# Jordan Five Years after the Uprisings

Findings from the Arab Barometer

**JORDAN WAVE 4 COUNTRY REPORT** 

August 1, 2017 Huseyin Emre Ceyhun

# Jordan Five Years after the Arab Uprisings

# Findings from the Arab Barometer

#### Overview

The fourth wave of the Arab Barometer was conducted in May 2016, about five years after the Arab uprisings. Amidst ongoing regional challenges including the Syrian civil war, Jordan has struggled to maintain its moderate economic improvements in past five years. However, the outcomes of a number of measures taken by Prime Minister Abdullah Ensour (2014-2016) in order to fight against corruption and improve economic conditions have yet to be reflected in public attitudes. Against this background, the fourth wave of the Arab Barometer reveals that Jordanians hold relatively similar views about the country and its direction compared with previous waves. However, the results make clear that significant social and economic challenges remain.

As the Syrian conflict's effects are felt, public perceptions regarding the economic situation remains largely unchanged, with 46 percent of Jordanians saying the economy is good or very good compared to 44 percent in 2011. Furthermore, Jordanians believe the government is working to improve the quality of public services and are relatively satisfied with their quality. For instance, the vast majority (79 percent) of Jordanians are satisfied with their health care system and a similar majority (73 percent) approve of the government's performance in managing it. Meanwhile, more than half of Jordanians (55 percent) believe that the government is working to crack down on corruption to a large (17 percent) or medium (38 percent) extent, which is a significant increase compared with previous waves. This increasing percentage may be the result of a five-year anti-corruption strategy plan launched by Prime Minister Abdullah Ensour in 2013. Nevertheless, 79 percent still believe that there is corruption within state agencies and institutions to a large (42 percent) or medium extent (37 percent).

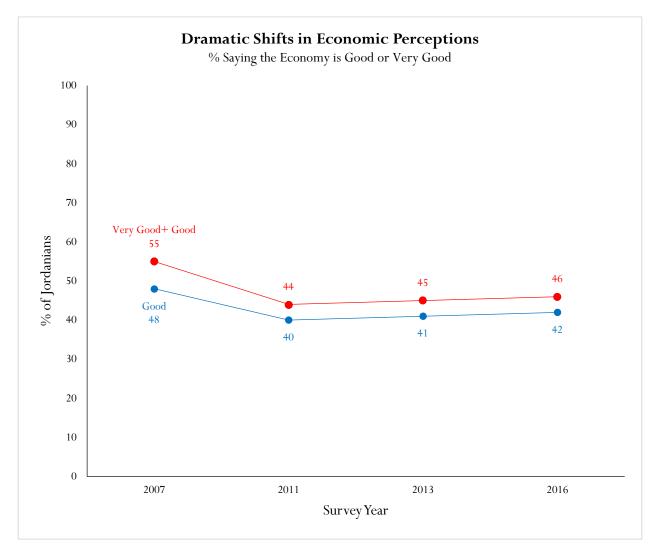
Support for democracy remains strong, and has increased significantly since 2013, whereas few Jordanians are pushing for dramatic reforms; 92 percent continue to believe that political change should take place gradually instead of all at once. Furthermore, the guarantee of reserved seats for women in parliament may be having an effect on public attitudes: 65 percent believe that a woman can become President or Prime Minister of a Muslim country. However, 74 percent still believe that men are better at political leadership than women.

The economic situation appears to be the main concern of ordinary Jordanians. Only 35 percent are able to meet their household expenses without difficulty. Additionally, many have other significant concerns. For example, a considerable majority (61 percent) are worried about their ability to provide a good education for their children.

Turning to international relations, most Jordanians would like to see stronger ties with Saudi Arabia, the United States, Turkey, and the EU, but express less desire for stronger ties with Iran or Russia. A plurality says that Israel poses the greatest threat to stability in the country. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a plurality says the most positive step that the US can take in the region is to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, followed by not getting involved. Meanwhile, Jordanians are more likely to say both external factors and internal factors are equally responsible for Jordan's lack of development.

# The Economy and Corruption

Views about the Jordan's current economic situation and its future are divided. While 46 percent perceive Jordan's current economic situation as good (42 percent) or very good (4 percent), 54 percent rate the current economic situation to be bad (34 percent) or very bad (20 percent). Similarly, views about the country's future are mixed, with 38 percent saying they believe the economic situation will be better or much better five years from now as opposed to 39 percent who say they believe the economic situation will be worse or much worse five years from now, and 18 percent who believe that the economic situation will remain about the same as the current situation. By comparison, a majority of Jordanians (68 percent) believe that the economic situation was either much better (35 percent) or somewhat better (33 percent) five years ago.

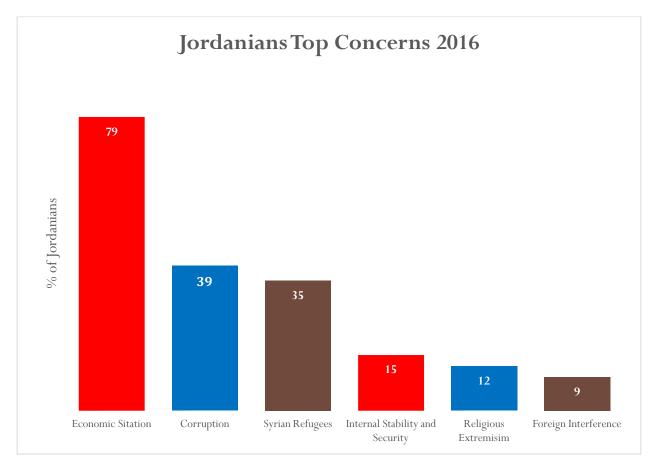


However, most Jordanians are positive about their household's economic situation. A clear majority (69 percent) rate their current household economic situation as good (64 percent) or very good (5 percent).

Most Jordanians are also concerned about a number of conditions in the kingdom (see Appendix Table 2). For example, a majority of Jordanians (61 percent) say they are worried that there is no possibility to give their children a good education (38 percent worry very much), even though 71 percent say they are satisfied or very satisfied with the educational system. By comparison, a greater percentage (78 percent)

are satisfied or very satisfied with the healthcare system. Meanwhile, 74 percent say the government is doing a good or very good job addressing educational needs, and a clear majority of Jordanians (72 percent) says that the government is doing good or very good job improving basic health services.

The economic situation and corruption are Jordanians' top two concerns. Overall, 79 percent perceive the economic situation (poverty; unemployment, inflation) as the most crucial problem, followed by 39 percent believe that the country's most pressing challenge is corruption. The problem of Syrian refugees is another top concern (35 percent), followed by smaller percentages who say internal stability and security (15 percent), religious extremism (12 percent), foreign interference (9 percent) and the state of democracy (2 percent) are one of Jordan's two most important challenges.

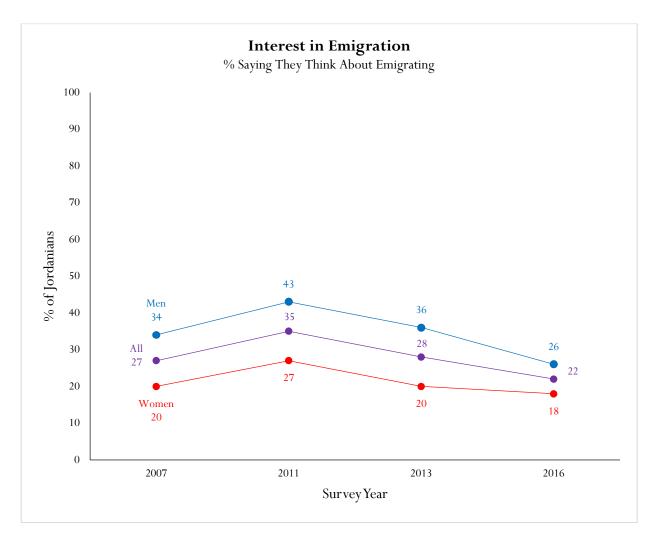


When asked directly about corruption, most say it remains a problem in the kingdom. Eight-in-ten (79 percent) say that corruption is a large or moderate problem within the state agencies and institutions in the country, while only 7 percent say there is no corruption at all. However, roughly half of citizens (55 percent) say the government is working to crack down on corruption to a large (17 percent) or medium (38 percent) extent. Meanwhile, 20 percent say the government is cracking down to a small extent while 18 percent say it is not doing anything at all about corruption.

Notably, personal experiences of corruption and unequal access to opportunities are also widespread. Nearly three-quarters (73 percent) of Jordanians say that the use of *wasta* (personal connections or an intermediary) to get a job opportunity is extremely widespread, while a further 21 percent say it is sometimes used. Additionally, half of Jordanians (47 percent) say they have been required to receive a certificate of good behavior from the police in order to obtain a passport, identity card, or other document from local government institutions.

# **Emigration**

About a quarter (22 percent) of Jordanians say that they are thinking about emigrating. Men are more likely to say they are considering emigrating as women—26 percent of men say they want to emigrate, compared with 18 percent of women. Among those who do think about emigrating, a clear majority (80 percent) cite economic reasons as the reason they want to move abroad. The United States or Canada and Gulf Cooperation Countries other than Saudi Arabia are the most preferred destinations at 30 percent and 29 percent, respectively, followed by Europe (25 percent) and Saudi Arabia (11 percent). Meanwhile, some (8 percent) want to emigrate to Arab countries outside GCC.<sup>1</sup>

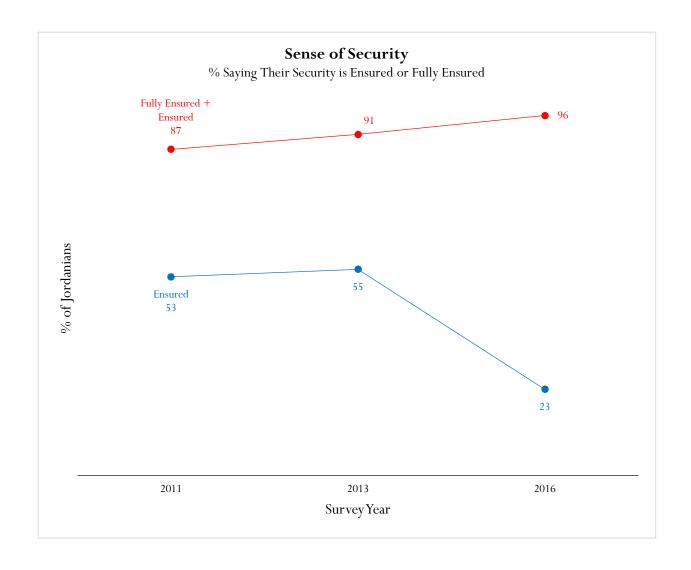


# Security

Most Jordanians say they feel secure, with 96 percent saying their personal and family safety and security are ensured or fully ensured compared with just 4 percent who say it is not. Despite recent regional

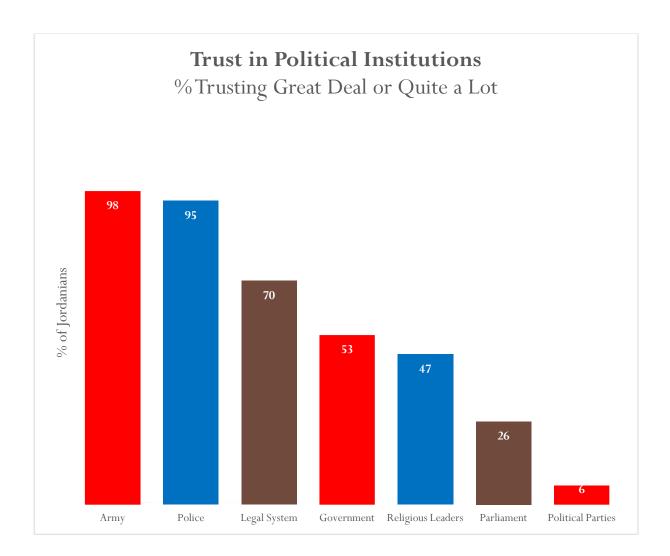
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Note: Respondents could cite multiple desired destinations.

challenges, Jordanians are now more likely to say their security is ensured than in the past, increasing by nine points since 2011. However, Jordanians are less confident about their peace of mind in routine daily interactions. Four-in-ten (42 percent) are worried about being harassed or threatened on the street (see Appendix Table 2). Similarly, 42 percent of women are worried (19 percent) or very worried (25 percent) about such harassment, while 40 percent of men are worried (15 percent) or very worried (25 percent). Moreover, terrorism remains high on Jordanians' minds: fully two-thirds are worried about a terrorist attack in their country, including 43 percent who say they are very worried about this possibility.



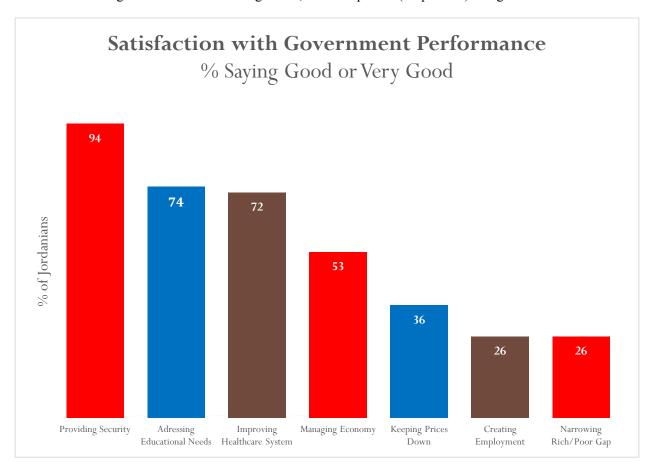
#### Trust in Political Institutions

Jordanians continue to trust the armed forces and police significantly more than any other political institution. Almost every Jordanian (98 percent) trusts the armed forces a great deal or quite a lot. Similarly, Jordanians overwhelmingly trust the police, with 95 percent having a great deal or quite a lot trust in them. Meanwhile, Jordanians place somewhat less trust in the courts and the legal system (70 percent) and the government (53 percent). By comparison, parliament and political parties are far less trusted: only 26 percent trust parliament and 6 percent trust the political parties a great deal or quite a lot. One possible reason is the lack of confidence in politicians: the vast majority of Jordanians do not believe that politicians are honest. Asked to rank politicians' honesty on a 7-point scale (with 7 being the most honest), 70 percent of Jordanians rated politicians' honesty at a 4 or less.



A majority of Jordanians feel that they are being treated equally by the government compared with other citizens: 64 percent feel they are treated equally to a medium or great extent, while 36 percent feel they are to a little extent or not at all.

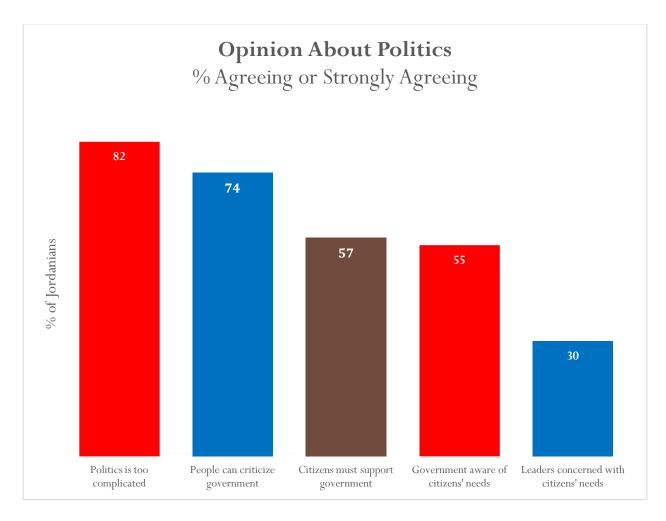
A clear majority of Jordanians (72 percent) believe that the state is undertaking far-reaching and radical reforms and changes in institutions and agencies, while a quarter (26 percent) disagree.



Most Jordanians (94 percent) say that the government is doing a good job providing for the country's security (see figure above and Appendix Table 4). However, they are less satisfied with government performance related to economic matters. Just 36 percent say the government is doing a good job keeping prices down while 26 percent say the government is doing a good job creating employment opportunities. Not surprisingly, Jordanians express dissatisfaction with government efforts to reduce income inequality: only 26 percent believe the government is doing a good or very good job of reducing the gap between the rich and the poor.

# **Opinions About Politics**

A majority of Jordanians (57 percent) agrees or strongly agrees with the idea that you must support the government even if you disagree with it. Furthermore, a clear majority (74 percent) agrees that Jordanians can criticize the government without fear. At the same time, many Jordanians are concerned that the subject of politics it too complex, with most (82 percent) agreeing or strongly agreeing that "Sometimes, politics are so complicated that I cannot understand what is happening."



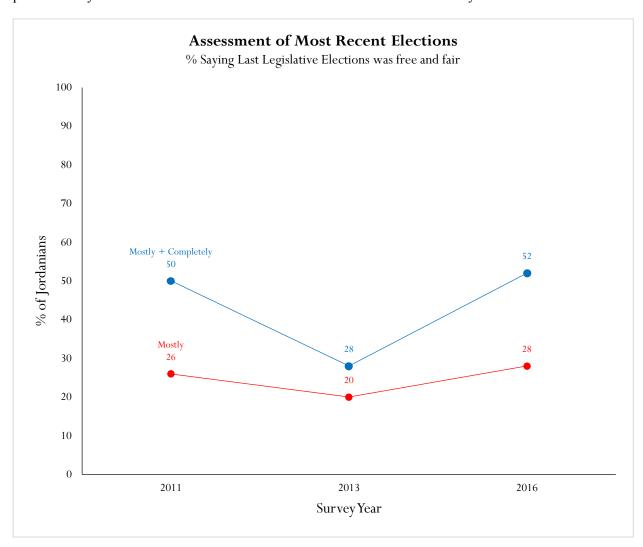
# **Alleviating Poverty**

Jordanians are very interested in helping the poor, even at a personal cost to themselves. Thirty-one percent say they would help the poor even at a large personal cost and a further 56 percent saying they would do it a small cost. Most Jordanians (71 percent) say that they want to help the poor primarily because they believe God will reward them for it. A further quarter (23 percent) say they want to do so because it makes them sad to see people suffer (16 percent) or they enjoy making the unfortunate happy (7 percent). Meanwhile, three-quarters (75 percent) believe the best way to help the poor is by encouraging *sadaqa* for private charity, as opposed to 13 percent saying that neither taxes nor *sadaqa* was the best way to help the poor, and only 10 percent believing that raising their taxes is the best way.

#### **Elections and Parliament**

The fourth wave of the Arab Barometer was conducted about four months before Jordanian's parliamentary elections in September 2016. Thus, questions asking respondents about their views of the most recent parliamentary elections refer to the prior parliamentary elections, held in 2013.

In the 2016 survey, 56 percent of Jordanians say that they voted in the last parliamentary elections and 23 percent say that they went to one or more campaign rallies. Evaluations of the elections were mixed: 25 percent said the 2013 parliamentary elections were completely free and fair; 28 percent said they were free and fair with minor problems; 13 percent said they were free and fair with major problems; and 24 percent said they were not free or fair. Meanwhile, 11 percent say they do no not know enough to evaluate the quality of the last elections. These assessments are more positive than views of the 2010 parliamentary elections based on results from the 2012 Arab Barometer survey.

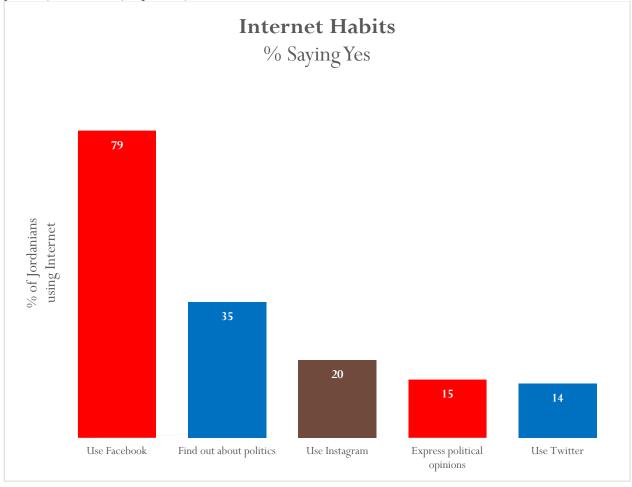


#### The Media

Roughly half of Jordanians show a significant interest in politics. While 47 percent say that they are interested in politics, 43 percent have little or no interest. Perhaps as a result, most Jordanians say they follow political news closely, with the most common medium being television. Large proportions of Jordanians say they watch political news on television (42 percent) every day compared with only 8 percent who read daily newspapers to learn about political news (see Appendix Table 8).

Only 10 percent of Jordanians say that they find the media they might want to access such newspapers, magazines, or foreign books are sometimes forbidden by the government and/or its agencies, compared with 45 percent who say they have never found media to be censored. However, nearly half (44 percent) say they have never tried to access such media.

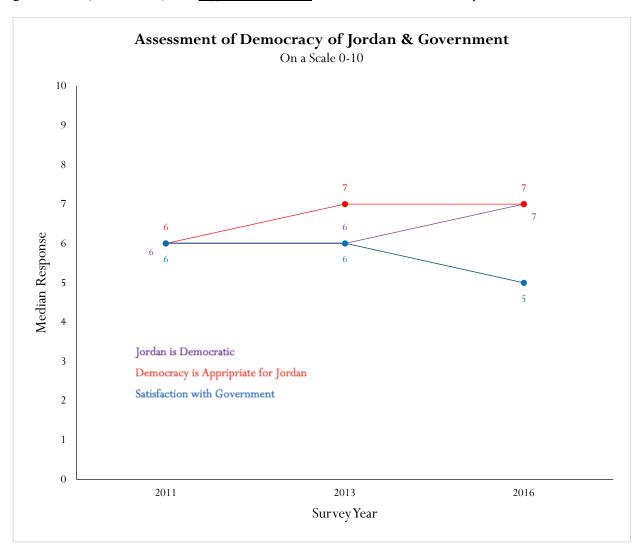
Two-thirds (64 percent) of Jordanians use the internet, but frequency of use varies somewhat. Overall, 51 percent of Jordanians are online either daily or almost all day. Meanwhile, 10 percent go online, but log on less often. Among those who do use the internet, about a third (35 percent) say they have used it to find out about politics while only 15 percent have used it to express political opinions. The vast majority of Jordanian internet users have Facebook accounts (79 percent), but far fewer are on Instagram (20 percent) or Twitter (14 percent).



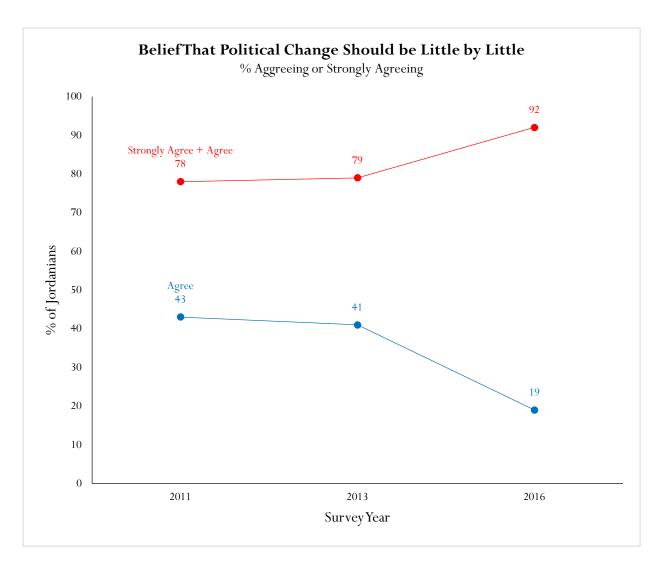
# **Democracy**

Few Jordanians are actively engaged in common political activities. Similar to findings from previous waves of the Arab Barometer, few Jordanians belong to any organizations or formal groups (6 percent) or political parties (less than 1 percent). Moreover, few Jordanians have attended a political meeting or signed a petition in the last three years (5 percent) or participated in a protest in the last three years (less than 1 percent).

Using a 10-point scale, Jordanians are more likely to say that their country is democratic (10) than undemocratic (0), with a median score of 5. Using similar scales, they also are more likely to say that democracy is appropriate for their country (median of 7), and are moderately satisfied with the government (median of 5). See Appendix Table 10 for a full breakdown of responses.



As prior waves of the survey have also demonstrated, a vast majority of Jordanians (92 percent) prefer reforms to take place gradually instead of all at once (73 percent strongly agreeing and 19 percent agreeing). However, it should be noted that this percentage has increased substantially since 2011, when 78 percent held this view.

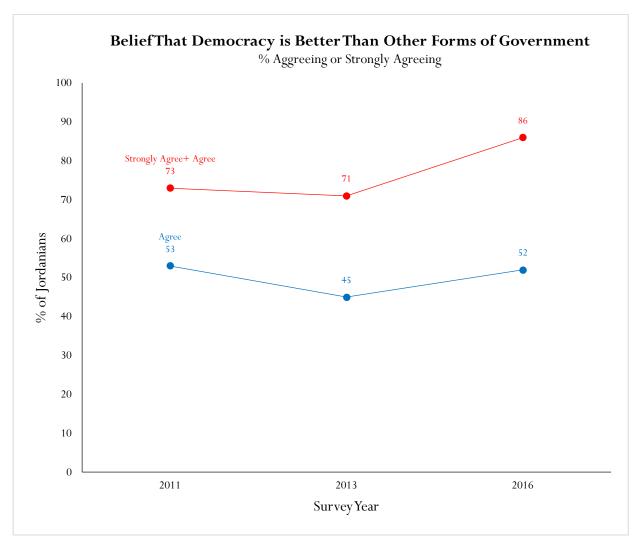


Democracy can take multiple forms, including liberal democracy or social democracy. For the most part, Jordanians conceptualize democracy primarily in socioeconomic terms. Asked to choose the most essential characteristic of democracy from among several options, 45 percent choose "basic necessities like food, clothes, and shelter are provided for" and another 28 percent chose "government provides people with quality public services," while only 16 percent chose "the legislature has oversight of government," and 10 percent chose "people are free to organize political groups." Two similar questions with different listed characteristics of the options produced similar results.

Despite differing understandings of the meaning of democracy, Jordanians say they are supportive of this type of political system (see Appendix Table 11). A large majority (86 percent) strongly agrees (34 percent) or agrees (52 percent) that while a democratic system may have problems, it is better than other political systems. However, when asked another way, support for democracy appears a somewhat less strong. Two-thirds (68 percent) say that their opinion on democracy is closest to the statement, "Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government". Another 16 percent believe that

"under some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable" while 13 percent believe that it does not matter for them what kind of government Jordan has.

Concern about certain weaknesses of a democratic system are somewhat limited. For example, 31 percent of Jordanians agree or strongly agree with a statement that democratic regimes are not effective at providing order or stability, 35 percent agree or strongly agree that democratic regimes can be indecisive and full of problems, and 30 percent agree or strongly agree that economic performance is weak in democratic systems. However, concern is higher about the degree to which fellow citizens are prepared for this type of system. A third of Jordanians (32 percent) agree or strongly agree that "citizens in our country are not prepared for a democratic system."

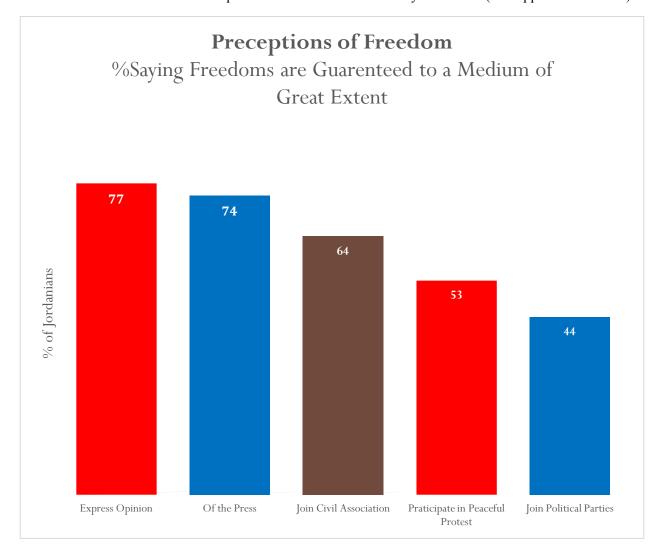


Jordanians hold diverse views on what would be the most suitable form of government for Jordan (see Appendix Table 12). However, they expressed mixed views on the idea that "a parliamentary system in which nationalist, left-wing, right-wing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections". Overall, 51 percent believe that it is very suitable, suitable, or somewhat suitable while 43 percent believe that it is not a suitable form of government for Jordan and 7 percent say they do not know.

Other possible forms of government garner less support, although there is important variation. Notably, 23 percent of Jordanians believe a system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections would be suitable, whereas 58 percent believe such a system would be not suitable at all. In contrast, 12 percent believe that a political system governed by a strong authority which makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition would be suitable or very suitable, and only 7 believe that a parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete would be suitable or very suitable. A slightly larger percentage of Jordanians (15 percent) would see a system that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the process as suitable.

#### **Civil Liberties**

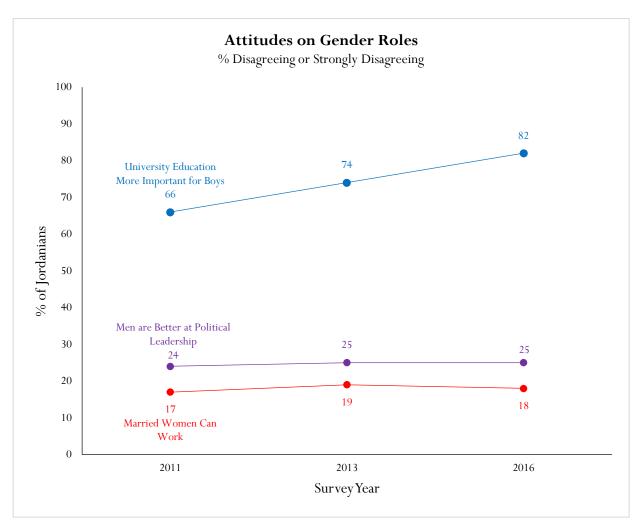
Most Jordanians (87 percent) feel they are at least somewhat free to express their political opinions. Most also believe that the press is free to a medium or great extent (74 percent). Moreover, most say they are free to join civil associations and organizations to a medium or great extent (63 percent). However, fewer say the same about the degree to which they are free to participate in peaceful protests and demonstrations (53 percent) or the degree to which they have the freedom to join political parties (44 percent). These levels are similar to those found in previous Arab Barometer surveys in Jordan (see Appendix Table 14).

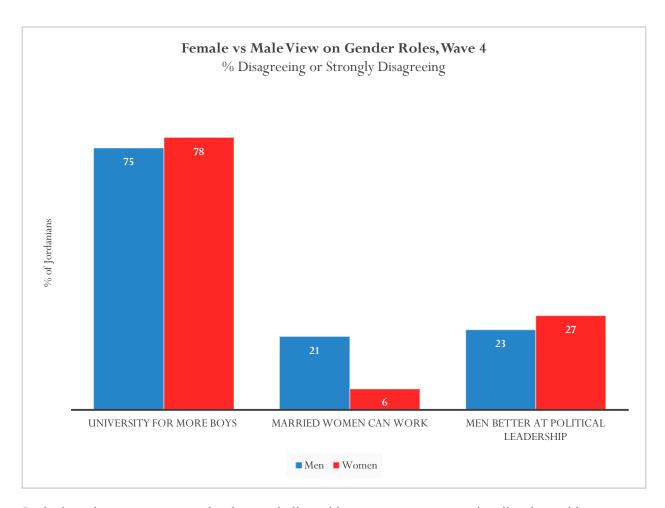


# **Culture and Religion**

As in previous waves, the survey found a wide range of views on women's rights and roles (see Appendix Table 15). A considerable majority of Jordanians (64 percent) agree that a woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country (27 percent agree, 37 percent strongly agree), although a vast majority (74 percent) also believe that men are better at political leadership than women (33 percent agree, 41 percent strongly agree). Most (58 percent) also agree that husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family (28 percent agree, 30 percent strongly agree).

There is greater variation on views about education, work, and inheritance. Most Jordanians value education, including higher education, for both genders, with only 18 percent agreeing or strongly disagreeing that university education for males is more important than university education for females – a 15 percent decrease over 2011. Meanwhile, most Jordanians agree (41 percent agree, 45 percent strongly agree) that a married woman can work outside the home if she wants to. The vast majority of Jordanians agrees (86 percent agree, 13 percent strongly agree) that women and men should have equal inheritance rights, although it is possible that respondents interpreted this question to mean equal access to the inheritance rights afforded to them under traditional interpretations of Islamic law, in which men inherit twice as much as women.

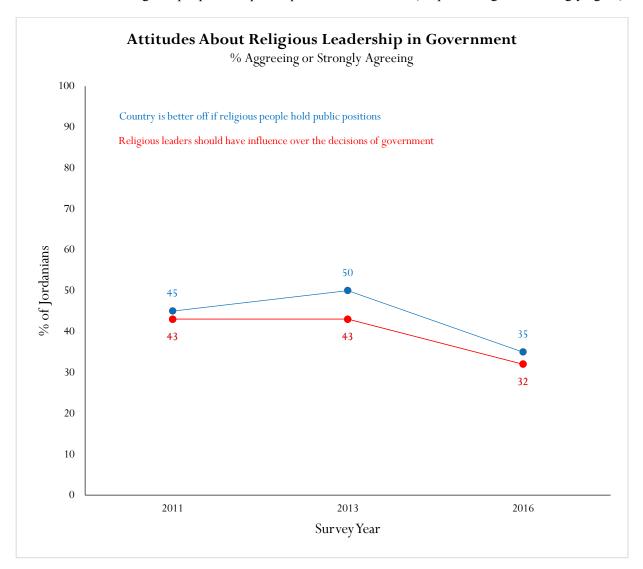




Jordanians demonstrate somewhat less prejudice with respect to race or nationality than with respect to religious differences (see Appendix Table 16). Asked whether they would like or dislike neighbors of particular backgrounds, 24 percent of Jordanian say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different religion and 46 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different sect of Islam. By comparison, 32 percent say would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors who were immigrants or foreign workers and, just 17 percent said they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different race or color. Similarly, concerns about the religiosity of a possible spouse for a close family member weigh more heavily than concerns about his or her socioeconomic status: while 57 percent say a suitor not praying would constitute a large or moderate obstacle to marriage, only 30 percent say that a suitor being from an incompatible social class would represent such an obstacle.

In line with the opinions noted above that most Jordanians would find a parliamentary system with both secular and Islamist parties appropriate for Jordan, most Jordanians (48 percent) believe that the law should rest partly on sharia and partly on the will of the people. However, 36 percent believe the law should rest entirely on sharia. Additionally, 47 percent prefer a religious political party to a non-religious political party. Most Jordanians do *not* believe that religious practice is a private matter that should be separated from socioeconomic life (59 percent disagree or strongly disagree, and 1 percent do not know, see <u>Appendix Table 17</u>). At the same time, few Jordanians believe that religious leaders should have

influence over the government (32 percent agree or strongly agree), and a minority hold that the country is better off when religious people hold public positions in the state (35 percent agree or strongly agree).



At the same time, support for religious leaders influencing government has declined substantially overtime. In 2011, 43 percent of Jordanians agreed or strongly agreed that religious leaders should influence government. In 2013, 43 percent held this view, and by 2016 this level fell to 32 percent.

<u>Table 18</u> in the Appendix presents attitudes on additional questions relating to the intersection of religion and public life. Most Jordanians agree or strongly agree that banks in Muslim countries should not charge interest because it is forbidden in Islam (87 percent) and a few agree or strongly agree that this rule should be relaxed to meet the demands of the modern economy (31 percent).

More than half (56 percent) of Jordanians agree or strongly agree that it is acceptable for male and female university students to attend classes together; and 49 percent believe that while women should dress modestly, Islam does not require wearing a hijab.

Most Jordanians disagree or strongly disagree that democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam (78 percent).

#### International Relations

Asked what direction they would like to see future economic relations with other countries take (see Appendix Table 19), Jordanians are most supportive of stronger ties with Saudi Arabia (78 percent want stronger relations). More than half of Jordanians (56 percent) also want stronger economic relations with the United States. Fewer Jordanians support stronger economic ties with other regional powers, however, including Turkey (48 percent), the European Union (28 percent), Russia (26 percent) and Iran (11 percent).

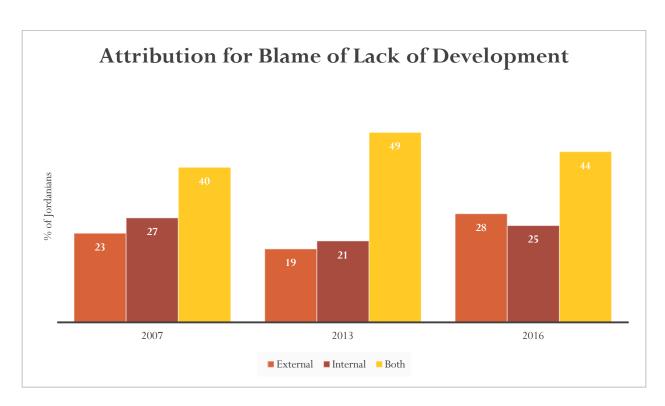
Meanwhile, many Jordanians would like economic relations between Jordan and regional powers to remain the same: Turkey (29 percent), the European Union (27 percent), Russia (24 percent), The United States (23 percent), Iran (18 percent), and Saudi Arabia (15 percent). On the whole, Jordanians tend to want weaker economic relations with Iran (66 percent) and Russia (42 percent).

Most Jordanians believe that major powers have had either neutral or slightly positive effects on the development of democracy in Jordan (see Appendix Table 20). They are most neutral toward Russia (43 percent see its influence as neither positive nor negative) and the European Union (41 percent). At the same time, Russia is seen by the highest proportion of Jordanians (36 percent) as having a negative or very negative influence on the development of democracy.

When asked about the most positive thing that the United States could do for their country, more than a third of Jordanians (35 percent) believe that it would be for the United States to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, the second most positive potential action would be not to get involved in the region (33 percent). Notably, Jordanians are divided on the question of whether American demands for reform are acceptable or not: 13 percent say they are acceptable, 35 percent say they are acceptable with conditions, 15 percent say they are unacceptable on principle, and 31 percent say they are unacceptable because they are harmful to Jordanian's national interests. Jordanians are relatively likely, however, to say that, regardless of U.S. foreign policies, most ordinary Americans are good people: 60 percent agree, while 31 percent disagree and 10 percent say they do not know. Similarly, a majority (64 percent) agrees or strongly agrees that American and Western culture have positive aspects. After Israel (28 percent), Syria is seen as the greatest threat to stability for Jordan (21 percent). Meanwhile, 15 percent of Jordanians cite Iran and 5 percent cite the US as the greatest threat to Jordan.

Jordanians generally think it is a good thing that the world is getting more connected: 75 percent say it is very or somewhat good, while 8 percent say it is neither good nor bad, and 16 percent say it is somewhat or very bad.

Most Jordanians blame a mix of external and internal factors (44 percent) for Jordan's lack of development, with similar proportion citing mainly external factors (28 percent) and mainly internal factors (25 percent), which is a similar percentage to views in some other Arab countries such as Algeria and Egypt.



A majority (68 percent) agrees or strongly agrees that Western interference is an obstacle to reform in Jordan. More than half (54 percent) agree or strongly agree that interference from Arab and Islamic countries within the region is an obstacle to reform in Jordan.

Additionally, Jordanians are concerned about growing sectarian division across the region: 49 percent are concerned to a great extent, and 25 percent to a medium extent.

## **Select Demographics**

A third of Jordanians (30 percent) report that they work. Among those who work, 38 percent work in the public sector, and 58 percent in the private sector. Among those who do not work, 55 percent are housewives, 22 percent are retired, 17 percent are unemployed.

In terms of household possessions, 51 percent of Jordanians have at least one computer in their home, and 52 percent own a car within their family. A third have a non-smart mobile phone and 65 have a smartphone with access to the internet.

Overall, 40 percent of Jordanians describe themselves as religious, while 57 percent say they are somewhat religious. Just 3 percent say they are not religious.

More than quarter of Jordanian families are well-off enough that they are able to cover their expenses without notable difficulties (26 percent) or even well enough off that they are able to save (9 percent). A further 43 percent face some difficulties meeting expenses, and 21 percent report facing significant difficulties to make ends meet. Most Jordanian families (95 percent) do not receive any remittances from abroad. Only 2 percent report receiving remittances as frequently once a month, while two percent receive them a few times a year, and less than 1 percent receives them once a year.

## **About the Survey**

The Arab Barometer is a public opinion survey conducted in partnership between academics and survey experts in the Arab world, the United States and Europe. The survey in Jordan, conducted from March 9-16, 2016 and was led by Dr. Walid Al Khatib of the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan. The survey included 1,200 respondents randomly selected from all 16 regions across all regions of the country. The survey was conducted face-to-face in the respondent's place of residence and has a margin of error of  $\pm$  3 percent.

To date, the Arab Barometer has conducted 38 national surveys over three waves including more than 45,000 interviews in 15 Arab countries. The fourth wave includes 9 countries and more than 11,000 interviews. For more information about the project, please visit www.arabbarometer.org.

#### Jordan Arab Barometer Report Appendix

Comment of Abbreviations: SA= Strongly Agree, A= Agree, D= Disagree, SD= Strongly Disagree, DK= Don't Know

Table 1: Trust in Political Institutions

Statement	A Great Deal of Trust	Quite a lot of Trust	Not very much trust	No trust at all	Don't Know	Refused
Government (Council of Minister)	17.6	35.2	16.3	30.1	.7	.1
Courts and legal system	30.0	40.2	14.6	13.7	1.4	.2
The elected council of representatives (the parliament)	6.8	19.0	17.0	55.8	1.3	.1
Police	84.2	10.9	1.8	3.0	.1	-
The armed forces (army)	89.7	7.9	1.2	1.2	.1	-
Religious leaders	15.1	32.1	25.2	25.3	2.2	.2
Political parties	.9	4.9	9.3	76.8	7.5	.6

Table 2: Worries

Item	Very Much	Much	Not much	Not at all	Not applicable	DK
No Possibility to give a child a good education	37.9	23.2	9.3	15.8	13.8	.1
A terrorist attack in your country	43.1	23.9	7.0	25.8	-	.2
Being harassed or threatened on the street	25.1	16.9	9.8	47.8	.4	-

Table 3: Satisfaction with Public Services

Item	Definitely satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Definitely dissatisfied
Educational system	24.6	46.2	19.8	9.4
Healthcare system	25.0	53.3	14.7	7.0

Table 4: Satisfaction with Government Performance

Item	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	Not government's role	DK
Managing the economy	6.3	46.4	27.7	18.2	.1	1.4
Creating employment opportunities	1.3	24.7	34.8	34.6	.5	.2
Narrowing rich/poor gap	1.8	23.8	39.6	33.6	.5	.8
Improving basic health services	9.8	62.6	17.0	10.7	-	-
Keeping prices down	3.1	33.1	35.3	28.0	.5	.1
Providing security	55.8	37.7	3.5	2.3	.8	-
Addressing educational needs	16.6	27.3	17.7	8.0	-	.5

Table 5: Top Concerns

	Top Concern 1	Top Concern 2
Economic Situation	26.3	52.4
Financial and administrative corruption	22.3	16.8
Democracy	.9	.6
Internal stability and security	8.2	6.4
Foreign interference	5.5	3.8
Religious extrimism	5.8	6.2
Syrian Refugees	10.7	24.3
No Other Challenge	4.6	.6
Refused	.1	-

Table 6: Government Responsiveness

Item	SA	A	DA	SD	DK	Refused
Gov't aware of citizens' needs	17.0	37.7	30.4	14.3	.7	-
Pol. Leaders concerned with ordinary citizens	4.8	25.8	37.6	28.6	3.1	-
Politics are so complicated I can't understand	39.6	42.1	10.3	6.8	1.3	-

Table 7: Views Toward Political and Fellow Citizens: 7- Point Thermometers

Item	Politicians (Unintelligent/ Intelligent)	Politicians (Dishonest/Honest)	Citizens (Unintelligent/ Intelligent)	Citizens (Dishonest/ Honest)
1	8.6	21.9	2.6	5.5
2	5.8	13.3	3.0	4.3
3	8.6	14.4	5.3	10.4
4	21.9	20.3	19.5	21.9
5	21.4	14.3	29.5	32.4
6	12.1	3.7	20.2	13.1
7	12.9	2.7	17.6	9.7
Not Concerned	6.4	5.8	1.5	1.8
DK	2.2	2.7	.8	.8
Refused	.1	.1	.1	.1

Table 8: Media Habits (for Political News)

Frequency	Television	Daily News Paper
Daily	41.8	7.7
A number of times a week	23.4	5.2
A number of times a month	3.4	3.8
Rarely	14.7	14.9
I don't follow it ever	16.6	68.3
DK	.1	.2
Refused	-	-

Table 9: Internet Habits (Among Internet Users)

Item	Yes	No	DK	Refuse
Find out about political activities	34.7	64.7	.7	-
Express your opinion about political issues	15.1	84.4	.5	-
Facebook user	78.8	21.2	-	-
Twitter user	14.3	85.7	-	-
Instagram user	19.8	80.2	-	-

Table 10: Democracy 10-Point Thermometers (% of Jordanians Giving Each Response)

Rating (0-10)	Extent to which Jordan is democratic	Extent to which democracy is appropriate	Satisfaction with the government	
0	2.5	3.0	9.7	
1	1.2	1.3	6.1	
2	1.9	1.8	5.6	
3	2.5	3.1	6.3	
4	4.6	7.1	9.2	
5	18.8	15.4	19.8	
6	10.1	12.7	10.3	
7	16.5	17.0	10.9	
8	17.4	16.7	9.3	
9	7.3	7.3	4.6	
10	14.8	12.0	8.2	
Not Concerned	1.9	2.2	-	
DK	.5	.5	-	
Refused	-		-	

Table 11: Attitudes Toward Democracy

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Under a democratic system, economic performance is weak	7.6	22.4	42.3	25.1	2.6	.1
Democratic regimes are indecisive/full of problems	7.1	27.9	41.8	20.9	2.3	.1
Democratic systems not effect at order/stability	5.8	25.3	42.9	23.3	2.6	.2
A democratic system may have problems, but better than others	34.4	51.9	8.7	3.2	1.8	.1
Citizens in our country not prepared for democratic system	8.8	24.6	42.4	21.8	2.3	.1

Table 12: Attitudes Toward Different Forms of Government (Suitability for Jordan)

Item	Very Suitable	Suitable	Somewhat Suitable	Not Suitable at All	DK	Refuse
A parliamentary system in which nationalist, left-wing, right wing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	20.0	18.4	11.9	42.8	6.6	.3
A parliamentary system in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	3.1	9.4	10.6	70.8	5.8	.4
A parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections	1.2	5.3	8.6	78.8	5.8	.4
A political system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections	9.7	13.4	13.5	57.5	5.7	.3
A government that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the political process	2.4	9.8	9.8	71.6	6.0	.3

Table 13: How Guaranteed Are Freedoms to Express Opinions?

Item	Great Extent	Medium Extent	Limited Extent	Not Guaranteed	DK	Refused
Freedom to express opinions	24.1	52.8	10.3	12.2	.7	-
Freedom of the press	23.2	50.6	11.3	13.0	1.9	-
Freedom to join political parties	12.9	31.2	16.3	29.4	10.0	.3
Freedom to participate in peaceful protests and demonstrations	18.9	34.6	14.9	27.4	4.0	.2
Freedom to join civil associations and organizations	25.7	37.8	12.2	20.0	4.3	.1

Table 14: Perceptions of Guarantees of Freedoms (% who say they are guaranteed to a medium or great extent)

	2013	2016	Change
To join a political party	55.0	44.1	-10.9
Of the press	74.3	73.8	5
Of expression	76.0	76.9	+.9
To peacefully demonstrate	56.3	53.5	-2.8

Table 15: Women's Roles and Rights

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
A woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country	37.3	27.3	16.7	18.6	.2	-
A married woman can work outside the home if she wishes	44.6	41.3	8.6	5.6	-	-
In general, men are better at political leadership than women	41.5	32.8	17.9	7.4	.4	-
University education for males is more important than university education for females	8.3	9.7	34.8	47.2	-	-
Women and men should have equal inheritance rights	86.0	13.3	.3	.3	.1	-
Husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family	9.9	29.7	27.9	31.3	11.2	-

Table 16: Desirability of Potential Neighborhoods

Item	Strongly Dislike	Dislike	Neither	Like	Strongly Like	DK	Refuse
People of a different religion	8.8	15.2	66.0	8.1	1.1	.1	.1
People of a different race or color	6.5	10.8	73.3	8.2	1.3	.1	-
Immigrants or foreign workers	12.9	18.9	59.9	7.3	.8	.1	.1
People of a different sect of Islam	22.4	23.3	47.6	5.5	1.1	.1	-

Table 17: Religion and Public Life

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions in elections	33.3	37.3	18.3	9.0	2.3	-
Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state	8.4	26.4	43.3	20.0	1.8	.1
Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government	5.2	26.3	26.2	20.4	1.9	-
Religious practice is a private matter and should be separated from socio-economic life	12.3	27.9	33.4	25.3	1.1	-

Table 18: Interpretations of Islam

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam	4.5	14.6	46.8	31.9	2.1	.1
Banks in Muslim countries must be forbidden from charging interest because this is forbidden by Islam	51.1	35.8	8.4	4.1	.7	-
It is acceptable in Islam for male and female university students to attend classes together	14.3	41.2	28.3	16.2	-	-
A woman should dress modestly, but Islam does not require that she wears a hijab	21.3	28.1	28.5	22.1	.1	-
In order to meet the demands of the modern economy, banks should be allowed to charge interest	7.7	23.2	38.5	29.4	1.3	-

Table 19: Do you prefer that future economic relations between your country and (country X)?

Country	Become stronger	Remain same	Become weaker	DK	Refuse
The United States	56.1	23.2	15.9	4.2	.7
Saudi Arabia	77.8	14.3	5.1	2.6	.3
Iran	10.5	17.5	65.7	5.8	.6
Turkey	47.7	28.9	17.8	5.2	.4
EU	45.3	26.8	20.5	6.9	.5
Russia	26.3	24.1	42.2	6.9	.5

Table 20: Perceptions of Other Countries' Influence on Development of Democracy is Jordan

Country	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat negative	Very negative	DK	Refuse
The United States	7.1	20.5	34.1	17.6	12.8	7.5	.5
The European Union	4.8	18.1	40.6	14.8	11.9	9.3	.6
Neighboring Countries	4.9	18.0	39.1	19.1	12.7	5.8	.5
Russia	2.2	8.4	42.5	18.4	18.0	10.0	.5