

## Executive Summary:

This is an Arab American Institute Foundation poll with analysis by AAI President James Zogby. It was conducted between September 14 – October 3, 2011. Over 4,000 Arabs were surveyed, with a margin of error of +/- 3.5% in Morocco, Egypt, KSA; and +/- 4.5% in Lebanon, Jordan, UAE.

### **Findings:**

What emerges in stark relief from the results of this poll is the degree to which the Syrian government of Bashar Al Assad has become isolated and is looked on with near universal disfavor across the entire Arab world. Just three years ago, we polled in 11 Arab countries asking respondents to name a leader they most respected. In five of these countries, Bashar Al Assad ranked among the top three mentioned - the only Arab leader to be mentioned in more than two states. As the results presented below make clear today, support for Al Assad has virtually dried up.

The overwhelming majority of Arabs in the six nations covered in the survey side with those Syrians demonstrating against the government (from 83% in Morocco to 100% in Jordan). And when asked whether Bashar Al Assad can continue to govern, the highest affirmative ratings he receives are 15% in Morocco and 14% in Egypt.

Most telling is the scant support the Syrian leader receives in Lebanon. From other results in the same poll, we can see that the Lebanese haven't stopped giving Hizbollah a net favorable rating and more than one-half of Lebanese Shia have a favorable view of the role played by Iran in Syria. But in questions dealing with the Syrian leader, it is clear that whatever support he might have commanded in the past is now gone.

There are policy implications to these results. First and foremost is the fact that Turkey's interventions with Syria to date have won majority support in every Arab country. Saudi Arabia's role is viewed positively in every country but Lebanon, which is an important consideration, given Lebanon's fragile political situation. The country receiving the lowest rating for its role in Syria is the United States, which should serve as a cautionary note for U.S. policy-makers. Despite the appeals of some in the Syrian opposition, Syria appears not to be a place where U.S. interference will ultimately be welcomed - especially in Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

With the Arab League sending a mission to Syria this week to give the regime one final opportunity to end its violence and begin a national dialogue leading to reform and transition, they must know that their people have given up on the Syrian leader. Still, regional efforts to resolve the crisis, and not external intervention (which the poll suggests may not be welcome), may be the only way to avoid making this bad situation worse.

## Sample Characteristics:

	Morocco		Egypt		Lebanon		Jordan		KSA		UAE	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
Total	822	<b>100</b>	829	<b>100</b>	517	<b>100</b>	519	<b>100</b>	822	<b>100</b>	548	<b>100</b>
Under 36	442	<b>54</b>	479	<b>58</b>	252	<b>49</b>	308	<b>59</b>	494	<b>60</b>	331	<b>60</b>
36+	380	<b>46</b>	350	<b>42</b>	265	<b>51</b>	211	<b>41</b>	328	<b>40</b>	217	<b>40</b>
Live in city	799	<b>97</b>	799	<b>96</b>	517	<b>100</b>	519	<b>100</b>	805	<b>98</b>	358	<b>65</b>
Live outside city	23	<b>3</b>	30	<b>4</b>	-	-	-	-	17	<b>2</b>	190	<b>35</b>
Less than university	734	<b>89</b>	665	<b>80</b>	440	<b>85</b>	472	<b>91</b>	569	<b>69</b>	259	<b>47</b>
University+	88	<b>11</b>	164	<b>20</b>	77	<b>15</b>	47	<b>9</b>	253	<b>31</b>	289	<b>53</b>
Employed	373	<b>45</b>	355	<b>43</b>	191	<b>37</b>	208	<b>40</b>	459	<b>56</b>	387	<b>71</b>
Not employed	449	<b>55</b>	474	<b>57</b>	326	<b>63</b>	311	<b>60</b>	119	<b>44</b>	161	<b>29</b>
Muslim	822	<b>100</b>	753	<b>91</b>	315	<b>61</b>	491	<b>95</b>	775	<b>94</b>	537	<b>98</b>
Muslim Shi'a	-	-	-	-	196	<b>38</b>	-	-	749	<b>3</b>	535	<b>&lt;1</b>
Muslim Sunni	822	<b>100</b>	753	<b>91</b>	119	<b>23</b>	491	<b>95</b>	26	<b>91</b>	2	<b>98</b>
Christian	-	-	76	<b>9</b>	202	<b>39</b>	28	<b>5</b>	21	<b>3</b>	11	<b>2</b>
Male	396	<b>48</b>	427	<b>52</b>	253	<b>49</b>	267	<b>51</b>	458	<b>56</b>	406	<b>74</b>
Female	426	<b>52</b>	402	<b>48</b>	264	<b>51</b>	252	<b>49</b>	364	<b>44</b>	142	<b>26</b>

\*Total may not equal 100% due to rounding

## Methodology:

829 interviews conducted in Egypt, from September 14 – October 3, 2011 in Cairo, Alexandria, Giza, Shoubra Al Khima, Menia, Mansoura and Asyut. MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3.5 percentage points.

519 interviews conducted in Jordan, from September 14 – October 3, 2011 in Amman, Irbid, Madaba and Al Zarqa. MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 4.4 percentage points.

517 interviews conducted in Lebanon, from September 14 – October 3, 2011 in Beirut, Baabda, Tripoli and Saayda. Slight weights were applied to religion to more accurately reflect the adult population. MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 4.4 percentage points.

822 interviews conducted in Morocco, from September 14 – October 3, 2011 in Rabat, Casablanca, Marrakech, and Fes. MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3.5 percentage points.

822 interviews conducted in Saudi Arabia, from September 14 – October 3, 2011 in Dammam, Riyadh, Jeddah, Buraydah, Taif, Khobar and Makka. MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 3.5 percentage points.

548 interviews conducted in UAE, from September 14 – October 3, 2011 in Dubai, Abu Dhabi, and Sharjah and the North Emirates. MARGIN OF ERROR +/- 4.3 percentage points.

## I. Attitudes toward Syria:

1. How closely are you following developments in Syria?

Table A	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE**
	42/52/6	42/55/3	76/24/0	80/20/0	61/23/16	45/54/1

\*Very Closely/Somewhat Closely/Not Following

While most Arabs are following events in Syria, those most closely following these developments, of course, are Arabs in the two countries bordering on Syria: Jordan and Lebanon.

2. With which of the following statements do you most agree?

- A. The violence in Syria is the result of a plot by foreign parties and extremists against the government.
- B. The uprising in Syria is a popular revolt against the regime.

Table B	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE**
	14/86	11/89	2/98	0/100	12/88	36/64

\*Statement A/Statement B

Majorities in every country believe that the current unrest in Syria is the result of a "popular revolt against the regime. "

3a. In the conflict that is taking place in Syria, are your sympathies more with the government or with the demonstrators?

Table C	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE**
	9/83/8	4/91/5	1/98/1	0/100/0	5/92/3	4/94/2

\*The Government/The Demonstrators/Neither

3b. Do you believe that Bashar Al Assad can still govern Syria?

Table D	Morocco	Egypt	Lebanon	Jordan	KSA	UAE**
	15/85	14/86	1/99	10/90	7/93	4/96

\*Yes/No

The government of Bashar Al Assad has lost virtually all support in every country. There is near unanimous support for the Syrian demonstrators. Additionally, between 85% and 99% do not believe that Al Assad can still govern the country.

In addition to the remarkable collapse of support for the Syrian government across the entire region, every communal group in Lebanon shares this negative view of the Al Assad government.

4. For each of the following questions, please indicate if you think they are playing a positive or a negative role in Syria.

<b>Table E</b>	<b>Morocco</b>	<b>Egypt</b>	<b>Lebanon</b>	<b>Jordan</b>	<b>KSA</b>	<b>UAE**</b>
Turkey	74/11/15	80/2/18	58/5/37	69/0/31	75/6/19	63/28/9
Iran	22/43/30	22/46/32	26/57/17 <sup>1</sup>	7/79/15	6/65/27	35/61/2
Saudi Arabia	50/22/28	48/22/31	19/52/29	65/11/24	54/14/32	53/23/25
United States	20/72/8	8/78/14	0/79/21	0/69/31	11/74/15	10/73/17
Russia	20/39/41	5/75/20	2/82/16	4/66/30	7/65/28	33/60/7
Hizbollah	39/20/40	12/60/30	62/18/20	6/34/60	21/42/37	47/42/11

\*Positive/Negative/No Impact

The U.S., Russia, and Iran are uniformly viewed as playing negative roles in Syria. Turkey's role is viewed positively in all six Arab countries covered in the survey. Saudi Arabia's role is assessed to be positive in five of the six, while Hizbollah's contribution receives mixed reviews.

This alienation of almost all Lebanese from Al Assad stands in marked contrast to Lebanese assessments of the role of Hizbollah in Syria.

<sup>1</sup> **Lebanese perception of the role of Iran in Syria by religious sect**

Lebanon	<b>Shi'a</b>	<b>Sunni</b>	<b>Christian</b>
	55/29/16	6/75/19	10/73/17

\*Positive/Negative/No Impact

\*\* Survey includes **all** Arabs in UAE, not just nationals.