

Improved Security Provides Opening for Cooperation

March – April 2017 Survey Findings

The research

- **National Survey (excluding areas currently held by ISIS)**
 - **March 26 – April 21, 2017**
 - **1,338 respondents (unweighted 2,020 respondents)**
 - **293 Baghdad respondents (unweighted 500 respondents)**
 - **500 South respondents (unweighted 500 respondents)**
 - **363 West respondents (unweighted 520 respondents, including 200 interviews in Mosul city)**
 - **184 Kurdistan respondents (unweighted 500 respondents)**
 - **Margin of error on national sample: +/- 2.19**
 - **+/- 4.4% in each region**
 - **Oversamples of those who lived under ISIS**
 - **200 interviews in the Khazer M1 camp, Ninewa**
 - **100 interviews in Salahaddin, all lived under ISIS for at least 1 year**
 - **100 interviews in Anbar, all lived under ISIS for at least 1 year**
 - **Data excluded from national sample, since selected on criteria (not randomly)**

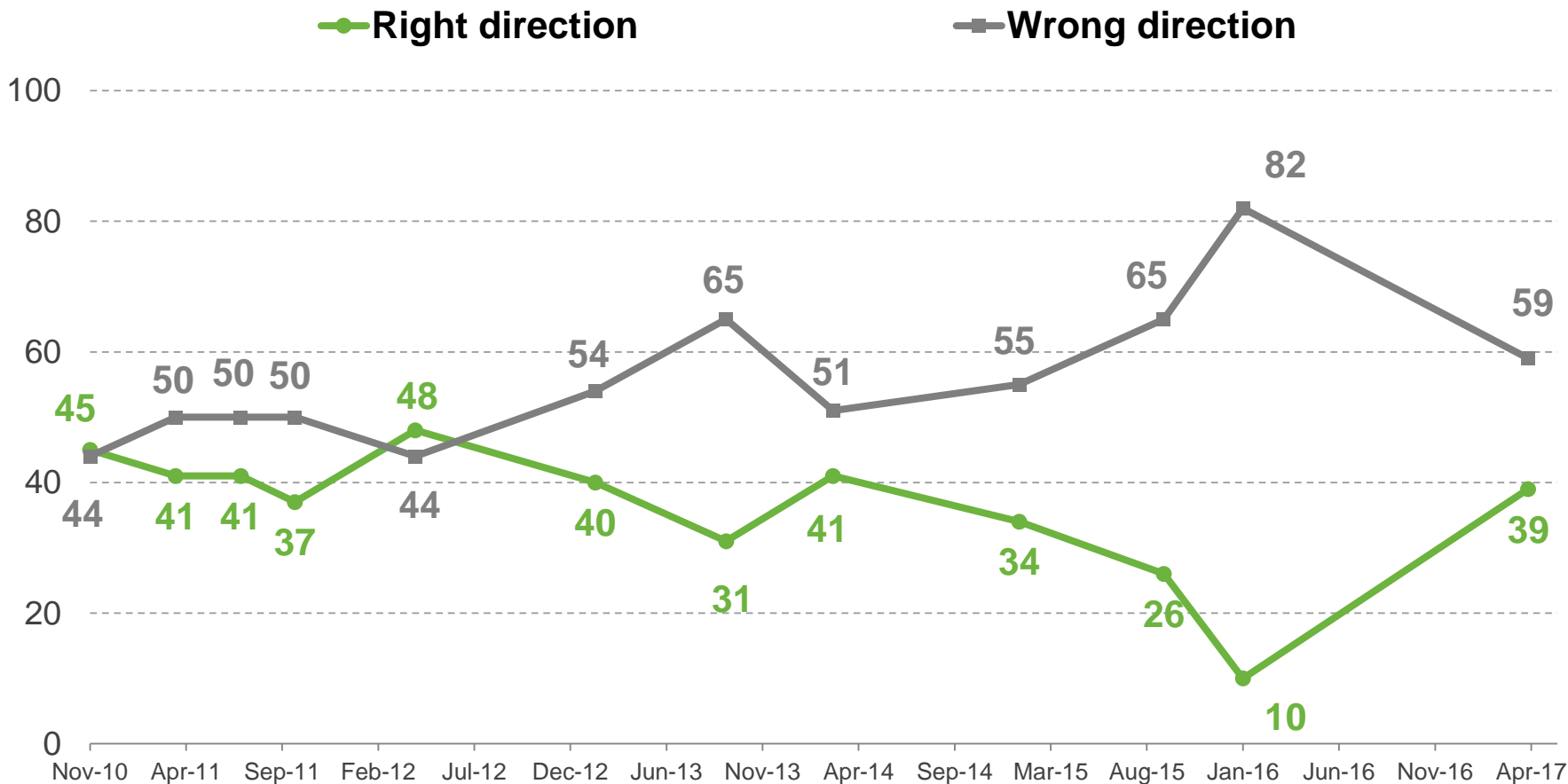
The Iraq “Dashboard” – Bounce back from historic lows

| Metric/survey question | Current % | Change Jan '16 | Movement |
|--|-----------|----------------|--------------------|
| Country direction, % right, total | 39 | +29 | Much Better |
| Security, % better, total | 60 | +26 | Much Better |
| Electricity supply, % better, total | 39 | +12 | Better |
| Corruption, % better, total | 13 | +3 | Stable |
| Job opportunities, % better, total | 12 | +1 | Stable |
| Abadi favorability, % favorable among Shia | 46 | +15 | Better |
| Abadi favorability, in West | 68 | +52 | Much Better |
| Sectarianism, % better, total | 62 | +32 | Much Better |
| Iraq is mostly unified %, total | 45 | +3 | Stable |
| Sunni/Shia relations, % better, total | 84 | +40 | Much Better |
| KRG/Baghdad relations, % better, total | 22 | +18 | Better |
| Kurdish direction, % right, Kurdistan only | 43 | +15 | Better |

Improved security drives optimism

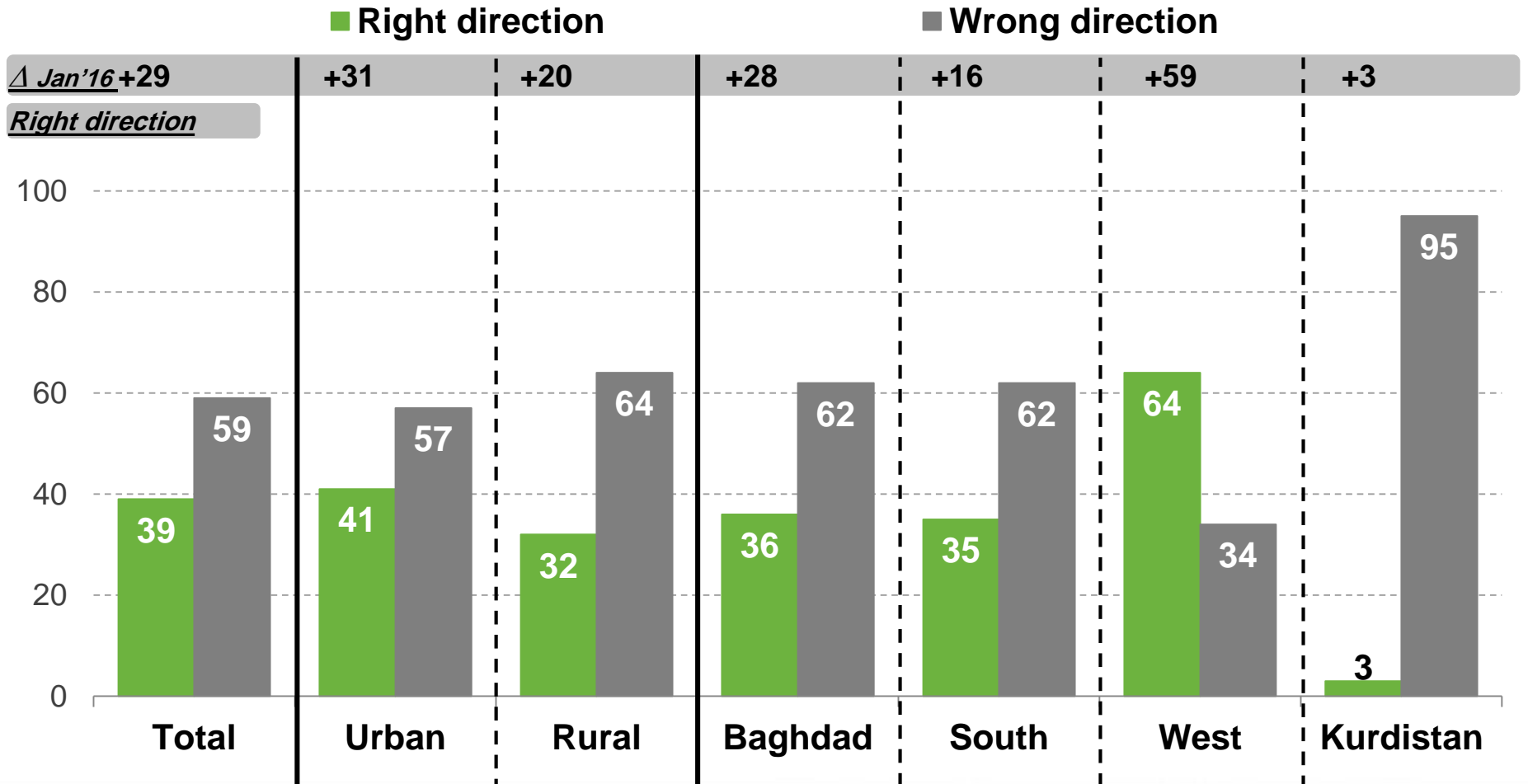
Overall country mood rebounds

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



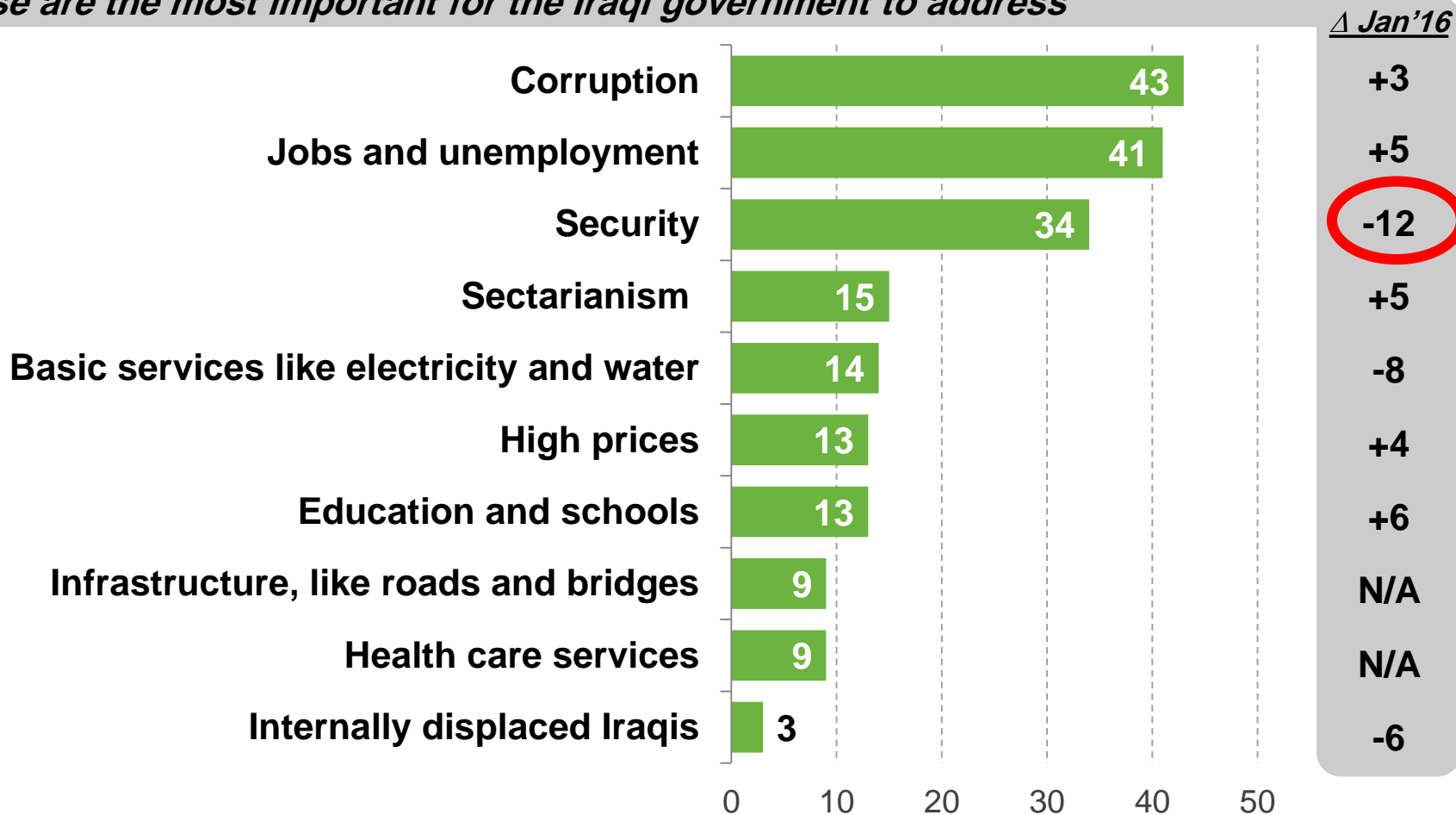
Optimism in all regions except Kurdistan

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



Iraqi priorities shift as security improves

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



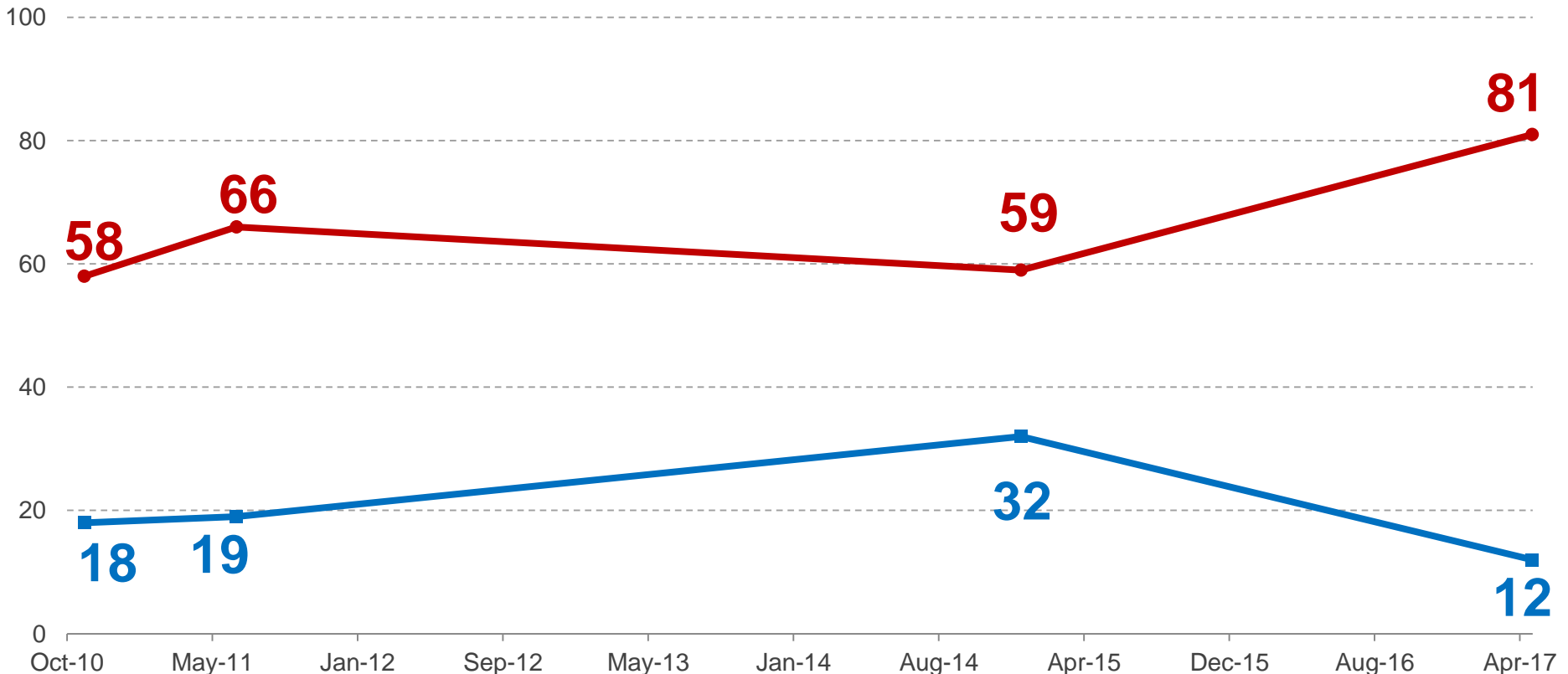
Perceptions of Army improve dramatically

More than 4 in 5 now favorable to Army

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

Favorable

Unfavorable



Strong ratings for Army, except in Kurdistan

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

△ Jan'15, favorable

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable

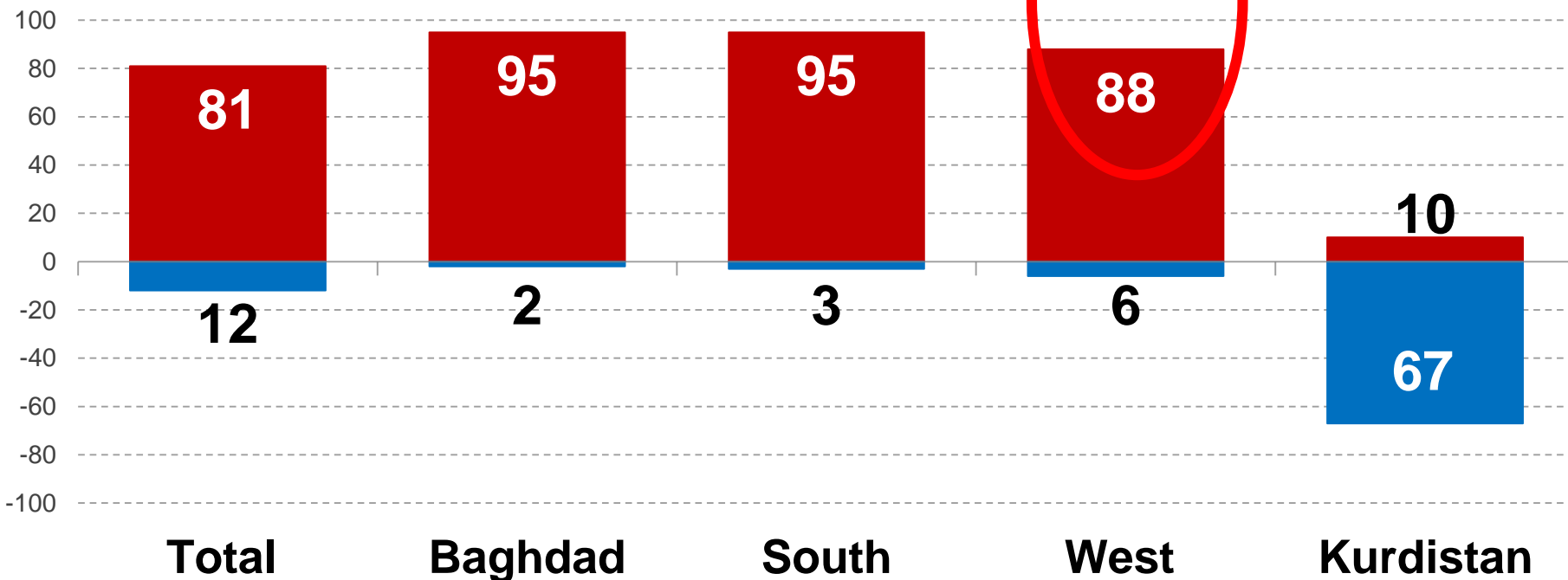
+22

+14

+0

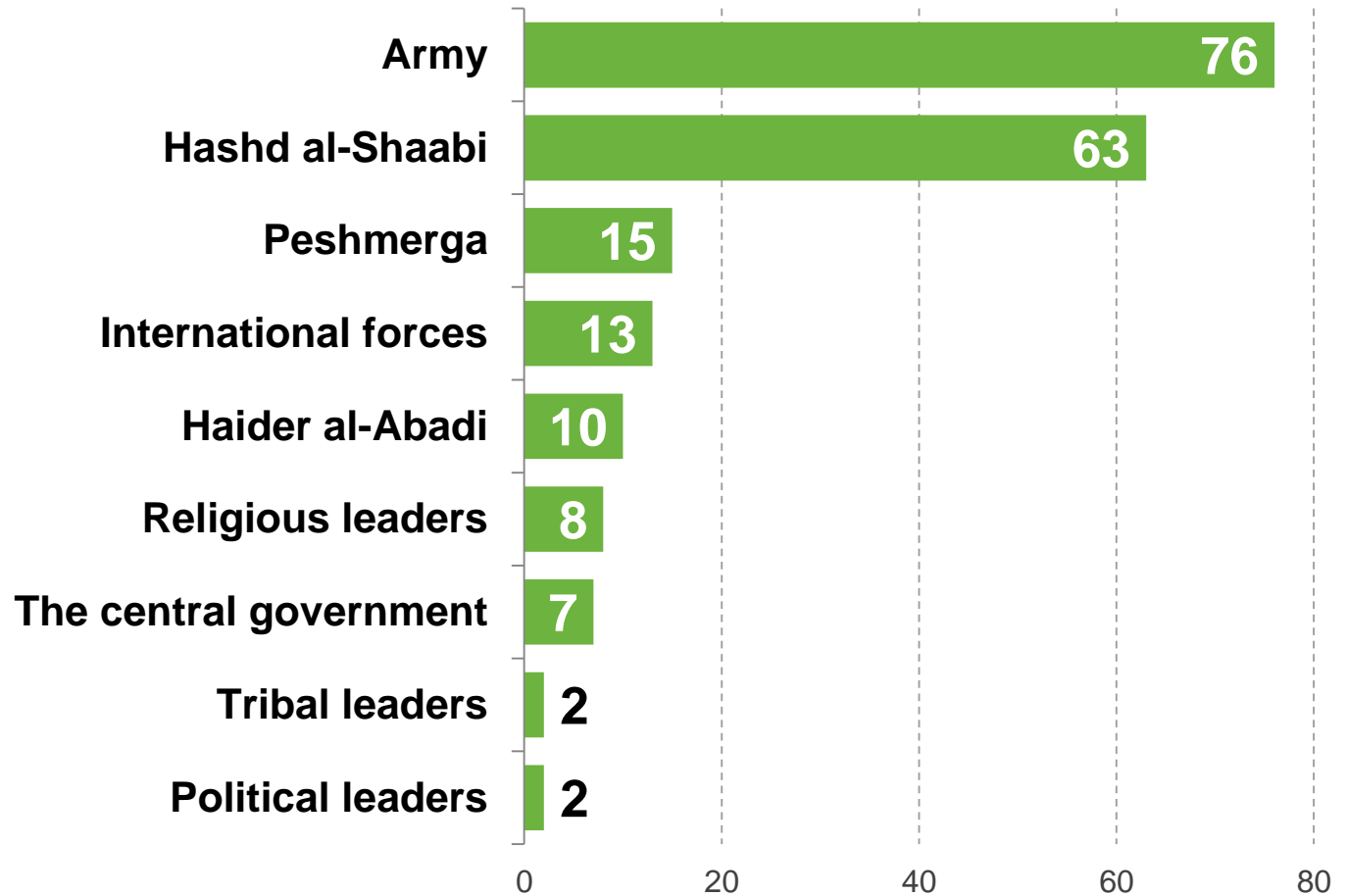
+67

+8



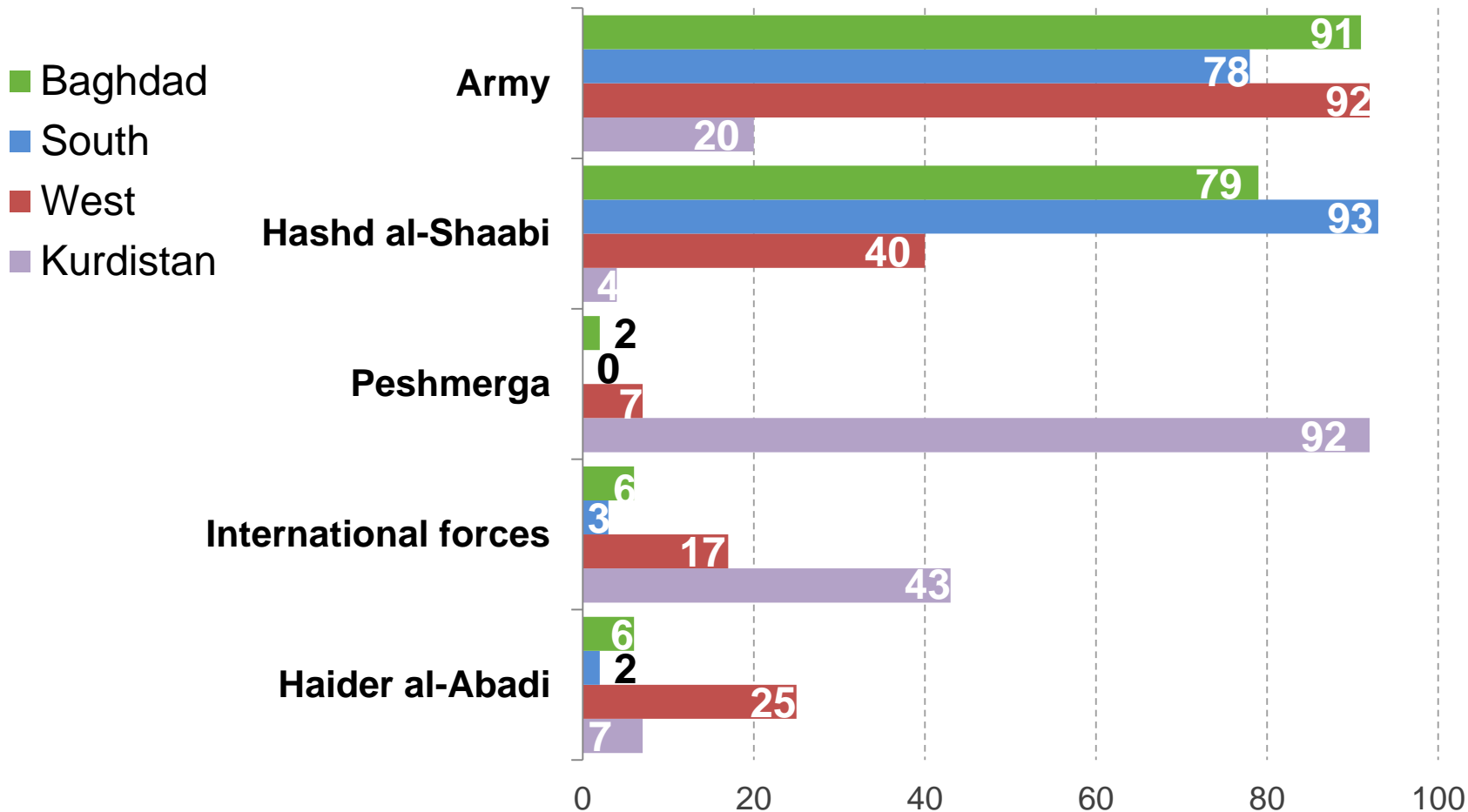
Army and PMUs get most of the credit for liberation

Which TWO of the following do you give the most credit for liberating parts of Iraq from ISIS?



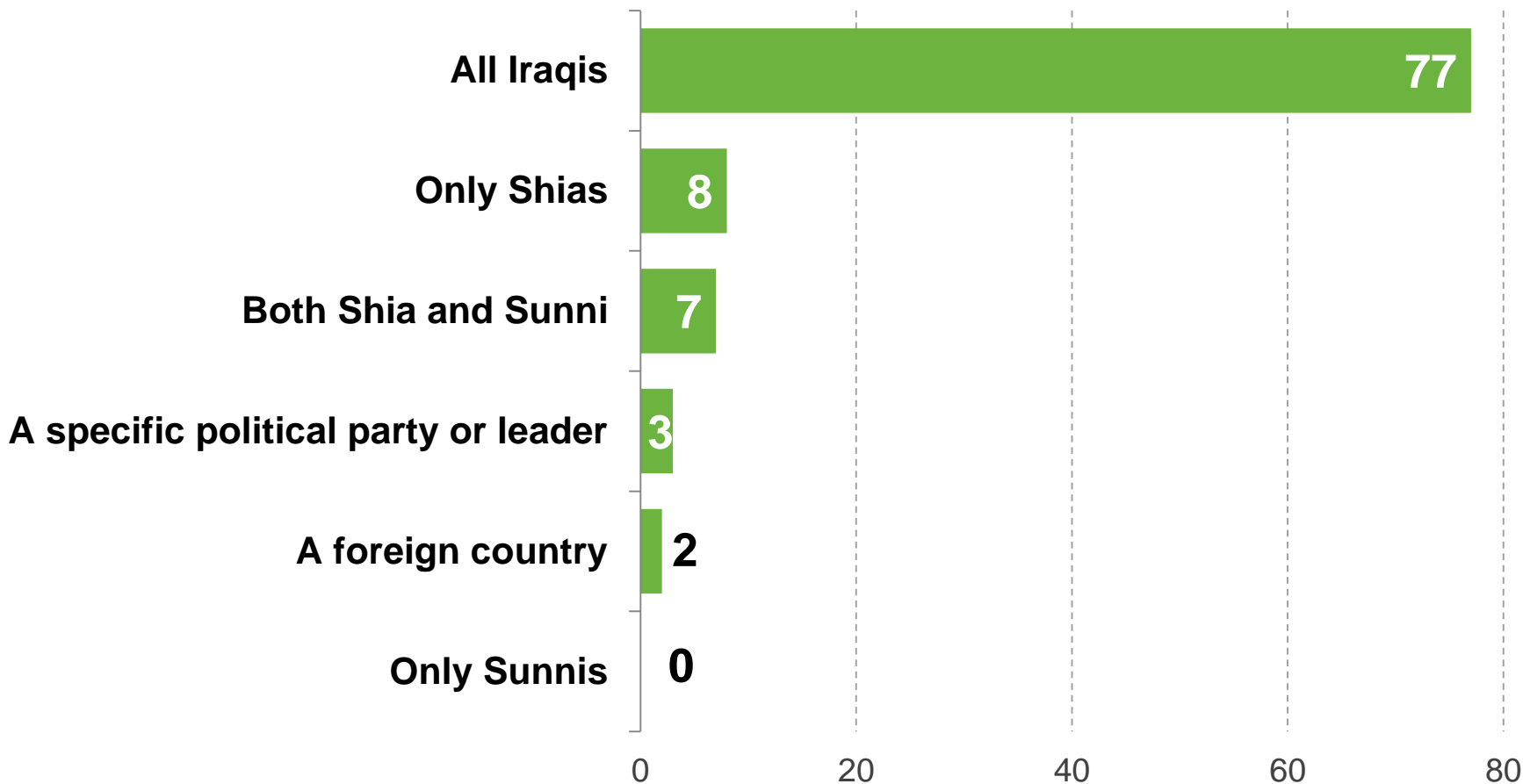
Credit for liberation, by region

Which TWO of the following do you give the most credit for liberating parts of Iraq from ISIS?



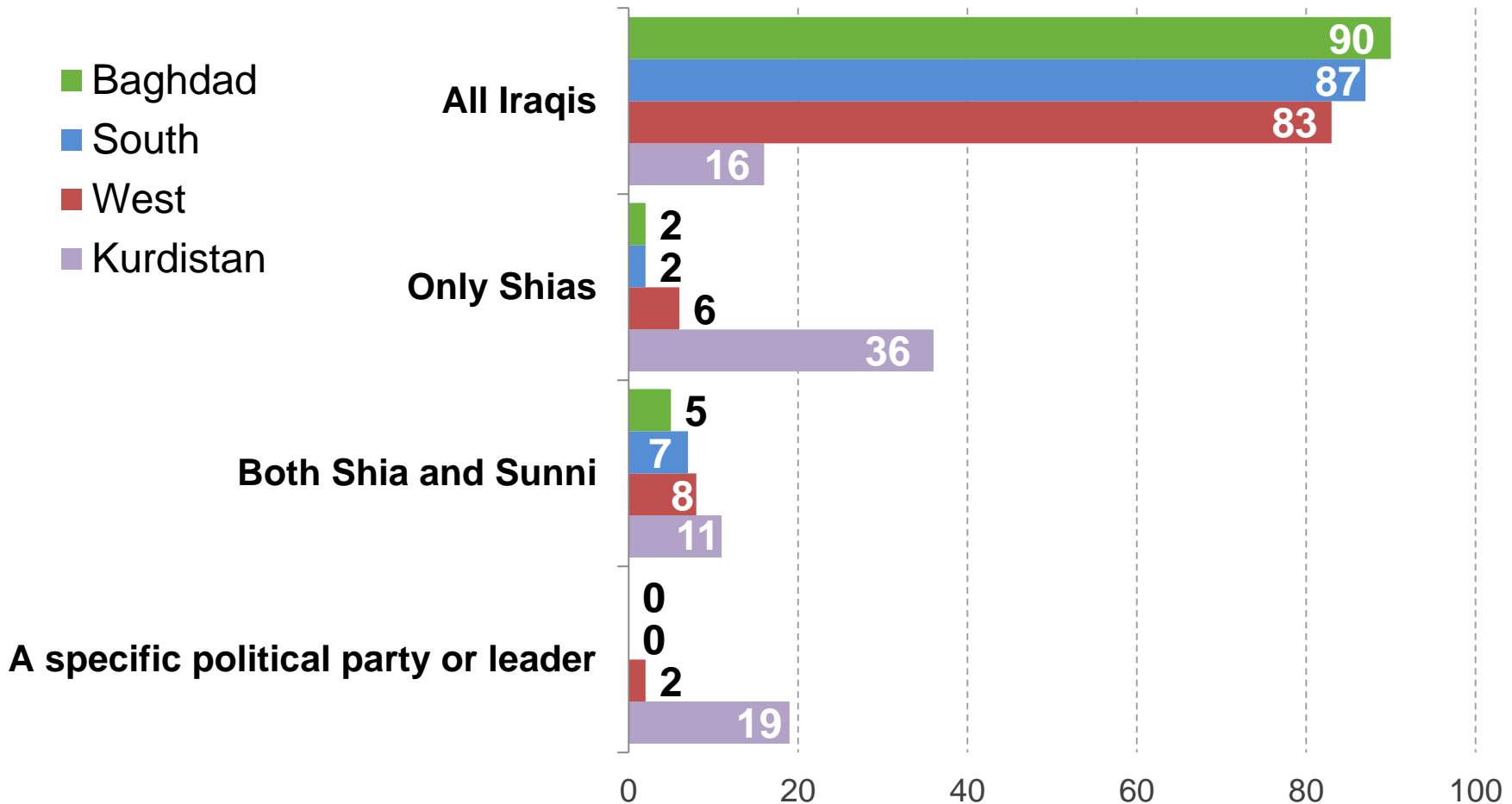
Army seen to represent all

Generally speaking, who do you think the army represents:



Only Kurdistan disagrees on army representing all

Generally speaking, who do you think the army represents:



West also now more favorable to PMUs

Hashd al-Shaabi also now more favorable in West

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

Δ Jan'16, favorable

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable

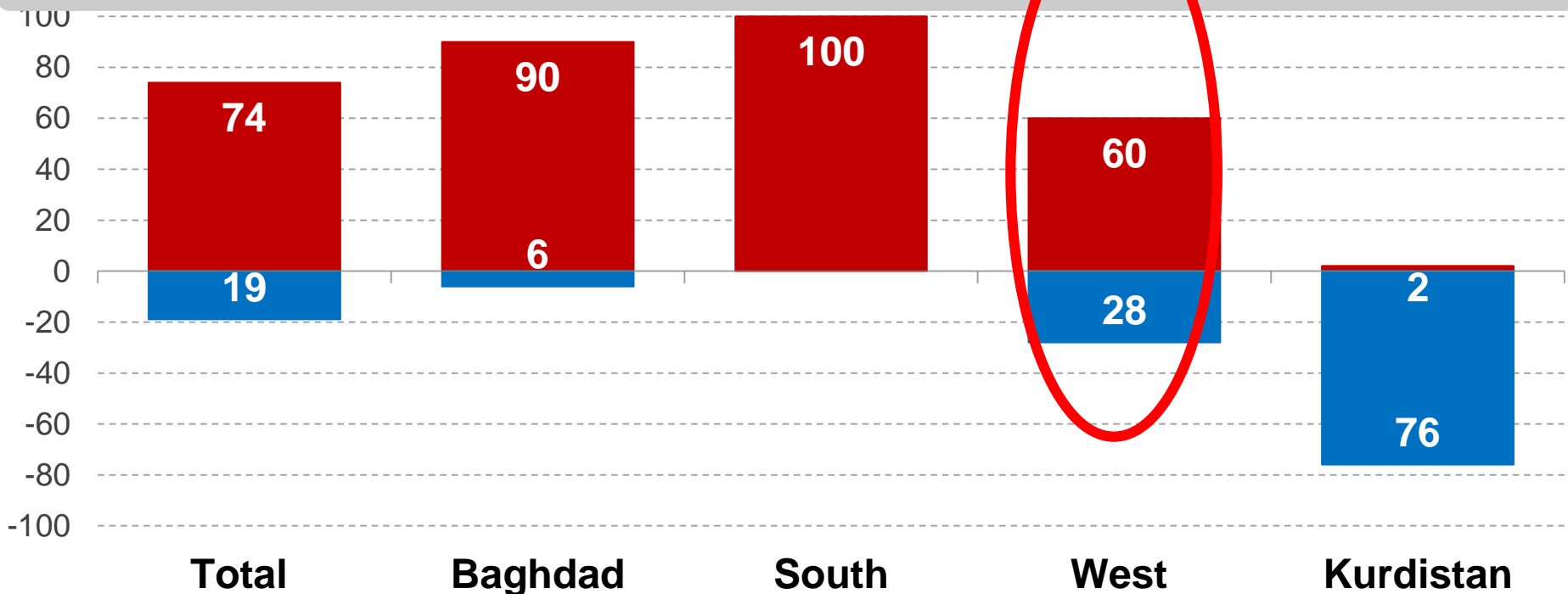
+7

-4

+2

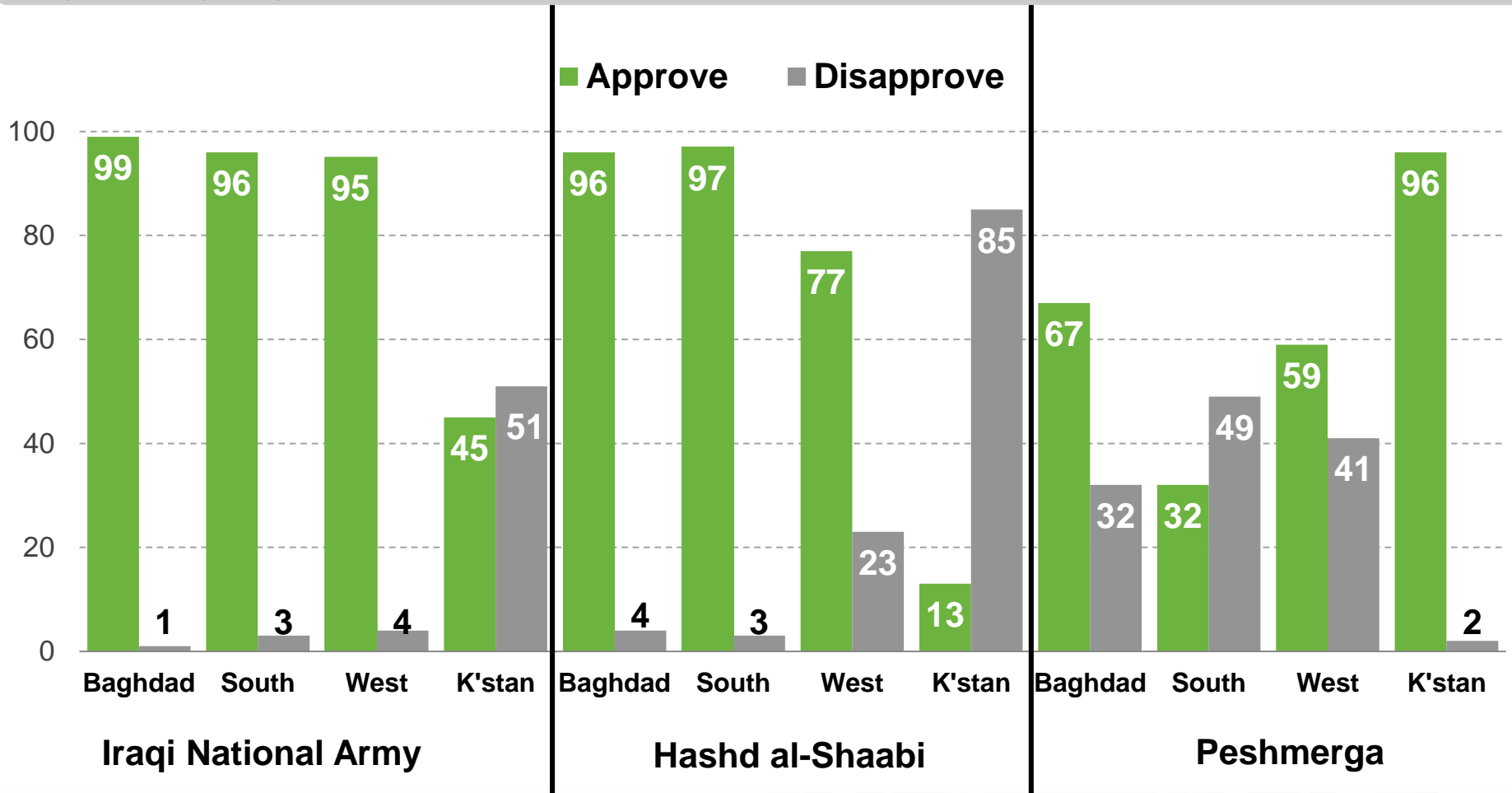
+22

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Strong job approval, but regional tensions apparent

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job Iraq's Army/Hashd al-Shaabi/Pershmerga is doing in the fight against ISIS?



Winning the Peace: The Army and PMUs

High expectations for ISIS defeat this year

Based on what you know, how long do you think it will take for Iraq to be fully liberated from ISIS?

■ Within one year ■ More than one year ■ Never

Δ Sept. '15, within one year

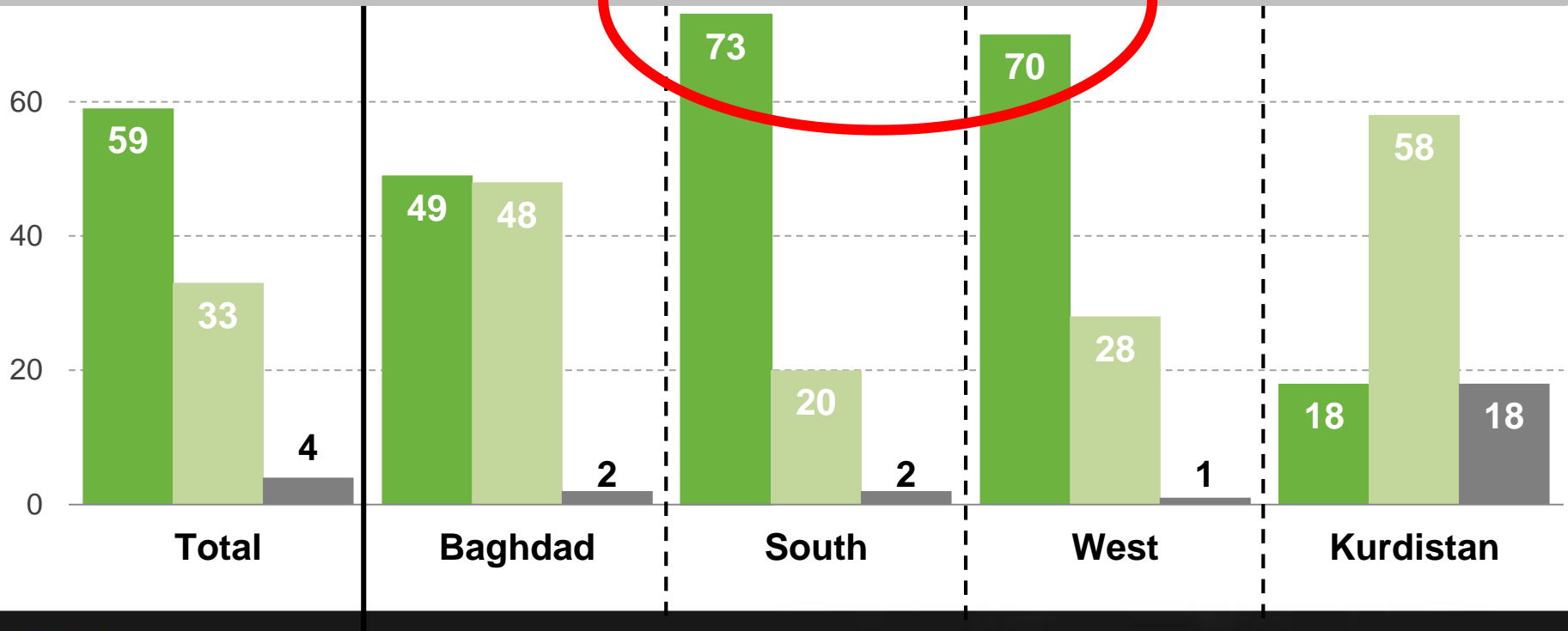
+23

+1

+21

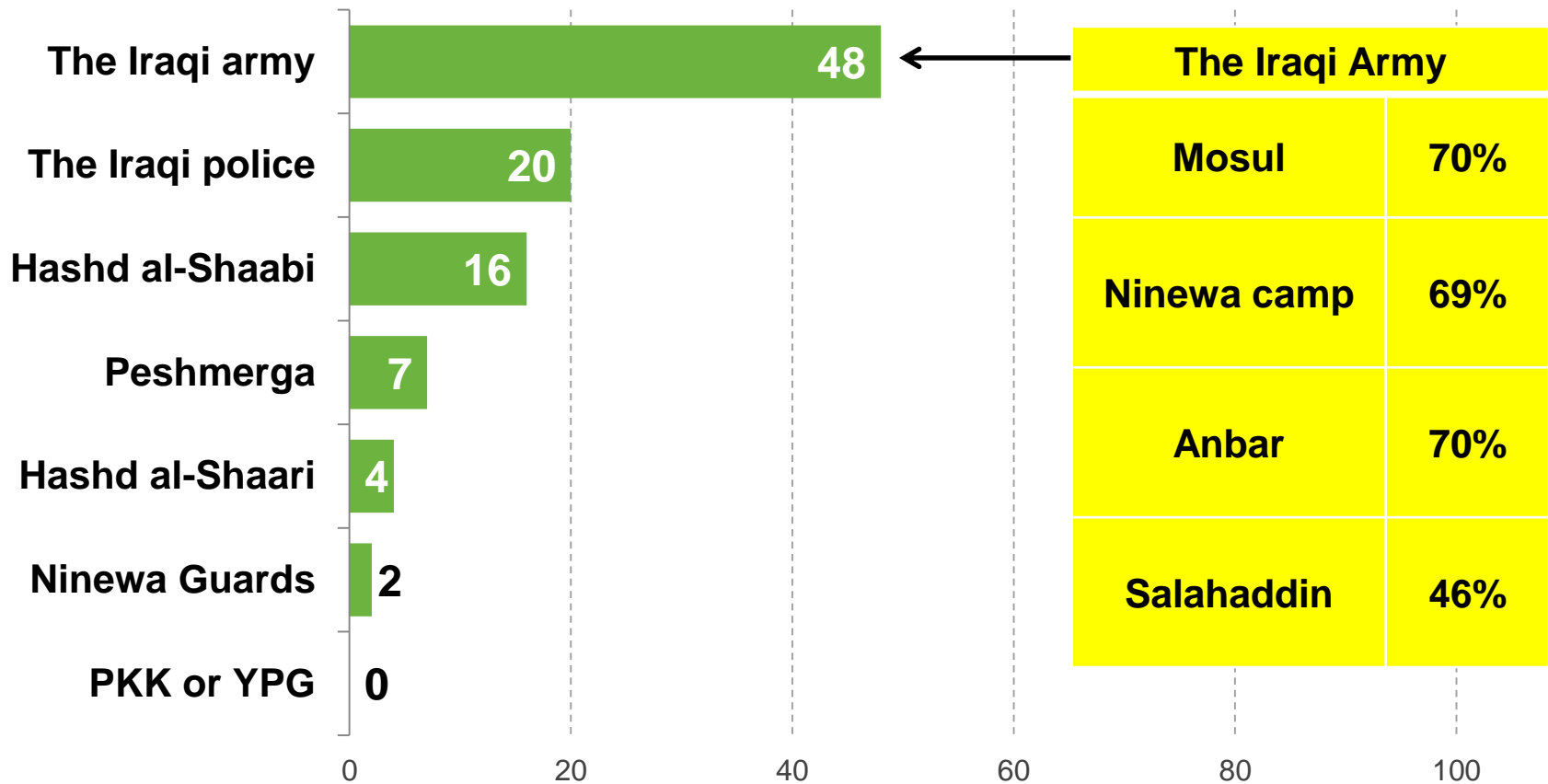
+51

+7



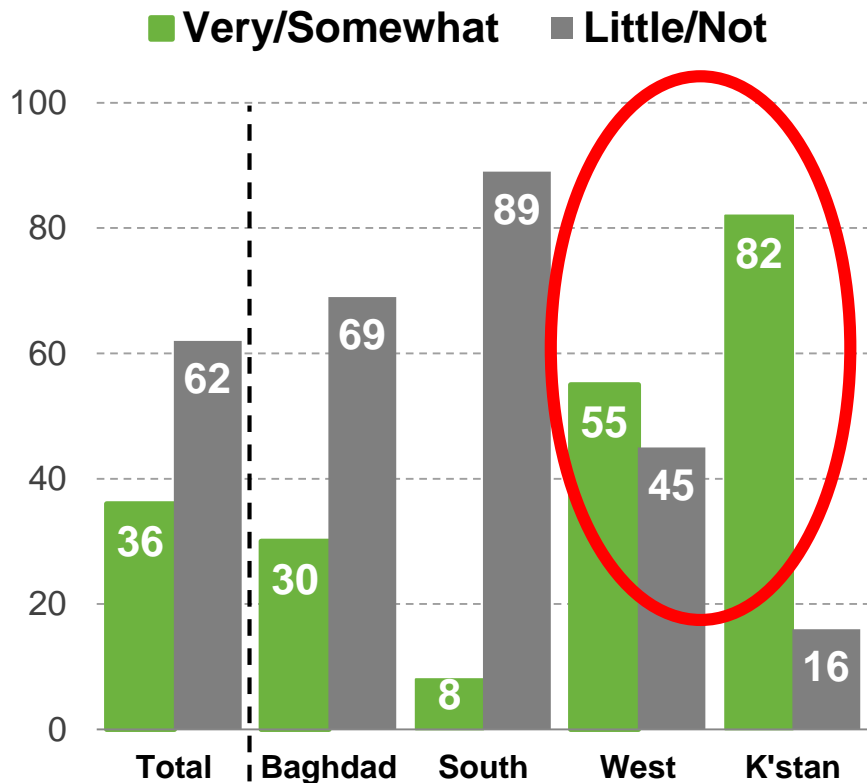
Most want army in liberated areas for security

I am now going to read a list of different security forces in Iraq. Based on what you know, which ONE of the following should provide security for areas liberated from or currently occupied by ISIS such as Anbar, Diyala, Ninewa, and Salahaddin?

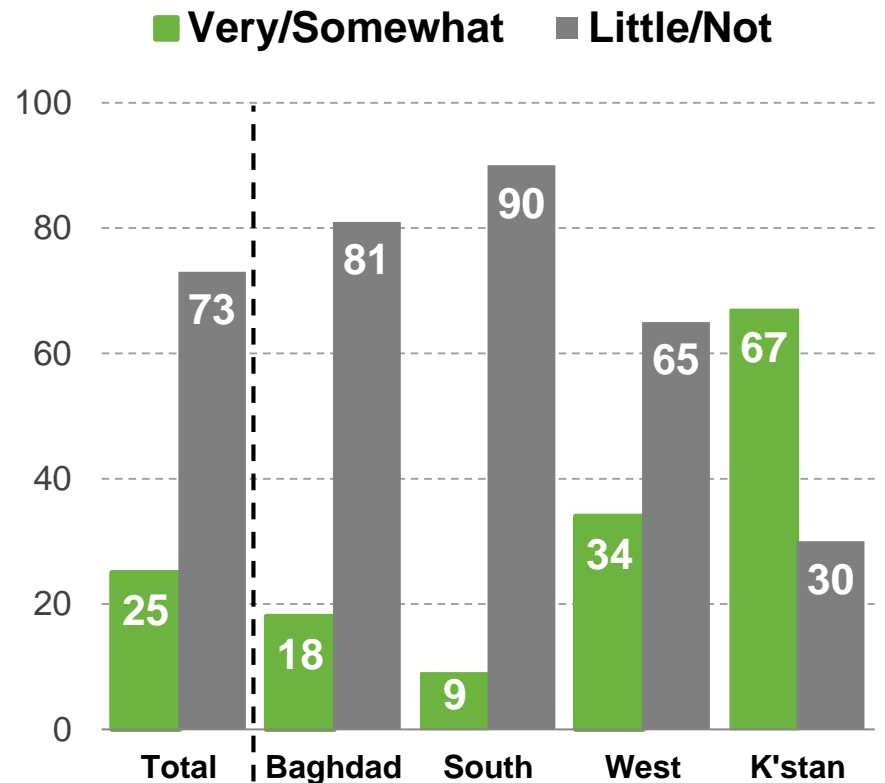


West and Kurds worry about PMU violence

Based on what you know, how concerned are you about members of Hashd al-Shaabi committing violence in liberated areas?



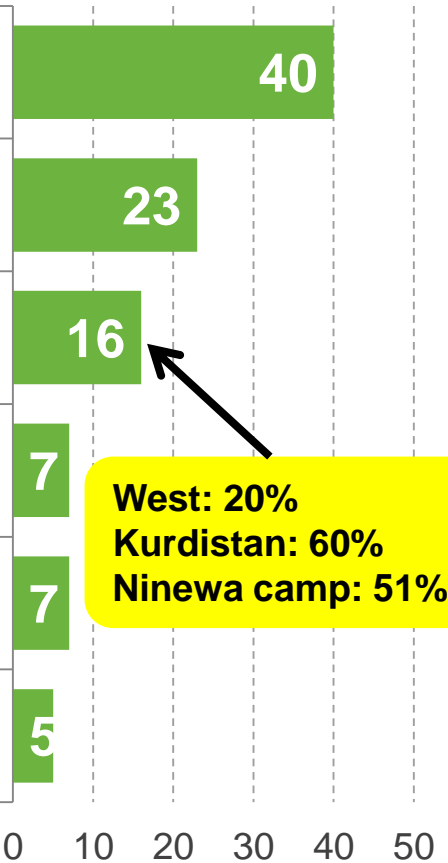
Based on what you know, how concerned are you about members of the Iraqi Army and Security Forces committing violence in liberated areas?



Most want PMU integration; Kurds/IDPs want them disbanded

Now thinking specifically about Hashd al-Shaabi, what do you think should be done with Hashd al-Shaabi after Iraq is liberated from ISIS.

Be dissolved and integrated into the Iraqi Army



Be given more power as a separate military force

Completely disband and turn over its weapons

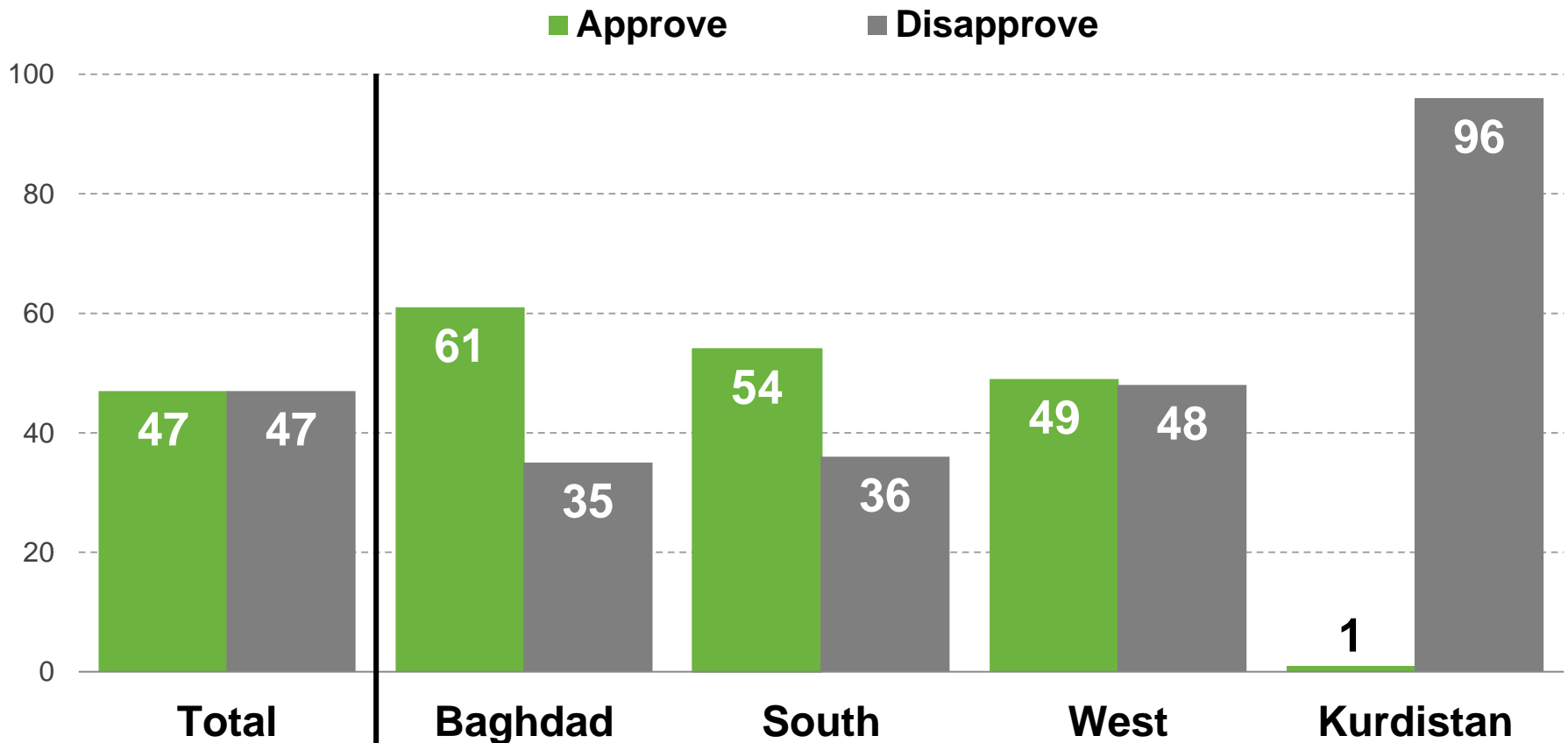
Remain as it is but return to their home governorates

Remain as it is but stay only in contested areas

Remain as it is and deploy to provinces that were not contested by ISIS

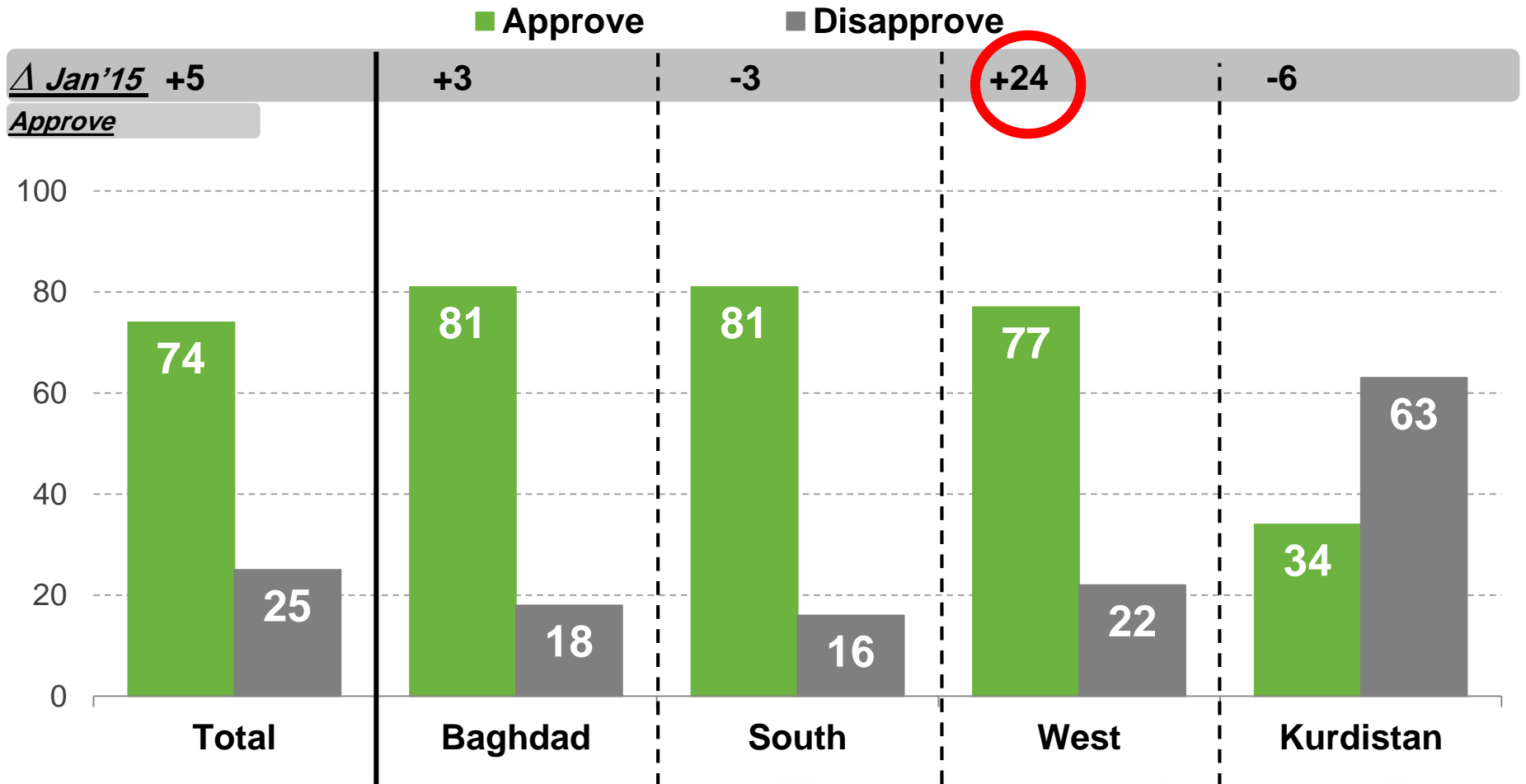
Divisions on PMUs entering politics

Do you approve or disapprove of Hashd al-Shaabi becoming more involved in the political process by registering new political parties and having candidates in the next elections?



Broad support for compulsory army, except in North

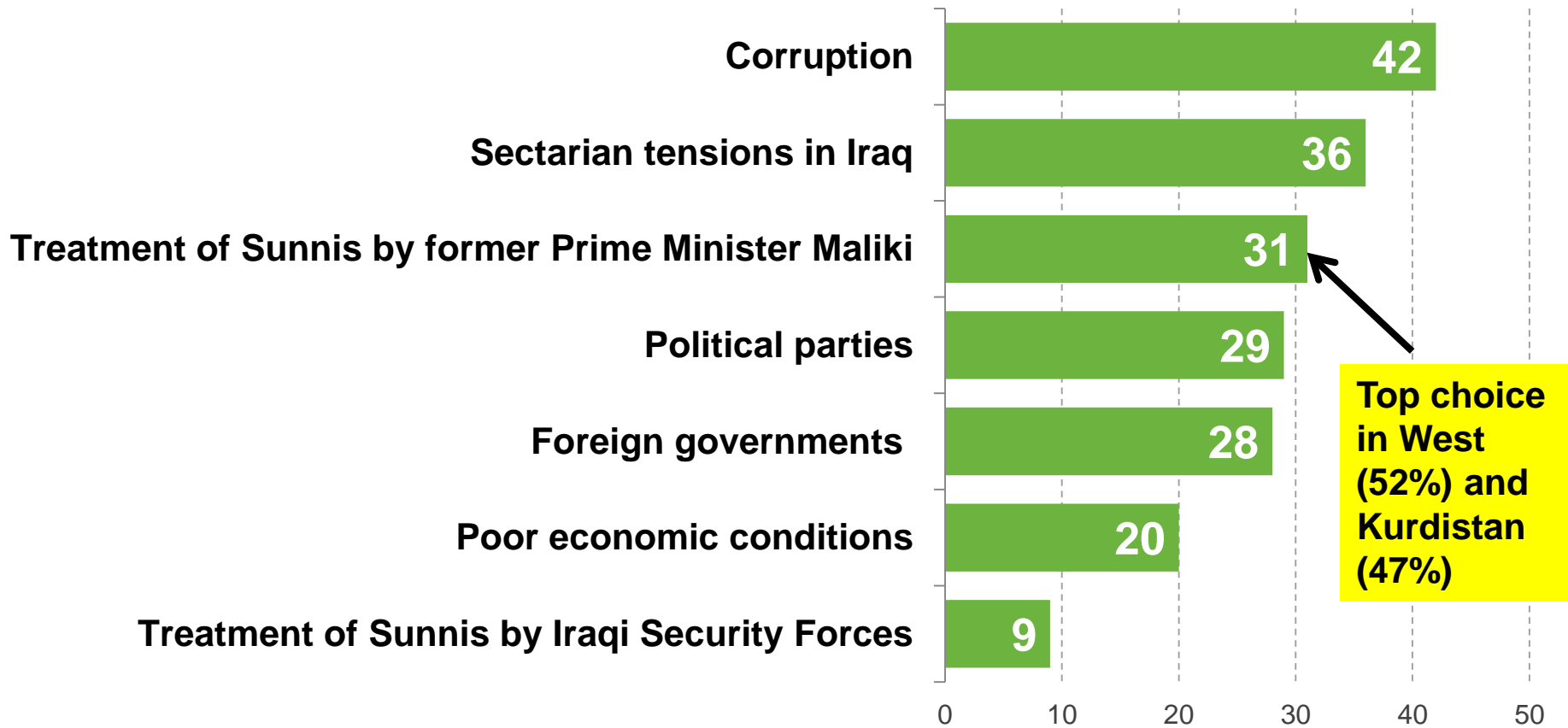
Do you approve or disapprove of the Iraqi Army re-instating the policy of compulsory military service for all Iraqi men 18 years and older?



Understanding ISIS's Rise

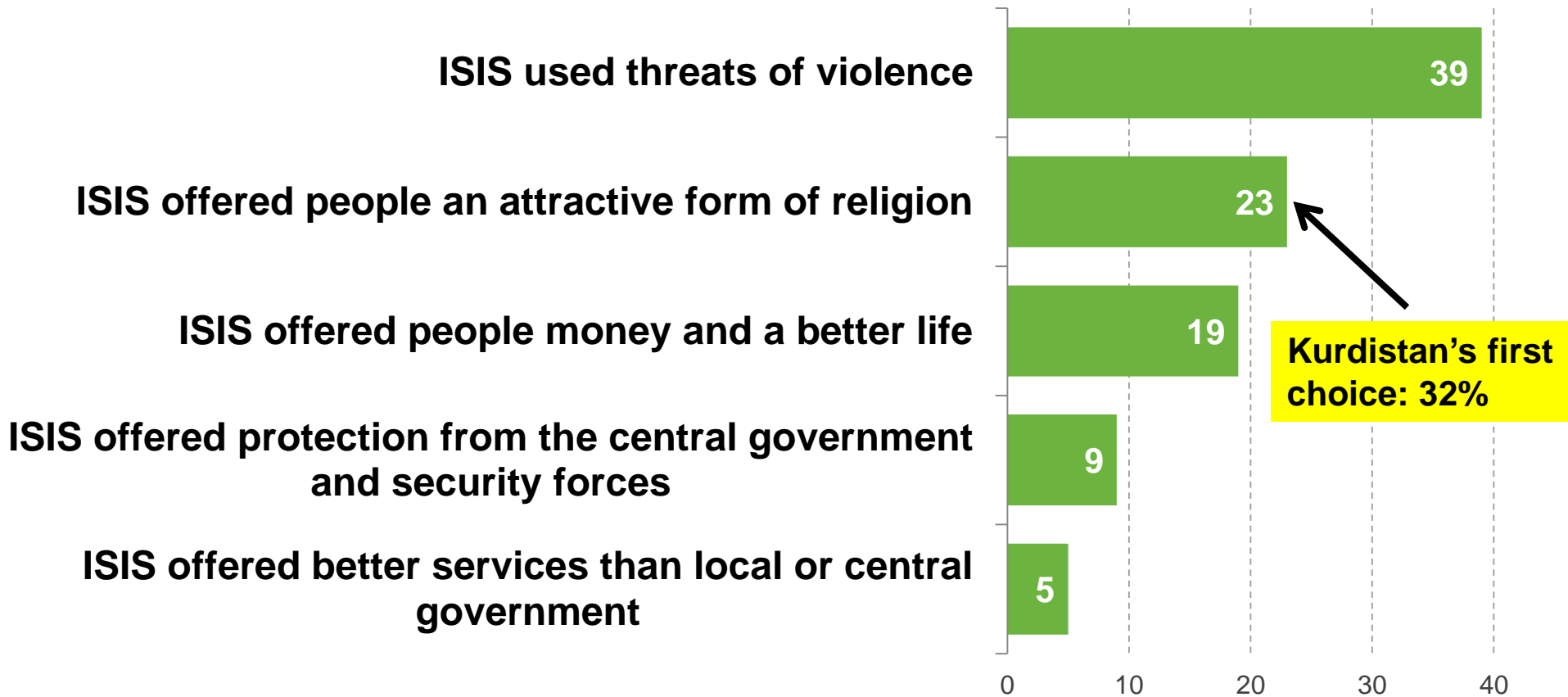
Most blame corruption, but West and Kurds blame Maliki

Which TWO of the following do you blame the most for the rise of ISIS in Iraq:



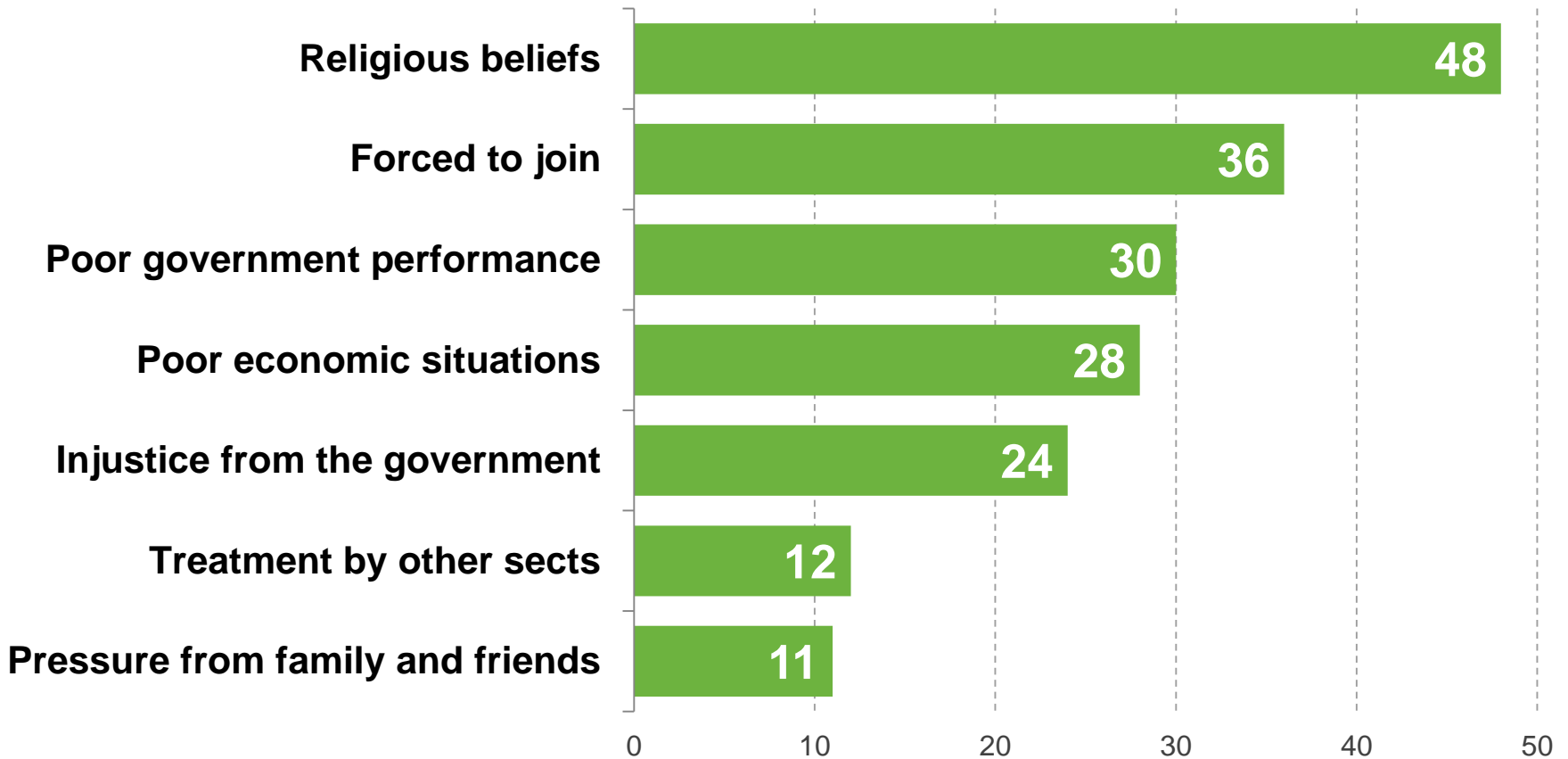
ISIS successful strategies: intimidation and persuasion

Now, I am going to read you a list of potential reasons why ISIS took over so much territory in Iraq over the last few years. Please tell me which ONE of these is the most important reason for why ISIS took over so much territory in Iraq



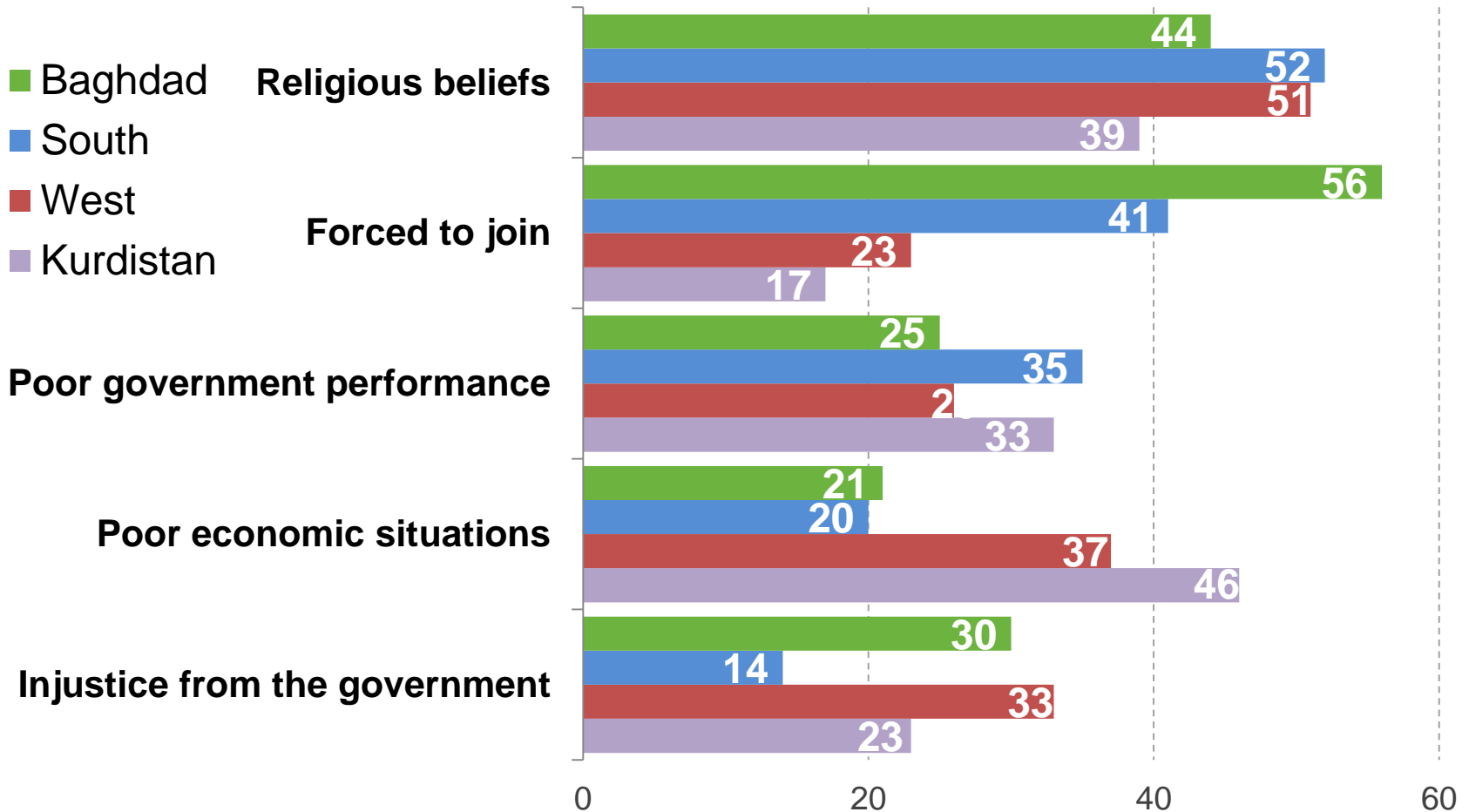
Religion behind why some *joined* ISIS

Now I am going to read a list of reasons why some Iraqis joined ISIS. Please tell me which TWO you think is the biggest reason some Iraqis joined ISIS?



Why some joined ISIS, by region

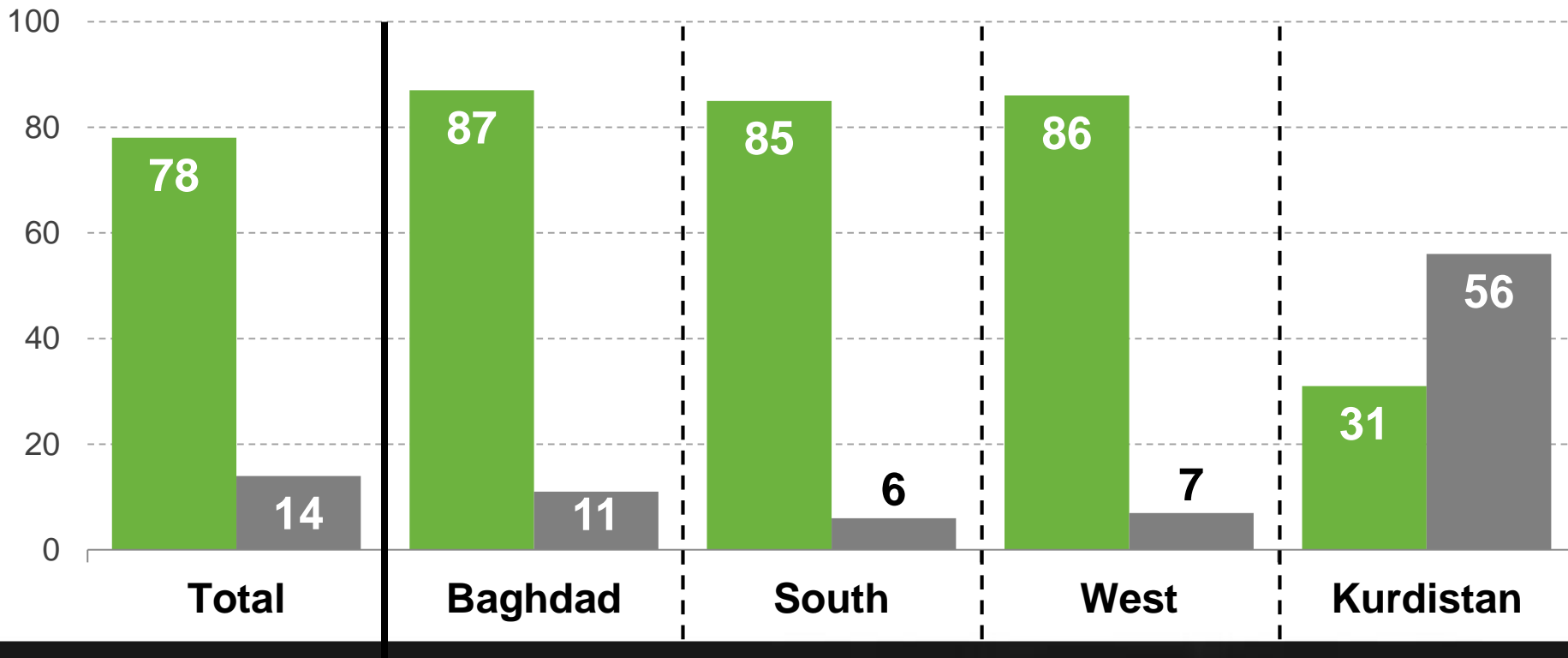
Now I am going to read a list of reasons why some Iraqis joined ISIS. Please tell me which TWO you think is the biggest reason some Iraqis joined ISIS?



The fight against ISIS has helped to unify Iraq

The fight against ISIS has helped unify the people of Iraq.

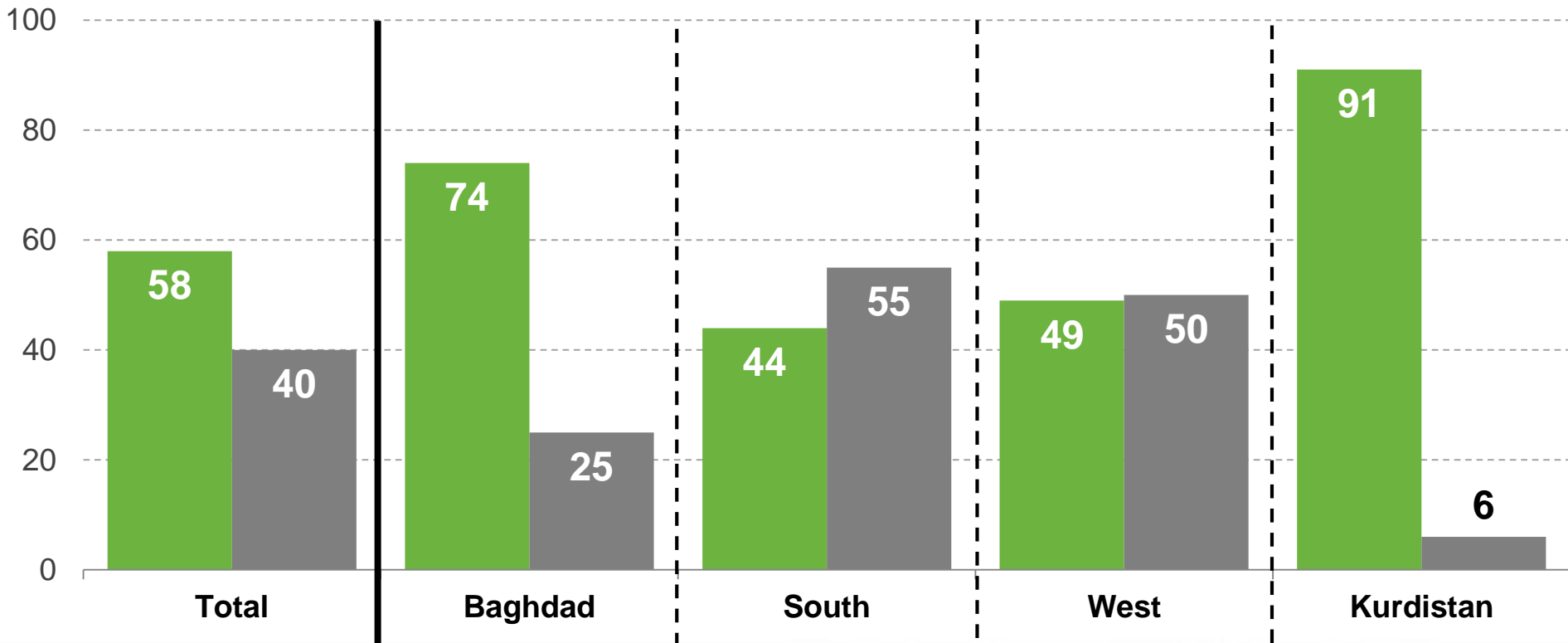
The fight against ISIS has further divided the people of Iraq.



Majority concerned about ISIS's return

Would you say you are very concerned about ISIS and other extremist groups re-emerging in Iraq, somewhat concerned, just a little concerned, or not at all concerned about ISIS and other extremist groups re-emerging to Iraq?

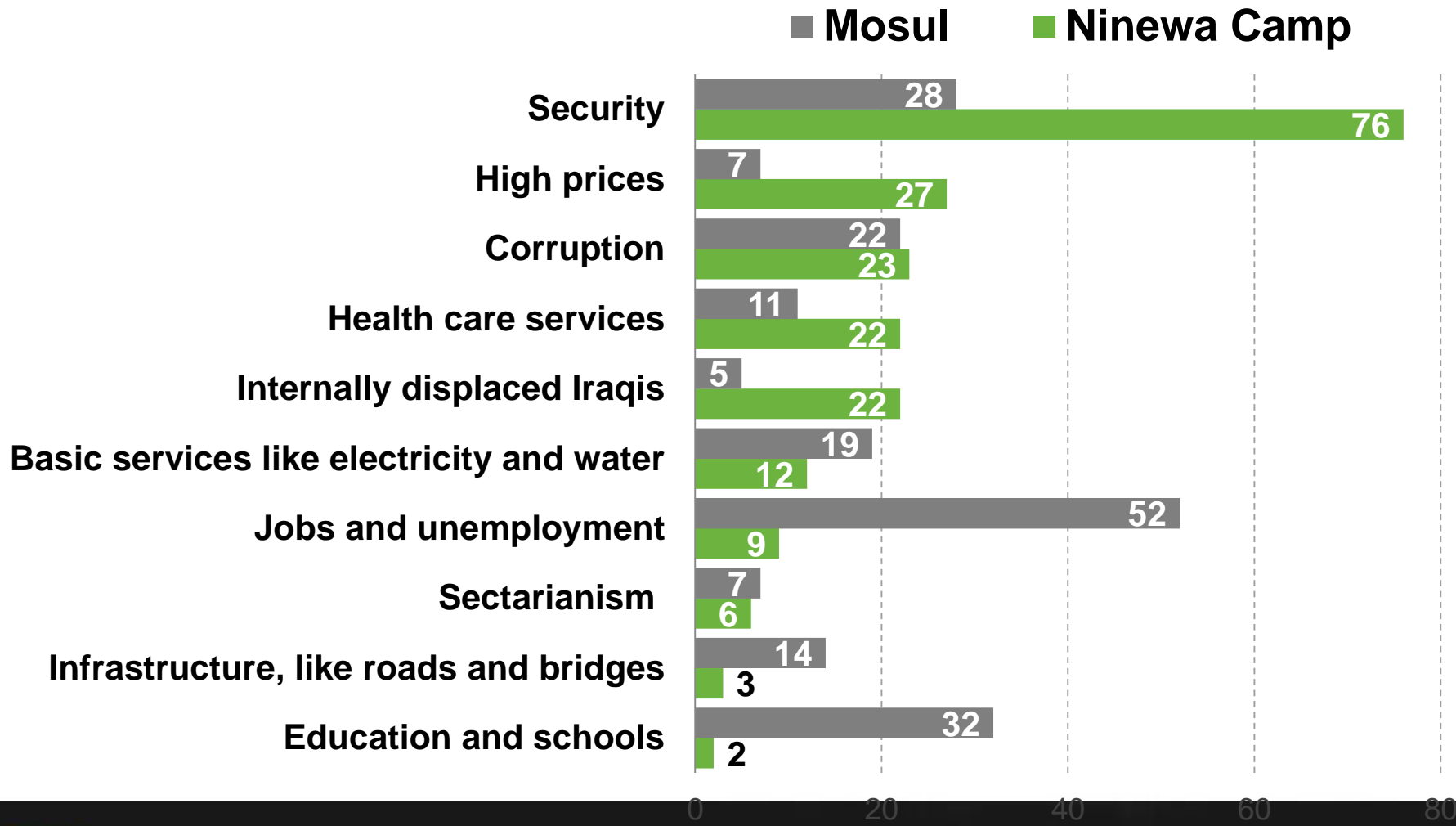
■ Very/Somewhat ■ Little/Not



Ninewa after ISIS

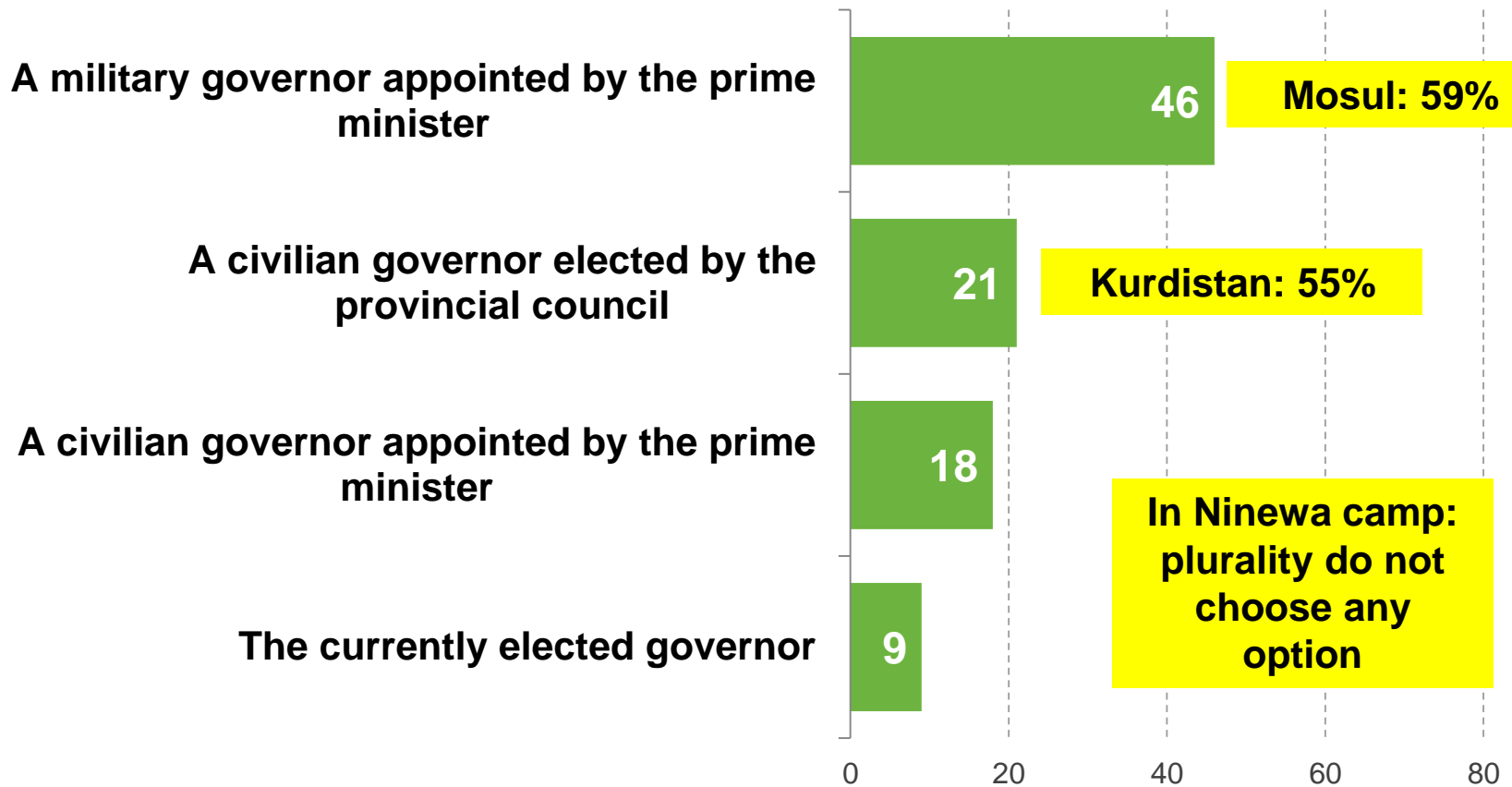
Ninewa camp, Mosul concerns show stark contrast

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



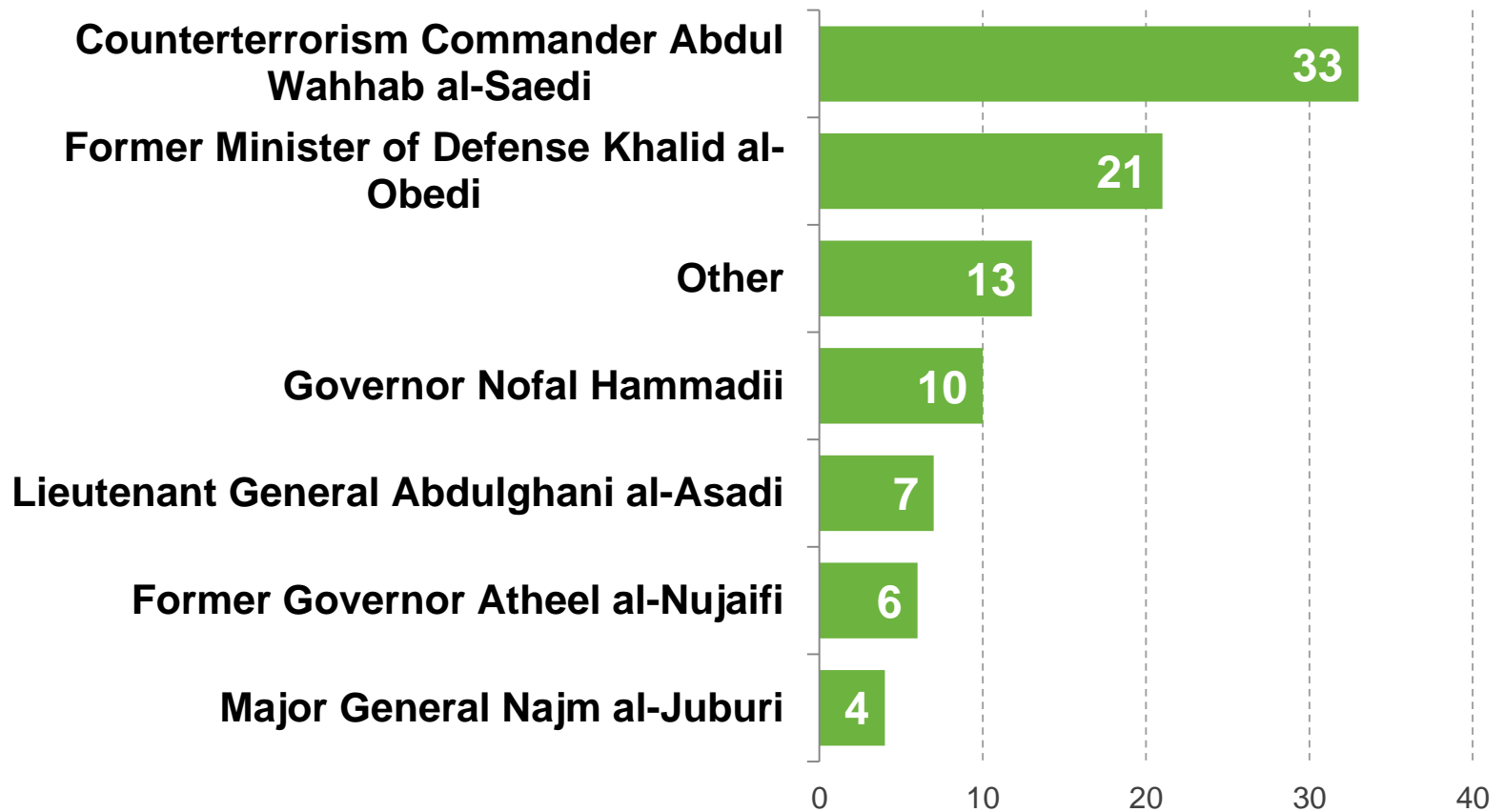
Support for military governor in Mosul

Thinking specifically about Ninewa. Which of the following do you think should govern Ninewa until it has been fully liberated and made more stable:



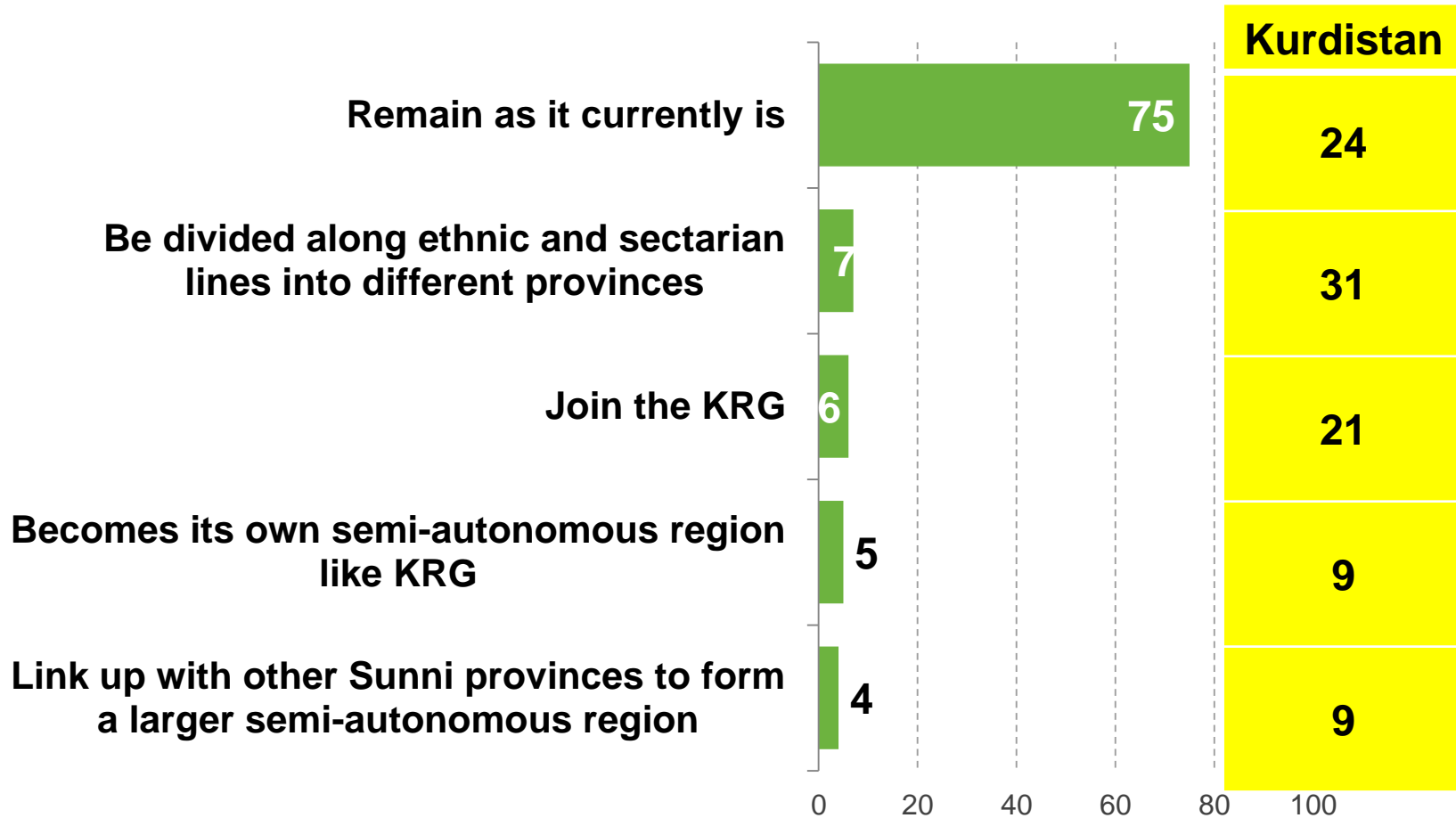
Who would bring stability to Ninewa? | Mosul & Ninewa camp

Please take a look at the names on this list. Based on what you know, which of the following individuals would do the best job bringing stability to Ninewa?



Outside of Kurdistan, people want Ninewa to stay as is

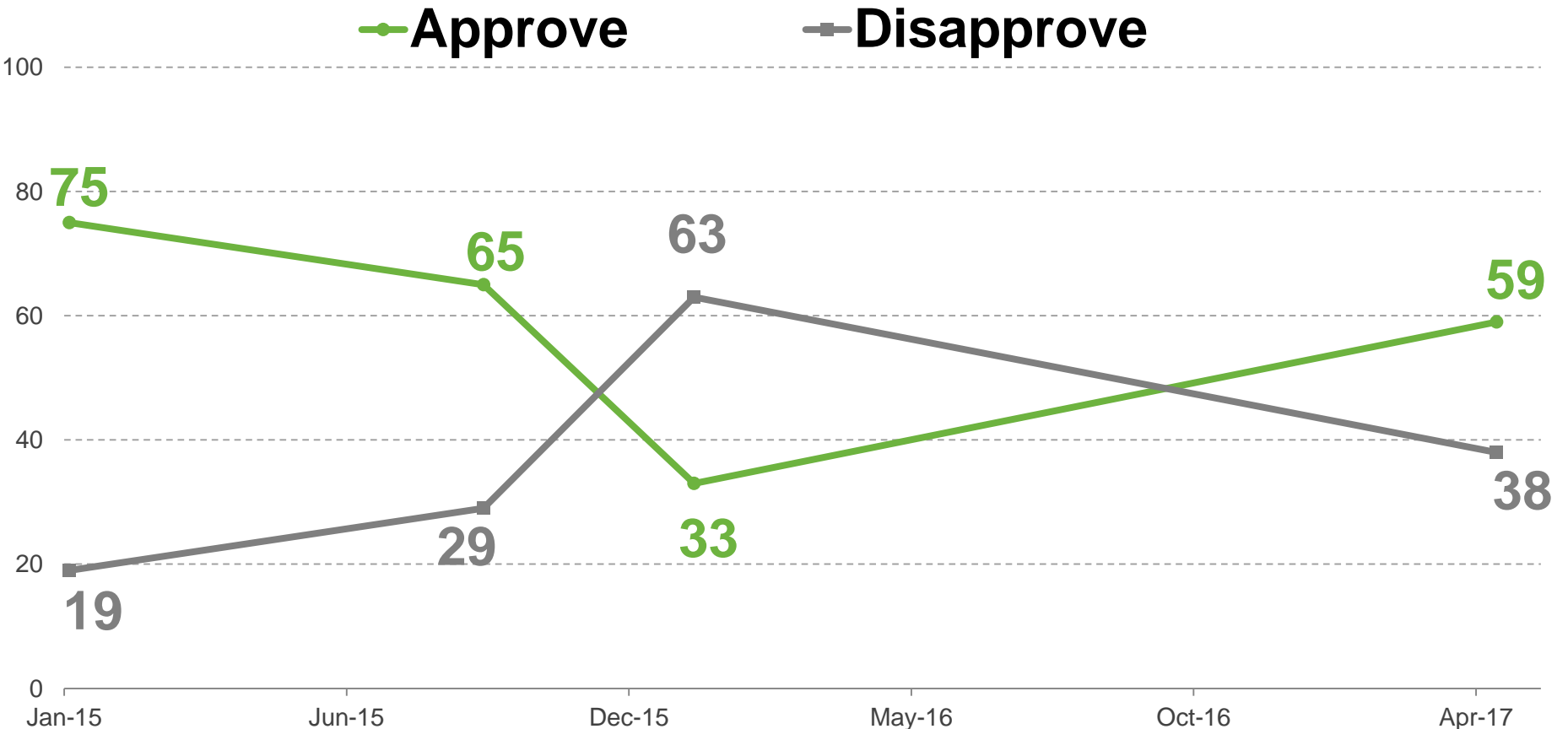
Once Ninewa is liberated which of the following do you think should happen to the governorate:



Abadi image rebounds

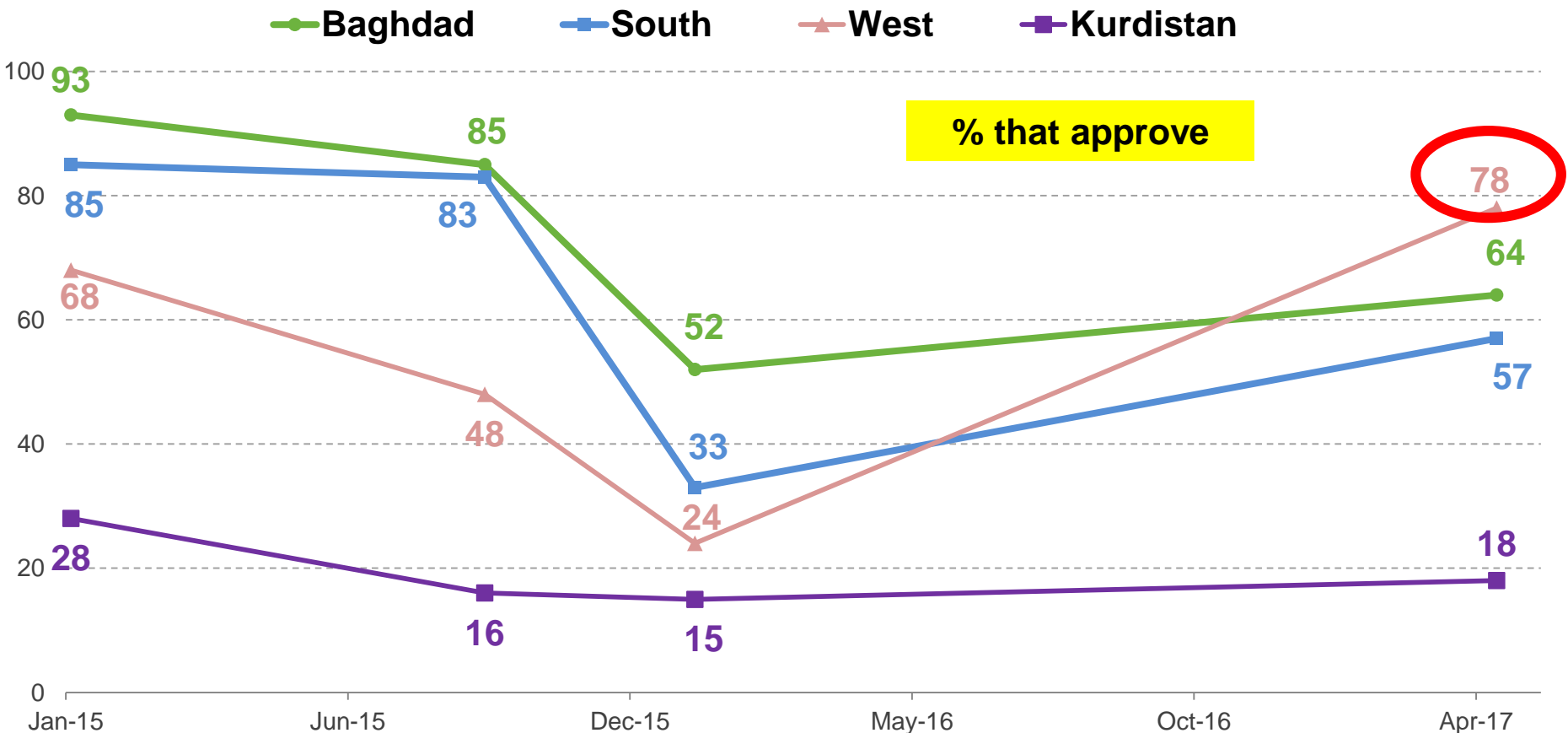
Majority approve of Abadi's job again

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job Haider al-Abadi is doing as prime minister?



Abadi's job approval jumps most in West

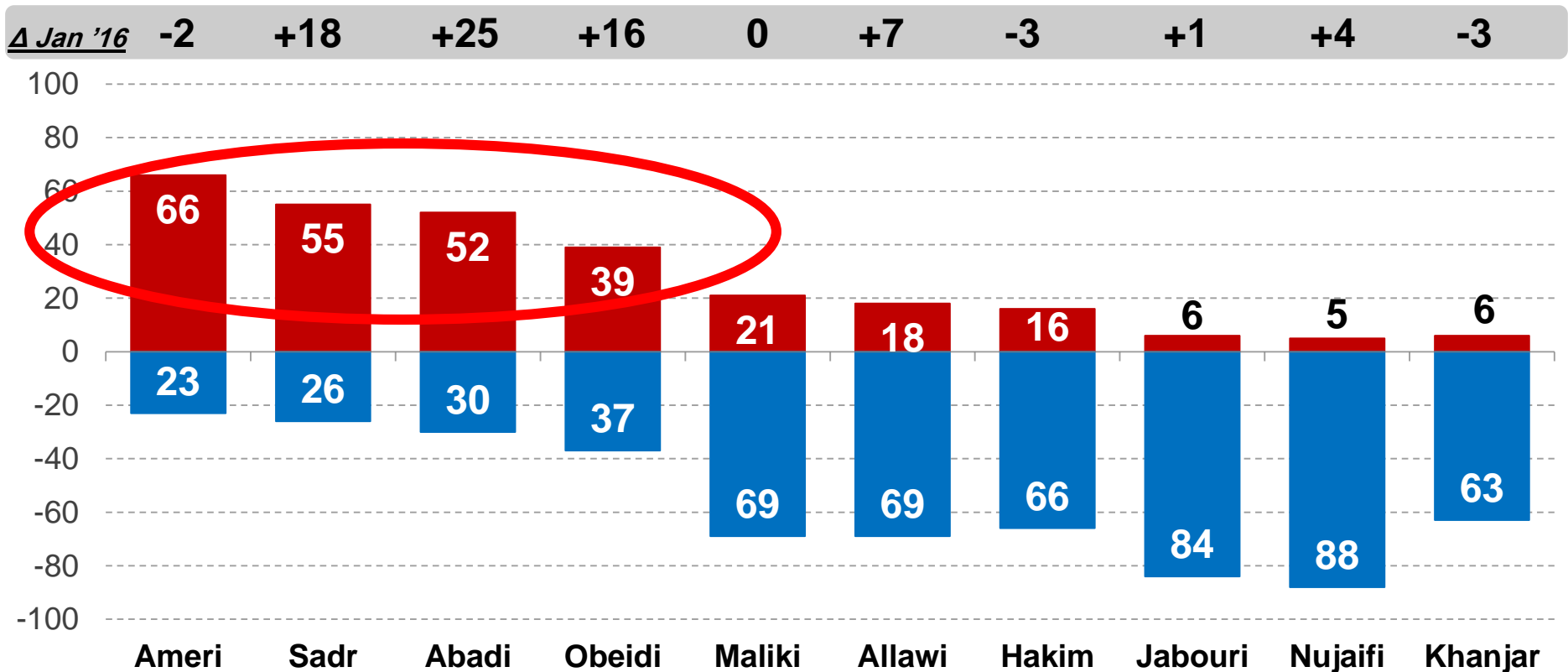
Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job Haider al-Abadi is doing as prime minister?



Favorability of leaders | Non-Kurdistan

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

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable

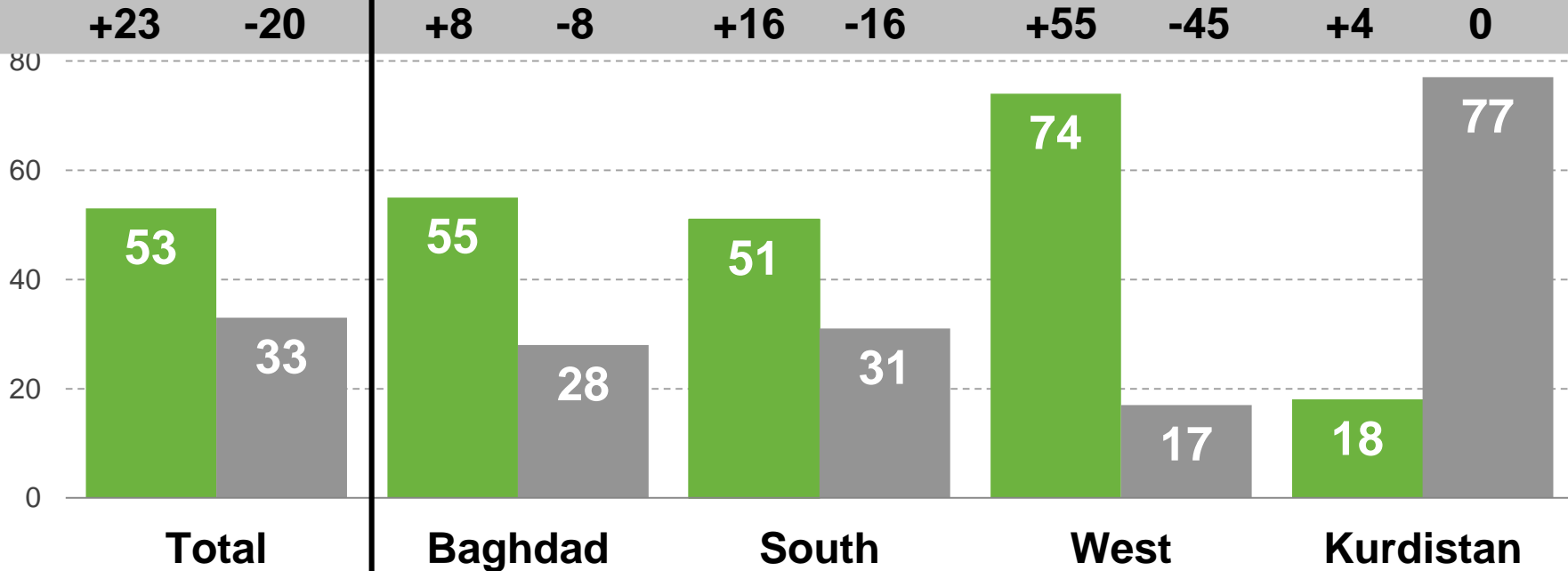


Majority want to continue in Abadi's direction

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.

Δ Jan'16



Factors in a Post-ISIS Iraq

Factors in a Post-ISIS Iraq

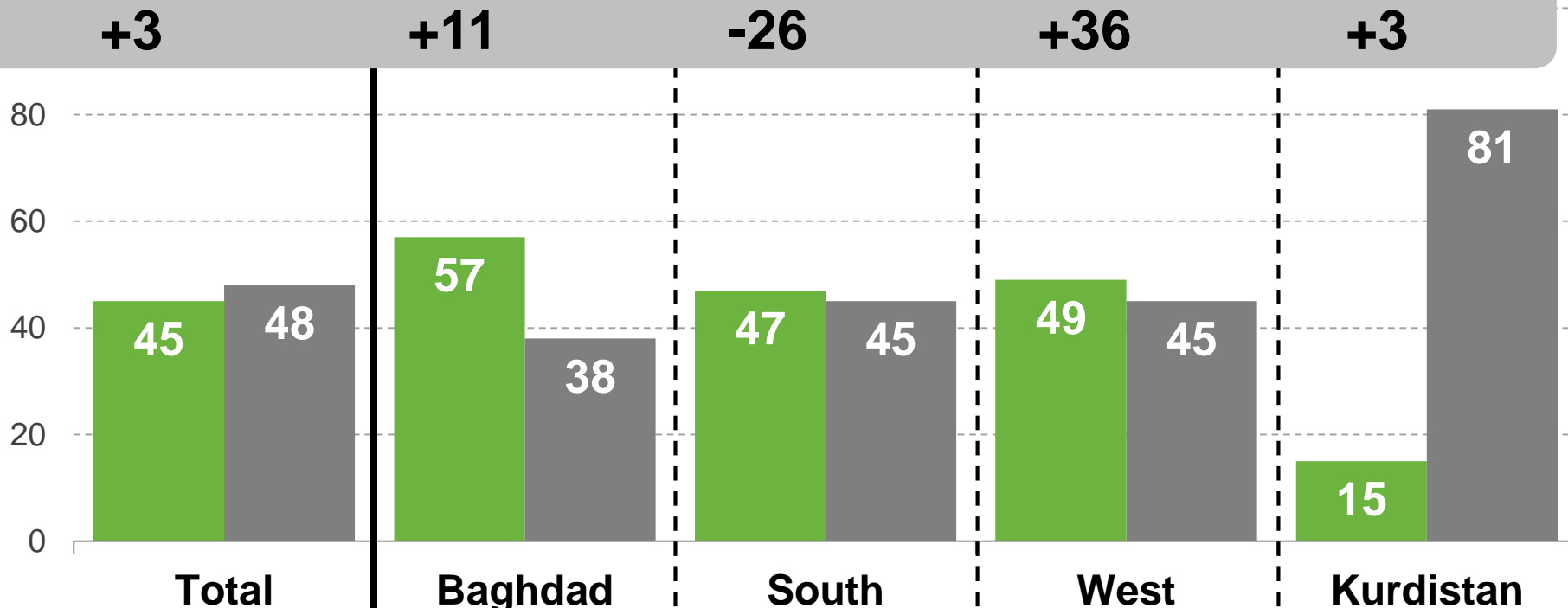
- 1. Inclusive institutions need to deliver on citizens' high expectations for the future.**
- 2. Prosecution of ISIS members and provision of compensation and psychological support for victims are key priorities.**
- 3. Leaders need to develop a strong vision for the future—fighting corruption, creating jobs, and achieving long-term reconciliation.**

Iraqis split on whether country is unified

Iraq is mostly a unified country

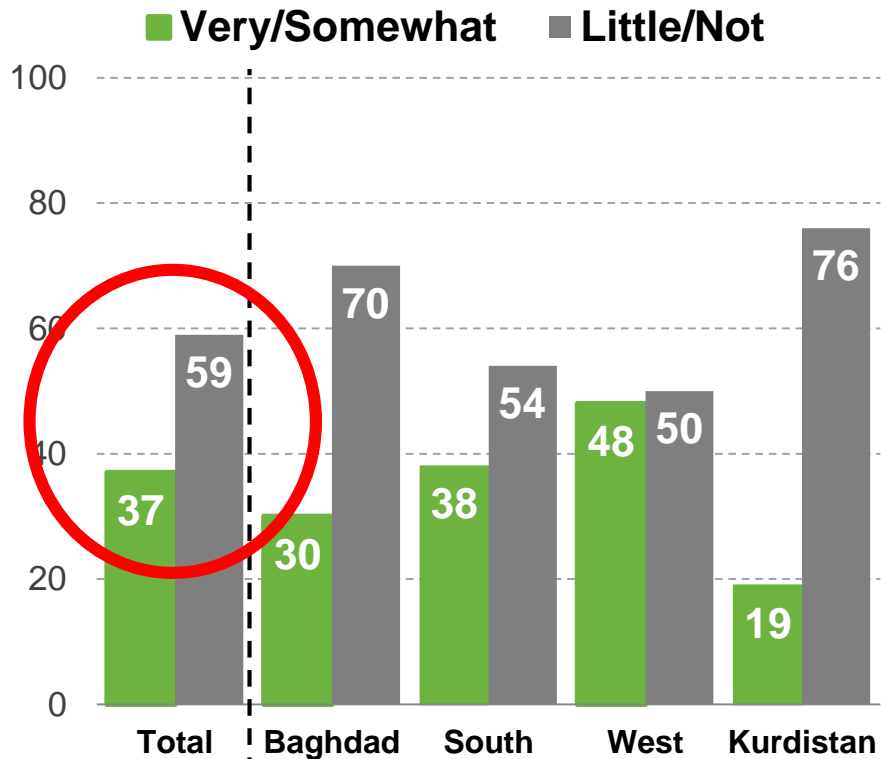
Iraq is mostly a divided country.

Δ Jan'15 unified

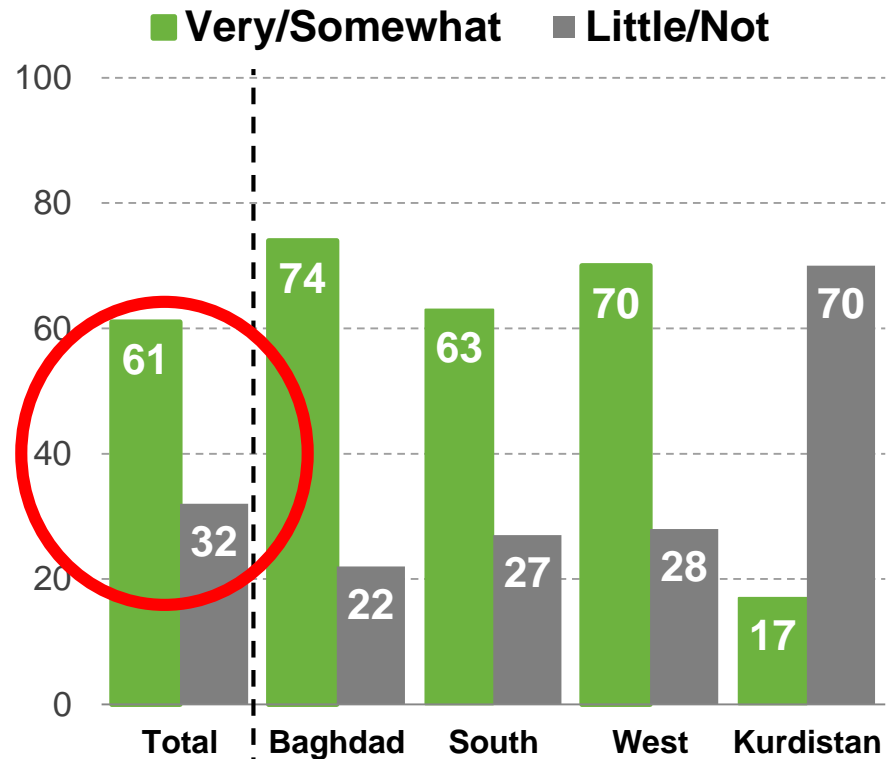


Belief that parties need to reconcile, not people

Generally speaking, how likely do you think it is that Iraq will see greater cooperation between the political parties in the near future?

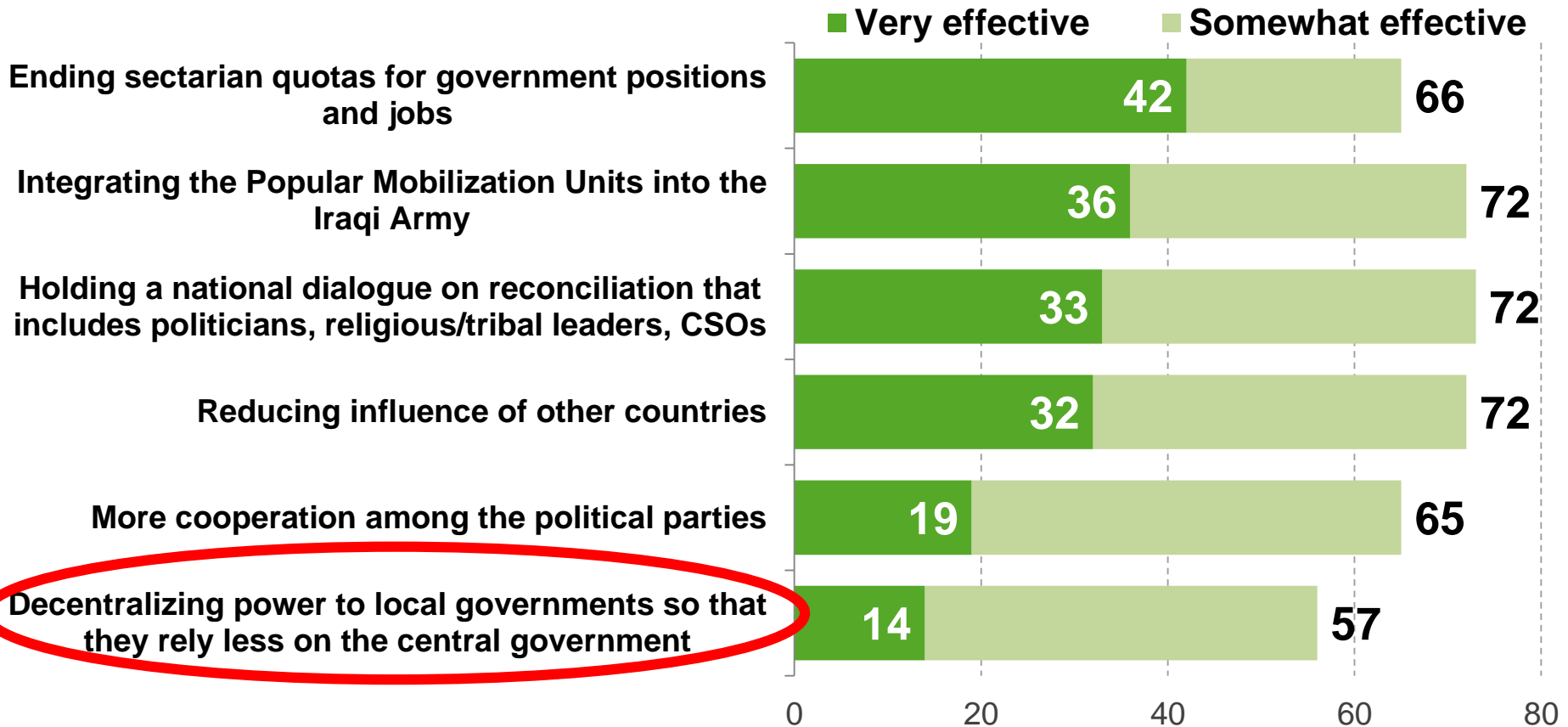


Generally speaking, how likely do you think it is that the different sects and ethnicities living in previously occupied ISIS areas will improve relations among themselves?



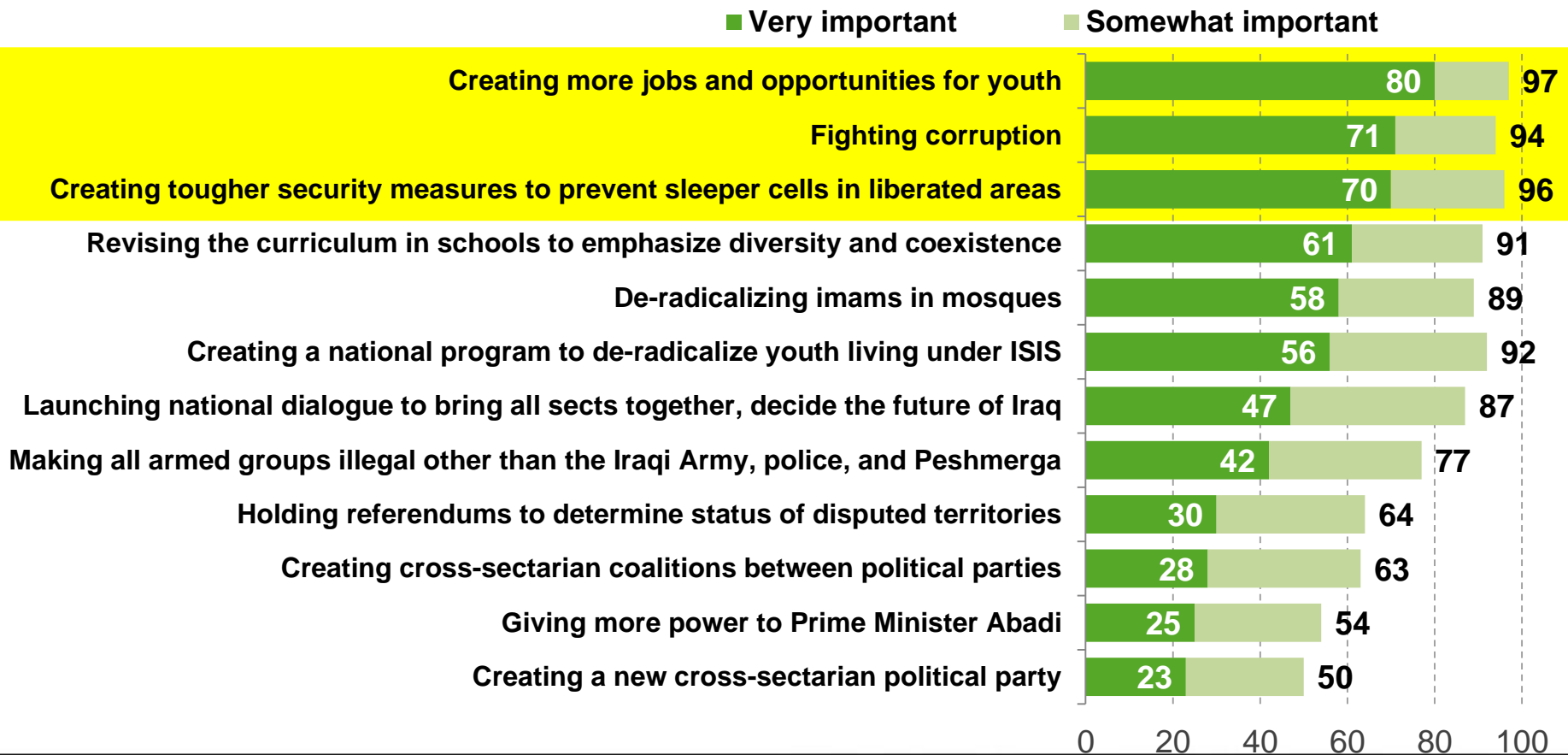
Removing quotas, PMU integration key to reconciliation

Now, I am going to read you a list of ways to achieve reconciliation in Iraq. For each one, please tell me if you think it is a very effective way to achieve reconciliation in Iraq, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not an effective way at all to achieve reconciliation in Iraq.



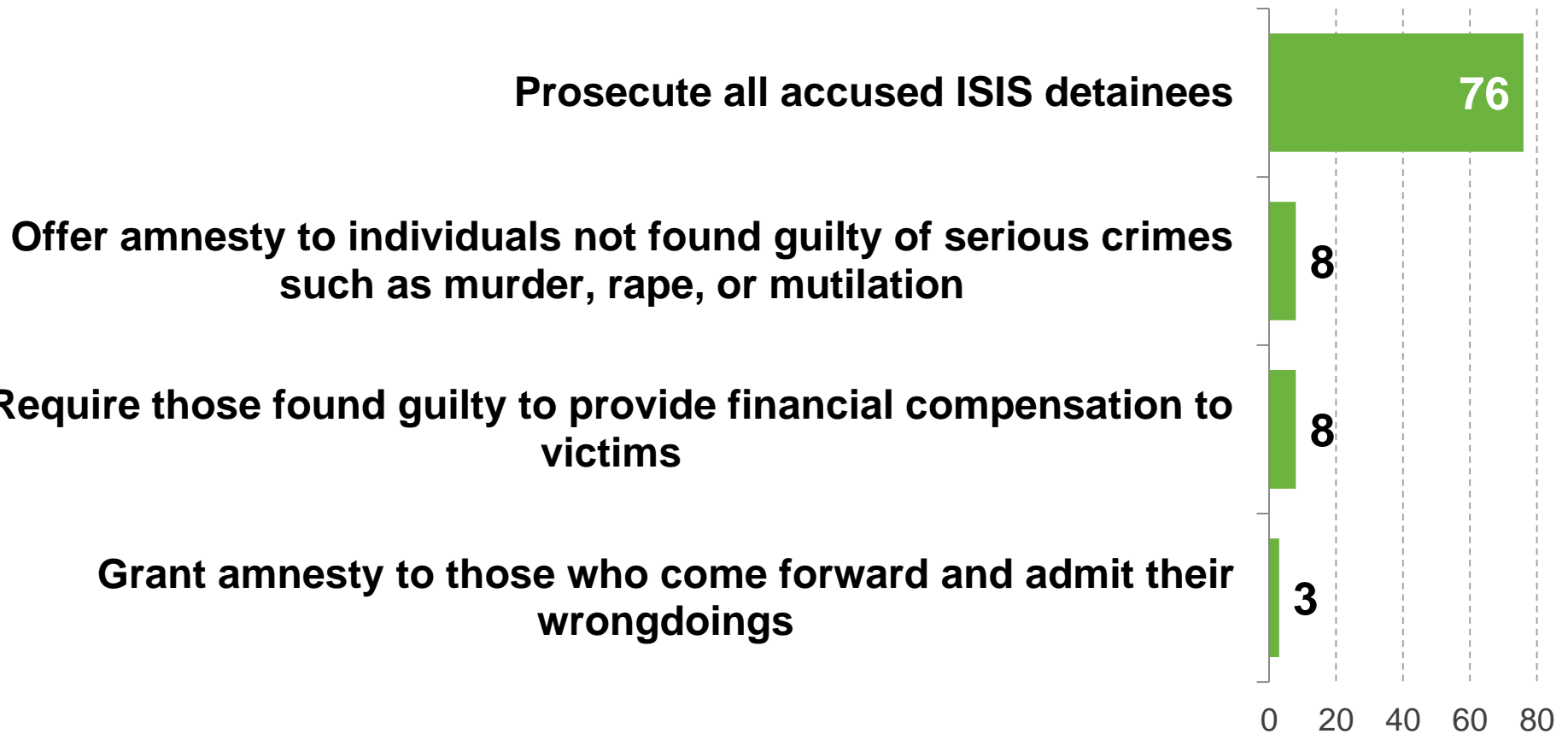
Jobs and anti-corruption best way to stop ISIS's return

Now I am going to read you a list of things that some people think are important to make sure that ISIS or other extremist organizations do not re-emerge in Iraq. For each one please tell me if you think that thing is very important to make sure that ISIS or other extremist organizations do not re-emerge, somewhat important, just a little important, or not at all important to make sure that ISIS or other extremist organizations do not re-emerge



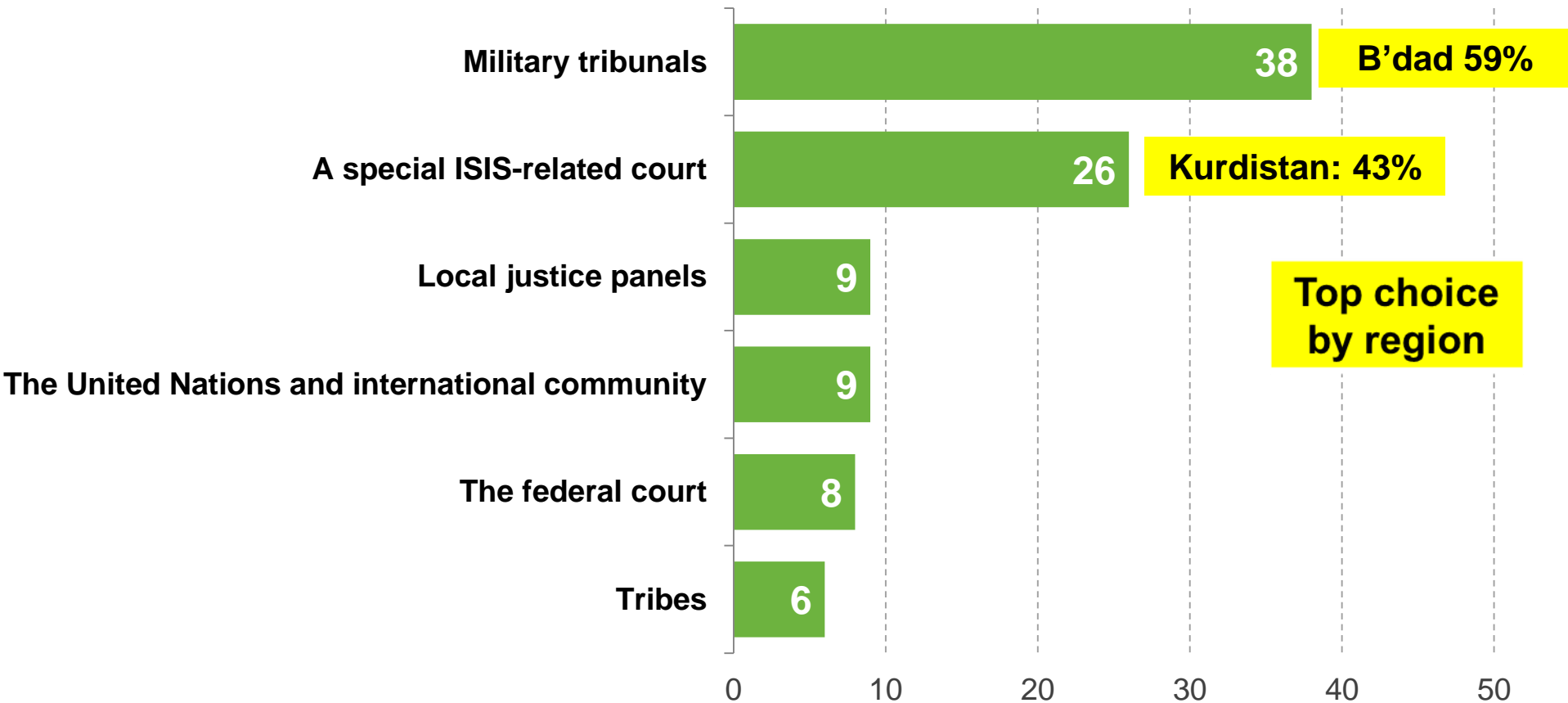
Iraqis want prosecution for ISIS members

Which ONE of the following do you think should be done to those who committed violent acts on behalf of ISIS?



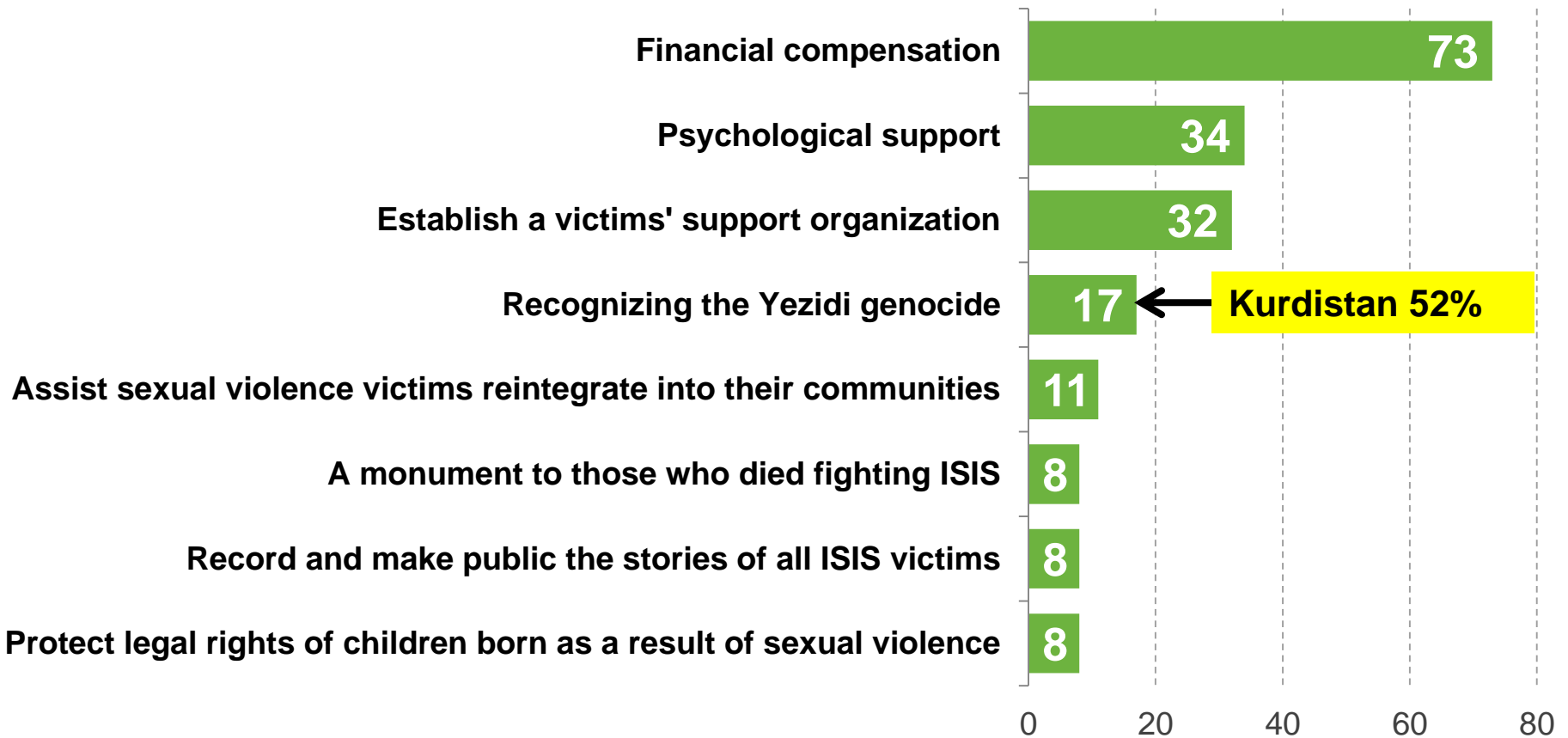
Special courts preferred for prosecution of ISIS members

Which ONE of the following would be most effective overseeing the process of prosecuting ISIS members and helping victims of their crimes?



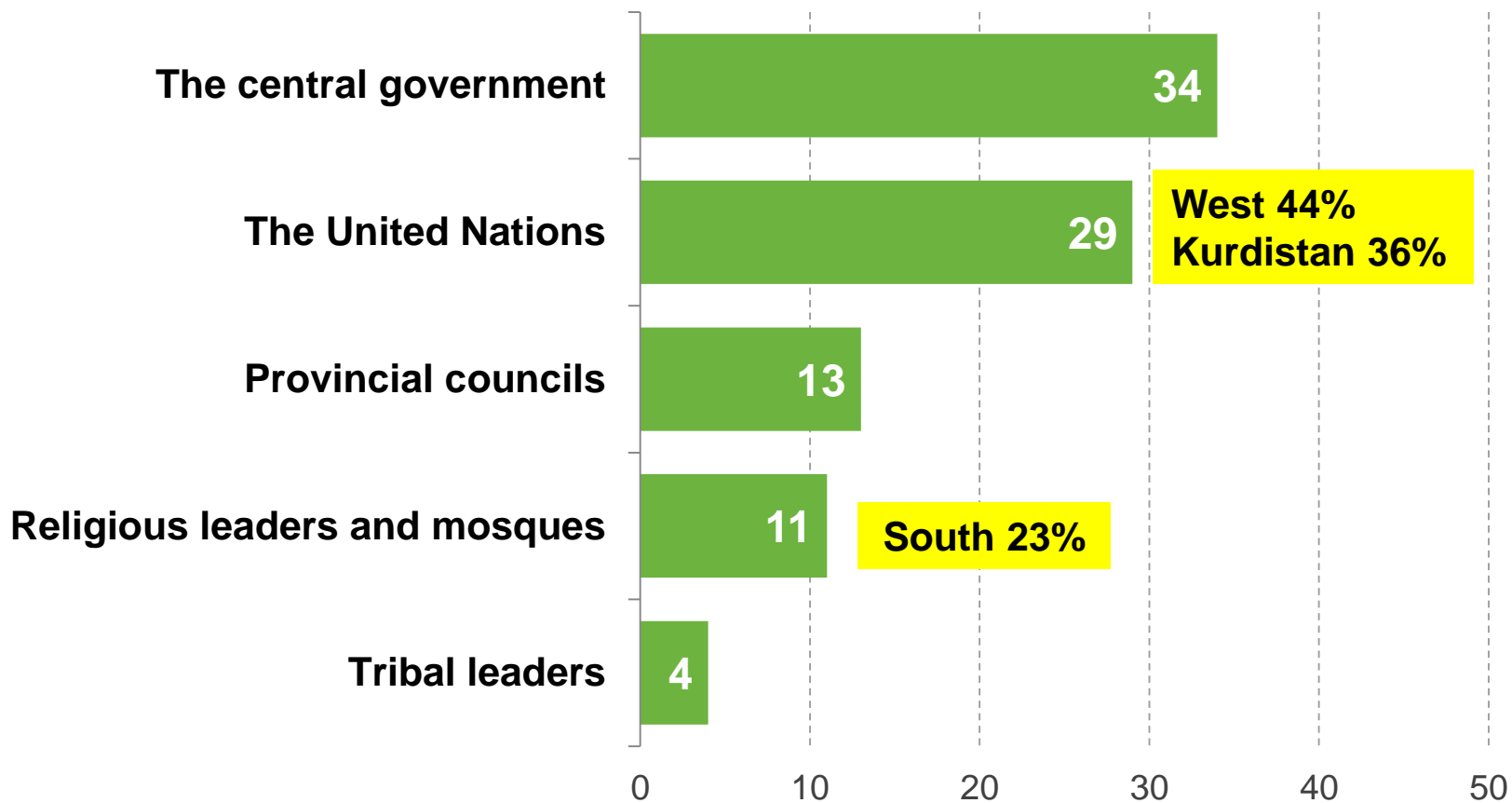
Helping ISIS's victims

When thinking about the victims of ISIS, which TWO of the following do you think should be done to help these victims?



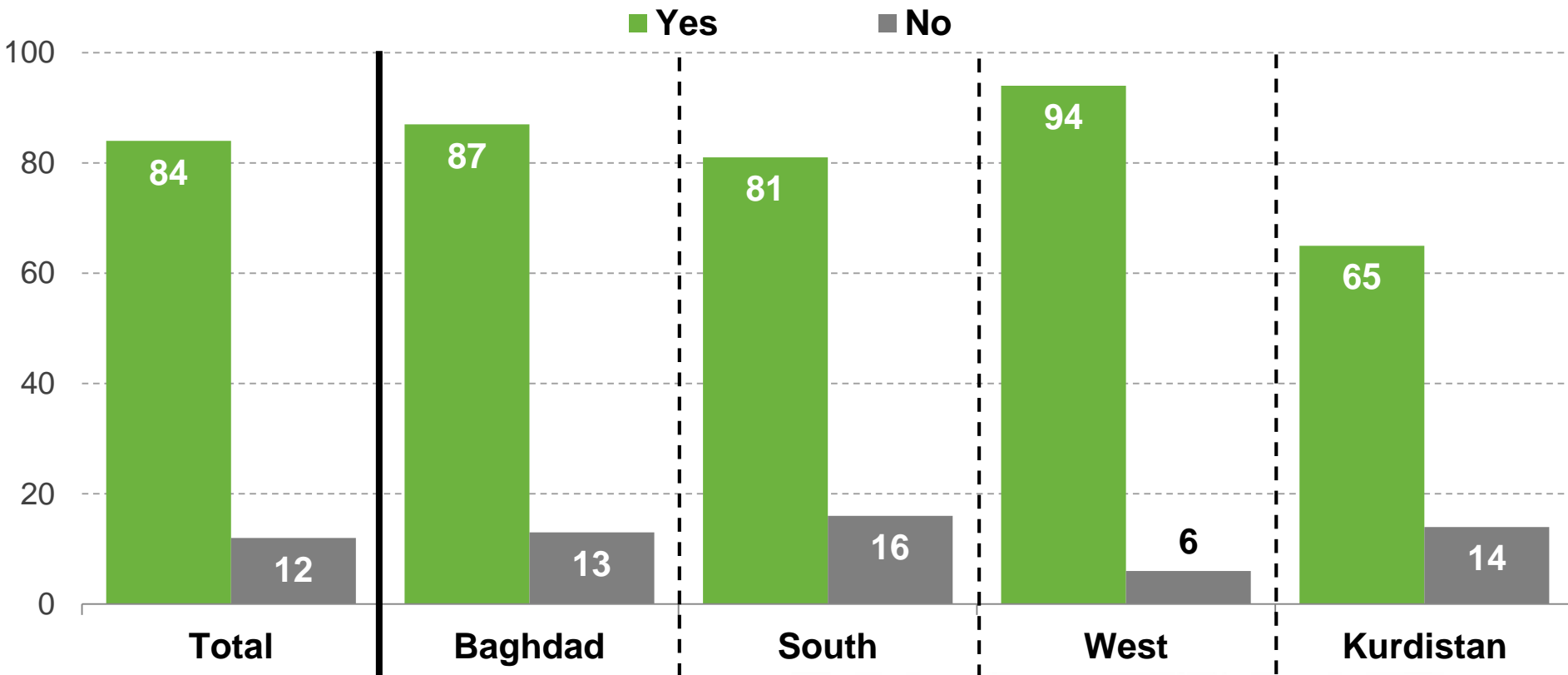
Differing views on who should distribute compensation

Please tell me which ONE of these you MOST trust to distribute compensation to those most harmed by ISIS.



High expectations for government compensation

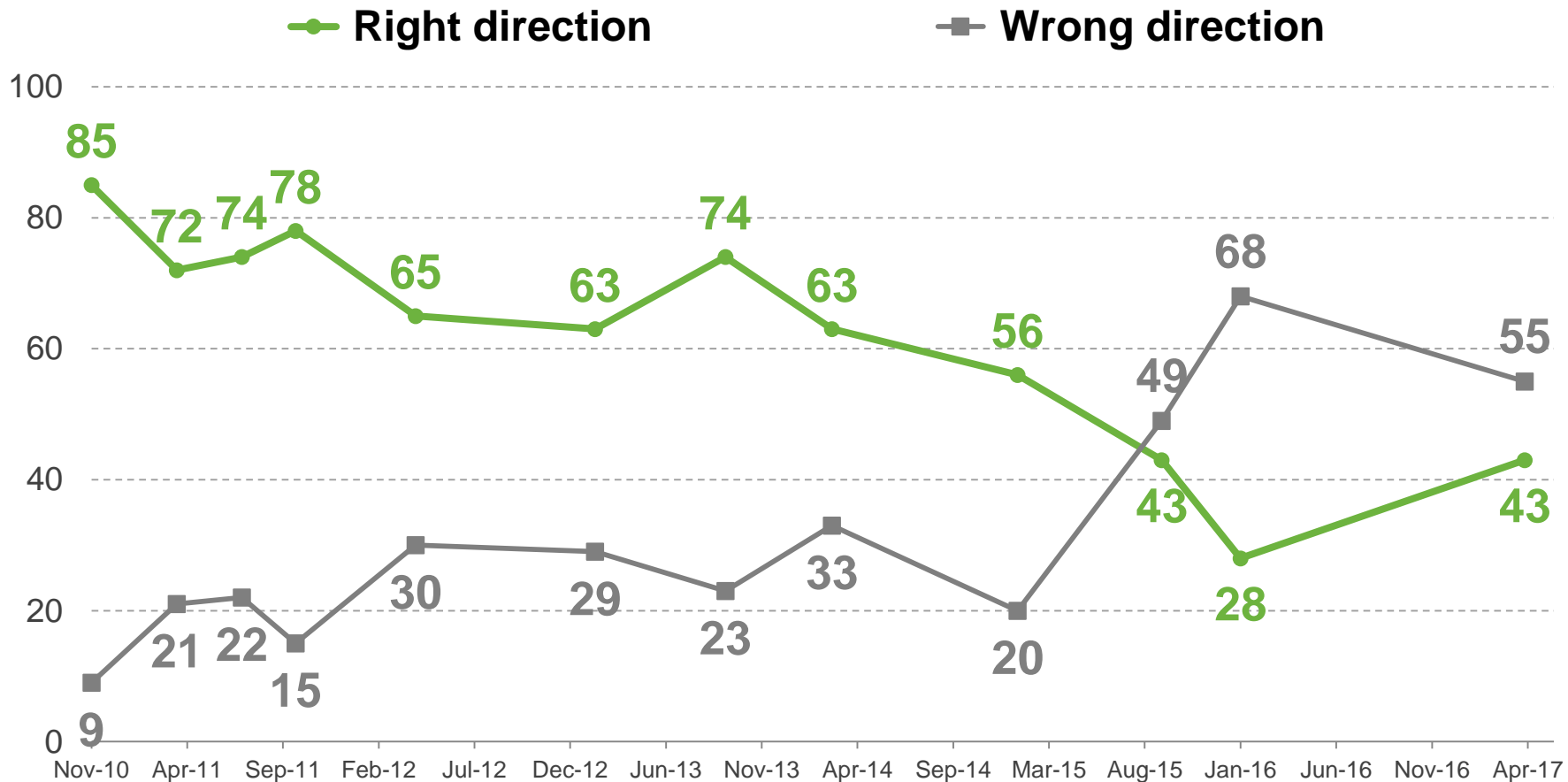
In your opinion, do you think the central government should be required to compensate people who lost property or were injured by ISIS, with the compensation coming from the national budget, even if this means less revenue for salaries and development projects?



Kurdistan

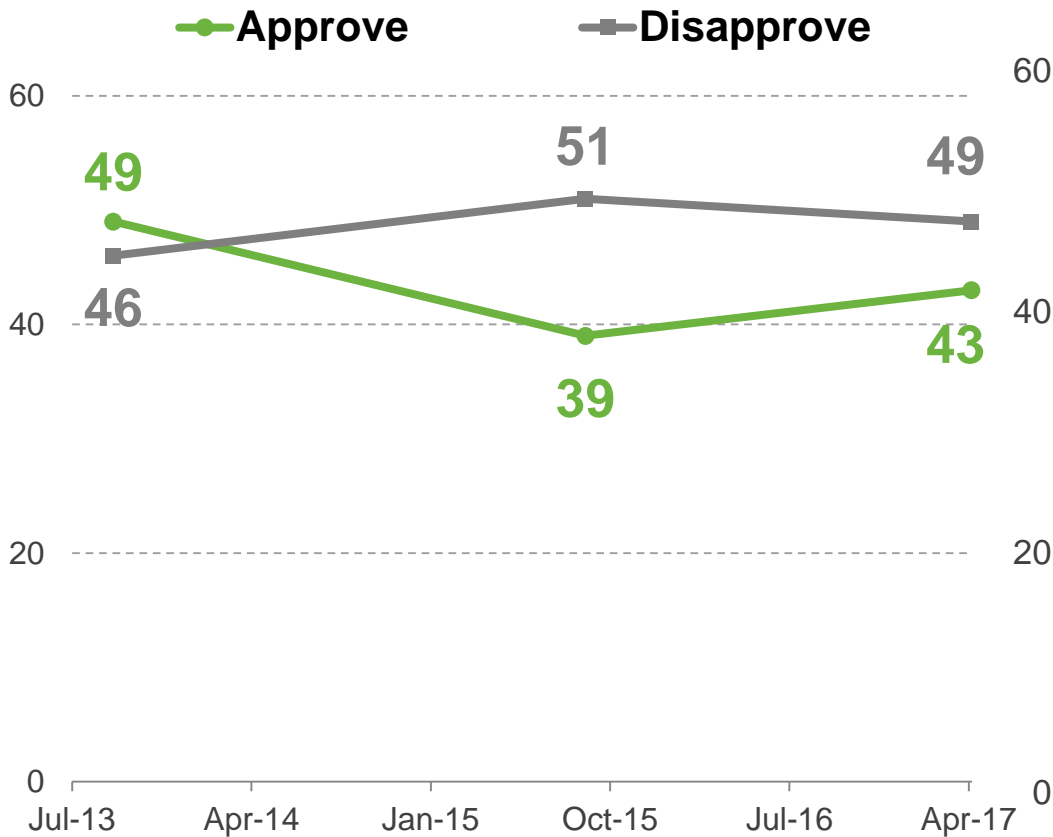
Mood rebounds a bit in Kurdistan

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

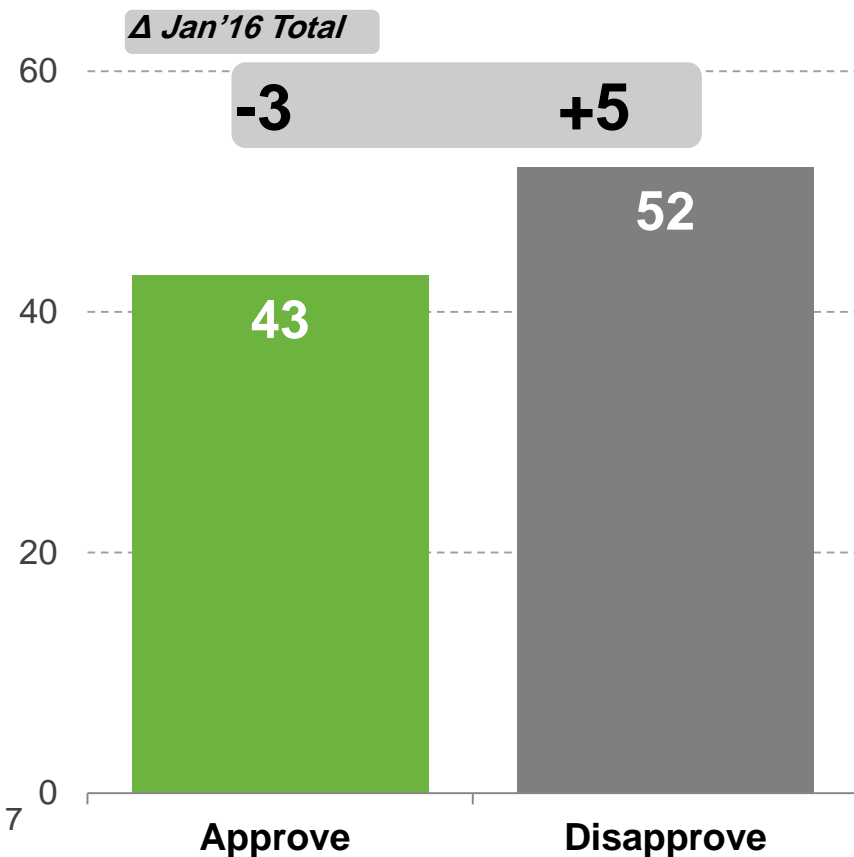


Barzani approval down; split on another term | Kurdistan

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of Massoud Barzani serving another term as President of Kurdistan



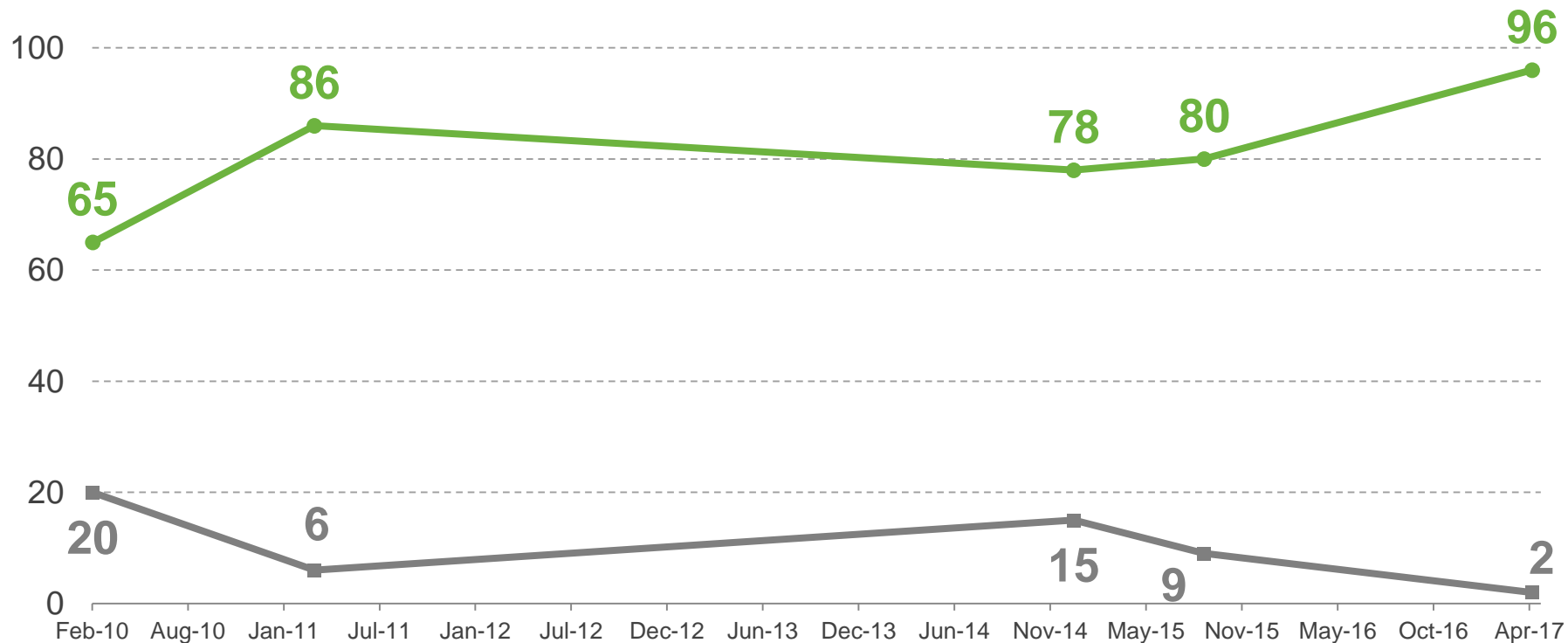
Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job Massoud Barzani is doing as President of Kurdistan?



Kurdish referendum result a certainty | Kurdistan

Now for something different. 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.

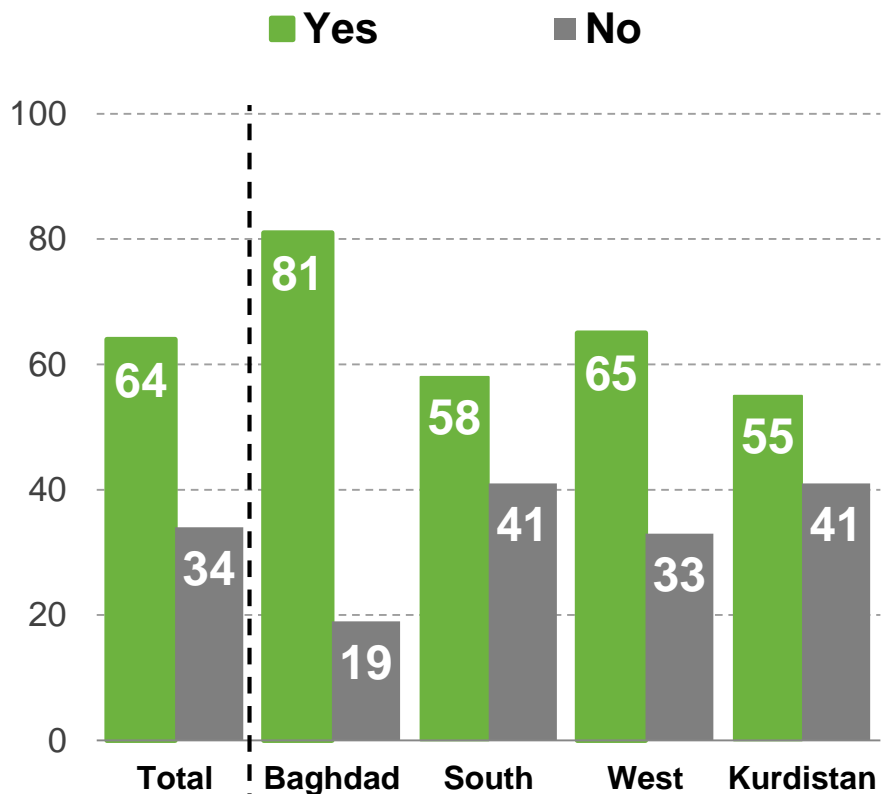
- Kurdistan should become an independent country.
- Kurdistan should remain an autonomous region of Iraq.



Miscellaneous

Internet access

Do you have regular access to the internet?



Do you have a mobile phone with internet access?

