

Lack of Responsiveness Impacts Mood

August – September 2015 Survey Findings

The research

- **National Survey**
 - **August 12-September 3, 2015**
 - **2000 respondents**
 - **500 Baghdad respondents**
 - **500 South respondents**
 - **500 West/IDP* respondents**
 - **500 Kurdistan respondents**
 - **Margin of error on total sample: +/- 2%**
 - **+/- 4.4% in Baghdad; +/- 4.4% in South; +/- 4.4% in West; +/- 4.4% in Kurdistan**

** West/IDP is abbreviated to West throughout the rest of the presentation; Sunni refers to Non-Kurd Sunni*

West sample design

- **“West”**: 79 Diyala (Baquba, al-Muqdadiya, al-Khalis, Balad Ruz) + 77 Kirkuk (Kirkuk Central/South and al-Hawija) + 344 IDPs; results weighted according to governorate population estimates
- **IDP original governorate and location of interviews:**

Original governorate	# of interviews	Governorates of displacement/interview	# of interviews
Anbar	86	Baghdad	50
		Erbil	12
		Sulaymaniyah	10
		Kirkuk	14
Ninewa	180	Dohuk	120
		Najaf	20
		Erbil	20
		Karbala	20
Salah ad-Din	78	Kirkuk	46
		Erbil	20
		Sulaymaniyah	12

Critical questions asked in December 2014

- 1. Would security concerns diminish, leading to greater focus on economic issues and basic services?**
- 2. Could Abadi maintain high favorable ratings?**
- 3. Would Sunni perception of sectarian tensions continue to improve?**
- 4. Would Kurdistan strengthen relations with Baghdad?**

Iraqi Mood in Brief – 4 key measures

Metric/survey question	Current %	Change	Movement
Country direction, % right, total	26	-8	Worse
Security, % better, total	29	-3	Stable
Electricity supplies, % better, total	23	-39	Much worse
Job opportunities, % better, total	11	-11	Worse
Abadi favorability, % favorable, total	54	-2	Stable
Abadi job approval, % approve, total	65	-10	Worse
Abadi's favorable ratings, % among Sunni	39	-7	Worse
Gov't fairly represent Sunni, % among Sunni	36	-14	Worse
Sectarianism, % better, total	35	+8	Better
Iraq is mostly unified %, total	44	-9	Worse
Relations between KRG/Baghdad, % better	12	-27	Much worse
K'stan become independent country, Kurds	82	+3	Stable

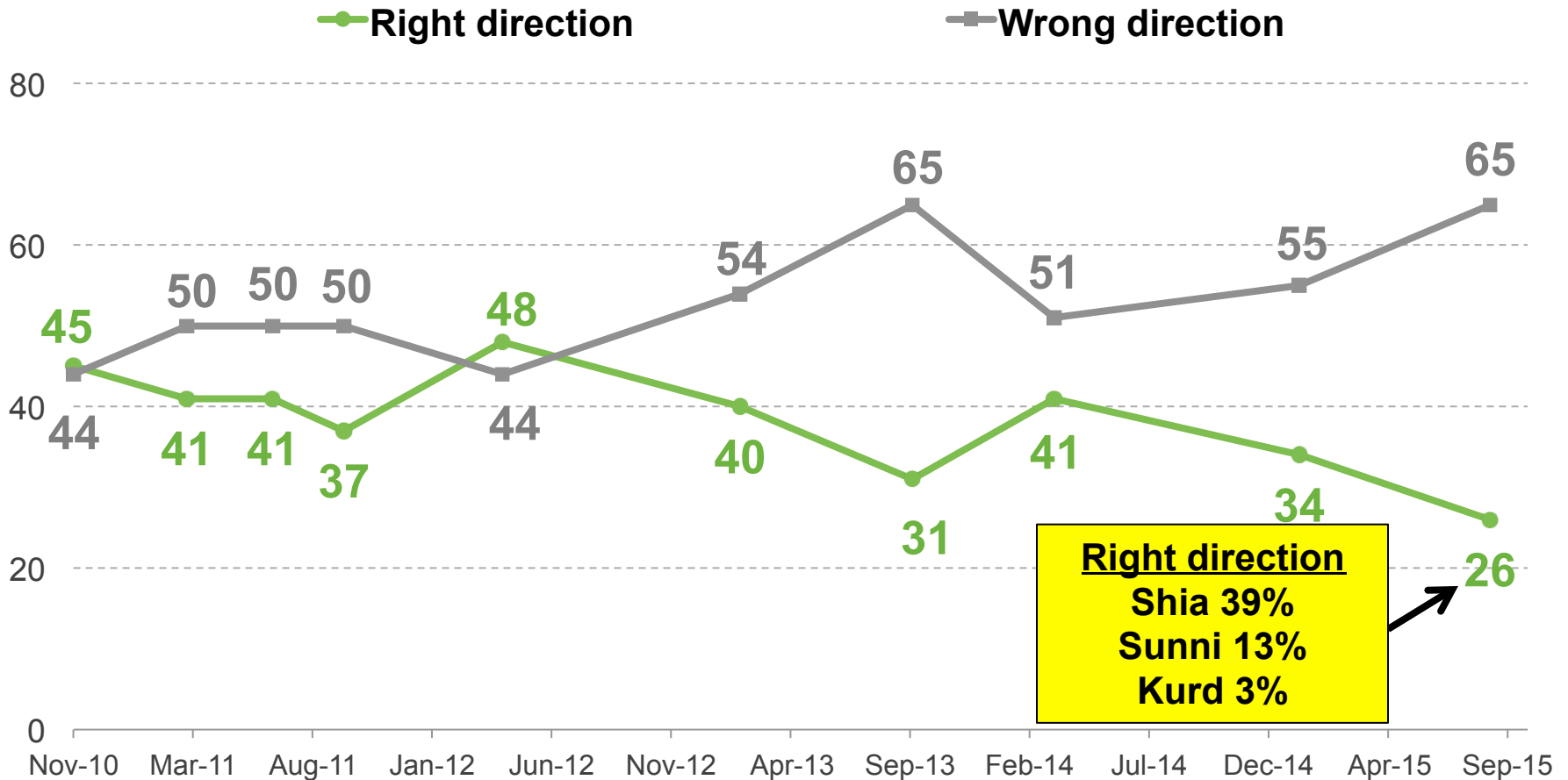
Critical questions asked in December 2014

1. Would security concerns diminish, leading to greater focus on economic issues and basic services?

- Security perceptions improve slightly while increasing services and corruption concerns lead to worsening mood
- Lack of responsiveness on these issues leading to disillusionment with politics and political leaders, but faith in democracy still high

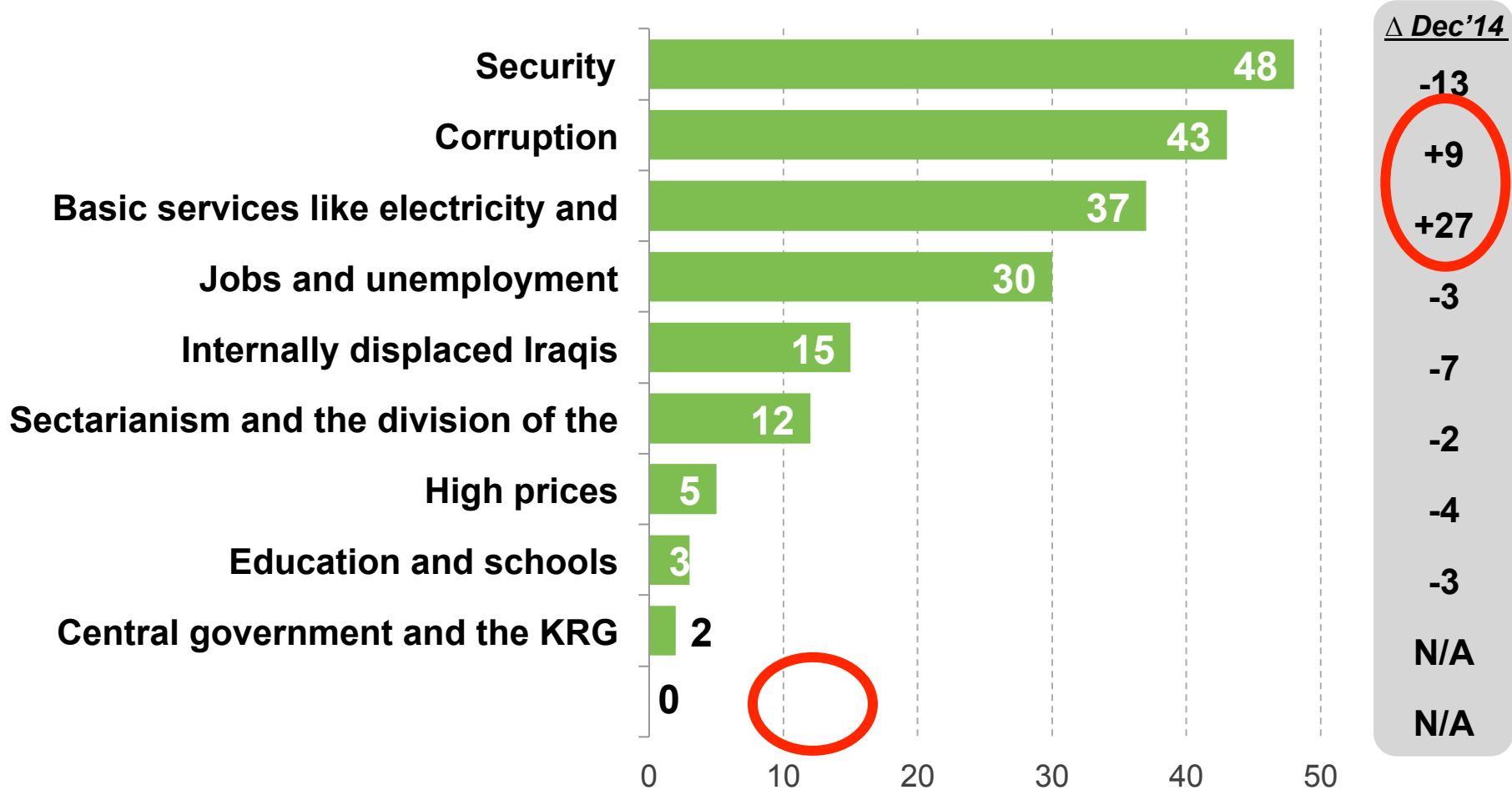
Right direction at all-time low

Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?



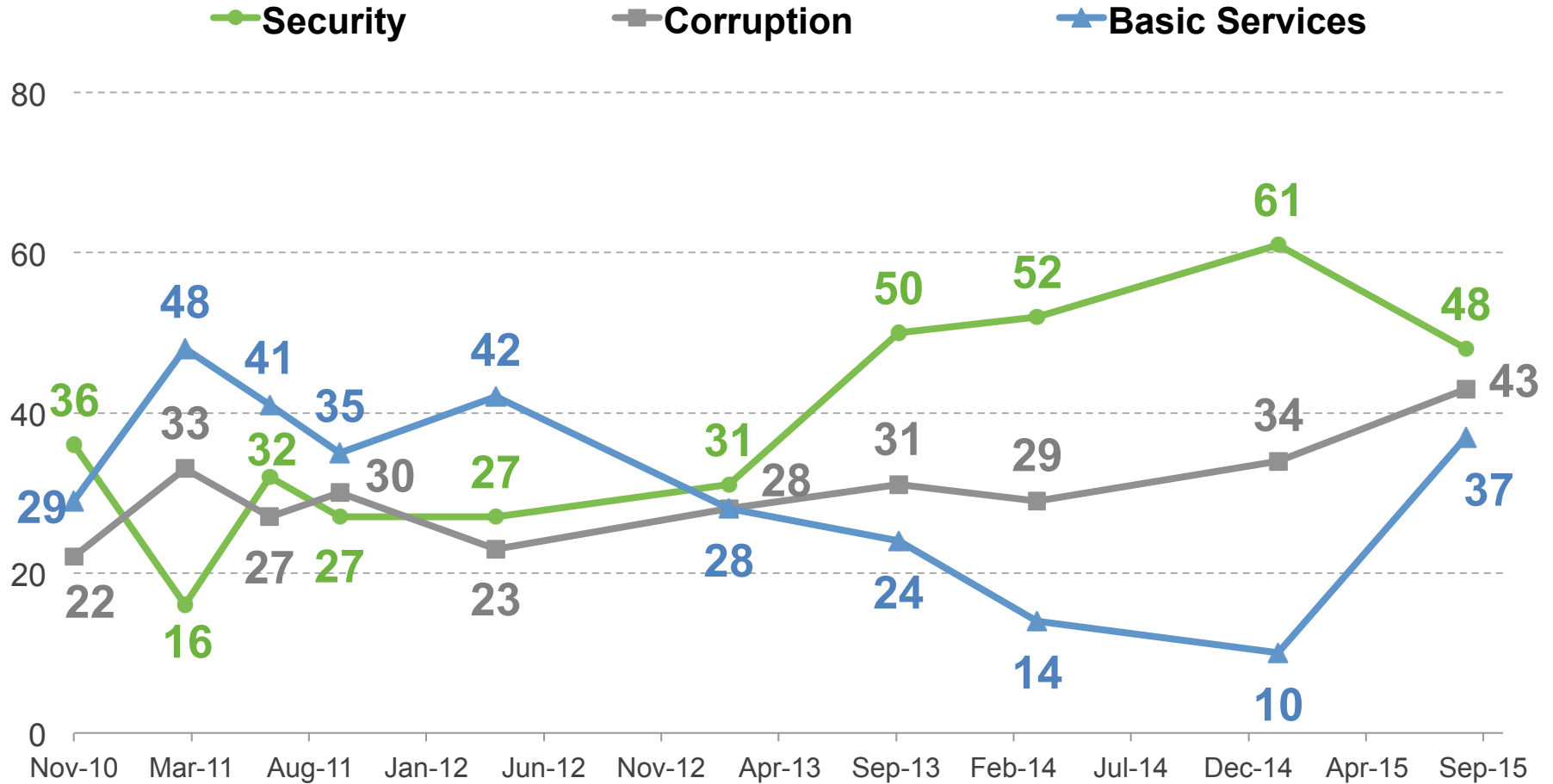
Jump in services, corruption concerns, drop in security

Which TWO of these are the most important for the Iraqi government to address.



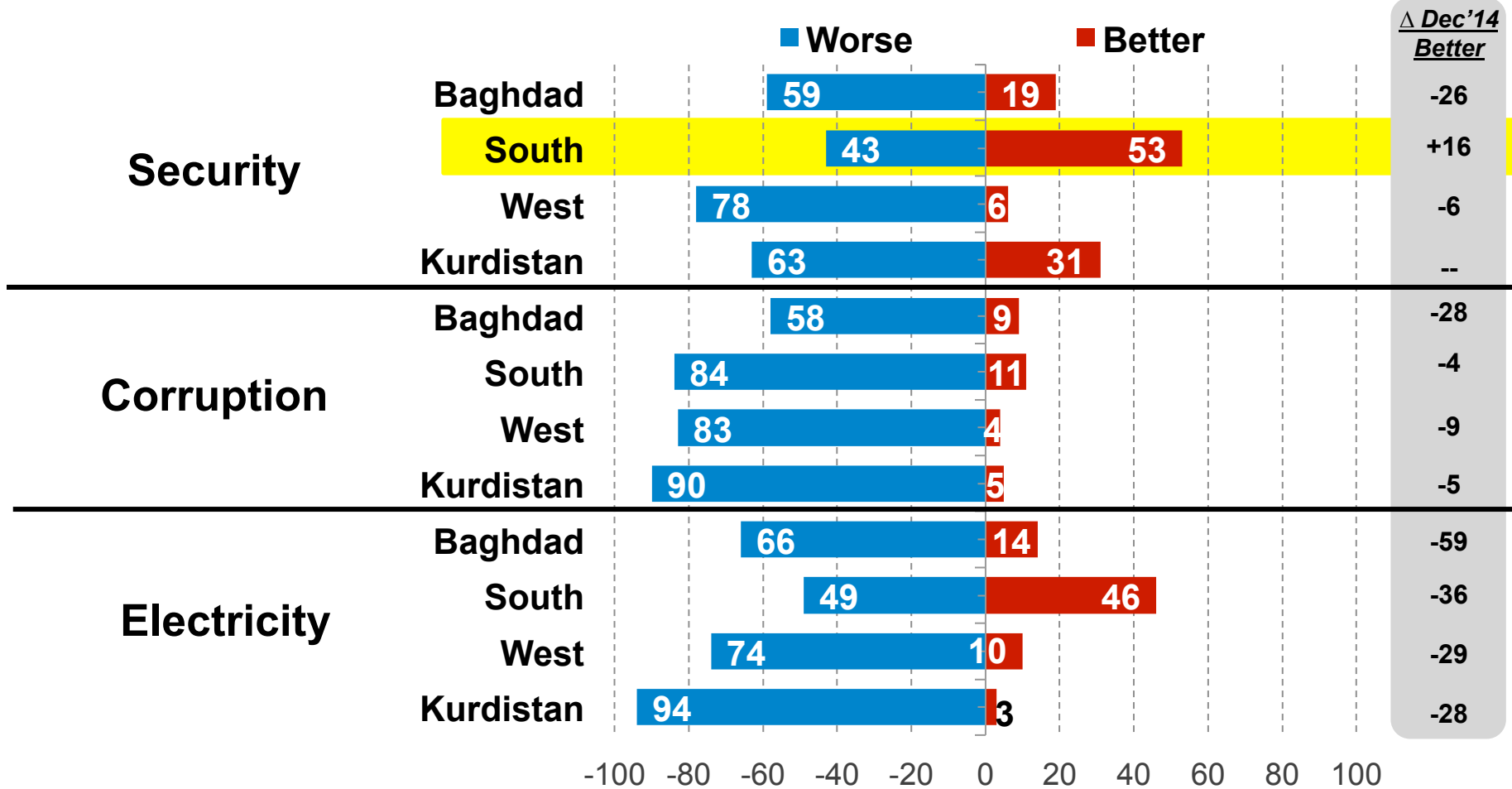
Service concerns up to earlier levels, corruption all-time high

Which TWO of these are the most important for the Iraqi government to address.



Improved security driven by South; corruption, electricity worse

Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

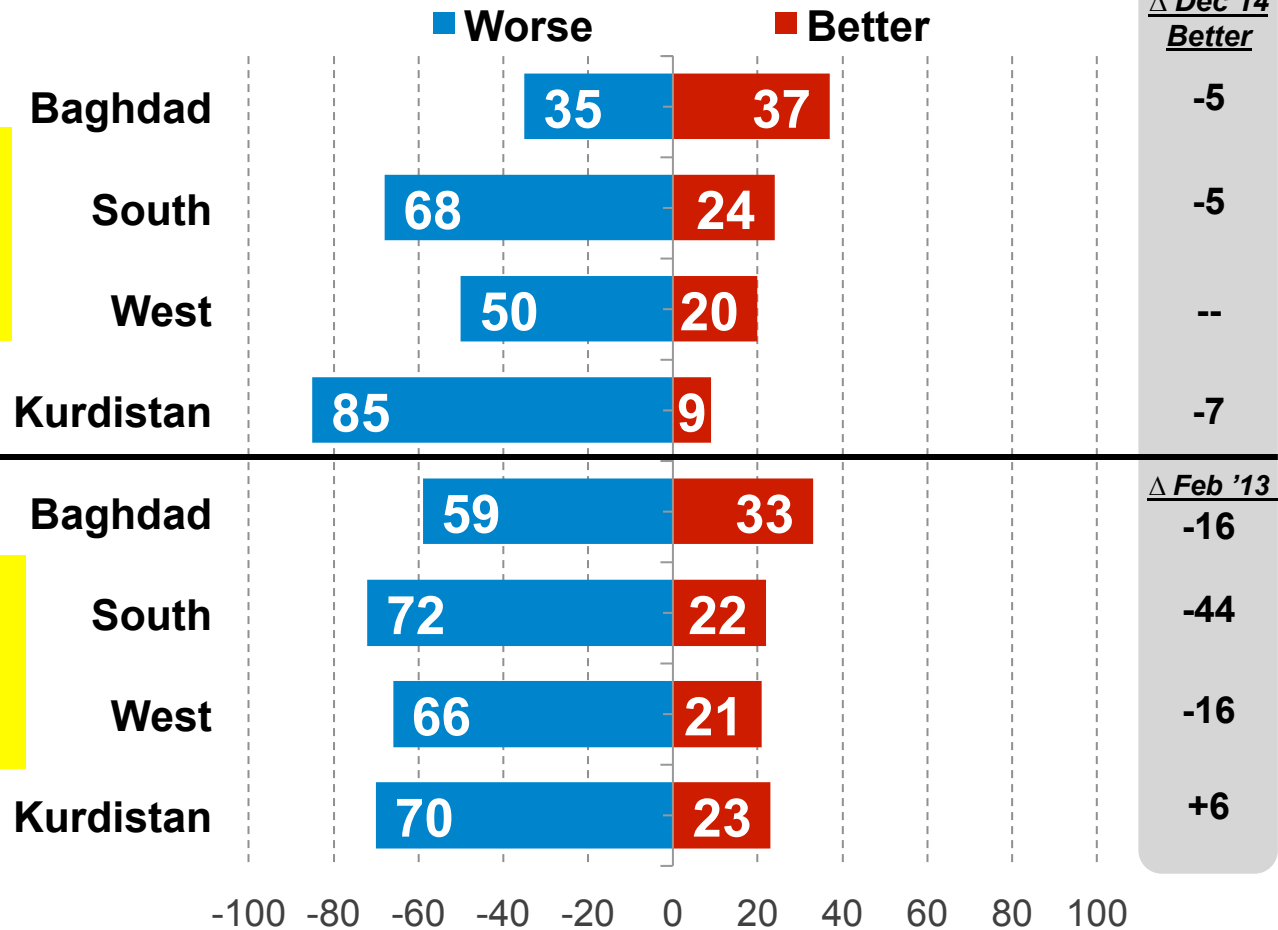


Government responsiveness worsening

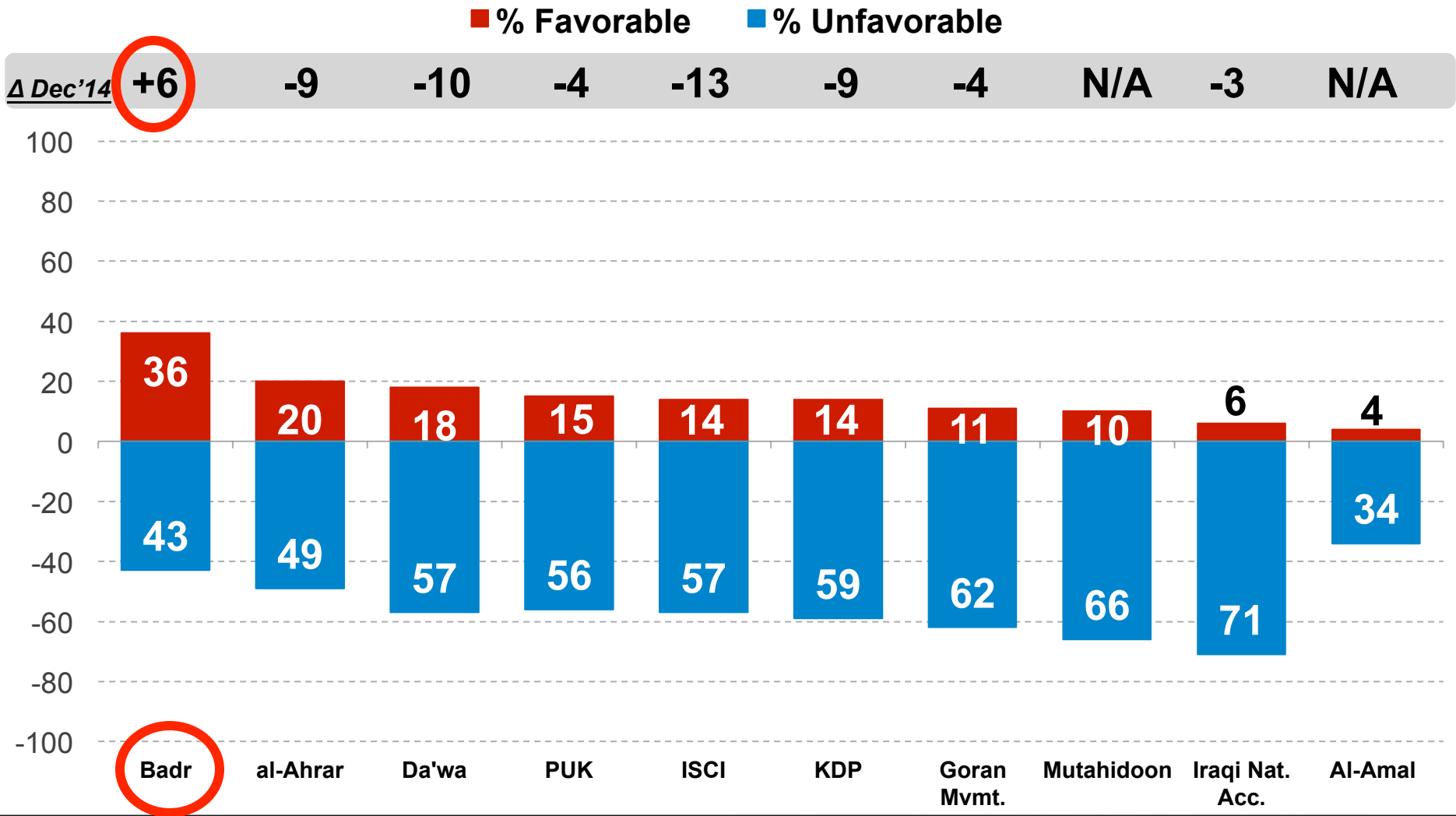
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

Iraqi government's responsiveness to the people's needs

Local government's responsiveness to the people's needs



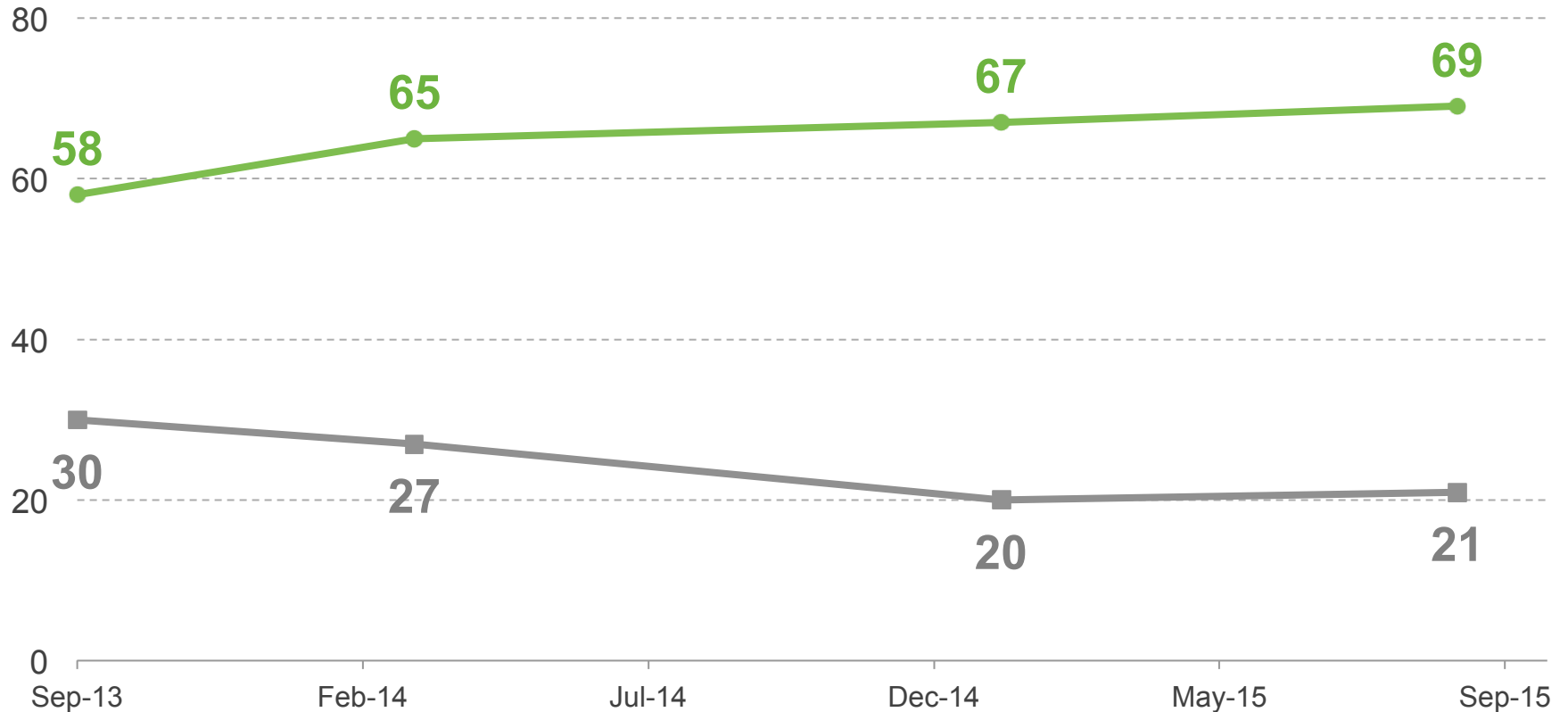
Except for Badr, all party favorable ratings down



Still a desire for democracy

I'm going to read you some pairs of statements and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

- Democracy is the best form of government for Iraq, even if it has flaws.
- Another form of government aside from democracy is better for Iraq.



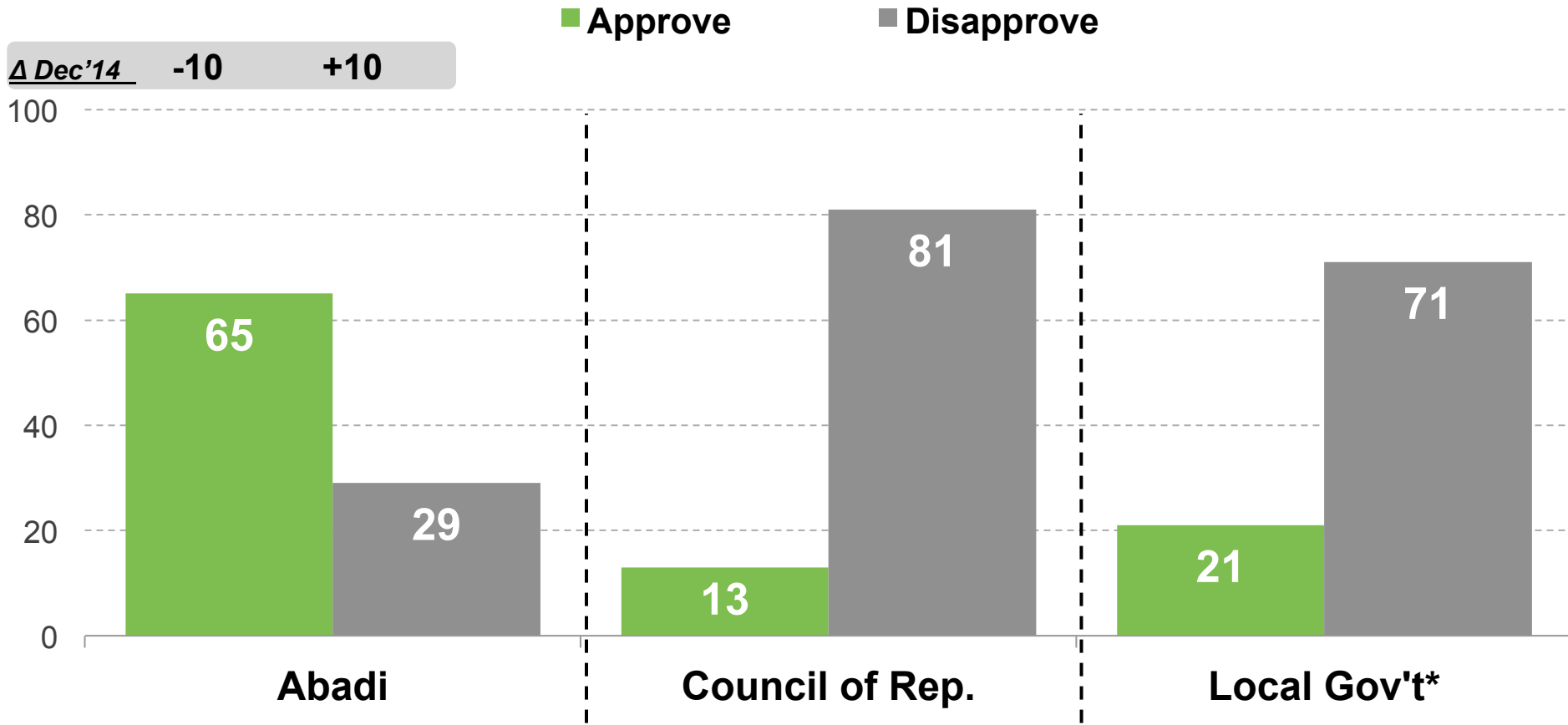
Critical questions asked in December 2014

2. Could Abadi maintain high favorable ratings?

- Abadi favorable rating remains high and not getting the negative impact of other political leaders
- At this time, Abadi remains the single political leader that can potentially appease all sects, though Kurds remain difficult

Abadi job approval fell, but remains high

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job [leader or institution] is doing?

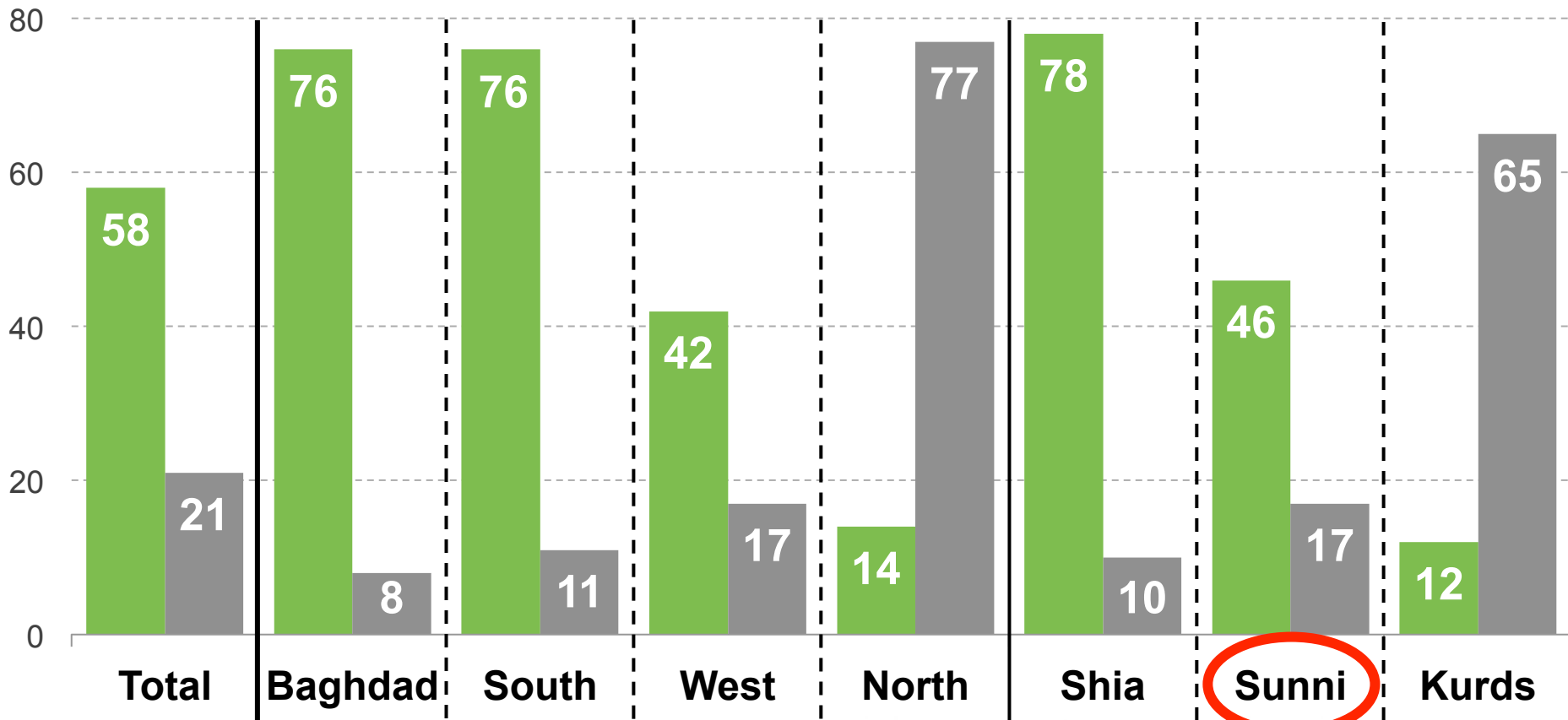


*Local government approval not asked in Kurdistan

Plurality of Sunni want to continue in Abadi direction

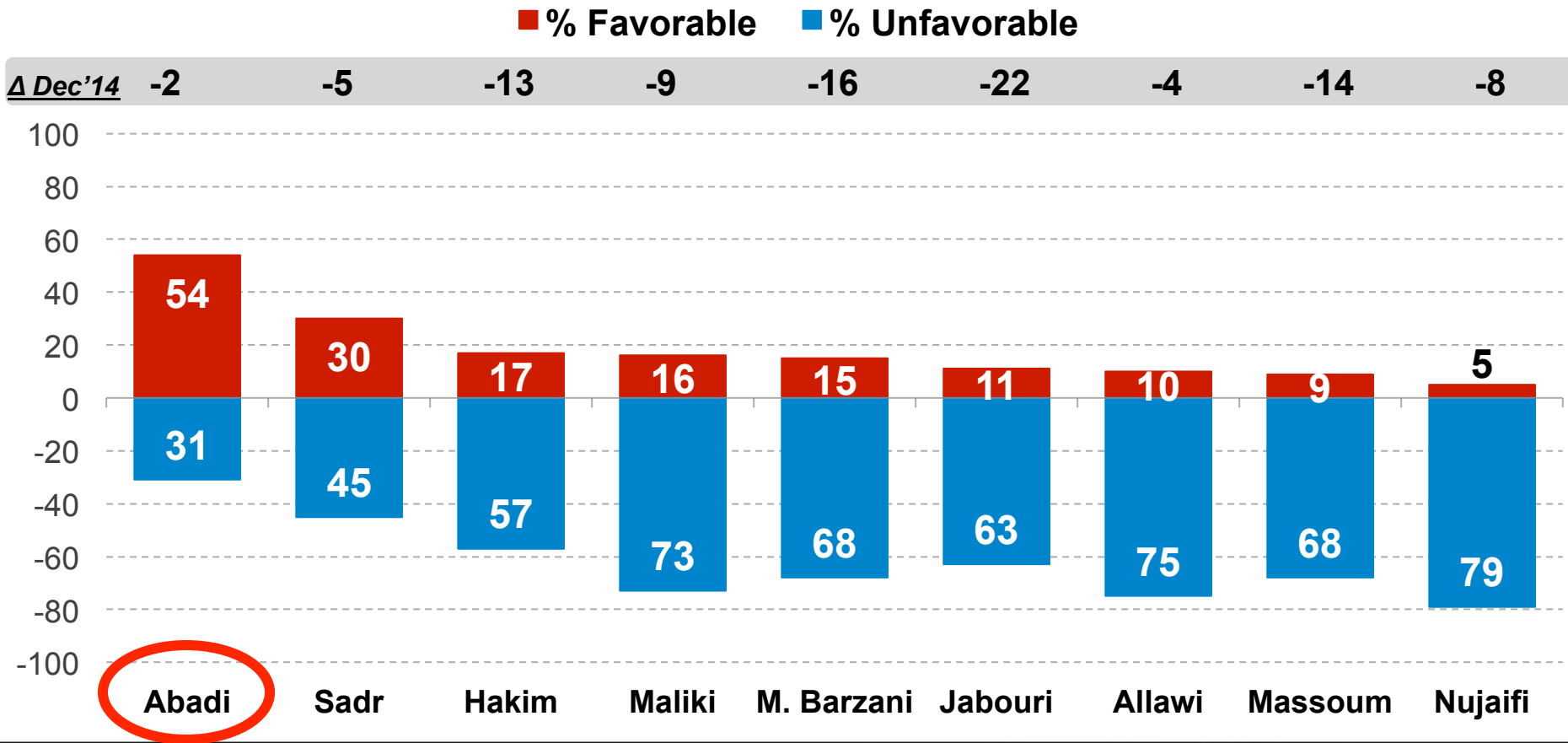
I want to continue in the direction Haider al-Abadi is taking Iraq.

I want to go in a very different direction than Haider al-Abadi is taking Iraq.



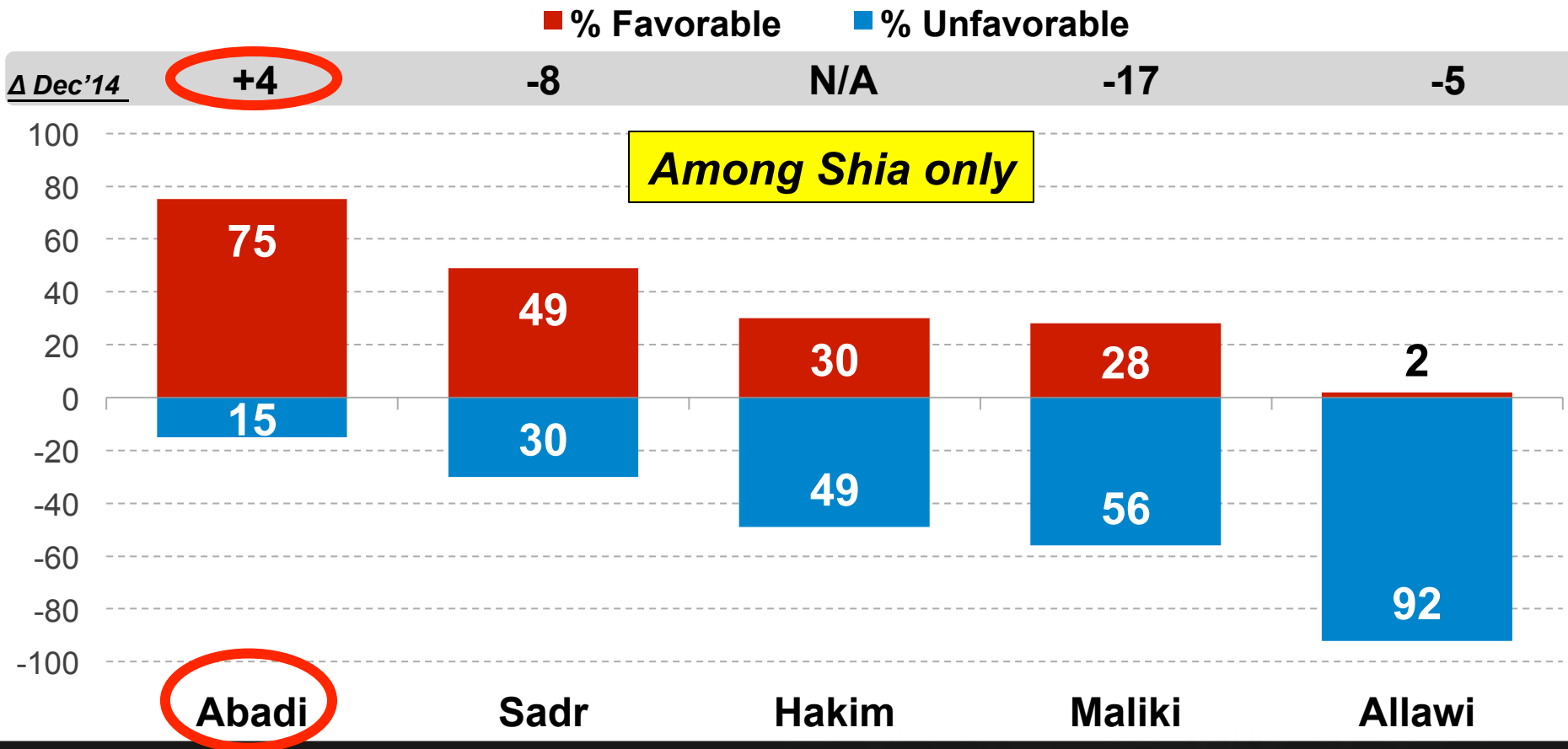
Abadi favorable rating higher than other political leaders

I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable.



Abadi high favorable ratings among Shia

I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable.

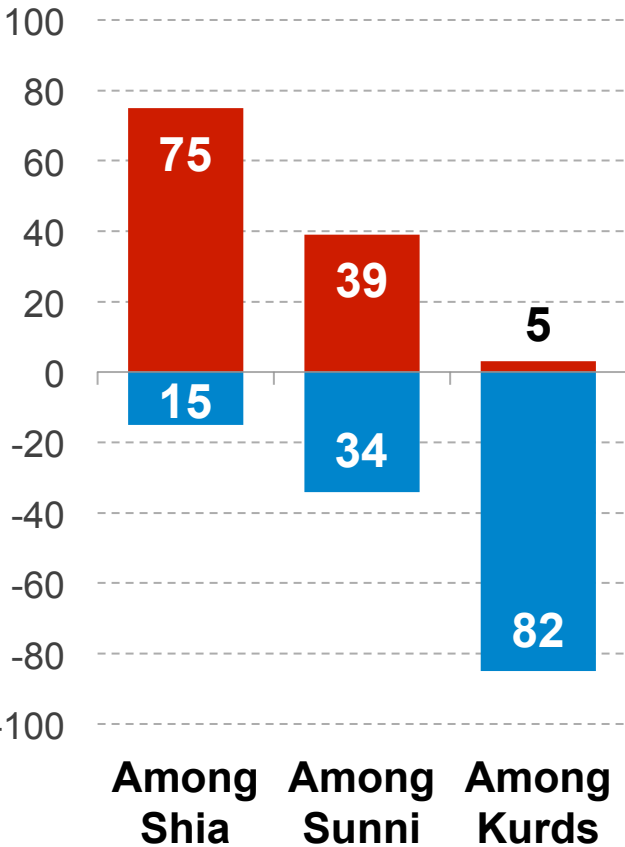


Abadi relatively strong among Shia, but weakening with others

Abadi favorability

■ % Unfavorable ■ % Favorable

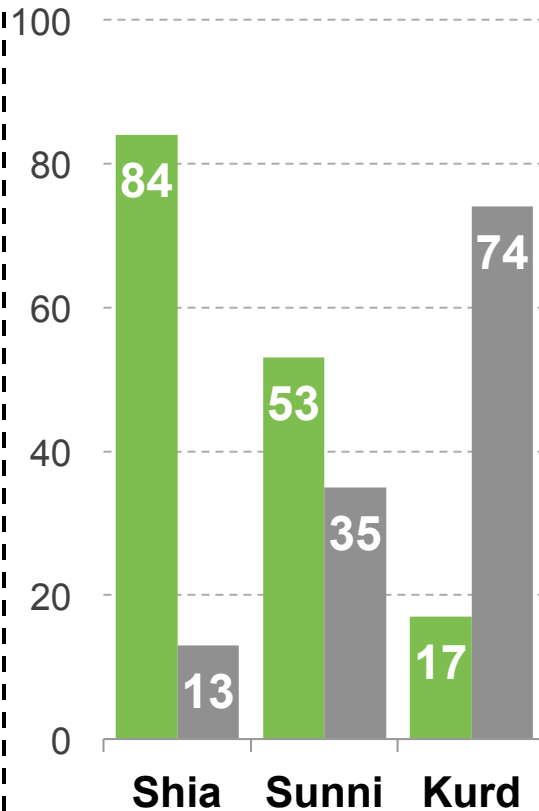
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Abadi job approval

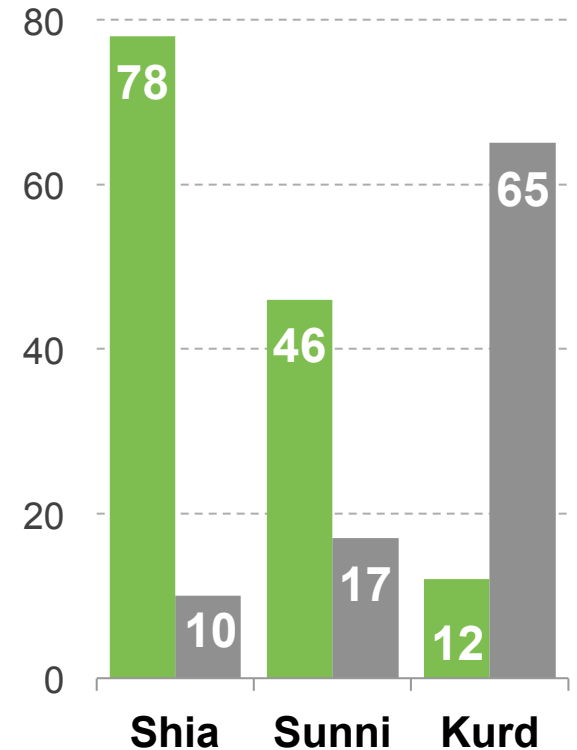
■ Approve ■ Disapprove

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I want to **continue in the direction** Haider al-Abadi is taking Iraq.

I want to go in a **very different direction** than Haider al-Abadi is taking Iraq.



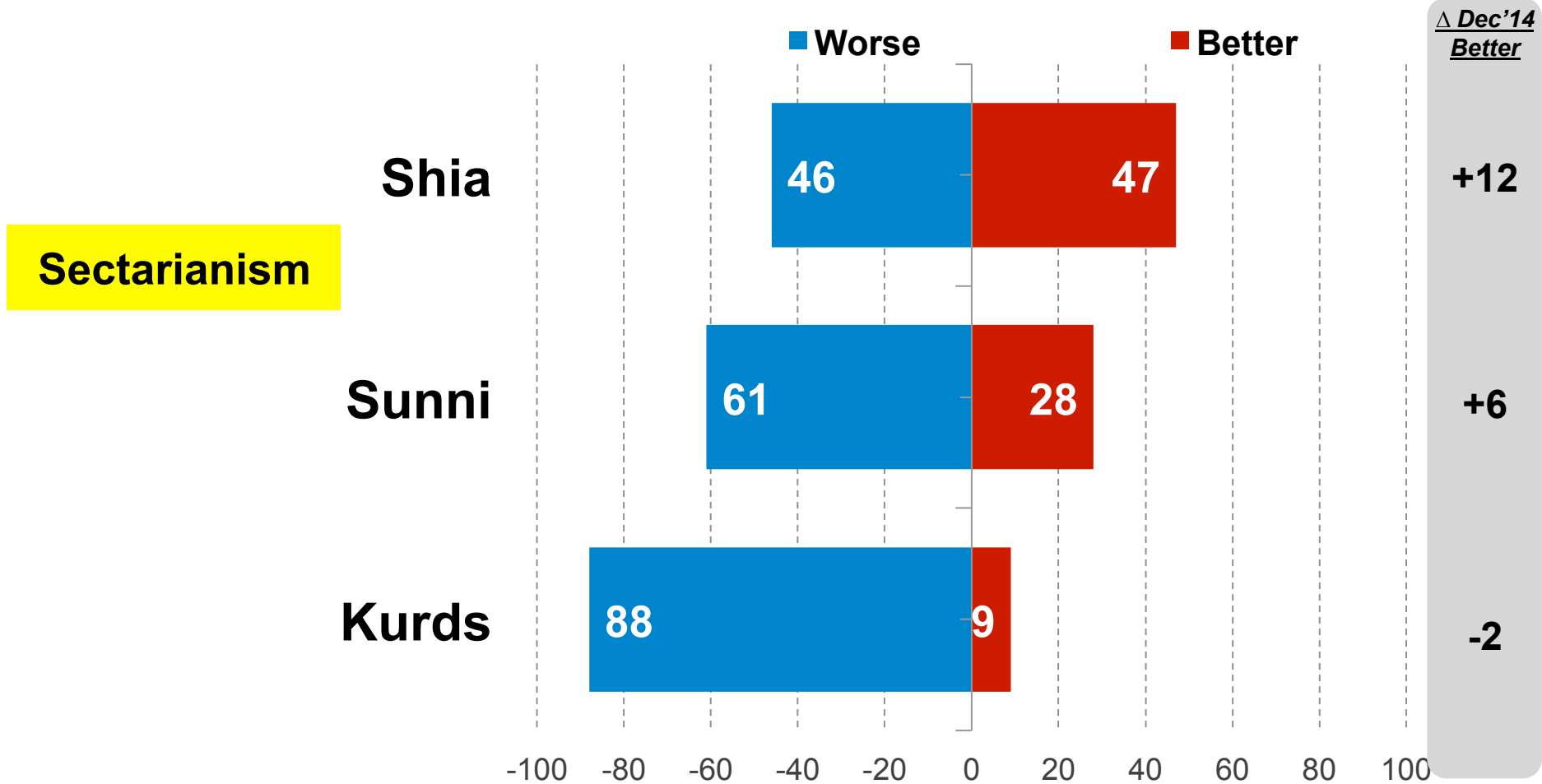
Critical questions asked in December 2014

3. Would Sunni perception of sectarian tensions continue to improve?

- Sunnis worried that Abadi reverting to previous government's lack of inclusiveness
- Openings for reconciliation with a focus on judicial reform and on "fairness" and "equality" issues
- Decentralization not the answer in itself – lack of trust in local government
- Contradictory attitudes among Sunnis toward Iraqi Army and PMU

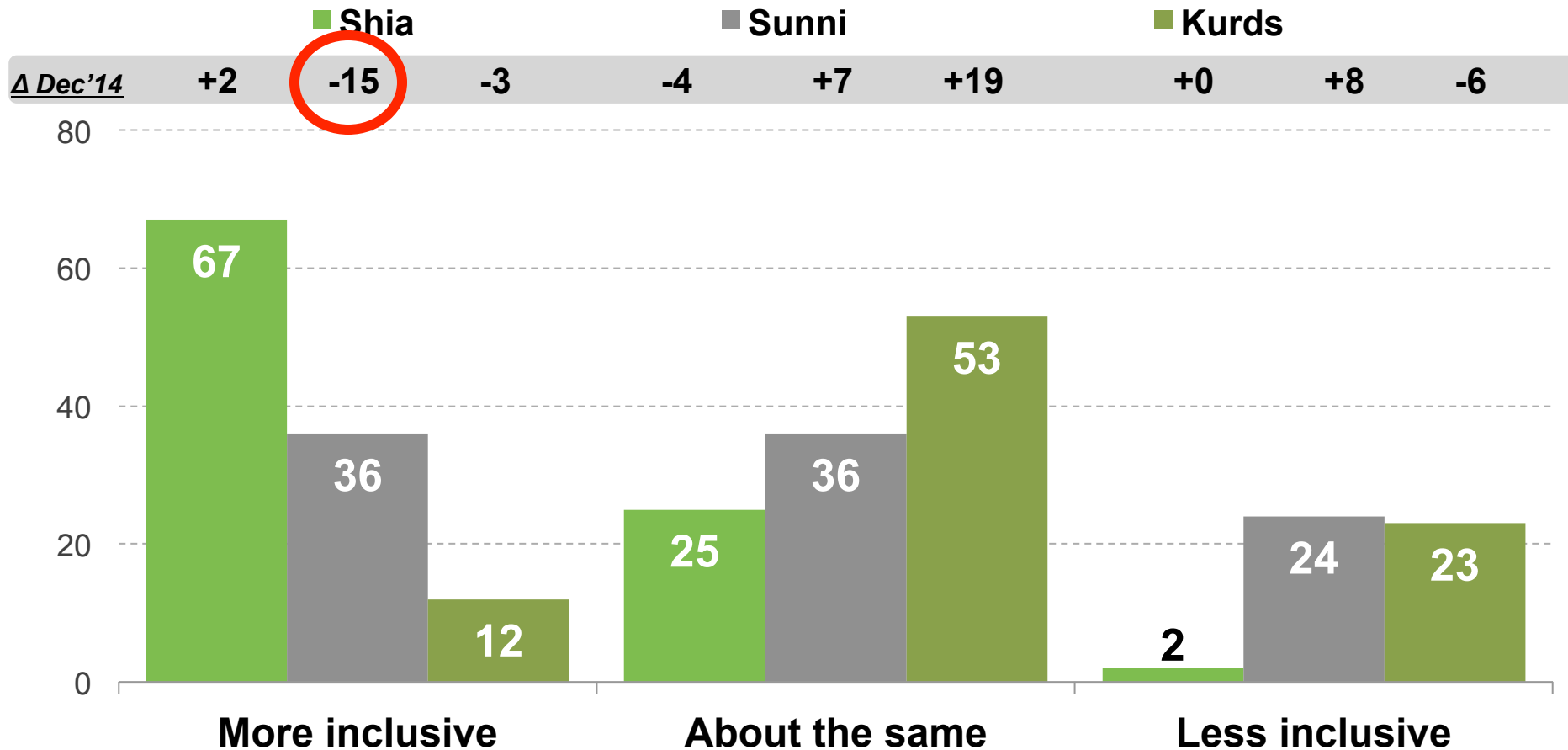
Sectarianism perceived as worsening, but some improvement

Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



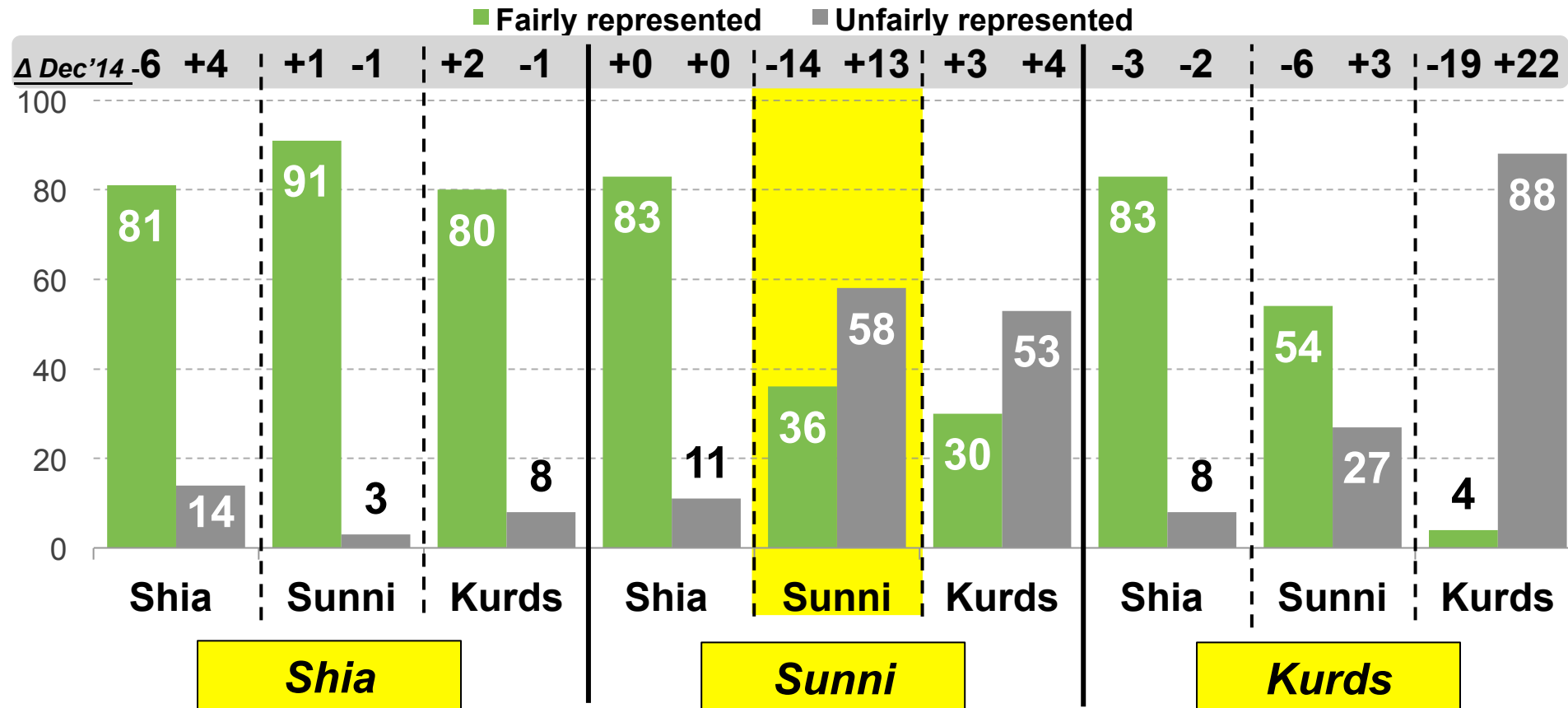
Weakening perception of Abadi inclusivity among Sunni

Compared to Maliki's government, do you think the Abadi government is being more inclusive of Sunnis, less inclusive of Sunnis, or is it about the same as the previous Maliki government?



Majority of Sunni, Kurds feel unfairly represented in gov't

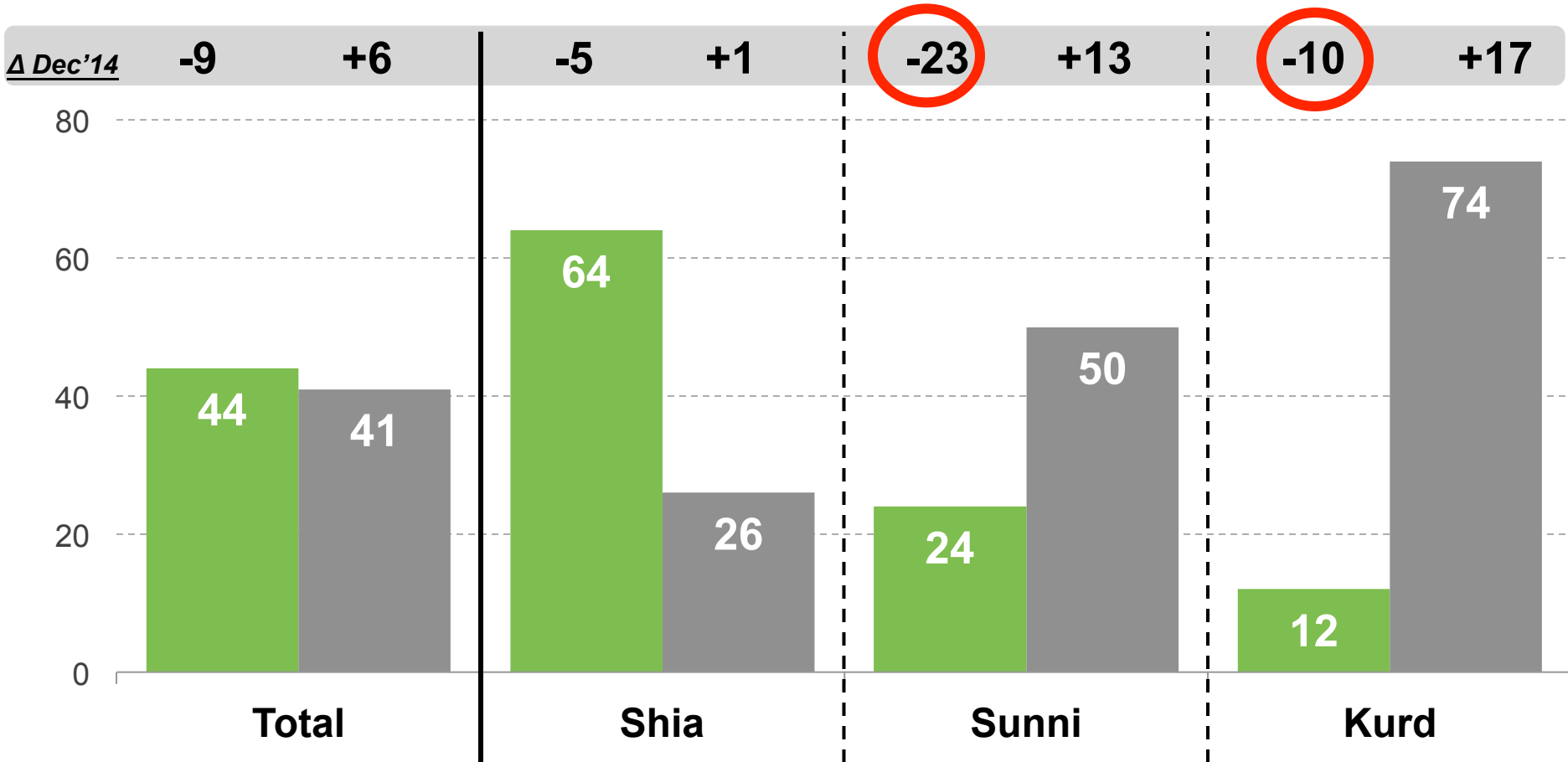
I would like to ask you about the Abadi government and how it represents various sects, ethnicities, and religions. For each one, please tell me if you think the Abadi government fairly or unfairly represents that specific sect, ethnicity, or religion, or if it unfairly represents that group.



Majority of Sunni, Kurds see a divided country

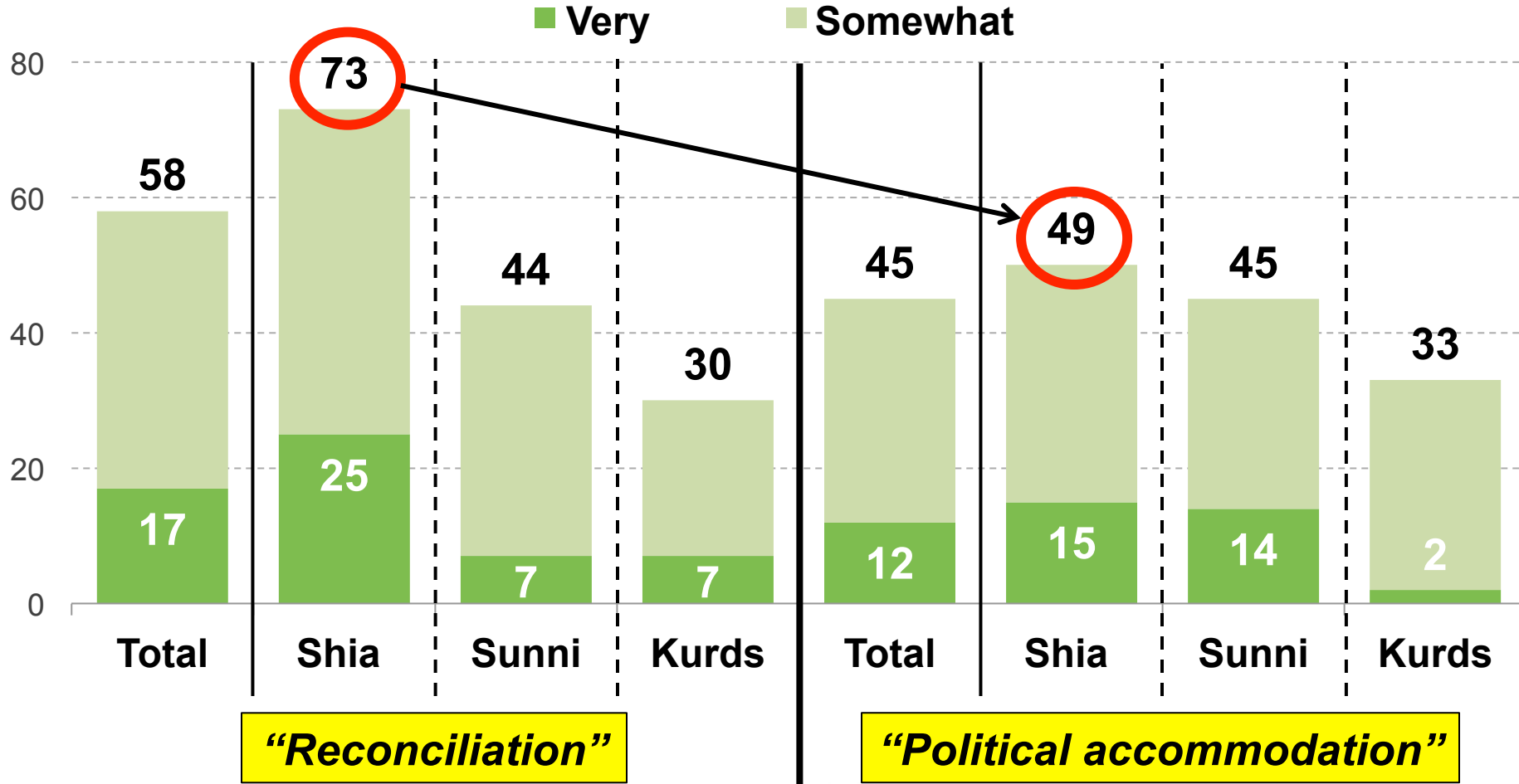
Iraq is mostly a unified country.

Iraq is mostly a divided country.



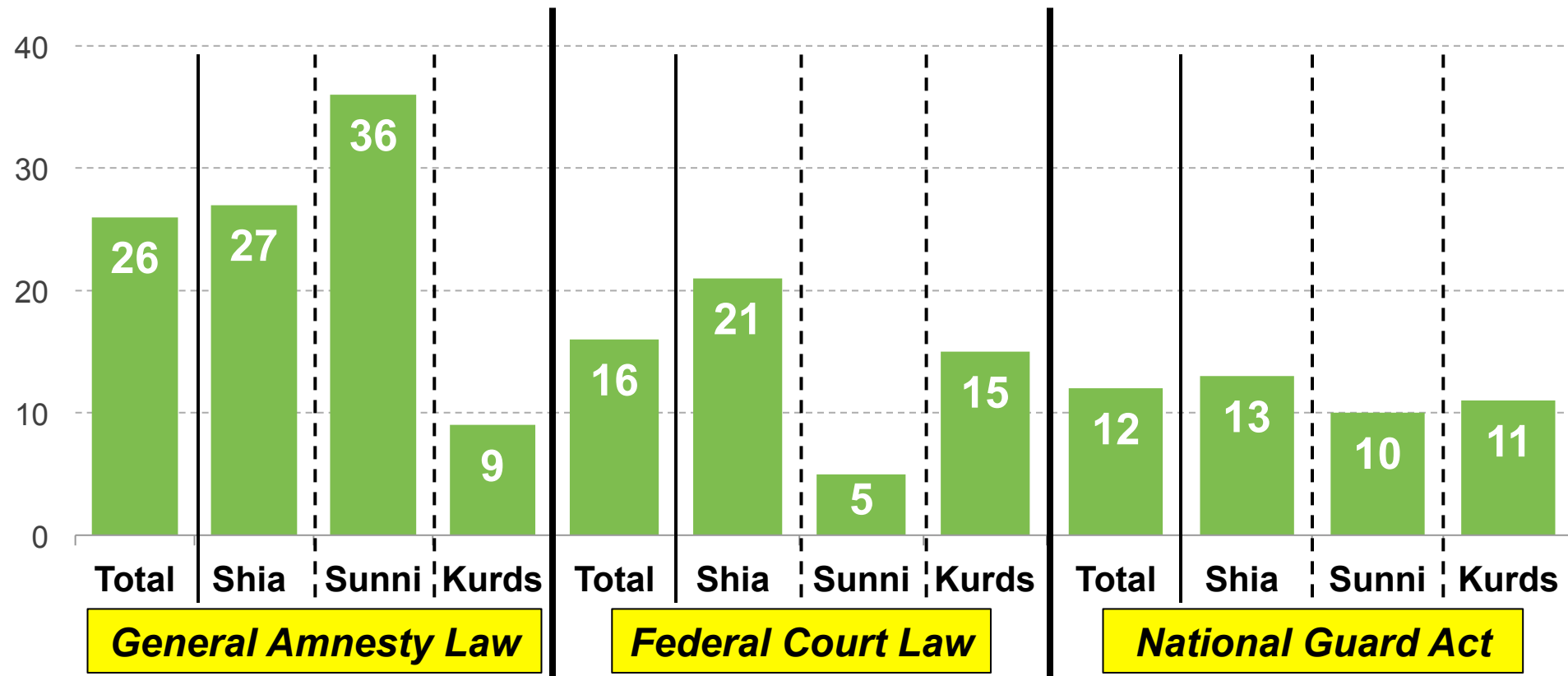
Weak optimism on reconciliation, accommodation

Generally speaking, how likely do you think it is to have **reconciliation/political accommodation** between the various sects in Iraq?



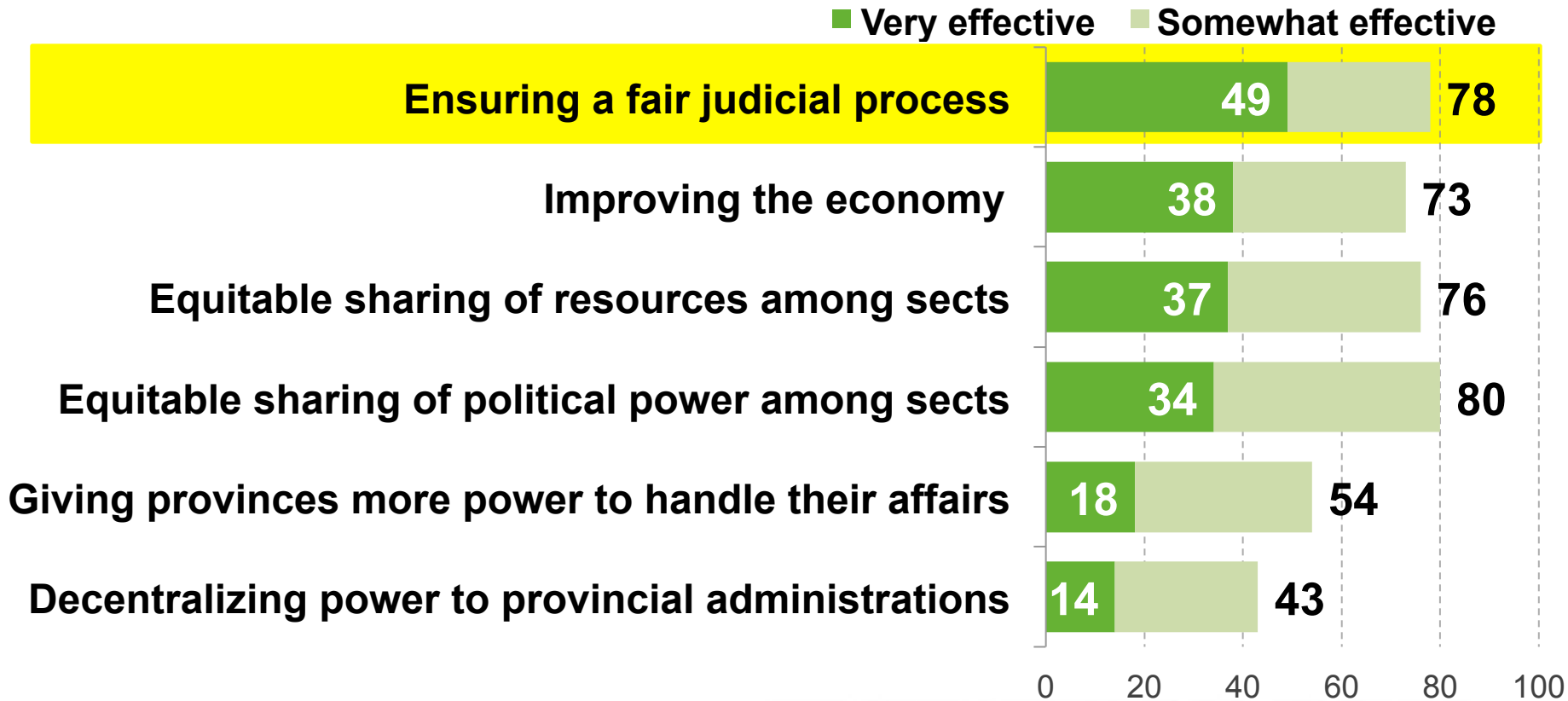
Amnesty Law most important for political accommodation

There are several laws the Council of Representatives is currently debating. Which one of the following laws being debated do you think will be **most important to achieve political accommodation** in Iraq?



Fair judicial process most effective for accommodation

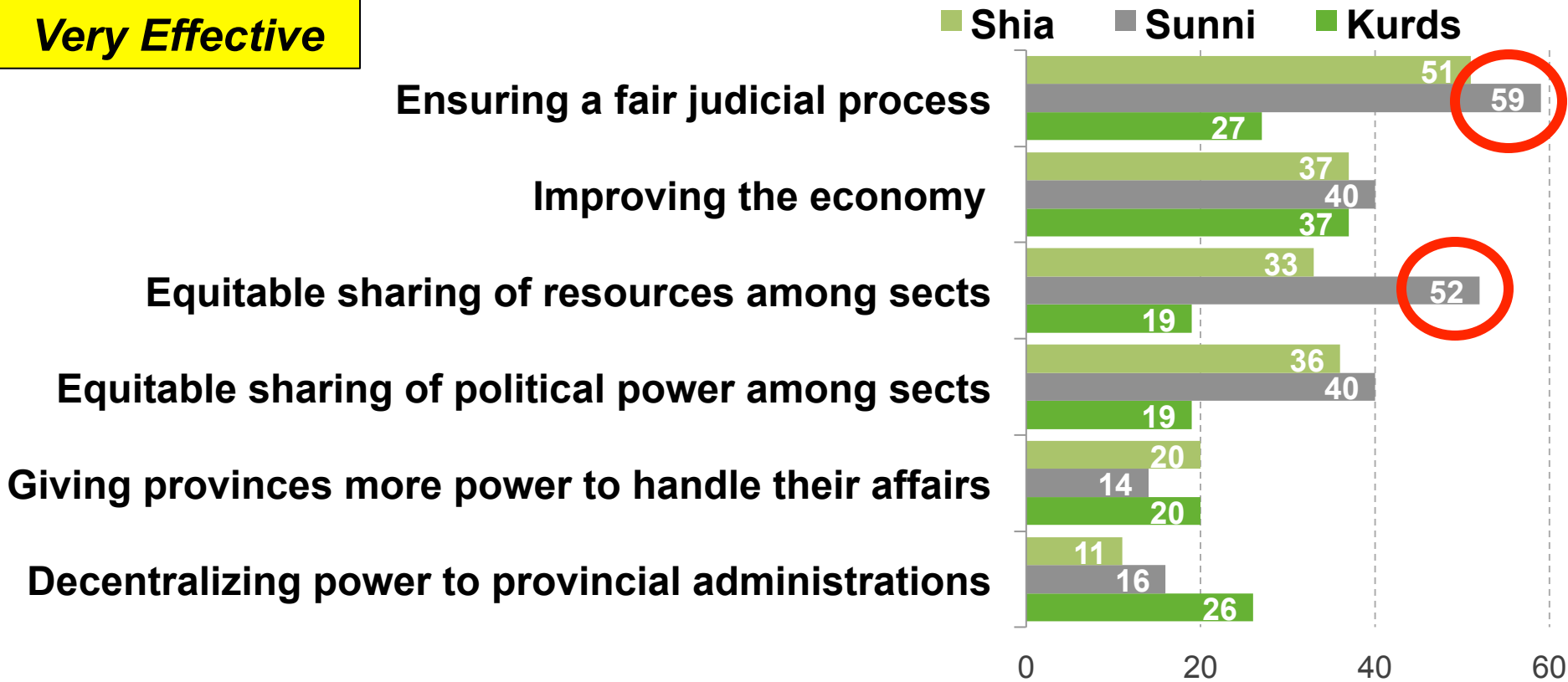
Here is list of ways to achieve political accommodation between the various sects in Iraq. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very effective way to achieve political accommodation between the various sects in Iraq, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not an effective way at all to achieve political accommodation between the various sects in Iraq.



Fair judiciary, equitable resources most popular among Sunni

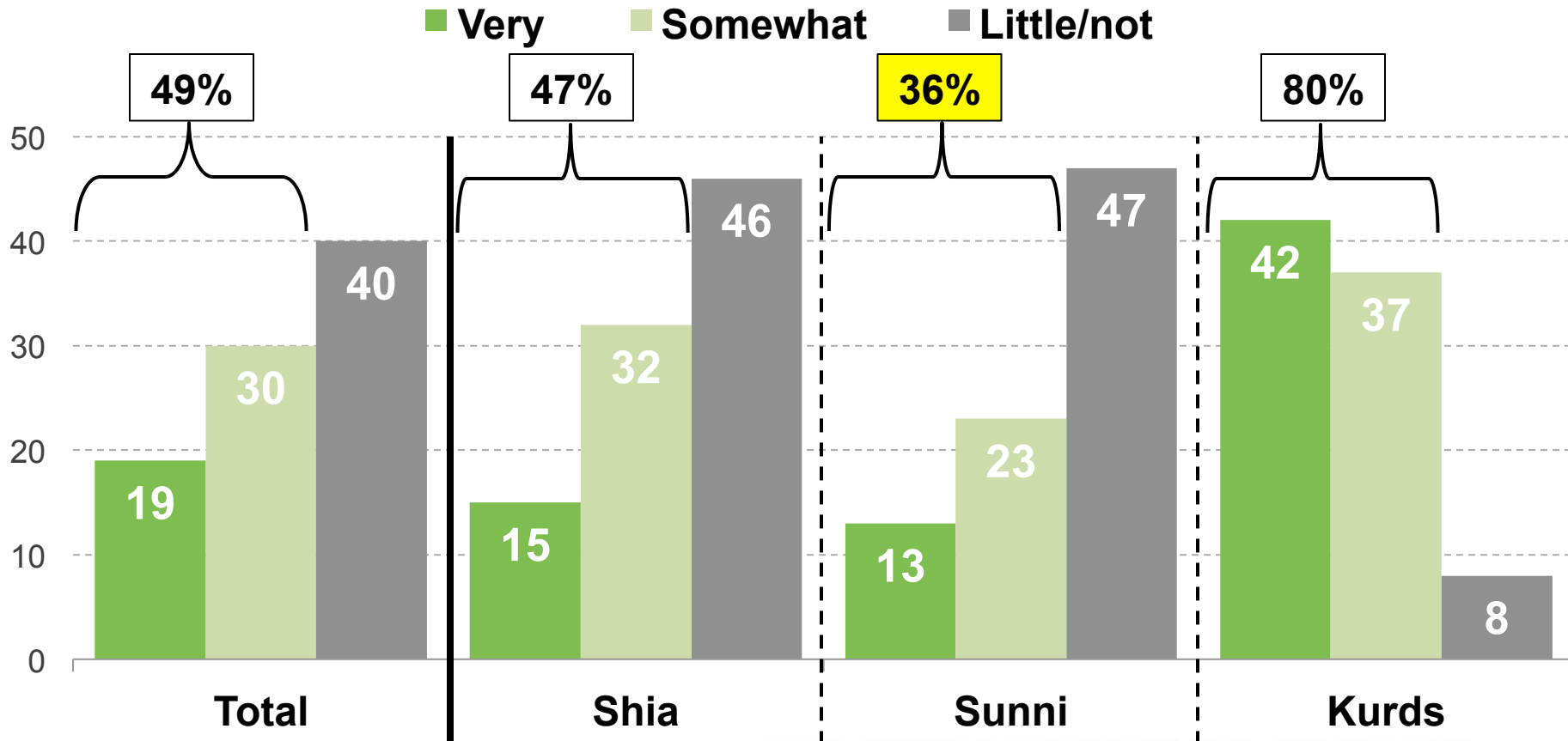
Here is list of ways to achieve political accommodation between the various sects in Iraq. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very effective way to achieve political accommodation between the various sects in Iraq, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not an effective way at all to achieve political accommodation between the various sects in Iraq.

Very Effective



Decentralization least important among Sunni

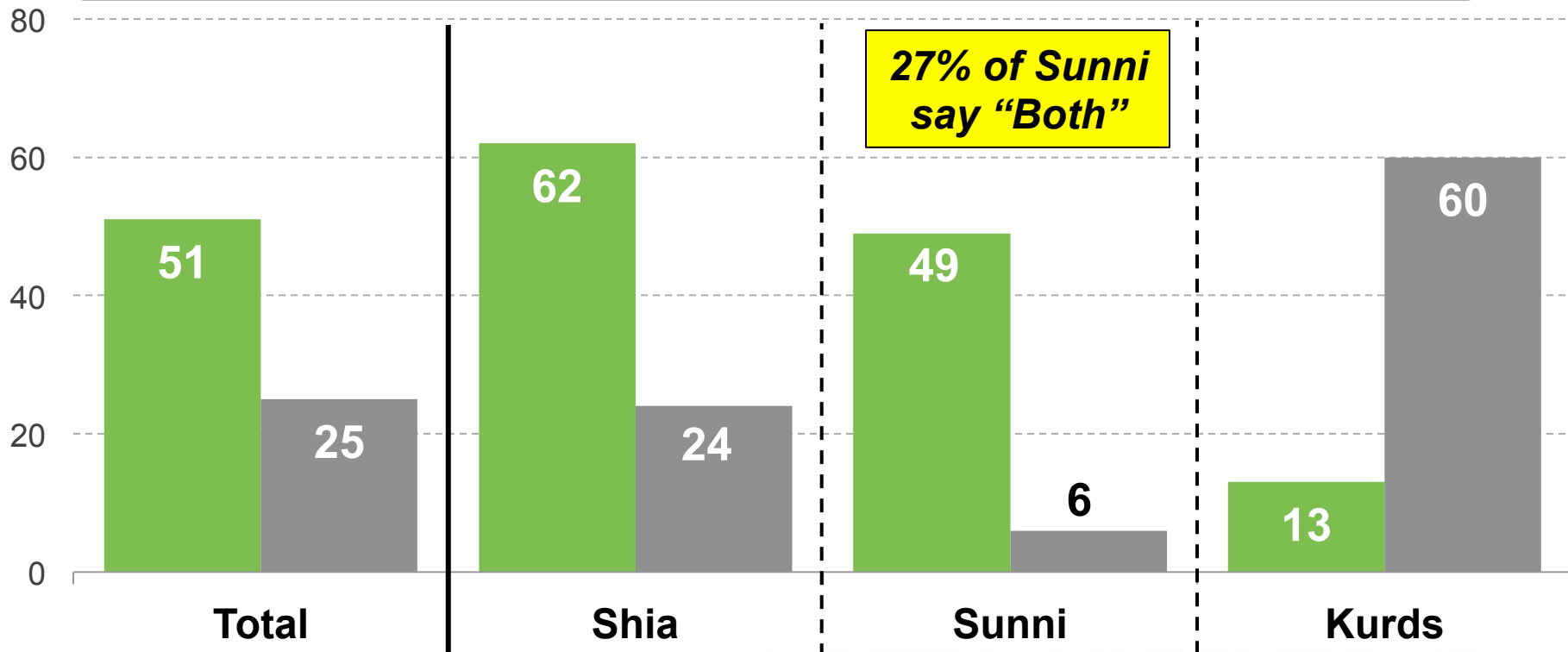
Now, I would like to ask you about decentralization of government - that is, taking some of the power from the central government and giving it to local governments. Generally speaking, how important is it to you that the central government allows local governments to assume more responsibility for decisions in the provinces?



Central gov't preferred over local gov't among Shia, Sunni

The **central government** should have greater authority over decisions that matter to my life than the local governments.

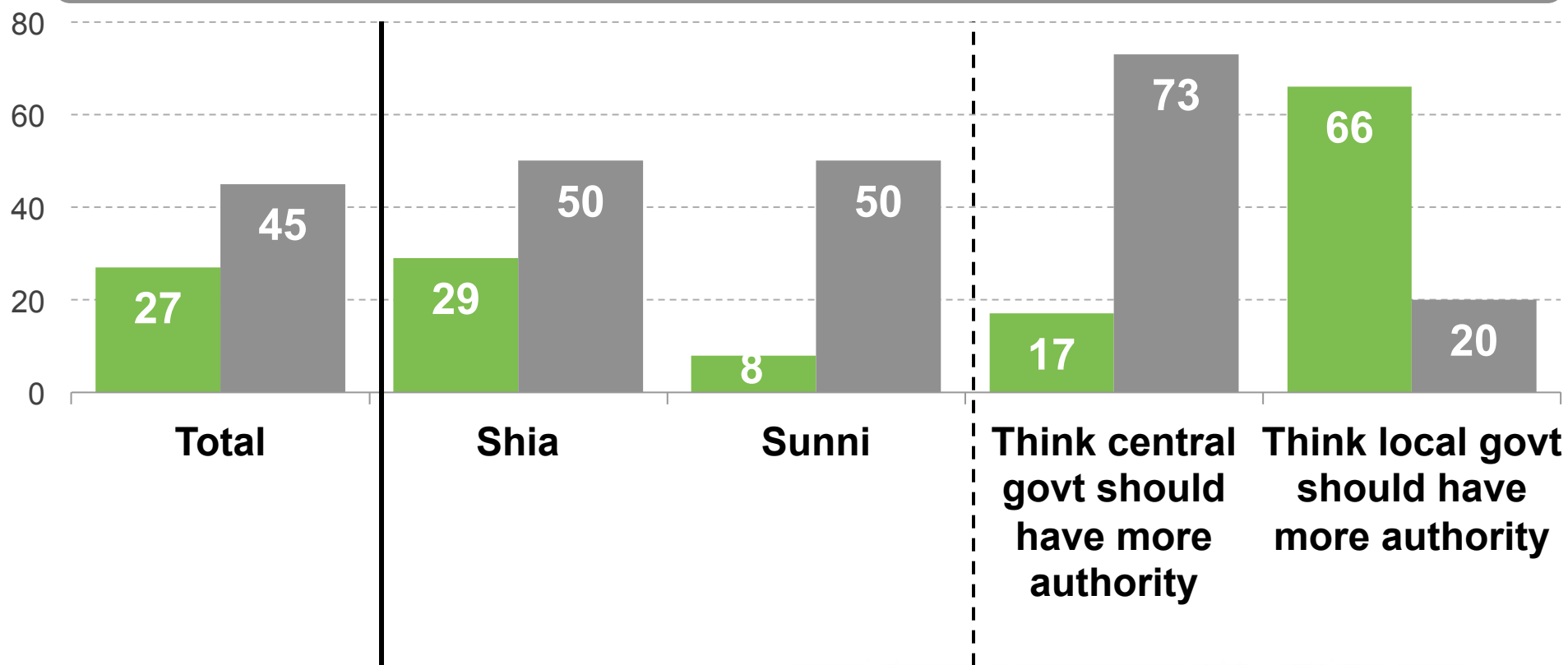
The **local governments** should have greater authority over decisions that matter to my life than the central government.



Local government preference linked to corruption perceptions

I think local governments should have greater authority over decisions than the central government because **local governments are less corrupt**.

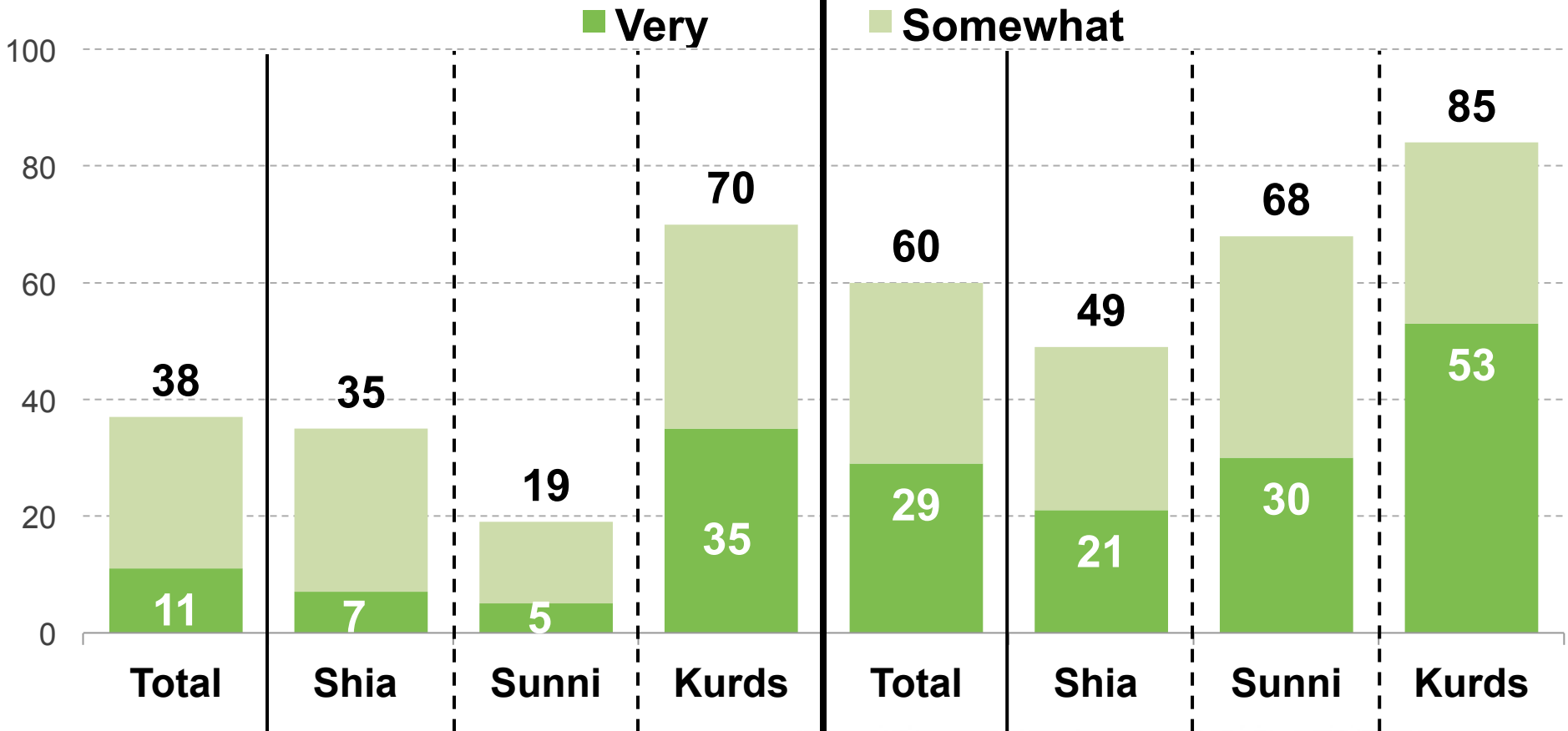
I worry that spreading out authority over decisions to **local governments** will only give more people the chance to **steal from the public budget**.



Sunni, Shia do not view local gov't as effective, but important

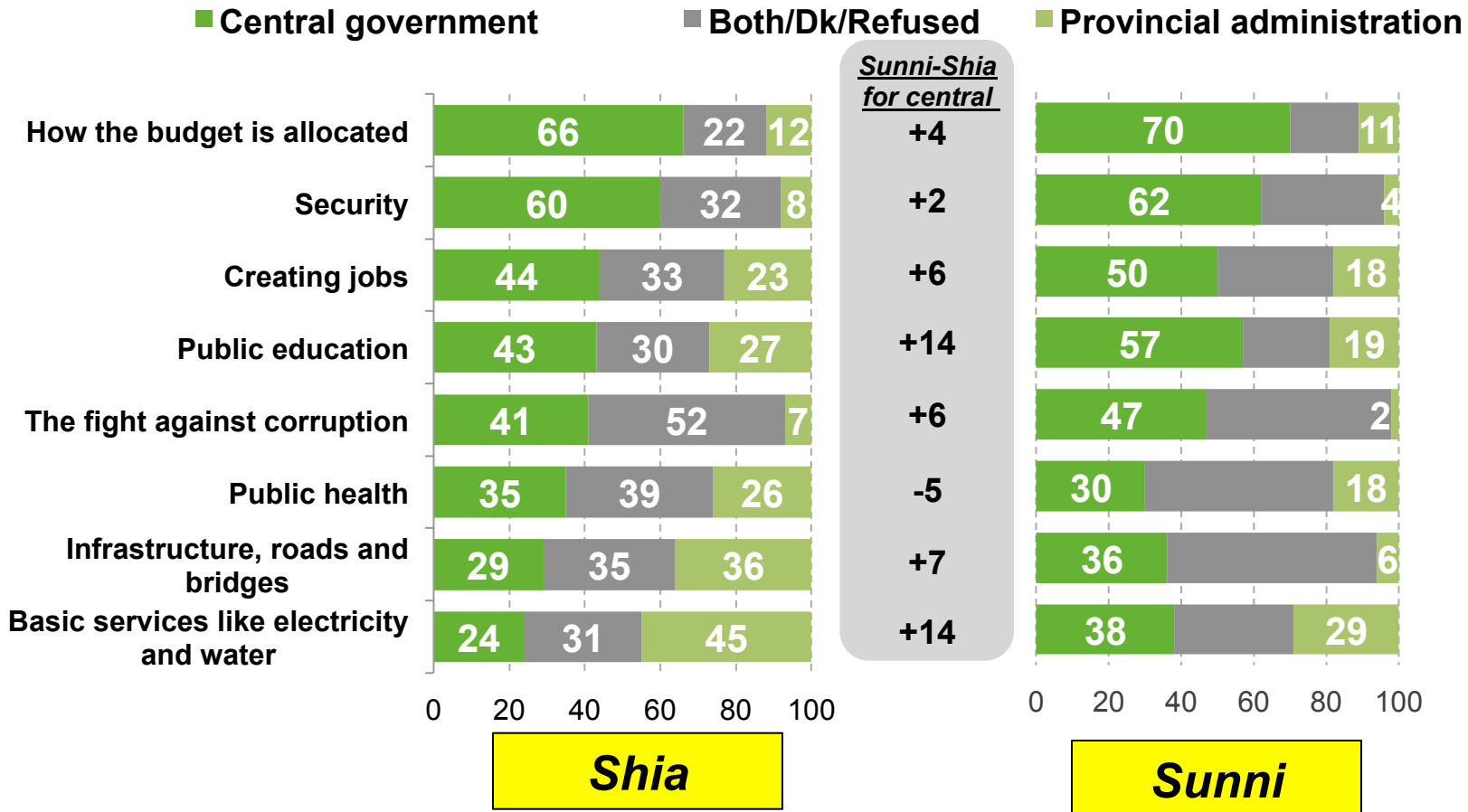
Generally speaking, how **effective** do you think the local government is in bringing progress to your province?

Generally speaking, how **important** do you think the local government is in bringing progress to your province?



Sunni more likely to want central gov't than Shia

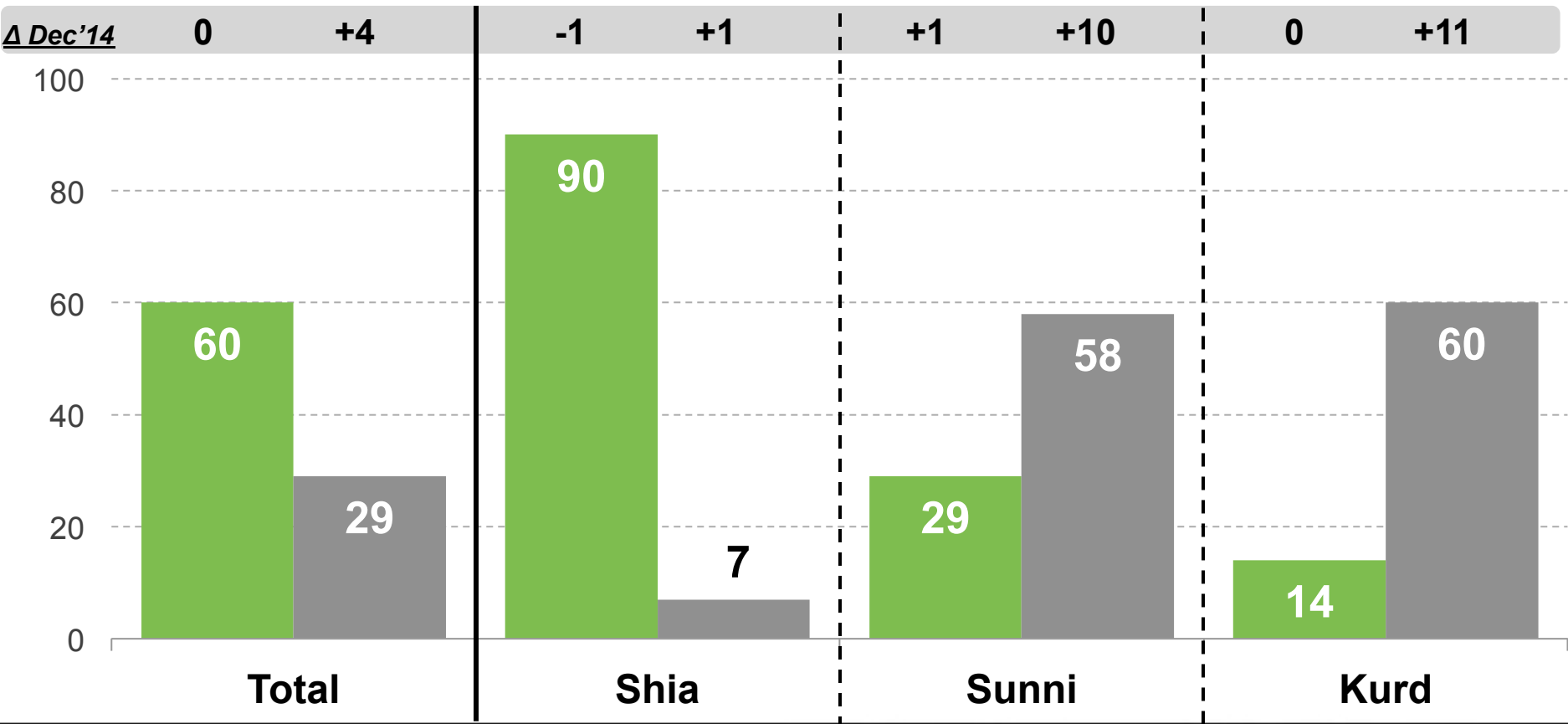
Now, I want to read you another list of issues. For each one, please tell me if you think the central Iraqi government or your provincial administration should have more control over that particular issue in your province.



Majority of Sunni, Kurds see Army composed mainly of Shia

Generally speaking, the Iraqi Army is composed of and **represents all Iraqis**.

Generally speaking, the Iraqi Army is mainly composed of and **only represents Shia**.



Sunni, Kurd distrust of Iraqi Army and PMUs

Who do you trust more to keep you safe - the Iraqi Army or your local forces?

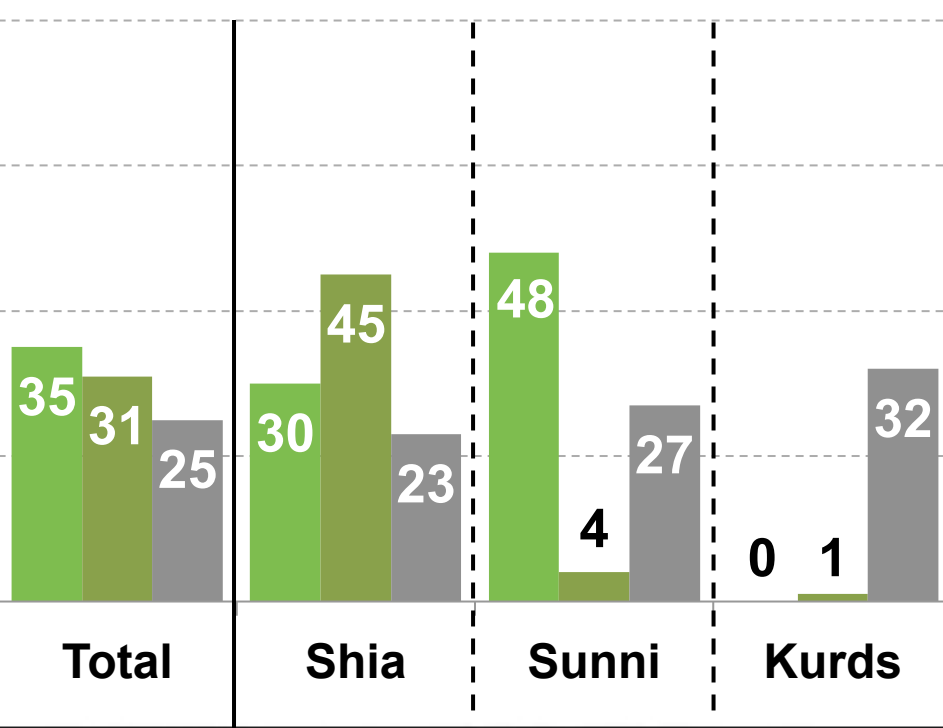
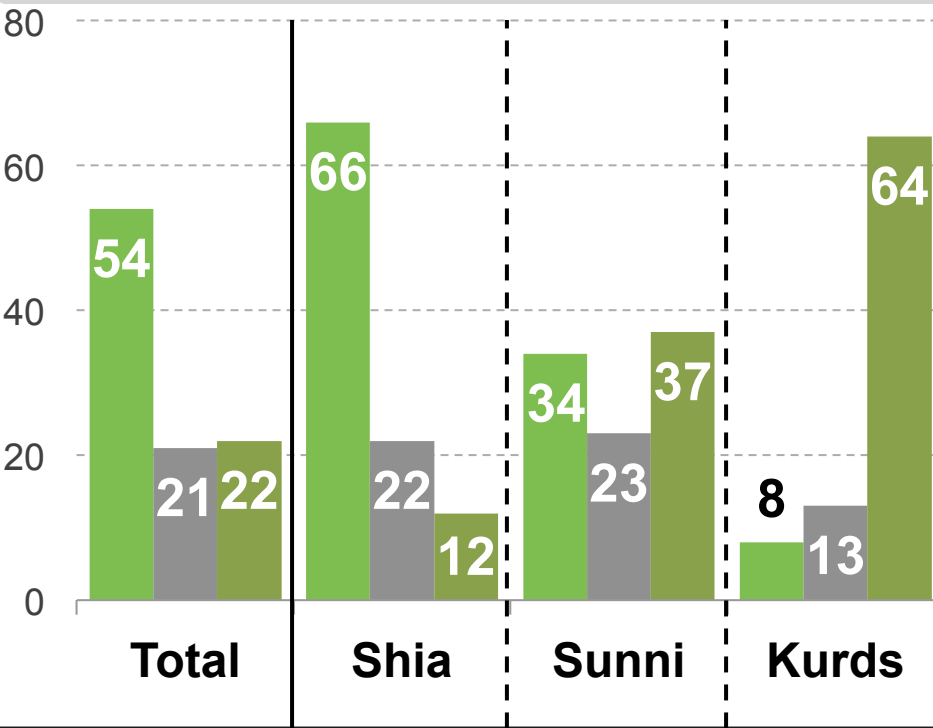
Who do you trust more to keep you safe the Iraqi Army or the Popular Mobilization Units or PMUs?

■ Iraqi army ■ Both/Neither ■ Local forces

■ Iraqi army ■ PMUs ■ Both/Neither

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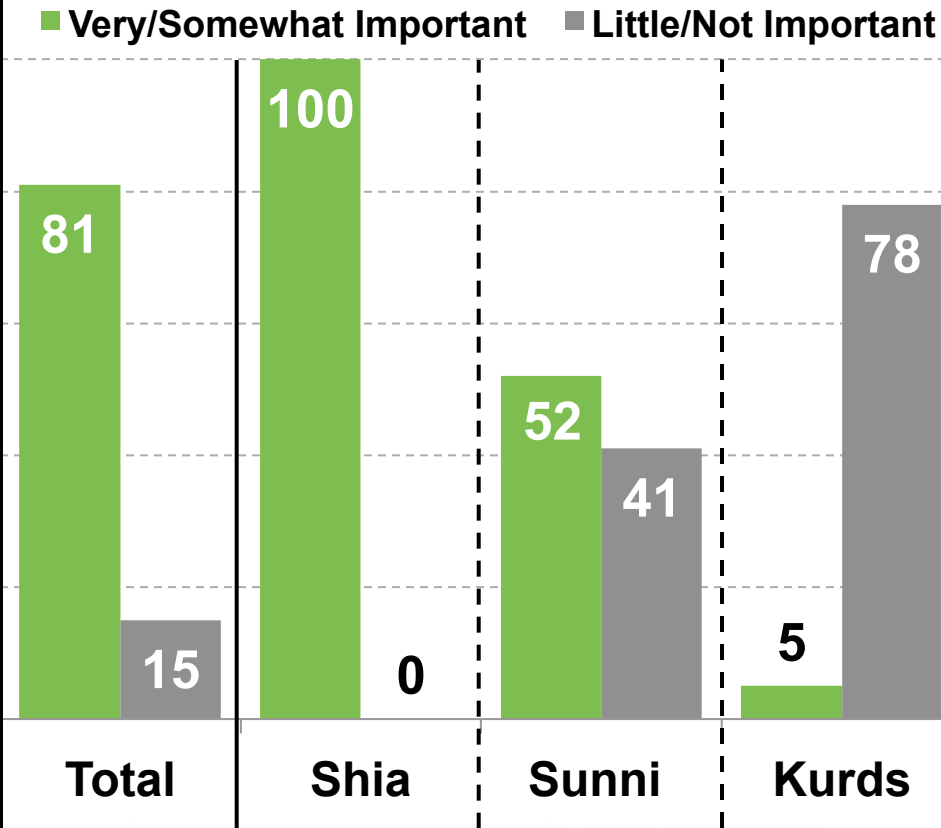
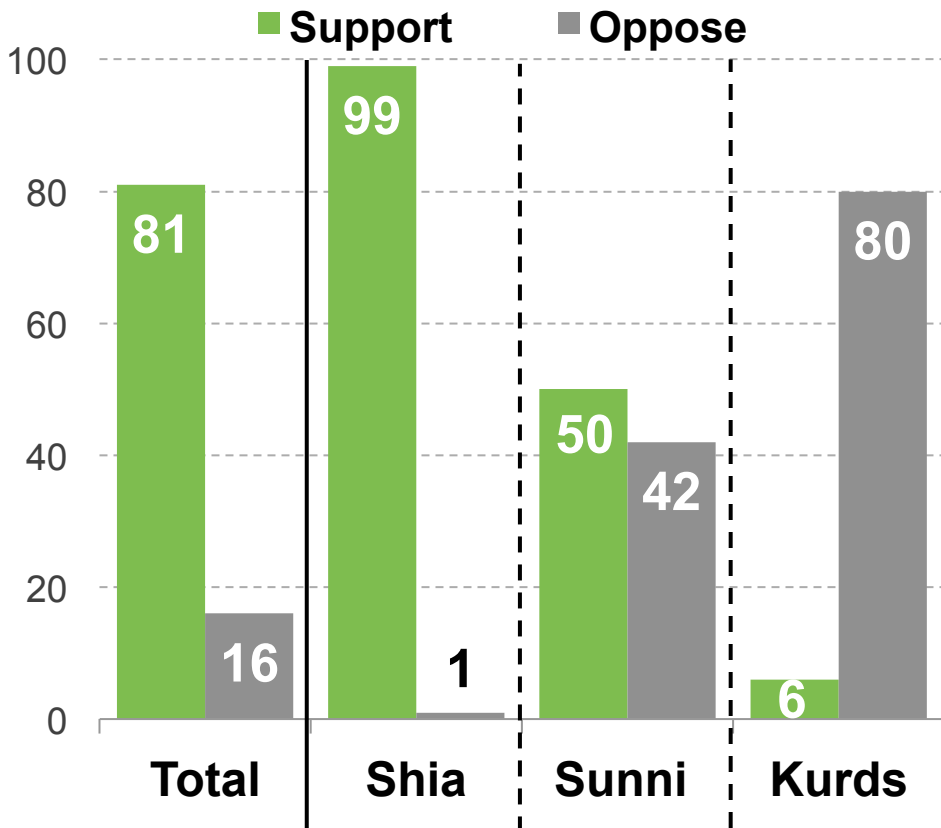
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Slight majority of Sunni support, see importance of PMUs

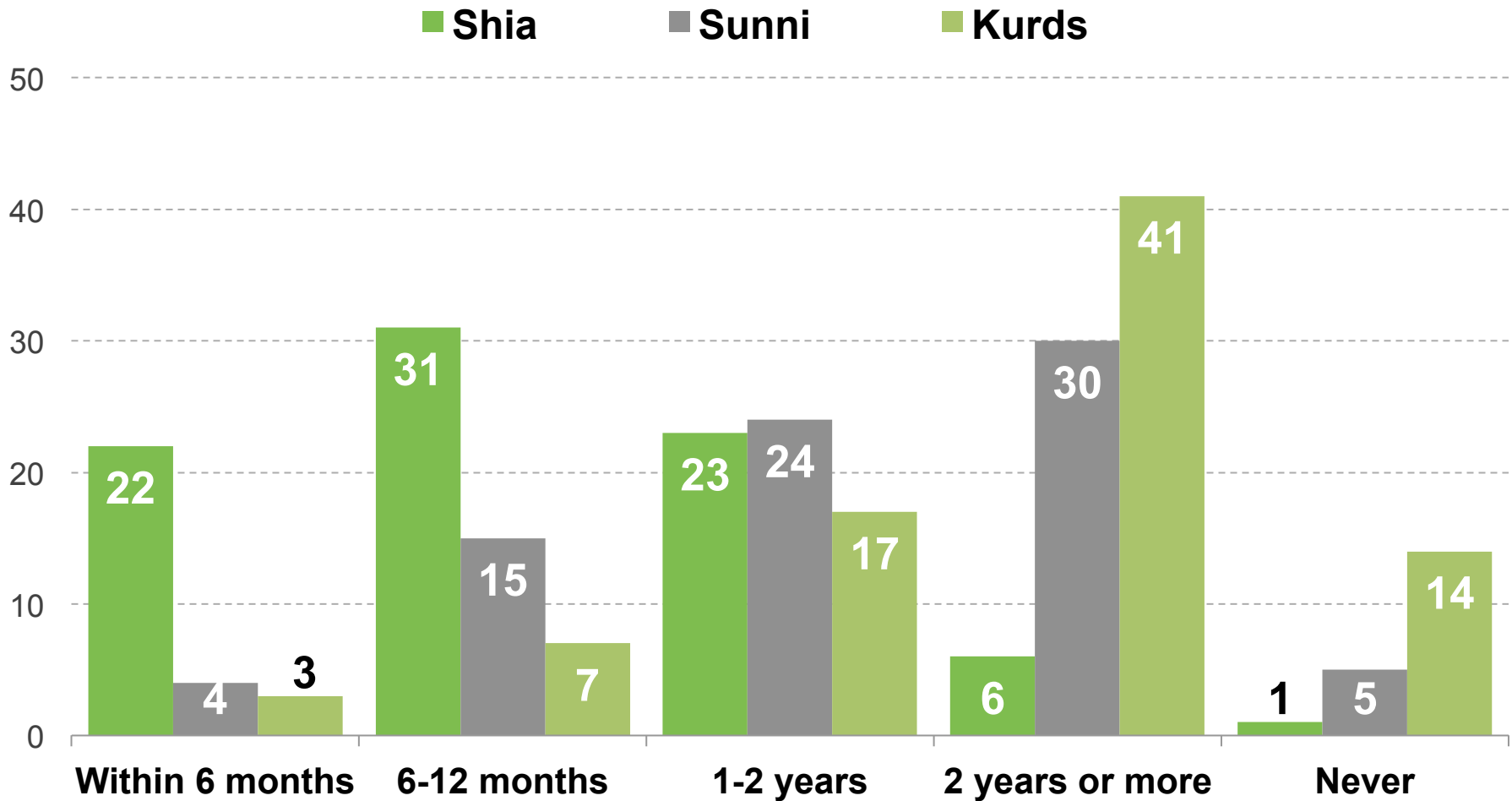
Generally speaking, do you support or oppose the use of Popular Mobilization Units, or PMUs, to fight Da'esh?

Based on what you know, how important are the Popular Mobilization Units in the fight against Da'esh?



Shia most optimistic about the fight against Da'esh

How long do you think it will take for Iraq to defeat Da'esh?



Critical questions asked in December 2014

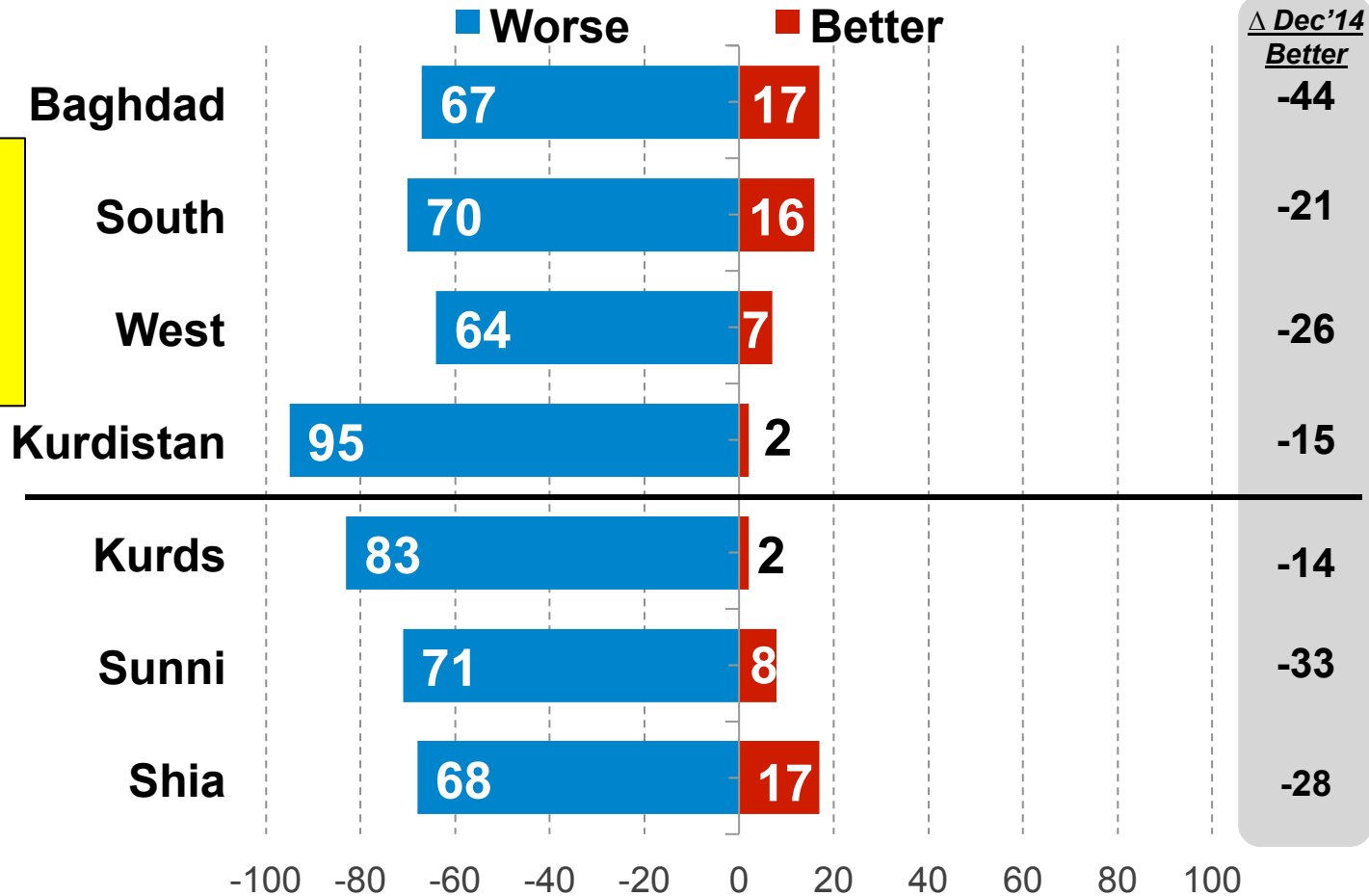
4. Would Kurdistan strengthen relations with Baghdad?

- KRG-Baghdad relations worsening
- Desire for independence among Kurds steady as perception of KRG direction worsens
- High levels of political polarization between KDP and PUK/Goran voters, which could portend internal conflicts

Relations between KRG, Baghdad viewed as worsening

Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

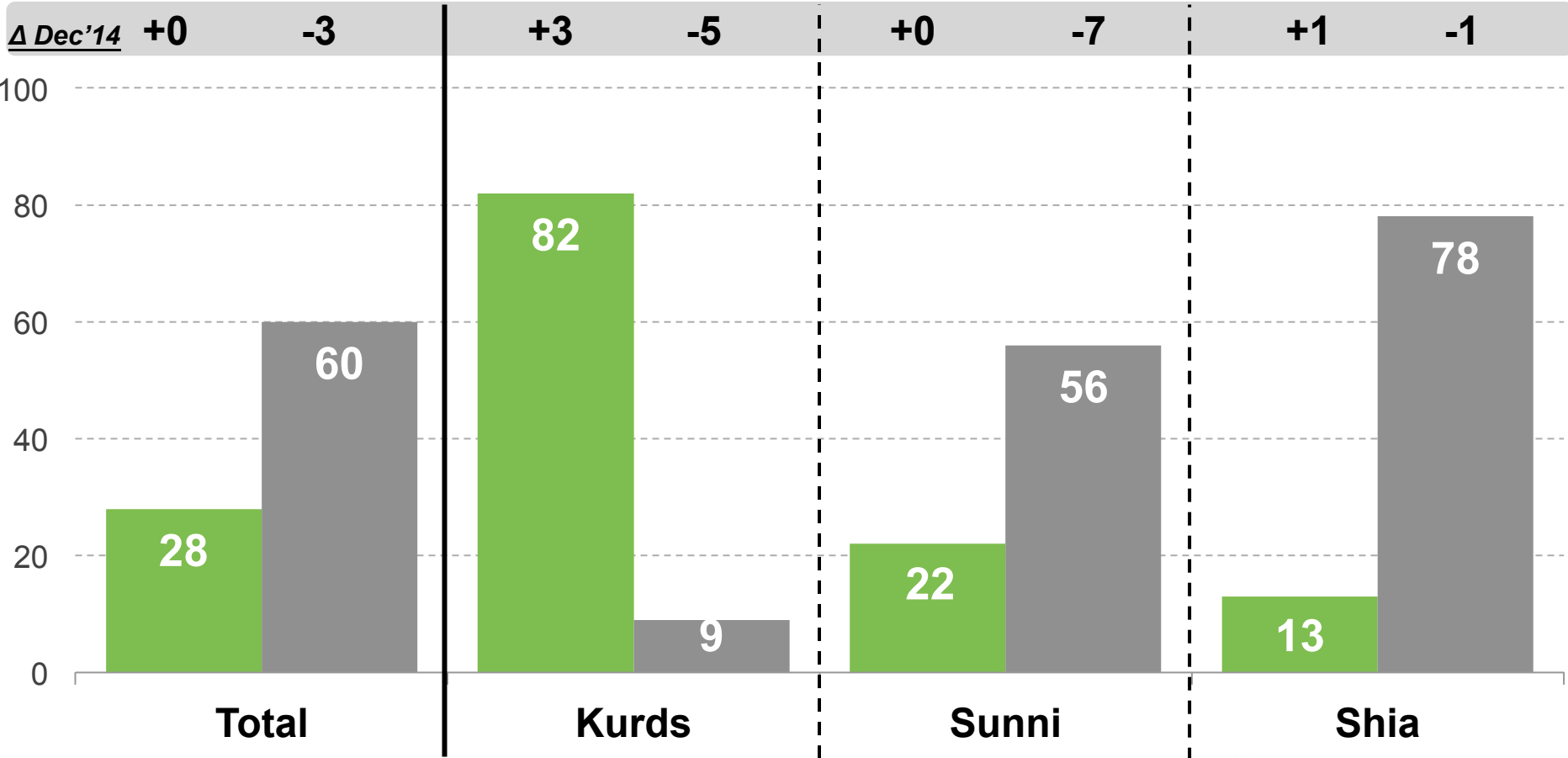
Relations between the KRG and the central government



Kurds' desire for independence remains strong

Kurdistan should become an **independent country**.

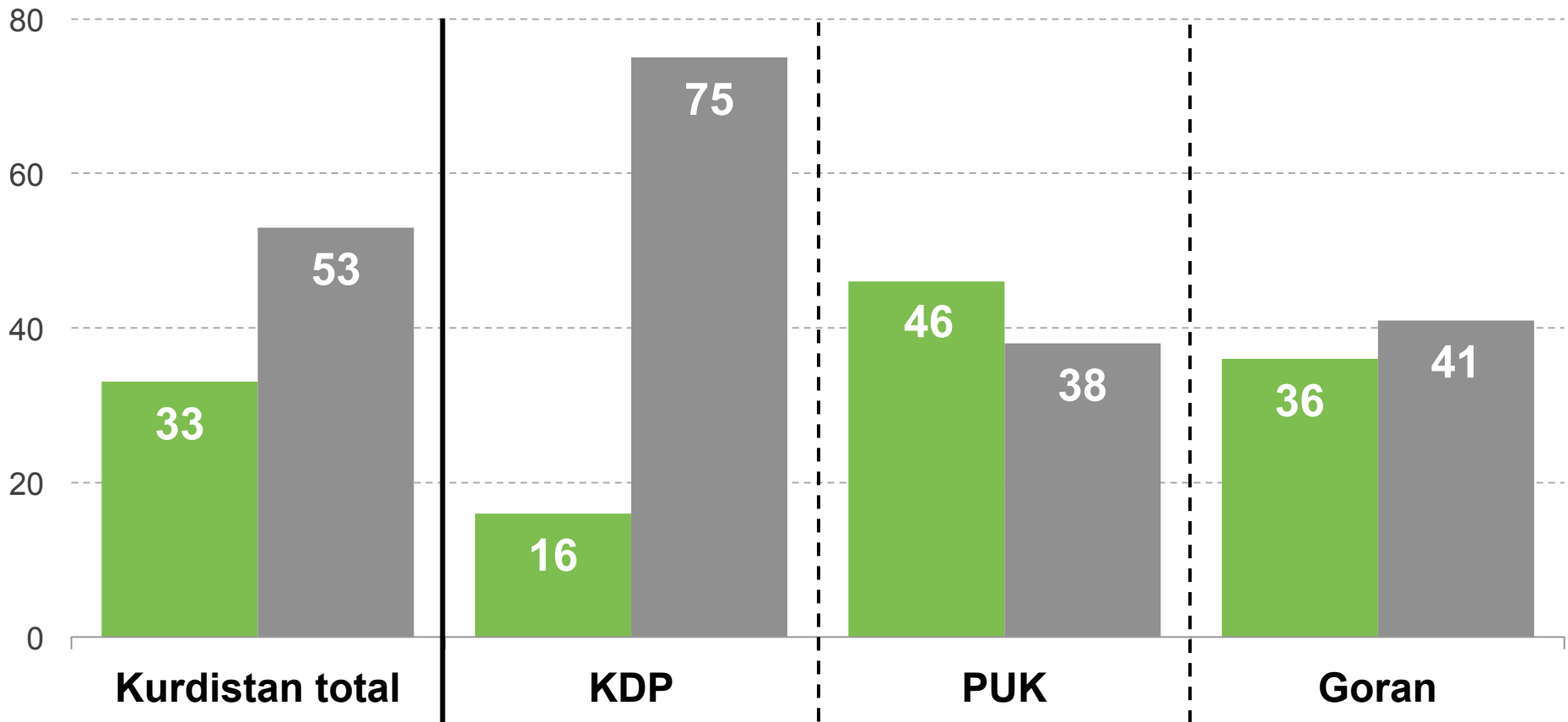
Kurdistan should remain an **autonomous region** of Iraq.



Partisan divide on importance of budget crisis and constitution

It is more important for the Kurdistan Regional Government to **resolve the budget crisis** with Baghdad.

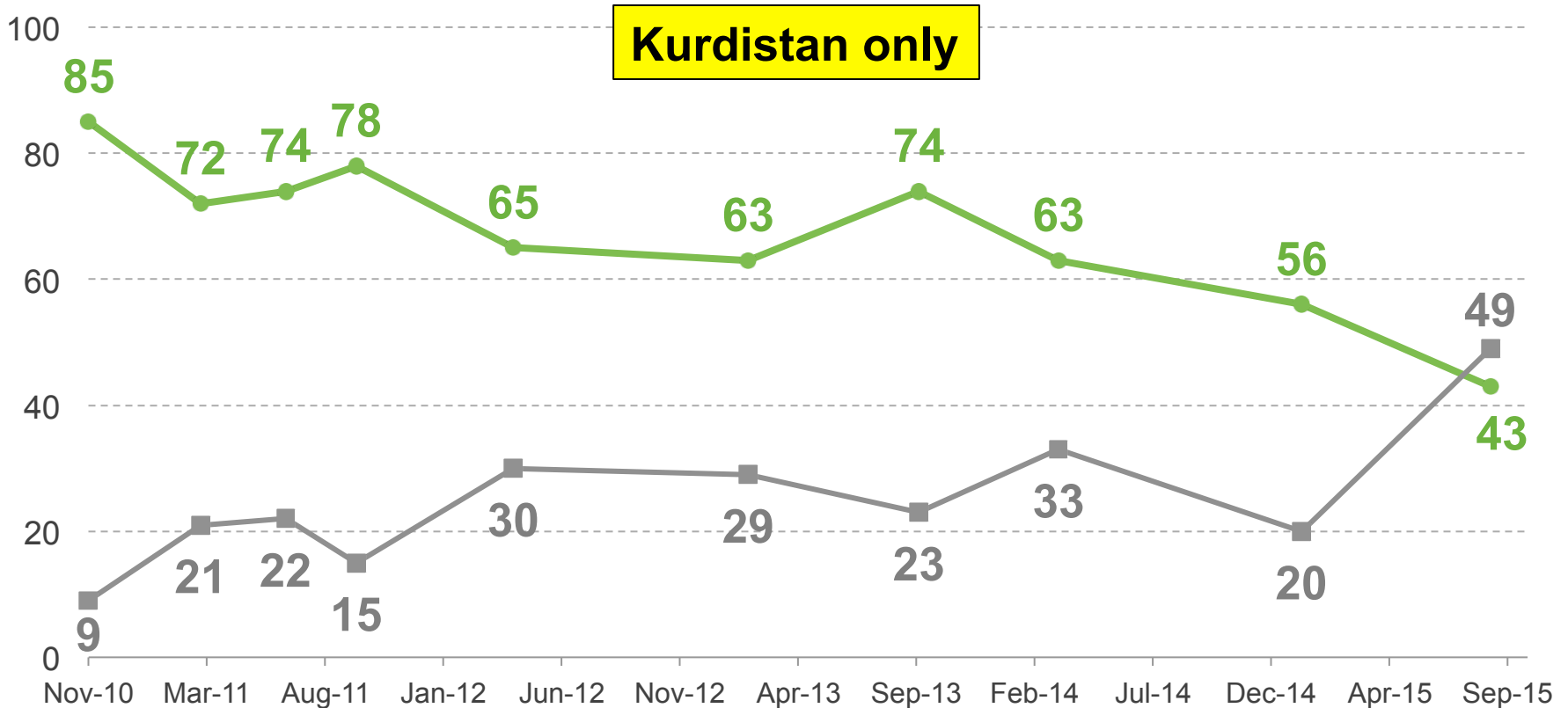
It is more important for the Kurdistan Regional Government to **develop a new constitution**.



Kurdistan direction: all-time high wrong direction

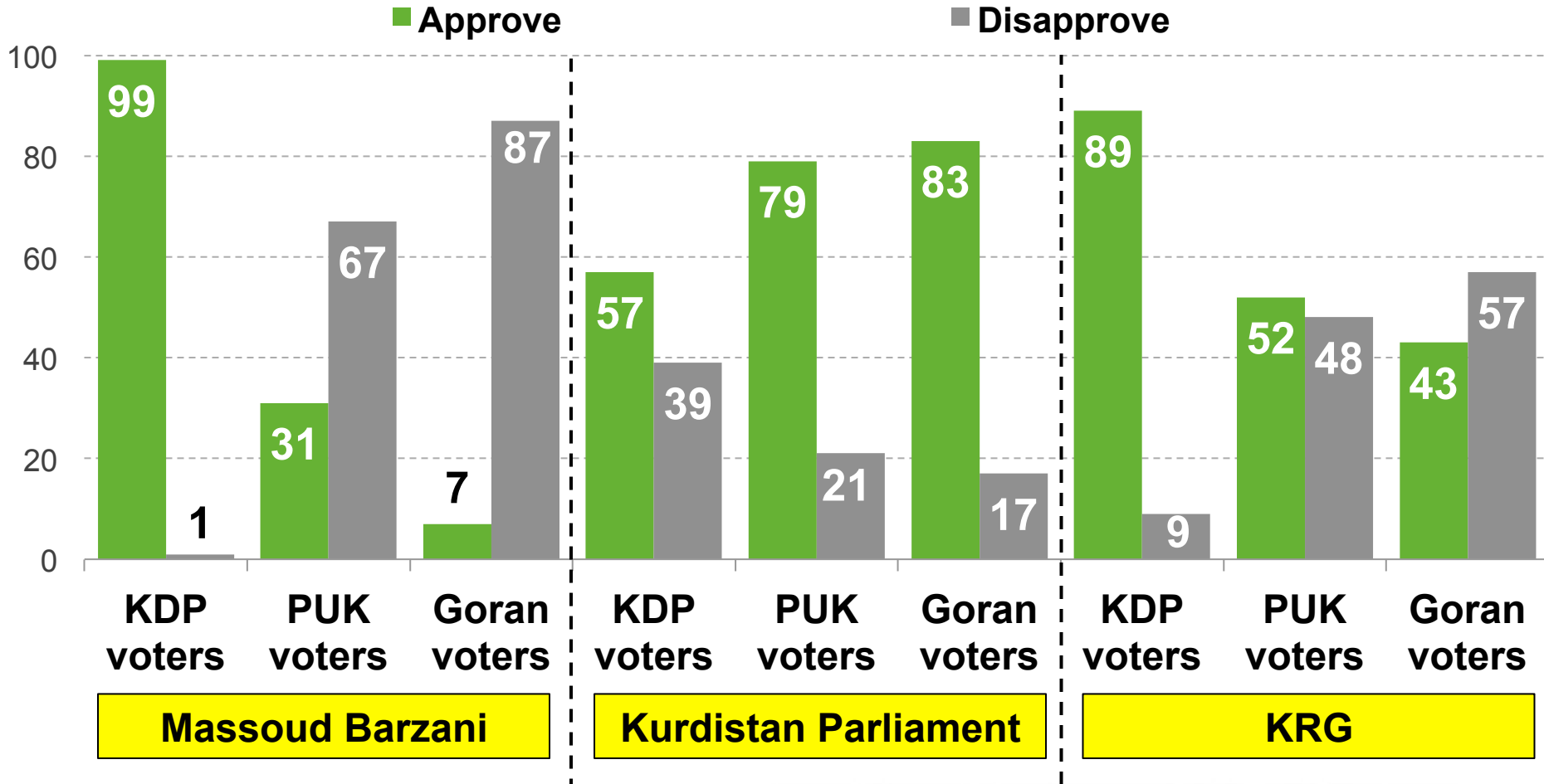
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Kurdistan are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

—●— Right direction —■— Wrong direction



Partisan divide on job approval

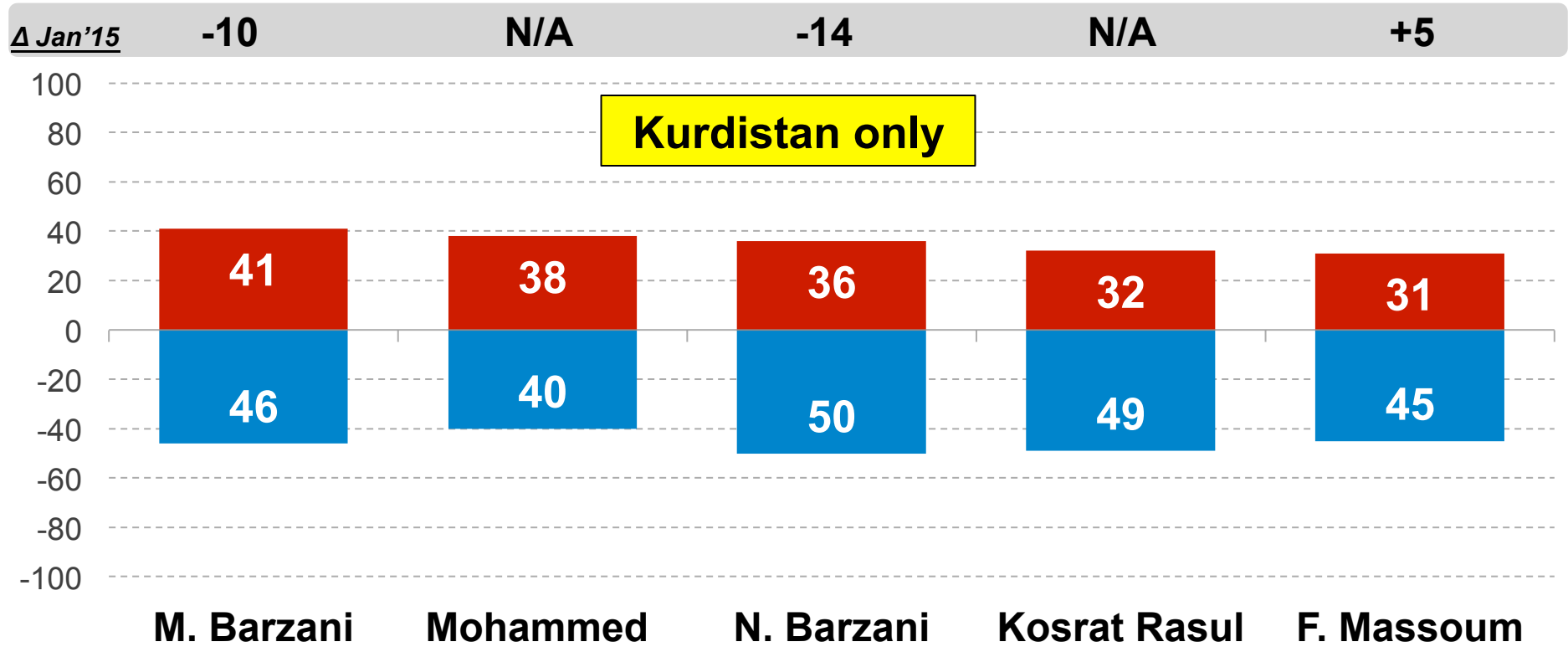
Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job *[leader or institution]* is doing?



Barzanis' favorability ratings drop

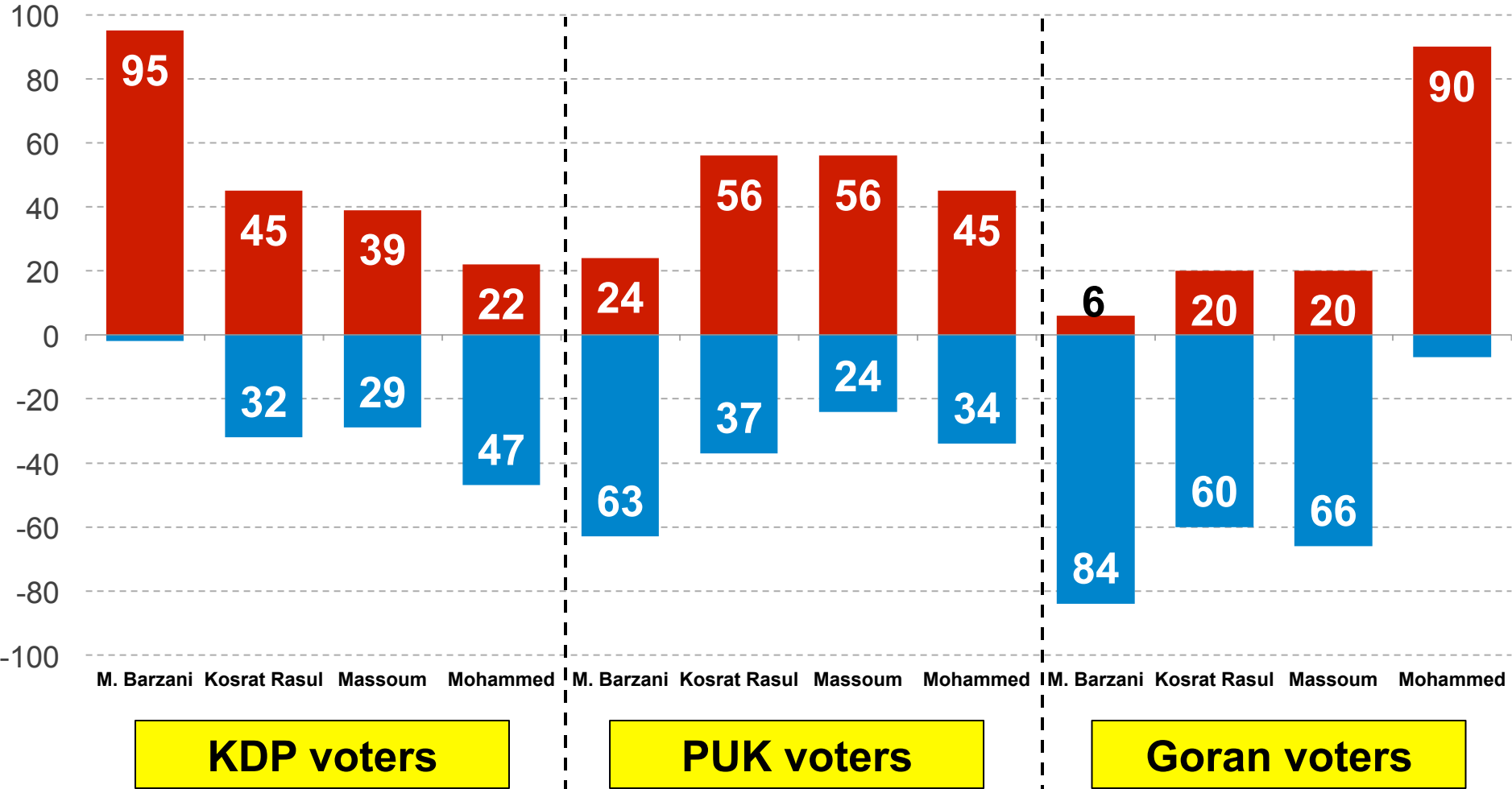
I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable.

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



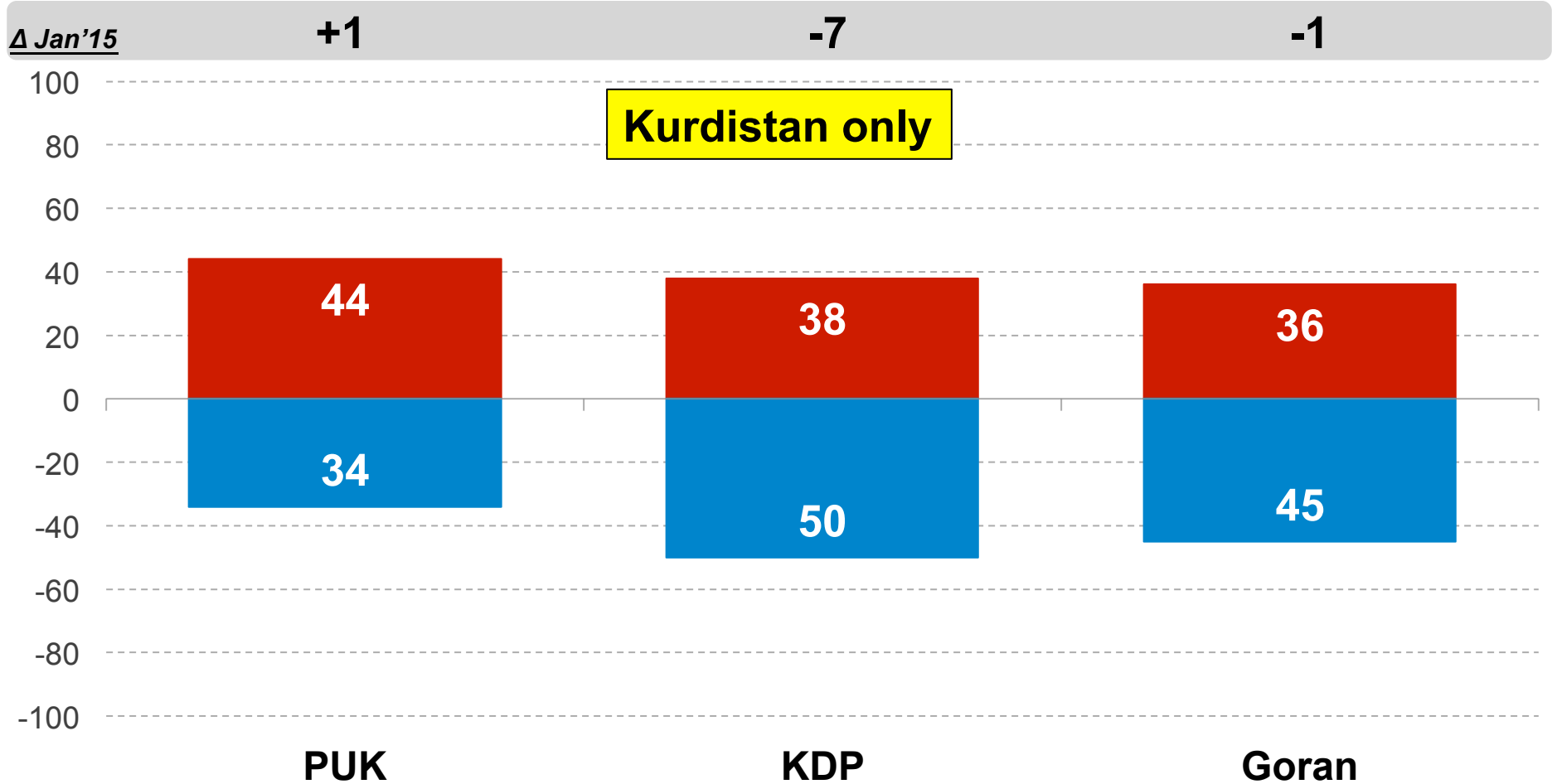
Kurdistan leaders' favorability ratings among partisans

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



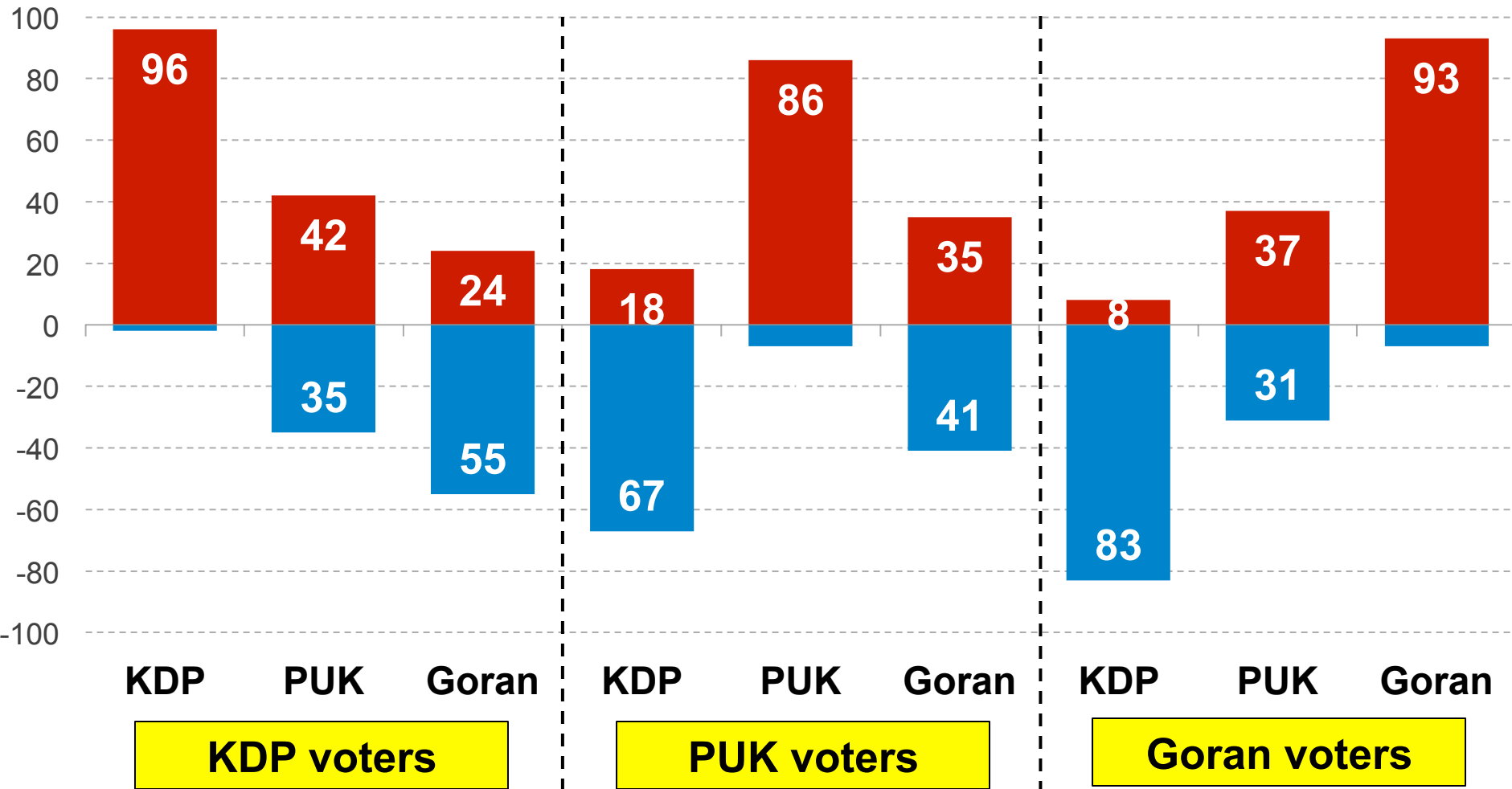
KDP's favorability rating drops; PUK, Goran stable

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



Kurdistan parties' favorability ratings among partisans

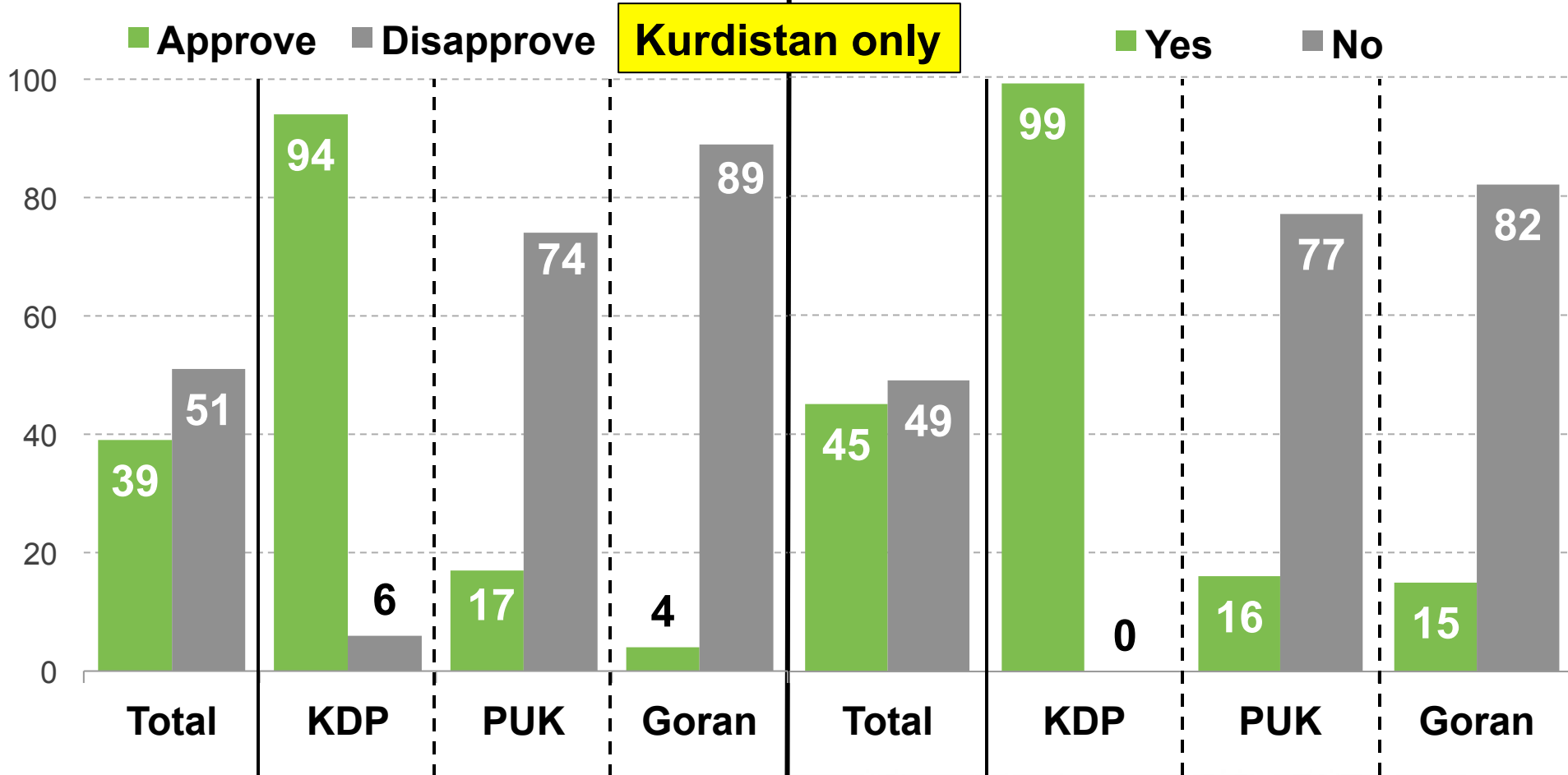
■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



Partisan divide on extending Barzani's presidential term

Do you approve or disapprove of the extension of President Massoud Barzani's term?

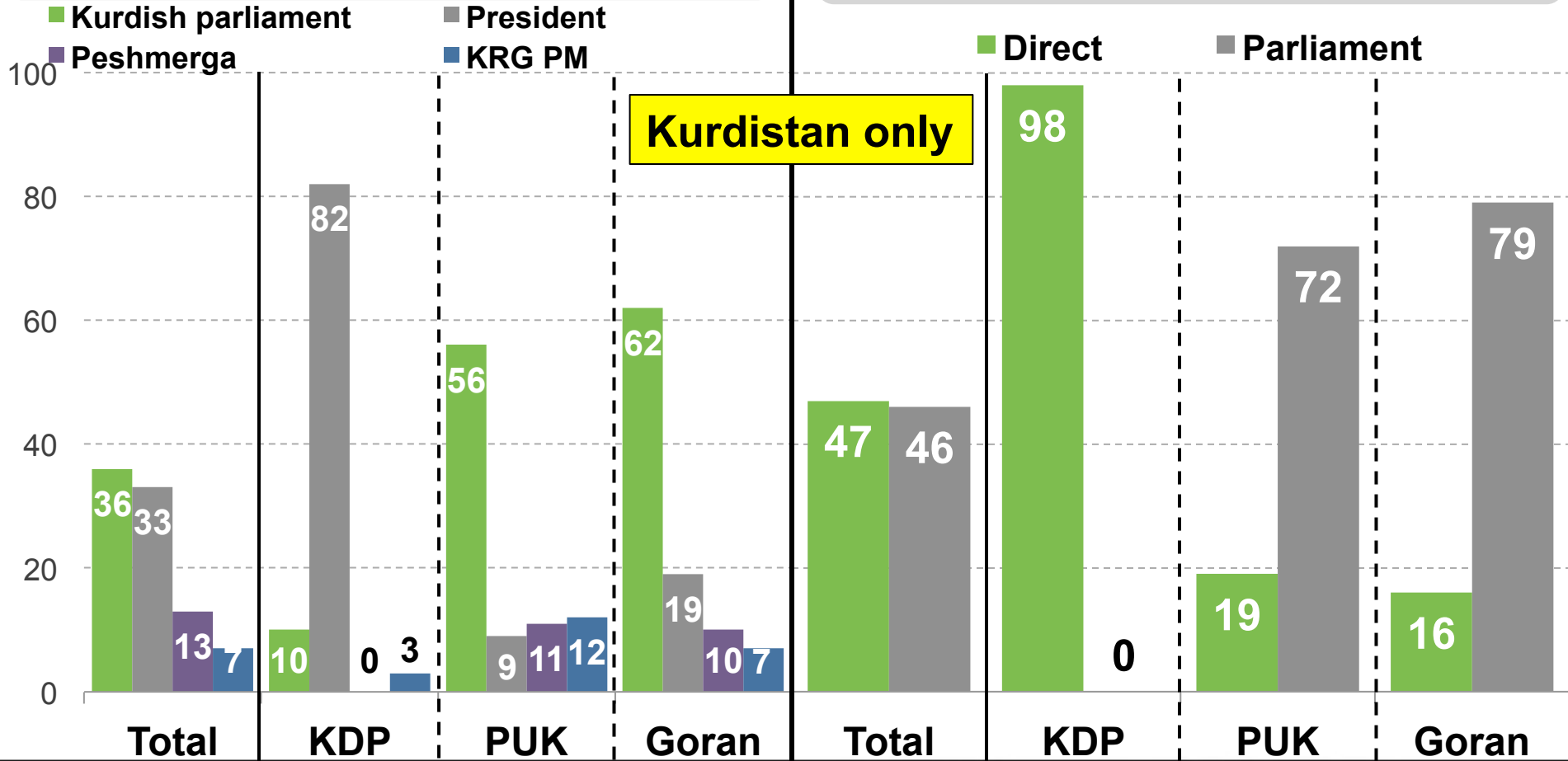
Do you think that President Massoud Barzani should remain president until the crisis with Da'esh is over?



Partisan divide on Kurdish authority, presidential election

Which of the following institutions do you think should have the greatest authority over decisions in Kurdistan?

Do you want to directly elect your president or do you want Parliament to elect the president?



Split on Peshmerga divisions; concerned about KRG tensions

Generally speaking, do you think there are significant divisions within the Peshmerga forces or do you think the Peshmerga are a mostly unified fighting force?

How concerned are you that the tensions among the political parties in Kurdistan will lead to internal conflict in the KRG?

■ Divided ■ Unified **Kurdistan only** ■ Concerned ■ Not concerned

