# **PewResearchCenter**

May 16, 2013

# **Egyptians Increasingly Glum**

Not Optimistic about Economy or Certain They Are Better Off Post-Mubarak

#### Andrew Kohut,

Founding Director, Pew Research Center

**Pew Global Attitudes Project:** 

Richard Wike, Associate Director

Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Senior Researcher Pew Research Center

Katie Simmons, Research Associate

Jacob Poushter, Research Associate

Aaron Ponce, Research Associate

Cathy Barker, Research Assistant

Kat Devlin, Research Assistant

For Media Inquiries Contact: Richard Wike Vidya Krishnamurthy 202.419.4372 http://pewglobal.org Pew Research Center:

James Bell,

Director of International Survey Research,

Bruce Stokes,

Director of Pew Global Economic Attitudes, Pew Research Center

Elizabeth Mueller Gross,

Vice President, Pew Research Center

# May 16, 2013

# **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

|            |                                      | PAGE |
|------------|--------------------------------------|------|
| Overview:  | Egyptians Increasingly Glum          | 1    |
| Chapter 1: | National Conditions                  | 7    |
| Chapter 2: | Key Leaders, Groups and Institutions | 12   |
| Chapter 3: | Attitudes toward Democracy           | 16   |
| Chapter 4: | Islam and Politics                   | 21   |
| Chapter 5: | Views of U.S. and Israel             | 23   |
| Survey Me  | ethods                               | 25   |
| Survey To  | pline                                | 26   |

Copyright © 2013 Pew Research Center www.pewresearch.org

# **PewResearchCenter**

# **Egyptians Increasingly Glum**

Not Optimistic about Economy or Certain They Are Better Off Post-Mubarak

Two years after the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian public mood is increasingly negative. Month after month of political uncertainty, a weak economy and often violent street protests have taken their toll, and today a majority of Egyptians are dissatisfied with the way their new democracy is working.

Only 30% of Egyptians think the country is headed in the right direction, down from 53% last year and 65% in 2011, in the days after the revolution. Roughly three-in-four say the economy is in bad shape, and optimism about the country's economic situation has declined sharply.

In turn, just 39% of Egyptians believe things are better off now that Mubarak is out of power. Nonetheless, President Muhammad Morsi, a former Muslim Brotherhood member, receives on balance positive ratings: 53% express a favorable view of him, while 43% see him negatively.

| National Mood Tu                              | rns (   | Grim   |          |      |
|---|---------|--------|----------|------|
| Way things are going                          | 2010    | 2011   | 2012     | 2013 |
| in the country                                | %       | %      | %        | %    |
| Satisfied                                     | 28      | 65     | 53       | 30   |
| Dissatisfied                                  | 69      | 34     | 41       | 62   |
| Don't know                                    | 3       | 2      | 6        | 7    |
| National economic conditions are              |         |        |          |      |
| Good  | 20      | 34     | 27       | 23   |
| Bad   | 80      | 64     | 71       | 76   |
| Don't know                                    | 0       | 2      | 2        | 1    |
| In next 12 months,<br>economy will            |         |        |          |      |
| Improve                                       | 25      | 56     | 50       | 29   |
| Remain the same                               | 35      | 26     | 28       | 26   |
| Worsen  | 38      | 17     | 20       | 42   |
| Now that Mubarak is<br>not in power, Egypt is |         |        |          |      |
| Better off                                    |         |        | 44       | 39   |
| Worse off                                     |         |        | 26       | 30   |
| Both/Neither (Vol)                            |         |        | 26       | 26   |
| Don't know                                    |         |        | 3        | 4    |
| Way democracy is<br>working in our country    |         |        |          |      |
| Satisfied                                     |         |        |          | 43   |
| Dissatisfied                                  |         |        |          | 56   |
| Don't know                                    |         |        |          | 1    |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1, 0                     | Q4, Q5, | Q10EG\ | / & Q90. |      |

The nation's new constitution, approved in a controversial December 2012 referendum, is a source of division for Egyptians: 49% favor it, and 45% oppose it. The public is also divided over the fairness of the upcoming parliamentary elections, with 46% expressing confidence that the elections will be fair and 40% saying they expect them to be unfair.

There is a consensus, however, regarding the United States – overwhelmingly, Egyptians see the U.S. negatively. Despite President Barack Obama's efforts to improve America's image in the Arab world, beginning with his famous June 2009 Cairo speech, his ratings have slipped

steadily in Egypt since he took office, and ratings for the U.S. are lower now than they were during the Bush administration. Moreover, few Egyptians place much value on a close relationship with the U.S.

Meanwhile, the new Pew Research Center poll of Egypt suggests that political divisions are growing deeper. In particular, supporters of Islamist political parties and supporters of the more secular opposition see the state of the nation and the challenges it faces very differently.

Still, the increasing divisions and negative public mood have not altered the fundamental values Egyptians have embraced since the revolution – they continue to want democracy, and they continue to want a large role for Islam in that democracy.

Most Egyptians believe democracy is the best form of government, and they embrace key democratic principles and institutions. For example, majorities describe having a free press and a fair judiciary as *very* important. But 56% are not satisfied with the way democracy is working. And while more than half continue to say that, if they had to choose, they would prioritize democracy over stability, the percentage favoring stability is on the rise.

The public is split over whether personal freedoms are getting better or worse in Egypt. And majorities or pluralities say law and order and the standard of living are in decline.

Despite the negative views about the country's direction, most Egyptians still have a positive view of the Muslim Brotherhood, the organization that has been the dominant political force in post-Mubarak Egypt. Still, the group's ratings have declined somewhat over the past two years – 63% give it a positive rating today, compared with 75% in 2011. About half (52%) express a favorable opinion of the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Freedom and Justice Party (FJP).

# Views of the Muslim Brotherhood Favorable Unfavorable 100 75 75 70 63 50 25 20 0 2011 2012 2013 PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q42e.

The National Salvation Front (NSF), a relatively secular coalition of opposition forces, receives more negative reviews. And less than half of those surveyed express a positive opinion of Hamdeen Sabahi or Mohamed ElBaradei, two of the coalition's leaders. Ratings for ElBaradei

have plummeted since 2011, when nearly six-in-ten had a positive view of the Nobel Peace Prize recipient and former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The candidate who finished second to Morsi in last June's presidential runoff election, Ahmed Shafik, is generally viewed negatively. About half (52%) have an unfavorable opinion of Shafik, a former air force commander who served as Mubarak's final prime minister; 45% rate him positively. Meanwhile, the Salafist al-Nour Party, which came in second in Egypt's first parliamentary elections after the revolution, is viewed favorably by just four-inten Egyptians.

These are among the key findings from a nationwide survey of Egypt by the Pew Research Center. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1,000 adults in Egypt from

# Mixed Ratings at Best for Secular Leaders Unfavorable **Favorable** FJP 44 NSF 52 al-Nour 52 Morsi 43 Sabahi 47 Shafik 52 ElBaradei 54 PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q42a-b, c-d, f-g.

March 3 to March 23. As the poll reveals, in many ways, ideological and partisan divides are growing sharper in Egypt. In particular, supporters of the opposition NSF see the state of the country quite differently from supporters of the FJP and the al-Nour Party. Those with a favorable view of the NSF are more likely to express dissatisfaction with the country's direction, oppose the constitution, and believe the next national elections will be unfair; they are also especially likely to value democracy over stability.

#### Most Still Want Major Role for Islam in Politics

Islam has played an important role in Egyptian politics since the revolution, and most Egyptians continue to want a prominent role for religion in public life. About six-in-ten (58%) say the country's laws should strictly follow the teachings of the Quran, while 28% believe laws should follow the values and principles of Islam but not strictly follow the Quran. Only 11% think the Quran should have no influence over the nation's laws.

The view that the legal system should follow the Quran is especially common among those who have a positive view of al-Nour (84%) and the FJP (74%), although almost half (46%) of Egyptians with a favorable opinion of the more secular NSF also hold this view.

About one-quarter of Egyptians (27%) say they want religious leaders to have a large influence in political matters, while an additional 42% want them to have some influence. Roughly one-in-five (21%) say these leaders should not have much influence; just 8% believe they should have no influence at all.

# **Democracy Still Considered Best Form of Government**

At least six-in-ten Egyptians prefer democracy to any other kind of government and believe that a democratic government, rather than a strong leader, is best suited for solving the country's problems. Moreover, Egyptians clearly express a desire for specific democratic freedoms. Majorities consider all of the democratic rights and institutions included on the survey important, and most rate several, including a fair judicial system, free media, and honest, competitive elections as *very* important.

However, it is clear that in addition to democracy, the economy and public safety are top priorities. Fully 83% rate improving economic conditions as very important, and 62% believe it is very important to live in a country with law and order.

When asked about the current state of individual liberty, the judiciary, the economy, and law and order, Egyptians are not convinced things are getting better. Only about a third say the judicial system and personal freedoms are improving. Most say the nation's standard of living is deteriorating, and a 44% plurality say law and order is declining.

# **Top Priorities** % Very important Improved economic conditions Fair judiciary 81 Law and order Uncensored media Honest elections Freedom of speech 51 Religious parties can be part of gov't Same rights for women as men Freedom of religion for minorities Civilian-controlled military

# Few Things Seem to Be Getting Better

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q122a-j.

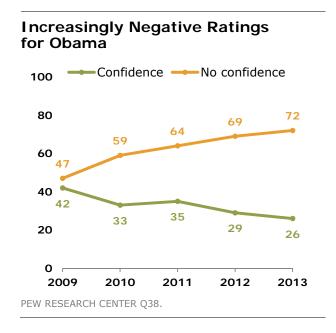
|                             | Compar   | ed to th | e past,          | is |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|------------------|----|
|                             |          |          | Staying the same | DK |
|                             | %        | %        | %                | %  |
| Fairness of judicial system | 35       | 35       | 23               | 8  |
| Personal freedoms           | 33       | 36       | 28               | 3  |
| Law and order               | 26       | 44       | 27               | 3  |
| Morality                    | 23       | 39       | 34               | 5  |
| Standard of living          | 12       | 56       | 30               | 2  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENT           | ER Q43EG | SYa-e.   |                  |    |

## Negative Views toward U.S., Israel

Overwhelmingly negative attitudes toward America and Israel persist in Egypt. Just 16% have a favorable view of the U.S., lower than the 27% registered in 2009 shortly after President Obama took office, and lower than the 22% who expressed a positive opinion of the U.S. in 2008, President George W. Bush's final year in the White House.

Only 26% say they have confidence that Obama will generally do the right thing in world affairs, while 72% lack confidence in the American leader. Ratings for Obama have steadily declined since 2009, when Egyptians were almost evenly divided on the newly elected American president.

The U.S. provides billions of dollars in assistance to Egypt each year, but few Egyptians believe American aid is helping their country – majorities say both U.S. economic and military aid is having a mostly negative effect on Egypt.



Overall, Egyptians do not see their country's relationship with the U.S. as a top priority. Only 24% say it is very or somewhat important for Egypt to have good relations with America; 69% believe it is not too important or not at all important.

Meanwhile, extremely few Egyptians think a strong relationship with Israel should be a priority: just 3% say this is very or somewhat important. Additionally, most Egyptians oppose their country's longstanding peace treaty with Israel: 63% want to annul the treaty, essentially unchanged from last year's 61%.

#### Also of Note:

• The Egyptian military continues to receive positive ratings – 73% believe it is having a good influence on the country.

- Views of the local police, however, are quite different. Just 35% of Egyptians say local police are having a positive impact.
- Views are mixed regarding how the government is dealing with the rights of women.
   Four-in-ten say the government is doing the right amount to ensure that women have the same rights as men, 33% believe it is doing too little and 15% say it is doing too much.
- Similarly, 38% think the government is doing the right amount to ensure that Coptic Christians and other religious minorities can practice their religion freely, while 39% say it is doing too little and 13% say too much.
- Despite their dissatisfaction with how democracy is currently working, most Egyptians embrace democratic forms of political participation large majorities agree that voting and protesting give them opportunities to express their views about how the government runs things.

#### 1. National Conditions

The national mood in Egypt has turned significantly more negative over the past year. Dissatisfaction with the country's direction is up, and optimism about the future is down. A plurality still believes the country is better off than when Hosni Mubarak was in power, but three-in-ten say things are worse.

About three-in-four say the economy is in bad shape, and most think the country's standard of living is declining. Many also believe law and order and morality are deteriorating.

| National Mood                              |       |      |      |      |
|--|-------|------|------|------|
| Way things are going                       | 2010  | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 |
| in the country                             | %     | %    | %    | %    |
| Satisfied                                  | 28    | 65   | 53   | 30   |
| Dissatisfied                               | 69    | 34   | 41   | 62   |
| Don't know                                 | 3     | 2    | 6    | 7    |
| Now that Mubarak is not in power, Egypt is |       |      |      |      |
| Better off                                 |       |      | 44   | 39   |
| Worse off                                  |       |      | 26   | 30   |
| Both/Neither (Vol)                         |       |      | 26   | 26   |
| Don't know                                 |       |      | 3    | 4    |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1 &                   | Q10EG | Υ.   |      |      |

Egyptians are almost evenly split over the country's recently approved constitution. Looking forward, fewer than half think the upcoming parliamentary elections will be fair. Only 53% say they will vote.

On many of these issues, there are sharp divisions in Egyptian society. Those who express a positive view of the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) and the Salafist al-Nour Party tend to have somewhat more positive views about the state of the country, as do Egyptians who want the Quran to shape the country's legal system and those

who prioritize stability over democracy. People who back the opposition National Salvation Front (NSF), those who want the Quran to have less legal influence, and people who prioritize democracy offer more negative evaluations.

#### **Country Satisfaction Down**

Only 30% of Egyptians say they are satisfied with the way things are going in their country, down from 53% last year and 65% in a spring 2011 poll conducted weeks after the ouster of Mubarak. Today's level of satisfaction is

# Country Direction by Party Favorability

Country Direction

|  |             | ,              |         |              |
|--|-------------|----------------|---------|--------------|
|  | Satisfied % | Dissatisfied % | DK<br>% | Total        |
| FJP  |             |                |         |              |
| Favorable                                  | 53          | 38             | 10      | =100         |
| Unfavorable                                | 6           | 89             | 5       | =100         |
| <i>al-Nour</i><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable | 51<br>8     | 40<br>87       | 9<br>5  | =100<br>=100 |
| <i>NSF</i><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable     | 20<br>39    | 74<br>52       | 6<br>9  | =100<br>=100 |
|  |             |                |         |              |

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1.

comparable to the level observed in spring 2010, roughly a year before the revolution.

About four-in-ten Egyptians (39%) say that Egypt is better off now that Mubarak is not in power, 30% think the country is worse off and 26% volunteer that things are neither better nor worse.

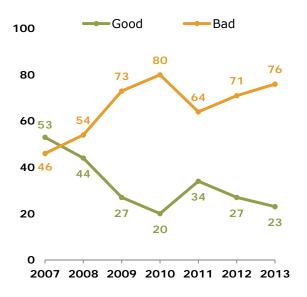
Views about the country's current direction and assessments of the post-Mubarak era divide sharply along partisan and ideological lines. Among people who express a favorable opinion of the FJP, 53% are satisfied with the country's direction. A similar percentage (51%) holds this view among those who have a positive opinion of al-Nour. However, roughly three-in-four supporters of the NSF (74%) think Egypt is on the wrong track.

## Poor Ratings for the Economy

Only 23% describe the current economic situation in Egypt as good, while 76% say it is bad. Looking at this question over time, national economic ratings declined steeply from 2007 to 2010, and then rebounded somewhat in 2011 after the toppling of Mubarak. However, views have turned more negative over the past two years and are now very similar to the 2010 low point.

Optimism about the economy has decreased even more sharply. In last year's poll, half of Egyptians thought the national economy would improve over the next 12 months. Now, just 29% are optimistic; roughly four-in-ten (42%) think things will get worse.

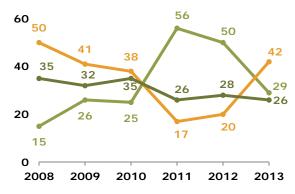
# More Say Current Economic Conditions Are Bad



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q4.

# Over Next 12 Months, Will Economy...?





PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q5.

People are no more positive about their personal economic circumstances. About one-in-five Egyptians (21%) describe their personal economic situation as good, while 79% say it is bad. This is essentially unchanged from last year, when 23% said their personal economic situation was good and 76% said it was bad.

Personal economic ratings are closely linked to education -65% of college-educated Egyptians describe their situation as good, compared with just 13% of those with a secondary education and 8% of those with primary education or less.

Few believe their personal finances will improve in the next 12 months - only 21% hold this view. Roughly half (48%) think their circumstances will worsen, and 28% believe they will stay the same.

Over the long term, there is also more pessimism than optimism. A 42% plurality predict that when children in Egypt grow up, they will be financially worse off than their parents. Just 22% think they will be better off, while 29% volunteer that children will be at about the same financial level as their parents.

## Many See Problems Getting Worse

On key issues facing the nation, Egyptians see few signs of progress. About one-third believe that, compared with the past, the fairness of the judicial system and personal freedoms are getting better, while about the same number think they are getting worse.

Views about the state of personal liberty vary along religious and political lines. Among those who believe Egypt's laws should strictly follow the Quran, 42% say personal freedoms are improving and just 27% say they are getting

# Few Signs That Things Are Getting Better

|                             | Compa    | red to th | ne past,                 | is      |
|-----------------------------|----------|-----------|--------------------------|---------|
|                             |          |           | Staying<br>the same<br>% | DK<br>% |
| Fairness of judicial system | 35       | 35        | 23                       | 8       |
| Personal freedoms           | 33       | 36        | 28                       | 3       |
| Law and order               | 26       | 44        | 27                       | 3       |
| Morality                    | 23       | 39        | 34                       | 5       |
| Standard of living          | 12       | 56        | 30                       | 2       |
| PEW RESEARCH CENT           | ER Q43EG | GYa-e.    |                          |         |

worse. In contrast, among those who say laws should only be influenced by the Quran or that it should have no influence, 21% say things are getting better and 47% say personal freedoms are deteriorating.

About half of those with a favorable view of the FJP (52%) and al-Nour (51%) say personal freedoms are improving. But a 42% plurality of people who express a positive view of the NSF believe they are getting worse.

Overall, Egyptians are more likely to believe law and order is getting worse (44%) than to think it is getting better (26%). Similarly, 39% think morality is declining, while only 23% think it is improving. Opinions about the country's standard of living are especially negative -56% say the standard of living is getting worse; only 12% say it is getting better.

#### **Division Over New Constitution**

Egyptians are almost evenly divided over the country's new constitution, which was approved in a controversial December 2012 referendum: 49% favor it, and 45% oppose it. Views on this issue are strongly correlated with ratings for major political organizations, views about the Quran and law, and the trade-off between democracy and stability.

About two-thirds of those with a favorable opinion of al-Nour and the FJP favor the constitution, compared with just 37% of people with a positive view of the NSF. The constitution is twice as popular among those who believe laws should strictly follow the Quran (62% favor) as it is among those who do not think laws must strictly follow the Quran

| Views of New Con   | stituti        | on             |             |
|--|----------------|----------------|-------------|
|  | Favor<br>%     | Oppose %       | DK<br>%     |
| Total  | 49             | 45             | 6           |
| Favorable of<br>al-Nour<br>FJP<br>NSF  | 68<br>66<br>37 | 26<br>28<br>59 | 6<br>6<br>4 |
| Laws should Strictly follow Quran Be influenced/not influenced at all by Quran | 62<br>31       | 33<br>62       | 5<br>7      |
| Democracy vs. stability Democracy Stability PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q126.          | 39<br>62       | 56<br>31       | 5<br>7      |
|  |                |                |             |

(31%). Egyptians who prioritize stability largely endorse the new constitution, while those who prioritize democracy tend to oppose it.

# Many Doubt Elections Will Be Fair

Less than half of those surveyed (46%) believe upcoming parliamentary elections will be fair. Four-in-ten think they will not be fair, and 14% offer no opinion. A 45% plurality believe the next parliamentary elections will improve conditions in the country, while 28% think they will make things worse and 22% say they will have no effect. Meanwhile, about half of Egyptians (53%) say they are likely to vote in the upcoming elections.

Views about the elections break down along ideological and partisan lines.

Al-Nour and FJP supporters, those who think laws should strictly follow the Quran, and those who prioritize stability are especially likely to believe the elections will be fair and to say they will show up at the polls.

| Upcoming Parliam                             | enta     | ry Elec    | tion | 1      |             |    |
|--|----------|------------|------|--------|-------------|----|
| . 3  |          | ion will b |      | 1      | ely to vote | ?  |
|  | Fair     | Unfair     | DK   | Likely | Unlikely    | DK |
|  | %        | %          | %    | %      | %           | %  |
| Total  | 46       | 40         | 14   | 53     | 39          | 8  |
| Favorable of                                 |          |            |      |        |             |    |
| al-Nour                                      | 66       | 22         | 12   | 63     | 30          | 7  |
| FJP  | 63       | 24         | 13   | 60     | 32          | 8  |
| NSF  | 37       | 51         | 12   | 49     | 46          | 6  |
| Laws should                                  |          |            |      |        |             |    |
| Strictly follow Quran                        | 60       | 29         | 11   | 58     | 34          | 8  |
| Be influenced/not influenced at all by Quran | 28       | 56         | 16   | 47     | 46          | 7  |
| Democracy vs. stability                      |          |            |      |        |             |    |
| Democracy                                    | 36       | 48         | 16   | 47     | 45          | 8  |
| Stability                                    | 59       | 32         | 9    | 62     | 32          | 5  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q44EG                    | SY & Q45 | EGY.       |      |        |             |    |

www.pewglobal.org

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Elections were scheduled for April-June 2013, but they were postponed by a ruling of an Egyptian administrative court. A new date has not been set. During the field period for this survey, the NSF was threatening to boycott the elections.

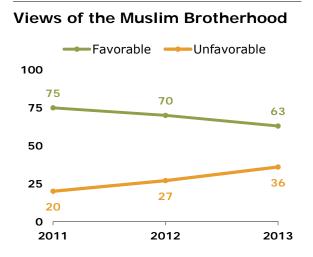
# 2. Key Leaders, Groups and Institutions

As the overall mood of the country worsens, Egyptians still have a favorable view of President Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood, although support for the latter has weakened since 2011. And while support for religious leaders, the military and the court system remains high, fewer now see those institutions as a good influence than during the months after the 2011 revolution.

#### Views of Political Leaders

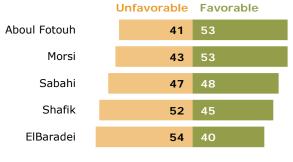
Roughly half of Egyptians (53%) have a favorable view of President Morsi, with 43% holding an unfavorable view of Egypt's first post-revolution elected leader. This tracks closely with the 51.73% who voted for him in the presidential runoff election of June 2012.

Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh, a former Muslim Brotherhood member who finished fourth in the election, is also seen positively by 53% of Egyptians. Presidential runner-up Ahmed Shafik and third-place finisher Hamdeen Sabahi receive generally mixed reviews, with less than half of Egyptians (45% and 48%, respectively) viewing them favorably.



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q42e.

# Morsi Seen Favorably; ElBaradei Not



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q42a-d.

Meanwhile, Mohamed ElBaradei, a leader of the opposition National Salvation Front (NSF), draws negative reviews, with only four-in-ten Egyptians giving him positive marks and 54% viewing him unfavorably.

Ratings for ElBaradei, a former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, have declined since the revolution. In 2011, nearly six-in-ten (57%) had a favorable view of the Nobel Peace Prize winner. And in last year's poll, 48% gave him favorable marks.

Generally, President Morsi is supported by Egyptians who have positive views of the Islamist-oriented Muslim Brotherhood, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) and al-Nour. Egyptians who have favorable views of the more secular opposition leaders Sabahi, ElBaradei and Shafik, as well as the NSF, tend to view Morsi less favorably.

Attitudes toward leaders are shaped in part by the preferred role of Islam in politics and law. For instance, 72% of those Egyptians who say that laws should strictly follow the Quran have a favorable opinion of Morsi. In contrast, only 26% of those who say laws should only follow the values and principles of Islam or not be influenced by the Quran at all hold a positive view of the president. The same pattern holds for former Muslim Brotherhood member Aboul Fotouh.

# Meanwhile, more secular leaders, such as ElBaradei, Sabahi and Shafik, get much of their support from those who express less desire for the

# Morsi Well-liked by Egyptians Who Want Strict Following of Quran

Laws should ...

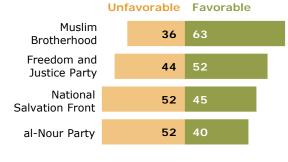
| Favorable      | Strictly<br>follow<br>Quran | Follow values and principles of Islam/ Not be influenced by the Quran |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---|
| views of       | %                           | %   |
| Morsi          | 72                          | 26  |
| Aboul Fotouh   | 60                          | 42  |
| Shafik         | 36                          | 59  |
| Sabahi         | 27                          | 76  |
| ElBaradei      | 23                          | 64  |
| PEW RESEARCH ( | FNTER 042a                  | -d  |

support from those who express less desire for the Islamic holy book to guide the formation of laws.

# Muslim Brotherhood Seen Favorably

Roughly six-in-ten Egyptians (63%) have a favorable opinion of the Muslim Brotherhood, while 36% express a negative view. This makes the Muslim Brotherhood the most popular of the political organizations tested, although positive evaluations of the Islamist group have fallen 12 percentage points since 2011. The ruling FJP, which was founded by the Muslim Brotherhood but remains nominally independent, is also seen favorably, with 52% of Egyptians holding a positive view of the party.

# Views of Political Organizations

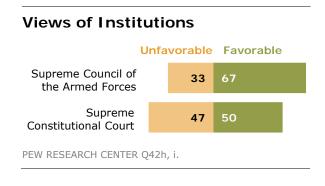


PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q42e-g.

Evaluations of the secular NSF are more mixed; 45% of Egyptians have a positive opinion of the liberal coalition headed by Mohamed ElBaradei, Hamdeen Sabahi and Amr Moussa, while 52% have a negative view. The Salafist al-Nour Party is perceived negatively by the Egyptian people, with only four-in-ten expressing sympathy with the party.

## **Institution Ratings**

Egyptians continue to have positive feelings toward the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), the military body that took control of Egypt for many months after Mubarak's ouster in 2011. In the current poll, two-thirds have a favorable view of the SCAF, with one-third expressing negative views, virtually unchanged from 2012. The Supreme Constitutional Court, which was responsible



for dissolving the FJP-led parliament in 2012, receives a split verdict from the Egyptian public. Half say that they have a favorable impression of the judicial body, while 47% express an unfavorable opinion.

Perceptions of political leaders are tied to opinions about the high court. For example, a whopping 96% of those who have an *unfavorable* view of President Morsi have a *favorable* view of the Supreme Constitutional Court. And 88% of those who give ElBaradei a positive rating have a favorable view of the court.

## Influence of Groups on Egypt

Roughly three-quarters of Egyptians believe that religious leaders (75%) and the military (73%) are a good influence on the way things are going in Egypt. Two-thirds say the media, such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines, are having a good influence on the country, while around six-in-ten rate the court system (58%) and the Central Security Forces (57%) as a good influence. President Morsi is seen as a positive influence by 54% of Egyptians. The local police continue to receive negative ratings from the Egyptian people, with 35% saying they are a good influence on

# Religious Leaders, Military and Media Still Seen as Good Influence

% Good influence

|                         | 2011   | 2012     | 2013   | 11-13<br>Change |
|-------------------------|--------|----------|--------|-----------------|
|                         | %      | %        | %      | _               |
| Religious leaders       | 81     | 83       | 75     | -6              |
| Military                | 88     | 75       | 73     | -15             |
| Media                   | 69     | 70       | 67     | -2              |
| Court system            | 67     | 61       | 58     | -9              |
| Central Security Forces |        | 63       | 57     |                 |
| President Morsi         |        |          | 54     |                 |
| Local police            |        | 37       | 35     |                 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q   | 34bEGY | -Q34f, Q | 34h-i. |                 |

the country and 63% saying they are a bad influence.

Since 2011, ratings for the military, court system, and religious leaders have fallen, although support for each institution is still high. The biggest decline is on the influence of the military. In 2011, 88% of Egyptians said the military was a good influence on the country, but by 2013 that figure has fallen 15 percentage points. Similarly, positive ratings for the court system and religious leaders have fallen nine and six percentage points, respectively.

In general, support for these institutions is similar across demographic groups. However, men give higher marks than women to the court system, Central Security Forces and the local police. In addition, people who express a favorable view of ElBaradei and the NSF are more likely to have a positive view of the media, while those who have a favorable opinion of President Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood and the FJP tend to think religious leaders are a good influence.

# 3. Attitudes toward Democracy

Egyptians continue to express a strong desire for democracy and for specific democratic rights and institutions. They also tend to believe that having a democratic government should be a priority, even if that leads to some risk of instability; however, the percentage who prioritize stability has grown since last year. While they endorse democratic principles, most Egyptians say they are dissatisfied with the way their new democracy is currently working, and this view is especially widespread among supporters of the opposition. Moreover, while Egyptians continue to want democratic freedoms, they also express a strong desire for economic growth and law and order.

## Support for Democracy, but Economy and Stability Also Priorities

Two-in-three Egyptians believe democracy is the best form of government, while just 21% think that in some circumstances a non-democratic form of government can be preferable. An additional 11% say that, for someone like them, it does not matter what kind of government

| <b>Egyptians Still Prefer Democ</b>                                    | cracy |      |      |      |
|--|-------|------|------|------|
|  | 2010  | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 |
|  | %     | %    | %    | %    |
| Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government                | 60    | 71   | 67   | 66   |
| In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable   | 22    | 17   | 19   | 21   |
| For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have | 16    | 10   | 13   | 11   |
| Don't know   | 2     | 3    | 1    | 2    |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q15.   |       |      |      |      |

Egypt has. These results are very similar to last year, when 67% described democracy as the best form of government.

A notable gender gap exists on this question: 73% of men say democracy is preferable to other types of government, while just 59% of women hold this view.

A solid majority of Egyptians (60%) say the country's problems can best be solved by democracy, while 36% believe a strong leader would be best equipped for dealing with these

| Which Is Mo                      | re Im     | porta     | nt?       |           |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                                  | 2007      | 2011      | 2012      | 2013      |
|                                  | %         | %         | %         | %         |
| Democracy                        | 50        | 64        | 61        | 60        |
| Strong leader                    | 47        | 34        | 33        | 36        |
| Don't know                       | 4         | 2         | 6         | 5         |
|                                  |           |           |           |           |
|                                  | 2007      | 2011      | 2012      | 2013      |
|                                  | 2007<br>% | 2011<br>% | 2012<br>% | 2013<br>% |
| Good democracy                   |           |           |           |           |
| Good democracy<br>Strong economy | %         | %         | %         | %         |
| •                                | %<br>42   | %<br>47   | %<br>48   | %<br>45   |

problems. There has been little change on this question since last year, although confidence in

democracy is higher today than it was in 2007, when the public was almost evenly divided between those who expressed confidence in a democratic system and those who had more confidence in a strong leader.

When asked whether having a good democracy or a strong economy is more important, Egyptians are more divided, although they lean toward the latter: 52% say a strong economy should be the priority, while 45% choose democracy.

By a slender margin, Egyptians tend to prioritize democracy over stability. About half (51%) say it is more important for Egypt to have a democratic government, even if there is some risk of political instability. Slightly fewer (43%) believe it is more important to have a stable government, even if there is some risk it will not be fully democratic. However, the percentage who prioritize stability has increased since 2011, when just 32% held this view.

Men place more importance on democracy than do women. Egyptians with a favorable opinion of the NSF are especially likely to say having a democratic government is more important than having a stable government. And those who do not believe laws should strictly follow the Quran are also more likely to prioritize democracy.

| Which Is More Important?                           |               |                  |        |  |
|--|---------------|------------------|--------|--|
|  | <b>2011</b> % | <b>2013</b><br>% | Change |  |
| Democratic government, even if risk of instability | 54            | 51               | -3     |  |
| Stable government, even if not fully democratic    | 32            | 43               | +11    |  |
| Don't know   | 14            | 6                | -8     |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q125                           | · .           |                  |        |  |

# Men, Supporters of NSF and Secular Laws Prefer Democracy

|                                       | Which is mo Democratic gov't | Stable<br>gov't | DK |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|----|
| Gender                                | %                            | %               | %  |
| Male                                  | 58                           | 38              | 5  |
| Female                                | 45                           | 48              | 7  |
| Favorable view of                     |                              |                 |    |
| NSF                                   | 57                           | 38              | 5  |
| al-Nour                               | 48                           | 45              | 7  |
| FJP                                   | 47                           | 46              | 6  |
| Laws should                           |                              |                 |    |
| Strictly follow Quran                 | 46                           | 47              | 7  |
| Be influenced/not influenced by Quran | 59                           | 38              | 3  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER                   | Q125.                        |                 |    |

## **Support for Democratic Principles**

Majorities rate all of the specific democratic rights and institution on the survey as at least somewhat important, and most say a fair judiciary, free media, and honest, competitive elections are *very* important. Views about these features of democracy have mostly held steady

since last year, although support for free speech has slipped - in 2012, 60% said it is very

important to live in a country in which anyone can criticize the government, but now 51% express this opinion. The percentage who believe it is very important that Coptic Christians and other religious minorities can practice their religion freely also declined slightly, from 38% to 32%.

Among the attributes of democracy on the survey, having a civilian-controlled military is considered a relatively low priority, although most still say it is at least somewhat important and 27% rate it as *very* important.

In addition to democratic freedoms, it is clear that Egyptians also consider economic prosperity and law and order top priorities. Fully 83% rate improving economic conditions as very important, and 62% say this about law and order.

# **Protecting Rights of Women**

While most Egyptians believe it is important that women have equal rights, they are divided over the current government's approach to this issue. Four-in-ten say the government is doing the right amount to ensure that women have the same rights as men, 33% think it is doing too little, and 15% believe it is doing too much.

There are no significant differences between the views of men and women on this issue, but there are notable divides along partisan and ideological lines. Egyptians with a favorable

# Democratic Freedoms, a Better Economy, Law and Order Are All High Priorities

% \_\_\_\_ important

|  | Very | Some-<br>what | Total |
|--|------|---------------|-------|
|  | %    | %             | %     |
| Improved economic conditions           | 83   | 10            | 93    |
| Fair judiciary                         | 81   | 15            | 96    |
| Law and order                          | 62   | 35            | 97    |
| Uncensored media                       | 60   | 25            | 85    |
| Honest elections                       | 56   | 35            | 91    |
| Freedom of speech                      | 51   | 34            | 85    |
| Religious parties can be part of gov't | 47   | 38            | 85    |
| Same rights for women as men           | 42   | 38            | 80    |
| Freedom of religion for minorities     | 32   | 49            | 81    |
| Civilian-controlled military           | 27   | 33            | 60    |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q122a-j.

## Mixed Views of How Well Gov't Is Protecting Women's Rights

|  | Gover         | nmen        | t is doi:   | ng |
|--|---------------|-------------|-------------|----|
|  | Too<br>little | Too<br>much | About right | DK |
|  | %             | %           | %           | %  |
| Total  | 33            | 15          | 40          | 12 |
| Favorable of                                 |               |             |             |    |
| al-Nour                                      | 17            | 16          | 53          | 15 |
| FJP  | 20            | 14          | 54          | 13 |
| NSF  | 44            | 12          | 35          | 9  |
| Laws should                                  |               |             |             |    |
| Strictly follow Quran                        | 24            | 15          | 47          | 14 |
| Be influenced/not influenced at all by Quran | 46            | 15          | 31          | 8  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q123                     | 3.            |             |             |    |

view of the NSF and those who do not think laws should strictly follow the Quran are particularly likely to say the government is not doing enough to ensure gender equality.

## Most Unhappy with Way Democracy Is Working

A 56% majority of Egyptians say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country; just 43% are satisfied. Interestingly, people who prioritize democracy over stability are especially likely to be unhappy with how the new democratic system is working (66% dissatisfied).

Roughly two-thirds of those with a favorable opinion of the NSF (66%) are dissatisfied, compared with just 48% of FJP supporters and 47% of those with a positive view of al-Nour.

By a narrow 51%-44% margin, Egyptians say the current government respects the personal freedoms of its people, although on this question there are again significant partisan and ideological gaps.

People with a positive view of the NSF, those who do not think laws should strictly follow the Quran, and those who prioritize democracy over stability are more likely to believe the current government is not respecting Egyptians' individual freedoms.

# Partisan and Ideological Divides on How Democracy Is Working

|                            | Satisfied % | Dissatisfied % | DK<br>% |  |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------------|---------|--|
| Total                      | 43          | 56             | 1       |  |
| Favorable of               |             |                |         |  |
| al-Nour                    | 51          | 47             | 2       |  |
| FJP                        | 50          | 48             | 2       |  |
| NSF                        | 34          | 66             | 0       |  |
| Democracy vs.<br>stability |             |                |         |  |
| Democracy                  | 33          | 66             | 1       |  |
| Stability                  | 56          | 43             | 2       |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q90.   |             |                |         |  |

# Does Egyptian Gov't Respect Personal Freedoms of Its People?

|  | Yes  | No | DK |
|--|------|----|----|
|  | %    | %  | %  |
| Total  | 51   | 44 | 5  |
| Favorable of                                 |      |    |    |
| al-Nour                                      | 56   | 39 | 5  |
| FJP  | 57   | 38 | 4  |
| NSF  | 43   | 53 | 4  |
| Laws should                                  |      |    |    |
| Strictly follow Quran                        | 57   | 38 | 5  |
| Be influenced/not influenced at all by Quran | 42   | 54 | 4  |
| Democracy vs. stability                      |      |    |    |
| Democracy                                    | 41   | 54 | 5  |
| Stability                                    | 64   | 31 | 5  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1278                    | EGY. |    |    |

# **Voting and Protests**

Even though Egyptians are not happy with the way their new democracy is working, they have not lost faith in the value of political participation. Huge majorities say that voting (86%) and attending protests (82%) give them an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things.

# **Views of Voting and Protests**

\_\_ gives people an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things

|            | Voting | Attending protests |
|------------|--------|--------------------|
|            | %      | %                  |
| Agree      | 86     | 82                 |
| Disagree   | 11     | 19                 |
| Don't know | 4      | 0                  |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q125xa & Q125xb.

#### 4. Islam and Politics

Egyptians clearly want their legal and political systems to be shaped by Islam. Most say laws should strictly adhere to the Quran, and a majority of Egyptians think religious leaders should have at least some influence in political matters. On the question of religious freedom, however, the public is divided over whether the government is doing enough to protect the rights of religious minorities, such as Coptic Christians.

When asked how closely the legal code in their country should follow the teachings of the Quran, about six-inten Egyptians (58%) answer that the laws should strictly follow Islam's holy book, while roughly three-in-ten (28%) say the laws should

| Most Say Laws Should Follow Quran     |      |      |      |                 |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|-----------------|
|                                       | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 11-13<br>Change |
| Laws should                           | %    | %    | %    |                 |
| Strictly follow the Quran             | 62   | 60   | 58   | -4              |
| Follow values and principles of Islam | 27   | 32   | 28   | + 1             |
| Not be influenced by Quran            | 5    | 6    | 11   | +6              |
| Don't know                            | 5    | 3    | 4    | - 1             |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q37.              |      |      |      |                 |

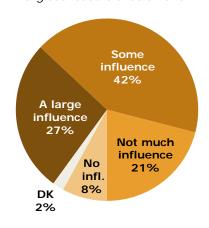
follow the values and principles of Islam but not adhere precisely to the Quran. Only 11% of Egyptians think their country's laws should not be influenced by the teachings of the Quran.

These attitudes closely mirror findings from previous surveys in 2011 and 2012, when roughly the same proportion of Egyptians (62% and 60%, respectively) stated that their laws should closely follow the teachings of the Quran. Over the same two-year period, the percentage of Egyptians who say laws should not strictly adhere to Islam's holy book has increased slightly, from 5% to 11%.

When asked about the role of religion in politics, nearly sevenin-ten Egyptians say religious leaders should have a large influence (27%) or some influence (42%) in political matters. About one-in-five (21%) say religious leaders should not have very much influence in political affairs, while only 8% think religious figures should have no influence at all in politics.

## Religious Leaders' Influence in Politics

Religious leaders should have ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q57.

Support for religious leaders having at least some influence in political matters is stronger among Egyptians 50 years of age and older (76%) than among those under 30 years of age (66%).

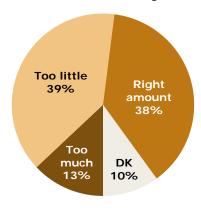
In addition, Egyptians who want their country's laws to closely follow the teachings of the Quran are more in favor of religious leaders playing a role in politics (74%) than are Egyptians who either want their national laws to broadly reflect the values of Islam or not be influenced by the Quran at all (61%).

Egyptians are divided about how much the current government is doing to protect of the religious freedom of non-Muslims in the country. Roughly four-in-ten (39%) say the present administration is doing too little to protect the rights of religious minorities, such as Coptic Christians, while a nearly identical proportion (38%) says the government is doing the right amount. Few Egyptians think the current regime is doing too much (13%) to ensure that religious minorities can freely practice their faith.

Among Egyptians who want the country's laws to closely follow the teachings of the Quran, the prevailing view is that the government is doing enough, rather than too little, to ensure religious freedom for groups like Coptic Christians (43% vs. 33%). By contrast, Egyptians who prefer less Quranic influence over their nation's laws are more critical of the government's

# Gov't Protection of Religious Minorities' Rights

Government is doing ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q124.

efforts to protect religious minorities: roughly a third (32%) say it is doing enough, while nearly half (47%) think it is doing too little.

#### 5. Views of U.S. and Israel

The Egyptian public is overwhelmingly negative toward the U.S. and Israel. Broad majorities hold unfavorable views of both countries, and few Egyptians say it is important to have a strong bilateral relationship with either nation. More than half of the public thinks U.S. financial assistance has a negative impact on Egypt. And roughly six-in-ten want to overturn the 1979 peace treaty with Israel.

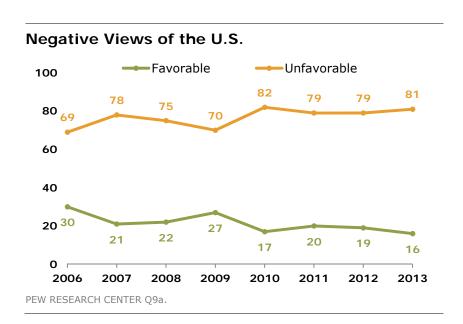
| Few Value a Strong Partnership with U.S. and Israel |      |        |  |
|---|------|--------|--|
| A good relationship                                 | U.S. | Israel |  |

| with is       | %  | %  |
|---------------|----|----|
| Important     | 24 | 3  |
| Not important | 69 | 88 |
| Don't know    | 8  | 10 |
|               |    |    |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q108 & Q109.

## U.S. Image

About eight-in-ten Egyptians (81%) express an unfavorable opinion about the U.S.; just 16% are favorable. While this is virtually unchanged from recent years, attitudes are more negative today than at the start of President Barack Obama's tenure in 2009, as well as somewhat more negative than they were during much of President George W. Bush's time in office.



President Obama fares little better among the Egyptian public. Nearly three-quarters (72%) express little or no confidence in Obama to do the right thing in world affairs; just 26% have confidence in the American leader. Egyptians' attitudes about Obama have become increasingly negative since his first days in office in 2009, when 42% were confident in him and 47% were not.

Few in Egypt prioritize having a good relationship with the U.S. Roughly a quarter (24%) says it is important for Egypt to have a strong partnership with America, including just 9% who think it is *very* important. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) say a good bilateral relationship is not too important or not at all important.

#### U.S. Aid

Egyptians are divided over which type of U.S. aid — military or economic — is most common. A quarter says American aid to Egypt is mostly military assistance; three-in-ten believe it is mostly aid for economic development; and a third says it is both equally.

Nonetheless, most Egyptians agree that U.S. financial assistance has a negative impact on their country. Majorities say that both American economic aid (55%) and military aid (58%) are bad for Egypt. About a quarter (24%) think economic assistance has a mostly positive impact; even fewer (10%) say the same about military aid.

| U.S. Aid Seen as Having<br>Negative Impact |                 |                 |              |    |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|----|
|  | Mostly positive | Mostly negative | No<br>impact | DK |
|  | %               | %               | %            | %  |
| Economic aid                               | 24              | 55              | 18           | 3  |
| Military aid                               | 10              | 58              | 28           | 4  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q58a-b.                |                 |                 |              |    |

People with a favorable opinion of the NSF (31% positive impact) are more likely than those who are favorable toward the FJP (7%) or al-Nour (7%) to say that American economic aid has a positive influence on Egypt.

#### Israel

Egyptians' attitudes about Israel are overwhelmingly negative. Roughly nine-in-ten (92%) are unfavorable toward their neighbor, including 89% who are *very* unfavorable. Fewer than one-in-ten (7%) hold positive views of Israel.

Similarly, very few in Egypt (3%) prioritize having a good relationship with Israel. The vast majority (88%) thinks it is not important for the two countries to be on good terms.

| Peace Treaty with<br>Israel |      |      |      |  |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|--|
|                             | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 |  |
|                             | %    | %    | %    |  |
| Maintain                    | 36   | 32   | 32   |  |
| Annul                       | 54   | 61   | 63   |  |
| Don't know                  | 10   | 7    | 5    |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q92.    |      |      |      |  |

Roughly six-in-ten Egyptians (63%) want to annul the historic 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel; 32% want to maintain it.

# Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project Spring 2013 Survey Egypt Survey Methods

The survey in Egypt is part of the larger cross-national Spring 2013 Pew Global Attitudes survey conducted 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 3 to March 23, 2013. The survey is representative of the country's adult population, excluding for security reasons about 2% of the population that lives in Frontier governorates. It uses a multi-stage cluster sample design stratified by governorates and urbanity. All interviews were conducted in Arabic.

The margin of sampling error is  $\pm 4.3$  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 Research Center's Global Attitudes Project 2013 Spring Survey Topline Results May 16, 2013 Release

## Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. 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.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
  - Egypt in Spring 2002
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2013 survey are presented in this topline.
   Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

|       |              | Q1 Overall, a<br>thir | re you satisfied<br>ngs are going in | or dissatisfied wour country toda | vith the way<br>ay? |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
|       |              | Satisfied             | Dissatisfied                         | DK/Refused                        | Total               |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 30                    | 62                                   | 7                                 | 100                 |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 53                    | 41                                   | 6                                 | 100                 |
|       | Spring, 2011 |                       | 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                 |

|       |              | Q4 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<br>good | Somewhat<br>bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 3  | 20               | 40              | 36       | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | 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   |  |  |

|       |              | Q5 And over  | Q5 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 little Remain the little Worsen a lot DK/Refused 1 |  |    |     |    |   |     |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 6  | 23   | 26 | 34  | 8  | 2 | 100 |  |  |  |
|       | 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   | 1  | 100 |    |   |     |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2008 | 1  | 14   | 35 | 31  | 19 | 2 | 100 |  |  |  |

|       |              | Q6 Now thinking about your personal economic situation, how would you describe it – is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad? |                  |              |          |            |       |  |  |
|-------|--------------|---|------------------|--------------|----------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |              | Very good   | Somewhat<br>good | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 5   | 16               | 42           | 37       | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 5   | 18               | 40           | 36       | 2          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2009 | 7   | 23               | 35           | 34       | 2          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2008 | 6   | 20               | 39           | 33       | 1          | 100   |  |  |

|  |  | Q7 And over th | Q7 And over the next 12 months do you expect your personal economic situation to improve a lot, improve a little, remain the same, worsen a little or worsen a lot? |  |  |       |  |     |  |  |  |
|--|--|----------------|---|--|--|-------|--|-----|--|--|--|
| Improve a Improve a Remain the Worsen a lot little same little Worsen a lot DK/Refused |  |                |   |  |  | Total |  |     |  |  |  |
| <b>Egypt Spring, 2013</b> 3 18 28 36 12 3  |  |                |   |  |  |       |  | 100 |  |  |  |

|   |              | Q8 When children | Q8 When children today in Egypt grow up, do you think they will be better off or worse off financially than their parents? |  |  |       |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|--------------|------------------|--|--|--|-------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Better off Worse off (Volunteered) DK/Refused |              |                  |  |  |  | Total |  |  |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013 | 22               | 22 42 29 8 100   |  |  |       |  |  |  |  |  |

|       |              | Q9a Plea<br>ເ     | Q9a Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of: a. The United States |                      |                     |            |       |  |  |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable   | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 5                 | 11   | 33                   | 48                  | 3          | 100   |  |  |
|       | 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   |  |  |

|       |              | Q9i Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of: i. Israel |                    |                      |                     |            |       |  |  |
|-------|--------------|---|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |              | Very<br>favorable   | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 1   | 6                  | 3                    | 89                  | 1          | 100   |  |  |

| Q10EGY In your opinion, now that Hosni Mubarak is not in power, is Egypt better off or worse off? |              |                            |    |            |       |     |  |
|---|--------------|----------------------------|----|------------|-------|-----|--|
|   |              | Better Worse (Volunteered) |    | DK/Refused | Total |     |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013 | 39                         | 30 | 26         | 4     | 100 |  |
|   | Spring, 2012 | 44                         | 26 | 26         | 3     | 100 |  |

|       |              | Q15 And wh   | ich of these three sta   | atements is closest to y   | our own opinio | n?    |
|-------|--------------|--|--|--|----------------|-------|
|       |              | Democracy is<br>preferable to any<br>other kind of<br>government | In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable | For someone like<br>me, it doesn't<br>matter what kind of<br>government we<br>have | DK/Refused     | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 66   | 21   | 11   | 2              | 100   |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 67   | 19   | 13   | 1              | 100   |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 71   | 17   | 10   | 3              | 100   |
|       | Spring, 2010 | 60   | 22   | 16   | 2              | 100   |

|       |              |           | Q34bEGY 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: bEGY. President Mohamed Morsi |              |          |            |       |  |  |
|-------|--------------|-----------|---|--------------|----------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |              | Very good | Somewhat<br>good  | Somewhat bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 32        | 22  | 21           | 23       | 2          | 100   |  |  |

|       |              | Q34c 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<br>good | Somewhat<br>bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 39   | 34               | 17              | 7        | 3          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 43   | 32               | 18              | 4        | 5          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 53   | 35               | 10              | 1        | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2007 | 30   | 40               | 21              | 7        | 3          | 100   |  |  |

|       |              | Q34d 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<br>good | Somewhat<br>bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 23  | 44               | 23              | 9        | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 27  | 43               | 24              | 6        | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 24  | 45               | 24              | 7        | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2007 | 30  | 36               | 20              | 11       | 3          | 100   |  |  |

|       |              | Q34e 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<br>good | Somewhat<br>bad | Very bad | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 30  | 45               | 14              | 12       | 0          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 36  | 47               | 9               | 7        | 2          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 29  | 52               | 13              | 5        | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2007 | 43  | 34               | 14              | 7        | 2          | 100   |  |  |

|  |              | Q34f 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 Somewhat bad Very bad DK/Refused To |              |  |    |    | Total |   |     |  |  |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013 | 23   | 35 | 35 | 6     | 2 | 100 |  |  |
|  | Spring, 2012 | 23   | 38 | 33 | 4     | 2 | 100 |  |  |
|  | Spring, 2011 | 29   | 38 | 27 | 5     | 1 | 100 |  |  |

| Q34h 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: h. the Central Sec Forces |                                   |    |    |    |       |   |     |  |
|---|-----------------------------------|----|----|----|-------|---|-----|--|
| Very good good bad Very bad DK/Refused Tot  |                                   |    |    |    | Total |   |     |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013                      | 21 | 36 | 27 | 16    | 1 | 100 |  |
|   | <b>Spring, 2012</b> 26 37 23 13 2 |    |    |    |       |   |     |  |

|  |  | Q34i 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: i. the local police |    |       |    |   |     |  |
|--|--|--|----|-------|----|---|-----|--|
| Very good Somewhat Somewhat Very bad DK/Refused To |  |  |    | Total |    |   |     |  |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013   | 11   | 24 | 28    | 35 | 2 | 100 |  |
|  | Spring, 2012         15         22         27         35         2         100 |  |    |       |    |   |     |  |

|       |              | Q37 Which of   | the following th   | ree statements  | comes closer to | your view? |
|-------|--------------|--|--|---|-----------------|------------|
|       |              | Laws should<br>strictly<br>follow the<br>teachings of<br>the Quran | Laws should<br>follow the<br>values and<br>principles of<br>Islam but<br>not strictly<br>follow the<br>teachings of<br>the Quran | Laws should<br>not be<br>influenced by<br>the teachings<br>of the Quran | DK/Refused      | Total      |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 58   | 28   | 11  | 4               | 100        |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 60   | 32   | 6   | 3               | 100        |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 62   | 27   | 5   | 5               | 100        |

|       |              | Q38 How much confidence do you have in U.S. President Barack Obama to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all? |                 |                         |                            |            |       |  |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|
|       |              | A lot of confidence  | Some confidence | Not too much confidence | No<br>confidence at<br>all | DK/Refused | Total |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 7  | 19              | 39                      | 33                         | 2          | 100   |  |
|       | 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   |  |

|       |              |                   |   | 30                   |                     |   |       |  |  |  |
|-------|--------------|-------------------|---|----------------------|---------------------|---|-------|--|--|--|
|       |              |                   | ive a very favora   |                      | favorable, some     | ons in our count<br>what unfavorabl<br>lorsi      |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 24                | 29  | 23                   | 20                  | 4   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       |              |                   | ave a very favor  |                      | favorable, some     | ions in our coun<br>what unfavorab<br>Baradei     |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 10                | 30  | 28                   | 26                  | 7   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 15                | 33  | 27                   | 23                  | 2   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 25                | 32  | 22                   | 17                  | 4   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       |              |                   | Q42b2 And thinking about some political leaders and organizations in our country, please te me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of b2. Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh |                      |                     |   |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 20                | 33  | 24                   | 17                  | 6   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 22                | 36  | 21                   | 16                  | 5   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       |              |                   | ive a verv favora   |                      | favorable, somev    | ons in our count<br>what unfavorabl<br>afik       |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 16                | 29  | 27                   | 25                  | 4   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       |              |                   | ave a very favora   |                      | favorable, some     | ions in our coun<br>what unfavorab<br>abahi       |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 16                | 32  | 31                   | 16                  | 5   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       |              |                   | ave a very favor  |                      | favorable, some     | ons in our count<br>ewhat unfavorab<br>therhood   |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 29                | 34  | 25                   | 11                  | 1   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 30                | 40  | 18                   | 9                   | 4   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 37                | 38  | 13                   | 7                   | 5   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       |              |                   | navě a very favo  |                      | t favorabľe, som    | ions in our coun<br>ewhat unfavora<br>ation Front |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable    | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 14                | 31  | 32                   | 20                  | 3   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       |              |                   | ave a very favor  |                      | favorable, some     | ions in our coun<br>ewhat unfavorab<br>Party      |       |  |  |  |
|       |              | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable  | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | DK/Refused  | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 14                | 26  | 28                   | 24                  | 8   | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring 2012  | 1.4               | 20  | 26                   | 10                  | 12  | 100   |  |  |  |

Spring, 2012

|   |   | Q42g 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 |                    |                      |  |                 |              |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|--------------------|----------------------|--|-----------------|--------------|--|--|--|
|   |   | •   | unfávorabl         | e opinion of g. F    | reedom and Jus   |                 | ,,c, or very |  |  |  |
|   |   | Very<br>favorable   | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable                                      | DK/Refused      | Total        |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 17  | 35                 | 27                   | 17   | 4               | 100          |  |  |  |
|   | Spring, 2012  | 18  | 38                 | 27                   | 13   | 5               | 100          |  |  |  |
|   |   |   | ave a very favor   | able, somewhat       | s and organization<br>favorable, some<br>preme Constitut | what unfavoral  |              |  |  |  |
|   |   | Very<br>favorable   | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable                                      | DK/Refused      | Total        |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 14  | 36                 | 34                   | 13   | 3               | 100          |  |  |  |
|   | Q42i 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 i. Supreme Council of the Armed Forces |   |                    |                      |  |                 |              |  |  |  |
|   |   | Very<br>favorable   | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable                                      | DK/Refused      | Total        |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 24  | 43                 | 23                   | 10   | 1               | 100          |  |  |  |
|   | Spring, 2012  | 20  | 43                 | 25                   | 9  | 4               | 100          |  |  |  |
| Q43EGYa Thinking about conditions in our country today, for each of the following please tell me whether it is getting better, worse, or staying about the same, compared with the past? a. Law and order |   |   |                    |                      |  |                 |              |  |  |  |
|   |   | Better  | Worse              | About t<br>same      |  | used To         | tal          |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 26  | 44                 | 27                   | 3  | 1               | 00           |  |  |  |
|   |   | following pl  | ease tell me w     | hether it is get     | our country too<br>ting better, wo<br>st? b. The stand   | rse, or staying |              |  |  |  |
|   |   | Better  | Worse              | About t<br>same      |  | used To         | tal          |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 12  | 56                 | 30                   | 2  | 1               | 00           |  |  |  |
|   |   | following pl  | ease tell me w     | hether it is get     | our country too<br>ting better, wo<br>ast? c. Persona    | rse, or staying |              |  |  |  |
|   |   | Better  | Worse              | About t              |  | used To         | tal          |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 33  | 36                 | 28                   | 3  | 1               | 00           |  |  |  |
|   |   |   | ease tell me w     | hether it is get     | our country too<br>ting better, wo<br>the past? d. Mo    | rsé, or staying |              |  |  |  |
|   |   | Better  | Worse              | About t<br>same      |  | used To         | tal          |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 23  | 39                 | 34                   | 5  | 1               | 00           |  |  |  |
|   |   | following pl  | ease tell me w     | hether it is get     | our country too<br>ting better, wo<br>. Fairness of th   | rse, or staying | about        |  |  |  |
|   |   | Better  | Worse              | About t              |  | used To         | tal          |  |  |  |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013  | 35  | 35                 | 23                   | 8  | 1               | 00           |  |  |  |

|  |              | Q44EGY How likely are you to vote in the upcoming parliamentary elections – very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely? |                   |  |            |       |  |  |  |  |
|--|--------------|--|-------------------|--|------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| Very likely Somewhat Not very Not at all likely likely DK/Refu |              |  |                   |  | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |  |  |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013 | 22   | 22 31 19 20 8 100 |  |            |       |  |  |  |  |

|       |              | Q45EGY Do you | u think the upco<br>vill be fair, or do | ming parliamen<br>n't you think so? | tary elections |  |  |  |  |
|-------|--------------|---------------|---|-------------------------------------|----------------|--|--|--|--|
|       |              | Yes, fair     | No, not fair                            | DK/Refused                          | Total          |  |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 46            | 46 40 14 100                            |                                     |                |  |  |  |  |

|       |              |         |       |           | ntary elections vorse, or have no |       |
|-------|--------------|---------|-------|-----------|-----------------------------------|-------|
|       |              | Improve | Worse | No effect | DK/Refused                        | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 45      | 28    | 22        | 5                                 | 100   |

| Q57 In your opinion, how much influence should religious leaders have in political matters?  A large influence, some influence, not too much influence or no influence at all? |              |                      |                   |                              |                        |            |       |
|--|--------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------|-------|
|  |              | A large<br>influence | Some<br>influence | Not too<br>much<br>influence | No influence<br>at all | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013 | 27                   | 42                | 21                           | 8                      | 2          | 100   |

|       |              |                 | Q58a Overall, would you say U.S. economic 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<br>negative  | No impact | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 24              | 55  | 18        | 3          | 100   |  |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 21              | 61  | 17        | 1          | 100   |  |  |  |  |

|       |              | Q58b Overall positive impa | ct, a mostly neg   | U.S. military aid<br>ative impact, or<br>e going in Egypt | I to Egypt is havi<br>no impact on the<br>t? | ing a mostly<br>e way things |
|-------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------|---|--|------------------------------|
|       |              | Mostly positive            | Mostly<br>negative | No impact   | DK/Refused                                   | Total                        |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 10                         | 58                 | 28  | 4  | 100                          |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 11                         | 61                 | 25  | 3  | 100                          |

|       |              | Q58c Would you     | ı say that U.S. aid<br>Egypt develop            | to Egypt is mostle<br>economically or l |            | stly aid to help |
|-------|--------------|--------------------|---|---|------------|------------------|
|       |              | Mostly<br>military | Mostly to help<br>Egypt develop<br>economically | Both equally                            | DK/Refused | Total            |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 25                 | 30  | 33                                      | 12         | 100              |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 23                 | 34  | 28                                      | 14         | 100              |

|       |              | government                          | to solve our cou<br>I rely on a leade | rely on a demodentry's problems.  If with a strong lenge close ion? | . Others feel |
|-------|--------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---------------|
|       |              | Democratic<br>form of<br>government | Strong<br>leader                      | DK/Refused  | Total         |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 60                                  | 36                                    | 5   | 100           |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 61                                  | 33                                    | 6   | 100           |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 64                                  | 34                                    | 2   | 100           |
|       | Spring, 2007 | 50                                  | 47                                    | 4   | 100           |

|       |              | Q89 If you had to choose between a good democracy or a strong economy, which would you say is more important? |                     |            |       |  |  |
|-------|--------------|---|---------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |              | A good<br>democracy   | A strong<br>economy | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 45  | 52                  | 4          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 48  | 49                  | 4          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 47  | 49                  | 4          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2007 | 42  | 53                  | 5          | 100   |  |  |

|       | Q90 How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country – very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied or not at all satisfied? |                   |                    |                      |                      |            |       |  |  |
|-------|---|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |   | Very<br>satisfied | Somewhat satisfied | Not too<br>satisfied | Not at all satisfied | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013  | 11                | 11 32 25 31 1 100  |                      |                      |            |       |  |  |

|                              |              | Q92 Do you t<br>with Israel o | hink Egypt shou<br>r do you think E<br>treaty wit | lld maintain its p<br>gypt should ann<br>h Israel? | peace treaty<br>ul its peace |  |
|------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------|--|
|                              |              | Maintain<br>treaty            | Annul treaty                                      | DK/Refused   | Total                        |  |
| Egypt                        | Spring, 2013 | 32                            | 63  | 5  | 100                          |  |
|                              | Spring, 2012 | 32                            | 61  | 7  | 100                          |  |
| <b>Spring, 2011</b> 36 54 10 |              |                               |   |  |                              |  |

| Q108 In your opinion, how important is it for Egypt to have a good relationship with the United States – very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all? |              |                   |                       |                      |                            |            |       |
|--|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|
|  |              | Very<br>important | Somewhat<br>important | Not too<br>important | Not<br>important at<br>all | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013 | 9                 | 15                    | 37                   | 32                         | 8          | 100   |

|       | Q109 In your opinion, how important is it for Egypt to have a good relationship with Israel – very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all? |                   |                    |                      |                            |            |       |  |
|-------|---|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|
|       |   | Very<br>important | Somewhat important | Not too<br>important | Not<br>important at<br>all | DK/Refused | Total |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013  | 1                 | 2                  | 28                   | 60                         | 10         | 100   |  |

|       |              | Q122a Thinking<br>the govern | 122a Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that a. anyone can openly criticize the government. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? |                      |                            |            |       |  |  |
|-------|--------------|------------------------------|--|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |              | Very<br>important            | Somewhat important   | Not too<br>important | Not<br>important at<br>all | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 51                           | 34   | 8                    | 3                          | 4          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 60                           | 33   | 5                    | 1                          | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 63                           | 30   | 6                    | 0                          | 1          | 100   |  |  |

|       |              | Q122b Thinkir<br>regularly wi | 122b Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that b. honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? |                      |                            |            |       |  |  |
|-------|--------------|-------------------------------|---|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|--|
|       |              | Very<br>important             | Somewhat important  | Not too<br>important | Not<br>important at<br>all | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 56                            | 35  | 4                    | 2                          | 2          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 58                            | 38  | 3                    | 0                          | 1          | 100   |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 55                            | 40  | 3                    | 1                          | 1          | 100   |  |  |

|       |              |  | Q122c Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that c. there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? |   |   |   |     |  |  |  |
|-------|--------------|--|--|---|---|---|-----|--|--|--|
|       |              | Very Somewhat Not too important at important important all DK/Refused Tota |  |   |   |   |     |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 81   | 15   | 3 | 0 | 2 | 100 |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 81   | 16   | 2 | 0 | 2 | 100 |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 79   | 18   | 1 | 1 | 1 | 100 |  |  |  |

|       |              | Q122d Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that d. the military is under the control of civilian leaders. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? |                       |                      |                            |            |       |  |
|-------|--------------|--|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|--|
|       |              | Very<br>important  | Somewhat<br>important | Not too<br>important | Not<br>important at<br>all | DK/Refused | Total |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 27   | 33                    | 13                   | 23                         | 4          | 100   |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 24   | 38                    | 16                   | 18                         | 5          | 100   |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 27   | 35                    | 19                   | 15                         | 5          | 100   |  |

|       |              | Q122e Thinkii<br>minorities can   | Q122e 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 Somewhat Not too important at important important all DK/Refused Total |  |    |   |   |     |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 32  | 49   | 12 | 6 | 2 | 100 |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012 | 38  | 46   | 11 | 3 | 2 | 100 |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011 | 36  | 48   | 11 | 2 | 3 | 100 |  |  |  |

|  |              |    | 122f Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that f. religious parties are allowed o be part of the government. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? |   |   |       |     |  |  |  |
|--|--------------|----|---|---|---|-------|-----|--|--|--|
| Very Somewhat Not too important at important important important all DK/Refused To |              |    |   |   |   | Total |     |  |  |  |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013 | 47 | 38  | 6 | 5 | 4     | 100 |  |  |  |
|  | Spring, 2012 | 50 | 40  | 4 | 2 | 4     | 100 |  |  |  |
|  | Spring, 2011 | 50 | 38  | 7 | 2 | 3     | 100 |  |  |  |

|  |              | Q122g Thin<br>improve. Is it | king about Egyp<br>very important, | somewhát impo | ortant, not too in | Q122g Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that g. economic conditions mprove. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|---|-----|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Very Somewhat Not too important at important important all DK/Refused To |              |                              |                                    |               | Total              |   |     |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013 | 83                           | 10                                 | 4             | 0                  | 3   | 100 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Spring, 2012 | 81                           | 13                                 | 4             | 0                  | 2   | 100 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Spring, 2011 | 82                           | 15                                 | 2             | 0                  | 1   | 100 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

|       |   | Q122h Think<br>rights as men. | Q122h Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that h. women have the same this as men. Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? |    |   |   |       |  |  |  |
|-------|---|-------------------------------|--|----|---|---|-------|--|--|--|
|       | Very Somewhat Not too important at important important all DK/Refused Total |                               |  |    |   |   | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013  | 42                            | 38   | 13 | 4 | 3 | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2012  | 41                            | 39   | 15 | 3 | 2 | 100   |  |  |  |
|       | Spring, 2011  | 39                            | 37   | 19 | 3 | 2 | 100   |  |  |  |

|   | Q122i 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 importa at all? |    |    |   |       |   | rder be<br>ot important |
|---|--|----|----|---|-------|---|-------------------------|
| Very Somewhat Not too important at important important important all DK/Refused |  |    |    |   | Total |   |                         |
| Egypt   | Spring, 2013   | 62 | 35 | 2 | 0     | 2 | 100                     |
|   | Spring, 2012   | 60 | 38 | 1 | 0     | 2 | 100                     |
|   | Spring, 2011   | 63 | 36 | 2 | 0     | 0 | 100                     |

| Q122j Thinking about Egypt's future, how important is it that j. the media can reponews without government censorship. Is it very important, somewhat important, nimportant or not important at all? |              |                   |                    |                      | report the<br>ant, not too |            |       |
|--|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------|
|  |              | Very<br>important | Somewhat important | Not too<br>important | Not<br>important at<br>all | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt  | Spring, 2013 | 60                | 25                 | 8                    | 5                          | 3          | 100   |
|  | Spring, 2012 | 62                | 27                 | 10                   | 2                          | 0          | 100   |

|       | Q123 Overall, do you think the current government is doing too much, too little, or the right amount to ensure that women have the same rights as men? |          |            |                 |            |       |  |
|-------|--|----------|------------|-----------------|------------|-------|--|
|       |  | Too much | Too little | Right<br>amount | DK/Refused | Total |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013   | 15       | 33         | 40              | 12         | 100   |  |

|       |              |          | Q124 Overall, do you think the current government is doing too much, too little, or the right amount to ensure that Copts and other religious minorities can practice their religion freely? |                 |            |       |  |  |  |
|-------|--------------|----------|--|-----------------|------------|-------|--|--|--|
|       |              | Too much | Too little   | Right<br>amount | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 13       | 39   | 38              | 10         | 100   |  |  |  |

|                    |              | Q125 Which is more important to you? That Egypt has a democratic government, even if there is some risk of political instability OR That Egypt has a stable government, even if there is a risk it will not be fully democratic |   |            |       |  |  |  |
|--------------------|--------------|---|---|------------|-------|--|--|--|
|                    |              | That Egypt has<br>a democratic<br>government,<br>even if there is<br>some risk of<br>political<br>instability OR  | That Egypt has a stable government, even if there is a risk it will not be fully democratic | DK/Refused | Total |  |  |  |
| Egypt Spring, 2013 |              | 51  | 43  | 6          | 100   |  |  |  |
|                    | Spring, 2011 | 54  | 32  | 14         | 100   |  |  |  |

|       |              | Q125xa Tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statement: a. Voting gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinion about how the government runs things. |              |                    |                     |            |       |  |
|-------|--------------|--|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------|-------|--|
|       |              | Completely agree   | Mostly agree | Mostly<br>disagree | Completely disagree | DK/Refused | Total |  |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 44   | 42           | 8                  | 3                   | 4          | 100   |  |

|       | Q125xb Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statement: b. Attending protests o demonstrations gives people like me an opportunity to express their opinic about how the government runs things. |                  |              |                    |                     | g protests or |
|-------|---|------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
|       |   | Completely agree | Mostly agree | Mostly<br>disagree | Completely disagree | Total         |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013  | 41               | 41           | 14                 | 5                   | 100           |

|       |              | Q126 Do you favor or oppose the new constitution? |        |            |       |
|-------|--------------|---|--------|------------|-------|
|       |              | Favor   | Oppose | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 49  | 45     | 6          | 100   |

|       |              | Q127EGY Do you think the Egyptian government respects the personal freedoms of its people, or don't you think so? |  |            |       |
|-------|--------------|---|--|------------|-------|
|       |              | Yes -<br>respects<br>personal<br>freedoms   | No – does<br>not respect<br>personal<br>freedoms | DK/Refused | Total |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 51  | 44   | 5          | 100   |