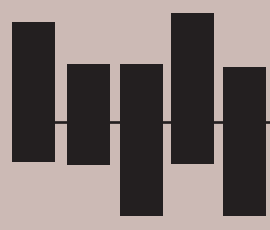


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Zogby Research Services

Political Concerns & Government





Zogby Research Services, LLC

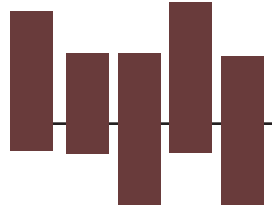
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Political Concerns & Government

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Summary Observations

Nine months into the “Arab Spring,” we surveyed public opinion in seven Arab countries and Iran, asking over 6,000 respondents about their primary political concerns and their degree of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the pace of change taking place in their countries.

The results vary from country to country, providing an important look into the unique set of concerns confronting each. We have conducted similar surveys every other year since 2001, and the differences that can be discerned between the 2011 poll and those that preceded it are noteworthy.

In 2009, for example, in most countries the “close to home” issues of: “expanding employment opportunities,” “improving the health care system,” and “improving the educational system,” ranked among the top four concerns of most respondents in most countries. Their rank order would vary from country to country, but these were the basic priorities of a majority of Arabs. Also in the mix of top concerns would be issues of particular concern to the country in question. “Ending corruption and nepotism,” for example, was a major issue in Egypt; while in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE “resolving the Israeli/Palestinian conflict” scored high.

In late 2011, there appears to be what we might call an “Arab Spring effect” at work across the Middle East and North Africa. “Expanding employment” is still the number one concern in every Arab country, with the exception of the UAE. But there are now other issues that are looming large across the political landscape. “Ending corruption and nepotism” is now a major concern in four of the seven Arab countries. And in most countries, issues like “political reform,” “advancing democracy,” and “protecting personal and civil rights” have broken into the top tier of concerns in almost every country.

It may be interesting to note that the one country where virtually no change occurred was in Egypt,

where the top four issues of 2009 (employment, education, health care, and corruption) remain the top four concerns of 2011, albeit in a slightly different order. It appears that the Egyptian revolt had more to do with people’s needs. They wanted a non-corrupt government that could provide for the basic needs of life. It was in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and UAE, that the political issues of “reform” and “rights” broke through.

Meanwhile in Iran, with the exception of employment being the number one issue, the rest of the top tier list are all democracy-related concerns.

It is worth noting that the only countries where women’s rights are prominent are Tunisia and the UAE. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict remains a top concern in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and UAE. And while combating terrorism and extremism is a significant concern in five of the seven Arab countries, it is dead last in Iran.

How do Arabs and Iranians judge the performance of their governments? Not surprisingly the highest satisfaction rates come in Saudi Arabia and the UAE. This has historically been the case, despite the new sets of issues being raised. It appears that nothing has diminished the sense in both countries that things are on the “right track.” More worrisome are the low satisfaction levels in Lebanon, Iraq, and Iran.

“There is an Arab Spring effect at work here”

While the fundamentals remain the same—people will want jobs, the ability to raise and provide for their families, be educated and have the chance to advance, and receive health care when they need it—there can be no doubt that the “Arab Spring” has introduced a new vocabulary and new concerns into the Arab political discourse. How governments respond to these new concerns in the years to come will be important to watch.





Your Government and Political Concerns

1. Most Important Issues

Question: On a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 is “most important” and 5 is “least important,” how important are the following issues facing your country today?

Expanding employment opportunities
Political or governmental reform
Improving the health care system
Protecting personal and civil rights
Increasing rights for women
Advancing democracy

Combating extremism and terrorism
Ending corruption and nepotism
Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict
Improving the education system
Lack of political debate on important issues

	Tunisia	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE	Iraq	Iran
Terrorism	91 (3)	78 (5)	63 (8)	39 (5)	24 (8)	3 (11)	70 (2)	10 (11)
Political reform	64 (6)	75 (6)	74 (3)	41 (4)	26 (4)	5 (9)	49 (6)	30 (4)
End corruption	53 (8)	79 (4)	76 (2)	47 (3)	36 (3)	3 (10)	61 (3)	24 (5)
Health care	61 (7)	81 (3)	59 (7)	20 (6)	20 (7)	15 (4)	48 (5)	15 (9)
Israel/Palestine	9 (11)	69 (8)	45 (10)	51 (2)	41 (2)	23 (2)	19 (11)	16 (10)
Civil rights	15 (10)	70 (7)	69 (4)	15 (8)	23 (6)	24 (1)	48 (7)	34 (3)
Education	22 (9)	86 (2)	60 (6)	19 (9)	17 (10)	13 (8)	54 (4)	16 (8)
Women’s rights	89 (4)	51 (11)	52 (9)	14 (10)	12 (11)	16 (6)	38 (9)	26 (7)
Political debate	83 (5)	65 (10)	43 (11)	9 (11)	19 (9)	17 (3)	36 (10)	25 (6)
Democracy	92 (2)	69 (9)	64 (5)	21 (7)	26 (5)	15 (7)	41 (8)	32 (2)
Employment	92 (1)	92 (1)	82 (1)	68 (1)	43 (1)	8 (5)	73 (1)	46 (1)

Note: Respondents were asked to rate the importance of each issue on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is “most important” and 5 is “least important.” The percentage given here for each issue represents the percentage of respondents who rated that issue a “1,” indicating a high intensity response. Overall rankings are given in parentheses; rank was determined based on a composite score considering all five choices.



Rankings of Most Important Issues, 2010 (and 2009)

	Tunisia	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan
1	Employment	Employment (2)	Employment (1)	Employment (4)
2	Democracy	Education (3)	End corruption (4)	Israel/Palestine (1)
3	Terrorism	Health care (1)	Political reform (5)	End corruption (3)
4	Women's rights	End corruption (4)	Civil rights (7)	Political reform (9)
5	Political debate	Terrorism (5)	Democracy (8)	Terrorism (8)
6	Political reform	Political reform (9)	Education (9)	Health care (5)
7	Health care	Civil rights (7)	Health care (6)	Democracy (6)
8	End corruption	Israel/Palestine (6)	Terrorism (2)	Civil rights (7)
9	Education	Democracy (8)	Women's rights (11)	Education (2)
10	Civil rights	Political debate (11)	Israel/Palestine (3)	Women's rights (10)
11	Israel/Palestine	Women's rights (10)	Political debate (10)	Political debate (11)

* Number in parenthesis are 2009 rankings.

	Saudi Arabia	UAE	Iraq	Iran
1	Employment (2)	Civil rights (5)	Employment	Employment
2	Israel/Palestine (3)	Political debate (11)	Terrorism	Democracy
3	End corruption (6)	Health care (3)	End corruption	Civil rights
4	Democracy (7)	Israel/Palestine (2)	Education	Political reform
5	Civil Rights (8)	Employment (4)	Health care	End corruption
6	Political reform (10)	Women's rights (6)	Political reform	Political debate
7	Health care (1)	Democracy (10)	Civil rights	Women's rights
8	Terrorism (5)	Education (1)	Democracy	Education
9	Political Debate (11)	Political reform (9)	Women's rights	Health care
10	Education (4)	End corruption (7)	Political debate	Israel/Palestine
11	Women's rights (9)	Terrorism (8)	Israel/Palestine	Terrorism

* Number in parentheses are 2009 rankings.

Tunisia

“Expanding employment opportunities,” “advancing democracy,” and “combating extremism and terrorism” are considered the most important issues facing Tunisia by more than nine in ten respondents. These are followed closely by “increasing rights for women” (Tunisia being the only country surveyed where women’s rights was widely considered an important issue) and “lack of political debate on important issues.” Jobs are, of course, the number one issue in Tunisia, as they are across the region. Concerns with democracy and protecting women’s rights are clearly the unfinished work of the revolution.



Egypt

The core issues that drive Egypt's citizens today remain the basic concerns of life (i.e., jobs, education, and health care), just as they were in 2009. "Combating corruption and nepotism" was, and still is, also a major concern, while "democracy" is not. The only major shift in the priority political concerns of Egyptians is in the increased importance of political reform. In sum, Egyptians want a government, free of corruption, that provides for the basic needs of its citizens.

Lebanon

Expanding employment remains the most important issue among Lebanese in 2011, as it was in 2009. There has, however, been a significant shift in other priorities. "Combating corruption and nepotism" and reforming government have now become increasingly important, as have "protecting personal and civil rights" and "advancing democracy." More external concerns like fighting terrorism and "resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" have decreased in importance.

Jordan

Once again, "expanding employment opportunities" is the number one concern in Jordan, as it is across the region. At the same time, the importance of "improving the educational system" has fallen dramatically as a priority concern. The other significant shift here is the increasing importance of political reform, likely inspired by the uprisings throughout the region in the last year.

Saudi Arabia

In Saudi Arabia, issues considered particularly important in 2009, including improving the health care and educational systems have dropped precipitously in importance, while concerns like "combating corruption and nepotism," "advancing democracy," and "political reform" have taken center stage in the region. "Expanding employment opportunities" and "resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" continue to hold sway among Saudi respondents.

UAE

In UAE, the number one issue of 2009, "improving the educational system," has been supplanted by concerns of "protecting personal and civil rights." The importance of the "lack of political debate on important issues" has also risen dramatically in the last two years, another indication that the impact of the Arab Spring is being felt beyond the borders of the countries where uprisings took place.

Iraq

Many of the most important issues facing Iraq are the basic concerns of day-to-day life (i.e., jobs, schools, and health care). "Combating extremism and terrorism" and "ending corruption and nepotism" are also viewed as priorities, as the difficult work of building a stable and safe Iraq for all her citizens continues.



Iran

After the paramount concern with “expanding employment opportunities,” Iranians rate a range of issues that all involve making fundamental change in their government and political climate as the most important priorities. “Advancing democracy,” “protecting personal and civil rights,” “advancing political reform,” “ending corruption and nepotism,” “lack of political debate on important issues,” and “increasing women’s rights” are closely ranked as important by Iranian respondents.

2. Satisfaction with Government Change

Question: Are you satisfied, not satisfied with the pace of change in your government?

	Egypt	Jordan	KSA	Lebanon	Tunisia	UAE	Iraq	Iran
Satisfied	78	78	90	30	59	88	39	30
Not satisfied	20	20	7	62	41	9	53	53

When asked if they are satisfied with the pace and direction of change in their governments, majorities of respondents in Saudi Arabia (90%), UAE (88%), Egypt (78%), Jordan (78%), and Tunisia (59%) express satisfaction. Majorities are dissatisfied with the pace and direction of governmental change in Lebanon (30% satisfied vs. 62% not satisfied), Iraq (39% satisfied vs. 53% not satisfied), and Iran (30% satisfied vs. 53% not satisfied).

3. Right or Wrong Track

Question: Do you feel your country is on the right or wrong track?

	Egypt	Jordan	KSA	Lebanon	Tunisia	UAE	Iraq	Iran
Right track	78	73	87	25	54	88	31	37
Wrong track	16	12	3	60	-	9	56	43
Not sure	-	-	-	-	47	-	-	20

Wide majorities of respondents in UAE (88%), Saudi Arabia (87%), Egypt (78%), and Jordan (73%) think that their countries are on the right track. In Tunisia, a slim majority holds this view (54%), but the remaining 47% say they are unsure, not that they are on the wrong track. Majorities of respondents in Lebanon and Iraq think that their countries are on the wrong track (60%; 56%), while only one-quarter to one-third of respondents in each of these countries think they are on the right track. In Iran, the picture is slightly murkier; almost equal numbers think the country is on the right track (37%) and the wrong track (43%), while the remaining 20% are unsure.



APPENDIX A—METHODOLOGY AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Zogby Research Services commissioned JZ Analytics to conduct surveys in Iraq, Afghanistan, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, and additional online surveys in the United States, Tunisia, and Egypt. Various methodologies were utilized using trusted partners in the countries surveyed. The following methodologies were developed to most effectively contact the samples requested.

In Iraq, interviews were conducted from September 13-21, 2011, in Baghdad, Basra, Dhi Qar, Babil, Najaf, Anbar, Diyala, Ninawa, Sulamaniya, and Arbil with respondents aged 18 and above living in both urban and rural households from the six Iraqi governorates. The margin of error is +/-3.2 percentage points. The sample is randomly drawn based on the 2007 projection of the 1997 general census, the most recent and comprehensive official census study conducted in the country.

In Lebanon, face-to-face interviews were conducted from September 12-29, 2011, in Beirut, Aley, Metn, Baabda, Tripoli, Tyre, Saida, and Chouf with respondents aged 18 and above living in both urban and rural households. The margin of error is +/-4.5 percentage points. The sample is randomly drawn based on a systematic random sample adopting a population proportionate weight based on the approximate estimated make-up/weight of the areas covered in each selected neighborhood.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face in Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan, Iran, and Afghanistan. Multi-stage stratified probability sampling was used to ensure a random, representative sample. However, broad demographic quotas were maintained at an aggregate (country) level to ensure that the sample was in line with the sample in earlier years. Interviews were conducted in Egypt from September 12-29, 2011, in Cairo, Giza, Shoubra Al Khima, Alexandria, Menia, Mansoura, and Asyut. The margin of error is +/-3.1 percentage points. Interviews were conducted in Tunisia, from September 12-29, 2011, in Tunis, Safaqis, Sousse, Bizerte, and Gafsa. The margin of error is +/-3.5 percentage points. Interviews were conducted in Jordan from September 12-29, 2011, in Amman, Zarqa, Irbid, and Madaba. The margin of error is +/-4.4 percentage points. Interviews were conducted in Iran from September 12-29, 2011, in Teheran, Rasht, Esfahan, Yazd, Shiraz, Kerman, Mashhad, Tabriz, and Ahwaz. The margin of error is +/-3.1 percentage points. Interviews were conducted in Afghanistan from September 12-29, 2011, in Kabul, Kandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif, Jalalabad, Baghlan, and Heart. The margin of error is +/-3.5 percentage points.

In Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, where door-to-door sampling is not possible, a referral sampling approach was used. Adequate measures were taken to ensure that the sample was broadly representative and not skewed. Broad country level demographic quotas were followed to ensure the final sample has characteristics of the population. Interviews were conducted in Saudi Arabia from September 12-29, 2011, in Riyadh, Buraydah, Jeddah, Taif, Makkah, Dammam, and Khobar. The margin of error is +/-3.5 percentage points. Interviews were conducted in UAE from September 12-29, 2011, in Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, and the North Emirates. The margin of error is +/-4.5 percentage points.

In addition, JZ Analytics conducted online surveys of 1,054 adults in the United States on September 13-15, 2010, 602 adults in Egypt on September 15-19, 2010, and 531 adults in Tunisia, September 15- October 5, 2010. Using trusted interactive partner resources, thousands of adults were invited to participate in this survey. Each invitation is password coded and secure so that each respondent can only access the survey one time.

Based on information from census data, CIA fact books, and exit polls, complex weighting techniques are utilized to best represent the demographics of the population being surveyed. Weighted variables may include age, race, gender, region, party, education, and religion.





	Jordan		Egypt		Lebanon		Tunisia		KSA		UAE*		Iran		Egypt Online		Tunisia Online	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
Total	516	100	1028	100	500	100	831	100	821	100	509	100	1017	100	602	100	531	100
Under 36	317	61	601	59	288	58	397	49	506	62	306	60	646	64	478	79	392	74
36+	199	49	427	52	212	42	434	52	315	38	203	40	371	37	124	21	139	26
Live in city	385	79	989	96	469	94	796	96	650	79	356	70	635	62	539	90	440	83
Live outside city	131	21	39	4	31	6	12	1	171	21	153	30	382	38	47	8	80	15
Less than university	408	79	874	85	343	69	464	56	643	78	290	57	637	63	85	14	107	21
University+	108	21	154	15	155	31	367	44	178	22	219	43	380	37	509	86	412	79
Sunni	390	76	939	91	110	22	784	94	722	88	486	96	47	5	503	89	496	97
Shia					175	35	-	-	40	5	16	3	969	95				
Christian	26	5	89	9	180	36									60	11	10	2
Druze	-	-	-	-	35	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
Male	262	51	518	50	252	50	416	50	460	56	374	74	542	53	331	55	265	50
Female	254	49	510	50	248	50	415	50	361	44	135	27	475	47	271	45	266	50

* Includes approximately 350 Emiratis and 150 Arabs working in UAE. Note: Total may not equal 100% due to rounding.

	Iraq	
	freq	%
Total	1000	100
Under 25	168	17
25-36	208	21
36+	384	38
Urban	696	70
Rural	304	30
Less than university	884	88
University+	116	12
Married	660	66
Single	227	28
Divorce/widowed/separated	63	6
Arabic	848	85
Kurdish	139	14
Assyrian	9	1
Shia	612	61
Sunni	375	38
Male	529	53
Female	471	47

Note: Total may not equal 100% due to rounding.

	Afghanistan	
	freq	%
Total	837	100
Under 36	530	63
36+	307	37
Live in city	837	100
Live outside city	-	-
Less than university	-	-
University+	-	-
None/ Primary	700	84
Tech/Secondary	84	10
Professional/Higher	53	6
Employed	337	40
Not employed	500	60
Sunni	661	79
Shia	176	21
Male	426	51
Female	411	49

Note: Total may not equal 100% due to rounding.

	U.S. Online	
	freq	%
Total	1054	100
18-29	217	22
30-49	355	36
50-64	246	25
65+	168	17
East	231	22
South	272	26
Central Great Lakes	314	30
West	231	22
No College Degree	650	62
College Degree+	399	38
Liberal	219	21
Moderate	337	32
Conservative	408	39
White	717	68
Hispanic	137	13
African American	126	12
Asian	42	4

Note: Total may not equal 100% due to rounding.



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