that democracy is completely appropriate for your country. To what extent do you think democracy is appropriate for your country?**

1	9.10%
2	3.51%

3	4.36%
4	6.63%
5	16.38%
6	8.45%
7	7.35%
8	7.02%
9	4.94%
10	19.31%
Not concerned/not interested	3.25%
I don't know	7.35%
Declined to answer	2.34%

**Q515-1: There is a difference in opinion among people regarding the most important features of democracy. If you had to choose one, which of the following features would you say is the most important?**

The opportunity to change the government through elections	42.85%
Freedom to criticize the government	14.63%
Narrowing the gap between rich and poor	8.91%
Providing basic items (such as food, housing, and clothing) to every individual	15.02%
Equality of political rights between citizens	7.28%
Eliminating financial and administrative corruption	10.53%
Other	0.78%

**Q515-2: The second most important?**

The opportunity to change the government through elections	10.92%
Freedom to criticize the government	16.51%
Narrowing the gap between rich and poor	15.28%
Providing basic items (such as food, housing, and clothing) to every individual	17.95%
Equality of political rights between citizens	19.18%
Eliminating financial and administrative corruption	19.05%
Other	0.98%

**Q516-4: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? A democratic system may have problems, yet it is better than other systems.**

Strongly agree	26.20%
Agree	47.46%

Disagree	13.39%
Strongly disagree	5.46%
I don't know	6.57%
Declined to answer	0.91%

**Q517-1: I will describe different political systems to you, and I want to ask you about your opinion of each one of them with regard to the country's governance – for each one would you say it is very good, good, bad, or very bad?**

**A democratic political system (ensures public freedoms, equality in political and civil rights, devolution of authority, and accountability and transparency of the executive authority).**

Very good	54.36%
Good	26.20%
Bad	8.52%
Very bad	3.58%
I don't know	7.35%

**Q517-2: A political system with an authoritarian president (non-democratic) who is indifferent to parliament and elections.**

Very good	5.72%
Good	10.86%
Bad	26.01%
Very bad	49.61%
I don't know	7.80%

**Q517-3: A political system controlled by experts who make decisions that they think are most appropriate for the country.**

Very good	27.31%
Good	39.92%
Bad	14.76%
Very bad	8.78%
I don't know	9.23%

**Q518-1: I will mention some of the political systems currently in place in various Middle Eastern and North African countries. I would like to know to what extent you think these systems would be appropriate for your country.**

**A parliamentary system in which nationalist, left wing, right wing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections.**

Very appropriate	31.60%
Appropriate	28.61%
Somewhat appropriate	15.34%
Absolutely inappropriate	15.41%
I don't know	7.87%
Declined to answer	1.17%

**Q518-2: A parliamentary system in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections.**

Very appropriate	13.72%
Appropriate	20.35%
Somewhat appropriate	17.04%
Absolutely inappropriate	37.00%
I don't know	9.95%
Declined to answer	1.95%

**Q518-3: A political system governed by a strong authority which makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition.**

Very appropriate	6.18%
Appropriate	8.97%
Somewhat appropriate	8.78%
Absolutely inappropriate	65.47%
I don't know	8.78%
Declined to answer	1.82%

**Q518-4: A system governed by Islamic law without elections or political parties.**

Very appropriate	31.01%
Appropriate	17.30%
Somewhat appropriate	15.15%
Absolutely inappropriate	26.46%
I don't know	8.65%
Declined to answer	1.43%

**Q518-5: A parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections.**

Very appropriate	6.89%
Appropriate	7.54%
Somewhat appropriate	8.26%
Absolutely inappropriate	63.39%
I don't know	11.44%
Declined to answer	2.47%

**Q523: To what extent do you think the lack of respect for human rights is justified in order to maintain security in your country?**

Justified to a great extent	13.20%
Justified to a medium extent	14.82%
Justified to a limited extent	17.43%
Not justified at all	45.97%
I don't know	6.18%
Declined to answer	2.41%

**Q210: Do you think that there is corruption within the state's institutions and agencies?**

Yes	74.38%
No	15.47%
I don't know	8.13%
Declined to answer	2.02%

**Q211: In your opinion, to what extent is the government working to eliminate corruption in your country?**

To a great extent	13.02%
To a medium extent	26.05%
To a limited extent	30.51%
Not at all	28.76%
I don't know	0.96%
Declined to answer	0.70%



**Q217: In your opinion, are people nowadays able to criticize the government without fear?**

Yes	41.42%
No	49.93%
I don't know	6.31%
Declined to answer	2.34%

**Q218-2 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

**Political leaders are concerned with the needs of ordinary citizens.**

Strongly agree	8.45%
Agree	22.89%
Disagree	38.23%
Strongly disagree	26.40%
I don't know	3.19%
Declined to answer	0.85%

**Q218-5: Sometimes, politics are so complicated that I cannot understand what is happening.**

Strongly agree	35.31%
Agree	41.61%
Disagree	11.96%
Strongly disagree	6.18%
I don't know	3.64%
Declined to answer	1.30%

**Q301: Did you vote in the last parliamentary elections that were held on (date of the last elections)**

Yes	57.35%
No	40.64%
I don't know	1.30%
Declined to answer	0.72%

**Q302: During the last parliamentary elections held on (date of the last elections), did you attend any meetings or activities related to any electoral campaign?**

Yes	32.64%
No	63.20%
I don't know	3.32%

Declined to answer	0.85%
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**Q404: In general, to what extent are you interested in politics?**

Very interested	14.11%
Interested	29.84%
Slightly interested	31.60%
Not interested at all	21.85%
I don't know	1.50%
Declined to answer	1.11%

**Q405: To what extent do you follow political news in your country?**

To a great extent	25.29%
To a medium extent	32.18%
To a limited extent	30.43%
I don't follow political news at all	10.27%
I don't know	0.85%
Declined to answer	0.98%

**Q407: Which of the following sources is most trustworthy with regard to local political news?**

Television	50.13%
Radio	17.95%
Newspapers (the daily press)	11.31%
Weekly newspapers and magazines	0.39%
The internet	10.66%
Text messages sms	0.85%
I don't know	5.98%
Declined to answer	2.73%

**Q504: If you were to evaluate the state of democracy and human rights in your country today, would you say that they are:**

Very good	6.70%
Good	22.37%
Neither good nor bad	35.44%
Bad	14.82%
Very bad	16.19%
I don't know	3.71%
Declined to answer	0.78%

**Q508: In your opinion, to what extent is the United States of America a democratic country?**

No democracy whatsoever (0)	7.67%
1	1.63%
2	2.93%
3	3.71%
4	4.49%
5	6.63%
6	5.79%
7	6.44%
8	9.62%
9	10.01%
Democratic to the greatest extent possible (10)	17.88%
Not concerned/not interested	8.84%
I don't know	12.29%
Declined to answer	2.08%

**Q511: In your opinion, to what extent is your country democratic?**

No democracy whatsoever (0)	14.56%
1	6.37%
2	6.76%
3	7.35%
4	8.71%
5	17.56%
6	7.54%
7	5.59%
8	4.16%
9	3.77%
Democratic to the greatest extent possible (10)	5.33%
Not concerned/not interested	3.25%
I don't know	6.31%

Declined to answer

2.73%

**Q513: Suppose that there was a scale from 1-10 to measure the extent of your satisfaction with the government, in which 1 means that you were absolutely unsatisfied with its performance and 10 means that you were very satisfied.**

**To what extent are you satisfied with the government's performance?**

Absolutely unsatisfied (1)	18.79%
2	6.18%
3	5.98%
4	6.96%
5	14.89%
6	10.14%
7	7.41%
8	7.02%
9	3.97%
Very satisfied (10)	9.23%
Not concerned/not interested	2.41%
I don't know	4.94%
Declined to answer	2.08%

**Q514: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Political reform must be implemented in stages (gradually) (step by step) rather than immediately?"**

I strongly agree	43.17%
I somewhat agree	35.44%
I somewhat disagree	8.19%
I strongly disagree	8.00%
I don't know	3.06%
Declined to answer	2.15%

**Q601-1: I will read a set of statements that relate to the status of women in our society to you in order to gauge the extent of your agreement/disagreement with each statement**

**A woman can become the prime minister or president of a Muslim state.**

Strongly agree	22.30%
Agree	25.49%
Disagree	29.58%
Strongly disagree	21.26%
I don't know	1.04%
Declined to answer	0.33%

**Q601-2: A married woman can work outside the home.**

Strongly agree	31.79%
Agree	48.05%
Disagree	13.59%
Strongly disagree	5.66%
I don't know	0.39%
Declined to answer	0.52%

**Q601-3: In general, men are better at political leadership than women.**

Strongly agree	52.08%
Agree	31.21%
Disagree	10.53%
Strongly disagree	4.81%
I don't know	0.91%
Declined to answer	0.46%

**Q601-4: University education for males is more important than university education for females.**

Strongly agree	20.48%
Agree	13.65%
Disagree	35.37%
Strongly disagree	29.39%
I don't know	0.59%
Declined to answer	0.52%

**Q601-5: Men and women should have equal work opportunities.**

Strongly agree	28.35%
Agree	29.97%
Disagree	29.32%
Strongly disagree	10.73%
I don't know	1.04%
Declined to answer	0.59%

**Q601-9: Women's share of inheritance should be equal to that of men.**

Strongly agree	6.50%
Agree	4.36%
Disagree	32.25%
Strongly disagree	54.55%
I don't know	0.91%
Declined to answer	1.43%

**Q601-12: The first wife's consent is a prerequisite for permitting a man to marry a second woman.**

Strongly agree	28.15%
Agree	20.68%
Disagree	28.48%
Strongly disagree	20.09%
I don't know	1.82%
Declined to answer	0.78%

**Q601-14: Women and men should have equal rights in making the decision to divorce.**

Strongly agree	25.62%
Agree	24.12%
Disagree	25.23%
Strongly disagree	22.11%
I don't know	2.02%
Declined to answer	0.91%

**Q604-1: To what extent do you consider the following factors obstacles to accepting your son/daughter/sister/brother's marriage?**

**Not praying.**

Constitutes an obstacle to a great extent	72.30%
Constitutes an obstacle to a medium extent	14.56%
Constitutes an obstacle to a limited extent	7.02%
Does not constitute an obstacle whatsoever	4.88%
I don't know	0.78%
Declined to answer	0.46%

**Q605-1: To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following principles in the enactment of your country's laws and regulations?**

**The government and parliament should enact laws in accordance with the people's wishes.**

Strongly agree	21.98%
Agree	23.02%
Disagree	32.96%
Strongly disagree	15.60%
I don't know	5.66%
Declined to answer	0.78%

**Q605-2: The government and parliament should enact laws in accordance with Islamic law.**

Strongly agree	64.69%
Agree	23.54%
Disagree	5.85%
Strongly disagree	3.12%
I don't know	2.28%
Declined to answer	0.52%

**Q605-3: The government and parliament should enact laws in accordance with citizens' wishes with regard to certain subjects and in accordance with Islamic law with regard to other subjects.**

Strongly agree	30.17%
Agree	33.62%
Disagree	18.01%
Strongly disagree	12.42%
I don't know	5.20%
Declined to answer	0.59%

**Q606-1: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

**Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should not interfere in voters' decisions in elections.**

Strongly agree	40.25%
Agree	37.06%
Disagree	13.07%
Strongly disagree	4.23%
I don't know	4.16%

Declined to answer 1.24%

**Q606-3: Religious leaders (imams, preachers, priests) should have influence over government decisions.**

Strongly agree	21.39%
Agree	31.73%
Disagree	27.63%
Strongly disagree	10.08%
I don't know	8.19%
Declined to answer	0.98%

**Q606-4: Religious practices are private and should be separated from social and political life.**

Strongly agree	18.79%
Agree	27.50%
Disagree	23.73%
Strongly disagree	22.95%
I don't know	5.85%
Declined to answer	1.17%

**Q607-1: The opinions of Islamic jurists and religious scholars differ with regard to their interpretations of certain issues in Islam. I want to ask to what extent you agree or disagree with some of these issues?**

**Democracy is a system that contradicts the teachings of Islam.**

Strongly agree	11.95%
Agree	20.29%
Disagree	37.32%
Strongly disagree	21.72%
I don't know	8.32%
Declined to answer	0.98%

**Q607-2: In a Muslim country, non-Muslims should enjoy less political rights than Muslims.**

Strongly agree	12.94%
Agree	29.45%
Disagree	29.97%
Strongly disagree	18.60%
I don't know	7.61%



Declined to answer 1.43%

**Q609: Generally speaking, would you describe yourself as...**

Religious	41.68%
Somewhat religious	46.94%
Not religious	3.64%
Declined to answer	7.74%

**Q610-1: Do you pray daily?**

Always	86.2%
Most of the time	7.54%
Sometimes	2.86%
Rarely	1.69%
I don't know	0.39%
Declined to answer	1.30%

**Q610-5: Attend Friday prayer/Sunday services.**

Always	65.60%
Most of the time	10.34%
Sometimes	7.87%
Rarely	11.44%
I don't know	2.08%
Declined to answer	2.67%

**Q201-1: I will name a number of institutions, and I would like you to tell me to what extent you trust each of them:**

**The government (the cabinet).**

I trust it to a great extent	25.49%
I trust it to a medium extent	30.62%
I trust it to a limited extent	18.01%
I absolutely do not trust it	23.21%
I don't know	1.37%
Declined to answer	1.30%

**Q201-3: The elected council of representatives (the parliament).**

I trust it to a great extent	18.14%
I trust it to a medium extent	27.24%
I trust it to a limited extent	21.46%
I absolutely do not trust it	27.37%
I don't know	3.77%
Declined to answer	2.02%

**Q201-4: Public Security (the police).**

I trust it to a great extent	32.64%
I trust it to a medium extent	26.27%
I trust it to a limited extent	17.56%
I absolutely do not trust it	20.81%
I don't know	1.50%
Declined to answer	1.24%

**Q201-6: The armed forces (the army).**

I trust it to a great extent	48.44%
I trust it to a medium extent	26.53%
I trust it to a limited extent	13.13%
I absolutely do not trust it	8.97%
I don't know	1.69%
Declined to answer	1.24%

**Q203-1: Generally speaking, how would you evaluate the performance of the federal government in carrying out its tasks and duties?**

Very good	17.69%
Good	24.77%
Neither good nor bad	28.61%
Bad	25.68%
Very bad	1.11%
I don't know	1.50%
Declined to answer	0.65%

**Q203-2: Generally speaking, how would you evaluate the performance of the Parliament in carrying out its tasks and duties?**

Very good	10.6%
Good	24.06%
Neither good nor bad	30.04%
Bad	27.37%
Very bad	1.56%
I don't know	4.94%
Declined to answer	1.37%

**Q203-4: Generally speaking, how would you evaluate the performance of the police (Public security) in carrying out its tasks and duties?**

Very good	25.49%
Good	26.27%
Neither good nor bad	22.63%
Bad	21.39%
Very bad	1.17%
I don't know	1.76%
Declined to answer	1.30%

**Q303: In general, how would you evaluate the last parliamentary elections that were held on (date of the last elections)?**

They were completely free and fair	18.47%
They were free and fair, with some minor breaches	25.36%
They were free and fair, with some major breaches	10.99%
They were not free and fair	29.19%
I don't know	13.65%
Declined to answer	2.34%

**Q502-1: Here is a set of activities that citizens usually take part in. During the past three years, did you participate in ...**

**Attending a meeting to discuss a subject or sign a petition.**

Once	17.56%
More than once	21.33%
I have never participated	57.87%
I don't know	2.02%
Declined to answer	1.24%

**Q502-2: Participating in a protest, march or sit-in.**

Once	11.57%
More than once	17.36%
I have never participated	67.36%
I don't know	2.08%
Declined to answer	1.63%

**Q524-1: An anti-terrorism law was issued in some Arab countries, and I would like to know your opinion of this law. To what extent do you think that enforcing this law contributes to...  
Combating terrorism.**

To a great extent	28.87%
To a medium extent	24.71%
To a limited extent	16.38%
Does not contribute to this at all	18.01%
I don't know	9.88%
Declined to answer	2.15%

**Q524-2: Violating the public freedoms of citizens.**

To a great extent	29.78%
To a medium extent	22.37%
To a limited extent	16.12%
Does not contribute to this at all	19.18%
I don't know	10.34%
Declined to answer	2.21%

**Q524-3: Limiting the peaceful activities of the opposition.**

To a great extent	30.10%
To a medium extent	22.17%
To a limited extent	16.38%
Does not contribute to this at all	15.02%
I don't know	13.59%
Declined to answer	2.73%

**Q705: Some people attribute the lack of development in the Arab world compared to other parts of the world to external factors, while others blame internal factors. In your opinion, which is more important in causing the lack of development in the Arab world?**

Internal factors	23.60%
External factors	26.92%
Both are equally important	42.00%
I don't know	6.11%
Declined to answer	1.37%

**Q706: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The United States' interference in the region justifies armed operations against the United States everywhere."**

Strongly agree	30.10%
Agree	23.41%
Disagree	19.70%
Strongly disagree	13.72%
I don't know	10.47%
Declined to answer	2.60%

**Q707: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Despite negative U.S. foreign policy, Americans are good people."**

Agree	36.67%
Disagree	49.02%
I don't know	12.22%
Declined to answer	2.08%

**Q708: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "American and Western culture has positive aspects."**

Agree	37.45%
Disagree	49.67%
I don't know	10.34%
Declined to answer	2.54%