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Muslim Brotherhood and Military Receive Positive Ratings

One Year Later... Egyptians Remain Optimistic, Embrace Democracy and Religion in Political Life

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Global Attitudes Project

<u>One Year Later...</u> Egyptians Remain Optimistic, Embrace Democracy and Religion in Political Life

Muslim Brotherhood and Military Receive Positive Ratings

Despite economic difficulties and political uncertainty, Egyptians remain upbeat about the course of the nation and prospects for progress. Amid rancorous debates over the presidential election and the shape of a new constitution, most Egyptians continue to want democracy, with two-in-three saying it is the best form of government.

Egyptians also want Islam to play a major role in society, and most believe the Quran should shape the country's laws, although a growing minority expresses reservations about the increasing influence of Islam in politics. When asked which country is the better model for the role of religion in government, Turkey or Saudi Arabia, 61% say the latter. However, most also endorse specific democratic rights and institutions that do not exist in Saudi Arabia, such as free speech, a free press, and equal rights for women.

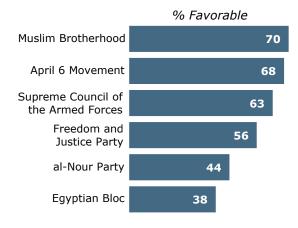
Seven-in-ten Egyptians express a favorable view of the Muslim Brotherhood, down just slightly from 75% a year ago. Most (56%) also have a positive opinion of the Brotherhoodaffiliated Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), the

National Mood Still Positive

| | 2010 | 2011 | |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|
| Way things are going in | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
| the country | % | % | % |
| Satisfied | 28 | 65 | 53 |
| Dissatisfied | 69 | 34 | 41 |
| Don't know | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| Opinion about the future | | | |
| Optimistic | | 57 | 52 |
| Pessimistic | | 16 | 18 |
| Neither (Vol) | | 26 | 28 |
| Don't know | | 1 | 2 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER 02 & C |)3. | | |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q2 & Q3.





PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q47h-I & Q47o.

largest party in the newly elected parliament. The more conservative al-Nour fares less well: 44% have a favorable and 44% an unfavorable view of the Salafist party. Hazem Salah Abu

Ismail, a Salafist leader who was recently disqualified as a presidential candidate, gets somewhat better ratings (52% positive, 42% negative).

Presidential contender Amr Moussa receives overwhelmingly positive marks, with 81% expressing a positive opinion of the former Foreign Minister and Arab League chief. Meanwhile, 58% have a favorable view of moderate Islamist presidential candidate Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh.

The April 6th Movement, a loose organization of mostly young and secular activists that played a key role in the demonstrations that forced Hosni Mubarak from office, is rated favorably by 68% of Egyptians. However, the Egyptian Bloc, a mostly secular coalition of political parties, is not popular – just 38% assign it a positive rating.

While many have criticized the military in recent months for its handling of the post-Mubarak transition, it continues to be largely well-regarded. Three-in-four Egyptians believe the military is having a good influence on the country, and 63% hold a positive opinion of the ruling Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF). And while favorable ratings for SCAF Chairman Mohamed Tantawi have declined significantly from last year's 90%, they remain high at 63%.

Most Egyptians support civilian control of the military, but other key institutional features of democracy are considered higher priorities. Roughly six-in-ten (62%) say civilian control is an important priority, but only 24% consider it *very* important, essentially unchanged from 27% in 2011. In contrast, 81% believe a fair judiciary is very important, similar to last year's 82%. Views toward other key democratic rights and institutions also show little change since last year.

These are among the principal findings from a nationwide survey of Egypt by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1,000 adults in Egypt between March 19 and April 10, 2012. The poll finds little change in

Economy and Fair Courts Are Top Priorities

| | % Very important | | ortant |
|---|------------------|------|--------|
| | 2011 | 2012 | Change |
| | % | % | |
| Improved economic conditions | 82 | 81 | -1 |
| Fair judiciary | 79 | 81 | +2 |
| Uncensored media | | 62 | |
| Law and order | 63 | 60 | -3 |
| Free speech | 63 | 60 | -3 |
| Honest elections | 55 | 58 | +3 |
| Religious parties can be part of gov't | 50 | 50 | 0 |
| Same rights for women as men | 39 | 41 | +2 |
| Religious freedom | 36 | 38 | +2 |
| Uncensored access to the internet | | 35 | |
| Civilian-controlled military | 27 | 24 | -3 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q115a | a-k. | | |

Egyptian perceptions of the United States. Only 19% offer a positive rating of the U.S. and just 29% express confidence in President Obama. The survey also finds ongoing opposition to the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel: 61% prefer to annul the treaty, up from 54% a year ago.

Desire for Democracy, But Also Order and Growth

Egyptians continue to voice confidence in democracy. Two-thirds consider it preferable to any other kind of government, while just 19% say in some circumstances a nondemocratic form of government may be best, and just 13% believe it doesn't really matter what kind of government rules the country. Roughly six-in-ten (61%) think democracy is best-suited for solving the country's problems, while only 33% say a leader with a strong hand would be better equipped for dealing with these challenges.

At the same time, it is clear that Egyptians also want law and order: six-in-ten consider this a very important priority. And the economy

Continued Support for Democracy

| | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|-------------|-------------|
| | % | % |
| Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government | 71 | 67 |
| In some circumstances, a non- democratic government can be preferable | 17 | 19 |
| For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have | 10 | 13 |
| Don't know | 3 | 1 |
| | | |
| Which is better able to solve | 2011 | 2012 |
| country's problems? | % | % |
| | | |
| country's problems? | % | % |
| <i>country's problems?</i> Democracy | % 64 | % 61 |

very important priority. And the economy remains a major concern. About eight-in-ten (81%) say improving economic conditions should be a top priority. Just 27% describe the country's economic situation as good, down from 34% in 2011. Still, on balance, Egyptians remain optimistic about their economic future: 50%

expect the economy to improve over the next 12 months, only 20% think it will worsen, and 28% believe it will stay about the same.

A growing number of Egyptians sees Islam as playing a major role in the political life of the country – 66% currently compared with 47% in 2010. For the most part, those who believe Islam is playing a large role see this as good for the country, but more disagree with that view this year than last. Conflicting views about the role of religion in politics are also seen in the significant numbers who say Saudi Arabia is the best model for Egypt, yet endorse key features of democracy. Among those who choose Saudi Arabia over Turkey as the best model for Egypt, two-thirds also say democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. More than six-in-ten say it is very important to live in a country with a free press (64%), honest multiparty elections (63%), and freedom of speech (61%).

U.S. Image Still Negative

America's image remains overwhelmingly negative – only 19% offer a favorable opinion of the U.S., basically unchanged from 20% in 2011. But a large majority does not see the U.S. as

having a major influence on political developments in Egypt.

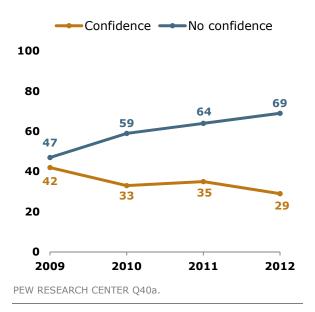
Egyptian opinions about President Obama have grown steadily more negative over the course of his presidency. In a 2009 poll conducted a few months after he took office, Egyptians were divided over the new American president: 42% expressed a great deal or some confidence that he would do the right thing in world affairs; 47% said they had little or no confidence.¹ Today, 29% have confidence in Obama, while 69% lack confidence.

Although the U.S. has sent billions of dollars in aid to Egypt over the last few decades, few believe it is helping the country. Indeed, roughly six-in-ten say both American military and economic aid are having a mostly negative impact on Egypt.

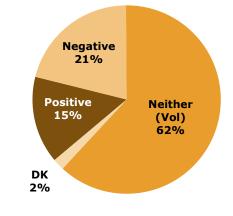
Despite these negative sentiments, a majority of Egyptians says either they want the U.S.-Egypt relationship to stay about as close as it has been in recent years (35%) or become even closer (20%), while 38% would like to see relations become less close.

Overall, Egyptians believe the U.S. exerts a limited influence on their country's tumultuous politics. When asked whether the

Confidence in Obama Slips Further



U.S. Influence Irrelevant to Current Political Situation



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q103.

¹ For the 2009 survey in Egypt, conducted May 24-June 11, 590 interviews were completed prior to Obama's June 4 speech in Cairo and 410 interviews were completed after the speech.

American response to Egypt's political situation is having a positive or negative impact, 62% say it is having neither.

Moreover, few believe there is a hidden Western hand behind the country's ongoing protests. Just 21% say the demonstrations are a result of Western efforts to destabilize Egypt, while 74% think the protests reflect genuine Egyptian discontent with the country's political situation.

Also of Note:

- Six-in-ten say the People's Assembly, Egypt's newly elected lower house of parliament, is having a positive influence on the country, while 39% believe it is having a negative effect.
- Four-in-ten believe that under an FJP-led government women will have more rights than they had in the past, while 27% say they will have fewer rights. Roughly three-in-ten (31%) think women will have about the same rights as in the past.
- Views toward one-time presidential hopeful Mohamed ElBaradei have soured. In 2011, 57% held a positive view of the former International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA) chief, while just 39% rated him negatively. Now opinions are divided: 48% favorable, 50% unfavorable.
- Fayza Abul Naga, the Egyptian Cabinet official who led efforts to prosecute American NGO representatives (as well as representatives from Egyptian and other foreign NGOs) enjoys little popularity. Abul Naga, who is a holdover from the Mubarak era, receives a favorable rating from 35% of Egyptians, while 50% offer a negative assessment.

About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project* conducts public opinion surveys around the world on a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Since its inception in 2001, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* has released numerous major reports, analyses, and other releases, on topics including attitudes toward the U.S. and American foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democracy.

Pew Global Attitudes Project team members include Richard Wike (Associate Director), Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Katie Simmons, Jacob Poushter, and Cathy Barker. Other contributors to the project include Pew Research Center staff members James Bell (Director, International Survey Research), Bruce Stokes (Director, Global Economic Attitudes), and Elizabeth Mueller Gross (Vice President), as well as Bruce Drake, Neha Sahgal, Carroll Doherty, and Michael Dimock. Additional members of the team include Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, and Mike Mokrzycki. The Pew Global Attitudes Project team regularly consults with survey and policy experts, regional and academic experts, journalists, and policymakers whose expertise provides tremendous guidance in shaping the surveys.

Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys

| <u>Survey</u> | <u>Sample</u> | <u>Interviews</u> | | | |
|---|---------------|-------------------|--|--|--|
| Summer 2002 | 44 Nations | 38,263 | | | |
| November 2002 | 6 Nations | 6,056 | | | |
| March 2003 | 9 Nations | 5,520 | | | |
| May 2003 | 21 Publics* | 15,948 | | | |
| Spring 2004 | 9 Nations | 7,765 | | | |
| Spring 2005 | 17 Nations | 17,766 | | | |
| Spring 2006 | 15 Nations | 16,710 | | | |
| Spring 2007 | 47 Publics* | 45,239 | | | |
| Spring 2008 | 24 Nations | 24,717 | | | |
| Spring 2009 | 25 Publics* | 26,397 | | | |
| Fall 2009 | 14 Nations | 14,760 | | | |
| Spring 2010 | 22 Nations | 24,790 | | | |
| Spring 2011 | 23 Publics* | 29,100 | | | |
| Spring 2012 | 21 Nations | 26,210 | | | |
| * Includes the Palestinian territories. | | | | | |

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project's* co-chairs are on leave through 2012. The project is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Stonebridge Group, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP.

All of the project's reports and commentaries are available at www.pewglobal.org. The data are also made available on our website within two years of publication. Findings from the project are also analyzed in *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked* by Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, published by Times Books. A paperback edition of the book was released in May 2007.

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1. National Conditions and Views About the Future

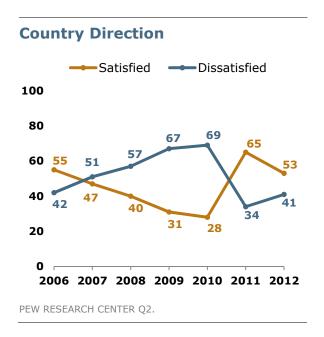
The Egyptian national mood improved dramatically following the February 2011 resignation of Hosni Mubarak, and today Egyptians remain generally positive about their country's path and its future prospects. Still, less than half say things have actually gotten better for Egyptians since Mubarak left office, and few describe the current economic situation as good. Moreover, lower-income Egyptians are decidedly less upbeat about current conditions in the country, as well as its future direction.

The survey finds little consensus regarding what the future may hold for women and religious minorities under a government led by the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP). A 40%-plurality says women will have more rights, while a similar percentage say religious minorities will have *fewer* rights.

National Mood Still Mostly Positive

On balance, Egyptians believe the country is currently headed in the right direction, with 53% saying they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, down from 65% in 2011, but still considerably higher than in the final years of the Mubarak era.

Low-income Egyptians are more downbeat about the state of the nation. Only 42% of 40 those with a low household income are satisfied with the country's direction, compared with 64% of those in the highincome category and 60% of middle-income 20 respondents.² Last year, low-, middle-, and high-income Egyptians were about equally satisfied with the way things were going in the country.



² For income, respondents are grouped into three categories of low, middle and high. Low-income respondents are those with a reported monthly household income of 1,000 Egyptian pounds or less, middle-income respondents fall between the range of 1,001 to 2,500 Egyptian pounds per month, and those in the high-income category earn 2,501 Egyptian pounds or more per month.

Views about the country's direction are also related to education. Roughly two-thirds of college graduates (66%) are satisfied with the way things are going, compared with 53% of those with a secondary education and 46% of Egyptians with a primary education or less.

Egyptians, on balance, remain hopeful about the future: 52% say they are optimistic, just 18% are pessimistic, and 28% volunteer they are neither pessimists nor optimists. This is very similar to last year, when 57% were optimistic, 16% pessimistic, and 26% said neither.

Optimism is especially common among wealthier Egyptians. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of those with high incomes are positive about the future, compared with 51% of middle- and 49% of low-income respondents.

Economy Seen as Weak, But Most Remain Optimistic

Views about Egypt's economy are largely negative. Only 27% describe the national economic situation as good, down from 34% last year.

However, while few believe the nation's current economic situation is good, half of Egyptians expect it to improve over the next 12 months, down slightly from 2011 when 56% believed the country's economy would improve in the coming year. Currently, just 20% think the Egyptian economy will worsen in the next 12 months, while 28% expect it to stay about the same.

Economic Conditions

| Current economic | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 11-12 Change |
|---|---------|------|------|-----------------|
| situation | % | % | % | |
| Good | 20 | 34 | 27 | -7 |
| Bad | 80 | 64 | 71 | +7 |
| Don't know | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Over the next 12 months, the economy will | , | | | |
| Improve | 25 | 56 | 50 | -6 |
| Remain the same | 35 | 26 | 28 | +2 |
| Worsen | 38 | 17 | 20 | +3 |
| Don't know | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1 | .4 & Q1 | 5. | | |

Poor Egyptians are less optimistic. While 57% of both high- and middle-income Egyptians expect the economy to improve, just 42% of low-income respondents share this view.

Mixed Assessments of the Post-Mubarak Era

Less than half of Egyptians say things have improved in the country since Mubarak was forced from office. Just over four-in-ten (44%) say Egypt is better off now that Mubarak is not in power, 26% believe the country is worse off, and another 26% say things are neither better nor worse.

Opinions on this question are closely linked to how people assess the national economy. Fully 76% of those who say the economy is in good shape believe things are better since Mubarak was deposed. In contrast, only 32% of those describing the economy as bad believe the country is better off now that Mubarak is out of power.

The Future for Women and Religious Minorities

Opinions are mixed about what the future will be like for women and religious minorities in a political environment dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood and its political party, the FJP. A 40%-plurality thinks women will have more rights under a FJP-led government than they have had in the past; 27% say they will have fewer rights; and 31% say they will have about the same rights. Men and women generally share the same views on this question.

Meanwhile, 40% of Egyptians think religious minorities will have fewer rights under an FJP government. Only 22% believe religious minorities will have more rights and 35% believe they will have about the same rights as they do now.

Women Seen As Having More Rights Under FJP, But Not So for Religious Minorities

| | Under FJP-led government | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| | Women will have | Religious minorities will have | |
| | % | % | |
| More rights | 40 | 22 | |
| Fewer rights | 27 | 40 | |
| About the same | 31 | 35 | |
| Don't know | <u>2</u> | <u>4</u> | |
| | 100 | 100 | |

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q116 & Q116b.

2. Key Leaders, Groups and Institutions

Despite the country's ongoing political conflict, many of the organizations and leaders that played key roles in last year's upheaval, such as the military, the Muslim Brotherhood and the April 6 Movement, remain popular.

While the military's ratings may have dropped somewhat since 2011, a majority of Egyptians continues to hold a positive view of the military, the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), and SCAF's Chairman Mohamed Tantawi.

Views of Military Down But Still Positive

| | % Positive | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----|-----|
| | 2011 2012 Chang | | |
| | % | % | |
| Influence of military | 88 | 75 | -13 |
| Tantawi favorability | 90 | 63 | -27 |
| SCAF favorability | | 63 | |

For military, percent very or somewhat good influence on the country shown.

For Tantawi and SCAF, percent very or somewhat favorable shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q36c & Q47a,o.

The Muslim Brotherhood also continues to be highly regarded. Opinions toward other religious groups and leaders, however, are mixed. The Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), the political party affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, and Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh, a moderate Islamist who broke with the Muslim Brotherhood to run for president, are slightly less well-reviewed. Egyptians are less favorable toward more conservative religious parties and leaders, such as al-Nour and Hazem Salah Abu Ismail.

Amr Moussa, prior Secretary General of the Arab League and a former foreign minister under Mubarak, is the most popular among the political leaders asked about in the survey. Other secular leaders and groups do not fare as well. Mohamed ElBaradei, former head of the IAEA and an important figure in the protests against Mubarak, has dropped somewhat in favorability since 2011. The Egyptian Bloc, a coalition of liberal and secular political parties, is also rated negatively.

Minister of Planning and International Cooperation Fayza Abul Naga, who was instrumental in the recent investigation of American non-governmental organizations operating in Egypt, receives poor ratings.

Political institutions, such as the court system and the People's Assembly, receive mostly positive reviews for their influence on the country. The local police, however, are generally viewed negatively.

Rating Institutions

Religious leaders and the military continue to be the most highly-rated groups in Egypt. About eight-in-ten (83%) Egyptians say religious leaders have a very or somewhat good influence on the country, including 36% who say their influence is *very* good.

Despite the considerable political turmoil that has surrounded the military over the past year, a broad majority (75%) of Egyptians continues to say it has a good influence, including 43% who say *very* good. While ratings for the military remain high, positive ratings have

Religious Leaders, Military Receive High Ratings

| | % Very/Somewhat good | | | |
|---|----------------------|------|--------|--|
| | 2011 | 2012 | Change | |
| | % | % | | |
| Religious leaders | 81 | 83 | +2 | |
| Military | 88 | 75 | -13 | |
| Media | 69 | 70 | +1 | |
| Central Security Forces | | 63 | | |
| Court system | 67 | 61 | -6 | |
| People's Assembly | | 60 | | |
| Local police | | 37 | | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q36c-f & Q36h-jEGY. | | | | |

fallen by 13 points since 2011. The drop has been especially large among women and lowerincome respondents. In 2011, 58% of women said the military's influence was very good; today, only 38% say the same. Among lower-income Egyptians, the change was from 69% saying very good in 2011 to 46% now.

The media – such as television, radio, newspapers, and magazines – receives high marks from all sectors of Egyptian society, with 70% of the public expressing a positive assessment.

Other institutions that do well are the court system, the People's Assembly, and the Central Security Forces. The court system is rated positively by 61% of Egyptians, falling somewhat from 67% in 2011. Similarly, about six-in-ten believe the People's Assembly (60%) and the Central Security Forces (63%), a national law enforcement organization, have a very or somewhat good influence.

Opinions about the local police are much more negative. Just over a third (37%) of Egyptians views the local police as having a good influence, while a majority (62%) rates it as very or somewhat bad, including 35% who say *very* bad.

Rating Political Groups and Parties

The Muslim Brotherhood and April 6 Movement – two key groups involved in last year's Tahrir Square demonstrations – continue to be viewed favorably, as they were right after the uprising in 2011. About sevenin-ten Egyptians rate both groups positively, including almost a third who give both groups a *very* favorable rating.

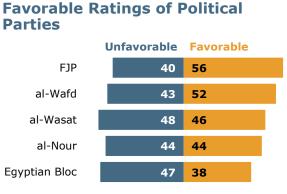
Muslim Brotherhood, April 6 Movement Remain Popular

| | % Favorable | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----|----|
| | 2011 2012 Chan | | |
| | % | % | |
| Muslim Brotherhood | 75 | 70 | -5 |
| April 6 Movement | 70 | 68 | -2 |
| SCAF | | 63 | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q | 247h-i, o. | | |

The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces is also well-regarded by a majority, despite recent concerns that SCAF will not hand over power to a democratically-elected president next month. About six-in-ten (63%) Egyptians have a positive attitude toward SCAF, including 20% *very* favorable.

Among the major political parties included on the survey, the Freedom and Justice Party and al-Wafd Party, a secular party which has held legal status since 1978, receive the highest ratings. The FJP is reviewed positively by 56% of Egyptians and 52% are favorable toward al-Wafd.

Egyptians are divided on both al-Wasat Party, a group that broke away from the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1990's, and al-Nour Party,



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q47j-n.

the largest party associated with the conservative Salafists. Just under half (46%) rate al-Wasat positively and a similar percentage (48%) rates them negatively. Equal percentages (44%) are favorable and unfavorable toward al-Nour.

The liberal, secular Egyptian Bloc is the least popular of the major political groups that hold seats in the People's Assembly. About four-in-ten (38%) Egyptians hold favorable opinions of the Egyptian Bloc and nearly half (47%) are unfavorable.

Since Mubarak left office in 2011, there has been considerable political conflict between the Freedom and Justice Party, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, and the

Egyptian Bloc. Despite this conflict at the elite level, the supporters of these various groups among the public do not exhibit the same level of polarization. Instead, people who are favorable toward one of these organizations tend to also view the other groups positively. For example, among those who rate the Egyptian Bloc favorably, over half also rate the FJP (54%) and SCAF (70%) positively. Among those who are favorable toward the FJP, 80% are favorable toward SCAF. And among SCAF supporters, 72% are positive toward the FJP. These patterns suggest the general public is not yet making strong distinctions between the leading political groups.

Rating Political Leaders

Current presidential candidate Amr Moussa is very popular with the Egyptian public: 81% give him favorable ratings, down only slightly from 89% in 2011.

Field Marshal Mohamed Tantawi is also wellregarded by a majority (63%) of Egyptians, although his favorability rating has fallen from last year's 90%. The decline has been especially steep among women: 59% express a positive view of him now, compared with 92% a year ago.

| Favorable Ratings of Leaders | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|------|--------|--|
| | % Favorable | | | |
| | 2011 | 2012 | Change | |
| | % | % | | |
| Moussa | 89 | 81 | -8 | |
| Tantawi | 90 | 63 | -27 | |
| Nour | 70 | 61 | -9 | |
| Aboul Fotouh | | 58 | | |
| Abu Ismail | | 52 | | |
| ElBaradei | 57 | 48 | -9 | |
| Abul Naga | | 35 | | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q47a-g. | | | | |

Ayman Nour, founder of the liberal al-Ghad party and a critic of SCAF, receives high marks from 61% of Egyptians. Similarly, about six-in-ten (58%) rate Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh positively.

The public expresses less favorable opinions about both Hazem Salah Abu Ismail and Mohamed ElBaradei. Abu Ismail, a conservative Salafist presidential candidate who was recently disqualified from the race, receives favorable reviews from 52% of Egyptians and unfavorable reviews from 42%. ElBaradei's favorable ratings have slipped somewhat from 57% in 2011 to 48% today. Support for ElBaradei has dropped the most among younger people – his strongest supporters in 2011 (65% favorable) are now his weakest (46% favorable).

Minister of Planning and International Cooperation Fayza Abul Naga is the least popular among the political leaders included on the survey. Just over a

ElBaradei's Favorability Drops Among Young People

| | % Favorable | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|------|--------|--|
| | 2011 | 2012 | Change | |
| Age | % | % | | |
| 18-29 | 65 | 46 | -19 | |
| 30-49 | 53 | 48 | -5 | |
| 50+ | 54 | 50 | -4 | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q47b. | | | | |

third (35%) of Egyptians are favorable toward Abul Naga, while half (50%) are unfavorable and 15% offer no opinion.

3. Attitudes Toward Democracy

As their country grapples with a difficult political transition, Egyptians continue to believe democracy is the best form of government and most trust it more than a strong leader to solve the nation's problems. Moreover, Egyptians not only value democracy in a general sense – they also value specific features of a democratic society. For instance, solid majorities say it is *very* important to live in a country with a fair judiciary, a free media, and freedom of speech. Still, the economy also remains a top priority, and Egyptians are almost equally divided over whether a good democracy or a strong economy is more important for their country.

Democracy Is a Priority, But So Is Economy

Two-thirds of Egyptians believe democracy is preferable to any other type of government. Just 19% say in some circumstances, a nondemocratic form of government may be preferable, while 13% say that, for someone like them, it does not matter what kind of government Egypt has.

This is basically unchanged from last year, when 71% said democracy was the best form of government. Confidence in democracy is somewhat higher now than in 2010, when sixin-ten Egyptians said it was preferable to other political systems.

Most continue to believe a democratic government, rather than a strong leader, is best equipped to deal with the country's problems. Roughly six-in-ten (61%) hold this view, similar to last year's 64%, but significantly higher than the 50% registered in 2007.

Opinions are divided, however, when Egyptians are asked to choose between

Views of Democracy Stable Over Last Year

| | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|------|
| | % | % | % |
| Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government | 60 | 71 | 67 |
| In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable | 22 | 17 | 19 |
| For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have | 16 | 10 | 13 |
| Don't know | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q21. | | | |

2007 2011 2012 % % % 50 64 61 Democracy Strong leader 47 34 33 Don't know 4 2 6 2007 2011 2012 % % % 47 Good democracy 42 48 53 49 49 Strong economy Don't know 5 4 4 PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q71 & Q72.

Which Is More Important?

democracy and the economy. About half (48%) say a good democracy is more important and about half (49%) say a strong economy should be the priority. Results on this question were almost exactly the same one year ago.

Most Value Specific Democratic Rights, Institutions

Egyptians believe many key features of democracy are crucial to their country's future. Roughly eight-in-ten (81%) say it is very important to live in a country with a fair judicial

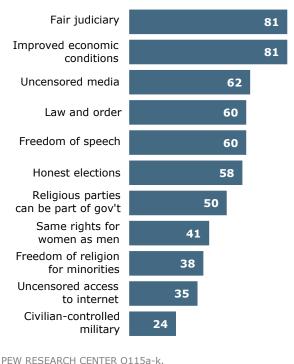
system, and solid majorities rate a free press (62%), free speech (60%), and honest multiparty elections (58%) as very important.

Other key democratic rights and institutions, while considered at least *somewhat* important by a majority of Egyptians, do not register as top priorities. In particular, only 24% say that having a military that is under control of civilian leaders is very important. Less than half say that equal rights for women (41%), religious freedom for minorities (38%), and uncensored internet access (35%) are very important.

And while most Egyptians value democracy, it is clear that the economy and social order also rank as high priorities. About eight-in-ten (81%) believe improved economic conditions are very important and 60% say this about law and order.

Fair Courts and the Economy Are Top Priorities

% Very important



к Q115

4. Role of Islam in Politics

Most Egyptians continue to believe that Islam is playing a positive role in their country's politics, although the percentage who say its role is negative has increased from a miniscule 2% in 2010 to 25% today.

Egyptians clearly want Islam to play a role in shaping the nation's laws – indeed, a majority says Egypt's laws should strictly adhere to the Quran. And most say they see Saudi Arabia as a model for the role of religion in government, rather than more secular Turkey.

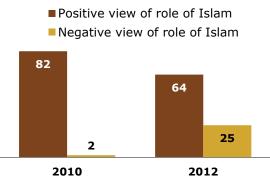
Laws Should Be Based on Quran

Six-in-ten Egyptians want their laws to strictly follow the Quran. About a third (32%) want them to conform to the principles of Islam but not strictly follow the Quran, and just 6% say the Quran should not have an influence.

These attitudes are virtually unchanged from 2011, when 62% said strictly follow the Quran, 27% wanted to just follow the principles of Islam, and 5% said no influence.

Older Egyptians are especially likely to believe laws should strictly follow the Quran: more than two-thirds of those 50 or older (68%) agree with this position, compared with about half (54%) of 18-29 year-olds.

Smaller Majority Sees Role of Islam in Politics as Positive*



* Respondents who have a positive view of Islam's influence include those who say Islam is playing a large role in their country's political life and see this as a good thing and those who say Islam is playing a small role and see this as a bad thing. Respondents who have a negative view of Islam's influence include those who say Islam is playing a large role in their country's political life and see this as a bad thing and those who say Islam is playing a small role and see this as a good thing.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q62 & Q63.

Most Want Laws to Follow Quran Strictly follow the Quran 60% Follow the values and principles of Islam 32% Not be influenced by the Quran 6%

"Which of the following three statements comes closer to your view – laws in our country should strictly follow the teachings of the Quran, laws in our country should follow the values and principles of Islam but not strictly follow the teachings of the Quran OR laws in our country should not be influenced by the teachings of the Quran?"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q39.

A similar split arises by education. For example, 68% of those with a primary education or less want to strictly follow the Quran, while just 55% of the college-educated want the same.

Egyptians with a secondary or college education are now 12 points less likely than in 2011 to believe the country's laws should strictly follow the Quran. On the other hand, among those with a primary education or less, the percentage who hold this view has increased by 10 points.

More Say Islam Plays a Large Role

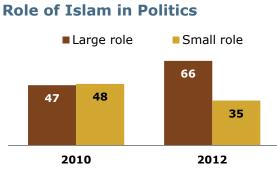
The view that Islam plays a large role in the political life of Egypt has increased from 47% in 2010, a year before the uprising against Mubarak, to 66% today. The percentage saying it plays a small role has dropped 13 points since 2010, from 48% to 35%.

The percentage who believe that Islam has a great deal of influence and say it is a bad thing has increased from just 1% in 2010 to 20% today. Meanwhile, those who believe the role of Islam is small and this is bad for the country decreased from 37% to 24%.

Younger people are especially likely to believe that a large role for Islam is bad for the country. About a quarter (27%) of 18-29 yearolds say Islam is a considerable influence and that this is bad, compared with just 15% of those 50 and older.

Younger, Higher-Educated Less Likely Than Others to Say Strictly Follow Quran

| | % Strictly follow Quran | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|------|--------|--|--|
| | 2011 | 2012 | Change | | |
| Age | % | % | | | |
| 18-29 | 58 | 54 | -4 | | |
| 30-49 | 66 | 60 | -6 | | |
| 50+ | 61 | 68 | +7 | | |
| Education | | | | | |
| Primary or less | 58 | 68 | +10 | | |
| Secondary | 65 | 53 | -12 | | |
| College or more | 67 | 55 | -12 | | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTE | ER Q39. | | | | |



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q62.

View of Islam's Role

| Islam plays a large role | 2010 | 2012 | Change |
|---|------|------|--------|
| and this is | % | % | |
| Good | 45 | 40 | -5 |
| Bad | 1 | 20 | +19 |
| Neither/Don't know (Vol) | 2 | 6 | +4 |
| Islam plays a small role and this is | | | |
| Good | 1 | 5 | +4 |
| Bad | 37 | 24 | -13 |
| Neither/Don't know (Vol) | 10 | 6 | -4 |
| Percentages based on total same | ole. | | |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q62 & Q63 combined.

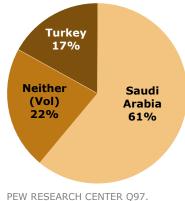
Majority Chooses Saudi Arabia as Model for Religion and Politics

When asked whether Saudi Arabia or Turkey serves as the better model for the role of religion in government, a majority (61%) says Saudi Arabia, while 17% choose Turkey and another 22% volunteer that neither is a model.

Opinions on this question are strongly related to general attitudes about the role of religion in politics. Among those who see a positive role for Islam in Egyptian politics, 71% choose Saudi Arabia; among those who see a negative role, just 48% do the same.

Despite admiring Saudi Arabia for its emphasis on religion, Egyptians also broadly desire a democracy. Nearly equal percentages of those who choose Turkey (71%) and those who choose Saudi Arabia (67%) say democracy is preferable to any other form of government.





5. Views of the United States and Israel

Opinions of the U.S. and President Obama continue to be overwhelmingly unfavorable. Even American financial assistance is viewed negatively: about six-in-ten Egyptians say both U.S. military and economic aid is having a detrimental impact on their country.

Despite these decidedly negative attitudes, most Egyptians want their country's relationship with the U.S. to stay about as close as it is currently or become even closer. About four-in-ten (38%) would like to see a more distant relationship between the two countries.

While the conflict over American NGOs' democracy-promotion efforts in Egypt severely strained bilateral relations with the U.S., few

Egyptians believe that Western powers are behind the country's ongoing protests.

Poor Ratings for the U.S. and Obama

The tremendous political changes that have taken place in Egypt since the end of the Mubarak era have not led to a major shift in perceptions of the U.S. Roughly eight-in-ten Egyptians (79%) express unfavorable attitudes toward the U.S., with just 19% saying favorable. This is essentially unchanged from 2011, when 79% were unfavorable and 20% were favorable.

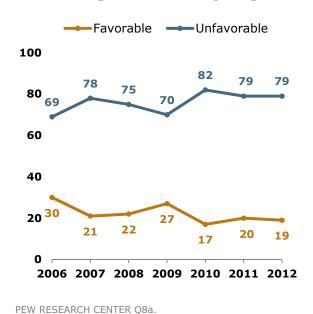
President Obama also receives low marks from most Egyptians. About seven-in-ten (69%) say they do not have confidence in him to do the right thing in world affairs; just 29% have a lot or

some confidence in his actions. There has been a steady decrease in confidence in Obama since 2009, when Egyptian opinions about the new American leader were nearly split, with 42% expressing confidence and 47% saying not much or none at all.

Younger Egyptians Less Positive View of Obama

| | % | % Confident | | | | |
|---------------------------|------|-------------|--------|--|--|--|
| | 2011 | 2012 | Change | | | |
| Age | % | % | | | | |
| 18-29 | 44 | 24 | -20 | | | |
| 30-49 | 30 | 30 | 0 | | | |
| 50+ | 33 | 33 | 0 | | | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER 040a. | | | | | | |

U.S. Ratings Consistently Negative



Views toward President Obama have become considerably more negative over the last year among younger Egyptians. In 2011, 44% of 18-29 year-olds had a lot or some confidence in President Obama. Today, just 24% say the same. Attitudes toward the U.S. leader have remained constant among other age groups since 2011.

Negligible Impact of U.S. on Political Situation

Most Egyptians (62%) believe the U.S. has had neither a good nor bad influence on the political situation in their country. Roughly one-in-five (21%) say the impact is negative, while 15% believe it is positive.

Despite some claims that American NGO's were trying to stir up discontent, only 21% of Egyptians say recent protests are due to attempts by Western powers to destabilize the country. Instead, a broad majority (74%) believes they are the result of genuine Egyptian dissatisfaction with the current political situation.

U.S. Influence Irrelevant to Current Political Situation

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q103.

Little Support for U.S. Aid

There is no consensus among Egyptians as to whether American financial assistance to their country is primarily economic or military. A plurality (34%) believes the aid is mostly to help Egypt develop economically, while 23% say the aid is mostly military. Nearly three-inten (28%) believe it is divided equally between economic and military assistance, and 14% offer no opinion.

U.S. Aid Seen as Having Negative Impact

| | Mostly positive | Mostly negative | No impact | DK |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|----|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Economic aid | 21 | 61 | 17 | 1 |
| Military aid | 11 | 61 | 25 | 3 |
| PEW RESEARCH | CENTER QE | GY1 & QEGY | 2. | |

Both types of American aid are viewed negatively by Egyptians. About six-in-ten (61%) say U.S. military aid has a harmful influence on Egypt, while just 11% believe its impact is positive, and 25% say it has no impact. Similarly, 61% consider U.S. economic aid harmful, while the remainder of the public is split between positive views (21%) and the belief that the aid has no impact (17%).

Still, Less Than Half Want a More Distant Relationship

Despite the broadly negative opinions toward the U.S., less than half of the Egyptian public (38%) wants the relationship between the two nations to be less close. The remainder of the public either wants the relationship to be about as close as it is now (35%) or closer (20%).

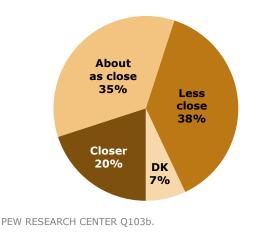
Opinions on this question are very similar to 2011, when 43% of Egyptians said they would like to be less close to the U.S, 40% about as close, and 15% closer.

Attitudes toward the bilateral relationship are

strongly related to views about American aid. Those who believe economic and military aid have a harmful impact on Egypt are significantly more likely to say they prefer a more distant relationship. For example, among those who say economic aid has a negative impact, 51% want a less close relationship with the U.S., compared with 19% of those who think economic assistance is having a positive impact.

Over the last year, Egyptians age 50 and older have become less negative about their country's future relationship with the U.S. In 2011, 45% of the older age group wanted a less close relationship, compared with 32% today. There has been no significant change on this question among Egyptians under 50.

Relationship With U.S. Should Be...



Few Older Egyptians Want Less Close Relationship with U.S.

| | % Less close to U.S. | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|----|-----|--|--|--|
| | 2011 2012 Cha | | | | | |
| Age | % | % | | | | |
| 18-29 | 43 | 42 | -1 | | | |
| 30-49 | 42 | 38 | -4 | | | |
| 50+ | 45 | 32 | -13 | | | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER 0103b. | | | | | | |

Treaty With Israel

Most Egyptians favor overturning the 1979 peace treaty in which Egypt became the first Arab country to formally recognize Israel. Roughly six-in-ten (61%) want to annul the treaty, up slightly from last year (54%). Just under a third (32%) want to maintain it.

Opposition to the treaty has grown significantly over the last year among young people and the highly educated. Support for annulling the treaty has increased by 14 points among 18-29 year-olds and by 18 points among the college-educated.

Israel Peace Treaty

| | | % Annul | |
|-------------------|----------|---------|--------|
| | 2011 | 2012 | Change |
| | % | % | |
| Total | 54 | 61 | +7 |
| Age | | | |
| 18-29 | 50 | 64 | +14 |
| 30-49 | 53 | 61 | +8 |
| 50+ | 59 | 55 | -4 |
| Education | | | |
| Primary or less | 59 | 59 | 0 |
| Secondary | 55 | 63 | +8 |
| College + | 40 | 58 | +18 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENT | TER Q74. | | |

2012 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in Egypt Survey Methods

The survey in Egypt is part of the larger Spring 2012 Pew Global Attitudes survey conducted in 21 countries under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International.

Results for the survey in Egypt are based on 1,000 face-to-face interviews conducted March 19 to April 10, 2012. The survey is representative of the country's adult population. It uses a multi-stage cluster sample design stratified by governorates proportional to population size and urban/rural population; about 2% of the population that lives in Frontier governorates is excluded for security reasons. All interviews were conducted in Arabic.

The margin of sampling error is ± 4.2 percentage points. For the results based on the full sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Pew Global Attitudes Project 2012 Spring Survey Topline Results May 8, 2012 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on a national sample. For further details on sample designs, see Survey Methods section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Global Attitudes Project has used an automated process to generate toplines. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Trends from Egypt in 2002 are not shown because those results were based on a less-representative sample of the population. Since 2006, the samples have been more representative of the Egyptian population.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2012 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

| | | Q2 Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today? | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|--------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 53 | 41 | 6 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 65 | 34 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2010 | 28 | 69 | 3 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2009 | 31 | 67 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2008 | 40 | 57 | 4 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2007 | 47 | 51 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2006 | 55 | 42 | 2 | 100 | |

| | | Q3 And now thinking about the future, overall, today are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of the country? | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|----|----|---|-----|
| | | Optimistic Pessimistic Neither (Volunteered) DK/Refused Total | | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 52 | 18 | 28 | 2 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 57 | 16 | 26 | 1 | 100 |

| | | Q8a Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of: a. The United States | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 7 | 12 | 28 | 51 | 3 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 9 | 11 | 30 | 49 | 1 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2010 | 4 | 13 | 34 | 48 | 1 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2009 | 12 | 15 | 31 | 39 | 3 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2008 | 10 | 12 | 35 | 40 | 4 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2007 | 7 | 14 | 32 | 46 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2006 | 5 | 25 | 33 | 36 | 1 | 100 | |

| | | Q12 In your opinion, now that Hosni Mubarak is not in power, is Egypt better off or worse off? | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|-------|-------------------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Better | Worse | Both/Neither (Volunteered) | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 44 | 26 | 26 | 3 | 100 |

| | | Q14 Now thinking about our economic situation, how would you describe the current economic situation in Egypt – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad? | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|------------------|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 4 | 23 | 40 | 31 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 6 | 28 | 36 | 28 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2010 | 2 | 18 | 47 | 33 | 0 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2009 | 3 | 24 | 29 | 44 | 0 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2008 | 10 | 34 | 29 | 25 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2007 | 13 | 40 | 23 | 23 | 2 | 100 | |

| | | Q15 And ov | Q15 And over the next 12 months do you expect the economic situation in our country to improve a lot, improve a little, remain the same, worsen a little or worsen a lot? | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|------------------|--|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| | | Improve a lot | Improve a little | Remain the same | Worsen a little | Worsen a lot | DK/Refused | Total | | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 19 | 31 | 28 | 16 | 4 | 2 | 100 | | | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 22 | 34 | 26 | 13 | 4 | 2 | 100 | | | | |
| | Spring, 2010 | 3 | 22 | 35 | 22 | 16 | 4 | 100 | | | | |
| | Spring, 2009 | 3 | 23 | 32 | 32 | 9 | 1 | 100 | | | | |
| | Spring, 2008 | 1 | 14 | 35 | 31 | 19 | 2 | 100 | | | | |

| | | Q21 And v | Q21 And which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|--|--|------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| | | Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government | In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable | For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have | DK/Refused | Total | | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 67 | 19 | 13 | 1 | 100 | | | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 71 | 17 | 10 | 3 | 100 | | | | |
| | Spring, 2010 | 60 | 22 | 16 | 2 | 100 | | | | |

| | | | Q36c As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Egypt: c. the military | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|---|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|--|--|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 43 | 32 | 18 | 4 | 5 | 100 | | |
| Spring, 2011 | | 53 | 35 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 100 | | |
| | Spring, 2007 | 30 | 40 | 21 | 7 | 3 | 100 | | |

| | | Q36d As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Egypt: d. the media - such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---|------------------|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 27 | 43 | 24 | 6 | 1 | 100 | |
| Spring, 2011 | | 24 | 45 | 24 | 7 | 1 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2007 | 30 | 36 | 20 | 11 | 3 | 100 | |

| | | Q36e As I r influence th | Q36e As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Egypt: e. religious leaders | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------------|---|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|--|--|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 36 | 47 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 100 | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 29 | 52 | 13 | 5 | 1 | 100 | | |
| | Spring, 2007 | 43 | 34 | 14 | 7 | 2 | 100 | | |

| | | Q36f As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Egypt: f. court system | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|---|------------------|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt Spring, 2012 | | 23 | 38 | 33 | 4 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 29 | 38 | 27 | 5 | 1 | 100 | |

| | | | Q36h As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Egypt: h. the Central Security Forces | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------|---|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 26 | 26 37 23 13 2 100 | | | | | |

| Q36i As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind influence the group is having on the way things are going in Egypt: i. the local polic | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 15 | 22 | 27 | 35 | 2 | 100 |

| | | | Q36jEGY As I read a list of groups and organizations, for each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in Egypt: jEGY. the People's Assembly | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------|---|-----------------|----------|------------|-------|--|--|
| | | Very good | Somewhat good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 17 | 43 | 27 | 12 | 1 | 100 | | |

| | | Q39 Which of the following three statements comes closer to your view? | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|--|---|------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| | | Laws should strictly follow the teachings of the Quran | Laws should follow the values and principles of Islam but not strictly follow the teachings of the Quran | Laws should not be influenced by the teachings of the Quran | DK/Refused | Total | | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 60 | 32 | 6 | 3 | 100 | | | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 62 | 27 | 5 | 5 | 100 | | | | |

| | | | Q40a For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all: a. U.S. President Barack Obama | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------------------|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|--|--|
| | | A lot of confidence | Some confidence | Not too much confidence | No confidence at all | DK/Refused | Total | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 5 | 24 | 33 | 36 | 2 | 100 | | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 7 | 28 | 26 | 38 | 0 | 100 | | | |
| | Spring, 2010 | 4 | 29 | 25 | 34 | 9 | 100 | | | |
| | Spring, 2009 | 7 | 35 | 18 | 29 | 11 | 100 | | | |

| | | | ave a very favor | me political leaders and organizations in our country, please tell vorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very vorable opinion of: a. Mohamed Tantawi | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 24 | 39 | 20 | 16 | 1 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 45 | 45 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 100 | |

| Q47b And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our count me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable unfavorable opinion of: b. Mohamed ElBaradei | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 15 | 33 | 27 | 23 | 2 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 25 | 32 | 22 | 17 | 4 | 100 |

| | | | ave a very favor | able, somewhat | s and organizati favorable, some of: c. Amr Mous | what unfavorab | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--|----------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 36 | 45 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 41 | 48 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 100 |

| | | Q47d And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: d. Ayman Nour | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 25 | 36 | 25 | 10 | 5 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 32 | 38 | 21 | 8 | 1 | 100 |

| Q47e And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, poly me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or unfavorable opinion of: e. Hazem Salah Abu Ismail | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 14 | 38 | 26 | 16 | 7 | 100 |

| | | | Q47f And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, p me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or unfavorable opinion of: f. Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 22 | 36 | 21 | 16 | 5 | 100 | |

| | | Q47g And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, pl me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or v unfavorable opinion of: g. Fayza Abul Naga | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 10 | 25 | 26 | 24 | 15 | 100 |

| Q47h And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, pleas me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: h. The Muslim Brotherhood | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 30 | 40 | 18 | 9 | 4 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 37 | 38 | 13 | 7 | 5 | 100 |

| Q47i And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our countr me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable unfavorable opinion of: i. The April 6 Movement | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 33 | 35 | 18 | 9 | 4 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 38 | 32 | 16 | 8 | 7 | 100 |

| | | | Q47j And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: j. al-Nour Party | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|--|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 14 | 30 | 26 | 18 | 13 | 100 | | |

| | | Q47k And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, plea me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or ve unfavorable opinion of: k. The Egyptian Bloc | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 8 | 30 | 28 | 19 | 16 | 100 | |

| | | Q47I And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, pl me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or unfavorable opinion of: I. The Freedom and Justice Party | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 18 | 38 | 27 | 13 | 5 | 100 |

| Q47m And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, plea me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or ver unfavorable opinion of: m. al-Wafd Party | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 16 | 36 | 27 | 16 | 5 | 100 |

| | | Q47n And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: n. al-Wasat Party | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 14 | 32 | 29 | 19 | 6 | 100 | |

| | | Q47o And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: o. Supreme Council of the Armed Forces | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 20 | 43 | 25 | 9 | 4 | 100 |

| | | | | | | cal life of our co a very small role | |
|-------|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---|-------|
| | | Very large role | Fairly large role | Fairly small role | Very small role | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 20 | 46 | 29 | 6 | 0 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2010 | 12 | 35 | 30 | 18 | 5 | 100 |

| | | Q63LAR | GE ASK IF LA | RGE ROLE IN Q62: cou | In your opinion untry? | – is this good or | bad for our |
|-------|--------------|--------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| | | Good | Bad | Neither (Volunteered) | DK/Refused | Total | N= |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 61 | 30 | 7 | 1 | 100 | 651 |
| | Spring, 2010 | 95 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 100 | 475 |

| Q63SMALL ASK IF SMALL ROLE IN Q62: In your opinion – is this good country? | | | | | - is this good or | bad for our | |
|--|--------------|------|-----|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----|
| | | Good | Bad | Neither (Volunteered) | DK/Refused | Total | N= |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 14 | 69 | 13 | 3 | 100 | 349 |
| | Spring, 2010 | 3 | 77 | 15 | 6 | 100 | 478 |

| | QEGY1 Overall, would you say U.S. economic aid to Egypt is having a most positive impact, a mostly negative impact, or no impact on the way things are going in Egypt? | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|-------|--|--|
| | | Mostly positive | Mostly negative | No impact | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 21 | 21 61 17 1 100 | | | | | |

| | QEGY2 Overall, would you say U.S. military aid to Egypt is having a mostly positive impact, a mostly negative impact, or no impact on the way things are going in Egypt? | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|-------|--|--|
| | | Mostly positive | Mostly negative | No impact | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 11 | 11 61 25 3 100 | | | | | |

| | | QEGY3 Would you say that U.S. aid to Egypt is mostly military aid, mostly aid to help Egypt develop economically or both equally? | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|---|--------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Mostly military | Mostly to help Egypt develop economically | Both equally | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 23 | 23 34 28 14 100 | | | | |

| | | government that we should | to solve our cour d rely on a leade | d rely on a demo ntry's problems. er with a strong comes closer to | Others feel hand to solve |
|-------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| | | Democratic form of government | Strong leader | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 61 | 33 | 6 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 64 | 34 | 2 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2007 | 50 | 47 | 4 | 100 |

| | | Q72 If you has strong econo | ad to choose bet my, which would | ween a good de d you say is more | mocracy or a e important? |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | A good democracy | A strong economy | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 48 | 49 | 4 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 47 | 49 | 4 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2007 | 42 | 53 | 5 | 100 |

| | | Q74 Do you with Israel o | think Egypt show or do you think E treaty wit | uld maintain its gypt should ann h Israel? | peace treaty ul its peace |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------------|---|--|------------------------------|
| | | Maintain treaty | Annul treaty | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 32 | 61 | 7 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 36 | 54 | 10 | 100 |

| QEGY4 Some people say the protests that are taking place in our co today are the result of efforts by Western powers to destabilize Eg Others say the protests are the result of genuine Egyptian dissatisfa with the political situation in our country. Which comes closer to y view? | | | | | estabilize Egypt. |
|---|--------------|----|----|-------|-------------------|
| Result of efforts by Western powersResult of Egyptian dissatisfactionDK/Refused | | | | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 21 | 74 | 5 | 100 |

| | | | Q97 Regarding the role of religion in government in our country, which do you think i the better model for Egypt – to become a society more like Turkey today or more like Saudi Arabia today? | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------|--|--------------------------|------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| | | Turkey | Saudi Arabia | Neither (Volunteered) | DK/Refused | Total | | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 17 | 61 | 22 | 0 | 100 | | | | |

| | | | | J.S. response to th e impact on the wa | | | |
|-------|--|----|----|---|---|-----|--|
| | Positive Negative (Volunteered) DK/Refused Total | | | | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 15 | 21 | 62 | 2 | 100 | |

| | | Q103b Thinking of Egypt's relationship with the United States, in the future, would you like Egypt to be closer, about as close, or less close to the United States than it has been in recent years? | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|------------|-------|--|--|--|
| | | Closer to the United States | About as close to the United States | Less close to the United States | DK/Refused | Total | | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 20 | 35 | 38 | 7 | 100 | | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 15 | 40 | 43 | 2 | 100 | | | |

| | Q115a Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that a. anyone can openly critic the government. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? | | | | | | |
|-------|--|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 60 | 33 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 63 | 30 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 100 |

| | | | ith a choice of at | bout Egypt's future, how important is it that b. honest elections are held choice of at least two political parties. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 58 | 38 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 55 | 40 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 100 | |

| | | | veryone in the sa | ame way. Is it v | portant is it tha ery important, s mportant at all? | omewhat impor | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---|---------------|-------|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 81 | 16 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 79 | 18 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 100 |

| control of civilian leaders. Is it very important, some | | | | | | ot's future, how important is it that d. the military is under the s it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--|-------|--|--|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 24 | 38 | 16 | 18 | 5 | 100 | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 27 | 35 | 19 | 15 | 5 | 100 | | |

| | | Q115e Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that e. Copts and other religious minorities can practice their religion freely. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 38 | 46 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 100 | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 36 | 48 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 100 | |

| | | | | | ortant is it that rtant, somewhat rtant at all? | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---|------------|-------|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 50 | 40 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 50 | 38 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 100 |

| | | Q115g Thii improve. Is i | nking about Egy t very important | pt's future, how , somewhat imp al | important is it t ortant, not too i !? | hat g. economic mportant or not | conditions important at |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 81 | 13 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 82 | 15 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 100 |

| | | | | | important, not t | t h. women have too important or | |
|---|--------------|----|----|----|------------------|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Very importantSomewhat importantNot too importantNot | | | | | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 41 | 39 | 15 | 3 | 2 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2011 | 39 | 37 | 19 | 3 | 2 | 100 |

| | | Q115i Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that i. law and order be maintained. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total | | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 60 | 38 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 100 | | |
| | Spring, 2011 | 63 | 36 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 100 | | |

| | | Q115j Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that j. the media can report the news without government censorship. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-------|--|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 62 | 27 | 10 | 2 | 100 | |

| Q115k Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it internet without government censorship or interference. important, not too important or not im | | | | | | s it very important, somewhat | | |
|---|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|--|
| | | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 35 | 52 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 100 | |

| about the same rights under the Freed | | | | | nen will have more rights, fewer rights, or Freedom and Justice Party-led government had in the past? | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|-------|--|
| | | More rights | Fewer rights | About the same rights | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 40 | 27 | 31 | 2 | 100 | |

| | | Q116b Overall, do you think religious minorities will have more rights, fewer rights, or about the same rights under the Freedom and Justice Party-led government as they had in the past? | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--|--------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|--|
| | | More rights | Fewer rights | About the same rights | DK/Refused | Total | |
| Egypt | Spring, 2012 | 22 | 40 | 35 | 4 | 100 | |