



Americans on the Middle East

A Study of American Public Opinion

Dates of Survey: September 27-October 2, 2012
 Sample Size: 737

Margin of Error: +/- 4.6 percentage points
 MoE includes design effect of 1.606

STATEMENT: In this survey, we'd like your opinions about some current issues. There is no right or wrong answer, so please answer the questions based on your knowledge or impressions. If you do not know the answer to a question, you can simply skip it and go on to the next question.

[GRID; RANDOMIZE]

Q1. What is your overall opinion of each of the following countries:

Q1a. Egypt

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know /Refused
4/2011	6	54	27	6	7
8/2011	3	37	40	11	9
10/2012	4	35	33	21	7

Q1b. Turkey

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know /Refused
4/2011	5	58	25	6	6
8/2011	2	42	37	10	9
10/2012	3	45	29	16	8

Q1c. Libya

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Don't Know /Refused
10/2012	2	17	42	33	7

[GRID; RANDOMIZE]

Q2. What is your overall opinion of each of the following groups of people:

Q2a. Arab people in general

	10/12	8/11	4/11
Very favorable	5%	5%	7%
Mostly favorable	44	48	49
Mostly unfavorable	35	30	30
Very unfavorable	12	11	8
Don't know/Refused	4	7	5

Q2b. Muslim people in general

	10/12	8/11
Very favorable	6%	5%
Mostly favorable	42	44
Mostly unfavorable	32	31
Very unfavorable	16	14
Don't know/Refused	4	6

STATEMENT: As you may know, recently there were public protests in Arab countries against an anti-Islamic film. In Egypt, there were attacks against the US embassy, though no one was killed. In Libya, attacks against the embassy resulted in the deaths of four Americans, including the US ambassador.

[GRID; RANDOMIZE Presentation of Egypt and Libya]

Q3. Thinking about the attacks in Egypt and Libya, for each country, would you say:

Q3a. Egypt

The violent actions were only supported by extremist minorities	63%
Republicans	62
Democrats	74
Independents	50

The violent actions were supported by a majority of the population.....	31
Republicans.....	33
Democrats.....	24
Independents.....	40
Don't know/Refused.....	6

Q3a. Libya

The violent actions were only supported by extremist minorities.....	61%
Republicans.....	59
Democrats.....	73
Independents.....	46

The violent actions were supported by a majority of the population.....	34
Republicans.....	36
Democrats.....	25
Independents.....	46

Don't know/Refused.....	5
-------------------------	---

[SP, GRID; RANDOMIZE Presentation of Egypt and Libya]

Q4. Still thinking about these attacks in Egypt and Libya, for each country, is it your impression that that the government: (Select each option that applies)

Tried to protect American diplomats and their staff

Q4a. Egypt

Did.....	37%
Republicans.....	25
Democrats.....	54
Independents.....	28

Did not.....	53
Republicans.....	68
Democrats.....	39
Independents.....	52

Don't know/Refused.....	10
-------------------------	----

Q4b. Libya

Did.....	27%
Republicans.....	17
Democrats	42
Independents	19
Did not	63
Republicans.....	77
Democrats	52
Independents	62
Don't know/Refused	10

Has criticized the attacks

Q4a. Egypt

Did.....	47%
Republicans.....	36
Democrats	65
Independents	35
Did not	42
Republicans.....	56
Democrats	26
Independents	46
Don't know/Refused	11

Q4b. Libya

Did.....	47%
Republicans.....	38
Democrats	64
Independents	33
Did not	42
Republicans.....	53
Democrats	29
Independents	48
Don't know/Refused	11

Has tried to find and arrest the perpetrators

Q4a. Egypt

Did.....	31%
Republicans.....	19
Democrats	46
Independents	23
Did not	57
Republicans.....	70
Democrats	45
Independents	57
Don't know/Refused	12

Q4b. Libya

Did.....	34%
Republicans.....	29
Democrats	45
Independents	24
Did not	55
Republicans.....	63
Democrats	46
Independents	57
Don't know/Refused	12

[SHOW ON THE SAME SCREEN AS THE DISPLAY – RANDOMLY PRESENT Q5 THROUGH Q8]

STATEMENT: As you may know, there have been negotiations between the US and Egypt over the terms of ongoing foreign aid to Egypt. You will see four arguments on this issue. Please tell me how convincing you find each of these arguments.

Q5. The US should continue to provide aid to Egypt because it helps Egypt's emerging democracy as it goes through a transition.

Very convincing.....	4%
Republicans.....	1
Democrats	5
Independents	4

Somewhat convincing.....	31
Republicans.....	21
Democrats	45
Independents	25
Somewhat unconvincing.....	35
Republicans.....	45
Democrats	28
Independents	33
Very unconvincing.....	26
Republicans.....	32
Democrats	17
Independents	28
Don't know/Refused	4

Q6. The US should continue to provide aid because it helps provide stability and is a continuing way for the US to influence events.

Very convincing.....	6%
Republicans.....	2
Democrats	9
Independents	5
Somewhat convincing.....	34
Republicans.....	28
Democrats	45
Independents	23
Somewhat unconvincing.....	31
Republicans.....	36
Democrats	27
Independents	32
Very unconvincing.....	26
Republicans.....	32
Democrats	17
Independents	31
Don't know/Refused	4

Q7. The US should stop giving aid to the Egyptian government because it has been slow to criticize, and has failed to effectively confront, those who have attacked the US Embassy in Cairo.

Very convincing.....	28%
Republicans.....	41
Democrats	19
Independents	25
Somewhat convincing.....	36
Republicans.....	41
Democrats	38
Independents	29
Somewhat unconvincing.....	23
Republicans.....	14
Democrats	32
Independents	23
Very unconvincing.....	8
Republicans.....	2
Democrats	9
Independents	13
Don't know/Refused	5

Q8. Given the difficult economic times the US is going through, it is unwise for the US to give large amounts of aid to Egypt.

Very convincing.....	40%
Republicans.....	56
Democrats	31
Independents	33
Somewhat convincing.....	34
Republicans.....	31
Democrats	42
Independents	25
Somewhat unconvincing.....	15
Republicans.....	10
Democrats	16
Independents	19

Very unconvincing.....	7
Republicans.....	2
Democrats.....	7
Independents.....	14
Don't know/Refused.....	4

Q9. So now, do you think US foreign aid to Egypt should be:

	10/12	CCGA *
Increased.....	1%	6/12
Republicans.....	0	5%
Democrats.....	3	
Independents.....	2	
Kept the same as it is now.....	25	40
Republicans.....	15	
Democrats.....	33	
Independents.....	25	
Decreased.....	42	29
Republicans.....	44	
Democrats.....	49	
Independents.....	27	
Stopped altogether.....	29	23
Republicans.....	41	
Democrats.....	15	
Independents.....	36	
Don't know/Refused.....	3	3

* The Chicago Council on Global Affairs question reads: "Do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, kept about the same, or stopped altogether?"

[DISPLAY]

Currently there is some debate about what stance the US should take in relation to the possibility that Israel might attack Iran's nuclear program. You will see three arguments on this issue. Please select how convincing you find each of them.

Here's the first argument.

[SHOW ON THE SAME SCREEN AS THE DISPLAY]

Q10. The US should discourage Israel from attacking Iran's nuclear program. There are huge risks to US national interests, since Iran may attack US assets in retaliation, pulling the US into a war. Oil prices would skyrocket. Furthermore, US military leaders say the most that could be achieved would be to slow down Iran's nuclear program a bit and probably just lead them to rebuild it underground.

	10/12	3/12
Very convincing.....	19%	17%
Republicans.....	18	12
Democrats	25	26
Independents	13	12
Somewhat convincing.....	44	54
Republicans.....	41	55
Democrats	53	58
Independents	34	46
Somewhat unconvincing.....	21	17
Republicans.....	26	22
Democrats	17	10
Independents	19	20
Very unconvincing.....	12	7
Republicans.....	14	10
Democrats	5	5
Independents	20	7
Don't know/Refused.....	4	5

Q11. The US should take a neutral stance. Israel has a right to take actions it sees as necessary for its own defense. Meanwhile, the US should think about its own interests and make a clear statement distancing itself from whatever Israel may choose to do, to reduce the chance that Iran will retaliate against US targets.

	10/12	3/12
Very convincing.....	14%	11%
Republicans.....	12	10
Democrats	16	14
Independents	12	8
Somewhat convincing.....	38	41
Republicans.....	34	39
Democrats	45	46
Independents	31	37
Somewhat unconvincing.....	28	30
Republicans.....	28	32
Democrats	29	30
Independents	27	27
Very unconvincing.....	15	15
Republicans.....	22	18
Democrats	9	11
Independents	17	16
Don't know/Refused.....	5	4

Q12. The US should encourage Israel to attack Iran's nuclear program. Clearly Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons, and if Israel will take the heat for stopping or at least slowing down the program, all the better for the US. The risk of Iran acquiring nuclear weapons is of greater concern than the fallout from an Israeli strike.

	10/12	3/12
Very convincing.....	9%	8%
Republicans.....	13	11
Democrats	7	7
Independents	9	5
Somewhat convincing.....	27	30
Republicans.....	29	31
Democrats	28	24
Independents	22	35

Somewhat unconvincing.....	32	33
Republicans.....	35	34
Democrats.....	31	39
Independents.....	29	23
Very unconvincing.....	25	24
Republicans.....	17	22
Democrats.....	32	28
Independents.....	25	21
Don't know/Refused.....	7	5

Q13. So now, do you think the US should:

	10/12	3/12
Discourage Israel from attacking Iran's nuclear program.....	29%	34%
Republicans.....	23	30
Democrats.....	39	44
Independents.....	23	24
Take a neutral stance.....	53	46
Republicans.....	51	43
Democrats.....	54	47
Independents.....	53	50
Encourage Israel to attack Iran's nuclear program.....	12	14
Republicans.....	20	23
Democrats.....	3	7
Independents.....	14	13
Don't know/Refused.....	6	6

Q14. What do you believe the likely outcome would be if Israel were to strike Iran:

	Americans		Sadat Chair Israelis
	10/12	3/12	2/12
It would delay Iran's capabilities to develop nuclear weapons by 1-2 years.....	20%	20%	9%
Republicans.....	23	21	
Democrats.....	23	22	
Independents.....	11	18	

It would delay Iran's capabilities by 3-5 years	20	22	22
Republicans.....	20	33	
Democrats	21	21	
Independents	19	11	
It would delay Iran's capabilities by more than 5 years	15	18	22
Republicans.....	23	19	
Democrats	11	18	
Independents	13	18	
It would accelerate Iran's nuclear program	22	22	11
Republicans.....	17	15	
Democrats	25	28	
Independents	26	22	
It would have no effect on Iran's nuclear program.....	14	9	19
Republicans.....	12	7	
Democrats	14	9	
Independents	16	11	
Don't know/Refused	9	8	9

Q15. If Israel were to attack Iran's nuclear program, how likely do you think each of the following would be:

Q15a. Iran would attack US bases and forces in the region and draw the US into war with Iran

Very likely	28%
Republicans.....	28
Democrats	28
Independents	28
Somewhat likely.....	42
Republicans.....	47
Democrats	43
Independents	35
Not very likely	19
Republicans.....	19
Democrats	23
Independents	15

Not at all likely.....	4
Republicans.....	2
Democrats.....	3
Independents.....	7
Don't know/Refused.....	6

Q15b. The price of oil would increase drastically

Very likely.....	59%
Republicans.....	58
Democrats.....	65
Independents.....	52
Somewhat likely.....	27
Republicans.....	33
Democrats.....	26
Independents.....	19
Not very likely.....	6
Republicans.....	6
Democrats.....	4
Independents.....	6
Not at all likely.....	3
Republicans.....	2
Democrats.....	3
Independents.....	6
Don't know/Refused.....	5

Q15c. If Israel were to attack Iran's nuclear program, do you think the US's military and strategic position in the Middle East would be:

Better.....	8%
Republicans.....	12
Democrats.....	5
Independents.....	7
Worse.....	55
Republicans.....	52
Democrats.....	63
Independents.....	48

About the same	32
Republicans.....	33
Democrats	32
Independents	30
Don't know/Refused	5

Q16. Please tell me which of the following statements is closer to your own view:

	10/12	8/11	PIPA 11/01
Because Islamic religious and social traditions are intolerant and fundamentally incompatible with Western culture, violent conflict is bound to keep happening	42%	37%	26%
Republicans.....	60	48	
Democrats	30	28	
Independents	36	35	
Though there are some fanatics in the Islamic world, most people there have needs and wants like those of people everywhere, so it is possible for us to find common ground	53	59	68
Republicans.....	38	51	
Democrats	68	69	
Independents	51	55	
Don't know/Refused	5	4	6

Q17. Thinking about the tensions between Islam and the West, do you think they arise more from differences of religion and culture, or from conflicts about political power and interests?

	10/12	8/11	BBC 12/06
Differences of religion and culture	43%	39%	38%
Republicans.....	56	51	
Democrats	36	34	
Independents	38	32	
Conflicts about political power and interests.....	51	57	49
Republicans.....	42	48	
Democrats	62	63	
Independents	49	59	
Both equally (vol.)	N/A	N/A	7
Neither (vol.).....	N/A	N/A	1

Don't know/Refused	5	4	5
--------------------------	---	---	---

Q18. Do you think the popular uprisings in the Arab world are:

	10/12	8/11	4/11
More about Islamist groups seeking political power	38%	17%	15%
Republicans	55	26	
Democrats	30	13	
Independents	29	13	
More about ordinary people seeking freedom and democracy	15	33	45
Republicans	12	29	
Democrats	20	45	
Independents	11	21	
Both equally	42	45	37
Republicans	31	44	
Democrats	47	40	
Independents	48	54	
Don't know/Refused	5	4	3

Q19. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I would want to see a country become more democratic even if this resulted in the country being more likely to oppose US policies.

	10/12	8/11	4/11	PIPA 9/05
Agree	50%	53%	57%	48%
Republicans	50	53		
Democrats	62	64		
Independents	32	37		
Disagree	42%	40	40	39
Republicans	45	42		
Democrats	36	32		
Independents	48	48		
Don't know/Refused	8	7	4	12

Q20. Thinking about US interests, how important an issue is the US relationship with Muslims and Muslim-majority countries?

	10/12	8/11	4/11	11/10
The single most important issue for the US.....	4%	4%	3%	2%
Republicans.....	4	5		
Democrats.....	3	3		
Independents.....	3	4		
Among the top three issues.....	22	22	15	19
Republicans.....	23	24		
Democrats.....	24	22		
Independents.....	18	19		
Among the top five issues.....	41	43	43	37
Republicans.....	47	45		
Democrats.....	42	49		
Independents.....	31	34		
Not among the top five issues.....	27	24	36	37
Republicans.....	21	22		
Democrats.....	28	25		
Independents.....	33	27		
Don't know/Refused.....	7	6	3	6

Q21. Thinking about US interests, how important an issue is the Arab-Israeli conflict?

	10/12	8/11	4/11
The single most important issue for the US.....	5%	7%	4%
Republicans.....	6	9	
Democrats.....	7	6	
Independents.....	3	5	
Among the top three issues.....	25	23	21
Republicans.....	27	29	
Democrats.....	23	21	
Independents.....	26	18	
Among the top five issues.....	37	31	38
Republicans.....	45	35	
Democrats.....	36	31	
Independents.....	29	25	

Not among the top five issues.....	26	32	33
Republicans.....	20	24	
Democrats.....	29	37	
Independents.....	29	35	
Don't know/Refused.....	7	7	4

Q22. Would you support or oppose the United States, jointly with its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to the conflict in Syria?

Q22a. Increasing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Syria

	10/12	CCGA
		6/12
Support.....	60%	63%
Republicans.....	69	
Democrats.....	65	
Independents.....	42	
Oppose.....	29	32
Republicans.....	23	
Democrats.....	29	
Independents.....	37	
Don't know/Refused.....	11	6

Q22b. Enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria

	10/12	CCGA
		6/12
Support.....	59%	58%
Republicans.....	63	
Democrats.....	63	
Independents.....	48	
Oppose.....	29	36
Republicans.....	28	
Democrats.....	29	
Independents.....	32	
Don't know/Refused.....	11	6

Q22c. Sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups

	10/12	CCGA 6/12
Support.....	22%	27%
Republicans.....	24	
Democrats	23	
Independents	20	
Oppose	67	67
Republicans.....	67	
Democrats	71	
Independents	59	
Don't know/Refused	11	6

Q22d. Bombing Syrian air defense

	10/12	CCGA 6/12
Support.....	21%	22%
Republicans.....	30	
Democrats	14	
Independents	18	
Oppose	68	72
Republicans.....	60	
Democrats	79	
Independents	62	
Don't know/Refused	12	6

Q22e. Sending troops into Syria

	10/12	CCGA 6/12
Support.....	13%	14%
Republicans.....	13	
Democrats	11	
Independents	15	
Oppose	77	81
Republicans.....	79	
Democrats	82	
Independents	65	

Don't know/Refused11

6

Q23. In light of recent events in the Middle East and thinking about broad U.S. interests in the region, do you think the US should:

Increase its diplomatic involvement in the region	14%
Republicans.....	12
Democrats	18
Independents	10
 Maintain its current level of diplomatic involvement in the region	46
Republicans.....	45
Democrats	47
Independents	44
 Decrease its diplomatic involvement in the region	34
Republicans.....	40
Democrats	32
Independents	32
 Don't know/Refused	6

DEMOGRAPHICS

Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

Age

18-29	21%
30-44	26
45-59	28
60+	26

Education

Less than high school.....	12%
High school	31
Some college.....	29
BA+.....	29

Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	67%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	11
Other, Non-Hispanic	5
Hispanic	15
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic	2

Region (based on state of residence)

Northeast.....	18%
Midwest.....	22
South	37
West	23

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

Republican	24%
Independent.....	23
Democrat.....	31
Other	2
No preference.....	17
Don't know/Refused	3

[ASK IF D1 = "Independent" OR "Other" OR "No preference" OR "Don't know/Refused"]
D1a. Do you think of yourself as closer to the:

Republican Party	11%*
Democratic Party	8
Neither.....	23
Don't know/Refused	3

D1-D1a. Overall party identification combined

Republican Party/Lean Republican.....	35%
Democratic Party/Lean Democrat.....	40
Independent.....	25

* Percent of total