



AFTER THE ARAB UPRISINGS: WOMEN ON RIGHTS, RELIGION, AND REBUILDING

SUMMER 2012

GALLUP®

Arab women and men share similar views on political and social priorities, religion's role in society, and women's rights, forming a solid foundation for cooperative rebuilding a year after the Arab uprisings. The greatest challenge to women post-uprising is not religion, but the lack of economic and social development and a dearth of perceived security. Those working for greater gender equality in the Arab world would do well to focus on overall human development, allowing Arab women's own priorities to guide these efforts.

AFTER THE ARAB UPRISINGS: WOMEN ON RIGHTS, RELIGION, AND REBUILDING

SUMMER 2012

Since the Arab Spring exploded in January 2011, women have been on the frontlines of the protests, calling for the overthrow of authoritarian regimes and the establishment of democracy and social justice. According to Gallup surveys, for example, women made up almost one-third of the protesters in Egypt's Jan. 25 revolution. The Yemeni female activist Tawakul Karman was awarded the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize for her leading role in the country's nonviolent struggle for democracy and "women's right to full participation in peace-building work." Moreover, some of the transitional regimes have recognized women's participation in the protests when developing laws governing their countries' new political life. The Tunisian transitional government, for example, required that half of each party's electoral list be made up of women for the October 2011 Constituent Assembly election. Women were allocated nearly one-quarter of the Assembly's seats.

Instances of disempowerment and force sometimes overshadow these developments for women. Egyptian women, in contrast, did not enjoy the same success as their Tunisian counterparts in the first parliamentary elections after the Mubarak era. Women make up about 1% of Egypt's new parliament. In March and November 2011, there were reports of Egyptian military forces sexually assaulting women protesting the slow pace of reforms in Tahrir Square. Furthermore, the forces of Libyan ex-leader Moammar Gadhafi allegedly used sexual violence to suppress women's participation in protests in rebel strongholds.

Moreover, the rise of Islamist political parties in Tunisia and Egypt has many secular Arab women's rights activists and Western observers worried that the change women

EGYPTIAN WOMEN ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN THE REVOLUTION

Egyptian Women's Support of the Revolution Similar to Men's

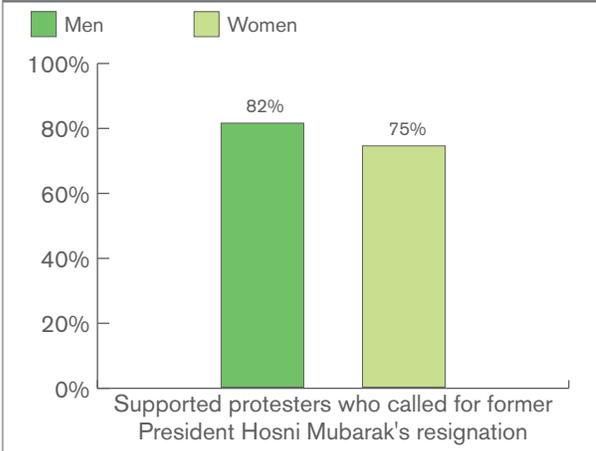


Figure 1: "Overall, did you support or not support the protesters who called for former President Mubarak's resignation?"

A Significant Minority of Egypt's Revolutionary Protesters Were Women

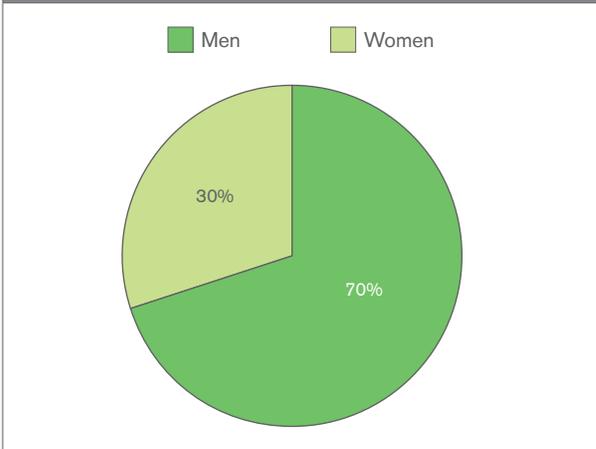


Figure 2: "Did you, personally, participate in any protests in the time right before former President Mubarak resigned?"

helped ignite has betrayed them. For example, Moushira Khattab, a former Egyptian minister of family and population in the Mubarak regime, writes that since the uprising, “The train of change has not only left them behind, but has in fact turned against them . . . Dormant conservative value systems are being manipulated by a religious discourse that denies women their rights.”

Some activists are less pessimistic. Omezzine Khélifa, a Tunisian woman active in the political process after the uprising, boasts of her fellow female citizens’ civic engagement. “Women realize that they have the most to lose if the transition does not go well and, as a result, have continued to be very active in the political process,” she writes.

This brief widens the debate to include the views of ordinary citizens on the issues vital to rebuilding after revolution. Focusing on several countries that experienced upheaval in 2011, the brief explores the perspectives of women and men on the role of religion in legislation, women’s rights, life perceptions, and the economy, and then offers recommendations for leaders working to improve the lives of Arab women.

The brief presents the analysis in the following three parts:

- **The Challenges Facing Women After the Uprisings**
- **Common Ground on Which to Build**
- **Recommendations**

The Challenges Facing Women After the Uprisings

The greatest obstacles for women are related to the economy and security

WOMEN AND MEN SEE LIVES WORSEN AFTER UPRISINGS

Women and men rate their current lives worse in the post-Arab-uprising world than before the revolutions. Women are more likely than men to rate their lives better overall in 2011, except in Bahrain and Syria where men and women view their lives similarly. Tunisian women’s ratings changed the least between 2011 and 2010. Changes were biggest in Bahrain, where men’s views of their current lives fell significantly over this period. Yemeni men report the lowest evaluation of their current lives and give among the lowest ratings in the world.

While all rate their lives worse in 2011 than they did in 2010, all believe their lives will be better in five years. These assessments generally became bleaker in all countries between 2010 and 2011. Again, Yemeni men report the lowest rating of all Arab populations surveyed.

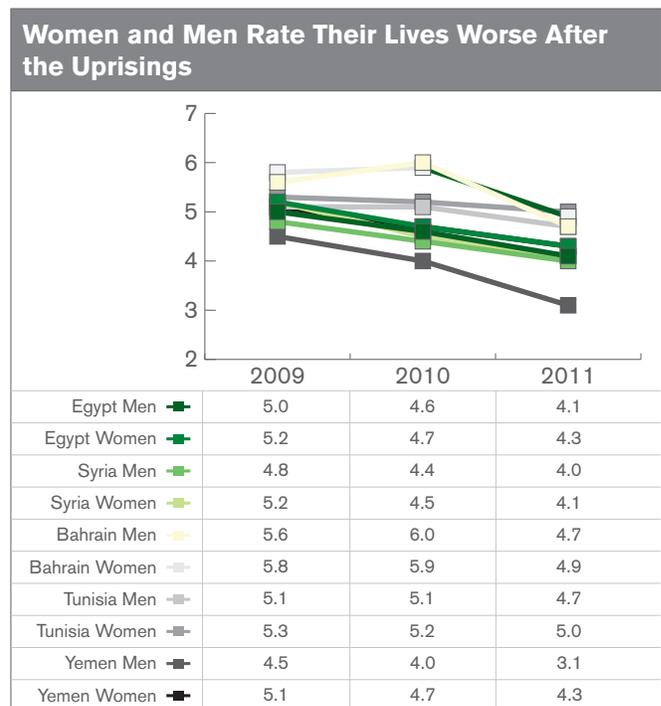


Figure 3: “Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from zero at the bottom to 10 at the top. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time, assuming that the higher the step the better you feel about your life, and the lower the step the worse you feel about it? Which step comes closest to the way you feel?”

The notable exception is Egypt. While Tunisians and Bahraini nationals rate their expected lives in five years higher than Egyptians do, men and women in the largest Arab state are the only ones who rate their future higher in 2011 than they did before their revolution.

Life evaluations show positive connections to GDP, human rights, and literacy levels. The downward trend of hope and optimism for the majority of Arab countries presents a serious challenge for each government.

ECONOMIC STRUGGLES PLAGUE ARAB UPRISING COUNTRIES

The economic picture similarly reflects the downward trends of women’s and men’s life perceptions. Women and men who expressed satisfaction with their standard of living declined between 2011 and 2010.

Egypt appears to be an exception again, with Egyptians more likely to say the national economy is getting better in 2011 than in 2010. In the other countries surveyed, fewer residents say economic conditions are getting better, and they are more likely to say their economy is getting worse.

Egypt Is the Only Arab Spring Country Where Residents Are Optimistic About Their Future Lives

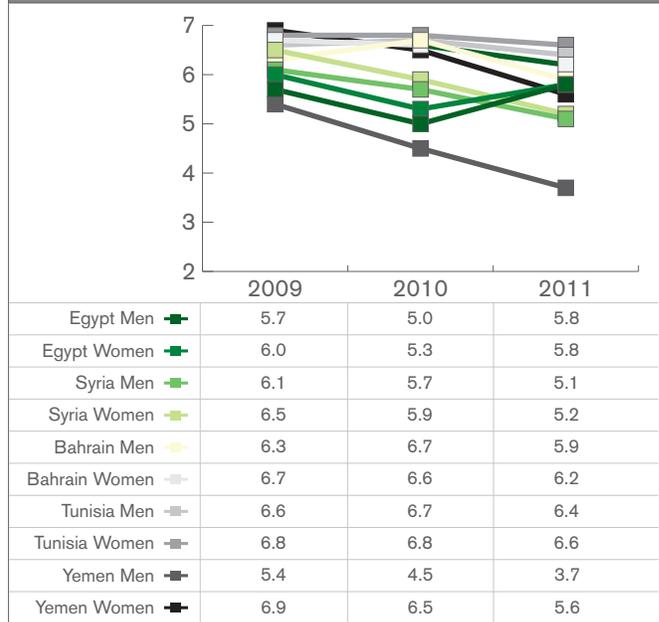


Figure 4: “Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from zero at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. Just your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand on in the future, say about five years from now?”

Many Less Satisfied With Standard of Living After Arab Uprisings

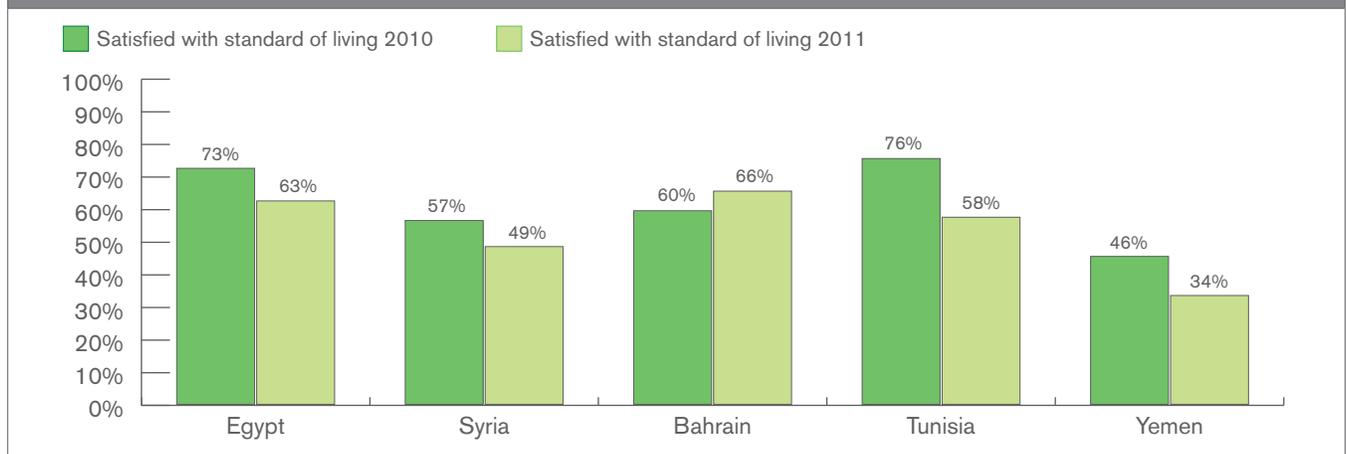


Figure 5: “Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your standard of living, all the things you can buy and do?”

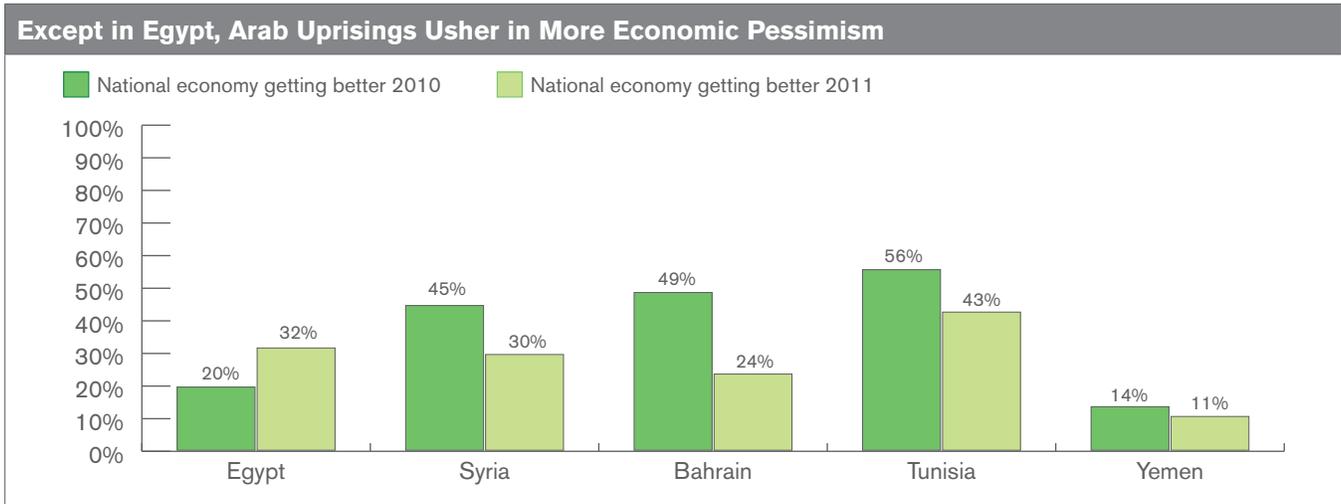


Figure 6: “Right now, do you think the economic conditions in [Country Name], as a whole, are getting better or getting worse?” Percentage “Getting Better” shown

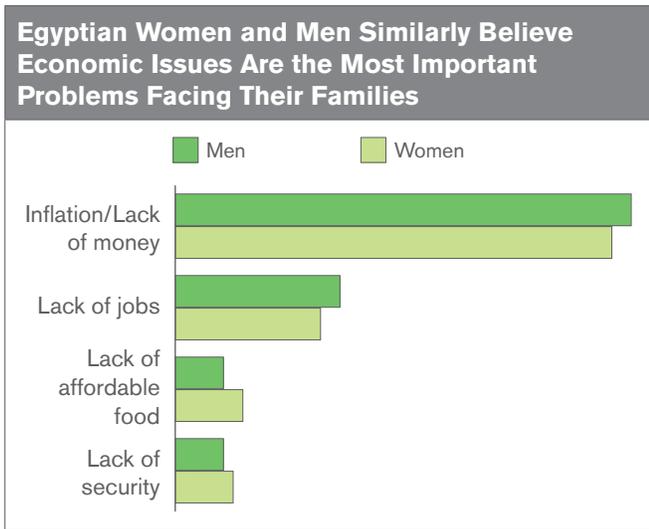


Figure 7: “What is the most important problem facing your family?” It is important to note that this specific question was asked only in Egypt during Gallup’s surveys. Egyptians account for more than 20% of the Arab world.

Furthermore, in 2011 women and men are also more likely to say they are finding it *very difficult* to get by on their present incomes compared with the previous year.

These economic struggles are top concerns for Egyptian women and men. They equally cite economic and security issues as being the most important problems facing their families. Gender-specific concerns were not mentioned as top priorities for Egyptian women.

EGYPTIAN WOMEN AND MEN EQUALLY OPPOSE INTERNATIONAL AID

Despite these economic hardships, Egyptian men and women are equally suspicious of many forms of international aid. Most women and men oppose *all forms* of U.S. aid. Majorities of women and men favor aid from the wider Arab region; however, Egyptian women are slightly less likely than Egyptian men to support aid from international institutions. But they are slightly more likely to support aid from EU governments than men are.

This finding is especially noteworthy as many policymakers in the U.S. and the EU are reaching out to women, particularly after the Arab uprisings, to offer gender-specific programs. Economic aid from the U.S. and the EU often contains stipulations meant to empower women. These development programs face substantial popular resistance as Egyptian women and men are equally suspicious of all kinds of U.S. aid.

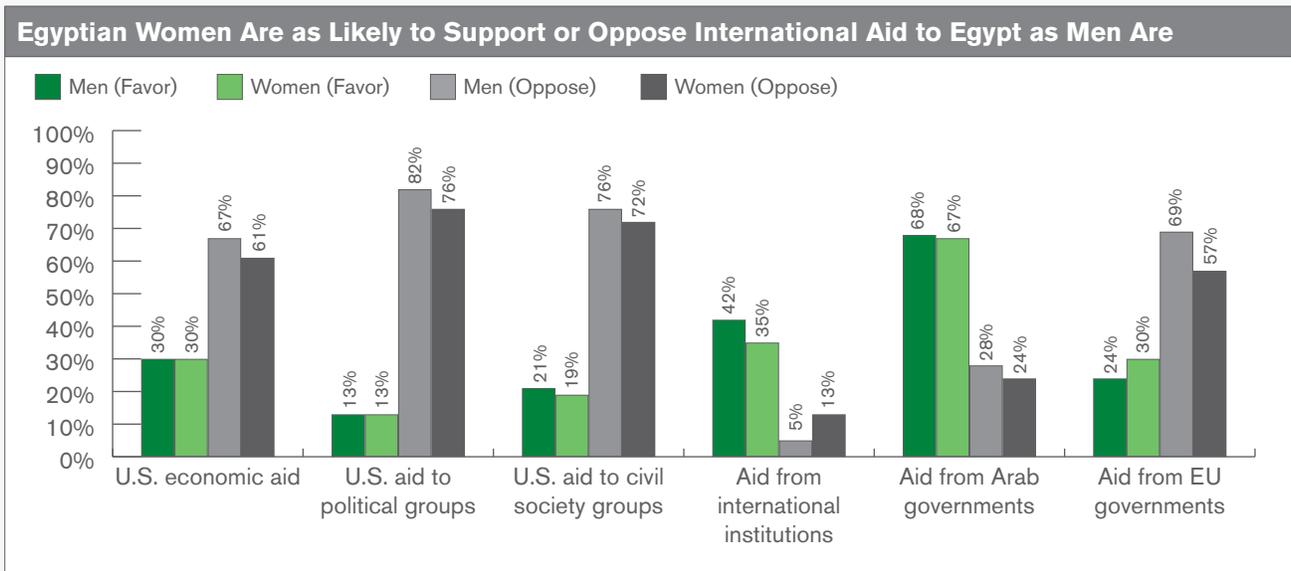


Figure 8:

“Do you favor or oppose U.S. sending: Economic aid to Egypt?”

“Do you favor or oppose U.S. sending: Aid to political groups in Egypt?”

“Do you favor or oppose U.S. sending: Aid to civil society groups in Egypt?”

“Do you favor or oppose aid to Egypt from the following sources: International institutions?”

“Do you favor or oppose aid to Egypt from the following sources: Arab governments?”

“Do you favor or oppose aid to Egypt from the following sources: The European Union?”

It is important to note that this specific question was asked only in Egypt.

WOMEN'S INSECURITY ON THE RISE

The greatest barrier to women's participation in public life may be their perceptions of lack of safety and respect. There may be a loose connection between women feeling safe and their confidence to openly express their views in civic participation. In December 2011, 37% of Egyptian women who said they felt safe to walk alone at night said they were afraid to openly express their views. In comparison, 45% of women who said they "do not feel safe" to walk

alone at night also said they were afraid to openly express their views.

After the uprisings, fewer women across the region feel safe walking alone at night. Surprisingly though, reported crime has increased only in Tunisia across the Arab countries surveyed between 2010 and 2011. Policymakers must address people's sense of perceived insecurity, regardless of the trend in crime rate.

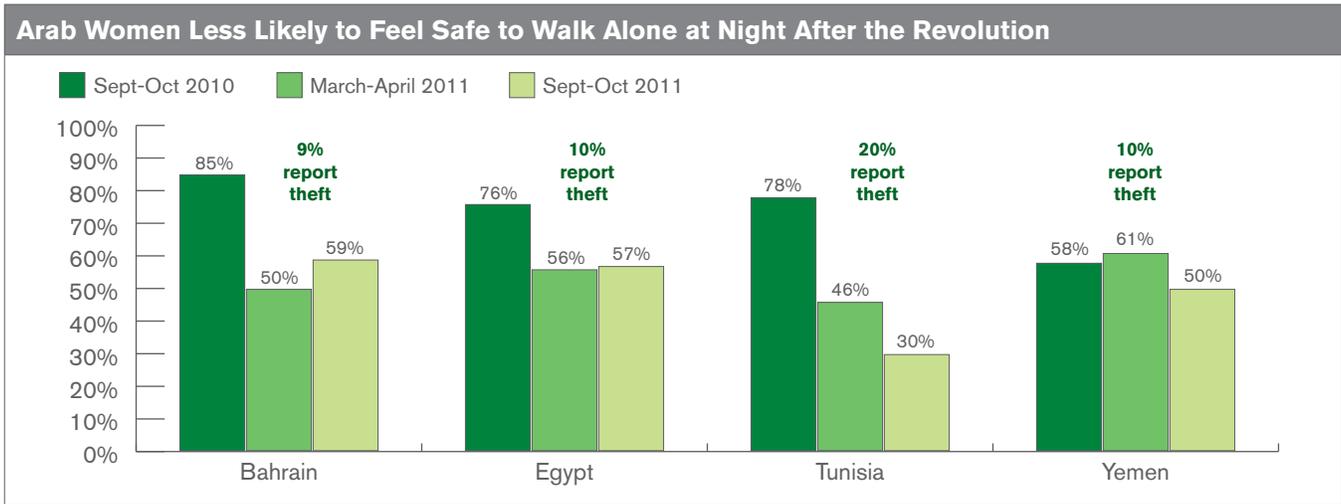


Figure 9: "Do you feel safe walking alone at night in the city or area where you live?" Percentage "Yes" shown, among Arab women

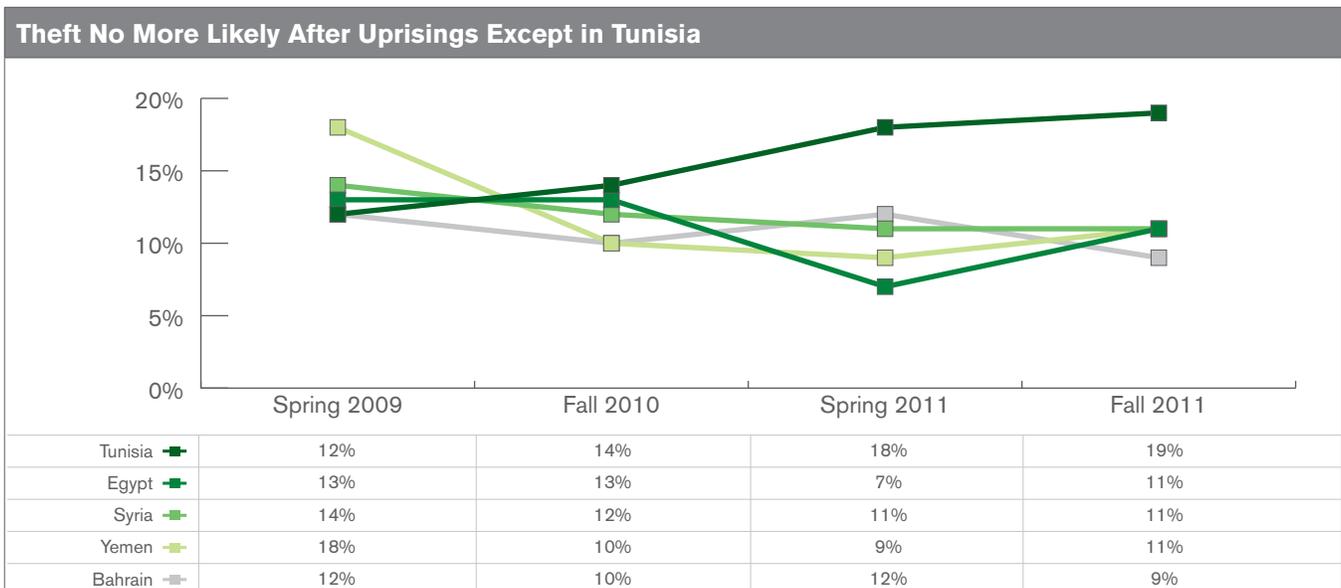


Figure 10: "Within the last 12 months, have you had money or property stolen from you or another household member?" Percentage "Yes" shown, among Arab adults

Common Ground on Which to Build

Arab women and men share similar views on political and social priorities, religion's role in society, and women's rights, which provides a solid foundation for cooperative rebuilding after the Arab uprisings.

Education conditions have improved significantly for women in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region since the 1950s. The mean ratio of women's years of schooling to men's years, for example, has increased from 0.2-to-1 to 0.7-to-1 between 1970 and 2010. In addition, women's average life expectancy was higher than that of men in 2009, at 74.1 and 70.5 years, respectively.

Unlike their impressive strides in education, Arab women's participation in the labor market and politics remains among the lowest in the world. MENA women's participation rate in the labor force has been increasing at an extremely slow rate of 0.17% since the 1970s. Furthermore, roughly one-quarter of the region's female population participates in the workforce, compared with more than 50% in the rest of the world. Politically, women's ability to shape policies and influence the decision-making process in the region has been largely limited because of their weak

representation in government. In 2011, women occupied 9% of parliament seats in the region, lower than any other region's percentage and lower than the world's average by 10 percentage points.

Some pin these statistics on women's lack of social awareness, while others blame the rise of conservative religious values in the Arab world. This section explores men's and women's views on women's rights and analyzes how much religion plays a role in forming Arab men's perceptions.

ARAB WOMEN WANT RIGHTS

Arab women in the countries surveyed believe they should have the same legal rights as Arab men. Majorities of men agree with women on this issue, albeit in smaller percentages than their female counterparts in most cases. The largest gender gap in support for women's legal rights is

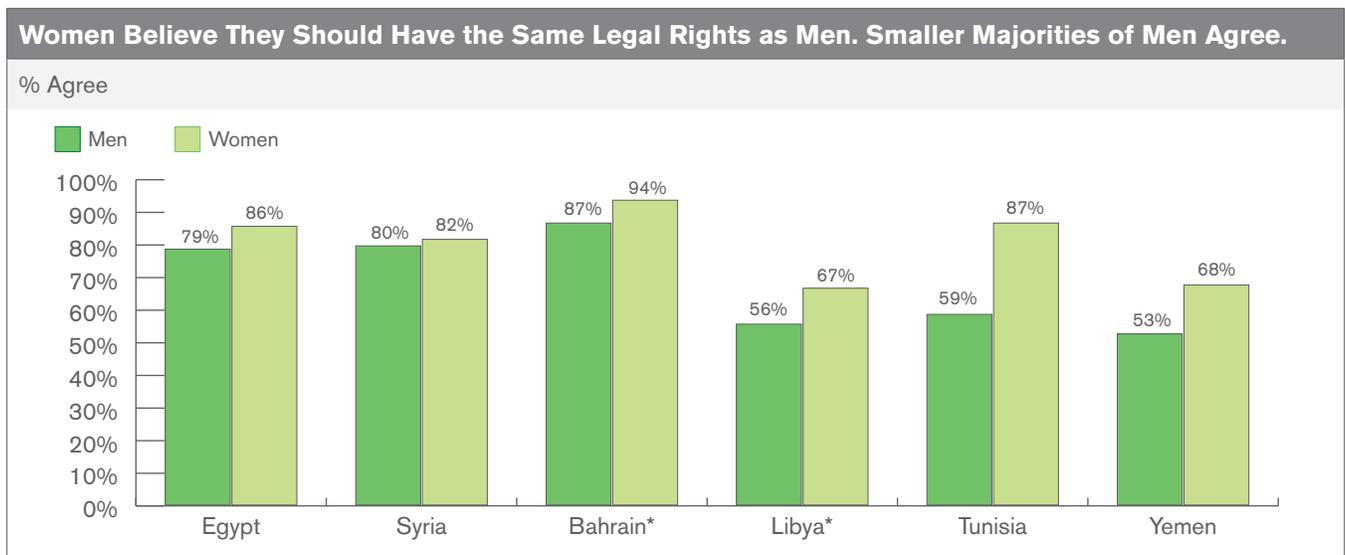


Figure 11: "Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Women and men should have equal legal rights."

*Based on 2010 data

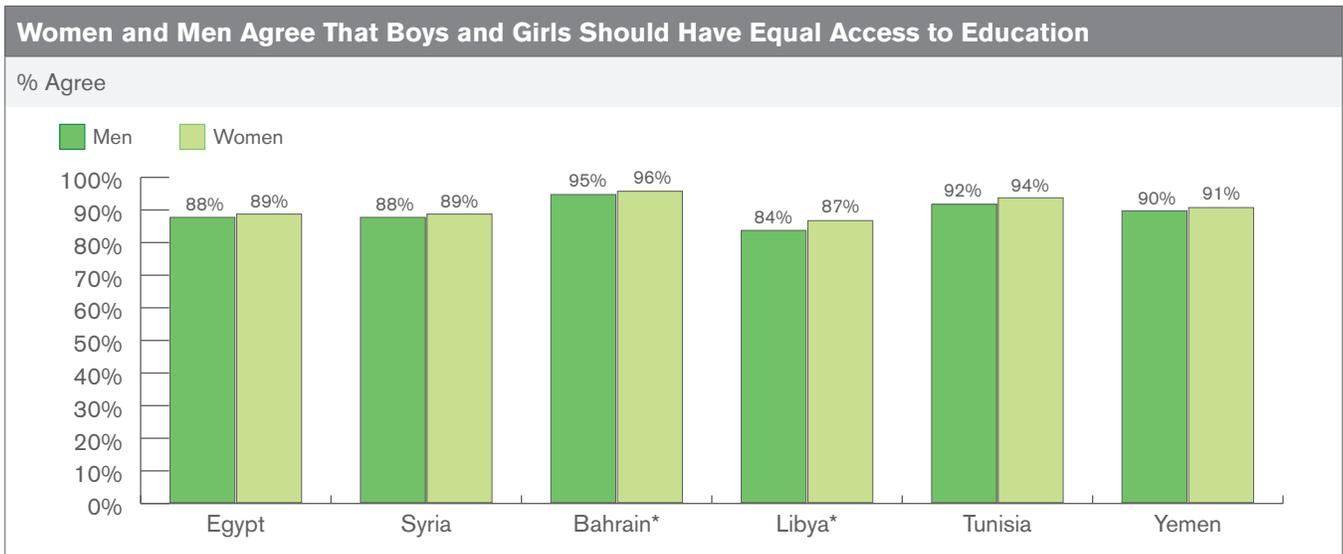


Figure 12: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Boys and girls in this country should have equal access to the same level of education.”
*Based on 2010 data

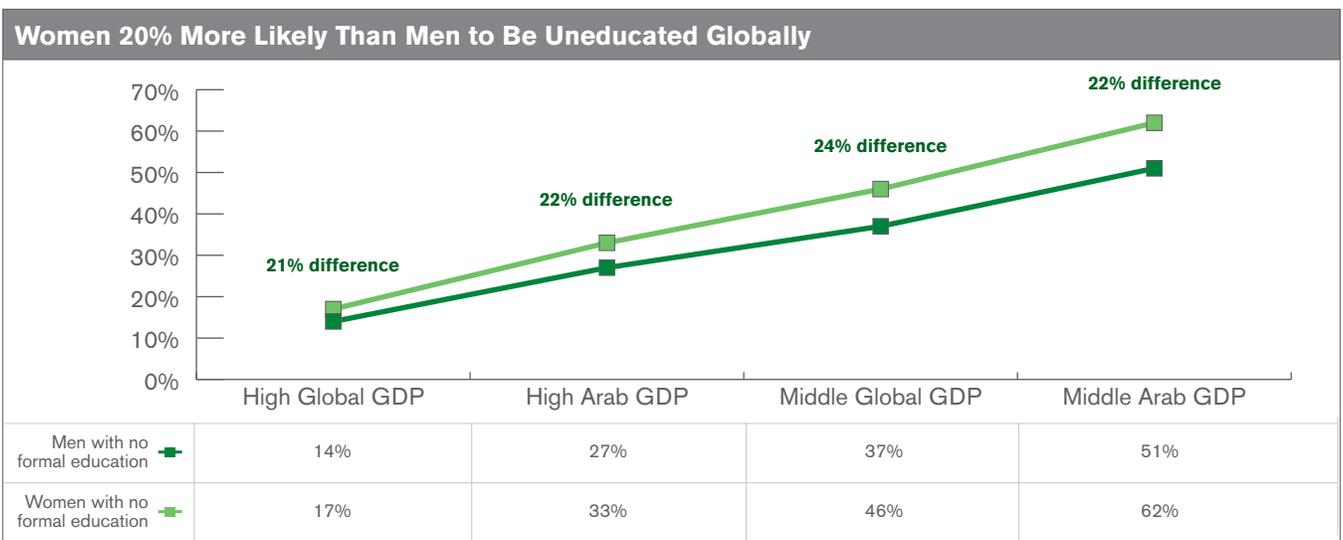


Figure 13: Education gap between men and women

in Tunisia (28 points), which is surprising because it is often hailed as the most progressive Arab state on gender issues.

Men and women unanimously agree about access to equal education. Upwards of 80% of men and women in all countries studied believe girls and boys should have the same access to education. Because education is the pathway to empowerment, this finding bodes well for the future of the Arab world.

Despite this, girls still lag behind boys in basic literacy in many countries. Remarkably however, while the gender gap is largest in the poorer parts of the Arab world and smallest among wealthy nations globally, regardless of where one lives, women are 20% more likely than men to have no formal education. This suggests that efforts to improve girls’ schooling must be holistic and address community education in general.

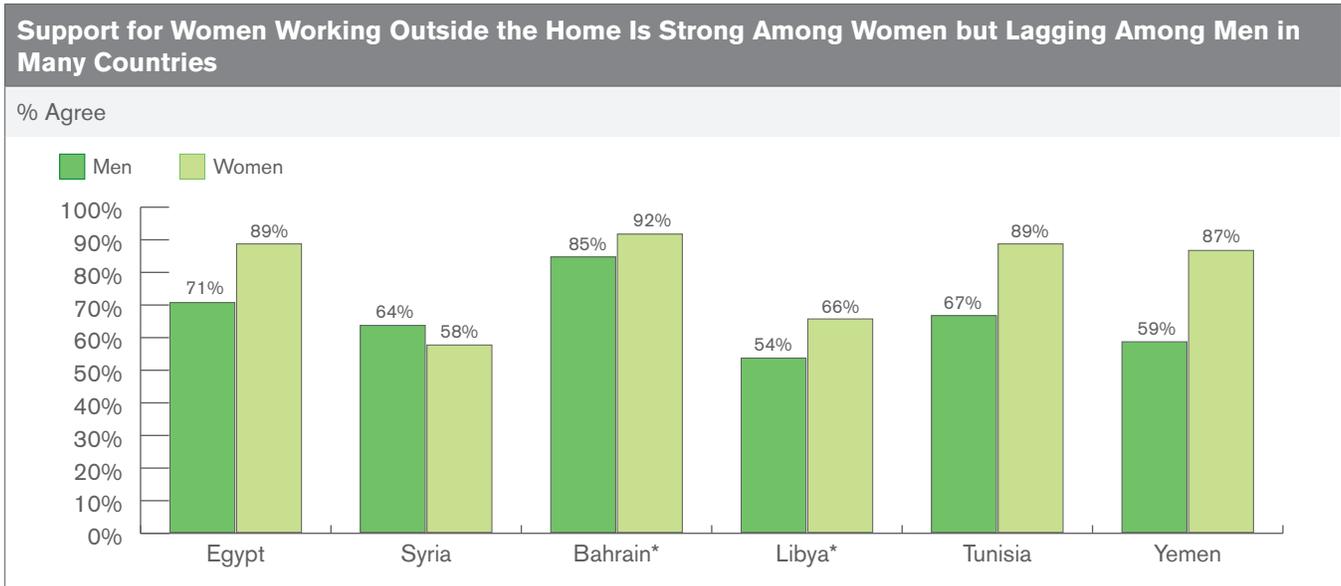


Figure 14: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Women should be allowed to hold any job for which they are qualified outside the home.”
*Based on 2010 data

Majorities of men and women agree that women should put education to use in the labor market. In Syria and Libya however, women are less likely to support women’s right to hold any job outside the home that they are qualified for than they are girls’ equal access to education. Men are generally less likely to support women’s right to hold any job they are qualified for than girls’ equal access to education, particularly in the poorest parts of the Arab world.

The greatest difference in support for women holding any job they are qualified for outside the home is in Yemen, where men’s endorsement lags 28 points behind women’s. Syria, the country where women are the least likely to say women should be able to hold any job they are qualified for outside the home, is the only country where men support this idea slightly more than women themselves.

Public views on women’s rights to initiate divorce are diverse across the Arab countries studied. The highest support for women’s right to do this is in pro-Sharia conservative societies such as Yemen and Egypt, as well as in the more liberal Tunisia. The majority of men and women in Syria and Bahrain and sizable percentages in Libya, however, do

not think women should have this right, though women are less likely to oppose it in Bahrain and Libya.

Religious regulations address divorce in greater detail than any other women’s issue discussed in this brief. The wide range of opinion across the Arab world, and between men and women in the same country, is noteworthy for several reasons. First, it reflects the diversity of religious interpretation across the Arab world and, in some cases, in each country. Second, it suggests that in places such as Egypt and Yemen, where women are most in favor of religious principles as strong influences in law, women likely interpret those principles as granting this right. This suggests an important role for female voices as these countries negotiate their political futures. And third, these findings indicate that in those same countries, men are as supportive of women initiating divorce as are Tunisian men, where the public favors a less assertive role for religion in politics. This suggests that views of Sharia are not strong predictors of men’s views on women’s rights. The potential link between how men’s views of religion in society affect their perceptions of women’s equality is addressed in a later section.

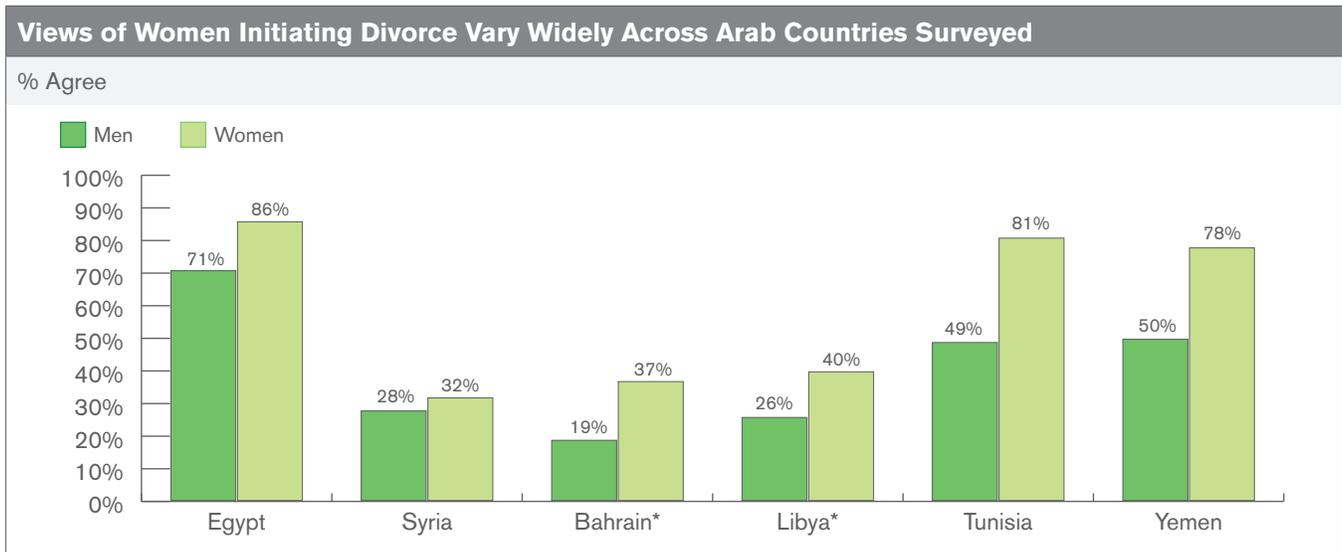


Figure 15: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Women should have the right to initiate a divorce.” *Based on 2010 data

	Egypt		Syria		Bahrain		Libya		Tunisia		Yemen	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Faith: Forgive	4.3	4.4	3.1	3.4	4.2	4.4	2.6	2.6	3.7	3.8	4.2	4.2
Faith: Deep Reflection	3.8	3.9	2.6	2.6	3.9	4.1	2.6	2.7	3.1	3.2	4.0	3.7
Faith: Involved in My Life	4.2	4.5	3.2	3.2	4.0	4.2	2.9	2.9	3.6	3.8	4.4	4.1
Total Score	12.3	12.8	8.9	9.2	12.1	12.7	8.1	8.2	10.4	10.8	12.6	12

Table 1: “Using a 5-point scale, where 5 means “strongly agree” and 1 means “strongly disagree,” how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?”

- Every day, I spend time in deep reflection on the teachings of my faith.
- My faith is involved in every aspect of my life.
- Because of my faith, I have forgiven people who have hurt me deeply.”

ARAB WOMEN’S RELIGIOUS DEVOTION LINKED TO HAPPINESS, NOT POVERTY

Arab women’s sense of deserved rights does not stem from an irreligious worldview. Arab women are at least as likely as Arab men to agree that their faith has helped them forgive someone who has hurt them deeply, that they spend time reflecting on their faith every day, and that it is involved in every aspect of their lives. Tunisian women, who have among the highest support for gender parity, were higher than men on all three measures of spirituality.

Yemen is the only country where men are higher on items of spirituality.

Some may be quick to interpret that higher religiosity among women reflects disadvantages, suggesting people adopt faith out of poverty or ignorance. Gallup’s data show that in the Arab world, high levels of agreement with the item, “Every day I spend time in deep reflection on the teachings of my faith,” are not linked to low levels of education or views of household income among men or women.

Instead, Arab women’s greater spiritual engagement is linked to more charitable giving and joy. Looking across the Arab world, women and men who spend time in spiritual reflection are more likely to have donated money to a charity in the past month than those who have not. Deep spiritual thought is uniquely linked to other emotional benefits among women. Arab women who strongly agree that they spend time in deep reflection on their faith every day are more likely to have experienced enjoyment and happiness and to say they felt treated with respect.

RELIGIOUS ARABS ARE SLIGHTLY MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT WOMEN’S RIGHTS

Other findings strengthen the conclusion that a religious outlook and support for women’s rights are compatible. Gallup generally finds few differences between those who rate religion as “important” and those that rate it as “not important” in regard to their attitudes toward women’s rights, with one exception. The results show that seven in 10

adults (69%) who find religion important support women’s right to initiate a divorce, compared with fewer than five in 10 adults (46%) who say religion is not important.

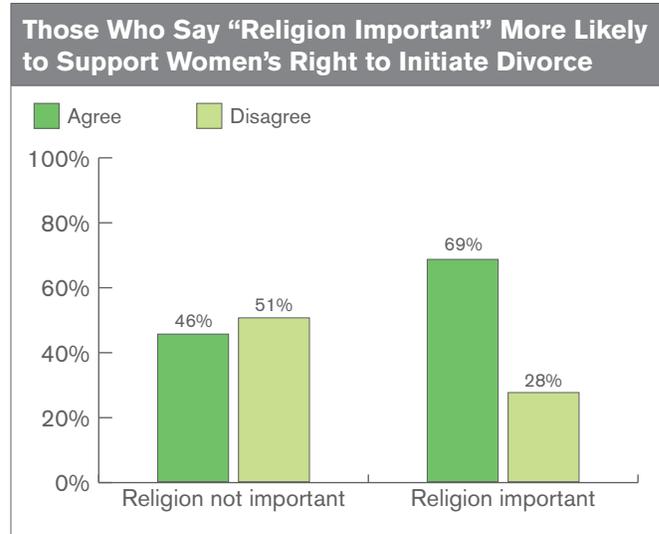


Figure 16: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Women should have the right to initiate a divorce.”

Spiritual Arab Women Experience More Respect and Happiness				
	Male		Female	
	1-4 Deep Reflection	5 Strongly agree Deep Reflection	1-4 Deep Reflection	5 Strongly agree Deep Reflection
Completing primary education or less	No Difference			
Living comfortably on present income and getting by on present income	No Difference			
Married	Lower	Higher	No Difference	
Donated money in past month	Lower	Higher	Lower	Higher
I was treated with respect yesterday	No Difference		Lower	Higher
Experienced enjoyment yesterday	No Difference		Lower	Higher
Experienced happiness yesterday	No Difference		Lower	Higher

Table 2:

- What is your highest completed level of education?
- What is your current marital status?
- Which one of these phrases comes closest to your own feelings about your household income these days?
- Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt. Were you treated with respect all day yesterday?
- Do you believe that women in this country are treated with respect and dignity, or not?
- Did you experience the following feelings during a lot of the day yesterday? How about enjoyment?
- Did you experience the following feelings during a lot of the day yesterday? How about happiness?
- Have you done any of the following in the past month? How about donated money to a charity?

ARAB WOMEN ARE AS LIKELY AS ARAB MEN TO FAVOR SHARIA AS A SOURCE OF LEGISLATION

With Islamist parties’ rising influence across North Africa, many observers of the Arab uprisings have grown concerned not only for women’s legal rights, but also women’s culturally acceptable public and political roles in countries undergoing transition. Yet others have argued that a deep commitment to a religious worldview in social life, politics, and policy can coincide with an empowered status for women and their human and civil rights. For example, Rachid Ghannouchi, spiritual leader of the moderate Islamist Al Nahda Party in Tunisia, recently hosted a delegation of female leaders from Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood to highlight the important role that women are playing in the pan-Arab “Islamist movement.” He also recently asserted in forums on Capitol Hill in Washington and across the globe, that Islam should not be used to justify discrimination on the grounds of gender.

Many observers now wonder whether Arab women are equally supportive of such movements, which are generally known to favor a more assertive role for religion in public life.

Specific political parties aside, there is no “female consensus” across the Arab world on what role religious principles should have in new legislation. Rather, Gallup surveys find that Arab women in the countries surveyed are far more similar to the men in their respective countries than they are to fellow females in the region.

The majority of women and men across countries experiencing political upheaval do want *some level* of religious influence in law, though people’s views of the specific role for Sharia vary widely from one country to another. For example, women in Tunisia, who just overthrew a staunchly secular regime, are most likely to have wanted a shared role for religious principles in law in

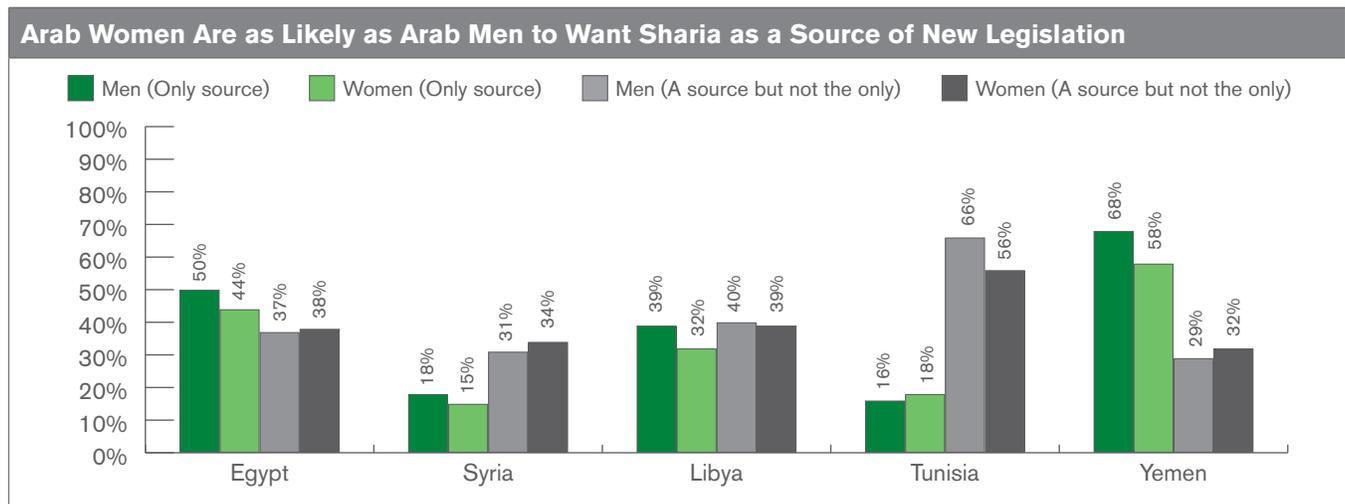


Figure 17: “What role should Sharia have in legislation? Should it be the only source of legislation? A source but not the only source? Or should Sharia not be a source of legislation?”

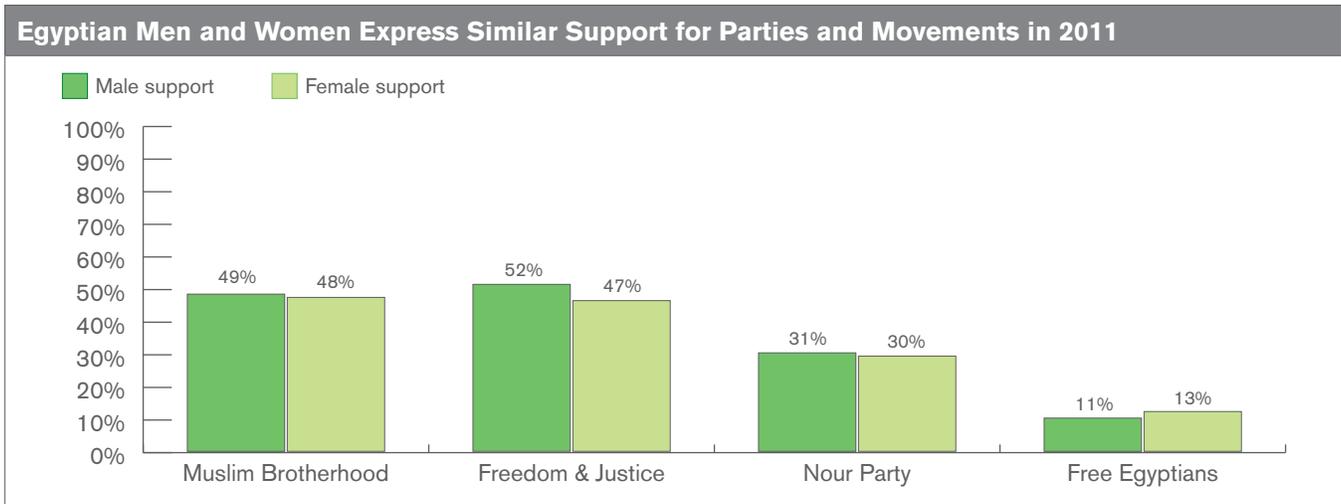


Figure 18: “Please indicate whether you support or do not support each of the following political parties or groups. Muslim Brotherhood, The Freedom and Justice Party, Hizb El-Nour, Hib Al Masryeen Al Ahraar (the Free Egyptians Party)”

2010. Yemen on the other hand, a more conservative society, would prefer Sharia as the only source of legislation. Those who want no legislative role at all for Sharia are in a small minority in every country.

EGYPTIAN WOMEN’S LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR ISLAMIST PARTIES SIMILAR TO MEN’S

In 2011, many Egyptians supported the Freedom and Justice Party or the Nour Party — both Islamist political parties. Egyptian women and men expressed similar levels of support for these parties. There was also no gender difference on whether “a parliament with a strong Muslim Brotherhood presence is a good thing for Egypt.”

ECONOMIC TROUBLES, NOT RELIGION, MAY NEGATIVELY AFFECT WOMEN’S RIGHTS

An unexpected consequence of the economic problems following the Arab uprisings may not only be a decline in

living standards, but also of women’s rights. Gallup analysts found that across the Arab world, men’s support for women’s equal legal status and right to hold any job they are qualified for was positively linked to their level of life satisfaction, employment, and other measures of economic and social development — such as education and national score on the Human Development Index, not support for Sharia.

Men’s views of women’s rights matter. Gallup found that the more men support women’s participation in the workforce in a given country, the more women are likely to work in professional jobs. If the economy continues to suffer, women’s rights may as well. Gallup also found that there is no link between men’s support for Sharia as the only source of legislation and antagonism to women’s rights. This suggests that, in principle, economic trouble is a greater threat to women’s rights than public support for religious legislation.

Men's Views of Women's Rights Linked to Development, Not Support for Sharia				
Public Perceptions Are Levels Among Men in Each Country		Men: Women should be allowed to hold any job for which they are qualified outside the home (Agree)	Men: Women and men should have equal legal rights (Agree)	
Men Who Say: Sharia Should Be the Only Source of Legislation (%)		No Correlation		
WEF Gender Gap Index				
Male Employment (%)	Pearson Correlation	.761**	.541*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.025	
	Number of countries in model	17	17	
Men Thriving (%)	Pearson Correlation	.678**	.610**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.009	
	Number of countries in model	17	17	
Men With Post-Secondary School Education	Pearson Correlation	.642**	.482*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.050	
	Number of countries in model	17	17	
Men Reporting Living Comfortably on Present Income	Pearson Correlation	.602*	.591*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.012	
	Number of countries in model	17	17	
Regulatory Quality	Pearson Correlation	.688**	.613*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.020	
	Number of countries in model	14	14	
Human Development Index Score	Pearson Correlation	No Correlation		
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.635*
	Number of countries in model			.036
			11	

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3: "Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Women should be allowed to hold any job for which they are qualified outside the home. Women and men should have equal legal rights."

"What role should Sharia have in legislation? Should it be the only source of legislation? A source but not the only source? Or should Sharia not be a source of legislation?"

SUPPORTERS OF ISLAMISTS AND LIBERALS EQUALLY WANT WOMEN’S RIGHTS IN EGYPT

Arabs’ ability to reconcile their religious views and support for women’s rights is evident if Egypt is examined as a case study. Those who favor Islamist parties are as likely as those who back liberal parties to support women’s equal legal rights, employment, and right to initiate a divorce.

Arguments for minimizing Muslim women’s roles in public life and society are often cloaked in religious rhetoric. However, the underlying motivations for reducing women’s

public roles are rooted in real life economic and socio-cultural concerns. A good example of this is women in the labor force. In a patriarchal society where the idea that men should be the breadwinners is strong, arguments against women’s competition in the job market can be persuasive when jobs are scarce. When such expectations are justified through the lens of religion, women’s subjugation appears as not socio-economically motivated, but erroneously as a religious imperative. Arab men and women must work together to keep economic problems from turning into religiously justified limits on women’s rights.

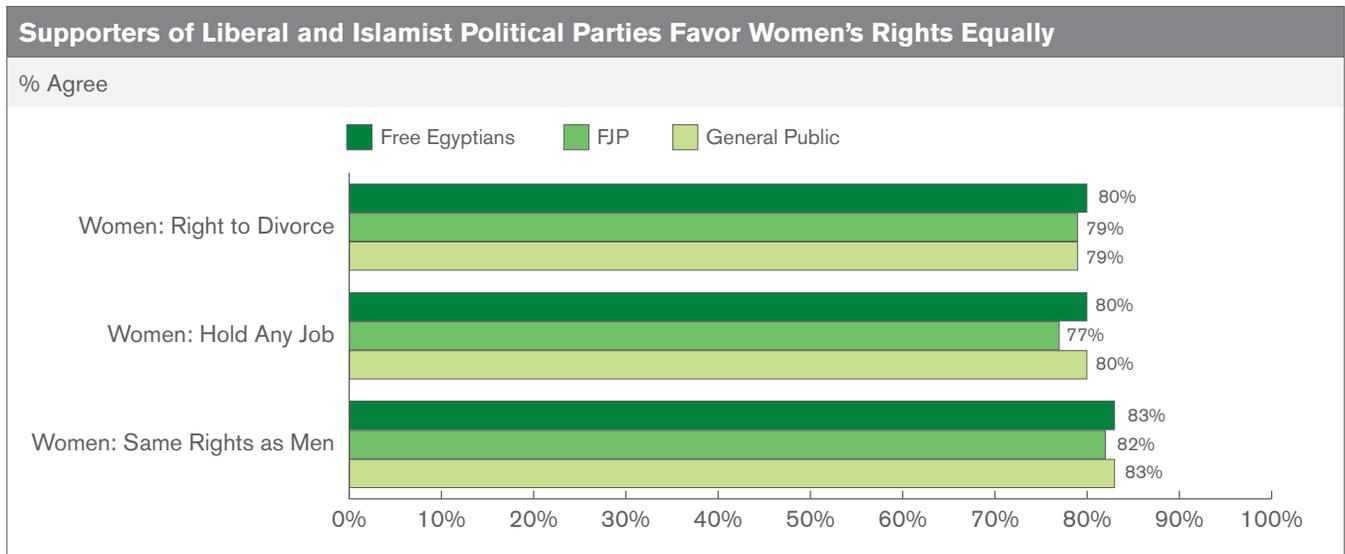


Figure 19: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Percentage “Agree” shown

- A. Women and men should have equal legal rights.
- B. Women should be allowed to hold any job for which they are qualified outside the home.
- C. Women should have the right to initiate a divorce.”

Recommendations

Arab women and Arab men share similar views on most priority issues, such as the role of religion in society and the economy. Men and women are less aligned, however, on issues such as women's equal legal rights and security.

Gallup's findings suggest:

- Policymakers should empower women in transitional societies through broader development efforts, instead of focusing on women's issues in isolation.
 - Progressive views among men are linked with overall development, not religious views. To increase the ranks of Arab men for women's rights, the research suggests policymakers should focus on job creation, economic development, and good governance, not secularization, which men and women alike would likely oppose.
- Policymakers should address perceived insecurity of women, to help increase women's confidence to participate in all aspects of life, including politics.
- Women's own priorities should lead development programs aimed at women. These reflect national priorities of economic development, security, and job creation.
- Regional women's rights leaders should highlight research that shows support for women's rights among the religious to shift the discourse away from one where increased Islamism justifies a marginalized role for women. Strong majorities of those asserting religion as an important part of their lives see women competing for jobs on a merit basis, on equal legal footing as men, and in control of their personal affairs.
- Women must play an integral role in interpreting religious principles. As equal supporters of the law, and therefore legitimate voices of loyal critique, they can offer an anchor against regressive interpretations of the text as they are ahead of their male counterparts in views of gender equality.

METHODOLOGY

Gallup continually surveys residents in more than 150 countries, representing more than 98% of the world's adult population, using randomly selected, nationally representative samples. This report focuses on gender differences in countries affected by the Arab Spring, including analysis of data from Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen, and Libya. In each country, Gallup conducted multiple surveys with approximately 1,000 individuals each time, using a standard set of core questions that have been translated into the major languages of the respective country. For this study, supplemental, region-specific questions were asked in addition to core questions. Interviews were conducted face-to-face with adults aged 15 and older, with interviews lasting approximately one hour.

Gallup is entirely responsible for the management, design, and control of its global research. For the past 70 years, Gallup has been committed to the principle that accurately collecting and disseminating the opinions and aspirations of people around the globe is vital to understanding our world. Gallup's mission is to provide information in an objective, reliable, and scientifically grounded manner. Gallup is not associated with any political orientation, party, or advocacy group and does not accept partisan entities as clients.

TRANSLATION

The questionnaire was translated into Arabic. The translation process starts with an English version. A translator who is proficient in the English and Arabic languages translates the survey into the target language. A second translator reviews the language version against the original version and recommends refinements.

DATA COLLECTION

With some exceptions, all samples are probability based and nationally representative of the resident population aged 15

and older. The coverage area is the entire country including rural areas, and the sampling frame represents the entire civilian, noninstitutionalized, aged 15 and older population of the entire country. Exceptions include areas where the safety of interviewing staff is threatened, scarcely populated islands in some countries, and areas that interviewers can reach only by foot, animal, or small boat.

SAMPLING

Face-to-Face Survey Design

First Stage: In countries where face-to-face surveys are conducted, the first stage of sampling is the identification of PSUs (Primary Sampling Unit), consisting of clusters of households. PSUs are stratified by population size and/or geography and clustering is achieved through one or more stages of sampling. Where population information is available, sample selection is based on probabilities proportional to population size, otherwise simple random sampling is used.

Second Stage: Random route procedures are used to select sampled households. Unless an outright refusal occurs, interviewers make up to three attempts to survey the sampled household. To increase the probability of contact and completion, attempts are made at different times of the day and, where possible, on different days. If an interview cannot be obtained at the initial sampled household, a simple substitution method is used.

Third Stage: Respondents are randomly selected within the selected households. Interviewers list all eligible household members and their ages or birthdays. The respondent is selected by means of the Kish grid in countries where face-to-face interviewing is used. The person who answers the door is not informed of the selection criteria until after the respondent has been identified.

DATA PREPARATION

The data set goes through a rigorous quality assurance process before being publicly released. Gallup’s directors of survey research in each region of the world review the data for consistency and stability by interviewer and region. If the regional director suspects a problem, it may be necessary to collect new data. After the regional directors review the data, Gallup scientists perform additional validity reviews. The data are centrally aggregated and cleaned, ensuring correct variable codes and labels are applied. The data are then reviewed in detail for logical consistency and trends over time. Once the data are cleaned, weighted, and vetted, the final step is to calculate approximate study design effect and margin of error.

DATA WEIGHTING

Data weighting is used to ensure a nationally representative sample for each country and is intended to be used for calculations within a country.

First, base sampling weights are constructed to account for oversamples and household size. If an oversample has been conducted, the data are weighted to correct the disproportionate sample. Weighting by household size (number of residents aged 15 and older) is used to adjust for the probability of selection, as residents in large households will have a disproportionately lower probability of being selected for the sample. (Weighting by household size was introduced for data collected in 2008.)

Second, post-stratification weights are constructed. Population statistics are used to weight the data by gender, age, and, where reliable data are available, education or socioeconomic status.

Finally, approximate study design effect and margin of error are calculated (calculations are presented in the methodology table). The design effect calculation reflects the influence of data weighting and does not incorporate the intraclass correlation coefficients.

MARGIN OF ERROR

The maximum margin of error is calculated based on reported proportions for each country-level data set, assuming a 95% confidence level. The margin of error also includes the approximate design effect for the total country sample.

NON-ARAB EXPATRIATES

Country-level samples include both nationals and expatriate Arabs. Because of the diversity and complexity of the population of Bahrain, this study does not include non-Arab expatriates. There are several barriers to accessing this community, including language and physical barriers to some expatriate communities.

GDP COUNTRY CLASSIFICATIONS

Countries were classified in this report into high and middle GDP categories based on 2011 World Bank estimates. As low GDP countries, Yemen, Somalia, and Comoros were not included in Arab groupings.

World Bank GDP Classifications for Arab League Countries	
High GDP	Middle GDP
Saudi Arabia	Egypt
Kuwait	Libya
Oman	Morocco
Qatar	Lebanon
UAE	Jordan
Bahrain	Syria
	Palestinian Territories
	Mauritania
	Algeria
	Djibouti
	Iraq
	Sudan
	Tunisia

Gallup World Poll Collection					
Country	Data Collection Dates	Number of Interviews	Margin of Error	Language	Exclusions
Egypt	Mar 7 – Mar 22, 2009	1,080	3.4	Arabic	
	Aug 11 – Aug 19, 2009	1,032	3.5		
	Mar 13 – Mar 23, 2010	1,042	3.4		
	Sep 25 – Oct 26, 2010	1,011	3.1		
	Mar 25 – Apr 2, 2011	1,005	3.5		
	Jun 10– Jun 17, 2011	1,000	3.3		
	Jul 25 – Aug 1, 2011	1,121	3.3		
	Sep 16 – Sep 23, 2011	1,049	3.4		
	Dec 16 – Dec 23, 2011	1,077	3.4		
Syria	Feb 20 – Mar 16, 2009	1,082	3.4	Arabic	
	Aug 10 – Sep 6, 2009	1,018	3.4		
	Mar 3 – Apr 30, 2010	1,029	3.4		
	Sep 12 – Oct 30, 2010	1,006	3.4		
	Mar 4 – Apr 3, 2011	1,011	3.5		
	Sep 12 – Oct 25, 2011	1,030	3.3		
Bahrain	Feb 23 – Mar 19, 2009	1,051	3.4	Arabic	Includes Bahrainis and Arab expatriates; non-Arabs were excluded, approximately 25% of the population.
	Aug 16 – Sep 16, 2009	1,077	3.3		
	Mar 31 – Apr 30, 2010	1,031	3.7		
	Sep 20 – Oct 30, 2010	1,031	3.7		
	Mar 3 – May 31, 2011	1,010	3.5		
	Sep 26 – Oct 30, 2011	1,000	3.8		
Tunisia	Feb 2 – Mar 25, 2009	1,008	3.3	Arabic	
	Aug 2 – Aug 21, 2009	1,006	3.4		
	Feb 3 – Apr 27, 2010	1,059	3.5		
	Sep 10 – Oct 25, 2010	1,026	3.3		
	Mar 27 – Apr 8, 2011	1,021	5.1		
	Sep 17 – Oct 30, 2011	1,013	3.3		

Gallup World Poll Collection					
Yemen	Feb 24 – Mar 19, 2009	1,000	3.8	Arabic	
	Aug 4 – Sep 2, 2009	1,000	3.7		
	Feb 12 – Feb 27, 2010	1,000	3.9		
	Sep 22 – Oct 2, 2010	1,000	3.7		
	Feb 15 – Mar 3, 2011	1,000	3.8		
	Jul 23 – Jul 29, 2011	1,000	3.8		
Libya	Feb 20 – Mar 18, 2010	1,000	3.4	Arabic	Sample was restricted to three areas: Tripoli, Benghazi, and al-Kufra. The areas represent roughly half of the adult population. The sample skews high on education.
	Sep 18 – Oct 30, 2010	1,000	3.4		

GALLUP®

World Headquarters

The Gallup Building
901 F Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20004

t +1.877.242.5587

f +1.202.715.3045

www.gallup.com