From the "Fareej" to Metropolis:
Qatar Social Capital Survey II

Executive Summary Report
Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI)
Doha, Qatar - May 2017
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(SESRI)

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PREFACE

The Social & Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at Qatar University is an academic-based survey organization. Since its inception in 2008, SESRI has developed an infrastructure for providing high quality survey data in various social and economic fields. The data and findings from SESRI surveys are intended to aid decision-makers, academics and all those interested in local and regional affairs, especially in light of the remarkable development of the State of Qatar.

This development has undoubtedly altered the social and economic fabric of the country, requiring an academic approach to understanding major changes in the dynamics of the community, especially with regard to social solidarity and communication, as well as intra relationships of various subgroups of the society, elements of what is known as "Social Capital".

The survey "From Fareej to Metropolis: A Social Capital Survey of Qatar II" interviewed representative samples from three subgroups of the society in Qatar, namely Qataris, white-collar and blue-collar workers. During the survey, 831 interviews were conducted with Qataris, 968 with white-collar workers and 754 with blue-collar workers\(^1\), for the total of 2553 interviews. Similar to the first wave, this second wave survey asked a variety of questions used in social capital studies, such as the frequency and method of communication with friends, family and coworkers, the use of communication technology and social networking sites, and the participation in activities with members of the neighborhood, community and work. Findings from this report draw on data from the first and second waves of the survey, which were conducted in 2011 and 2015, respectively.

The authors wish to thank the Qatar National Research Fund (QNRF) for supporting the project titled From Fareej to Metropolis: A Social Capital Survey of Qatar (II) (NPRP7-186-5-021). This publication is one of the outputs from the project. The statements made herein are solely the responsibility of the authors. Any opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the QNRF.

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\(^1\) White-collar workers and blue-collar workers constitute the expatriate population in Qatar
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This executive report presents findings related to neighborhood and community life, derived from the survey "From Fareej to Metropolis: A Social Capital Survey of Qatar" conducted by the Social & Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at Qatar University. SESRI extends sincere thanks to the hundreds of Qatari, white-collar and blue-collar workers who have contributed their time to participate in this survey research.

This project has been a collaborative effort from the initial design to production of the final report. Abdoulaye Diop was the Lead Principal Investigator responsible for all technical and administrative aspects of the project, with co-Principal Investigators Kien Trung Lee and Majed Mohamed Al Ansari and Project Manager Engi Assaad Ahmed Elmaghraby. This report was prepared by Majed Al Ansari, Amina Al Bloshi, Haneen Al Qassas, Buthaina Al Khulaifi, and Semsia Al-Ali Mustafa under the supervision of Abdoulaye Diop.

The project team would like to acknowledge with gratitude El mogiera Al Awad who recruited and trained the field interviewers and oversaw all field operations, and Anis Miladi, Isam Abdelhameed and Ayman Alkahlout who programmed the survey instrument and assisted the field operations during data collection.

The Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) is responsible for any errors or omissions in this report. Questions and comments can be directed via e-mail to sesri@qu.edu.qa or through our website www.qu.edu.qa/sesri.
State of Qatar

Administrative Setup - Municipalities & Zones

Source: Qatar Statistical Authority (QSA)
INTRODUCTION

Qatar faces a social and economic transformation today linked to its unique demographic composition. Understanding social interactions within and across its diverse subgroups is critical for understanding and managing this transformation. In its second wave of "From Fareej to Metropolis: A Social Capital Survey of Qatar II", we set out to describe those interactions and to compare them to the findings from the 2011 first wave survey.

To achieve this goal, we draw on the concept of social capital, which refers to the sum of correlation indicators between the members of the same community, whether at the level of family and personal relationships, between different groups in the community, or the trust in institutions and public services. Numerous studies support the hypothesis that there is a link between the increase of social capital in a certain community and its prosperity, including the work by Robert Putnam on Italian south and north provinces, in which he makes a link between the prosperity of the north and the increase of social capital indicators therein.

This executive report presents a comparison between selected findings from the 2011 and 2015 waves of "From Fareej to Metropolis: A Social Capital Survey of Qatar." The report is organized according to the various social capital literatures into bridging, bonding, and institutional social capital. Bonding indicators examine the relationship between members of the same group and family and personal relationships, while bridging social capital indicators explore the relationship and communication between various groups. Finally, the third section presents the results of the institutional social capital indicators, which examine the attitudes of Qataris and white-collar expats towards government services, media sources, and their participation in charity and volunteer work.

The report concludes that social capital in Qatar is still high in terms of within-group bonding relationships. It also indicates a significant increase in the indicators of trust among Qataris and white-collar workers in particular, while the percentage remained stable for the blue-collar workers as compared to the previous wave of the study. Last section of the study notes a rise in confidence among Qataris and white-collar workers in government agencies and services, and in unofficial sources of information such as majlis, the internet, and friends. It is also noted that there is no significant increase in the percentage of people participating in civil society institutions between the two waves of the study.

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I. **BONDING SOCIAL CAPITAL**

In this section, we present the findings of social communication indicators within the frame of personal relationships. These indicators focus on family relationships and friendships, as well as interactions with neighbors. We also review social activity at the level of meetings, visits and Majlis attendance, as well as the use of social media.

*Almost half of Qataris prefer the majlis as a place for their social meetings*

The 2015 study asked respondents about their preferred places to meet with friends. Qataris were most likely to express preference for *majlis* and homes (44% and 33%, respectively), while one quarter of white-collar workers preferred holding such meetings in their homes (26%) and another quarter in places other than homes, malls, restaurants and *majlis* (26%). Home was also an important meeting place for a third of blue-collar workers (34%). Figure I-1 illustrates that malls are comparatively the least preferred meeting place for each of the three subgroups, despite being widespread across the country. Taking into consideration that the *majlis* is a social phenomenon practiced mostly amongst Qataris and some workers of Arab heritage, the disparity between the three subgroup preferences for *majlis* is understandable.

![Figure I-1: Preferred places to meet with friends](image)

*Fewer workers are having meals with their friends*

When asked about the number of times that they have had lunch or dinner with their friends during the two weeks prior to the time of the survey, Qataris (55% and 60%) and white-collar workers (60% and 61%) had comparably similar proportions in both 2011 and 2015. Blue-collars, however, reported a significant decrease from 2011 (76%), with fewer respondents
reporting having lunch or dinner with friends in 2015 (47%) (Figure I-2). This finding calls for cautious inquiry into the possible reasons for this decline, as it represents a serious transformation in the nature of social relations among blue-collar workers. Having meals with friends, especially for workers who live away from their family, is a phenomenon indicative of social health, and its absence can potentially have a negative effect on the mental well-being of blue-collars.

**Figure I-2: Percentage of respondents who reported having lunch or dinner with their friends at least once during the past two weeks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qataris</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar workers</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar workers</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fewer Qataris and blue-collar workers visit parks and malls with their friends**

The survey also asked participants about the number of times they have gone out with friends to a park or a shopping mall during the past two weeks. The results revealed that while Qataris were the least likely to visit parks and malls in both 2011 and 2015 (40% and 35%, respectively), there was a slight increase in the percentage of white-collar workers* (from 52% in 2011 to 57% in 2015). Blue-collar workers showed a steep downward trend during the

* Throughout the report, the asterisk (*) symbol is used to signify that the differences between the 2011 and 2015 observations for a particular variable were not statistically significant, i.e. they could be a characteristic of the sample and therefore cannot be generalized to the entire population. Unless otherwise indicated, comparisons reported are statistically significant.
study period, from 68 percent in 2011 to 45 percent in 2015, confirming the low rate of communication and interaction with their friends, as shown in Figure I-3.

**Figure I-3: Visiting parks and malls with friends**

![Graph showing visiting parks and malls with friends]

More Qatari are attending majlis on a regularly basis

Due to the importance of majlis as a social practice that enables the highest level of communication between members of the Qatari society, the study looked at majlis attendance of both Qatari and white-collar workers. According to its Arabic meaning, the word majlis is “a place of sitting”, and in its most basic sense represents an informal social gathering of men, often held weekly in a special room built for the purpose.5

As evident from Figure I-4, Qatari are more likely to attend majlis on a regular basis as compared to white-collar and blue-collar workers. Nearly half of Qatari in 2011 (48%) and more than half in 2015 (55%) reported attending majlis regularly, whereas less than one fifth of white-collar workers’ reportedly did so in 2011 (18%) and 2015 (15%). The rise in the percentage of Qatari who attend majlis regularly indicates a positive development in the social communication within the Qatari society; however, majlis as a method of communication cannot be deemed as an effective tool for interaction within other groups residing in the country.

---

Rise in the use of social media among all participating groups, especially workers

Due to a great revolution in the world of communication caused by social media outlets such as Facebook and Twitter, and their impact on the nature of social interactions of various communities, it was important to ask participants about their level of engagement with these outlets. As seen in Figure I-5, all three subgroups (Qataris, white-collar and blue-collar workers) show a significant increase in the use of social networking sites in the later year of the study. However, the percentage of white-collar workers using social networking sites surpassed that of both Qataris and blue-collar workers during the two years of the study (56% in 2011 and 85% in 2015). The results showed that the percentage of Qataris and blue-collar workers using social networking sites were nearly the same in 2011 (35% and 36%, respectively), while 2015 results indicate a sharp increase among both Qataris (53%) and blue-collar workers (74%).

It is evident that the use of these means was significantly higher among non-Qataris. This could be explained by the need of white-collar and blue-collar workers to communicate continuously with their families and friends back in their native countries. In addition, the majority of respondents belonging to these two groups are under sixty, as Qatari labor laws limit job recruitment to foreigners below this age. There is a significantly higher proportion of Qatari respondents aged sixty years and above, a subgroup which is least likely to use modern technology means in general.
Most Qatari and white-collar workers feel accepted as members of their neighborhood

Qatari tend to live in the same neighborhood for a very long time, and because of land allotment rules, they often live around members of the same extended family or tribe. Though the majority of white-collar and blue-collar workers live in compounds and apartment buildings, the rapid expansion of expatriate population in the past few years has increased the ethnic diversity of Qatari neighborhoods. For this reason, it is important to identify how this impacts the relations between neighbors and the general feeling of neighborhood belonging. When asked about the extent of their perceptions of being accepted in the neighborhood in which they live, Qatari respondents reported the same level of feeling of acceptance in the two years of the study (95%)*, similar to white-collar workers*. These results indicate that the neighborhoods in Qatar dominated by both Qatari and white-collar workers enjoy a high degree of harmony (Figure I-6).
Family is of great importance in the lives of Qataris, white-collar and blue-collar workers

In the context of identifying social priorities among Qatari nationals, white-collar and blue-collar workers, the study inquired about the importance of family and friends, as well as of attending social gatherings. Both the 2011 and 2015 study results showed that all Qatari, white-collar and blue-collar respondents agree about the importance of family. The importance of friends was similarly rated high for all subgroups in 2015, as compared to the 2011 results (Figure I-7, Figure I-8 and Figure I-9).
The proportion of Qataris who indicated that social gatherings are important was similarly high in both years of the study (93% in 2011 to 91% in 2015), as well as for white-collar workers, who reported the same level of importance in both 2011 and 2015 (86%), and blue-collar workers (73% in 2011 and 78% in 2015).
II. BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL

This section presents the findings on indicators measuring relationships between Qataris, white-collar and blue-collar workers.

**Six out of ten white-collar workers have at least one Qatari friend**

In general, white-collar workers interact more with Qatari nationals as compared to the blue-collar workers. Nearly two thirds of white-collar workers (62%) reported having at least one Qatari friend, while far fewer blue-collar workers reported having Qatari friends (17%). This finding is understandable in the context of economic and social disparities between Qataris and blue-collar workers, who mostly live in labor camps and therefore have fewer opportunities to interact with Qataris. With regards to Qatari respondents, almost all reported having at least one Qatari as a close friend (98%) (Figure II-1).

*Figure II-1: Percentage of respondents with close Qatari friends (2015)*

**More Qataris share the workplace with white-collar workers**

The largest majority of Qataris work in the public sector, while white-collar and blue-collar workers dominate the private sector. As shown in Figure II-2, the results reveal that the percentage of those Qataris who work alongside other Qataris remained highest in both 2011 (96%) and 2015 (95%). Arab white-collar workers were the second most frequently mentioned group of Qataris’ coworkers in both years of the study, with a slight increase in 2015 (from 60% in 2011 to 68% in 2015). Westerners and white-collar workers of other nationalities were mentioned as Qataris’ coworkers with similarly lower percentages. About a fifth of Qataris reported having Western coworkers in both 2011 and 2015 (21% and 22%, respectively), while the proportion of their coworkers of other nationalities had slightly increased in the later year of the study (from 22% in 2011 to 27% in 2015).

Blue-collar workers were the least mentioned coworker group. Four percent of Qataris reported working with Arab blue-collar workers in both years of the study, while five percent of them worked with blue-collar workers of other nationalities in 2011, and six percent did so
These results are somewhat expected in light of the increase in percentage of workers in recent years in both private and public sectors.

**Figure II-2: Qataris’ coworkers (by nationality)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qatars</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab white-collar workers</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western white-collar workers</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationality white-collar workers</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab blue-collar workers</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationality blue-collar workers</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Increase in generalized trust among Qataris, white-collar and blue-collar workers**

Whether defined as an integral component or product of social capital, trust is a key element for successful cooperation among members of a society. To gauge their level of trust in different groups in Qatar, respondents were asked the following question: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?” As shown in Figure II-3, all three surveyed groups reported an increase in generalized trust over the two study years. The proportion of blue-collar workers who reported that most people are trustworthy was the highest and increased significantly in the later year of the study (from 46% in 2011 to 59% in 2015), followed by white-collar workers* (35% in 2011 and 40% in 2015), and Qataris who reported lowest level of trust (20% in 2011 and 23% in 2015). It is possible to explain the discrepancy between the levels of trust between the three groups by the large transformation in the Qatari social structure resulting from the dramatic increase in the number of white-collar workers and blue-collar workers in the country. The levels of safety and reduction of crime in Qatar may potentially justify the high trust reported by many white-collar workers and blue-collar workers, who come from countries that do not enjoy the same degrees of safety.
To better understand the relationship between citizens and various resident groups in Qatar, the study asked Qataris to assess their level of trust with regards to other Qataris, Arab white-collar workers, Western white-collar workers, Arab blue-collar workers and white-collar workers of other nationalities on a scale of ten, where 10 indicated highest trust and 0 complete mistrust. The scale was recoded into two categories: responses ranging from 0 to 5 were grouped together and interpreted as “I do not trust”, while responses ranging from 6 to 10 were interpreted as “I trust”. As seen in Figure II-4, Qataris expressed highest trust in their Qatari peers (85%) in 2011, which further increased in 2015 (91%). They also expressed high trust in Arab white-collar workers, with more than a half (59%) reporting so in 2011, further increasing in 2015 (70%). The degree of trust in Westerners was remarkably low in 2011 (24%), but increased to 40 percent in 2015. Trust in Arab blue-collar workers rose from 27% in 2011 to 47% in 2015. White-collar workers of other nationalities gained a degree of trust among a third of Qataris in both 2011 (31%) and 2015 (34%). The results indicate a rise in the proportion of reported trust in all groups, which is a positive indicator about the social capital in Qatar.
White-collar workers expressed highest degree of trust in Qatars, which saw an increase from 79 percent in 2011 to 84 percent in 2015, followed by trust in Arab white-collar workers. As evident from Figure II-5, proportions of those reporting trust in Western white-collar workers and those of other nationalities were nearly the same during both years of the study, while trust in Arab blue-collar workers saw a 10 percent increase in 2015, but remained comparably lowest.

Blue-collar workers expressed a much higher degree of trust in white-collar workers of other nationalities during the first year of the study (85%), only to substantially decline in 2015 (59%), whereas their trust in Qatars’ has remained relatively stable and high over the two years of the study (74% in 2011 and 75% in 2015). Their trust in Arab and Western white-
collar workers’, as well as in Arab blue-collar workers* was comparable, with slightly more than half of blue-collar respondents reporting trust in each of these groups, only to slightly decline in the later year of the study (Figure II-6). High trust in white-collar workers of other nationalities can be partially explained by the fact that non-Arab blue-collar workers were offered no other category that they can personally relate to.

**Figure II-6: Blue-collar workers’ degree of trust in various groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qatars</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab white-collar workers</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western white-collar workers</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab blue-collar workers</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar workers of other nationalities</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2015, new categories were added to measure the degree of trust coming specifically from East Asia, Indian subcontinent and Africa, to enable a more nuanced and comprehensive analysis. The results showed that 41 percent of Qataris reported having trust in workers from the Indian subcontinent, while about a third reported trust in both East Asian (35%) and African (32%) blue-collar workers (Figure II-7).

**Figure II-7: Qataris’ degree of trust in blue-collar workers in 2015 (by region of origin)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Asia</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian subcontinent</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results point to an increase in trust that Qataris and white-collar workers have in various subgroups of the society, whereas blue-collar workers seem to have a somewhat declined level of trust in those around them. While the overall results are indicative of partial improvement of social harmony in Qatar, findings on blue-collar workers point to the importance of understanding the factors that hinder the development of their trust in others so that comprehensive social harmony can be achieved.
Most Qataris prefer to live in the neighborhood of Qatari families

When asked about their preference for having members of certain groups as neighbors, almost all Qataris said they prefer to live in the neighborhoods with other Qatari families (97%), in both 2011 and 2015 (Figure II-8). Arab white-collar families were second preferred in both years of the study (83% in 2011 and 87% in 2015), followed by Western families (48% in 2011 and 54% in 2015), whereas only a fraction of Qataris preferred having blue-collar workers as their neighbors (2% in 2011 and 4% in 2015).

Figure II-8: Qataris’ preference for neighbors

Similarly, white-collar workers had highest preference for Qatari families as their neighbors in both 2011 (73%) and 2015 (67%), closely followed by a preference to be in the neighborhood of Arab families (71% in 2011 and 66% in 2015), albeit somewhat lower in the second wave of the study. Slightly more than half of white-collar workers preferred having Western white-collar families as neighbors (54% in 2011 and 55% in 2015), while preference for bachelor Arab blue-collar workers saw a slight decrease from 2011 (12%) to 2015 (10%) (Figure II-9).

Figure II-9: White-collar workers’ preference for neighbors
Blue-collar workers had an overall low preference for neighbors from all groups, although it increased slightly in the second wave of the study. In 2011, about a fifth of respondents reported preference for bachelor Arab blue-collars as their neighbors (22%) as well as for Western white-collar families (20%), and they saw a similar increase of preference in the later year of the study (28% and 29%, respectively). Preference for Qatari families increased from 19% in 2011 to 30% in 2015, while preference for Arab families likewise rose from 12% in 2011 to 26% in 2015 (Figure II-10).

Figure II-10: Blue-collar workers’ preference for neighbors

![Bar chart showing preference for different groups of neighbors from 2011 to 2015.]

For Qatari citizens, Islam and Arabic language proficiency should be most important criteria for obtaining citizenship

Though there is a path to obtaining Qatari citizenship, the large majority of expatriate residents in Qatar are unlikely to be naturalized and become Qatari citizens. Continuous residency in Qatar for a period of 25 years or more, good knowledge of Arabic language, and having a clean criminal record are among the requirements of the Article 2 of the Law No. 38 of 2005 which addresses the granting of Qatari citizenship by naturalization.

To better understand the opinions of nationals on granting Qatari citizenship to expatriates, Qatari respondents were asked to rank the most important requirements for obtaining the Qatari citizenship. In the two years of the study, the requirements that topped the list remained similar. As seen in Figure II-11, belonging to the religion of Islam was the most important requirement for almost all respondents (97% in 2011 and 96% in 2015). Arabic language proficiency was the second most frequently mentioned requirement, (94% and 90% respectively in 2011 and 2015), followed by Arab nationality (88% in 2011 and 81% in 2015), while adopting Qatari customs was ranked as the fourth most important requirement by Qatari citizens (84% in 2011 and 79% in 2015).
These findings illustrate the importance of religion and language for the Qatari identity as perceived by the respondents, where almost all of them agree on their importance for those who want to obtain Qatari citizenship, confirming the conservative nature of the Qatari society.

Figure II-11: Qatari’s opinion about the important requirements to obtain Qatari citizenship

Majority of Qatari and white-collar respondents prefer to work with a Qatari manager

As in 2011, the overwhelming majority of Qatari respondents in the 2015 survey prefer to have a Qatari as their manager (90%), reflecting a slight increase from the 82% reported in 2011. The second most preferred managers were those of Arab nationality, increasing from 52 percent in 2011 to 63 percent in 2015, whereas their preference for managers of Western and other nationalities were similarly low for both years of the study (see Figure II-12 below).
The majority of white-collar workers prefer to have a Qatari national as their manager in 2015 (61%), although it was a slight decrease from 2011 (65%). In both years of the study, the second most preferred managers by white-collar workers were those of Arab nationality (56% in 2011 and 55% in 2015), while managers of a Western nationality were the third most frequently mentioned choice (46% in 2011 and 47% in 2015). Preference for managers of other nationalities had slightly increased in the later year of the study (Figure II-13).

**Figure II-12: Qatars' preferences for the nationality of their manager**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manager Type</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qatari manager</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab nationality manager</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western nationality manager</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationality</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure II-13: White-collar workers' preference for the nationality of their manager**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manager Type</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qatari manager</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab nationality manager</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western nationality manager</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationality</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Majority of Qataris and white-collar workers prefer to work with Qatari or Arab nationality coworkers

Qataris were most likely to express highest preference for other Qataris to be their coworkers during both years of the study (80% in 2011 and 92% in 2015), while their preference for coworkers of Arab nationalities had increased over time from 70 percent in 2011 to 85 percent in 2015. Preferences for colleagues of Western and other nationalities saw a similar increase over the two study years, but they were nonetheless least preferred compared to the other two groups (see Figure II-14).

Figure II-14: Qataris’ preference for the nationality of their coworkers

White-collar workers’ preferences for coworkers in 2015 showed a slight decrease from 2011 for all sub-groups. Qataris remained the most preferred group of coworkers (67% in 2011 and 62% in 2015), followed by preference for Arab coworkers (65% in 2011 and 60% in 2015). The third most frequently preferred coworkers were of Western nationalities, mentioned by slightly more than half of white-collar respondents. While Qataris’ perception of their white-collar expatriate colleagues has improved, white-collar workers’ preference for Qatari colleagues has decreased in 2015.

Figure II-15: White-collar workers’ preference for the nationality of their coworkers


III. INSTITUTIONAL SOCIAL CAPITAL

This section presents the findings of institutional social capital indicators, examining the trust that Qataris and residents alike have in official institutions, sources of information, as well as their participation in different forms of social activities.

Participation of Qataris and white-collar workers in civil society institutions

Between the two years during which the study was implemented, the proportion of respondents participating in civil society institutions did not vary significantly. The only exception was participation in school-related institutions such as parents’ councils, where Qataris and white-collar workers reported in 2011 highest levels of participation relative to other institutional forms studied in the survey (34% for Qataris and 39% for white-collar workers). However, the subsequent survey conducted in 2015 recorded less than half of previous levels of participation in such institutions (10% for Qataris and white-collar workers alike), a drop that can in part be attributed to structural changes in the education sector, which have weakened the role of such councils in independent schools.

Figure III-1: Qataris’ participation in civil society associations and institutions

Figure III-2: White-collar workers’ participation in civil society associations and institutions
Participation in charities and sports clubs has not changed significantly between the two years of the study. Proportion of Qataris who reported taking part in activities of charity organizations remained low and stable for both years (12%), whereas white-collar workers’ participation was similarly low, but had further declined in the later year of the study (from 13% in 2011 to 10% in 2015). Qataris’ participation in sport clubs saw a slight increase from 7 percent in 2010 to 10 percent in 2015, while white-collars’ participation remained the same during the two years of the study (10%).

Participation in youth and specialized centers and professional associations did not exceed 4 percent for Qataris, while white-collars reported a decrease in participation in such centers, from 9 percent in 2011 to 4 percent in 2015. The level of participation in civil society institutions was overall low, perhaps due to the nature of the institutions themselves. For instance, youth and specialized centers primarily focus on youth, and professional associations target specific groups of citizens and white-collar workers.

**Qataris and white-collar workers have high trust in state institutions**

Similar to social trust, institutional trust also facilitates the decision-making process by moderating interactions of members at different levels of a society. It is usually defined as trust in formal institutions of a political and economic system. In both years of the study, participants were asked about their trust in a set of institutions including the health system, the police and governmental education institutions. In general, the results revealed that most Qataris and white-collar workers have high trust in all above-mentioned institutions, with the police receiving the highest trust rating in both 2011 and 2015 (see Figure III-3 and Figure III-4 below).

![Figure III-3: Qataris’ trust in state institutions](image-url)
Confidence in healthcare was second highest, with both Qatars and white-collars reporting an even higher rating in 2015. Qatars’ confidence in healthcare increased from 76% in 2011 to 88% in 2015. A similar trend was noted in regards to the education system, with higher confidence levels reported by both Qatars (84%) and white-collar workers (89%) in 2015 as compared to 2011 (68% and 83%, respectively).

**Qatars and white-collar workers have high confidence in infrastructure**

The survey conducted in 2015 contained an additional question measuring the level of confidence in the infrastructure among Qatars and white-collar workers. The results reveal that white-collar workers have a higher level of confidence in this system (83%) as compared to Qatars (68%).

**Qatars display high level of confidence in unofficial sources of news and information**

Confidence of Qatars and white-collar workers in the accuracy of what they read or hear from mainstream media, such as daily newspapers, TV, as well as from alternative sources of information such as internet, *majalis*, etc. did not differ significantly between the two years of
the survey. While white-collar workers had a higher confidence in daily newspapers in both 2011 and 2015 than Qataris did, confidence of both white-collar workers and Qataris had seen a slight decline in the later wave of the study. TV channels and the internet have achieved higher levels of confidence among white-collars in both years of the study. However, both groups reported an overall decreasing confidence in the accuracy of what they read or hear on TV channels and the internet (Figure III-6 and Figure III-7).

**Figure III-6: Qataris' levels of trust in various sources of information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily newspapers</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV channels</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majalis</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For social sources of news, the results show that most of Qataris and white-collars have confidence in the information received from colleagues and friends in 2015 (80% and 81% respectively), which was somewhat higher than their reported levels of confidence in 2011 (69% for Qataris and 77% for white-collar workers). Since majlis as a source of information is considered common in Qatari society, respondents were asked about their confidence in the news received from the majlis. Qataris' confidence in news received from majlis increased significantly from 48 percent in 2011 to 71 percent in 2015, while confidence of white-collar workers had also seen an increase but remained comparably lower in both years of the study.

**Figure III-7: White-collar workers' levels of trust in various sources of information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily newspapers</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV channels</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majalis</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results indicate a significant increase in the confidence of Qataris in unofficial sources of information such as friends, majlis and internet, while their level of confidence in the traditional sources did not change. In contrast, confidence among white-collar workers did not change much overall, except for the decrease in confidence in local newspapers. These results indicate the importance of social networking in the exchange of information at the local level, confirming the importance of using social networks and internet in communication with Qataris.

**More Qatars and white-collars are donating to charities, but volunteering less**

The study asked participants whether they volunteered their time or donated in cash or kind to charities during the year preceding the survey (see Figure III-8 and Figure III-9 below). In 2011, 73 percent of Qataris and 58 percent of white-collar workers reported donating to a charity, whereas in 2015 the proportions increased to 78 percent for Qataris and 62 percent for white-collars. The proportion of respondents who reported volunteering their time during the past 12 months was quite low for both Qataris and white-collar workers, and noted a further decrease in the later year of the study.

**Figure III-8: Donating in cash or kind during past 12 months**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qataris</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar workers</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure III-9: Volunteering time during past 12 months**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qataris</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar workers</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. CONCLUSION

This report is the culmination of five years of research into social capital in Qatar. The growing importance of this concept in social science research and in sustainable development programs has made the benchmarking and monitoring of social capital indicators increasingly more important, especially as Qatar is undergoing rapid demographic and socio-economic changes that impact its society. Through this study, summarized in this report, we now have a platform that allows us to monitor the development of social capital in Qatar and compare the changing trends in Qatar with international measures.

While comparing the 2011 and 2015 findings of the social capital measures of this study indicates an overall positive view of the social capital in Qatar, it also points to some findings that warrant attention in order to help frame and adjust the relevant policies for strengthening social solidarity and fostering positive relations between various groups in the society.

The findings presented in the first section of this report, which focuses on bonding social capital, are highly positive, especially when it comes to Qataris and white-collars. Family and friends remain highly important for all groups. In addition, most Qatari and white-collar participants relayed a high sense of belonging to the neighborhood. Majlis as a social venue is gaining prominence among Qataris, who are reporting increasing levels of attendance and most frequently mentioning it as their preferred place to meet with friends. On the other hand, the results reveal a reduced tendency amongst blue-collars to go out and have meals with friends, signifying growing social isolation for members of this group. This phenomenon needs urgent attention, as active social networks offer a psychological safety net and ability to exchange resources amongst blue-collar workers who do not have family members here in Qatar to support them. The results are also indicative of the need to establish more parks and shopping facilities in the vicinity of worker camps, thereby providing them with more opportunities for social outings. Likewise, new policies need to be developed that would encourage employers to provide opportunities for these workers to engage in social activities outside the camp, in a manner that is respectful of Qatari customs and social setting.

The second part of this report concerns indicators of bridging social capital, where we see an increase in workplace contact between Qataris and non-Qataris, which in turn appears to have a positive effect on Qataris’ attitudes towards non-Qatarys in general. Indicators of trust in others in general and in certain groups in particular point to an increasing trust of Qataris in members of other groups. The attitude of non-Qatarys towards others could be partially explained by economic disparity, as their attitudes towards Qatari neighbors and co-workers were less positive in the second wave of the study. However, this pattern did not extend to the measure of trust, a higher valued attitudinal measure, as white-collar workers’ trust in Qataris increased in the same period. As with the first section, blue-collars exhibited trends of reduced
trust in others, confirming our findings in the first section and further evidencing the need to seriously address their social well-being.

Finally, the last set of findings discussed institutional social capital. The results suggest that participation in civil society organizations remains within the same levels as 2011, with the exception of PTAs (parent-teacher associations), which witnessed a decrease in participation that was most likely due to the restructuring of public schools and the effect it had on the efficacy of PTAs in general. Trust in governmental services remains high, with education gaining trust among both Qataris and white-collars, which can be attributed to the changes in public education that took place between 2011 and 2015. Lastly, the results suggest that there is a high increase in trust in informal sources of information such as the internet, majlis and friends.

The findings of our study point clearly to a high level of social capital in Qatar, especially when compared to similar measures in other contexts internationally. It is important to note, however, that blue-collars reported lower ratings and frequencies in many of the measures, especially those regarding social activity and solidarity. These results call for a serious attempt at understanding their contexts and causes, and allocation of necessary resources and policies to reverse the negative trend. In addition, the reduced preference for Qatari neighbors and co-workers, while alarming, could be linked to the sudden increase in Qataris income in 2011, as levels of trust in Qataris in general actually increased. This study presents a catalyst for further research to monitor and understand social capital in the Qatari context and to absorb the ever-changing social context of Qatar in this pivotal time in the history of the state. Therefore, this study needs to be followed by consecutive efforts to analyze and expand on the results and develop programs and policies that aid in increasing social capital in Qatar.
V. SUMMARY OF METHODS

In this survey, the target population includes people who were 18 years or older and live in residential housing units in Qatar during the survey reference period. The target population excludes those who live in institutions such as army barracks, hospitals, dormitories, prisons. The sampling frame was developed by SESRI with the assistance from the Qatar Electricity and Water Company (Kahramaa). In this frame, all housing units in Qatar are listed with information about the housing address and information to identify if residents in the housing units are Qatari nationals, white-collar workers, or blue-collar workers. Like other countries in the Arab Gulf region, there are two distinct groups of population in Qatar: Qatari nationals and non-Qatari workers. The latter group is also composed of two distinct groups: white-collar workers, usually called workers and the blue-collar workers, usually called labor migrants. Since Qatari nationals and workers usually live in household units and labor migrants live in group quarters (usually called labor camps), different sample designs are used for different groups of population.

Design for Qatari nationals and white-collar workers

The state of Qatar is divided into seven administrative municipalities. Each municipality contains a number of zones and each zone is divided into several blocks. In the frame, there were 72 zones and 320 blocks. To assure representation of population in zones, proportionate stratified sampling was used whereby each zone was considered as one stratum. With the proportionate allocation, the sample in each stratum was selected with the same probabilities of selection. However, we know from previous surveys that the response rates vary across zones. Therefore, we over-sampled in certain zones to make up for the lower response rates in some zones.

In this survey, only one person 18 years or older in each household is selected for the interview. SESRI develops its own selection method to fit the Islamic culture in Qatar. The method can be summarized as follows: first, the interviewer asks the informant (the first household adult contacted by interviewers) for the number of adults 18 years or older in the household.

Conditional on the answer to this question, different within-household schemes are utilized:

---

• Number of adults is 1: the informant is de facto selected to complete the interview.
• Number of adults is 2: randomly select between the informant and the other adult.
• Number of adults is 3: randomly select the informant 33 percent of the time. If the informant is not selected, randomly select between the younger and the older of the other two adults.
• Number of adults is 4: randomly select the informant 25 percent of the time. If the informant is not selected, randomly select between the youngest, the oldest, and the second oldest among the other three adults.
• Number of adults is 5 or more: ask the informant a second question about the number of males in the household. Randomly sample either a male or female. If the number of adults of the sampled sex is less than 4, apply the selection method for 2 or 3 adult households. If the number is 4 or more, ask the informant to list the names of all adults in the selected gender and randomly choose one.

This selection method yields a valid probability sample. All adult members in the household have the same chance of being sampled, and the probability of selecting each adult in the household is equal to the inverse of the number of adults regardless of the household size.

Design for blue-collar workers

Based on the information about the number of people in the camps, the frame for blue-collar workers is divided into strata and proportionate stratified sampling is used to draw separate samples from these strata. Proportionate sampling ensures that the proportion of people in each stratum is the same between the frame and the sample. To randomly select labor migrants, a multi-stage sample design is employed. Each camp is considered as a primary sampling unit and each room in the camp is considered as a secondary sampling unit. In the first stage, the camp is selected with probability proportionate to its size (or PPS). This gives an equal chance selection for blue-collar workers while allowing the same number of people to be chosen from each camp for each stratum. In the second stage after selecting camps, the room is selected with circular systematic sampling. As blue-collar workers from the same country tend to live in adjacent rooms, the selection of rooms by systematic method help to reduce the chance of selecting people from one country, and hence increases the variation in sampled people’s characteristics. Finally, one person in each room is randomly selected.

Since the information about the number and location of rooms is not available in the frame, the selection of rooms and the person inside the room are conducted during the field work in two visits as follows. First, a supervisor (with a computer) is sent to the selected camp. Upon arrival, he asks for the number of rooms in the camp and then the computer (using above
circular systematic sampling) would show him the room numbers to be selected. Since there is usually no room number in the camp, the supervisor is instructed to number rooms from left to right and start at the room closest to the camp’s gate. Having selected rooms, the supervisor lists the name of everyone in the room and the computer randomly selects one name from the list. Next, the supervisor asks for the language spoken by the selected person. After putting a sticker on the door of selected rooms, the supervisor then leaves the camp without interviewing the selected persons.

Second, interviewer(s) with suitable language skills is (are) assigned to visit the camp to conduct the interview with selected persons in the camp. The interviewers can locate the selected rooms in the camp with the stickers and then conduct the interview with the person in the room who has already been selected by the supervisor.

The main reason for the two visits to the camp (one by the supervisor and one by the interviewer) is to solve the issue of differences in languages spoken. Labor migrants in the camp usually originate from many countries and speak different languages. Without information as to the language of the selected persons, it is not possible to send an interviewer to the camp who speaks the correct language. The quality of the data could be hampered if interviewers and respondents do not fully understand each other due to language differences. Another reason for the two visits is related to gate keepers at the camp. Having a supervisor, who is well trained, dressed and speaks well, is sometimes necessary to gain access through persons who control access to the camp. Overall, the two visits increase the field cost but are needed to ensure survey quality.

Sample size, non-response, and sampling error

Since Qataris account for a small portion of the population (compared to workers and labor migrants), a proportionate sampling would yield a relatively small number of Qataris in the sample, resulting in low precision for studies using the Qatari group alone. Since the Qatari group is more heterogeneous than the other two groups in terms of individual and household characteristics (e.g. age, household size and income), the sample requirement for the Qatari group should be larger than that of the other groups in order to achieve the same level of precision. For these reasons, the Qatari group is over-sampled (relatively compared to other population groups) by disproportionate sampling in this survey. The following table shows the results of the last contact between interviewers and sampled units in the survey.

---

7 In some camps, the number of rooms is less than the number of people to be sampled. In this case, the supervisor can select 2 persons in the room.
Table V-1: Survey dispositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey dispositions</th>
<th>1st survey</th>
<th>2nd survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Households</td>
<td>Labor Camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>1437</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not completed</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ineligibles</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response rate (RR1)</td>
<td>63.5%</td>
<td>94.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last row in the table shows the response rates as the ratio between the numbers of completes and the total sample sizes after excluding ineligibles: \( RR1 = \frac{C}{C+E} \) where \( C \) is the number of completes, \( E \) is the number of eligible responses. In the first survey, there are 1,437 completed household interviews with 800 Qataris and 637 workers. Also in the first survey, there are 213 camps with 831 migrant workers who completed the interview. So, the total number of completes for both households and labor camps is 2,268 and the corresponding maximum sampling error for a percentage is +/- 3.5 percentage points. In the second survey, there are 1,799 completed household interviews with 831 Qataris and 968 workers. There are 139 camps with 754 migrant workers who completed the interview. The total number of completes for both households and labor camps in the second survey is 2,553 and the corresponding maximum sampling error for a percentage is +/- 3.1 percentage points.

The calculation of these sampling errors takes into account the design effects (i.e. the effects from weighting, stratification, and clusters). One possible interpretation of the sampling error is: if the survey is conducted 100 times using the exact same procedure, the sampling errors would include the "true value" in 95 out of the 100 surveys. Note that the sampling error can be calculated in this survey since the sample is based on a sampling scheme with known probabilities.

**Weighting**

The final weights in the data are constructed from three components: the base weights reflecting the sample selection probability; the adjustment factors to account for the non-
response; and the calibration to make the survey results in line with the population numbers. Besides, weight trimming is also used since highly variable weights can introduce undesirable variability in statistical estimates.\(^8\)

**Base weights**

These weights are the inverse of the selection probability of the unit in the sample. Because of the systematic sampling, all housing units of the same population group (Qatars or workers) in the same zone have the same chance of being selected and the weights are given by the following formula:

\[
W_{\text{base, housing unit}} = \frac{1}{p}
\]

where \(W_{\text{base, housing unit}}\) is the base weight for the housing unit, \(p\) is the probability of selection.

These base weights for Qatars are lower than those of workers due to the oversampling of Qatars. The base weights are then adjusted by the number of eligible persons in the household to yield the person level base weights:

\[
W_{\text{base, person}} = k \times W_{\text{base, housing unit}}
\]

where \(k\) is the number of eligible persons in the household.

**Adjustment factors for non-response**

If the responding and non-responding units are essentially similar with respect to the key subjects of the investigation, the base weights can be adjusted to account for the non-response by this formula:

\[
W_{\text{person}} = \alpha W_{\text{base, person}}
\]

where \(\alpha\) is called the adjustment factor for non-response.\(^9\)

---

\(^8\) Weight trimming can reduce variance, but also increases bias in the statistical estimates. Therefore, weight trimming should only be applied to cases with very large values of weights. The goal is to reduce the overall mean squared errors. Further details can be seen in this paper: Potter, F. (1990). *A Study of Procedures to Identify and Trim Extreme Sampling Weights*. Proceedings of the Section on Survey Research Methods, American Statistical Association, 1990, 225-230.

\(^9\) This weighting process is usually called propensity weighting. A good discussion of this process can be found in Varedian M. and G. Forsman (2003), “Comparing propensity score weighting with other weighting methods: A case study on Web data” In Proceedings of the Section on Survey Statistics, American Statistical Association; 2003, CD-ROM
**Weight calibration**

The weights are also calibrated to make results in line with the population estimates. This calibration can help reduce the effect from non-response and under-coverage of the sampling frame. SESRI uses “raking” method in the calibration to adjust the weights of the cases in the sample so that the proportions of the adjusted weights on certain characteristics agree with the corresponding proportions for the population.

**Questionnaire development**

The questionnaire is designed to collect all necessary information related to the study. The questions were initially designed in English and then translated into Arabic by professional translators. After the translation, the translated versions were carefully checked by researchers who are fluent in both English and Arabic. Next, the questionnaire was tested internally inside SESRI. This allows the project team to learn whether respondents were able to understand and answer the questions, and to identify important concerns that affect responses to the questions.

After making necessary changes to the questionnaire based on this internal pre-test, the survey was programmed into CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interview) system using the BLAISE software. After debugging the program, a face-to-face pre-test on a small number of housing units was conducted. This pretest gives valuable information to refine question wording, response categories, introductions, transitions, interviewer instructions, and interview length. Based on this information, the final version of the questionnaire was created and then programmed into CAPI for the fieldwork.

**Survey Administration**

The survey was administered in CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interview) mode. Each interviewer received an orientation to the CAPI system, participated in a training program covering fundamentals of CAPI interviewing and standard protocols for administrating survey instruments and practice time on the computers (laptops). During the period of data collection, the management used a monitoring system to ensure that questions were appropriately asked and the answers were accurately recorded.

After the data collection, all individual interviews were merged and saved in a single BLAISE data file. This dataset was then cleaned, coded and saved in STATA formats for analysis. After weighting the final responses to adjust for probability of selection and non-response, the data were analyzed using STATA, where both univariate, bivariate and multivariate analyses were performed.