

Iraq Enters a Critical Period

Results from the September-October 2011 National
Survey

The Research

National Survey

- September 22 – October 5, 2011
- 2,000 national face-to-face interviews (1,436 unweighted)
- 500 interviews in each of the following regions: Baghdad, South, West, and North—weighted representatively
- Margin of error +/- 2.6 percent on full sample, +/- 4.4 percent on North sample

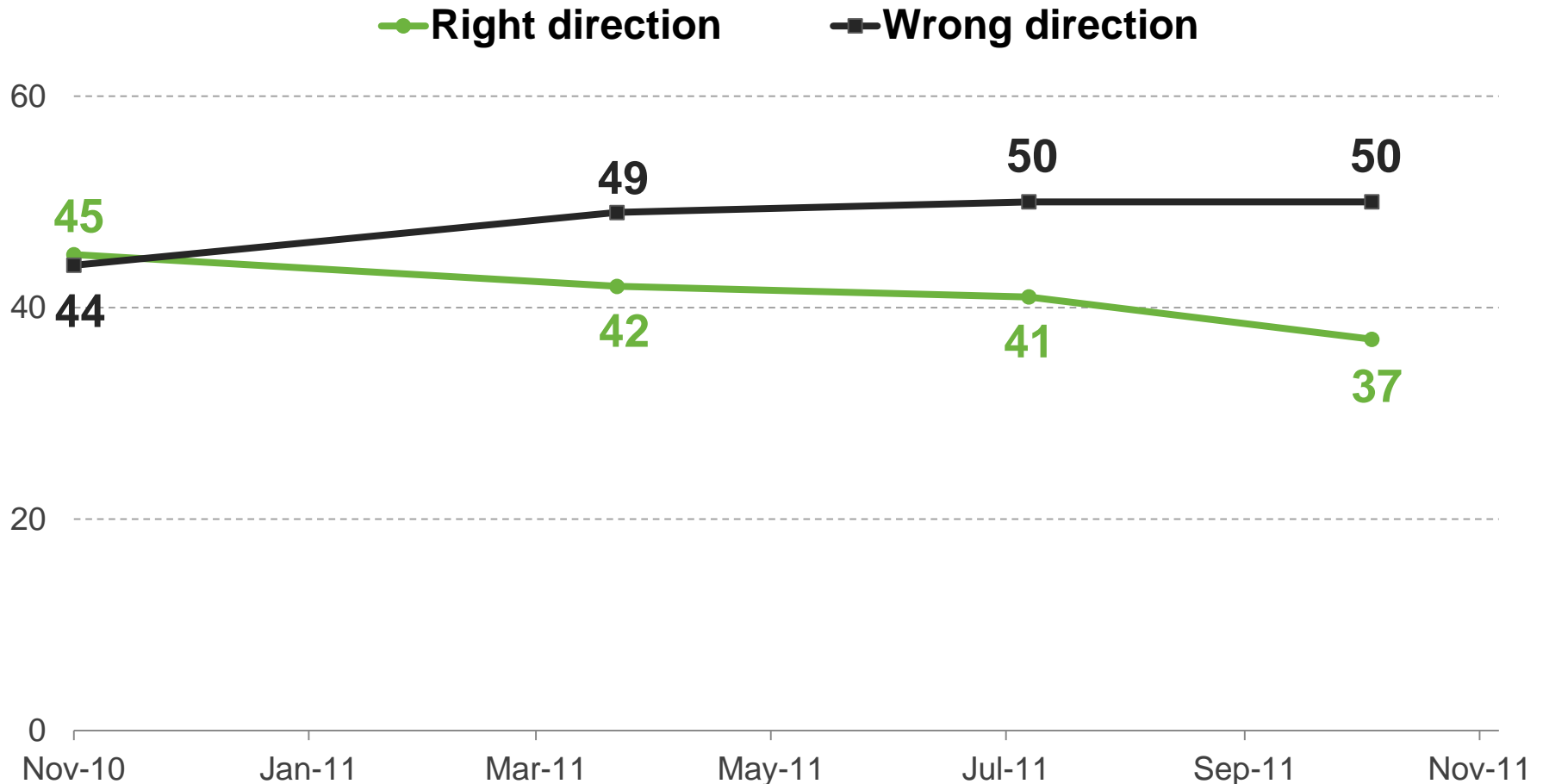
Focus Groups

- 22-25 July, 2011
- 2 each in Anbar, Baghdad, Basra, Erbil, and Sulaymaniyah

Economic Conditions Driving Negative Mood

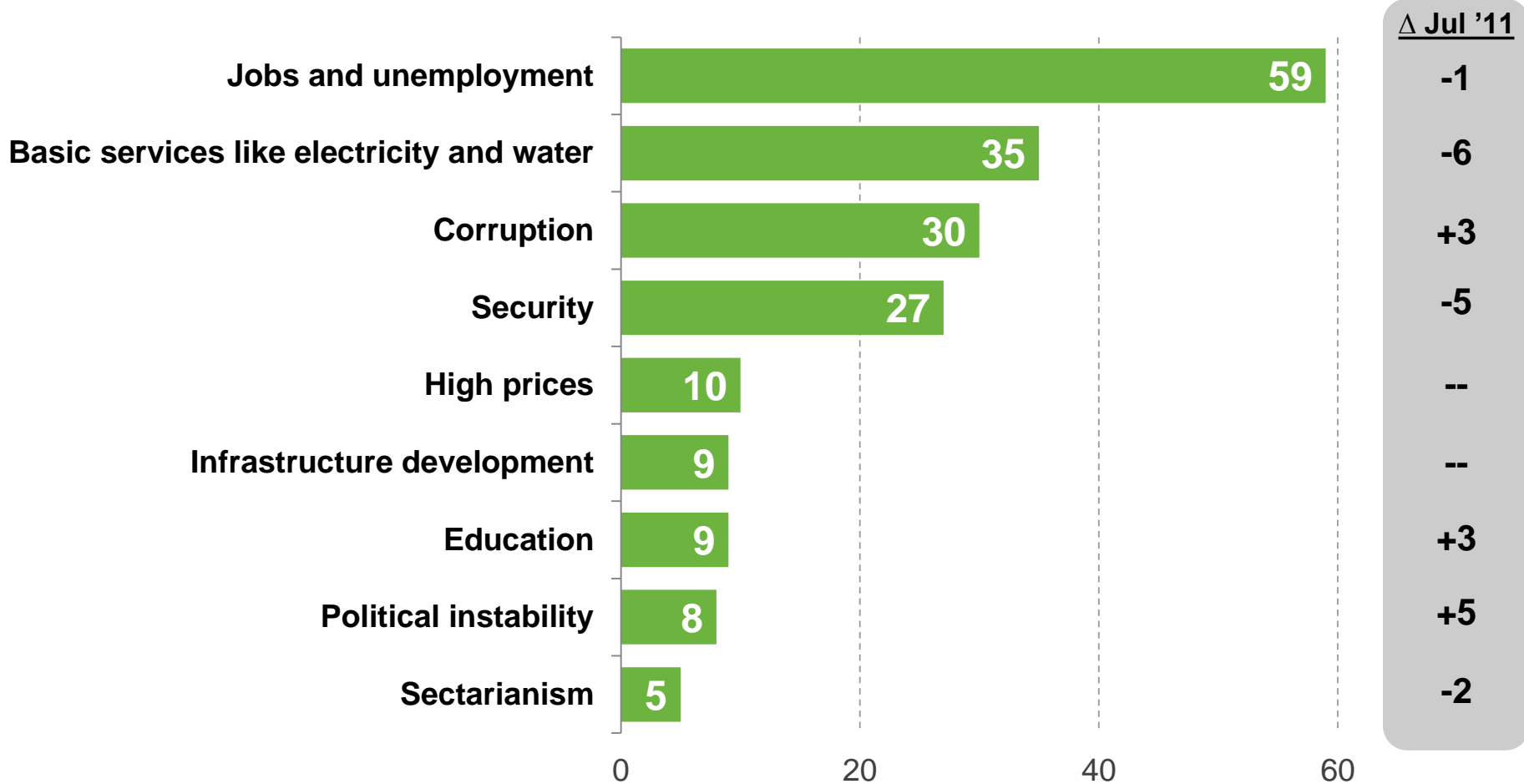
Right direction hits lowest point in a year

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?



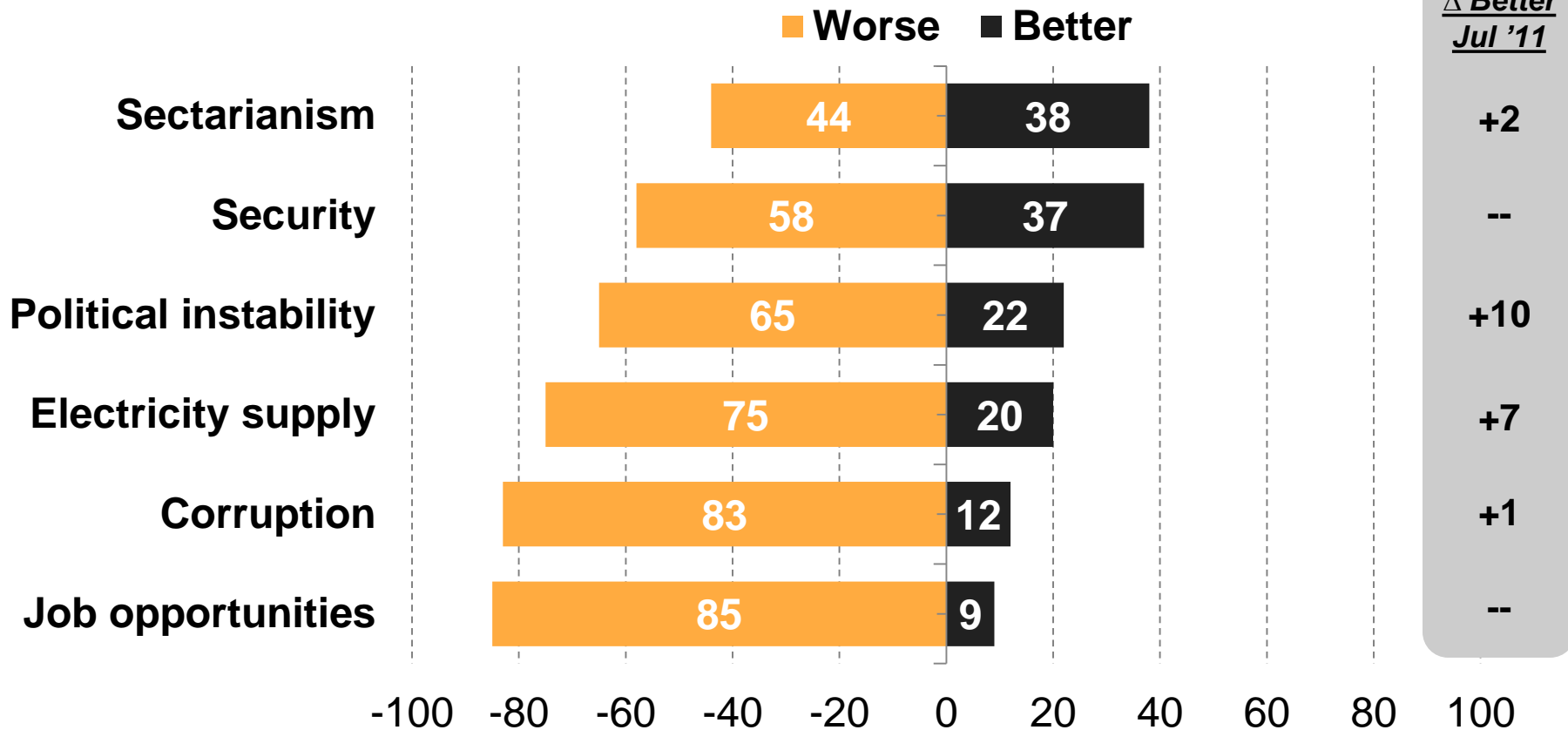
Jobs continue to dominate as a top concern

Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.



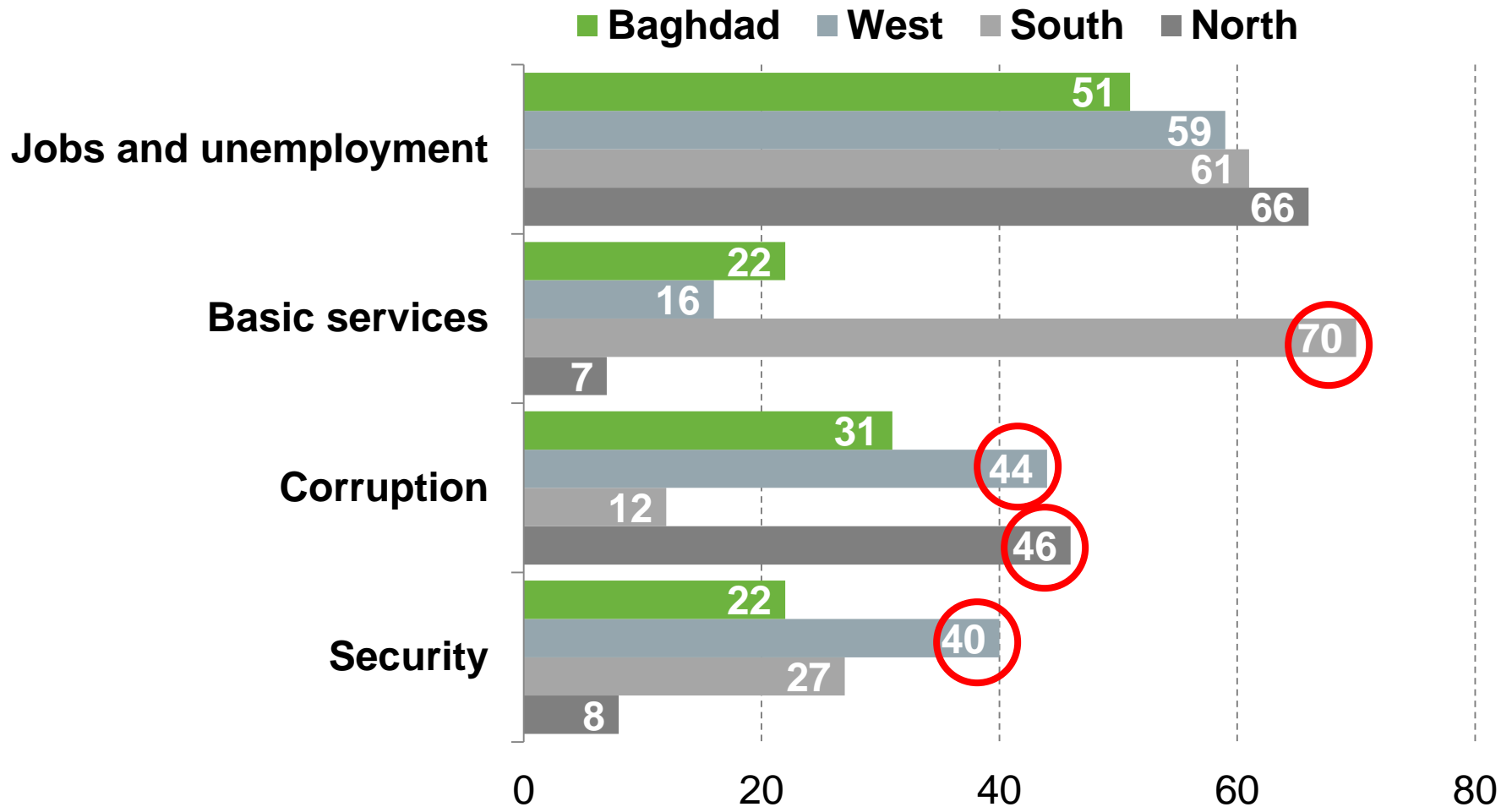
Job situation, corruption, electricity esp. seen as worsening

Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq. (NON-NORTH ONLY)



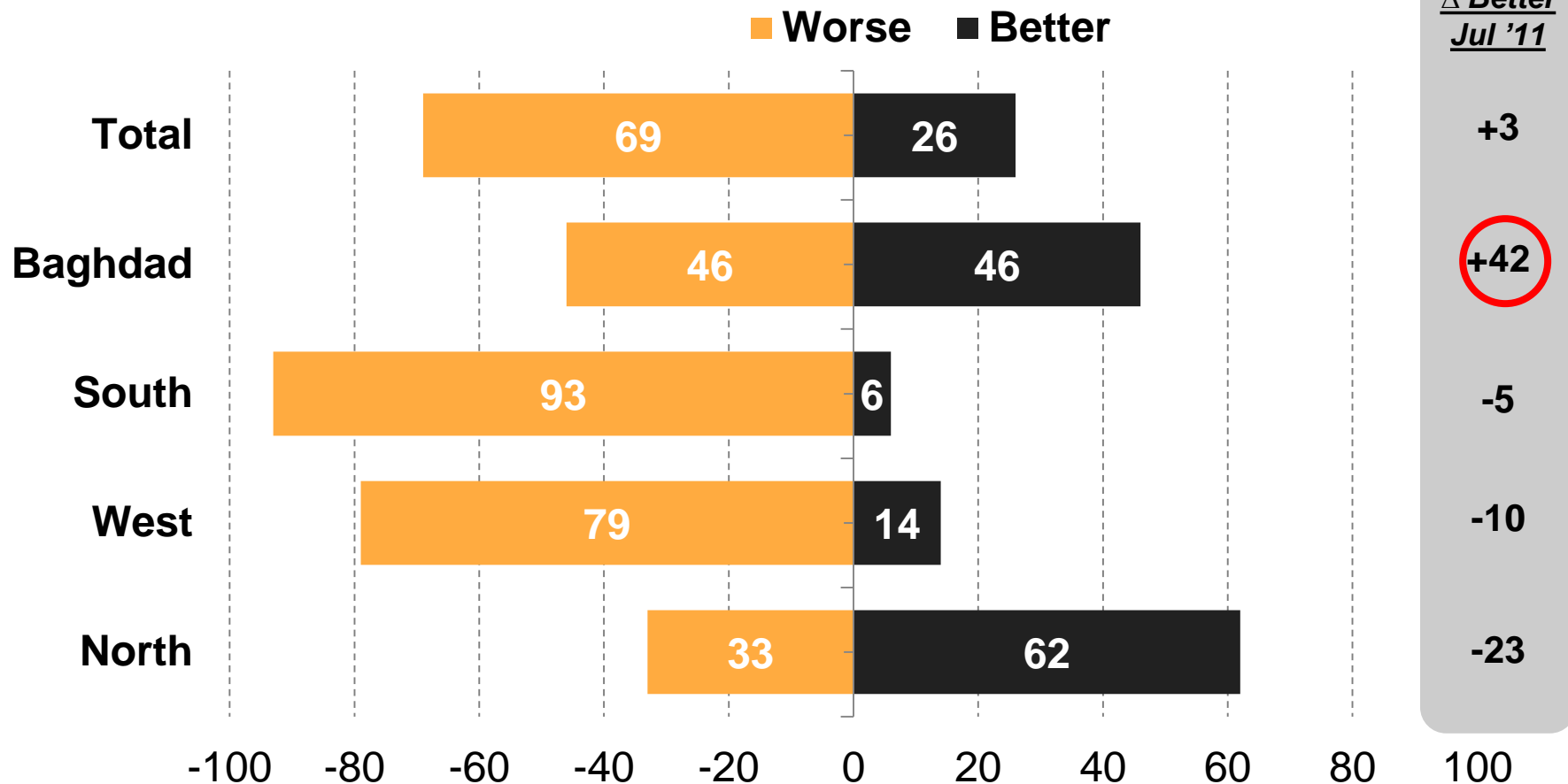
Job concerns dominant across regions, with some variation

Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.



Electricity perceptions better in Baghdad, worse elsewhere

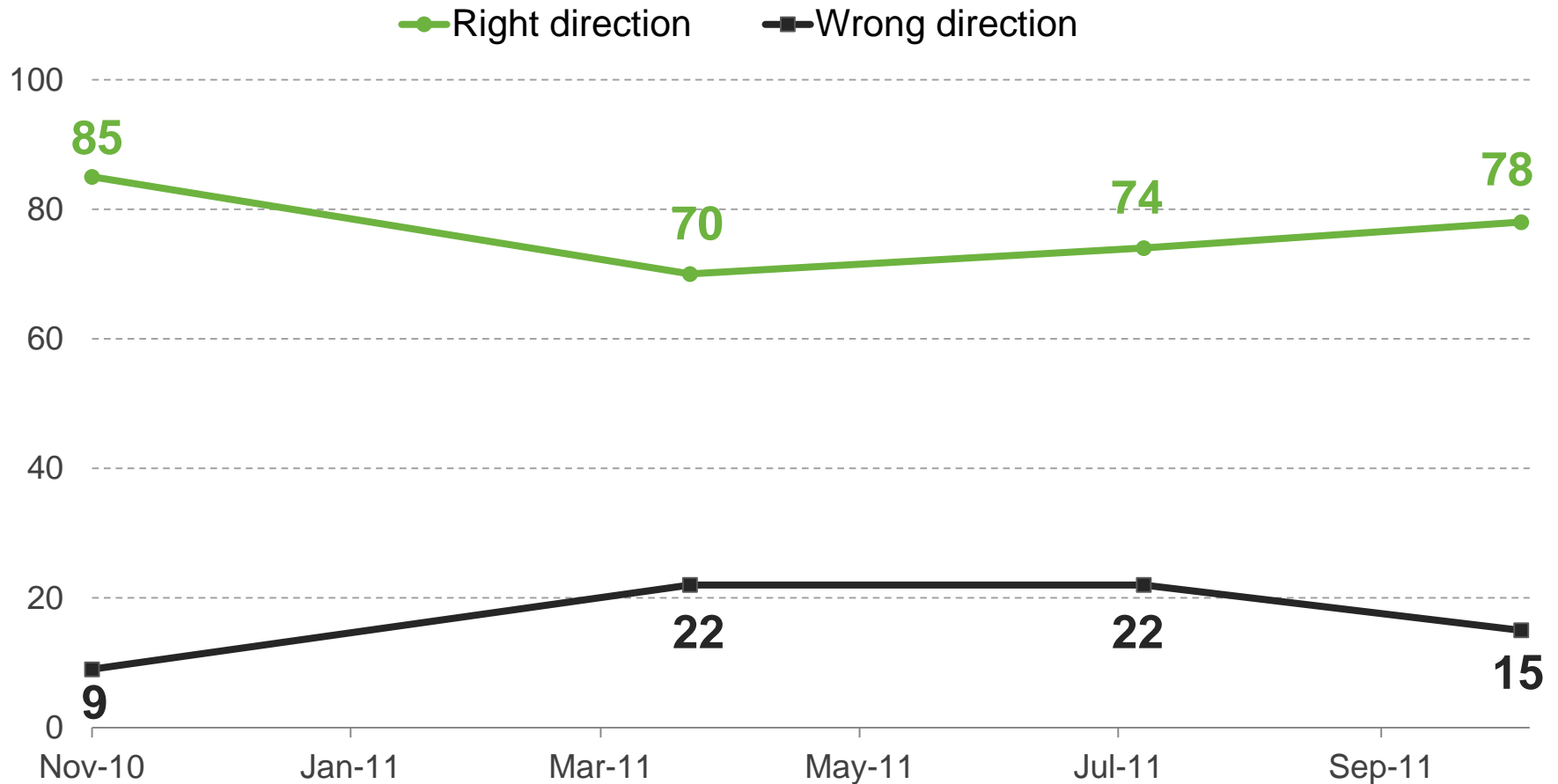
Please tell me if you think ELECTRICITY SUPPLY is getting better or worse in Iraq.



Conditions Continue to be Stronger in North

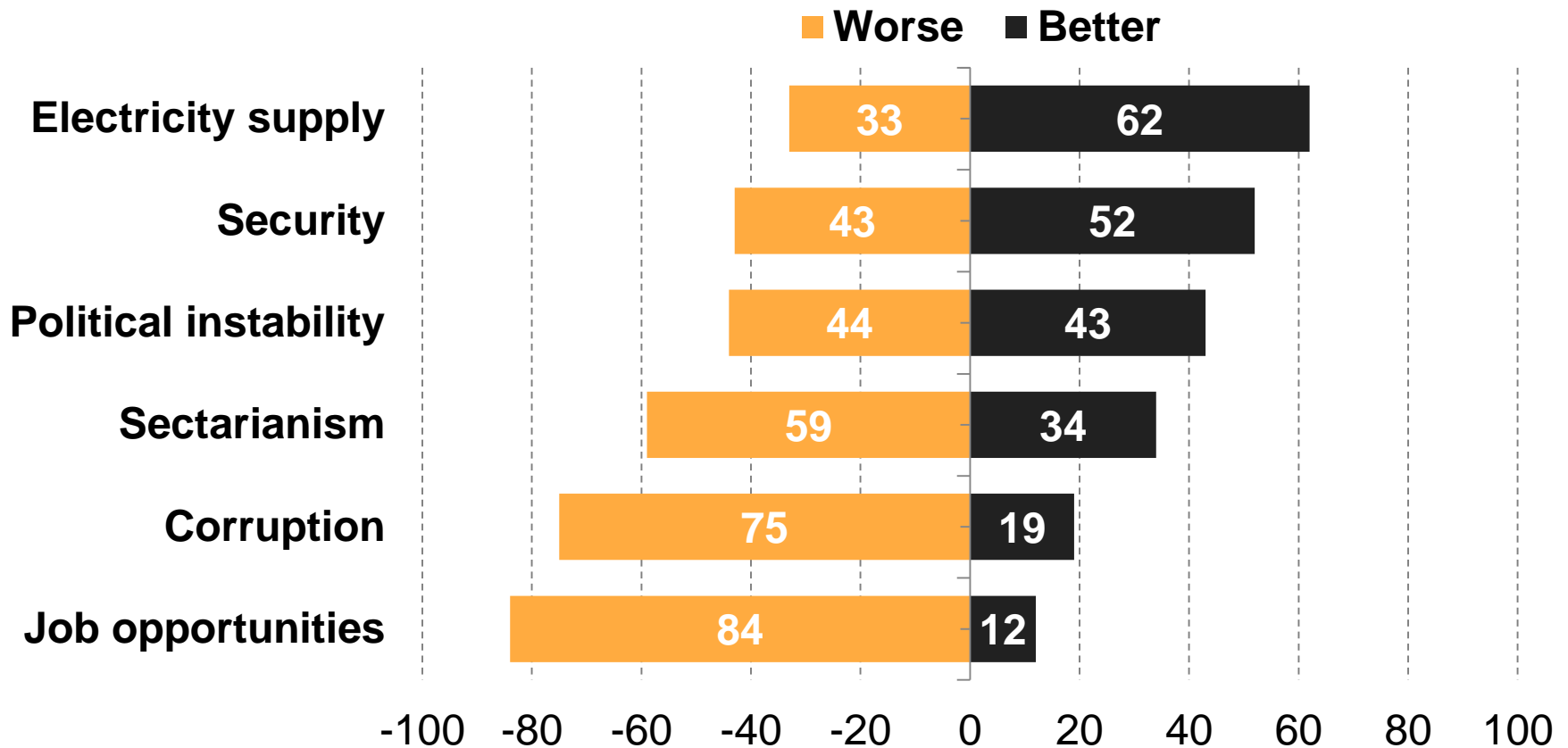
Mood in Kurdistan improves

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?



Perceptions of jobs and corruption worsen in North

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



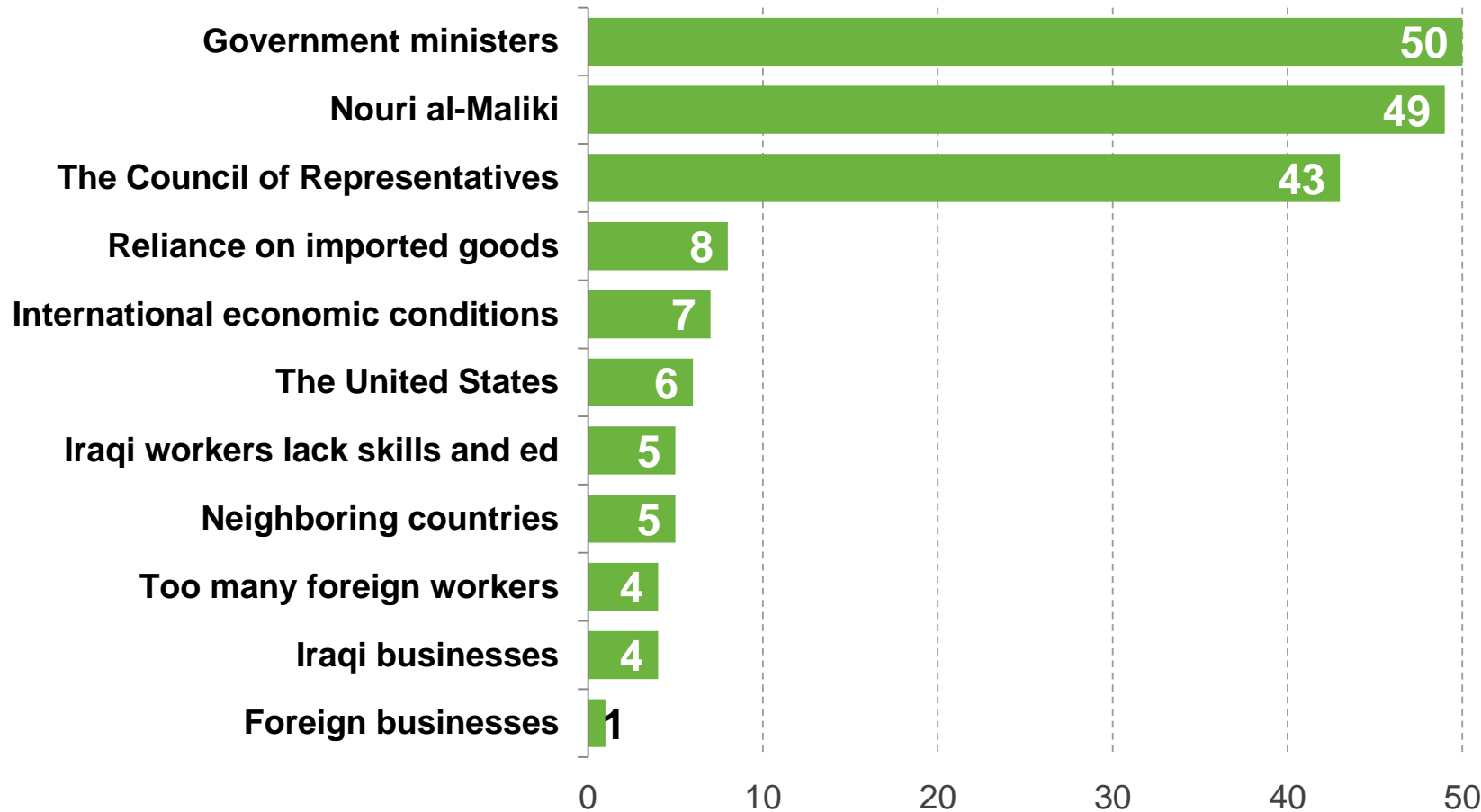
Iraq Enters a Critical Period

Iraq enters a critical period

- 1. Major political leaders' favorability ratings continue to deteriorate as they are blamed for the worsening conditions; possibility for a change in direction**

Ministers, Maliki blamed for unemployment situation

When you think of the current unemployment situation, which TWO of the following do you think are mostly to blame?



Iraq enters a critical period

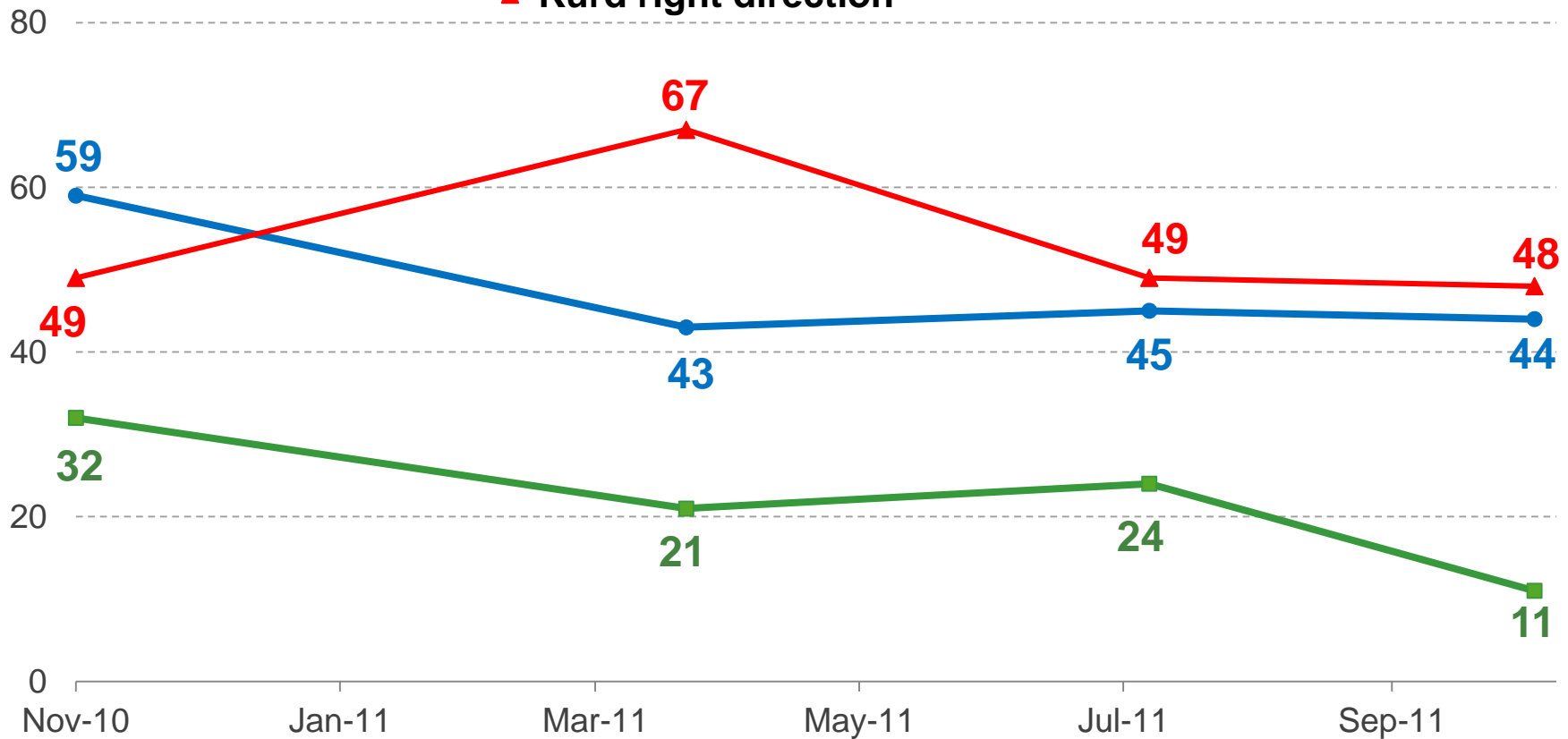
- 1. Major political leaders' favorability ratings continue to deteriorate as they are blamed for the worsening conditions; possibility for a change in direction**

- 1. Sunni disillusionment continues as they have less faith in the political system**

Lowest levels of right direction among Sunnis

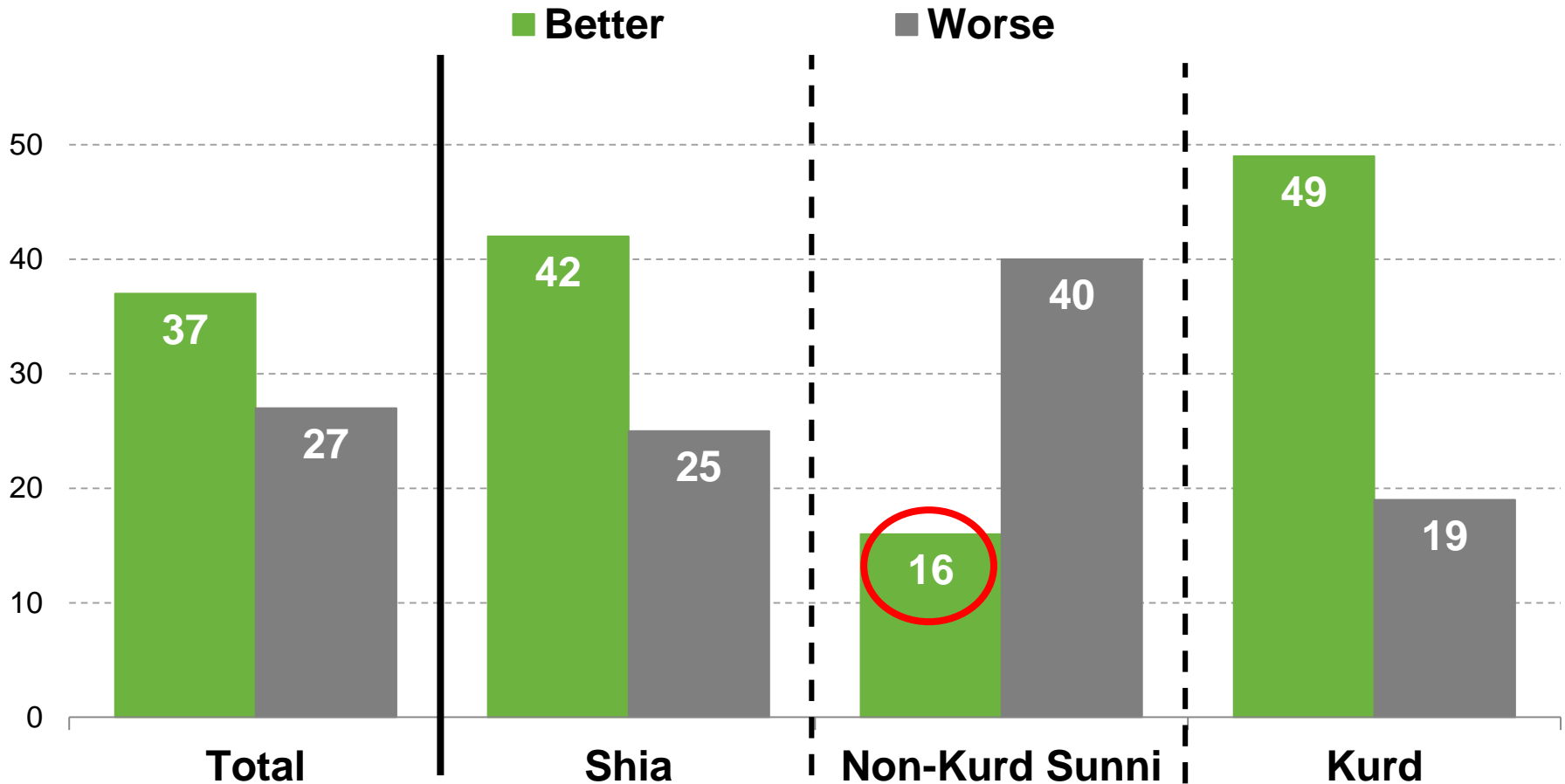
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

- Shia right direction
- Non-Kurd Sunni right direction
- ▲ Kurd right direction



Sunnis most negative about personal economic situation

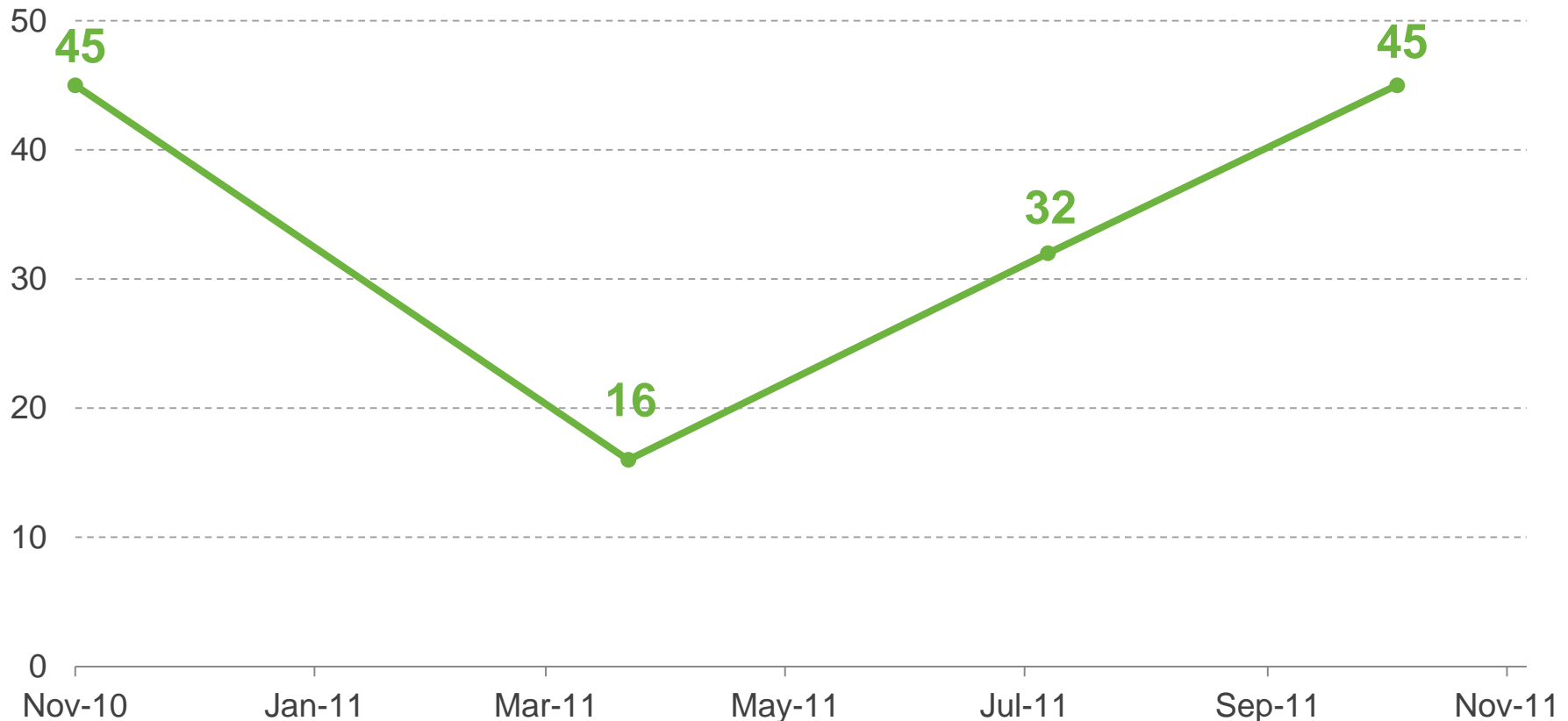
How do you think the financial position of your own household will change over the next 12 months – do you think it will get worse, or do you think it will get better?



Sunni security concerns hit one-year high

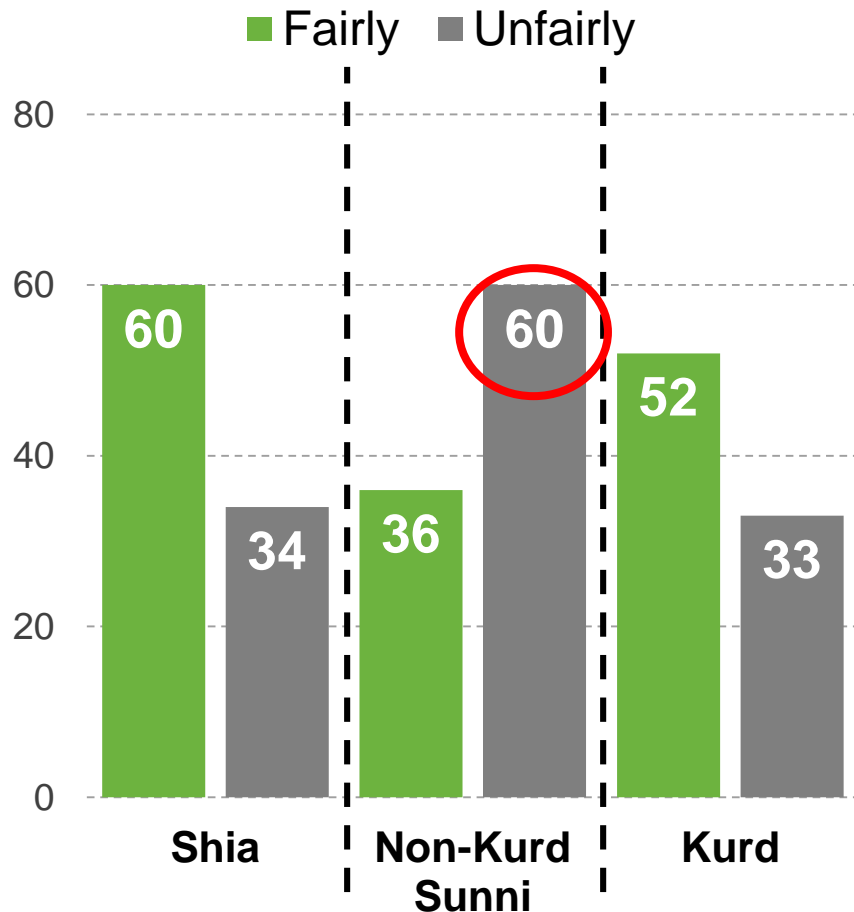
*Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.
(SECURITY among Sunnis only)*

—● Security concern among Sunnis

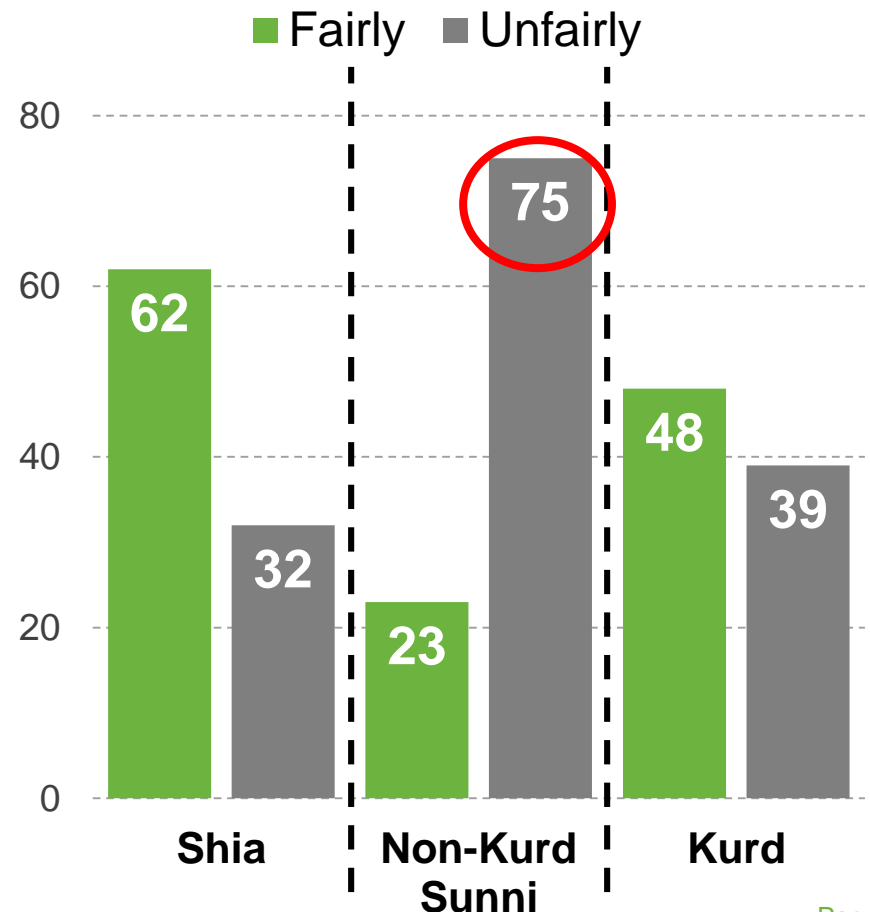


Sunnis feel they are treated unfairly by society, government

*In general, do you think people in your sect are treated fairly or unfairly within Iraq's **SOCIETY**?*



*In general, do you think people in your sect are treated fairly or unfairly within Iraq's **GOVERNMENT**?*

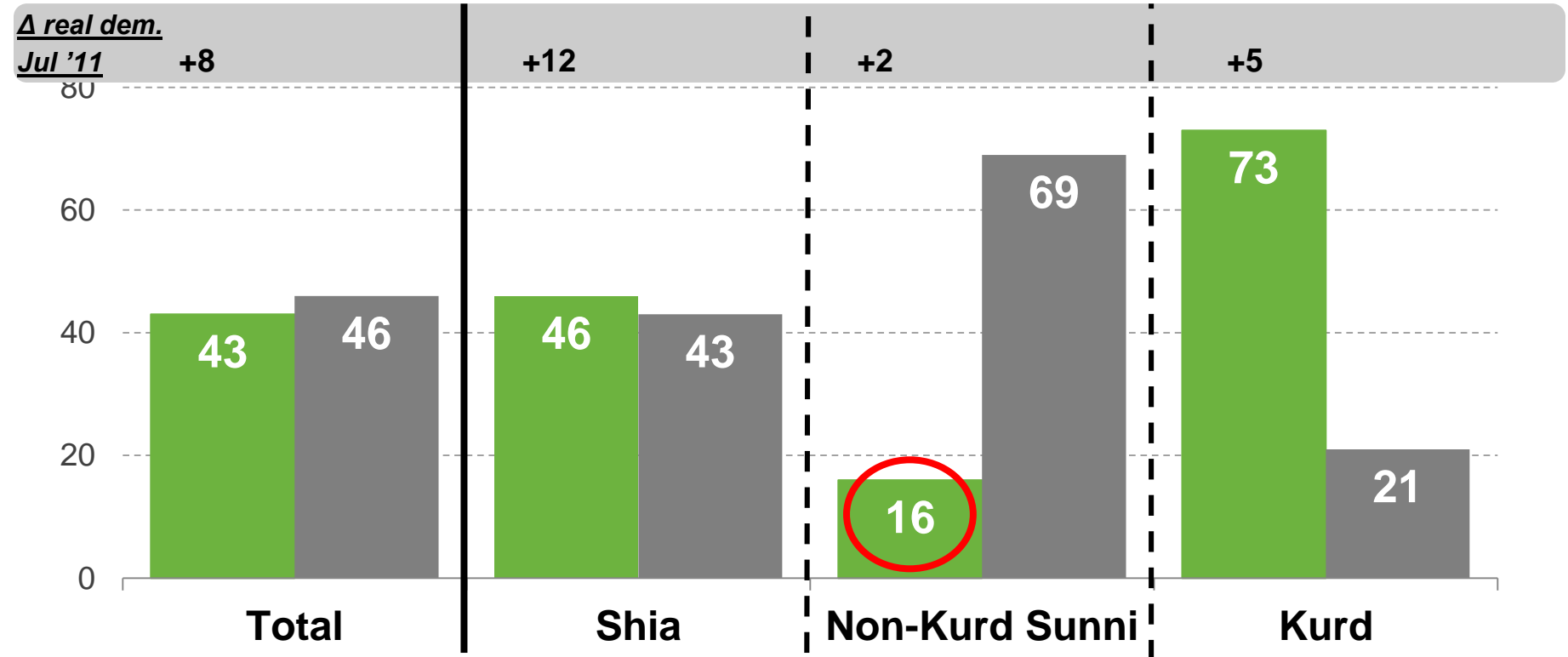


Sunnis least likely to think Iraq is a real democracy

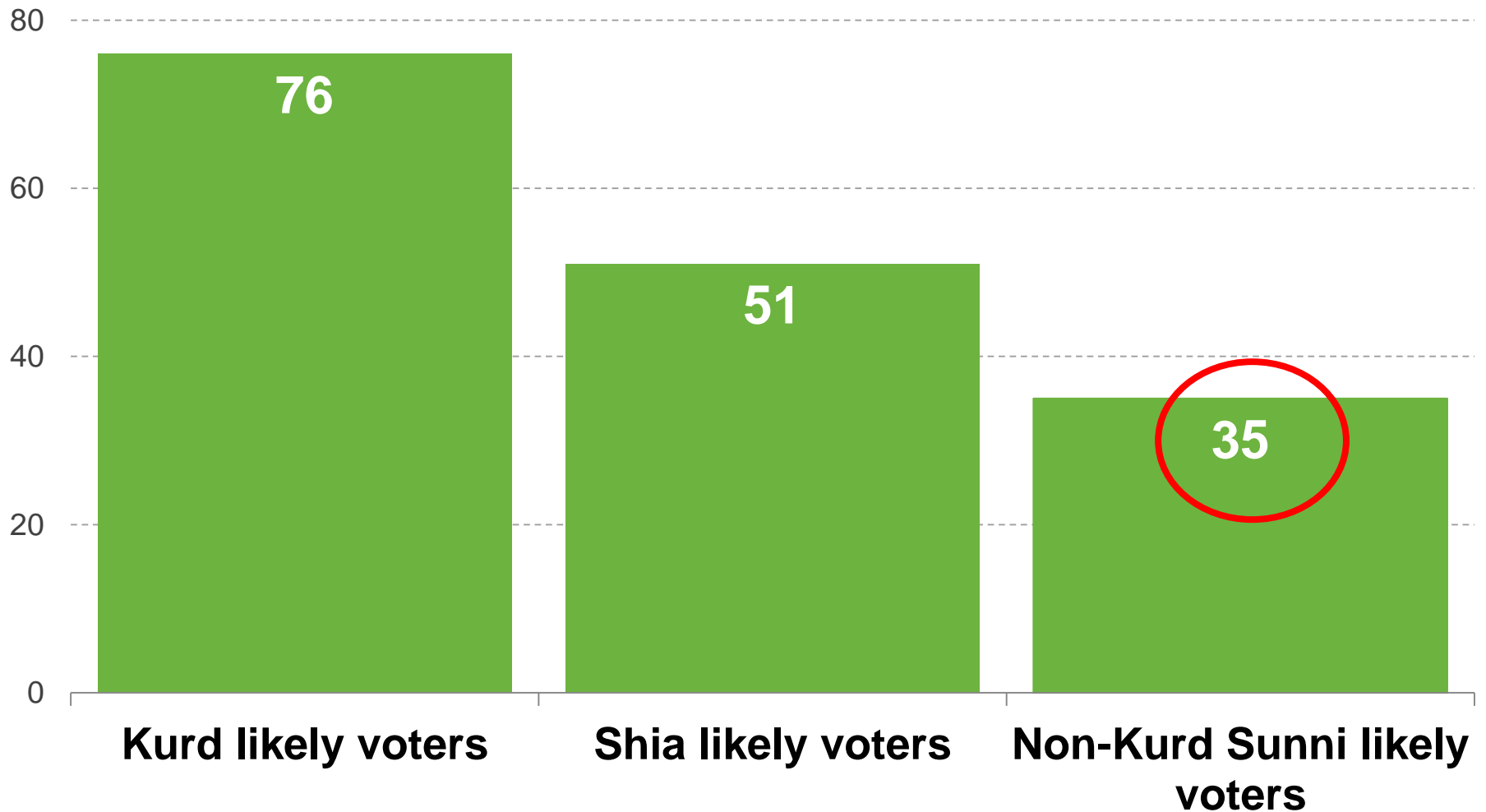
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.

Statement 1: Iraq today is a real democracy.

Statement 2: Iraq today is not a real democracy.



Sunnis least likely to participate in the next elections

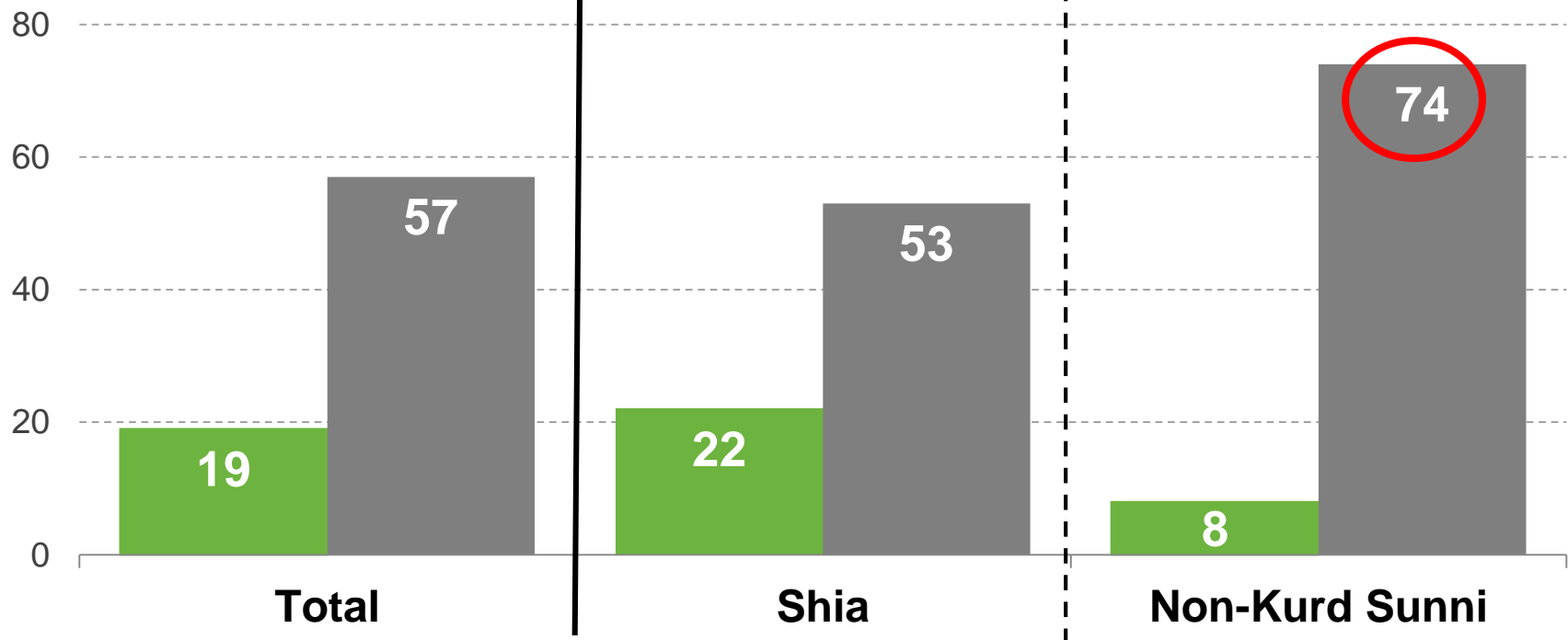


However, Sunnis least likely to want autonomous region

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

Statement 1: It would be good for my governorate and region if Iraq were split into autonomous regions, similar to the KRG in the North.

Statement 2: It would be worse for my governorate and region if Iraq were split into autonomous regions, similar to the KRG in the North.

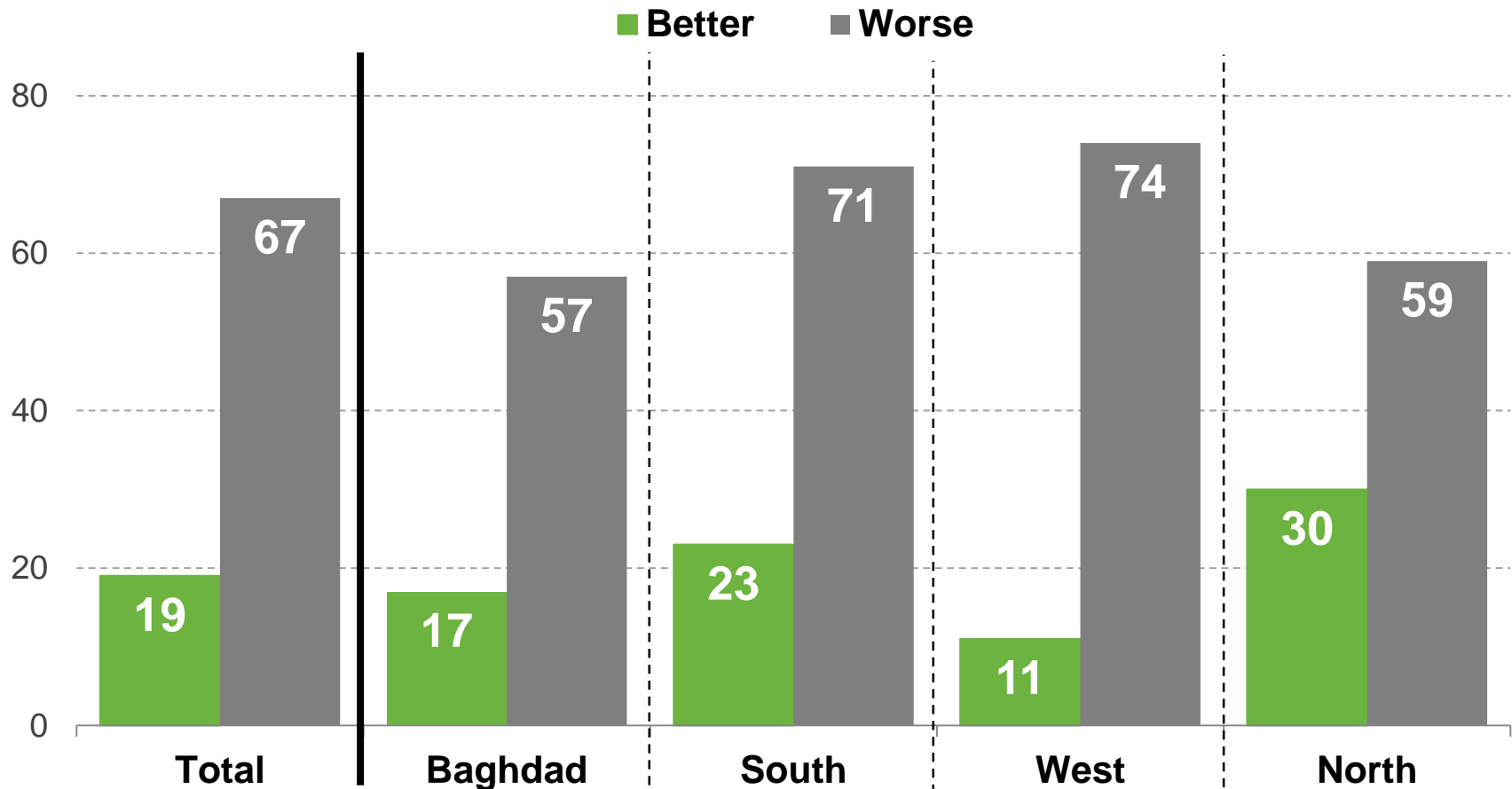


Iraq enters a critical period

- 1. Major political leaders' favorability ratings continue to deteriorate as they are blamed for the worsening conditions; possibility for a change in direction**
- 1. Sunni disillusionment continues as they have less faith in the political system**
- 1. Overall frustration and perceived lack of government responsiveness broadens support for the protests; majority feel that is the best means to communicate to the government**

Government not seen as responsive to people's needs

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think the issue is getting better or worse in Iraq: **The central government's responsiveness to the people's needs.**



Most MPs unaware and unresponsiveness to needs

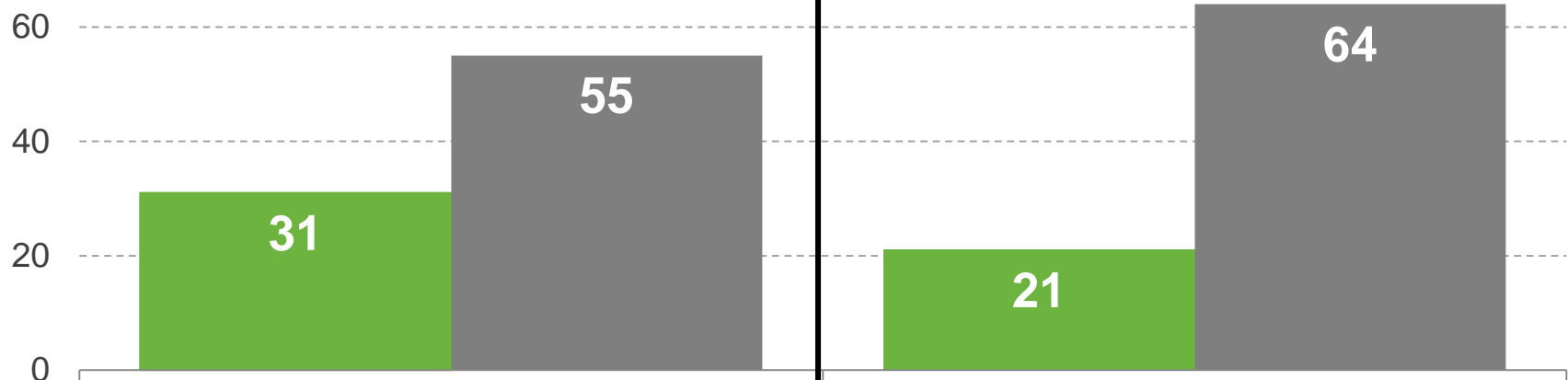
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.

Statement 1: Members of the CoR from my governorate know a lot about local conditions in my neighborhood.

Statement 1: In general, members of the CoR from my governorate are mostly responsive to the needs of my neighborhood.

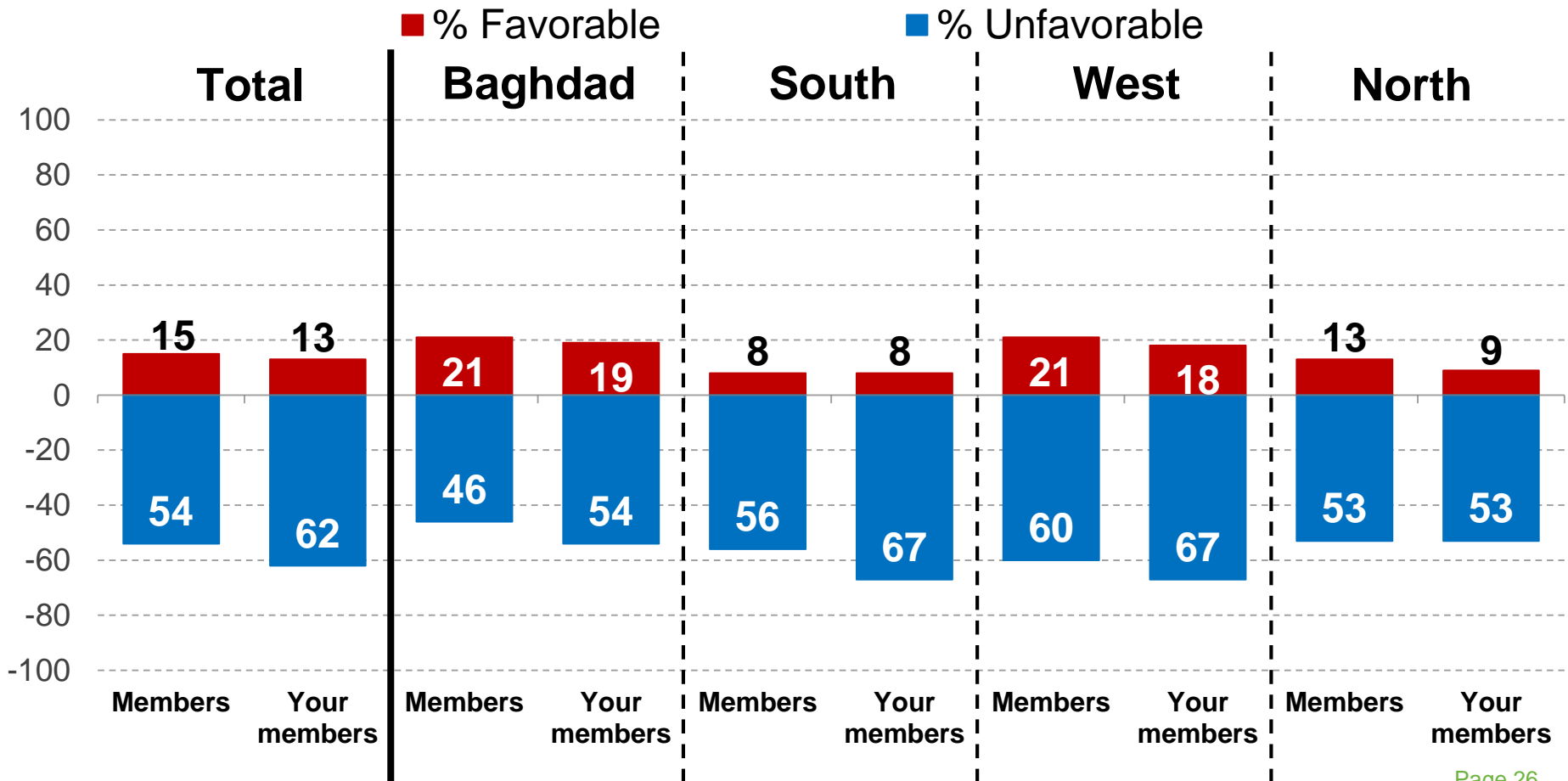
Statement 2: Members of the CoR from my governorate are mostly unaware of the local conditions in my neighborhood.

Statement 2: In generally, members of the CoR from my governorate are mostly unresponsive to the needs of my neighborhood.



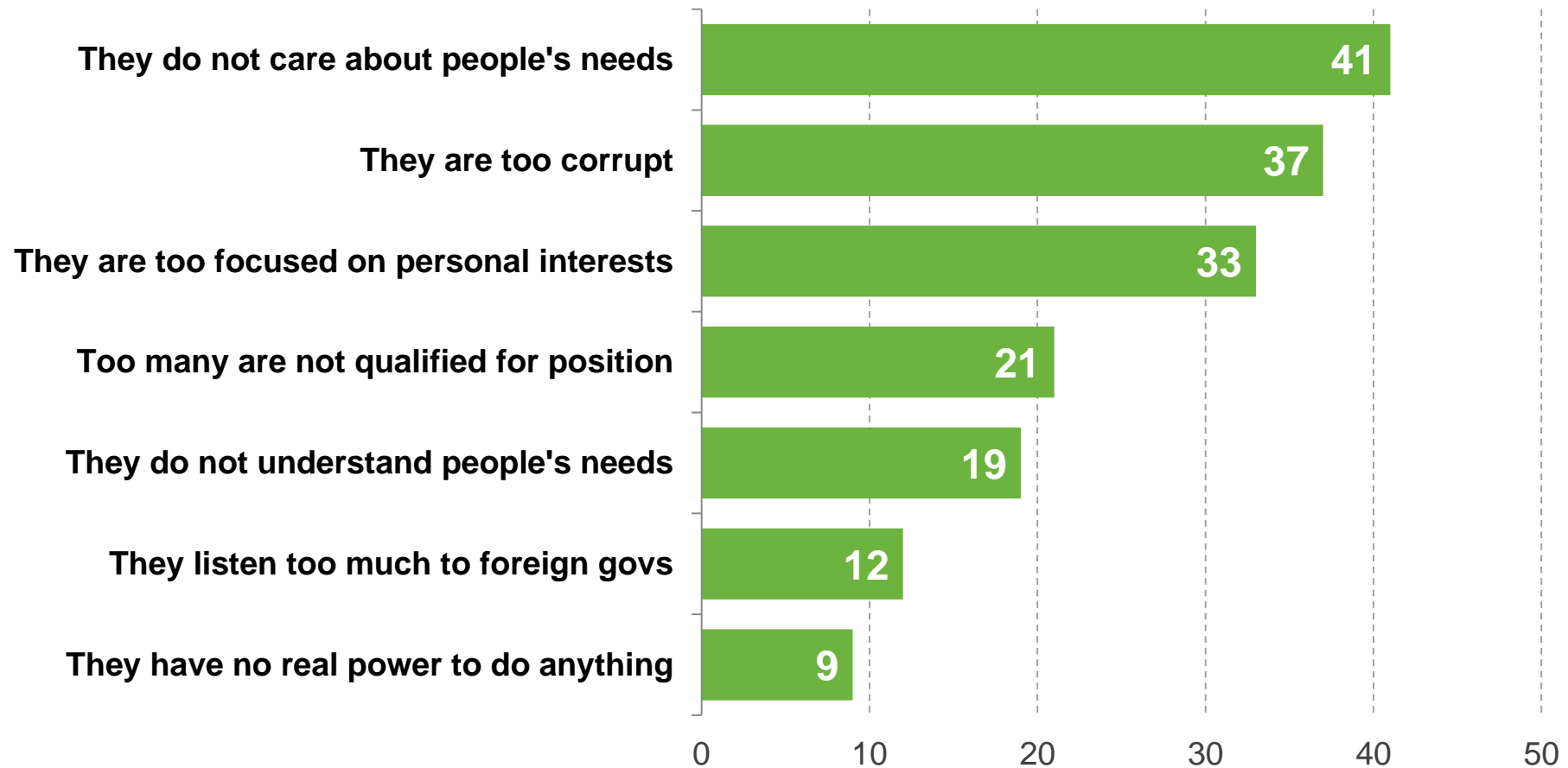
MPs favorability weak in every region

Members = “Members of the Council of Representatives”
Your members = “Your governorate’s members of the Council of Representatives”



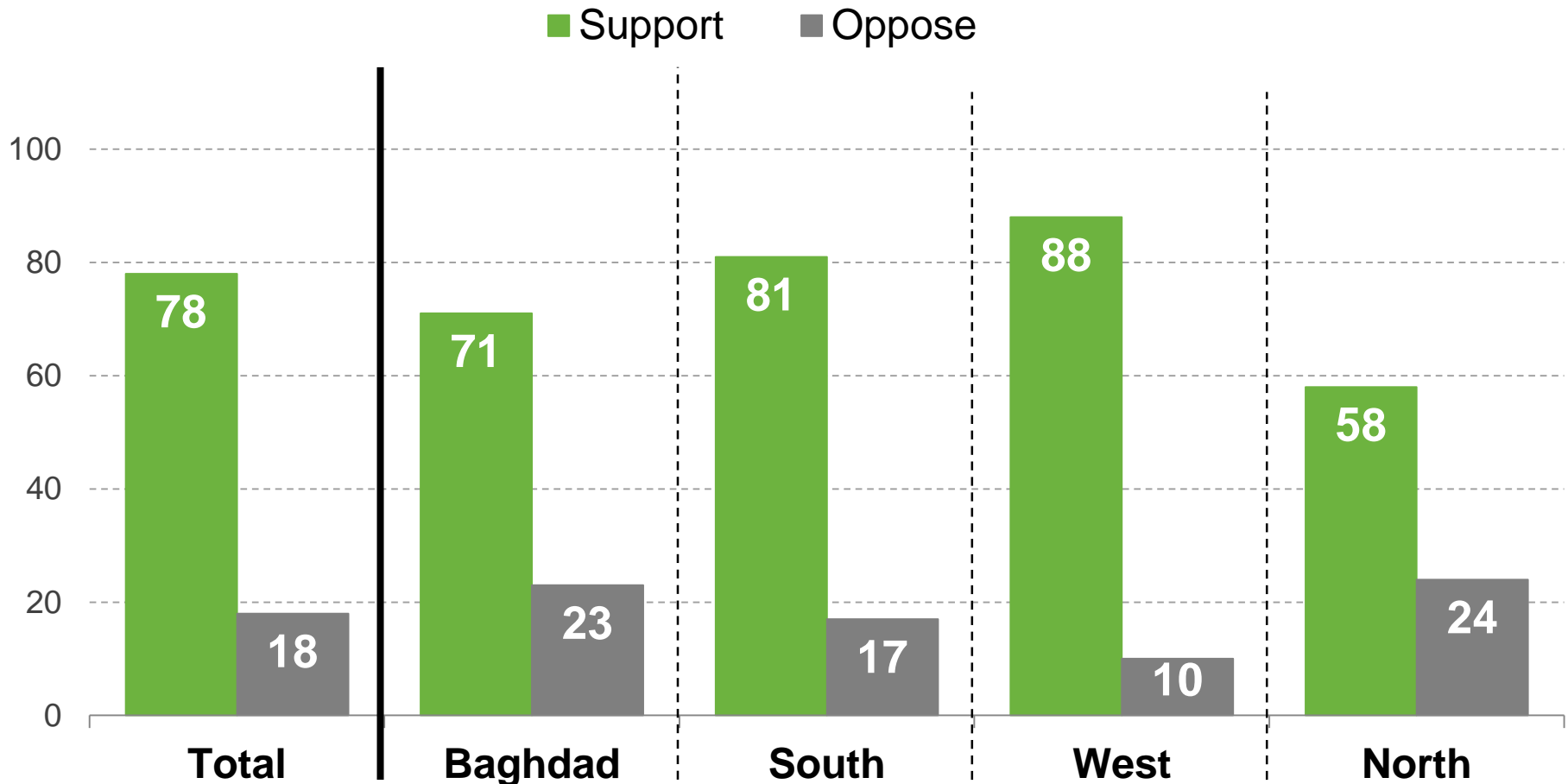
Self-interested reasons why leaders are unresponsive

Some people say Iraq's political leaders are not responsive to the needs of the people. I'd like to read you a list of reasons why some people say that is and please tell me which TWO best describe why you think Iraq's political leaders are not more responsive.



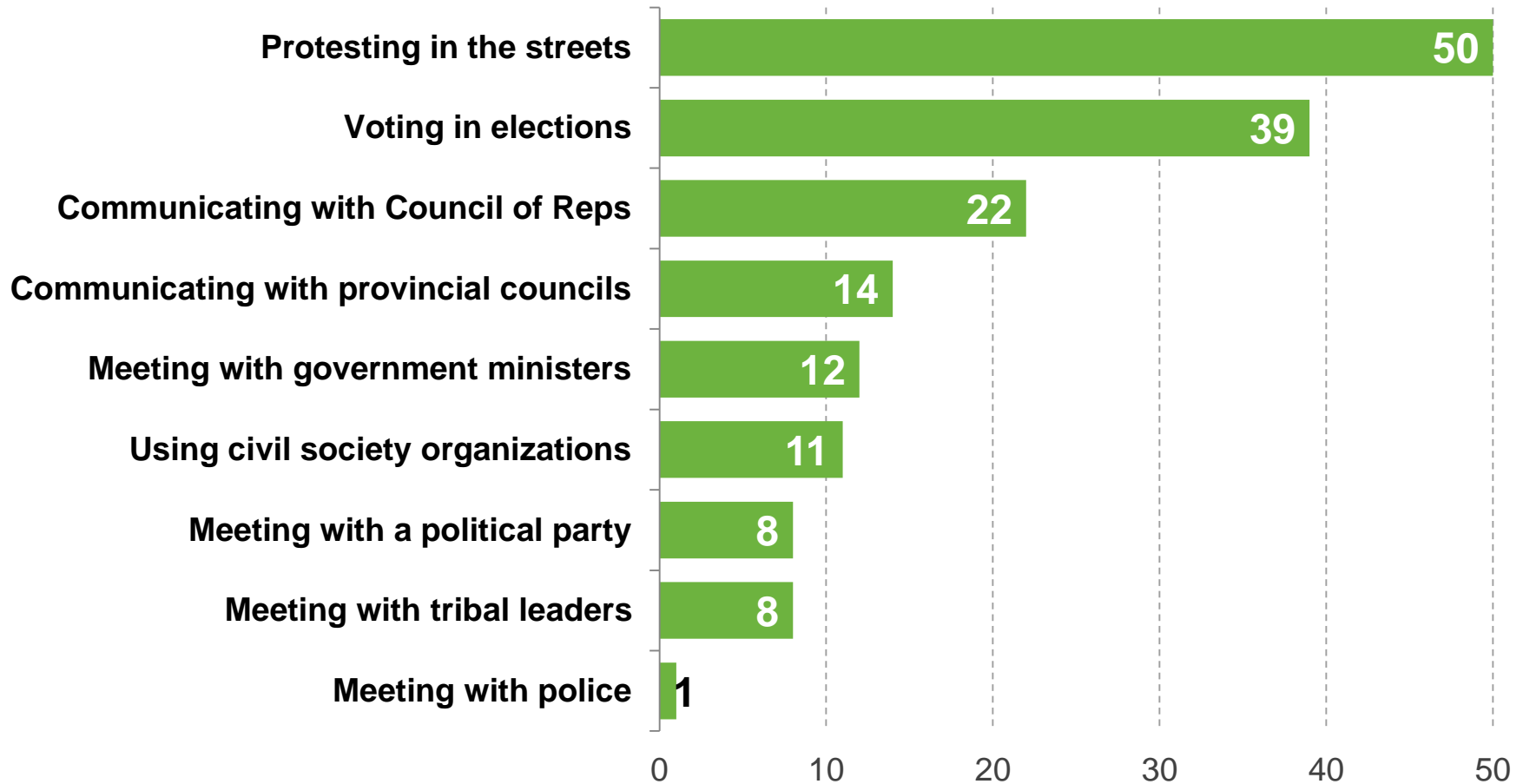
Strong support for recent protests

Based on what you have heard or seen, do you generally support or oppose the recent protests and demonstrations in Iraq?

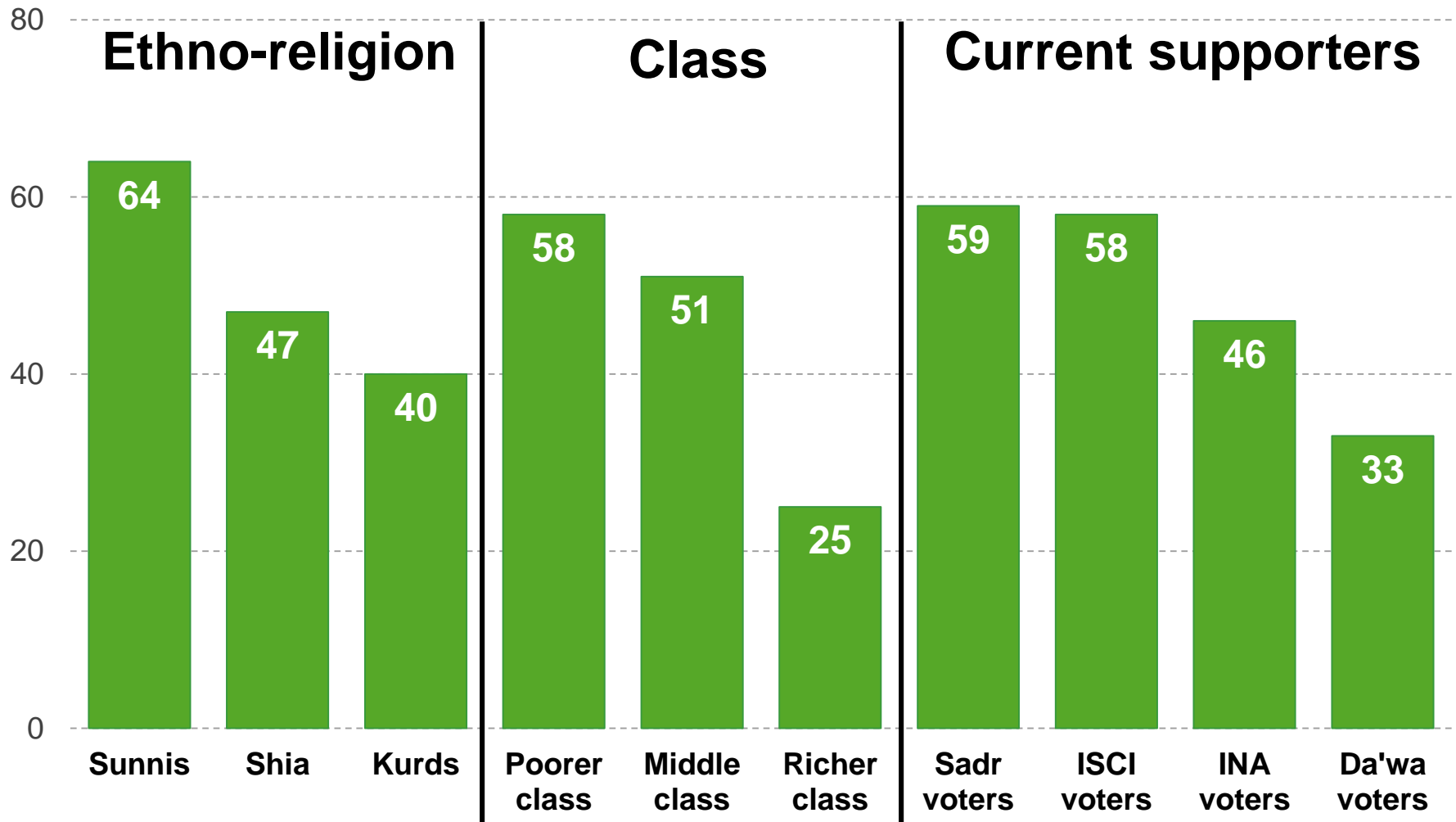


Majority views protests as best way to communicate to govt

What do you think are the TWO best ways for average Iraqis to communicate their needs to the central government?



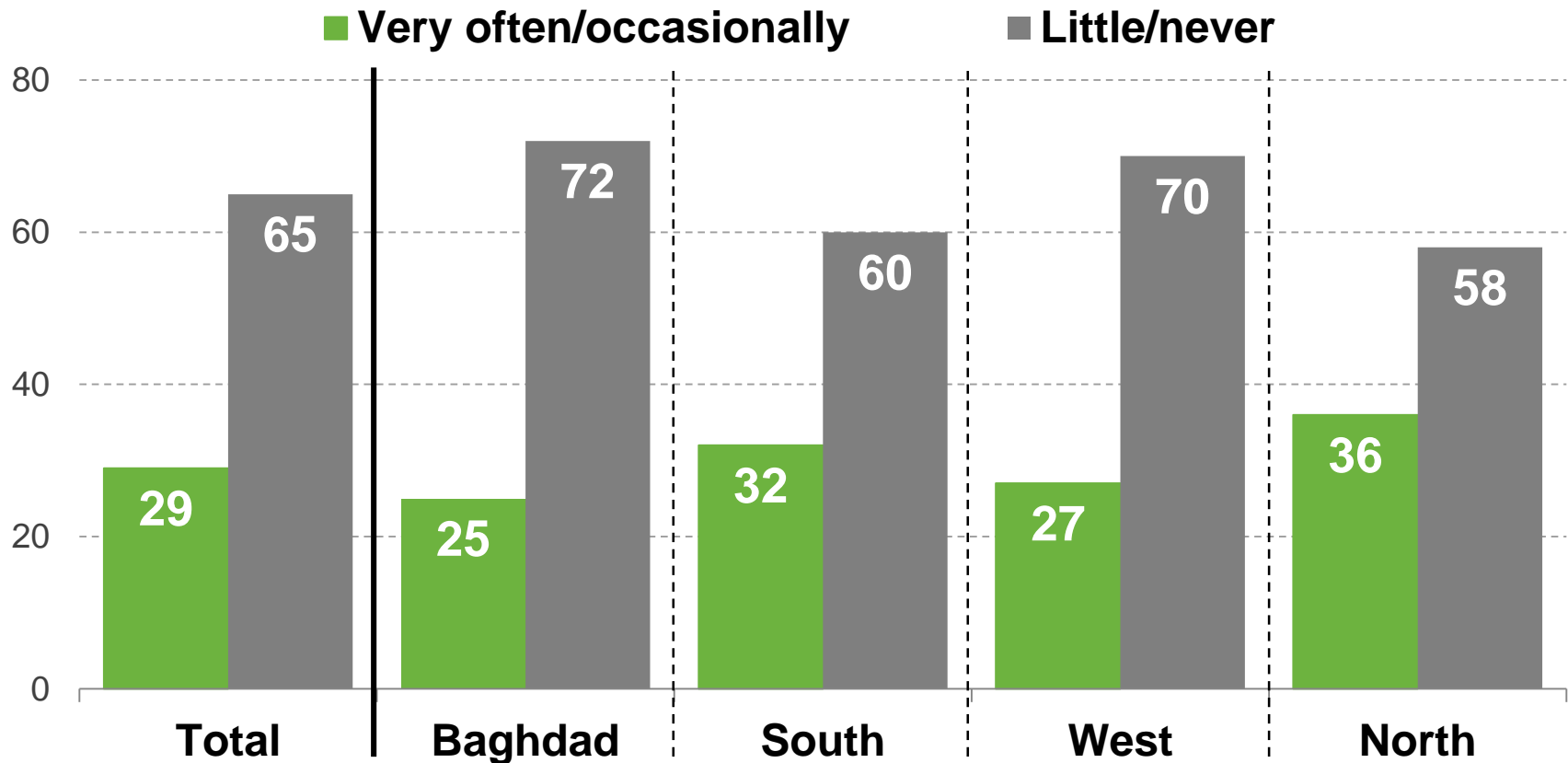
Percentage that think protests best way to communicate



An Opportunity for Constituency Offices

Few hear about their members of the CoR

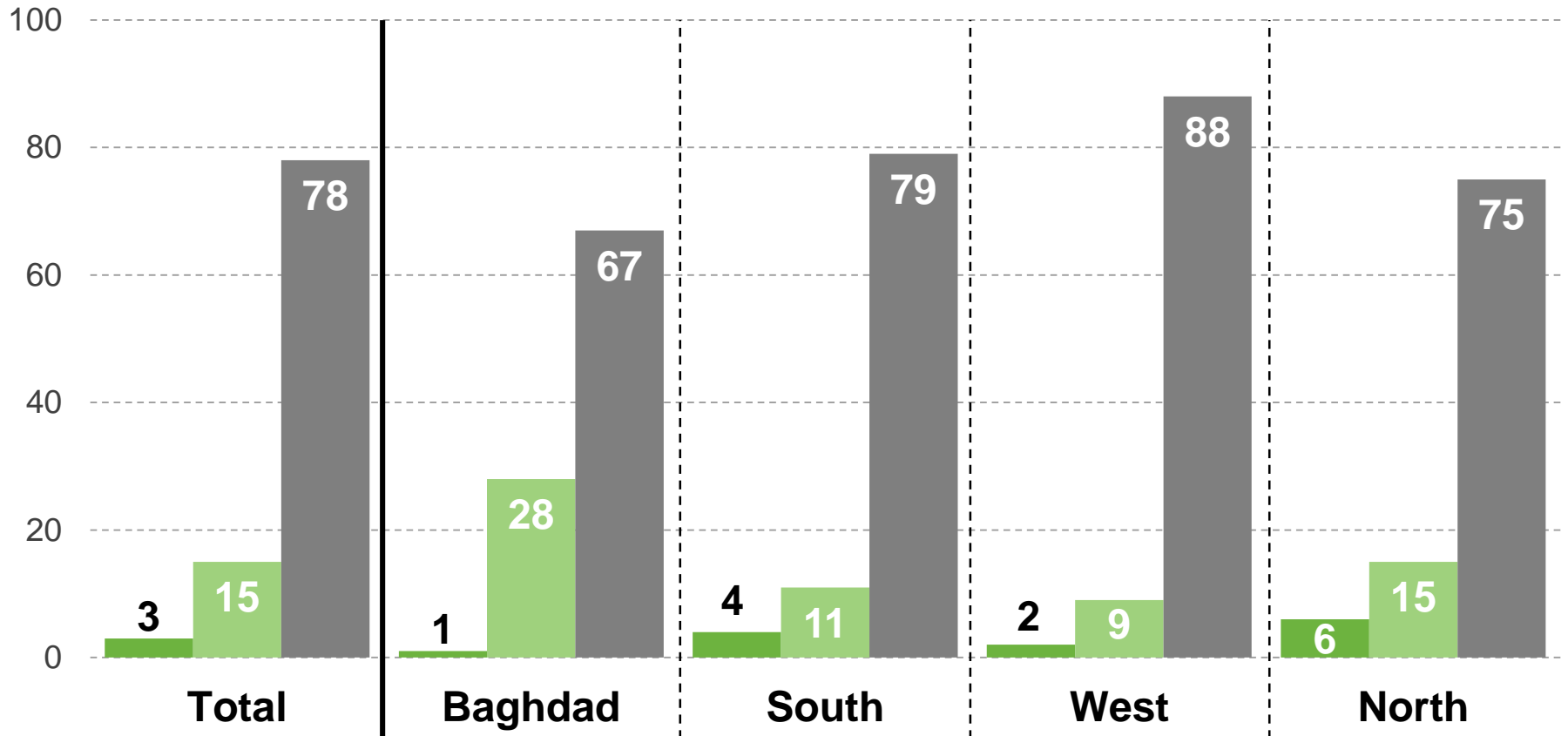
How often do you hear about members of the Council of Representatives from your governorate, either directly from the members or indirectly through the news? Would you say you hear about members of the Council of Representatives from your governorate very often, occasionally, only a little, or never?



Even fewer have had contact with CoR member

Have you ever had contact with a Member of the Council of Representatives, either through a face-to-face meeting, phone call, written letter, or some other form of contact?

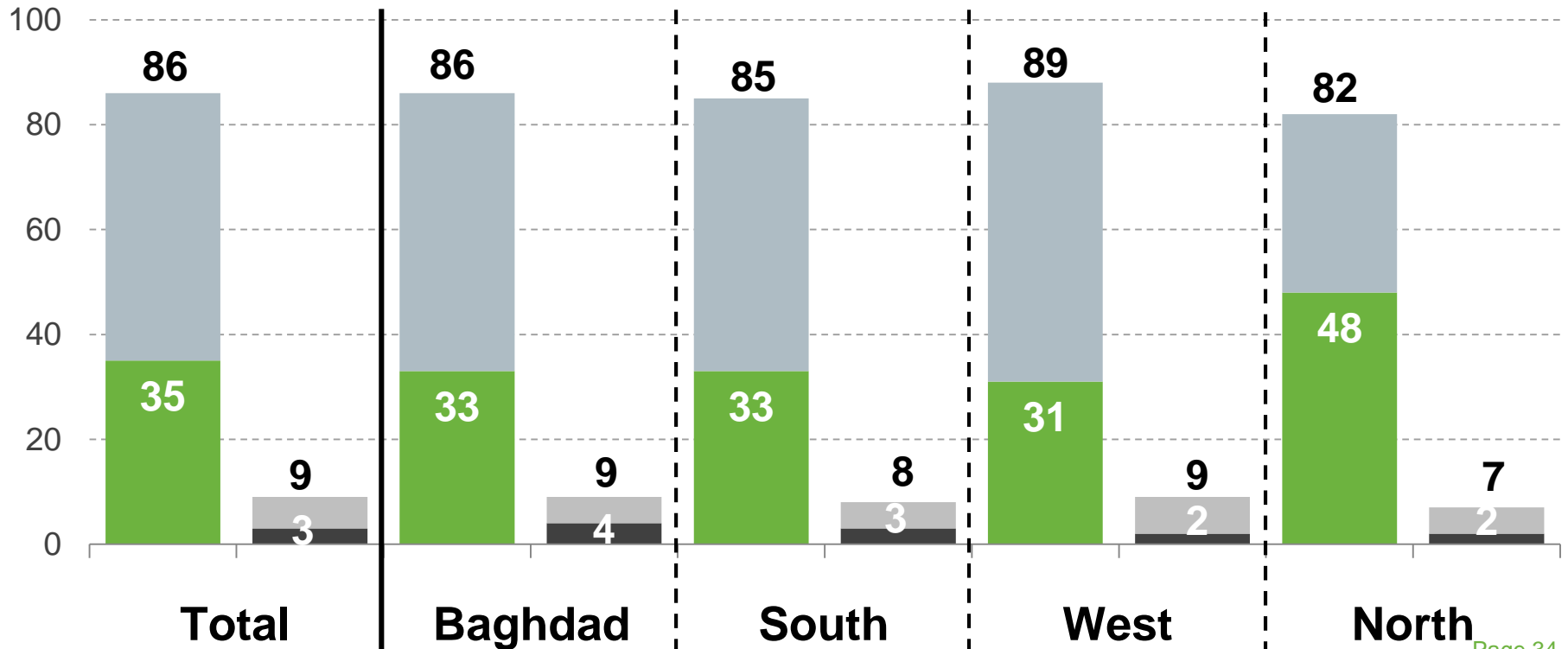
■ Yes, face-to-face
 ■ Yes, other contact
 ■ No



Strong support for constituency offices

Now, imagine that a member of the Council of Representatives from your governorate opened an office in your area. The office would serve as an accessible location where people can voice their concerns, present various initiatives, or receive help with particular issues from the Council of Representative member and his or her assistants. Would you support or oppose the idea of having such an office in your area?

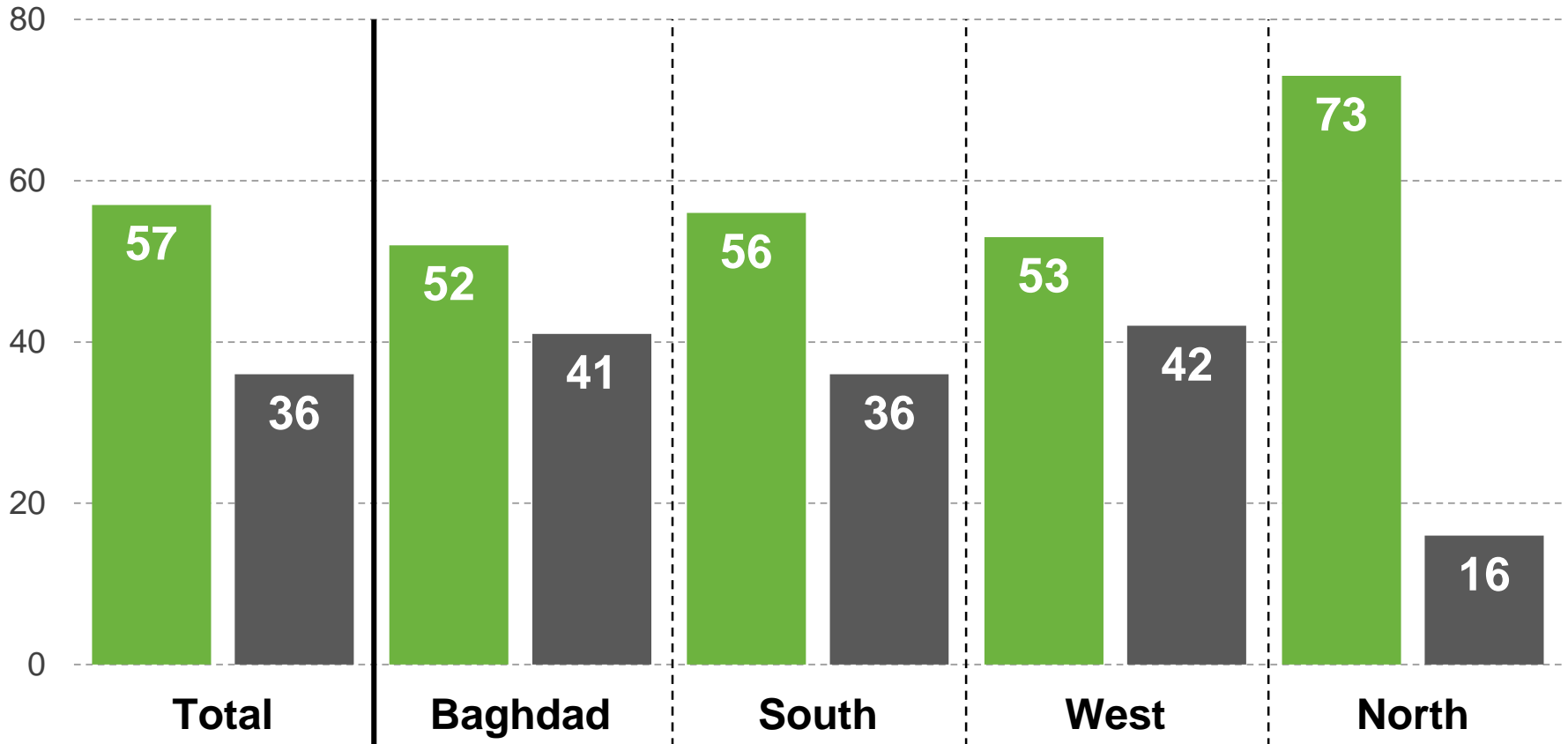
- Support, strongly
- Support, somewhat
- Oppose, strongly
- Oppose, somewhat



A majority say they are likely to visit a constituency office

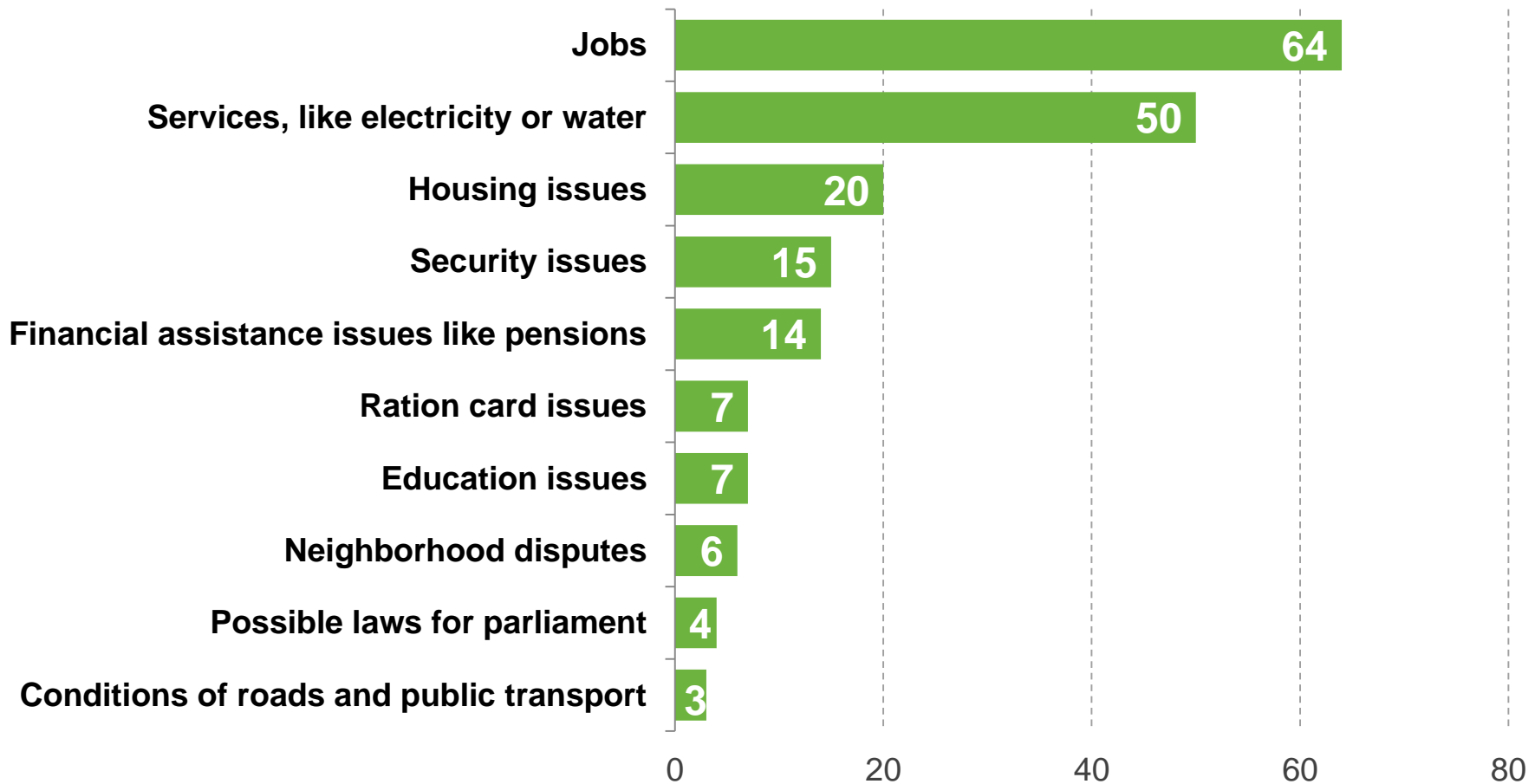
If a member of the Council of Representatives from your governorate opened an office in your area, how likely would you be to visit that office if you needed help with a certain issue – very likely, somewhat likely, just a little likely, or not likely at all?

■ Very/Somewhat likely ■ Little/Not likely



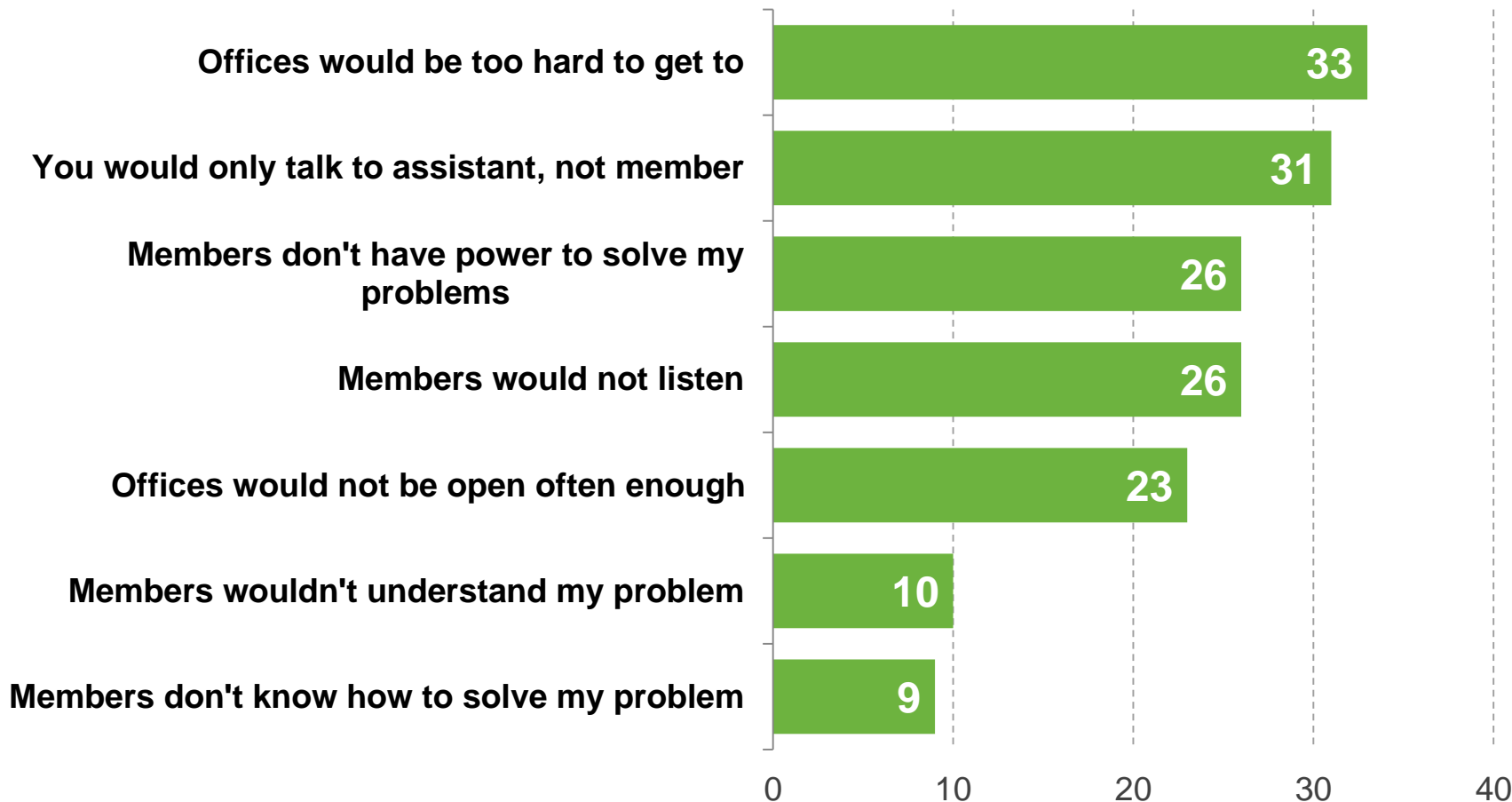
Iraqis would discuss jobs and services with their member

Now I would like to read you a list of issues that people might go to discuss with a member of the Council of Representatives or his/her assistants at their office. Which TWO of the items in this list would you go to discuss at the member's office?



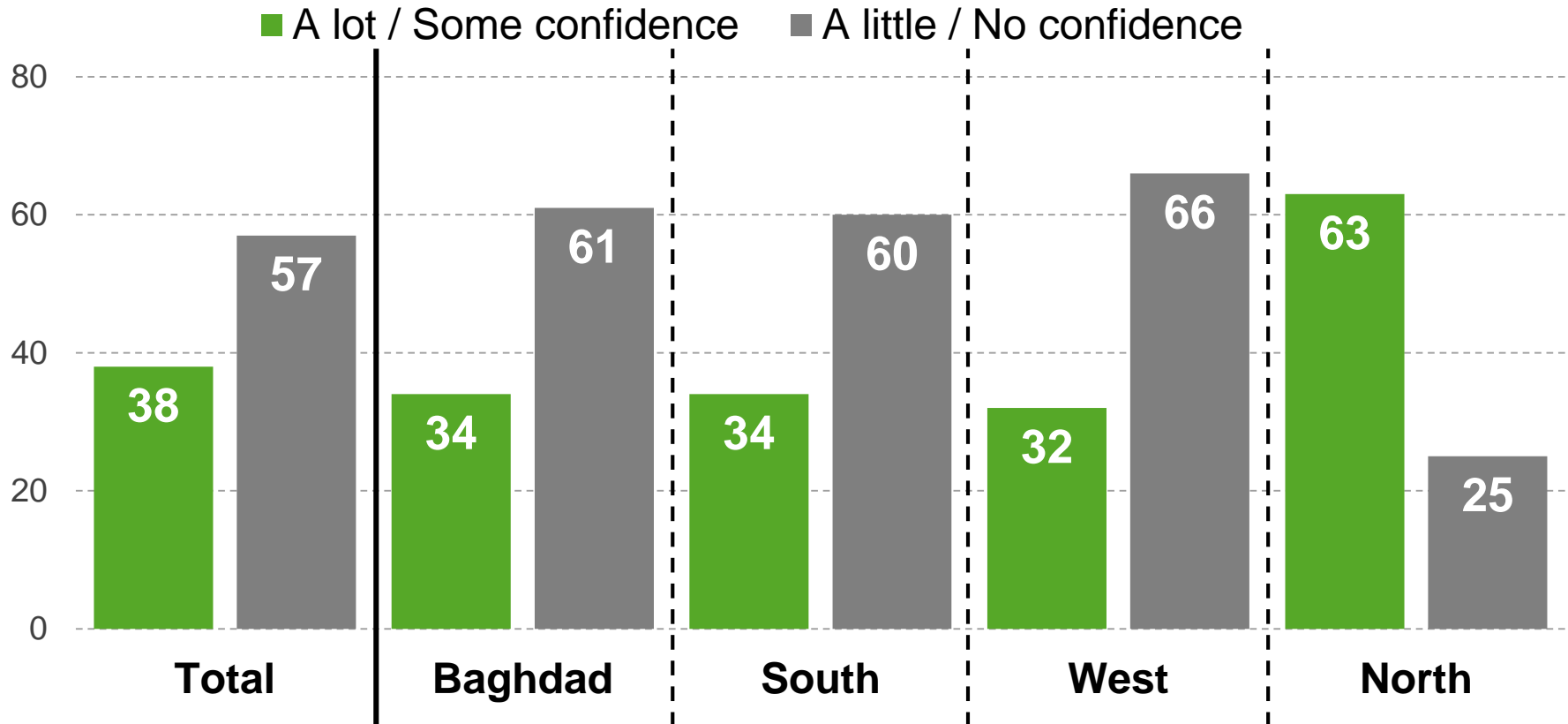
Unable to get to offices, unresponsiveness deter visits

I'd like to read you a few concerns some people might have about visiting a local member of the Council of Representative's office. Which TWO of the following would be your biggest concerns?



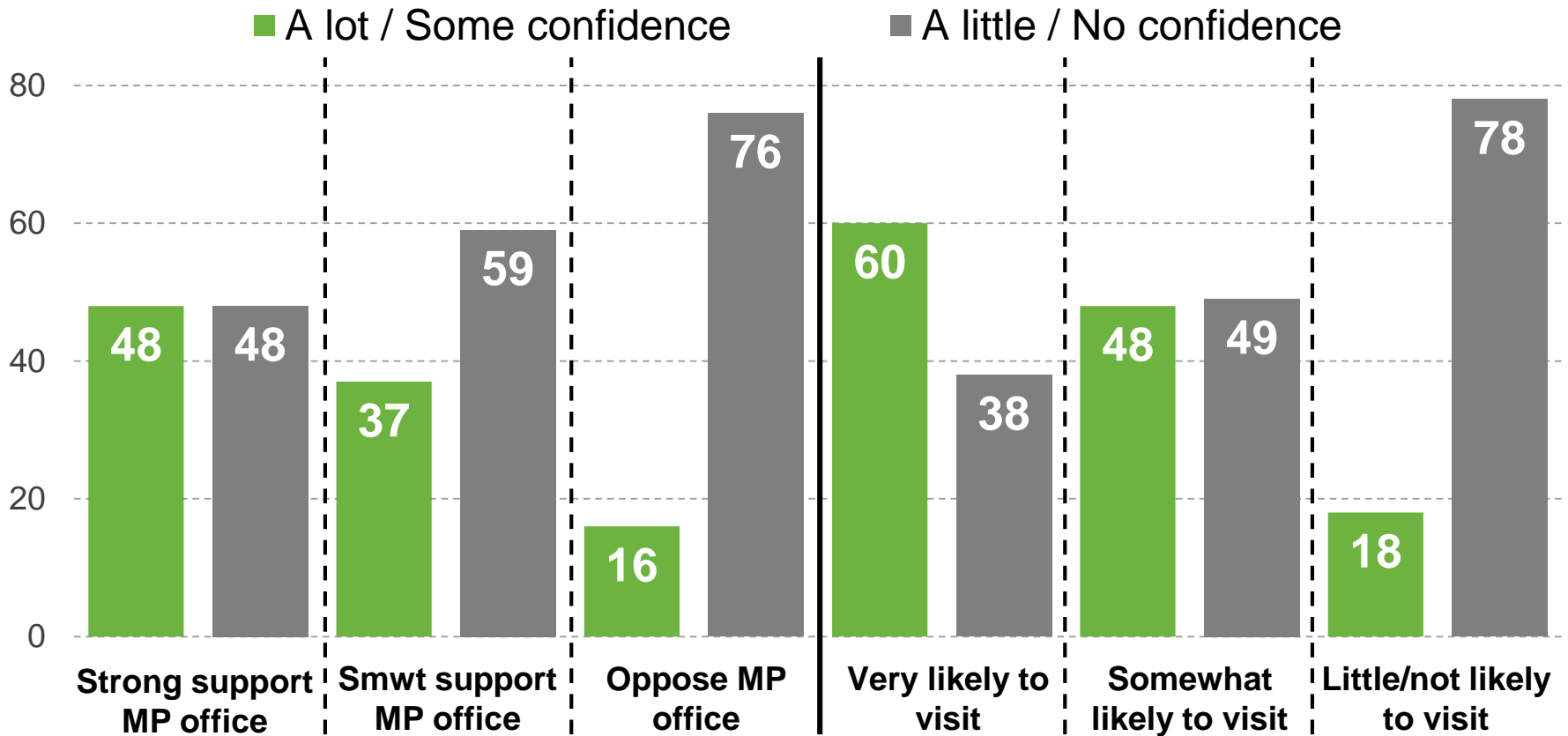
Limited confidence that members can help through visit

And how much confidence do you have that the member of the Council of Representatives from your governorate could help you with these issues if you brought it to them at their office? Do you have a lot of confidence your member could help, some confidence, just a little confidence, or no confidence at all that your member could help with that issue?



Support and visit based on confidence in members

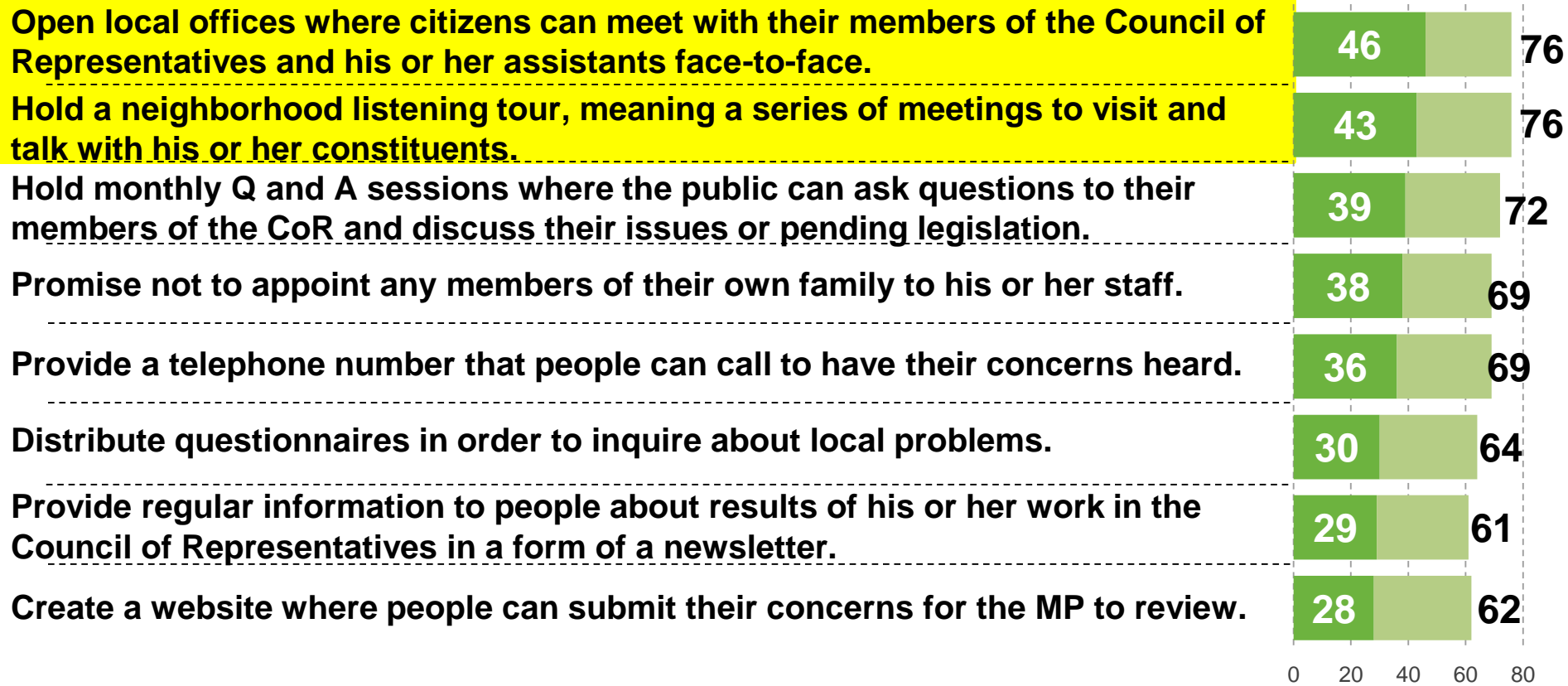
And how much confidence do you have that the member of the Council of Representatives from your governorate could help you with these issues if you brought it to them at their office? Do you have a lot of confidence your member could help, some confidence, just a little confidence, or no confidence at all that your member could help with that issue?



Offices and listening tours most effective

I'm going to read a list of things a member of the Council of Representatives could do. For each one, tell me how that would make you feel about that Council of Representatives member?

■ Much more favorable ■ Somewhat more favorable



Best messages about listening to the people

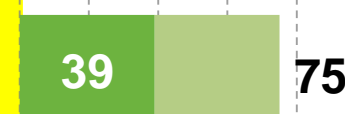
I'd like to read a few statements a member of the Council of Representatives might say to convince you to visit his or her office in your area. For each one, please tell me how convincing that is – very convincing, somewhat convincing, just a little convincing, or not convincing at all?

■ Very convincing ■ Somewhat convincing

[CLOSER] How can politicians all the way in Baghdad help average Iraqis? I believe that members must be representatives of the people. Instead of staying in Baghdad, I will spend ½ my time in local office so I can be closer to the people and understand their concerns.



[LISTEN] The only way to understand people's concerns is to listen to their concerns. That's why I am opening offices in my region – so I can listen firsthand to the problems that my constituents have and then will do my best to solve them.



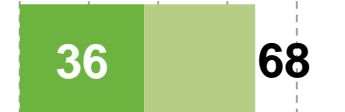
[ACTION] I'm opening an office not as publicity stunt, but to show I'm serious about addressing concerns of people. This office isn't about listening and talking, it's about finding solutions to people's problems. This is about action not talk.



[FOREIGNERS] Foreigners have too much influence on what happens in Iraq. It's time for Iraqi people to have the bigger voice in running our country. That's why I am going to open offices to set up meetings with the people so we can move Iraq in the direction we want to go, not where foreigners want to take us.



[RESPONSIVE] Our government knows and understands people's concerns, but we're not responding to those concerns. I'm opening an office in your area to listen and work with average Iraqis to understand their concerns and find solutions to them.



[PEOPLE FIRST] The problem w Iraqi elected officials is they're too self-interested & busy enriching themselves & their families to help average Iraqis. My priority is people first, hearing concerns, addressing needs. I'm opening a local office so I can be the voice of the people in the CoR.

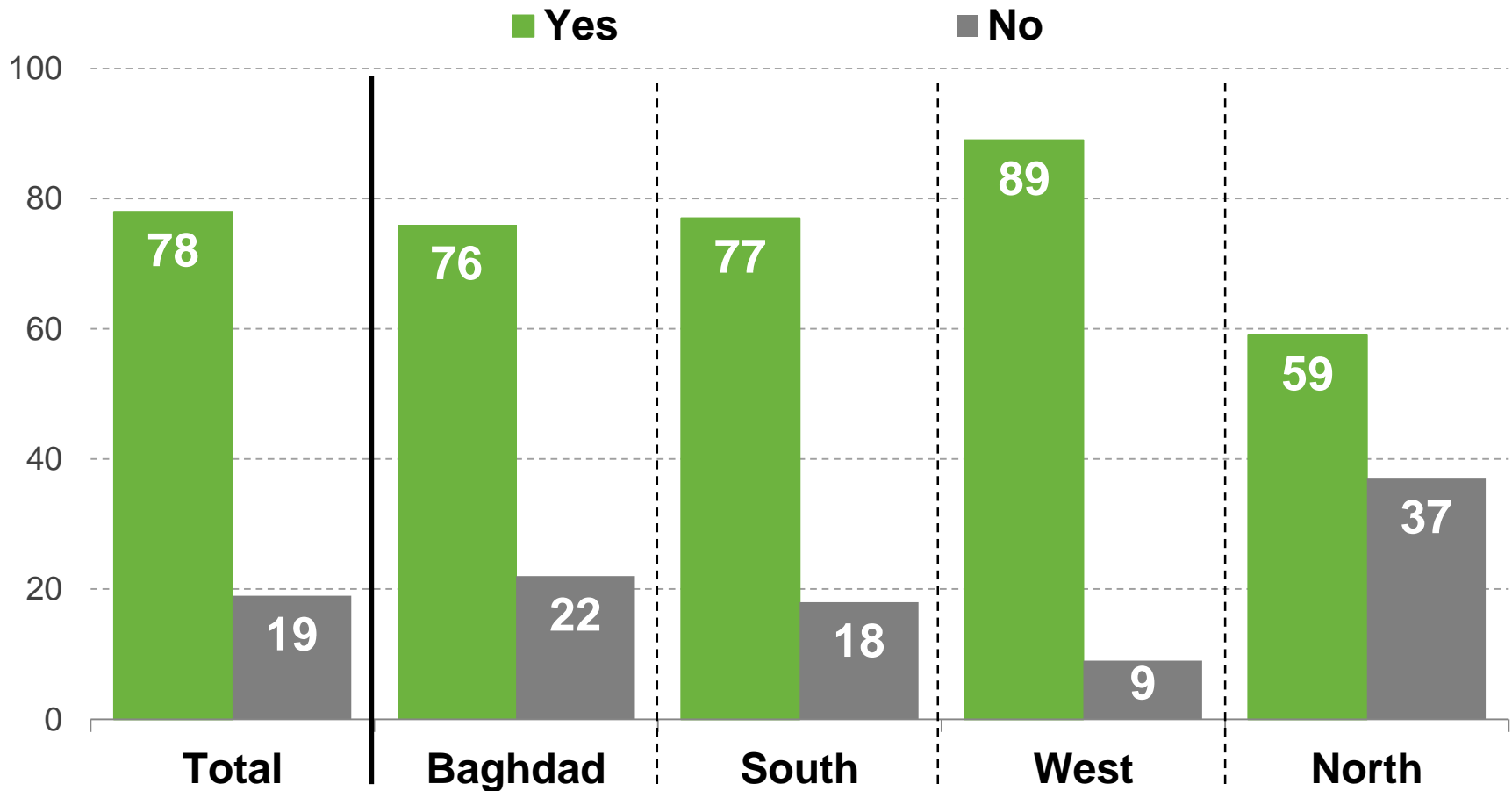


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Mixed Views toward CSOs

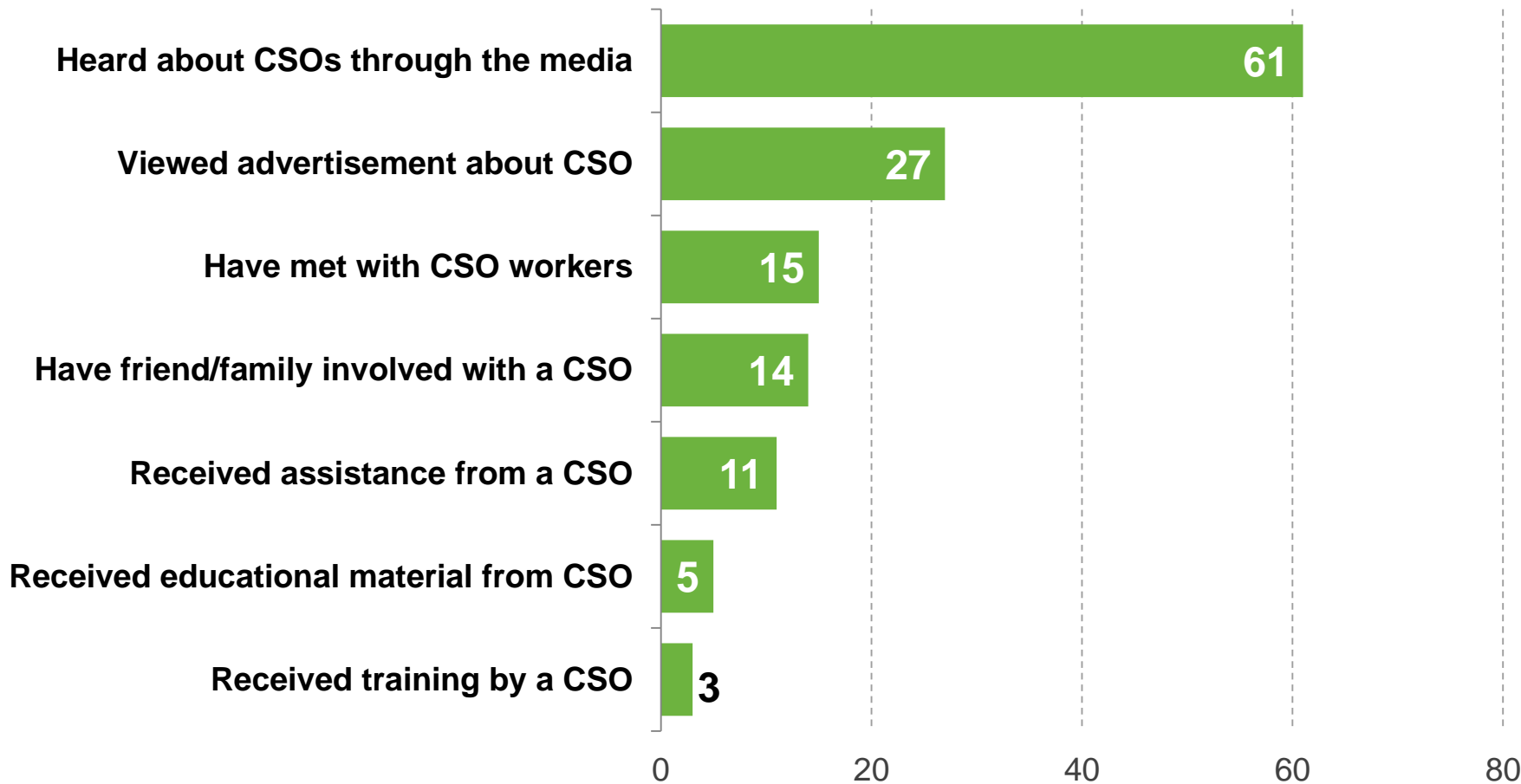
Most have heard about CSOs

Have you heard anything about Civil Society Organizations, or CSOs, in Iraq?



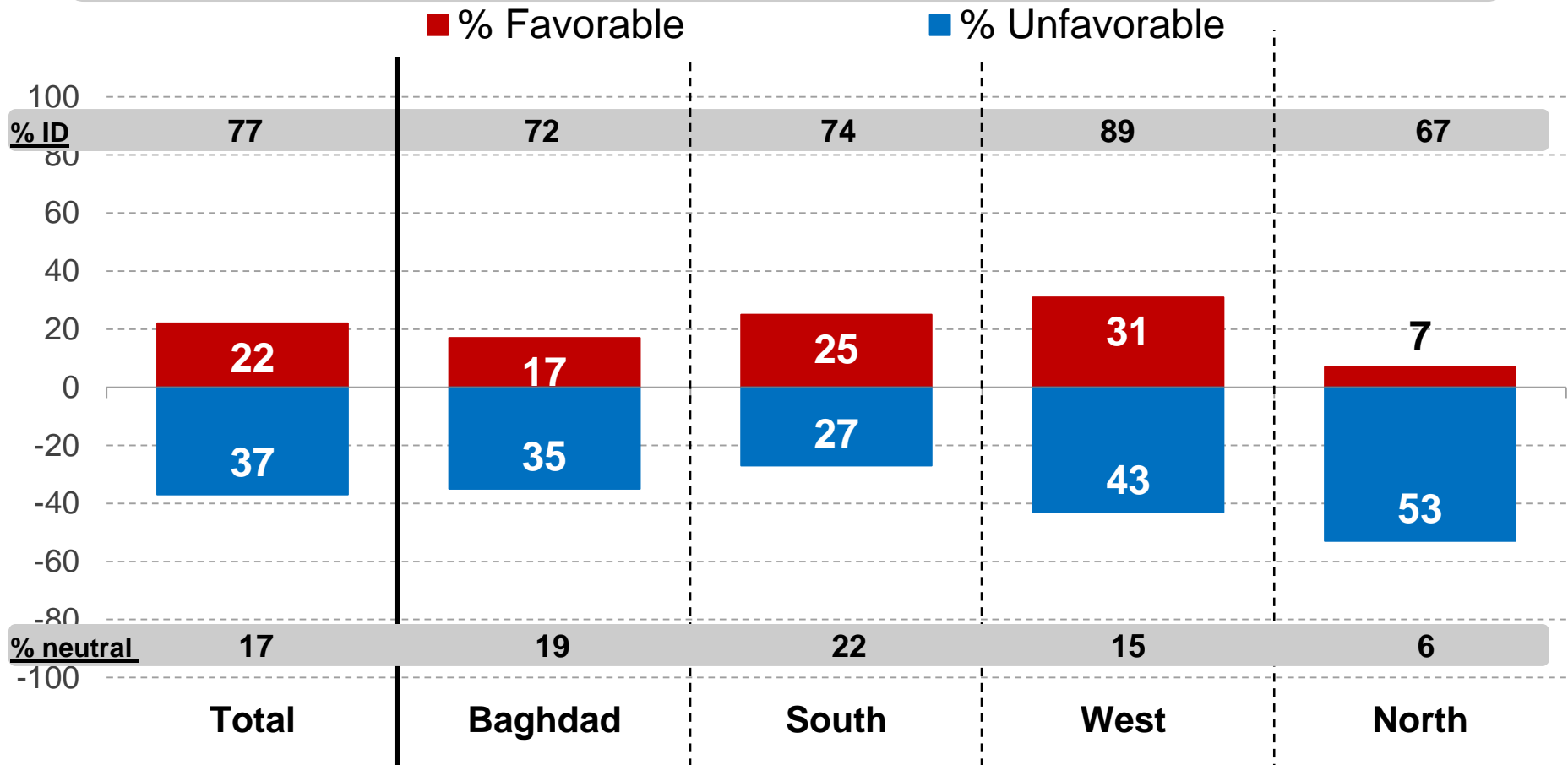
Most have heard about CSOs through the media

[IF HAVE HEARD ABOUT CSOs] And how have you heard about CSOs?



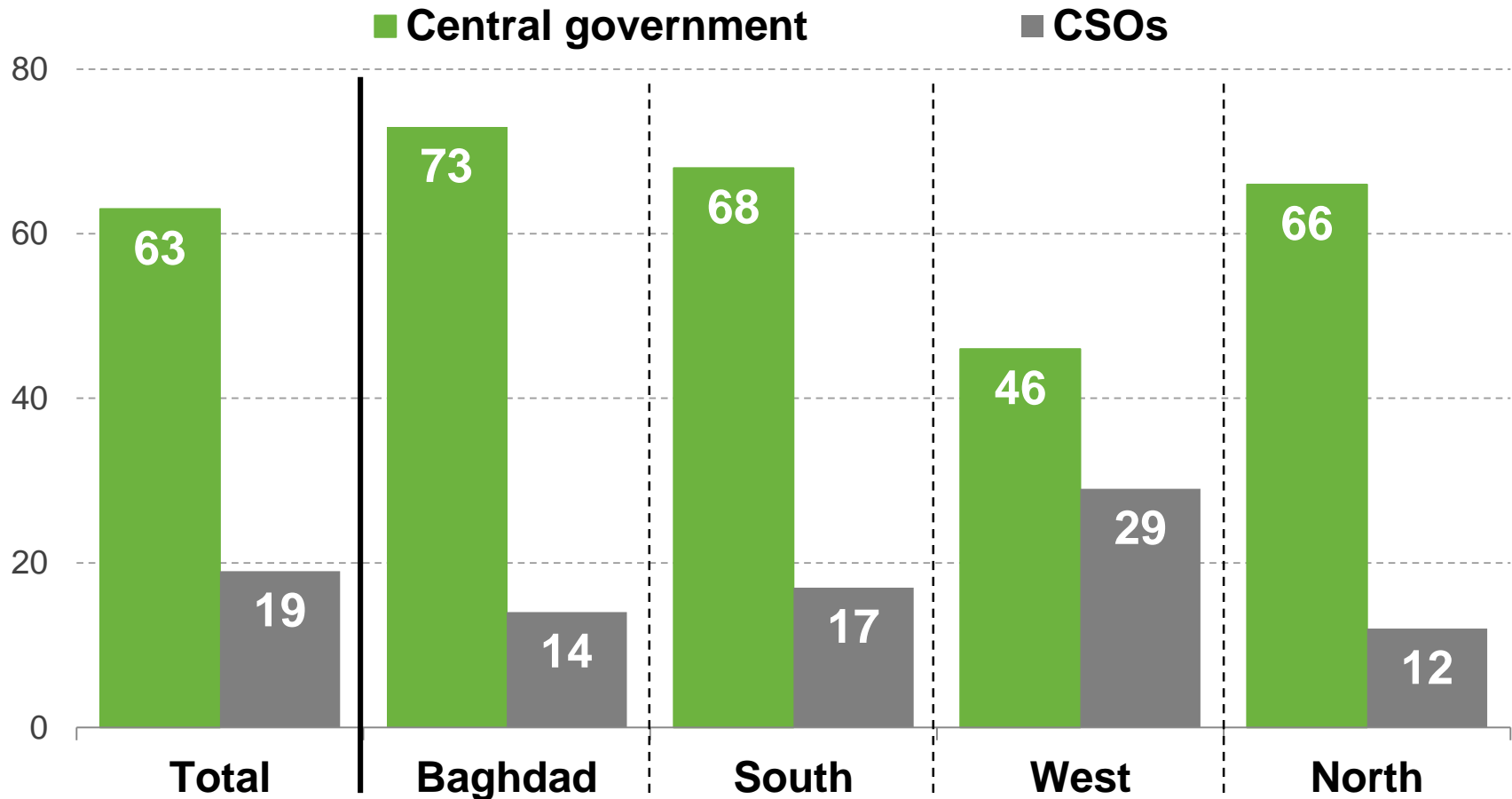
CSOs favorability strongest in West, weak in North

Now, 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.



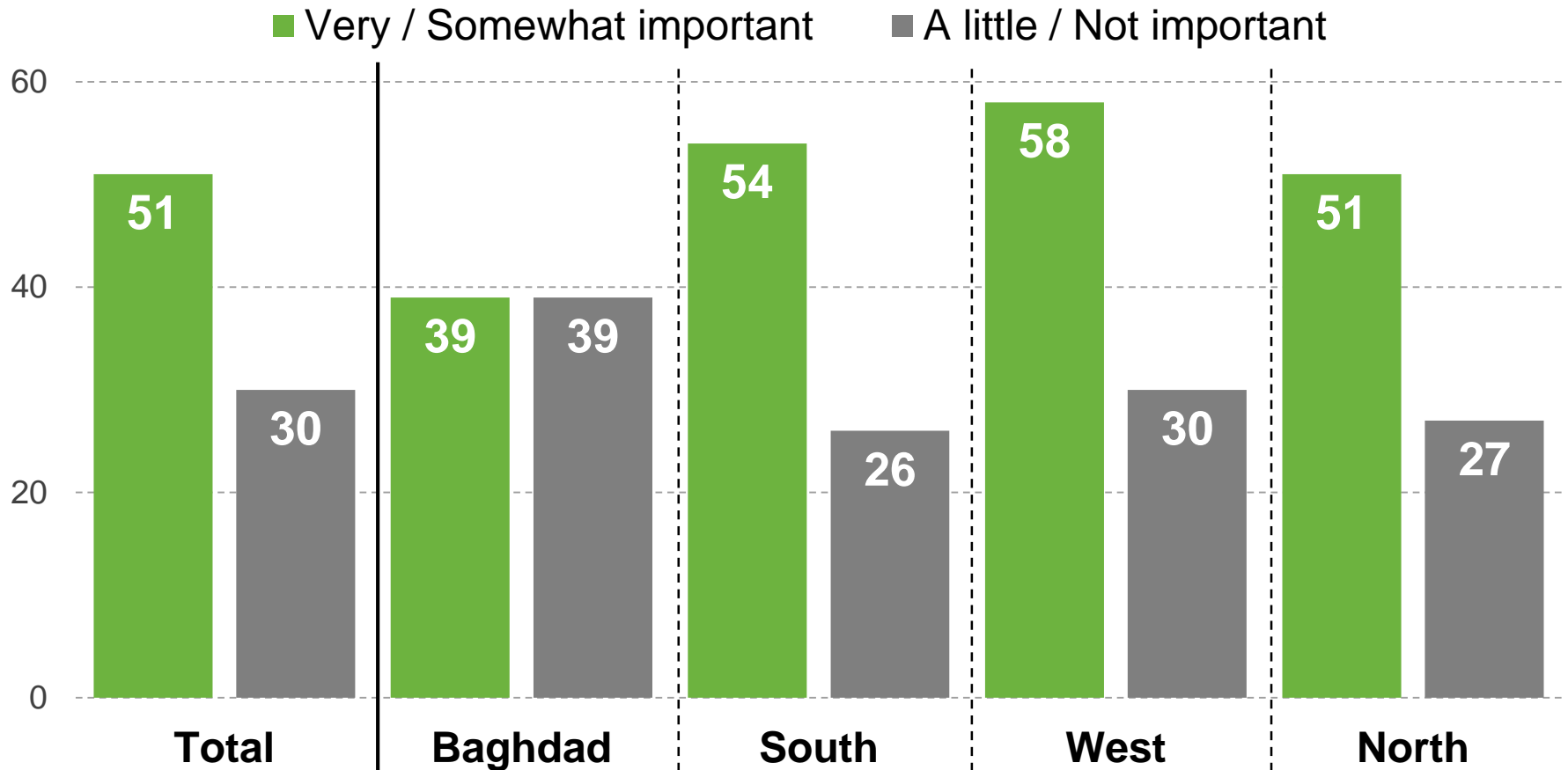
Who does better job understanding average Iraqis?

Who do you think does a better job at understanding and acting on the needs of average Iraqis – the central government or civil society organizations?



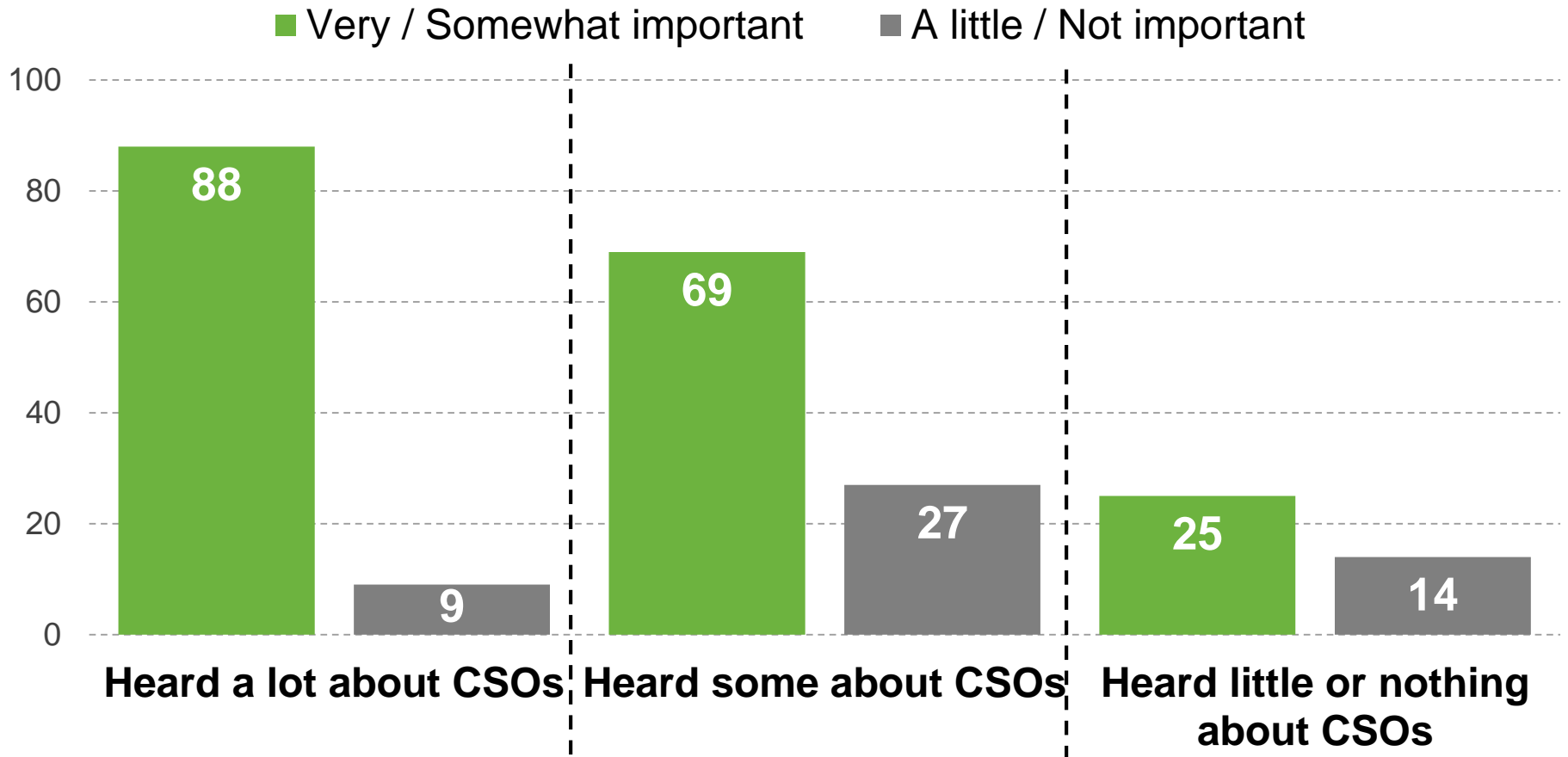
Majority think CSOs are important in Iraq

Some civil society organizations, or CSOs, advocate on your behalf on issues such as human rights, women's rights, youth, family affairs, or provide humanitarian assistance. How important do you think these CSO efforts are in Iraq – very important, somewhat important, just a little important, or not important at all?



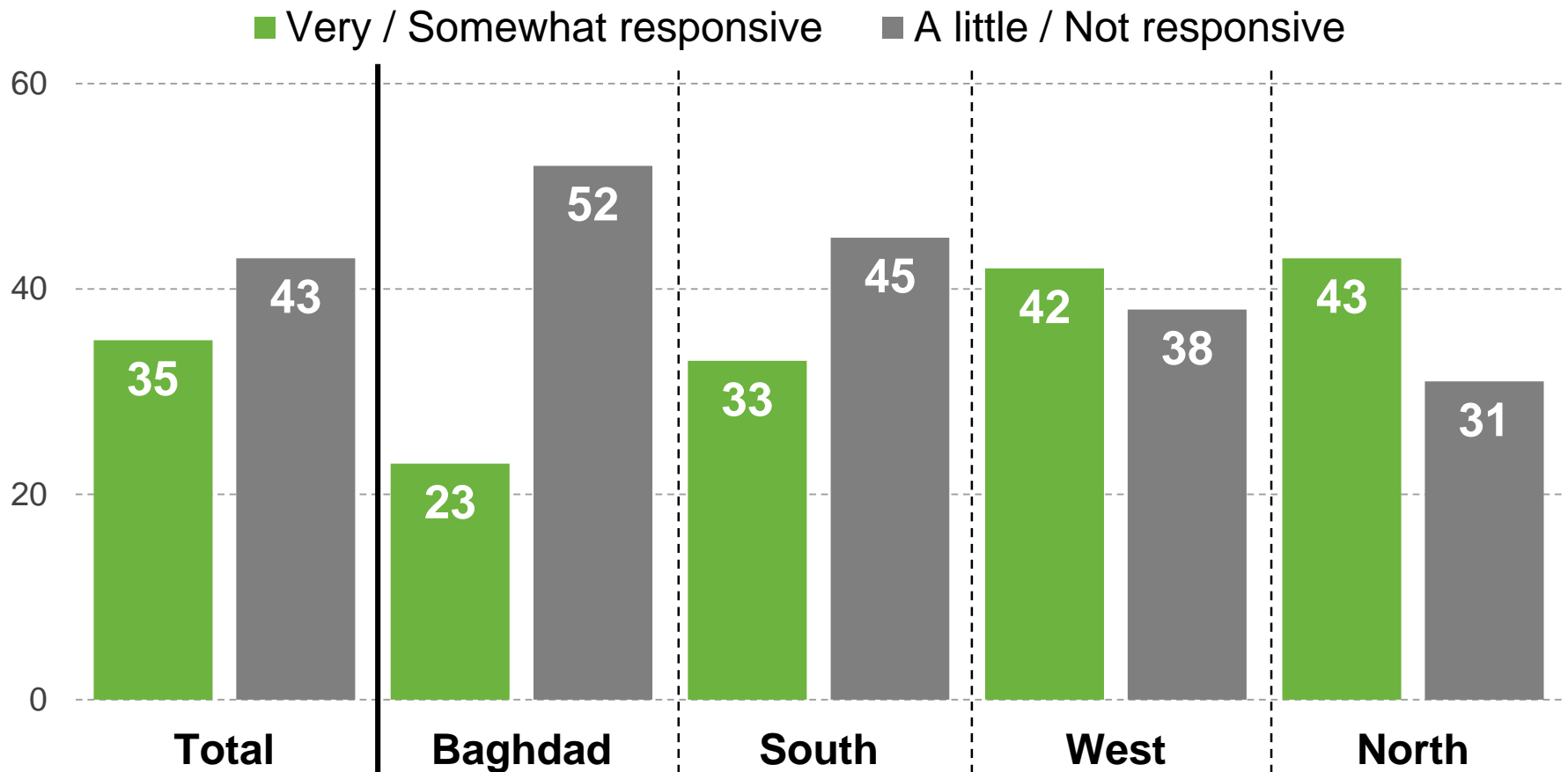
Importance of CSOs based on how much heard

Some civil society organizations, or CSOs, advocate on your behalf on issues such as human rights, women's rights, youth, family affairs, or provide humanitarian assistance. How important do you think these CSO efforts are in Iraq – very important, somewhat important, just a little important, or not important at all?



Mixed reviews on CSOs responsiveness

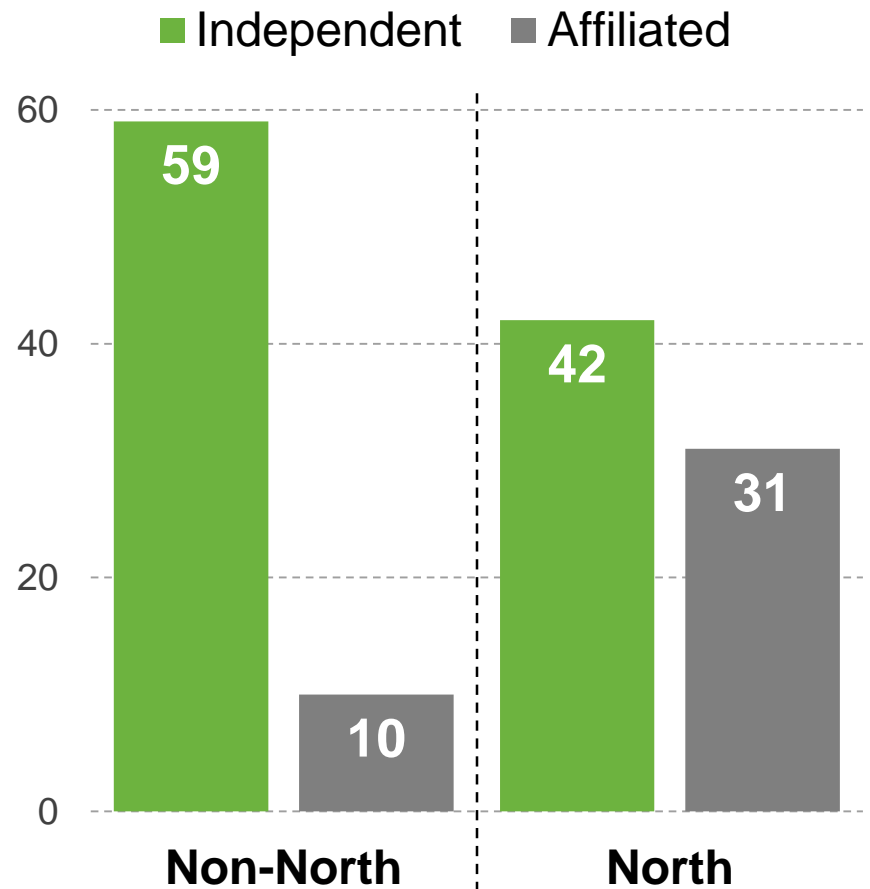
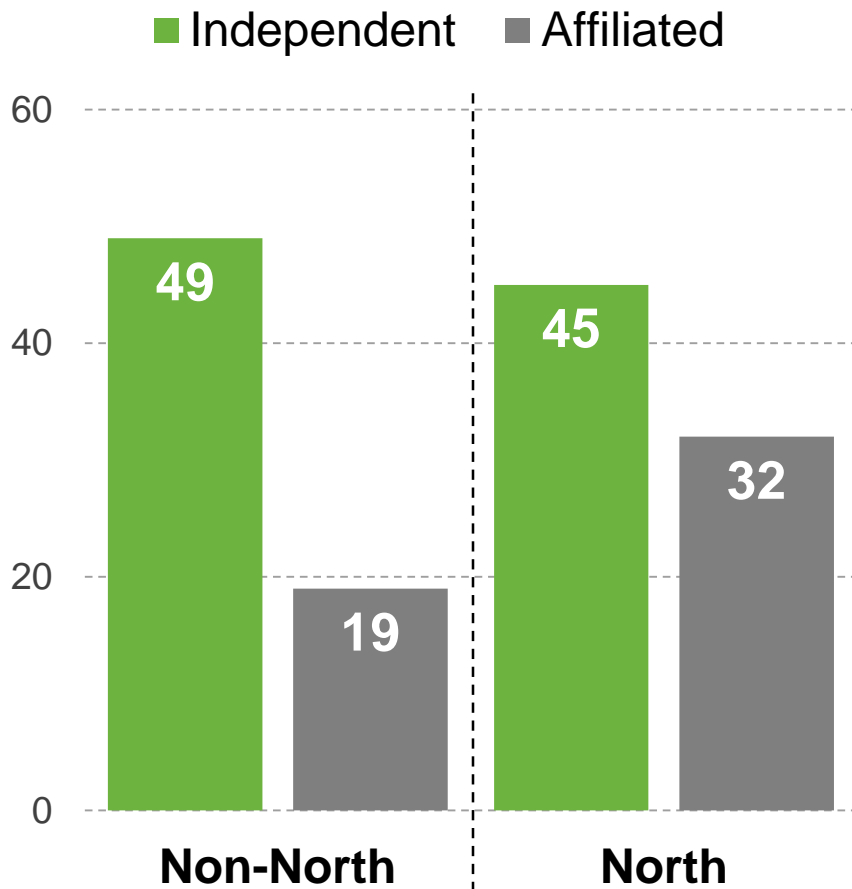
In general, how responsive do you think civil society organizations are to the needs and concerns of your neighborhood – very responsive, somewhat responsive, just a little responsive, or not responsive at all?



CSOs viewed and preferred to be independent

In your opinion, are most CSOs in Iraq independent OR affiliated with a certain political party?

In your opinion, should most CSOs in Iraq be independent OR affiliated with a certain political party?



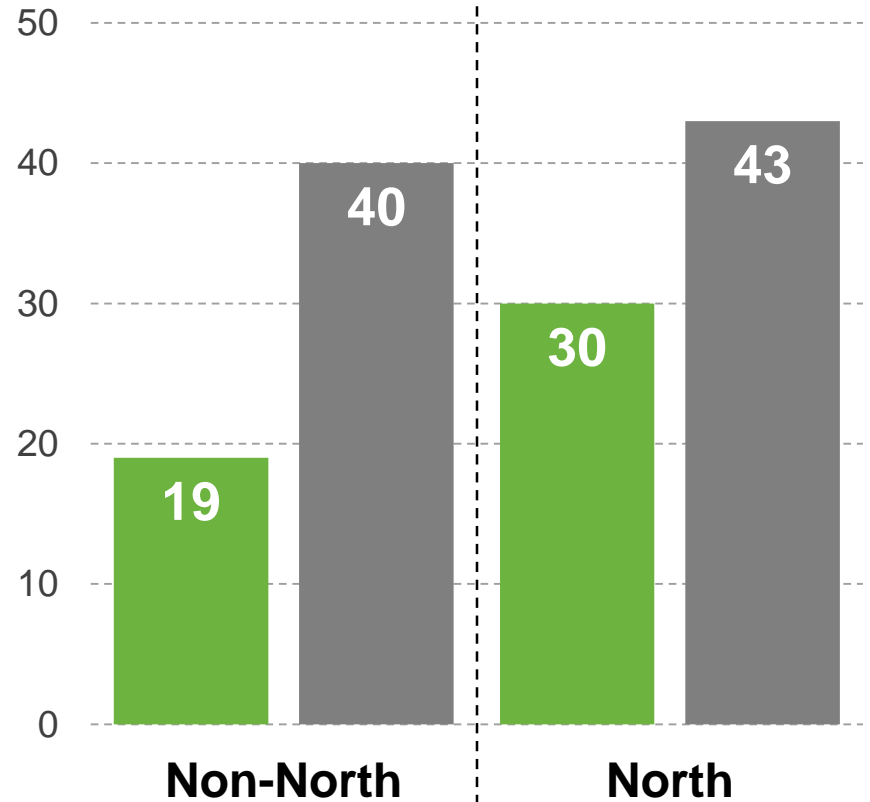
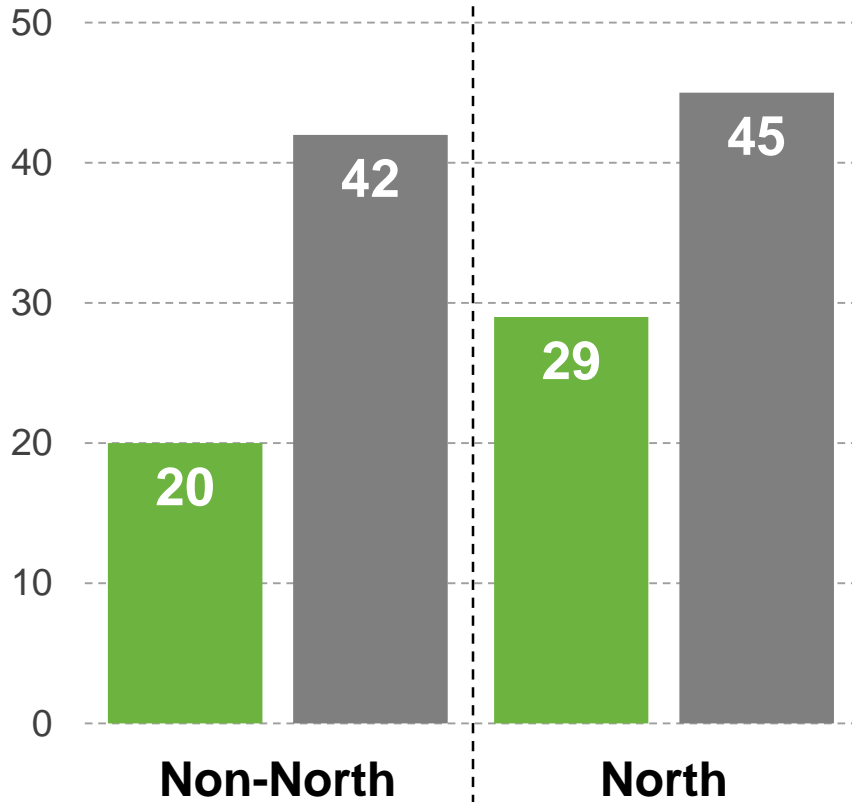
CSOs affiliated with parties seen as less capable, influential

Do you think that a CSO affiliated with a political party is more or less capable to serve you and your needs?

Do you think that a CSO affiliated with a political party is more or less capable to influence the government?

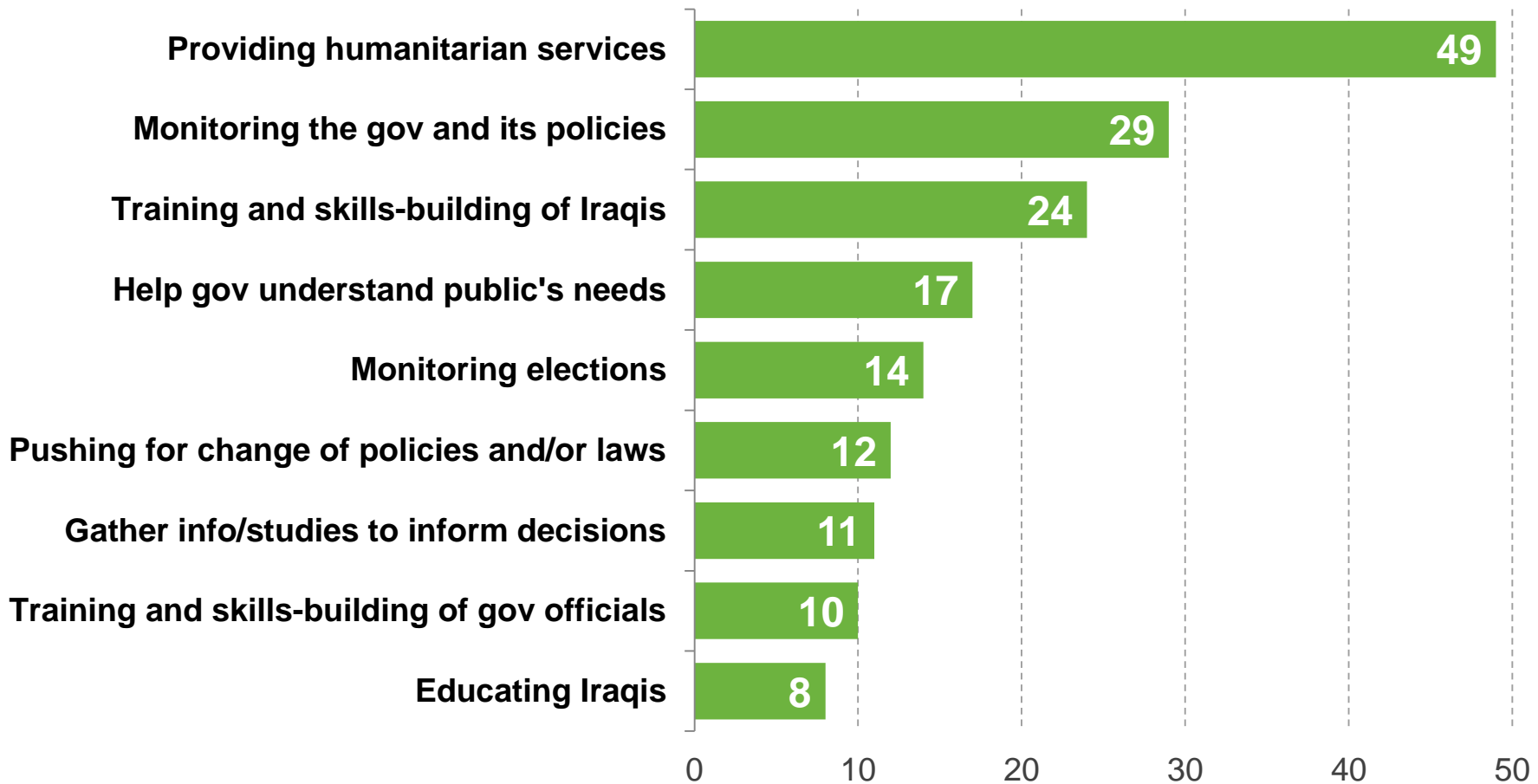
■ More capable ■ Less capable

■ More capable ■ Less capable



Main focus of CSOs should be humanitarian services

Now I want to read you a list of different activities CSOs can undertake. I want you to pick the top TWO activities that you think are the most important for CSOs in Iraq to engage in.

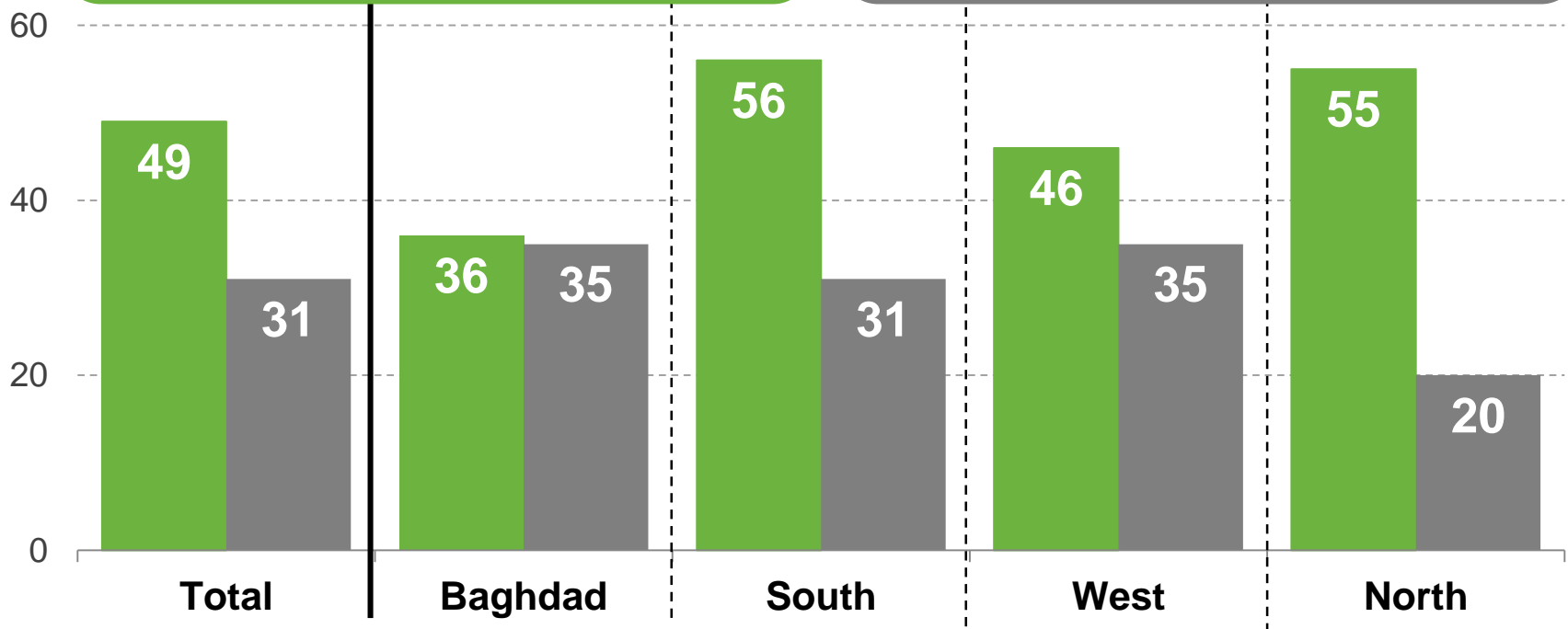


Not a strong desire for CSOs to play a policy role

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

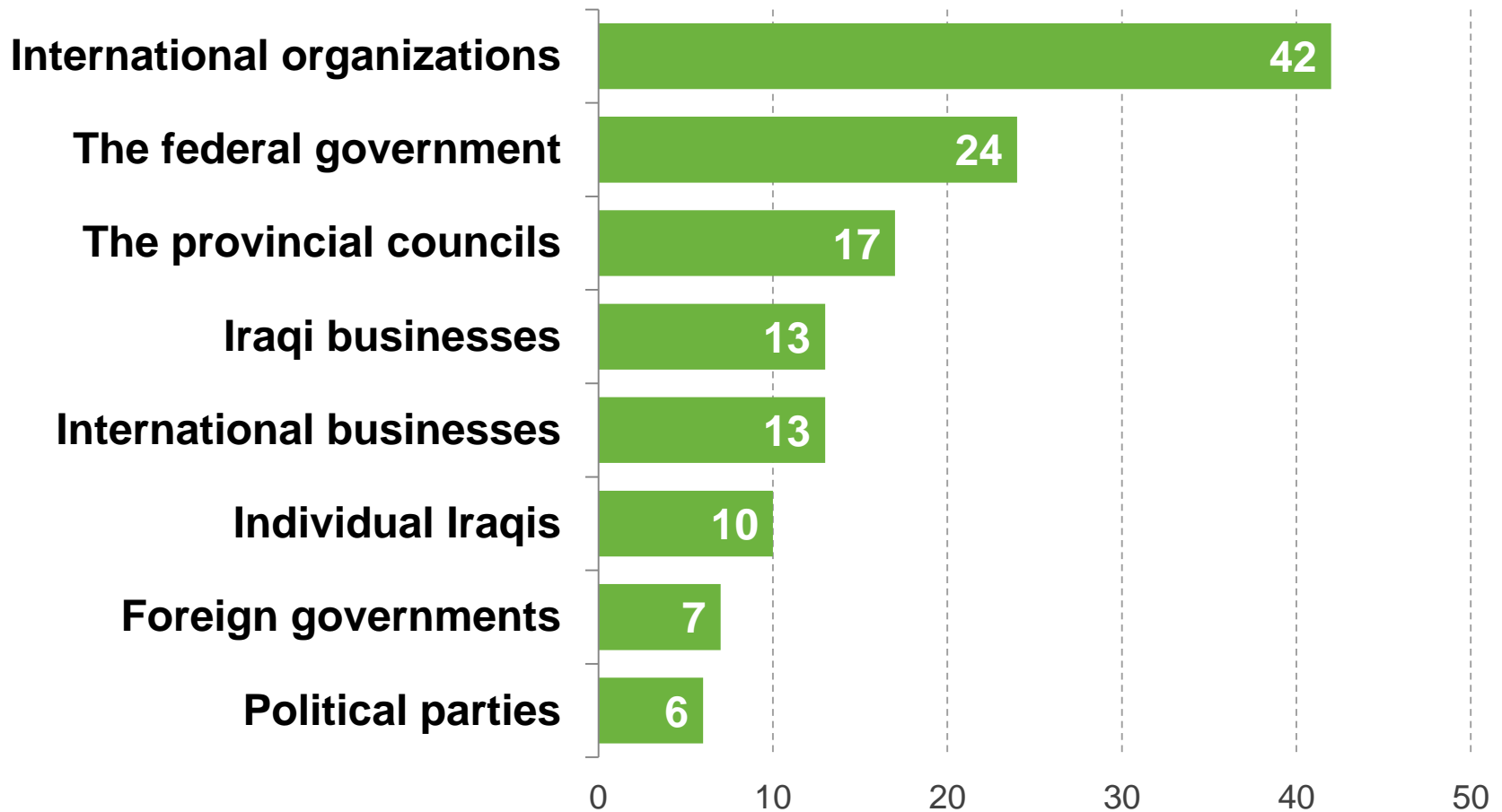
Statement 1: Civil society organizations are only useful for humanitarian issues, like relief for IDPs and helping widows and orphans.

Statement 2: Aside from humanitarian role, CSOs should play a larger role in creating good public policies and holding government accountable.



Preference for international funding of CSOs

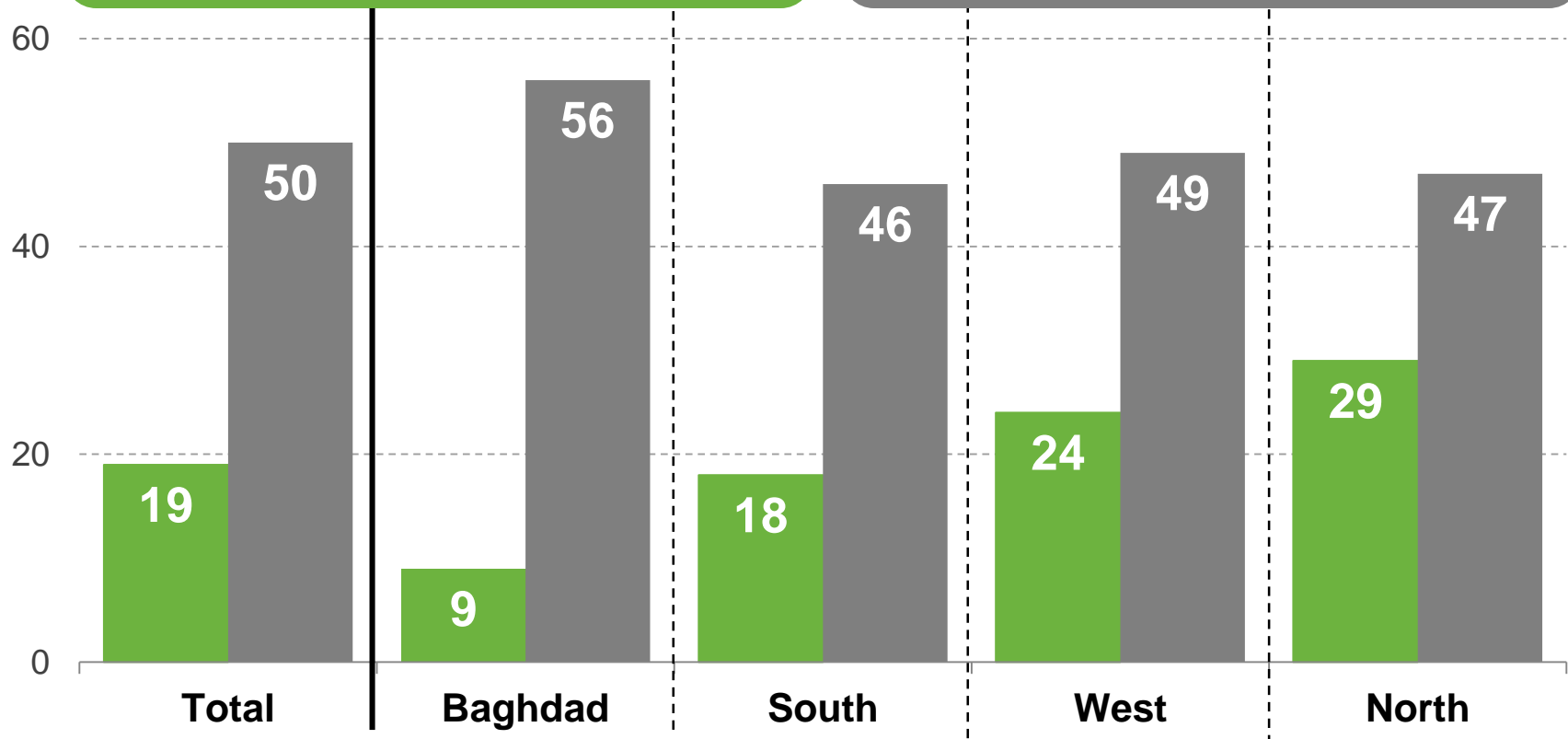
Now I am going to read a list of potential sources of funding for CSOs. From this list, who do you think should help fund CSOs in Iraq? You can select as many as you think should apply.



CSOs not viewed as impacting Iraqis lives

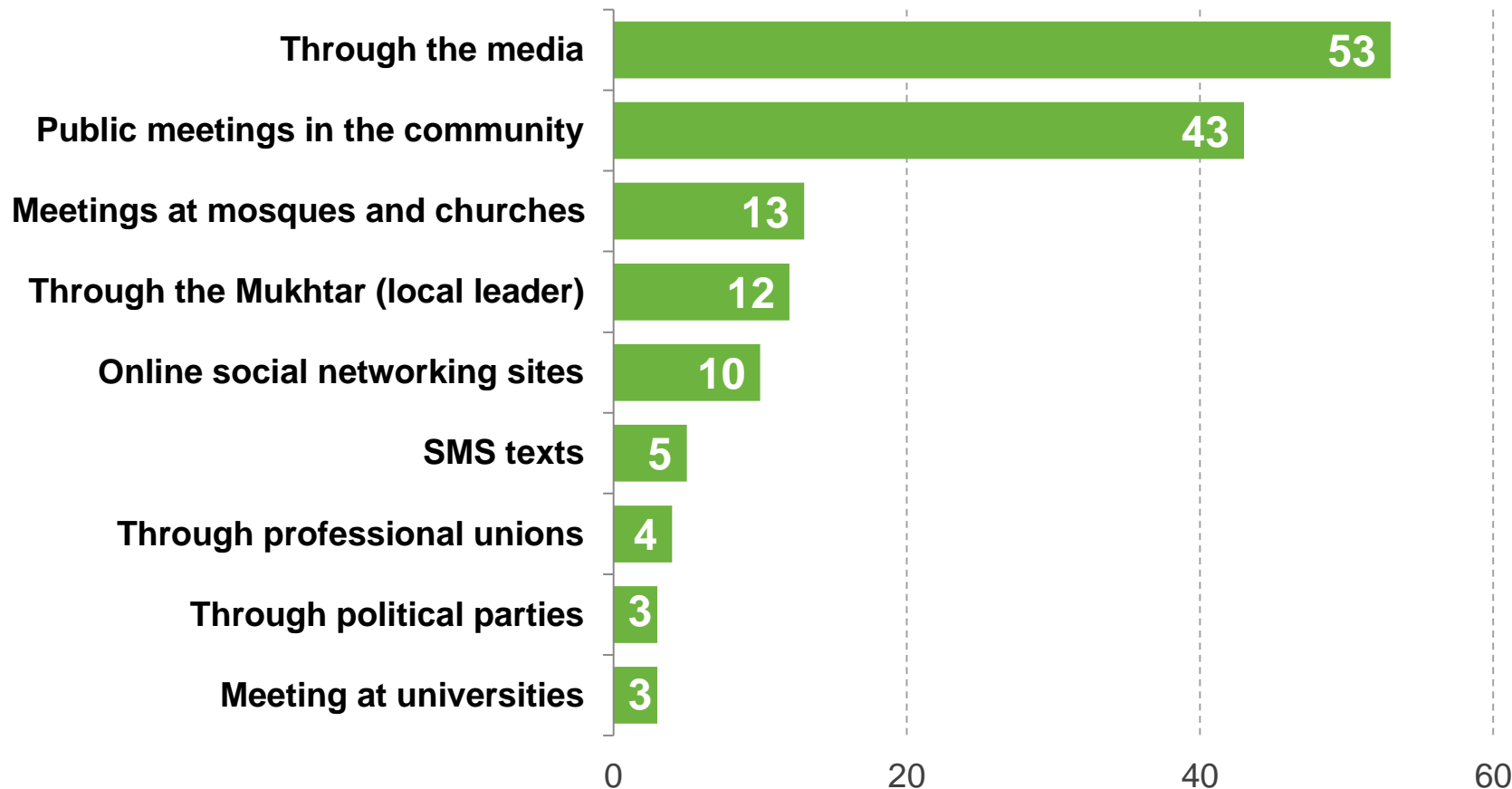
Statement 1: Civil society organizations have had an impact on my life.

Statement 2: Civil society organizations have had no impact on my life.



Media, meetings best for members, CSOs to communicate

I'm going to show you a card that has written some ways that people gain and receive information from CSOs and their members of the Council of Representatives. From this list, which TWO sources do you trust most for information?

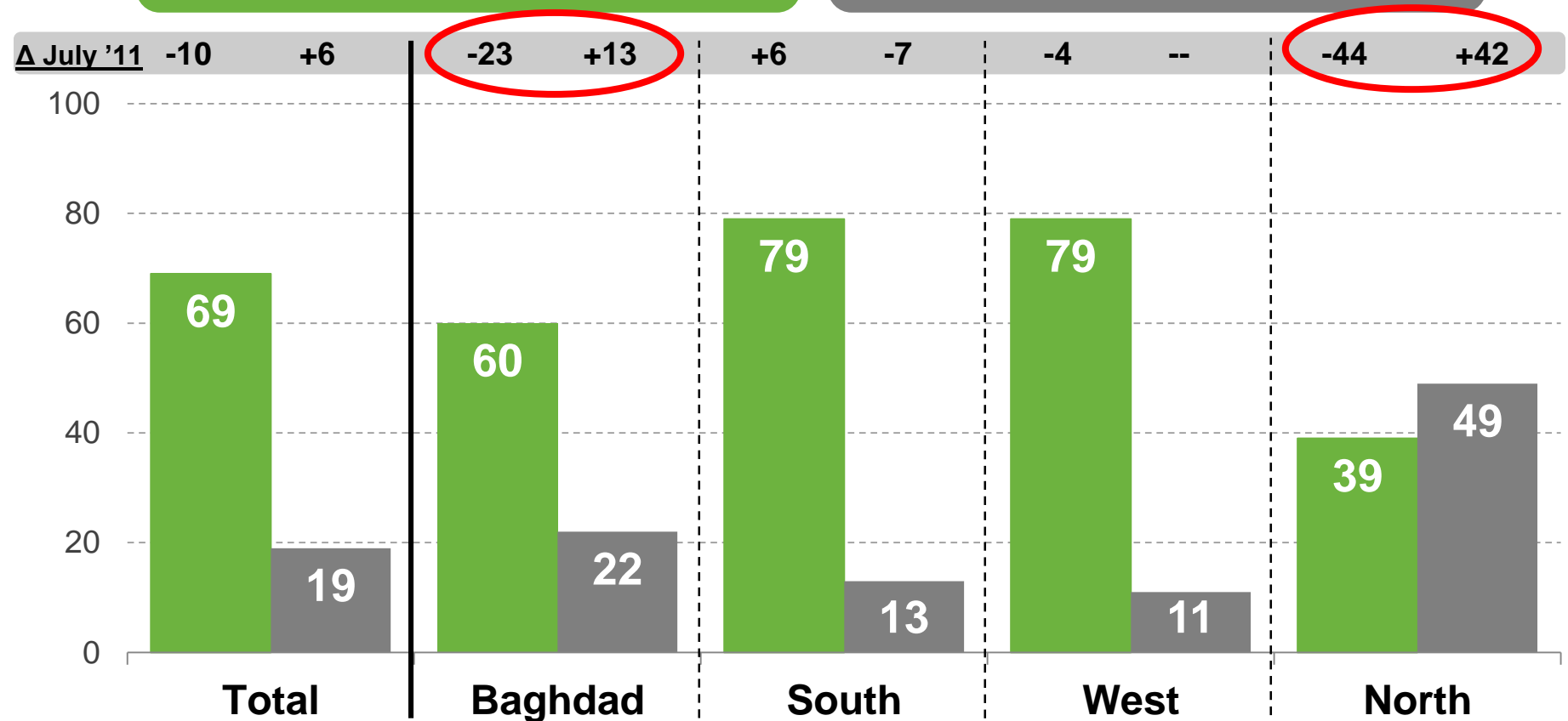


U.S. Issues

Majority believe security will improve with US withdrawal

Statement 1: Security will improve when the American military leaves.

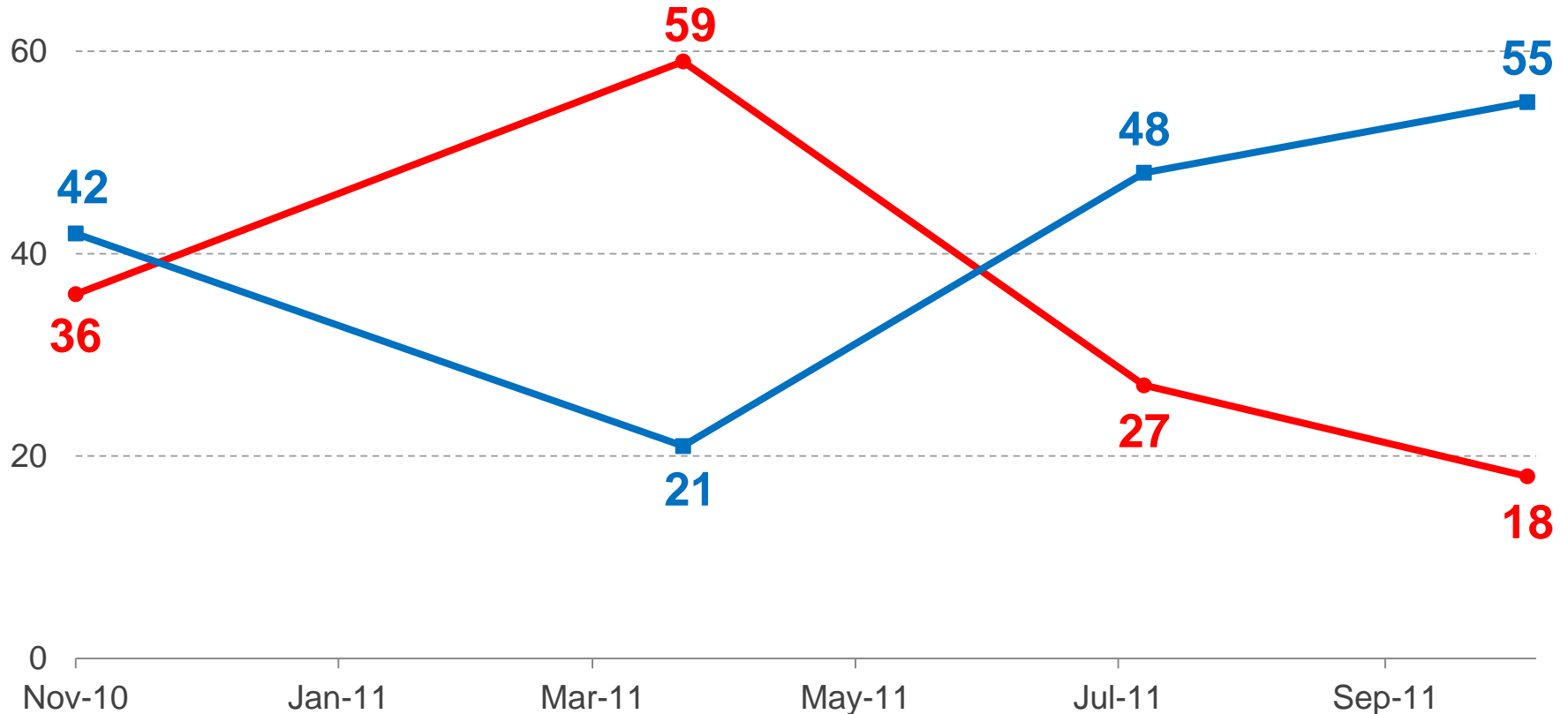
Statement 2: Security will deteriorate when the American military leaves.



U.S. favorability in North worsens

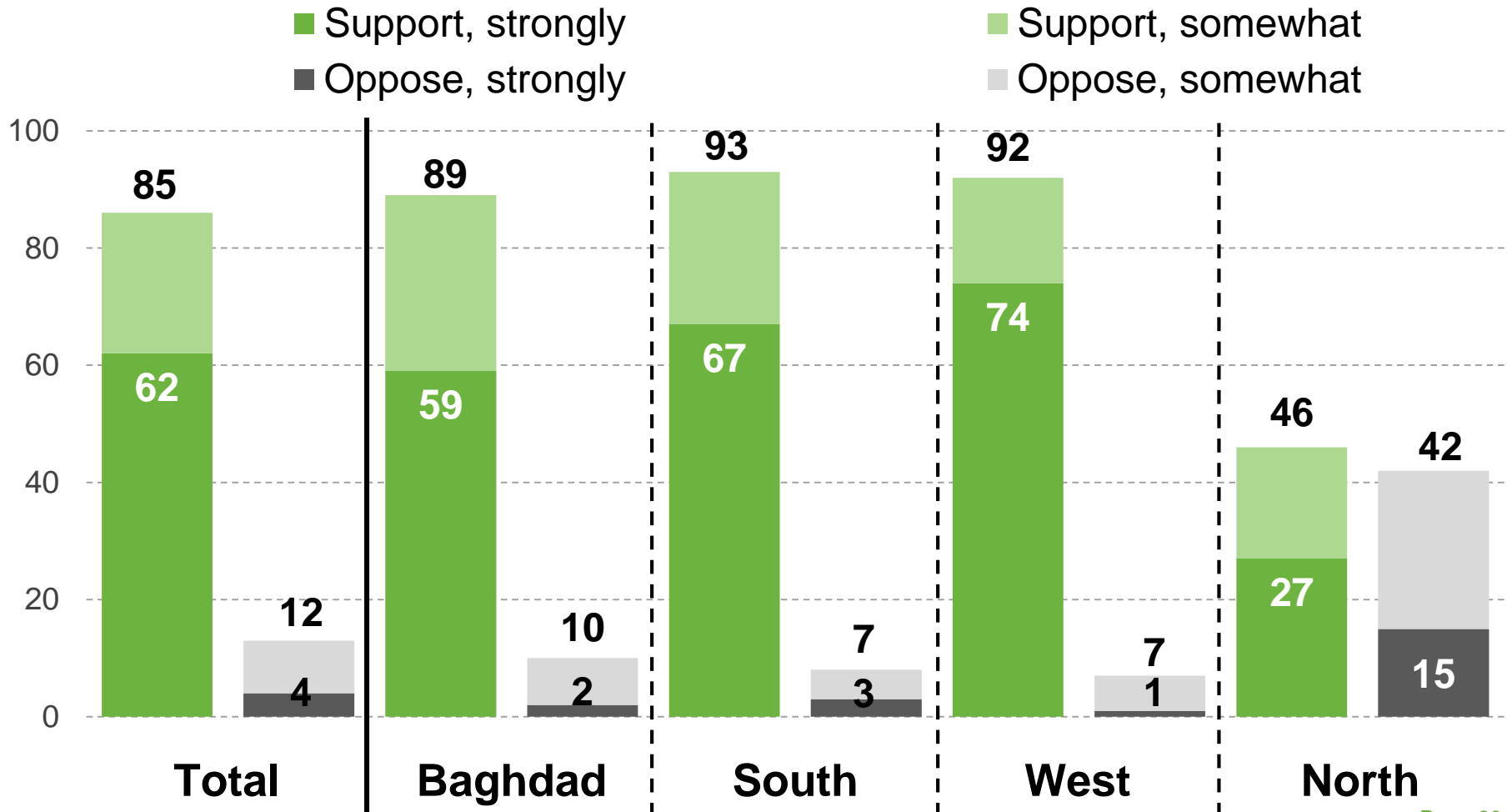
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable. [NORTH-ONLY]

● % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



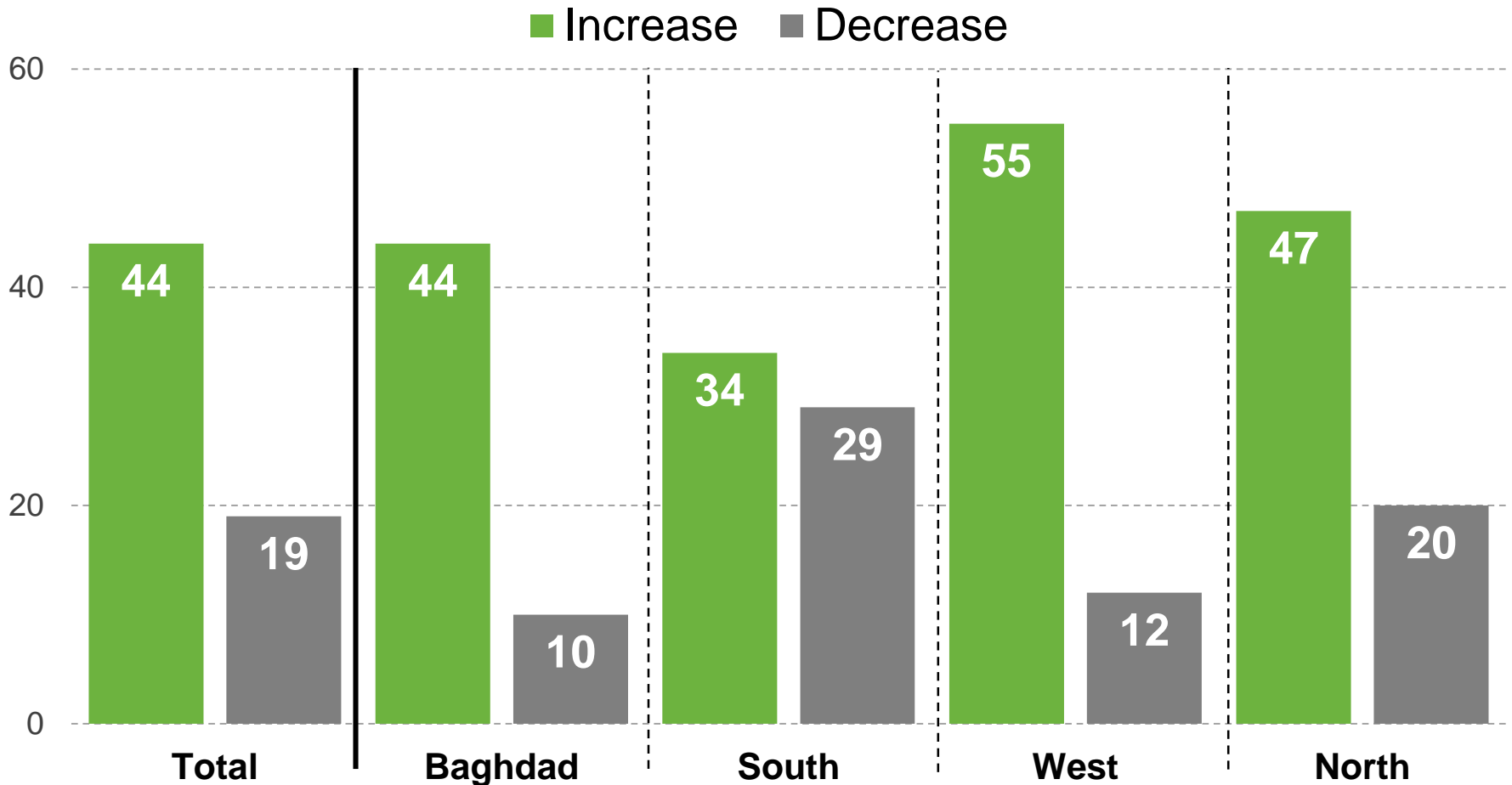
Continued strong support US troop withdrawal

Do you support or oppose the U.S. military withdrawing all its troops by 31 December 2011?



Iran influence to increase after US troop withdrawal

After the U.S. military withdrawal, do you think Iran's influence in Iraq will increase or decrease?

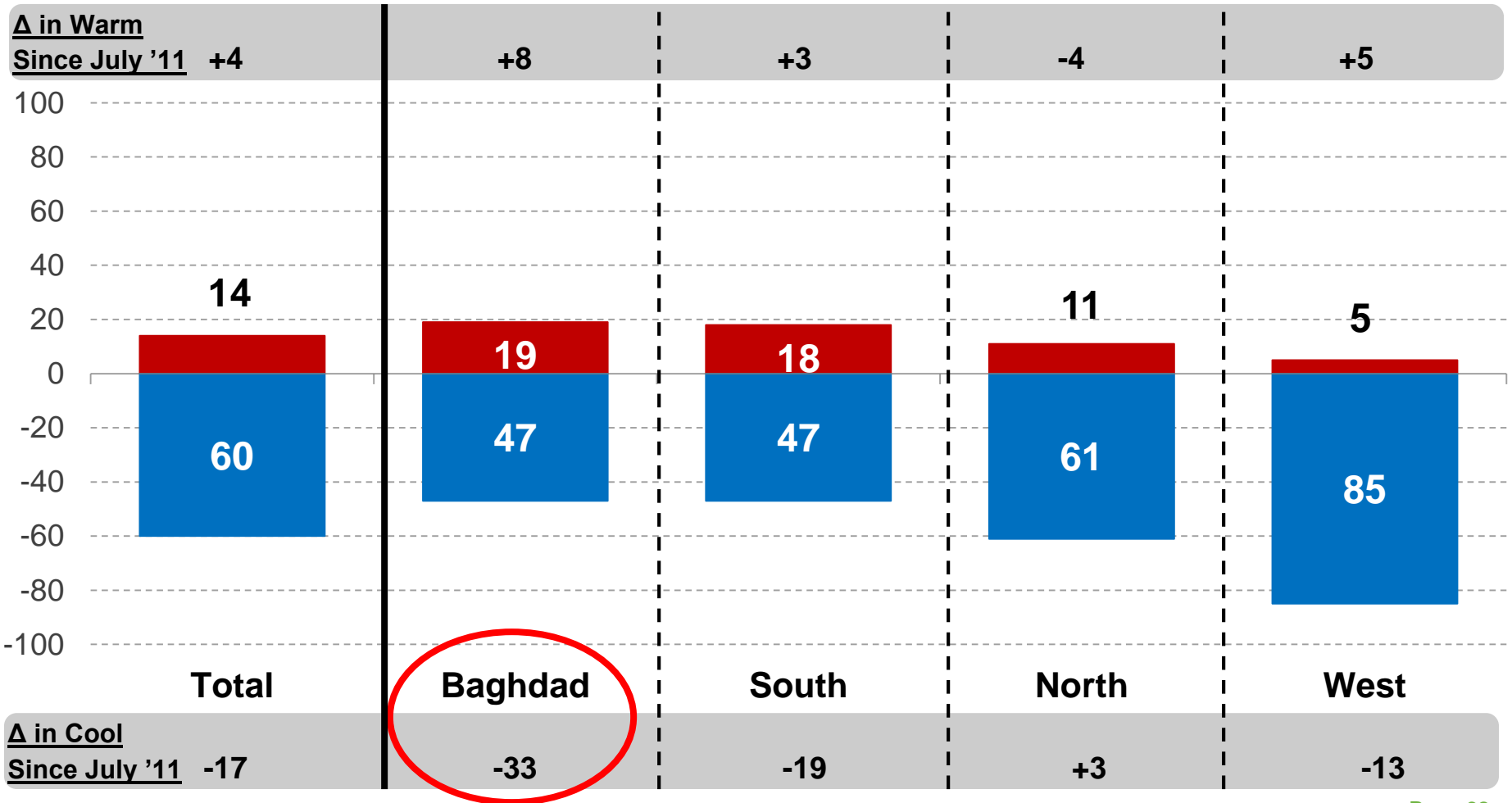


Though fewer unfavorable ratings in Non-North areas

Iran favorability

■ % Favorable

■ % Unfavorable



Most see foreign influence in Iraq getting worse

Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or getting worse: Interference of other countries in Iraq's internal affairs.

