

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

December 15, 2010

Iraq's Democracy at a Crossroad

Report on GQR and NDI Fall 2010 Public Opinion Research



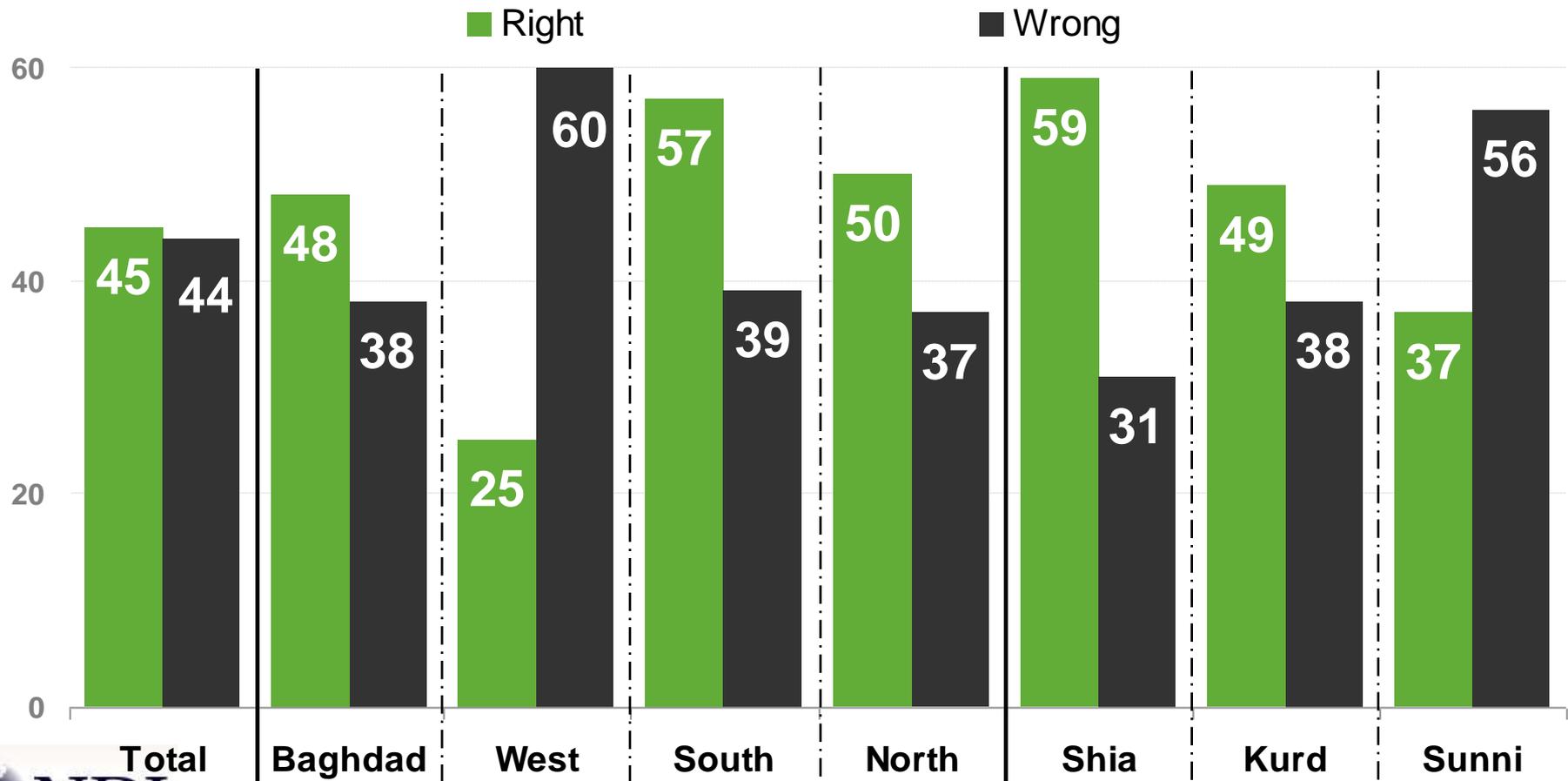
Research Methodology

- **National survey: October 25 – November 2, 2010**
 - 2,000 face-to-face interviews of adults 18 years old and over; distributed representatively by province; national margin of error (MoE) of +/- 2.19%
 - Regional breakdowns:
 - Baghdad: 489 interviews (+/- 4.43% MoE)
 - West (Anbar, Diyala, Ninewa, Salahaddin, and Kirkuk): 546 interviews (+/- 4.19% MoE)
 - South (Basra, Babil, Muthanna, Missan, Qadissiyah, Najaf, Thi-Qar, Wasit, and Karbala): 696 interviews (+/- 3.71% MoE)
 - North (Sulaymaniyah, Dohuk, and Erbil): 269 interviews (+/- 5.97% MoE)
 - Due to security and timing concerns, no interviews were conducted in Dohuk (1.7% of population), Muthanna (2.1% of pop.), or Missan (2.8% of pop.)

- **Focus groups: September 22 – September 27, 2010**
 - 16 focus groups
 - Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, Mosul, Baghdad, Hilla, Samarra, Diyala, and Basra
 - Groups were homogenous based on ethnicity, religion, gender, age, education, and political leanings

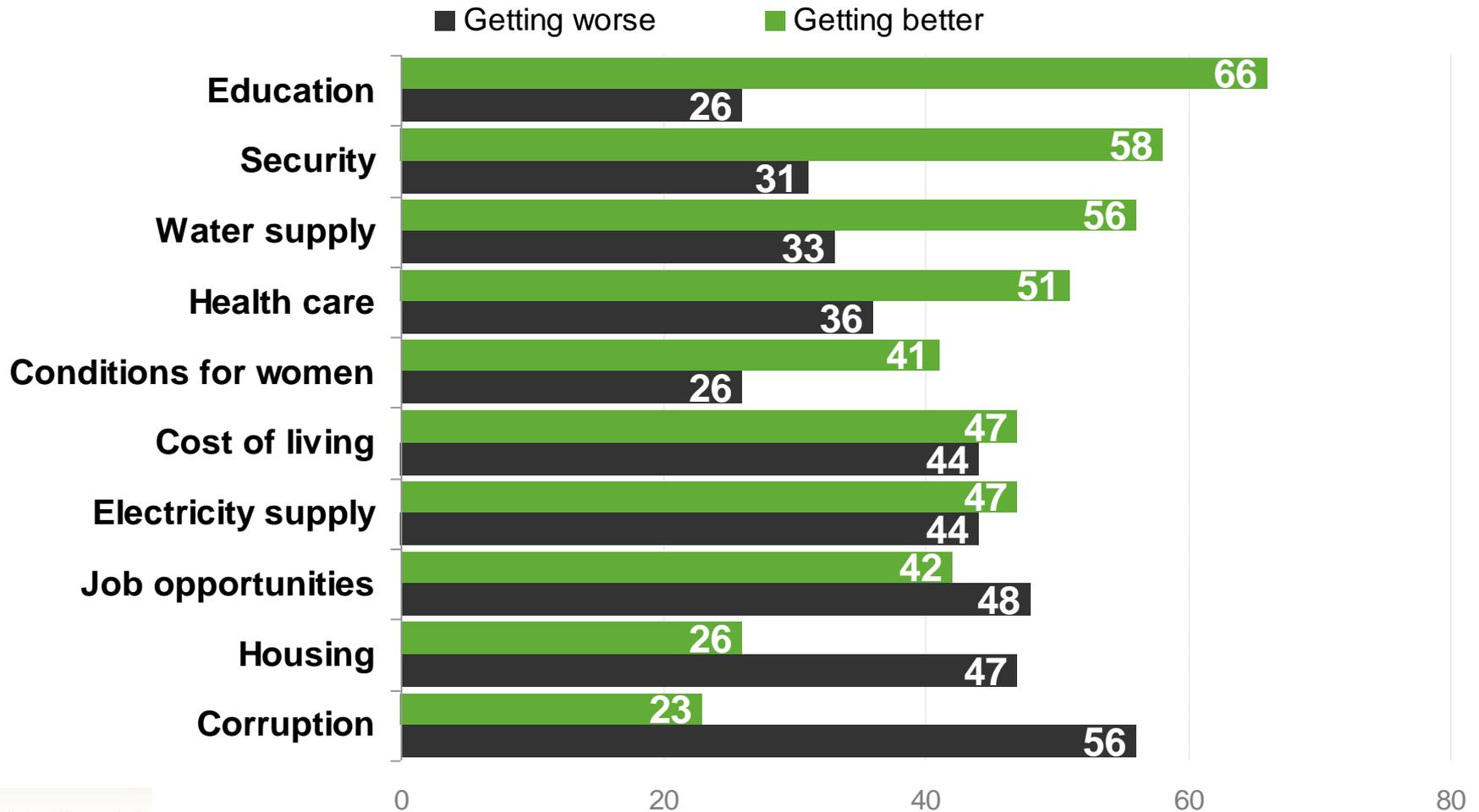
Positive country mood dampened by West and Sunnis

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?



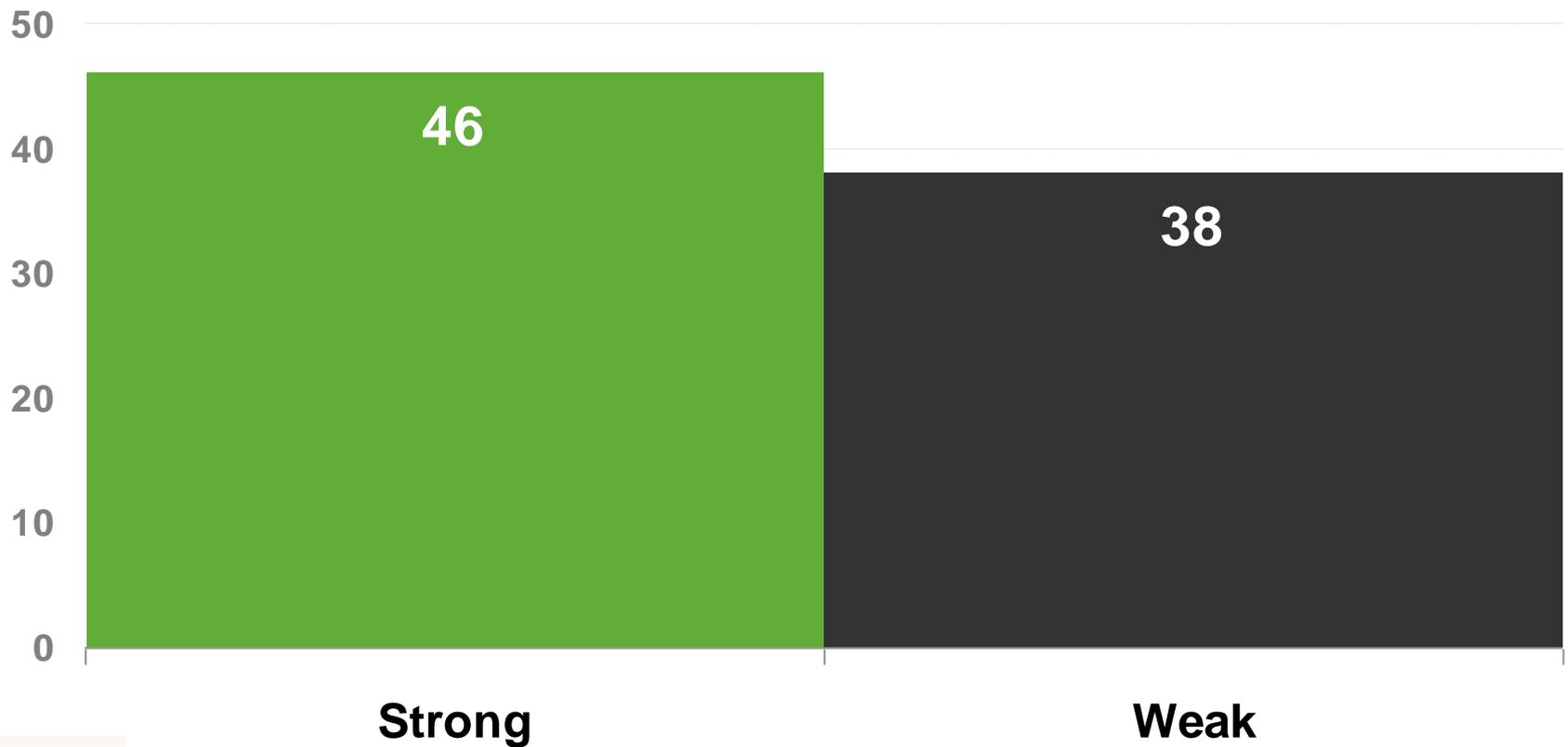
Most issues improving

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



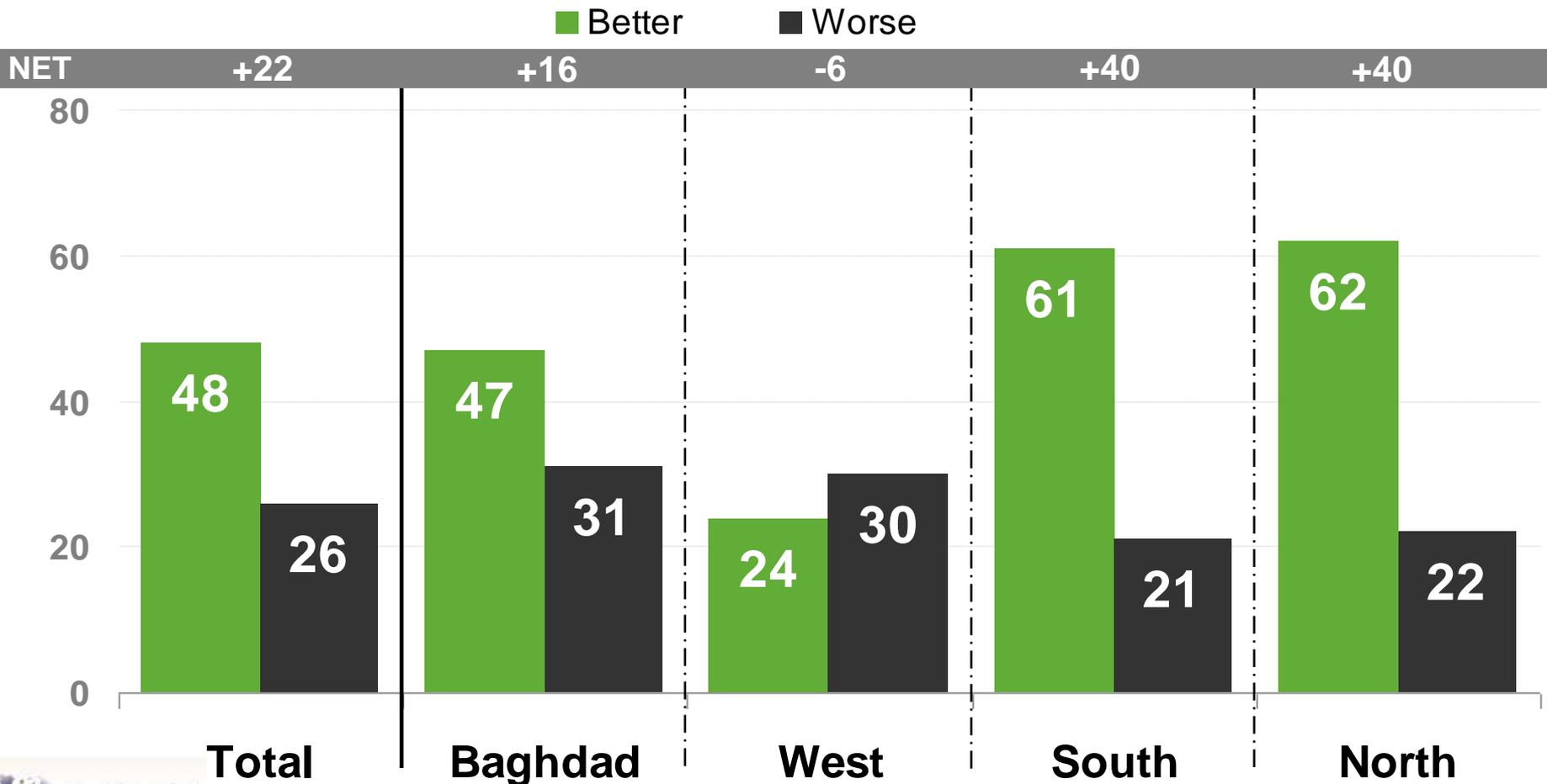
Optimistic view on economic conditions

Now I want to ask you about the economy. Would you say Iraq's economy right now is strong or weak?



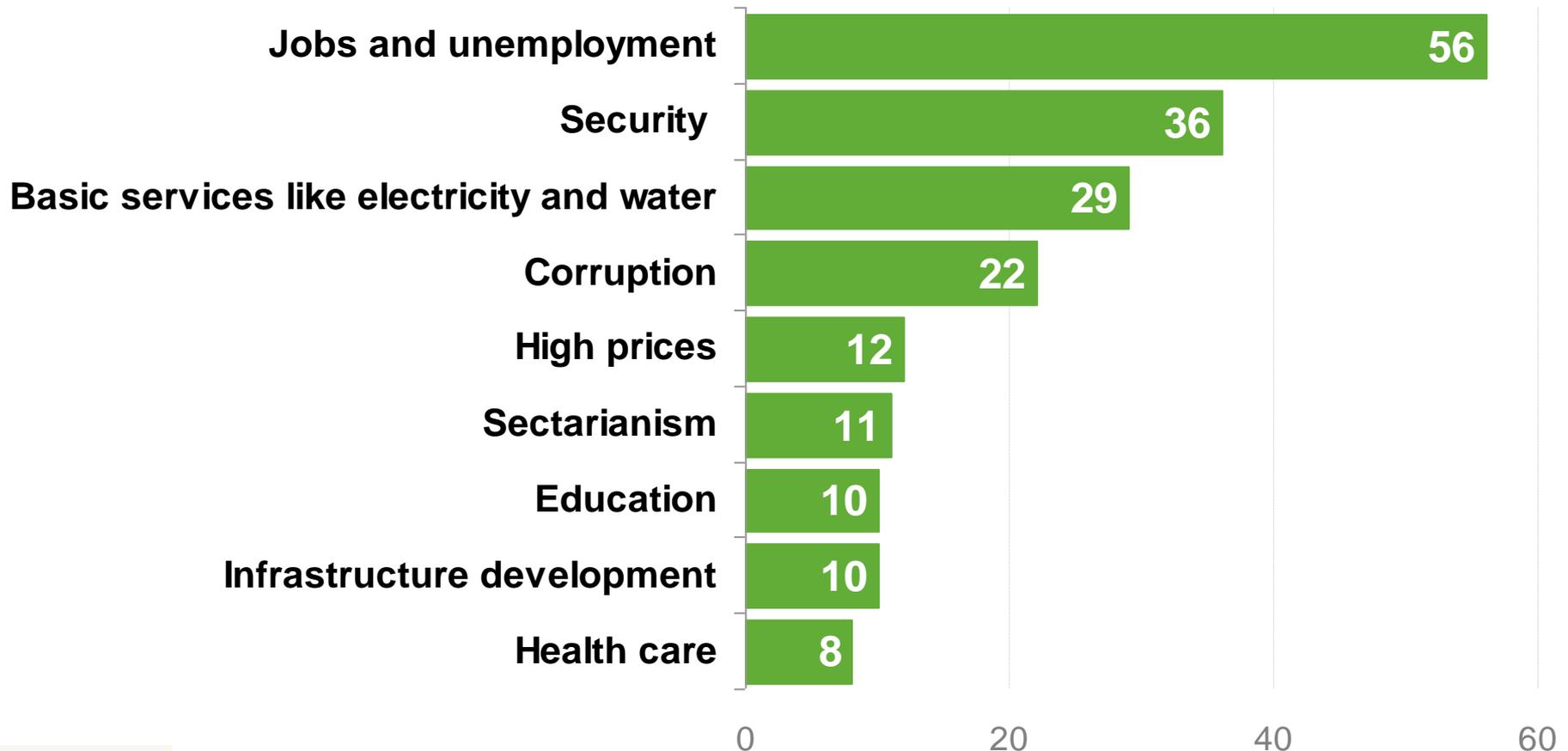
Personal finances outlook strong, except in West region

How do you think the financial position of your own household will change over the next 12 months - do you think it will get worse, or do you think it will get better?



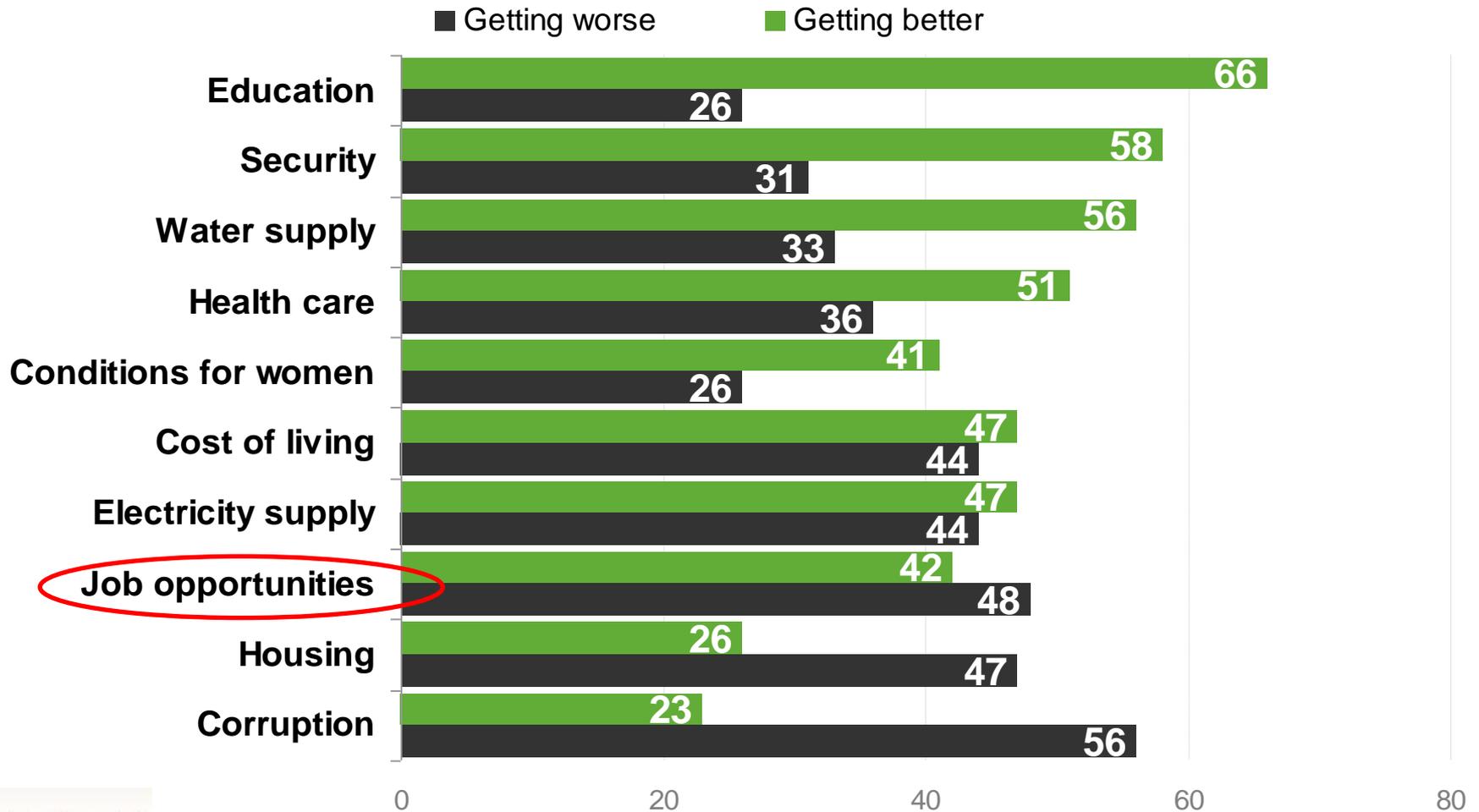
Jobs dominates as leading concern

Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that some people may have. Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.



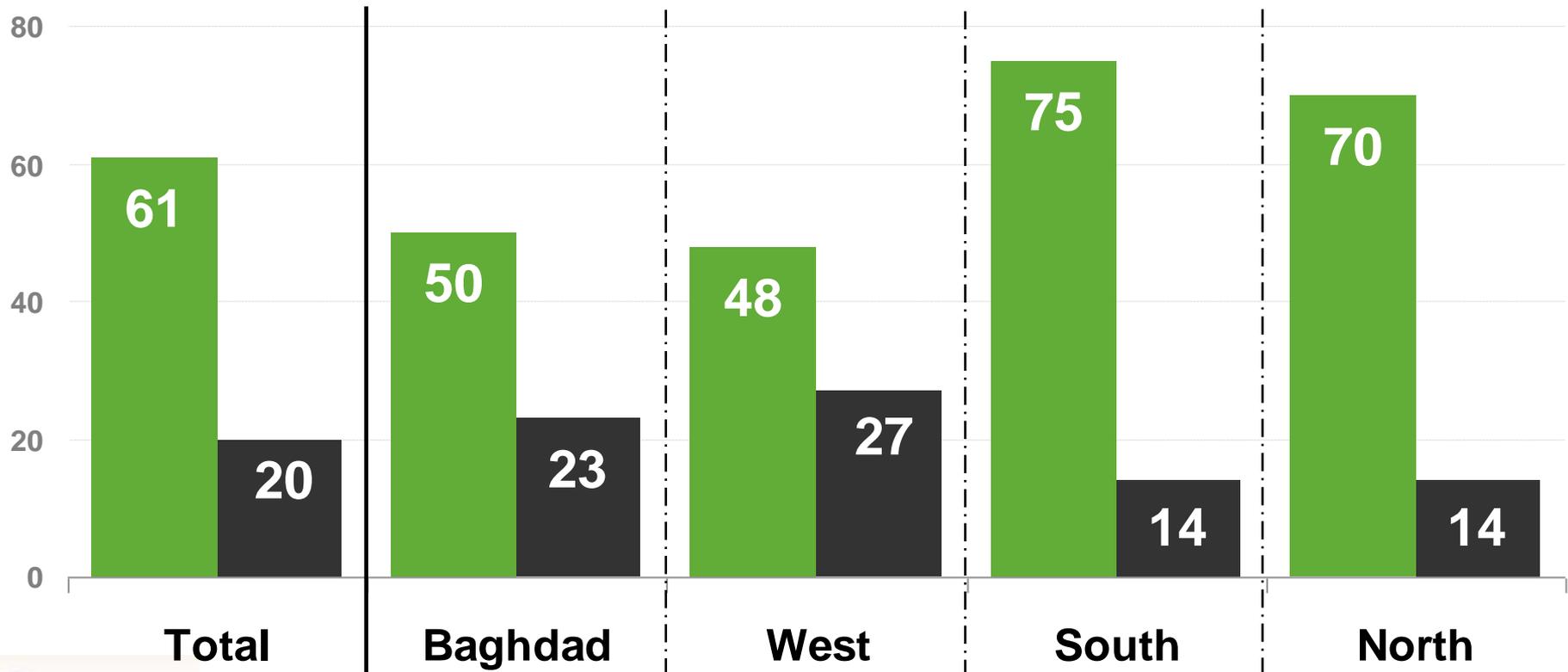
Job opportunities getting worse

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



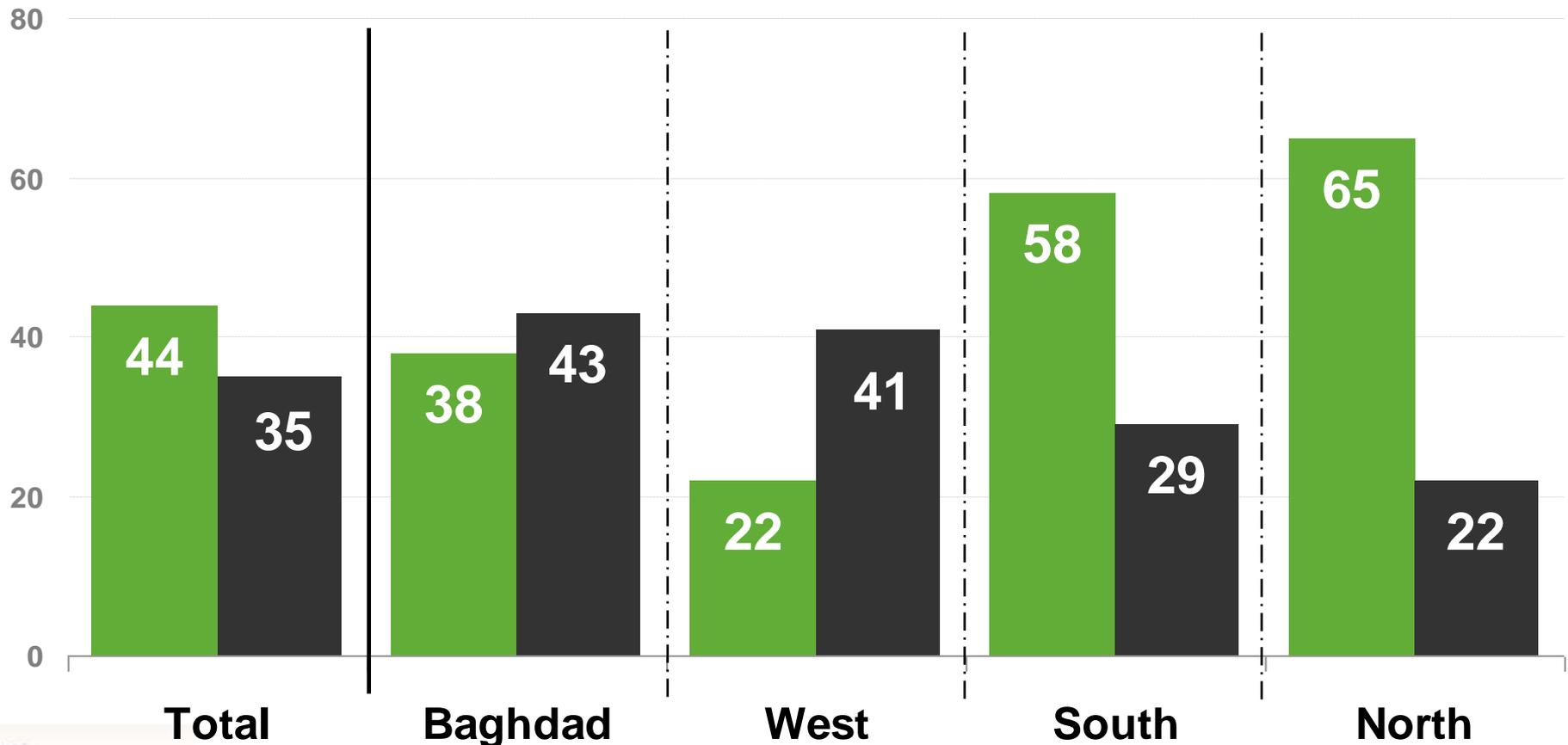
Most see democracy as likely to improve quality of life

- Making Iraq more democratic will likely improve services and our quality of life.
- Making Iraq more democratic would likely make services worse and hurt our quality of life.



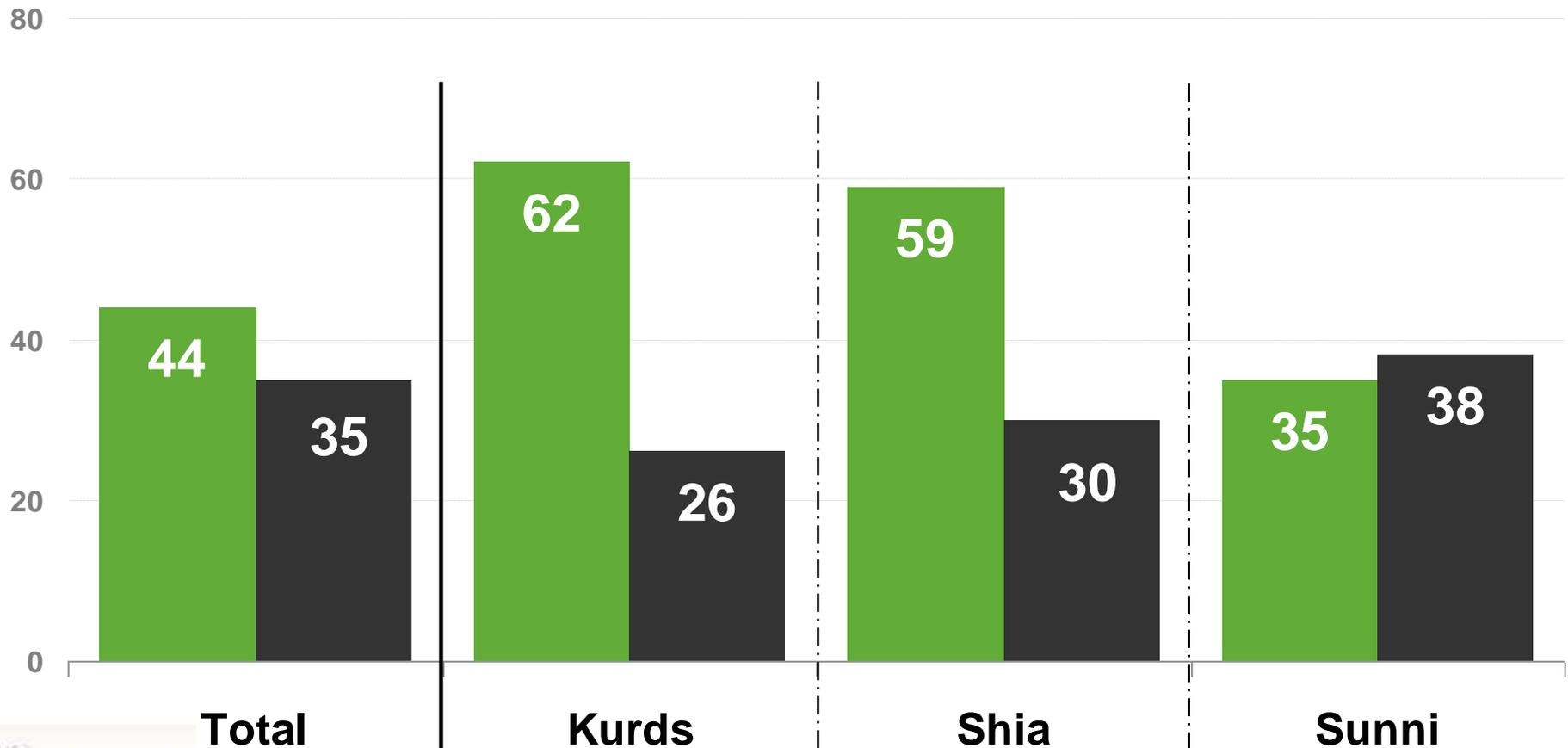
Regional differences on whether Iraq is a real democracy

■ Iraq today is a real democracy. ■ Iraq today is not a real democracy.

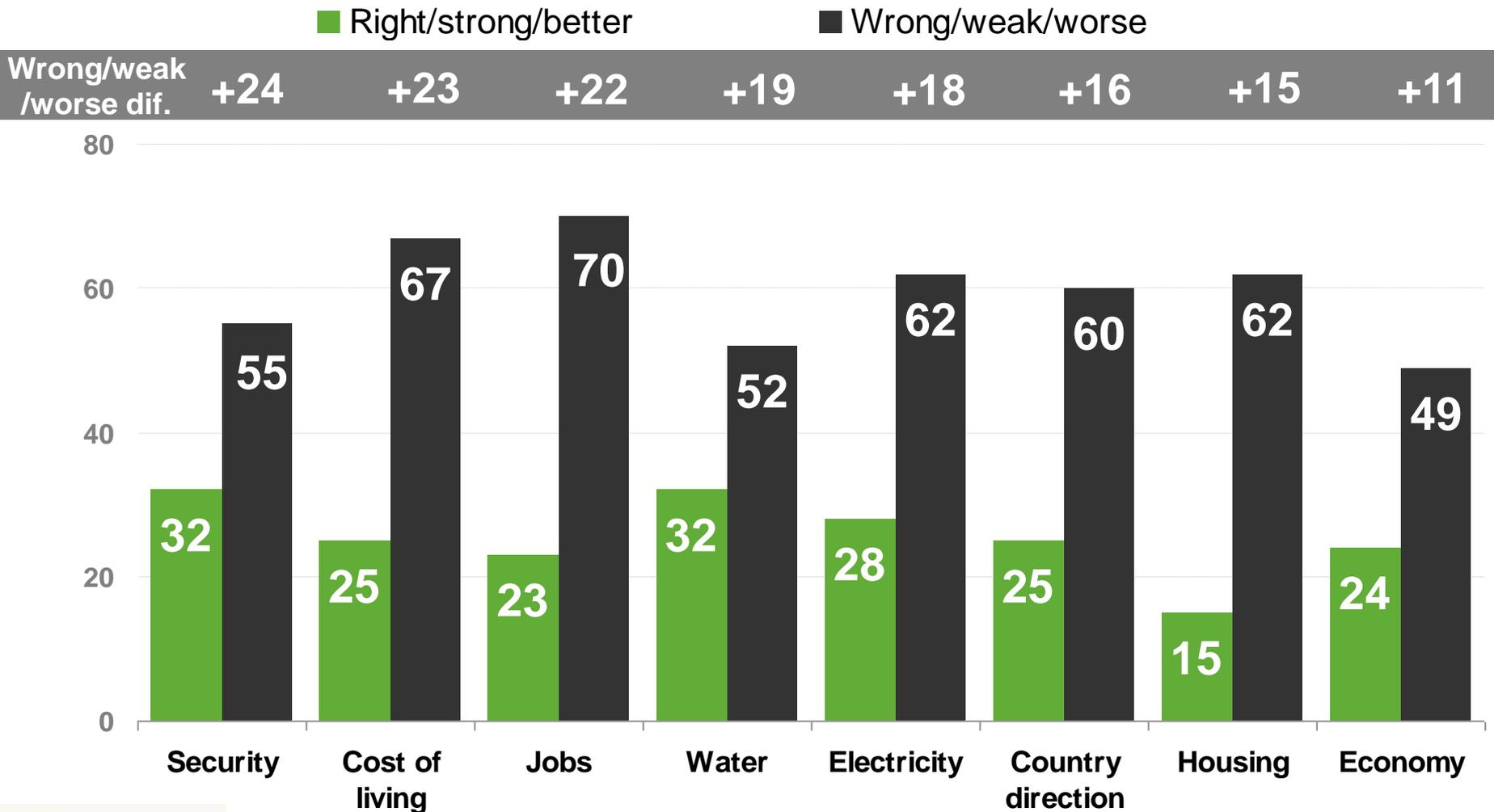


Sectarian differences on whether Iraq is a real democracy

■ Iraq today is a real democracy. ■ Iraq today is not a real democracy.



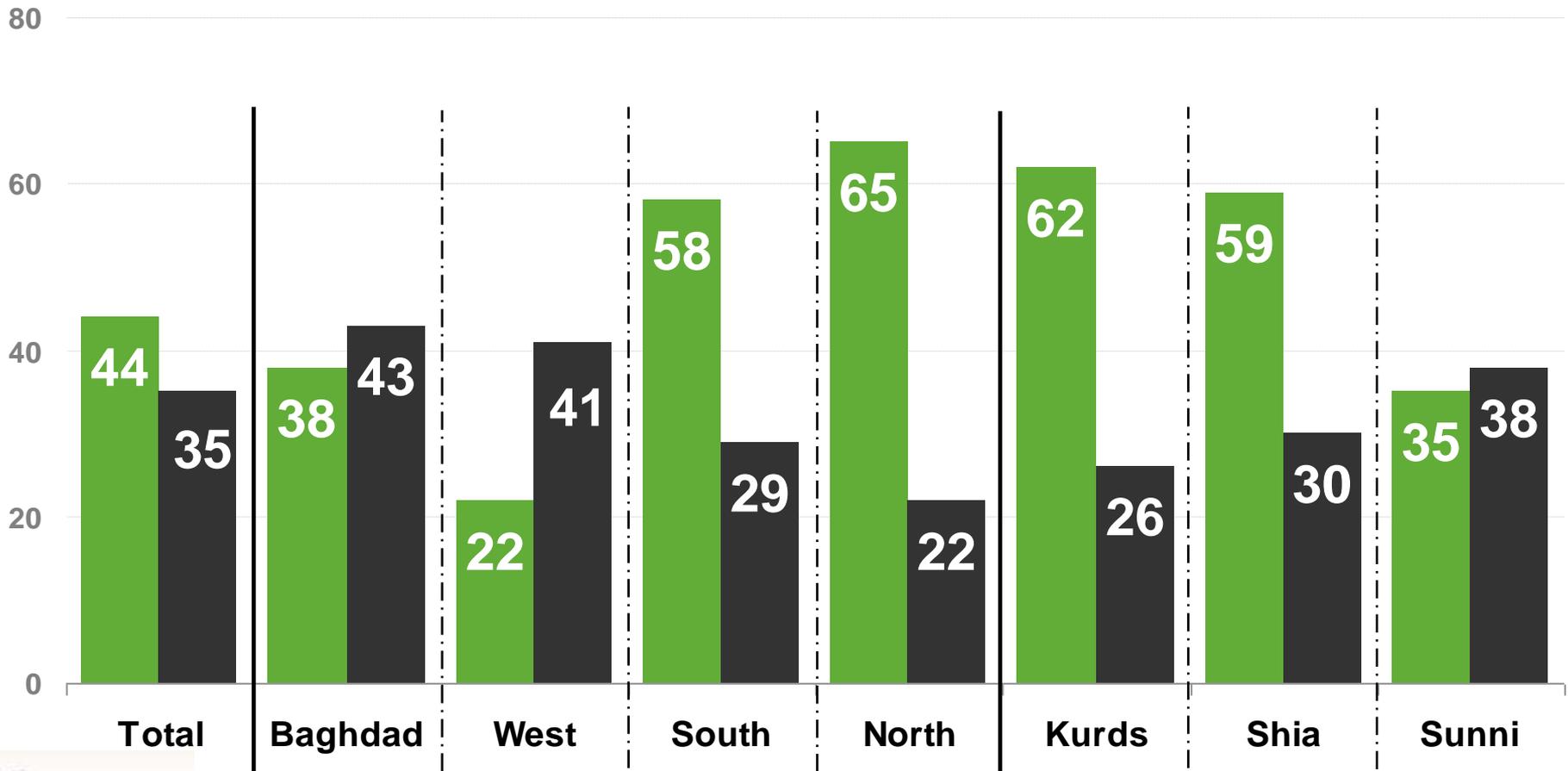
West region significantly more pessimistic



*Values represent the difference between the West region's wrong/weak/worse and non-West Iraq's wrong/weak/worse

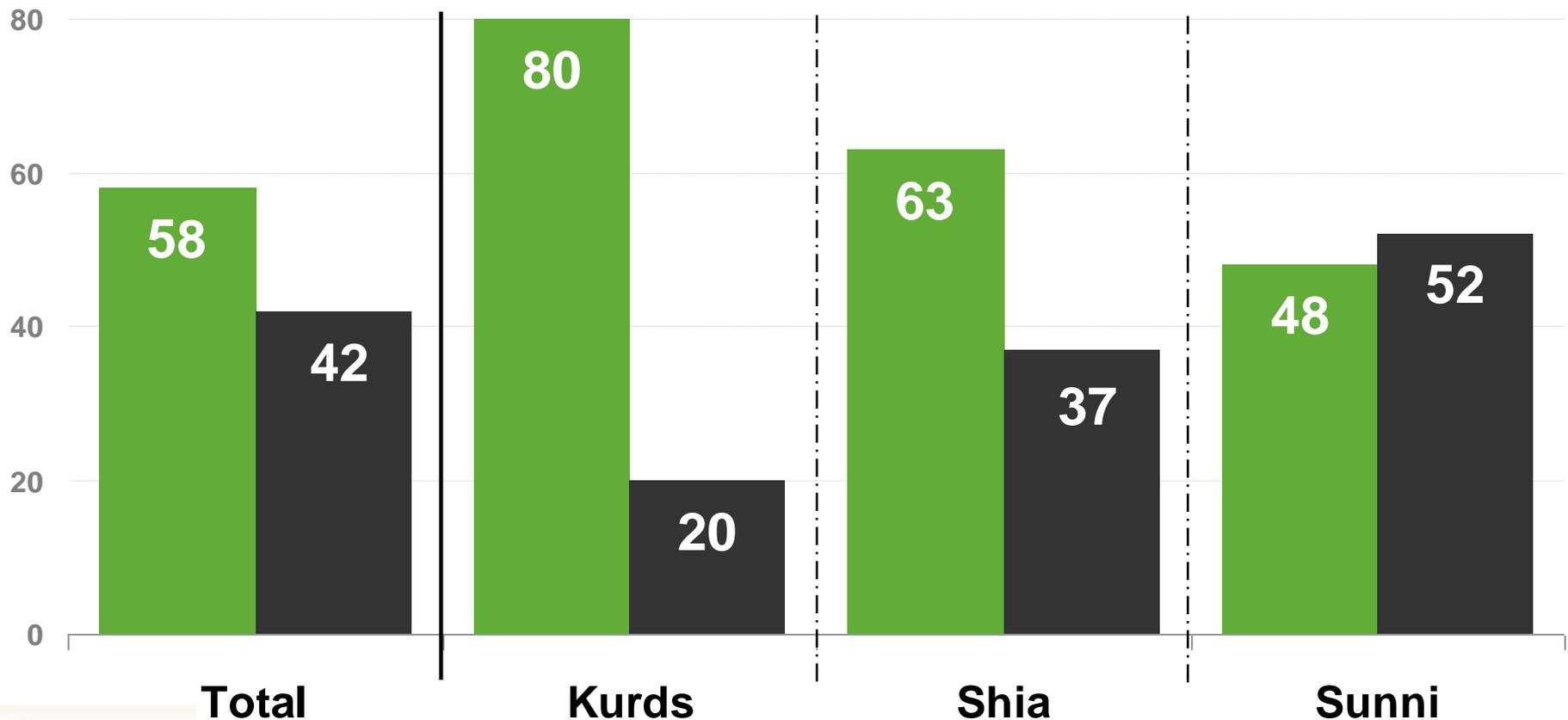
West region and Sunnis sees a lack of real democracy in Iraq

■ Iraq today is a real democracy. ■ Iraq today is not a real democracy.



Sunnis least likely to participate in future elections

- Likely to vote in next parliamentary elections
- Not likely to vote in next parliamentary elections

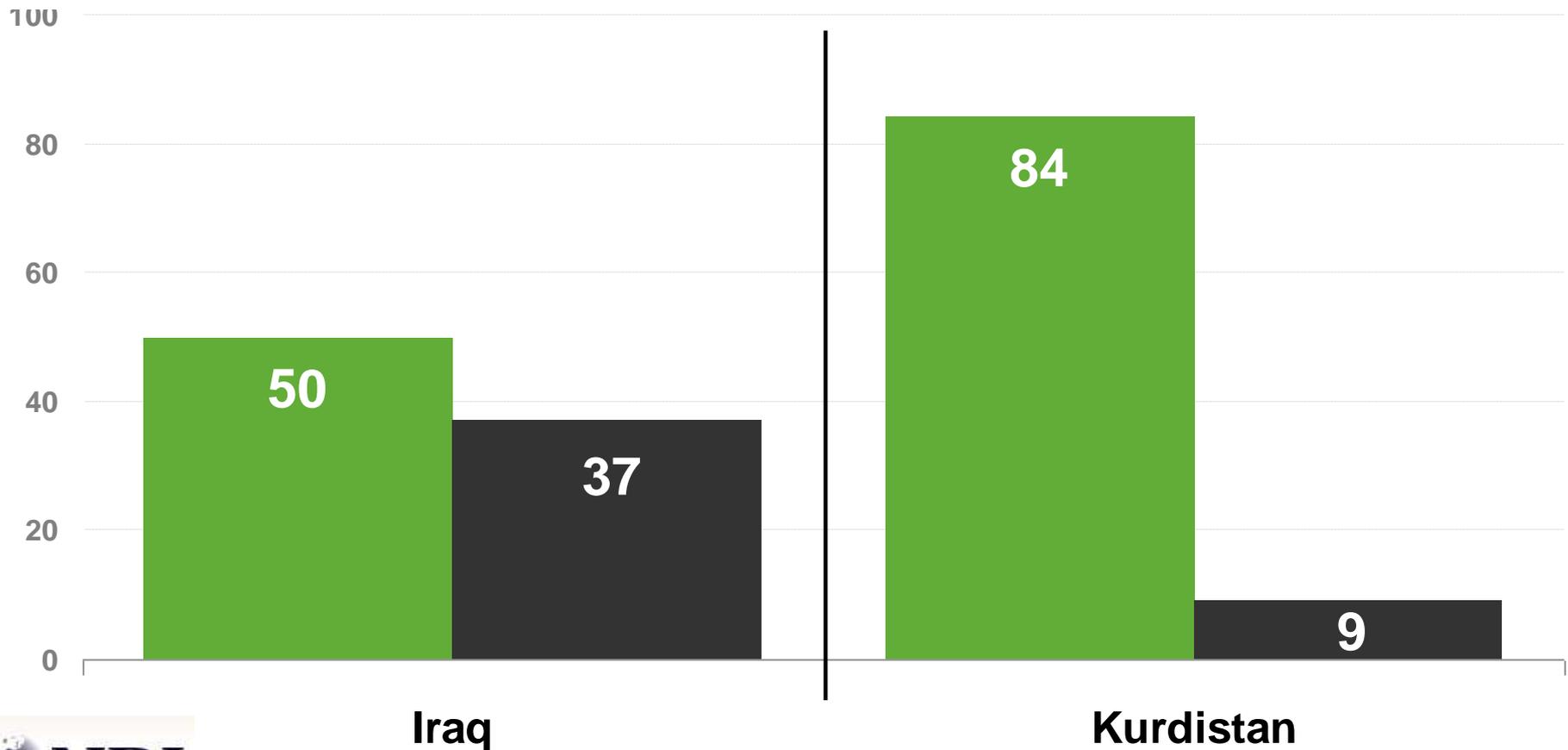


North significantly more optimistic about their region

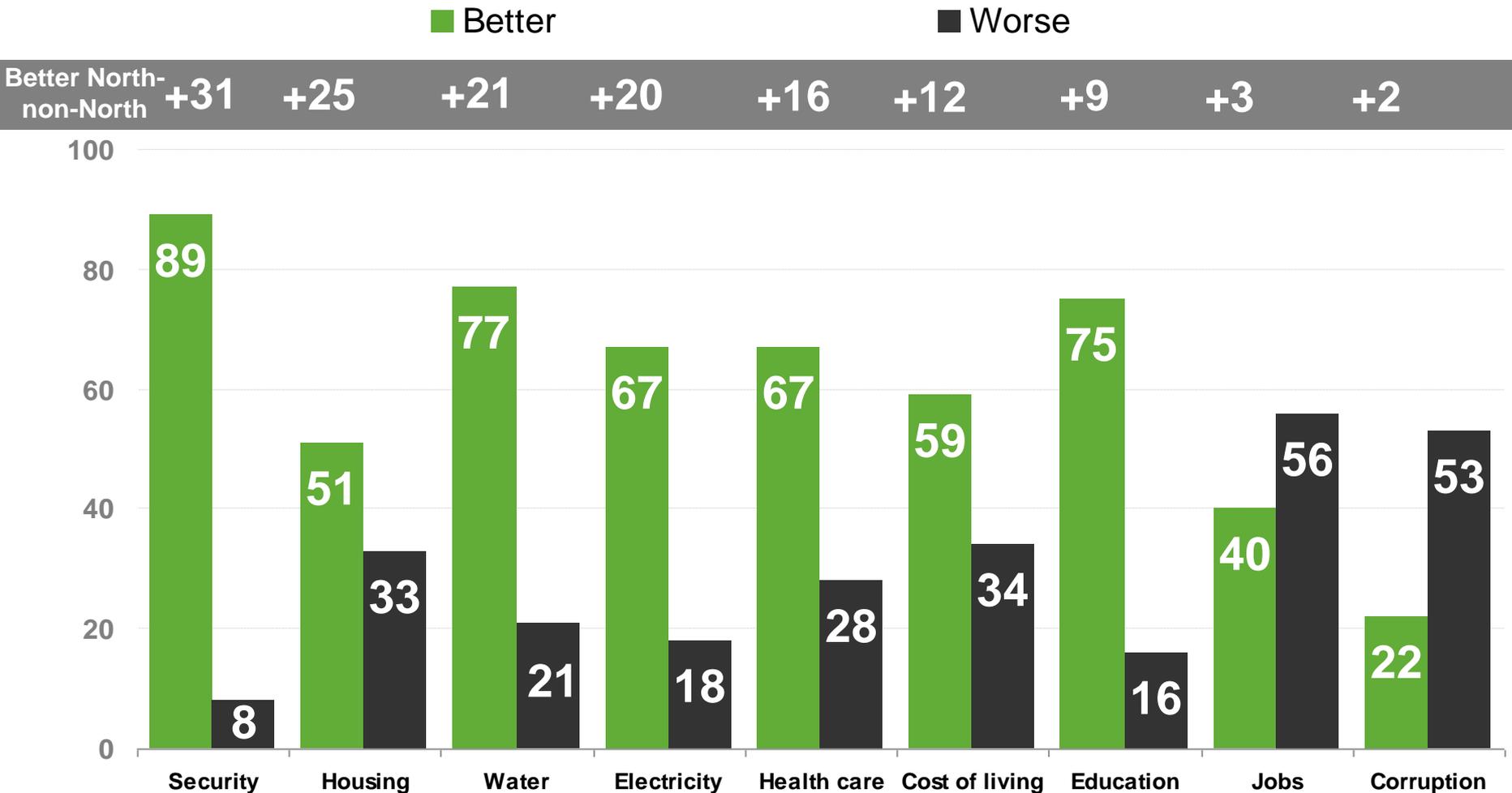
(NORTH ONLY) Generally speaking, do you think that things in *Iraq/Kurdistan* are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

■ Right

■ Wrong



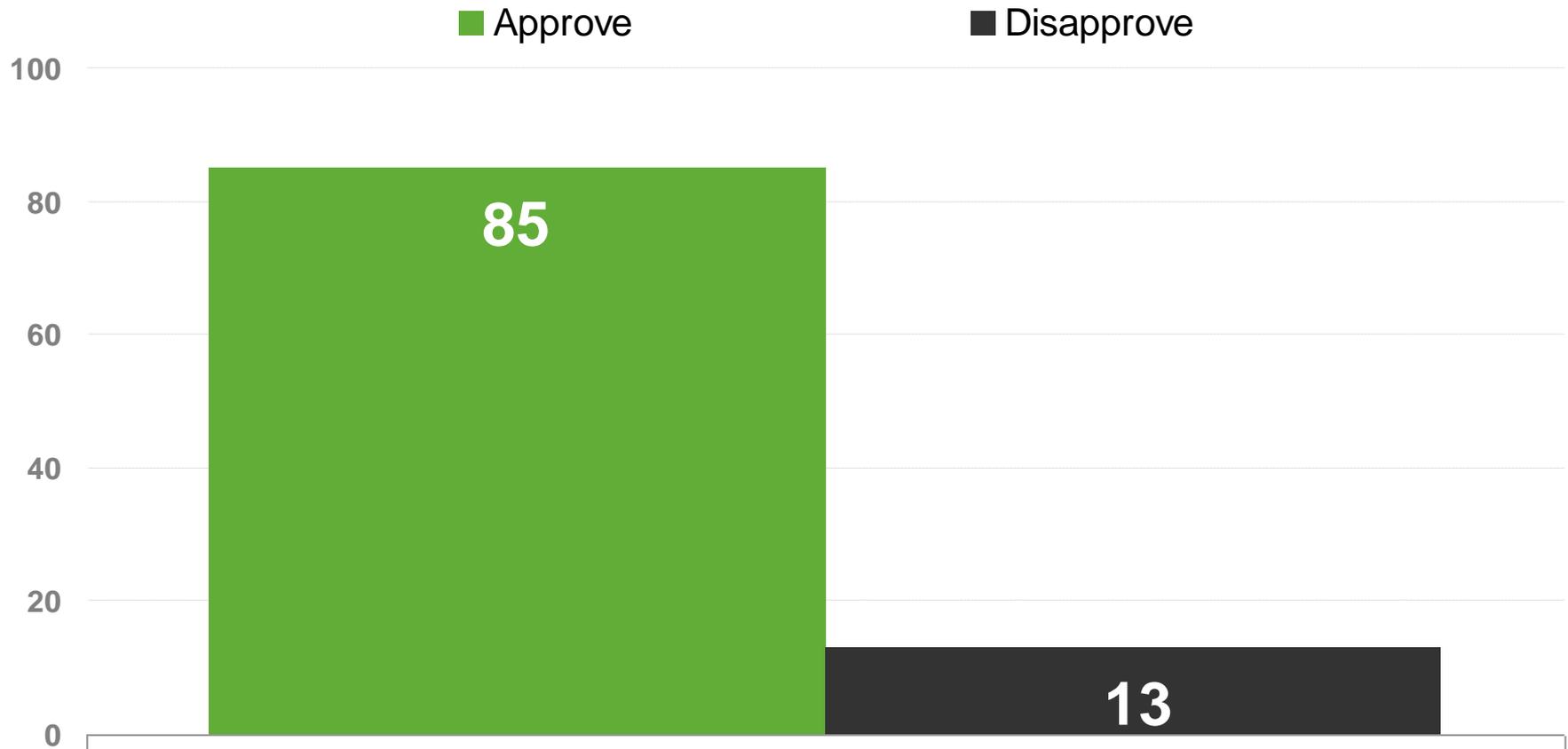
North stronger on key issues, except jobs and corruption



* Values represent the difference between the North's better and non-North Iraq's better numbers

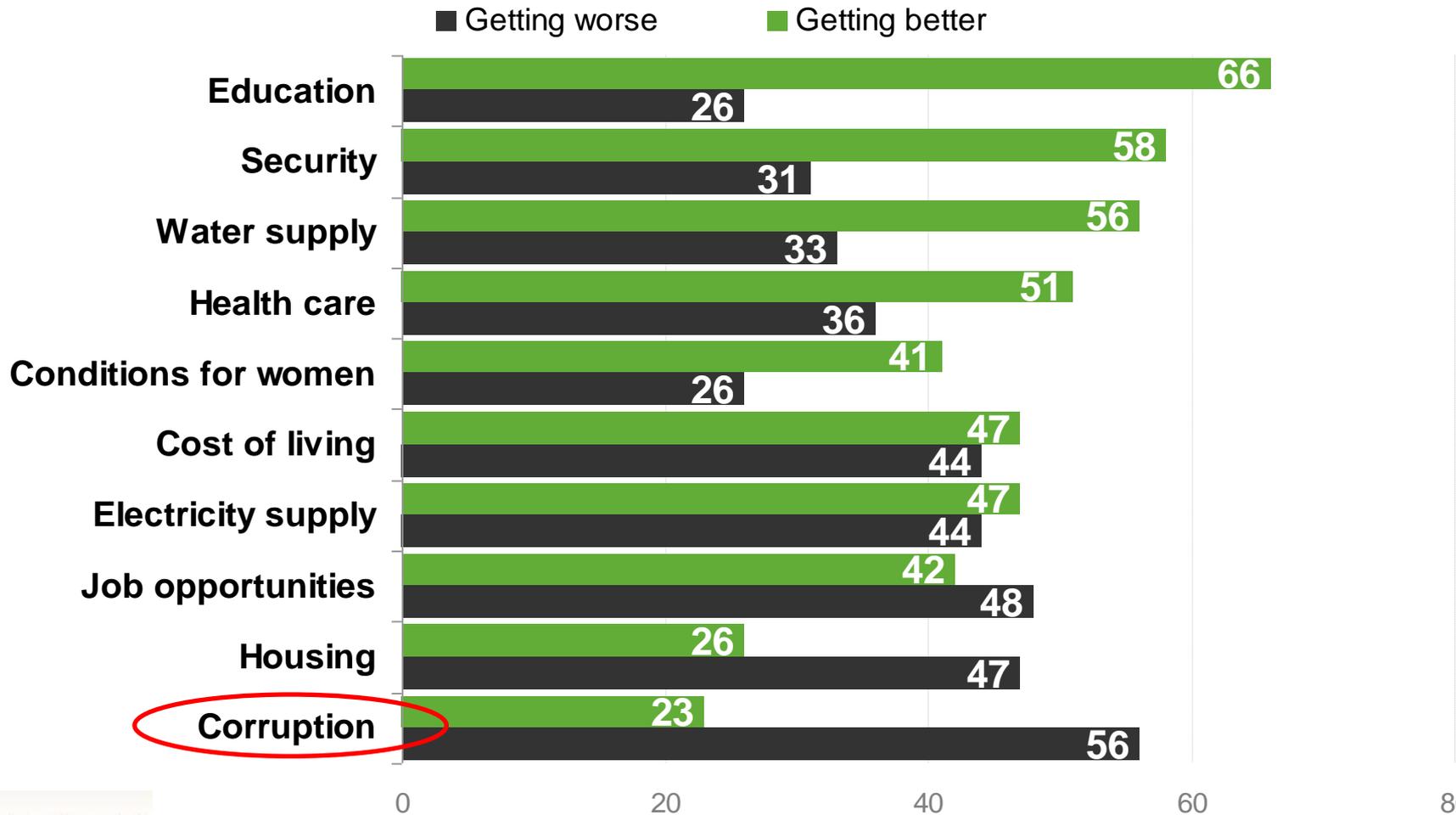
Strong approval of KRG

(NORTH ONLY) Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by the Kurdistan Regional Government?



Corruption getting worse

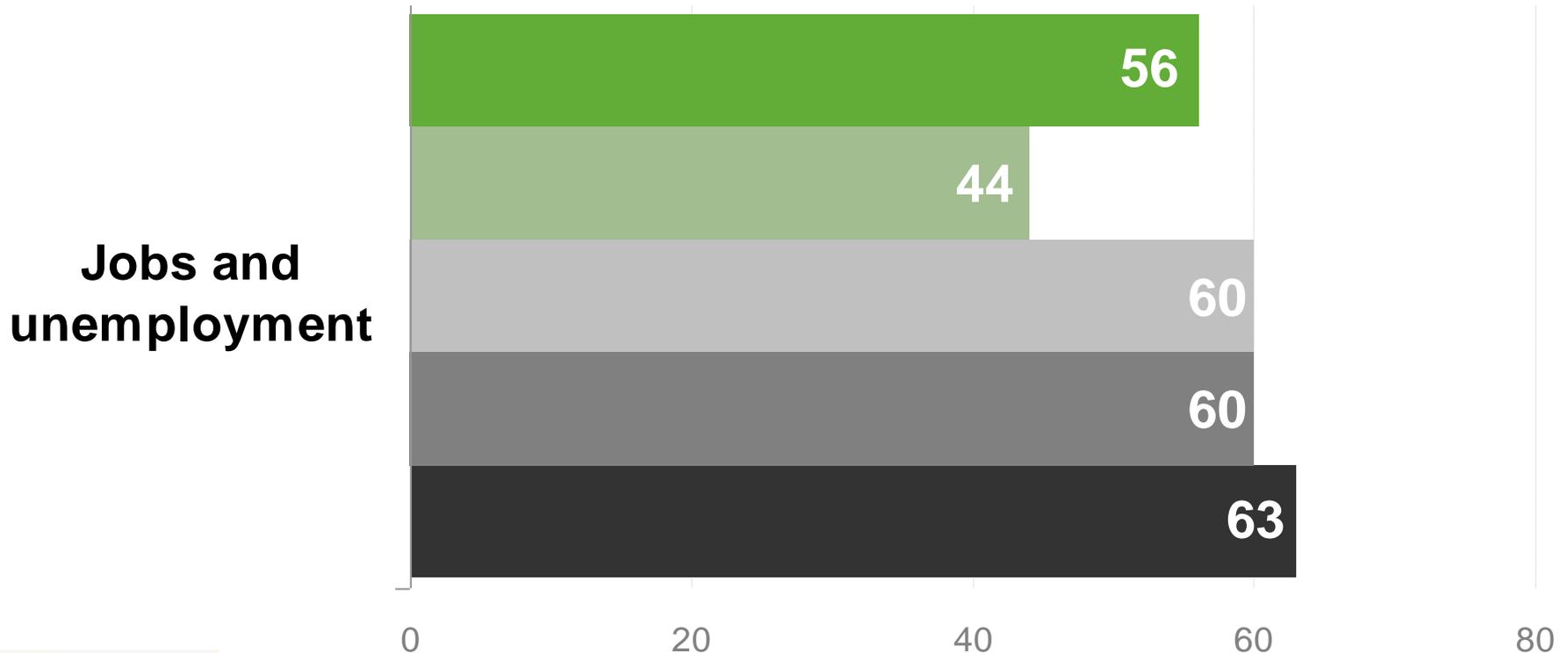
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



Jobs concern higher outside of Baghdad

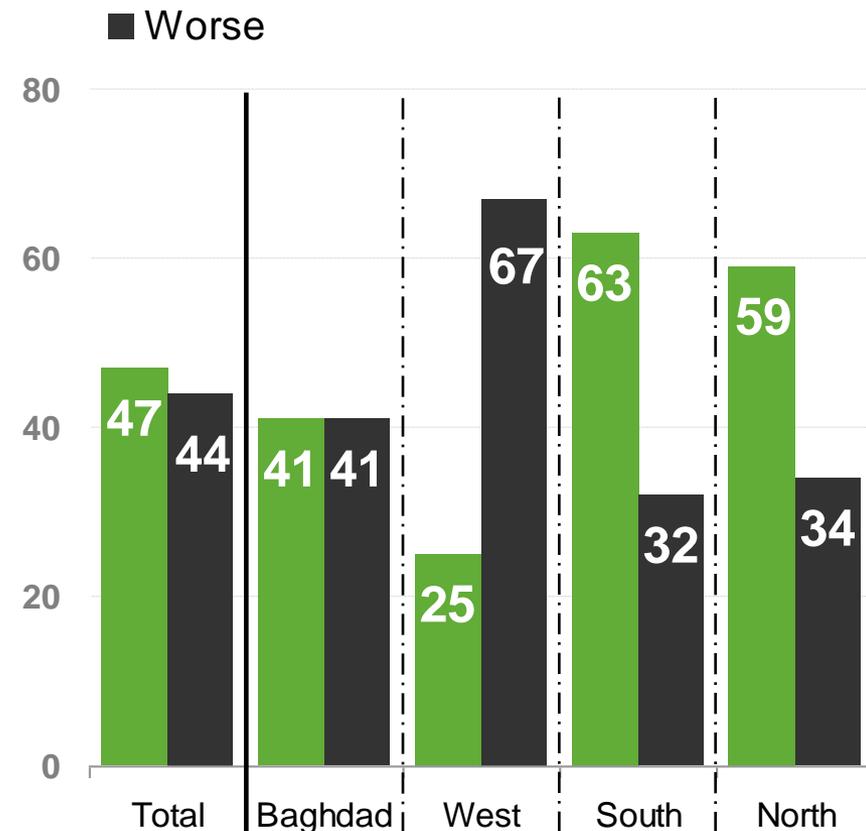
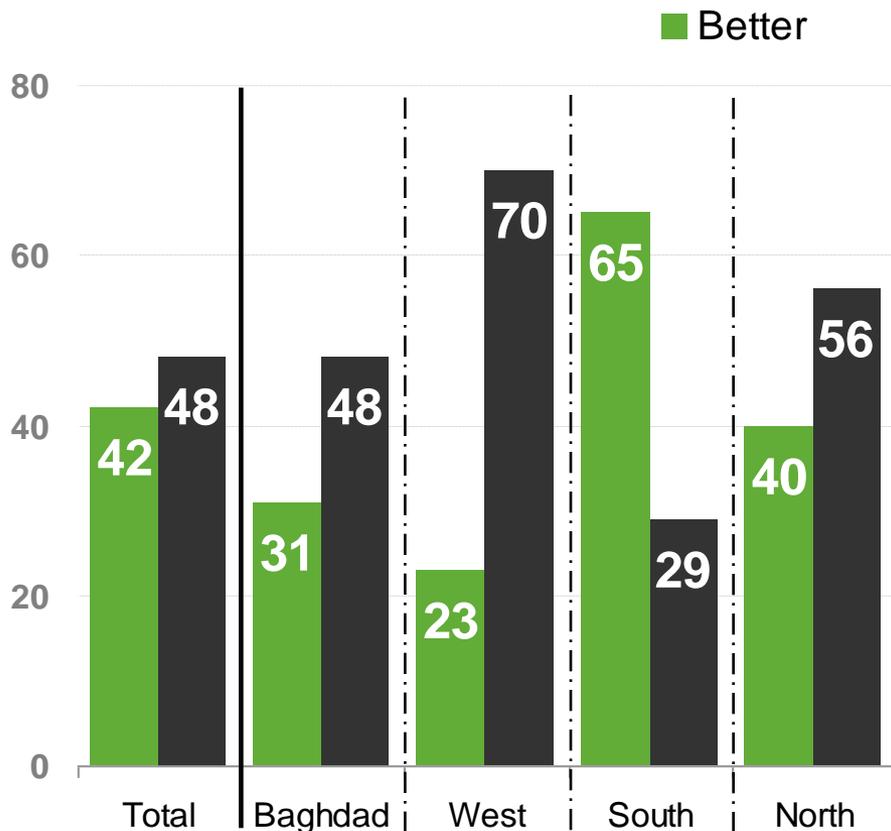
Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that some people may have. Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address. **[percent who pick “jobs and unemployment” as one of their top two concerns]**

■ North ■ South ■ West ■ Baghdad ■ Total



Jobs getting worse; cost of living marginally better

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

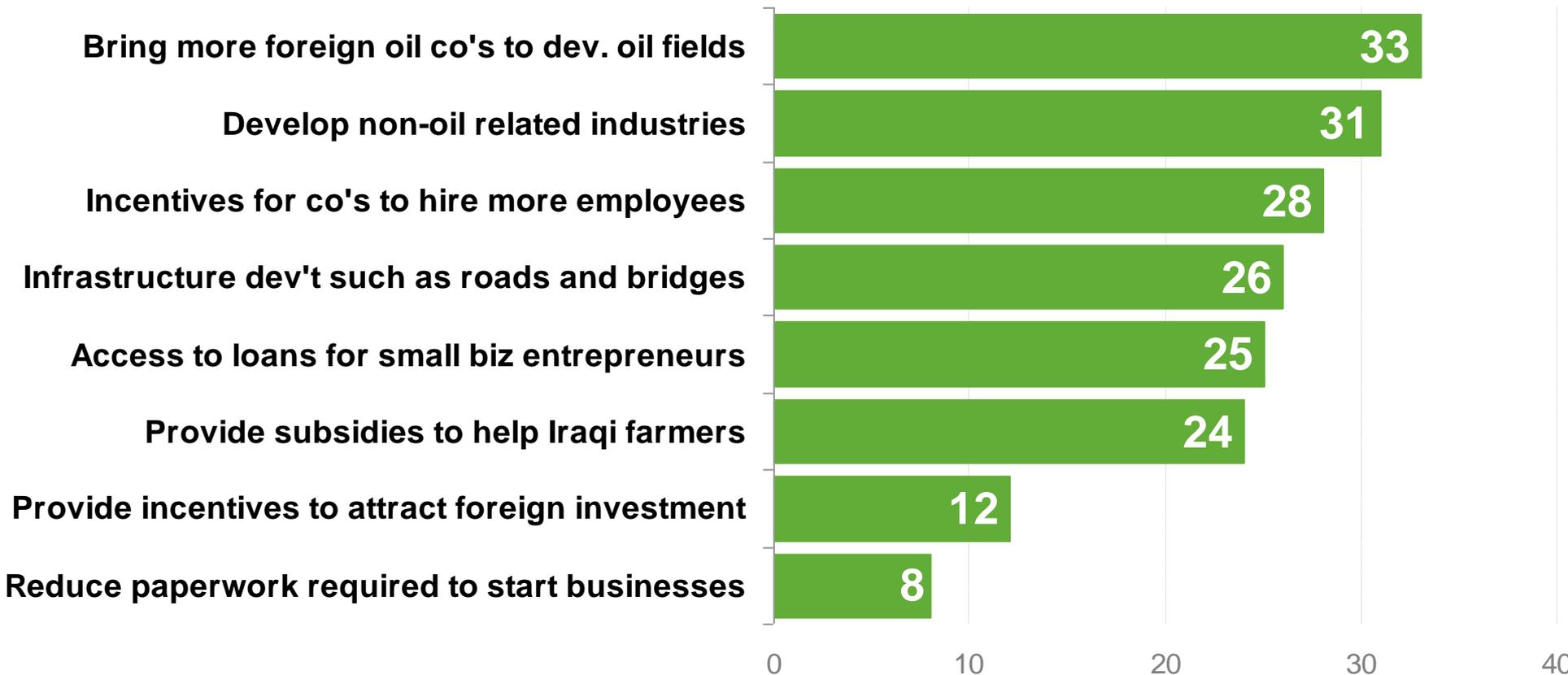


Job opportunities

Cost of living

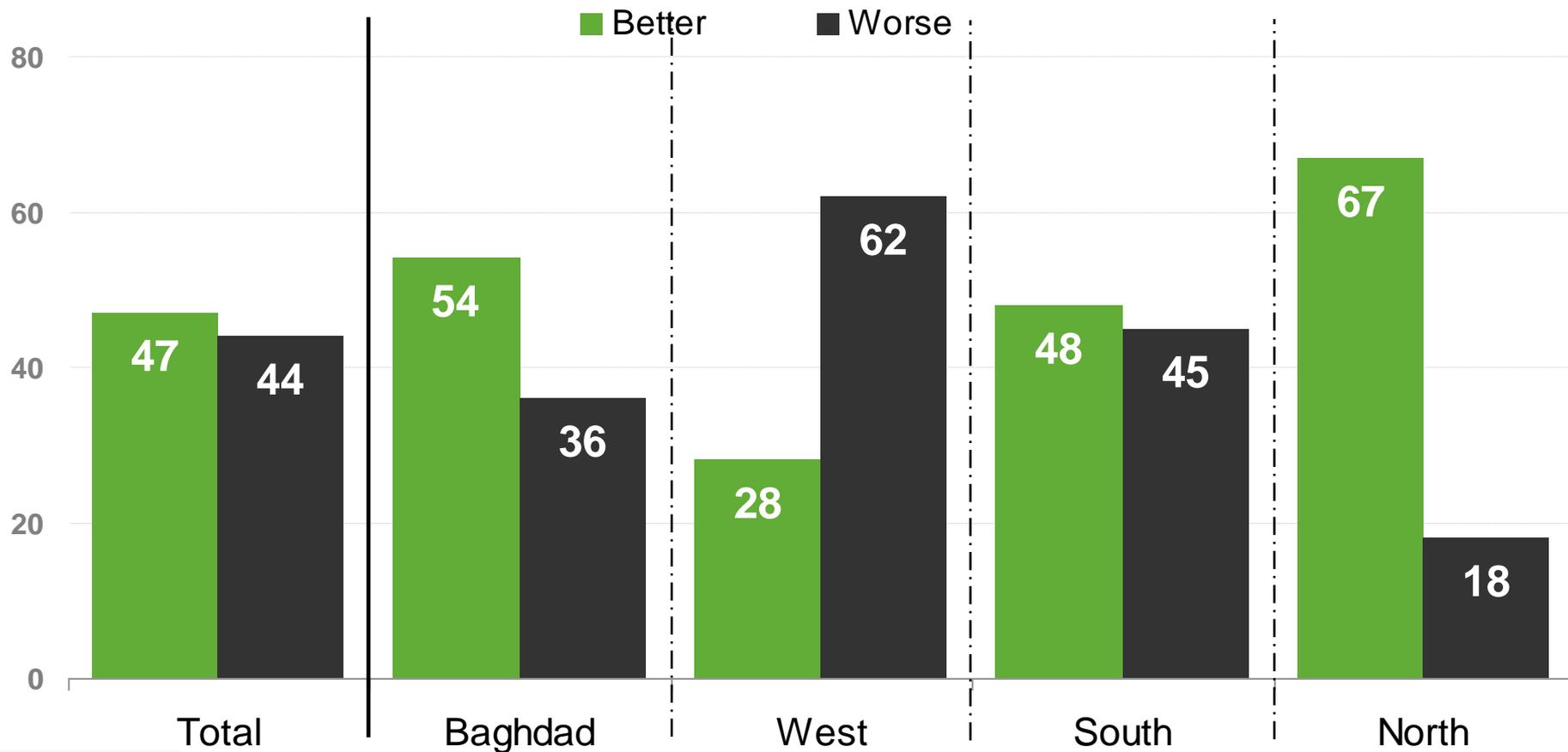
Foreign help for oil industry; develop non-oil industries

Now I am going to read a list of things some people say are needed to improve the economic situation in Iraq. Which of the following TWO things are most needed to improve the economy?



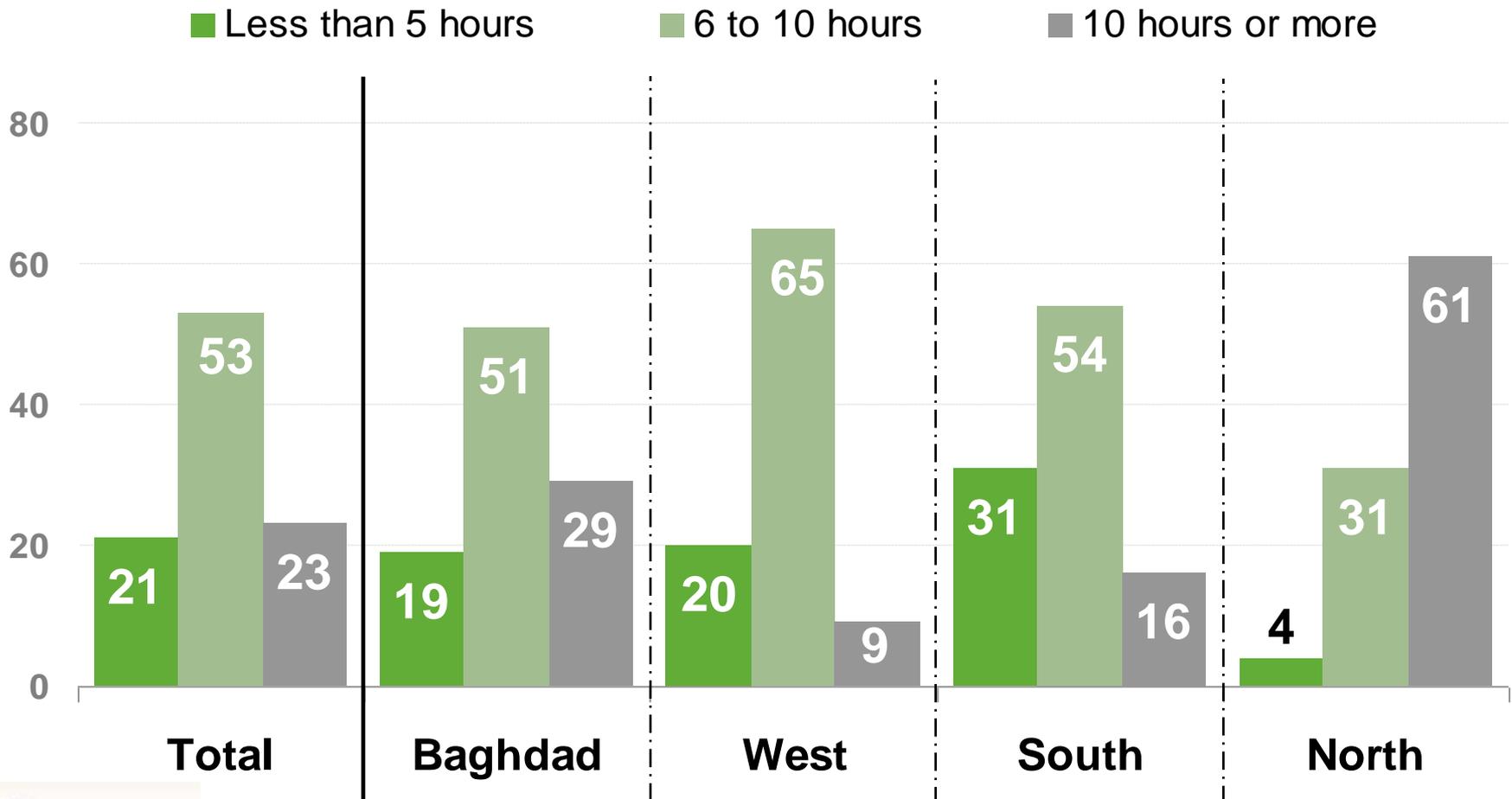
Electricity supply improving

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



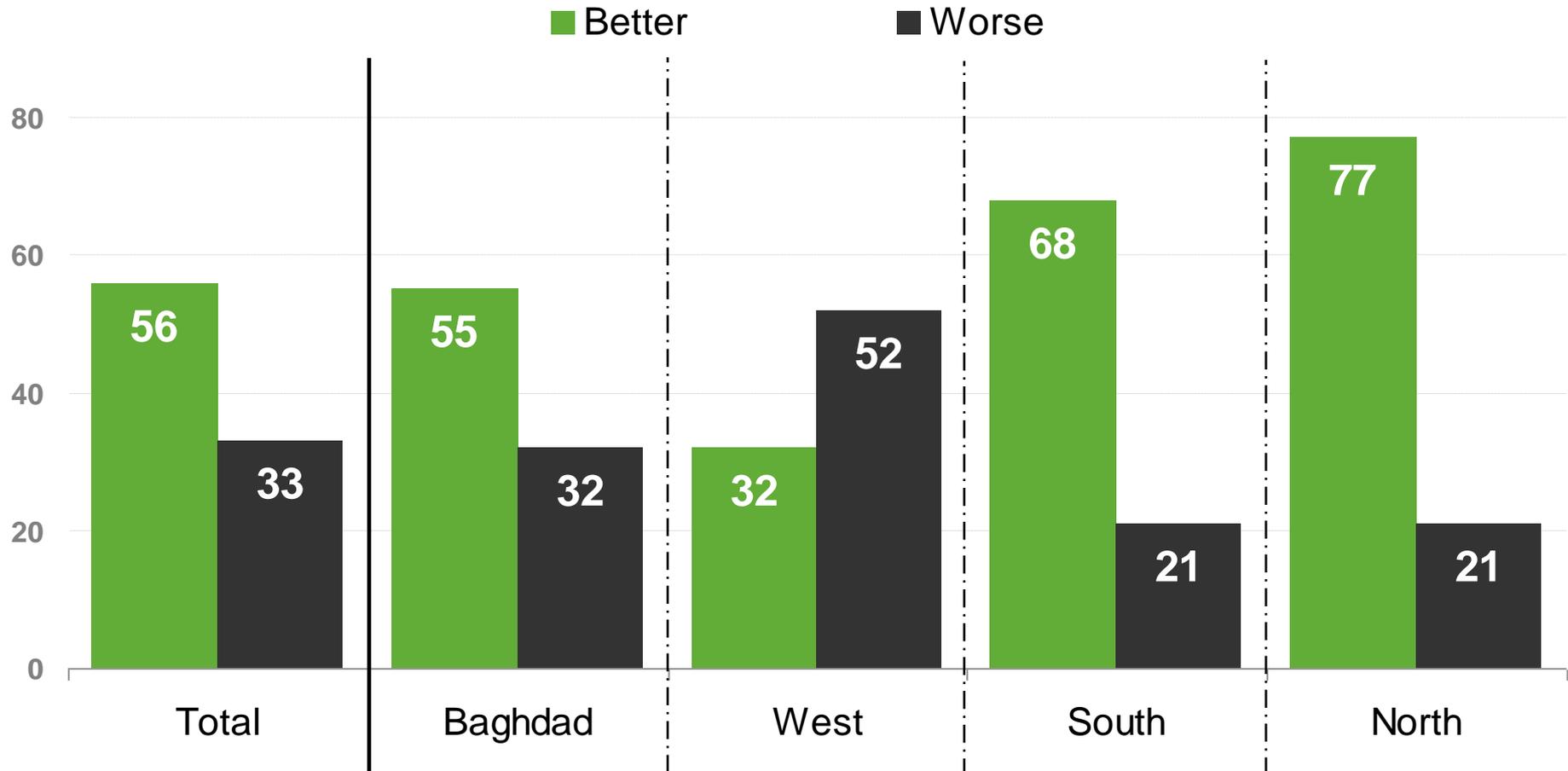
Electricity availability best in the North

On average, how many hours of electricity does your household receive each day from the national grid?



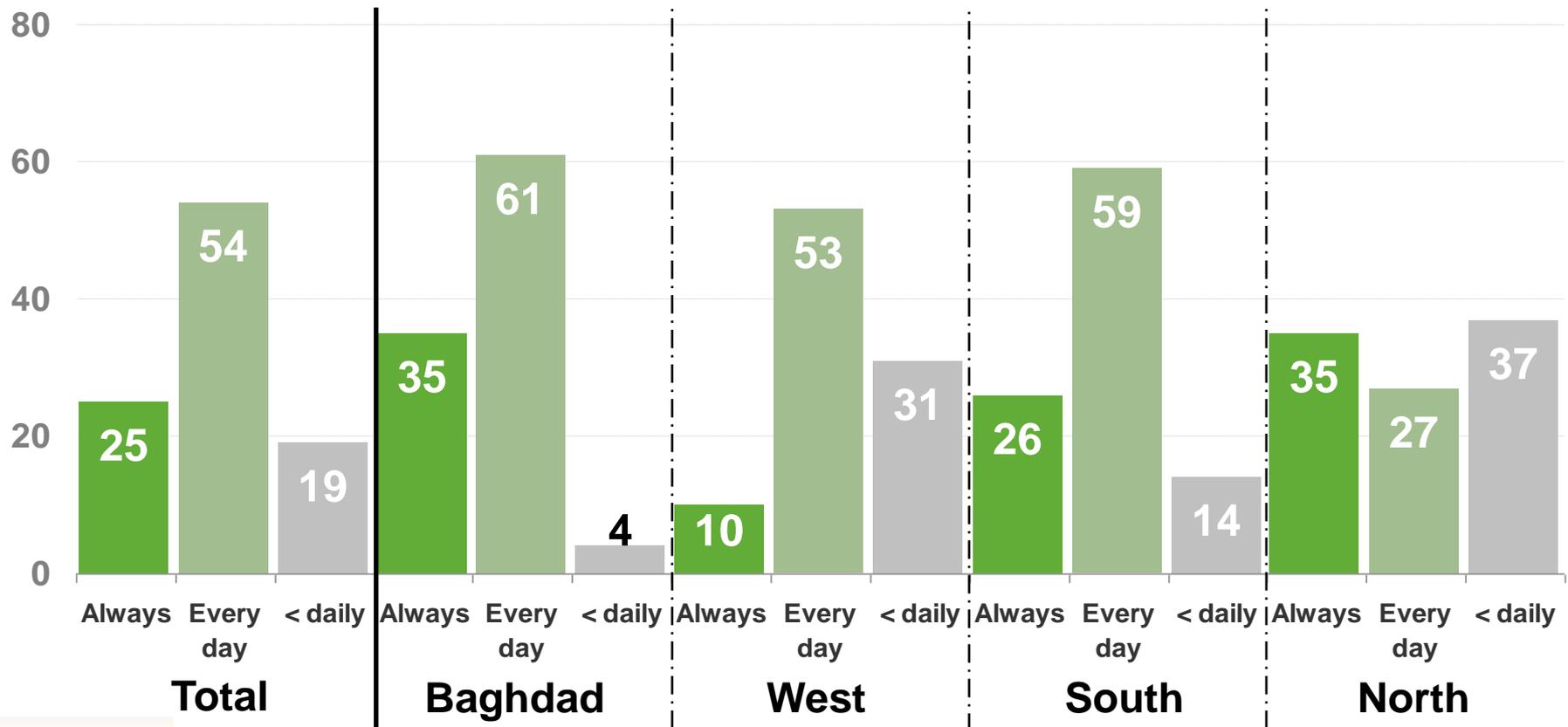
Water supply improving

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



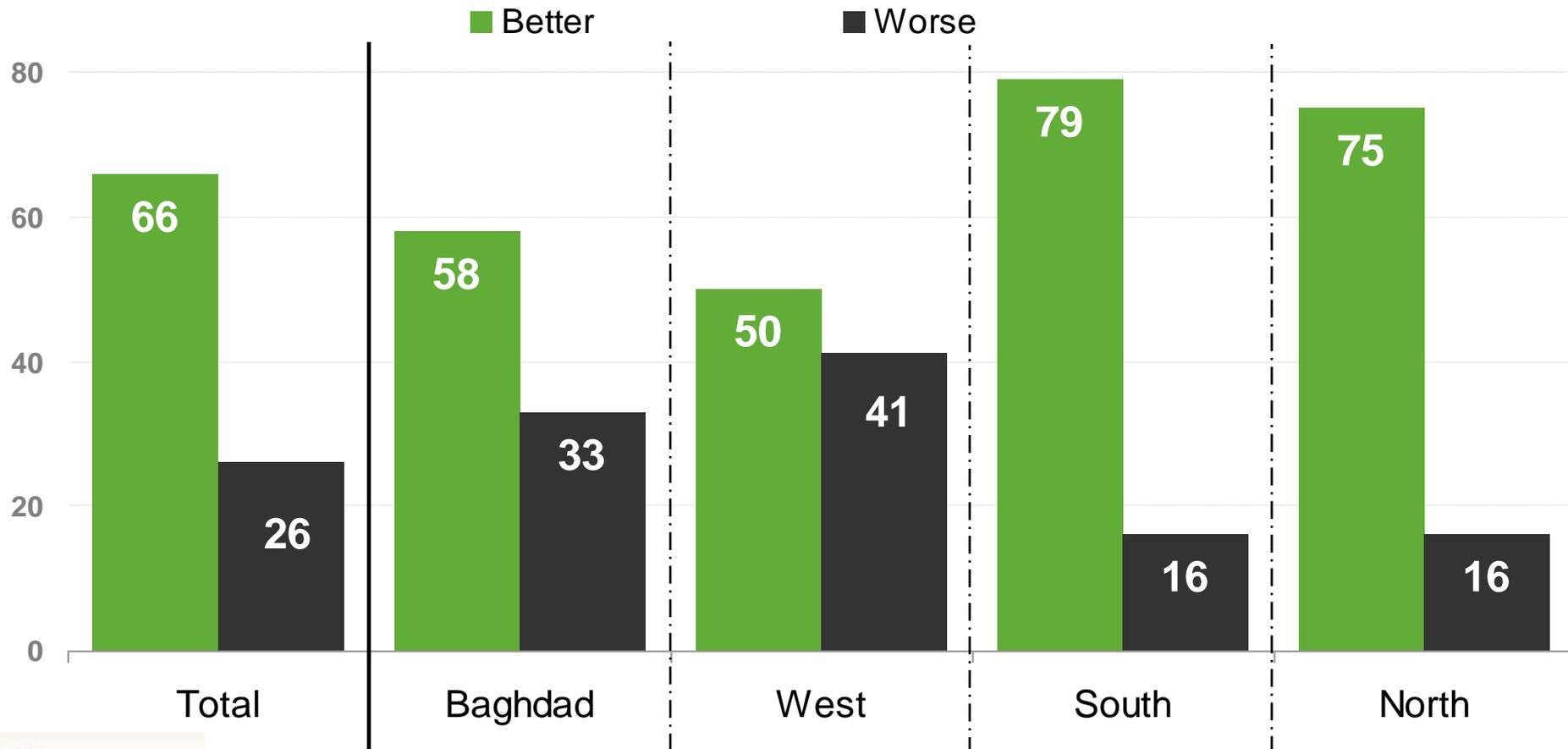
Current water access

How often does your household have access to clean water? Would you say that your household always has access to clean water, most of the time, sometimes, rarely, or do you never have access to clean water?



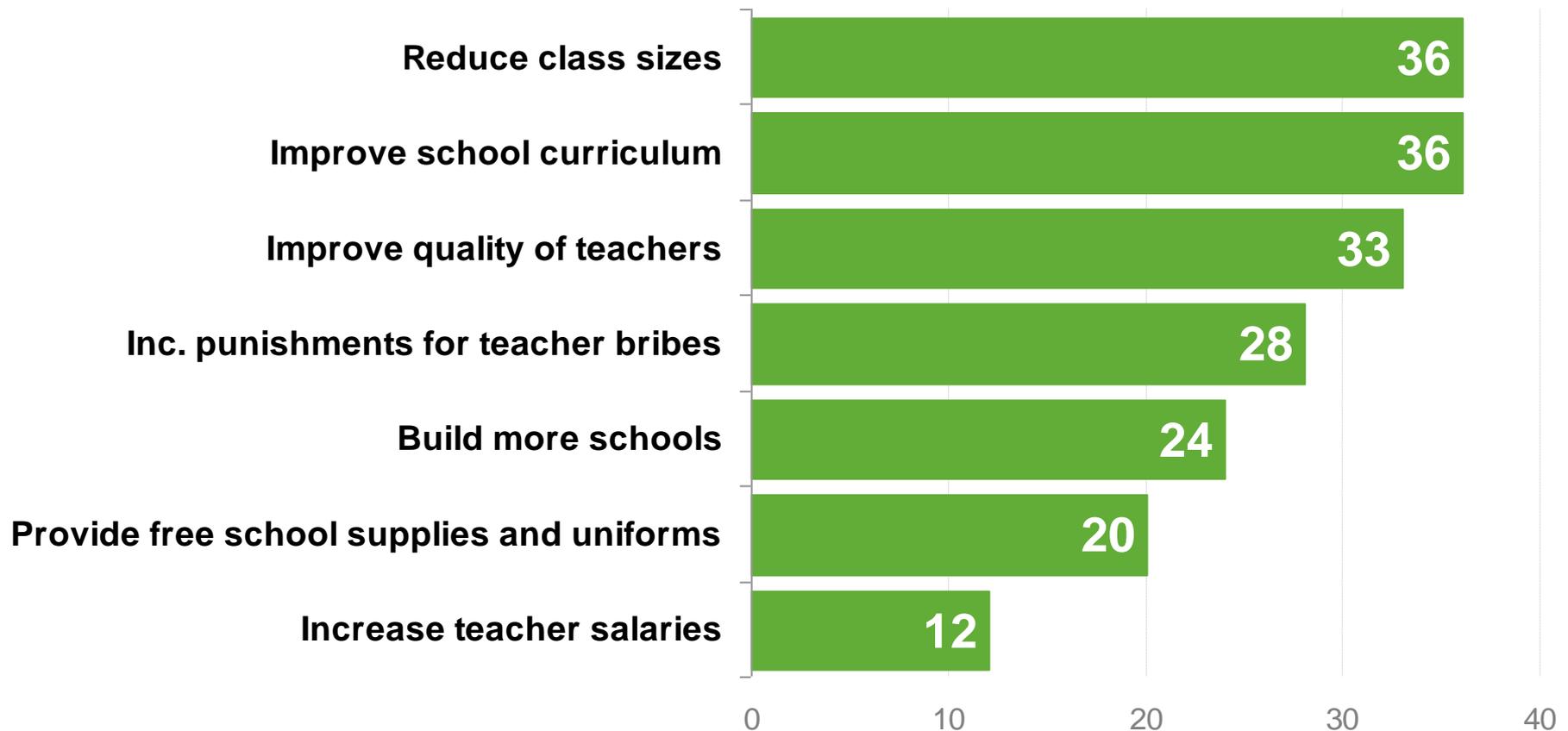
Education shows strong improvement

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



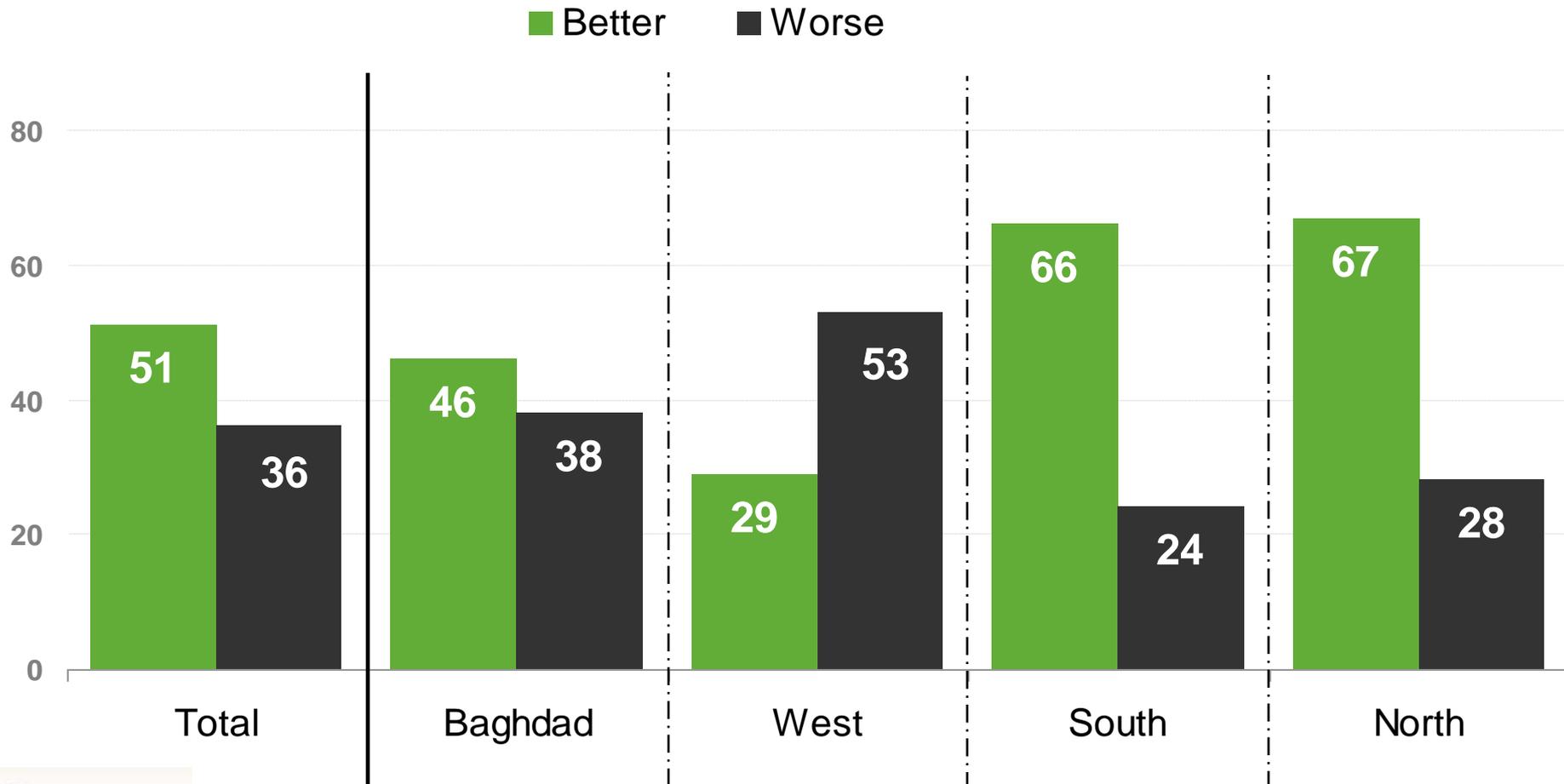
Better and more teachers; improve curriculum

Now I am going to read a list of things some people say are needed to improve education in Iraq. Which of the following TWO things are most needed to improve education?



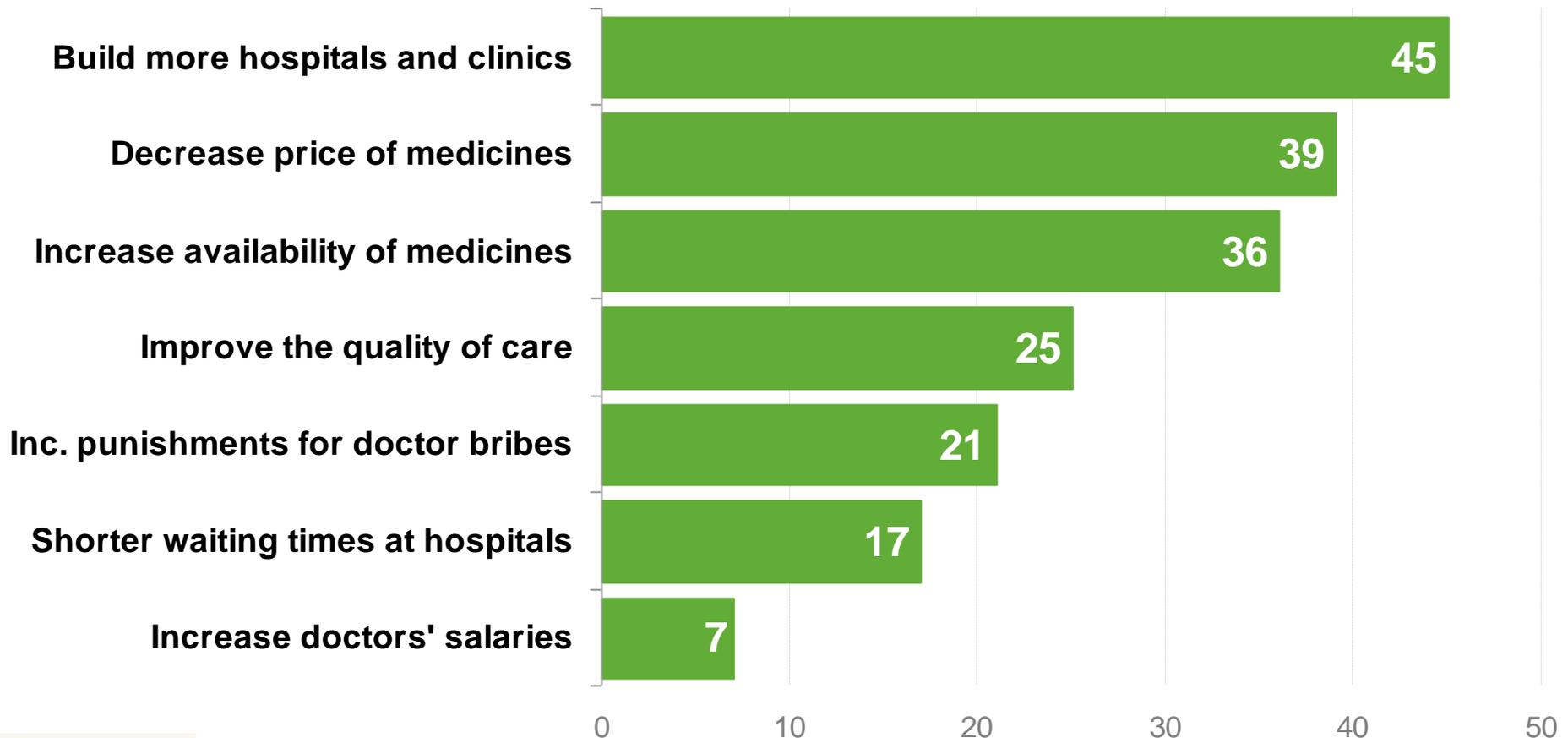
Health care shows strong improvement

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



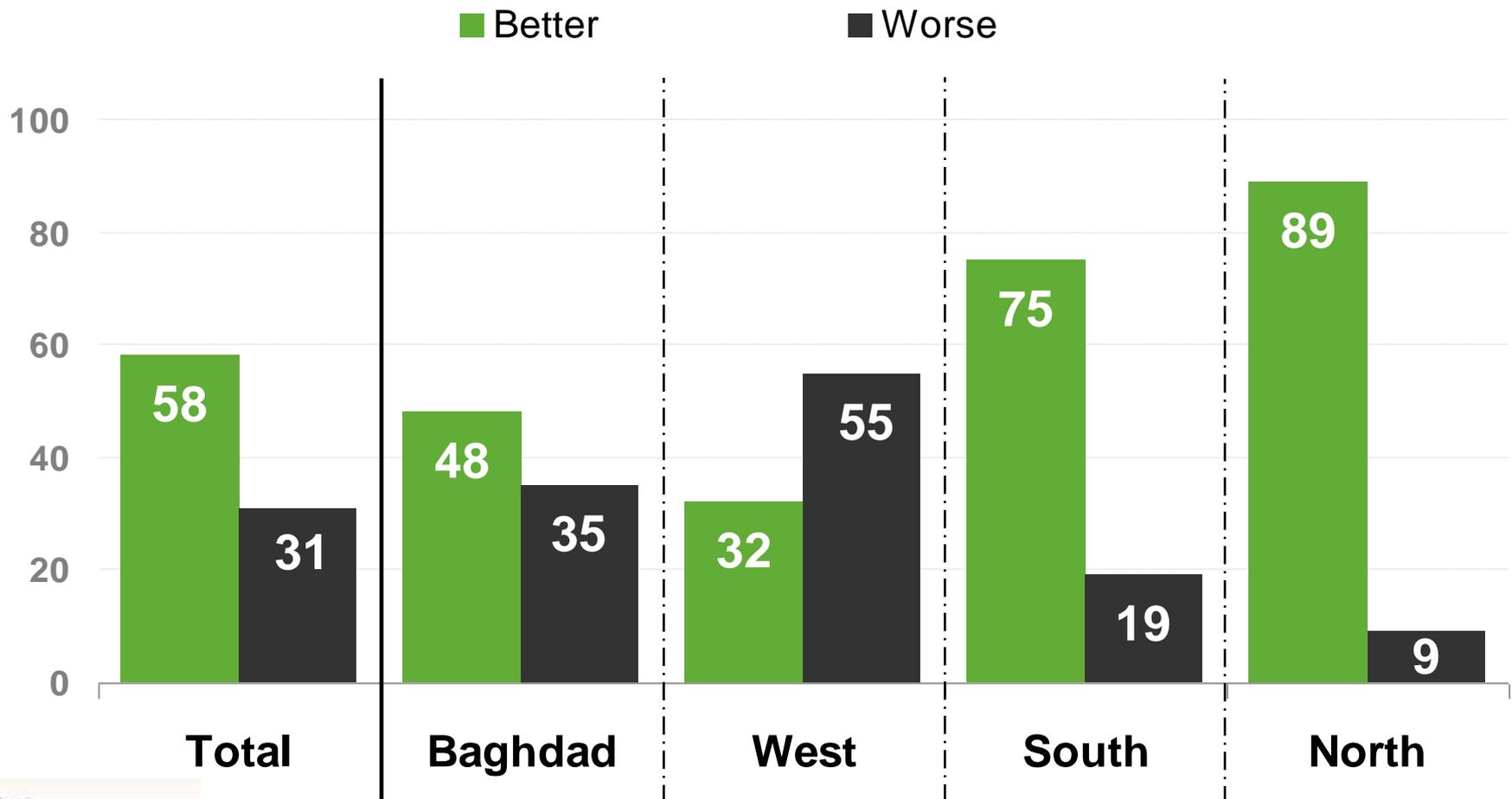
More hospital and clinics; better access to medication

Now I am going to read a list of things some people say are needed to improve health care in Iraq. Which of the following TWO things are most needed to improve health care?



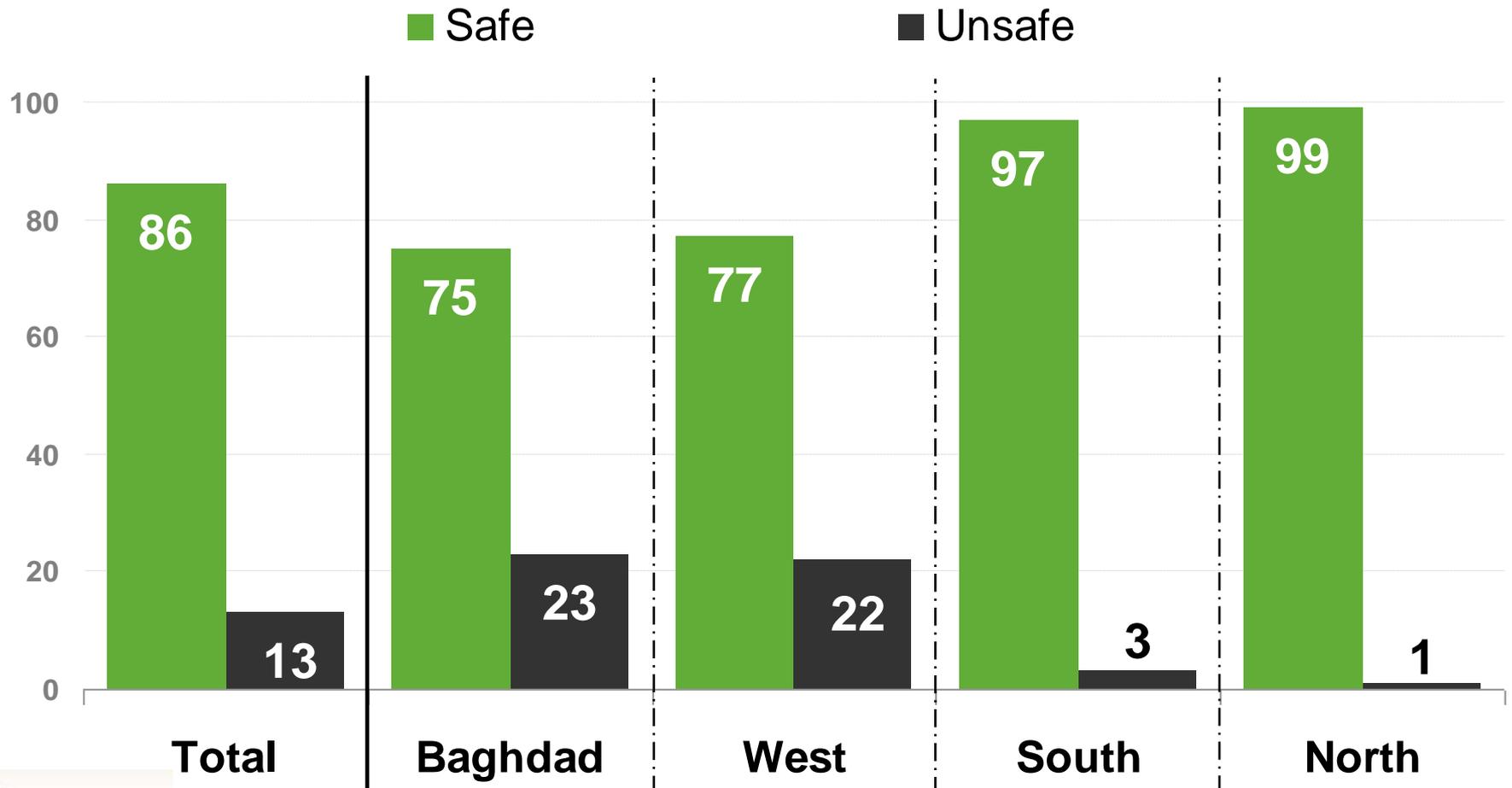
Majorities in South and North see security improving

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



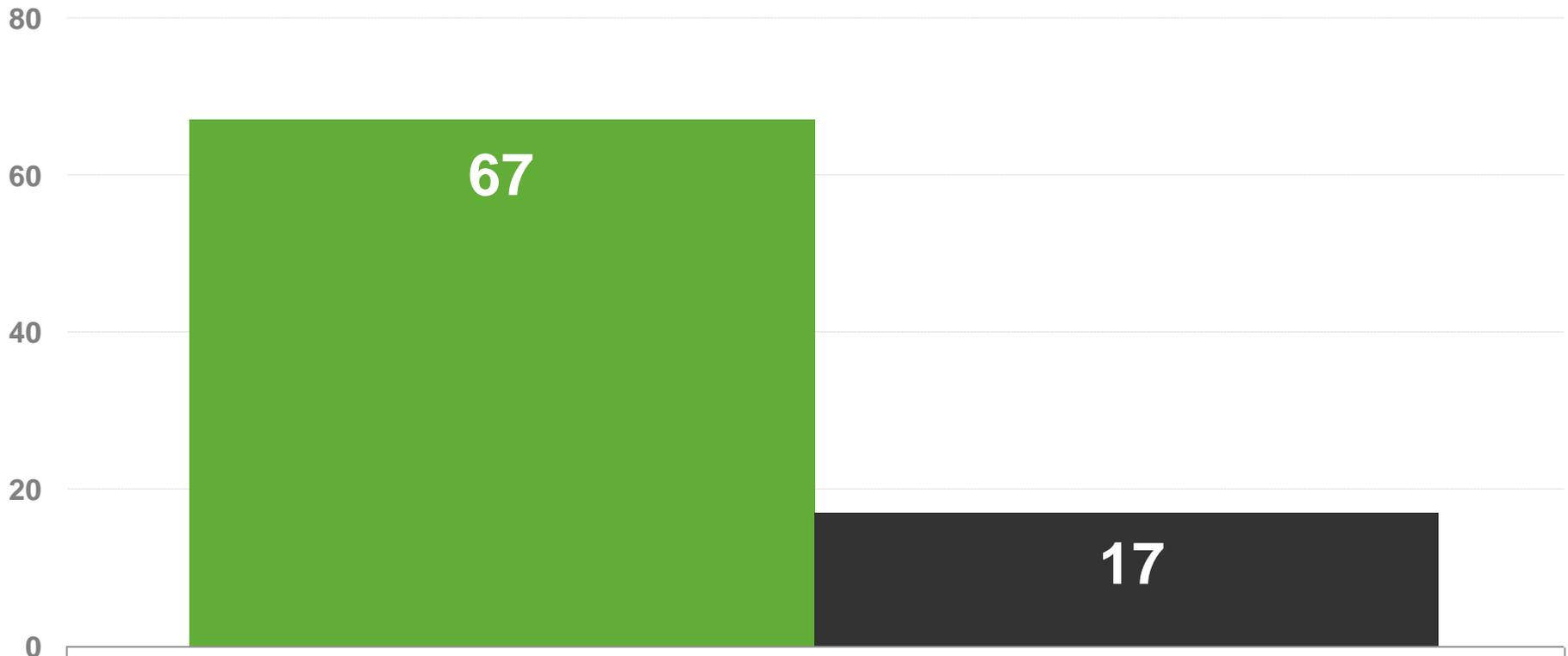
Most Iraqis feel safe in their neighborhoods

Generally, speaking, do you feel safe or unsafe in your neighborhood?



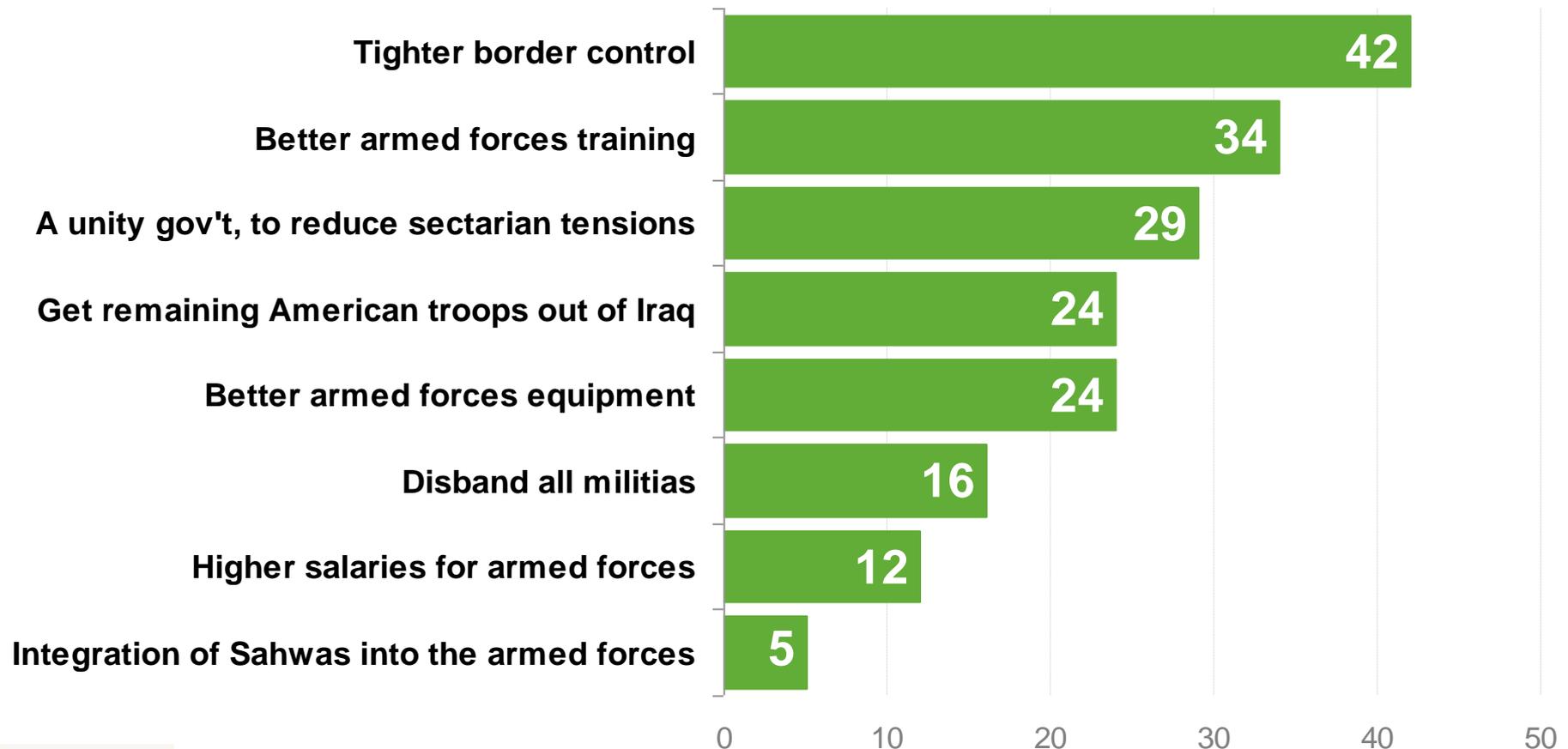
Strong majority think U.S. withdrawal will improve security

- Security will improve when the American military leaves.
- Security will deteriorate with the departure of the American military.



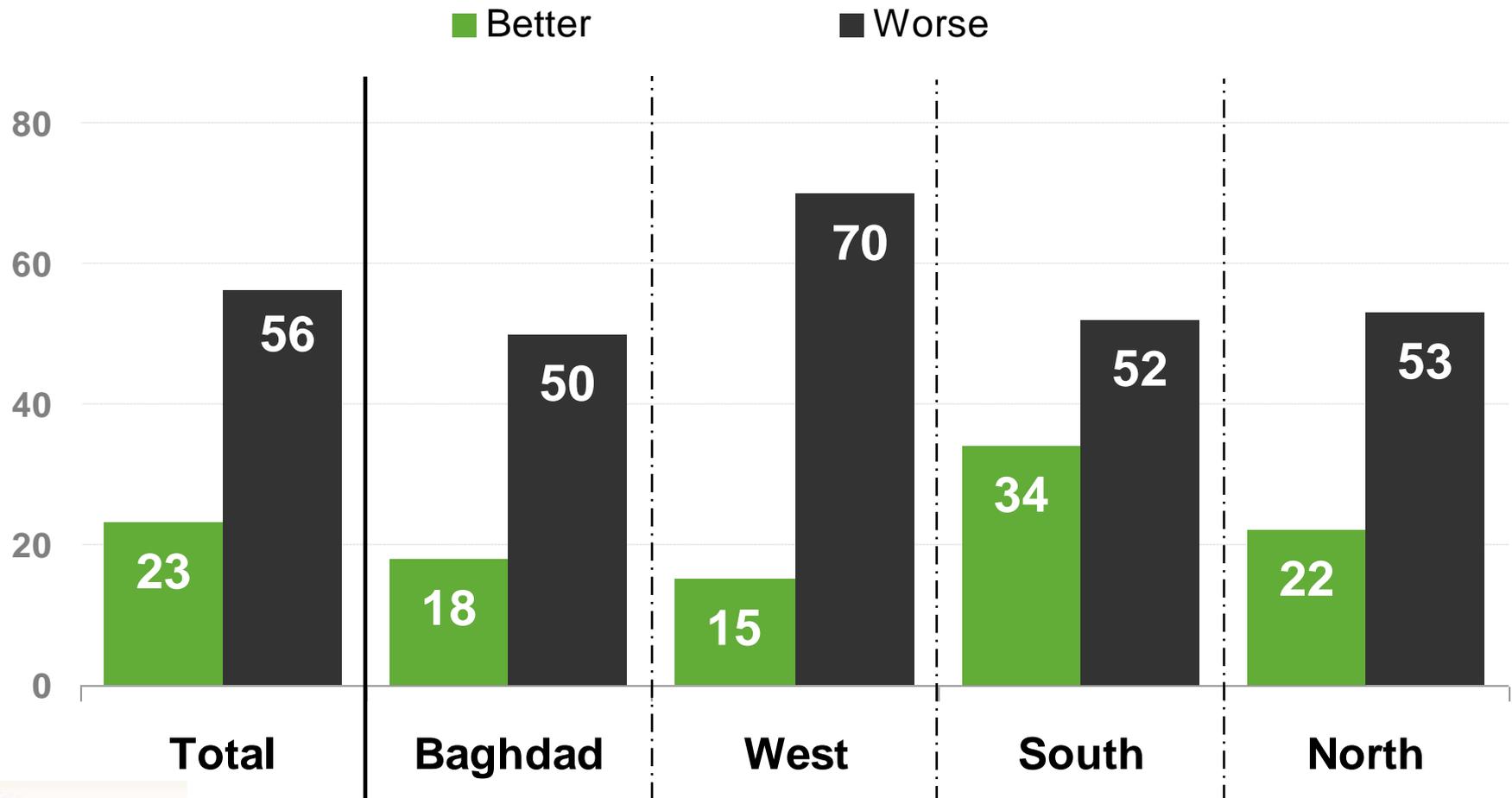
Tighter borders and better training will improve security

Now I am going to read a list of things some people say are needed to improve the security situation in Iraq. Which of the following TWO things are most needed to improve security?



Corruption is widespread

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



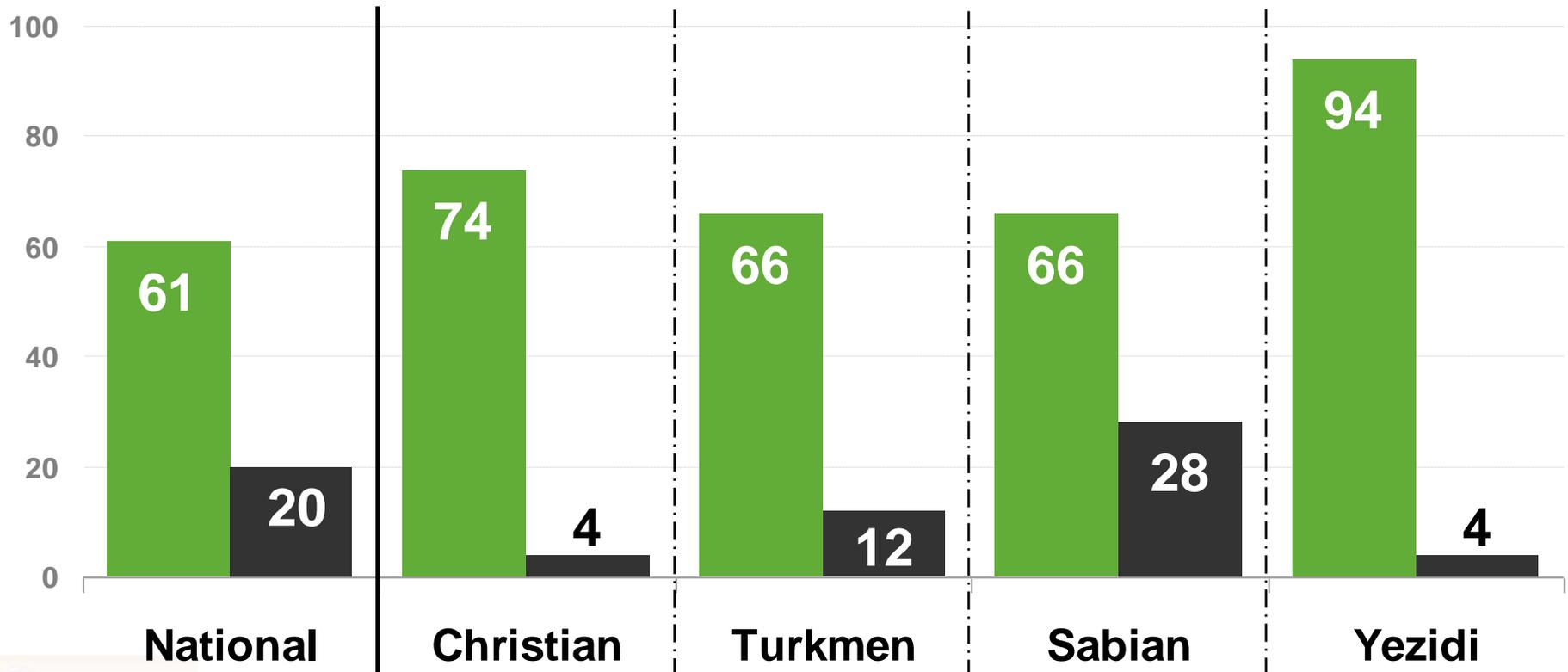
Research Methodology

- **Minority oversample: November 7 – 14, 2010**
 - 1,200 face-to-face interviews of adults minorities 18 years old and over
 - 400 interviews of Christians in Bagdad, Basra, and Ninewa (+/- 4.9% MoE)
 - 400 interviews of Turkmen in Ninewa and Kirkuk (+/- 4.9% MoE)
 - 200 interviews of Sabians in Baghdad, Basra, and Thi-Qar (+/- 6.9% MoE)
 - 200 interviews of Yezidi in Ninewa (+/- 6.9% MoE)

- **Focus groups: September 22 – September 27, 2010**
 - 4 focus groups: pro-Kurd Christian (Erbil), pro-Arab Christian (Mosul), Yezidis (Erbil), and Sabians (Baghdad)
 - Groups were homogenous based on ethnicity, religion, gender, age, and education

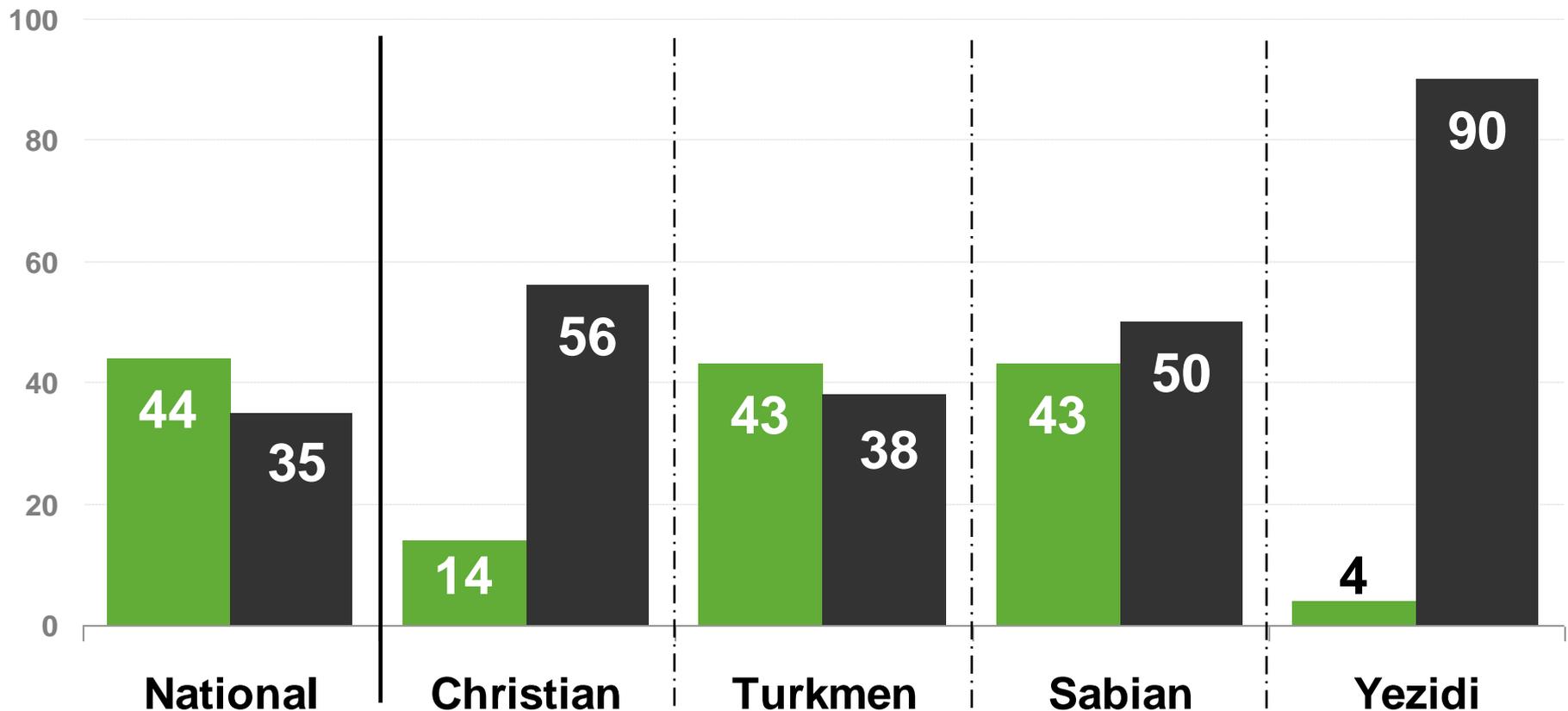
Democracy likely to improve minorities' quality of life

- Making Iraq more democratic will likely improve services and our quality of life.
- Making Iraq more democratic would likely make services worse and hurt our quality of life.



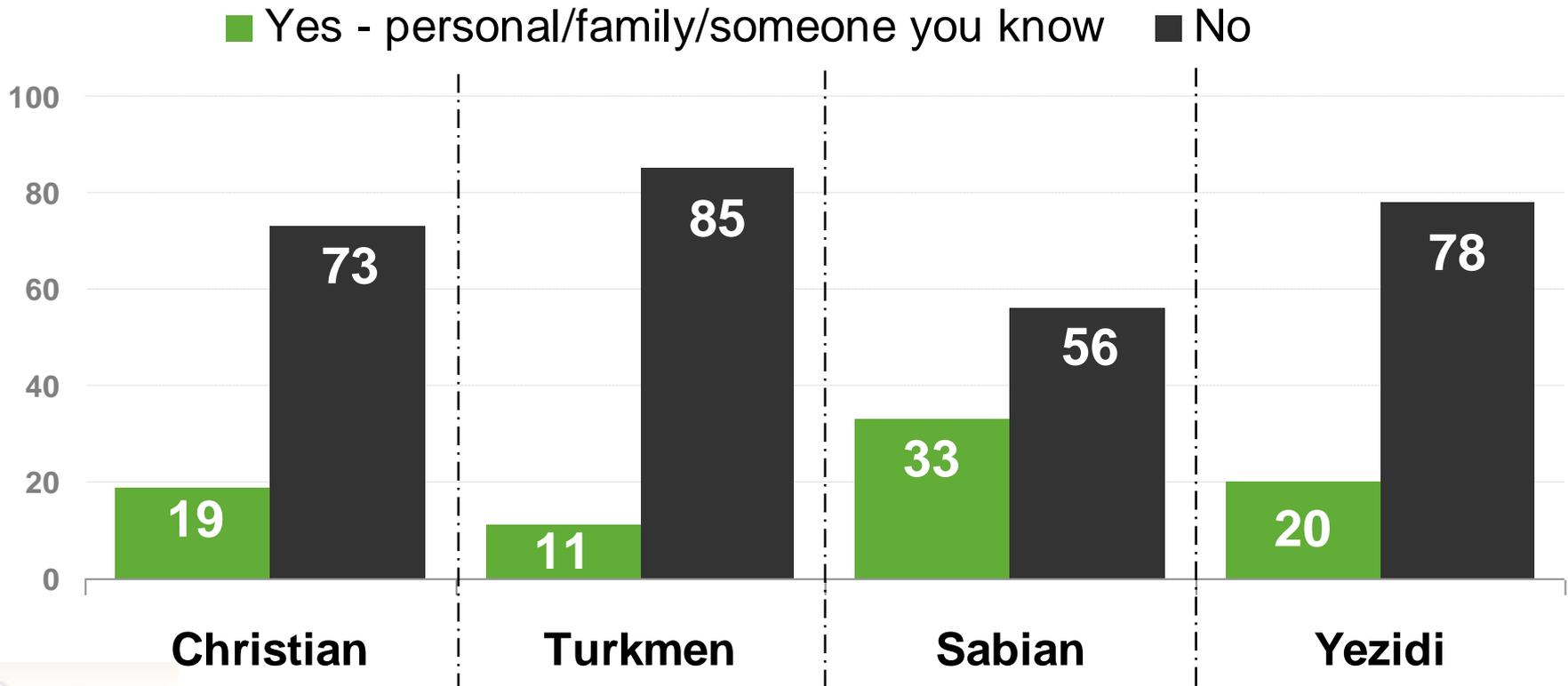
Most minorities do not believe Iraq is a real democracy

■ Iraq today is a real democracy. ■ Iraq today is not a real democracy.



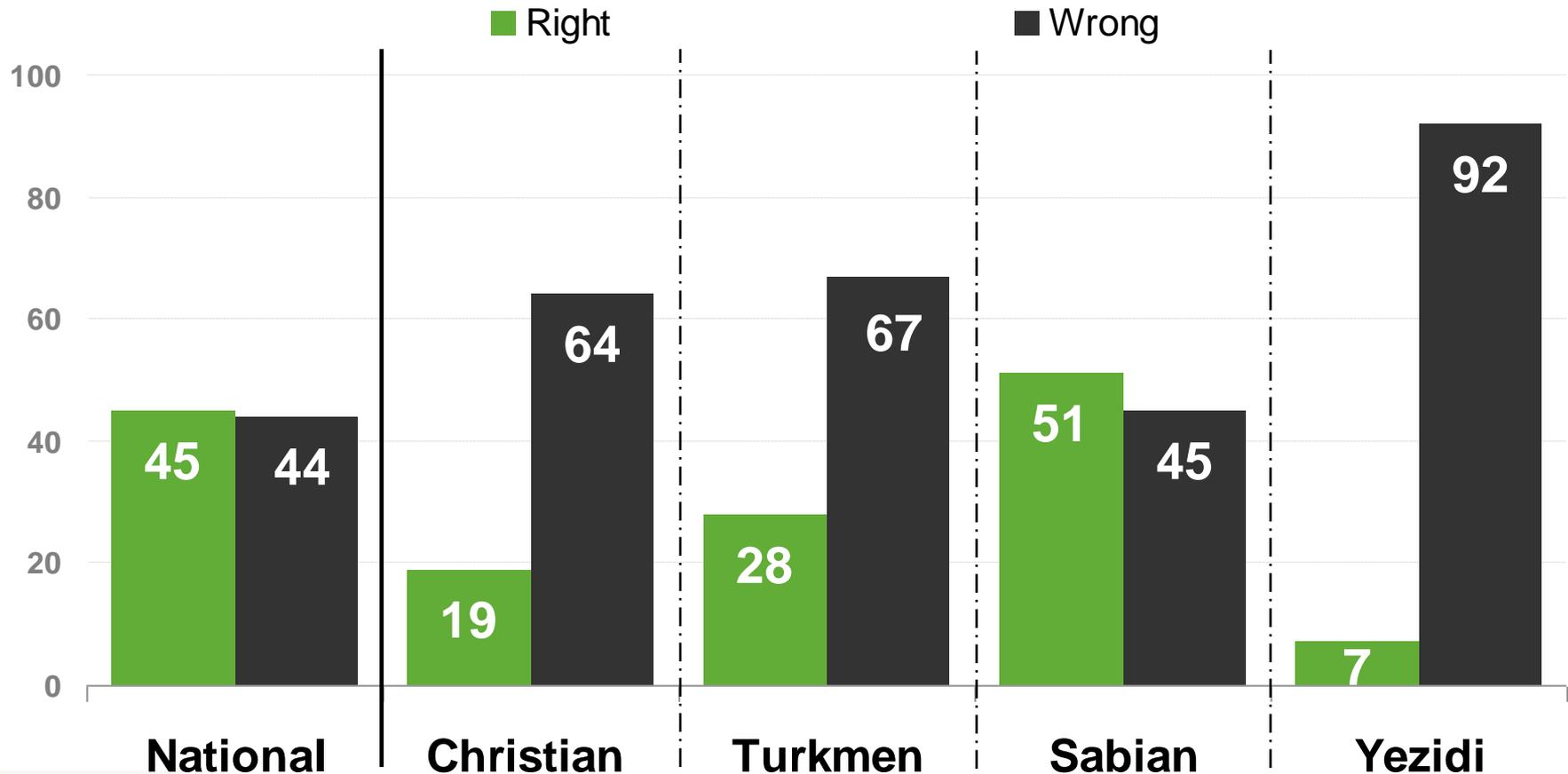
Denial of political rights varies among minority groups

Please tell me if you have directly experienced **being denied political rights, like voting**, if someone in your family has directly experienced this type of discrimination, if someone you know well - like a friend, neighbor or coworker - has experienced this type of discrimination, or if no one you know well has experienced it.



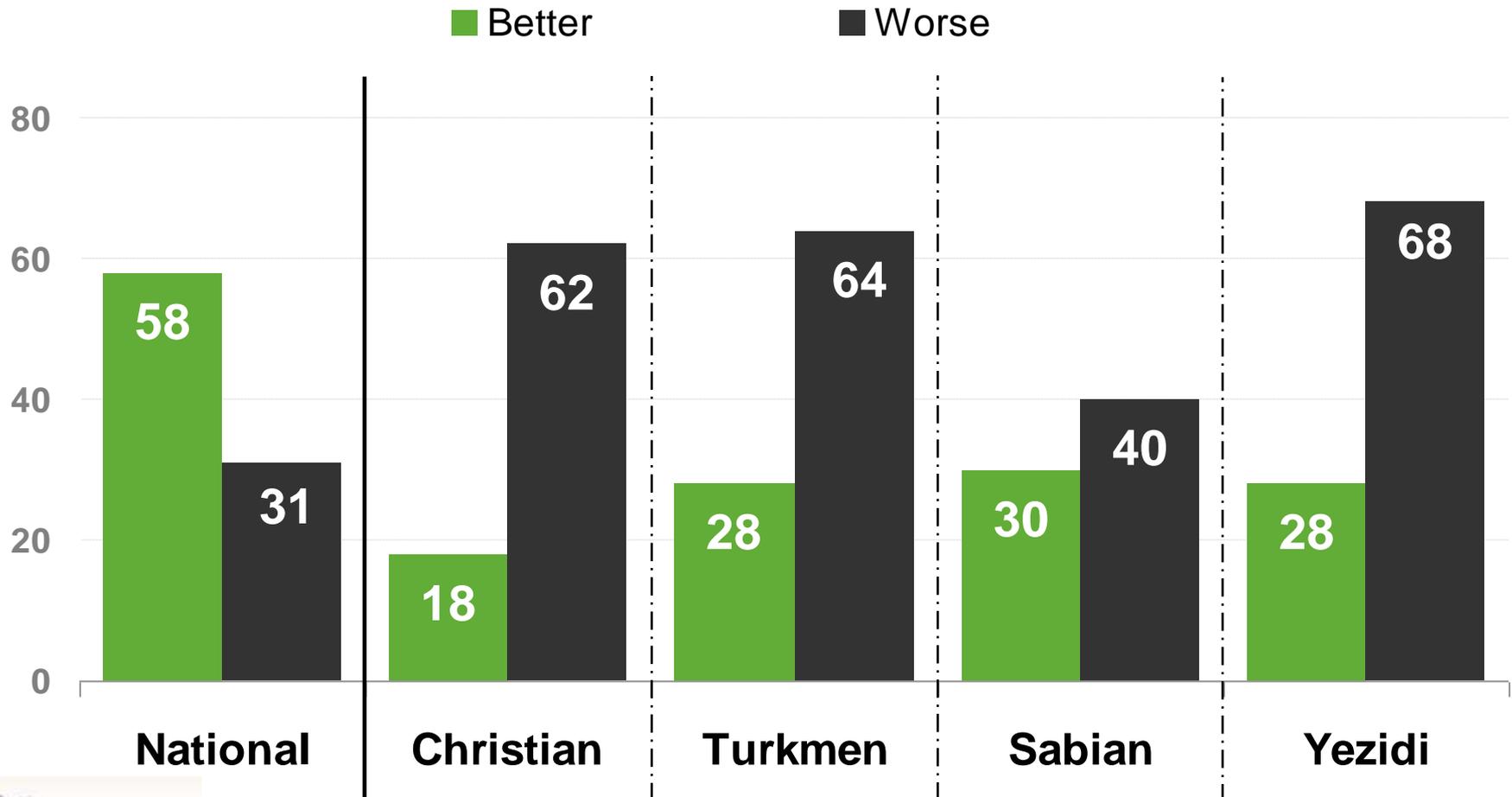
Minority groups less optimistic about the country's direction

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?



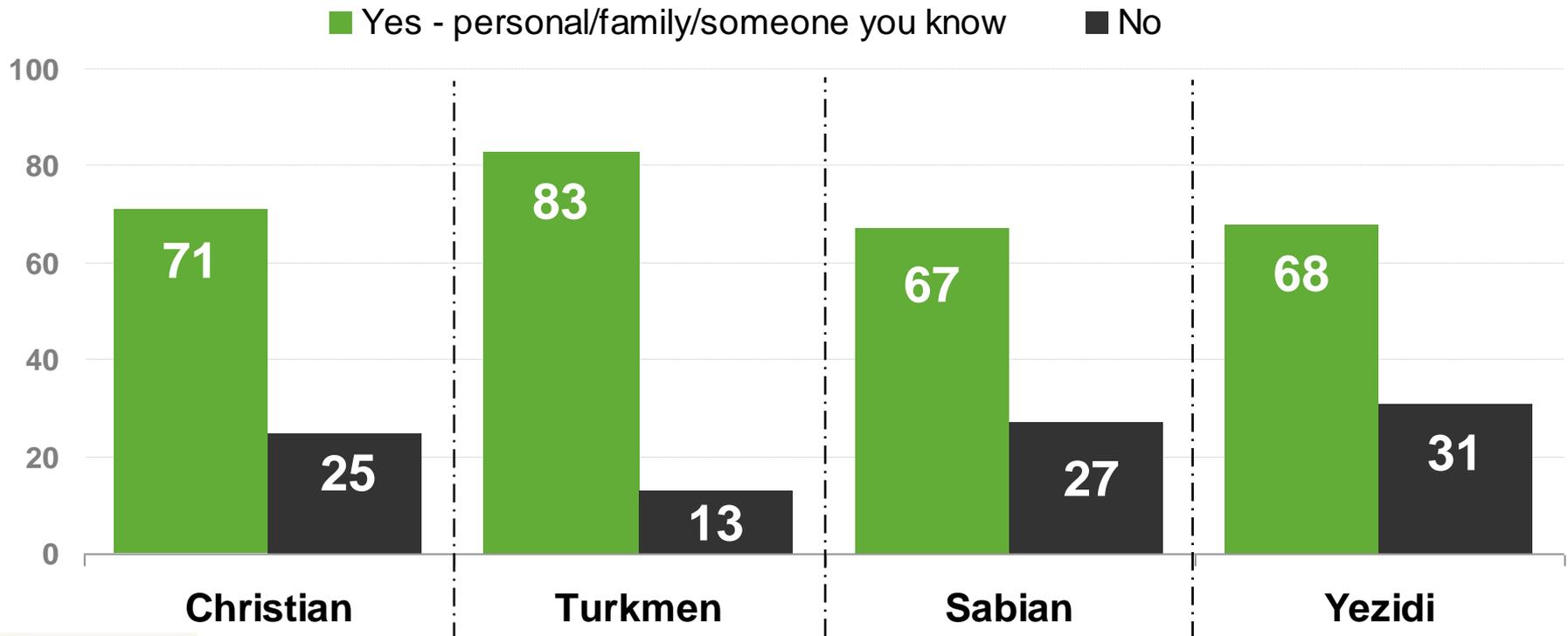
Compared to rest of Iraq, minorities see worsening security

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think **security** is getting better or worse in Iraq.



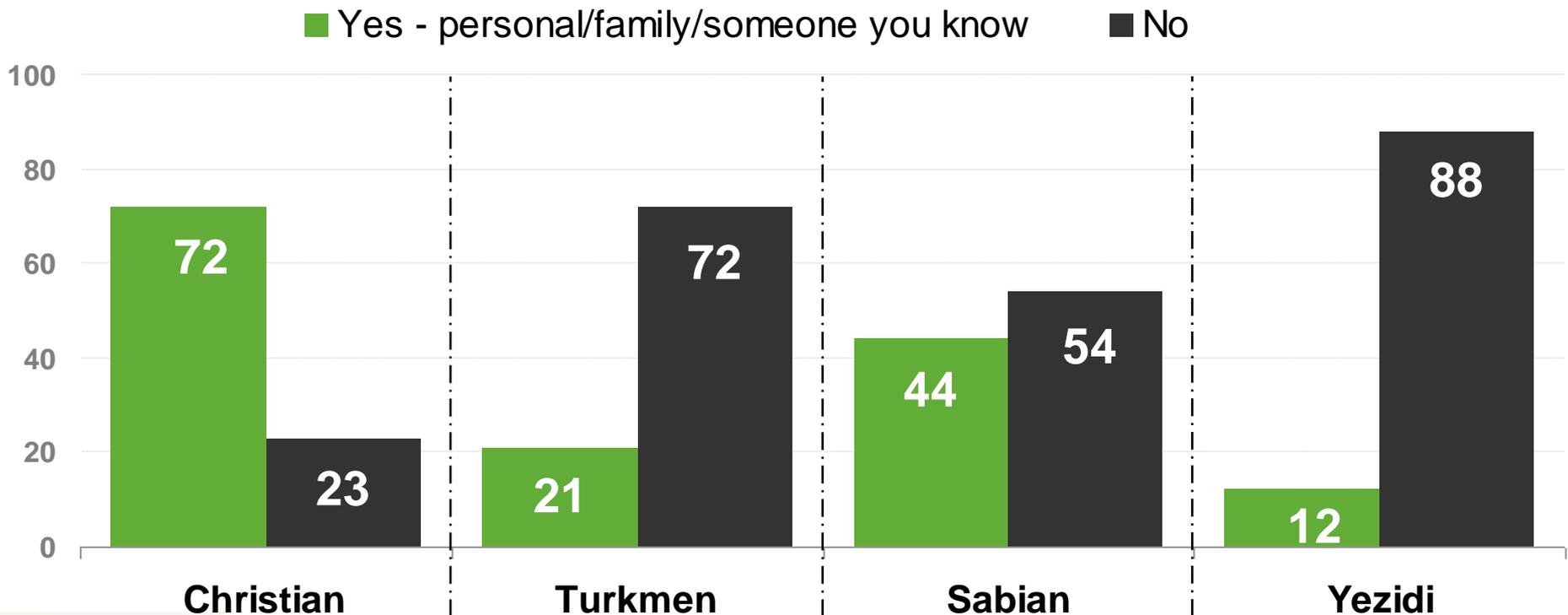
Uncomfortable outside own neighborhood

Please tell me if you have directly experienced **feeling uncomfortable outside your neighborhood**, if someone in your family has directly experienced this type of discrimination, if someone you know well - like a friend, neighbor or coworker - has experienced this type of discrimination, or if no one you know well has experienced it.



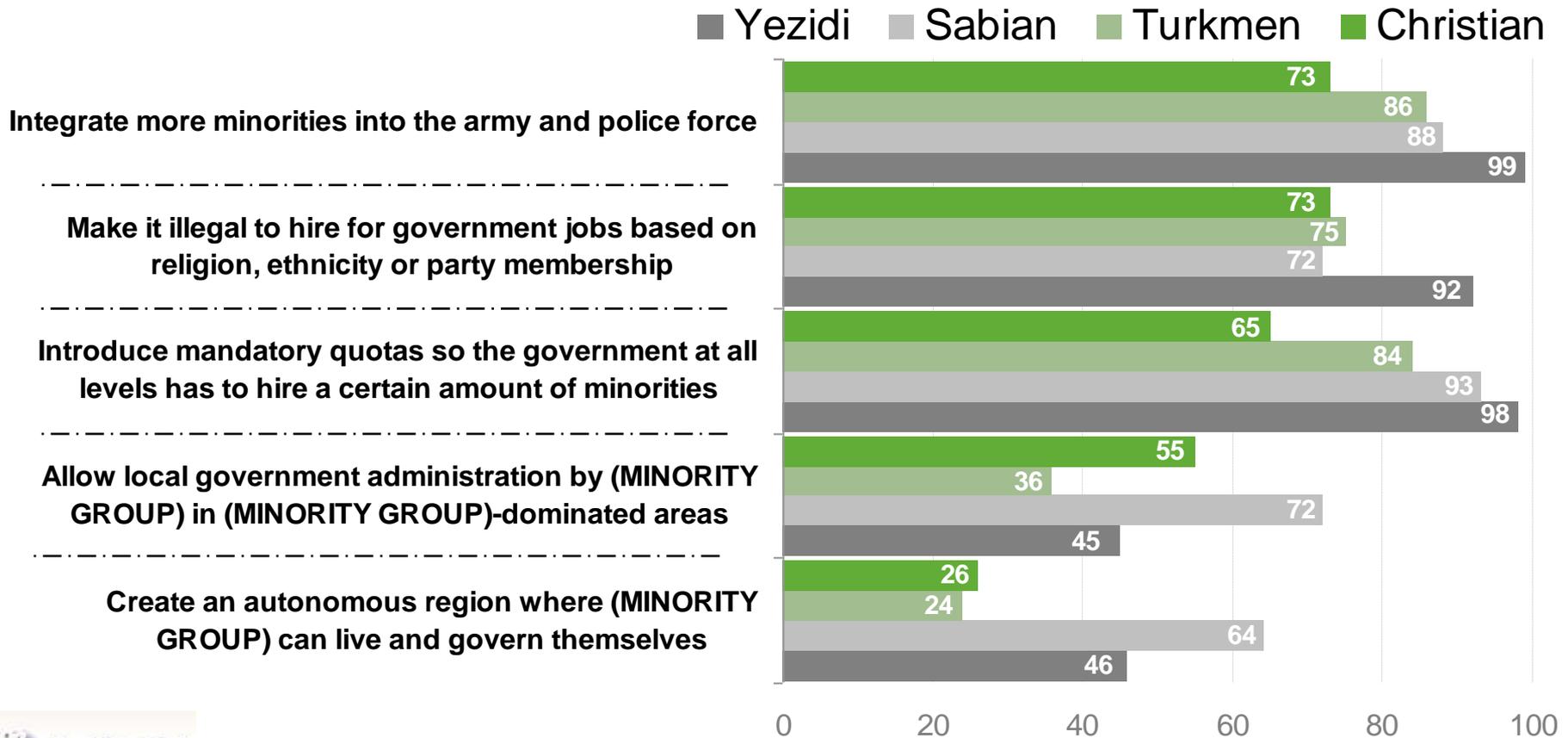
Physically attacked

Please tell me if you have directly **been physically attacked** this type of discrimination, if someone in your family has directly experienced this type of discrimination, if someone you know well - like a friend, neighbor or coworker - has experienced this type of discrimination, or if no one you know well has experienced it.



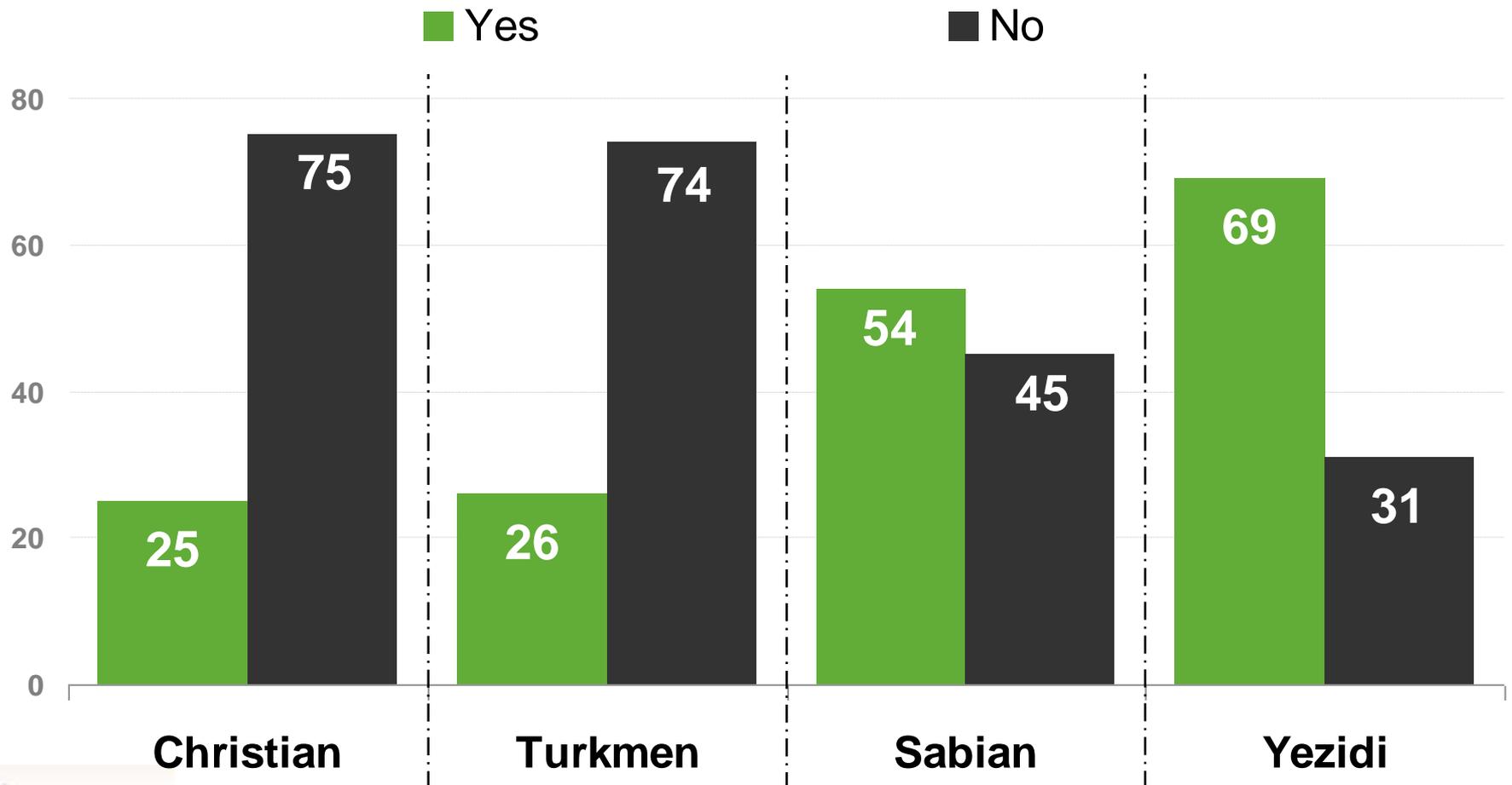
Minority integration into armed forces strongest proposal

I would like to read you a list of some policies the government might enact. After each one, please tell me whether this policy, if enacted, would make you more likely to support the new government, even if the political leaders and parties you support are not in the government. [percent approve]



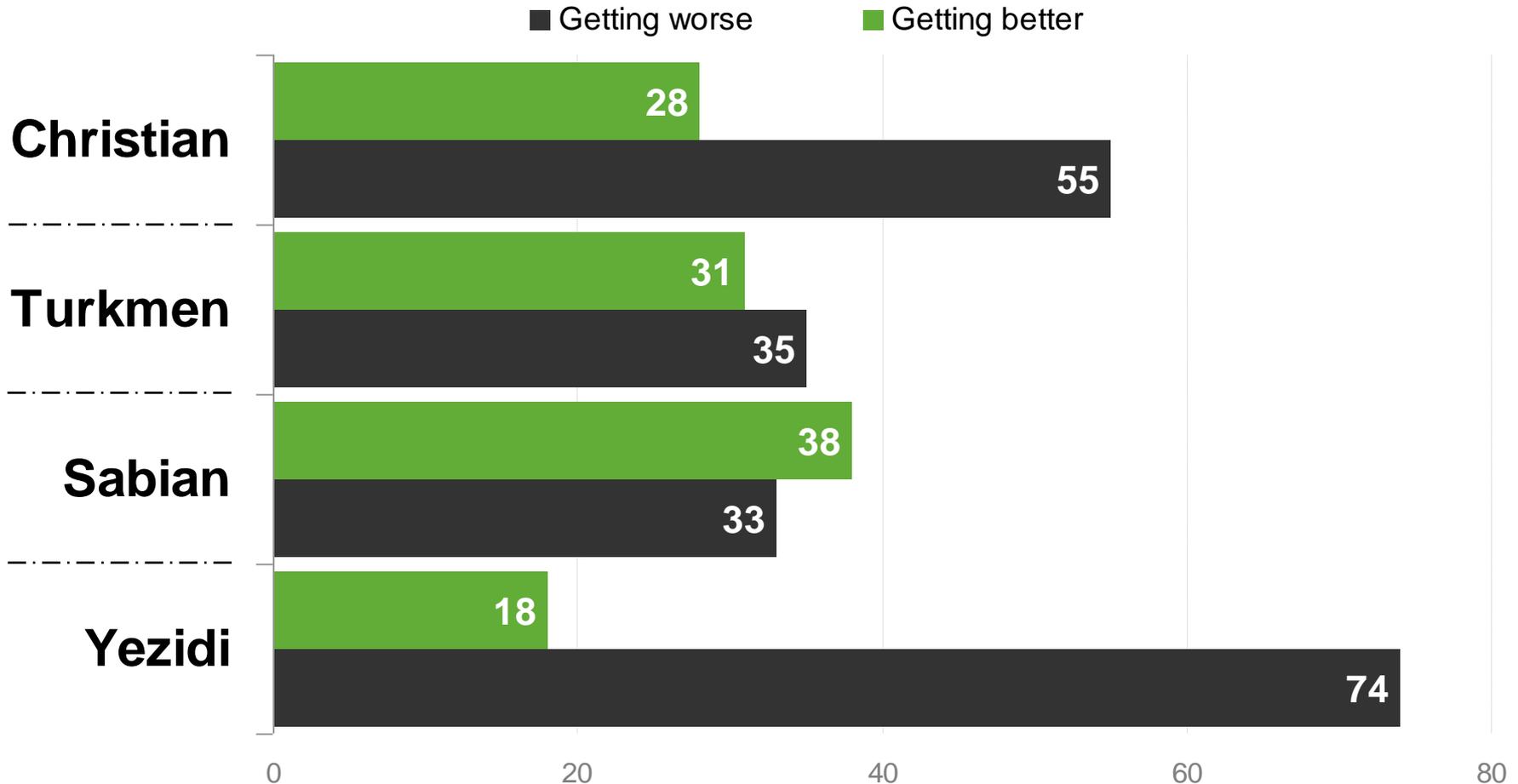
Many minorities have been discriminated against

Have you or anyone in your family been discriminated against due to your ethnicity or religious beliefs?



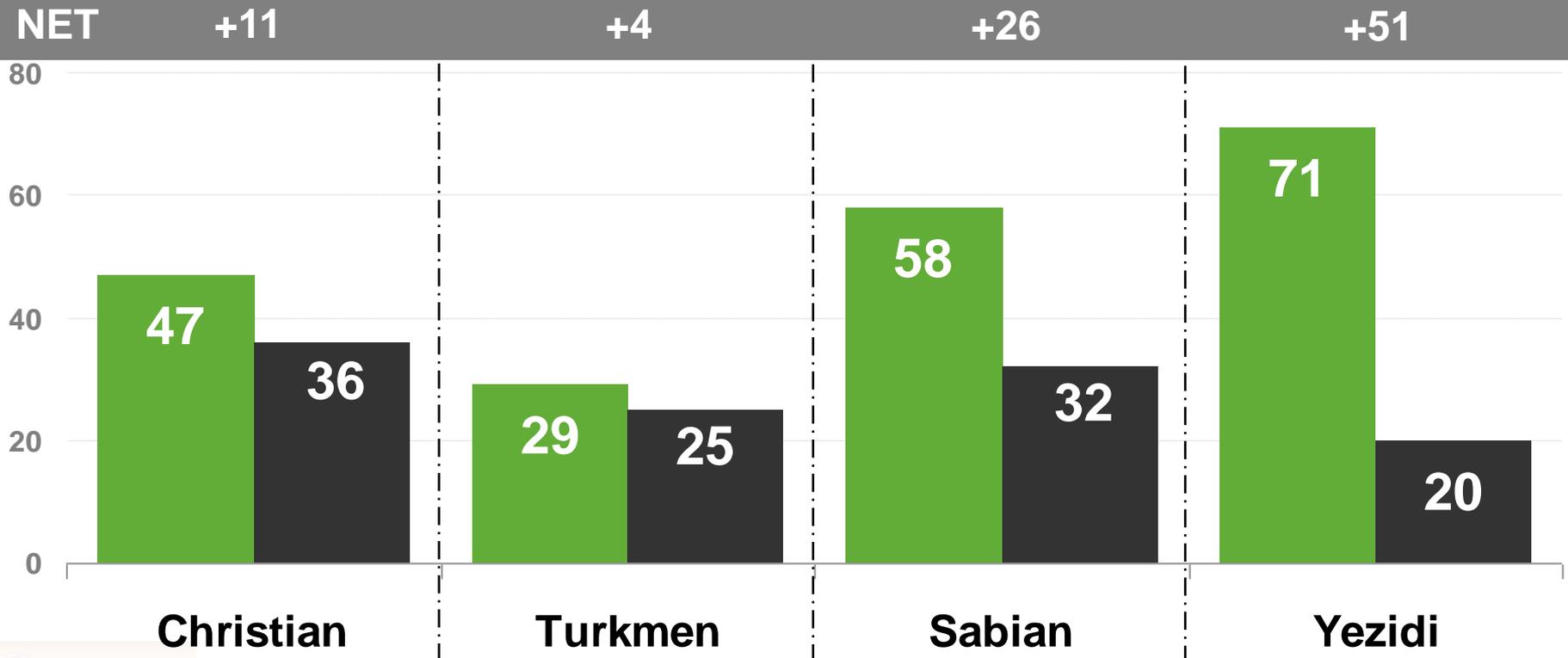
And most see conditions for minorities as getting worse

Please tell me if you think **conditions for minorities** are getting better or worse in Iraq.



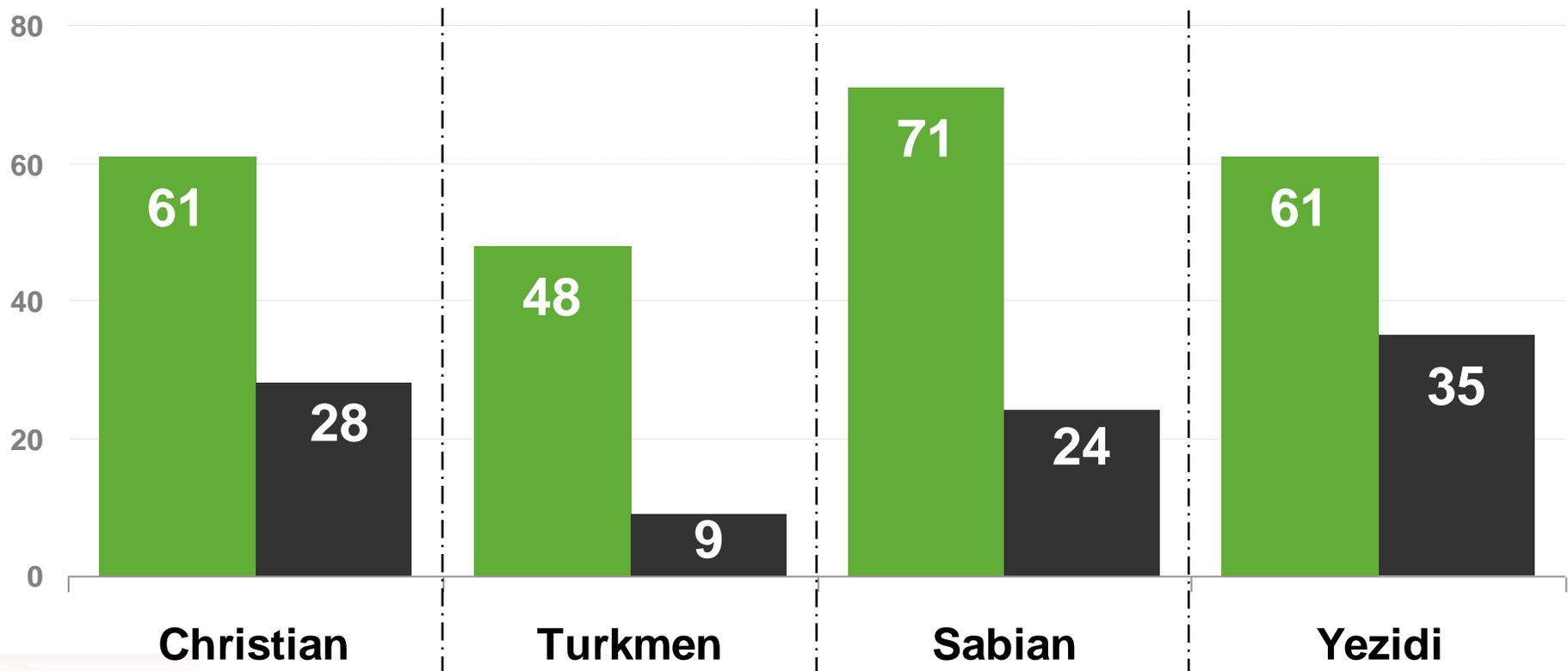
But fewer think that minority rights will *never* improve

- Minority rights are likely to improve in the near future.
- Minority rights will never improve in Iraq.



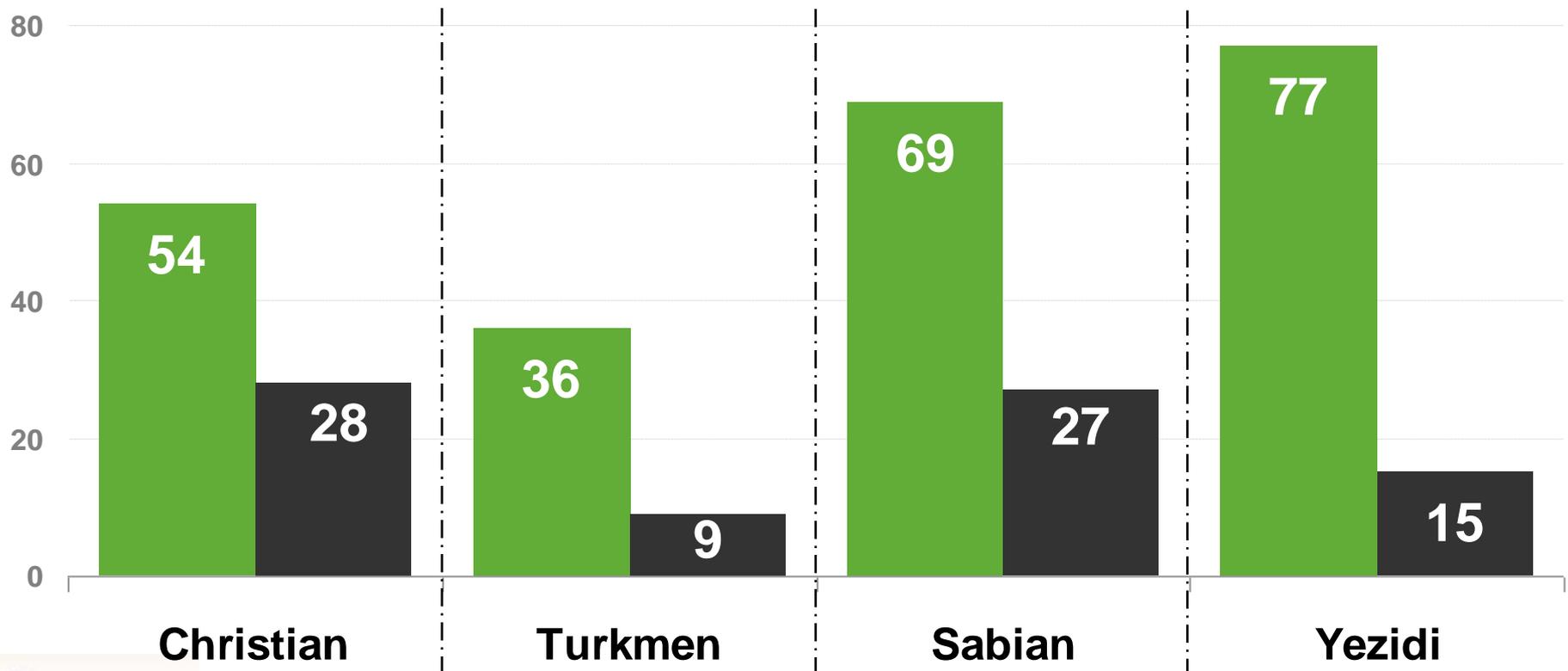
Most minorities see Iraq as a good place to raise their family

- Generally speaking, Iraq is a good place to raise a (MINORITY GROUP) family.
- Generally speaking, Iraq is a difficult place to raise a (MINORITY GROUP) family.



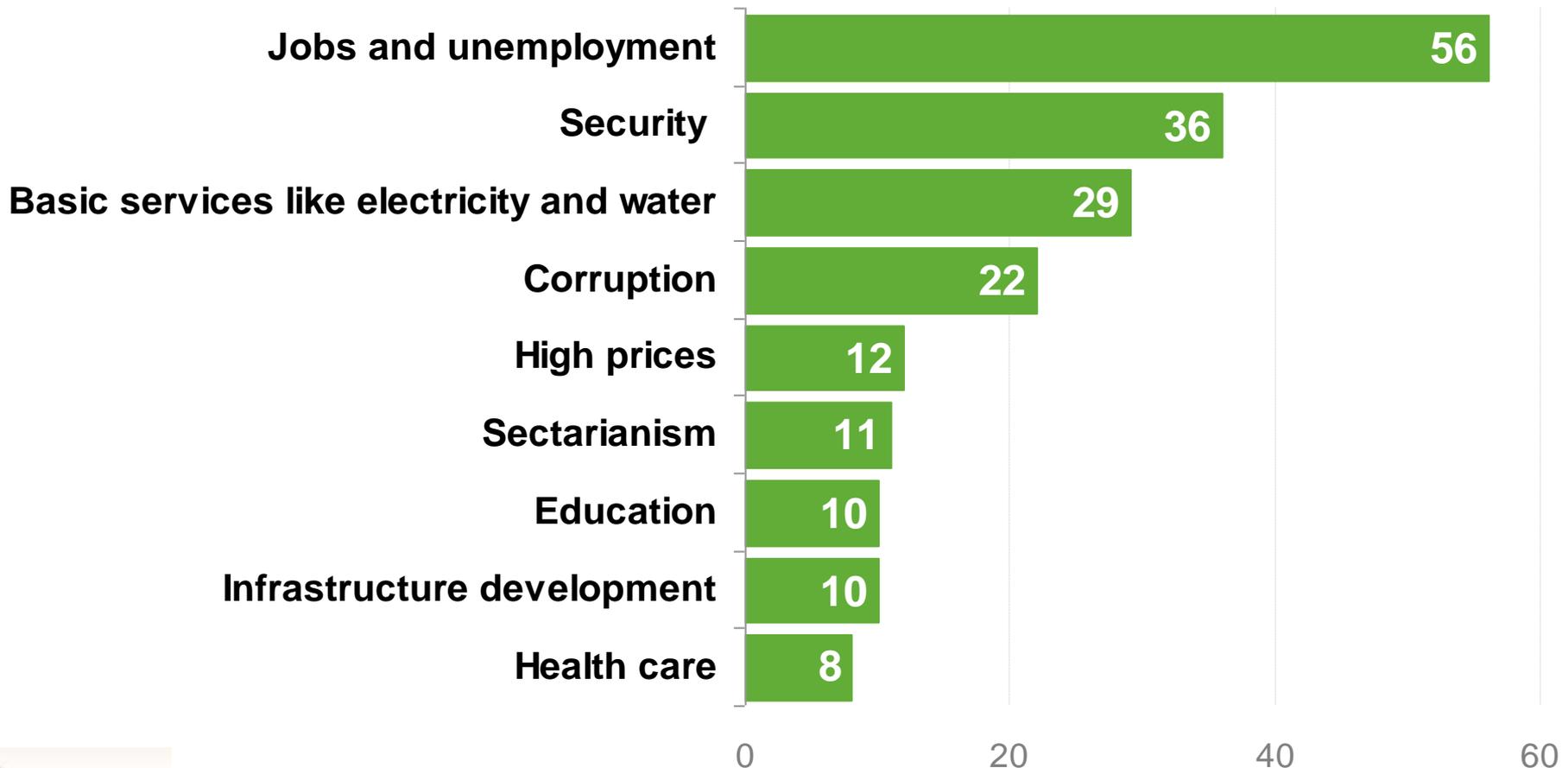
And have just as good a chance at prosperity as other Iraqis

- Generally speaking, (MINORITY GROUP) has a good chance at prosperity compared with other Iraqis.
- Generally speaking, (MINORITY GROUP) has less of a chance at prosperity compared with other Iraqis.



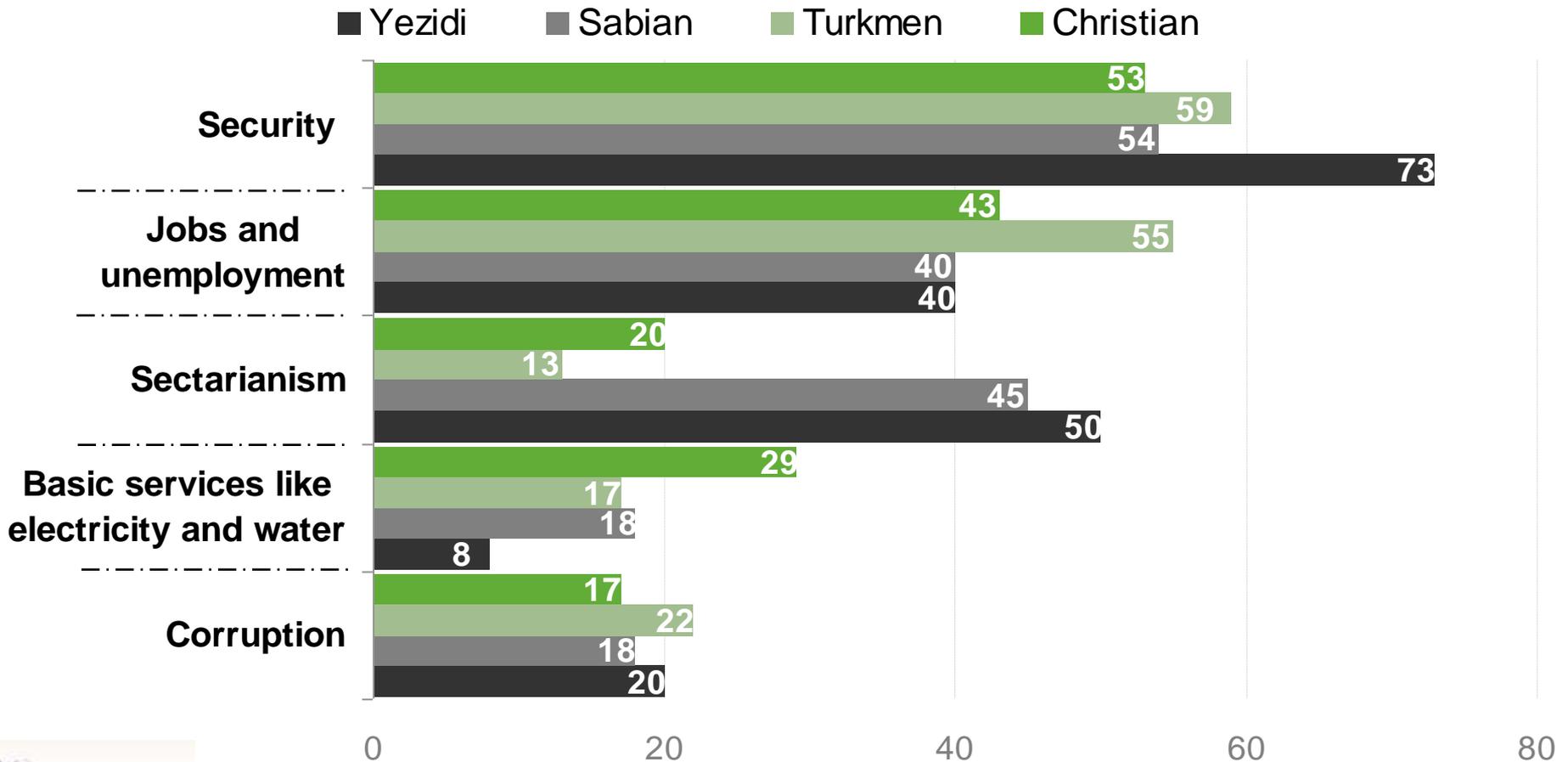
Jobs, security, and services top national concerns

(NATIONAL RESULTS) Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that some people may have. Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.



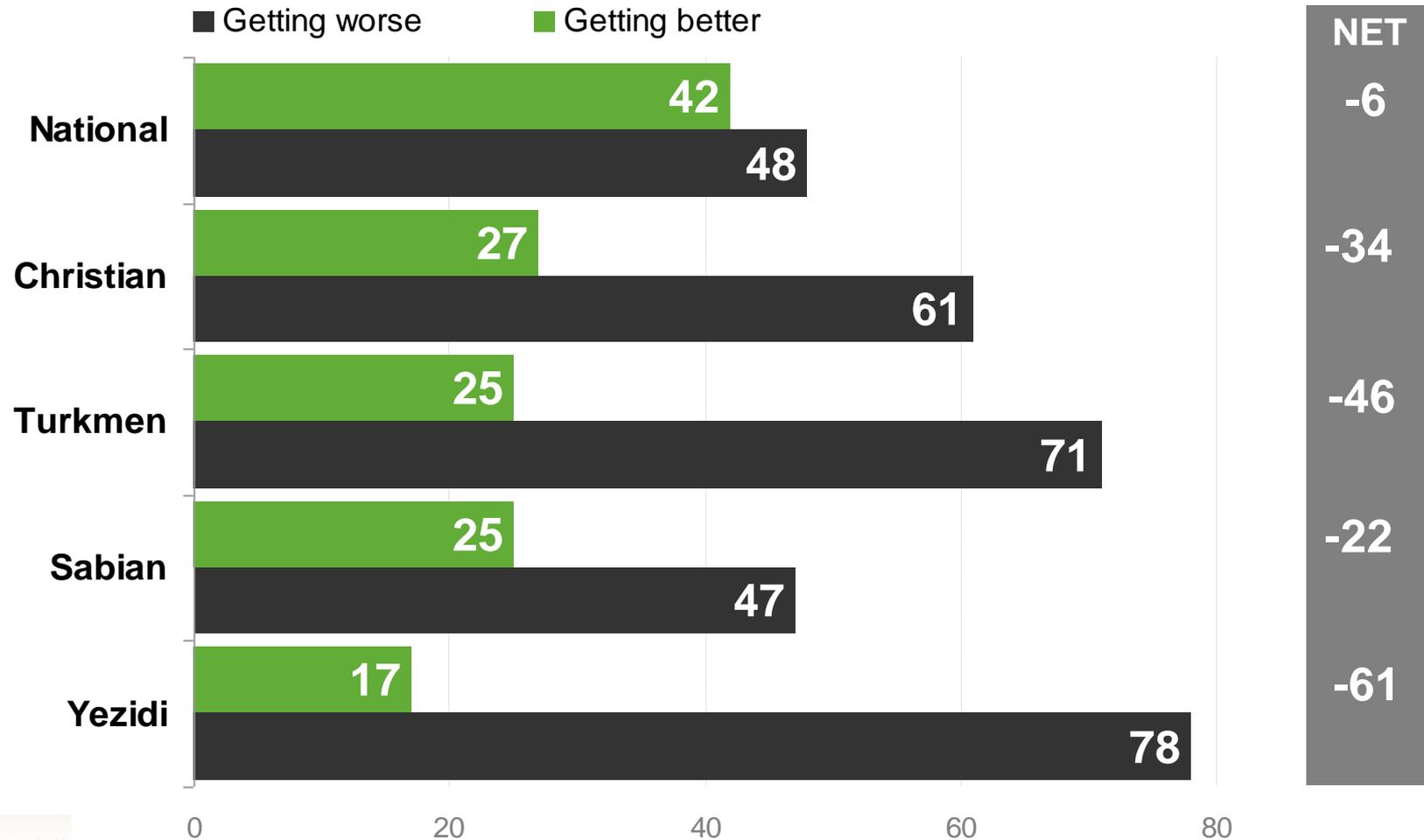
Jobs, security, and sectarianism top concerns for minorities

(MINORITY GROUP RESULTS) Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that some people may have. Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.



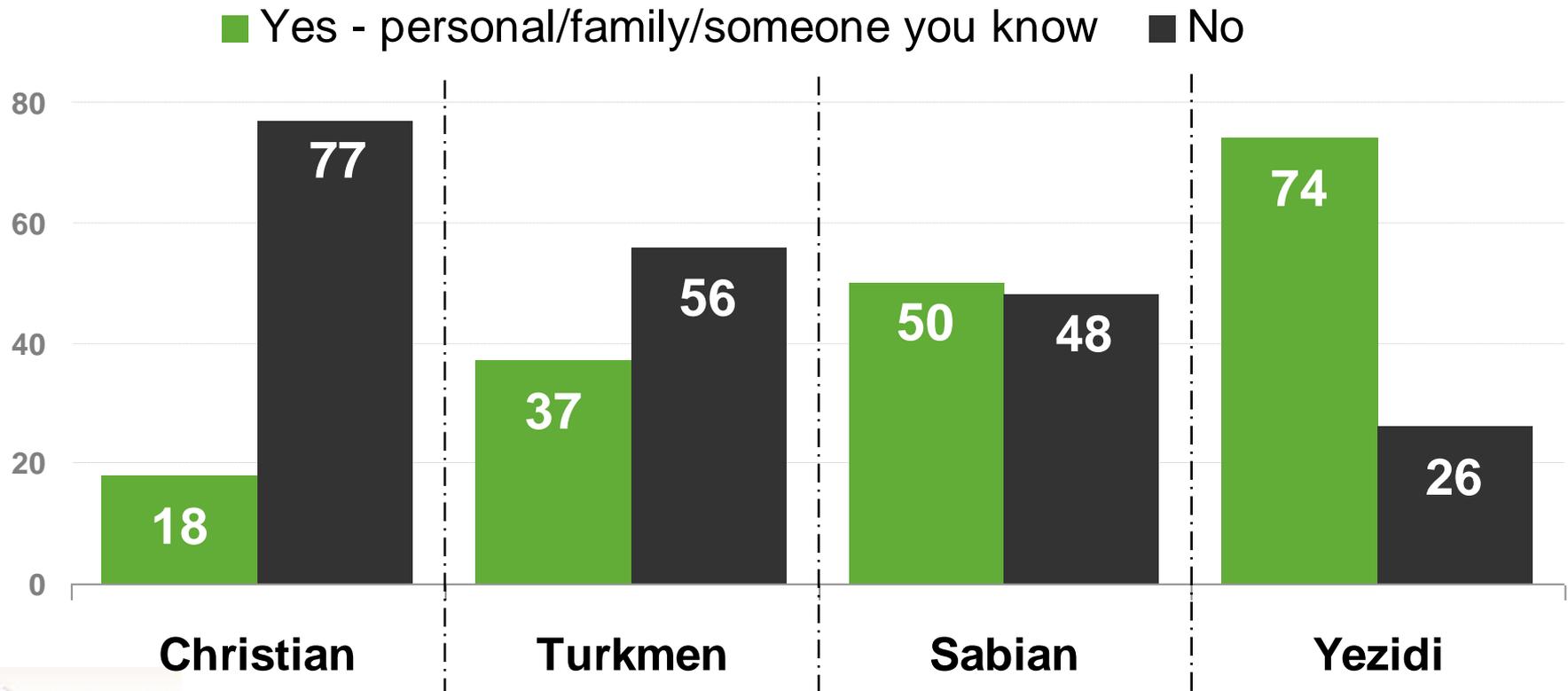
Minorities see more difficulty with jobs

Please tell me if you think **job opportunities** is getting better or worse in Iraq.



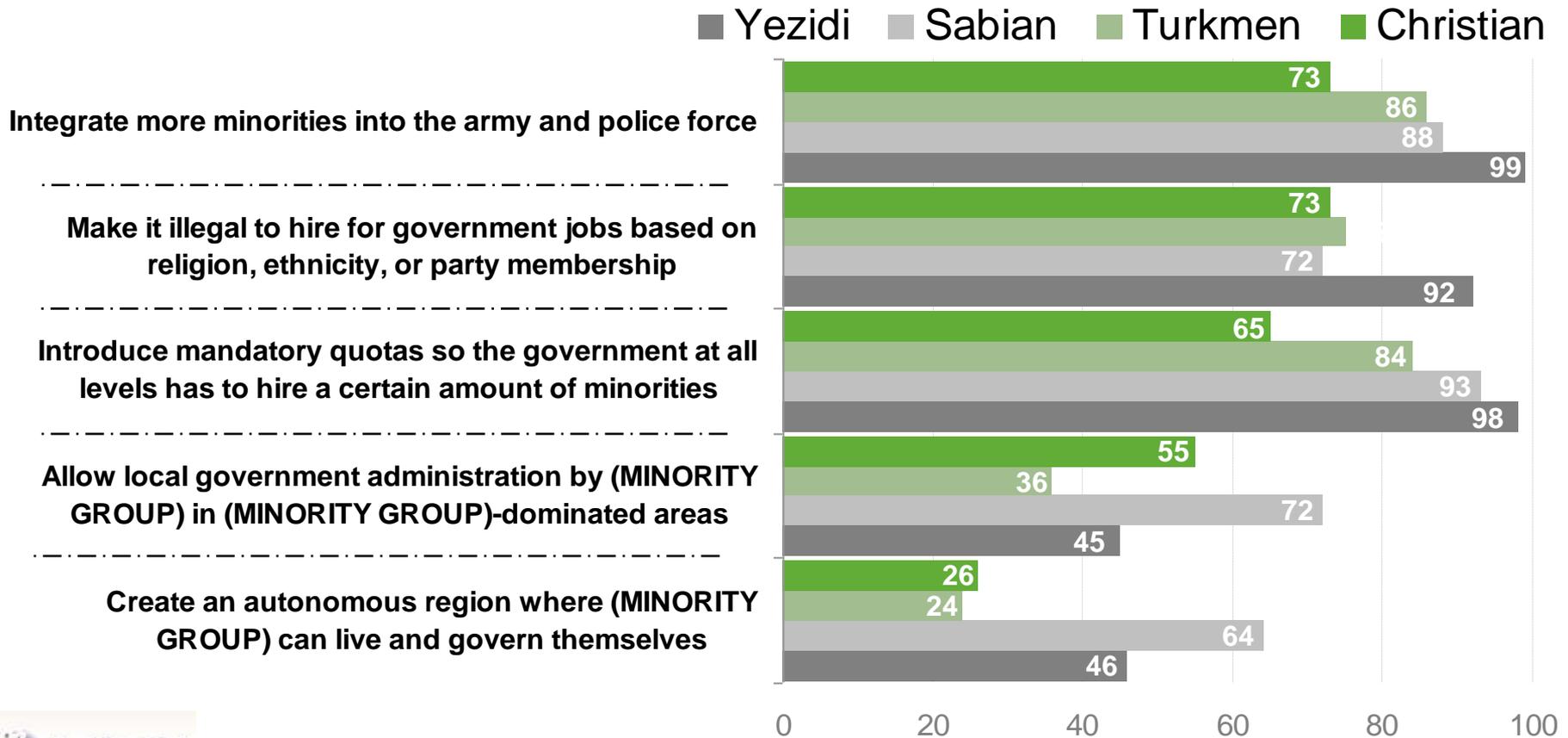
Exclusion from job opportunities varies among minorities

Please tell me if you have directly experienced **being excluded from a job opportunity**, if someone in your family has directly experienced this type of discrimination, if someone you know well - like a friend, neighbor, or coworker - has experienced this type of discrimination, or if no one you know well has experienced it.



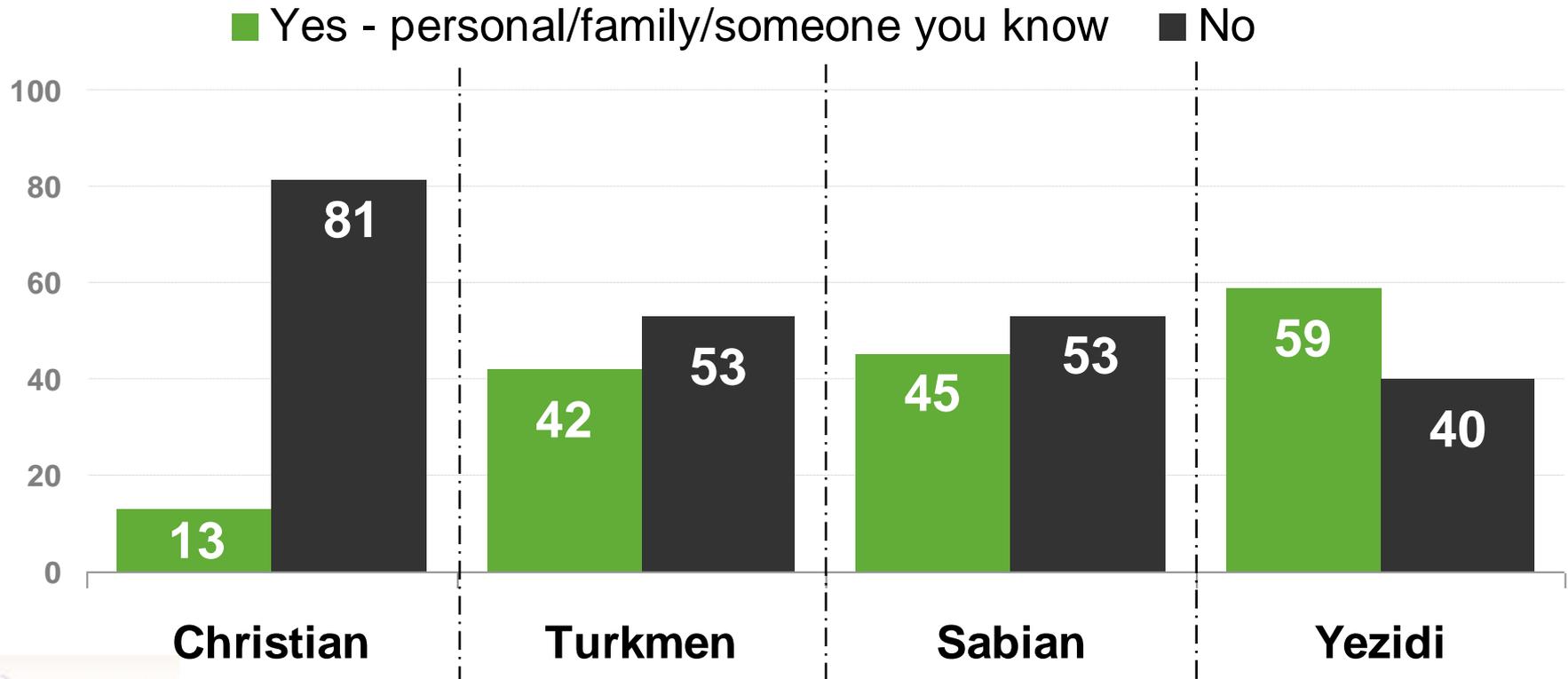
Top minority focused proposals deal with fair hiring practices

I would like to read you a list of some recommendations some people have made for minorities in Iraq. After each, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of that recommendation. [percent approve]



Significant number of minorities not provided gov't services

Please tell me if you have directly experienced **not being provided with government services**, if someone in your family has directly experienced this type of discrimination, if someone you know well - like a friend, neighbor, or coworker - has experienced this type of discrimination, or if no one you know well has experienced it.



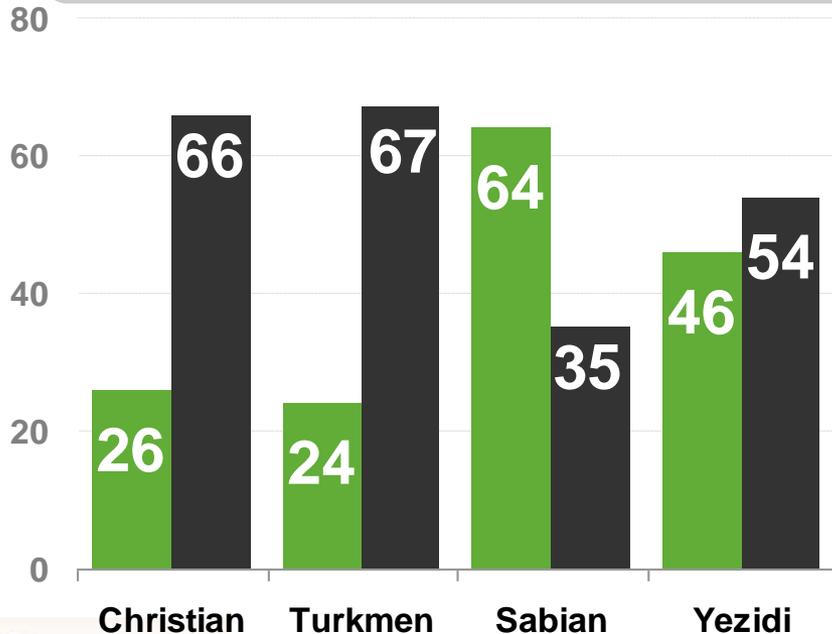
Most reject autonomous region; split on local gov't administration

Now for something different. I would like to read you a list of some recommendations some people have made for minorities in Iraq. After each, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of that recommendation:

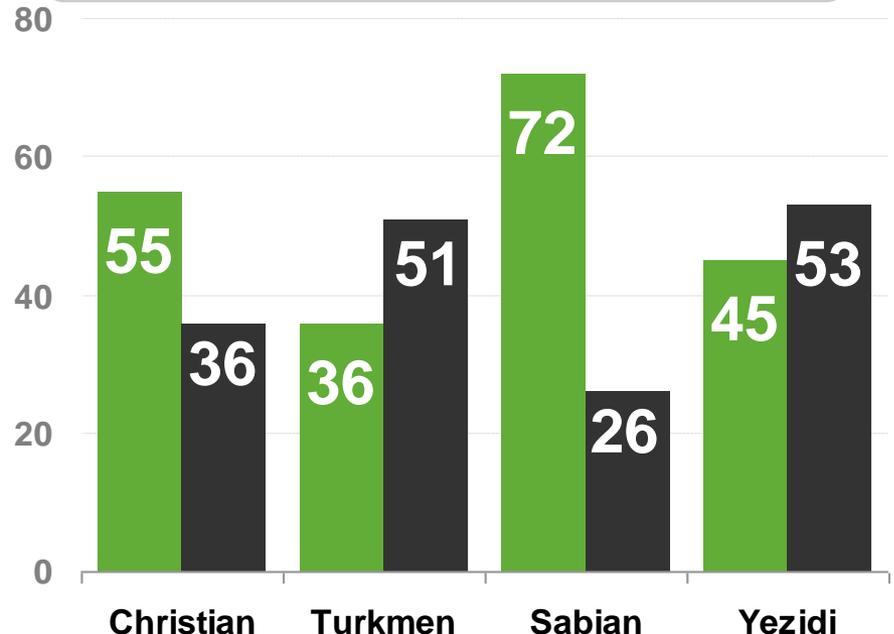
■ Approve

■ Disapprove

Create an autonomous region where (MINORITY GROUP) can live and govern themselves



Allow local government administration by (MINORITY GROUP) in (MINORITY GROUP)-dominated areas



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