
ARAB ATTITUDES TOWARD IRAN, 2011

- Deep concern with Iran's regional role
- Iran viewed very unfavorably in Saudi Arabia, UAE, Morocco, Jordan, and Egypt
 - Scant support for Iran's nuclear program
- GCC's assertive role in Yemen and Bahrain supported in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Morocco

Analysis by James Zogby



Executive Summary:

This is an Arab American Institute poll with analysis by James Zogby. It was conducted during the first three weeks of June by Zogby International. Over 4,000 Arabs were surveyed, with a margin of error of +/- 3.5% in Morocco, Egypt, KSA; and +/- 4.5% in Lebanon, Jordan, UAE.

Findings:

- Most Arabs look askance at Iran's role across their region, with substantial majorities seeing Iran playing a negative role especially in Iraq, Bahrain and the Arab Gulf.
- Iran's favorable ratings have dropped significantly in recent years. It is seen as not contributing to "peace and stability in the Arab World" and there is scant support for Iran's nuclear program.
- Significant majorities desire that the Middle East become a "nuclear free zone". When asked if they "had to choose one nation other than Israel to be a nuclear power in the Middle East" - for most Arabs, Egypt is the preferred choice, followed by Turkey.
- There is regional support for the GCC's new and more assertive role in Bahrain, Yemen, and in their concern with Iran's nuclear program.
- Lebanon's attitudes toward Iran differ from the rest of the region, revealing a troubling sectarian divide.
- Overall, Turkey receives the highest favorable ratings in most Arab countries, with the U.S. Receiving the lowest rating in every country but Saudi Arabia, where Iran is lowest.

Note: In previous polls, when Arabs were asked questions about Iran or its nuclear program, and the U.S. and its threats of sanctions or military action were a part of the question, Arabs would indicate strong support for Iran and its defiance on nuclear issues. The more negative attitudes toward Iran reflected here may be accounted for by the fact that in this survey Arabs are being asked to state their attitudes toward Iran without reference to the U.S. and/or that Iran's regional behavior has succeeded in alienating Arab opinion.

Methodology:

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

*Total may not equal 100% due to rounding

I. Attitudes toward Iran:

1. For each of the following questions, please indicate if you think Iran plays a positive or a negative role or has no impact.

| A. | Morocco | Egypt | Lebanon | Jordan | KSA | UAE** |
|------------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|----------|
| Iraq | 14/72/14 | 13/61/21 | 38/35/13 | 20/56/8 | 14/81/4 | --/89/3 |
| Lebanon | 21/48/28 | 17/51/27 | 70/15/5 | 50/40/4 | 3/71/22 | 31/47/10 |
| Bahrain | 17/44/37 | 13/47/34 | 17/26/29 | 3/46/30 | --/100/-- | 1/82/10 |
| Arab Gulf region | 15/53/29 | 17/50/29 | 28/32/23 | 2/33/38 | 1/84/10 | <1/83/10 |

*Positive/Negative/No Impact

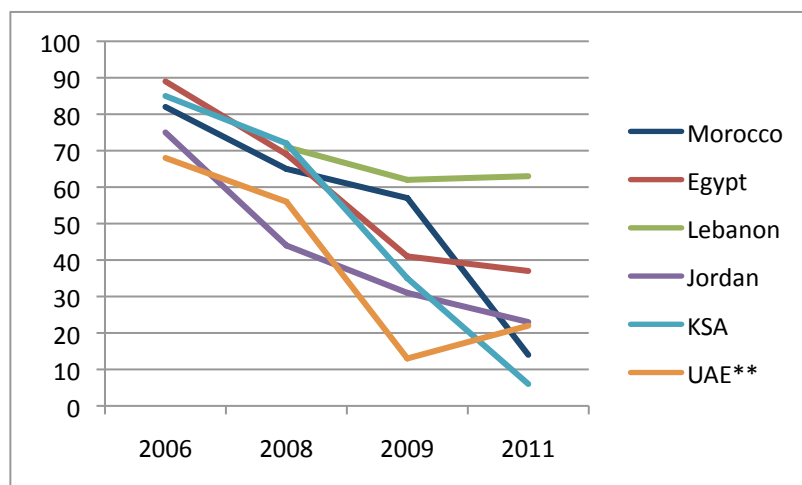
Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|------------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Iraq | 55/26/11 | 25/43/17 | 31/38/14 |
| Lebanon | 89/5/1 | 53/23/10 | 64/19/5 |
| Bahrain | 32/10/31 | 6/40/25 | 10/32/29 |
| Arab Gulf region | 40/28/19 | 17/35/27 | 23/33/24 |

*Positive/Negative/No Impact

A. Most Arabs look askance at Iran's role in their region with majorities in five of six countries concerned with Iran's role in Iraq and pluralities troubled by Iran's role in Bahrain and the Gulf region in general. Views are most negative in Saudi Arabia and UAE, followed by Morocco and Egypt. In Jordan and Lebanon perceptions of Iran's role are mixed with Jordanians and Lebanese seeing Iran play a positive role in Lebanon but are less supportive of Iran's role in the broader region.

| A1. | Morocco | Egypt | Lebanon | Jordan | KSA | UAE** |
|------|---------|-------|---------|--------|-------|-------|
| 2006 | 82/16 | 89/9 | -- | 75/15 | 85/14 | 68/31 |
| 2008 | 65/26 | 69/14 | 71/28 | 44/55 | 72/25 | 56/41 |
| 2009 | 57/33 | 41/44 | 62/31 | 31/68 | 35/58 | 13/87 |
| 2011 | 14/85 | 37/63 | 63/37 | 23/77 | 6/80 | 22/70 |



A1. There has been a dramatic decrease in Iran's favorable ratings since 2006.

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

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

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

*Favorable/Unfavorable

Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| Turkey | 93/7 | 96/4 | 90/10 |
| China | 32/61 | 36/56 | 38/51 |
| Iran | 84/16 | 55/45 | 48/52 |
| France | 42/53 | 37/58 | 44/54 |
| United States | 26/74 | 22/78 | 22/78 |
| United Nations | 44/56 | 39/61 | 33/67 |

*Favorable/Unfavorable

B. In every country but Lebanon, Iran has a net unfavorable rating - with highest negatives in Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and UAE. Iran's favorable rating in Lebanon is driven by strong support from that country's Shia community, with mixed Sunni and Christian attitudes towards Iran.

Overall, Turkey has the highest favorable rating among Arabs, with the U.S. receiving the lowest rating in every country but Saudi Arabia.

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

3. Please tell us if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.

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

*Agree/Disagree

Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|--|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| Iran contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world | 79/20 | 42/58 | 46/54 |
| Turkey contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world | 90/10 | 87/13 | 79/21 |
| United States contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world | 17/83 | 14/86 | 15/85 |
| Saudi Arabia contributes to peace and stability in the Arab world | 44/55 | 74/27 | 70/30 |

*Agree/Disagree

C. In every county but Lebanon, significant majorities say that Iran does not “contribute to peace and stability in the Arab World”. Once again, Lebanon's views are mixed, with Sunni and Christian attitudes being more negative towards Iran and only the Shi'a community being positive.

Overall, Turkey and Saudi Arabia are viewed as making the most positive contribution to “peace and stability”.

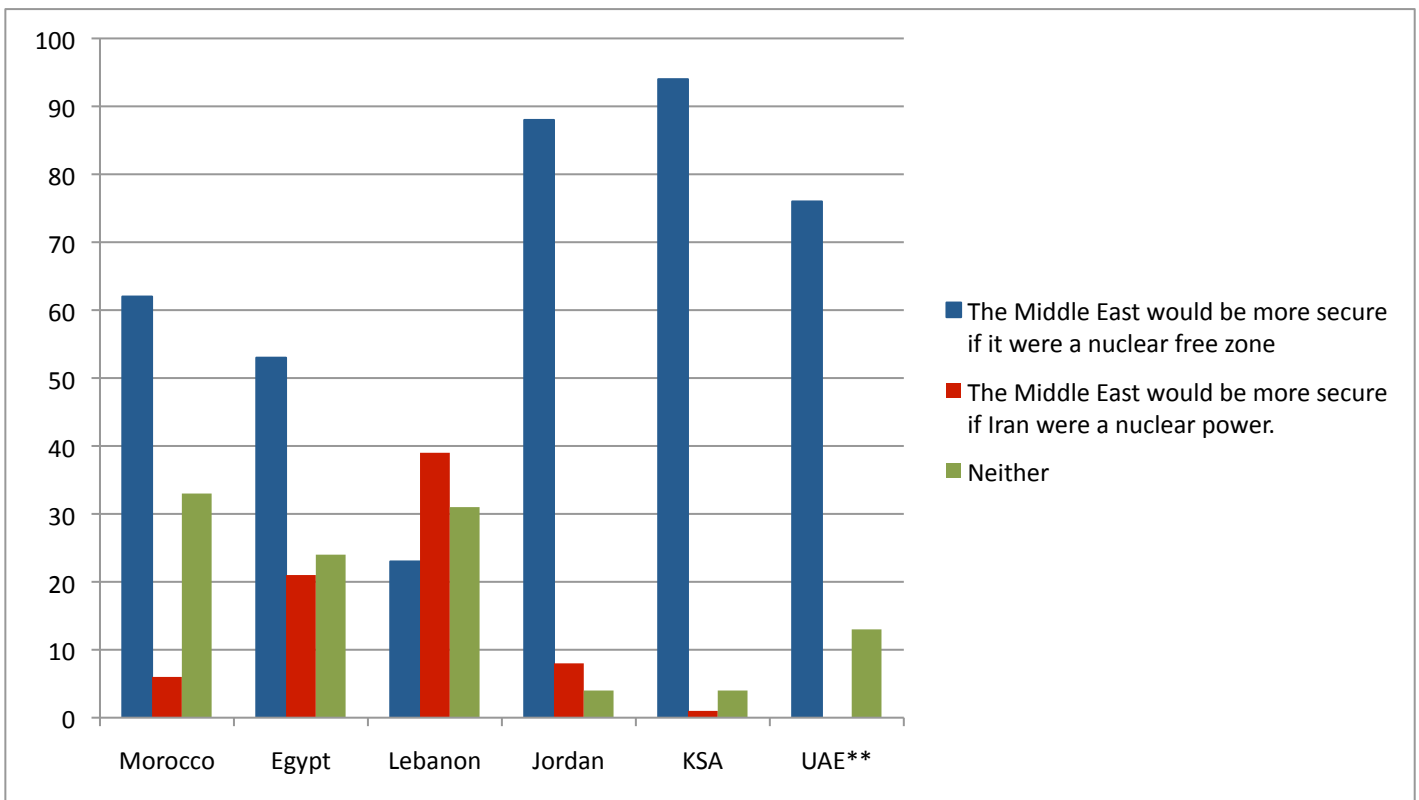
** Survey includes **all** Arabs in UAE, not just nationals.

4. Which of the following statements comes closest to your view – Statement A or Statement B?

Statement A: “The Middle East would be more secure if it were a nuclear free zone.”

Statement B: “The Middle East would be more secure if Iran were a nuclear power.”

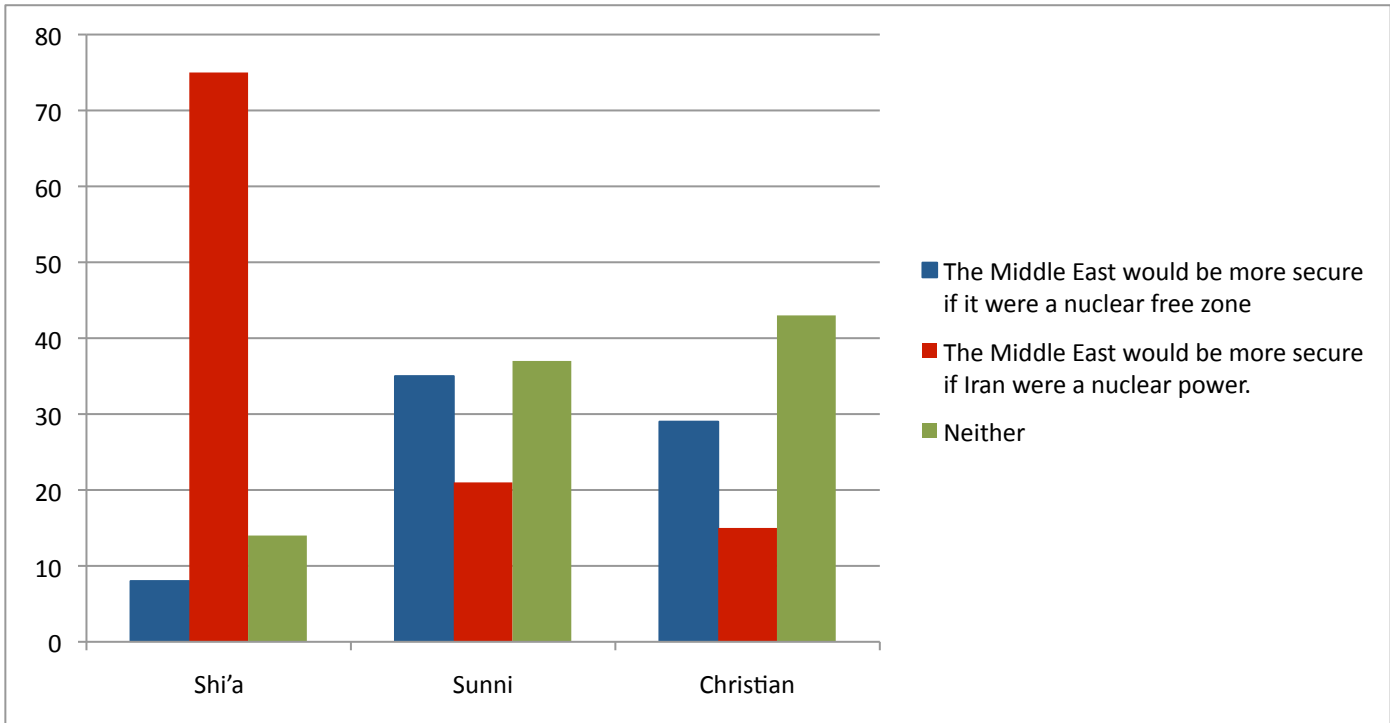
| D. | Morocco | Egypt | Lebanon | Jordan | KSA | UAE** |
|--|---------|-------|---------|--------|-----|-------|
| A: The Middle East would be more secure if it were a nuclear free zone | 62 | 53 | 23 | 88 | 94 | 76 |
| B: The Middle East would be more secure if Iran were a nuclear power. | 6 | 21 | 39 | 8 | 1 | -- |
| Neither | 33 | 24 | 31 | 4 | 4 | 13 |



Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|--|-------|-------|-----------|
| A: The Middle East would be more secure if it were a nuclear free zone | 8 | 35 | 29 |
| B: The Middle East would be more secure if Iran were a nuclear power. | 75 | 21 | 15 |
| Neither | 14 | 37 | 43 |

*Improve/Worsen/No Impact



D. Majorities in five of six countries agree that “the Middle East would be more secure if it were a nuclear free zone”. In Jordan, Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Morocco there is scant support for Iran becoming a nuclear power.

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

5. If you had to choose one nation, other than Israel, to be a nuclear power in the Middle East, which country would you prefer?

| E. | Morocco | Egypt | Lebanon | Jordan | KSA | UAE** |
|--------------|---------|-------|---------|--------|-----|-------|
| Iran | 5 | <1 | 33 | 6 | 2 | -- |
| Egypt | 61 | 89 | 29 | 52 | 13 | 52 |
| Saudi Arabia | 9 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 65 | 8 |
| UAE | 5 | <1 | 4 | 13 | 5 | 13 |
| Turkey | 13 | 3 | 26 | 16 | 7 | 20 |
| Other | 6 | 1 | -- | 1 | 3 | 2 |

Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|--------------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Iran | 69 | 9 | 15 |
| Egypt | 15 | 40 | 36 |
| Saudi Arabia | 3 | 12 | 9 |
| UAE | 2 | 2 | 7 |
| Turkey | 12 | 38 | 33 |
| Other | -- | -- | -- |

*Improve/Worsen/No Impact

E. Most Arabs do not support Iran becoming a nuclear power. If they "had to choose one nation, other than Israel, to be a nuclear power in the Middle East" the favored option appears to be Egypt.

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

6. Please tell us if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?

| F. | Morocco | Egypt | Lebanon | Jordan | KSA | UAE** |
|---|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| The Arab Gulf states are right to be concerned with Iran's nuclear program because this program only makes the region less secure | 88/12 | 83/16 | 33/43 | 57/42 | 97/3 | 89/-- |
| I would be comfortable with Iran as the dominant power in the Gulf region | 16/84 | 29/71 | 48/35 | 19/78 | 14/81 | --/89 |

*Agree/Disagree

Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|---|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| The Arab Gulf states are right to be concerned with Iran's nuclear program because this program only makes the region less secure | 20/60 | 39/35 | 41/30 |
| I would be comfortable with Iran as the dominant power in the Gulf region | 75/18 | 28/47 | 36/42 |

*Agree/Disagree

F. In Saudi Arabia, UAE, Morocco, and Egypt there is overwhelmingly strong support for the proposition that "Arab Gulf states" are right to be concerned with Iran's nuclear program. Only among Lebanon's Shi'a community is there support for Iran becoming the dominant power in the Gulf.

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

7. What should the GCC response be toward Iran's role in the region?

| G. | Welcome/Reject/Do Nothing |
|---------|---------------------------|
| Morocco | 6/50/44 |
| Egypt | 26/34/38 |
| Lebanon | 49/33/8 |
| Jordan | 9/50/30 |
| KSA | 9/70/20 |
| UAE** | --/59/24 |

Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|------------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Welcome | 68 | 39 | 38 |
| Reject | 17 | 41 | 43 |
| Do nothing | 5 | 9 | 11 |

G. A majority of Arabs in Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE say the GCC should reject Iran's role in the region. In Egypt and in Lebanon, views are mixed.

8. In recent months the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has taken action to address several regional issues. In your view is this new GCC assertiveness a positive or negative development?

| H. | Positive/Negative/ND |
|---------|----------------------|
| Morocco | 50/11/37 |
| Egypt | 41/10/46 |
| Lebanon | 28/34/24 |
| Jordan | 35/13/51 |
| KSA | 66/12/22 |
| UAE** | 43/19/22 |

*Positive/Negative/No Difference

Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|---------------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Positive | 30 | 28 | 27 |
| Negative | 34 | 32 | 34 |
| No difference | 24 | 30 | 20 |

H. A plurality hold a positive view of the new and more assertive role of the GCC in addressing regional issues. Only in Lebanon and Jordan are views less supportive.

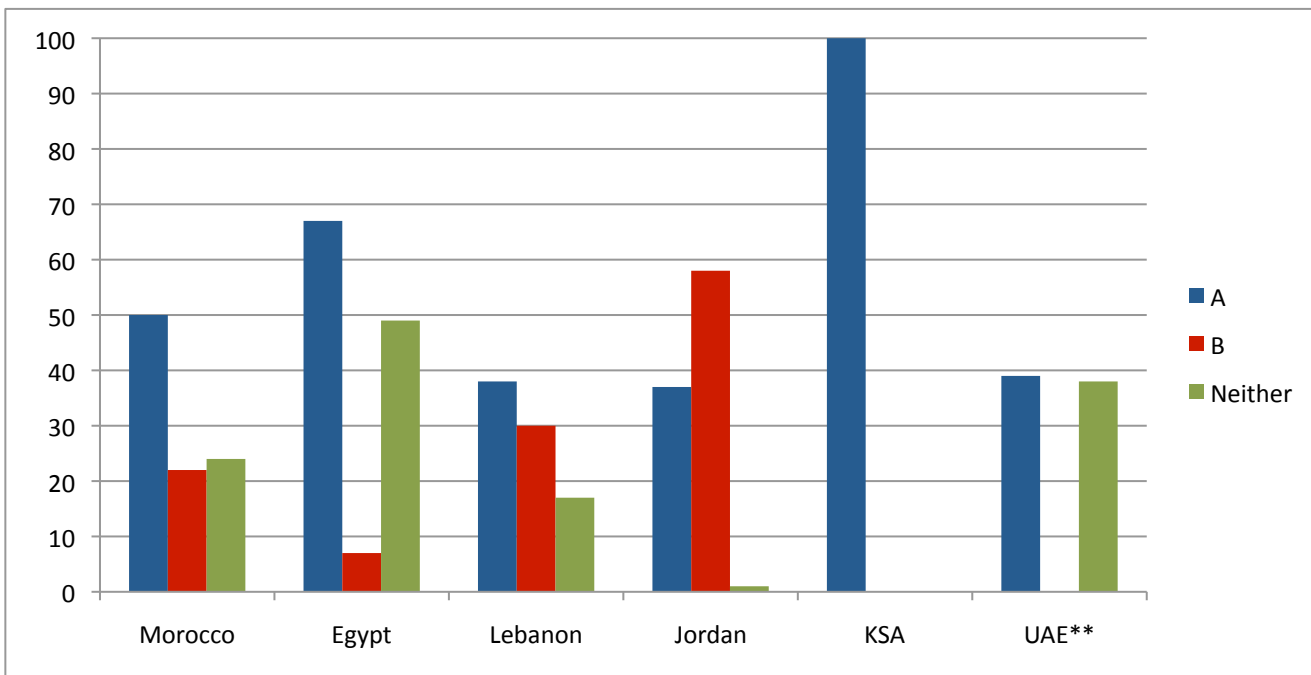
** Survey includes **all** Arabs in UAE, not just nationals.

9. Which of the following statements best reflects your view – Statement A or Statement B?

Statement A: “When the GCC responded to Bahrain’s request and sent ‘Peninsula Shield Forces’ to the island, they were acting in line with their obligation to a member state.”

Statement B: “The entry of the GCC’s ‘Peninsula Shield Forces’ into Bahrain constitutes an invasion of ‘outside forces.’”

| I. | A/B/Neither |
|---------|-------------|
| Morocco | 50/22/24 |
| Egypt | 67/7/49 |
| Lebanon | 38/30/17 |
| Jordan | 37/58/1 |
| KSA | 100/--/-- |
| UAE** | 39/--/38 |



Lebanon only

| | Shi’a | Sunni | Christian |
|---|-------|-------|-----------|
| A: When the GCC responded to Bahrain’s request and sent “Peninsula Shield Forces” to the island, they were acting in line with their obligation to a member state | 39 | 36 | 40 |
| B: The entry of the GCC’s “Peninsula Shield Forces” into Bahrain constitutes an invasion of “outside forces” | 30 | 30 | 29 |
| Neither | 15 | 19 | 17 |

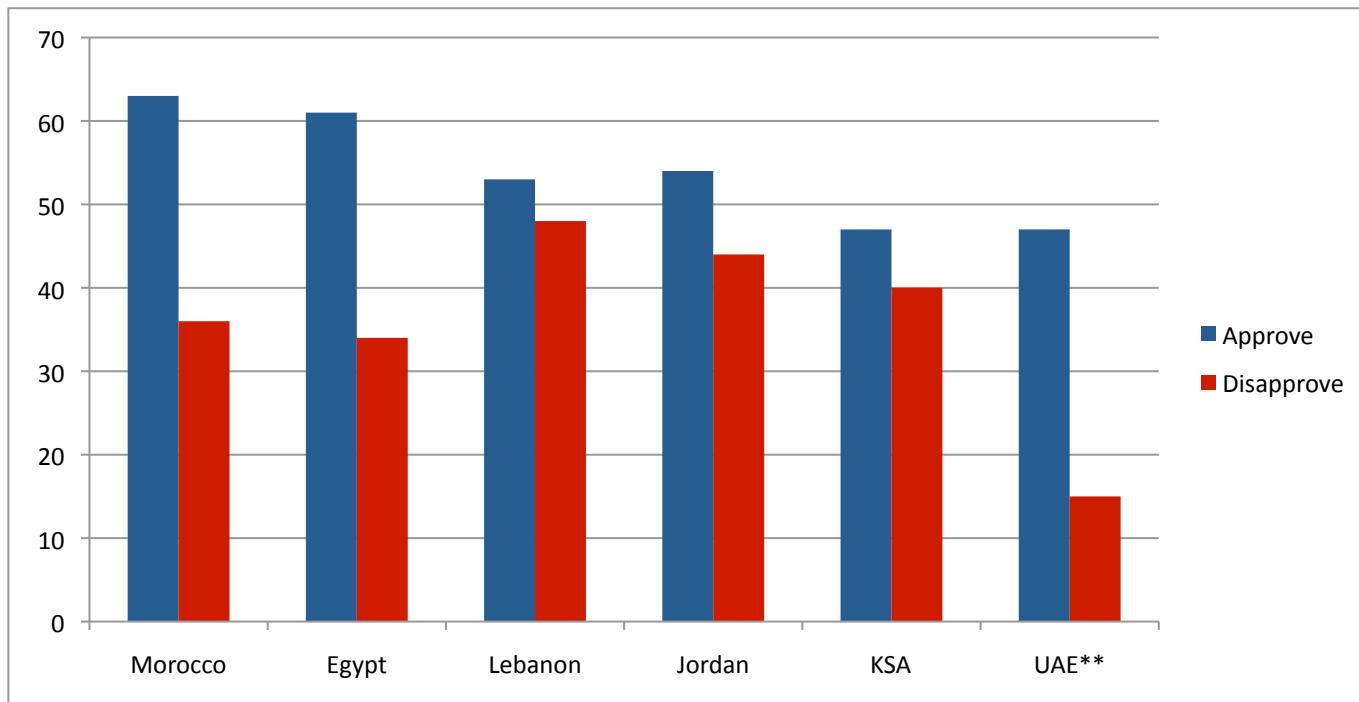
*Improve/Worsen/No Impact

I. A majority in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Morocco, and a plurality of Arabs in the Emirates, supported the GCC’s decision to send forces into Bahrain.

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

10. GCC ministers negotiated a compromise between the Yemeni President Abdullah Ali Saleh and groups representing the Yemeni opposition that, if followed by all sides, would end the revolt and lead to a change in government. Do you approve or disapprove of this role played by the GCC in Yemen?

| J. | Approve/Disapprove |
|---------|--------------------|
| Morocco | 63/36 |
| Egypt | 61/34 |
| Lebanon | 53/48 |
| Jordan | 54/44 |
| KSA | 47/40 |
| UAE** | 47/15 |



Lebanon only

| | Shi'a | Sunni | Christian |
|------------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Approve | 54 | 50 | 54 |
| Disapprove | 47 | 50 | 46 |

J. Either a majority or a plurality in every country supports the GCC's efforts to achieve a compromise solution to end the revolt and lead to a change in government in Yemen.

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