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# ARAB ATTITUDES, 2011

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- U.S. And Obama Favorable Ratings Drop Sharply
- Top Arab Concerns: U.S. Interference and Unresolved Palestine Issue
  - Killing bin Laden Will Not Improve Region
  - Mixed Mood on Arab Spring

Conducted by Zogby International  
Analysis by James Zogby



## Executive Summary

- After improving with the election of Barack Obama in 2008, U.S. favorable ratings across the Arab world have plummeted. In most countries they are lower than at the end of the Bush Administration, and lower than Iran's favorable ratings (except in Saudi Arabia).
- The continuing occupation of Palestinian lands and U.S. interference in the Arab world are held to be the greatest obstacles to peace and stability in the Middle East.
- While many Arabs were hopeful that the election of Barack Obama would improve U.S.-Arab relations, that hope has evaporated. Today, President Obama's favorable ratings across the Arab World are 10% or less.
- Obama's performance ratings are lowest on the two issues to which he has devoted the most energy: Palestine and engagement with the Muslim world.
- The U.S. role in establishing a no-fly zone over Libya receives a positive rating only in Saudi Arabia and Lebanon, but, as an issue, it is the lowest priority.
- The killing of bin Laden only worsened attitudes toward the U.S.
- A plurality says it is too early to tell whether the Arab Spring will have a positive impact on the region. In Egypt, the mood is mixed. Only in the Gulf States are optimism and satisfaction levels high.

## Methodology

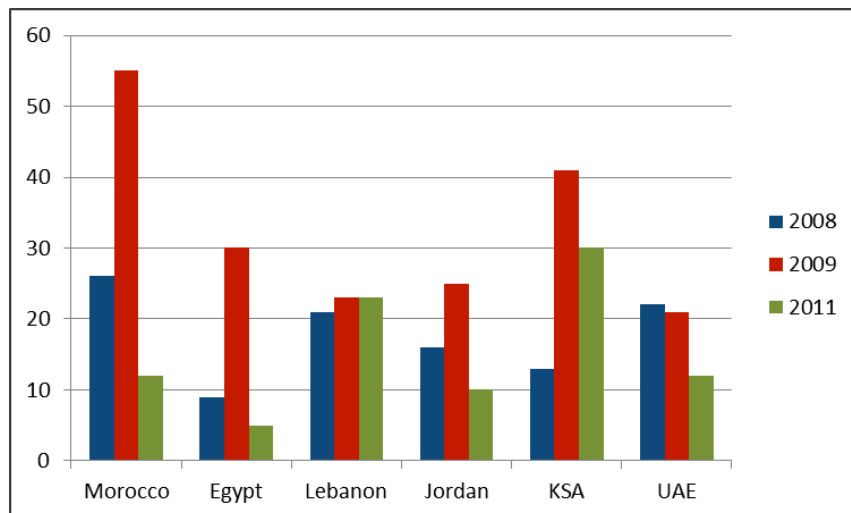
	Morocco		Egypt		Lebanon		Jordan		KSA		UAE	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
Total	819	<b>100</b>	817	<b>100</b>	515	<b>100</b>	514	<b>100</b>	815	<b>100</b>	525	<b>100</b>
Under 36	451	<b>55</b>	472	<b>58</b>	257	<b>50</b>	321	<b>63</b>	494	<b>61</b>	322	<b>61</b>
36+	368	<b>45</b>	345	<b>42</b>	258	<b>50</b>	193	<b>38</b>	321	<b>39</b>	203	<b>39</b>
Live in city	697	<b>85</b>	794	<b>97</b>	513	<b>100</b>	417	<b>81</b>	768	<b>94</b>	237	<b>45</b>
Live outside city	122	<b>15</b>	23	<b>3</b>	2	<b>&lt;1</b>	97	<b>19</b>	47	<b>6</b>	288	<b>55</b>
Less than university	685	<b>84</b>	670	<b>82</b>	398	<b>77</b>	434	<b>84</b>	660	<b>81</b>	250	<b>48</b>
University+	134	<b>16</b>	147	<b>18</b>	117	<b>23</b>	80	<b>16</b>	155	<b>19</b>	275	<b>52</b>
Married	349	<b>43</b>	446	<b>55</b>	268	<b>52</b>	222	<b>43</b>	395	<b>49</b>	360	<b>69</b>
Single, never married	416	<b>51</b>	342	<b>42</b>	247	<b>48</b>	282	<b>55</b>	407	<b>51</b>	159	<b>30</b>
Divorce/widowed/separated	52	<b>6</b>	29	<b>4</b>	--	--	10	<b>2</b>	13	<b>2</b>	6	<b>1</b>
Own	389	<b>48</b>	317	<b>39</b>	162	<b>32</b>	386	<b>75</b>	387	<b>48</b>	221	<b>42</b>
Rent	423	<b>52</b>	500	<b>61</b>	353	<b>69</b>	128	<b>25</b>	421	<b>52</b>	304	<b>58</b>
Employed	486	<b>59</b>	486	<b>60</b>	117	<b>34</b>	225	<b>44</b>	379	<b>47</b>	419	<b>80</b>
Not employed	333	<b>41</b>	331	<b>41</b>	338	<b>66</b>	289	<b>56</b>	436	<b>54</b>	106	<b>20</b>
Muslim	--	--	776	<b>95</b>	--	--	504	<b>98</b>	--	--	--	--
Muslim Shi'a	--	--	--	--	191	<b>37</b>	--	--	--	--	--	--
Muslim Sunni	--	--	--	--	134	<b>26</b>	--	--	--	--	--	--
Christian	--	--	41	<b>5</b>	191	<b>37</b>	10	<b>2</b>	--	--	--	--
Male	390	<b>48</b>	409	<b>50</b>	257	<b>50</b>	261	<b>51</b>	408	<b>50</b>	376	<b>72</b>
Female	429	<b>52</b>	408	<b>50</b>	258	<b>50</b>	253	<b>49</b>	407	<b>50</b>	149	<b>28</b>

Total may not equal 100% due to rounding

# I. Attitudes towards the United States

## 1. Favorable attitudes towards the United States: 2008/2009/2011

A.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
2011	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>12</b>
2009	55	30	23	25	41	21
2008	26	9	21	16	13	22



2-7. Please tell us if your opinion of each of the following is very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable:

B.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Turkey	<b>80/20</b>	<b>64/35</b>	<b>93/7</b>	<b>45/55</b>	<b>98/2</b>	<b>62/27</b>
China	<b>59/40</b>	<b>56/43</b>	<b>63/29</b>	<b>55/44</b>	<b>26/66</b>	<b>62/28</b>
Iran	<b>14/85</b>	<b>37/63</b>	<b>63/37</b>	<b>23/77</b>	<b>6/80</b>	<b>22/70</b>
France	<b>62/38</b>	<b>44/56</b>	<b>41/45</b>	<b>21/79</b>	<b>95/4</b>	<b>60/26</b>
United States	<b>12/88</b>	<b>5/95</b>	<b>23/77</b>	<b>10/88</b>	<b>30/68</b>	<b>12/77</b>
United Nations	<b>15/84</b>	<b>7/93</b>	<b>39/61</b>	<b>9/91</b>	<b>52/43</b>	<b>27/67</b>

Favorable/Unfavorable

A. In 2011, Arab favorable attitudes towards the U.S. dropped to levels lower than they were in 2008, the last year of the Bush Administration. The 2009 favorable attitudes towards the U.S. spiked upwards, as expectations were raised that U.S. policy toward the region would change.

B. 2011 U.S. favorable ratings are lower than those of other countries (including Iran) covered in the survey - except in Saudi Arabia, where Iran's ratings are lowest. Note that substantial majorities have favorable views of Turkey (all countries except Jordan), and substantial majorities hold unfavorable views of Iran (all countries except Lebanon).

8-12. Please tell us if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:

C.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Iran contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world	16/83	32/68	57/42	22/72	4/95	12/80
Turkey contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world	82/14	65/35	85/15	58/35	76/21	61/28
United States contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world	11/87	10/89	16/84	5/95	24/71	8/87
Saudi Arabia contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world	69/27	82/17	61/39	57/42	99/1	66/25

Agree/Disagree

C. Substantial majorities of Arabs in almost every country view both the U.S. and Iran as not "contributing to peace and stability in the Arab World." The U.S.' contribution to the region is viewed less positively than Iran in every country except Saudi Arabia.

Lebanon is the only Arab country that sees Iran contributing to peace and stability in the region.

The roles of Turkey and Saudi Arabia are appreciated by strong majorities in every country.

13-17. On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being very much and 5 being not at all, how much of an obstacle are each of the following to peace and stability in the Middle East:

D.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
U.S. interference in the Arab world	54	65	49	80	59	61
Lack of democracy in Arab countries	52	53	48	26	43	33
Economic inequality	38	46	40	19	42	43
Continuing occupation of Palestinian lands	66	65	37	86	76	32
Iran's interference in Arab affairs	27	29	8	25	79	10

Number represents percentage responding "very much"

D. Overall, Arabs view the two greatest threats to the region's peace and stability to be "the continuing occupation of Palestinian lands" and "U.S. interference in the Arab world." Only in Saudi Arabia does the concern with "Iran's interference in Arab affairs" rank as a top concern.

18. If you had to choose one thing from the list below, which is the greatest obstacle to peace and stability in the Middle East? (Choose one)

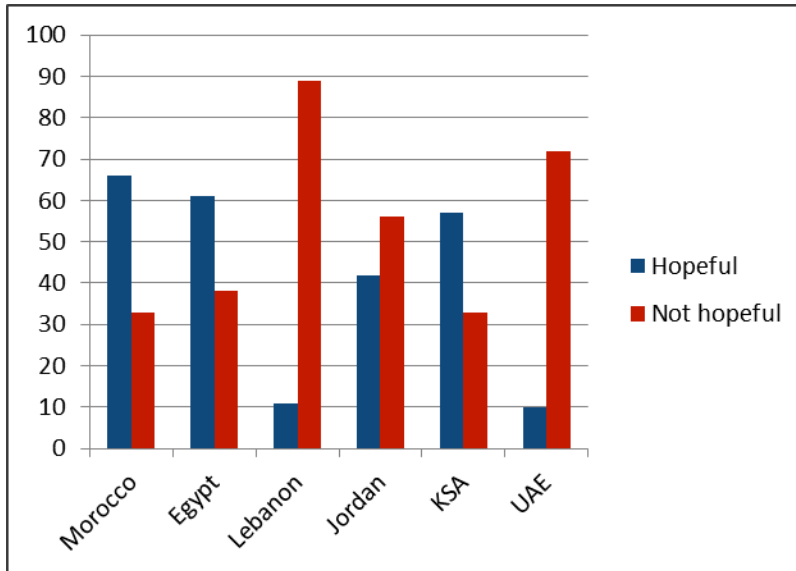
E.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Continuing occupation of Palestinian lands	36	37	5	49	26	6
U.S. interference in the Arab world	31	31	50	37	26	45
Lack of democracy in Arab countries	23	19	33	3	20	22
Economic inequality	9	7	11	4	2	15
Iran's interference in Arab affairs	2	7	2	10	26	13

E. When asked to choose "the greatest obstacle to peace and stability in the Middle East," once again the "occupation of Palestinian lands" and "U.S. interference in the Arab world" rank as the top two concerns.

## II. Attitudes toward President Obama: Two Years after Cairo

19. When Barack Obama was elected, how hopeful were you that he would bring change to U.S. policy toward the Arab world?

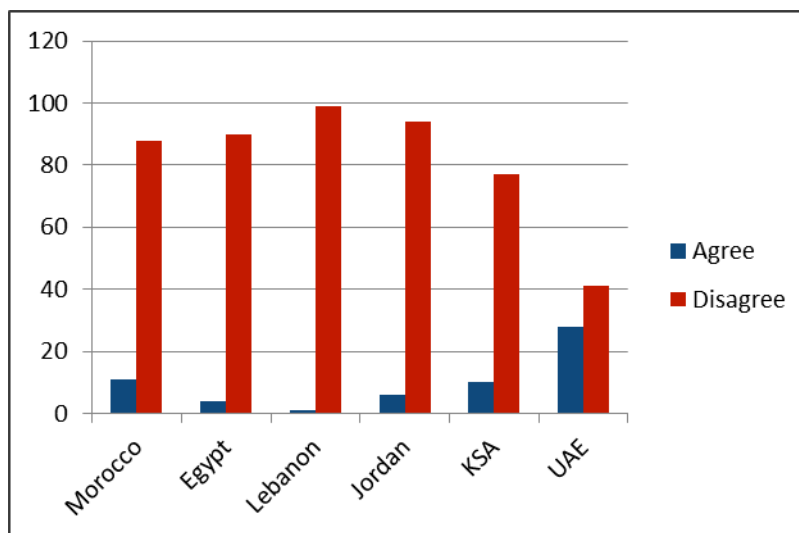
F.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Hopeful	66	61	11	42	57	10
Not hopeful	33	38	89	56	33	72



F. With the exception of Lebanon and UAE, many Arabs recall being hopeful after the election in 2008, believing that the election of Barack Obama would bring change to U.S. policy toward the Arab world.

20. Do you agree or disagree that Barack Obama has met the expectations he set in his speech at Cairo University in June 2009?

G.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Agree	11	4	1	6	10	28
Disagree	88	90	99	94	77	41



G. Despite initial optimism, most Arabs believe that the expectations President Obama created in his 2009 Cairo speech have not been met.

21-25. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being very much and 5 being not at all, how much do you agree with the policies of...

H.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Erdogan	78/18	62/11	87/7	35/36	78/7	84/2
Obama	10/81	3/86	10/87	3/89	10/73	8/59
Ahmedinejad	22/56	31/40	60/27	20/58	4/69	36/42
Sarkozy	63/31	49/19	30/52	17/80	63/20	45/26
Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz	71/11	76/6	32/39	45/35	88/5	66/10

Agree/Disagree

H. Ten percent or less of Arabs in all of the countries surveyed agree with the policies pursued by President Obama. By far, his ratings are the lowest of those other leaders covered in the survey.

26-30. For the following, please tell us how President Barack Obama's handling of each of the following issues has contributed to U.S.-Arab relations

I.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Handling the Palestinian issue	8/56/36	3/54/43	--/84/16	4/74/22	8/54/38	8/61/21
Ending the Iraq war	9/39/52	4/46/48	--/85/15	28/41/28	9/30/56	20/50/15
Establishing a no-fly zone over Libya	13/39/48	7/56/36	38/16/24	21/39/27	84/1/10	32/41/11
Efforts to stop Iran's nuclear program	8/40/52	3/46/46	26/23/20	16/25/52	8/4/71	14/53/18
Engagement with the Muslim world	9/40/50	5/44/50	4/59/17	8/78/13	2/6/61	8/71/18

Improve/Worsen/No Impact

I. Arabs see the Obama Administration's handling of most Middle East policy issues as having made no contribution to improving U.S.-Arab relations. Only on the issue of the "no-fly zone over Libya" do a majority of Saudis and a plurality of Lebanese see a positive contribution.

It is noteworthy that the two issues on which the Administration has invested considerable energy—"the Palestinian issue" and "engagement with the Muslim world"—receive the lowest approval ratings - less than 9% across the board.

31. From the list below, which is the most important for the U.S. to address in order to improve ties with the Arab world? (Choose one)

J.	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE
Resolving the Palestinian issue	58	73	33	60	14	27
Ending the Iraq war	10	10	34	22	5	25
Establishing a no-fly zone over Libya	3	5	20	3	5	6
Efforts to stop Iran's nuclear program	6	2	1	8	51	16
Engagement with the Muslim world	23	9	11	8	20	27

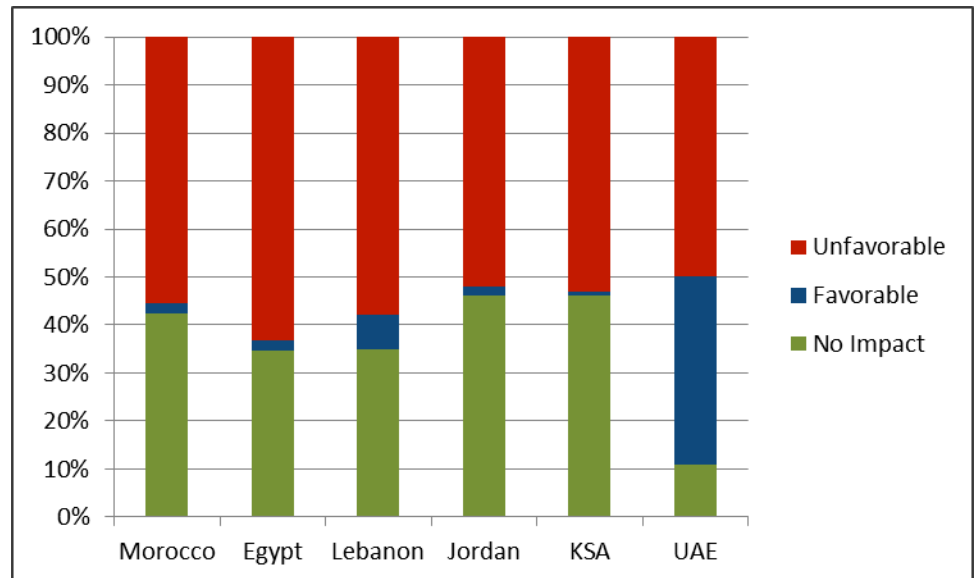
J. "Resolving the Palestinian issue" is, by far, seen as the most important issue for the U.S. to address in order to improve relations in the Arab world.

### III. Killing bin Laden

32. Does the killing of Osama bin Laden make you more or less favorable towards the United States, or does it have no impact on your attitude toward the U.S.?

K.	Fav/Unfav/NI
Morocco	2/55/42
Egypt	2/62/34
Lebanon	7/58/35
Jordan	2/52/46
KSA	1/53/46
UAE	39/50/11

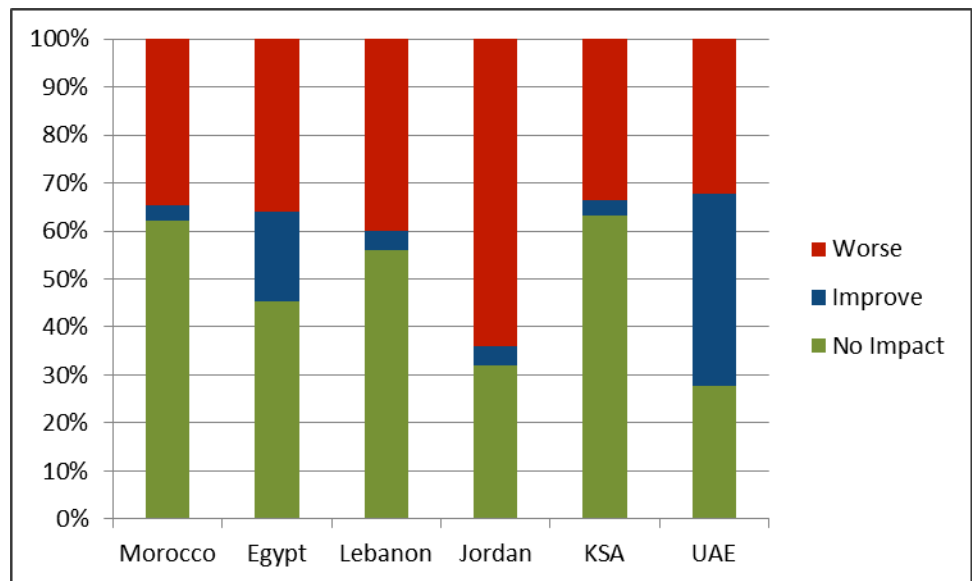
Favorable/Unfavorable/  
No Impact



33. What, in your opinion, will be the likely impact of the killing of Osama bin Laden?

L.	Worse/Improve/NI
Morocco	34/3/61
Egypt	35/18/44
Lebanon	30/3/42
Jordan	64/4/32
KSA	32/3/60
UAE	28/35/24

Worse/Improved/No impact



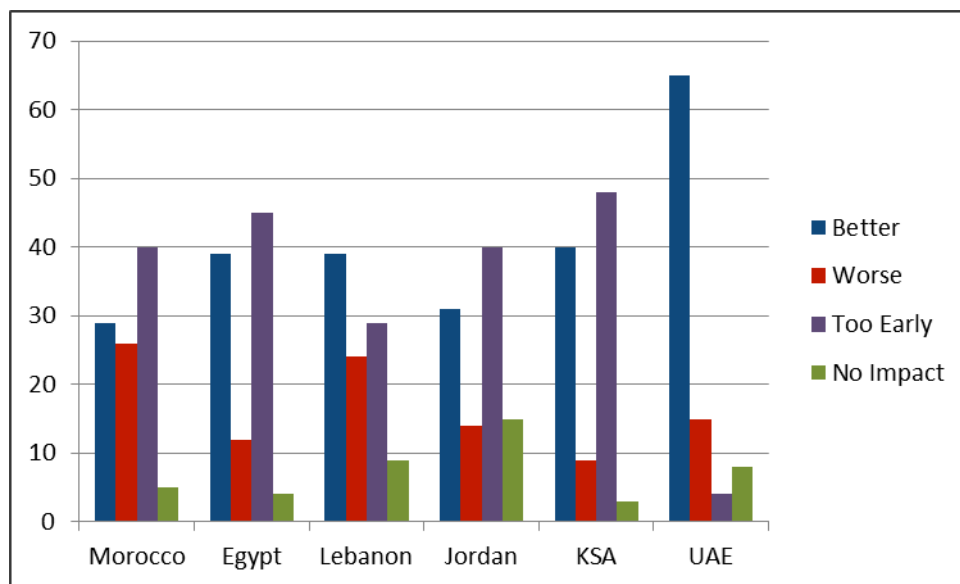
K. Majorities in every country say that the killing of bin Laden makes them view the U.S. less favorably. Given that overall favorable ratings are already so low, this should not make a substantial difference in the ratings.

L. The prevailing view is that the killing of bin Laden will not appreciably improve the region.

## IV. Mood in the Arab Spring

34. In your view, is the Arab world better off or worse off following the uprisings that occurred in Tunisia and Egypt and have since spread elsewhere in the region?

M.	Better/Worse/Too early to tell/No impact
Morocco	29/26/40/5
Egypt	39/12/45/4
Lebanon	39/24/29/9
Jordan	31/14/40/15
KSA	40/9/48/3
UAE	65/15/4/8

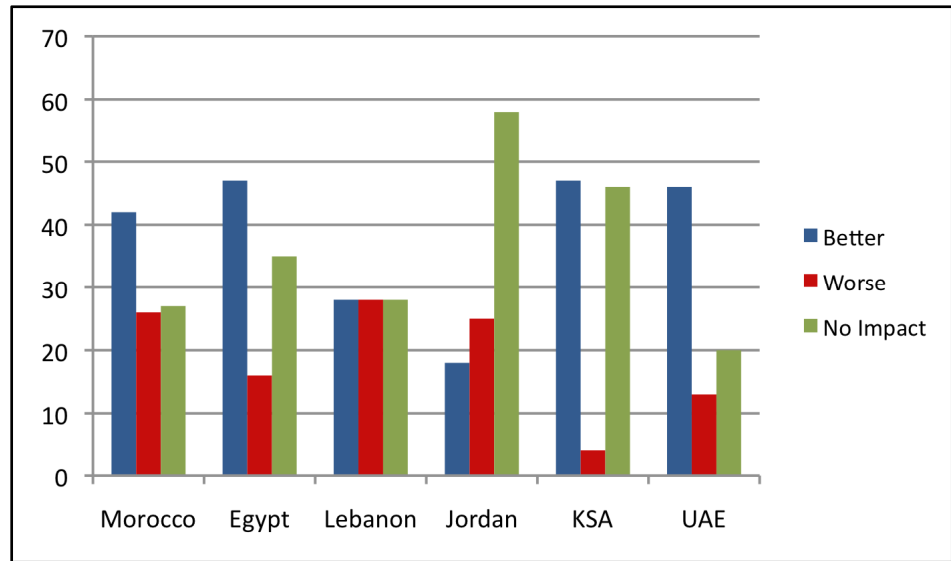


M. A plurality of Arabs in four of the six countries say that "it is too early to tell" whether the Arab world will be better off after the Arab Spring. Almost one-half of Egyptians feel this way. Only in the UAE does a majority agree that the region is better off after the uprisings.

35. As a result of the Arab uprisings that began in Tunisia and Egypt, the situation in my country has gotten better, worse, or had no impact.

N.	Better/Worse/NI
Morocco	42/26/27
Egypt	47/16/35
Lebanon	28/28/28
Jordan	18/25/58
KSA	47/4/46
UAE	46/13/20

Better/Worse/No impact



N. While a plurality say that "the situation in my country has gotten better...as a result of the Arab uprisings," at least one half or more, including Egypt, say that the situation has worsened or not changed at all.

36. Are you better off or worse off now than you were five years ago?

O.	2009 Better/Worse	2011 Better/Worse/Same
Morocco	41/19	39/32/25
Egypt	39/24	36/46/18
Lebanon	38/22	35/43/18
Jordan	41/18	27/53/21
KSA	59/15	48/31/3
UAE	30/21	35/16/48

O. Asked whether they are "better off, worse off, or doing the same" compared to five years ago, only in Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Morocco are people doing better. In Jordan, Lebanon, and, significantly, in Egypt, a plurality say they are doing worse.

Note that responses to the same question in 2009 demonstrated a greater degree of satisfaction in every country.

37. Do you feel you will be better off or worse off in five years?

P.	2009 Better/Worse	2011 Better/Worse/Same
Morocco	51/13	76/14/10
Egypt	39/20	85/7/2
Lebanon	41/18	23/32/18
Jordan	47/13	34/34/31
KSA	55/5	67/23/9
UAE	32/21	38/9/37

P. While satisfaction levels are down, optimism is up. In Egypt, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia substantial majorities believe that they "will be better off in the next five years," at levels significantly higher than they were in 2009. Only in Lebanon and Jordan have optimism levels dropped and pessimism levels increased.