Arab Barometer II

Iraq Country Report
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Michael Hoffman
Princeton University

Arab Barometer Report: Iraq

Michael Hoffman, Princeton University

Introduction

The second wave of the Arab Barometer survey was conducted in Iraq between February 20th and March 12th of 2012. As Iraq was not included in the first wave of the Arab Barometer, this survey was the first of its kind in the country. This report outlines the views of Iraqi citizens on issues of religion, economic and political outlooks, satisfaction with the government and other institutions, trust, attitudes towards women, and views of the United States. It also examines differences (where applicable) between Sunni's and Shi'ites as well as between Arabs and Kurds.

1,236 respondents were included in this survey. The sample covered by the survey was 52.7% male and 47.3% female. Table 1 presents the distribution of respondents according to age group. As shown in the table, about 75% of the respondents were age 45 or under. The ethnic composition of the sample is as follows: 83.5% Arab, 14.6% Kurdish, 1.9% other.

Table 1: Ages of Respondents

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
18-25	334	27.02
26-35	318	25.73
36-45	264	21.36
46+	320	25.89
Total	**1,236**	**100**

Table 2 displays the distribution of religious affiliations within the sample. About 80% of respondents identified as either Sunni or Shi'ite (37.5% and 43.75%, respectively), but 18% of respondents identified themselves simply as Muslims. 7 respondents (0.6% of the total sample) identified themselves as Christians.

Table 2: Religious Affiliation

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Christian	7	0.57
Sunni	462	37.50
Shi'ite	539	43.75
Muslim (Unspecified)	224	18.18
Total	**1,232**	**100**

Figure 1 presents the distribution of respondents' education levels. The modal respondent possessed an elementary education, with slightly fewer holding a preparatory/basic education. About two-thirds of the respondents had completed an education level between elementary and secondary. 13% of respondents held a BA, while only 4 respondents (0.3%) possessed a MA or above.
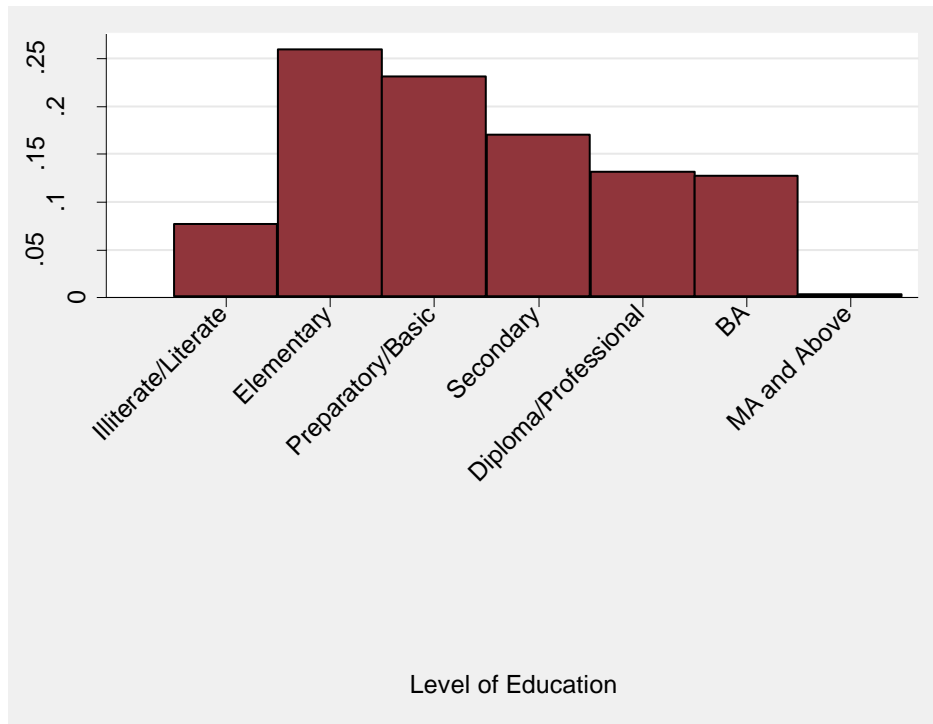
Figure 1: Education Level

Figure 2 displays the distribution of income within the sample. The average household income is 616,413 dinar (about 530 USD) per month. The 25th percentile of income in the sample was 400,000 dinar; the 75th percentile was 815,000. 10% of respondents reported a monthly household income of less than 30,000 dinar (about 26 USD). Sunnis reported an average monthly income of 536,066 dinar (460 USD), compared to 706,506 dinar (606 USD) for Shi'ites. Among Arabs, the average monthly income was 661,149 dinar (567 USD); for Kurds, 377,862 dinar (324 USD).

Figure 2: Monthly Household Income
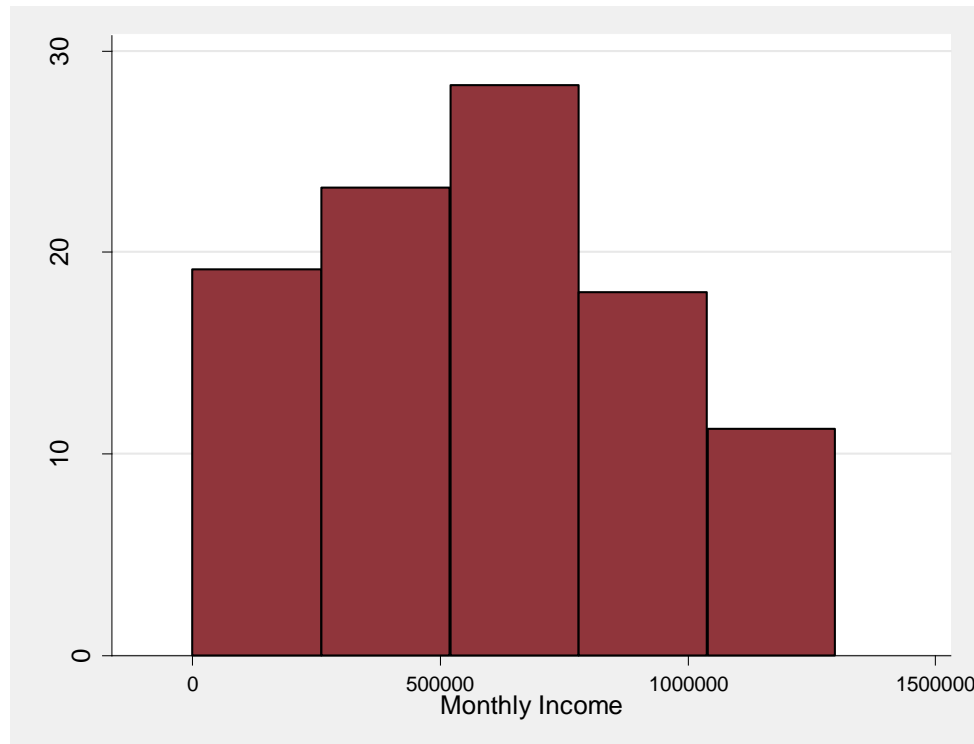
Religion

Religion is known to be an important feature of Iraqi life, but there exists considerable variation in the ways in which individuals practice their religion as well as their views about religion and politics. Figure 3 displays the proportion of individuals of each sect who engage in various types of religious behavior. The overwhelming majority of both Sunnis and Shi'ites pray daily, and the difference between sects in this regard is minimal. However, Shi'ites are over 10 percentage points more likely than Sunnis to read the Qur'an regularly, but Sunnis are almost 20 percentage points more likely to regularly attend Friday prayers. In total, 78% of Iraqis pray daily, 68% read or listen to the Qur'an regularly, and 48% attend Friday prayers regularly.

Figure 3: Religiosity, by Sect
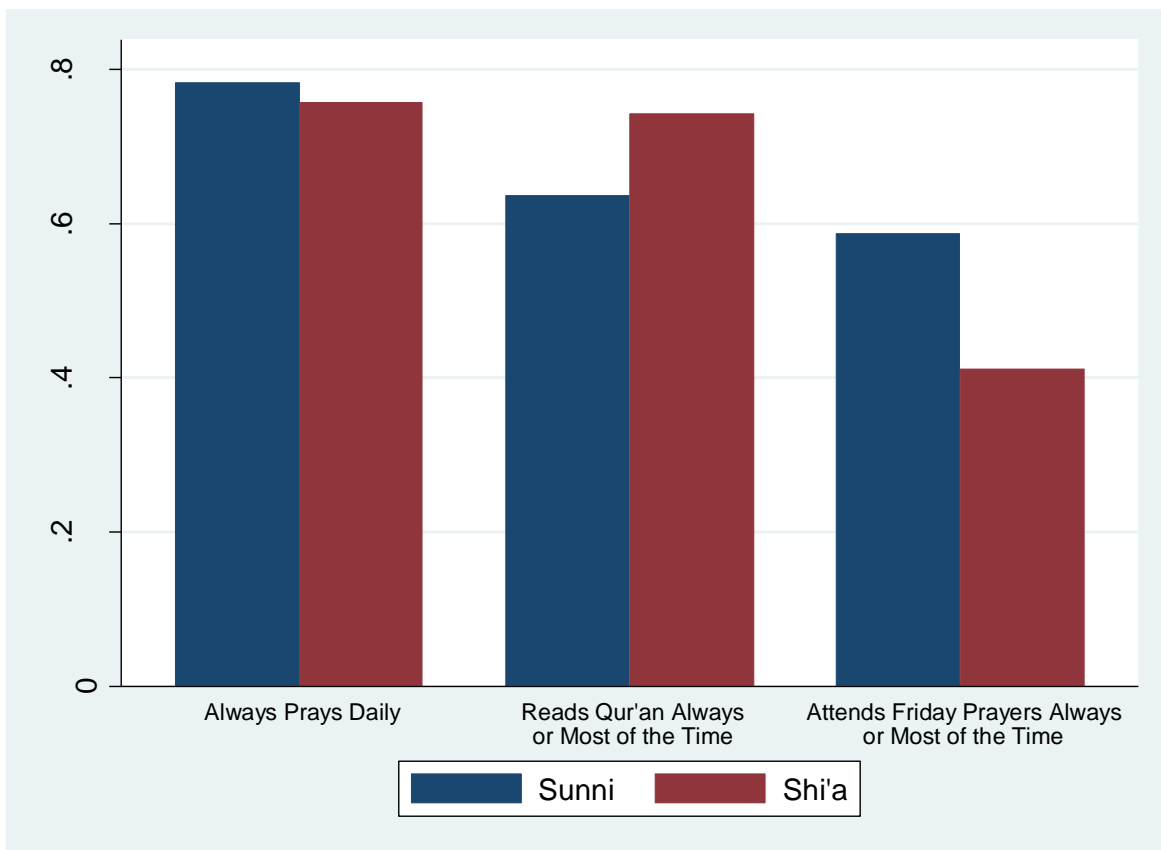
It is important to ask, however, how Iraqis view members of other sects, and how these views translate into political attitudes. Overall, most Iraqis state that they would not mind having members of other religions as neighbors. However, Sunnis are slightly less likely to agree to this statement (78%) than are Shi'ites (83%). Figure 4 displays the proportion of respondents who answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to questions about separation of religion and politics. On the whole, most Iraqis (72%) agreed that religious practices should be kept as a private matter and separated from public life. An even higher proportion (85%) agreed that religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions. In this question, however, a significant sectarian difference is present: Sunnis are over 10 percentage points more likely than Shi'ites to

agree with this statement. Less than one-third of respondents (31%) agreed that Islamic law was appropriate for their country, with Shi'ites about 3 percentage points more likely than Sunnis to agree. Sunnis (51%) were substantially more likely than Shi'ites (38%) to state that it was important to them that a political candidate was from their sect. This difference may be related to perceptions about treatment of Sunnis under the current regime; it is likely that Sunnis believe that it is particularly important that members of their sect are elected to public office in order to preserve the rights of the Sunni community.

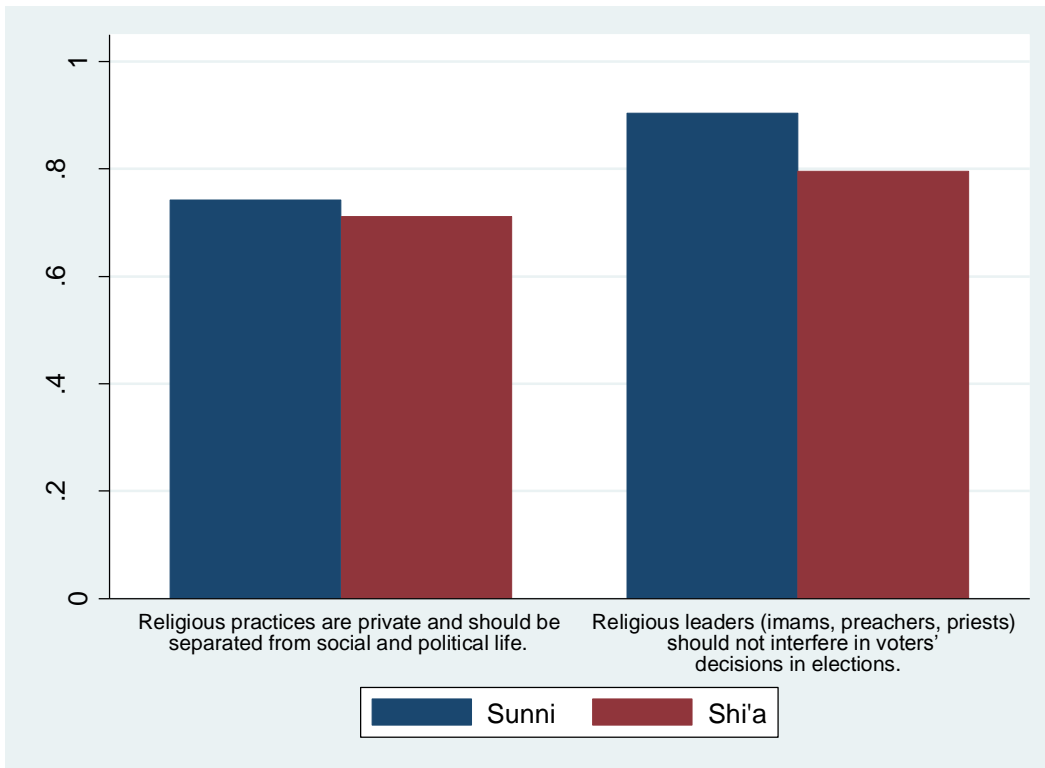**Figure 4: Religion and Politics, by Sect**

Figure 5 demonstrates that attitudes towards religion and politics differ somewhat by age group. Younger groups are less likely to support Islamic law than are older respondents, but are not clearly distinguishable from the older generations on the questions of "religious practices are private" and "religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions." Thus, younger respondents were not necessarily more supportive of secular politics than were their older counterparts; majorities of respondents in each age group reported support for secular politics.

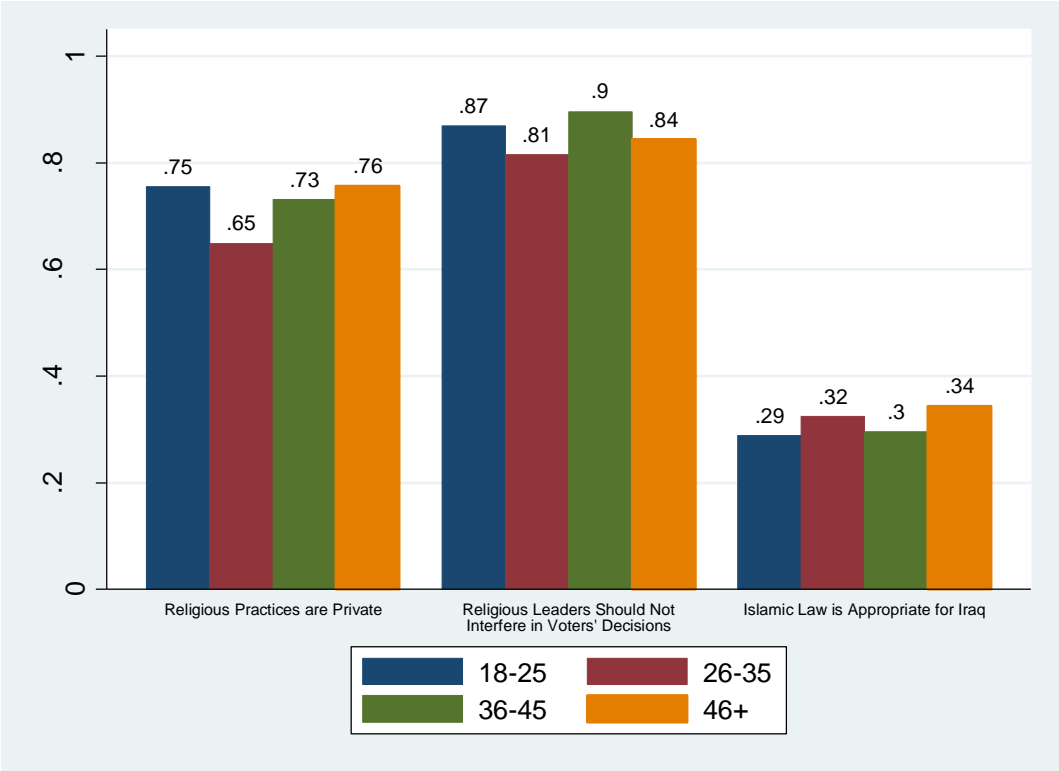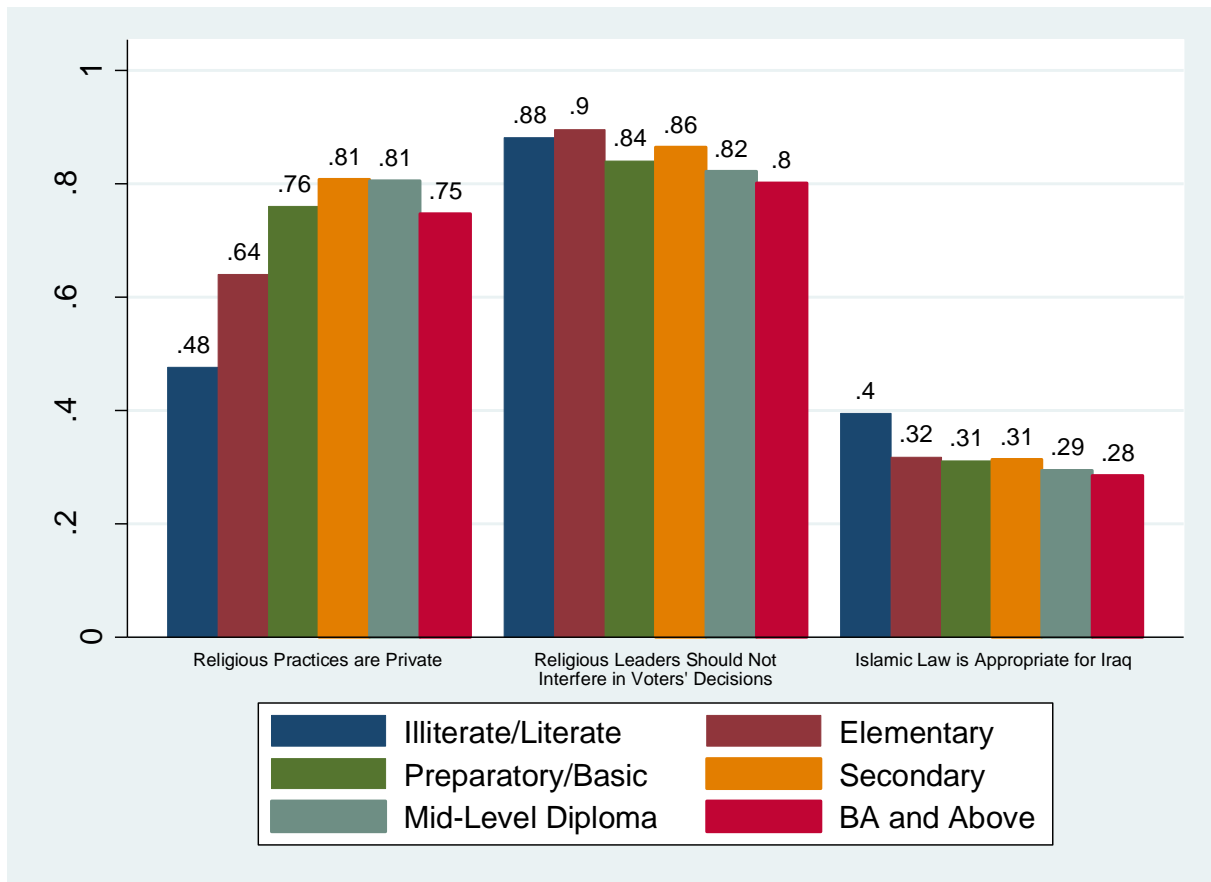**Figure 5: Religion and Politics, by Age**

Figure 6 reveals that a clearer trend in attitudes towards religion and politics emerges when comparing education levels. More educated respondents are much more likely to believe that religious practices are private; the most educated individuals were 27 percentage points more likely to agree to this statement than were the least educated. Likewise, the most educated respondents were 12 percentage points less likely than the least educated to believe that Islamic law is appropriate for Iraq. In general, higher education levels were associated with greater support for secular politics.

Figure 6: Religion and Politics, by Education

Attitudes towards religion and politics might also be a function of personal piety. For this reason, Figure 7 divides respondents according to whether or not they pray daily. While non-prayers are similar to those who pray on the question of the privacy of religious practices, differences are present in the other two questions: those who pray were ten percentage points *more* likely to agree that religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions, but seven percentage points more likely to support Islamic law in Iraq. Thus, it is not simply the case that pious individuals support a fusion of religion and politics; while those who pray daily support Islamic law with a higher frequency, they are also more likely to believe that religious leaders should not influence voters' decisions.

Figure 7: Religion and Politics, by Daily Prayer
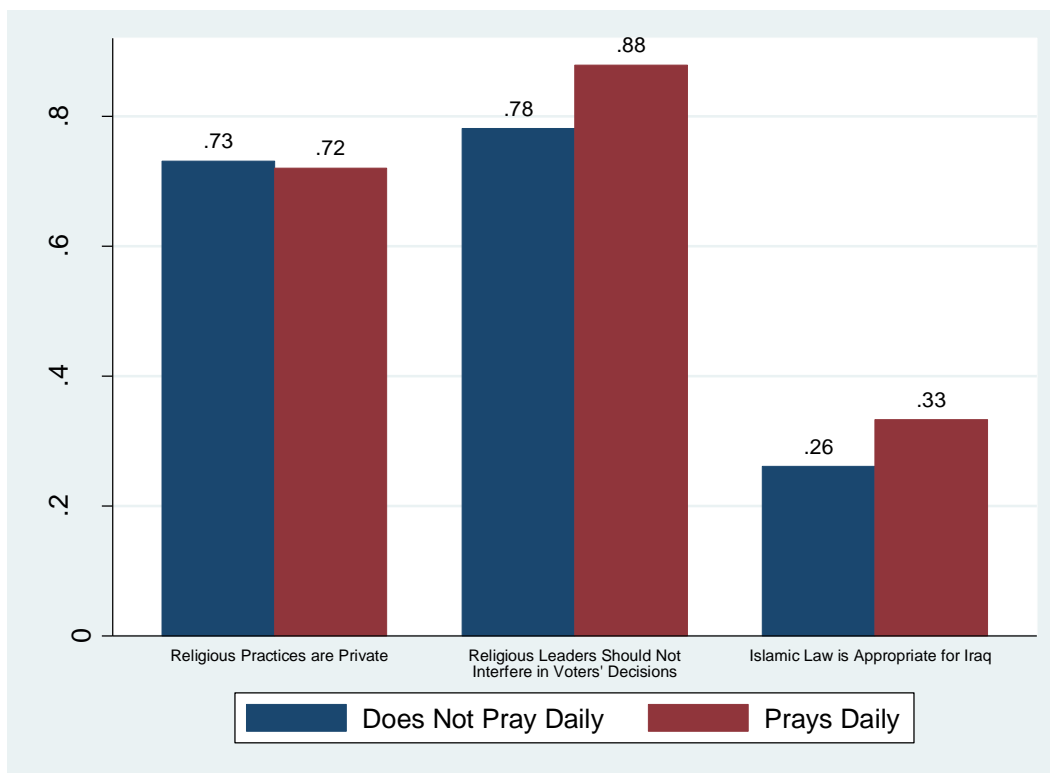
Economy

Figure 8 reveals that the vast majority of Iraqis responded that economic issues were the most important challenges facing the country today. 67% of respondents identified "the economic situation" as the primary challenge, with an additional 25% citing "financial and administrative corruption." Perhaps surprisingly, very few respondents pointed to security or sectarian issues as the primary challenge facing the country. Likewise, only a very small portion of respondents pointed to the building of democracy as the most important challenge facing the country. Clearly, Iraqis are highly concerned about the state of the economy.

Figure 8: Most Important Challenge Facing Iraq

What is the most important challenge Iraq is facing today?
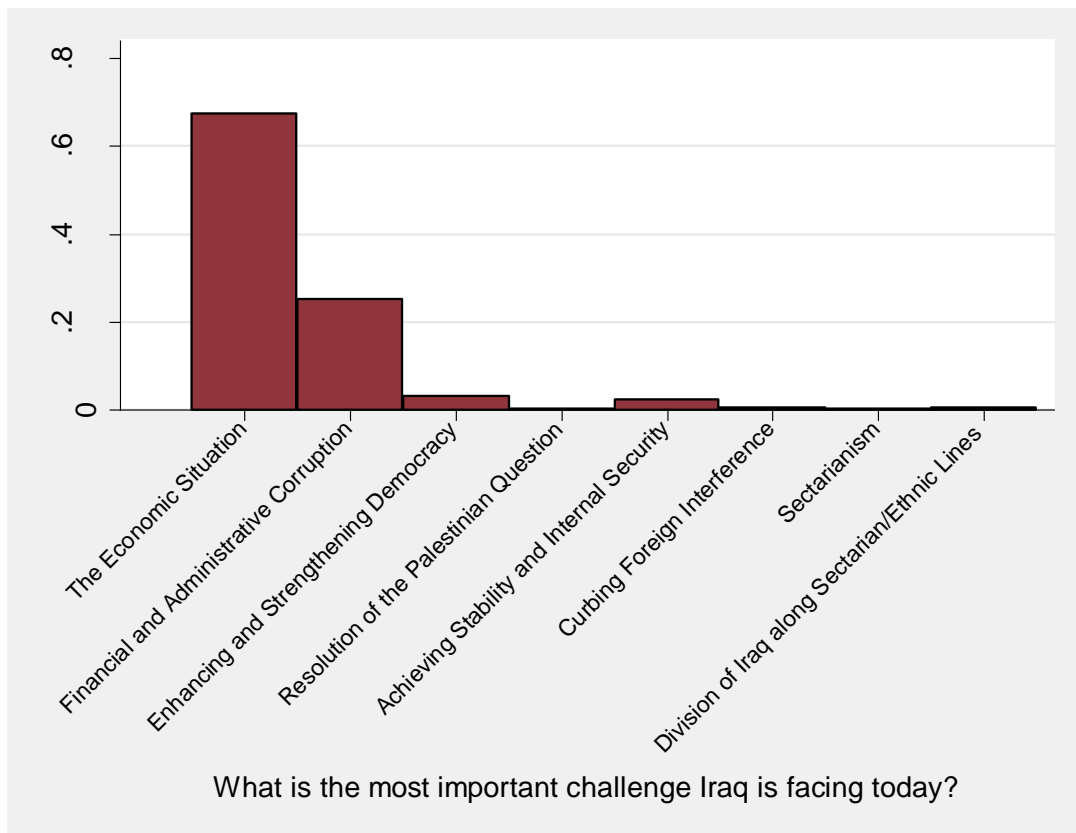
This issue, however, involves a sectarian dimension as well. Figure 9 shows that while 47% of Shi'ites reported that the economic situation in Iraq was "good," only 26% of Sunnis made similar statements. There is evidence that economic conditions have disproportionately impacted Sunnis, at least in the area of *perceptions* of the economy. This difference is also related to the difference in incomes reported above: Sunnis are, on average, poorer than Shi'ites, and this difference is quite possibly linked to their economic evaluations of the country.

Figure 9: Economic Evaluation, by Sect
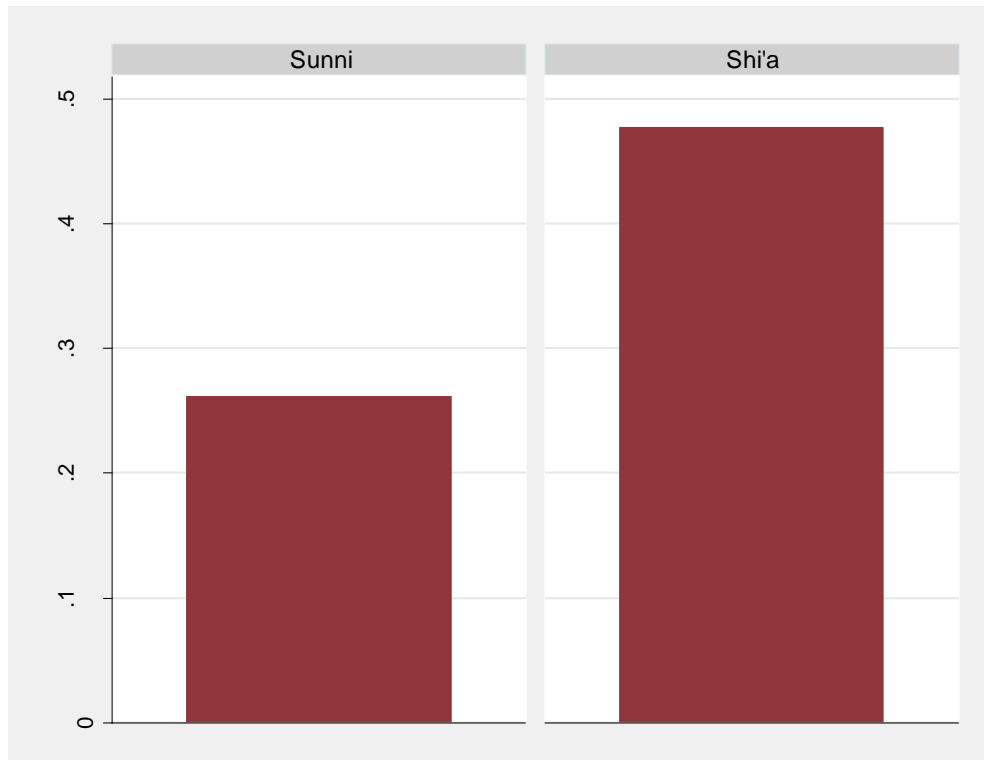
Figure 10 reveals that ethnicity is also an important factor in distinguishing respondents' economic evaluations. Nearly 60% of Kurds reported that the economic situation was "good" or "very good" in Iraq, compared to just 34% among Arabs. This distinction cannot be explained by income, as the average Kurd in the sample was substantially poorer than the average Arab. A more likely explanation is that citizens evaluate the country's economic situation in comparison to its past economic conditions; thus, while economic conditions may not have improved for Arabs, they might have improved substantially for Iraqi Kurds.

Figure 10: Economic Evaluation, by Ethnicity
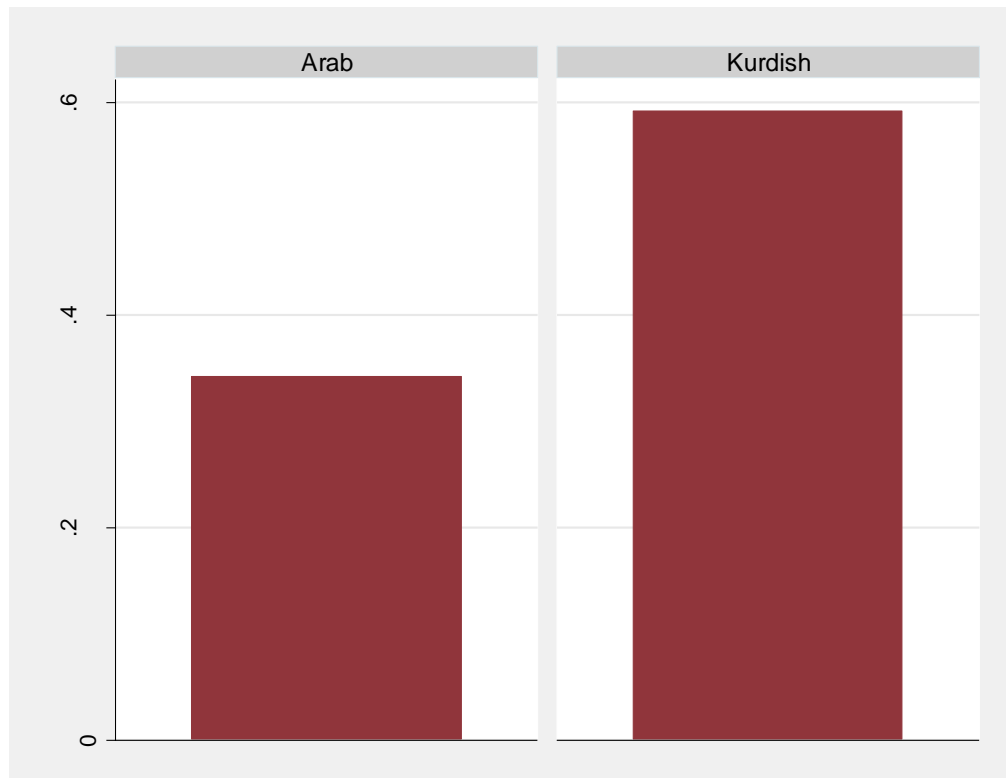
Of course, individuals' evaluations of the state of the economy might be influenced substantially by their own economic situation. Consequently, Figure 11 summarizes the economic evaluations of respondents in four income categories. Unsurprisingly, the wealthiest citizens are the most optimistic about the economy, while the poorest are the most pessimistic. The wealthiest respondents were 13 percentage points more likely than the poorest respondents to report that the economic situation in Iraq was "good." Income, it seems, is an important driver of individuals' evaluations of the state of the economy.

Figure 11: Economic Evaluation, by Income
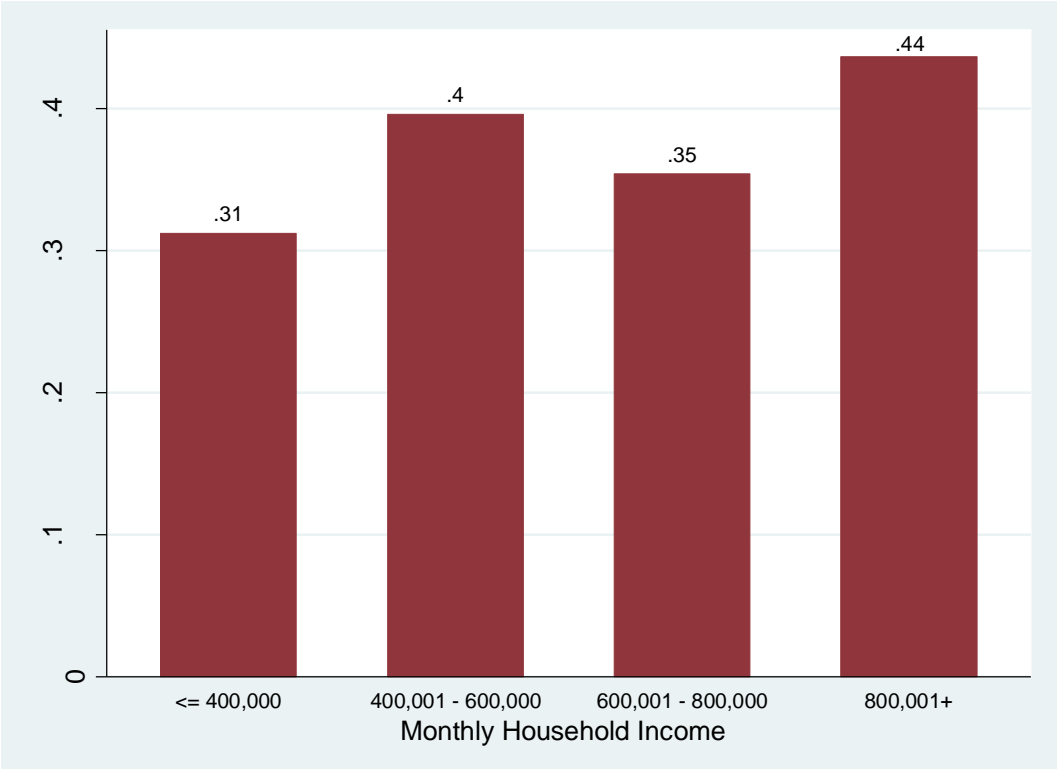
Politics and Democracy

The Arab Barometer asks respondents several questions aimed at determining citizens' perceptions of democracy and the state of politics in their country. First, it is important to ask how Iraqis perceive democracy. Figure 12 displays the distribution of responses to the question "What is the most important feature of democracy?" Respondents demonstrated considerable variation in their answers to this question. A plurality (33%) responded that the opportunity to change the government through elections was the most important feature of democracy. 26% said that the most important feature of democracy was the elimination of financial and administrative corruption. 15% cited the provision of basic items, and the remaining three options (freedom to criticize the government, narrowing the gap between rich and poor, and equality of political rights) each received about 9% of the responses.

Figure 12: Most Important Feature of Democracy

What is the most important feature of democracy?
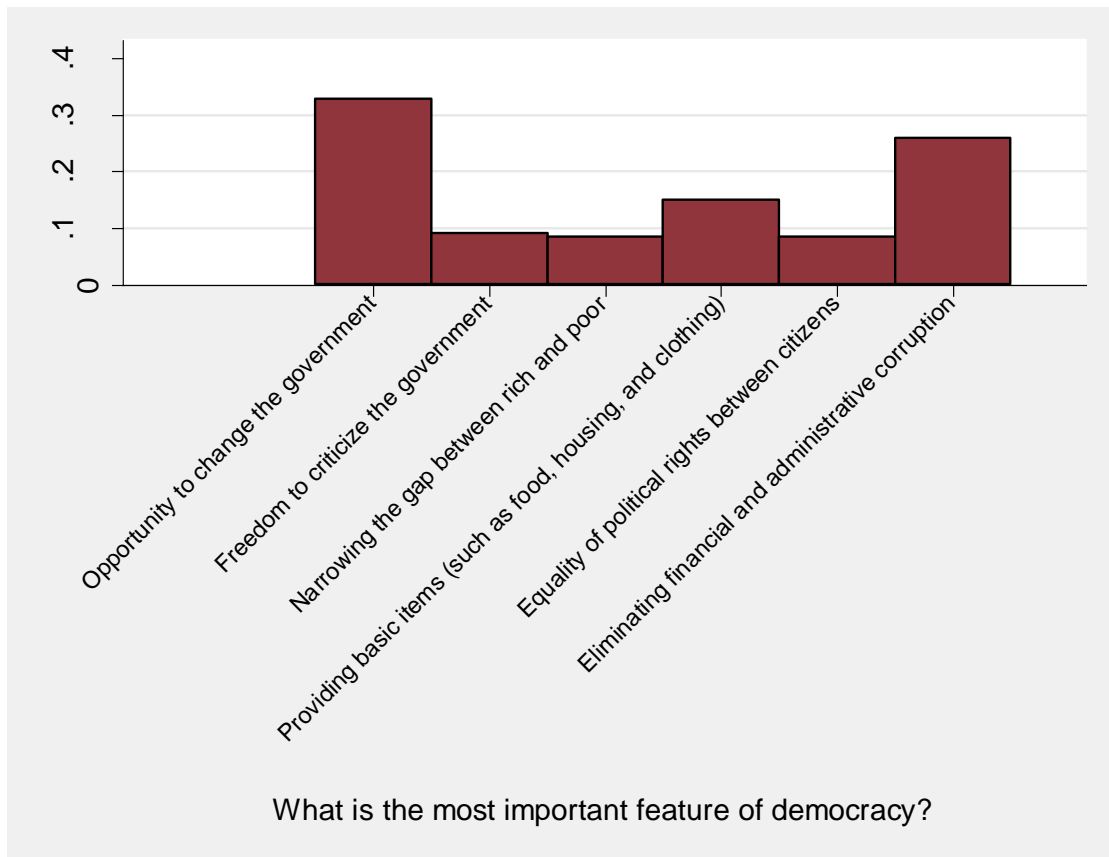
Iraqis vary considerably in their belief in the suitability of democracy for their country. Figure 13 displays the distribution of respondents according to how suitable they believe democracy to be for Iraq. For this question, respondents were asked to provide an answer on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means "absolutely inappropriate" and 10 means "completely appropriate" Most citizens are located near the center of this distribution, but over 10% believe that democracy is not at all suitable for the country. Few respondents placed themselves at the "completely appropriate" extreme, suggesting that most Iraqis are not perfectly convinced of the suitability of democracy for their country.

Figure 13: Suitability of Democracy for Iraq
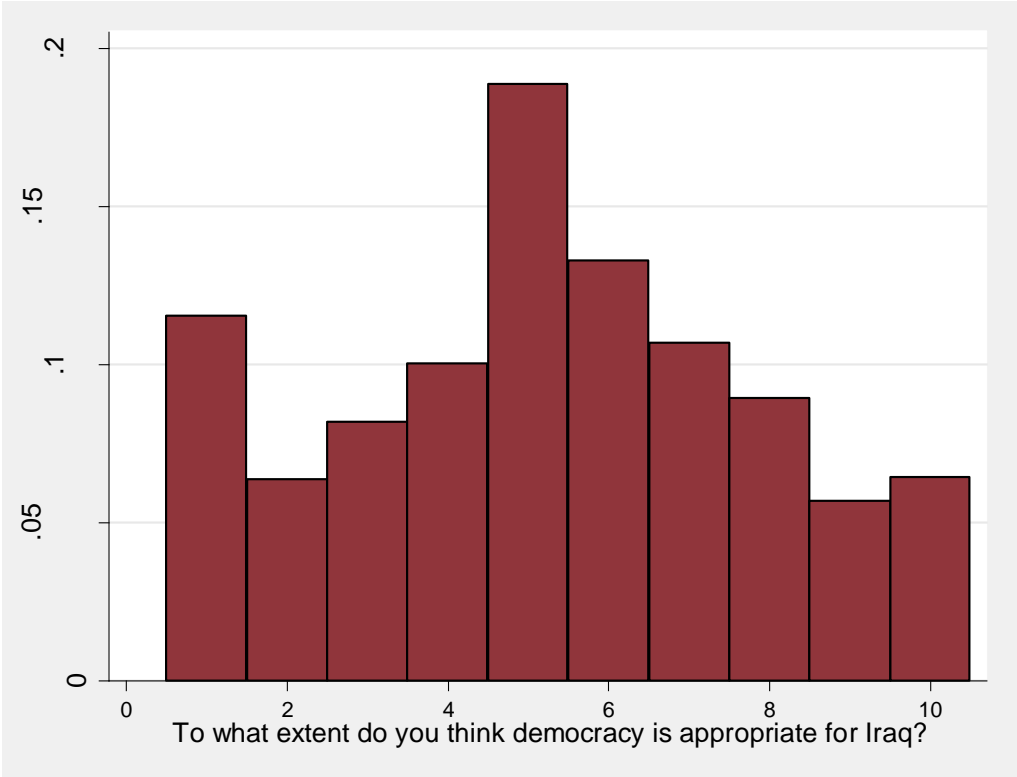
How, then, do citizens perceive the state of politics in their country? Figure 14 displays the distribution of responses about government satisfaction on a scale of 1 to 10. Few respondents gave the government a score of 7 or higher, but many citizens placed the government somewhere in the middle of the scale. These results suggest that citizens are, on average, neither entirely satisfied nor entirely dissatisfied with the performance of their fledgling government. Once again, a sectarian distinction emerges in this question: the average Shi'ite gave the government a score of 4.5, compared to only 3.4 for the average Sunni. Similarly, Kurds were significantly more optimistic about the performance of the government: the average Kurd gave the government a score of 5.4, compared to 3.7 among Arabs. These differences are symptomatic of a larger trend, which is discussed in detail below.

Figure 14: Satisfaction with Government
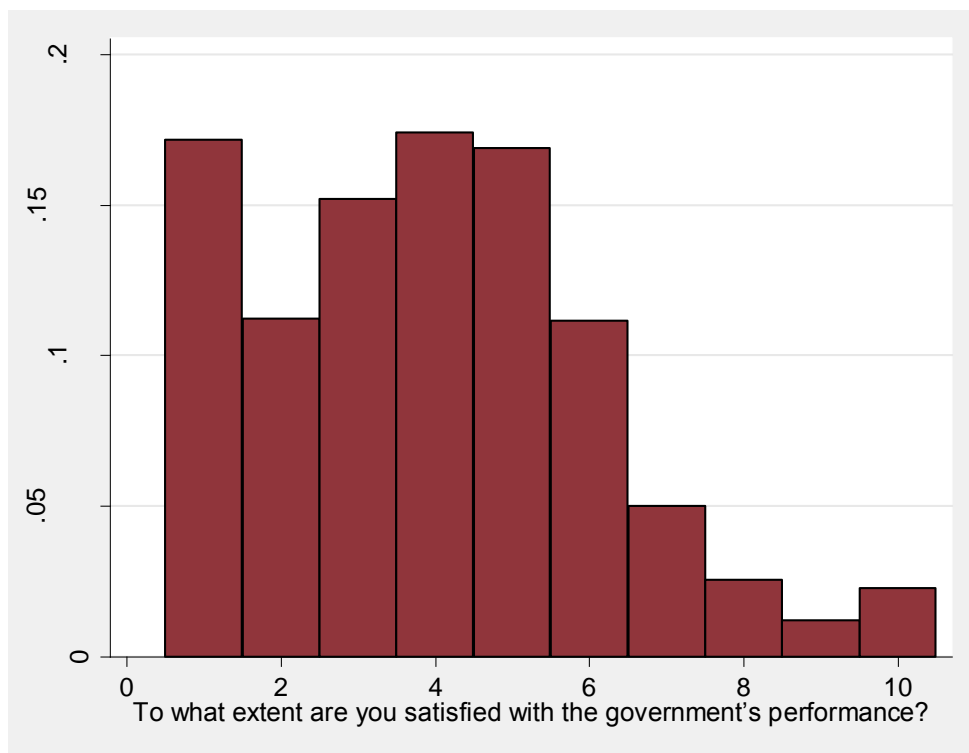
Levels of trust in political institutions depend considerably on the institution considered. Most Iraqis trust the army and the police, but less than 20% of respondents from either sect trust political parties (this result is mirrored in the finding that only 3% of respondents said that they belonged to a political party). Sectarian differences are also present in levels of trust for several of these institutions. Shi'ites are more than twice as likely to trust the government. Likewise, they are 13 percentage points more likely to trust the police, and 22 percentage points more likely to trust the army. While the difference between sects in levels of trust is minimal for a few of these institutions, Shi'ites exhibited higher levels of trust in every one of these institutions.

Figure 15: Trust in Institutions, by Sect
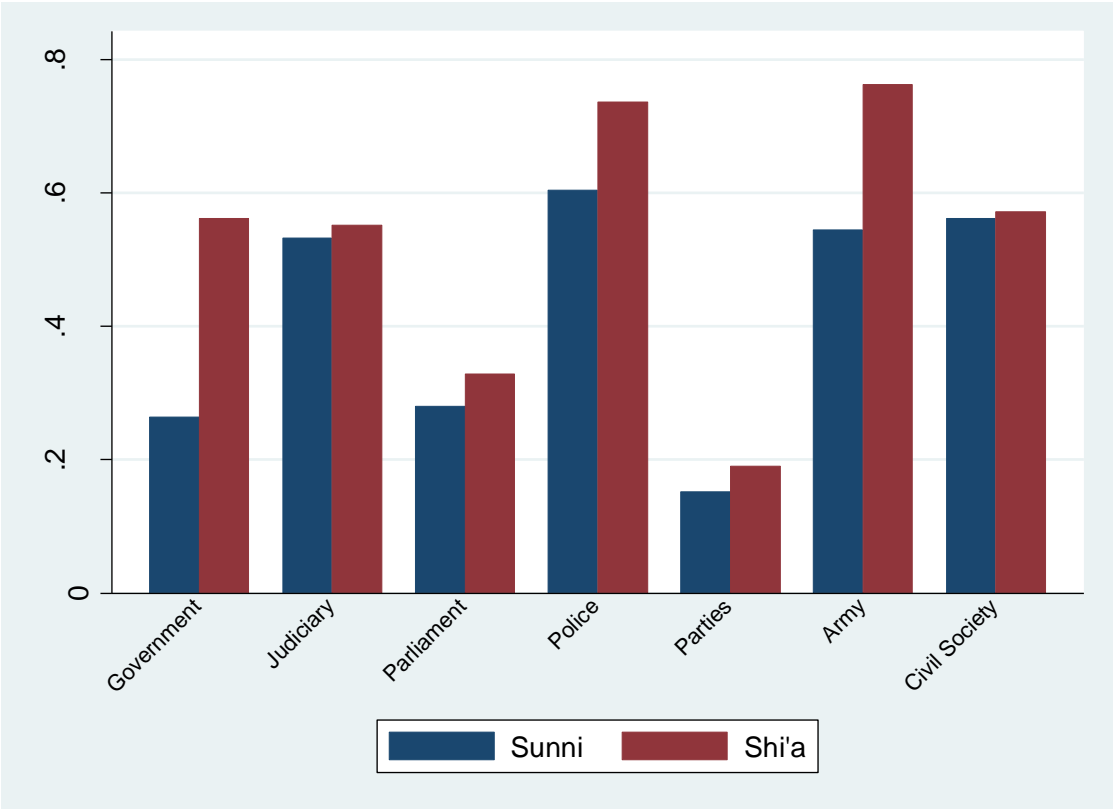
Trust in institutions is, of course, related to preferences regarding regime types. Figure 16 presents the levels of support for various regimes by sect. Both Sunni's and Shi'ites exhibited levels of support for democracy in excess of 90%, and a majority of respondents expressed support for rule by experts, with no substantial difference between sects. On the issue of authoritarian government ("a political system with an authoritarian president (non-democratic) who is indifferent to parliament and elections"), however, considerable differences emerge: Sunnis were four times as likely to support authoritarian government as were Shi'ites (who almost never reported support for authoritarian rule). Much of this difference can be explained by the different experiences of these groups under the regime of Saddam Hussein.

Figure 16: Attitudes Toward Regimes, by Sect
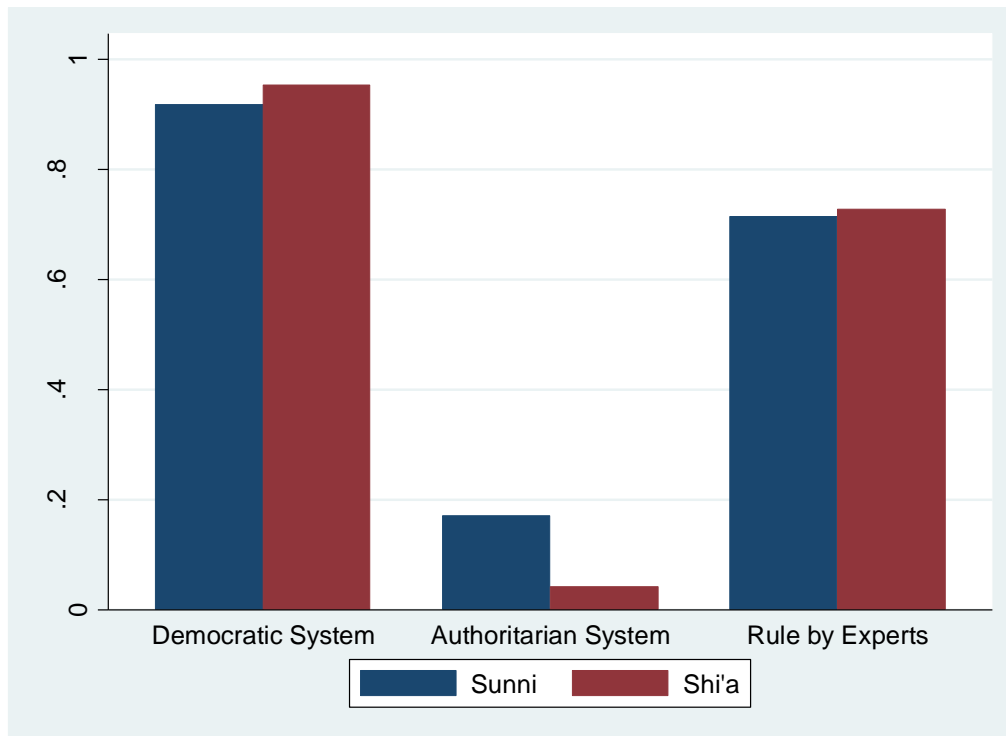
Figure 17 displays respondents' attitudes towards these regime types while dividing respondents according to education level. More educated respondents were the most supportive of democracy; the most educated group was 13 percentage points more likely to support democracy than was the least educated group. At the same time, however, the most educated group also demonstrated greater support for authoritarian rule than any of the other groups. On the question of "rule by experts," no clear trend is discernable.

Figure 17: Attitudes Toward Regimes, by Education
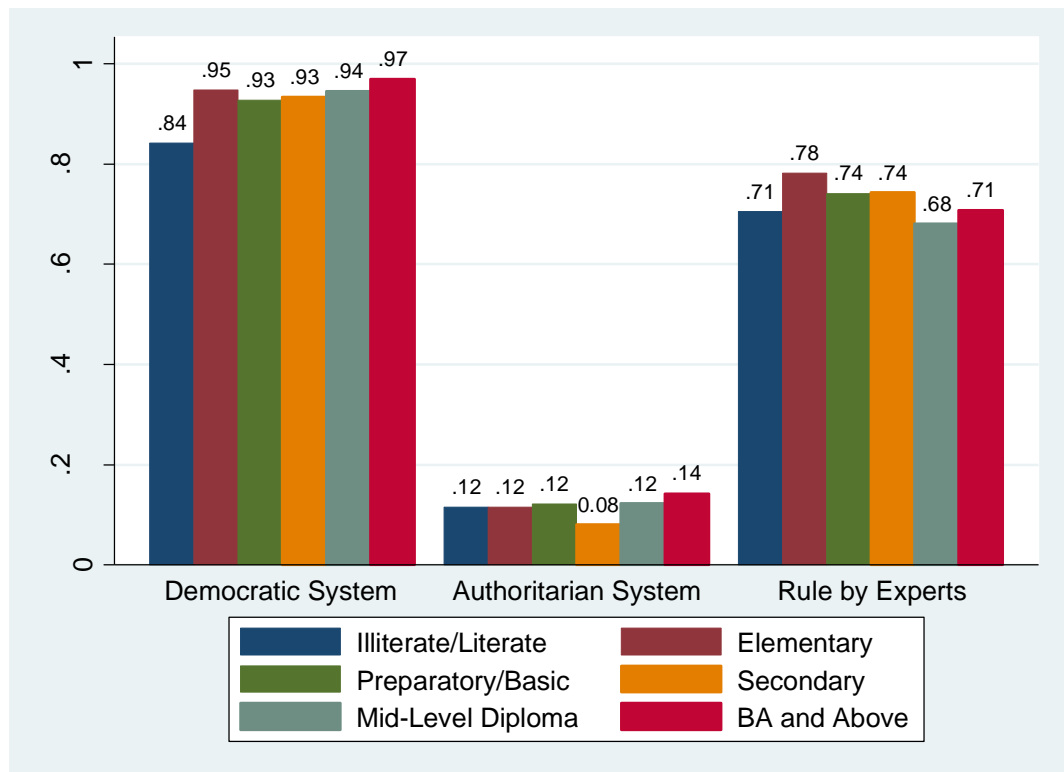
Figure 18 suggests that Iraqis in general favor a parliamentary system in which all types of candidates (leftist, rightist, Islamist, and otherwise) are allowed to participate. Only a small minority of respondents express support for systems that only include Islamist candidates or those that exclude them altogether. Once again, support for authoritarian government is low on average, but is substantially higher among Sunnis than among Shi'ites. There is evidence to suggest that Sunnis feel under-represented by the new political system in Iraq. While over 25% of Shi'ites expressed a belief that political leaders are concerned with the needs of ordinary citizens, less than 15% of Sunnis believed this to be the case. This belief is perhaps related to the finding noted above: that Sunnis are much more likely to emphasize the importance of political candidates' sects. An even stronger difference is present between ethnic groups: while only about 48% of Arabs reported that a candidate's ethnicity is important, the corresponding figure for Kurds was 80%.

Figure 18: Attitudes Toward Political Systems, by Sect
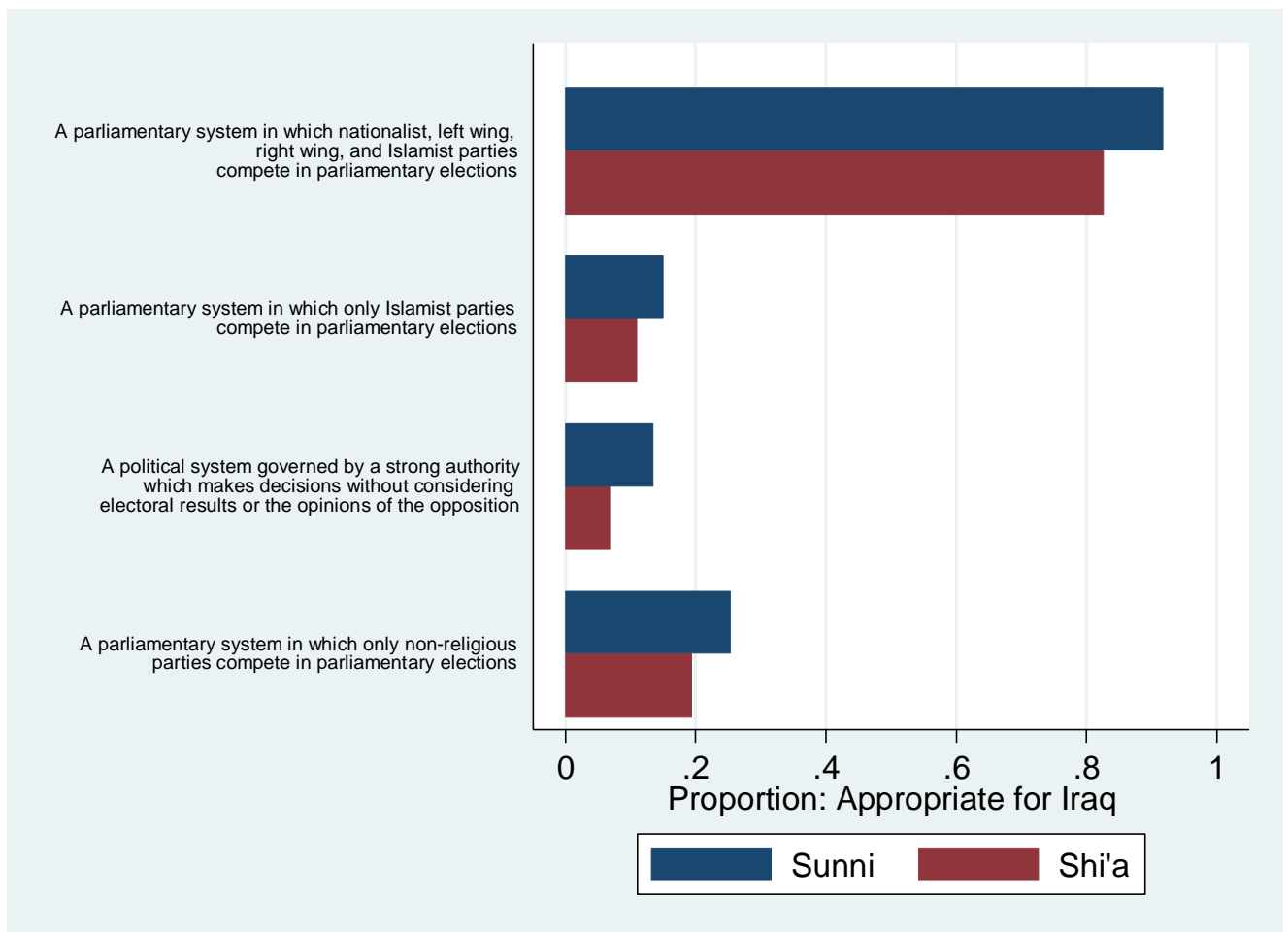
Similar trends emerge in response to the question "To what extent do you feel that you are being treated equally to other citizens in Iraq?" 33% of Sunnis responded that they felt they were treated equally "to a great extent" or "to a medium extent," compared to 39% among Shi'ites. The difference is starker between ethnic groups: Kurds were 24 percentage points more likely than Arabs to give a positive response to this question.

Another important issue is the matter of perceptions about security. When respondents were asked "Do you currently feel that your own personal as well as your family's safety and security are ensured or not?", 58% responded that they felt their safety was either "ensured" or "fully ensured," while 42% responded that their safety was "not ensured" or "absolutely not ensured." Figure 19 displays the perceptions of safety, divided by education level. In general, the least educated citizens felt safer than the more educated groups. Indeed, citizens in the lowest education category were 20 percentage points more likely than those in the highest category to report that they felt that their safety was ensured.

Figure 19: Perceptions of Safety, by Education
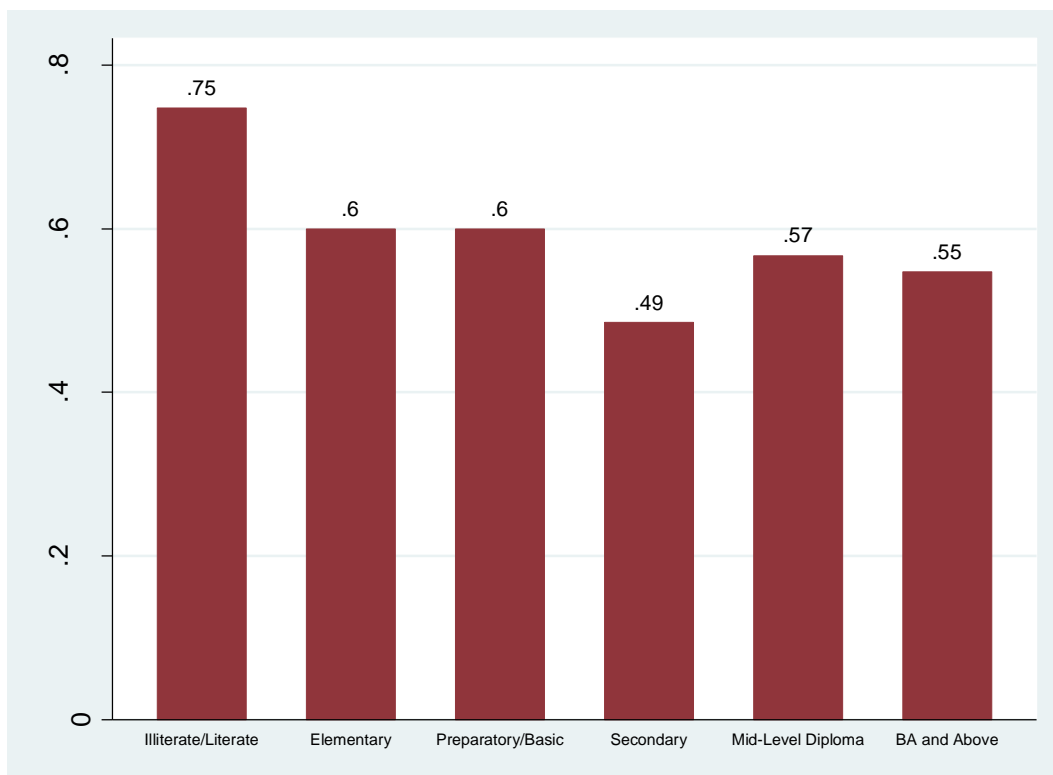
Political Participation

Figure 20 reveals that Iraqis, on average, are only somewhat interested in politics. Barely 10% of respondents stated that they were "very interested" in politics, a figure that is comparable to the proportion who said they were "not interested." About 80% of respondents placed themselves in the categories of "interested" or "slightly interested." Figure 21 displays the proportions of individuals who use various media sources to follow politics at least a few times per month. Television constitutes the bulk of media access regarding politics for most Iraqis, with nearly all respondents stating that they follow television for political news at least a few times per month. Radio is the second-most frequent source, with slightly over half of respondents using the radio at least a few times per month for political news. The press, whether daily or weekly, is only used by a minority of respondents. Internet penetration in the area of political news remains low, with less than 20% of respondents stating that they use the internet at least a few times per month for political news.

Figure 20: Interest in Politics

In general, to what extent are you interested in politics?
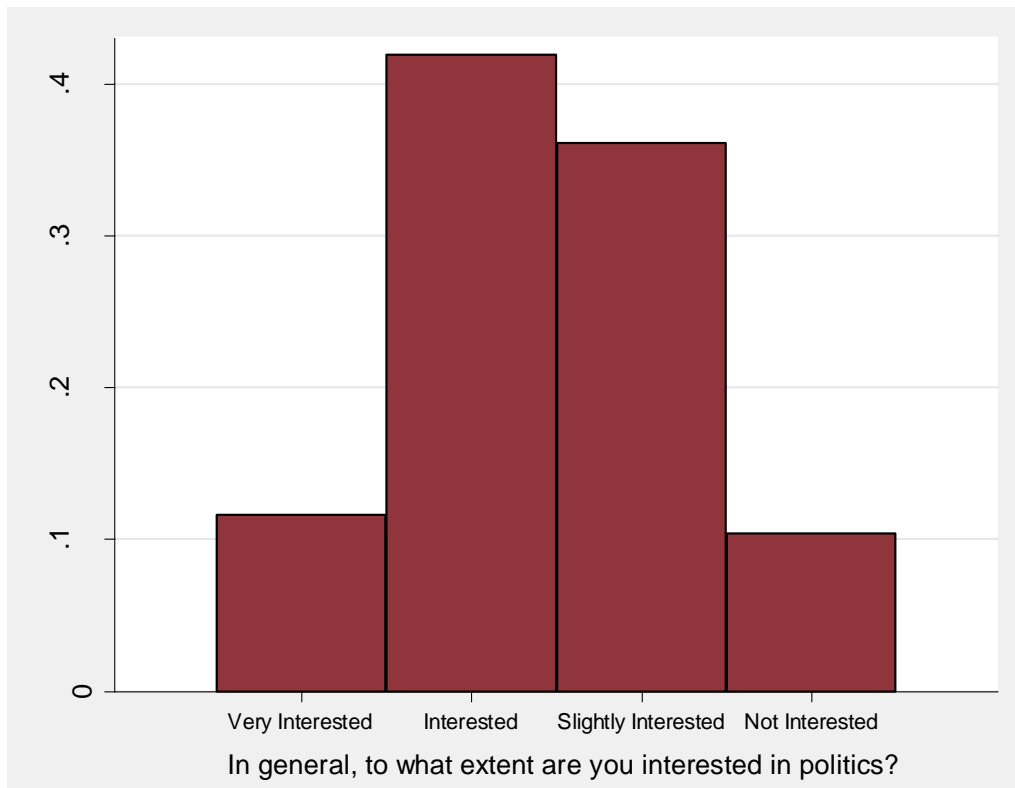
Figure 21: Media Usage
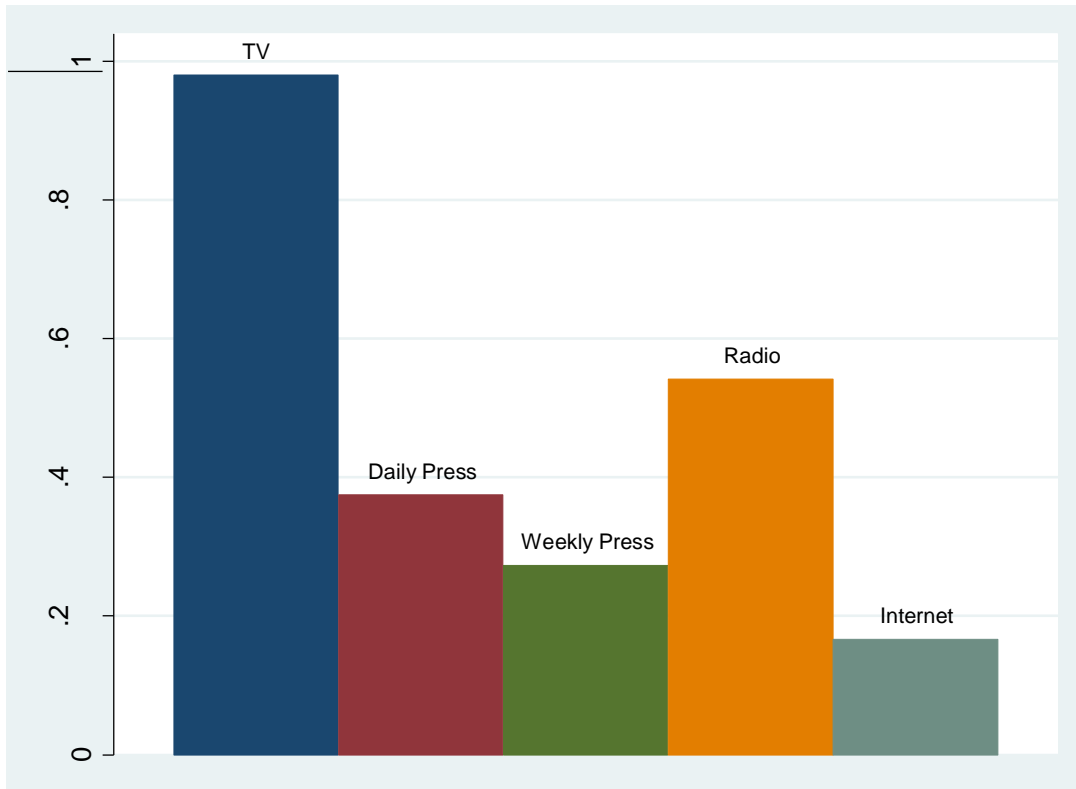
Figure 22 summarizes the frequency of various types of political participation among Iraqis. Most Iraqis (84%) reported voting in the most recent elections, but only a small minority reported participating in protest or attending campaign meetings (18% in each case.) Figure 23 reveals that a considerable gender gap exists in the area of political participation. Men were about 8 percentage points more likely to vote than were women, more than twice as likely to protest, and nearly twice as likely to attend campaign meetings.

Figure 22: Political Participation
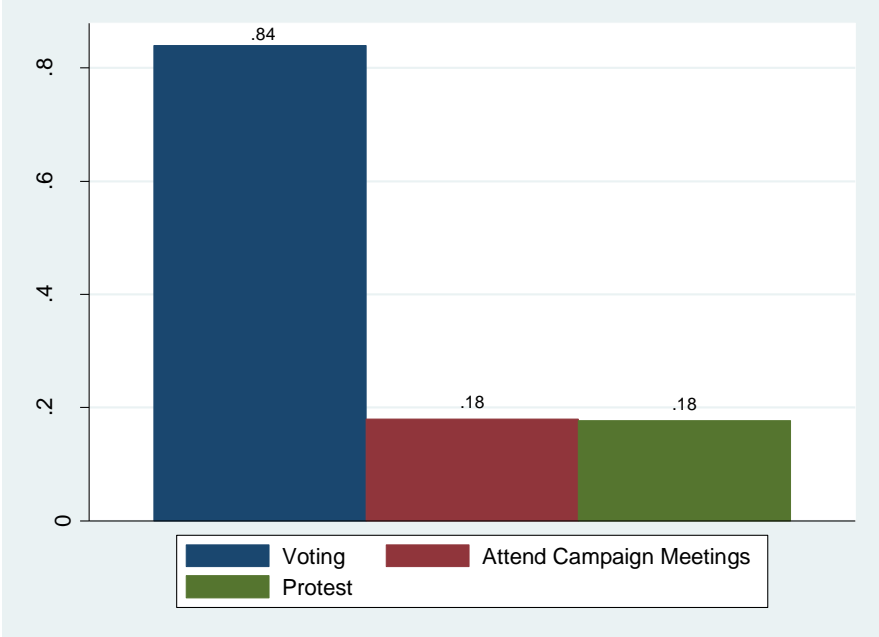
Figure 23: Political Participation, by Gender
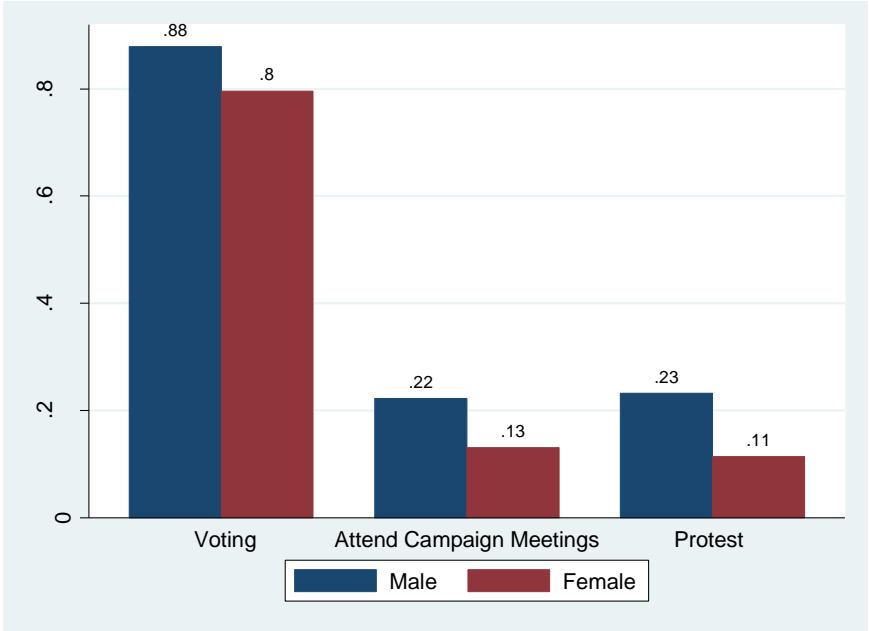
As Figure 24 demonstrates, some differences exist in levels of political participation across levels of education. These differences were starkest in the area of protest: the most educated respondents were nearly three times as likely to engage in protest compared to the least educated respondents. Likewise, the most educated respondents were about 5 percentage points more likely to attend campaign meetings than were the least educated. As the figure illustrates, however, these trends are not entirely linear, and no clear trend is present in frequency of voting.

Figure 24: Political Participation, by Education Level
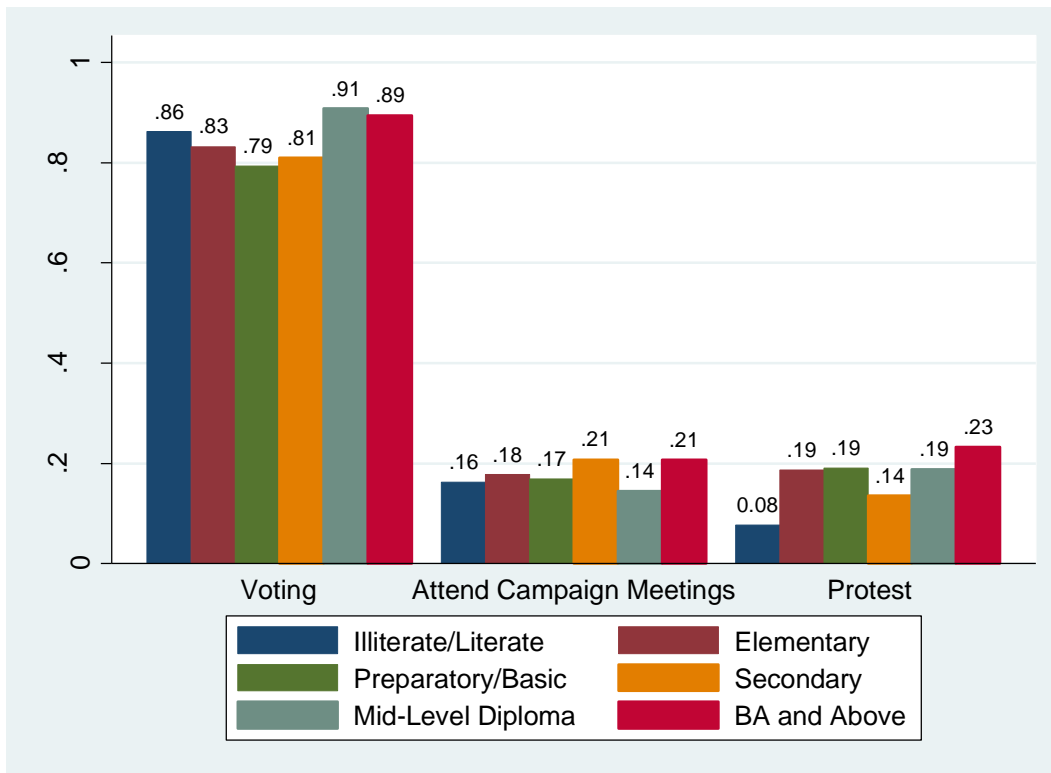
Figure 25 presents the frequencies of these types of political participation divided by age group. Voting and attending campaign meetings both increase monotonically with age: each older age group is more likely than all younger groups to engage in these types of participation. The trend for protest is not so clear: the age group who was most likely to protest was the 36-45 age group, with the youngest and the oldest age groups less likely than all others.

Figure 25: Political Participation, by Age
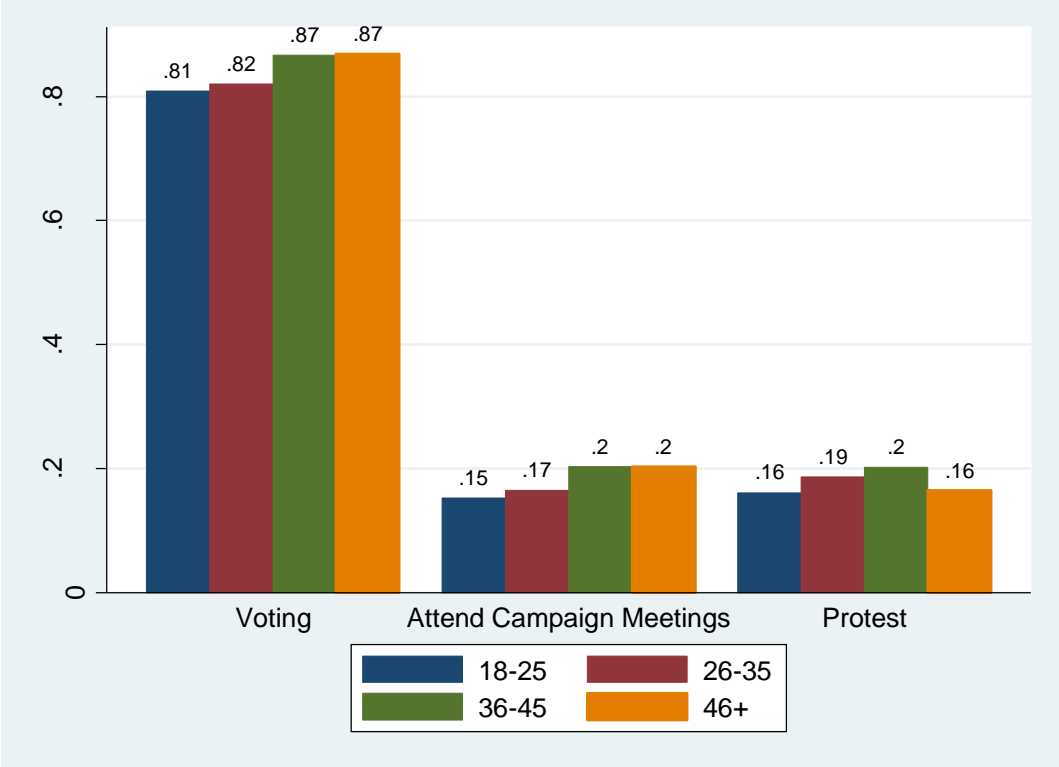
Finally, Figure 26 presents the frequencies of each type of political participation by income level. The only type of political participation that demonstrates anything close to a clear trend is attending campaign meetings: individuals in the highest income group were about 50% more likely than others to engage in this type of behavior. Voting behavior does not exhibit a clear trend: the richest and poorest groups were only separated by about 2 percentage points, and both were more likely to vote than were than middle income groups. Propensity to protest was mostly similar across income groups, and no monotonic trend is present.

Figure 26: Political Participation, by Income
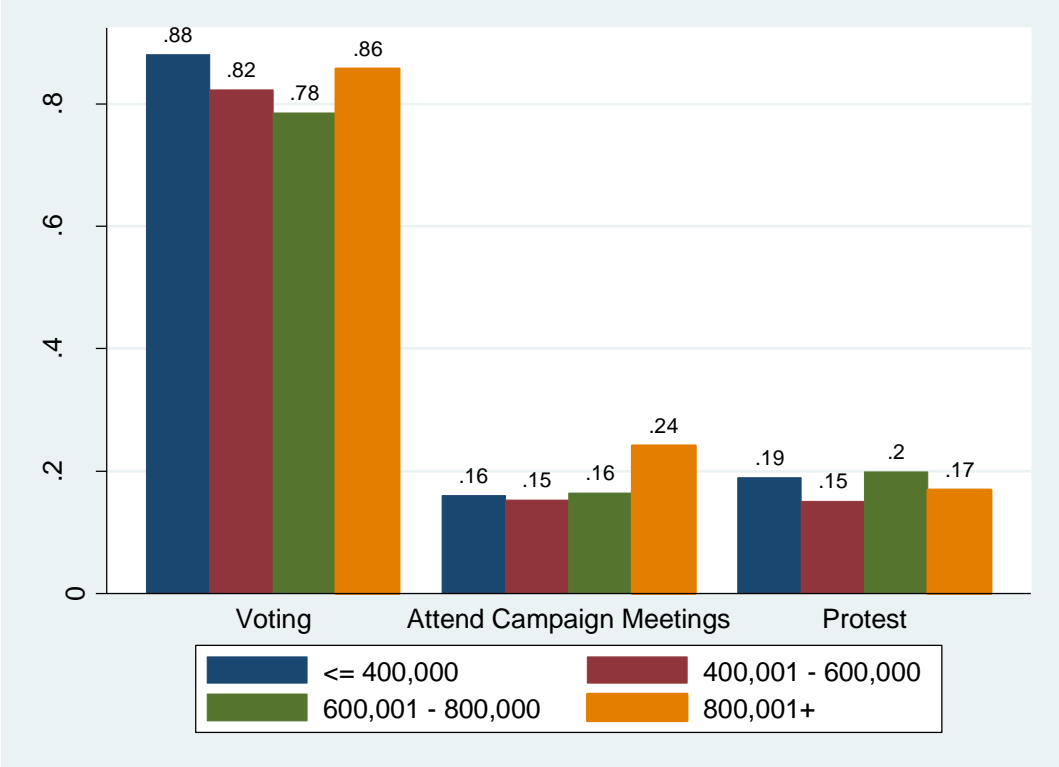
Attitudes Towards Women

Questions regarding women's rights provided mixed findings. Figure 27 displays the proportion of respondents who agreed with various positions regarding women. On the one hand, fewer than 50% of respondents believed that a woman could become president or prime minister of a Muslim state. Likewise, over 75% agreed that men are better than women at political leadership. At the same time, however, barely a quarter of respondents believed that university education is more important for men than it is for women, and 72% of respondents stated that men and women should have equal work opportunities. Thus, Iraqis in general appear to be much more supportive of equality for women in *economic* matters than in *political* matters.

Figure 27: Attitudes Towards Women
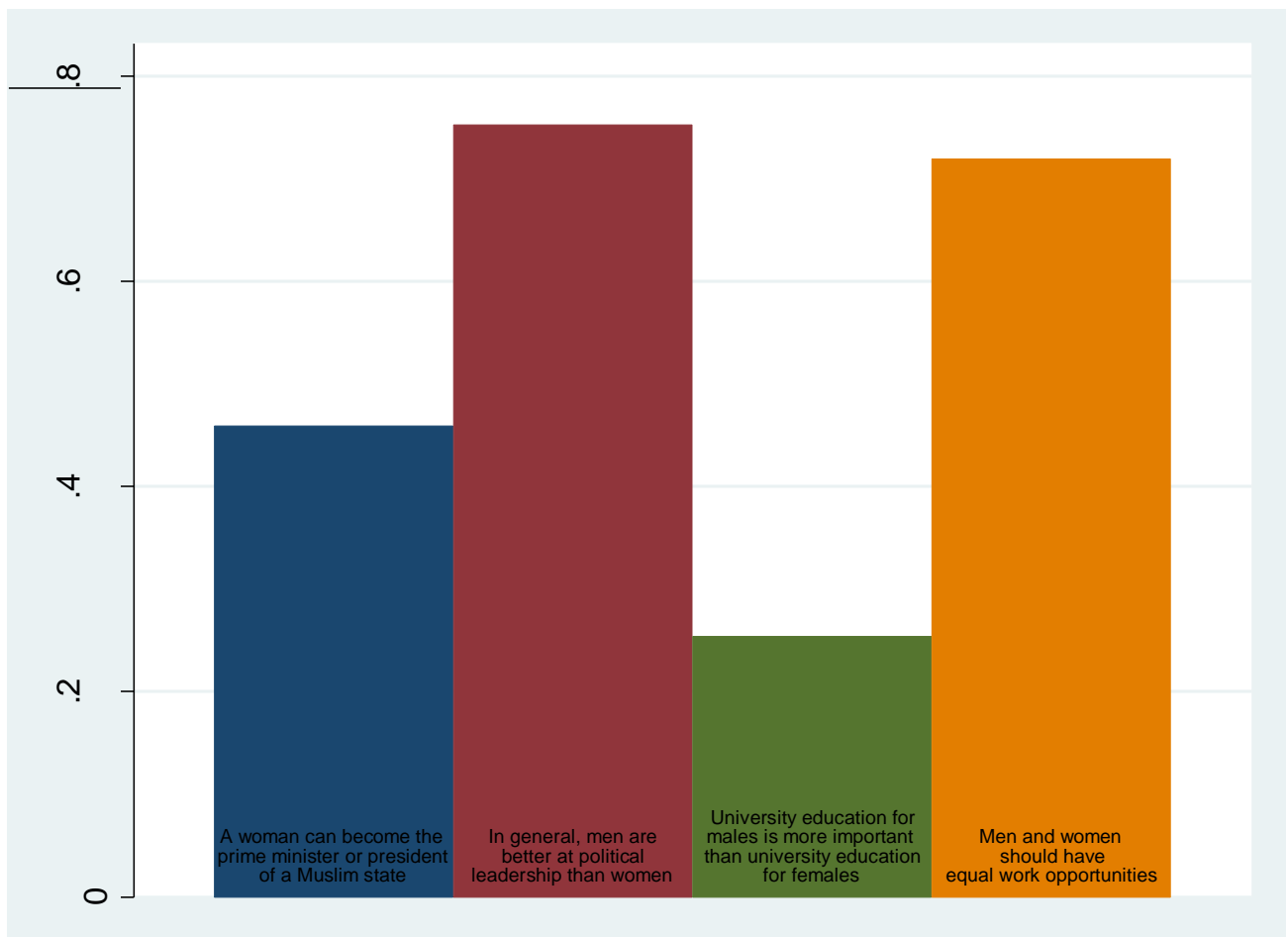
Figure 28 displays the differences between men and women with regard to questions of women's rights. For each question, women were more supportive than men of women's equality, but the differences are not as sharp as might be expected. Only half of women responded that a woman could be the political leader of a Muslim country, and 72% of women agreed that men make better political leaders than women. For each of these questions, the proportion of women agreeing to the statement was within 8 percentage points of the proportion of men, suggesting that while some gender differences emerge, there is not a tremendous gender gap in Iraq with regard to attitudes towards women.

Figure 28: Attitudes Towards Women, by Gender
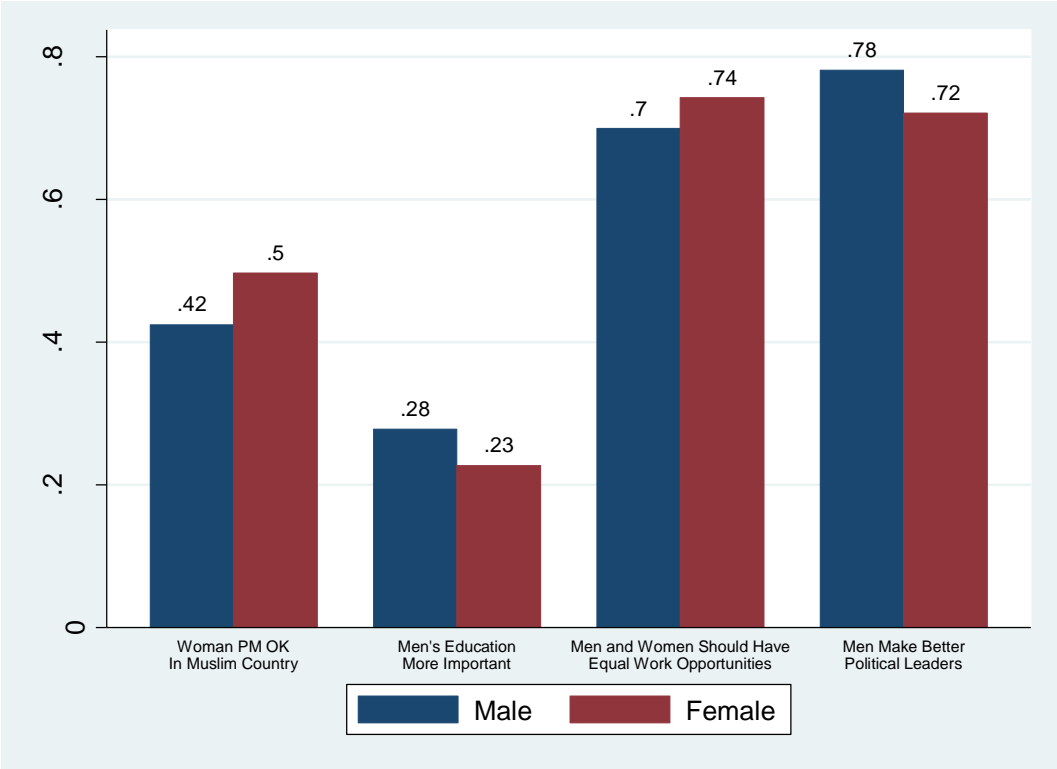
Figure 29 summarizes respondents' attitudes towards women by age group. Once again, while differences between groups are present, they are not overwhelmingly large. Moreover, these trends are not linear. Older age groups were about 5 percentage points more likely to agree that men's education is more important than women's. No clear pattern is present in the question of female political leaders in a Muslim country, but younger groups are less likely to believe that men make better political leaders (with the exception of the oldest age group, which is comparable to the youngest two with regard to this question). In the area of equal work opportunities, the age groups are largely similar.

Figure 29: Attitudes Towards Women, by Age
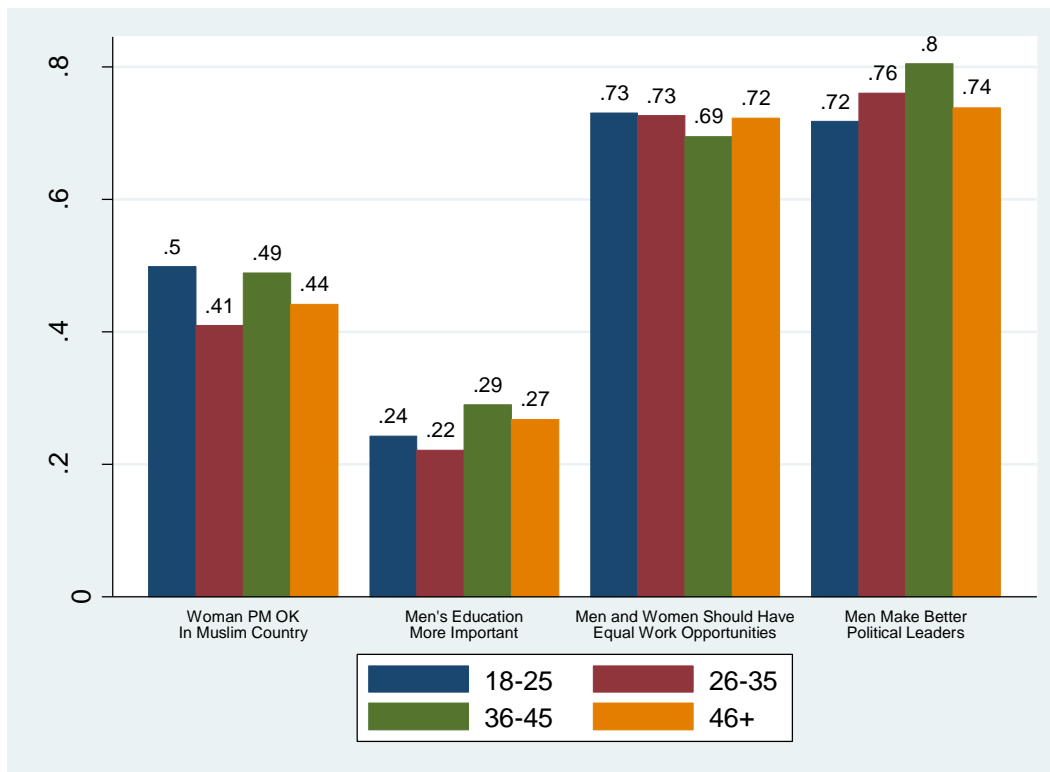
It is conceivable that attitudes towards women might be driven, in part, by personal piety. To this end, Figure 30 summarizes respondents' attitudes towards women while dividing them by whether or not they pray daily. Individuals who always prayed daily were much more likely to support women's equality than those who did not. Non-prayers were 13 percentage points more likely to agree that a woman could be the leader of a Muslim country, 3 percentage points less likely to agree that men's education is more important, 12 percentage points more likely to support equal work opportunities for women, and 36 percentage points less likely to believe that men make better political leaders. It appears that personal piety associated with less support for gender equality.

Figure 30: Attitudes Towards Women, by Daily Prayer
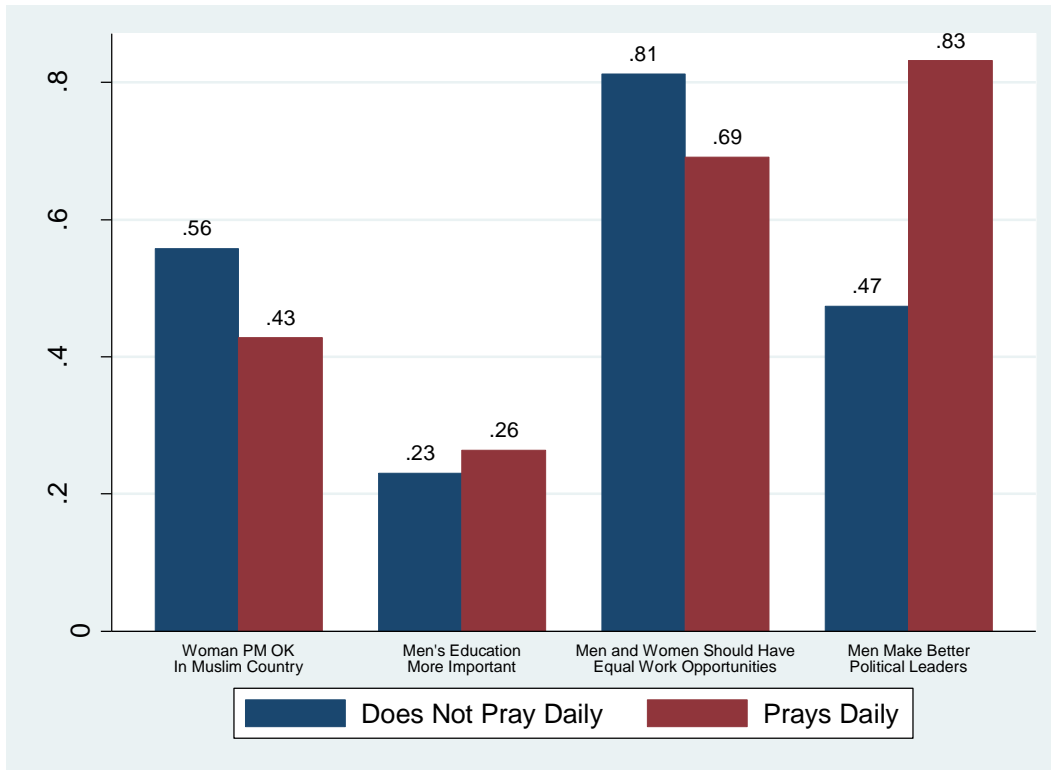
Views of the United States

Attitudes toward the United States (and particularly, its involvement in Iraq) follow sectarian and ethnic patterns in accordance with the experiences of different groups in pre- and post-invasion Iraq. Figure 31 displays the distribution (by sect) of responses to a question about the influence of the United States on the development of democracy in Iraq. While a majority of Sunnis believe that the American influence on Iraqi democracy has been negative, the modal response among Shi'a was "somewhat positive."

Figure 31: US Influence on Democracy in Iraq, by Sect

Do you think the influence of the United States on the development of democracy in Iraq has been:
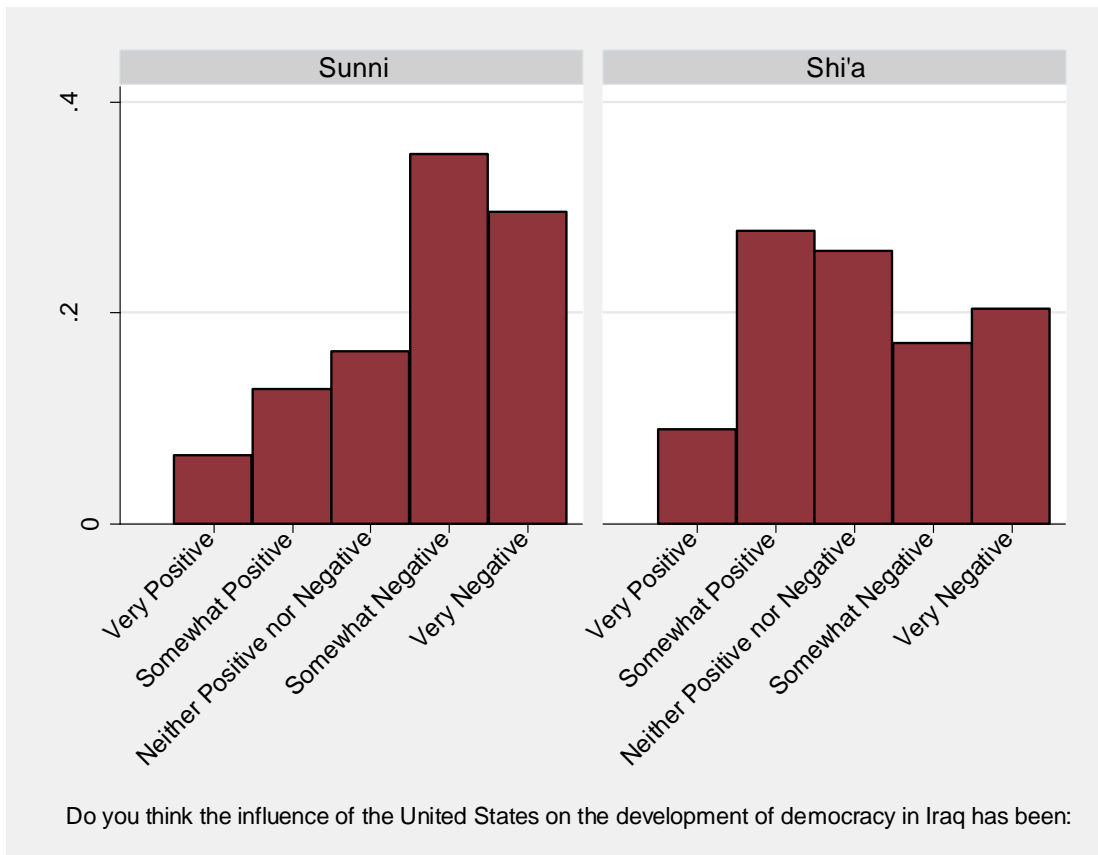
Figure 32 presents the distribution of answers to the same question, but divided by ethnicity rather than sect. Once again, a difference between groups emerges. Kurds were substantially more likely than Arabs to evaluate the influence of the United States on Iraqi democracy as positive. Taken together, these results suggest that attitudes towards American involvement are, in no small part, a function of the comparative experiences of various groups under Saddam Hussein; the comparison of before and after the US invasion leads to different evaluations of American influence by different groups.

Figure 32: US Influence on Democracy in Iraq, by Ethnicity

Do you think the influence of the United States on the development of democracy in Iraq has been:
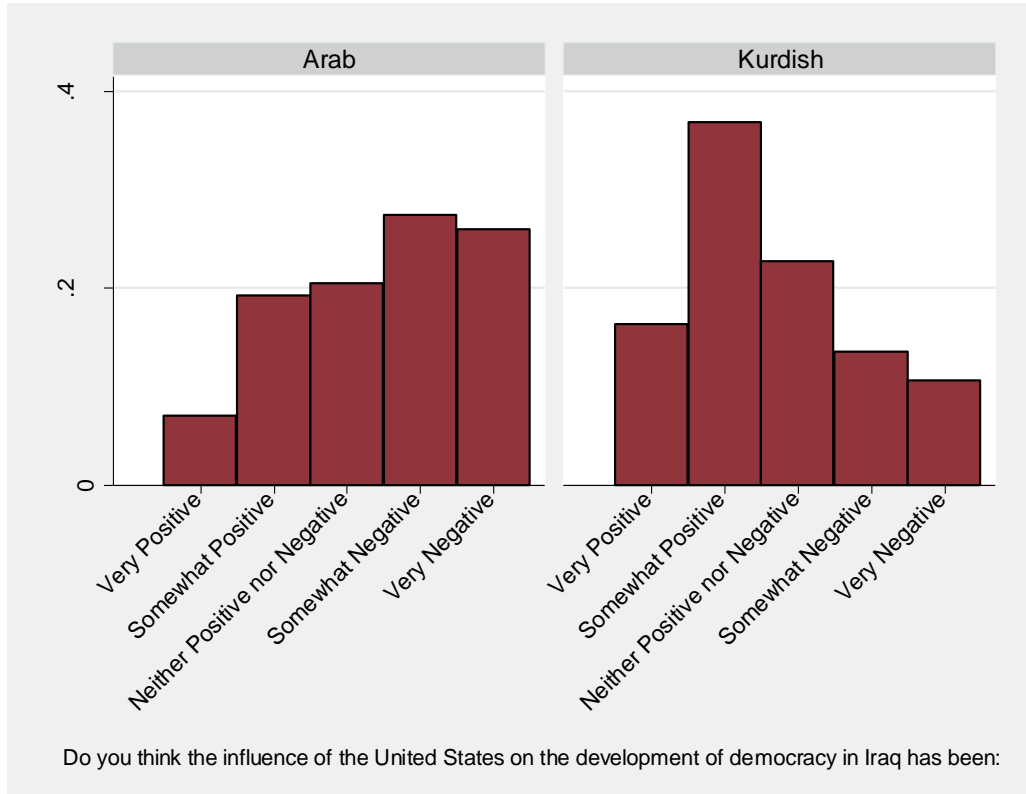
Figure 33 presents the proportion of respondents of each age group who agreed to various statements about the United States. Age groups were largely similar on the question of whether or not operations against the United States were justified. However, older respondents were more likely to respond that "Americans are good people" and that "Western culture has positive aspects."

Figure 33: Attitudes Toward US, by Age
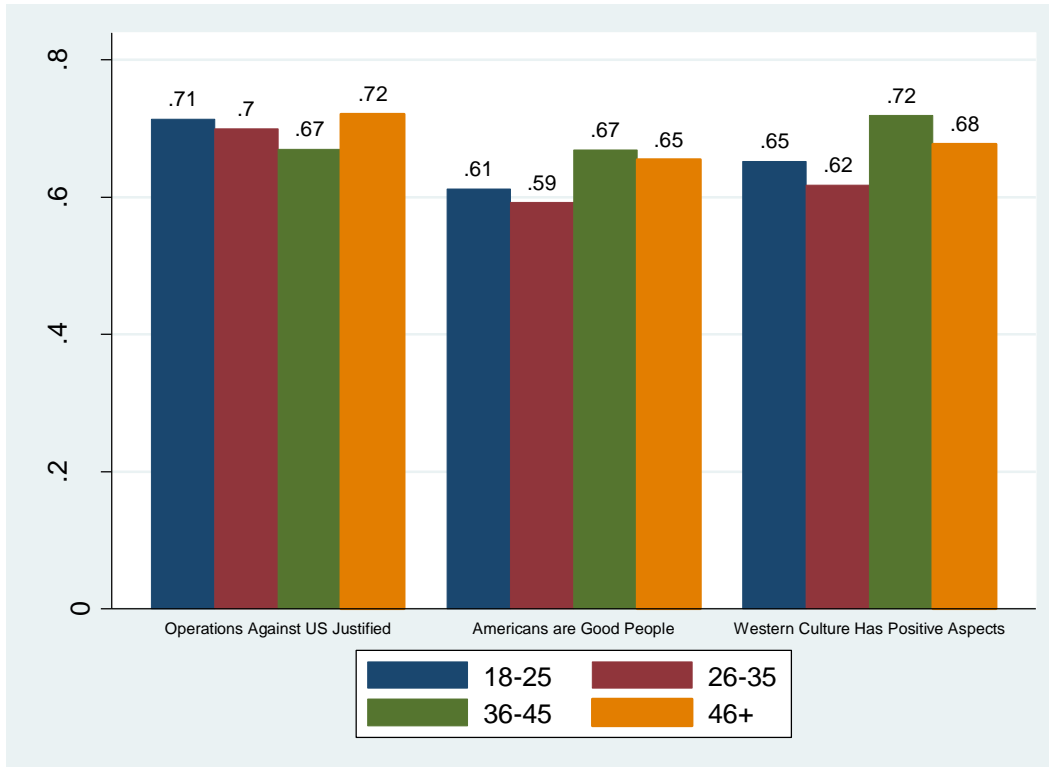
Figure 34 presents the proportion of respondents who agreed to various statements about the United States, by sect. Shi'ites were more likely than Sunnis to agree that "Americans are good people" and that "American and Western culture has positive aspects." Interestingly, however, Shi'ites were also more likely to agree that American interference in the region justifies armed operations against the United States everywhere. On the whole, a majority of Iraqis agreed that such operations were justified, but a majority also stated that Americans are good people and that American culture has positive aspects.

Figure 34: Attitudes Toward US, by Sect
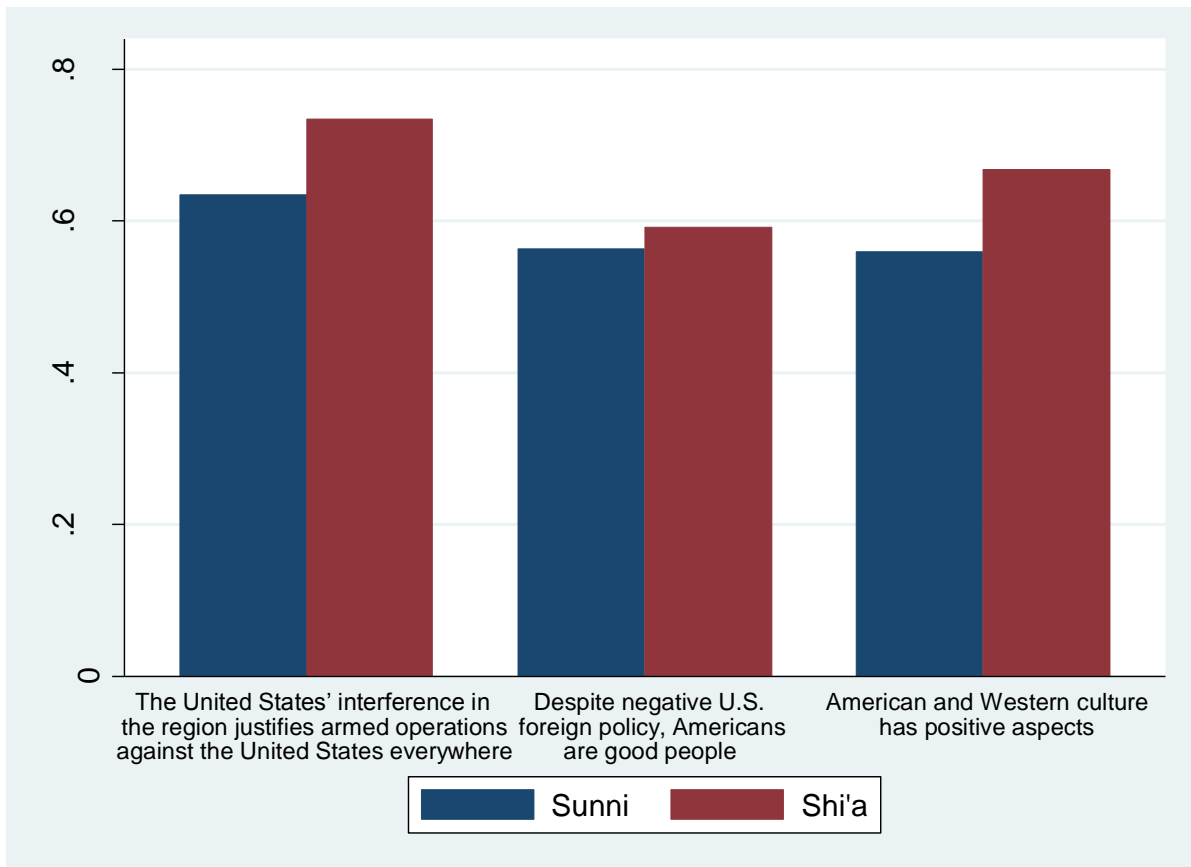
Figure 35, which presents the results of the same questions, but divided by ethnicity rather than sect, suggests a clearer trend. Kurds are, on average, much more supportive of the United States than are Iraqi Arabs. Less than 40% of Kurds stated that armed operations are justifiable against the United States everywhere (compared to 74% among Arabs), and over 70% agreed that Americans are good people and that American culture has positive aspects. Once again, these results suggest that attitudes towards the United States in general are related to the comparative experiences of different groups.

Figure 35: Attitudes Toward US, by Ethnicity
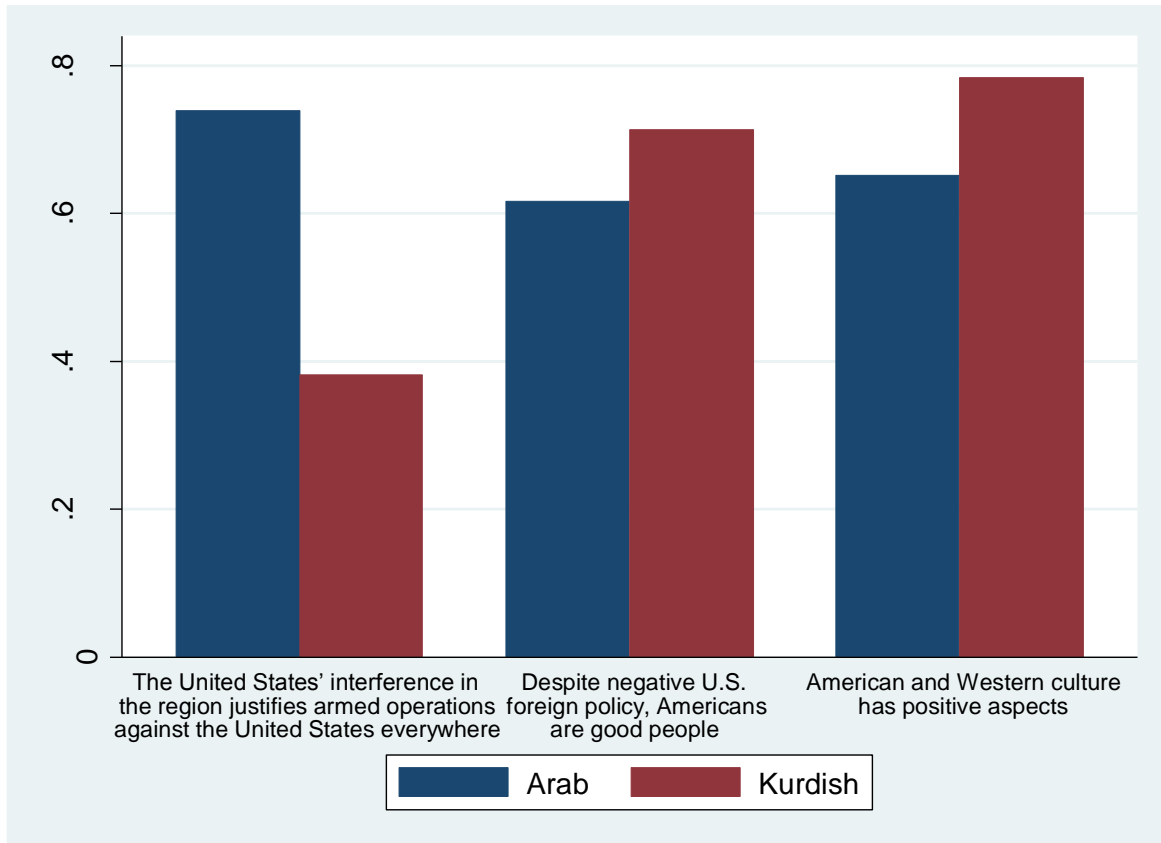
Conclusion

Several important results are evident from these data. First, Iraqis are very concerned about the economy and about political equality. While they differ on their understandings of democracy, they are widely supportive of democratic institutions. Their level of trust in existing institutions, however, is not high. Iraqis generally perceive the performance of their government as mediocre at best. Perhaps relatedly, their level of political engagement is fairly low. Almost no Iraqis reported being members of political parties, and a low proportion reported using the print media or the internet for information about politics.

Iraqis remain highly religious, though the majority of respondents did not report consistent attendance at Friday prayers. For the most part, they stated that they would not mind having members of other religions as neighbors. They largely favor separation of religion and politics, and are very unlikely to support involvement of religious leaders in citizens' voting decisions. Few Iraqis support an electoral system in which religious parties are banned, but even fewer support a system in which only religious parties are allowed to compete.

Iraqis' attitudes towards women are mixed. On the one hand, they support equality of economic opportunity for women as well as equality in education. At the same time, however, most Iraqis believe that men make better political leaders than women, and the majority believed that women could not be the president or prime minister of a Muslim country.

Perhaps the most important implication of these results is that different identity groups hold vastly different opinions. While it is well-known that Iraq is a highly divided country, these data suggest that these divisions extend into the area of political attitudes as well. Both sectarian and ethnic divisions are prevalent. For the most part, Shi'ites are more positive than Sunnis about the state of their country, both politically and economically. These differences also translate into much higher levels of support for authoritarian government among Sunnis. Kurds are substantially more positive about the state of the country than are Arabs. Group differences are perhaps strongest in the area of attitudes towards the United States. Shi'ites are, in general, somewhat more inclined towards positive evaluations of the United States than are Sunnis. Kurds, on average, hold vastly more favorable views towards the United States than do Arabs. These differences, it seems, may stem from the experiences of different groups under authoritarian rule.

Appendix: Frequencies of Responses

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

Very good	1.8%
Good	35.4%
Bad	44.6%
Very bad	18.1%

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	5.3%
Somewhat better	39.7%
Almost the same as the current situation	31.0%
Somewhat worse	11.3%
Much worse	12.6%

Q104: Do you think about emigrating from your country?

Yes, for economic reasons	7.5%
Yes, for political reasons	4.1%
Yes, for economic and political reasons	10.8%
Yes, for other reasons	0.7%
No, I do not think about emigrating	76.9%

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

Fully ensured	10.5%
Ensured	47.6%
Not ensured	34.4%
Absolutely not ensured	7.5%

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

To a great extent	4.3%
To a medium extent	28.7%
To a limited extent	48.2%
Not at all	18.8%

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	6.6%

and we are able to save

Our household income covers our expenses without notable difficulties.	34.6%
Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face some difficulties in meeting our needs.	44.7%
Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face significant difficulties in meeting our needs.	14.2%

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	11.5%
2	6.4%
3	8.2%
4	10.0%
5	18.9%
6	13.3%
7	10.7%
8	8.9%
9	5.7%
10	6.4%

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	32.8%
Freedom to criticize the government	9.1%
Narrowing the gap between rich and poor	8.5%
Providing basic items (such as food, housing, and clothing) to every individual	15.1%
Equality of political rights between citizens	8.5%
Eliminating financial and administrative corruption	26.0%
Other	0.2%

Q515-2: The second most important?

The opportunity to change the government through elections	10.0 %
Freedom to criticize the government	19.6%
Narrowing the gap between rich and poor	9.9%
Providing basic items (such as food, housing, and clothing)	18.2%

to every individual

Equality of political rights between citizens	16.2%
Eliminating financial and administrative corruption	25.6%
Other	0.7%

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	33.8%
Agree	52.9%
Disagree	11.2%
Strongly disagree	2.1%

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	45.7%
Good	50.4%
Bad	3.2%
Very bad	0.8%

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

Very good	6.6%
Good	5.5%
Bad	29.5%
Very bad	58.4%

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

Very good	23.5%
Good	54.3%
Bad	17.1%
Very bad	5.2%

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	46.4%
Appropriate	41.9%
Somewhat appropriate	7.1%
Absolutely inappropriate	4.6%

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

Very appropriate	1.9%
Appropriate	9.3%
Somewhat appropriate	17.3%
Absolutely inappropriate	71.5%

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	1.8%
Appropriate	7.3%
Somewhat appropriate	12.1%
Absolutely inappropriate	78.9%

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

Very appropriate	2.7%
Appropriate	8.8%
Somewhat appropriate	19.8%
Absolutely inappropriate	68.7%

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

Very appropriate	3.1%
Appropriate	16.9%
Somewhat appropriate	13.0%
Absolutely inappropriate	67.1%

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	3.1%
Justified to a medium extent	10.9%
Justified to a limited extent	15.0%
Not justified at all	70.9%

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

Yes	96.6%
No	3.4%

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

To a great extent	6.4%
To a medium extent	14.5%
To a limited extent	38.6%
Not at all	40.5%

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

Yes	80.4%
No	19.6%

Q218-2 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
     Political leaders are concerned with the needs of ordinary citizens.

Strongly agree	7.0%
Agree	11.5%
Disagree	50.5%
Strongly disagree	31.0%

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

Strongly agree	24.8%
Agree	45.8%
Disagree	22.7%
Strongly disagree	6.7%

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

Yes	84.0%

No   16.1%

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   17.9%
No   82.1%

Q404: In general, to what extent are you interested in politics?

Very interested   11.6%
Interested   41.9%
Slightly interested   36.1%
Not interested at all   10.4%

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

To a great extent   22.4%
To a medium extent   41.3%
To a limited extent   32.6%
I don't follow political news at all   3.8%

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

Television   95.4%
Radio   1.4%
Newspapers (the daily press)   0.5%
Weekly newspapers and magazines   0.2%
The internet   2.6%

Q409: Do you use the internet….

Daily or almost daily   6.1%
At least once a week   9.2%
At least once a month   6.0%
A few times a year   1.9%
I do not use the internet   76.8%

Q410-1: Do you use the internet in order to…
        Find out about political activities taking place in your country.

Yes   40.4%
No   59.6%

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	3.9%
Good	22.9%
Neither good nor bad	34.7%
Bad	29.2%
Very bad	9.3%

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

0	0.5%
1	0.3%
2	0.3%
3	0.5%
4	0.9%
5	5.6%
6	5.4%
7	11.4%
8	17.9%
9	26.4%
10	30.8%

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

0	6.0%
1	9.3%
2	10.1%
3	14.3%
4	15.4%
5	19.8%
6	11.5%
7	8.1%
8	2.8%
9	0.8%
10	1.9%

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?

1	17.2%
2	11.2%
3	15.2%
4	17.4%
5	16.9%
6	11.2%
7	5.0%
8	2.5%
9	1.2%
10	2.3%

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	20.6%
I somewhat agree	44.5%
I somewhat disagree	10.0%
I strongly disagree	24.8%

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	13.6%
Agree	32.2%
Disagree	33.6%
Strongly disagree	20.5%

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

Strongly agree	26.9%
Agree	57.5%
Disagree	12.7%
Strongly disagree	2.9%

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

Strongly agree	34.8%
Agree	40.5%

Disagree   16.3%
Strongly disagree   8.5%

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

Strongly agree   5.6%
Agree   19.8%
Disagree   45.1%
Strongly disagree   29.6%

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

Strongly agree   23.1%
Agree   48.9%
Disagree   23.8%
Strongly disagree   4.2%

Q601-7: It is permissible for a woman to travel abroad by herself.

Strongly agree   9.0%
Agree   16.2%
Disagree   41.5%
Strongly disagree   33.3%

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

Strongly agree   10.4%
Agree   18.7%
Disagree   41.9%
Strongly disagree   29.0%

Q601-10: Women can assume judicial positions.

Strongly agree   20.2%
Agree   45.2%
Disagree   25.3%
Strongly disagree   9.3%

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

Strongly agree   30.0%
Agree   40.7%

Disagree	19.3%
Strongly disagree	10.1%

Q601-13: A woman can reject a marriage that her family chose for her without her consent.

Strongly agree	41.4%
Agree	45.0%
Disagree	11.3%
Strongly disagree	2.3%

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

Strongly agree	32.0%
Agree	47.3%
Disagree	18.3%
Strongly disagree	2.4%

Q601-15: The law should not allow a man to marry more than one woman.

Strongly agree	17.5%
Agree	29.2%
Disagree	32.1%
Strongly disagree	21.2%

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	42.8%
Constitutes an obstacle to a medium extent	29.5%
Constitutes an obstacle to a limited extent	19.3%
Does not constitute an obstacle whatsoever	8.5%

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	42.3%
Agree	38.3%
Disagree	17.8%
Strongly disagree	1.6%

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

Strongly agree	34.8%
Agree	46.6%
Disagree	11.5%
Strongly disagree	7.1%

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	45.6%
Agree	42.5%
Disagree	9.5%
Strongly disagree	2.4%

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	43.9%
Agree	41.5%
Disagree	10.0%
Strongly disagree	4.7%

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

Strongly agree	12.8%
Agree	34.5%
Disagree	41.0%
Strongly disagree	11.7%

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

Strongly agree	35.2%
Agree	37.1%
Disagree	19.1%
Strongly disagree	8.6%

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	11.7%
Agree	14.1%
Disagree	37.3%
Strongly disagree	36.8%

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

Strongly agree	1.9%
Agree	11.1%
Disagree	47.8%
Strongly disagree	39.3%

Q607-4: Gender-mixed education should be allowed in universities.

Strongly agree	13.6%
Agree	66.2%
Disagree	15.8%
Strongly disagree	4.4%

Q607-5: When a person changes his/her religion he/she should be penalized with death.

Strongly agree	3.0%
Agree	9.8%
Disagree	33.5%
Strongly disagree	53.7%

Q607-6: Women should wear modest clothes without needing to wear hijab.

Strongly agree	7.1%
Agree	34.8%
Disagree	42.1%
Strongly disagree	16.0%

Q609: Generally speaking, would you describe yourself as…

Religious	35.7%
Somewhat religious	62.0%
Not religious	2.3%

Q610-1: Do you "pray daily?"
     Pray daily.

Always	78.1%
Most of the time	14.2%
Sometimes	5.9%
Rarely	1.9%

Q610-2: Fast during Ramadan/Fast the 40 days of Lent for Christians.

Always	76.2%
Most of the time	17.2%
Sometimes	5.3%
Rarely	1.4%

Q610-5: Attend Friday prayer/Sunday services.

Always	24.9%
Most of the time	23.5%
Sometimes	16.2%
Rarely	35.5%

Q610-6: Listen to or read the Quran/the Bible.

Always	20.0%
Most of the time	48.2%
Sometimes	23.0%
Rarely	8.8%

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	4.8%
I trust it to a medium extent	35.7%
I trust it to a limited extent	29.4%
I absolutely do not trust it	30.2%

Q201-2: The judiciary (the courts).

I trust it to a great extent	11.6%
I trust it to a medium extent	43.7%

| I trust it to a limited extent | 23.8% |
| I absolutely do not trust it | 20.9% |

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

I trust it to a great extent	4.1%
I trust it to a medium extent	24.7%
I trust it to a limited extent	39.8%
I absolutely do not trust it	31.5%

Q201-4: Public Security (the police).

I trust it to a great extent	18.0%
I trust it to a medium extent	50.5%
I trust it to a limited extent	21.4%
I absolutely do not trust it	10.2%

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

I trust it to a great extent	23.9%
I trust it to a medium extent	44.8%
I trust it to a limited extent	20.8%
I absolutely do not trust it	10.5%

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

Very good	2.2%
Good	19.3%
Neither good nor bad	34.4%
Bad	31.5%
Very bad	12.6%

Q203-1: Parliament

Very good	3.2%
Good	19.5%
Neither good nor bad	34.3%
Bad	29.2%
Very bad	13.8%

Q203-3: The judiciary.

Very good	9.8%
Good	28.8%
Neither good nor bad	31.6%
Bad	19.2%
Very bad	10.8%

Q203-4: The police (Public security).

Very good	15.9%
Good	42.3%
Neither good nor bad	24.1%
Bad	13.3%
Very bad	4.4%

Q203-5: The local government.

Very good	3.0%
Good	21.5%
Neither good nor bad	33.3%
Bad	27.1%
Very bad	15.2%

Q209: To what extent do you agree with this statement: The federal government does all it can to provide its citizens with all services.

I very much agree	4.9%
I agree	19.4%
I disagree	48.1%
I absolutely disagree	27.7%

Q213: Some people say that nowadays it is impossible to obtain a job without connections, while others say that jobs are only available to qualified candidates. Based on a recent experience (or experiences) you are personally aware of, do you think that…

Obtaining employment through connections is extremely widespread	65.3%
Employment is sometimes obtained through connections	29.2%
Employment is obtained without connections	2.5%
I do not know of any relevant experiences	3.0%

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	14.6%
They were free and fair, with some minor breaches	28.1%
They were free and fair, with some major breaches	31.0%
They were not free and fair	26.3%

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	5.7%
More than once	8.7%
I have never participated	85.6%

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

Once	9.6%
More than once	8.2%
I have never participated	82.3%

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	22.6%
To a medium extent	45.1%
To a limited extent	21.2%
Does not contribute to this at all	11.1%

Q524-2: Violating the public freedoms of citizens.

To a great extent	21.2%
To a medium extent	34.0%
To a limited extent	31.5%
Does not contribute to this at all	13.3%

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

To a great extent	17.6%
To a medium extent	38.0%
To a limited extent	31.2%
Does not contribute to this at all	13.2%

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	24.9%
External factors	23.0%
Both are equally important	52.1%

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	29.0%
Agree	41.3%
Disagree	21.9%
Strongly disagree	7.8%

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

Agree	63.0%
Disagree	37.0%

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

Agree	66.4%
Disagree	33.6%