

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

---

# Iraq Enters a Critical Period

Graphs for the Report on the October 2011 Survey

# The Research

---

## National Survey

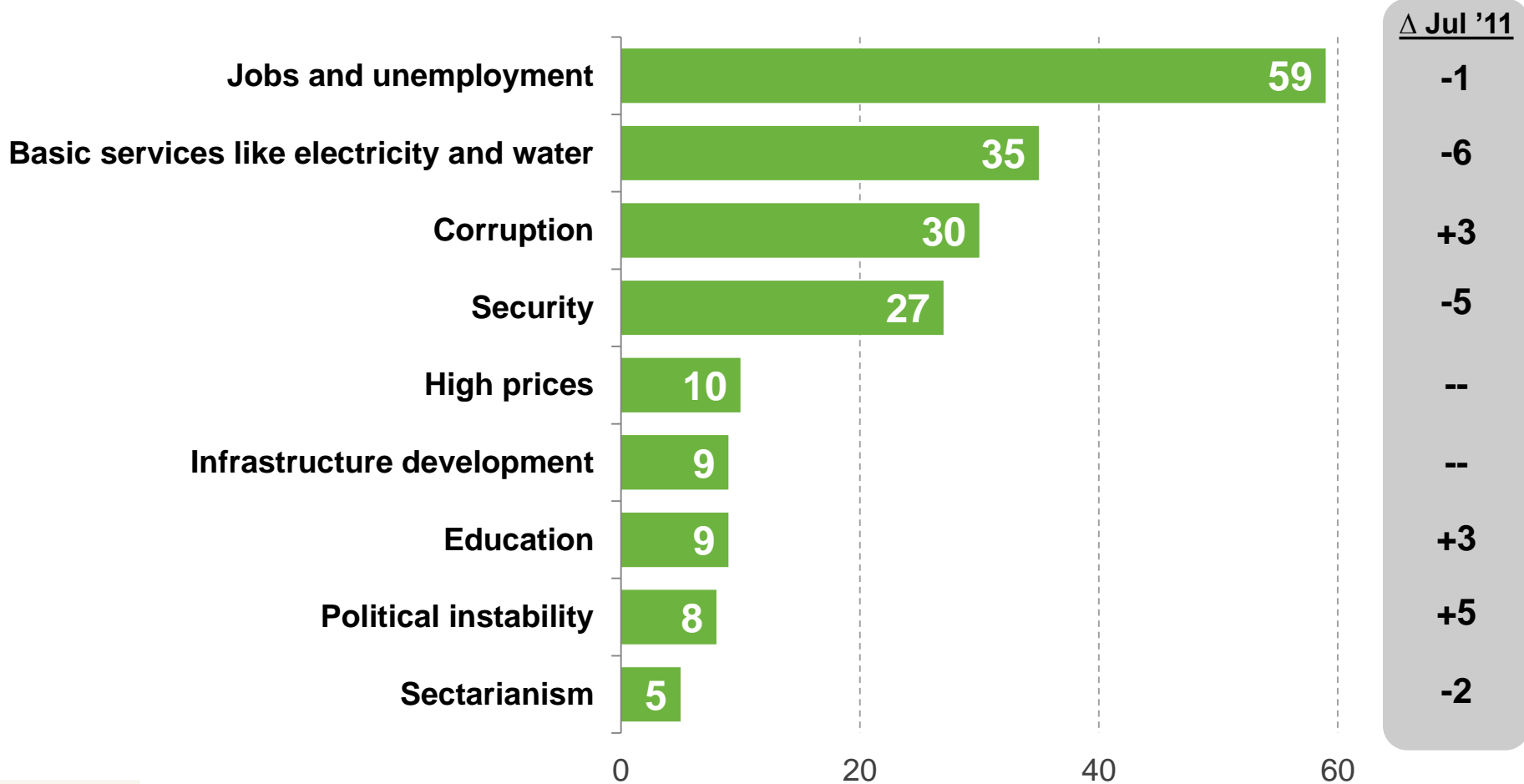
- September 22 – October 5, 2011
- 2,000 national face-to-face interviews (1,436 unweighted)
- 500 interviews in each of the following regions: Baghdad, South, West, and North – weighted representatively
- Margin of error +/- 2.6 percent on full sample, +/- 4.4 percent on North sample

## Focus Groups

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

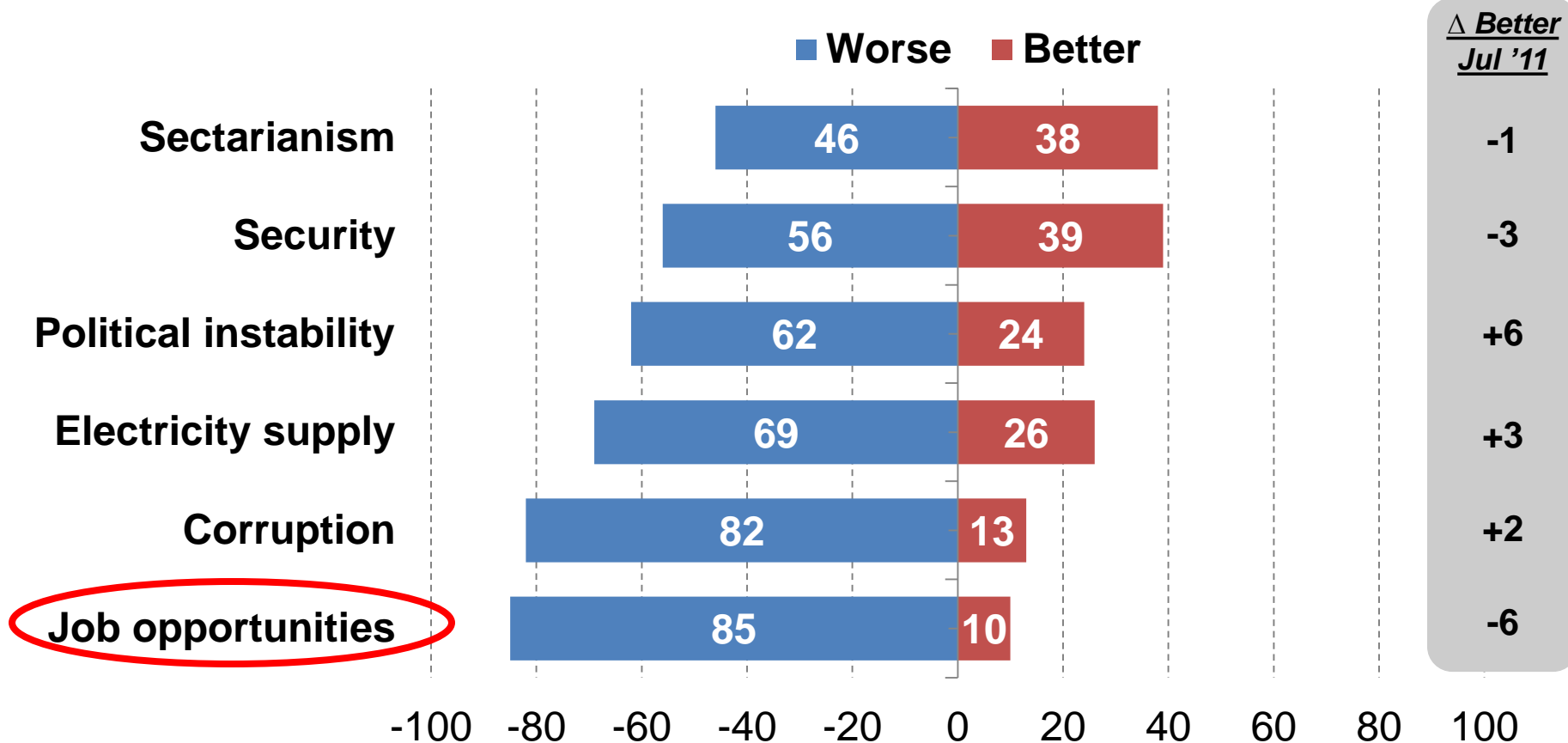
# Jobs continue to dominate as a top concern

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



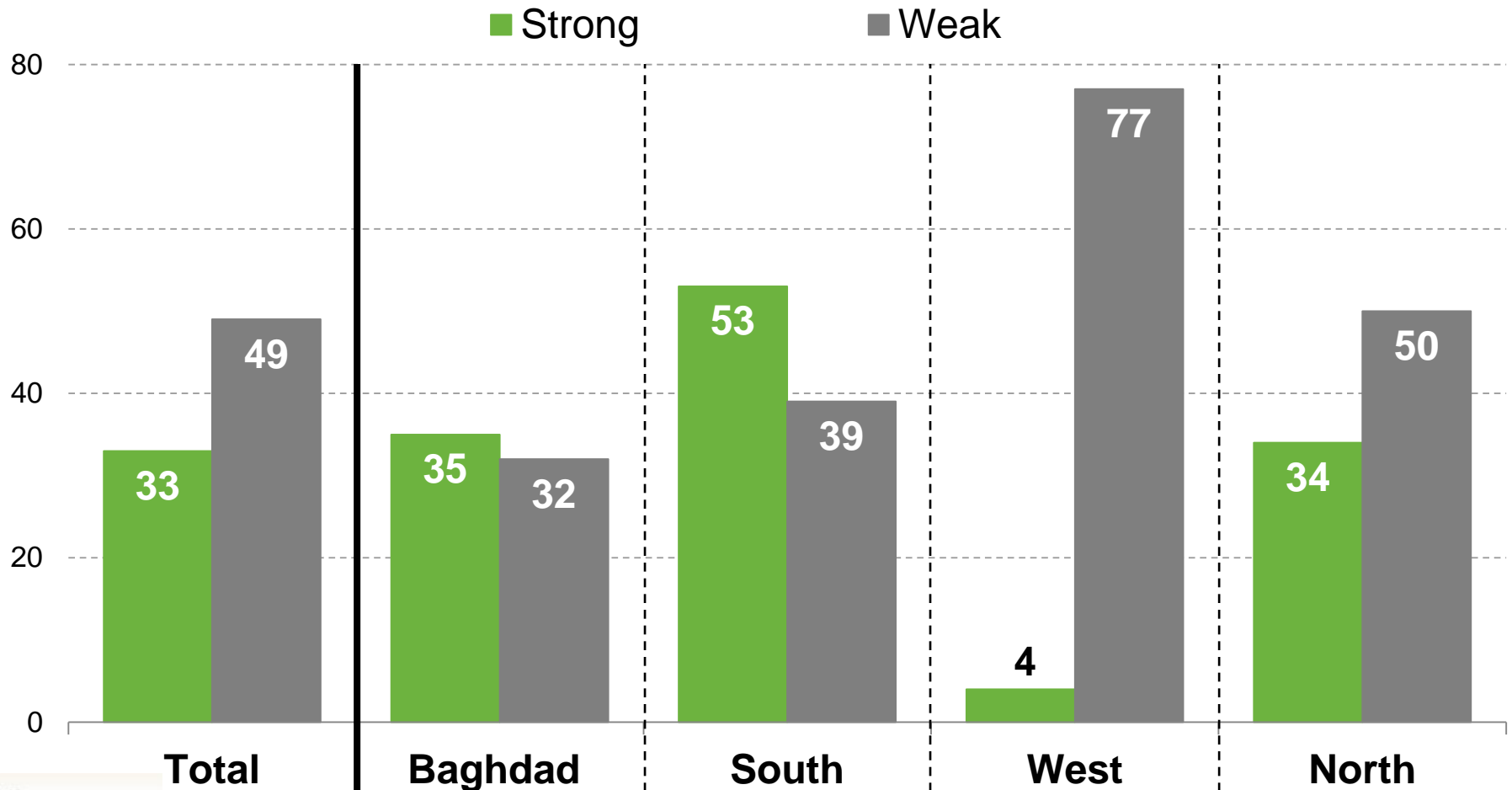
# Job situation, corruption, electricity esp. seen as worsening

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



## Economic strength by region

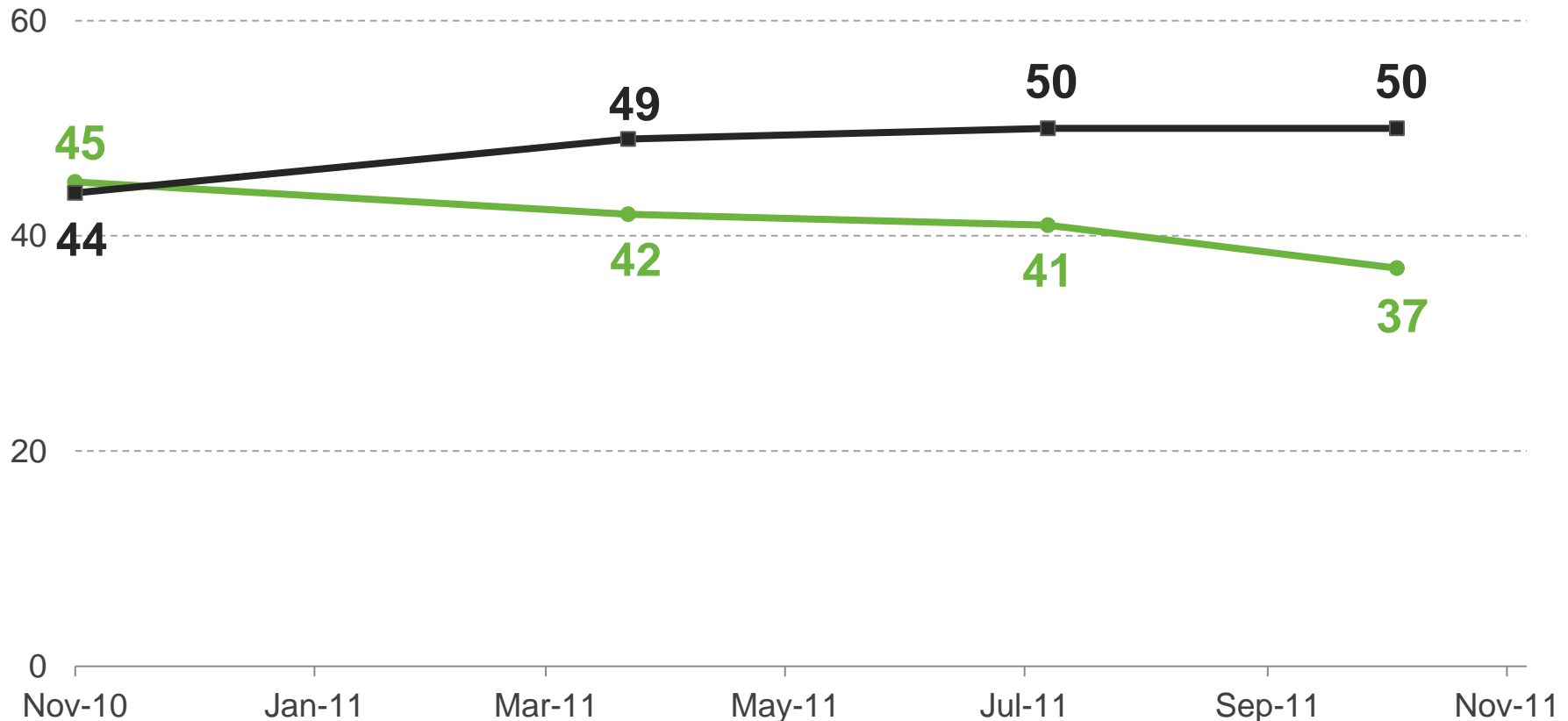
*Now I want to ask you about the economy. Would you say Iraq's economy right now is strong or weak?*



# 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?*

—●— Right direction      —■— Wrong direction

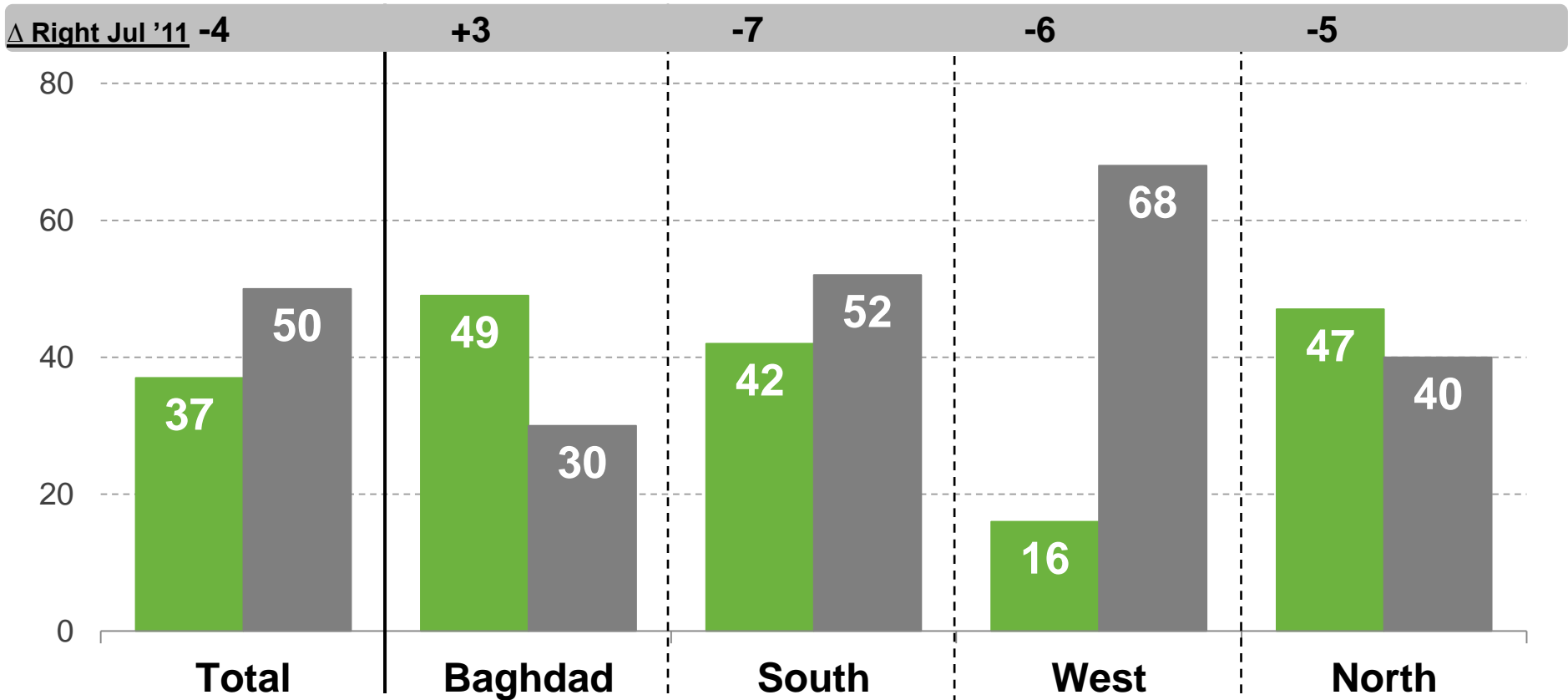


# Country direction | region

*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?*

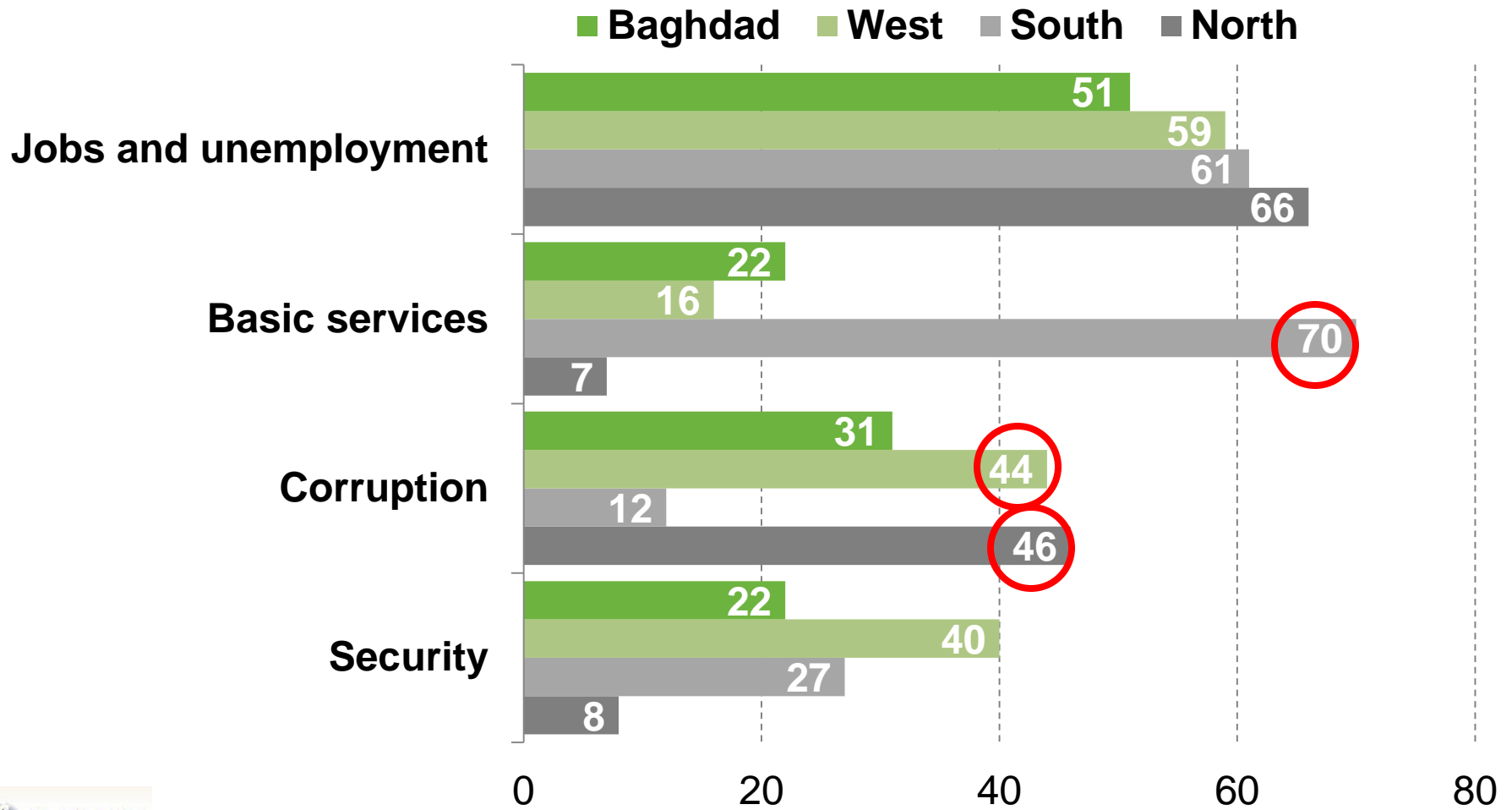
■ Right direction

■ Wrong direction



# Job concerns dominant across regions, with some variation

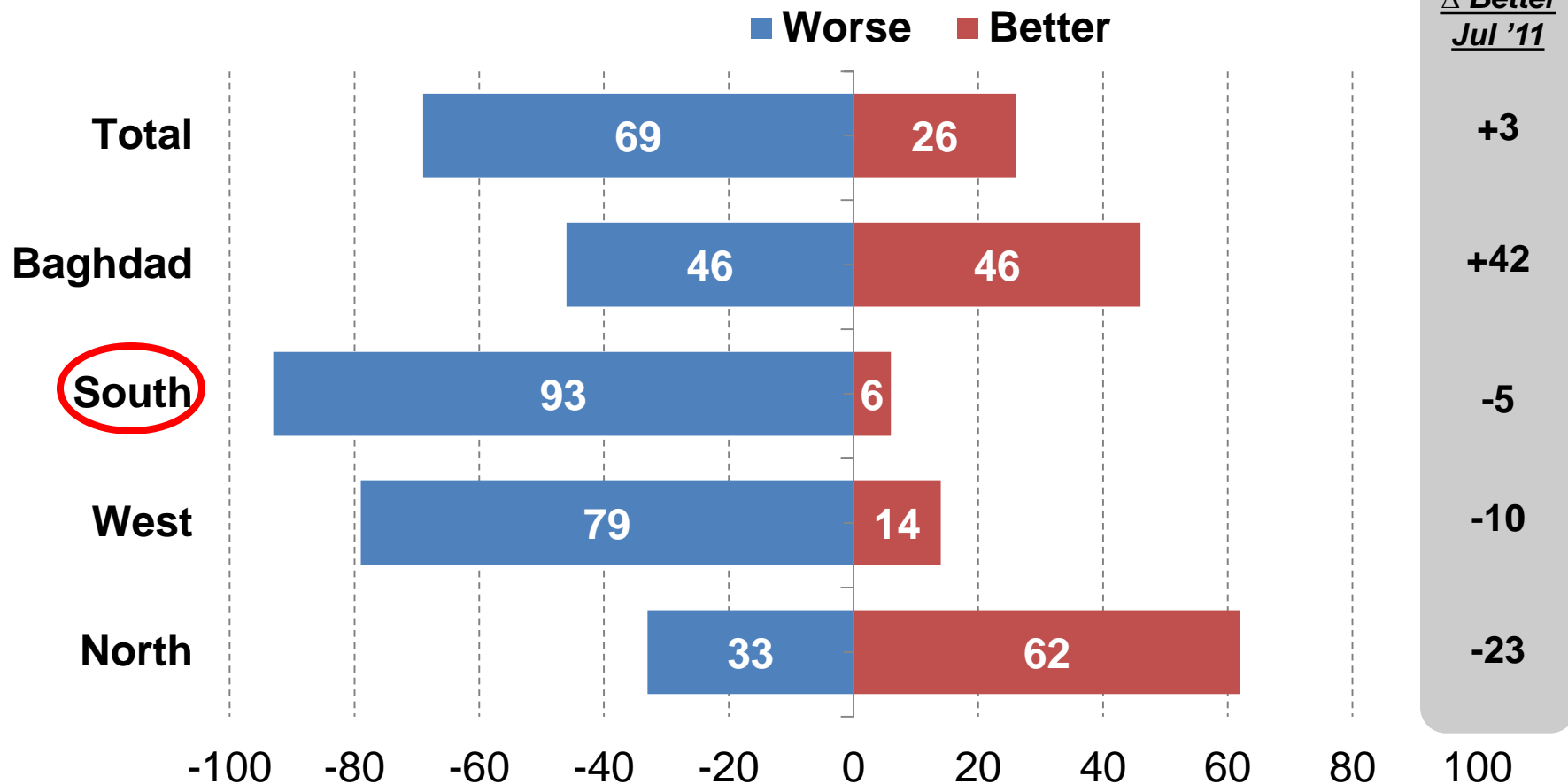
*Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.*





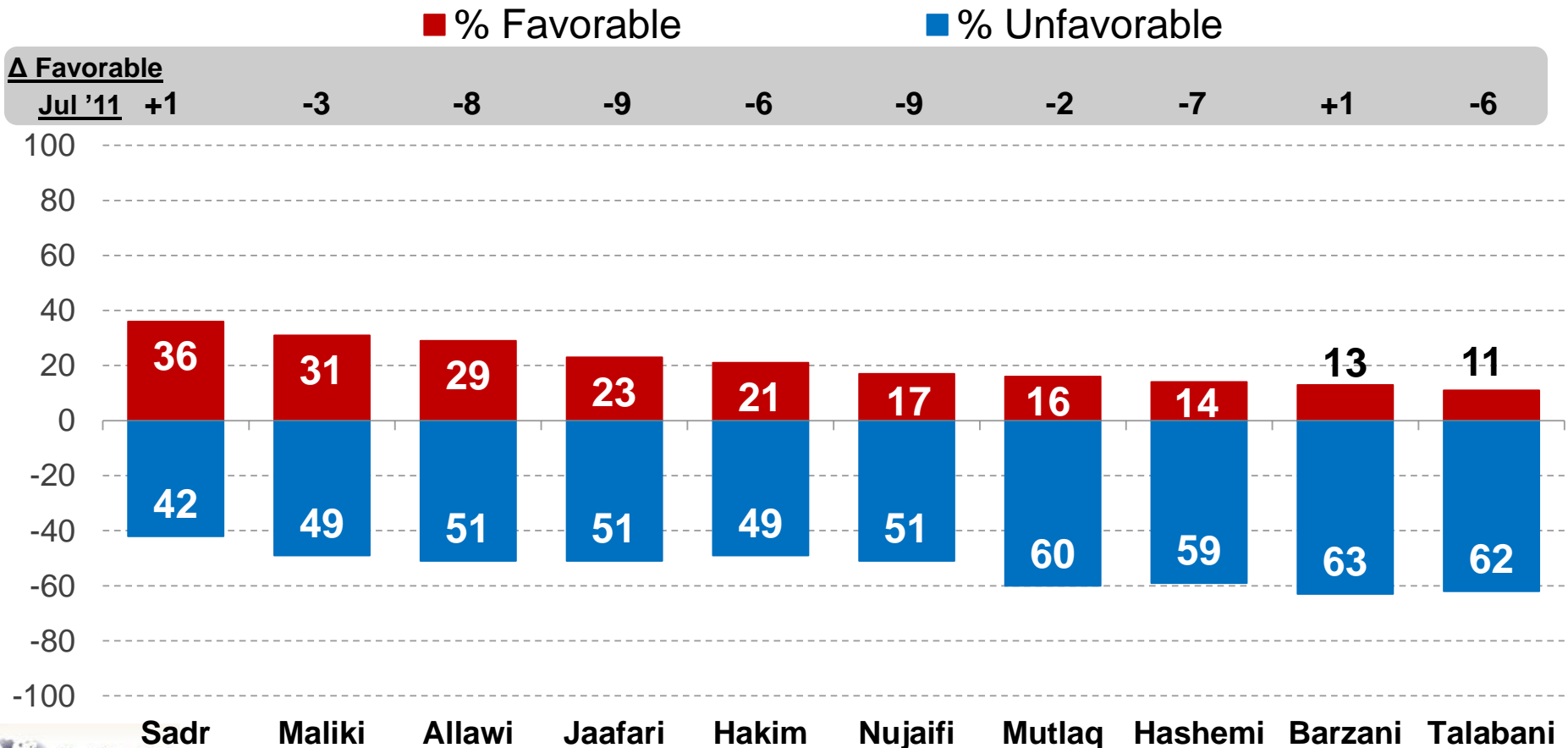
# Electricity perceptions better in Baghdad, worse elsewhere

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

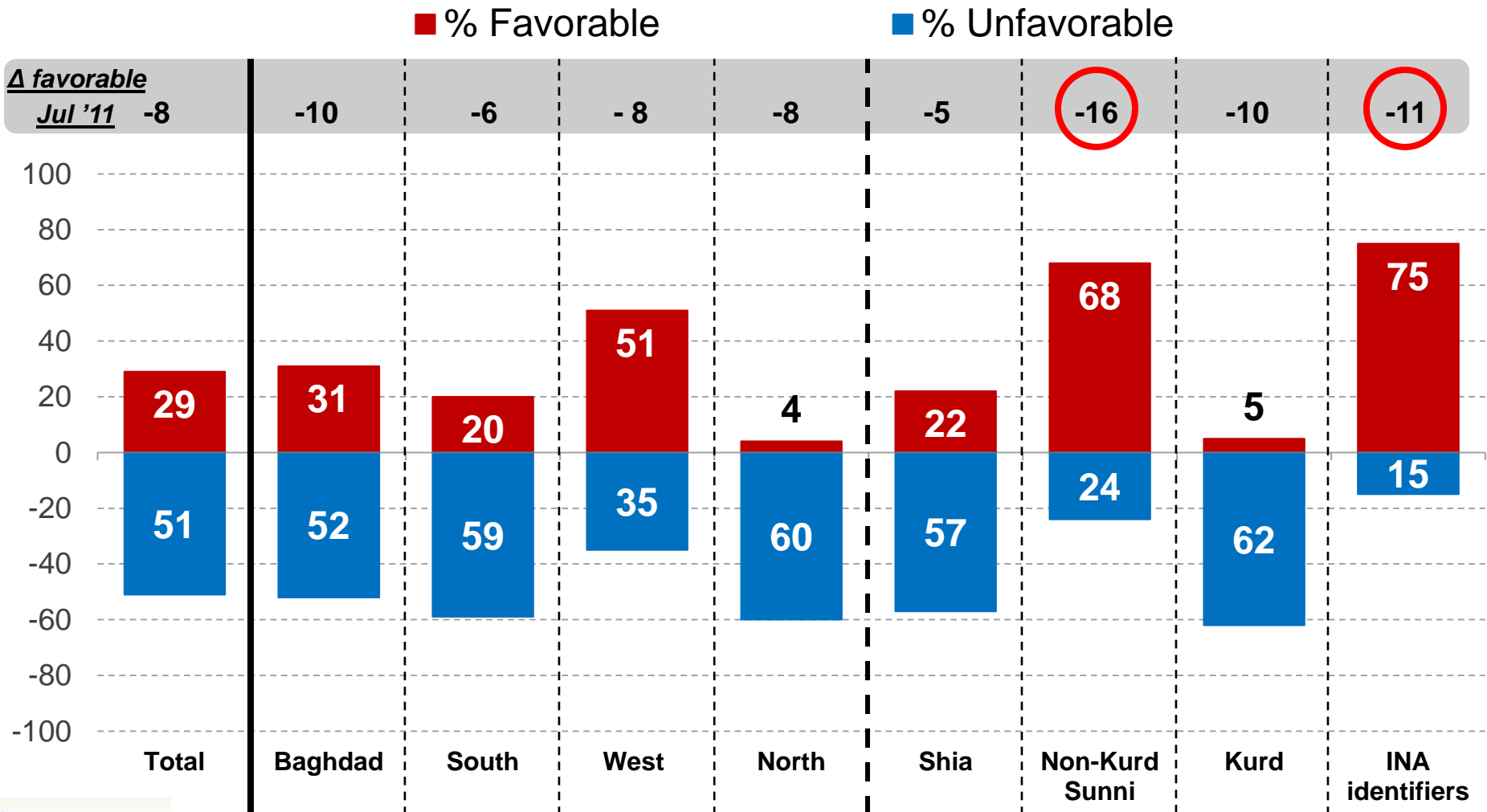


# Favorability of national leaders continues to fall

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.

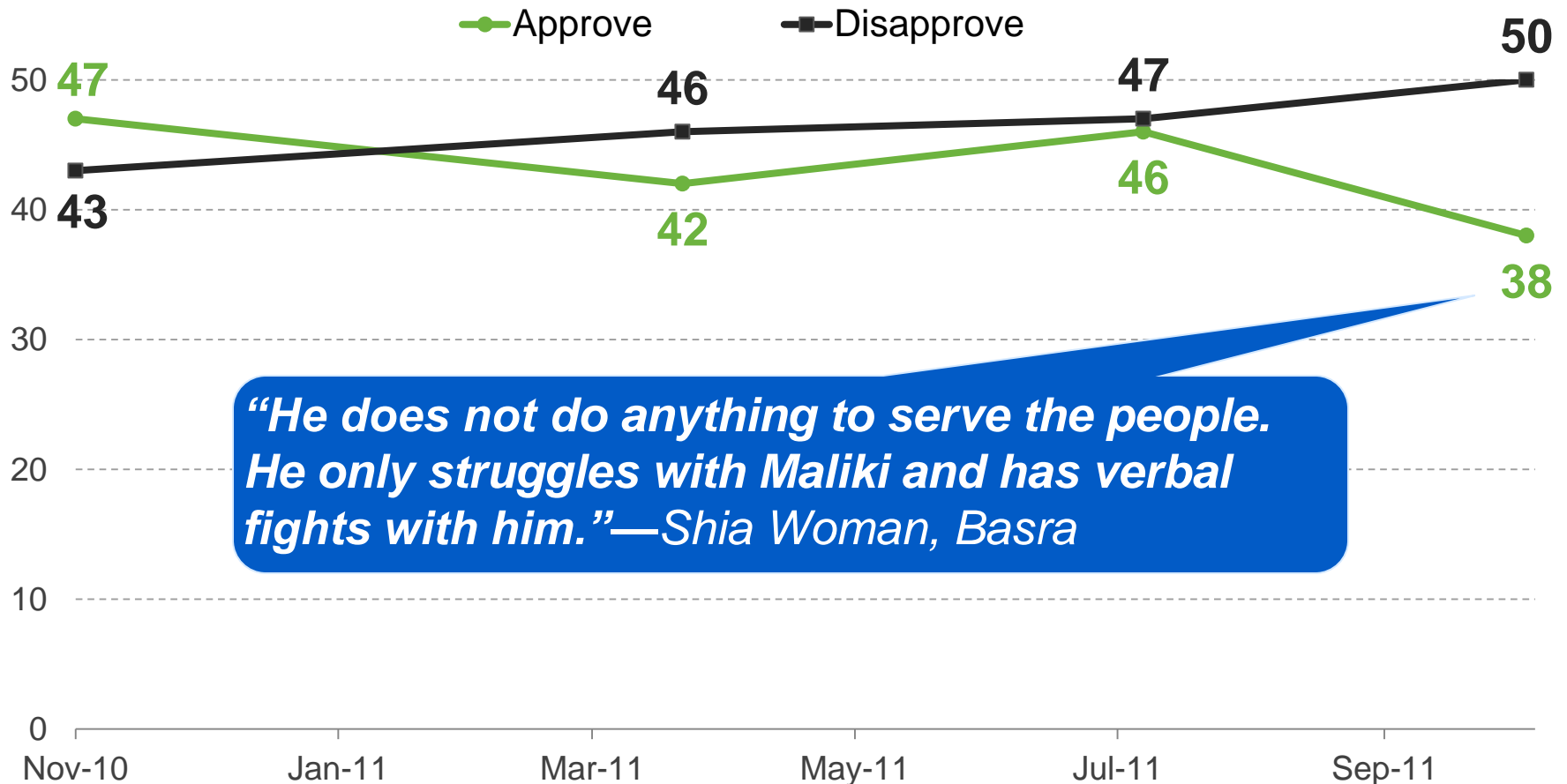


# Allawi favorability drops especially among base



# Allawi job approval also drops

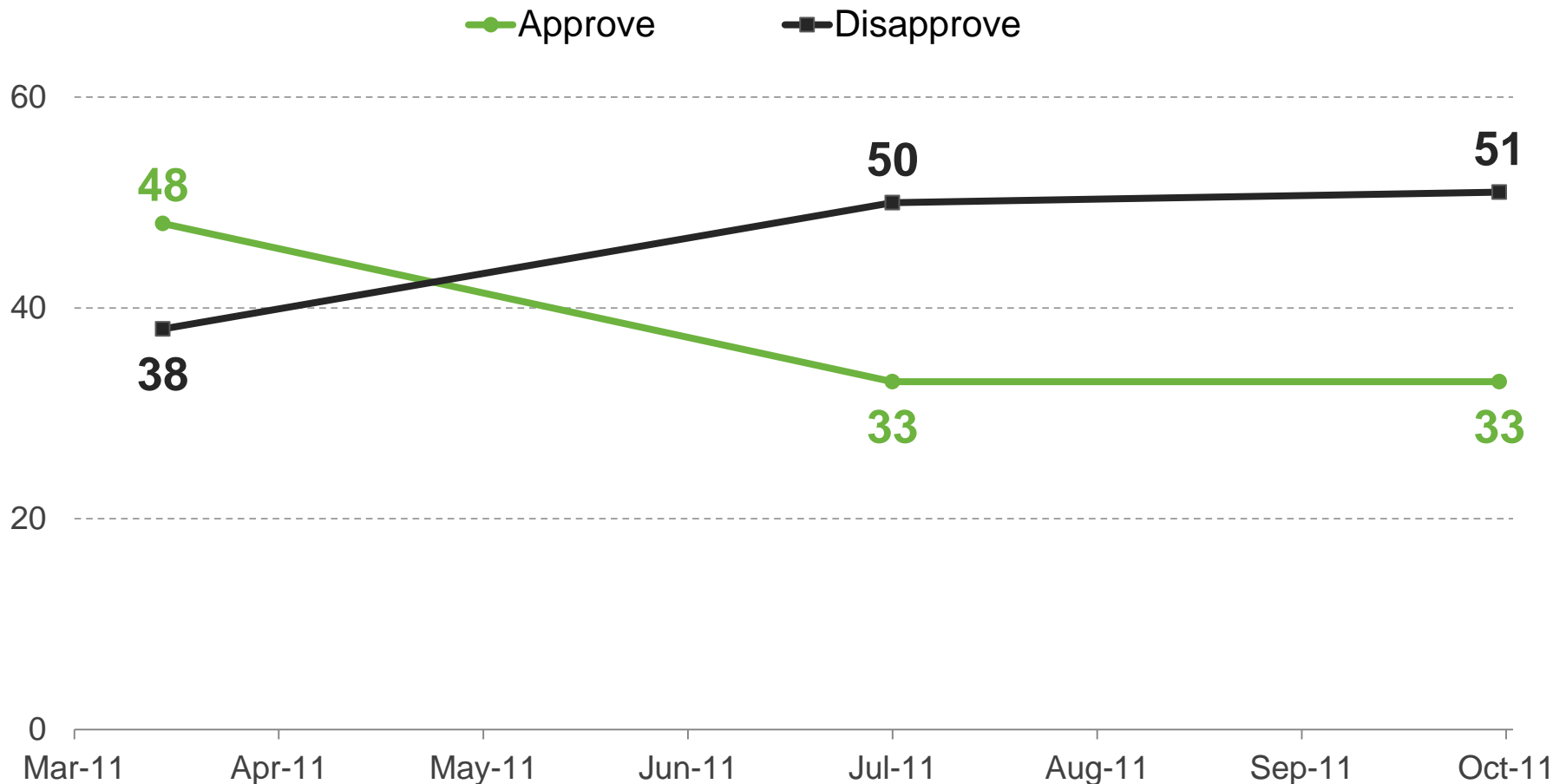
*Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job Ayad Allawi is doing as a prominent politician in Iraq?*



*“He does not do anything to serve the people. He only struggles with Maliki and has verbal fights with him.”—Shia Woman, Basra*

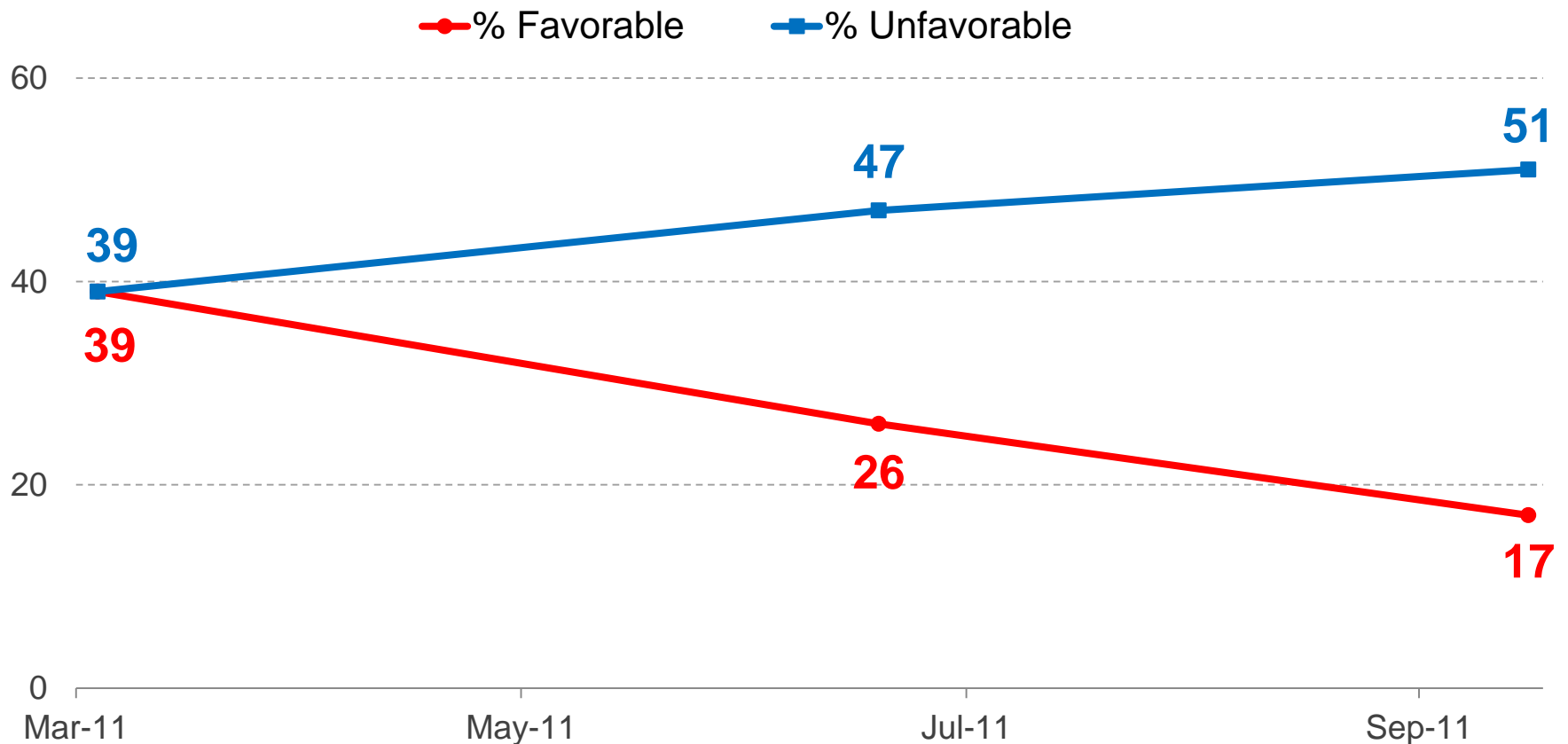
# Nujaifi job approval remains weak after strong start

*Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job Osama al-Nujaifi is doing as Speaker of the Council of Representatives?*



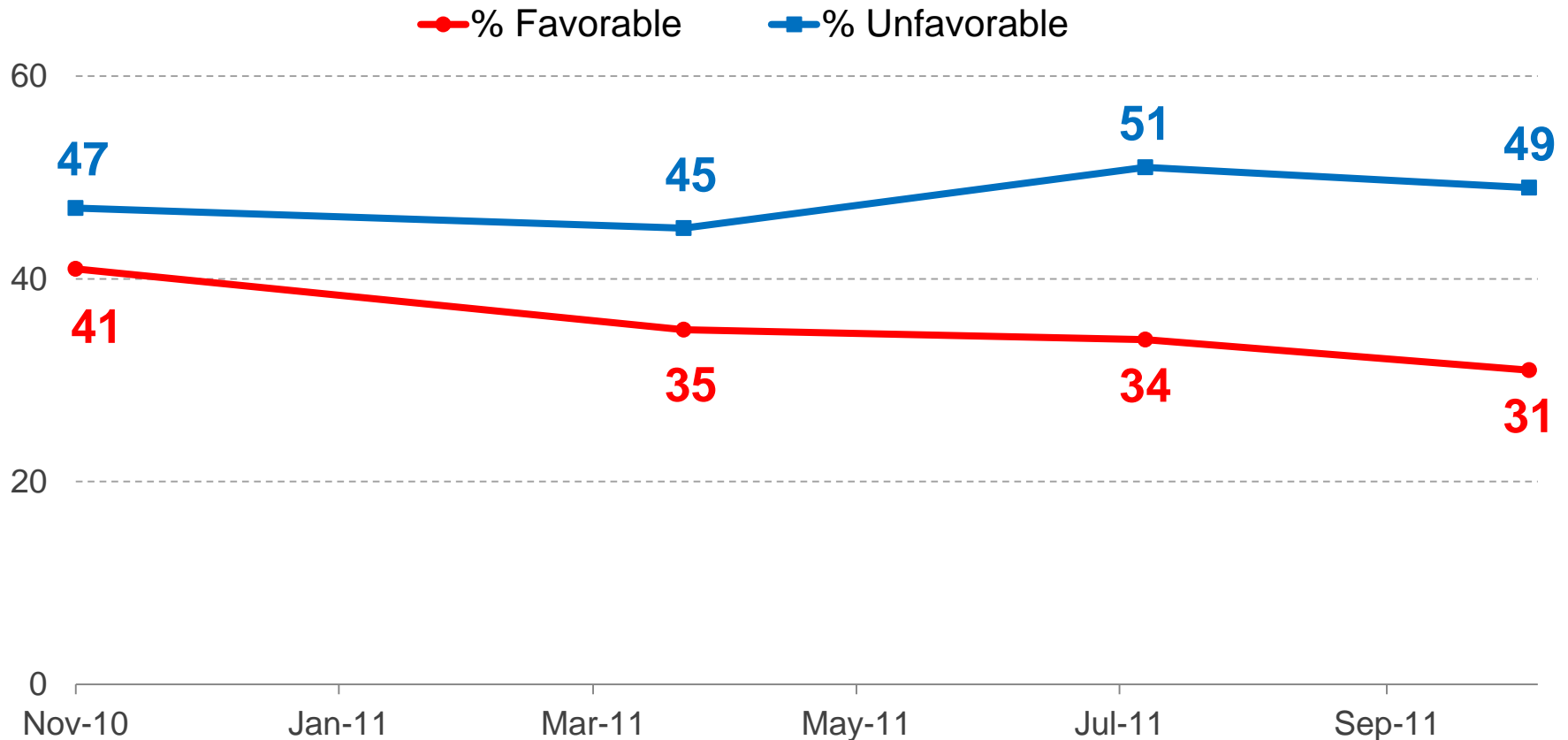
## Nujaifi favorability continues to fall

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.



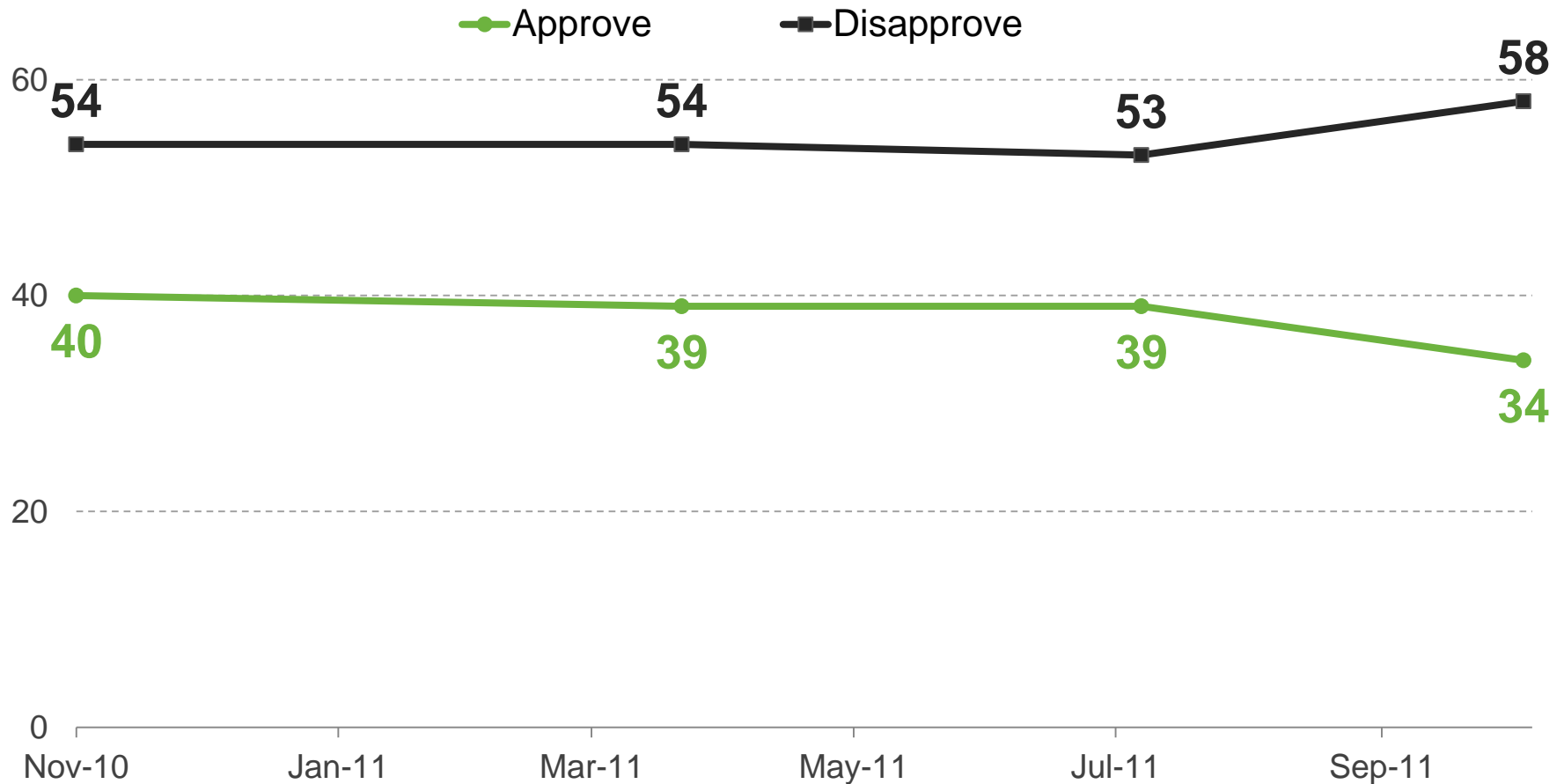
## Maliki favorability slightly declines

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.



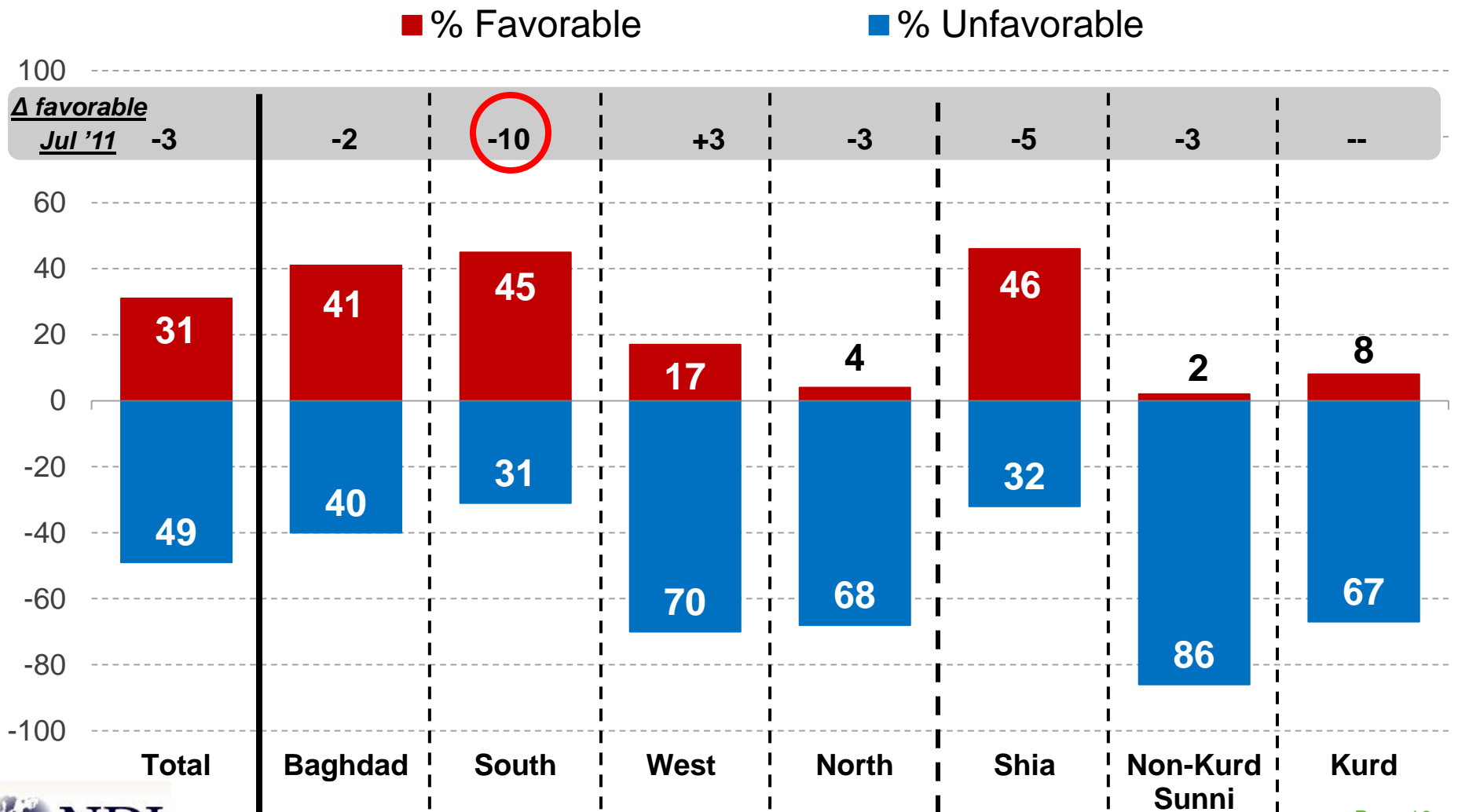
## Maliki job approval dips

*Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job Nouri al-Maliki is doing as prime minister?*



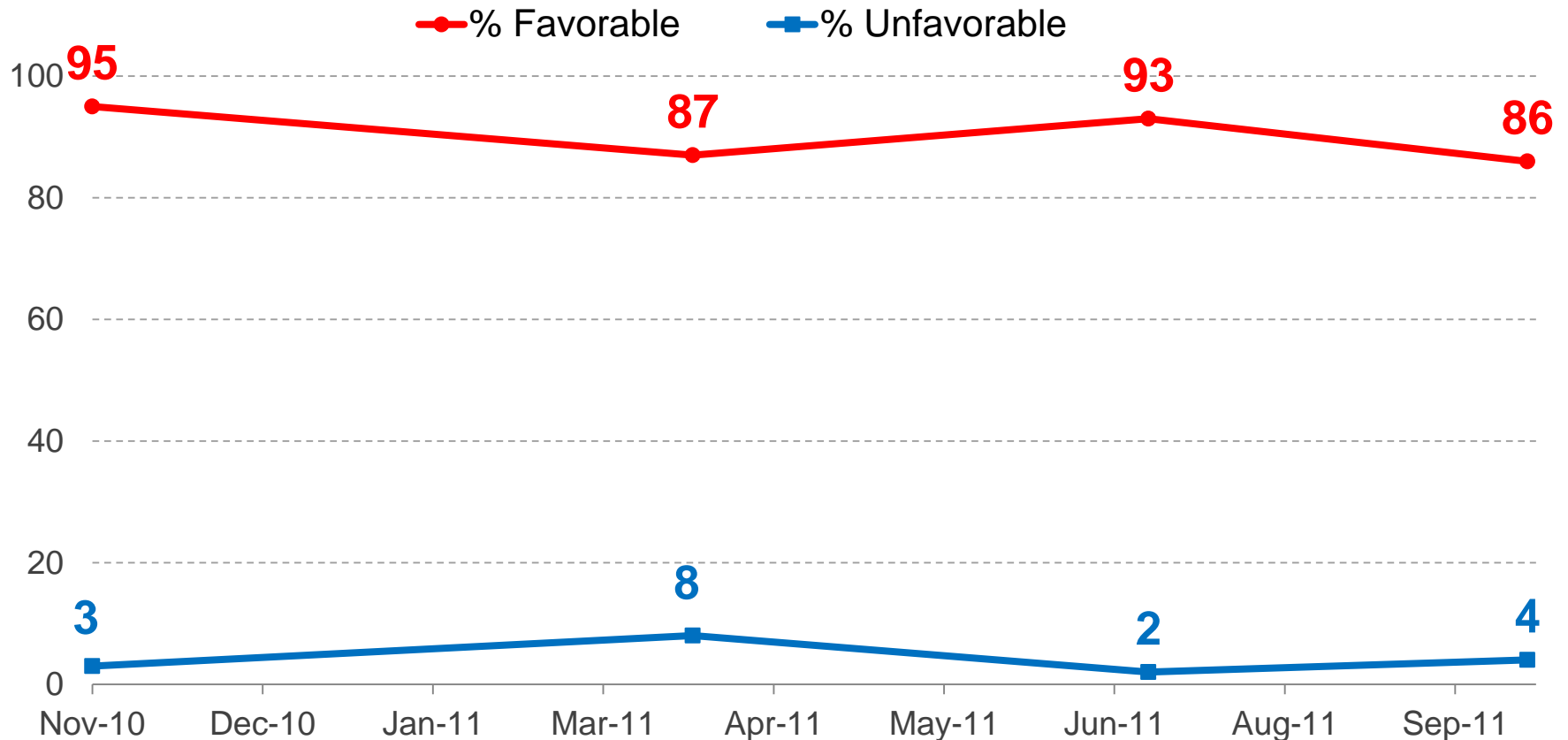


# Maliki favorable rating down in the South



# Maliki favorability among Da'wa partisans

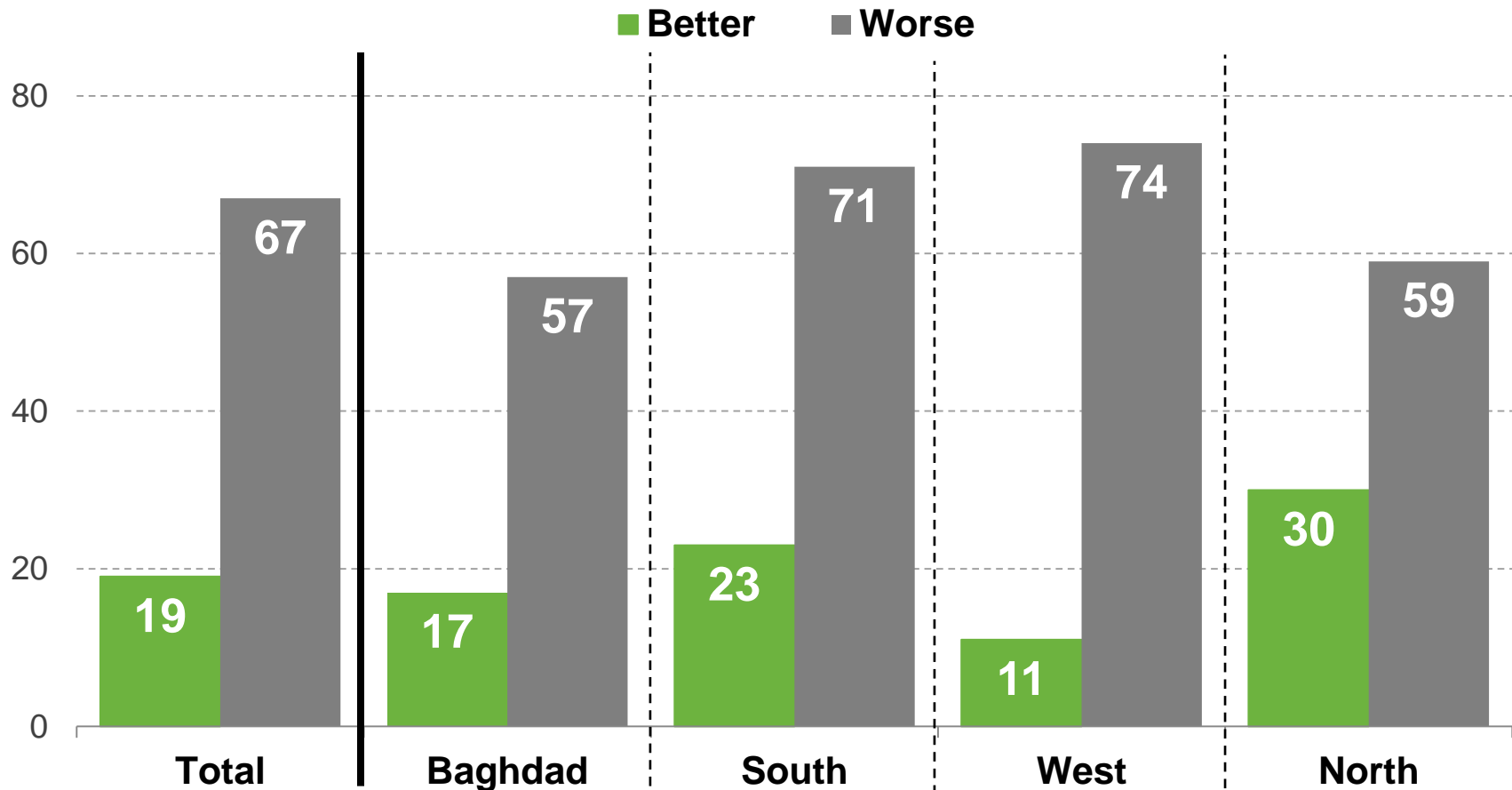
*Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable.*



**Among those who ID with Da'wa**

# 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 CoR members unaware and unresponsiveness to needs

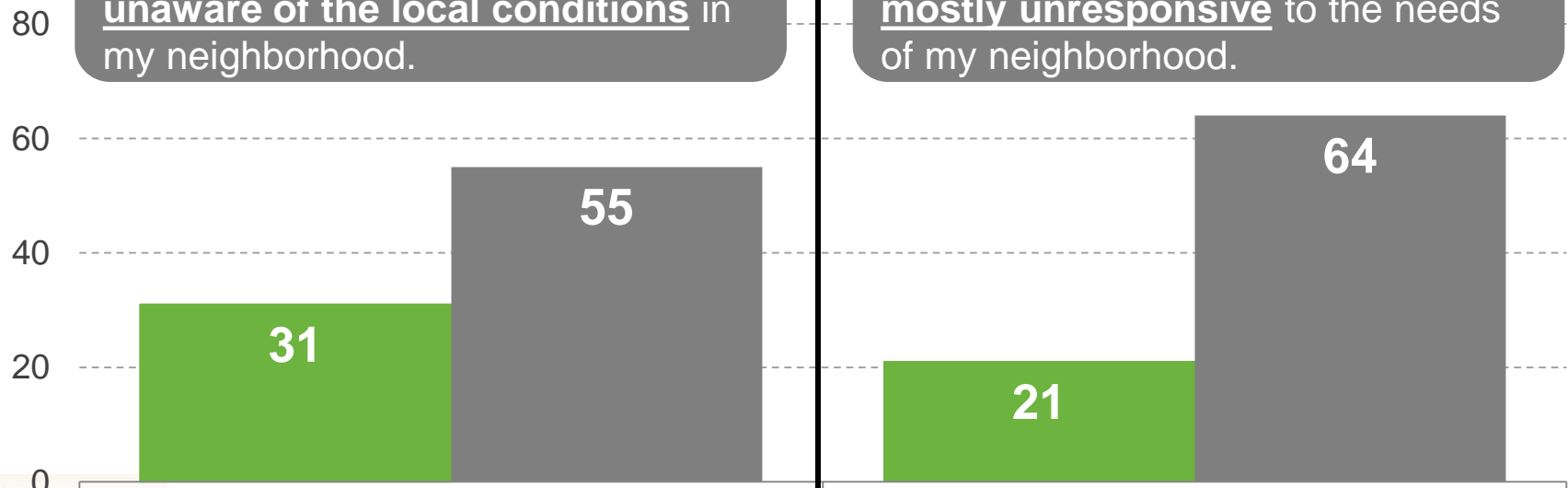
*Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.*

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

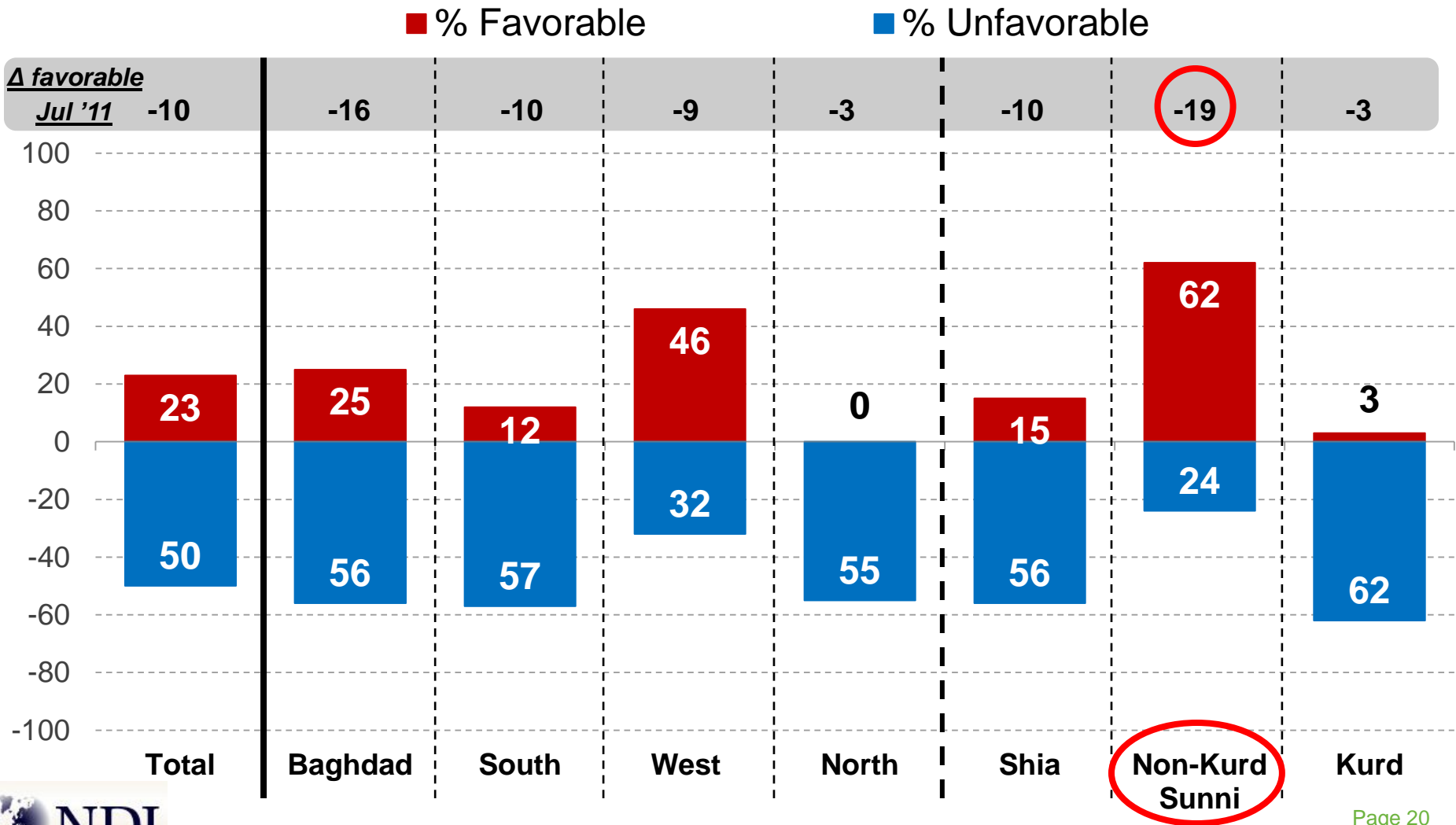
Statement 1: In general, members of the CoR from my governorate are **mostly responsive** to the needs of my neighborhood.

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.

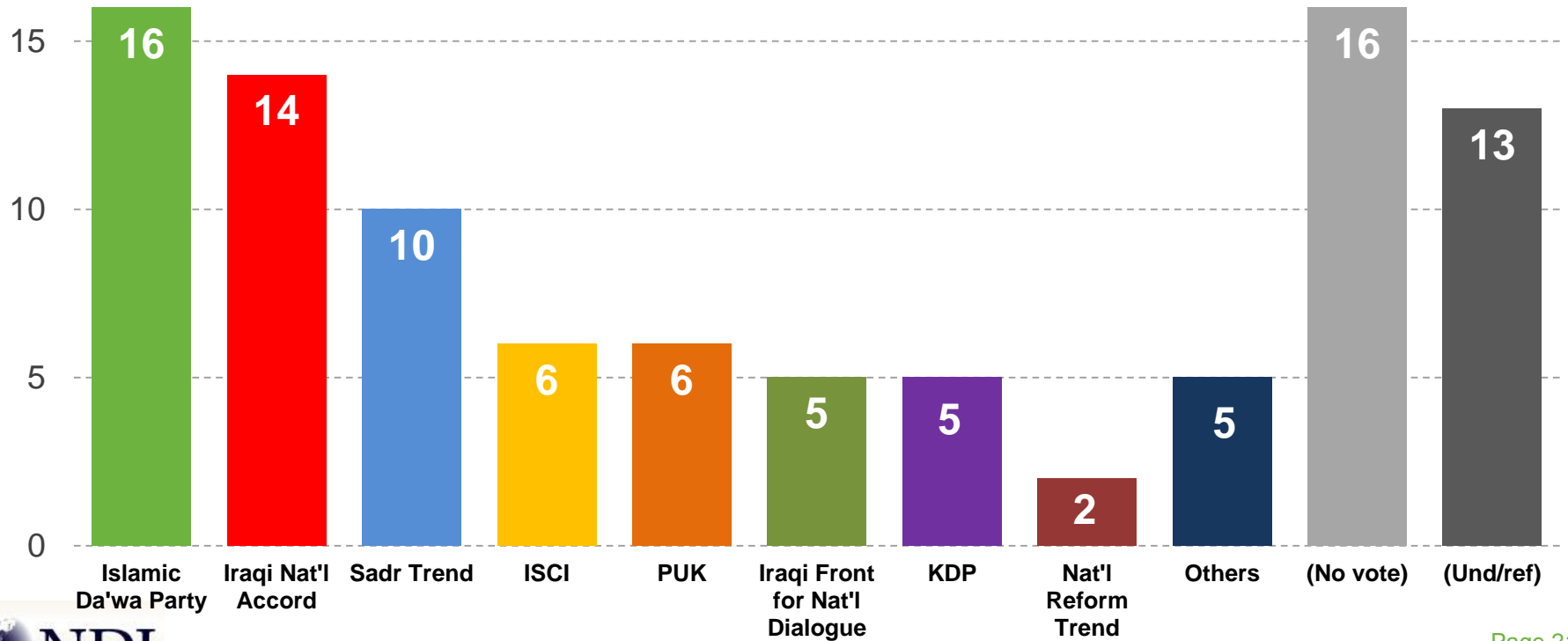
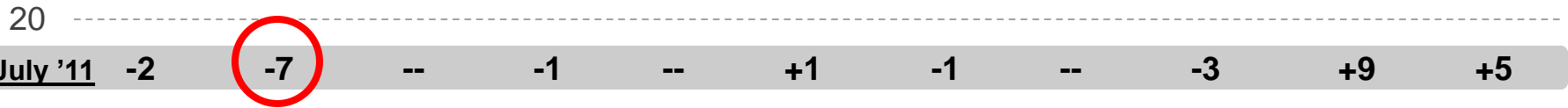


# INA favorability drops especially among base



# National parliamentary vote

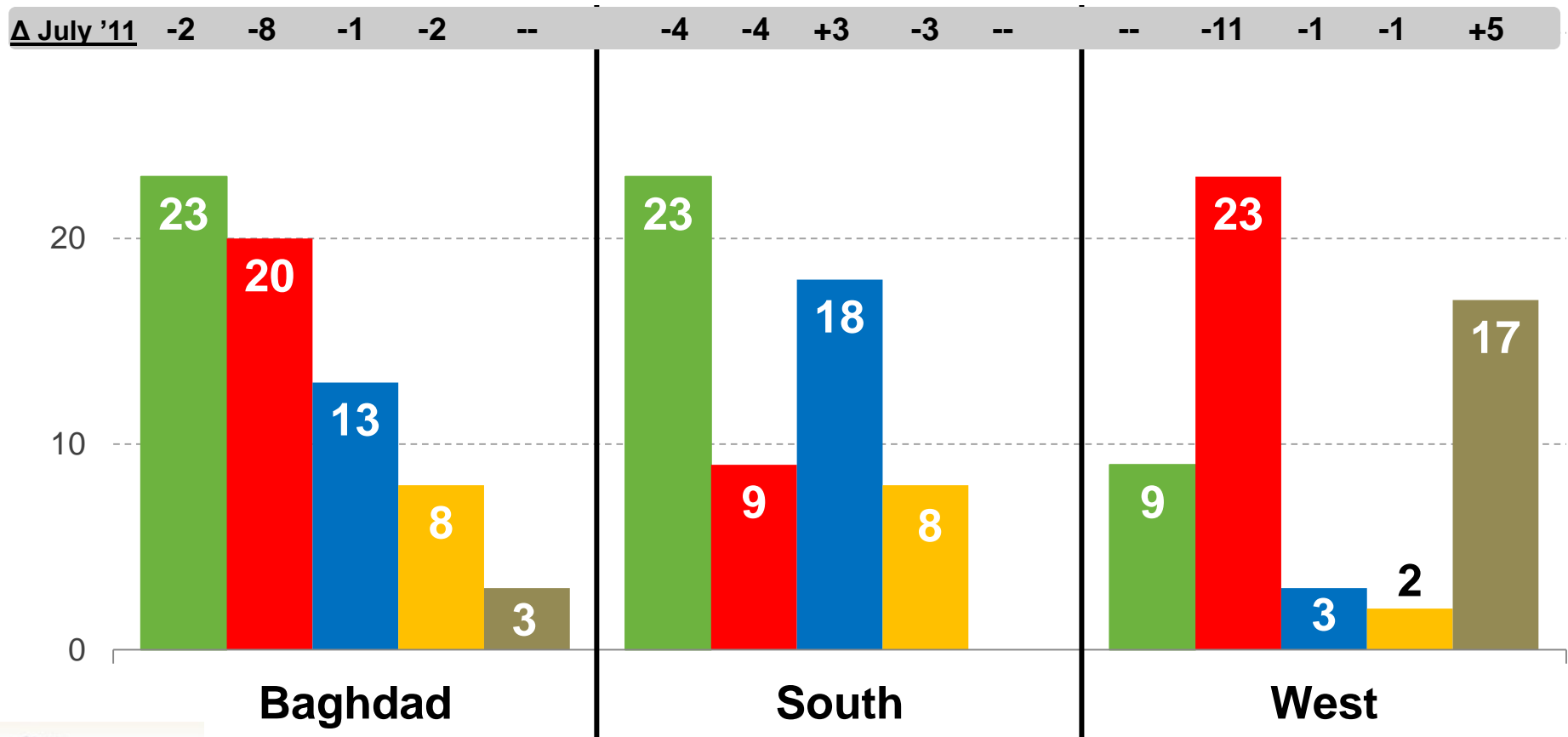
Now let me ask you about the next parliamentary elections. Imagine those elections are today. I am going to give you a ballot with a list of political parties, and I will read the choices to you. Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today. Once you make your mark, place your ballot in the box/bag, because this is a secret ballot.



# Parliamentary vote | Baghdad, South, West

Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today.

■ Islamic Da'wa Party ■ Iraqi National Accord ■ Sadr Trend ■ ISCI ■ IFND

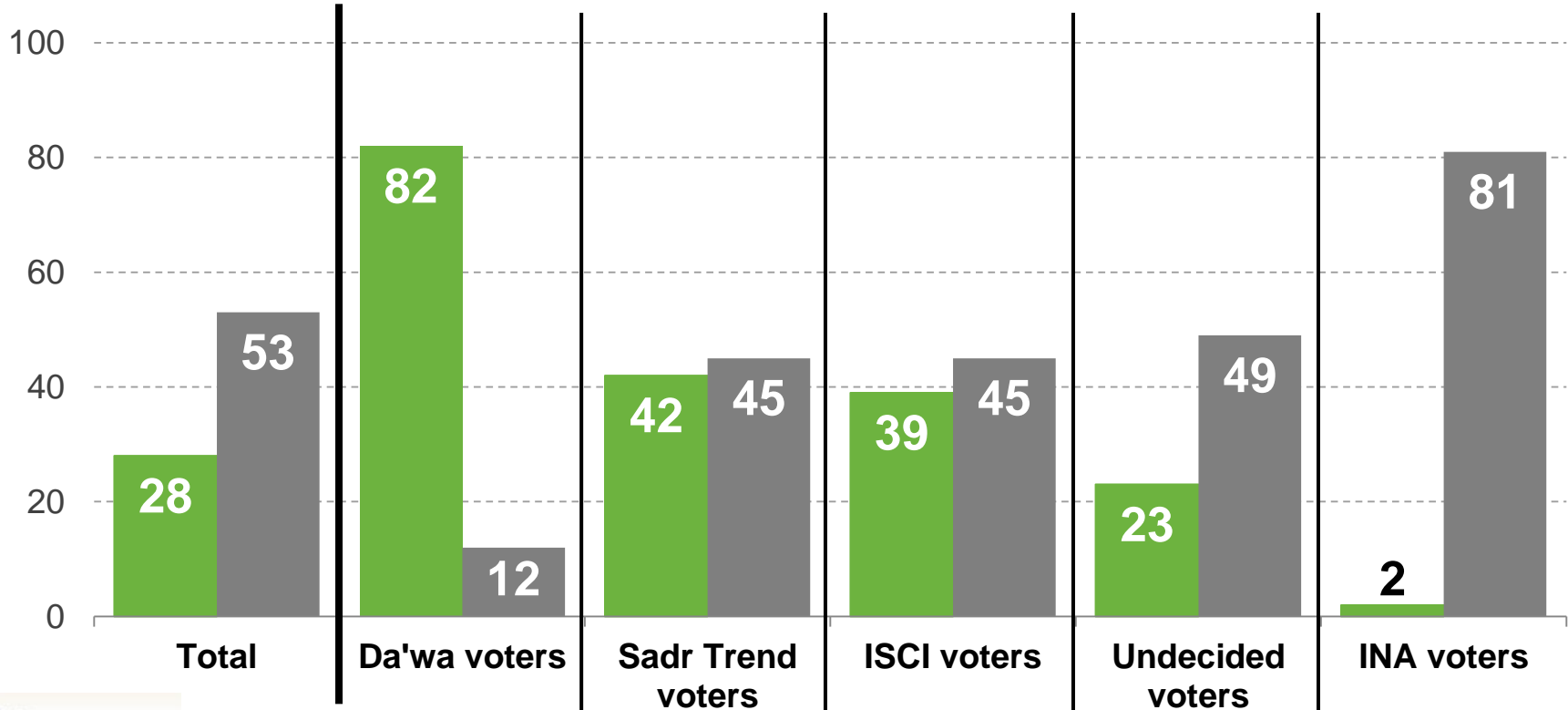


# Most want a change from Maliki's direction

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: I want to continue in the direction Nouri al-Maliki is taking Iraq.**

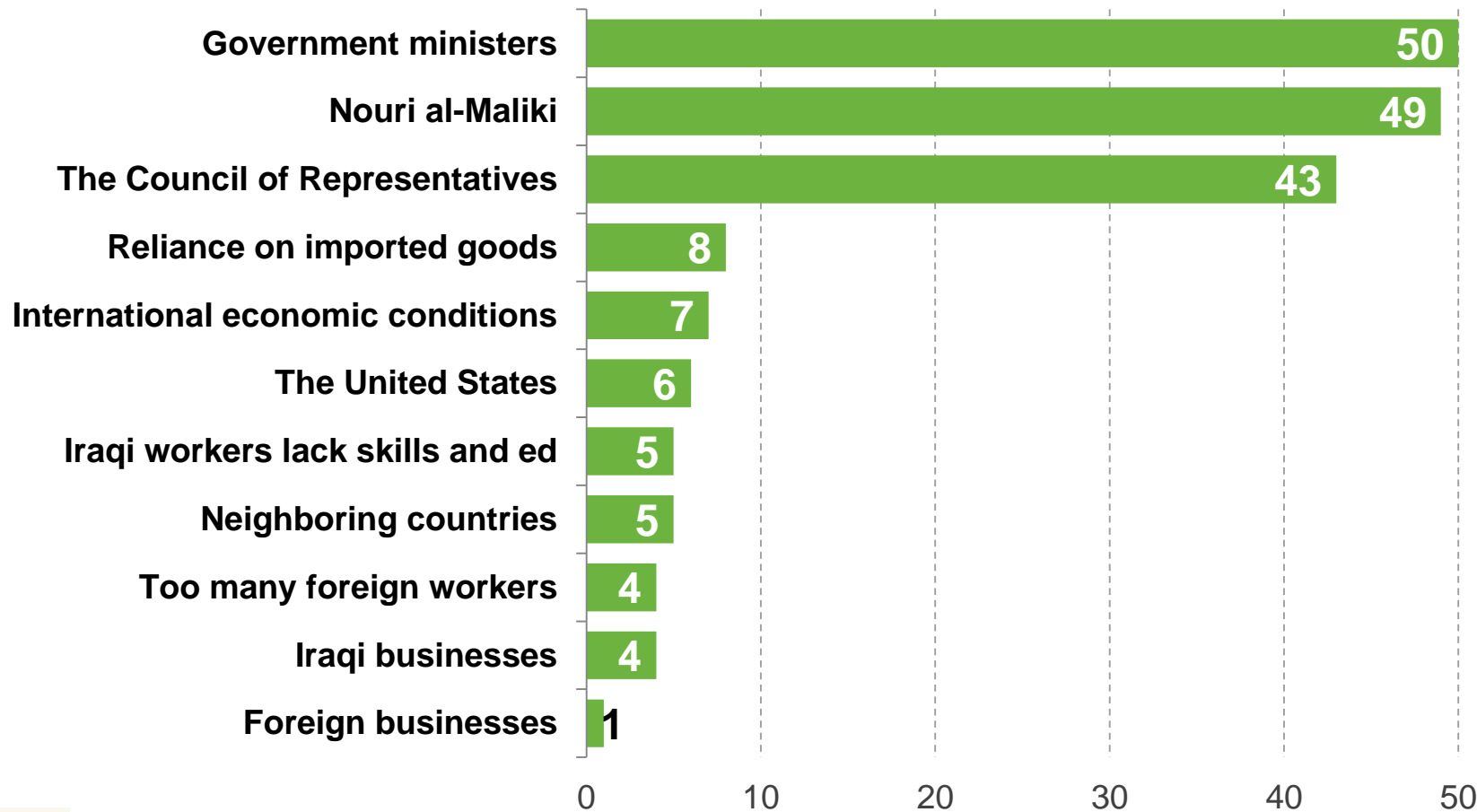
**Statement 2: I want to go in a very different direction than Nouri al-Maliki is taking Iraq.**





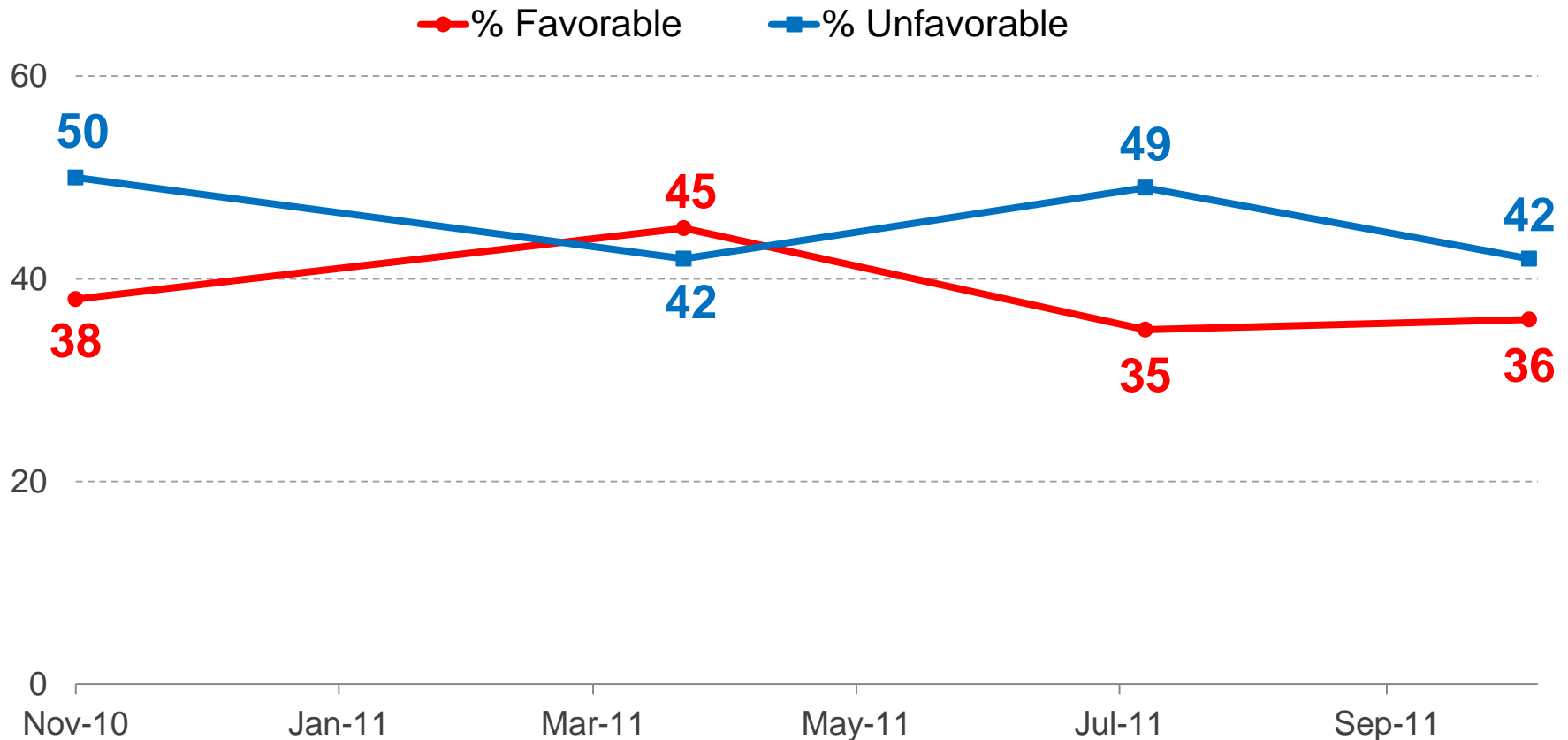
# Ministers, Maliki blamed for unemployment situation

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



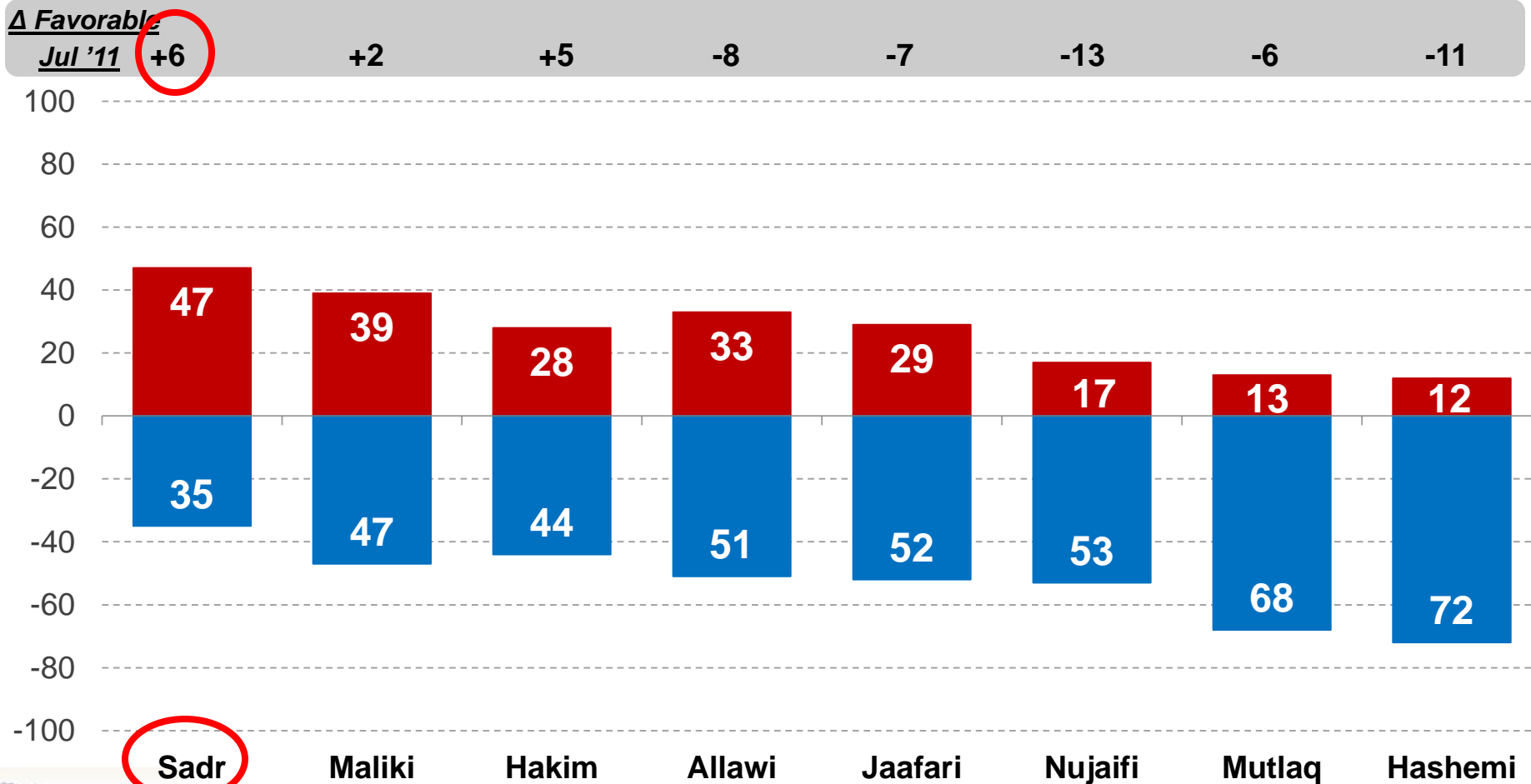
## Sadr favorability improves

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.

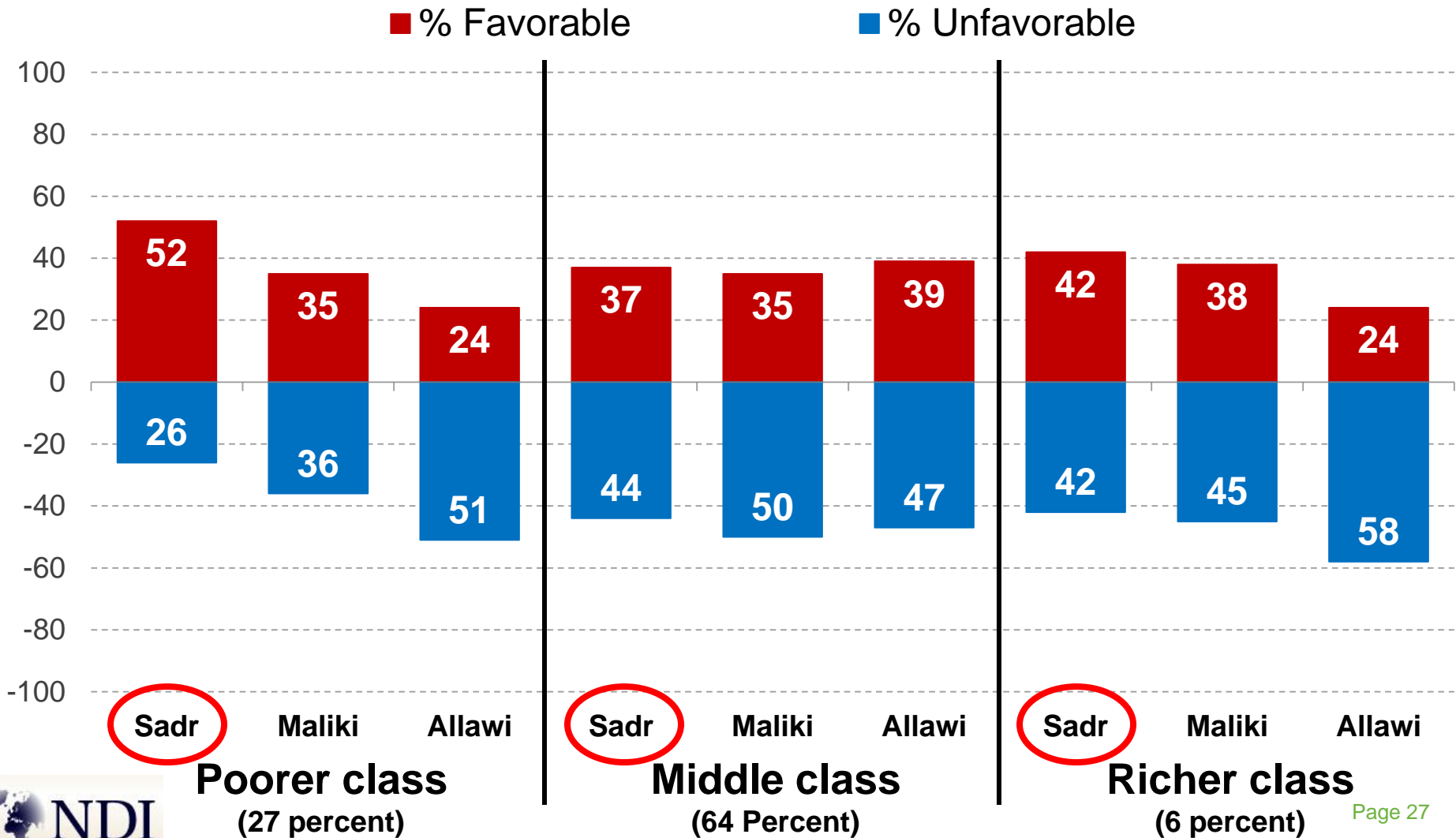


# Favorability among young men | non-North

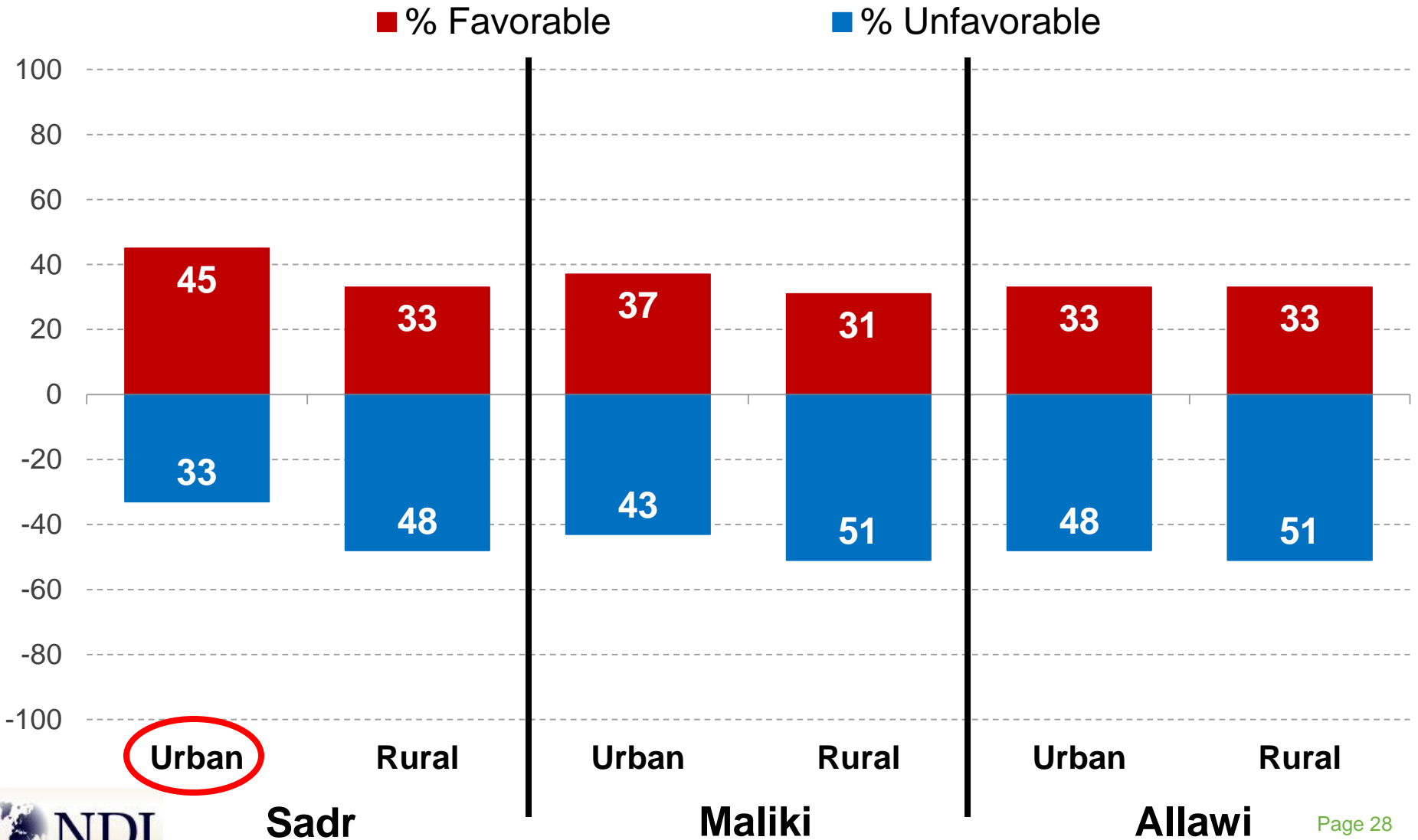
■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



# Favorability of national leaders | non-North, class

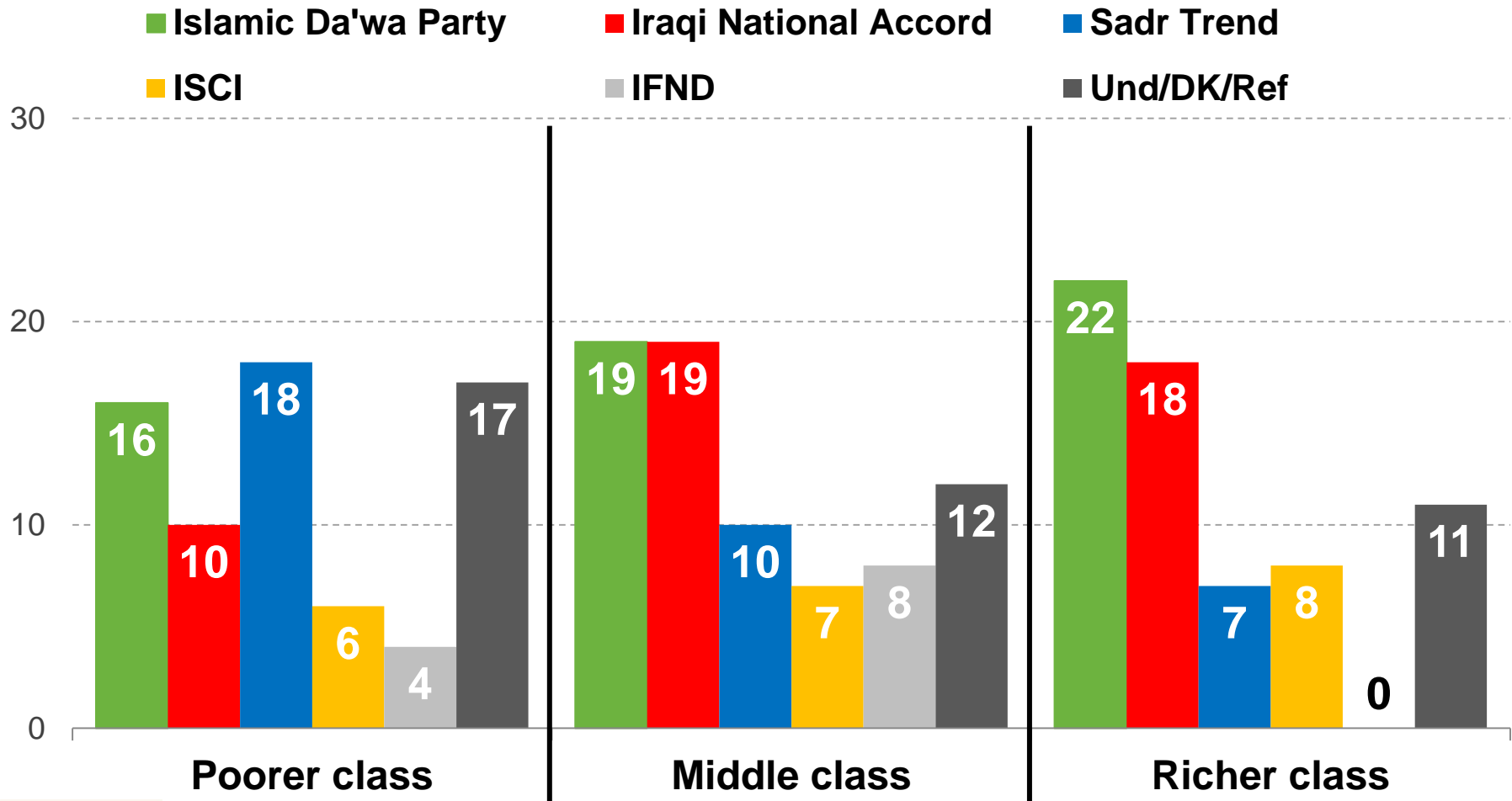


# Sadr stronger in urban areas | non-North



# Sadr strongest among poorer class | non-North

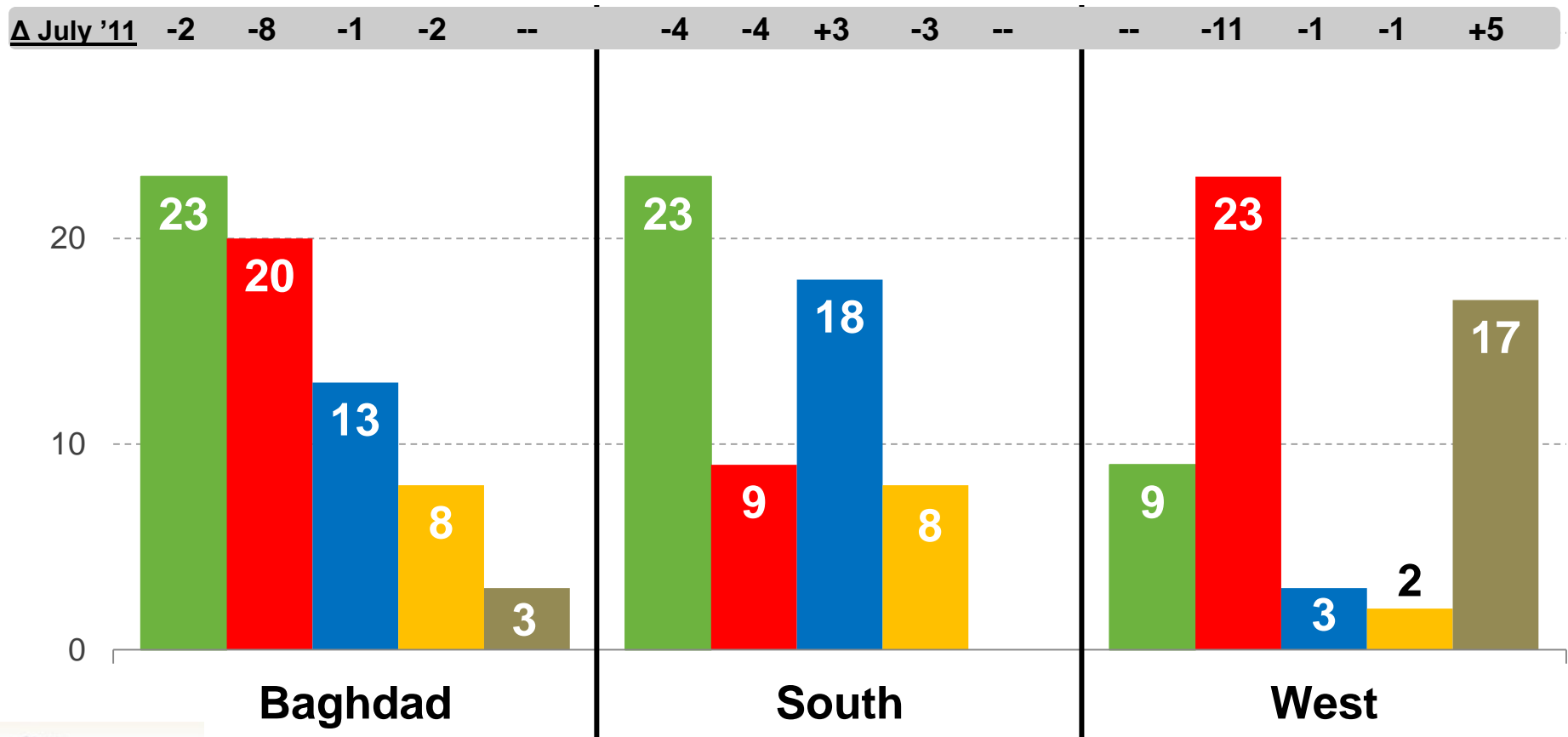
Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today.



# Parliamentary vote | Baghdad, South, West

Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today.

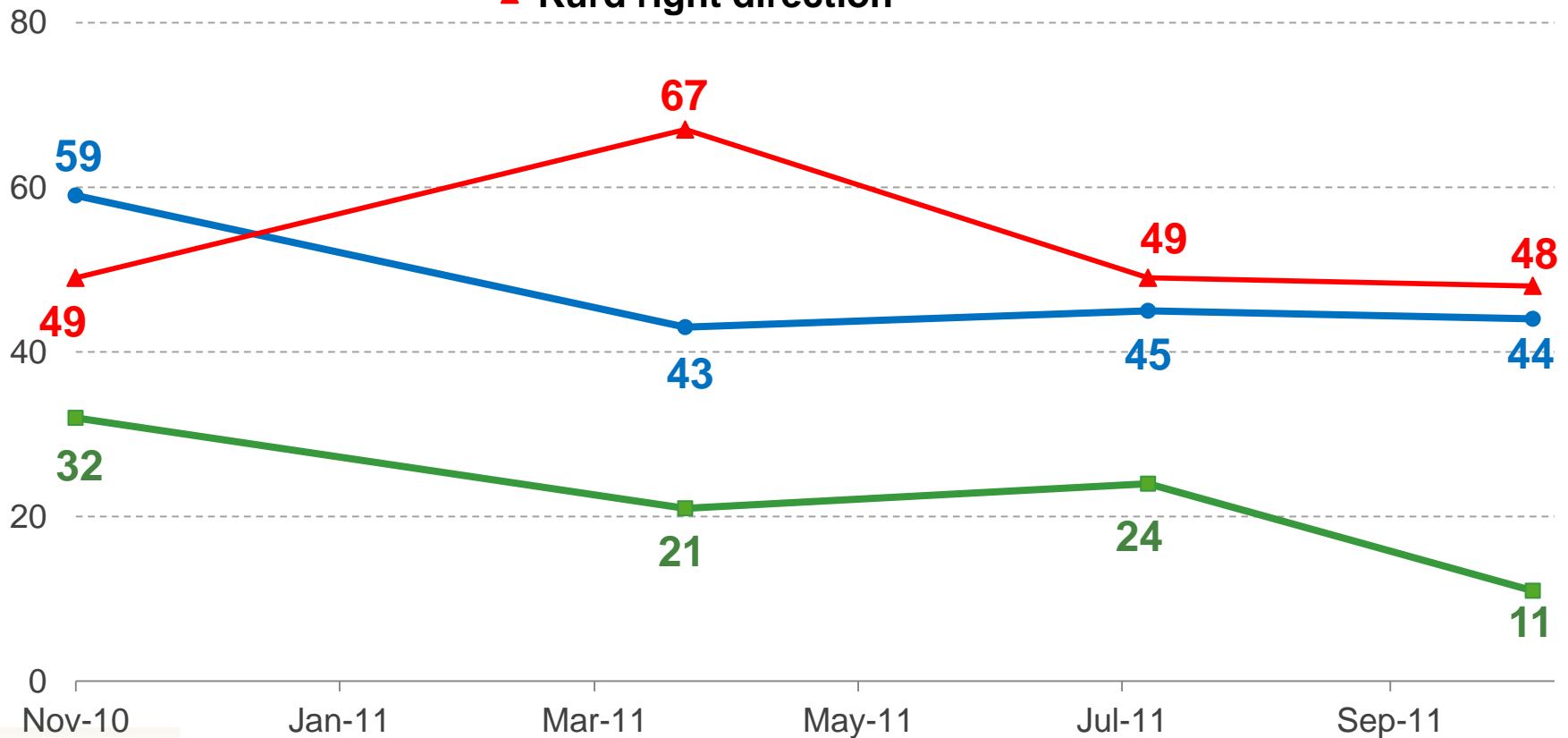
■ Islamic Da'wa Party ■ Iraqi National Accord ■ Sadr Trend ■ ISCI ■ IFND



# 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?*

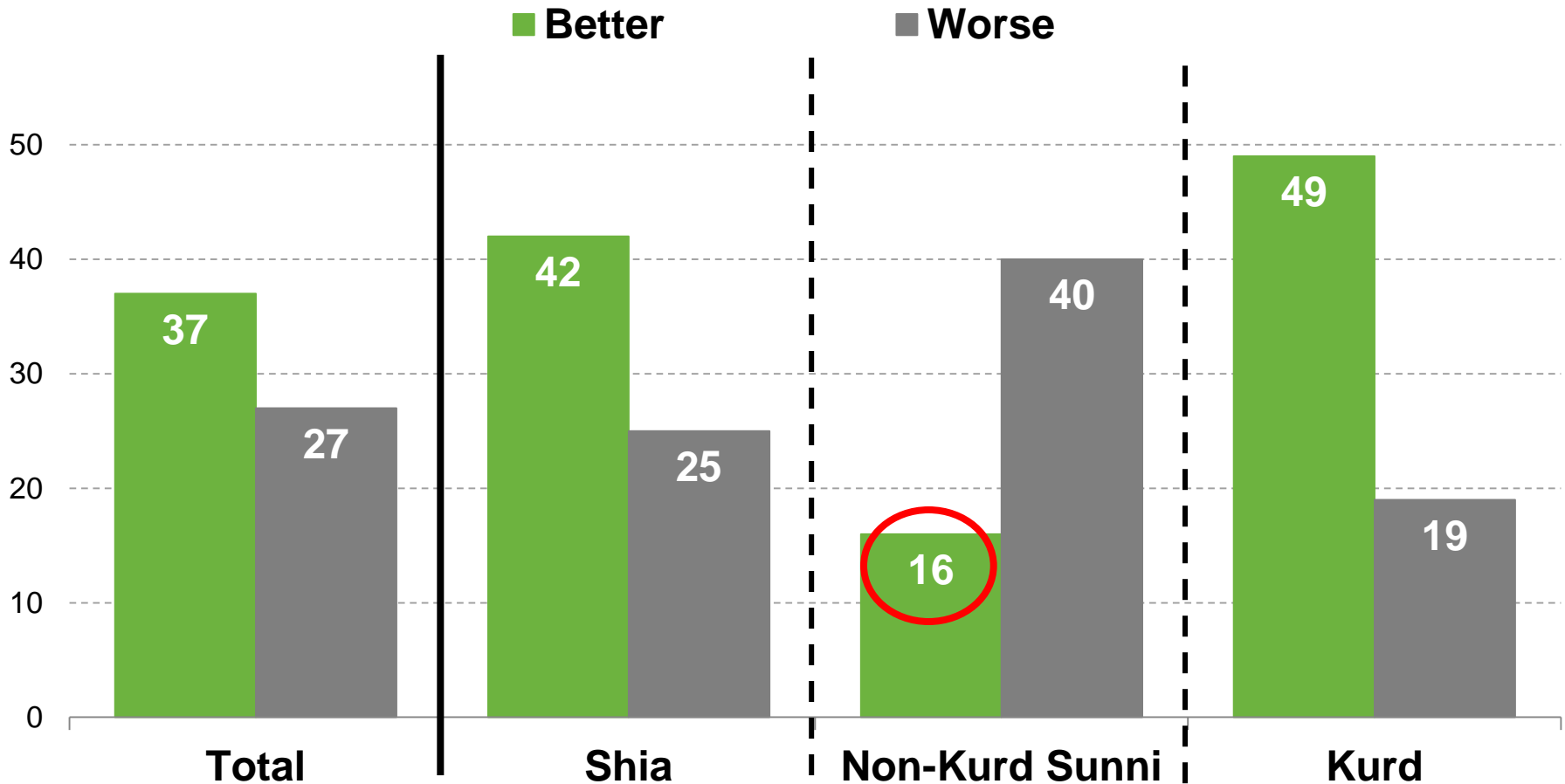
- Shia right direction
- Non-Kurd Sunni right direction
- ▲ Kurd right direction





# 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?*

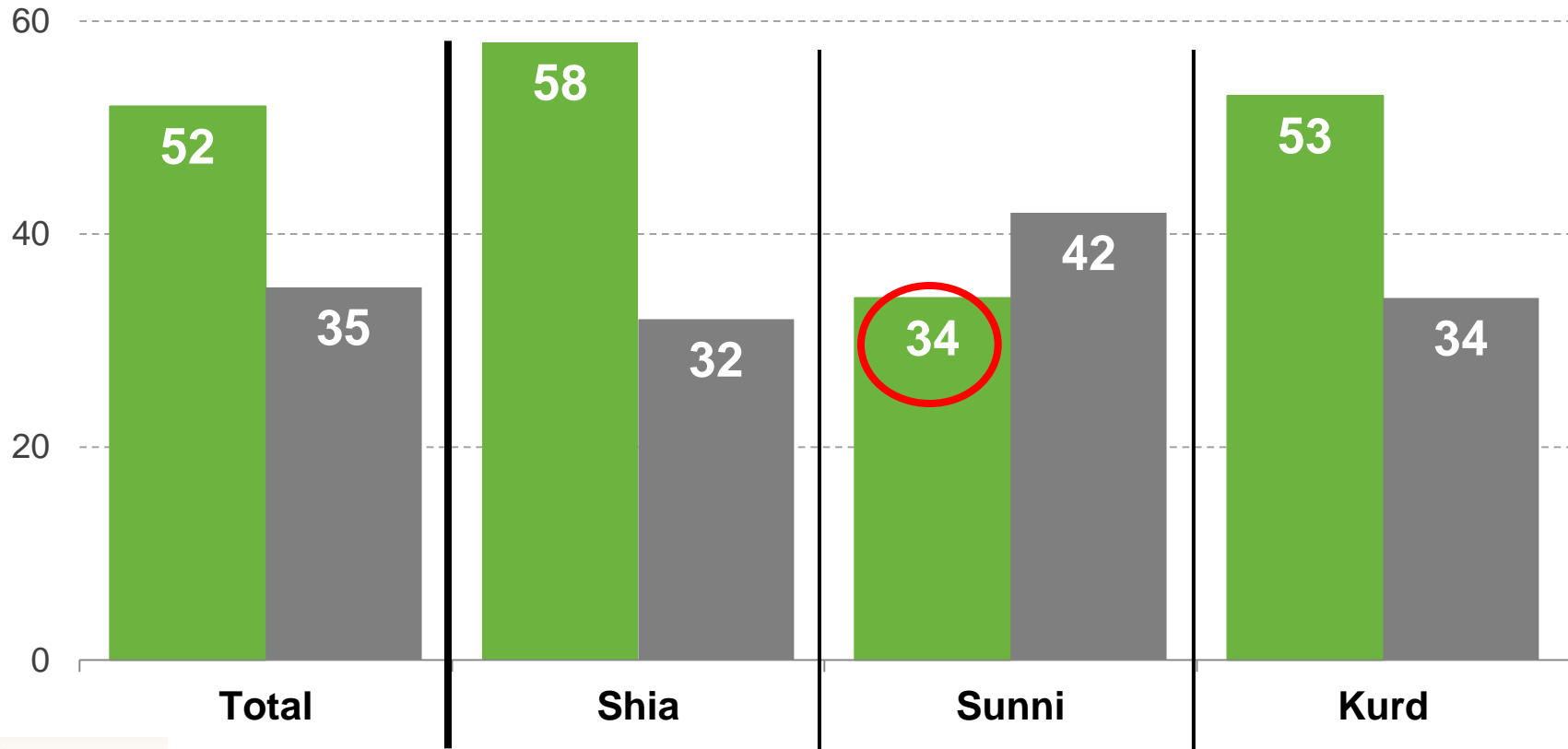


# Sunnis least optimism about the future of Iraq

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: I am optimistic about the future of Iraq.

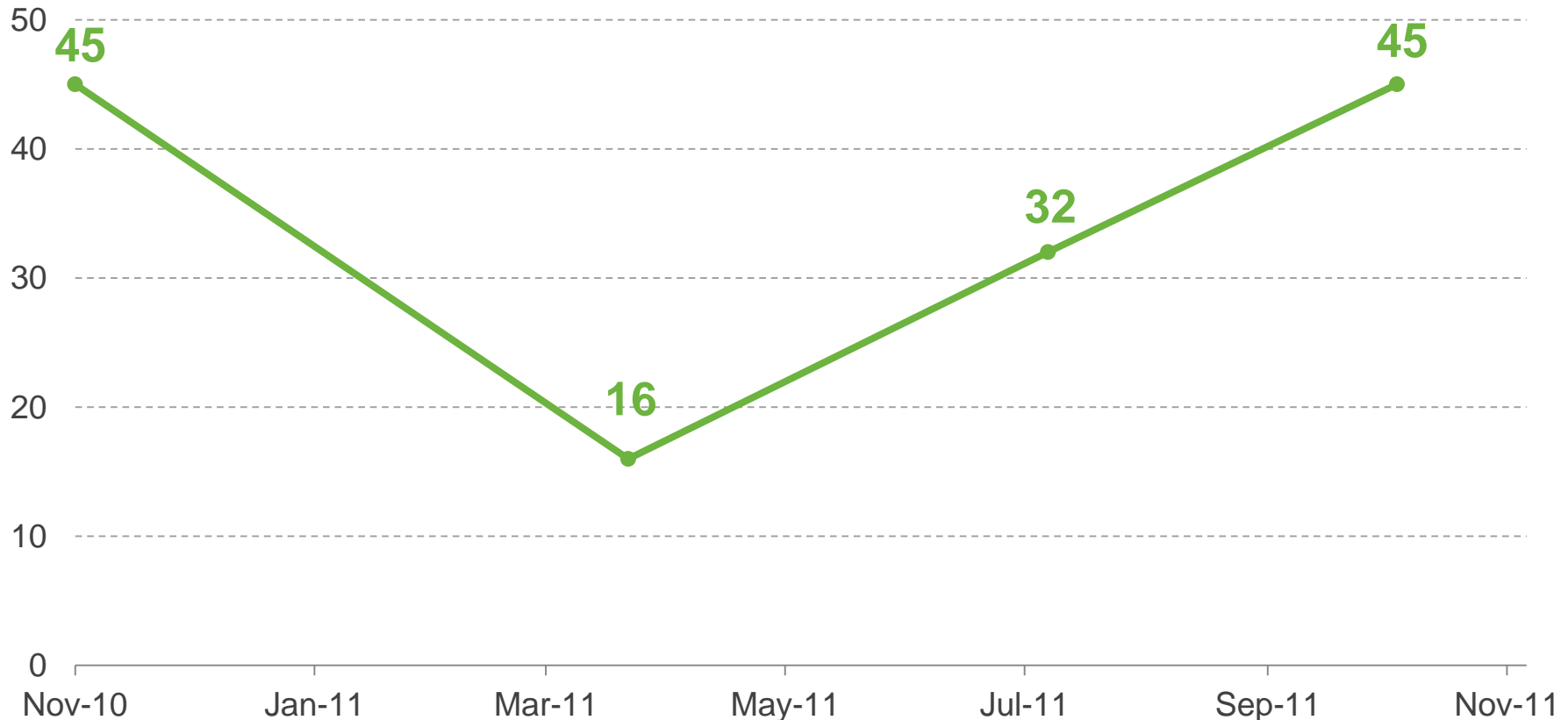
Statement 2: I am pessimistic about the future of Iraq.



# 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)*

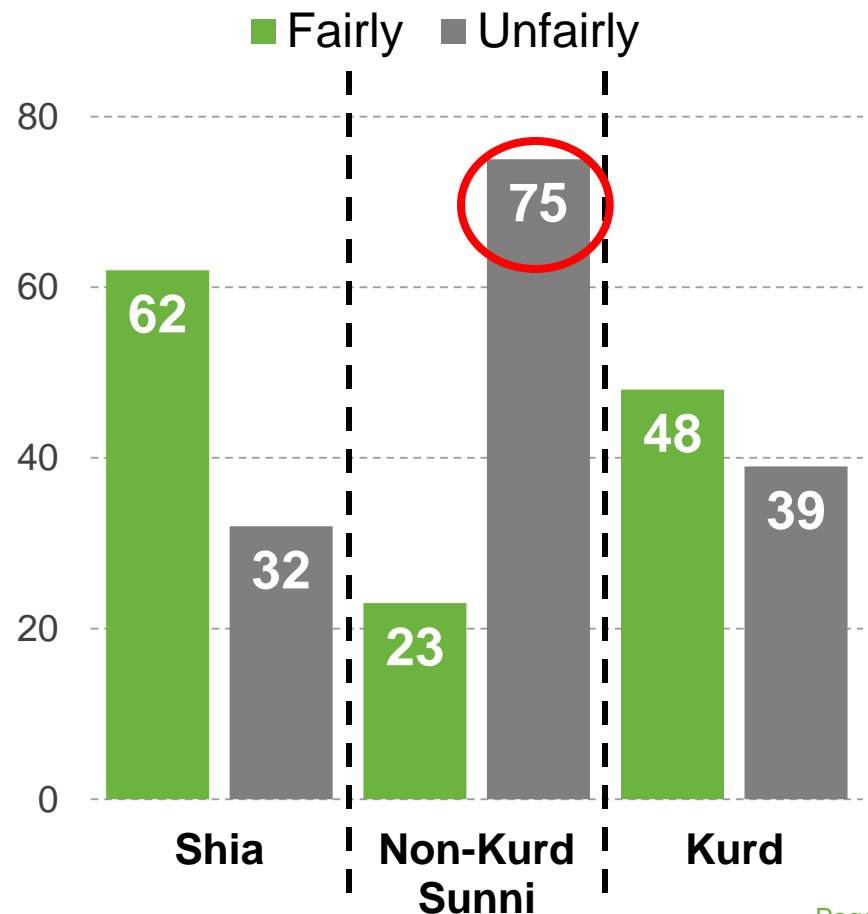
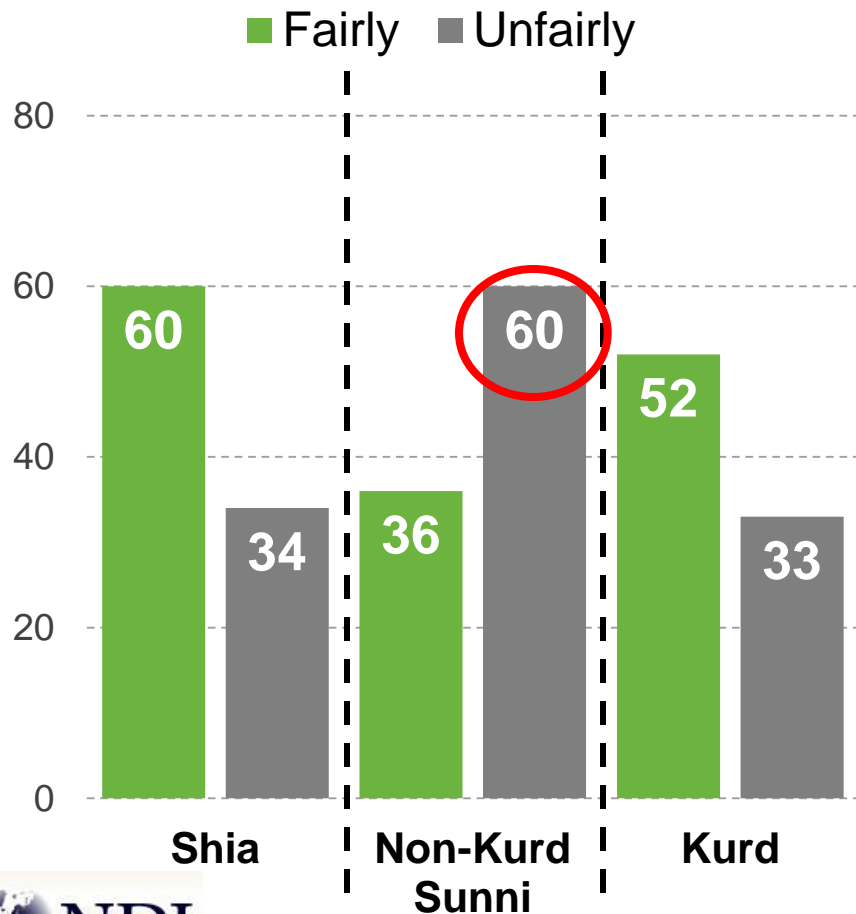
## — Security concern among Sunnis



# 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**?*

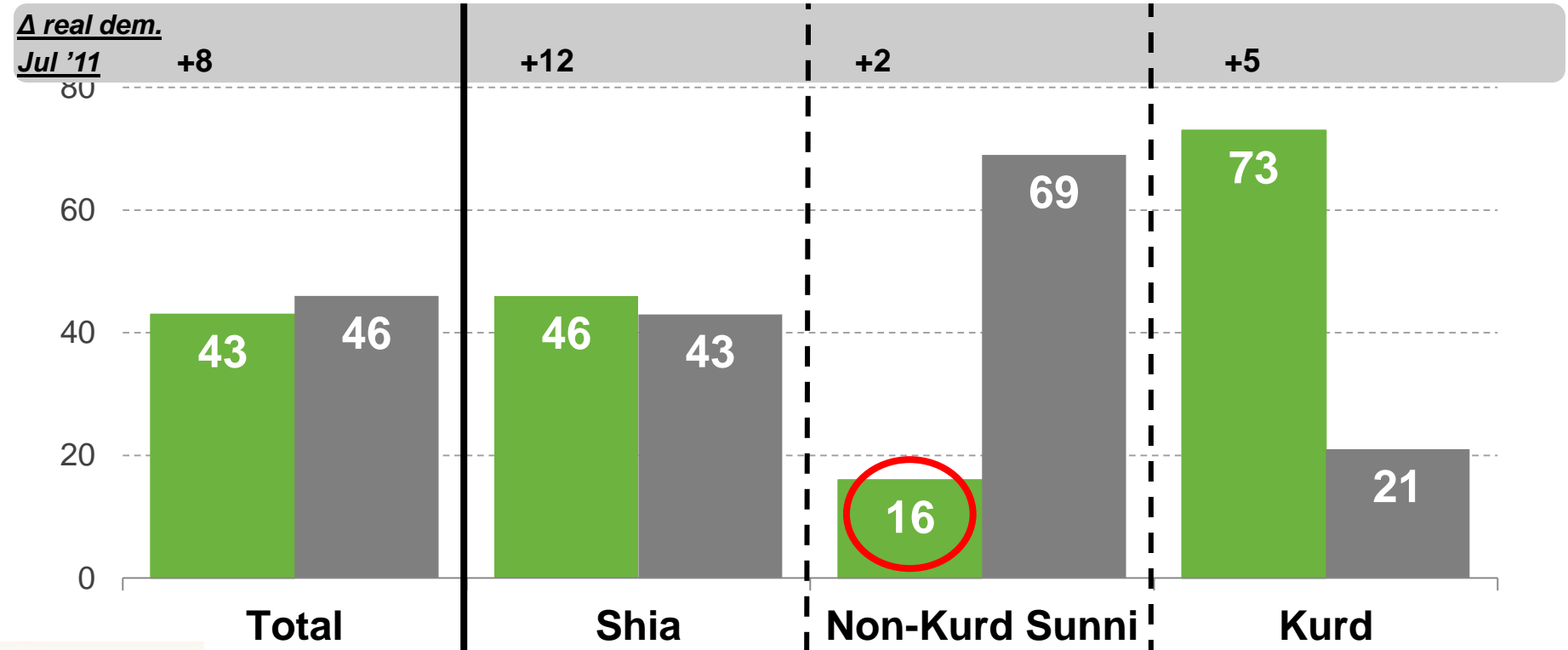


# Sunnis least likely to think Iraq is a real democracy

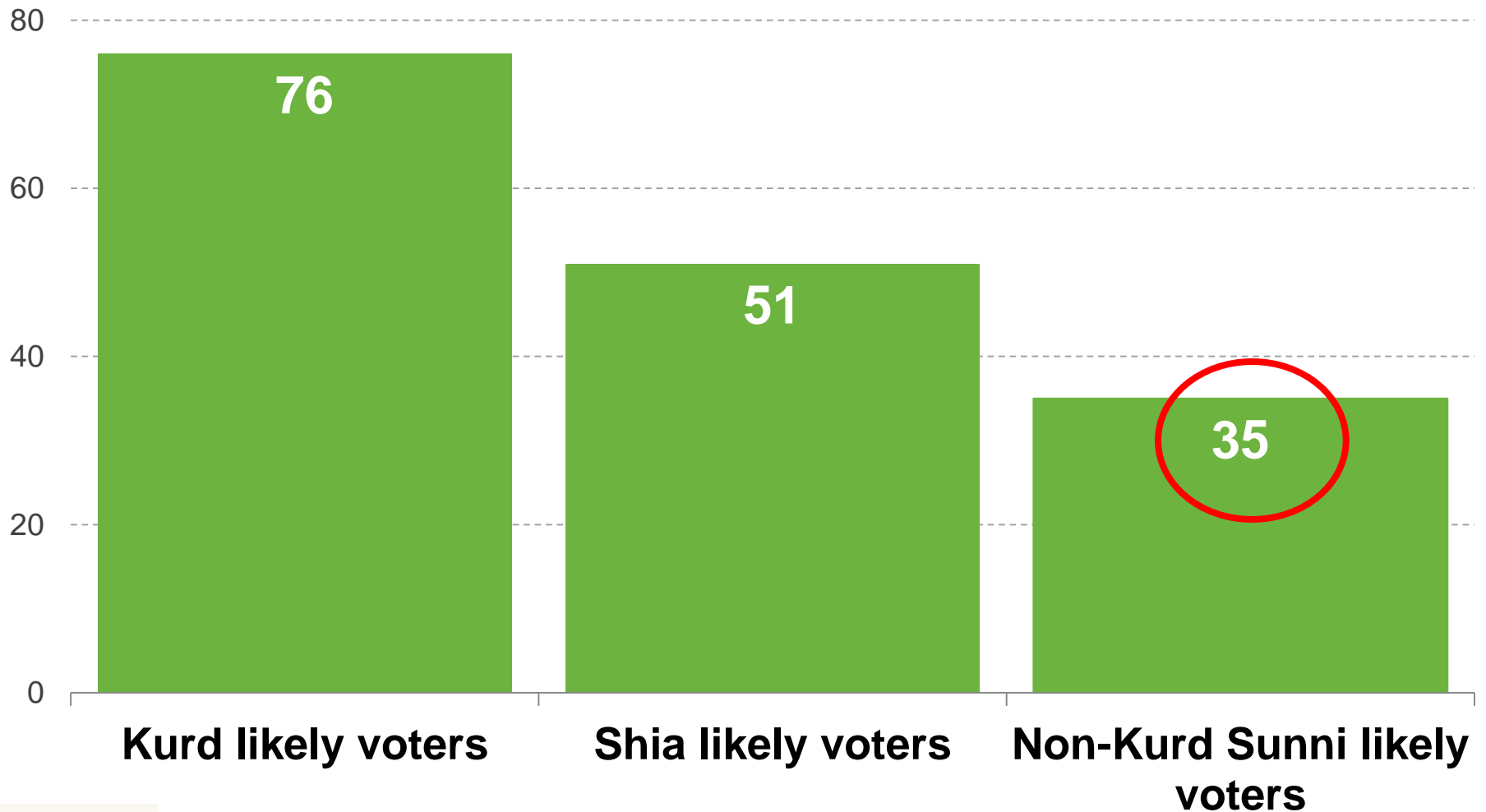
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. For each one, I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view.

**Statement 1: Iraq today is a real democracy.**

**Statement 2: Iraq today is not a real democracy.**

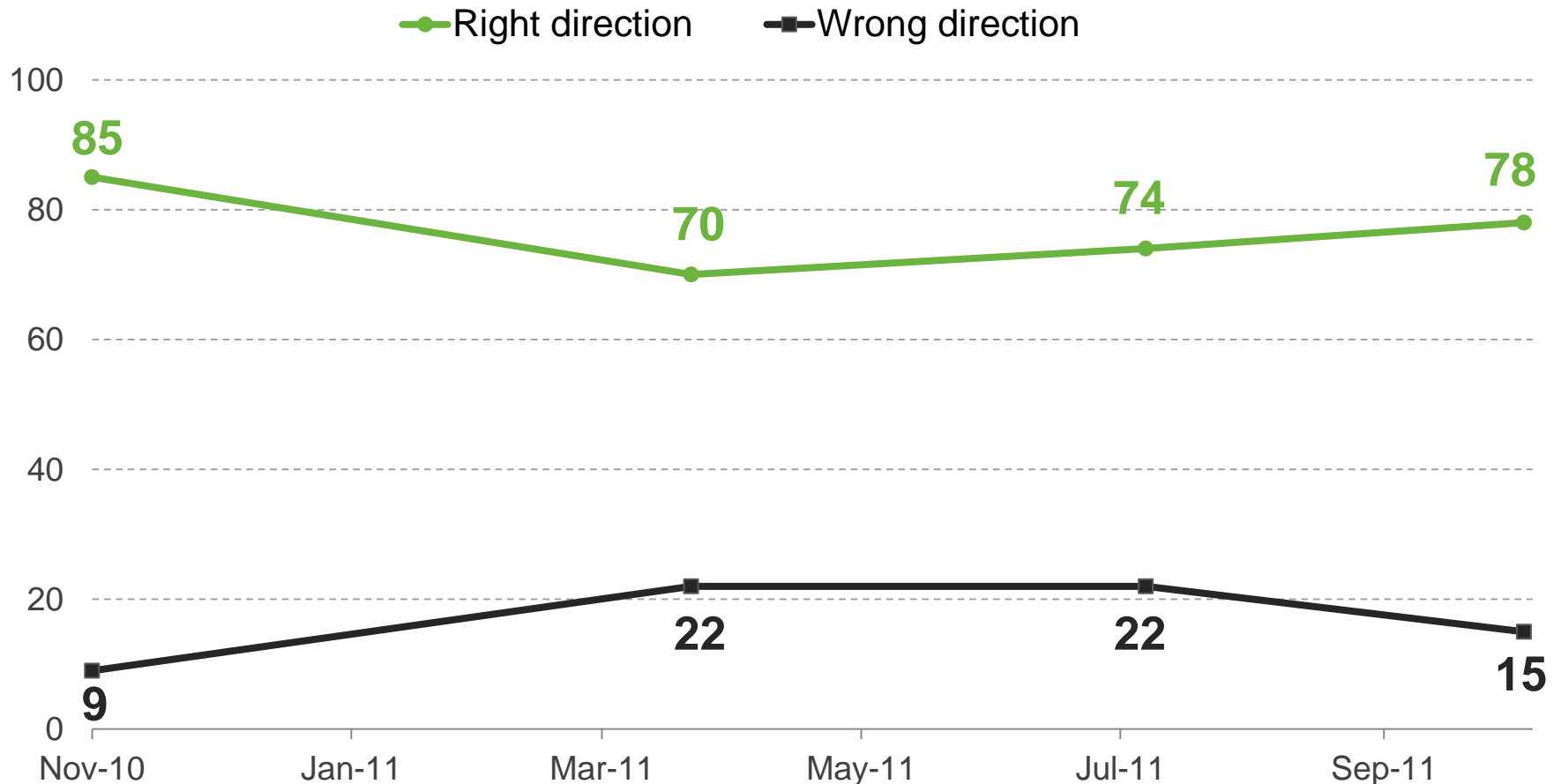


## Sunnis least likely to participate in the next elections



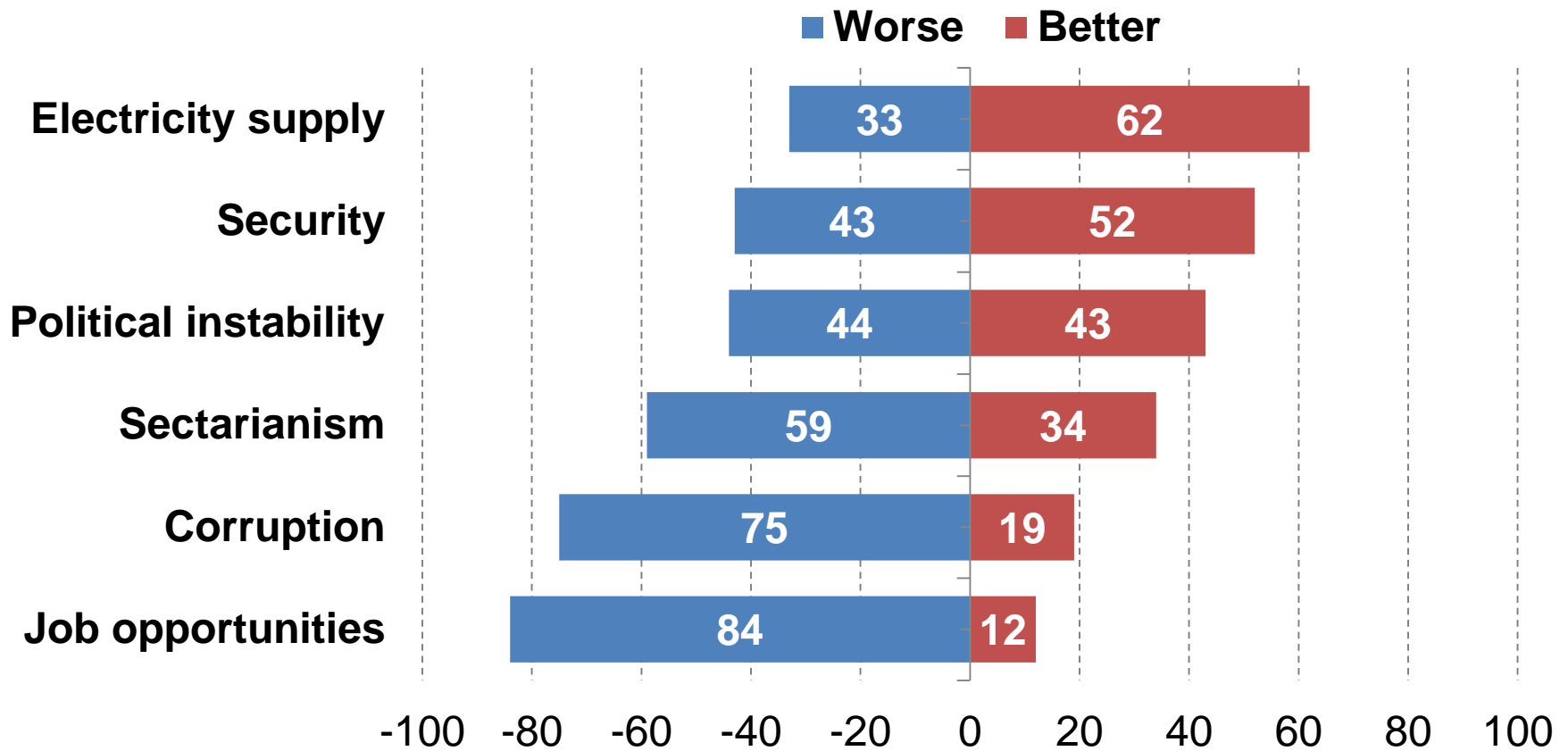
## Mood in Kurdistan improves

*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

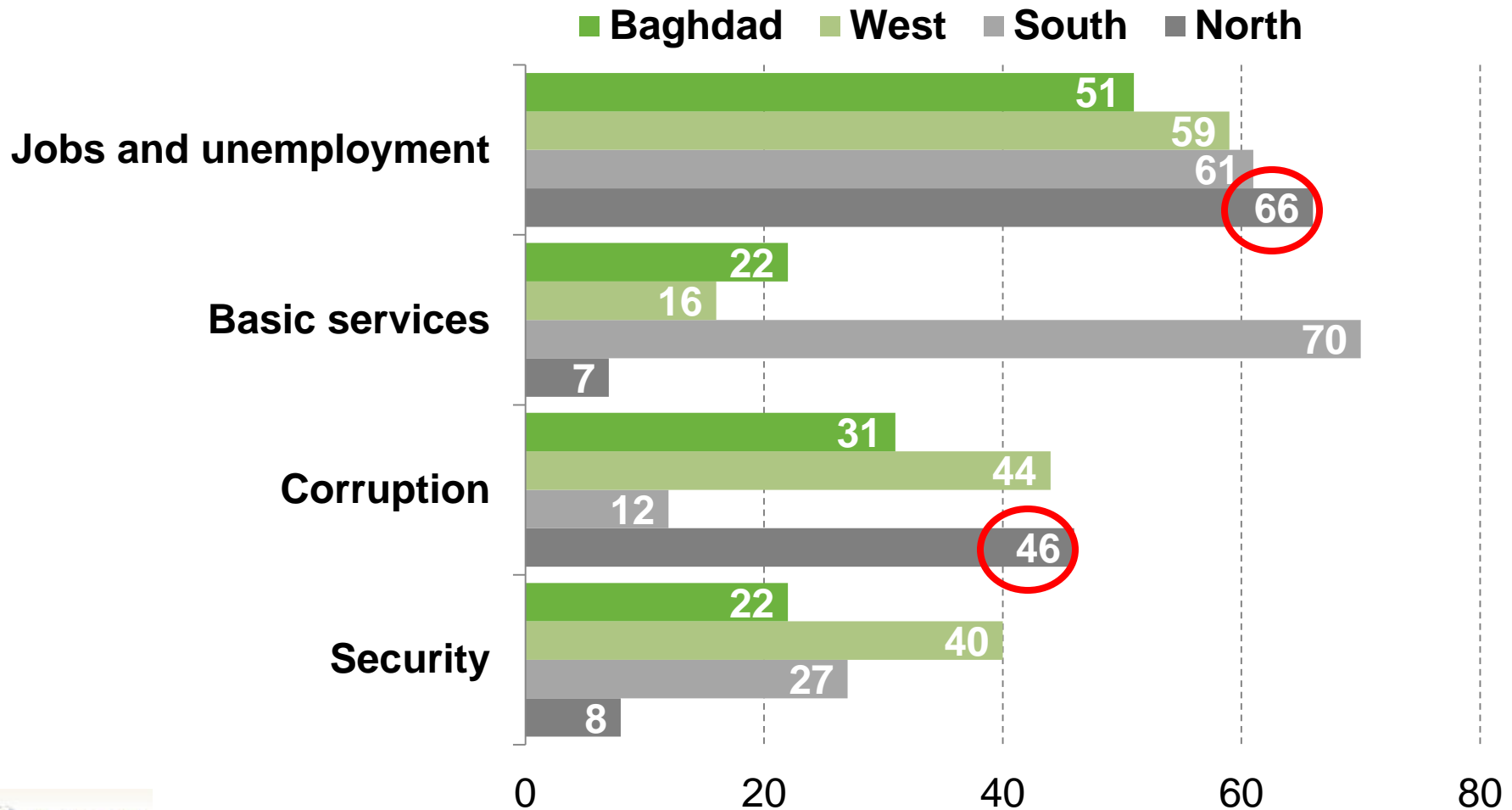
*Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq. (NORTH ONLY)*





# Job and corruption concerns in the North

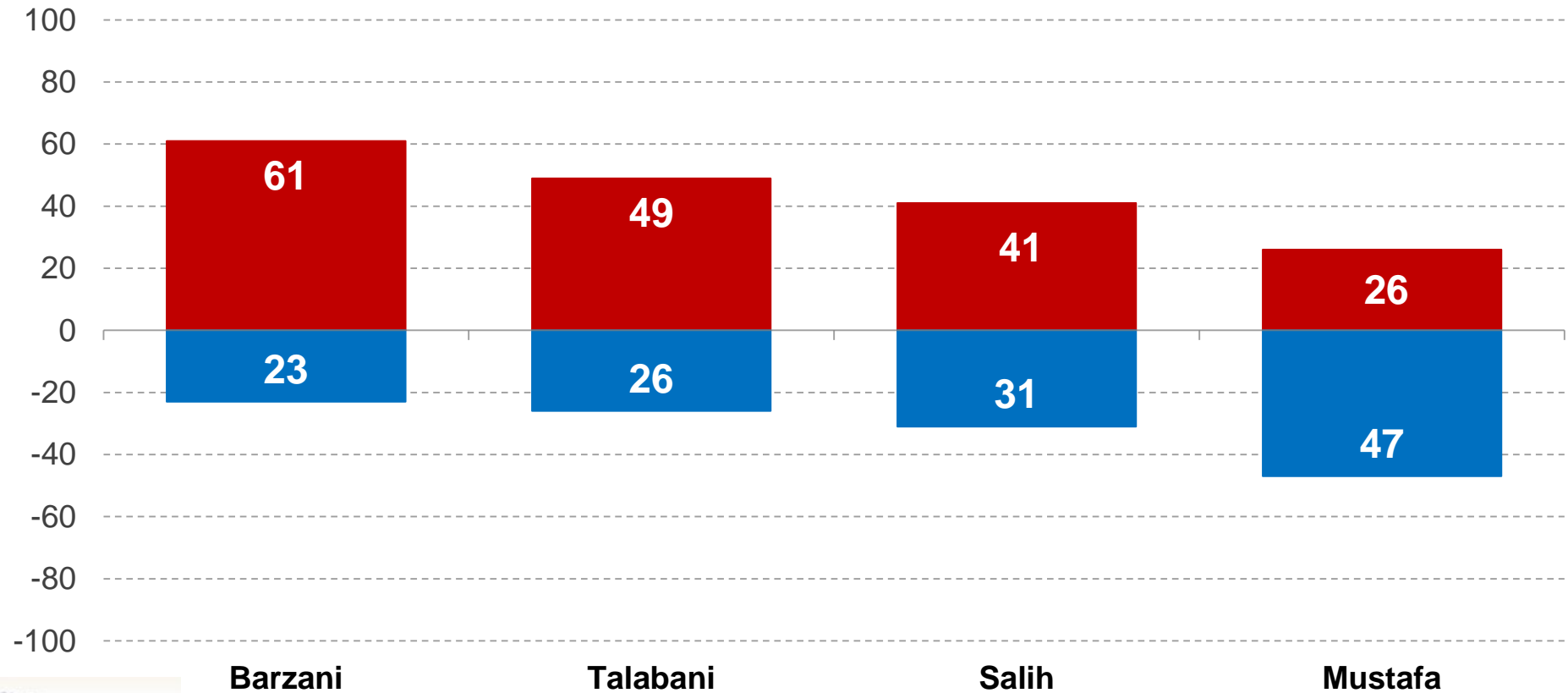
*Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the government to address.*



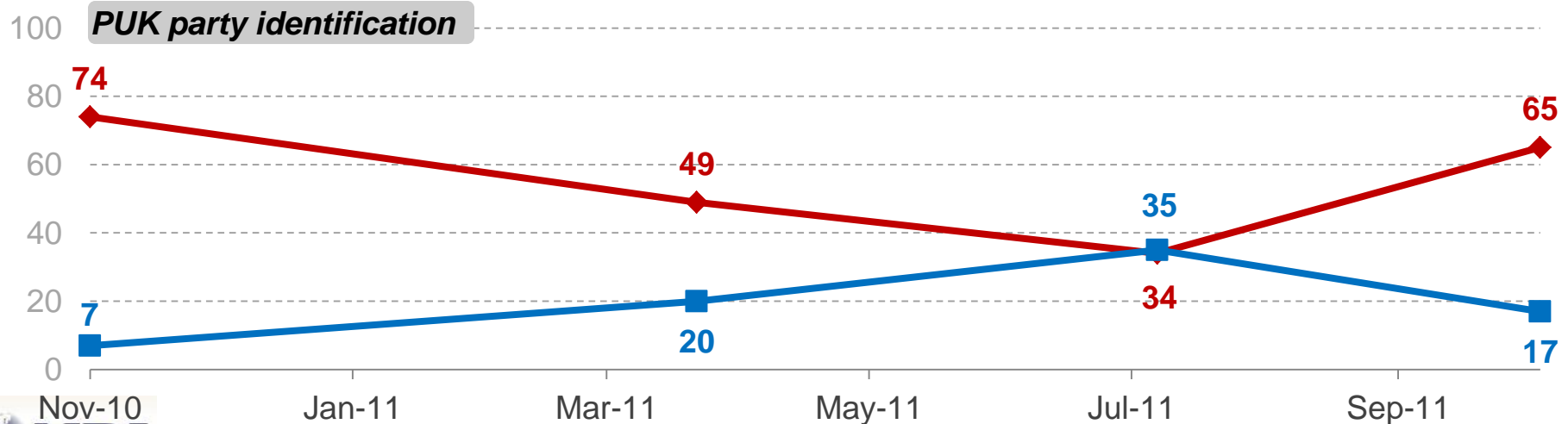
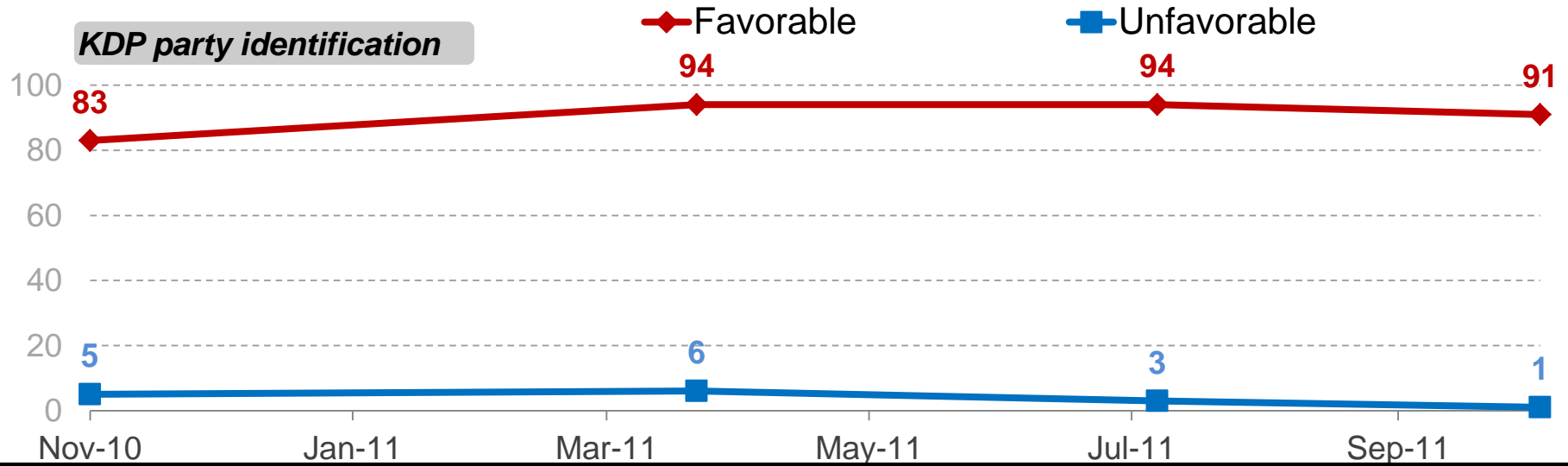
# Barzani favorability increases | North only

■ % Favorable   ■ % Unfavorable

<u>Δ Favorable</u> <u>Jul '11</u>	Barzani	Talabani	Salih	Mustafa
+8	-14	-4	+2	



# Barzani favorability increase comes from PUK supporters

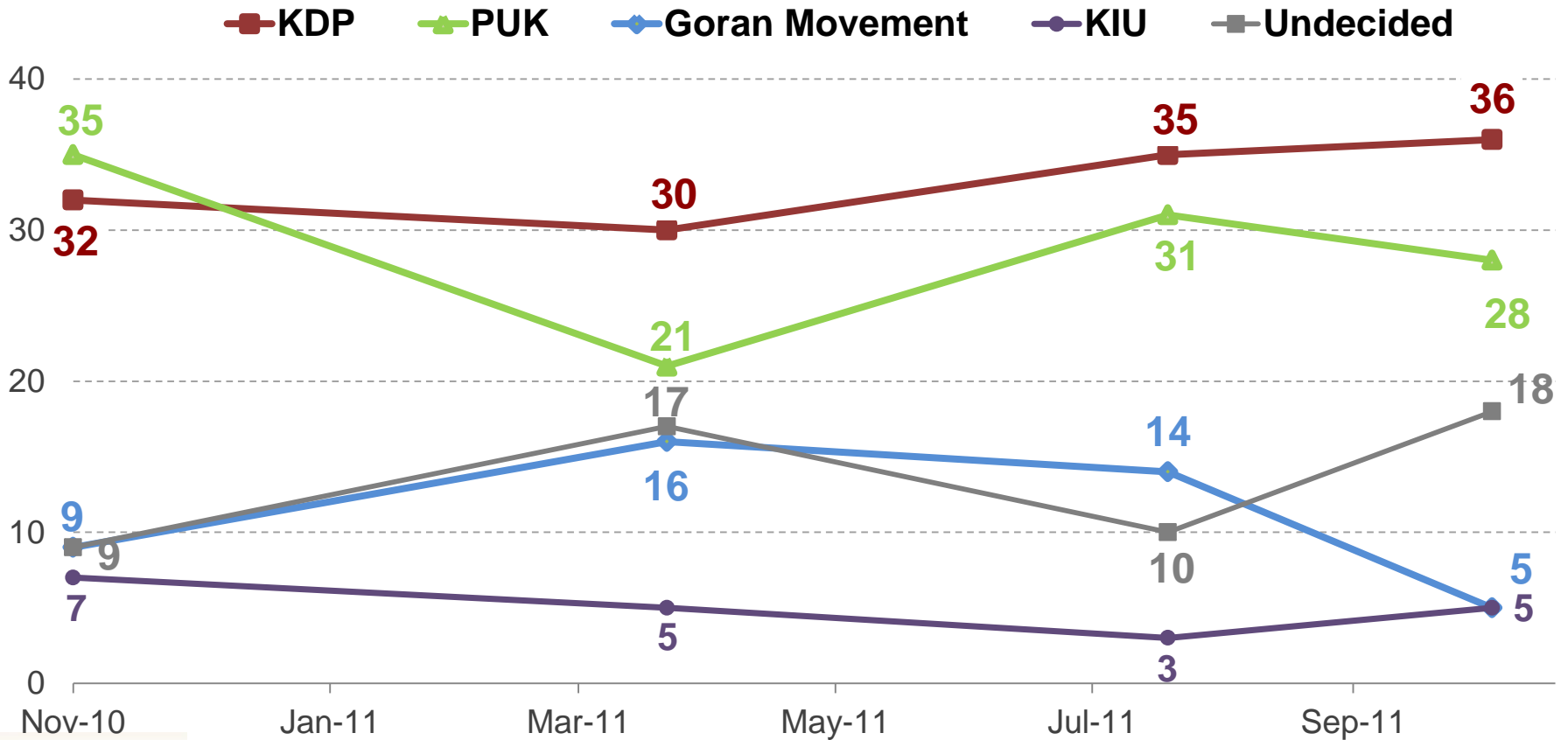


North only



# KDP continues to have strongest support in North

*Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today. (NORTH ONLY)*



# Goran and Mustafa favorability | North only

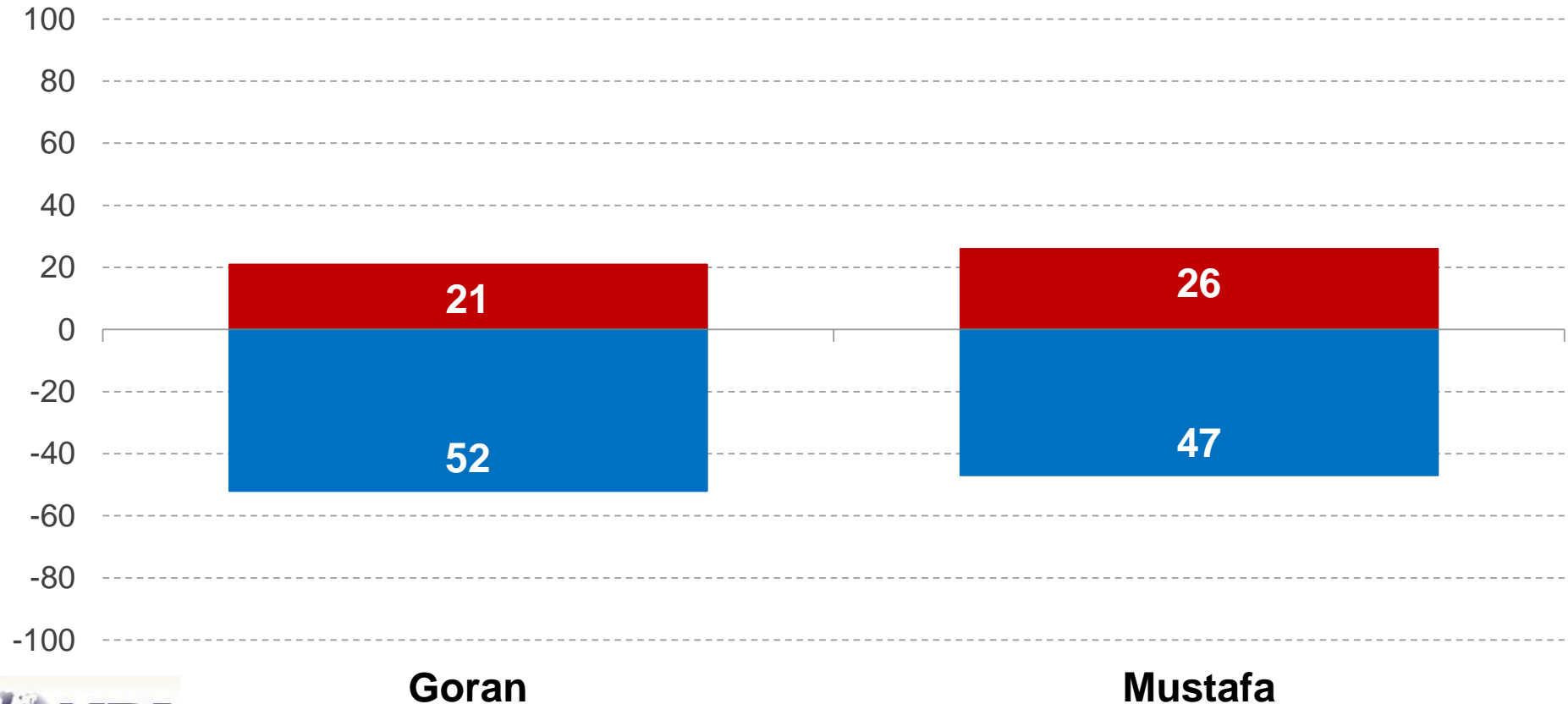
■ % Favorable   ■ % Unfavorable

**Δ Favorable**

**Jul '11**

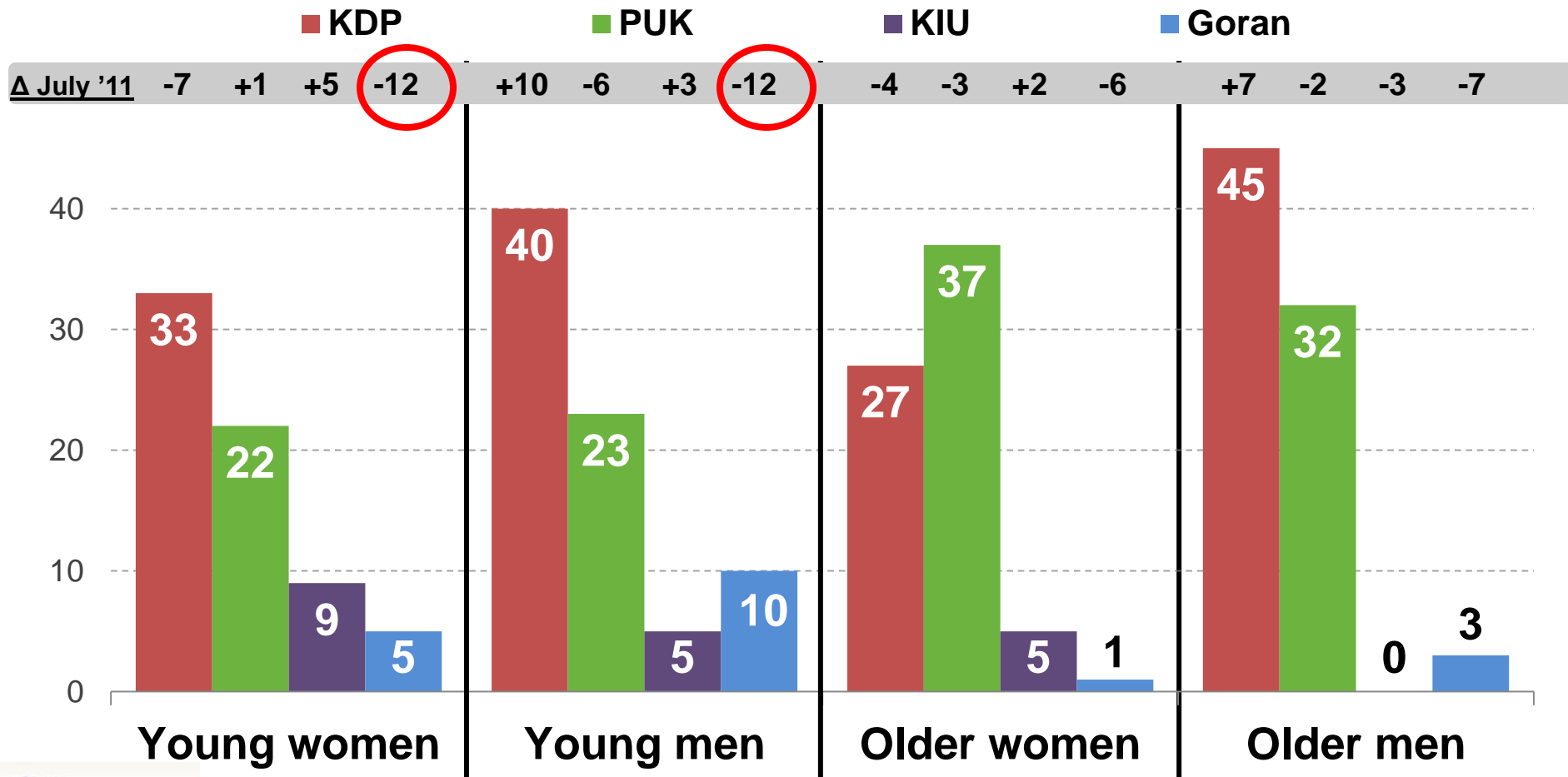
**-2**

**+2**



# Parliamentary vote | North only, gender/age

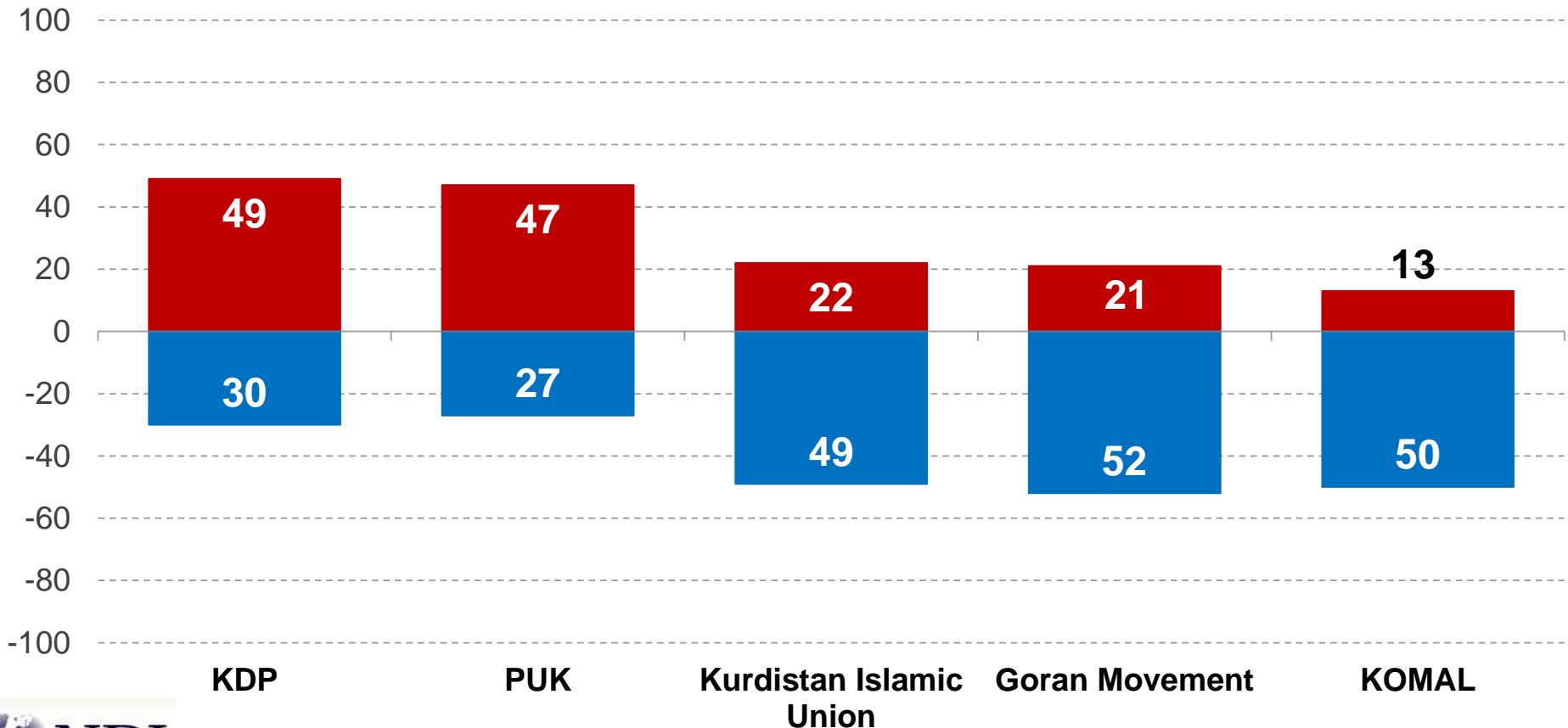
Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today.



# PUK favorability slightly increases | North only

■ % Favorable      ■ % Unfavorable

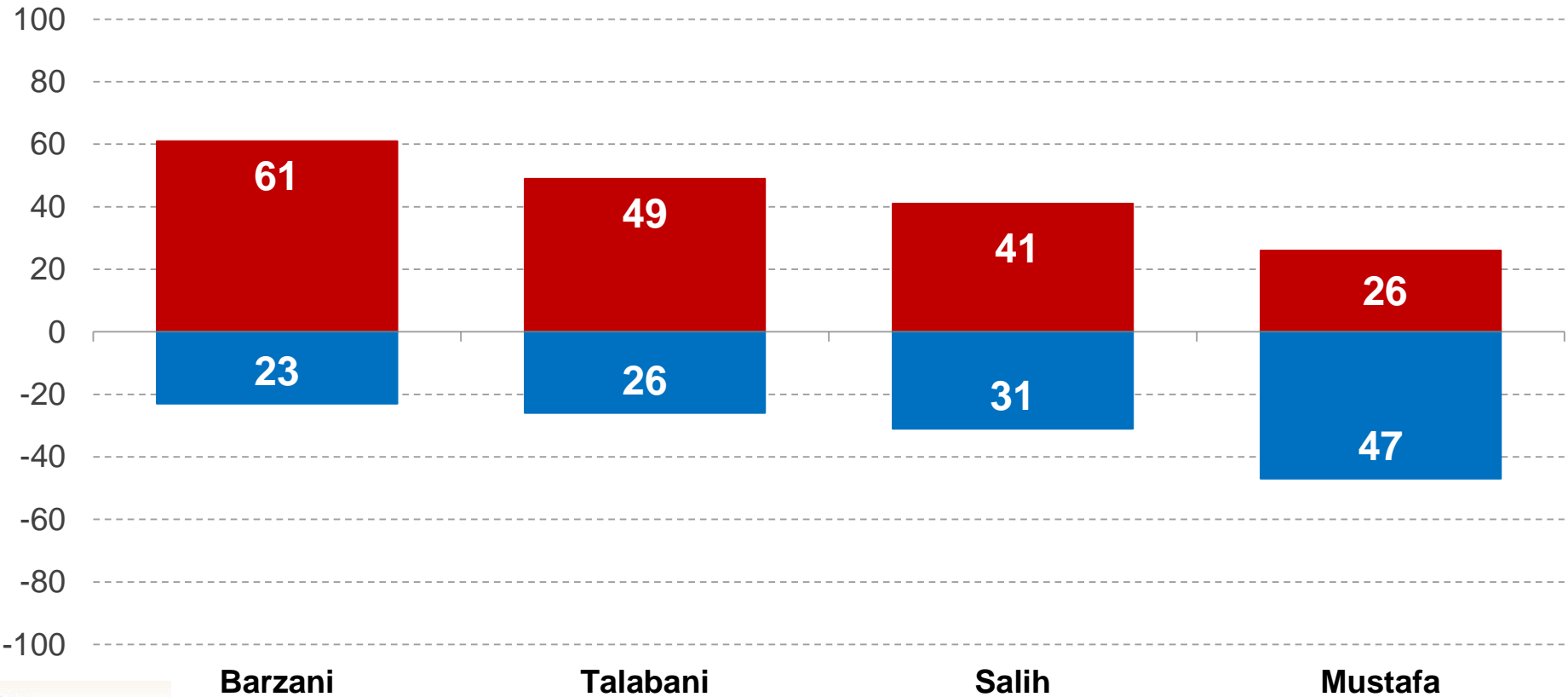
<u>Δ Favorable</u>					
Jul '11	-7	+3	+5	-2	--



# Talabani favorability down | North only

■ % Favorable   ■ % Unfavorable

<u>Δ Favorable</u>				
<u>Jul '11</u>	+8	-14	-4	+2





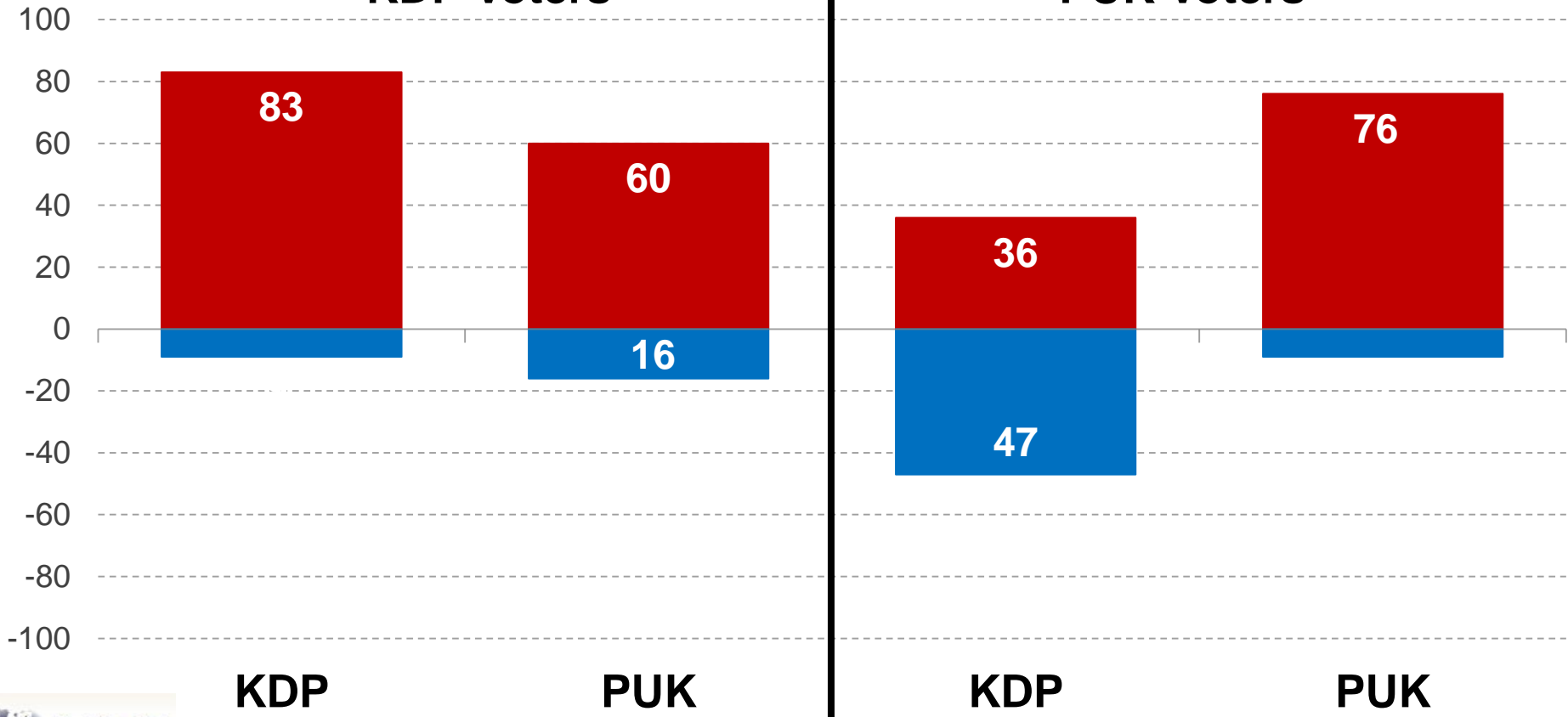
# KDP more favorable among opponent supporters

■ % Favorable

■ % Unfavorable

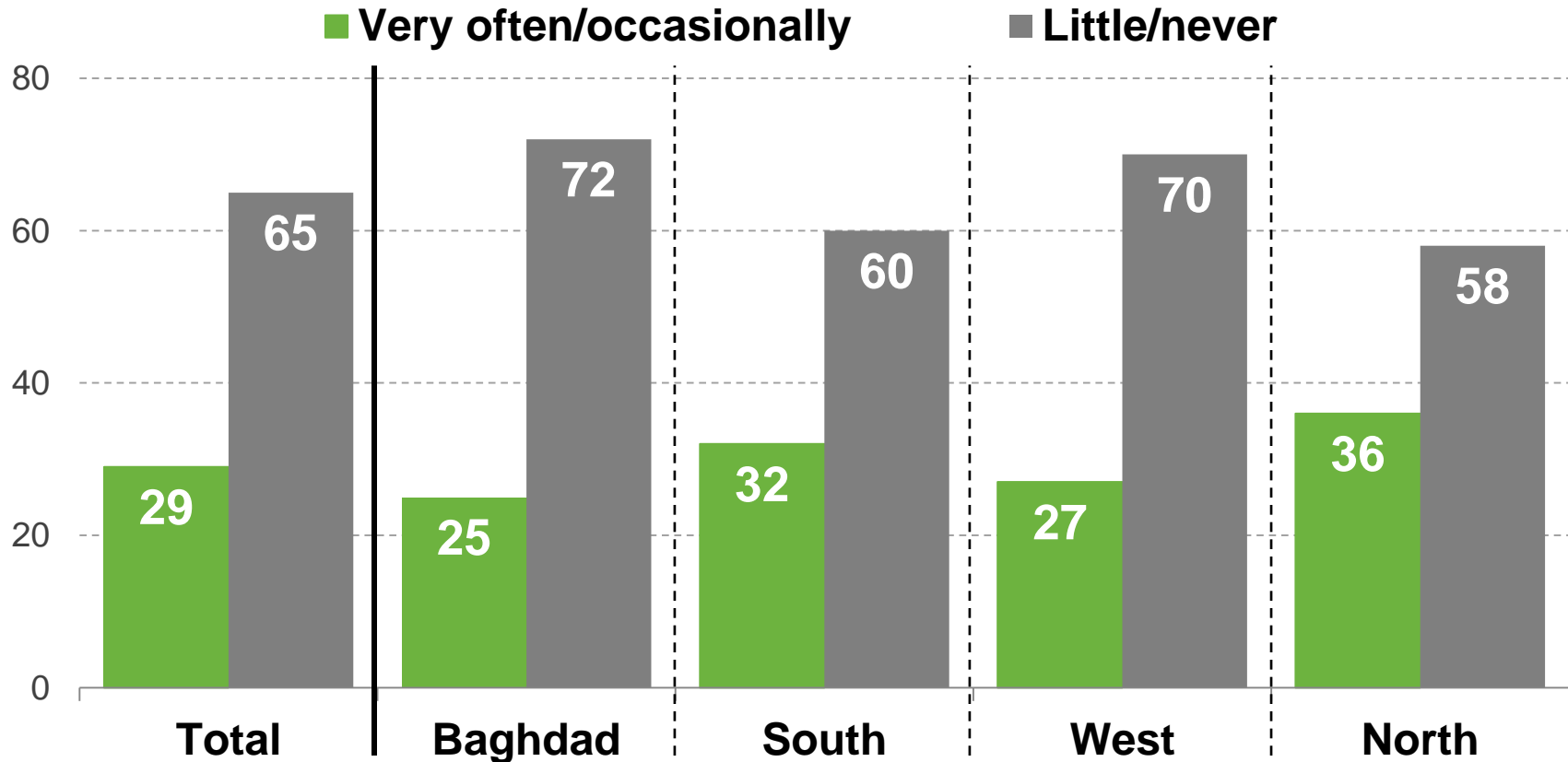
Favorable ratings among  
**KDP Voters**

Favorable ratings among  
**PUK Voters**



## Few hear about their members of the CoR

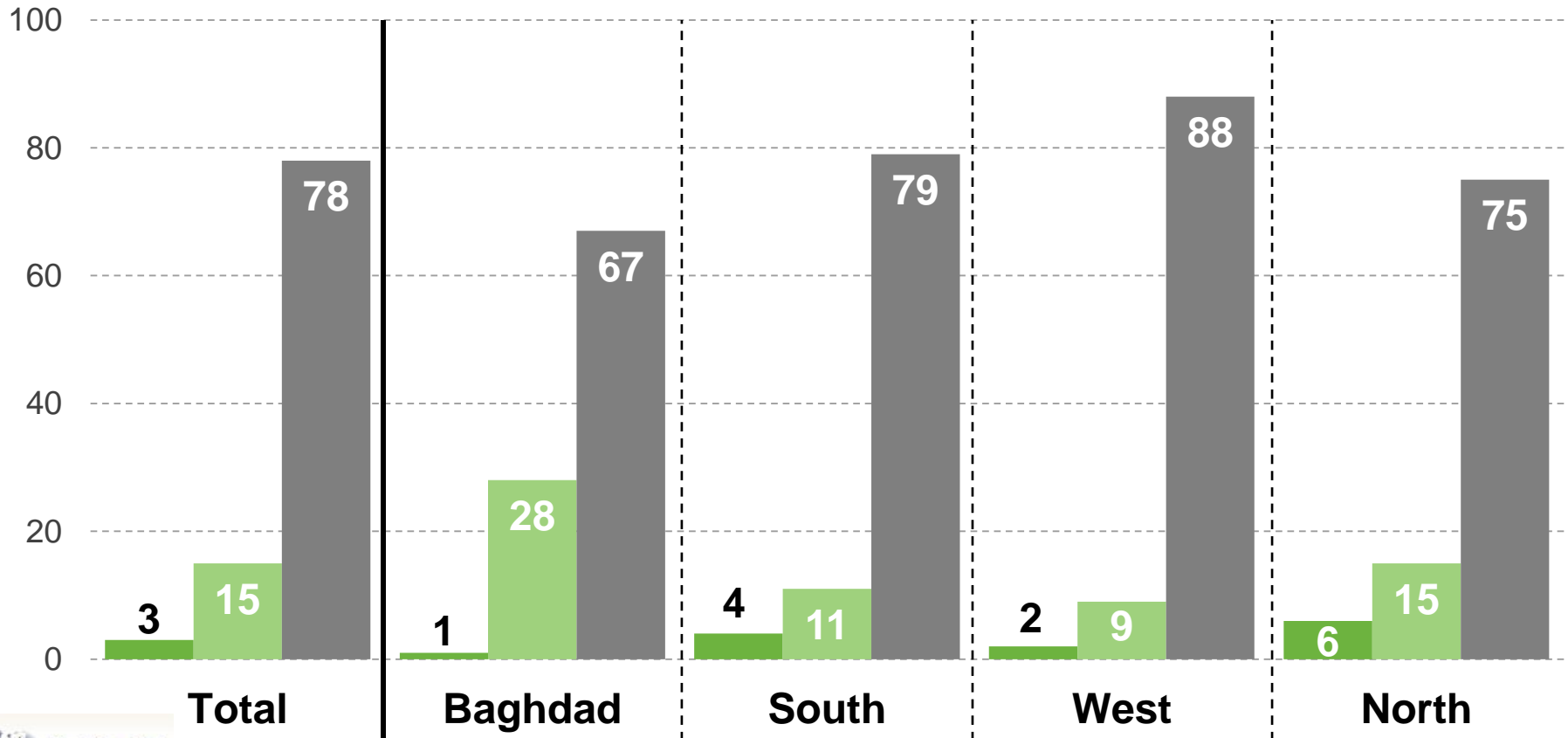
*How often do you hear about members of the Council of Representatives from your governorate, either directly from the members or indirectly through the news? Would you say you hear about members of the Council of Representatives from your governorate very often, occasionally, only a little, or never?*



# 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?*

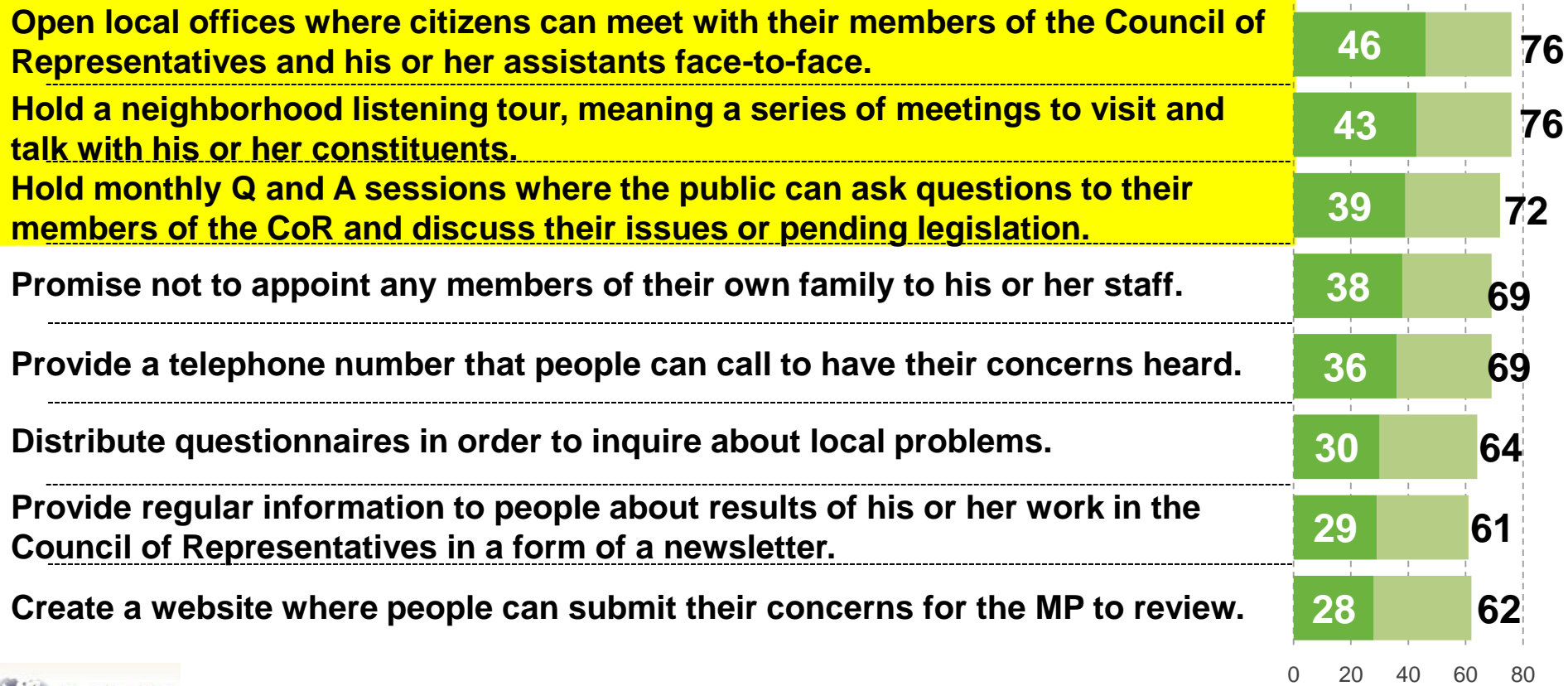
■ Yes, face-to-face   ■ Yes, other contact   ■ No



# Offices, listening tours, and Q & A 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

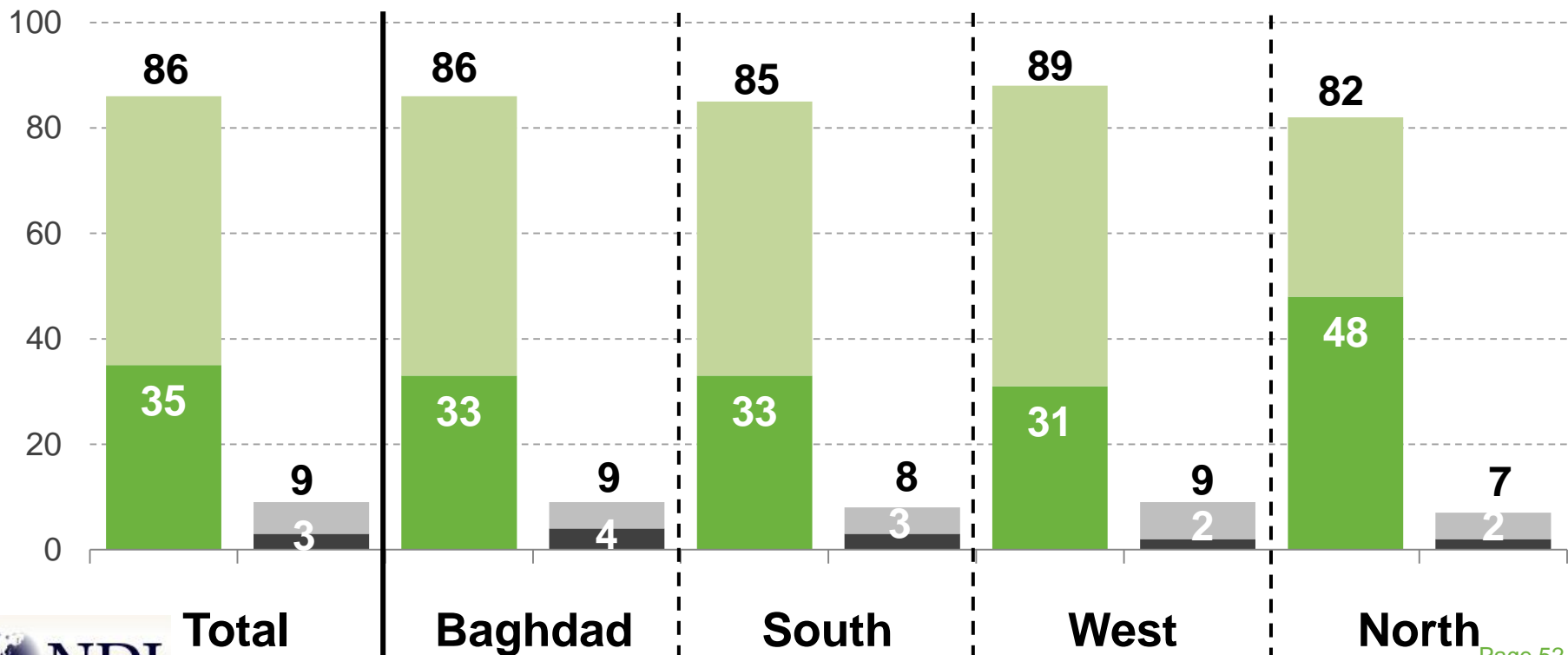


0 20 40 60 80

# 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?*

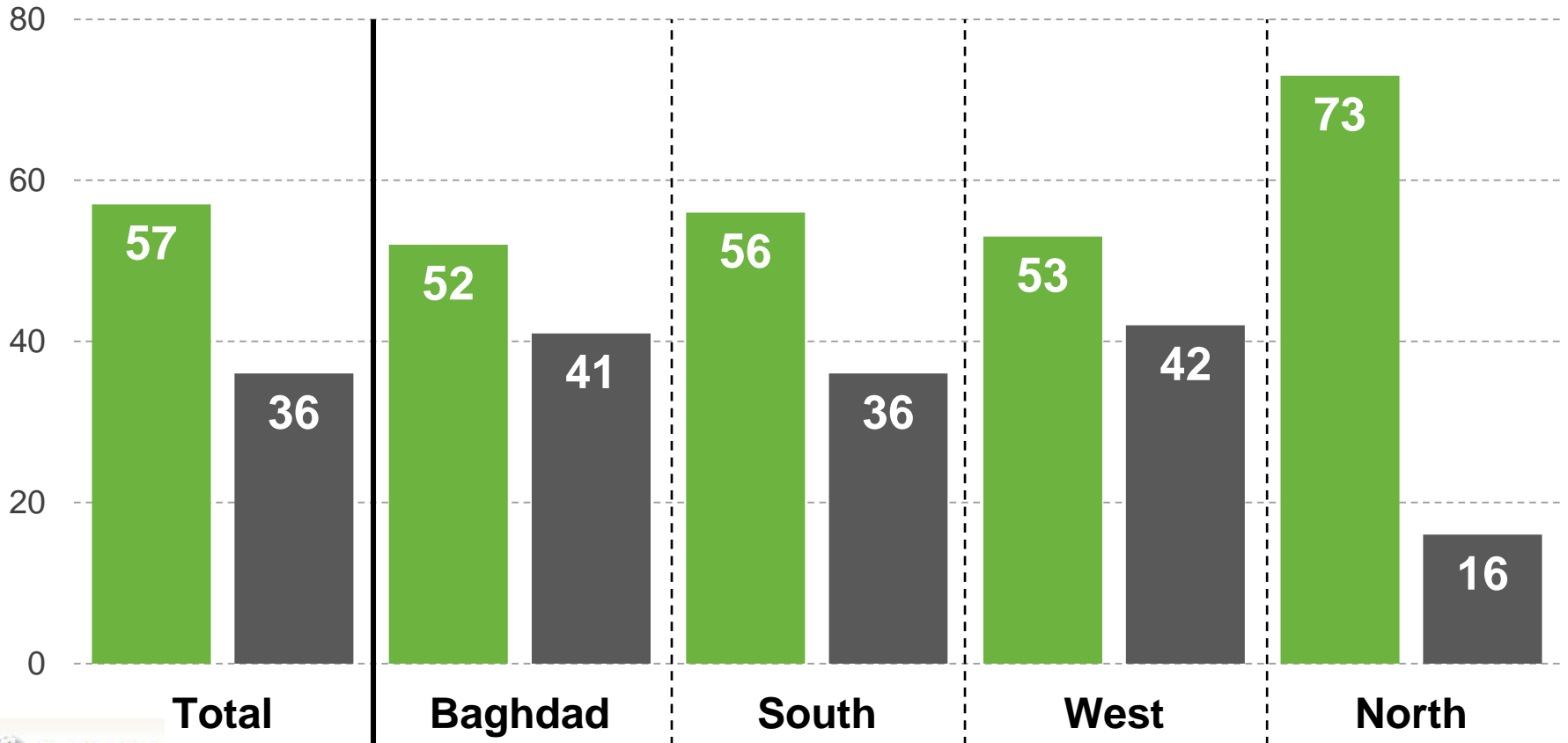
- Support, strongly
- Support, somewhat
- Oppose, strongly
- Oppose, somewhat



# A majority say they are likely to visit a constituency office

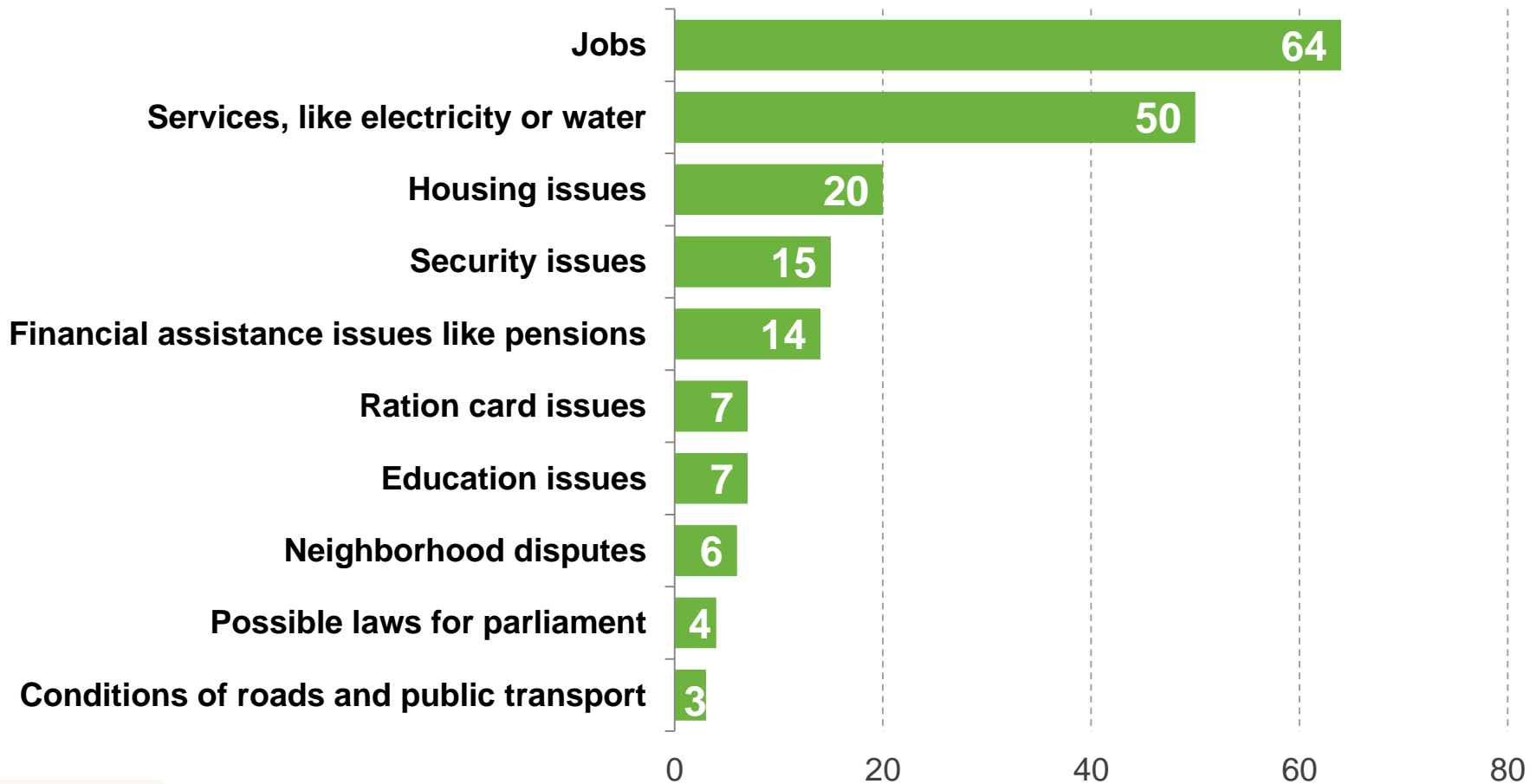
*If a member of the Council of Representatives from your governorate opened an office in your area, how likely would you be to visit that office if you needed help with a certain issue – very likely, somewhat likely, just a little likely, or not likely at all?*

■ Very/Somewhat likely    ■ Little/Not likely



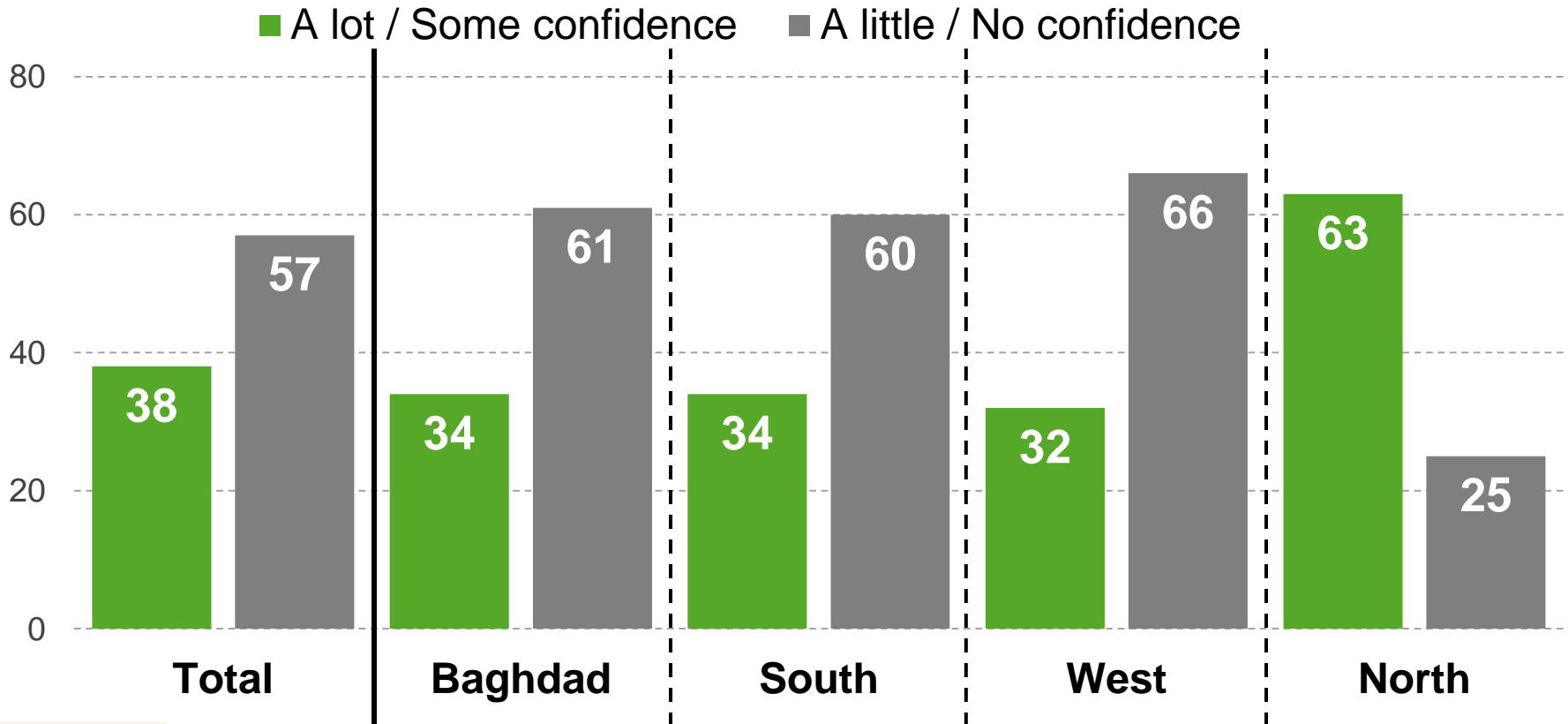
# Iraqis would discuss jobs and services with their member

*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?*



# Limited confidence that members can help through visit

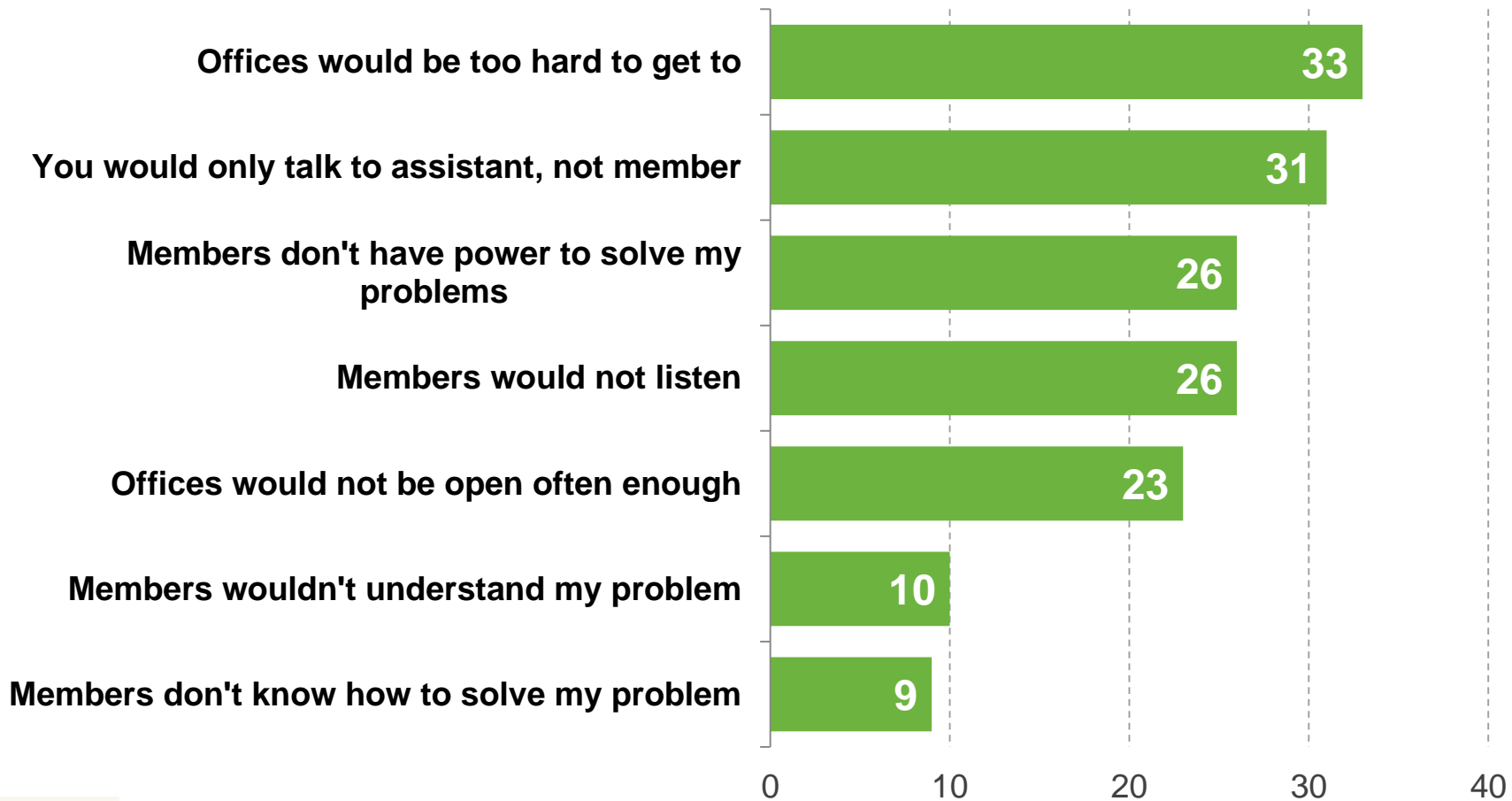
*And how much confidence do you have that the member of the Council of Representatives from your governorate could help you with these issues if you brought it to them at their office? Do you have a lot of confidence your member could help, some confidence, just a little confidence, or no confidence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





# 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?*



# Best messages about being closer, listening to the people

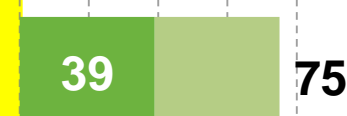
*I'd like to read a few statements a member of the Council of Representatives might say to convince you to visit his or her office in your area. For each one, please tell me how convincing that is – very convincing, somewhat convincing, just a little convincing, or not convincing at all?*

■ Very convincing      ■ Somewhat convincing

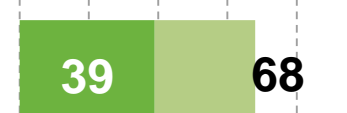
**[CLOSER]** How can politicians all the way in Baghdad help average Iraqis? I believe that members must be representatives of the people. Instead of staying in Baghdad, I will spend ½ my time in local office so I can be closer to the people and understand their concerns.



**[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.



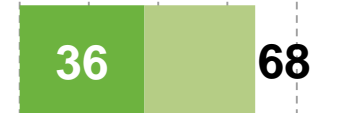
**[ACTION]** I'm opening an office not as a publicity stunt, but to show I'm serious about addressing concerns of people. This office isn't about listening and talking, it's about finding solutions to people's problems. This is about action not talk.



**[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 with 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.

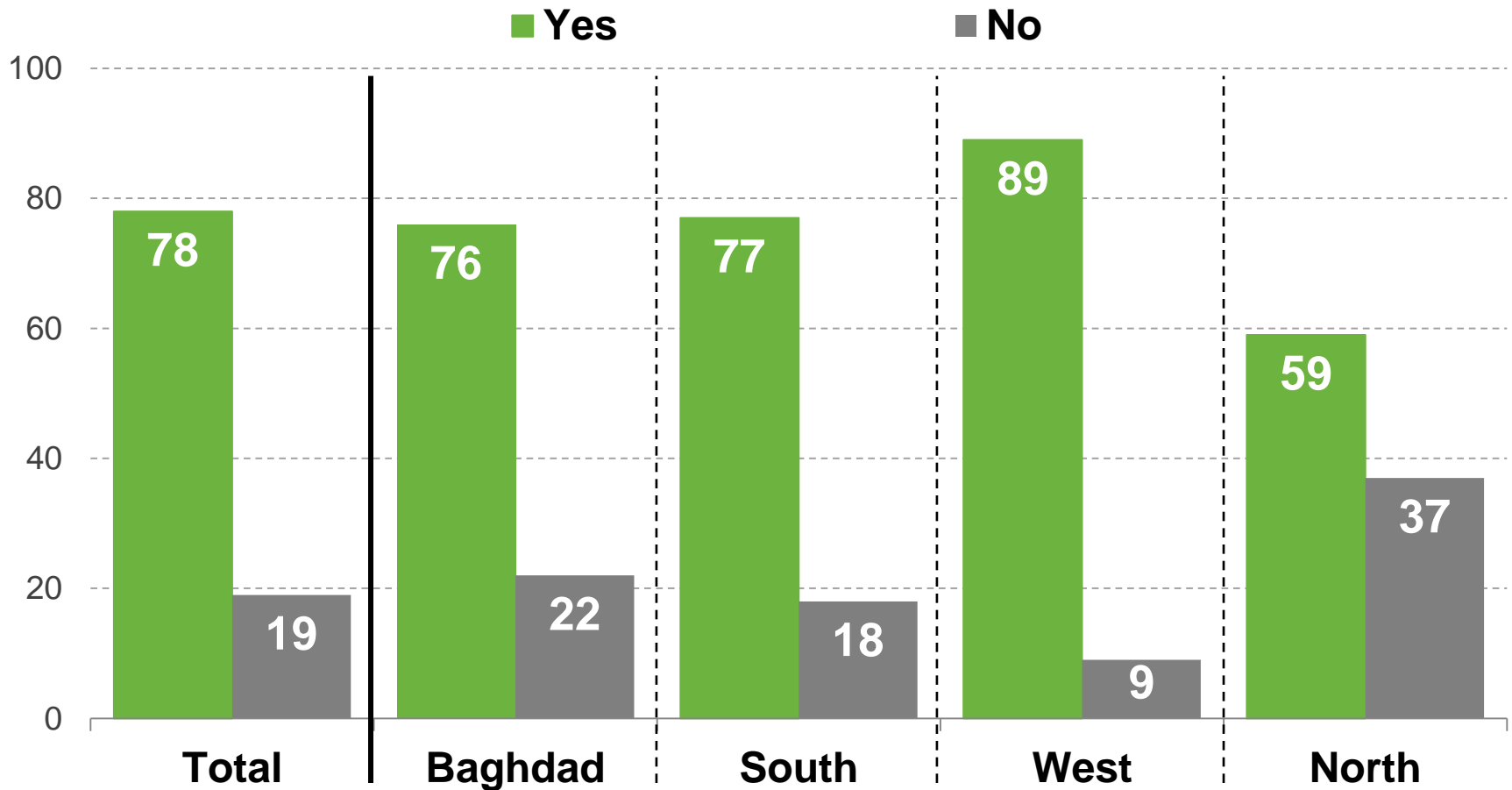


0 20 40 60 80



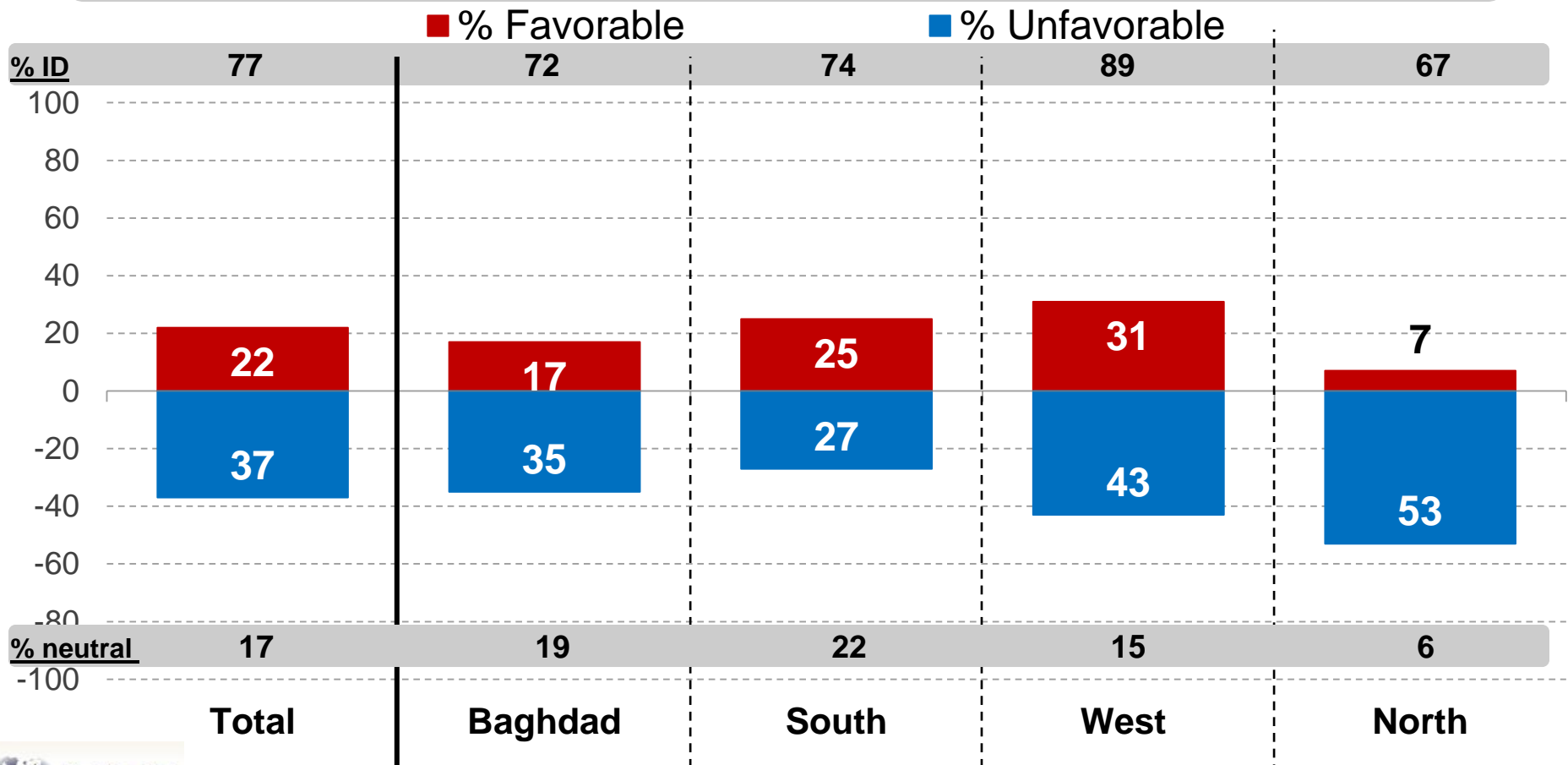
# Most have heard about CSOs

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



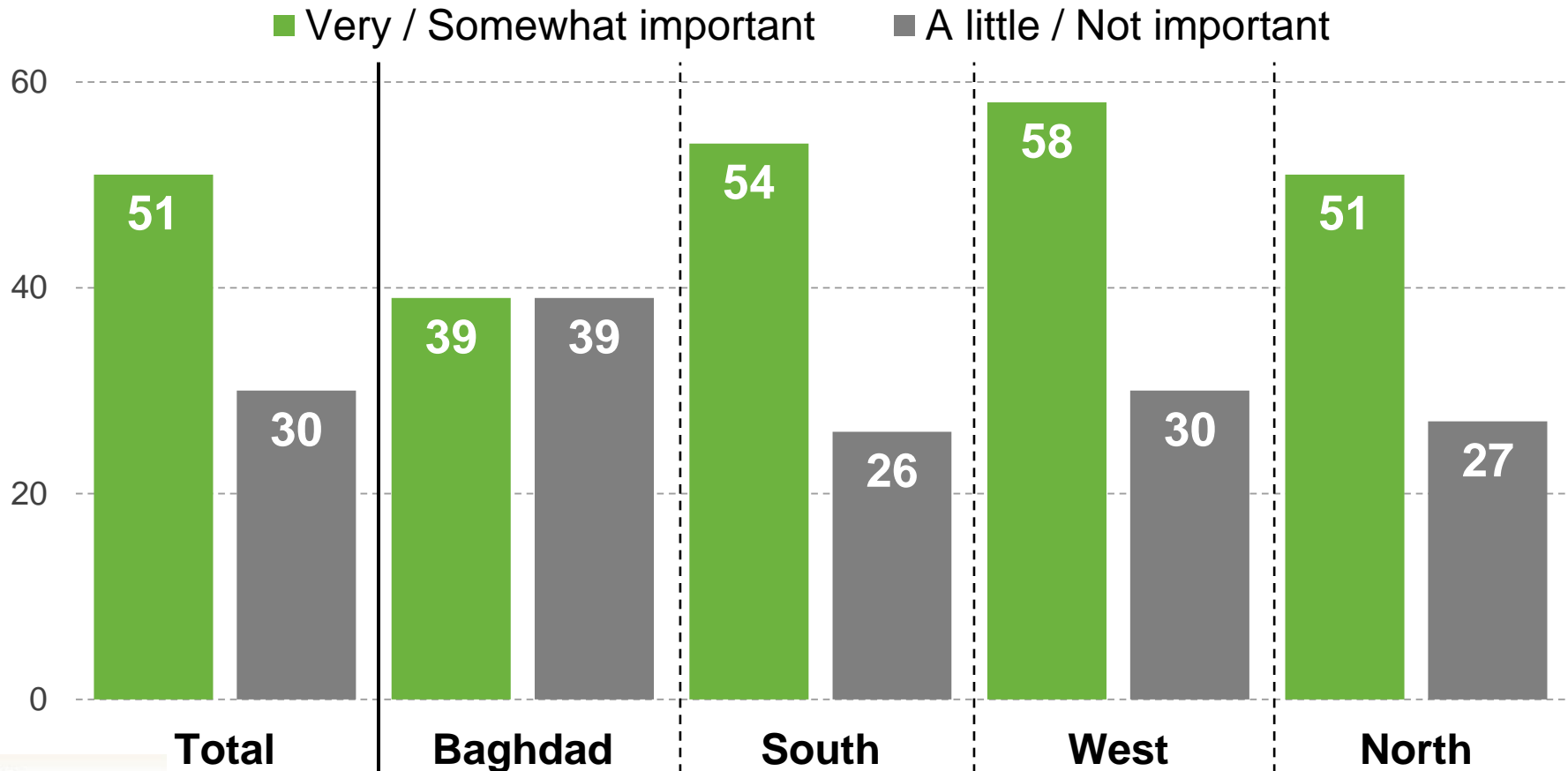
# CSOs have relatively weak favorability

*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.*



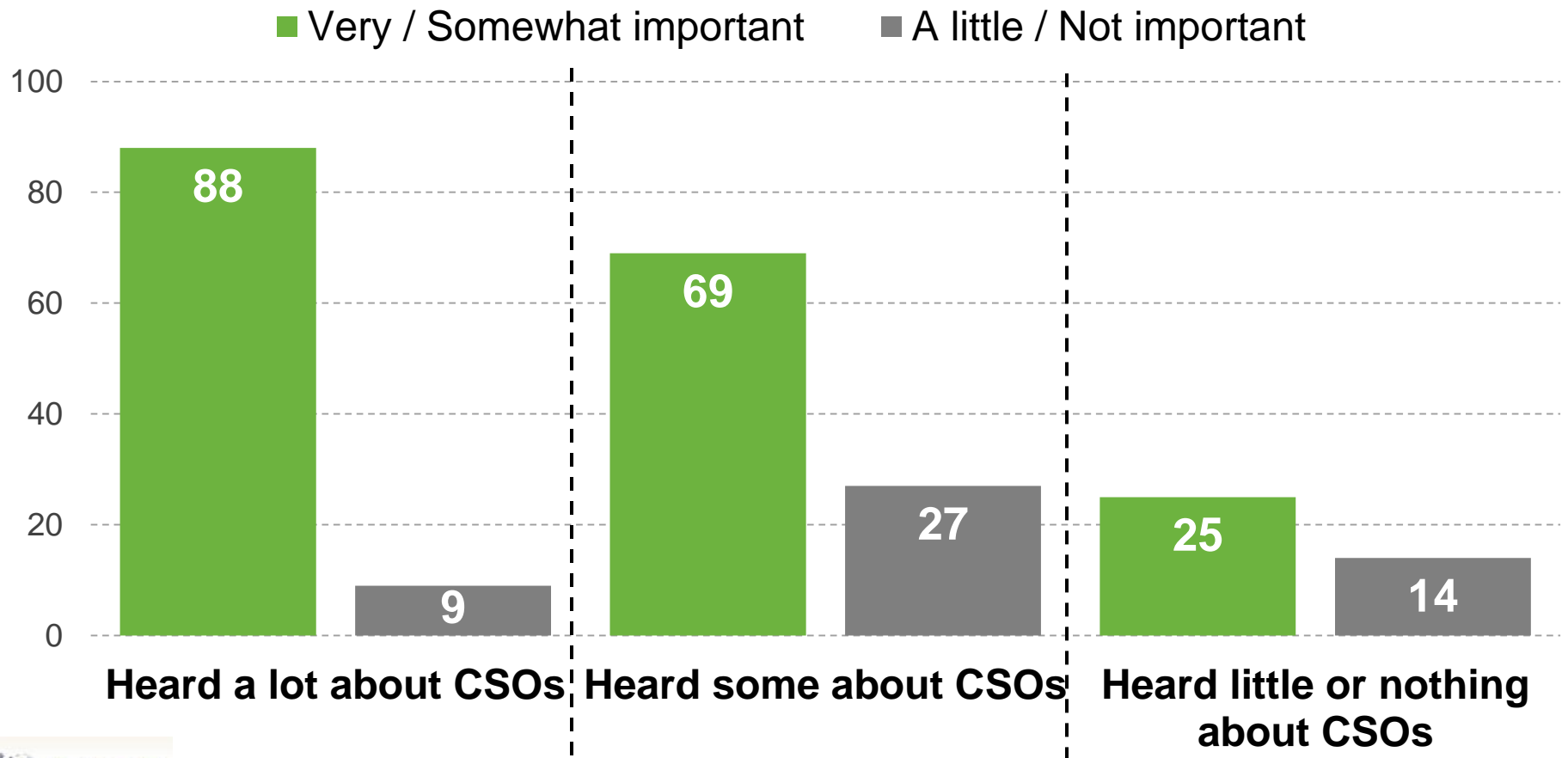
## Majority think CSOs are important in Iraq

*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?*



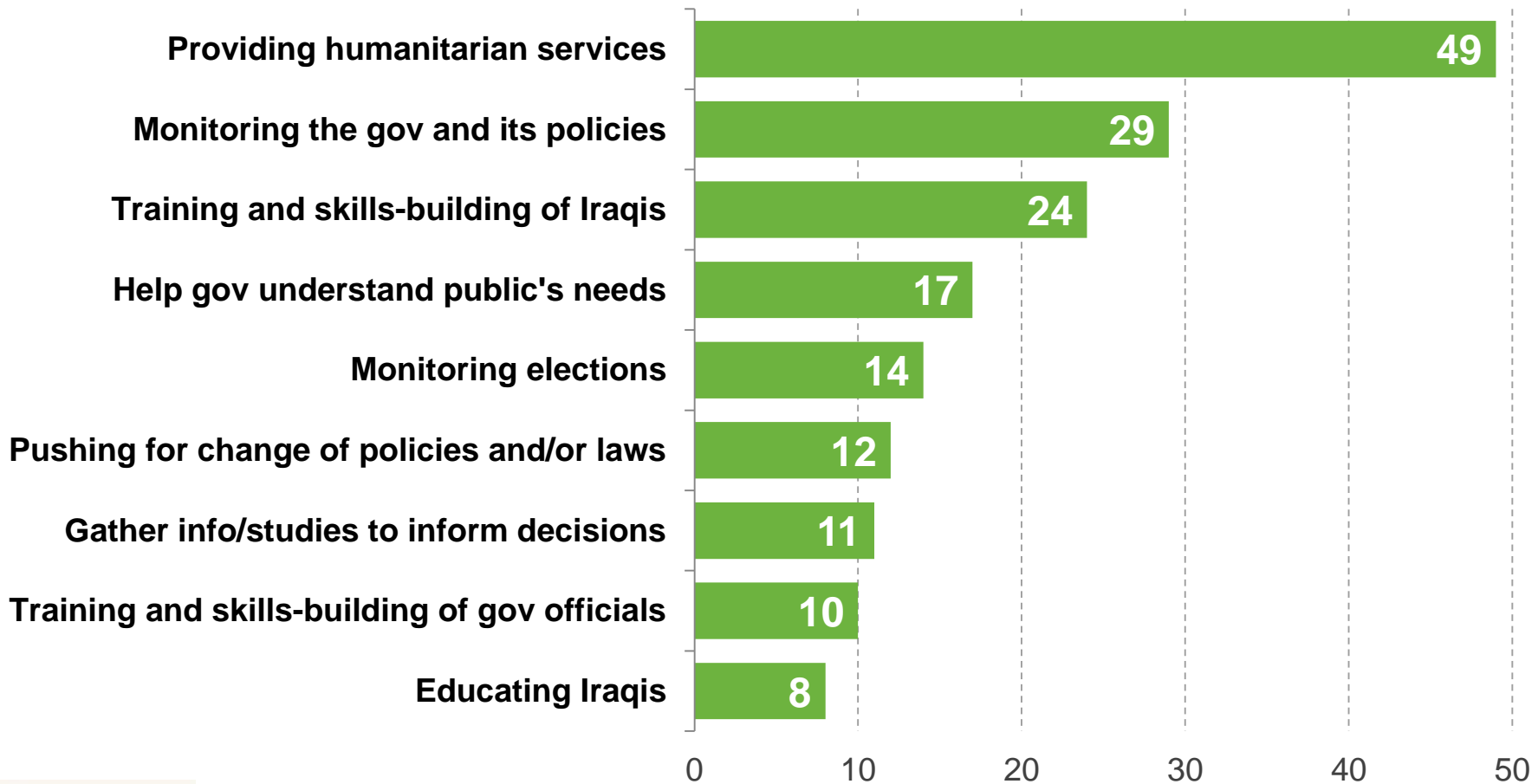
# Importance of CSOs based on how much heard

*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?*



# 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.*

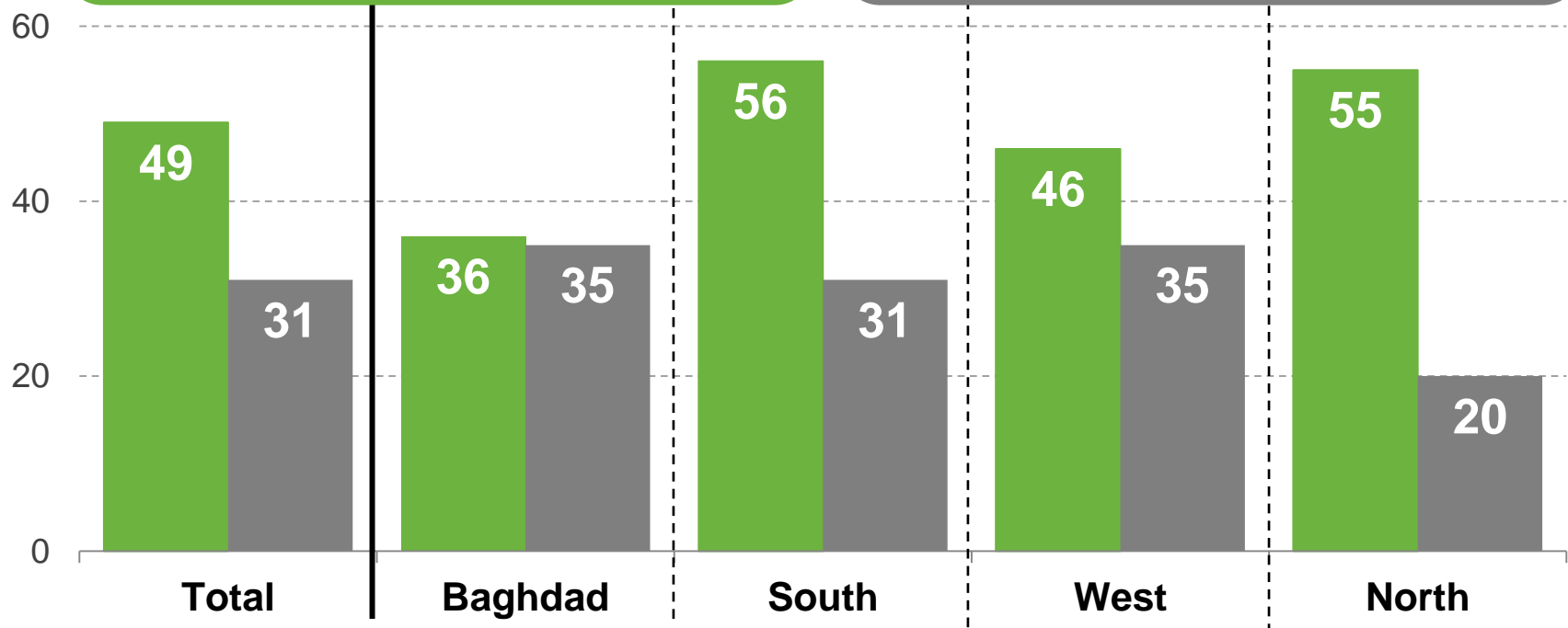


# Not a strong desire for CSOs to play a policy role

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.

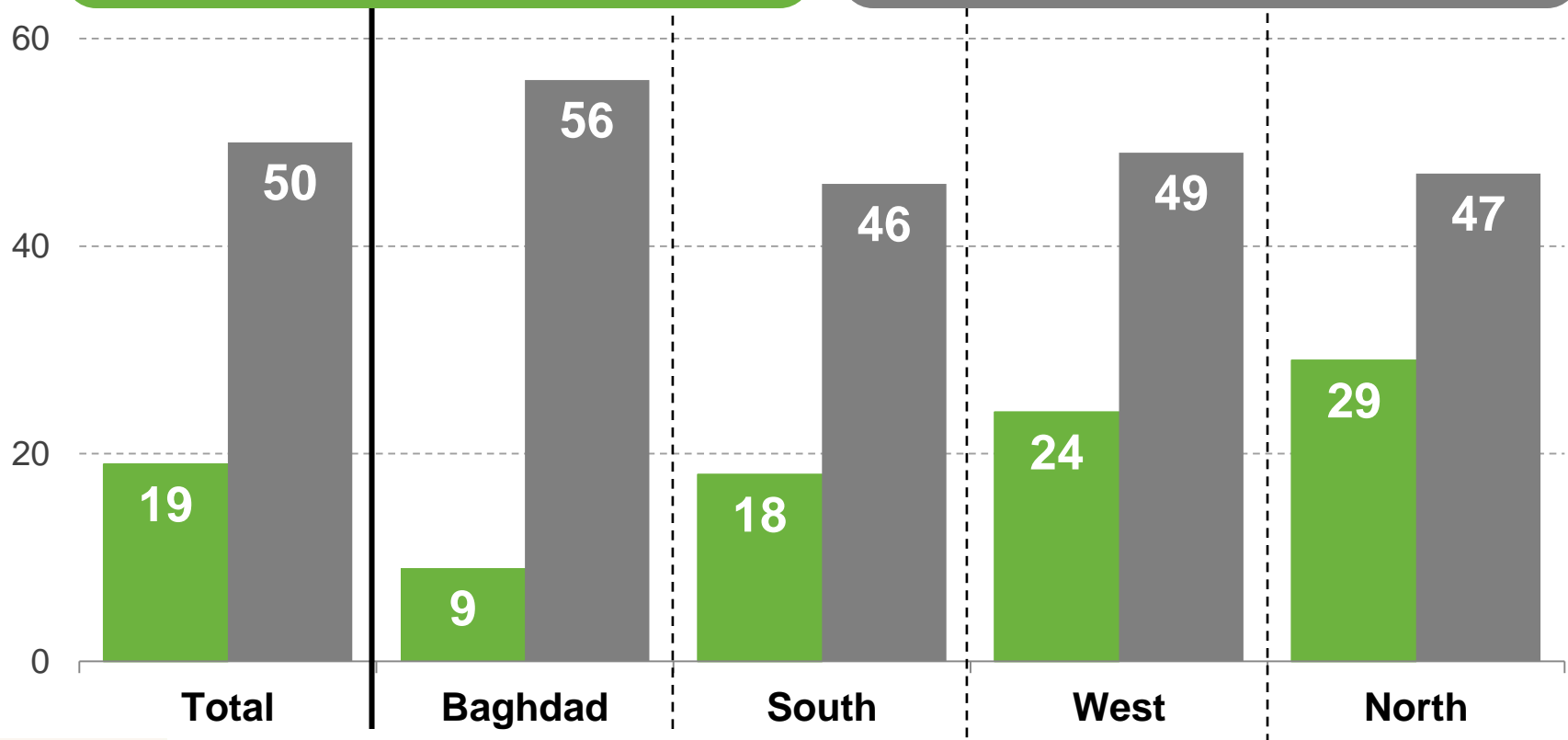




# CSOs not viewed as impacting Iraqis lives

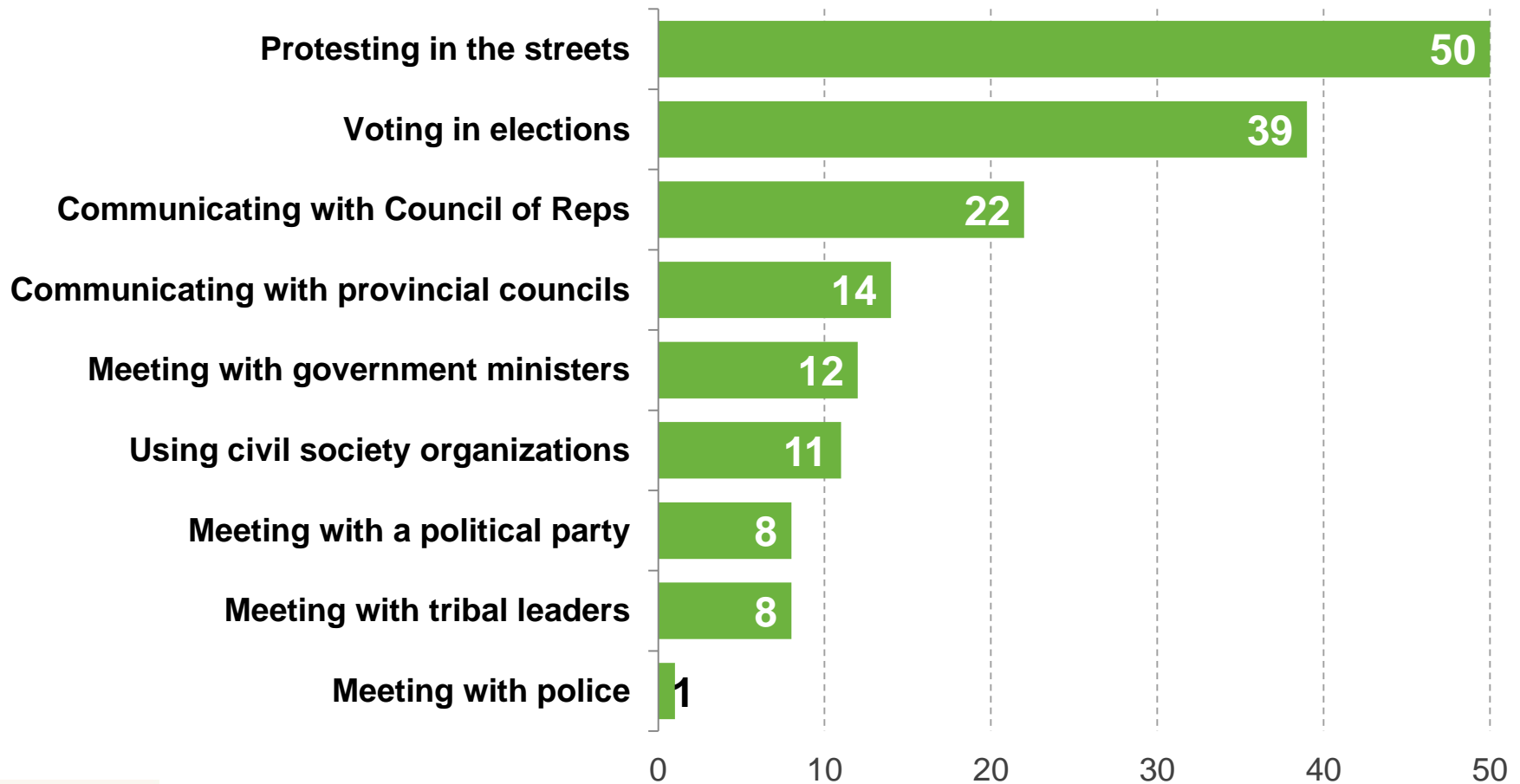
Statement 1: Civil society organizations have had an impact on my life.

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



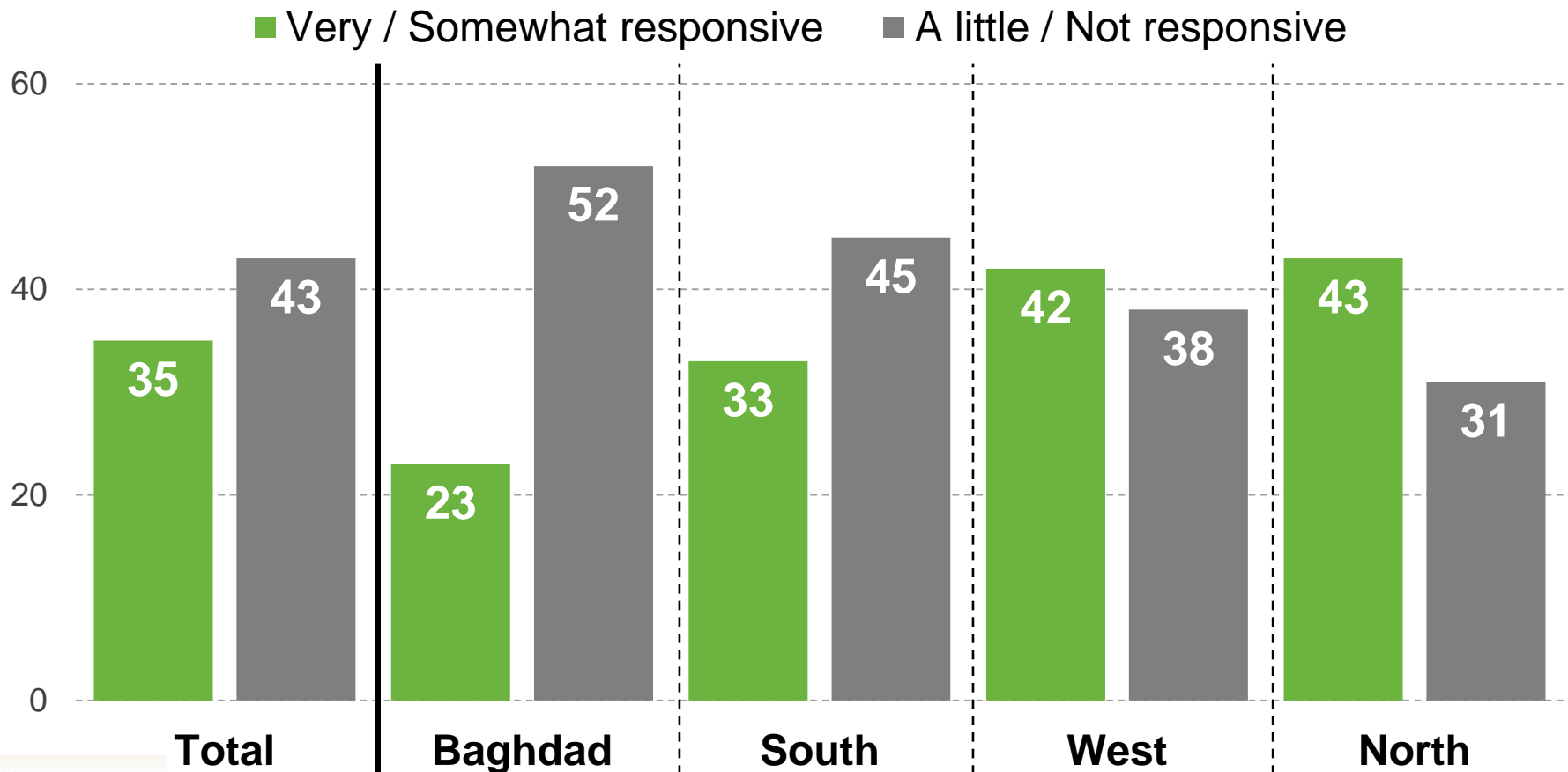
# Majority views protests as best way to communicate to govt

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



# 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?*



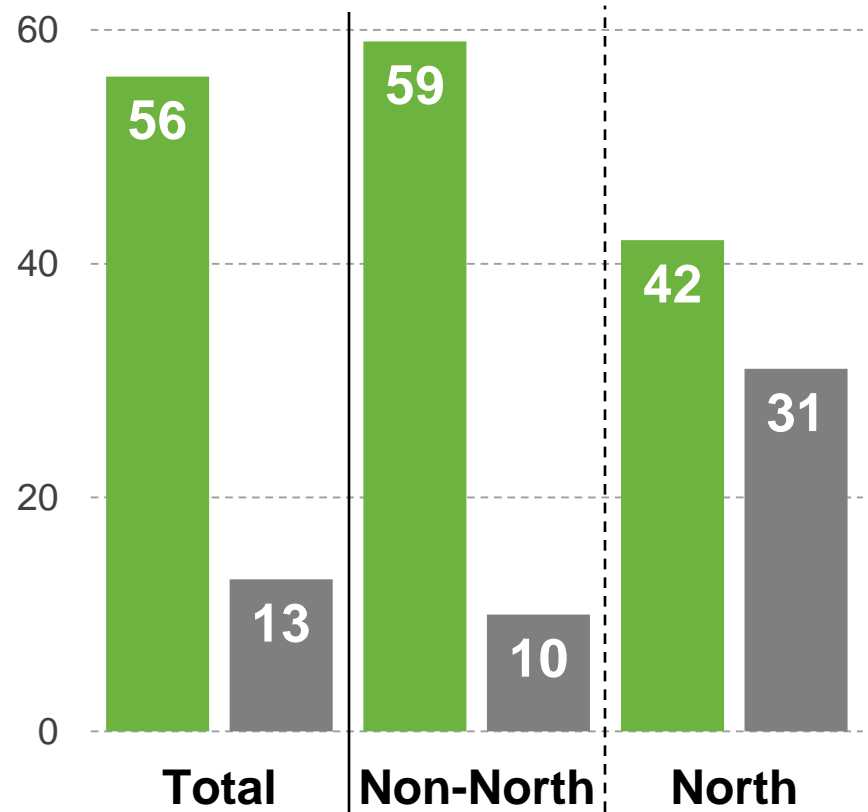
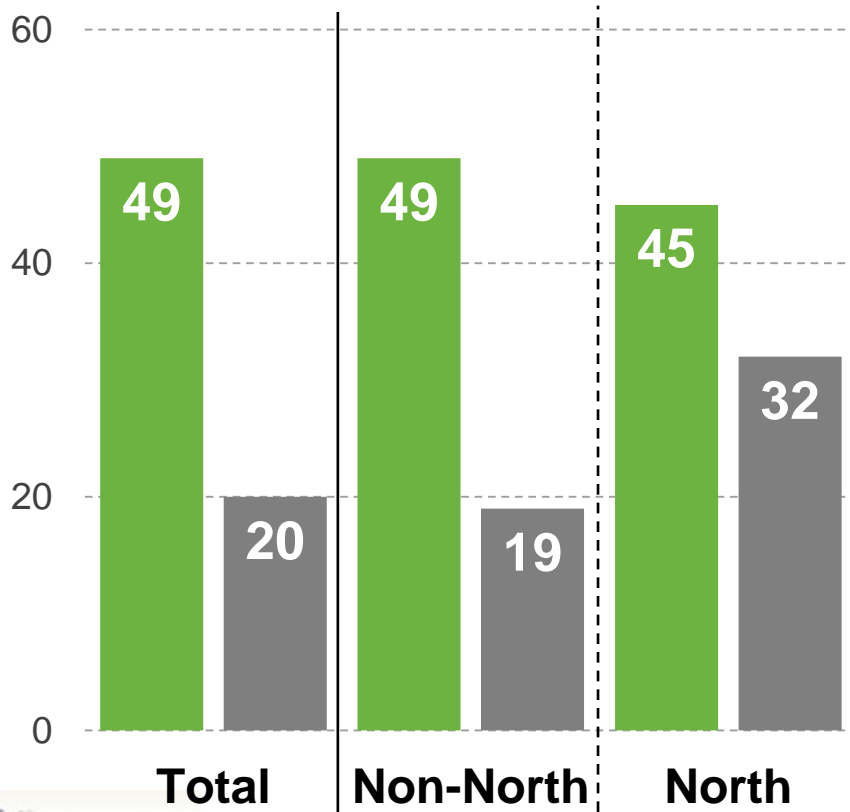
# CSOs viewed and preferred to be independent

*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?*

■ Independent ■ Affiliated

■ Independent ■ Affiliated



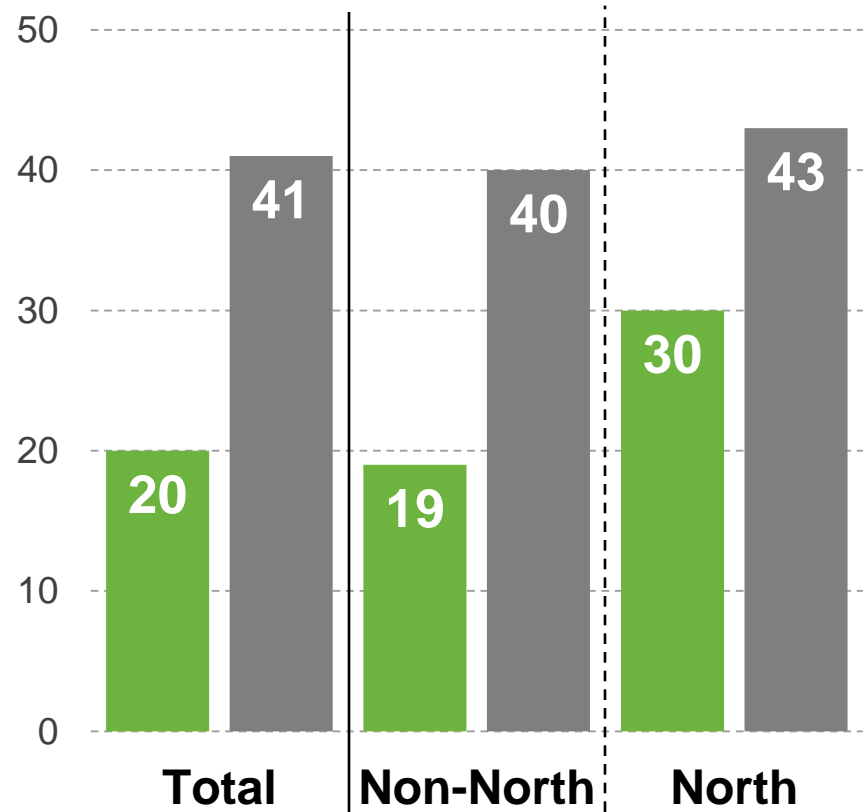
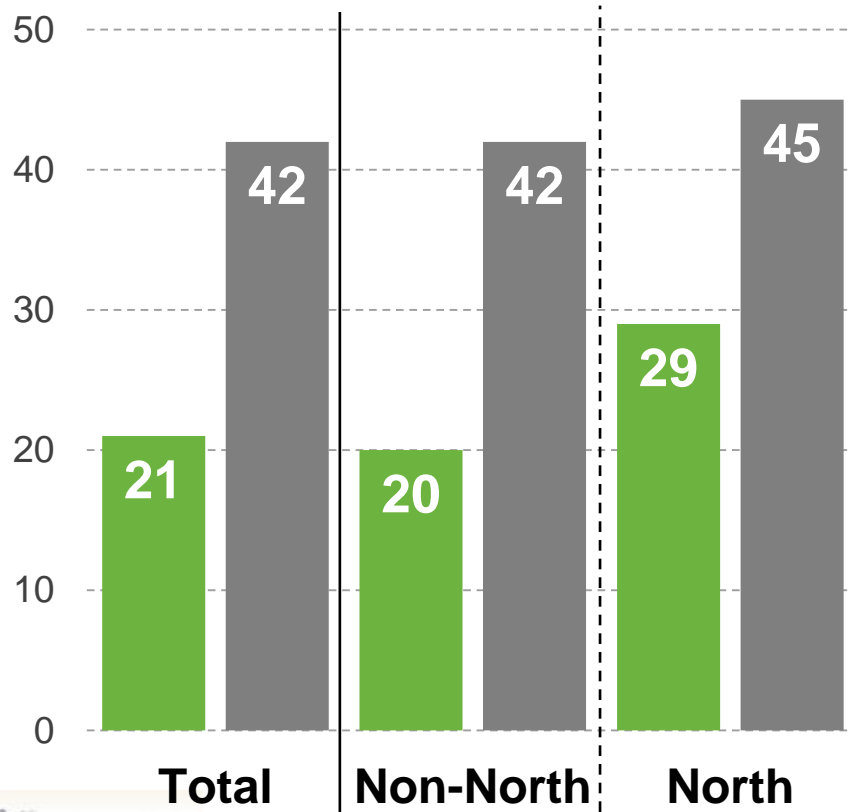
# CSOs affiliated with parties seen as less capable, influential

*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?*

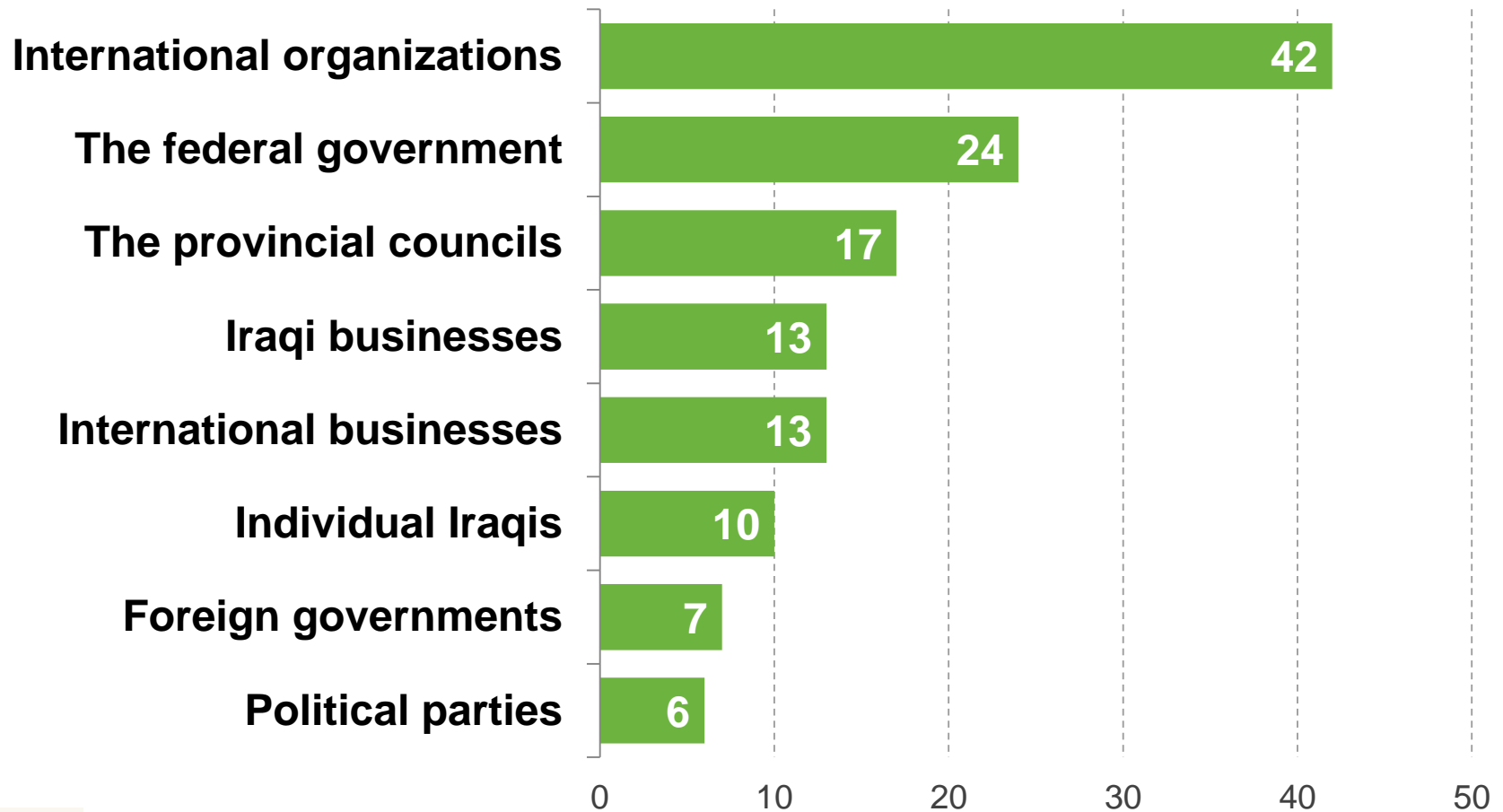
■ More capable ■ Less capable

■ More capable ■ Less capable



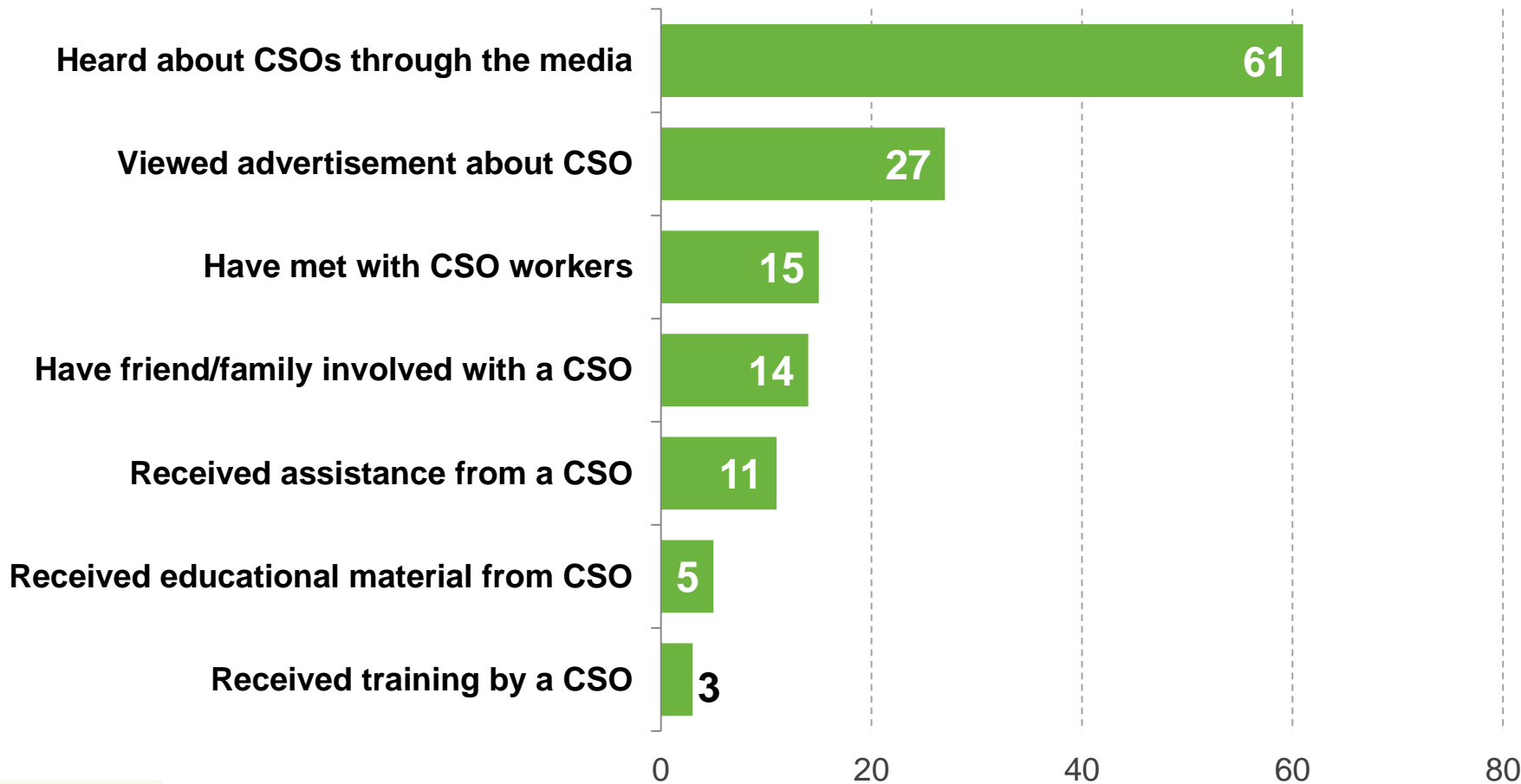
## Preference for international funding of CSOs

*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.*



# Most have heard about CSOs through the media

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



# 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?*

