

Maliki Makes Gains, but Divisions Grow

Results from the February 2013 National Survey

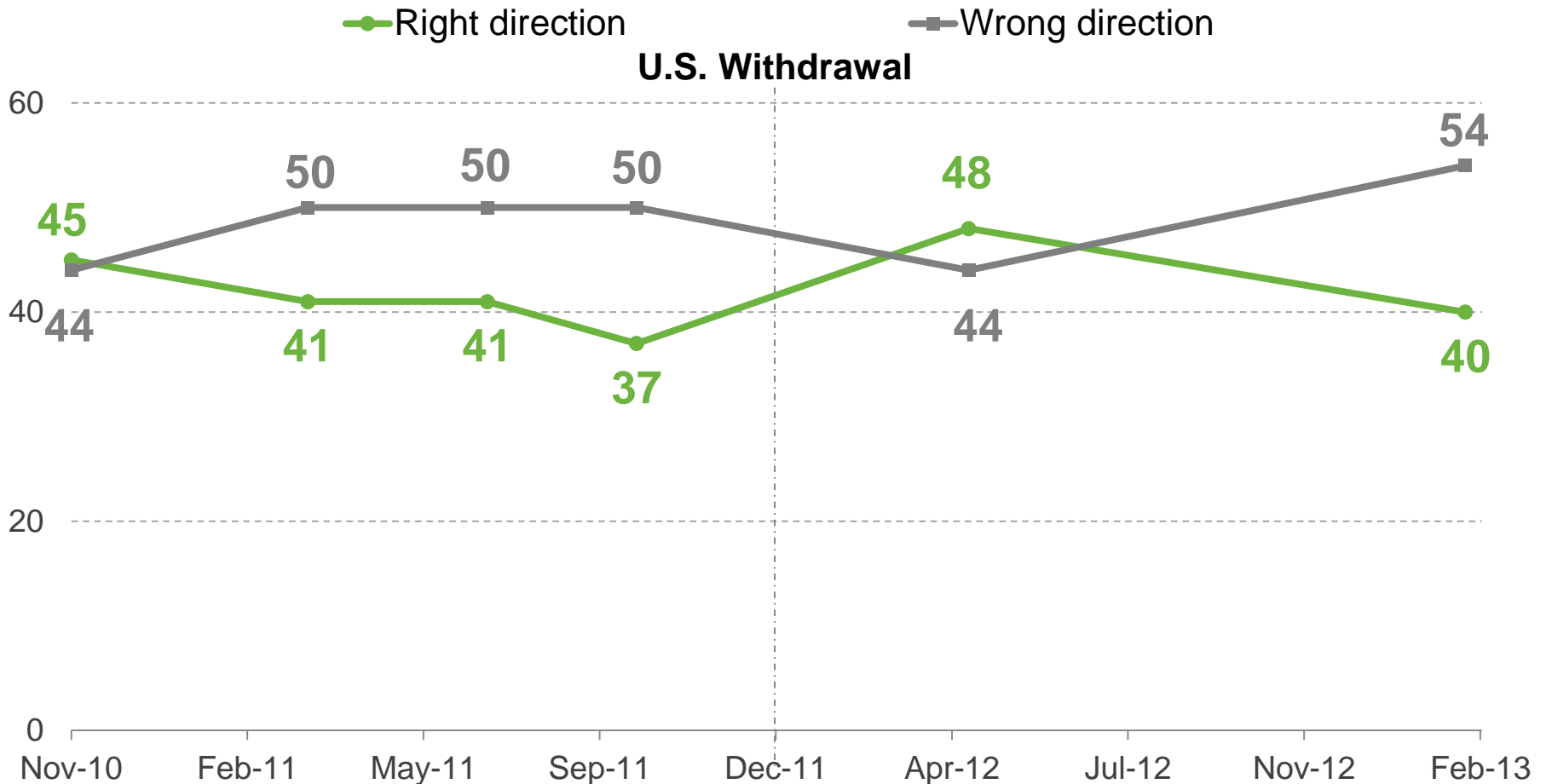
Methodology

National Survey

- **January 19 – February 10, 2013**
- **2,071 national face-to-face interviews: 500 interviews in the South and West; 501 interviews in the North; and 570 interviews in Baghdad—national results weighted representatively**
- **Margin of error +/- 2.2 percent on full sample, +/- 4.4 percent on regional samples; +/- 2.9 on total Non-North sample**

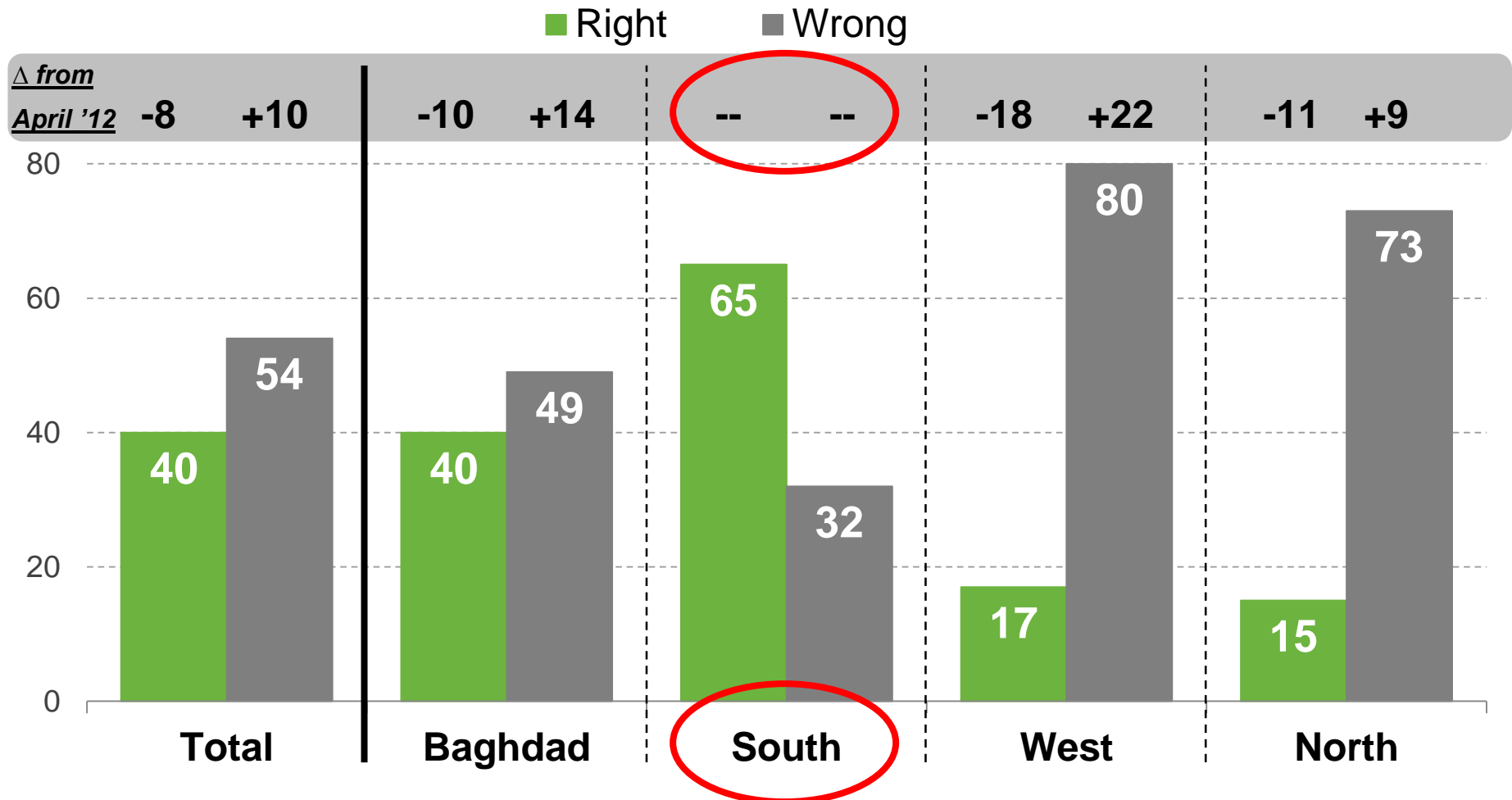
Significant jump in wrong direction

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?



Only South optimistic about 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?

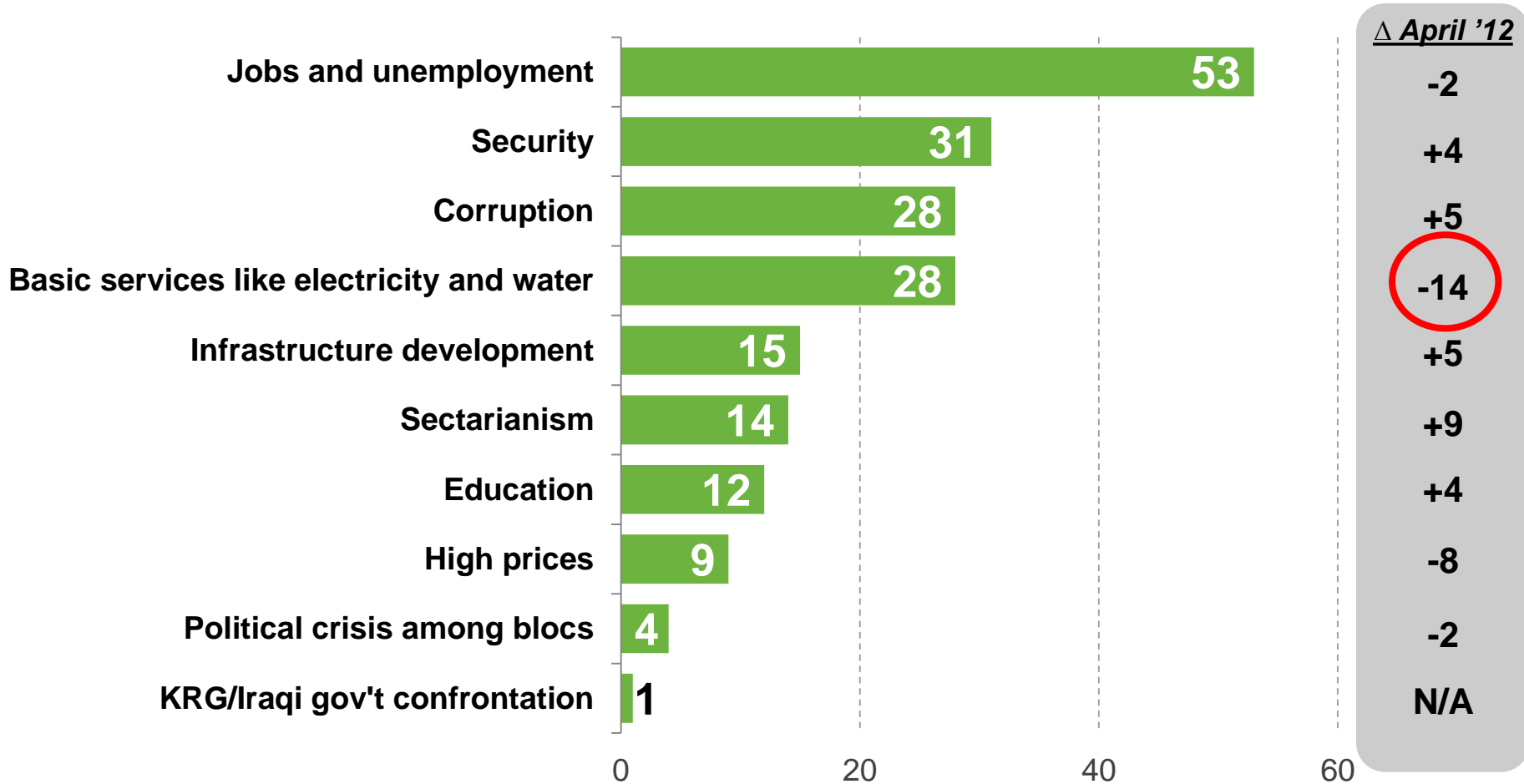


“Five critical issues that can impact the trend”

- 1. Failure to address jobs and basic services concerns**
2. Sunni insecurities intensify
3. “Disaffected Shias” shifting support
4. Ability for opposition groups to emerge and build a strategic campaign
5. North’s divisions with Baghdad intensify

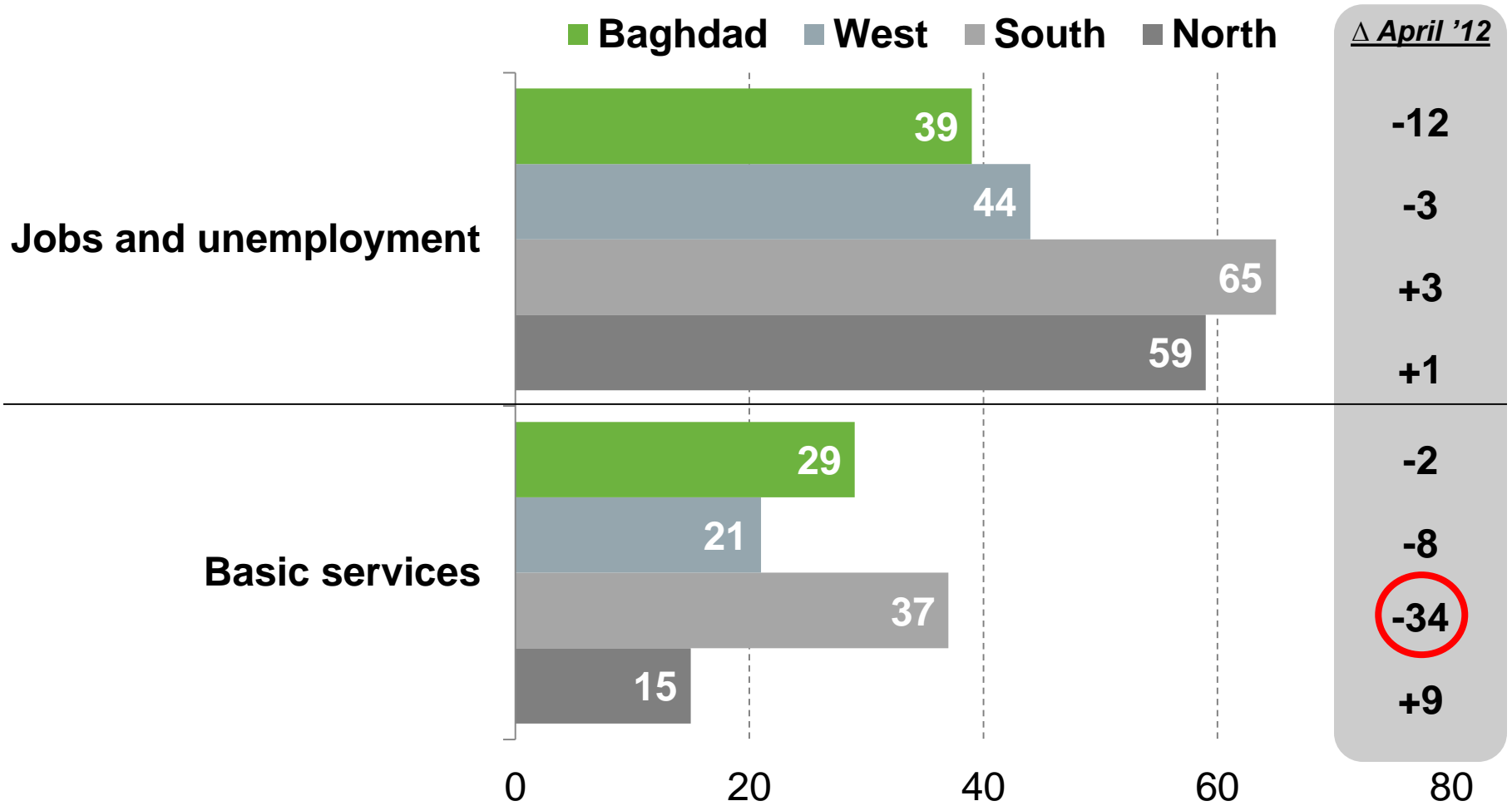
Significant drop in basic services concerns

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



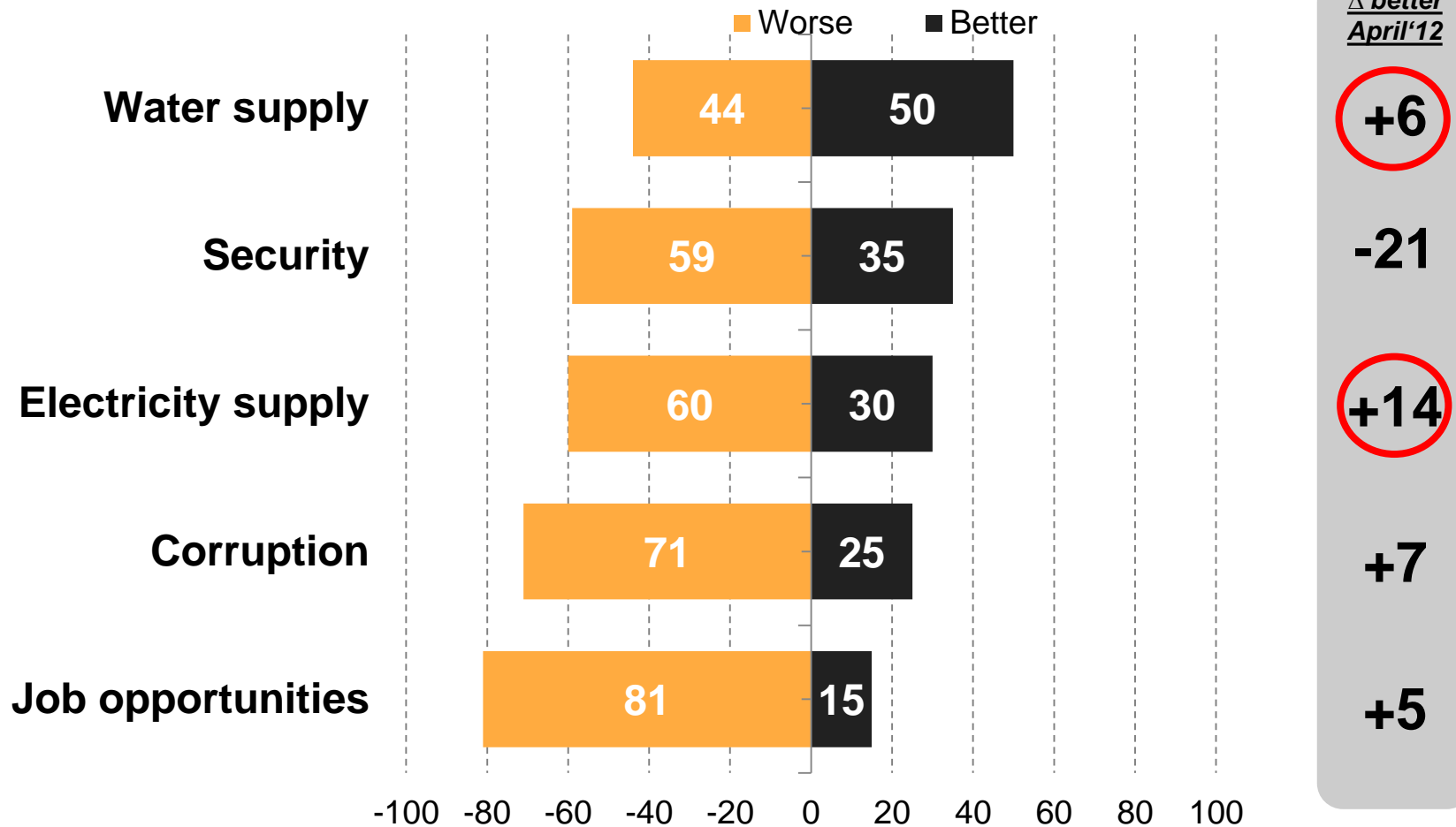
South less concerned about basic services

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



Services improve as security deteriorates | non-North

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

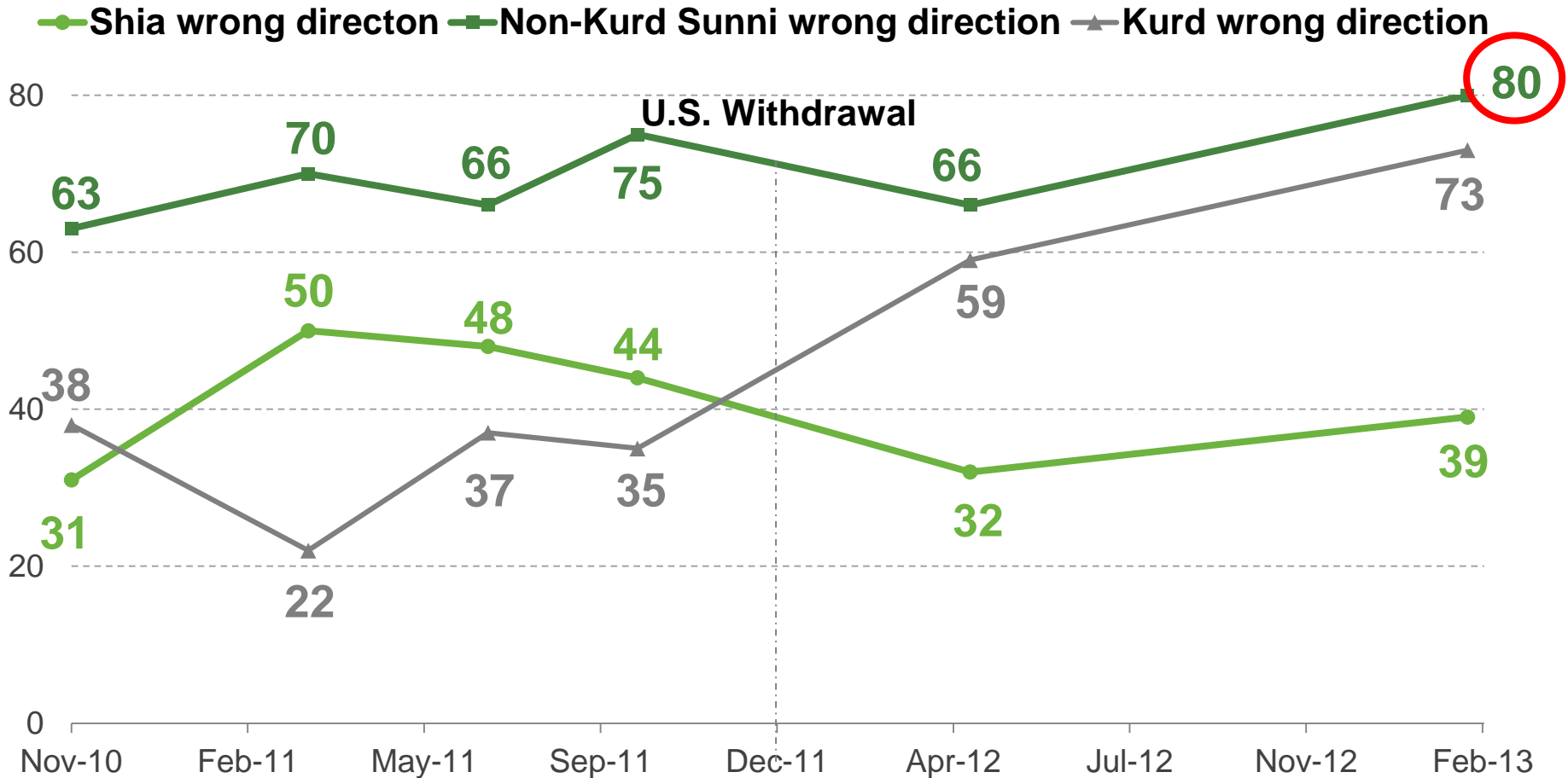


“Five critical issues that can impact the trend”

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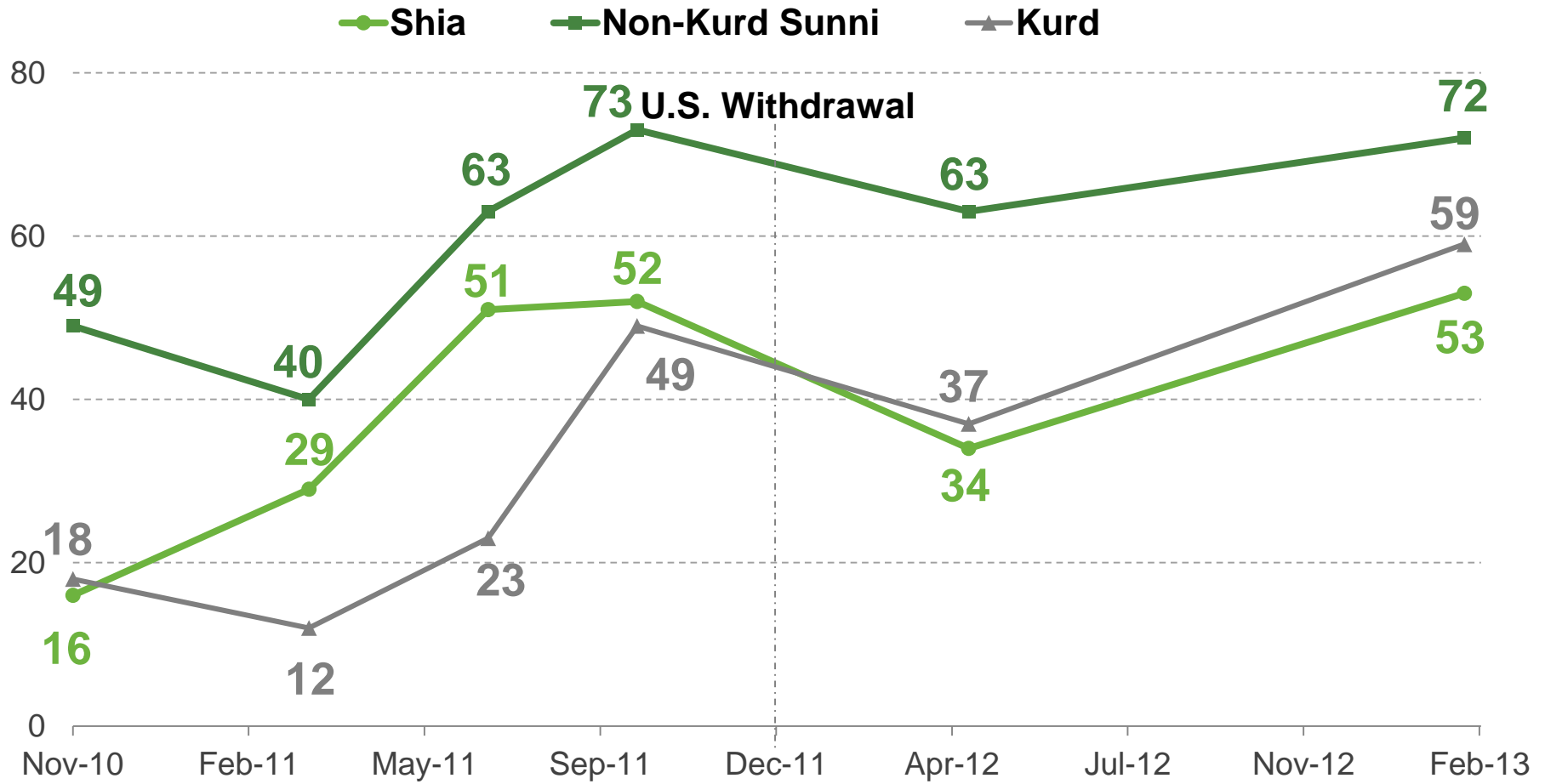
Sunni record high wrong direction

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? (**WRONG DIRECTION ONLY**)



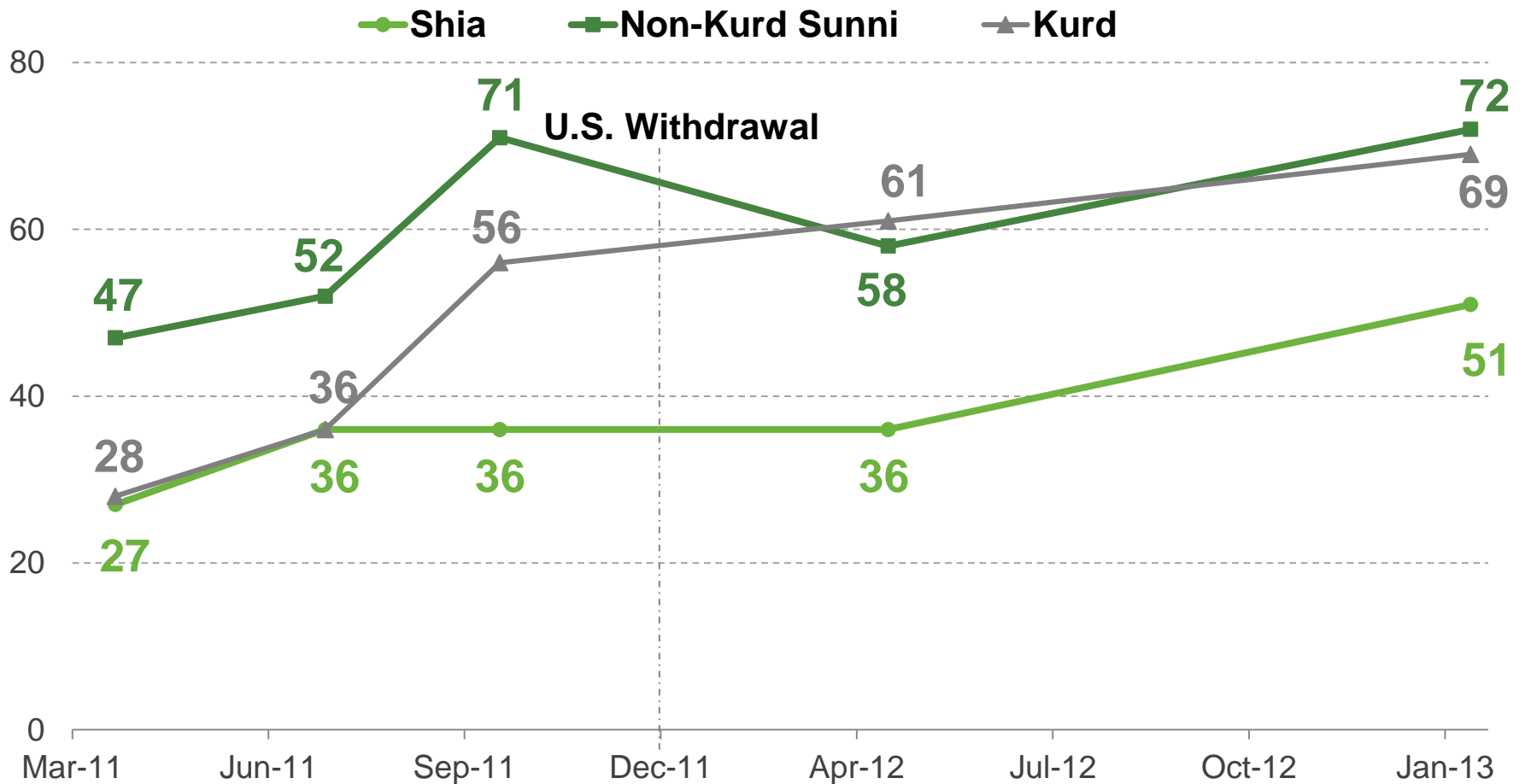
Security situation perceived as significantly worsening

Please tell me if you think **security** is getting better or worse in Iraq. (WORSE ONLY)



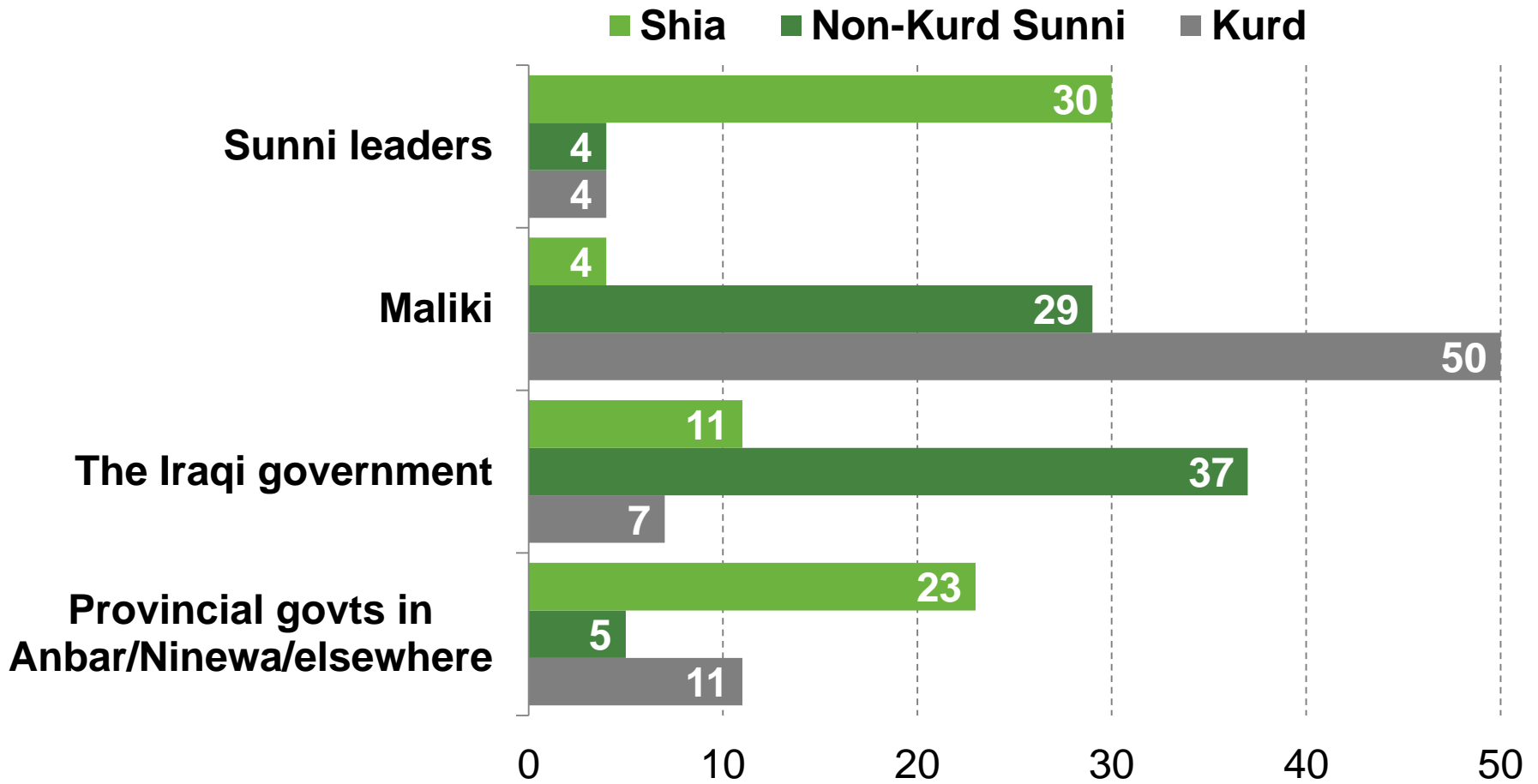
And sectarianism also perceived as worsening

Please tell me if you think **sectarianism** is getting better or worse in Iraq. (WORSE ONLY)



Blame for tensions show sectarian divisions

As you may know, tensions have recently elevated in Anbar, Ninewa, and elsewhere, including some public protests. Given what you know about these recent events, who do you think is most to blame for these elevated tensions? (OPEN-ENDED)

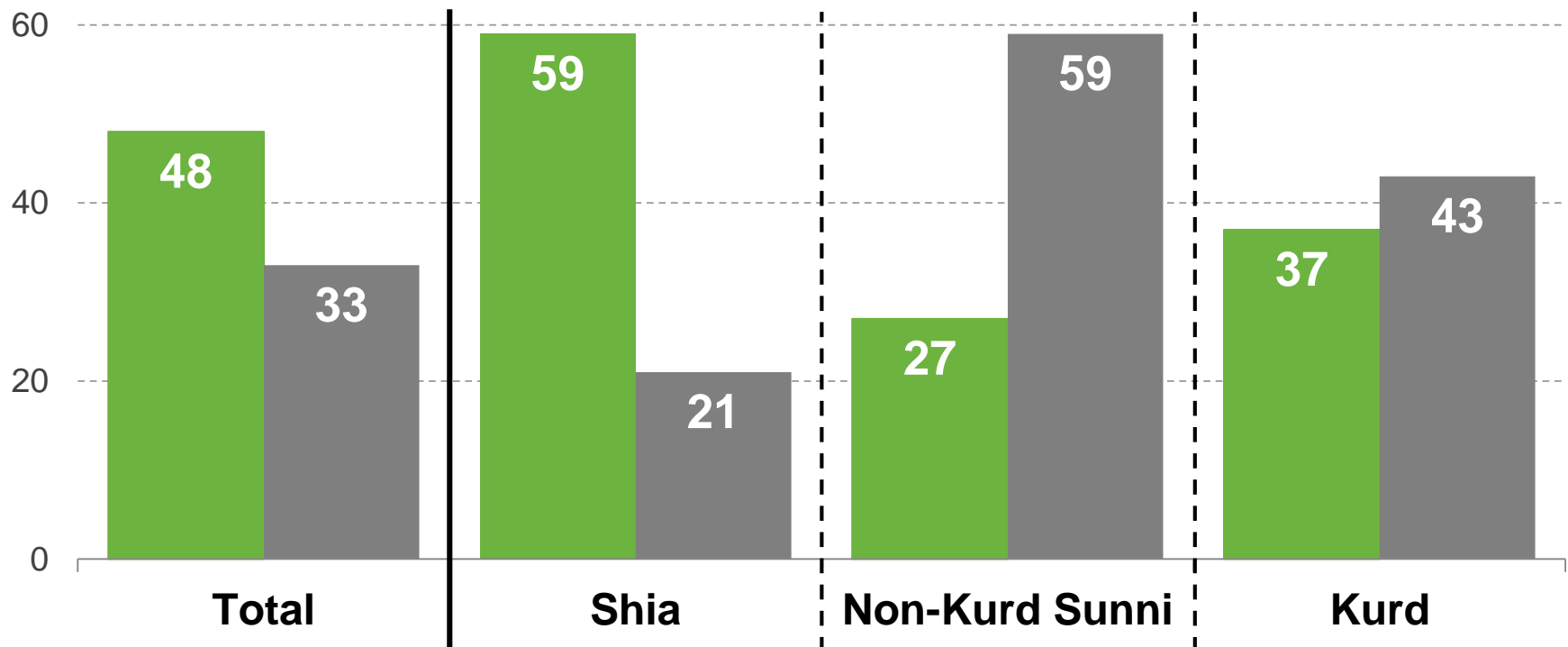


Sunni preference for tribe over government

I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

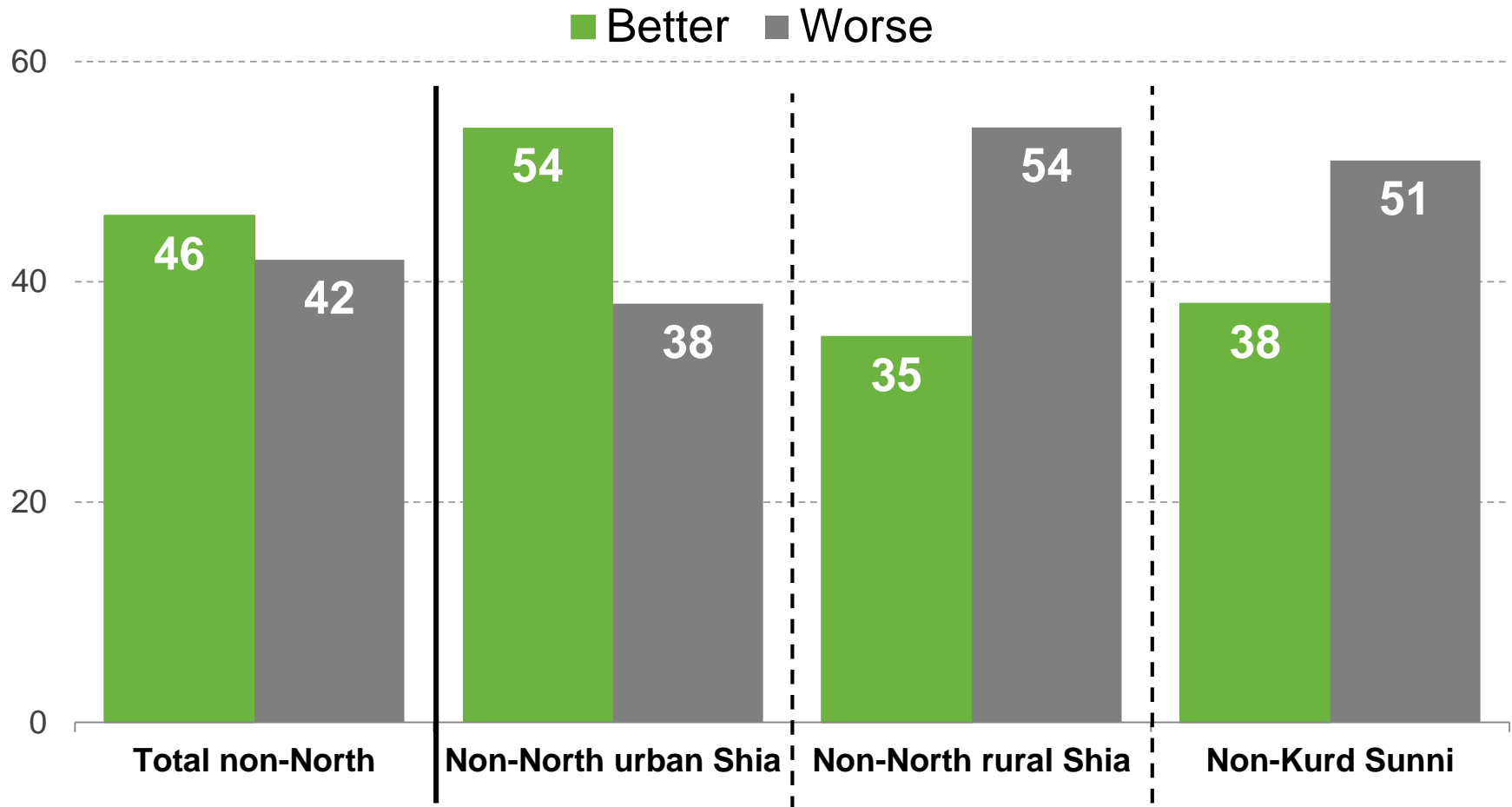
Statement 1: I prefer to vote for a candidate that has **close ties to the Iraqi government.**

Statement 2: I prefer to vote for a candidate that has **close ties to my local tribe.**



Only urban Shia see sectarian relations getting better

Please tell me if you think **relations between Sunnis and Shia** are getting better or worse in Iraq. (NON-NORTH ONLY)

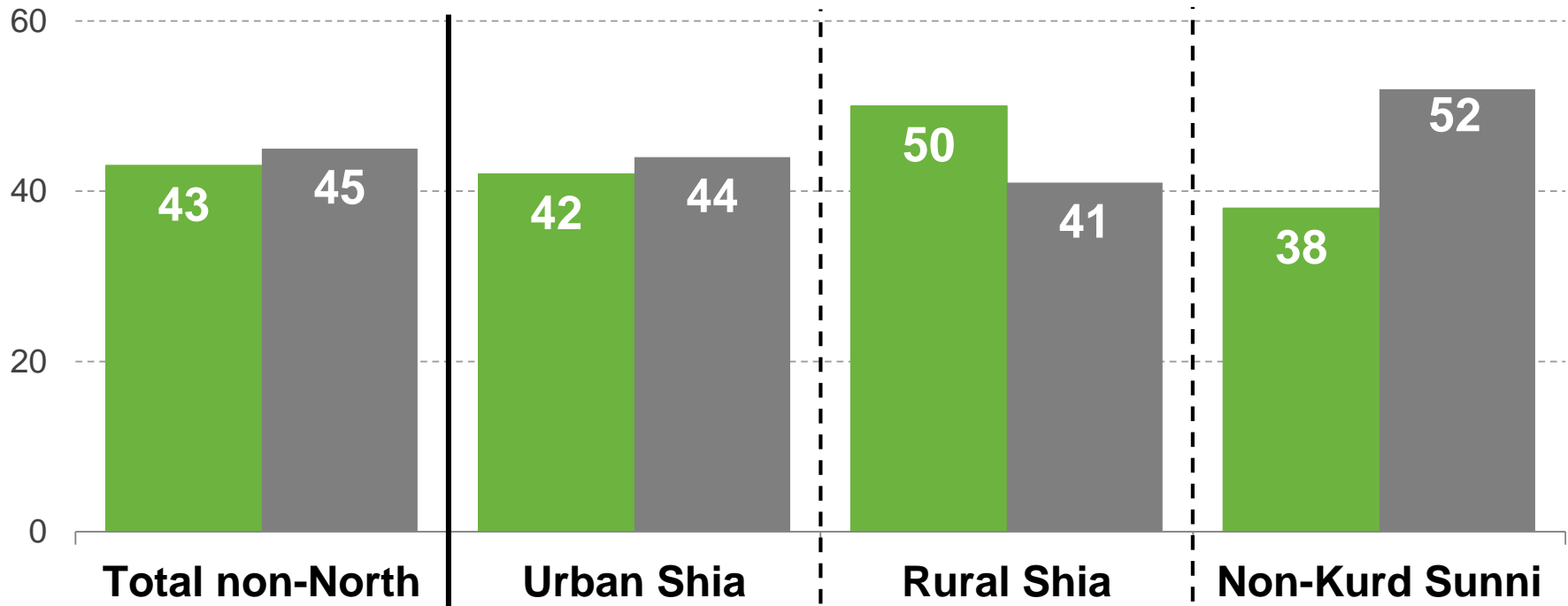


Majority of rural Shia prefer supporting own sect

I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view. (NON-NORTH ONLY)

Statement 1: I prefer to support a party that has candidates mostly from my religious sect.

Statement 2: I prefer to support a party that has a mix of candidates from different religious sects.



“Five critical issues that can impact the trend”

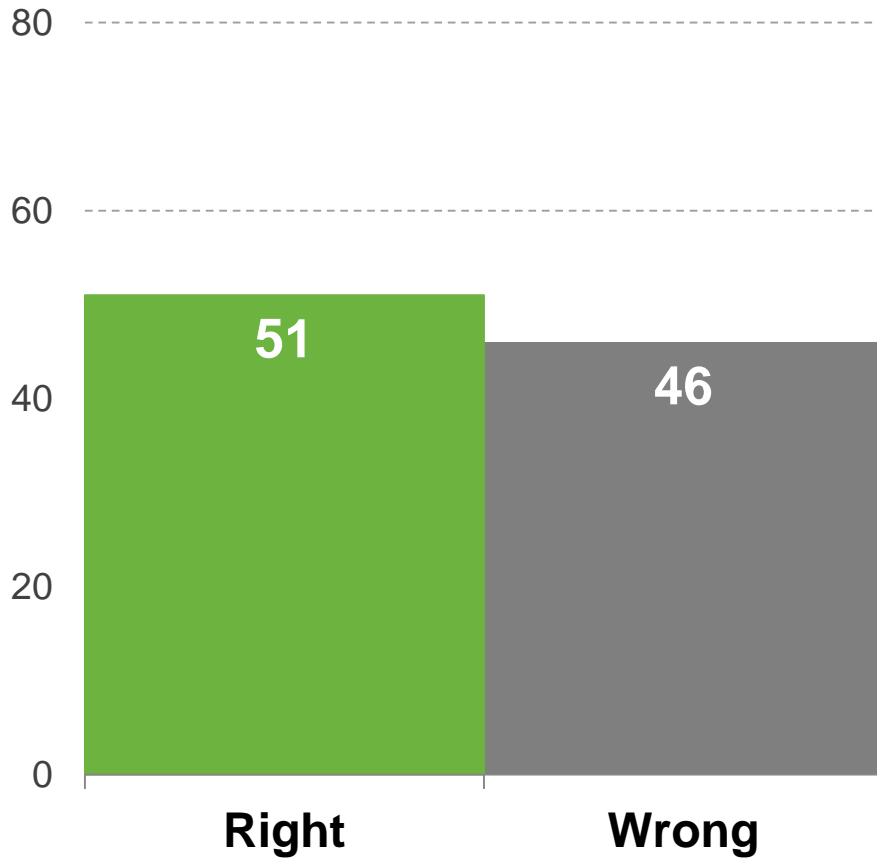
1. Failure to address jobs and basic services concerns
2. Sunni insecurities intensify
- 3. “Disaffected Shias” shifting support**
4. Ability for opposition groups to emerge and build a strategic campaign
5. North’s divisions with Baghdad intensify

Formerly “Disaffected Shia” defined

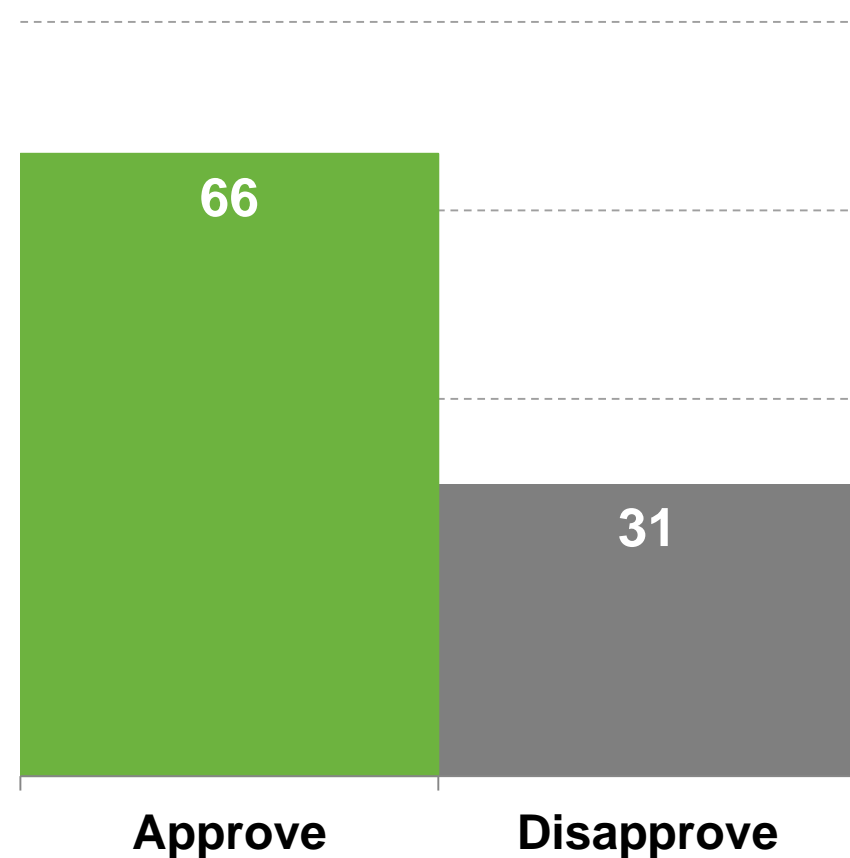
- **“Disaffected Shia” = Demographic group that has shown previous frustration with Maliki and the government and openness to supporting Sadr**
 - **Urban**
 - **Earn under 400,000 dinar/month**
 - **15 percent of total sample**

Formerly “disaffected Shia” positive about country, Maliki

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?



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

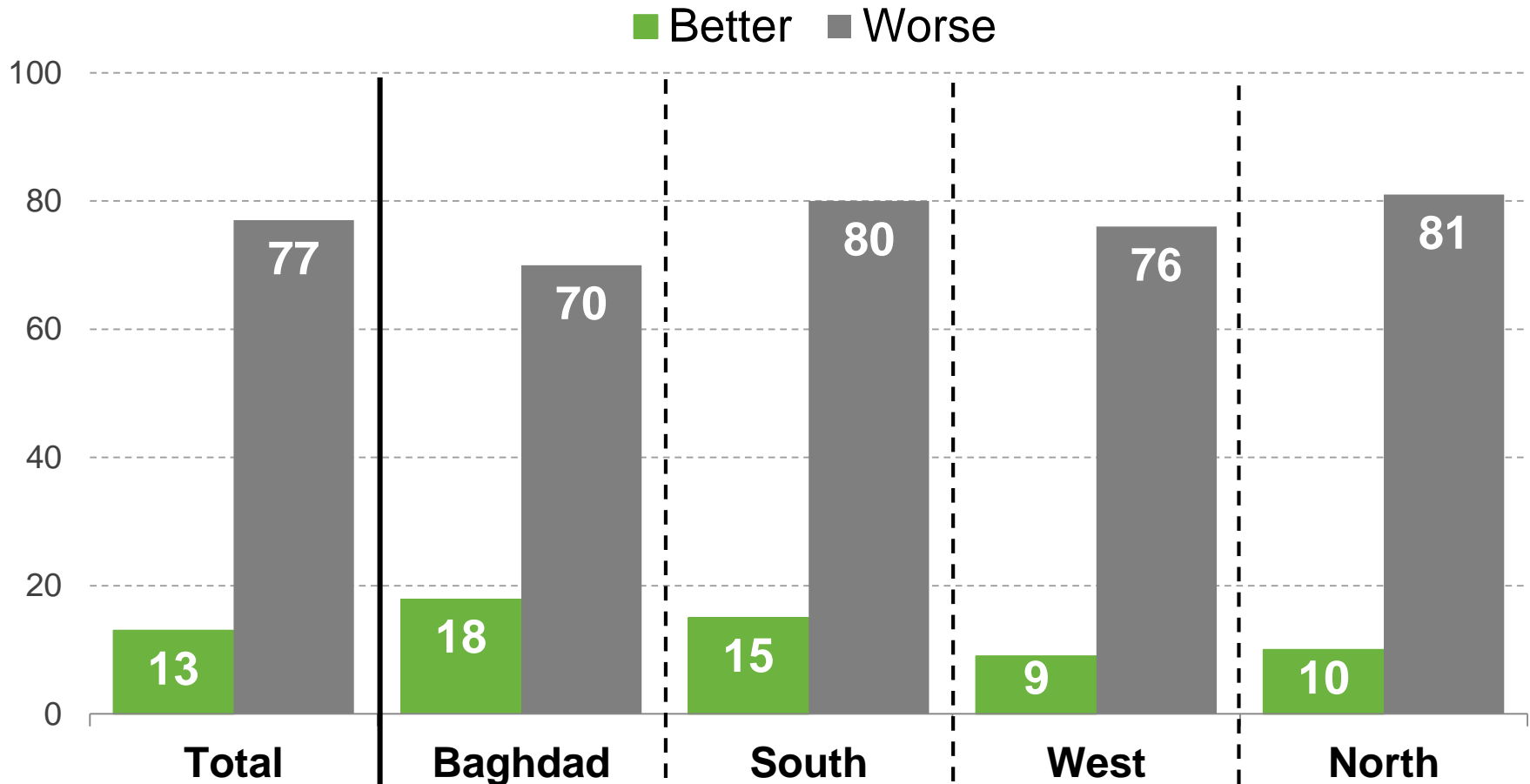


“Five critical issues that can impact the trend”

1. Failure to address jobs and basic services concerns
2. Sunni insecurities intensify
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5. North’s divisions with Baghdad intensify

Perceptions of worsening relations among political blocs

Please tell me if you think **relations among the major political blocs** are getting better or worse in Iraq.



“Five critical issues that can impact the trend”

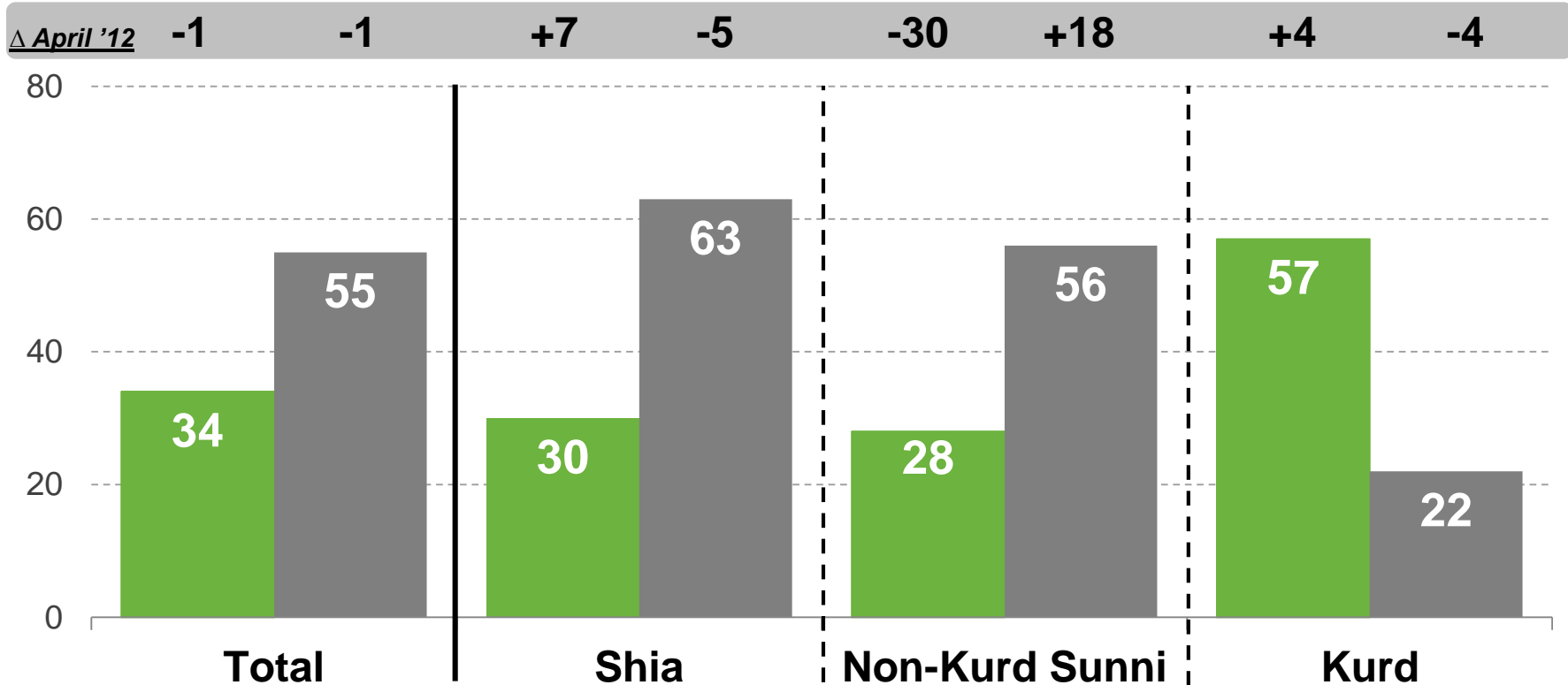
1. Failure to address jobs and basic services concerns
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Majority of Kurds see Iraq as “divided country”

I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

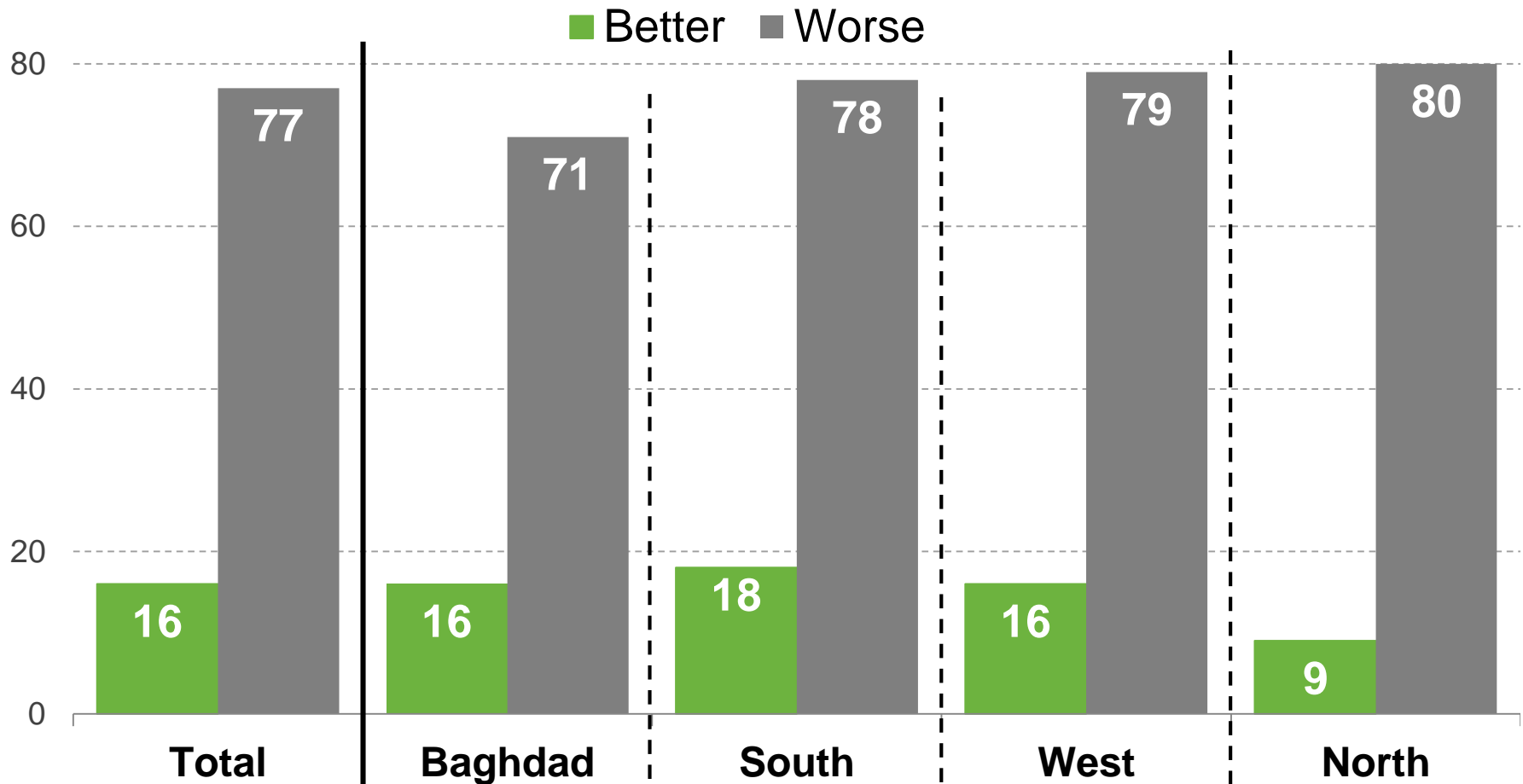
Statement 1: Iraq is mostly a divided country.

Statement 2: Iraq is mostly a unified country.



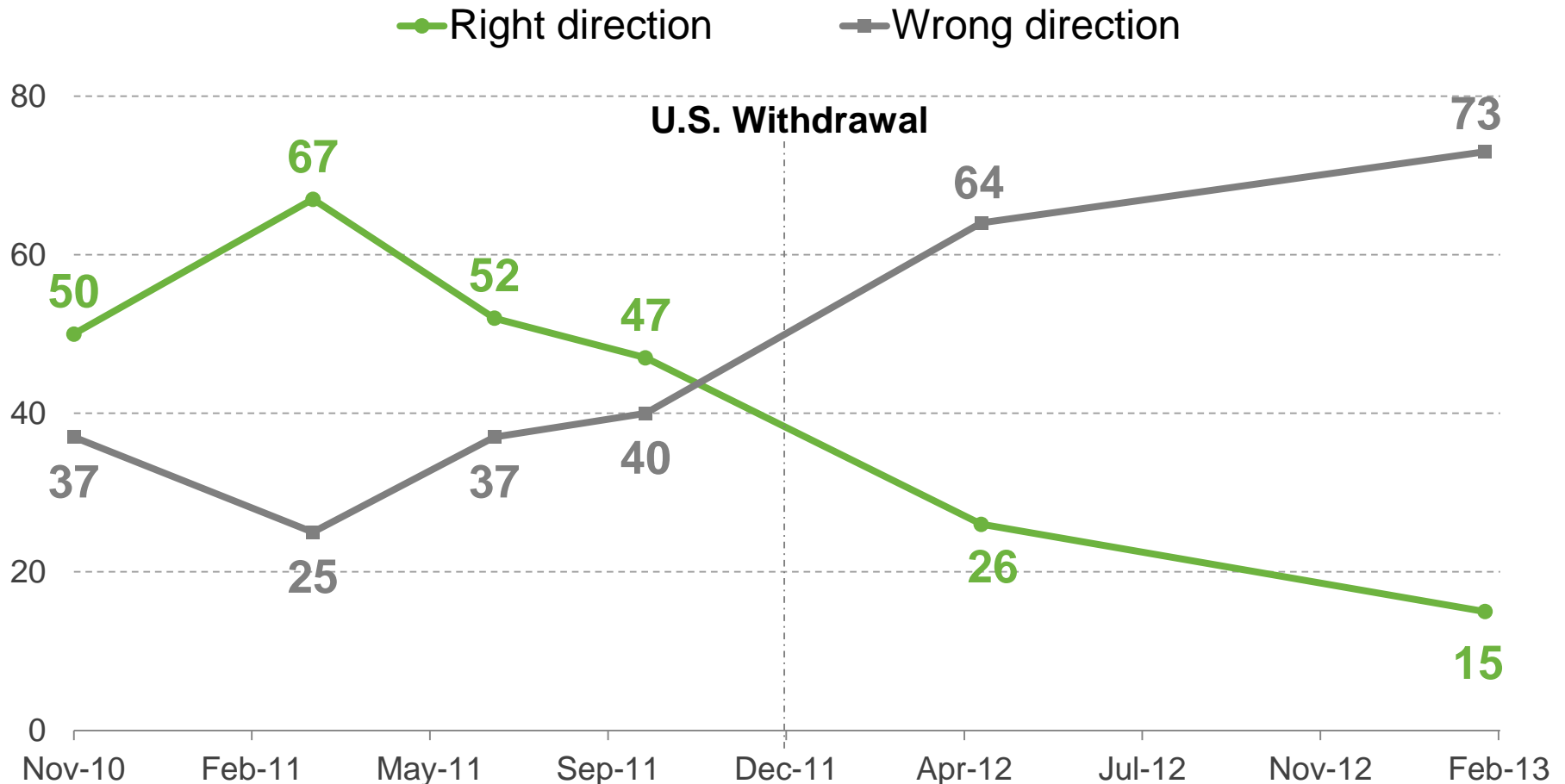
Tensions between North and South viewed as worsening

Please tell me if you think **tensions between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the Iraqi government** is getting better or worse in Iraq.



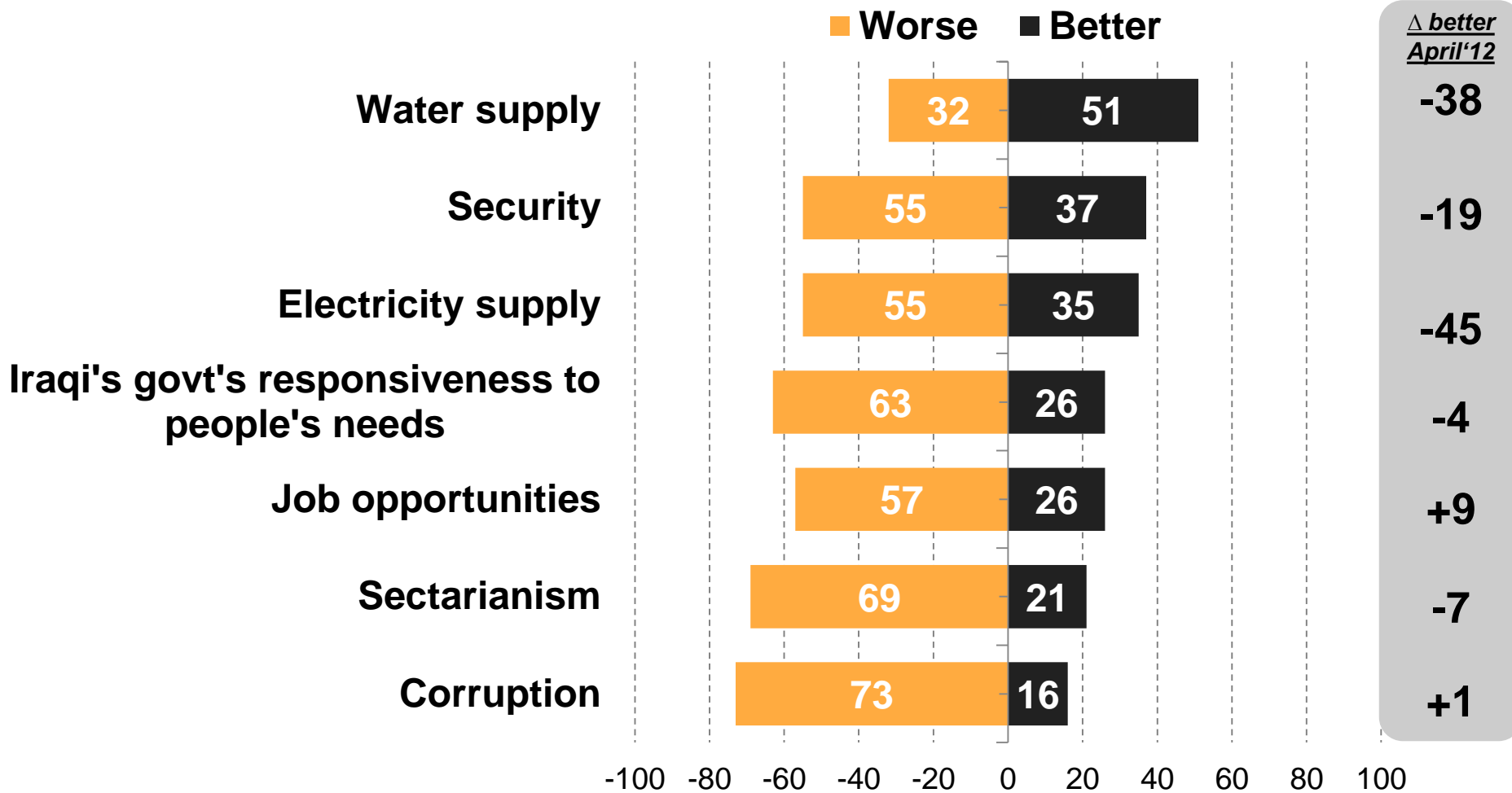
North's perception of Iraq's direction continues to worsen

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? (NORTH ONLY)



Significant shift in North perceptions | North only

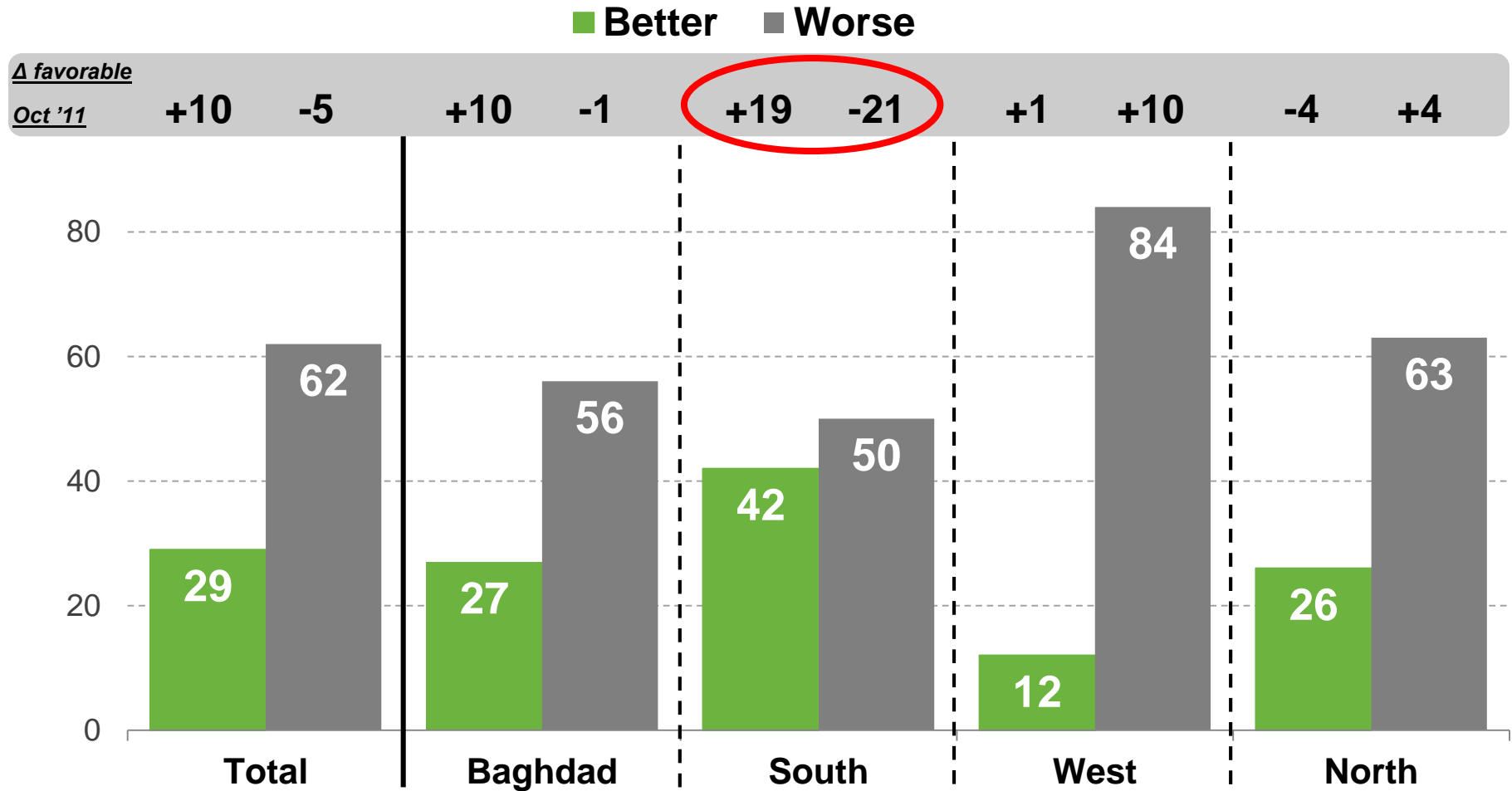
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



As Divisions Deepen, Maliki Benefits Politically

Government responsiveness improving, but still weak

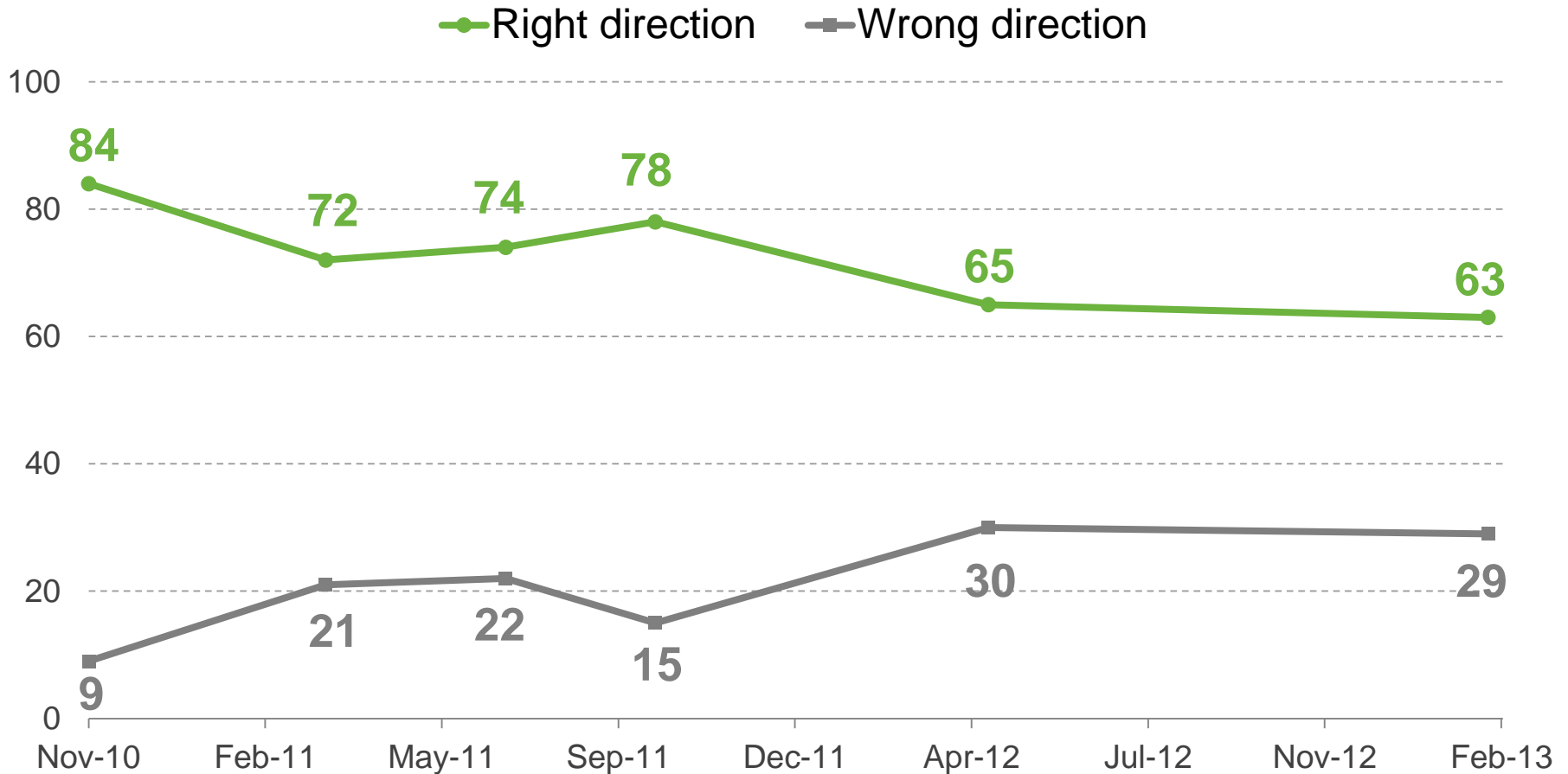
Please tell me if you think *the Iraqi government's responsiveness to the people's needs* is getting better or worse in Iraq.



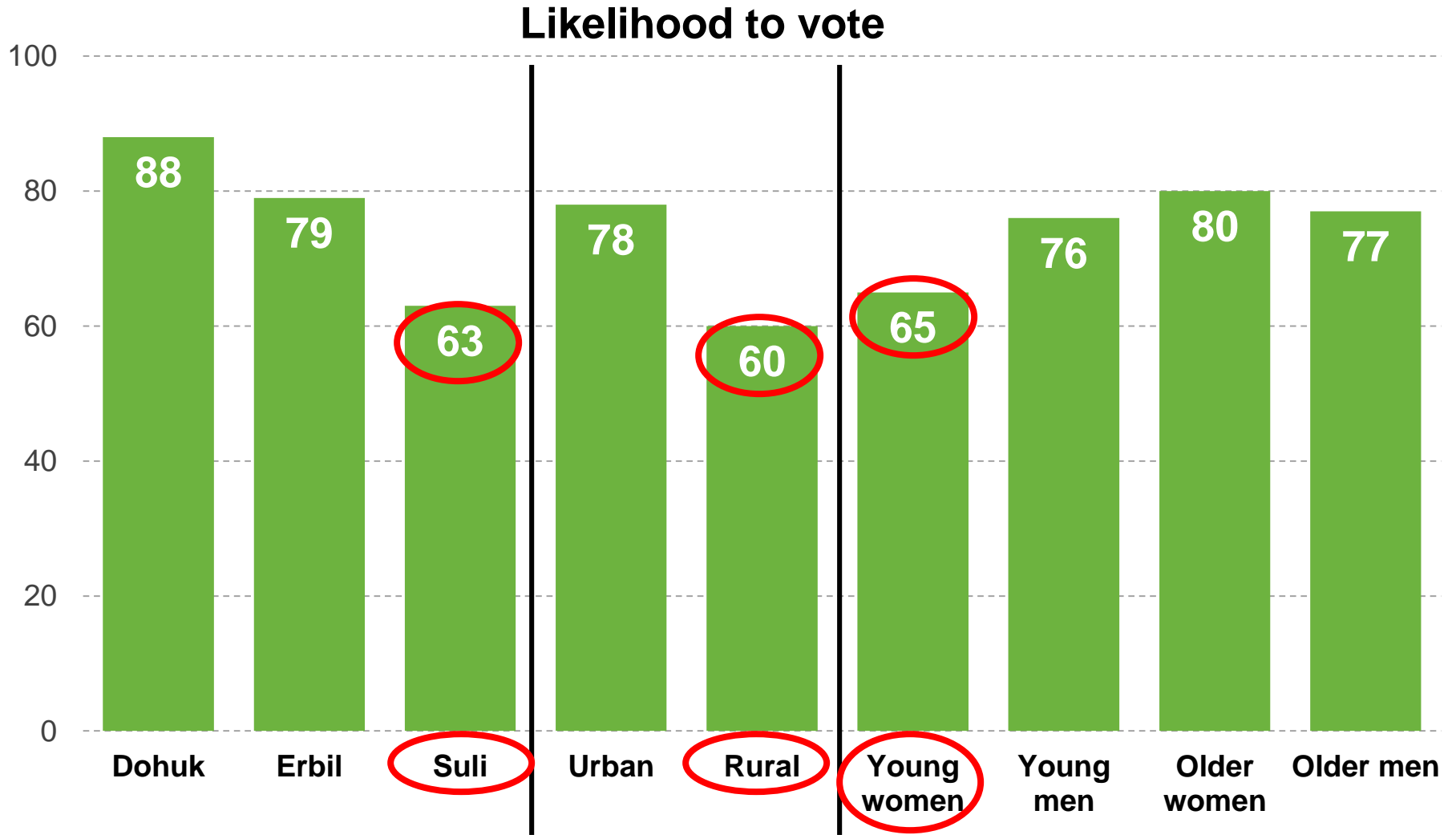
North Rally Around Current Leadership

Majority in North still see *Kurdistan* in right direction

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

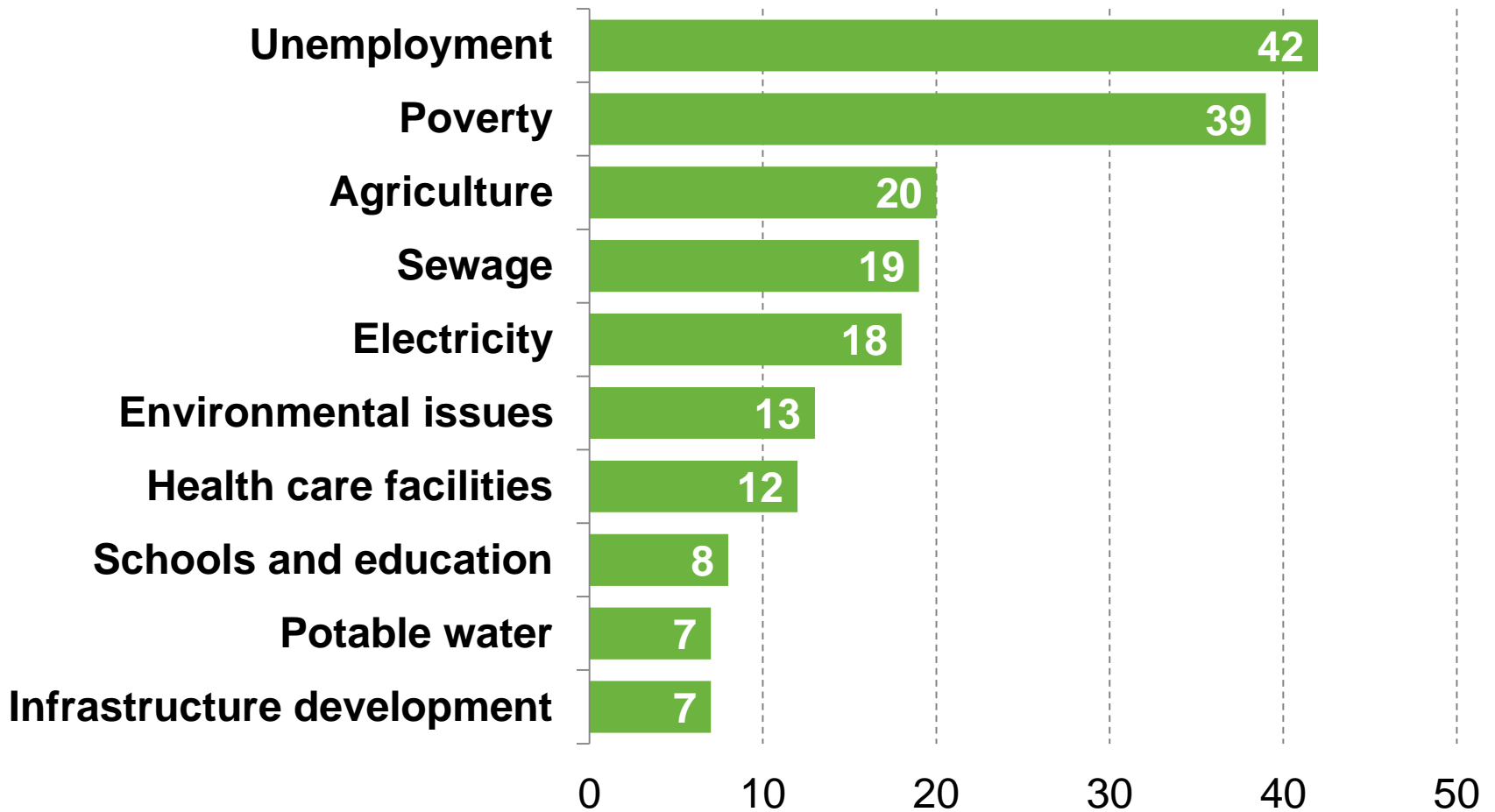


Turnout will play a large role in regional elections | North only



Unemployment and poverty top the North local concerns

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



Provincial Elections

Provincial elections

- 1. Provincial elections likely to showcase national mood**
2. Although voters suggest they vote on local issues, national views weigh heavily
3. Strengthen parties with ties to youth and women candidates
4. Keys to running an effective campaign

Voters say they focus on governorate when voting

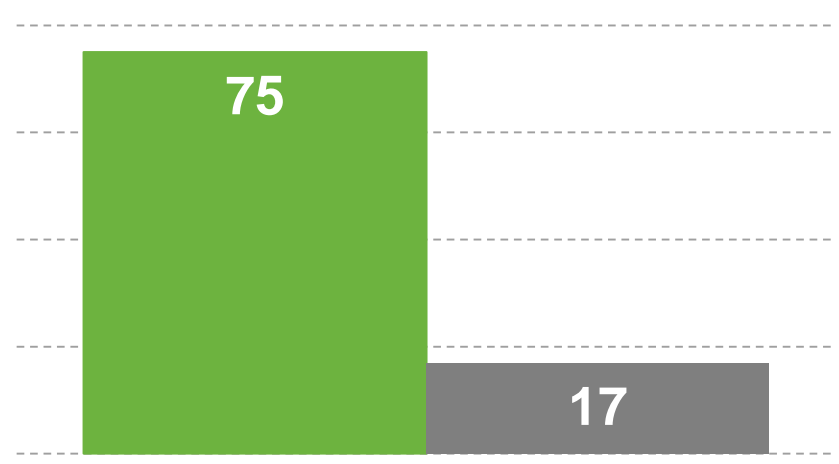
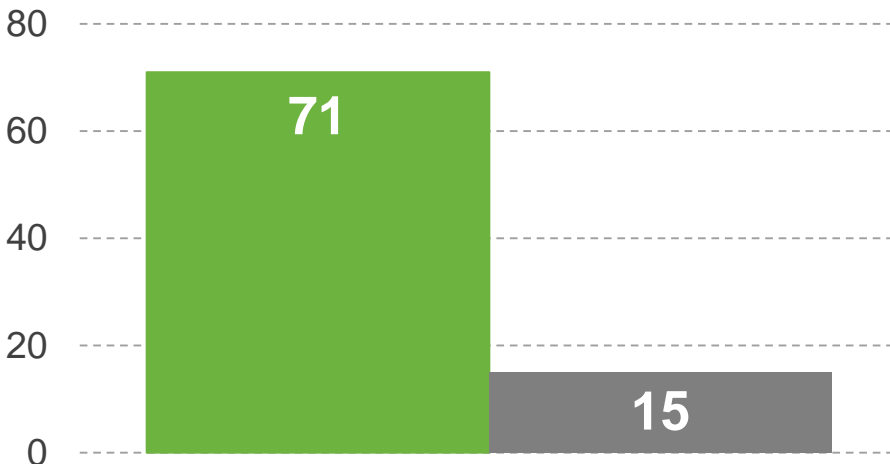
I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the Provincial Council/Regional elections. For each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Statement 1: I believe Provincial Council/regional elections are **mostly about improving my governorate/region.**

Statement 2: I believe Provincial Council/regional elections are **mostly about sending a message to the Iraqi government.**

Statement 1: When deciding who to support in the Provincial Council, I vote based more on who I think can **improve the governorate I live in.**

Statement 2: When deciding who to support in the Provincial Council elections, I vote based more on **how political parties are performing at the national level.**

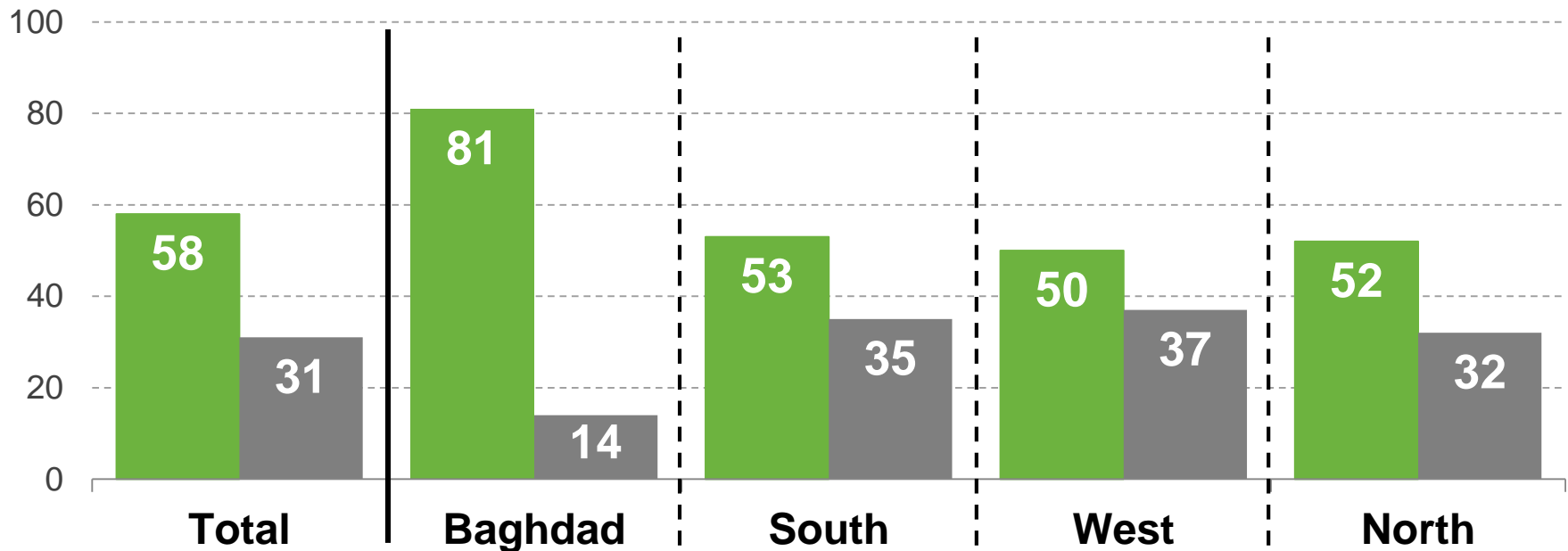


But party loyalty for both national and provincial elections

I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the Provincial Council/Regional elections. For each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Statement 1: I'm likely to support **the same political party** in national parliamentary elections and Provincial Council elections.

Statement 2: I'm open to voting for **different political parties** in the national parliamentary elections and the Provincial Council elections.

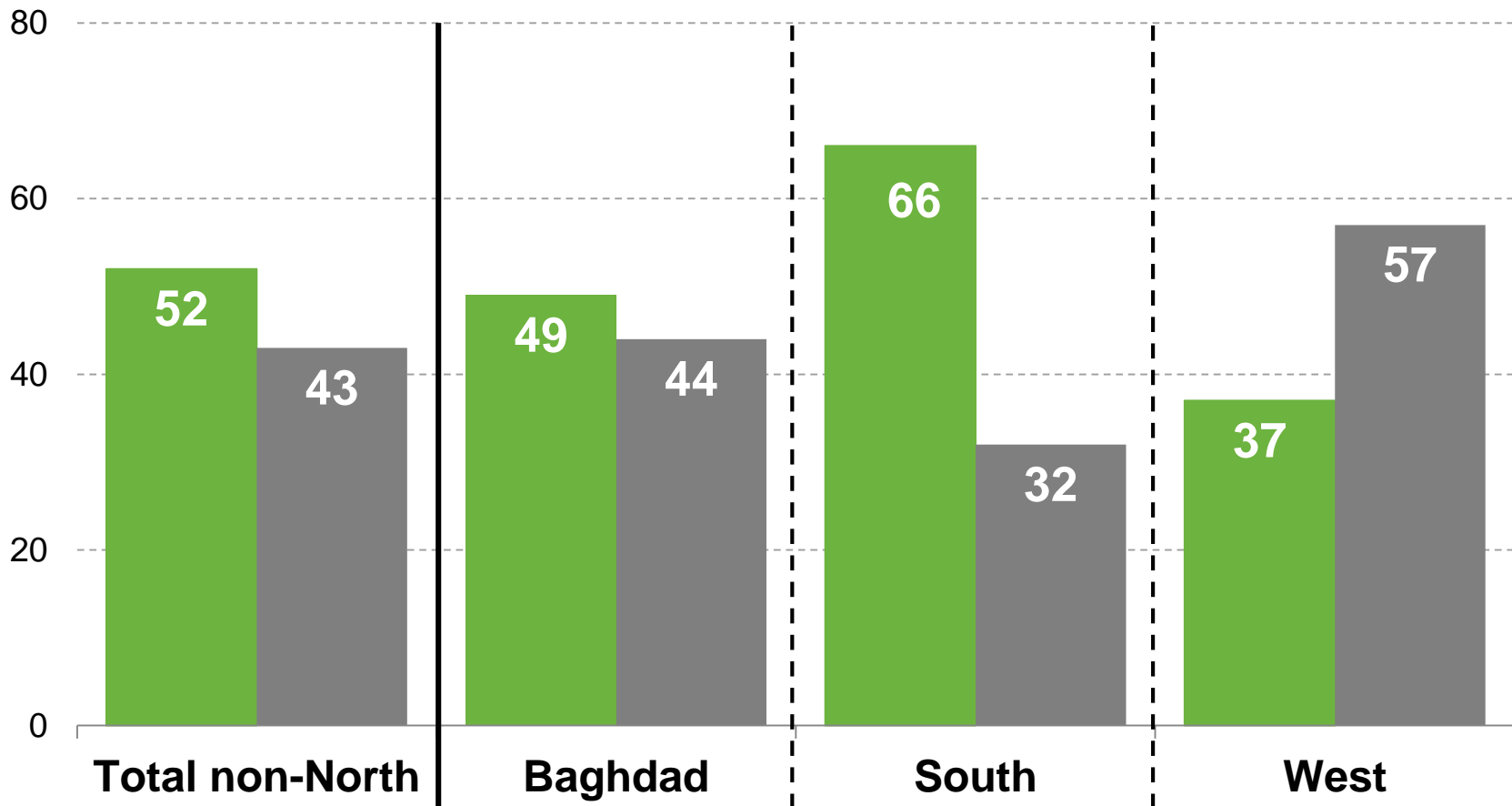


Provincial elections

1. Provincial elections likely to showcase national mood
- 2. Provincial elections likely to favor incumbents**
3. Strengthen parties with ties to youth and women candidates
4. Keys to running an effective campaign

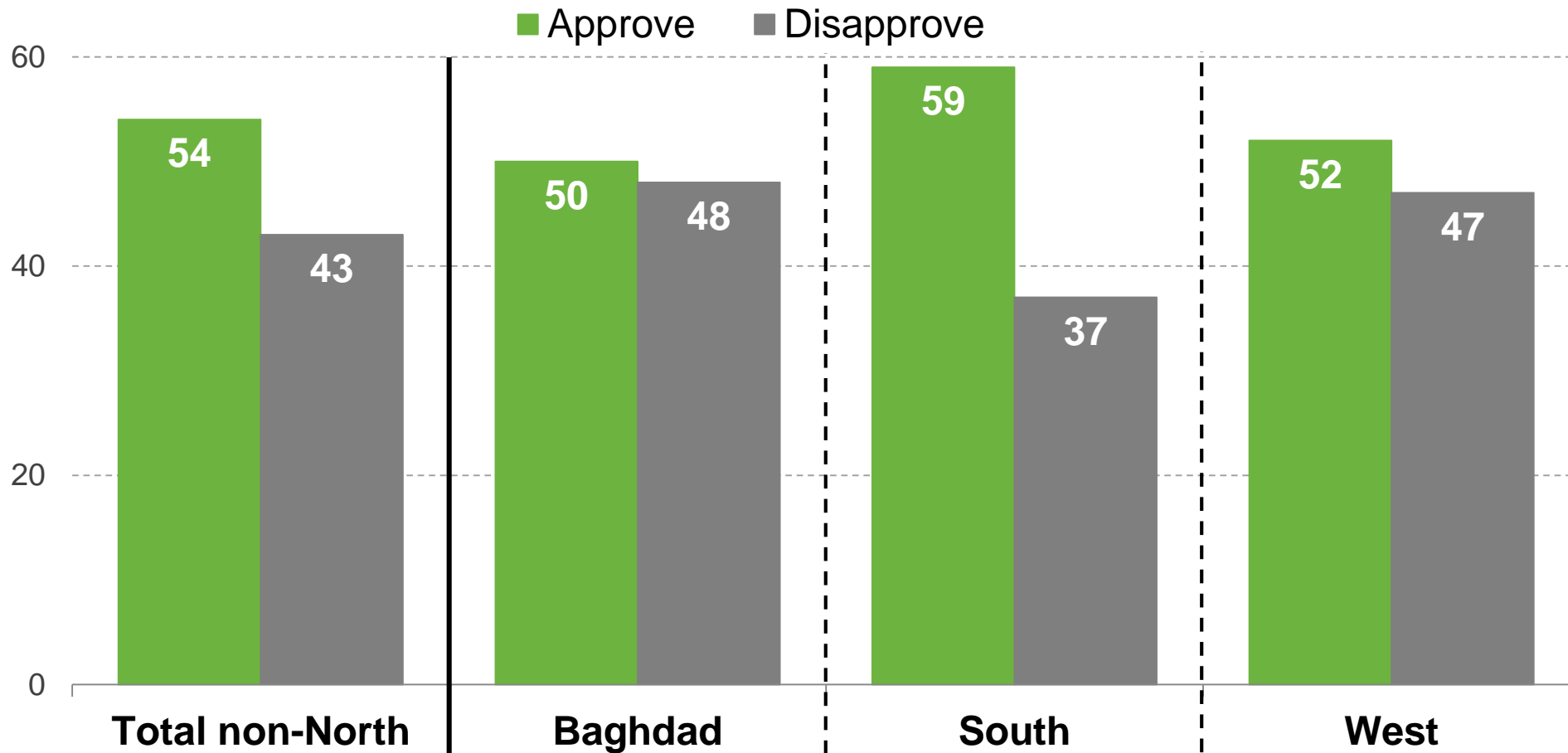
Provincial government generally viewed as responsive

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think **your provincial government's responsiveness to the people's needs is** getting better or worse in Iraq. (NON-NORTH ONLY)



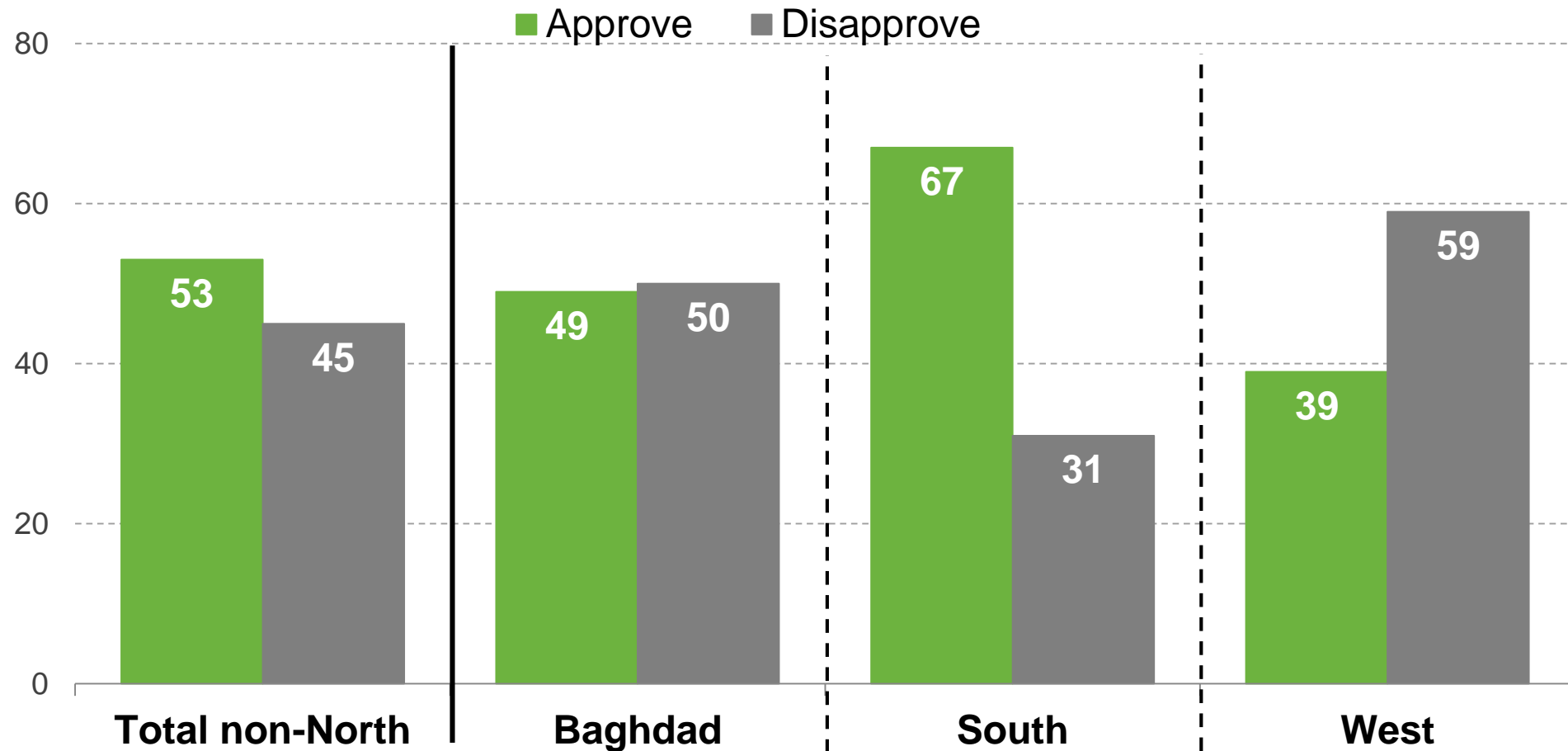
And impressive job approval of Provincial Governors

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job (GOVERNOR) is doing as governor of (PROVINCE)? (NON-NORTH ONLY)



And high job approval of Provincial Councils

*Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job your Provincial Council is doing?
(NON-NORTH ONLY)*

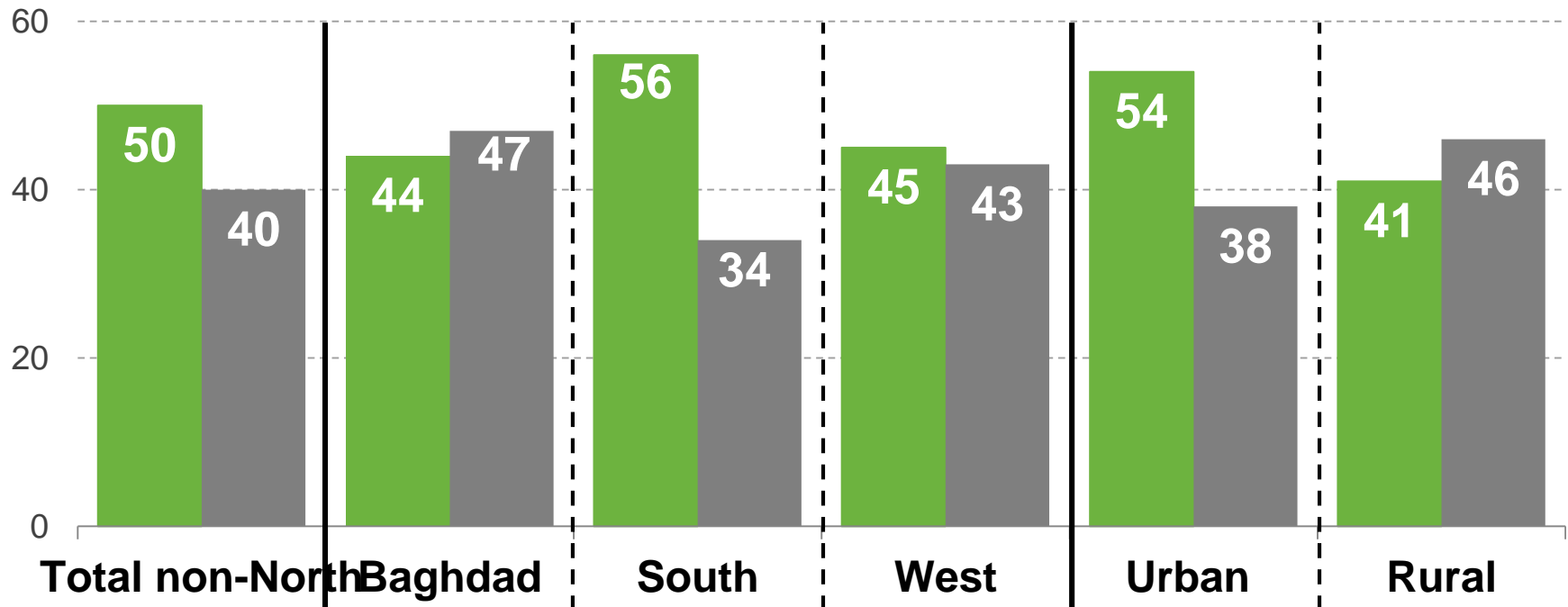


And general desire to continue in current governor's direction

I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view. (NON-NORTH ONLY)

Statement 1: I want to **continue in the direction** (GOVERNOR) is taking the province.

Statement 2: I want to **go in a very different direction** than (GOVERNOR) is taking the province.



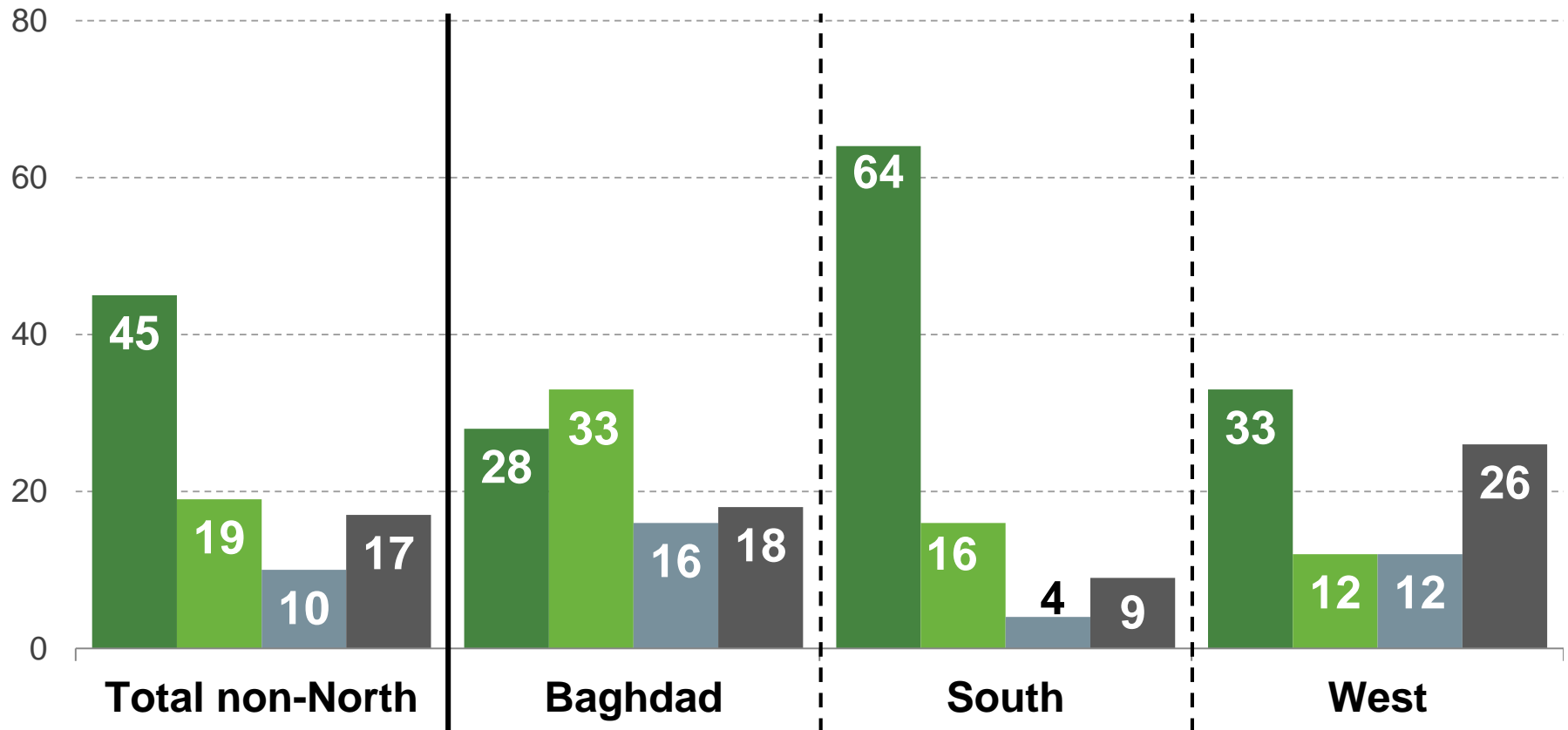
Provincial elections

1. Provincial elections likely to showcase national mood
2. Provincial elections likely to favor incumbents
- 3. Strengthen parties with ties to youth and women candidates**
4. Keys to running an effective campaign

Provincial vote driven mostly by candidates and parties

When deciding which party or candidate to support in the Provincial Council/Regional elections, what is the most important: the individual candidates, the political party, or the political party's policies? (NON-NORTH ONLY)

■ Individual candidates ■ The political party ■ The political party's policies ■ All

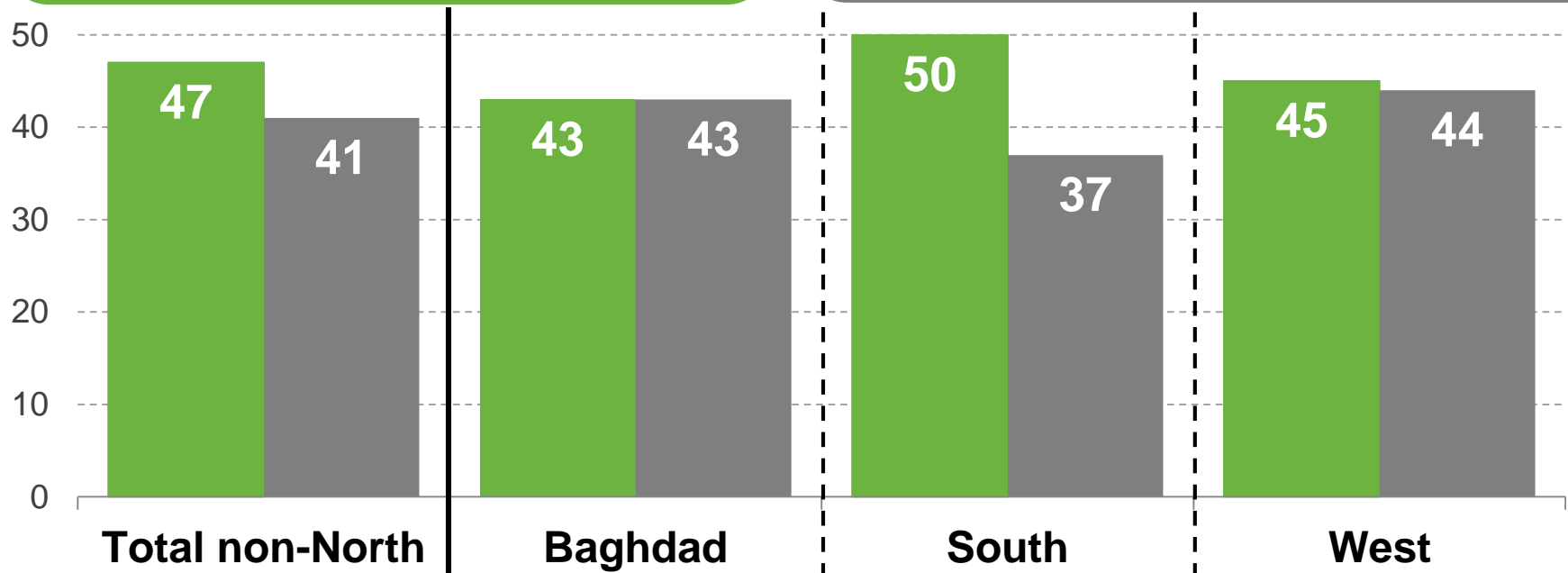


Voters have slight preference for a new political perspective

I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the Provincial Council/Regional elections. For each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view. (NON-NORTH ONLY)

Statement 1: It is more important to elect a candidate who brings a **new perspective to politics** in our province/region.

Statement 2: It is more important to elect a candidate with **experience who understands how politics works** in our province/region.



Youth candidates are assets, women mixed | non-

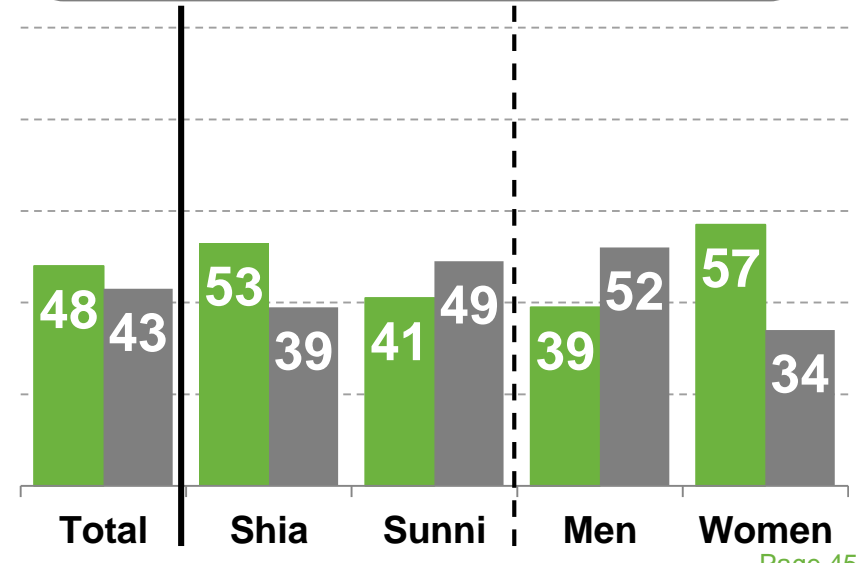
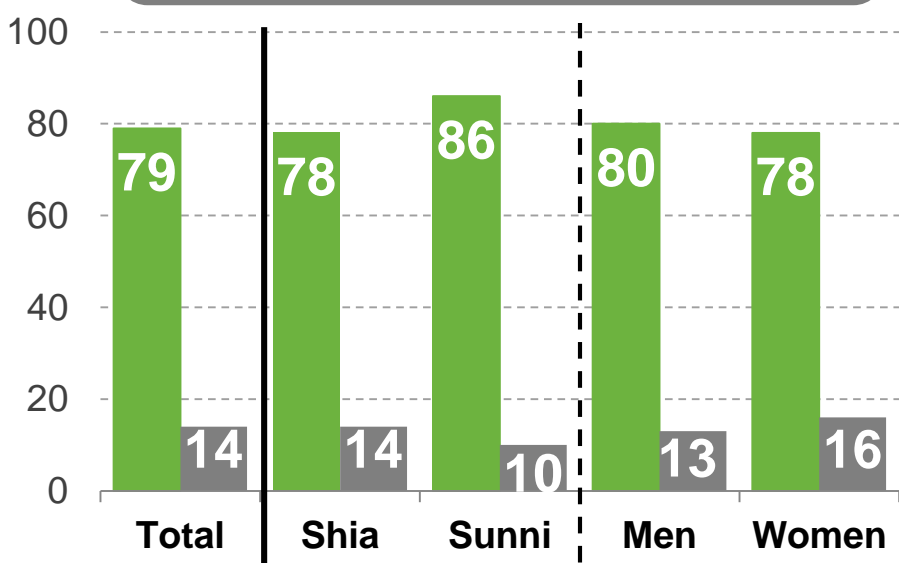
I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the Provincial Council/Regional elections. For each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view. (NON-NORTH ONLY)

Statement 1: We **need more young politicians** in our provincial government.

Statement 2: We **do not need more young politicians** in our provincial government.

Statement 1: We **need more women politicians** in our provincial government.

Statement 2: It is **not so important to have more women** in our provincial government.

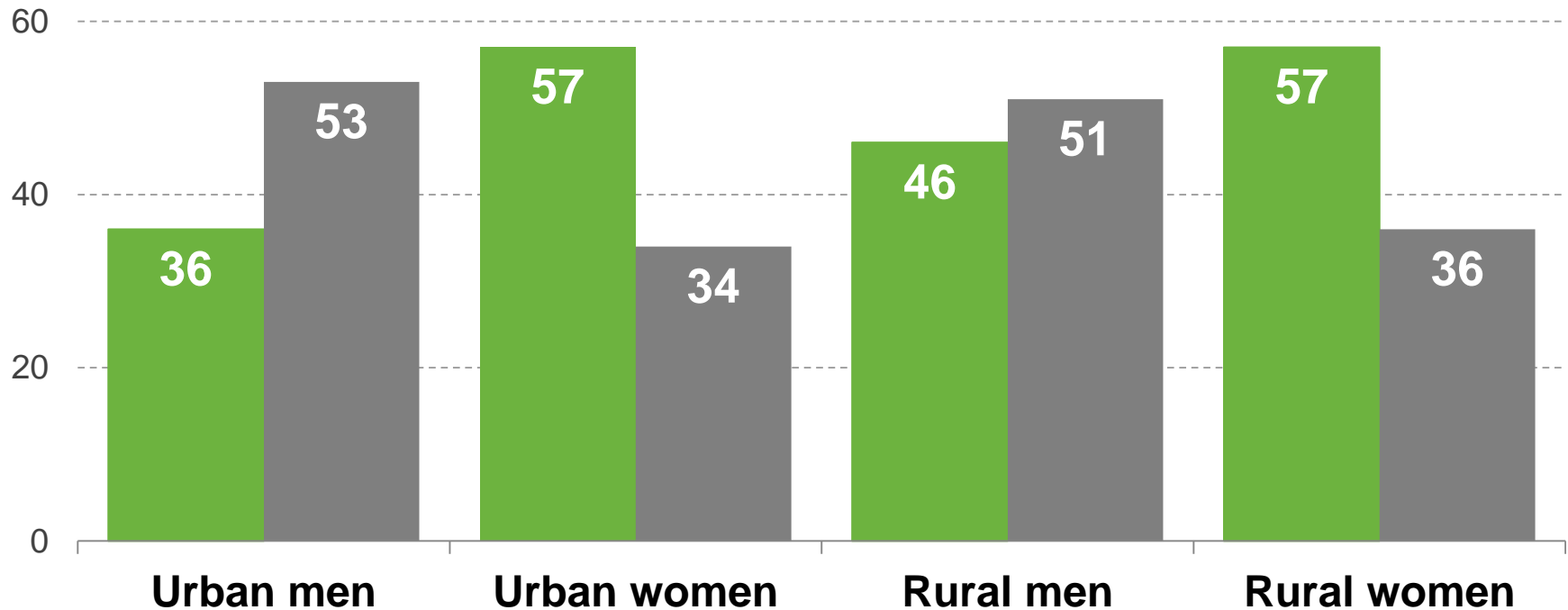


Gender difference in perceived need for women politicians

I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the Provincial Council/Regional elections. For each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view. (NON-NORTH ONLY)

Statement 1: We need more women politicians in our provincial government.

Statement 2: It is not so important to have more women in our provincial government.



Provincial elections

1. Generally, provincial elections likely to showcase national mood
2. Provincial elections likely to favor incumbents
3. Strengthen parties with ties to youth and women candidates
4. **Keys to running an effective campaign**

Keys to running an effective campaign

1. Ensure voters have a clear understanding of the campaign's message

- Clearly lay out the candidate's plans for the future
- Provide a succinct list of proof points that give it credibility
- Communicate in a way that is relevant to their lives
- Create an emotional bond

2. Mobilize enough voters to win on election day

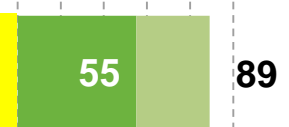
Focus on a plan, with proof-points | non-North

Please tell me how much more likely you are to support the candidate for Provincial Council elections who is saying this - would you be much more likely, somewhat more likely to support, just a little more likely to support, no more likely to support or less like to support that candidate?

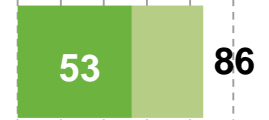
■ Much more likely to support

■ Somewhat more likely to support

(PLAN) A candidate says: With the help of academics, economists, and local leaders I have developed a detailed 2-year plan that will strengthen our province's economy, create jobs, improve education and health care, and rebuild our infrastructure and schools. It's time to bring progress to our province.



(JOBS) A candidate says: Too many Iraqis struggle to find work and provide for their families. I have a concrete plan to create 50,000 new jobs in our province by attracting foreign and national investment and developing training programs to give our people the skills they need to get good jobs.



(YOUTH) A candidate says: I am committed to investing in our youth. My top priority will be to increase Iraqi government funding for education in our province by 50%, so that students have smaller class sizes & the best teachers in the country. Only through better education will our youth be more competitive in the job market.



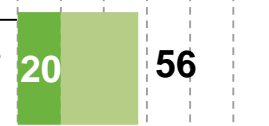
(UNITY) A candidate says: The only way we can bring real progress to our province is by working together. I am committed to cooperating with all political parties, religious sects, and ethnic groups so that we can reduce sectarian conflict and bring a higher living standard for all Iraqis in our province.



(TRANSPARENCY) A candidate says: I will be the most transparent & responsive local leader in Iraq. All meetings & budget decisions will be open to the public, I will push for all gov't contracts to be open to transparent on-line bidding, and every month I will personally hold a townhall meeting to discuss the issues and hardships that face our people. Change in this country will begin here.

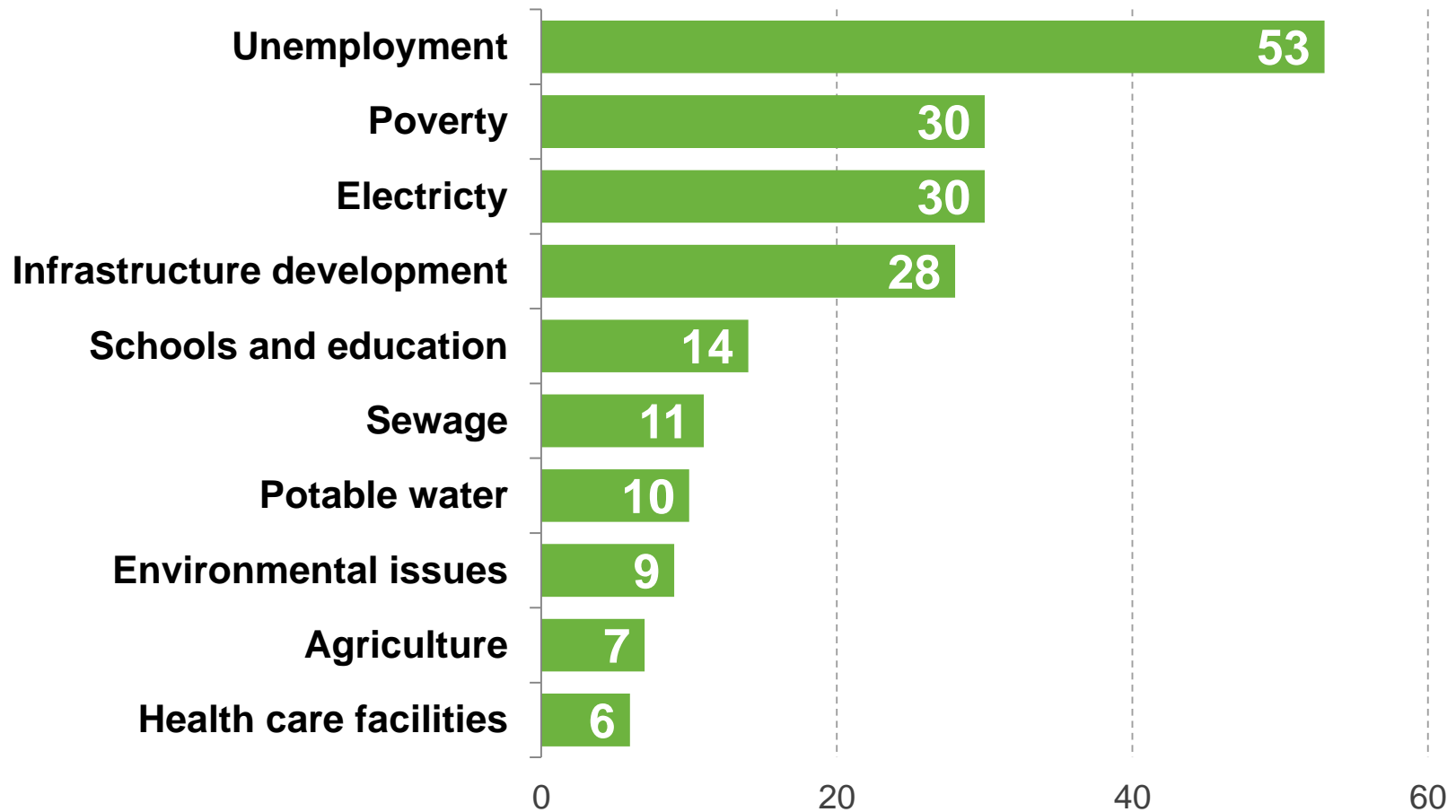


(OUR OWN) A candidate says: As sectarianism worsens and politicians only reward those close to them, it is important that we elect candidates from our own sect to ensure we have someone who is going to watch out for our interests. We need to make sure we protect ourselves.



Top provincial concerns | non-North

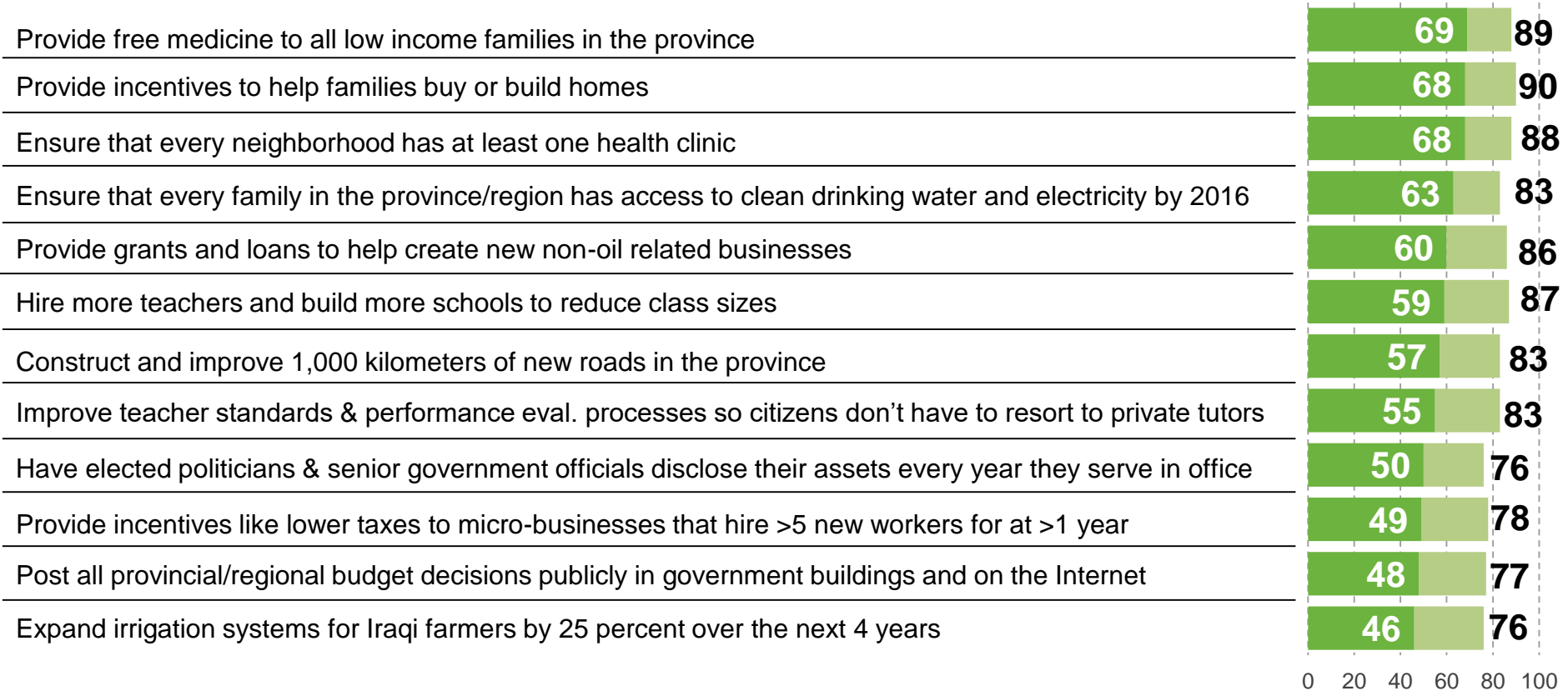
Now, I am going to read you a list of concerns that some people may have. Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for your PROVINCE'S government to address.



Focus on actions that impact people's daily lives

I would like to read you a list of some policies some political parties might support in the upcoming Provincial Council/Regional elections. After each one, please tell me whether this policy, if enacted, would make you more likely to support a political party that proposed this. (NON-NORTH ONLY)

■ Much more likely to support this party ■ Somewhat more likely to support this party



Provincial candidate actions | non-North

% Much more likely	Total	Baghdad	South	West	Urban	Rural
Free medicine	69	69	66	73	66	75
Incentives for homes	68	72	59	79	67	71
More health clinics	68	65	73	64	65	75
Water/electricity access	63	58	60	73	60	70
Grants to non-oil biz	60	62	58	60	59	61
More teachers/schools	59	49	62	62	56	63
New roads	57	53	52	69	55	63
Better teacher standards	55	53	59	51	53	59
Electeds disclose assets	50	44	50	55	50	50
Incentives for micro-biz	49	52	48	47	52	43
Post budgets publically	48	46	46	53	49	47
Expand irrigation systems	46	37	45	54	42	54

Keys to running an effective campaign

1. Ensure voters have a clear understanding of the campaign's message

1. Mobilize enough voters to win on election day

- Know how many voters you need to win
- Know your target voters – who and where they are
- Implement a field operation to ID, target, and turn out your voters on Election Day

Sunni & women less likely to participate in locals | non-North

