

Syrian Public Opinion: Pioneering New Survey of Syria

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Executive Summary:

Syrians support working with the United States to help resolve the Iraq war, according to a pioneering uncensored poll of Syria.

Only 40% of Syrians favor establishing closer relations with the US overall—less than a third would welcome American aid and trade. And 77% of Syrians support financial assistance to Iraqi fighters, though they are split on the issue of those crossing from Syria to fight in Iraq (44% opposed; 39% in favor).

Yet, despite powerful anti-American feelings and support for Iraqi fighters, 63% of Syrians still favor Syria working with the United States to help resolve the Iraq war.

These are among the significant findings of an entirely unprecedented survey of Syria. Conducted by telephone from July 11 to 14, 2007, with 1,004 interviews proportionally distributed according to the population, the poll covered all 13 provinces of Syria.

In another important finding, along with very strong support for financial assistance to Hamas and Hezbollah, Syrians also favor peace with Israel.

While almost 80% of Syrians support financial aid to Palestinian Hamas, as well as Lebanese Hezbollah, 51% are also ready to support a peace treaty between Syria and Israel, if Israel withdraws in full from the Golan and recognizes Syrian sovereignty there. More than a third of Syrians oppose any peace treaty with Israel.

On the controversial issue of Lebanon, 88% of Syrians favor the Lebanese ruling themselves without interference from any country, including Syria.

In marked contrast to Terror Free Tomorrow's recent survey of Iran, which had similar methodology, questions and timing, Syrians oppose closer relations with the United States, while expressing outward satisfaction with their current system of government.

In Iran, close to 70% of the people favor better relations with the United States; in Syria only 40% favor closer ties.

Lastly, 61% of Iranians said that they oppose their current system of government, where the Supreme Leader cannot be chosen or replaced by a direct vote of the people. Moreover, 79% of Iranians support a fully democratic system instead, where the Supreme Leader, along with all leaders, can be chosen and replaced by a free and direct vote of the people.

By contrast, 83% of Syrians said that they favor their current system of a single candidate Presidential referendum.

The significant difference between the answers of Iranians and Syrians, who both live under severe authoritarian rule where true public opinion polls are quite rare, cannot be explained by survey data alone.

Perhaps Syrians simply feel more fear in their everyday discourse than Iranians. Indeed, Iranians felt free to directly criticize their government—over the phone no less—and Syrians did not. The surveys may also capture the growing depth and strength of Iranian popular discontent.

Given the intense and active crackdown now underway by the Syrian authorities, however, 83% expressing support of the existing system is still less than the 98% cited by the Syrian government itself in the recent Presidential referendum.

Whatever the reasons, Iranians and Syrians responded quite differently in their views of their political systems and future relations with the United States.

There are, however, many points of convergence between Iranians and Syrians. More than two-thirds of Syrians and Iranians favor financial assistance to Hamas and Hezbollah. And while Iranians are certainly more open to the United States than Syrians, the United States is hardly a favorite of either country's people.

France, Turkey and China are all valued more highly than the U.S. as potential economic partners. Syrians and Iranians both want trade and investment from other countries by at least a 2 to 1 margin over the United States alone (Syrians almost 3 to 1).

However, for Iranians and Syrians alike, Western and other outside investment and trade is seen as a key priority for their respective governments. And more than three quarters of all Syrians also saw close ties with Iran as a very important priority.

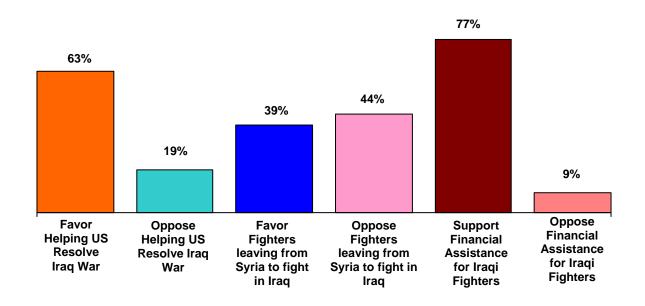
A full methodological statement follows. Terror Free Tomorrow's recent survey of Iran can be accessed by clicking here.

For Terror Free Tomorrow's analysis of the significance and policy implications of the survey, in an exclusive commentary for *The Wall Street Journal*, please click here.

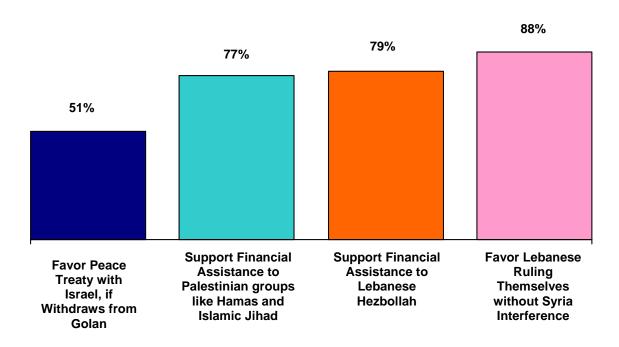
For other press coverage, click here.

Views of Syrians:

On the Iraq War, Percent of Syrians who:

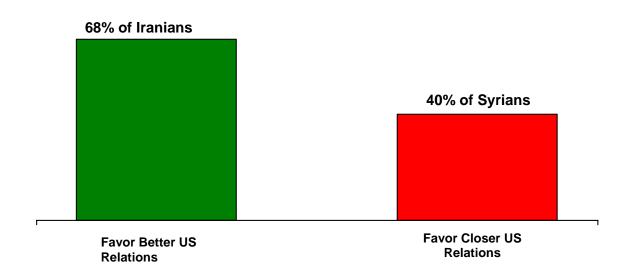


On Peace with Israel and Lebanon, Percent of Syrians Who:

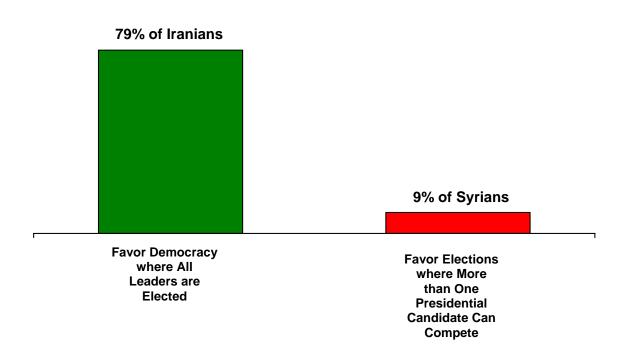


Views of Iranians and Syrians:

On the United States:



On their Current System of Government:



Background and Methodology

Terror Free Tomorrow's survey results have been featured across the political spectrum by the Heritage Foundation, the Brookings Institution, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the Clinton Global Initiative and at the National Press Club. They have received lead editorials and feature stories in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post, Associated Press, The Christian Science Monitor, USA Today, The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Miami Herald, The Baltimore Sun*, CNN, National Public Radio, *Roll Call, The Hill* and *U.S. News & World Report*, among others.

Terror Free Tomorrow is a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization, whose President, Ken Ballen, successfully prosecuted international terrorists, and played a leading role in some of the most important Congressional investigations over the past two decades. Our distinguished international Advisory Board is led by Senator John McCain, Lee Hamilton and Tom Kean.

In the last two years alone, Terror Free Tomorrow has conducted more than twenty-three nationwide public opinion surveys, including in Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and elsewhere. We completed the first nationwide public opinion survey in Bangladesh on international issues in almost five years, as well as the first such polls in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan since 9/11, among others.

Terror Free Tomorrow's surveys have been cited by former Presidents Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush, and in the US Congress (on the Senate Floor, by key Senators and Congressmen, and in both House and Senate testimony), at the United Nations, and relied on by the State Department as an independent benchmark in evaluating the success of American foreign policy (*State Dept Performance and Accountability Report*), and by the Department of Defense in the *National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism*.

Terror Free Tomorrow's new public opinion survey of Iran—the first uncensored survey in five years—has garnered worldwide coverage and acclaim by leading Iranian scholars and observers.

Our survey has received featured stories in the *Wall Street Journal* and CNN, and widespread reporting by the AP in the *Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Houston Chronicle, Newsday, International Herald Tribune, Guardian (UK), Jerusalem Post, USA Today, Chicago Tribune, New York Post, San Francisco Chronicle, Christian Science Monitor, Miami Herald, Cleveland Plain Dealer, San Jose Mercury News, Boston Globe, San Diego Union Tribune, Forbes, Yahoo News, AOL News and others throughout the world. It has also been covered by CNN, ABC News, CBS News, the BBC, PBS, C-SPAN and elsewhere.*

Praised by leading Iranian experts, scholars and think-tanks such as CSIS, the survey has also been featured in editorials spanning the political spectrum from *The Wall Street*

Journal and The New York Times to the New York Post, from the Huffington Post to the Jerusalem Post, and The Economist to Front Page.

Our prior surveys in Indonesia and Pakistan have achieved similar success.

Terror Free Tomorrow was the first to conduct a nationwide poll in Indonesia after the tsunami. President Bush, and former Presidents Clinton and Bush, all cited the poll as a key reason for sustained American tsunami relief. The US State Department also relied on Terror Free Tomorrow polling in testimony before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

In addition, Terror Free Tomorrow conducted the first and only poll in Pakistan after the devastating October 2005 earthquake. The poll was featured in *The Wall Street Journal*, CNN and international media. Moreover, the poll served as the principal finding by the US Senate for the United States "to take the lead" in relief efforts to Pakistani earthquake victims (Senate Resolution 356, co-sponsored by Senators Lugar and Biden, Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee).

In May 2007, Senators Russ Feingold (D-WI) and Norm Coleman (R-MN) have introduced important new legislation to strengthen America's public diplomacy and humanitarian efforts, relying on Terror Free Tomorrow's surveys as one of the key findings for the legislation.

The incoming Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and current Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Michael Mullen, wrote that Terror Free Tomorrow's findings, provided the proof to "one of the defining moments of this new century."

According to Admiral Mullen, Terror Free Tomorrow's findings have directly led to continuing successful mission by the U.S. Navy around the world, including the recent mission of the U.S. Navy ship *Mercy*.

Admiral Michael Mullen stated that the favorable change in public opinion documented by Terror Free Tomorrow after American tsunami relief was a "critical factor" in launching the 2006 mission of the Navy hospital ship *Mercy. Mercy* is a fully equipped, 1,000-bed hospital, which from May to August offered free medical services and training to the people of Indonesia, Bangladesh and elsewhere, including care to over 61,000 needy patients.

As Admiral Mullen testified in March 2007 before the U.S. House Armed Services Committee:

"Perhaps the most tangible application of Navy's global reach and persistent presence in building partner capacity was last year's five month deployment of the hospital ship *MERCY* in the summer of 2006 to the tsunami-affected areas in South and Southeast Asia. In an August 2006 public opinion survey, conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow, Indonesians and Bangladeshis overwhelmingly indicated their support of this humanitarian mission. In Indonesia, 85% of those aware of *MERCY*'s visit had a

favorable opinion, and in Bangladesh this figure was 95%. Further, 87% of those polled in Bangladesh stated that *MERCY*'s activities made their overall view of the United States more positive. These polling results provide real indication of the power of our partnerships."

Terror Free Tomorrow's work has received lead editorials and featured stories in, among others, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, Associated Press, The Christian Science Monitor, USA Today, The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Miami Herald, The Baltimore Sun, CNN, National Public Radio, Roll Call, The Hill and U.S. News & World Report. Other coverage includes The New York Times, MSNBC, ABC News, CBS News, FOX News, Reuters, The Washington Times, The New York Post, The National Review, The Boston Globe, The Houston Chronicle, The San Francisco Chronicle, United Press International, The White House Bulletin, The International Herald Tribune, The Globe and Mail (Canada), The Afghanistan Times, The Jakarta Post (Indonesia), Metro TV Indonesia, Tempo (Indonesia), Kompas (Indonesia), TV/Radio Australia, Straits Times (Malaysia), Pakistan Dawn, The Nation (Pakistan), GEO TV Pakistan, Pakistan Daily Times, Voice of America, Jornal do Brasil, Die Welt (Germany), Le Monde (France), BBC, The Guardian (UK), The Daily Yomiuri (Japan), The China Post, The Seoul Times, The Indian Express (India), The Hindu (India), The Turkish Daily News, The Turkish Press, Zaman (Turkey), The Oman Tribune, The Gulf News (UAE and pan-Arab), The Middle East Times, The Iranian News, The Muslim News, and The Daily Star (Lebanon and pan-Arab), among others. Terror Free Tomorrow has also been extensively covered in blogs throughout the Internet.

Terror Free Tomorrow findings have also been cited in scholarly journals including the Harvard International Review, the New England Journal of Medicine, and important books on American foreign policy, such as The Audacity of Hope by Senator Barack Obama; Peter Beinart's The Good Fight, Tony Smith, Washington's Bid; Colonel David Hunt, How to Wake Up Washington and Win the War on Terror Carnes Lord, Losing Hearts and Minds; and Dick Martin, Rebuilding Brand America.

Terror Free Tomorrow's field partner and project manager on the Syria and Iran surveys is international research specialists, D3 Systems, Inc. at: www.D3systems.com

Indeed, the Syrian and Iran surveys follow the precedent of the first news poll of Afghanistan by ABC News in December 2005, which won the Gallup Award for Excellent Journalism Using Polls and was also managed by D³ Systems and its subsidiary ASCOR-Surveys.

 D^3 has conducted widely praised surveys in Iraq and Afghanistan for ABC News, *USA Today*, BBC and others. D^3 is recognized for its expertise in overseeing research projects from design through analysis in some of the most difficult research environments around the globe.

Since 1988, D³ Systems has developed a particular expertise on research in the Middle East. D³ Systems has developed unique research capabilities from scratch in

Afghanistan and Iraq. D³ founded, in 2003, the first registered opinion research firm in Afghanistan: the *Afghan Center for Socio-economic and Opinion Research* (ACSOR). ACSOR has conducted qualitative and quantitative research projects for an international client group including The Asia Foundation, the US State Department, the BBC, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe. D3 has also conducted a number of quantitative surveys in Iraq for ABC News, *USA Today*, the BBC, the Voice of America, *Deutsche Welle*, Radio Sawa, and others.

Beginning in Europe in the early 1990s, D³ has played a leading role in the international use of telephone research for opinion polling and media audience measurement and evaluation into denied or limited access countries. While international telephone research from a central site (CATI) is an established method for consumer or business-to-business surveys, D³ has pioneered its use to reach publics in societies where on the ground, random probability sampling with sensitive questionnaires is not possible.

In countries where opinion polling and media research are sensitive or dangerous and telephone ownership is widespread, D³ conducts telephone surveys from a multi-lingual regional CATI center. These countries include Iran and Saudi Arabia. D³ has conducted quantitative and qualitative projects in the Middle East for key public sector broadcasters (VOA, Radio Sawa, Radio Farda, BBC, Deutsche Welle, and World Radio Network).

For the current survey of Syria, KA Europe SPRL also participated. Interviews were conducted by phone from a CATI facility in a nearby country outside Syria. The exact location of the CATI facility is not identified in order to maintain confidentiality for the interviewing team.

The interviews were conducted in Arabic, among a random national sample of 1,004 Syrians aged 18 and up from July 11th to 14th, 2007. The questionnaire consisted of 25 substantive questions, 16 demographic questions, and 25 quality control questions. During the course of fieldwork, the team attempted to contact 1,667 households. Of these, 158 resulted in non-contacts, yielding a non-contact rate of 21.9%. Another 20 contact attempts resulted in non-eligible respondents because they were not Syrian nationals and 5 respondents were never available for scheduled call-back appointments. Of the 1,489 successful contacts, there were 485 refusals giving the study a 67.3% response rate. The poll has a +/- 3.5% margin of error at the 95% confidence interval.

Telephone interviewing was employed instead of face-to-face research in Syria because of the political and social constraints involved, and because the method allows for broad urban and rural distribution and short fieldwork periods. Face-to-face interviewing in Syria can be difficult for interviewers who may face harassment. Face-to-face interviewing also poses issues related to access to households and respondents due to social considerations. Access to female respondents across the Middle East can also be challenging.

These problems can be overcome through the use of CATI research in Syria. Syria has an estimated national land-line telephone penetration rate of 75% to 80% according to estimates of working household telephone provided by the Statistical Economic and Social Research and Training Center for Islamic Countries (SESRTCIC). The estimate is based on a reported 12.3 landlines per 100 people in Syria in 2004, allowing for 73.8% coverage. SESRTCIC estimates that landline penetration has increased by about 4% per year since 2004. D3 Systems and KA Europe SPRL conservatively estimate that even if the penetration rate increased more slowly, it should be between 75% and 80% by 2007.

While telephone penetration is lower than in some countries, testing of Random Digit Dialing produced results of nation-wide coverage across all provinces of Syria. The achieved RDD sample for this study was skewed toward urban residents and results were weighted to bring the sample in line with national distribution of urban and rural residents (See Chart 1).

Interviews were conducted by 21 trained interviewers who are native Arabic speakers. Interviewers were briefed on a number of items including, but not limited to, the objective of the program and survey details, selection of respondents, the questionnaire (both asking of questions and recording of responses), timing and control issues, and usage of the CATI system. Interviews were subjected to numerous quality control procedures including live monitoring and validation by supervisors experienced in surveys across the Middle East.

The target sample was a random selection of Syrian nationals, both male and female, above the age of 18. The sample covered all 13 provinces of Syria, with the number of sampling points chosen in proportion to the size of each province's population. Sampling points were chosen by randomly selecting telephone exchanges within each province and randomizing the digits in the telephone numbers. Both selected exchanges and numbers within each exchange were randomly selected while accommodating for the fact that telephone exchanges in Syria are indiscriminately assigned and mix both business and residential numbers. Respondents within each contacted household were selected using the "Last Birthday" method.

The interview was completed on the first call for 86.4% of respondents. The designated respondent was called up to 3 times for an interview. The interview was completed during the second call for 7.3% of respondents and on the third call for 6.3% of respondents. If the interviewer failed to speak to the eligible person after 3 call-backs, then the interviewer skipped to the next telephone number using the CATI system. Call-backs were utilized for 172 respondents; 137 of them were interviewed after call-backs.

Chart 1 – SYRIA Weighted vs. Unweighted Demographics National Population Data vs. Realized Sample

The following national population data comes from the **Syria Central Bureau of Statistics** of 2003 and 2004.

	National Population %	Target Sample	Realized Sample (unweighted	Realized Sample (weighted)
Gender			,	
Male	51%	51%	53%	51%
Female	49%	49%	47%	49%
Age				
18-24	28%	28%	25%	28%
25-34	24%	24%	31%	24%
35-44	20%	20%	23%	20%
45-54	13%	13%	14%	13%
55+	15%	15%	7%	15%
Geographic Code				
Urban	53%	53%	72%	53%
Rural	47%	47%	28%	47%
Province/City/Region				
Al Hasakah	6%	6%	6%	6%
Al Ladhiqiyah	5%	5%	5%	5%
Al Qunaytirah	>1%	>1%	>1%	>1%
Ar Raqqah	4%	4%	4%	4%
As Suwayda	2%	2%	2%	2%
Dar'a	5%	5%	5%	5%
Day raz Zawr	6%	6%	6%	6%
Damascus	21%	21%	22%	21%
Allepo	23%	23%	24%	23%
Hamah	8%	8%	8%	8%
Hims	9%	9%	7%	9%
Idlib	7%	7%	7%	7%
Tartus	4%	4%	4%	4%

Complete Topline Questions and Answers:

M5: Urbanization

	Number	Col%
Major Metros	437	43.5%
Other Urban	100	10.0%
Towns	103	10.3%
Villages	364	36.3%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

M6: Province

	Number	Col%
Al Hasakah	74	7.4%
Al Liyah	48	4.8%
Al Qunaytirah	5	.5%
Ar Raqqah	46	4.6%
As Suwayda	24	2.4%
Dar'a	56	5.5%
Day raz Zawr	57	5.7%
Dimashq	223	22.2%
Halab	178	17.8%
Hamah	87	8.7%
Hims	85	8.5%
Idlib	77	7.7%
Tartus	43	4.3%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q1: Do you have access to the Internet?

	Number	Col%
Yes	203	20.3%
No	801	79.7%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q2: How many days a week do you access the Internet, if any?

	Number	Col%
Every day or almost every day	69	6.8%
Three or four days a week	54	5.4%
One or two days a week	37	3.7%
Less than once a week	42	4.1%
Never	801	79.7%
Don't know	1	.1%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q3: Turning to the overall economy of Syria, do you think the economy in Syria today is going in the right direction or do you think it is going in the wrong direction?

	Number	Col%
Right direction	806	80.3%
Wrong direction	74	7.4%
Neither Right nor Wrong Direction	61	6.1%
Refused	9	.9%
Don't know	54	5.4%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q4: In terms of the overall economic situation in Syria today, do you think the economic situation today is better, the same, or worse than it was five years ago?

	Number	Col%
Better	783	78.0%
The same	128	12.8%
Worse	70	7.0%
Refused	1	.1%
Don't know	21	2.1%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q5: In terms of your own personal financial situation, do you think your financial situation today is better, the same, or worse than it was five years ago?

	Number	Col%
Better	630	62.7%
The same	258	25.7%
Worse	114	11.3%
Don't know	2	.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q6: In your opinion, are the government's policies succeeding in reducing unemployment in Syria?

	Number	Col%
Yes	711	70.8%
No	202	20.1%
No effect	39	3.9%
Refused	7	.7%
Don't know	46	4.6%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q7: In your opinion, are the government's policies succeeding in reducing inflation in Syria?

	Number	Col%
Yes	570	56.8%
No	309	30.8%
No effect	92	9.2%
Refused	1	.1%
Don't know	32	3.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q8: Over the past five years, do you think the amount of corruption in Syria has increase, stayed the same, or decreased?

	Number	Col%
Increased	257	25.6%
Stayed the same	202	20.1%
Decreased	472	47.0%
Refused	24	2.4%
Don't know	49	4.9%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q9a: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Syria. Please tell me for each option that I whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Creating new jobs

	Number	Col%
Very Important	896	89.3%
Somewhat important	72	7.2%
Somewhat unimportant	10	1.0%
Not at all important	4	.4%
Don't know	22	2.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q9b: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Syria. Please tell me for each option that I whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Curbing inflation

	Number	Col%
Very Important	703	70.0%
Somewhat important	169	16.8%
Somewhat unimportant	35	3.5%
Not at all important	22	2.2%
Refused	10	1.0%
Don't know	65	6.5%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q9c: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Syria. Please tell me for each option that I whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Improving the oil and gas industry

	Number	Col%
Very Important	918	91.4%
Somewhat important	39	3.8%
Somewhat unimportant	6	.6%
Not at all important	2	.2%
Refused	5	.5%
Don't know	34	3.4%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q9d: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Syria. Please tell me for each option that I whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Investing in education

	Number	Col%
Very Important	877	87.3%
Somewhat important	73	7.3%
Somewhat unimportant	14	1.4%
Not at all important	26	2.6%
Don't know	14	1.4%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q9e: I am going to read you a list of possible investment options for the government of Syria. Please tell me for each option that I whether you think it is very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important? (Rotate List)

Focusing on foreign affairs

	Number	Col%
Very Important	694	69.1%
Somewhat important	166	16.6%
Somewhat unimportant	25	2.5%
Not at all important	19	1.9%
Refused	20	2.0%
Don't know	79	7.9%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q10a: Thinking about Syria's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

China

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	780	77.7%
Somewhat favor	103	10.3%
Somewhat oppose	26	2.6%
Strongly oppose	28	2.8%
Refused	19	1.9%
Don't know	46	4.6%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q10b: Thinking about Syria's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Iraq

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	754	75.0%
Somewhat favor	119	11.8%
Somewhat oppose	30	3.0%
Strongly oppose	30	3.0%
Refused	17	1.6%
Don't know	56	5.5%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q10e: Thinking about Syria's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

The United States

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	159	15.9%
Somewhat favor	140	13.9%
Somewhat oppose	126	12.6%
Strongly oppose	440	43.9%
Refused	52	5.2%
Don't know	86	8.5%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q10f: Thinking about Syria's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Iran

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	775	77.2%
Somewhat favor	107	10.6%
Somewhat oppose	23	2.3%
Strongly oppose	20	2.0%
Refused	17	1.7%
Don't know	63	6.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q10g: Thinking about Syria's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

France

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	469	46.7%
Somewhat favor	262	26.1%
Somewhat oppose	65	6.5%
Strongly oppose	89	8.9%
Refused	42	4.1%
Don't know	77	7.7%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q10i: Thinking about Syria's economy, normal trade relations now exist with only some countries. Do you favor or oppose having normal trade relations with each of the following countries? (Rotate List)

Turkey

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	827	82.4%
Somewhat favor	93	9.3%
Somewhat oppose	17	1.7%
Strongly oppose	14	1.4%
Refused	18	1.8%
Don't know	35	3.5%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q11a: Turning to foreign policy, do you think the people of Syria should accept or refuse each of the following from the United States?

American trade and investment to create more jobs in Syria

	Number	Col%
Accept	198	19.7%
Refuse	700	69.7%
Refused	30	3.0%
Don't know	77	7.7%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q11b: Turning to foreign policy, do you think the people of Syria should accept or refuse each of the following from the United States?

American investment in energy refineries to lower the price of gasoline in Syria

	Number	Col%
Accept	173	17.2%
Refuse	715	71.2%
Refused	31	3.1%
Don't know	85	8.5%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q11c: Turning to foreign policy, do you think the people of Syria should accept or refuse each of the following from the United States?

American medical, education and humanitarian assistance to Syrian people in need

	Number	Col%
Accept	261	26.0%
Refuse	635	63.3%
Refused question	31	3.1%
Don't know	77	7.6%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q11d: Turning to foreign policy, do you think the people of Syria should accept or refuse each of the following from the United States?

Housing assistance from the US for Iraqi refugees now in Syria

	Number	Col%
Accept	267	26.6%
Refuse	630	62.7%
Refused question	31	3.1%
Don't know	76	7.6%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q12: An American hospital ship recently provided medical care to 61,000 patients, including major surgeries and medical education to local doctors, while visiting Indonesia and Bangladesh. Would you like an American hospital ship like this to visit Syria on a similar medical humanitarian mission for the people of Syria?

	Number	Col%
Yes	312	31.0%
No	612	60.9%
Refused	16	1.6%
Don't know	65	6.5%
Total	1004	100.0%

Syria: Terror Free Tomorrow, July 2007

Q13: Do you favor or oppose the government of Syria welcoming Iraqi refugees?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	748	74.5%
Somewhat favor	150	15.0%
Somewhat oppose	23	2.3%
Strongly oppose	42	4.2%
Refused	17	1.7%
Don't know	24	2.4%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q14: Do you favor or oppose fighters leaving from Syria and crossing the Syrian border to fight in Iraq?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	293	29.2%
Somewhat favor	95	9.5%
Somewhat oppose	97	9.7%
Strongly oppose	343	34.2%
Refused	57	5.7%
Don't know	119	11.9%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q15: Do you favor or oppose Syria working with the United States to help resolve the Iraq war?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	478	47.7%
Somewhat favor	155	15.5%
Somewhat oppose	53	5.3%
Strongly oppose	139	13.8%
Refused	67	6.7%
Don't know	112	11.1%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q16a: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Syria. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Syria?

Improving the Syrian economy

	Number	Col%
Very Important	961	95.7%
Somewhat important	20	2.0%
Somewhat unimportant	6	.5%
Not at all important	1	.1%
Refused	5	.4%
Don't know	12	1.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

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Q16b: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Syria. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Syria?

Providing financial support for groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah

	Number	Col%
Very Important	583	58.1%
Somewhat important	161	16.0%
Somewhat unimportant	35	3.4%
Not at all important	47	4.7%
Refused	53	5.3%
Don't know	125	12.4%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q16c: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Syria. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Syria?

Seeking trade and political relations with Western countries

	Number	Col%
Very Important	662	65.9%
Somewhat important	213	21.2%
Somewhat unimportant	27	2.7%
Not at all important	36	3.6%
Refused	17	1.7%
Don't know	49	4.9%
Total	1004	100.0%

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Q16d: I am going to read you a list of possible long-term goals for the government of Syria. Please tell me whether you think these goals are very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant, or not at all important for the government of Syria?

Maintaining close relations with Iran

	Number	Col%
Very Important	762	75.9%
Somewhat important	123	12.2%
Somewhat unimportant	15	1.5%
Not at all important	23	2.2%
Refused	23	2.3%
Don't know	58	5.8%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q17: If Israel withdraws in full from the Golan and recognizes Syrian sovereignty over the Golan, do you favor or oppose a peace treaty between Syria and Israel?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	347	34.6%
Somewhat favor	161	16.0%
Somewhat oppose	60	6.0%
Strongly oppose	301	29.9%
Refused	55	5.5%
Don't know	80	7.9%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q18: Do you favor or oppose the Lebanese people ruling themselves without interference from any country, including Syria?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	796	79.3%
Somewhat favor	91	9.0%
Somewhat oppose	13	1.3%
Strongly oppose	29	2.9%
Refused	24	2.4%
Don't know	51	5.1%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q19a: Do you support or oppose financial assistance to each of the following groups?

Palestinian groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	631	62.8%
Somewhat support	142	14.2%
Somewhat oppose	35	3.5%
Strongly oppose	59	5.8%
Refused	61	6.1%
Don't know	77	7.6%
Total	1004	100.0%

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Q19b: Do you support or oppose financial assistance to each of the following groups?

Lebanese Hezbollah

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	661	65.9%
Somewhat support	128	12.7%
Somewhat oppose	30	3.0%
Strongly oppose	52	5.2%
Refused	59	5.8%
Don't know	75	7.4%
Total	1004	100.0%

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Q19c: Do you support or oppose financial assistance to each of the following groups?

Iraqi fighters

	Number	Col%
Strongly support	646	64.4%
Somewhat support	127	12.7%
Somewhat oppose	29	2.8%
Strongly oppose	57	5.7%
Refused	62	6.2%
Don't know	82	8.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q20: Do you favor or oppose the United States and Syria establishing closer relations?

	Number	Col%
Strongly favor	193	19.2%
Somewhat favor	211	21.0%
Somewhat oppose	96	9.6%
Strongly oppose	382	38.1%
Refused	49	4.9%
Don't know	73	7.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q21: Now, I would like to ask you some questions about the Parliamentary elections in April 2007. Did you vote in the Parliamentary elections?

	Number	Col%
Yes	798	79.4%
No	203	20.2%
Refused	1	.1%
Don't know	3	.3%
Total	1004	100.0%

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Q22: Do you think that the elections for the Parliament in April 2007 were free and fair, or do you think they were not free and fair?

	Number	Col%
Free and fair	855	85.2%
Not free and fair	40	4.0%
Refused	30	3.0%
Don't know	79	7.9%
Total	1004	100.0%

Q23: Turning to the Presidential Referendum held on May 27, 2007, did you vote?

	Number	Col%
Yes	914	91.0%
No	78	7.8%
Refused	2	.2%
Don't know	10	1.0%
Total	1004	100.0%

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Q24: Do you think that the Presidential referendum held on May 27, 2007, was free and fair, or do you think it was not free and fair?

	Number	Col%
Free and fair	946	94.2%
Not free and fair	12	1.1%
Refused	9	.9%
Don't know	38	3.8%
Total	1004	100.0%

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Q25: Do you favor preserving the system of holding a presidential referendum, or do you favor elections where more than one candidate can compete?

	Number	Col%
Favor the system of Presidential Referendum	835	83.2%
Favor Elections where more than one Presidential candidate can compete	91	9.1%
Refused	17	1.7%
Don't know	61	6.1%
Total	1004	100.0%

D1: Gender

	Number	Col%
Male	517	51.5%
Female	487	48.5%
Total	1004	100.0%

D2: Your actual age

	Number	Col%
18-24	287	28.5%
25-34	251	25.0%
35-44	201	20.0%
45-54	127	12.7%
55+	138	13.8%
Total	1004	100.0%

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D3: Do you work.....?

	Number	Col%
Full-Time	362	36.0%
Part-Time	94	9.4%
Does Not Work	544	54.2%
Refused	1	.1%
Don't Know	2	.2%
Total	1004	100.0%

D4: (ASK ONLY THOSE WHO ARE WORKING FULL OR PART TIME): Are you...?

	Number	Col%
Self-employed	180	39.4%
State Company	156	34.3%
Foundation	23	5.1%
Private Firm/Factory of 10 or Less	27	5.9%
Private Firm/Factory of More Than 10	26	5.6%
Other	39	8.5%
Refused	5	1.2%
Total	456	100.0%

D5: (ASK ONLY THOSE WHO ARE WORKING FULL OR PART TIME): What is your primary occupation?

	Number	Col%
Owner of a Large Business	23	5.0%
Enterprise Manager	7	1.5%
Department/Div. Manager	22	4.9%
Professional	12	2.5%
White Collar Worker	1	.3%
Clerical Worker	3	.7%
Foreman, Technician	5	1.1%
Skilled Worker	46	10.1%
Semi-Skilled Worker	10	2.2%
Unskilled Worker	2	.4%
Military (Officer)	1	.3%
Military (Non-Officer)	2	.4%
Civil Servants	5	1.1%
Farmers, Fishermen	14	3.0%
Landless Agricultural Laborer	6	1.4%

Small Business Owner, Shopkeeper	35	7.7%
Refused	61	13.3%
Don't Know	201	44.2%
Total	456	100.0%

D6a: How many years of formal education have you completed?

	Number	Col%
Illiterate/No Formal Education But Can Read/Write	39	3.9%
Elementary, Intermediate	496	49.8%
Secondary	282	28.3%
University	179	18.0%
Total	997	100.0%

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D7: What is your religious affiliation?

	Number	Col%
Shia Muslim	14	1.4%
Sunni Muslim	460	45.8%
Muslim	433	43.1%
Druze	10	1.0%
Christian	49	4.9%
Alawite	14	1.4%
Ismailis	1	.1%
Other	4	.4%
Refused	19	1.9%
Don't Know	1	.1%
Total	1004	100.0%

D8: What is your household's total monthly income from all sources, that is all types of income for all persons living at this address? Is it.....?

	Number	Col%
Less than SYP 4,000	44	4.4%
From SYP 4,000 to 6,000	55	5.5%
From SYP 6,001 to 8,000	92	9.2%
From SYP 8,001 to 10,000	128	12.7%
From SYP 10,001 to 12,000	139	13.8%
From SYP 12,001 to 14,000	76	7.6%
From SYP 14,001 to 16,000	102	10.1%
From SYP 16,001 to 20,000	74	7.4%
From SYP 20,001 to 30,000 or is it	65	6.5%
More than SYP 30,000	60	6.0%
Refused	65	6.4%
Don't Know	104	10.3%
Total	1004	100.0%

D9: Would you describe your household as upper class, middle class, working class, or poor?

	Number	Col%
Upper (A/B)	28	2.8%
Middle (C1,C2)	730	72.7%
Working (D)	155	15.4%
Poor (E)	84	8.4%
Refused	3	.3%
Don't Know	4	.4%
Total	1004	100.0%

D10: What is your ethnic origin?

	Number	Col%
Arab	939	93.5%
Kurdish	27	2.7%
Armenian	6	.6%
Circassian	3	.3%
Turkoman	8	.8%
Assyrian	19	1.9%
Other	1	.1%
Refused	2	.2%
Total	1004	100.0%