

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

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May 2012

# A Major Shift in the Political Landscape

Graphs for the report on the April 2012 National Survey

# Methodology

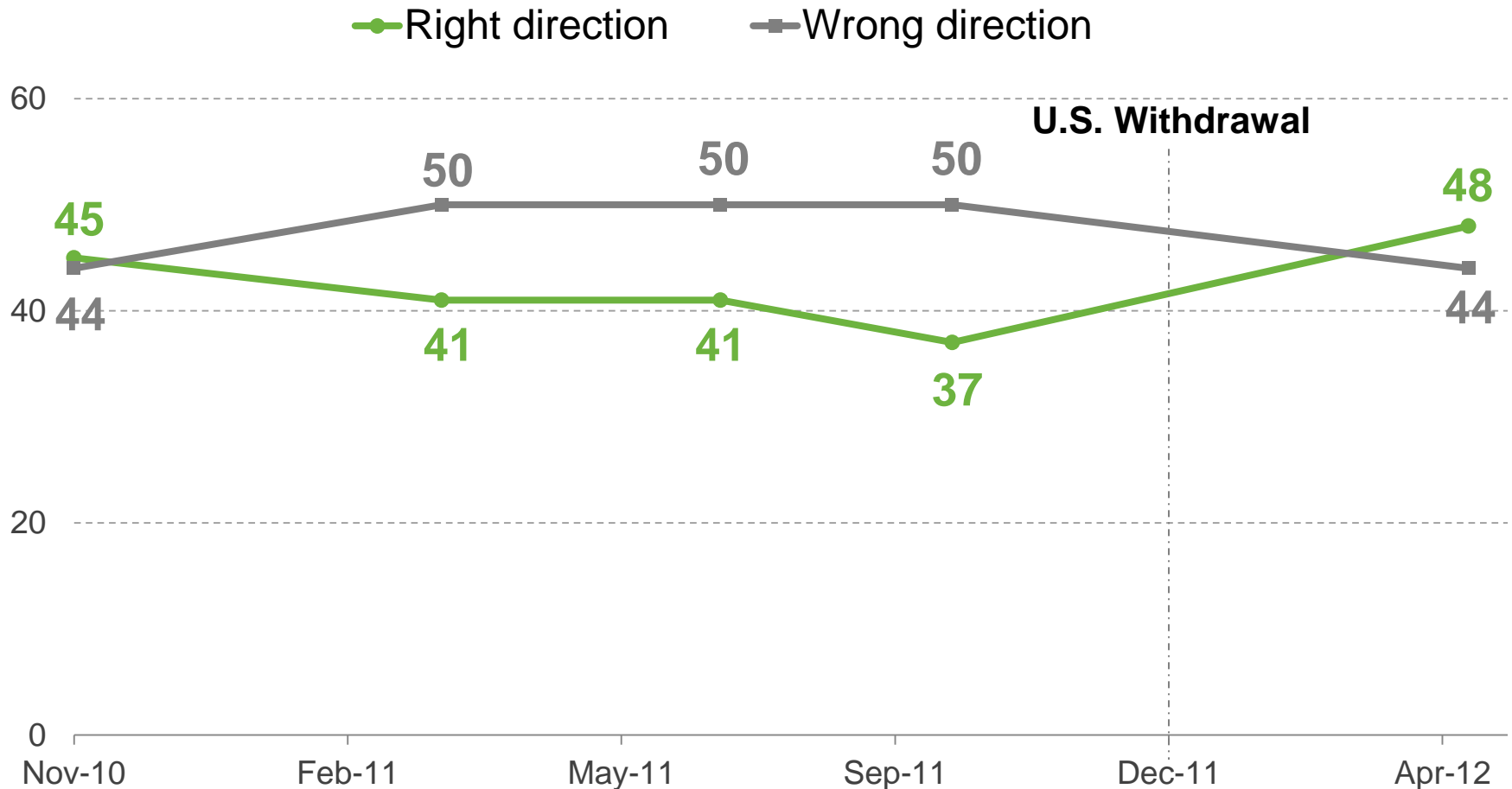
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## National Survey

- April 5 – 20, 2012
- 2,000 national face-to-face interviews: 500 interviews in each of the following regions: Baghdad, South, West, and Kurdistan—national results weighted representatively
- Margin of error +/- 2.2 percent on full sample, +/- 4.4 percent on regional samples; +/- 2.9 on total Non-Kurdistan sample
- The Kurdistan region sample reflects updated population estimates increasing Dohuk to 24 percent of the region

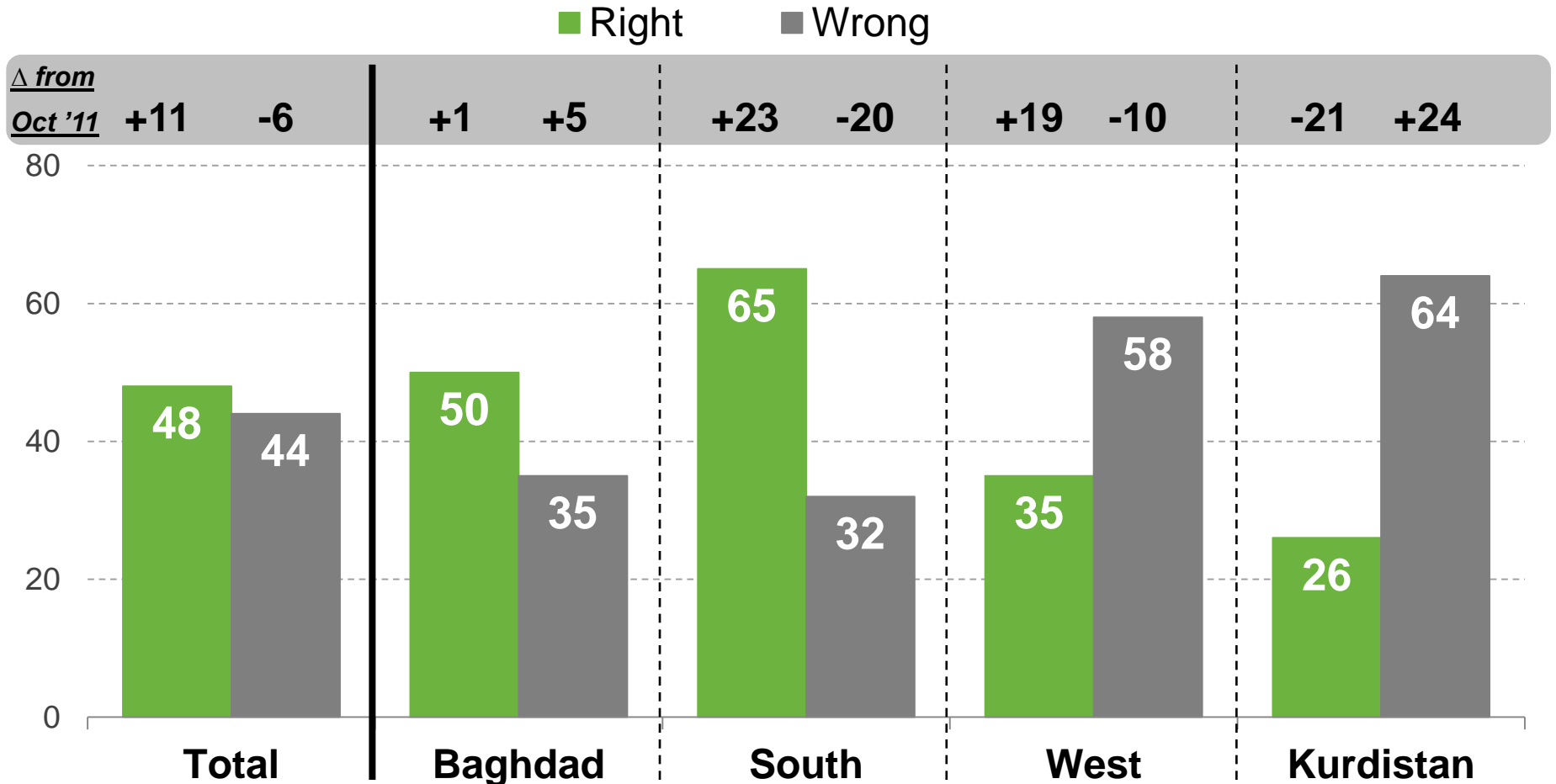
# A significant positive shift in the country mood

*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?*



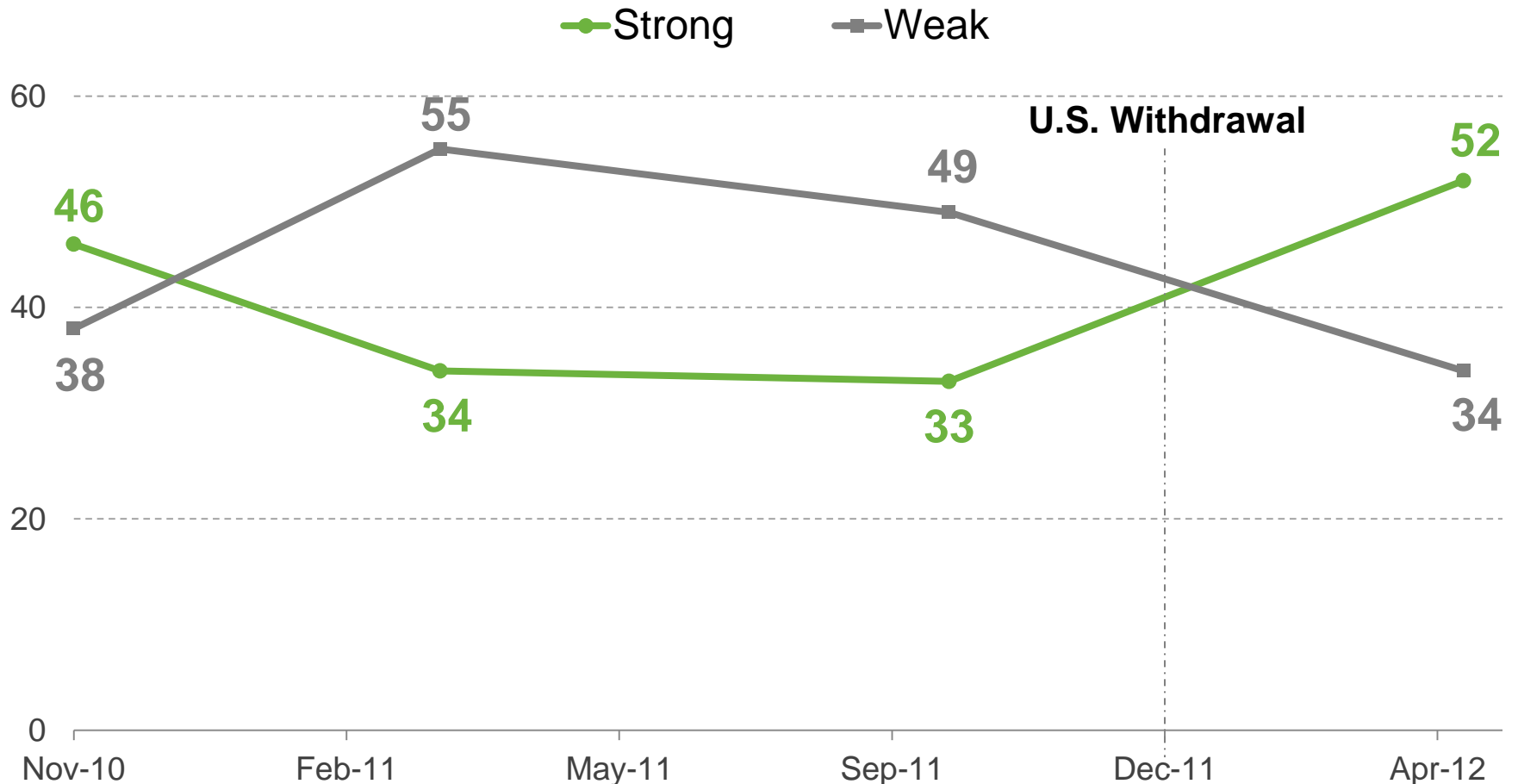
# Only Kurdistan sees a drop in right direction

*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?*



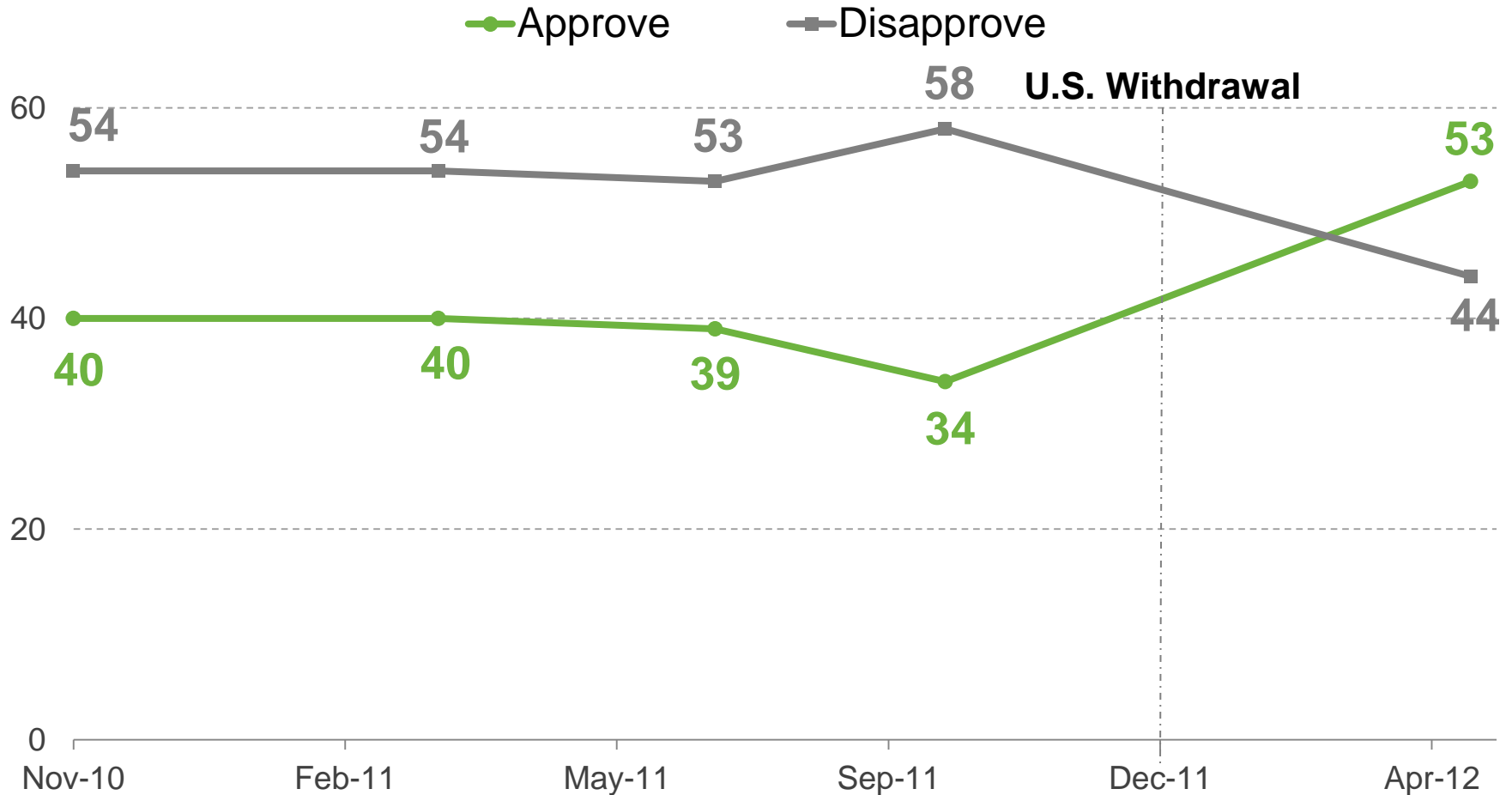
# Perceptions of an improving economy help positive mood

*Would you say Iraq's economy right now is strong or weak?*



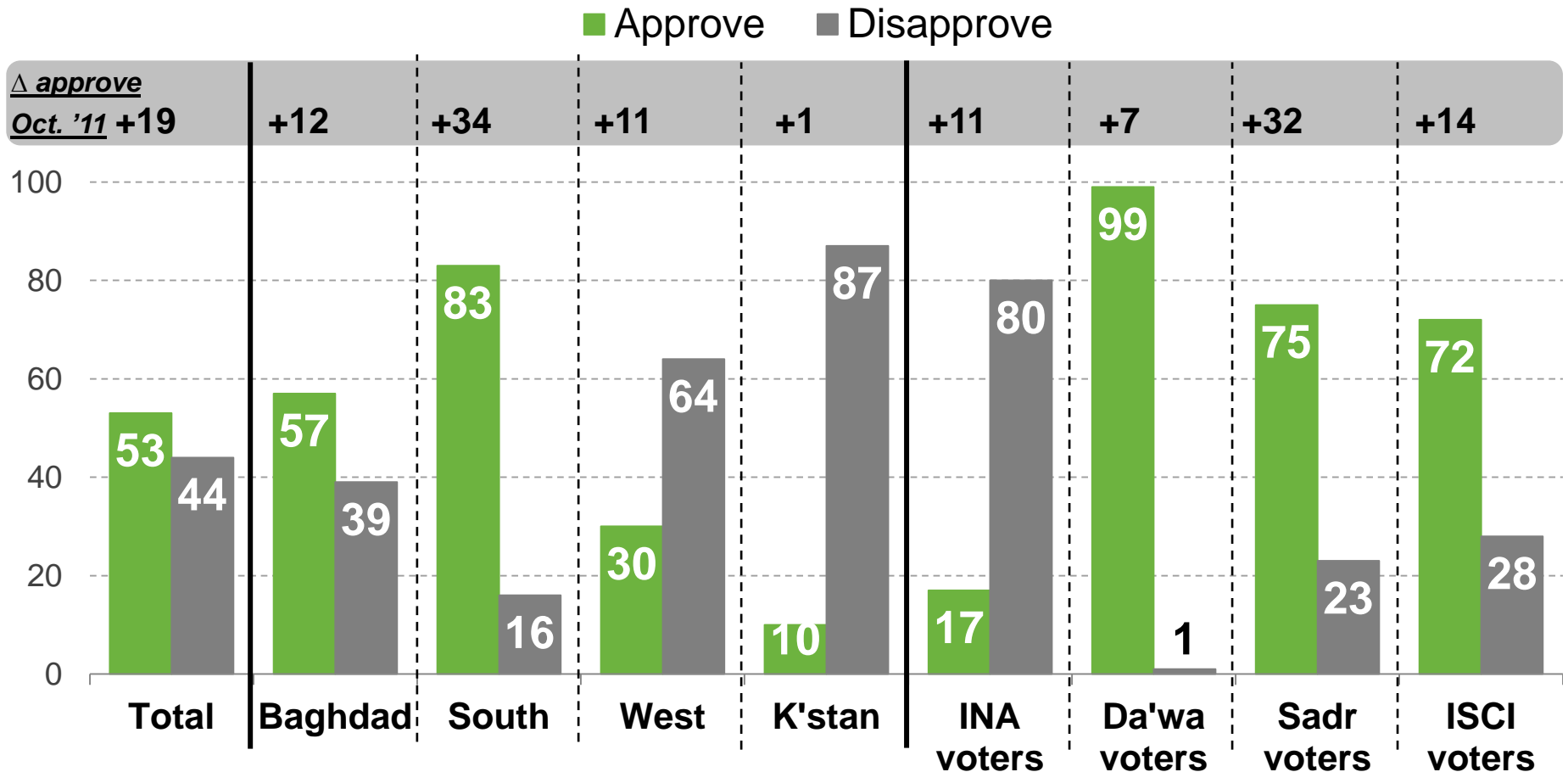
# Positive mood brings significant jump in Maliki job approval

*Do you approve or disapprove of the job Nouri al-Maliki is doing as prime minister?*



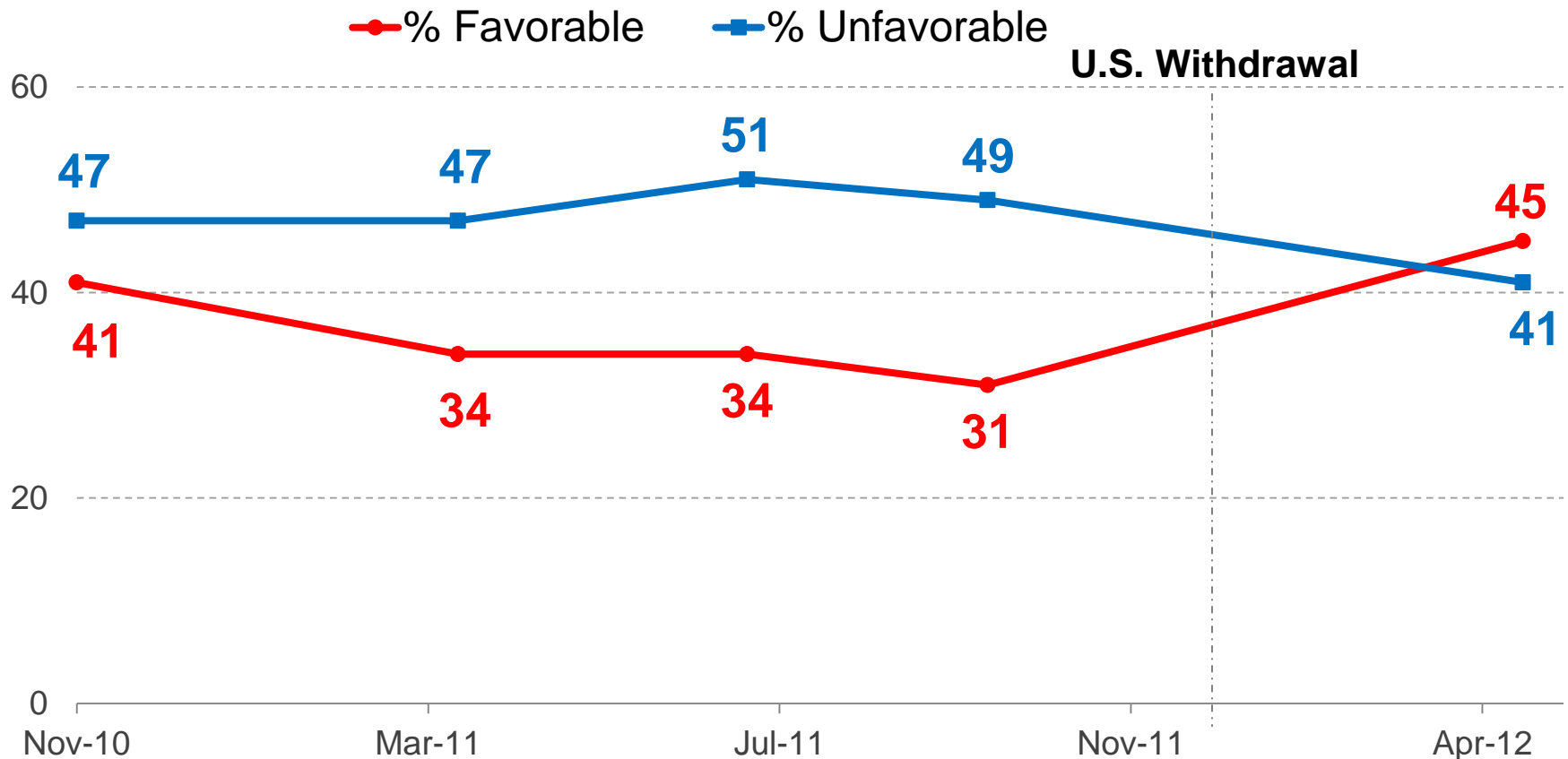
# Maliki job approval up across regions and voter groups

*Do you approve or disapprove of the job Nouri al-Maliki is doing as prime minister?*



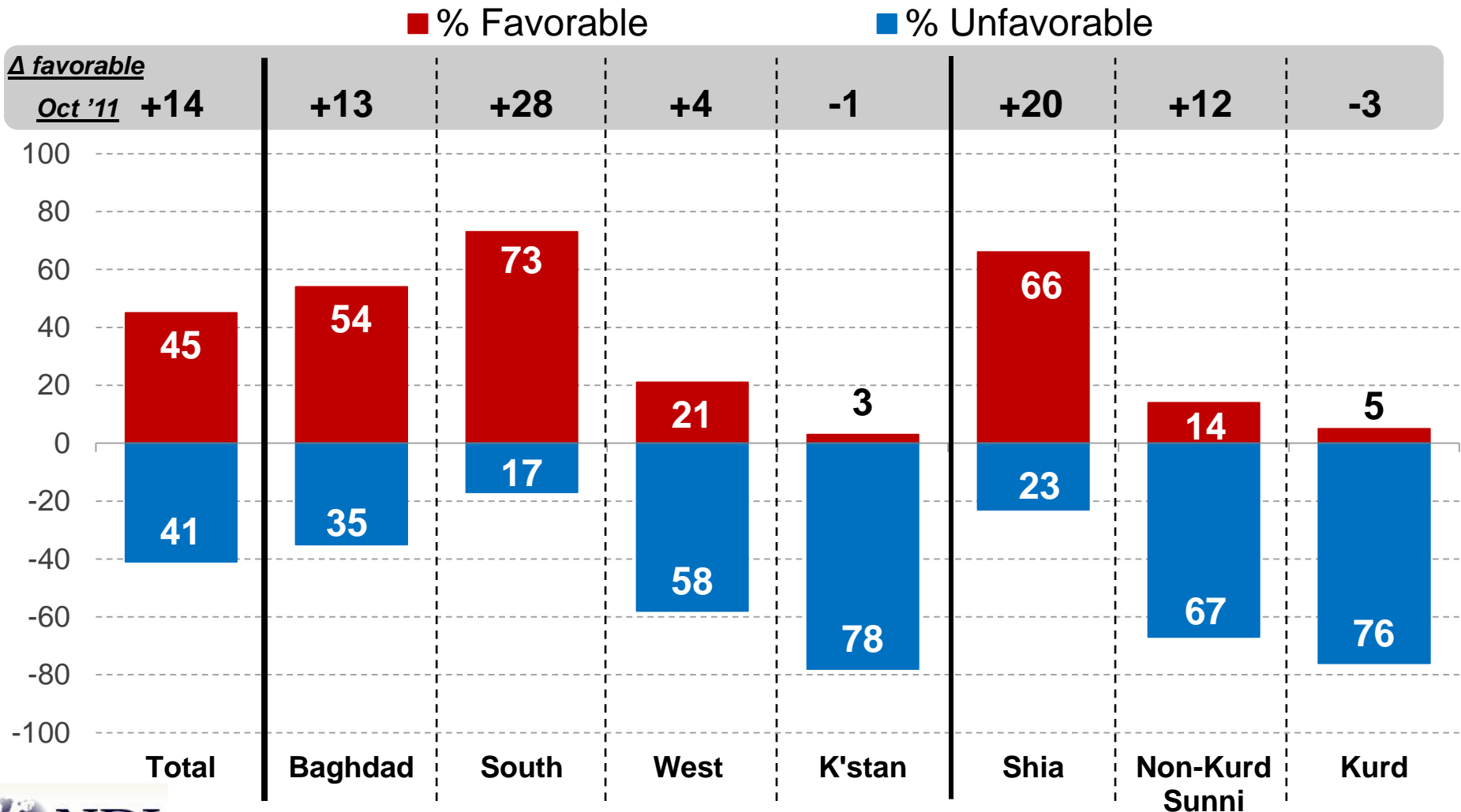
# Significant jump in Maliki favorable ratings

*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.*



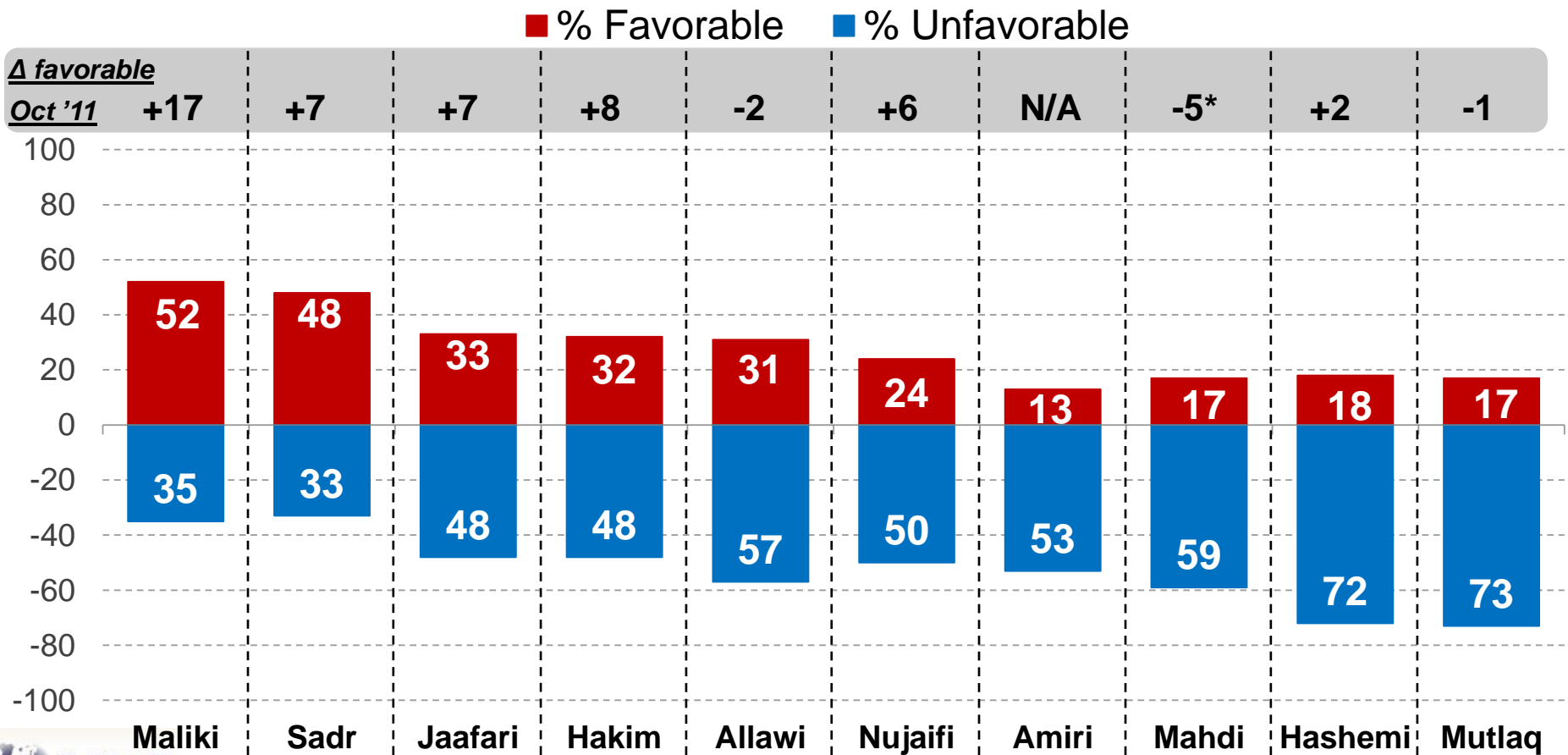


# Maliki favorability dramatically improves among base



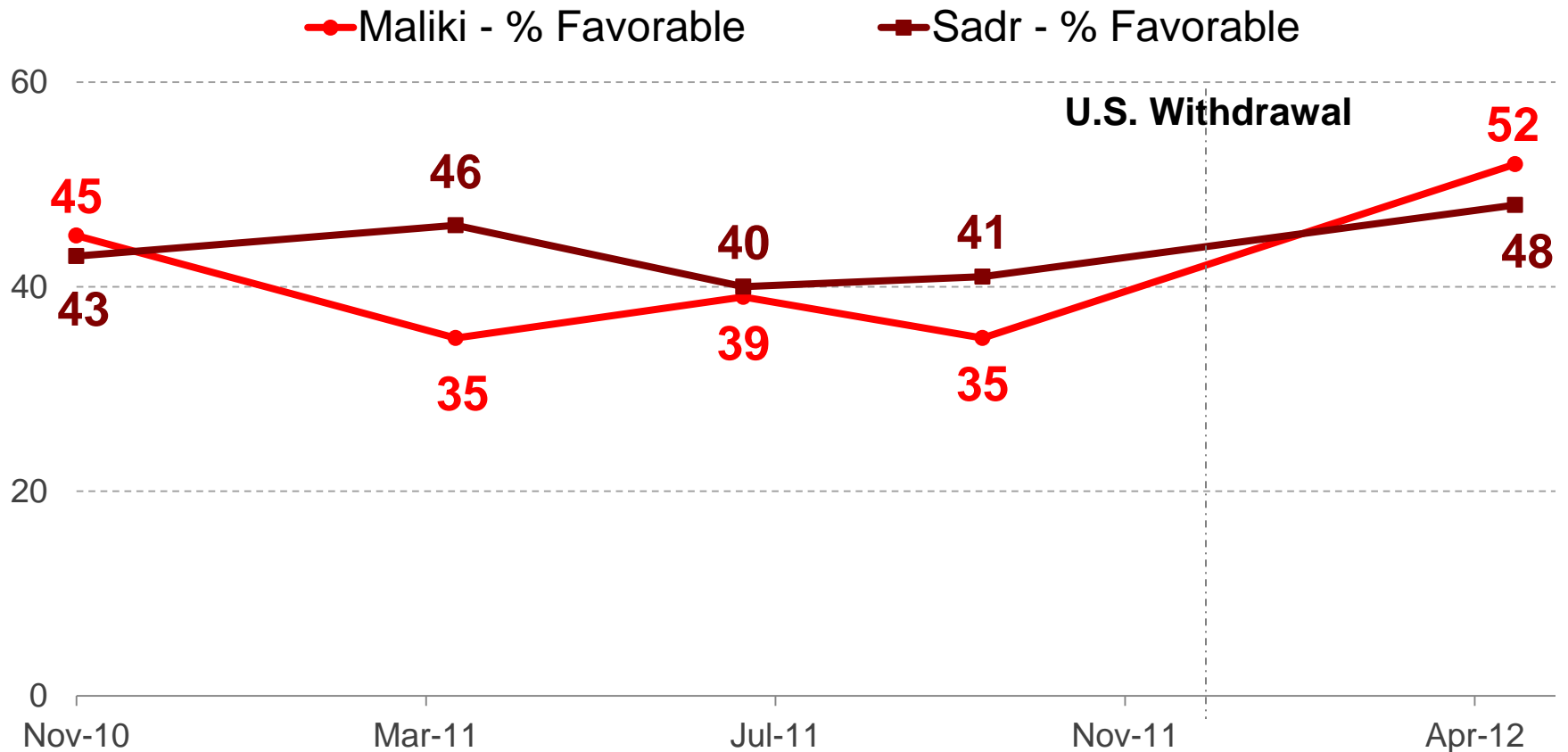
# Maliki has strongest rating of non-Kurd pols | Non-K'stan

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. (NON-KURDISTAN ONLY)



# Maliki's favorability rises above Sadr's | non-K'stan only

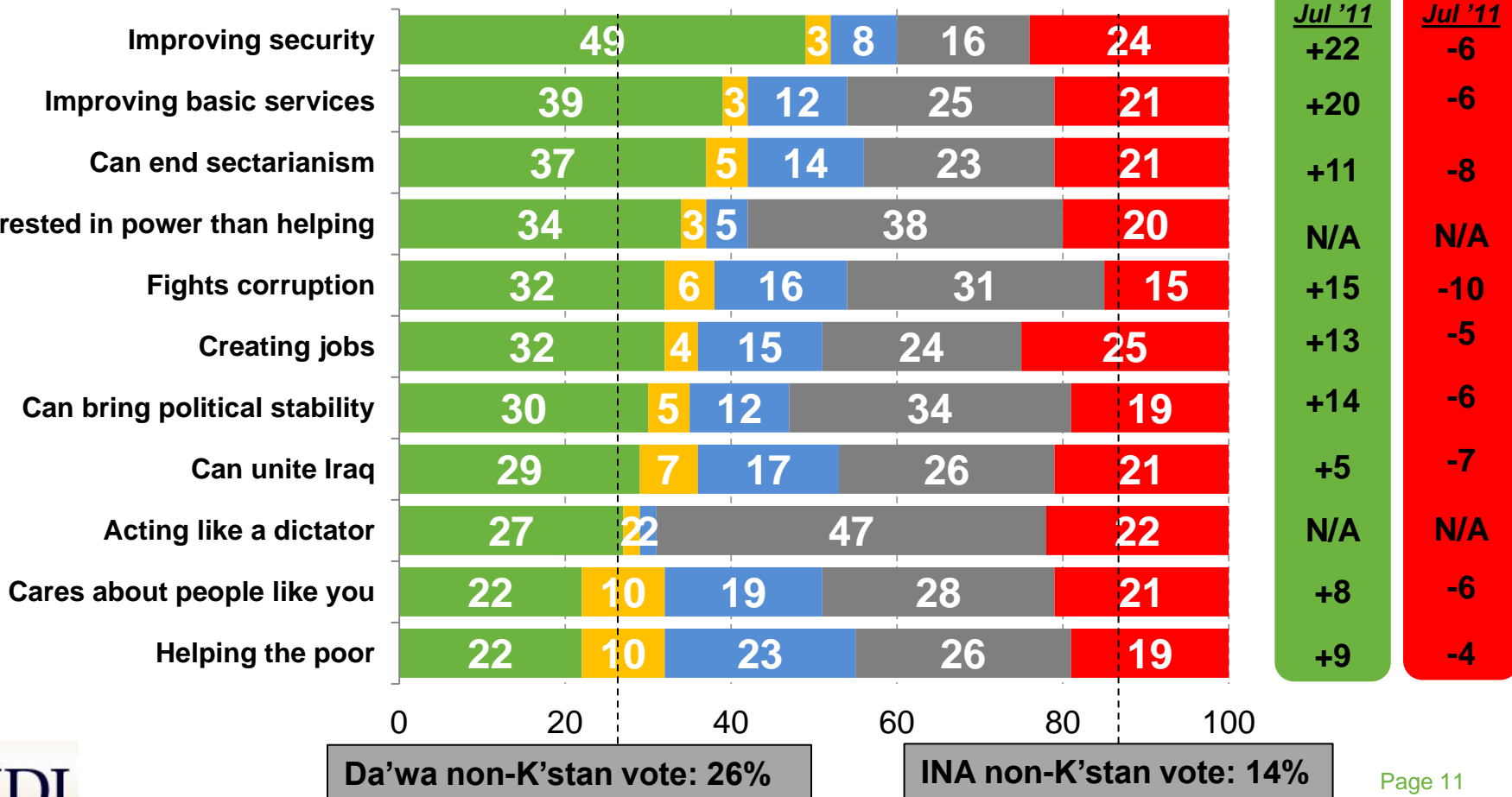
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable.



# Maliki improves across all issues; outperforms Da'wa vote

For each one please tell me which political leader the phrase best describes: Nouri al-Maliki; Ayad Allawi; Ammar al-Hakim; or Muqtada al-Sadr? (NON-KURDISTAN ONLY)

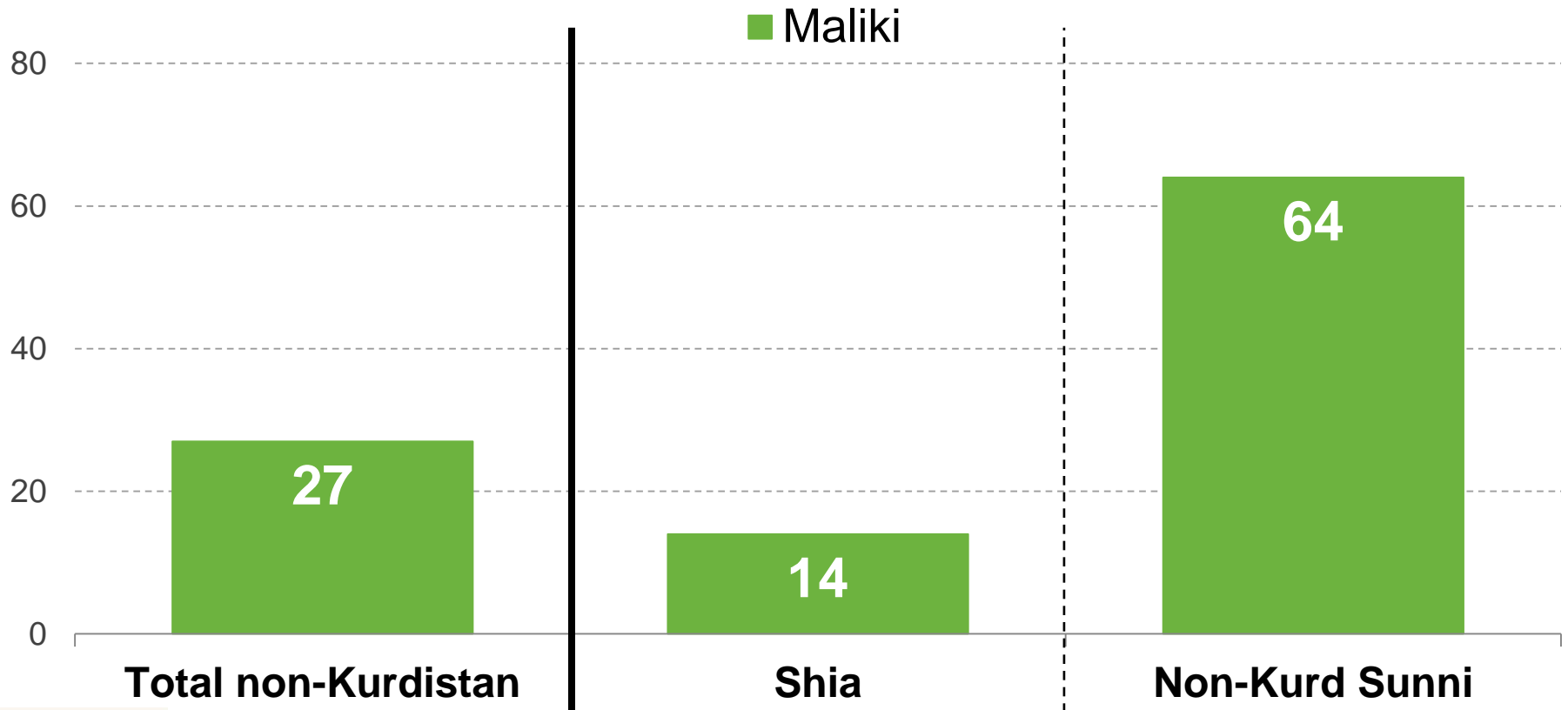
■ Maliki ■ Hakim ■ Sadr ■ All/none/other/DK/ref ■ Allawi



# Maliki “acting like a dictator” | non-Kurdistan

*For each one please tell me which political leader the phrase best describes: Nouri al-Maliki; Ayad Allawi; Ammar al-Hakim; or Muqtada al-Sadr? (NON-KURDISTAN ONLY)*

## “Acting like a dictator”

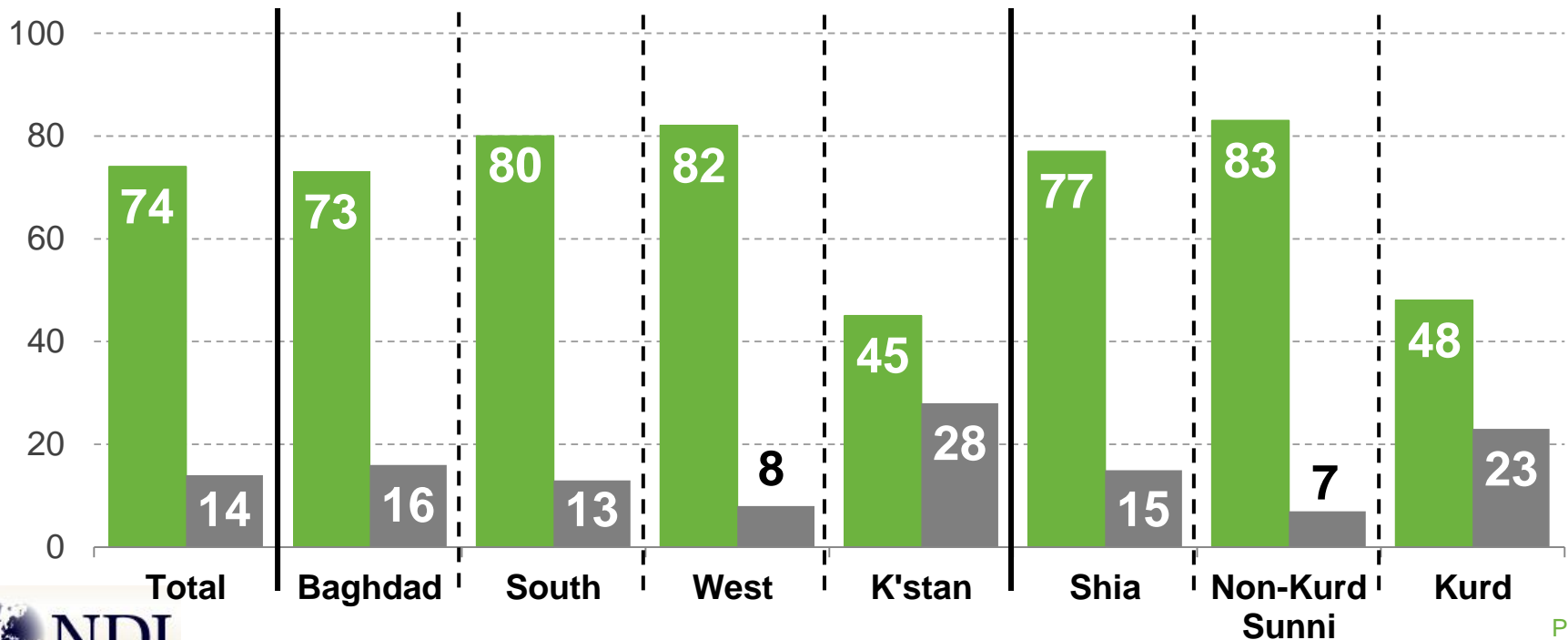


# Iraqis looking for a strong leader, despite drawbacks

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

**Statement 1:** It is more important to have a strong leader to keep Iraq stable, even if that means giving up some freedoms.

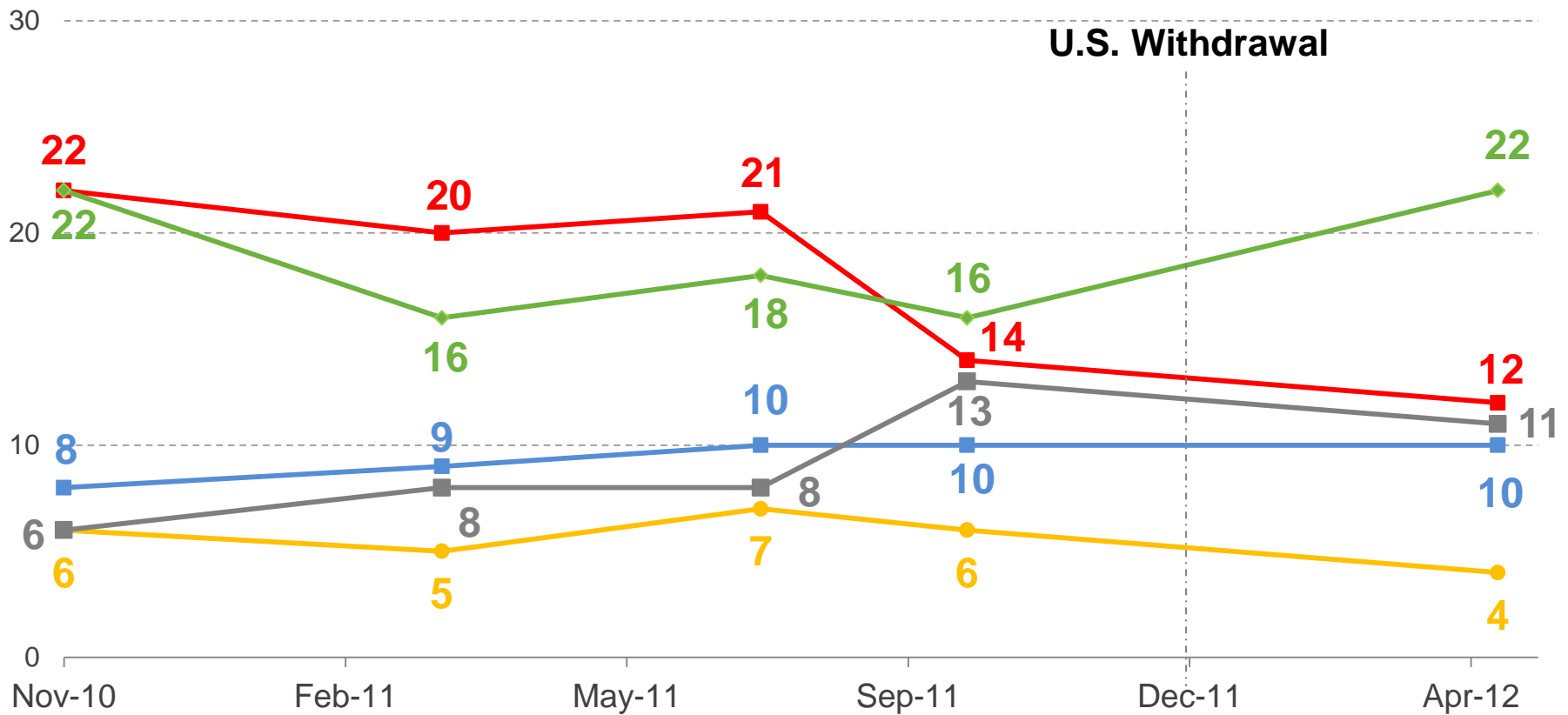
**Statement 2:** It is more important to ensure social and political freedoms in Iraq, even if that means some instability.



# Significant increase in Da'wa support

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

■ Iraqi National Accord 
 ◆ Islamic Da'wa Party 
 ■ Sadr Trend 
 ● ISCI 
 ■ Und/DK/Ref

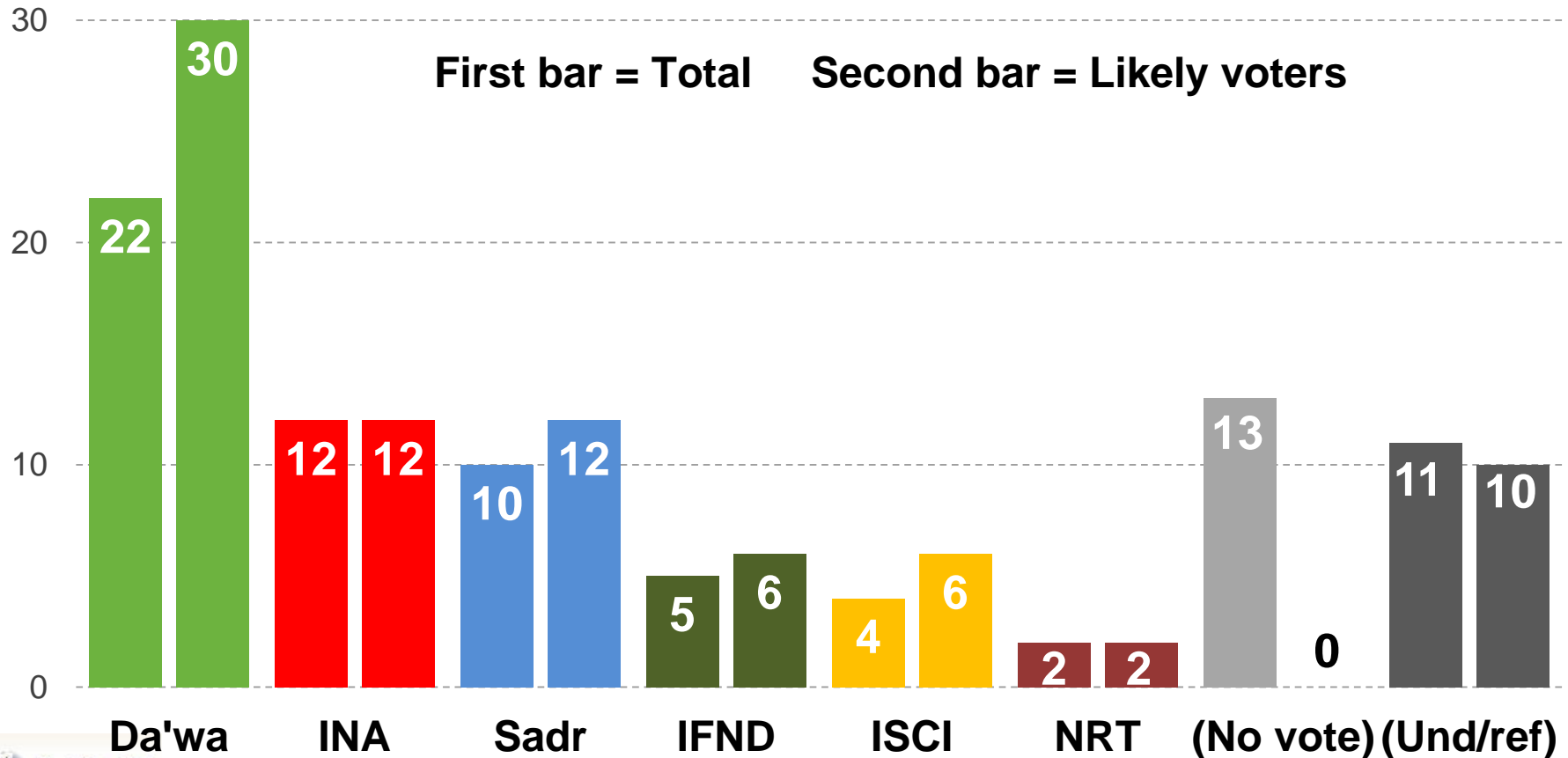


# Da'wa's growth even stronger among likely voters

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

Δ likely voters

Oct '11    +8    -1    -1    -2    -2    --    --    --

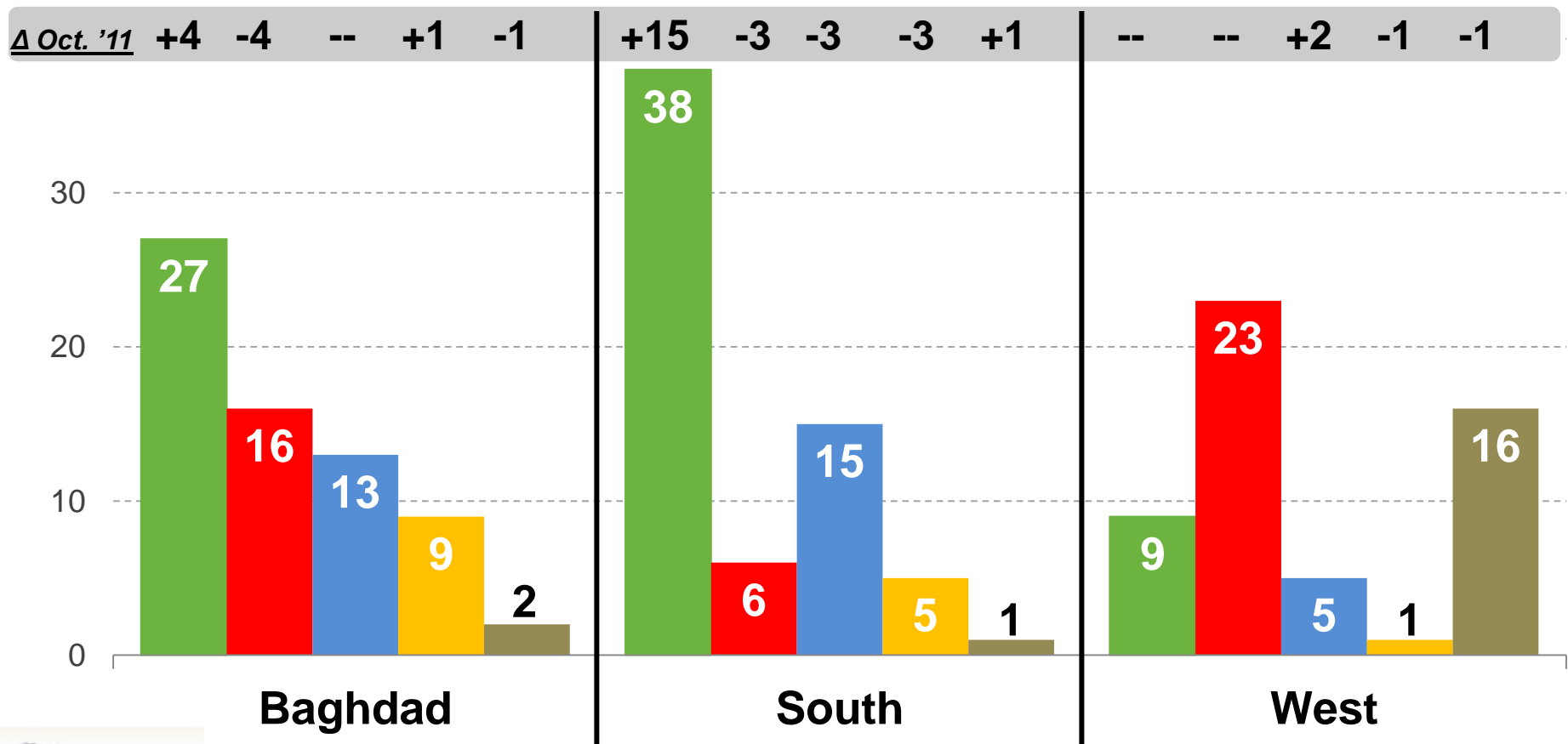




# Da'wa separates from other parties in South, Baghdad

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

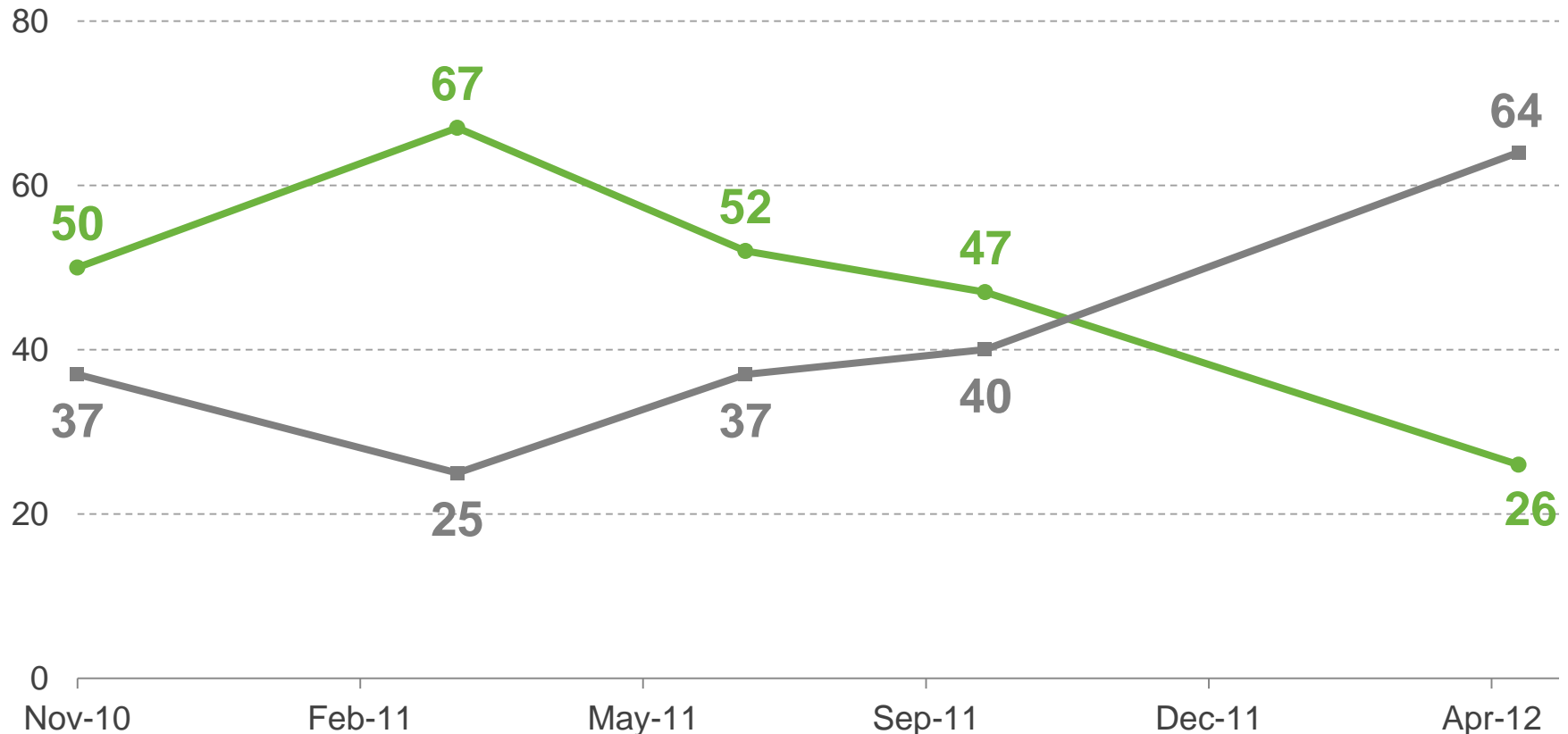
■ Islamic Da'wa Party ■ Iraqi National Accord ■ Sadr Trend ■ ISCI ■ IFND



# Negative mood of country intensifies in Kurdistan

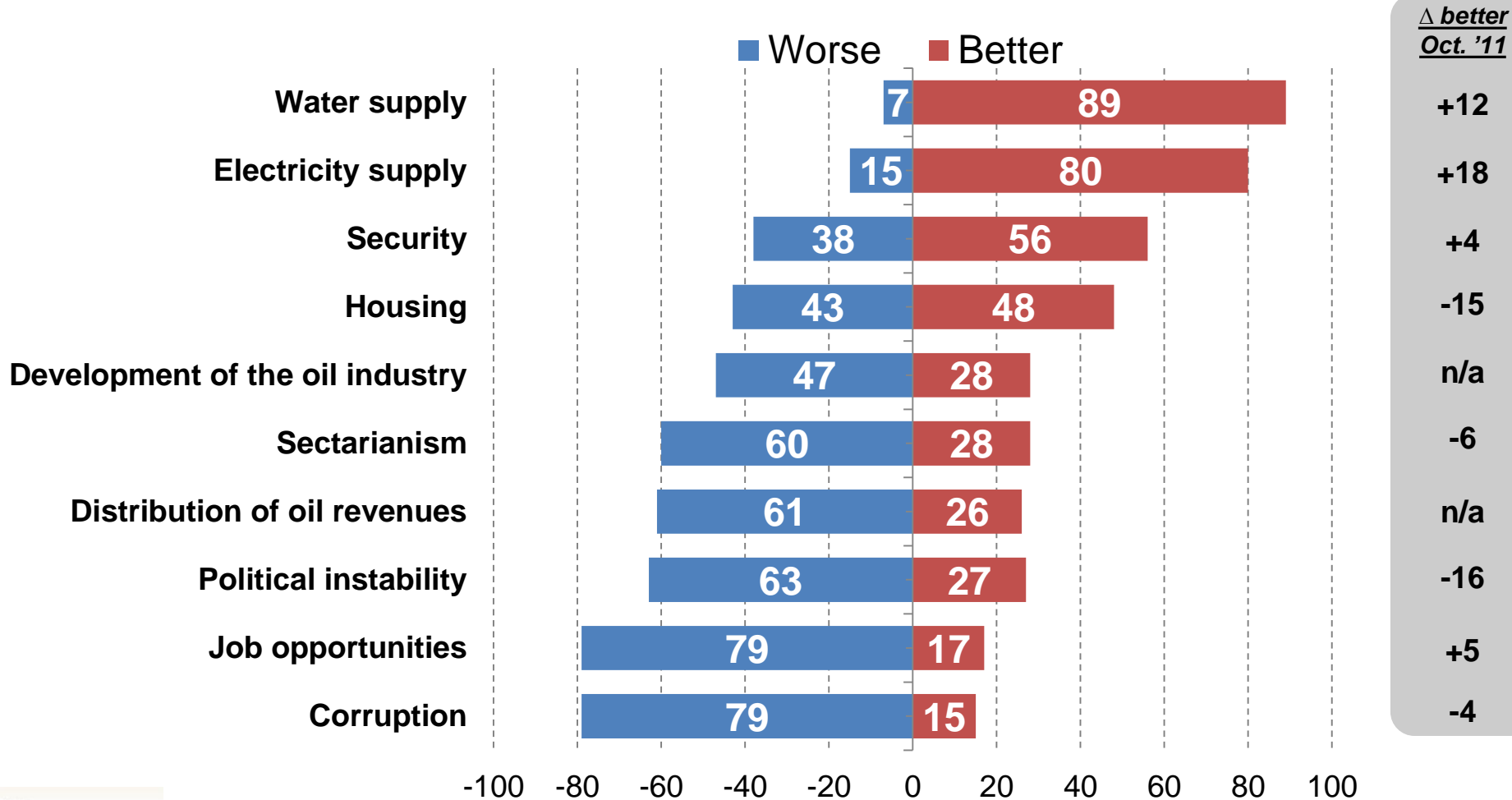
*Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction? (KURDISTAN ONLY)*

—●— Right direction      —■— Wrong direction



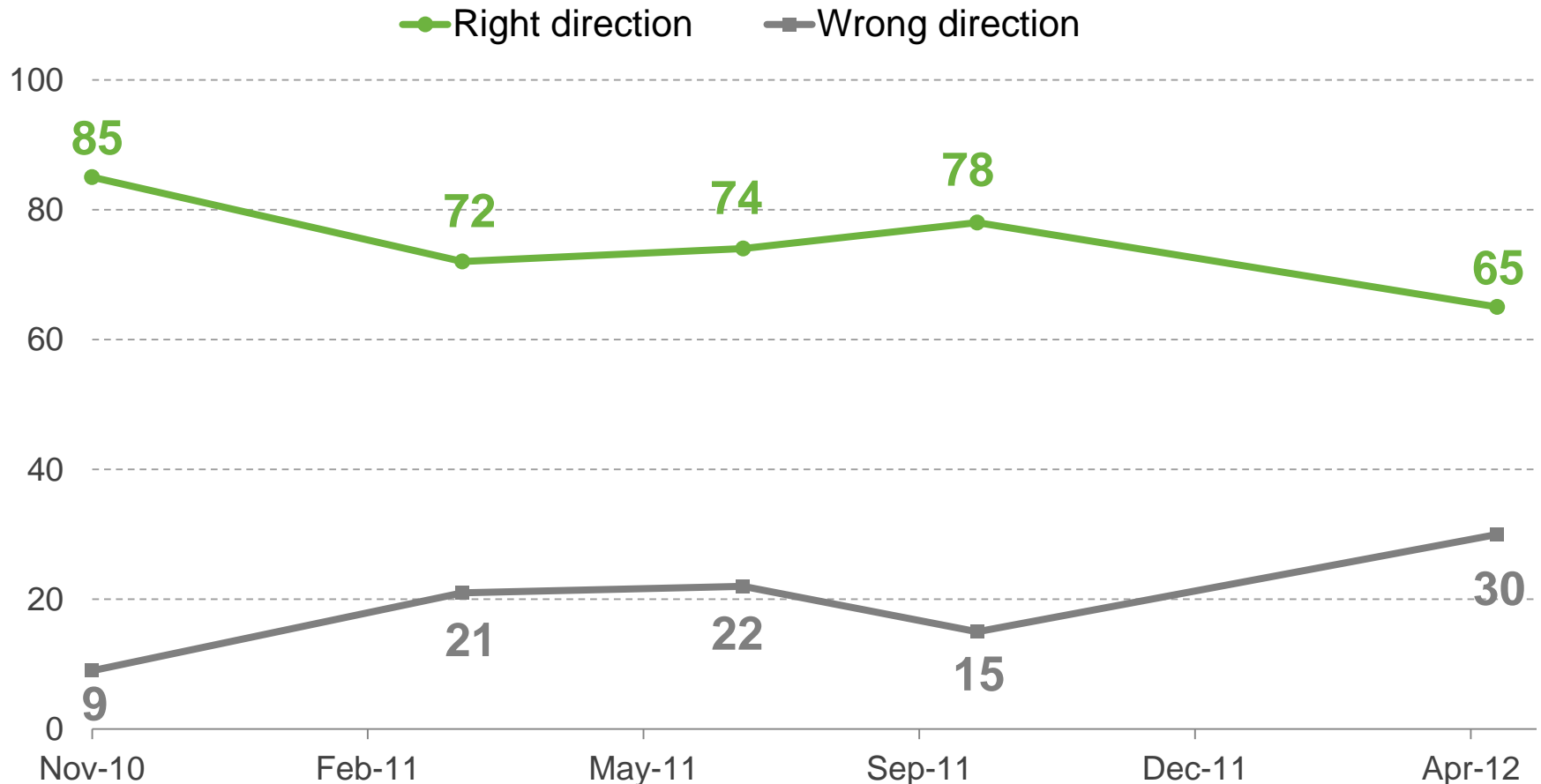
# Getting better or worse in Iraq | Kurdistan only

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



# Yet majority still sees *Kurdistan* heading 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? (KURDISTAN ONLY)



# Favorability of Kurdish parties improves | Kurdistan only

■ % Favorable

■ % Unfavorable

Δ favorable  
Oct '11

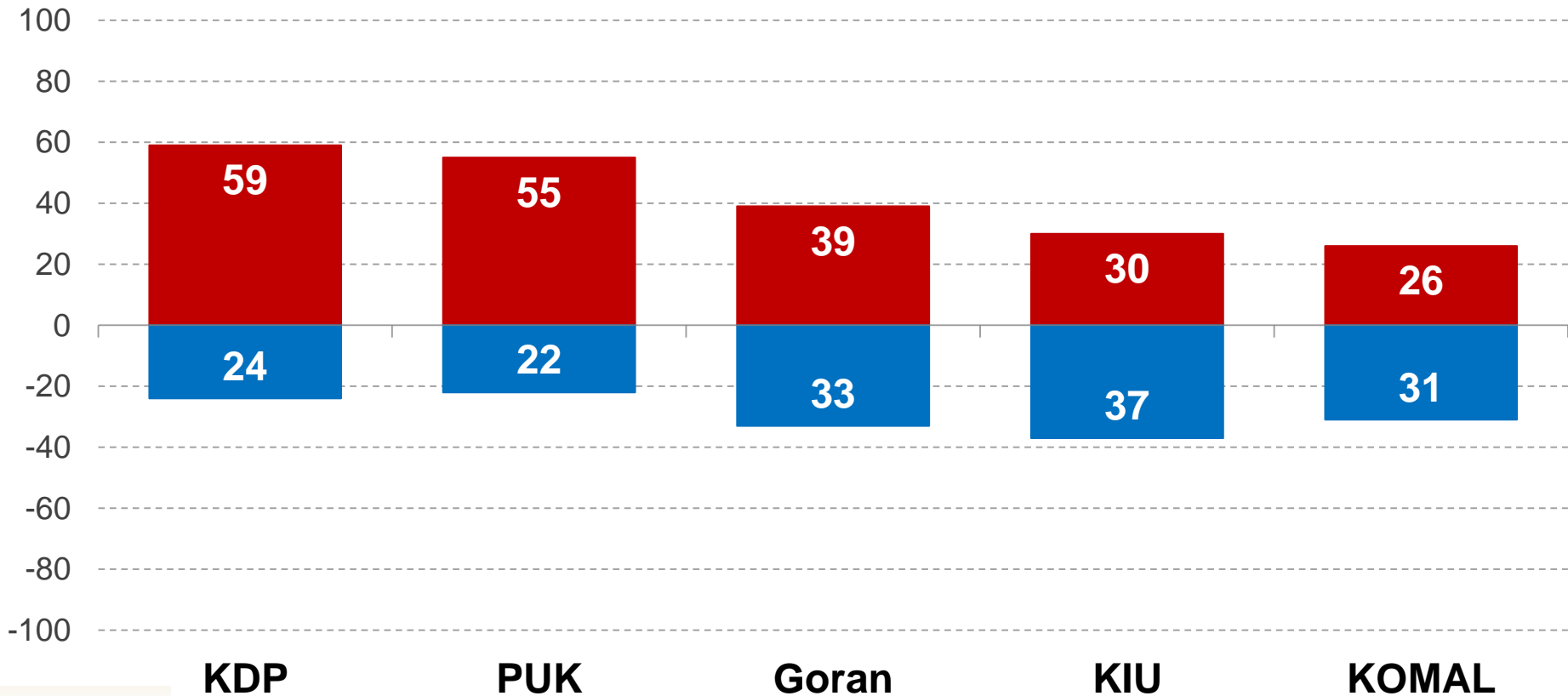
+10

+8

+18

+8

+13

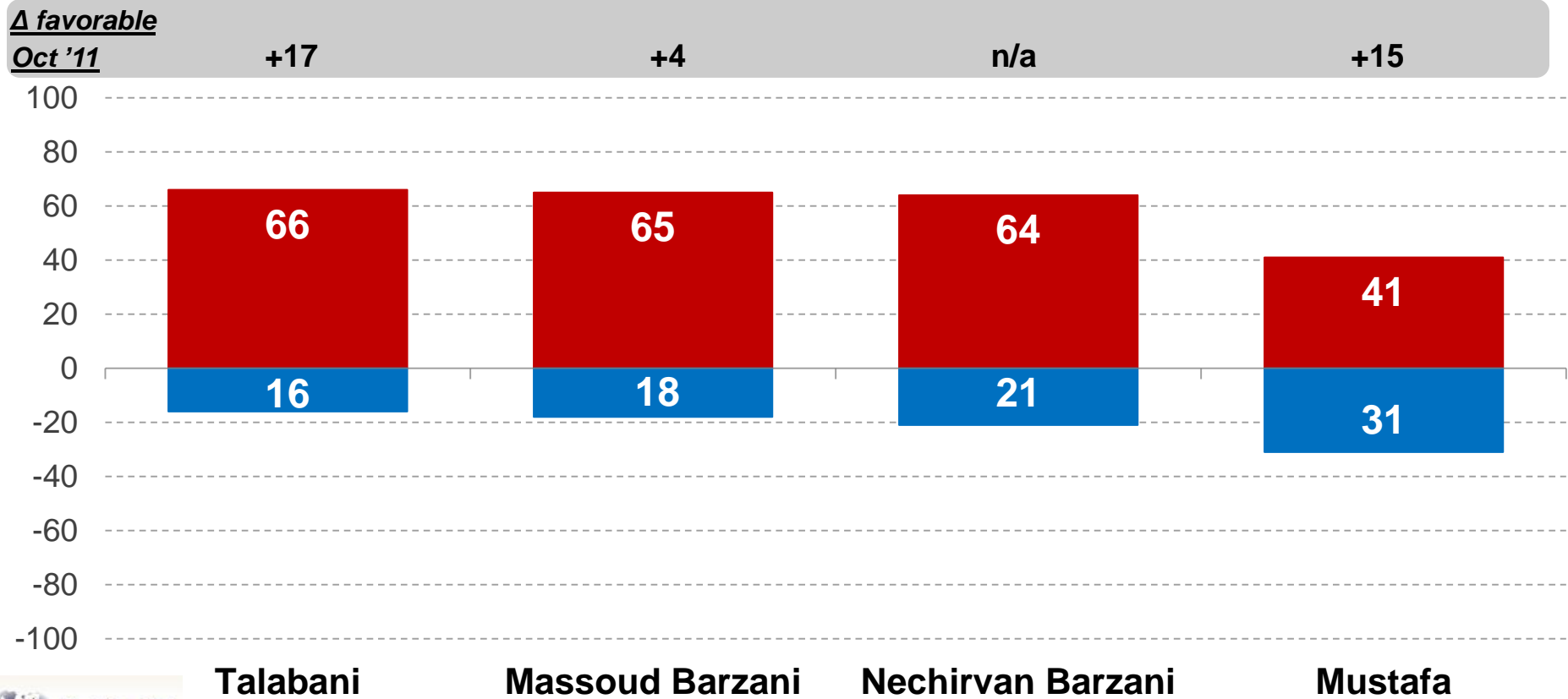


# Kurdish leaders remain popular in Kurdistan

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. (KURDISTAN ONLY)

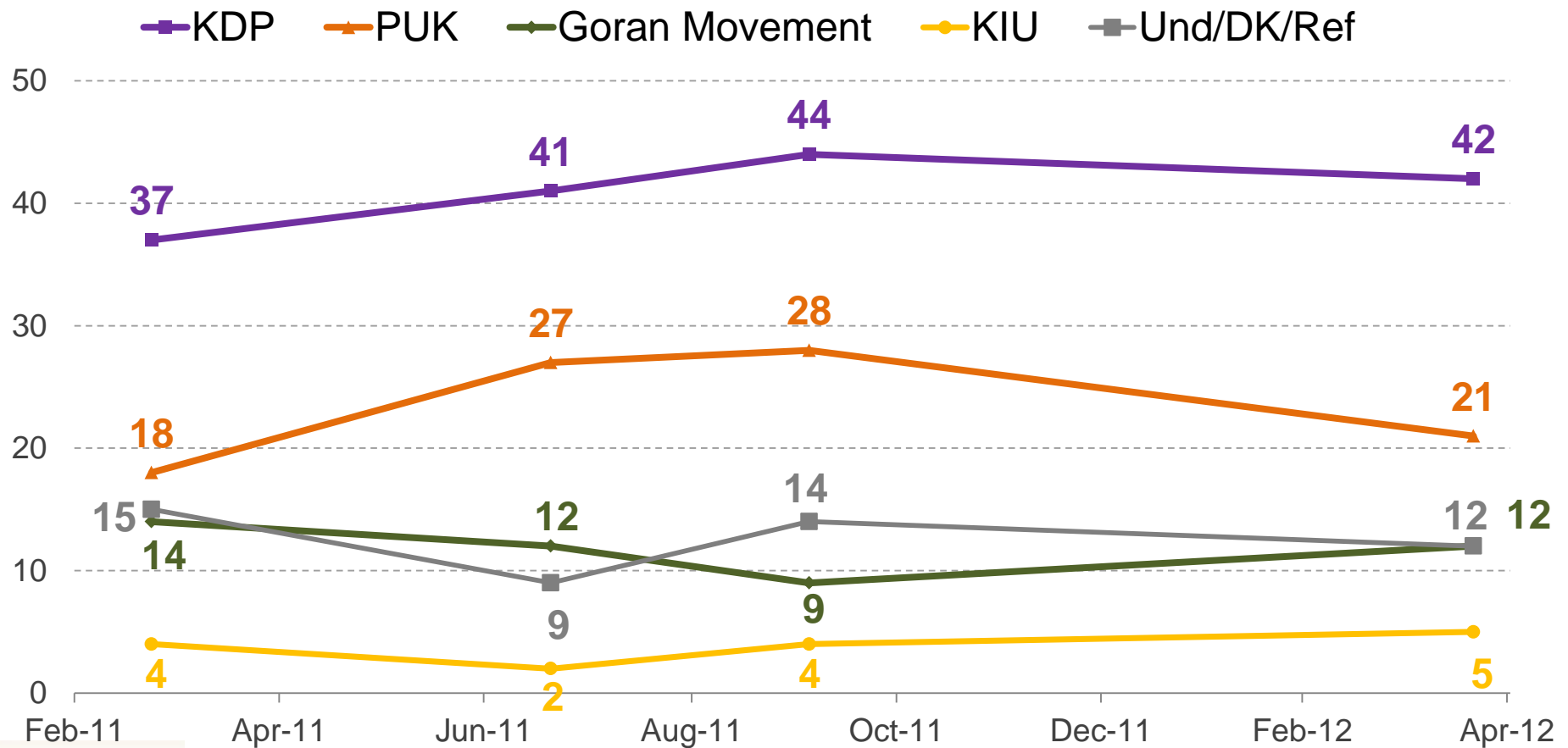
■ % Favorable

■ % Unfavorable



# Kurdistan vote stable, with PUK drop | Kurdistan vote\*\*

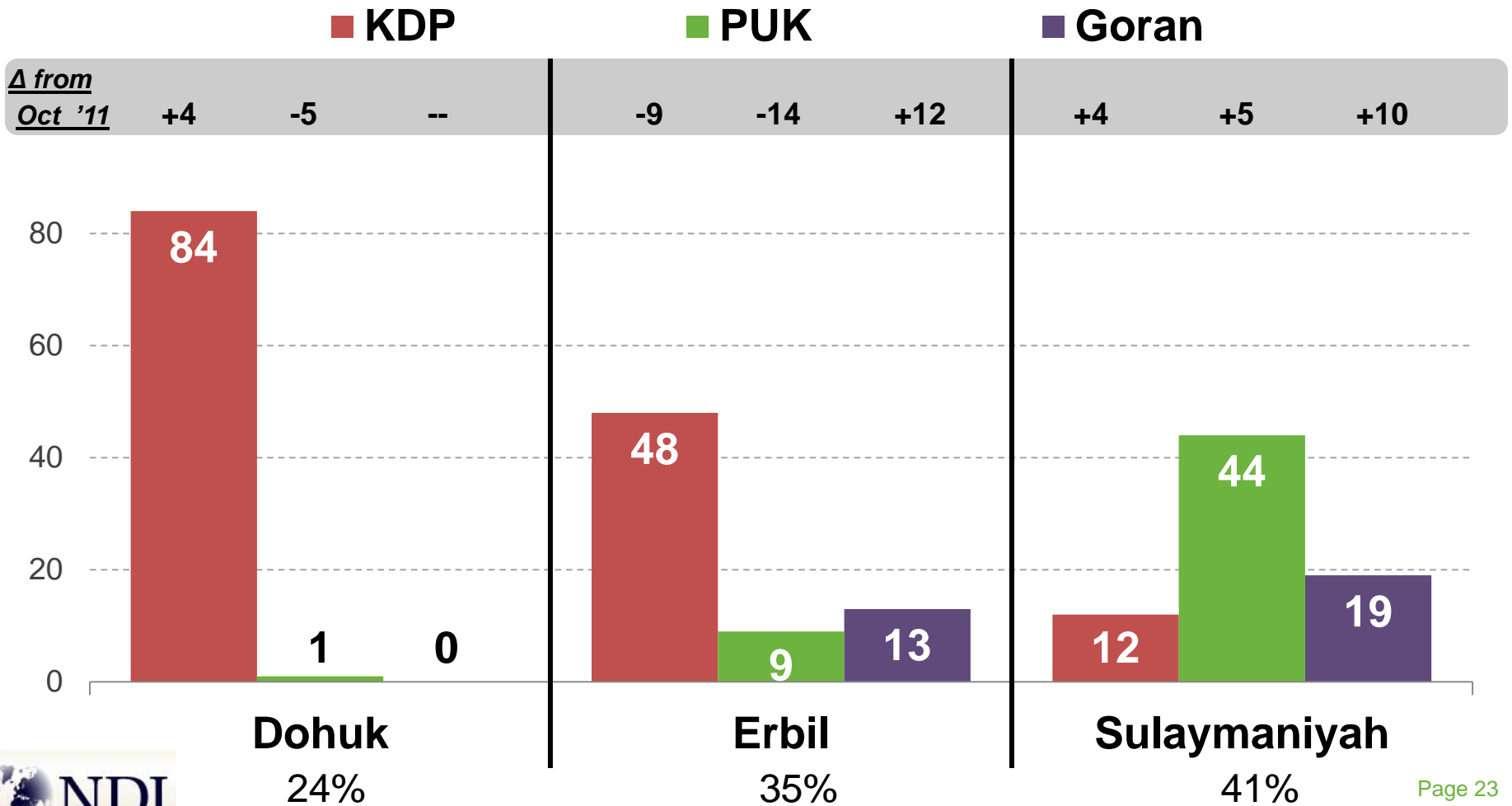
Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today.  
(KURDISTAN ONLY)



\*\* Vote totals reflect updated population distribution data

# Kurdistan divided by governorate

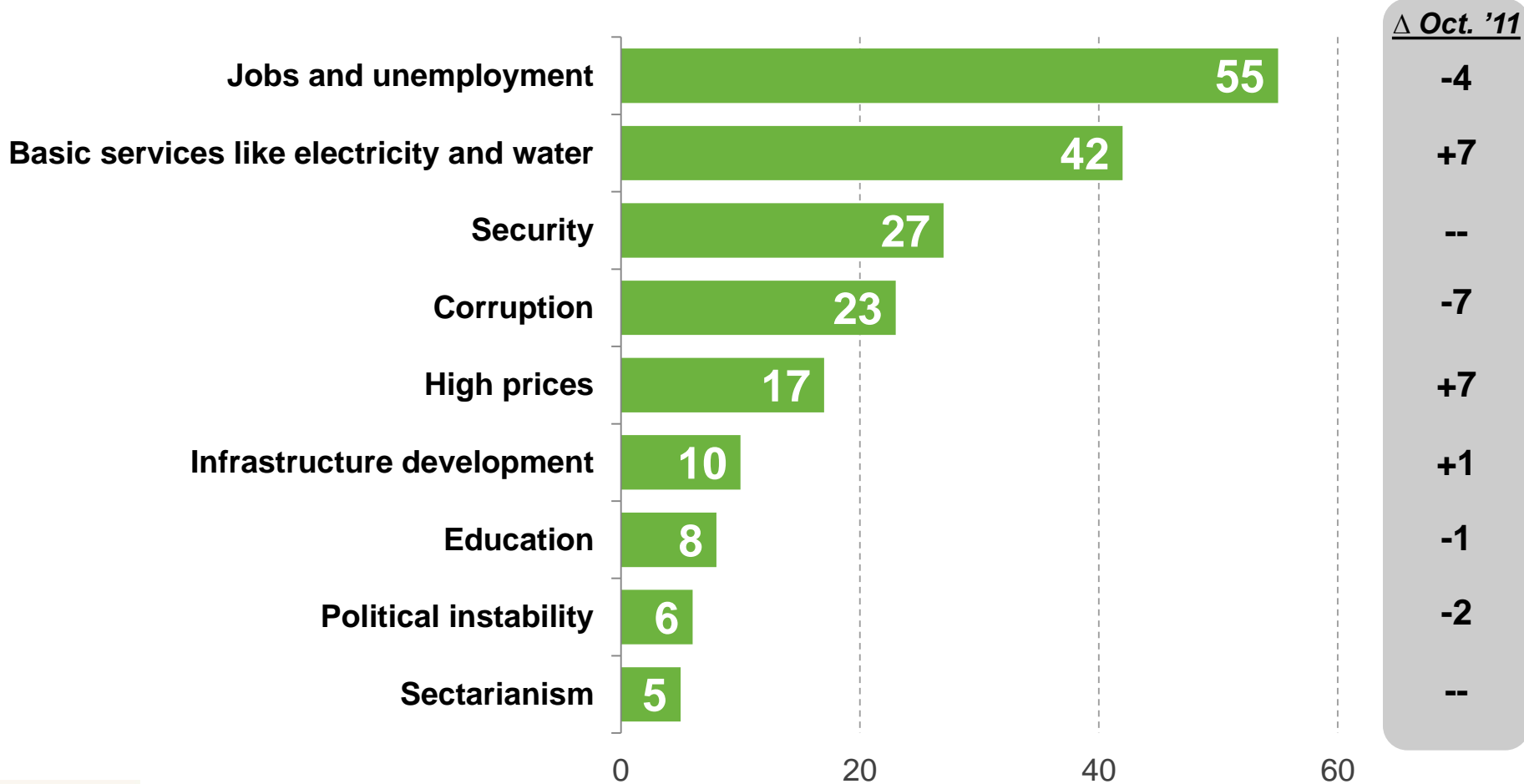
Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today. (KURDISTAN ONLY)





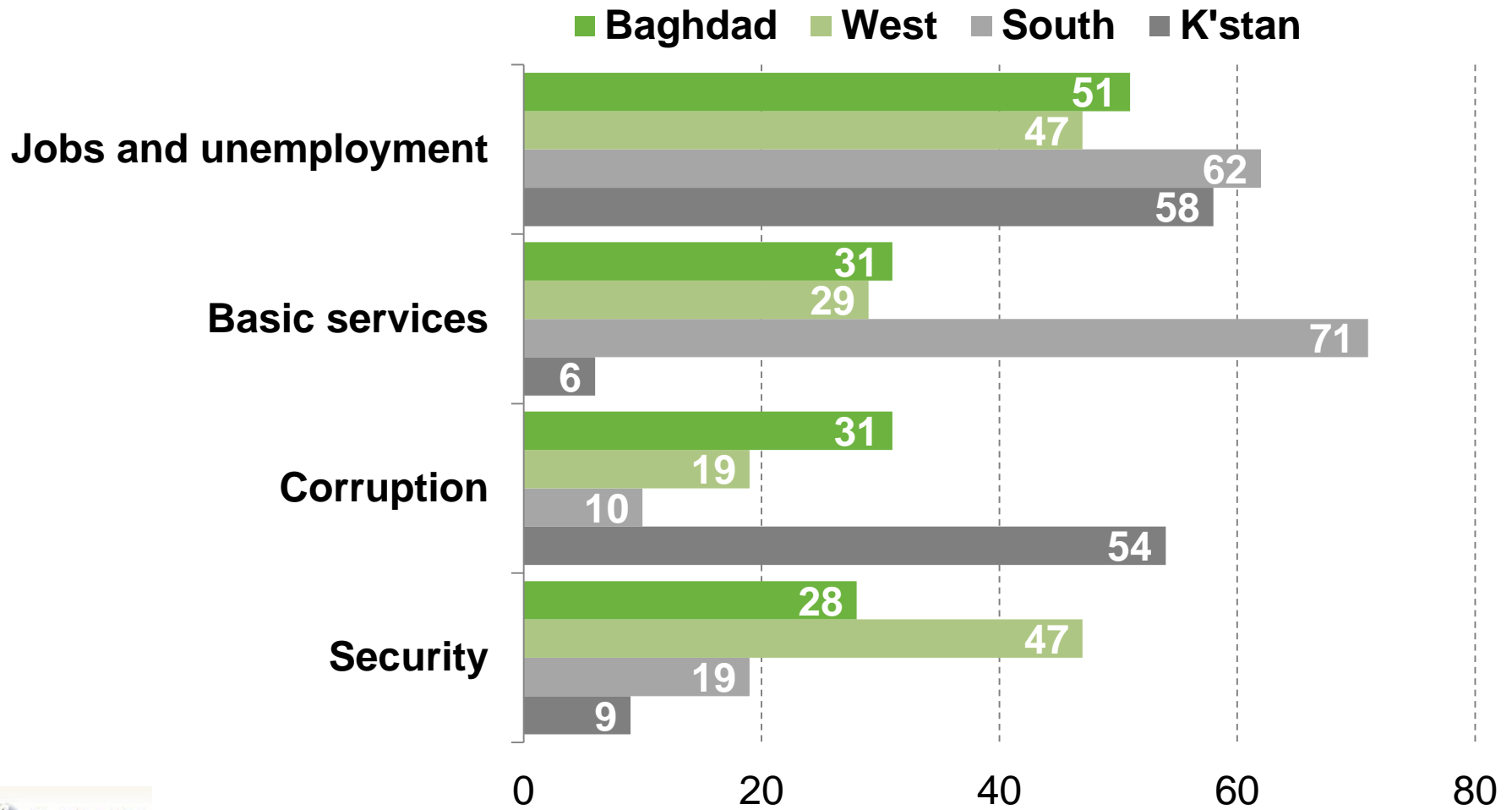
# Jobs and services continue to be top concerns

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



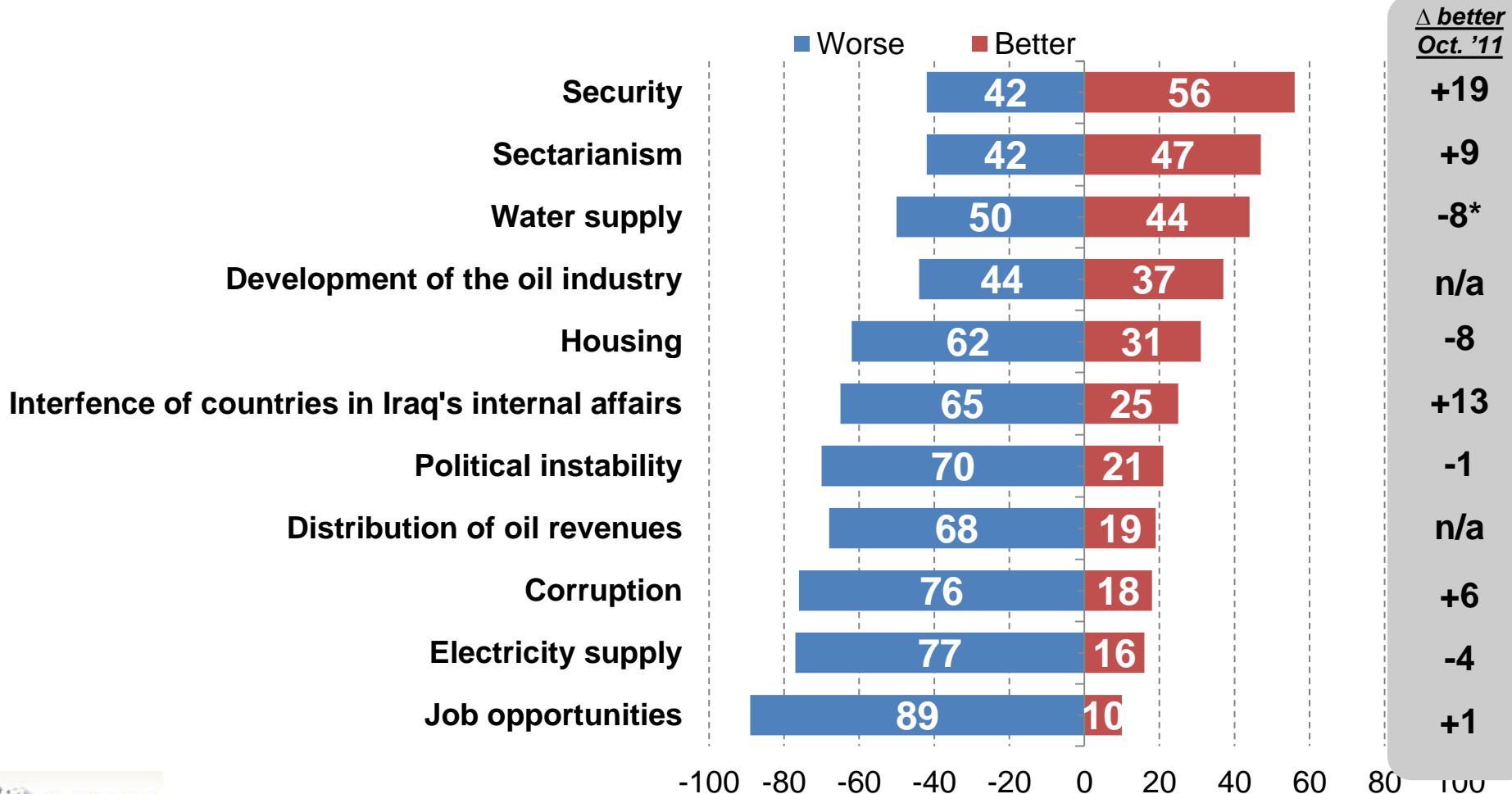
# Jobs a concern across all regions, services in South

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



# Perception of jobs and electricity remain extremely weak

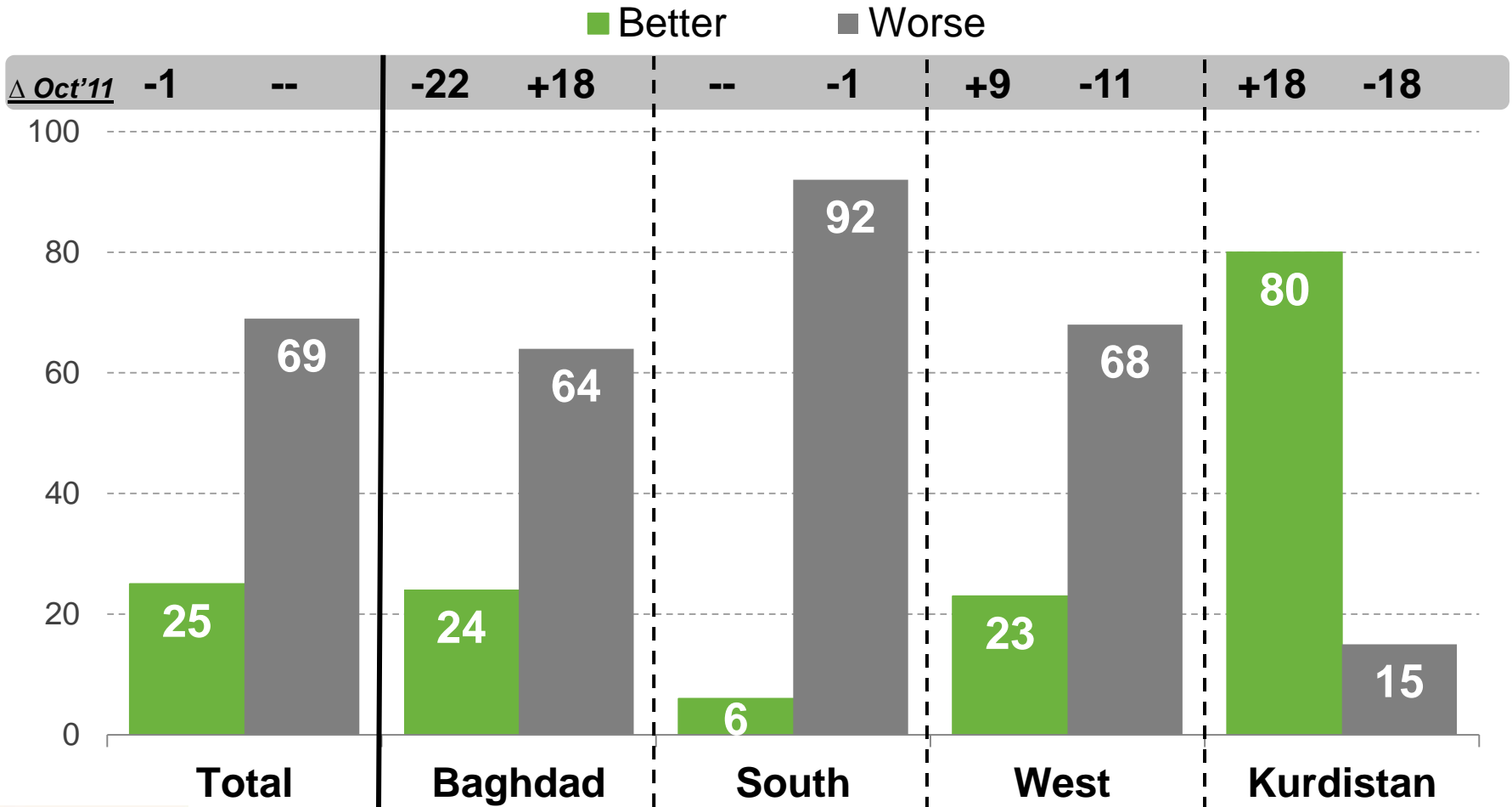
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq. (NON-KURDISTAN ONLY)



\* Last asked in November 2010

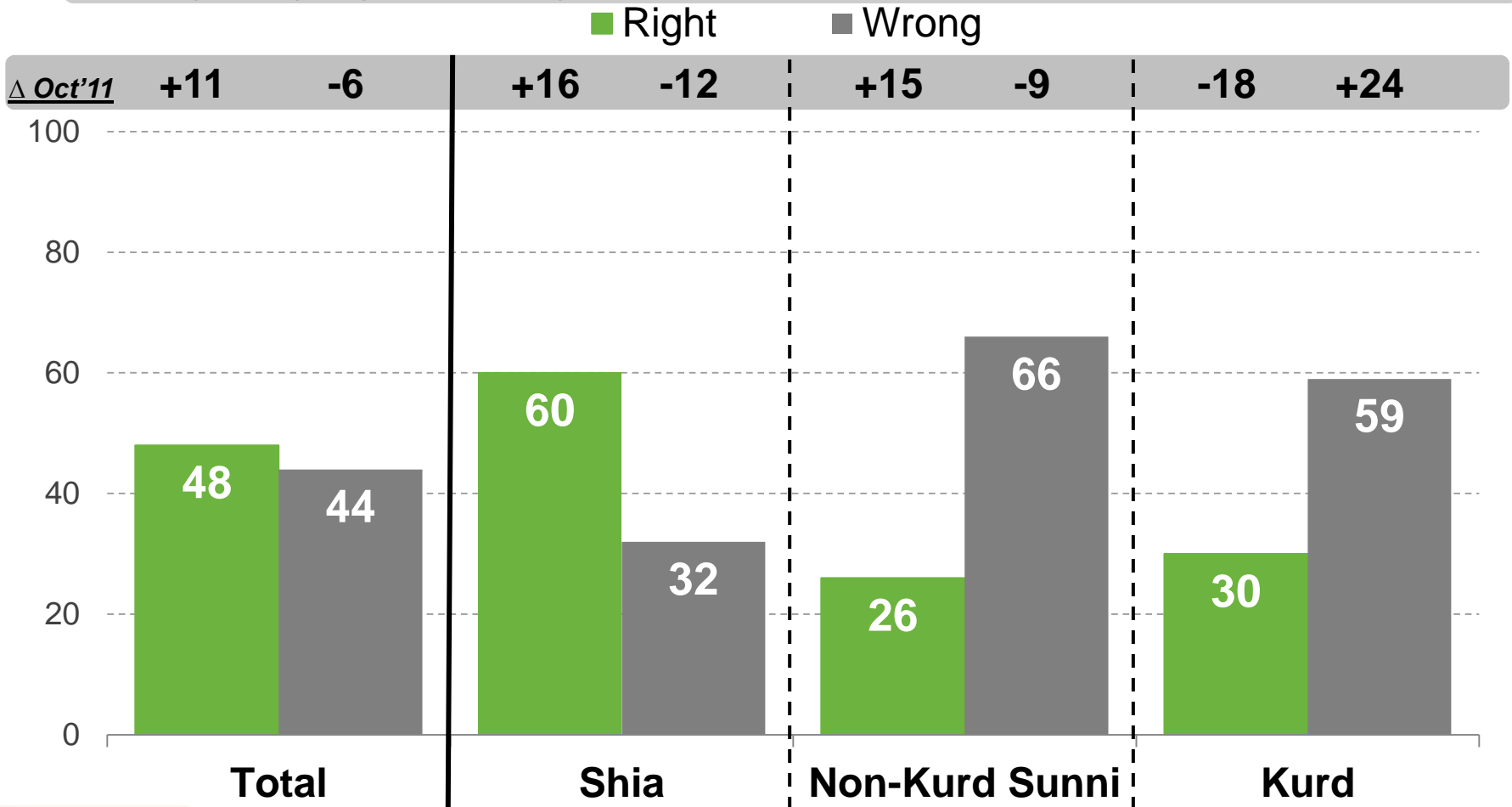
# Electricity supply varies by region; worst in South

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



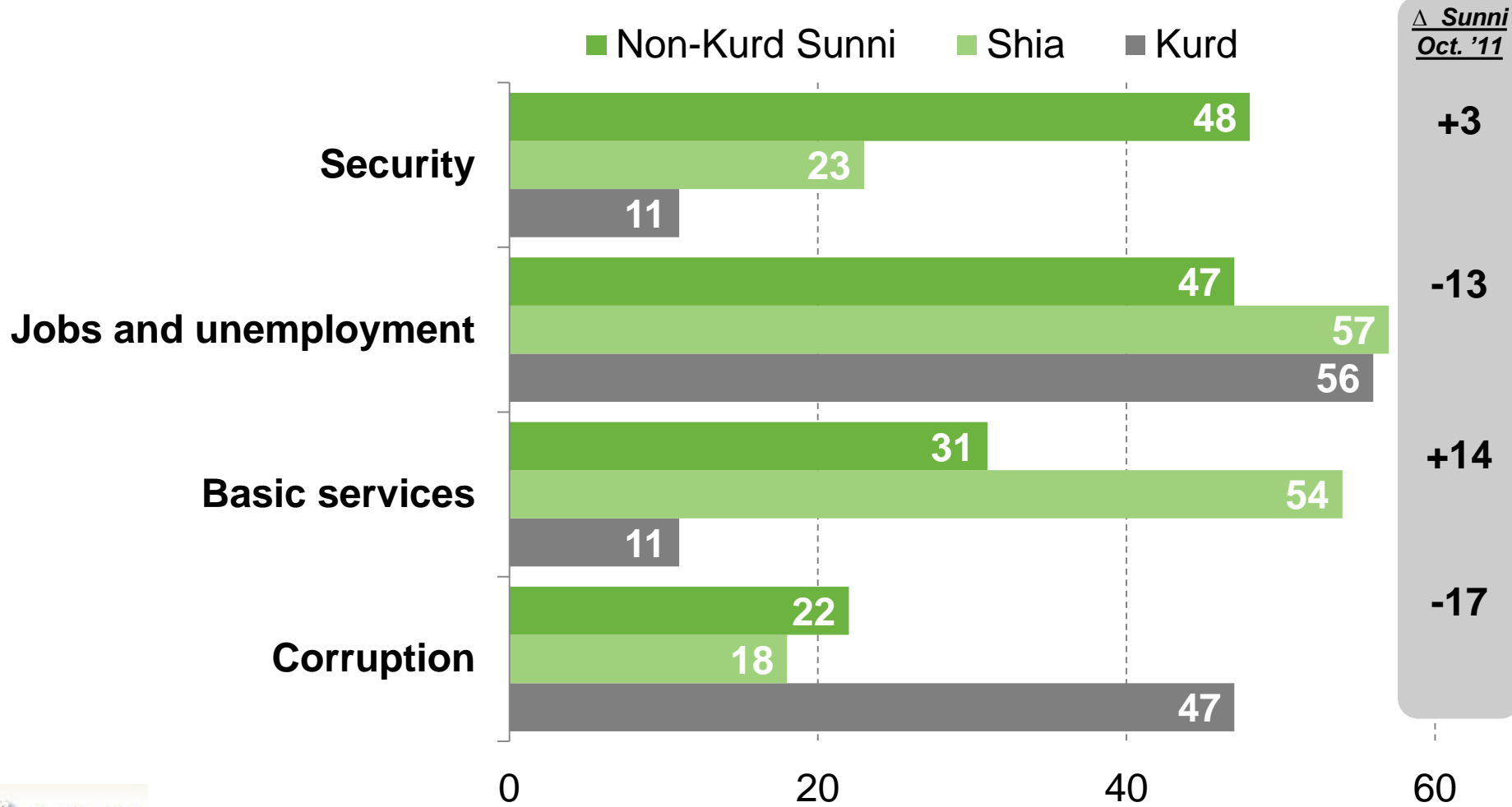
# Sunnis most pessimistic about country direction

*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?*



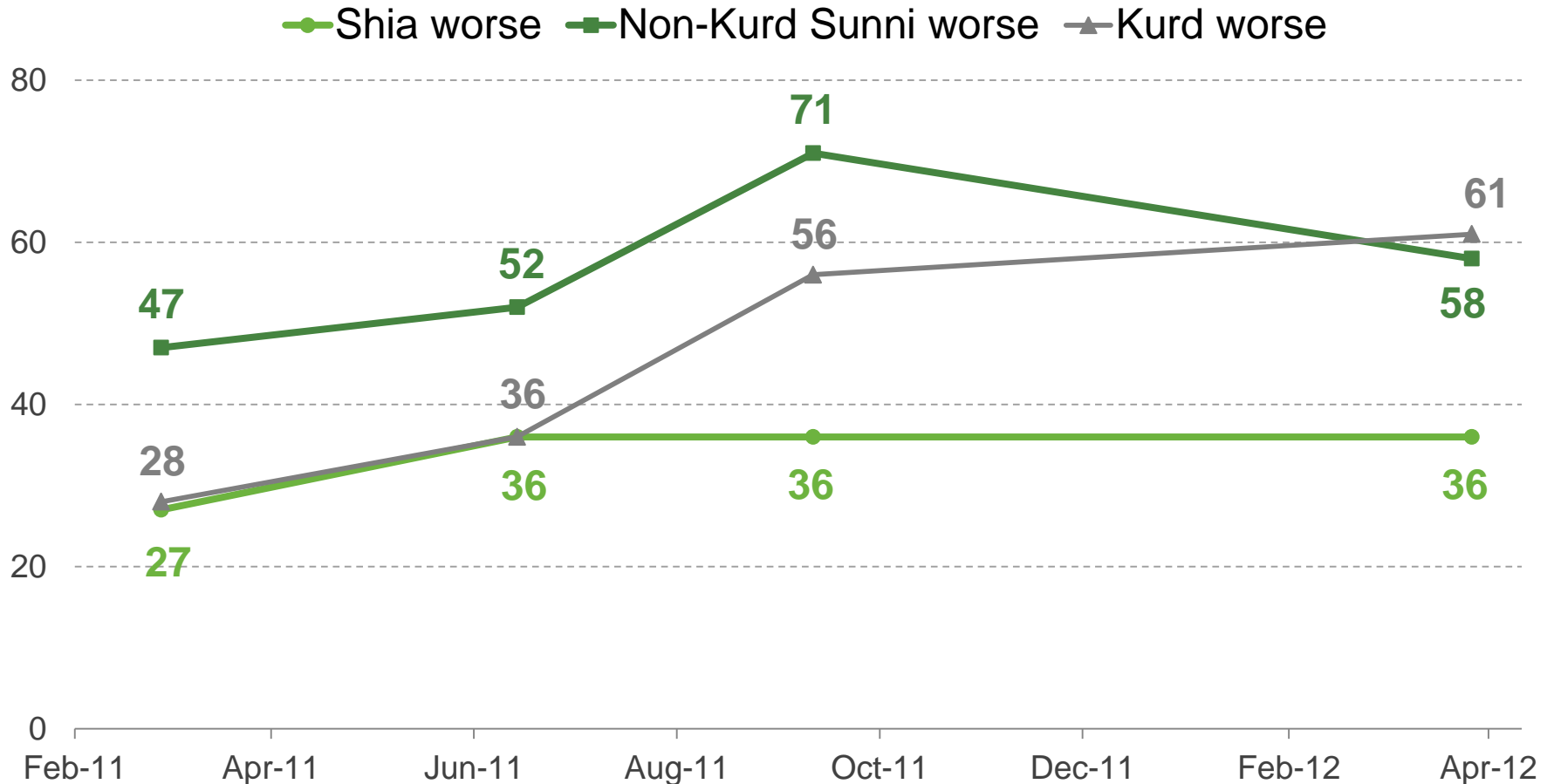
# Security and jobs concerns dominate among Sunnis

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



# Majority of Sunnis (and Kurds) see sectarianism worsening

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

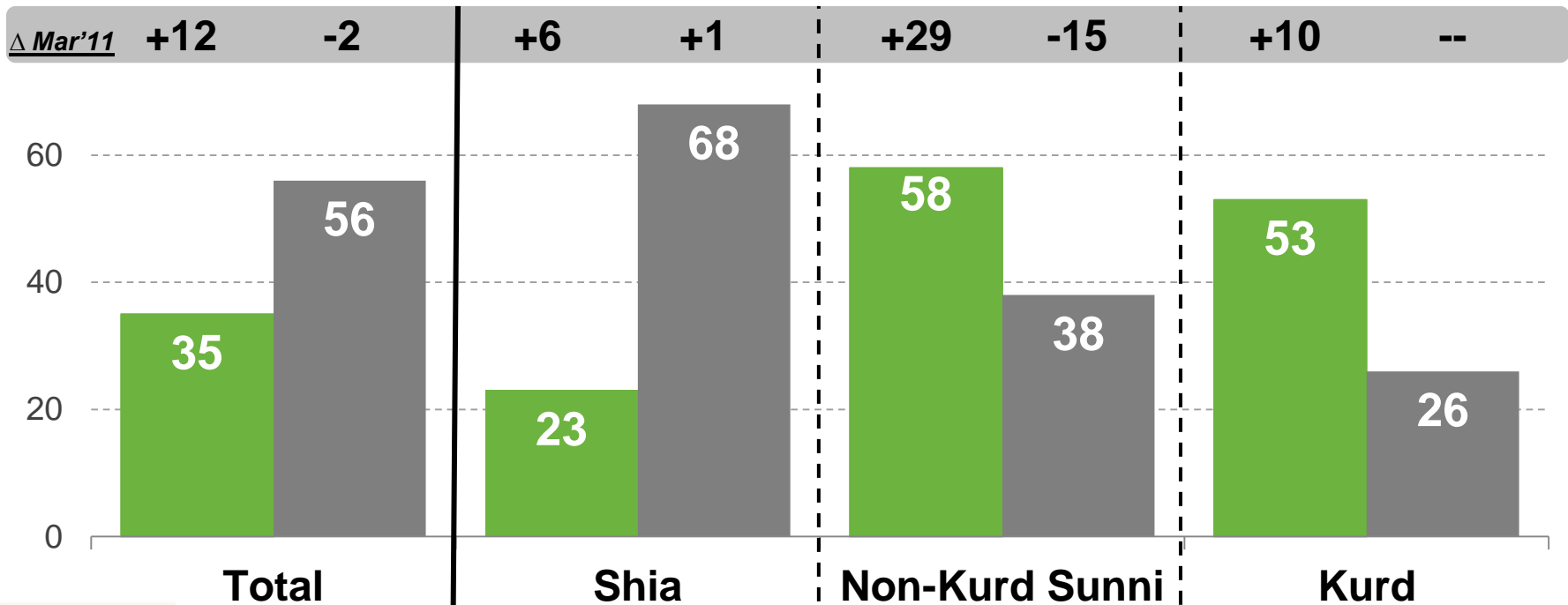


# A Sunni majority *now* see Iraq as a divided country

*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.**

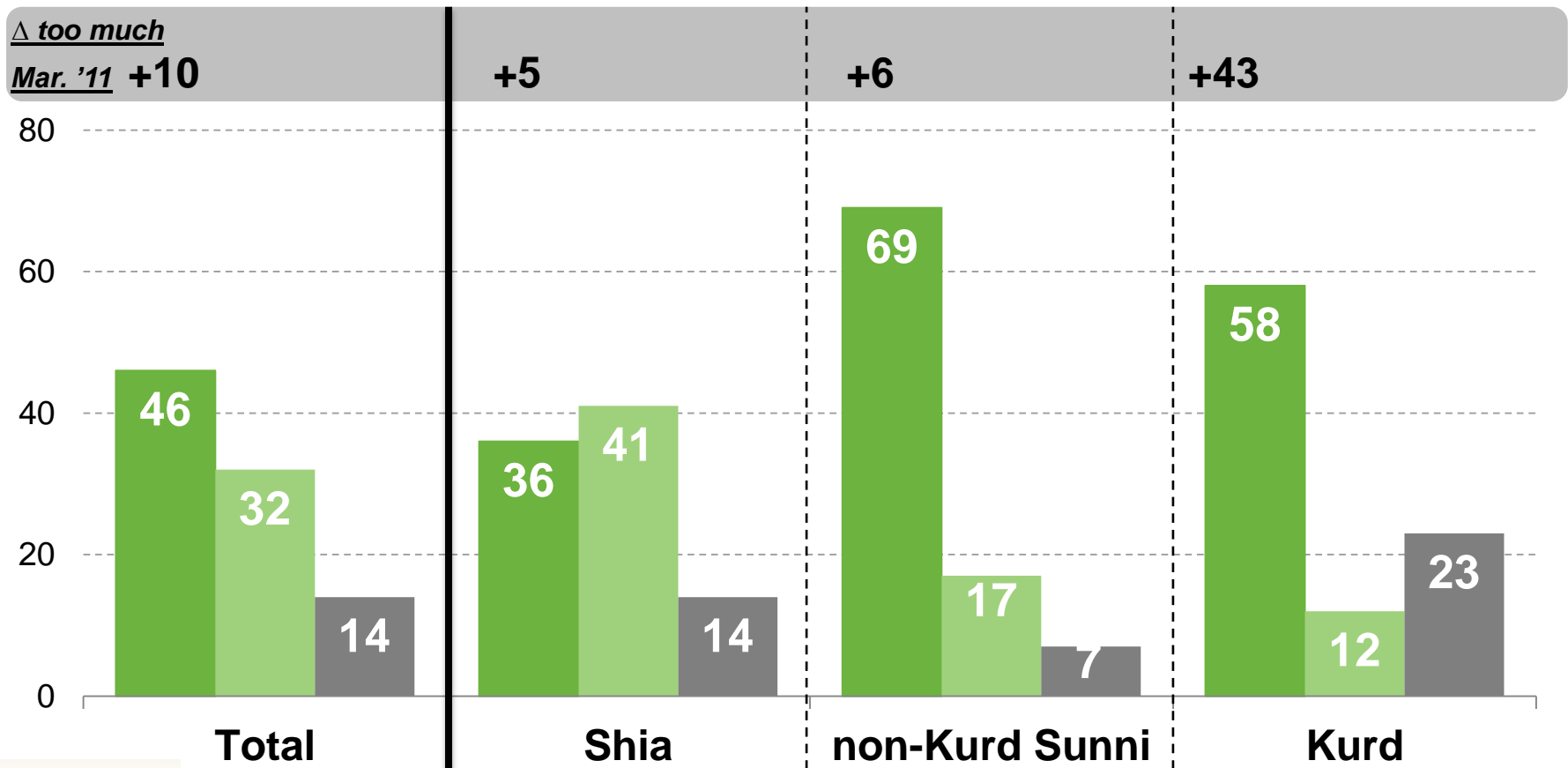




# Worries about Maliki power grab among Sunnis and Kurds

*Do you believe that al-Maliki has too much power, just the right amount, or not enough power?*

■ Too much power   ■ Just the right amount   ■ Not enough



# Sunnis see Maliki as power-grabbing; lay blame

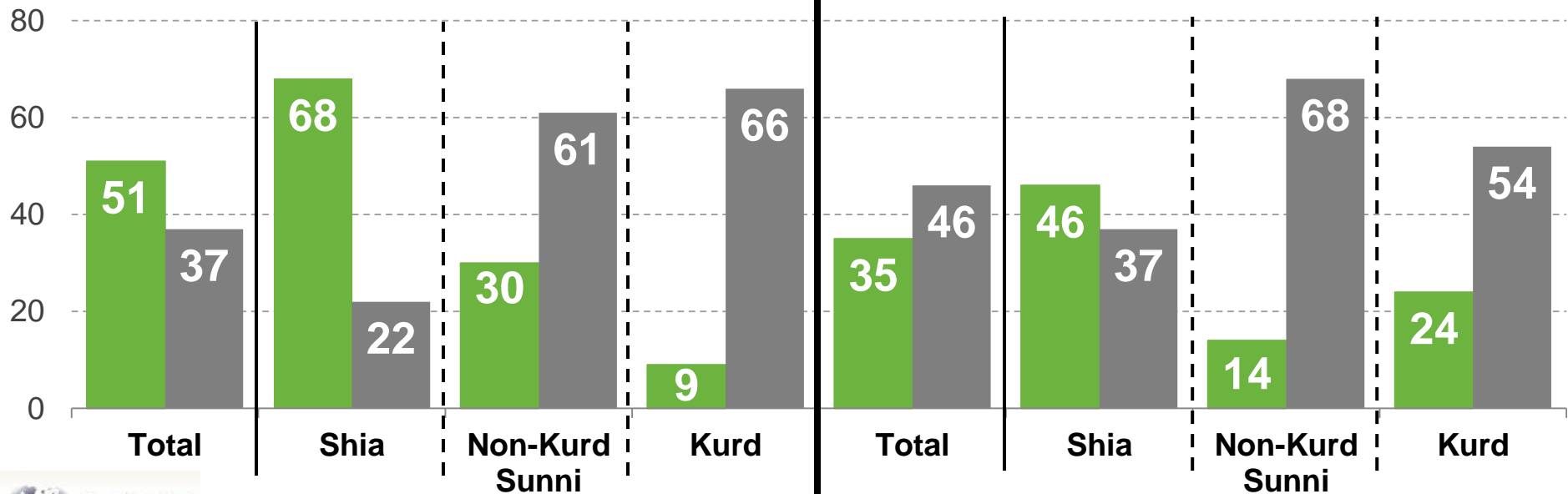
*I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.*

Statement 1: As prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki's priority has been to **maintain order and security.**

Statement 2: As prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki's priority has been to **consolidate his power.**

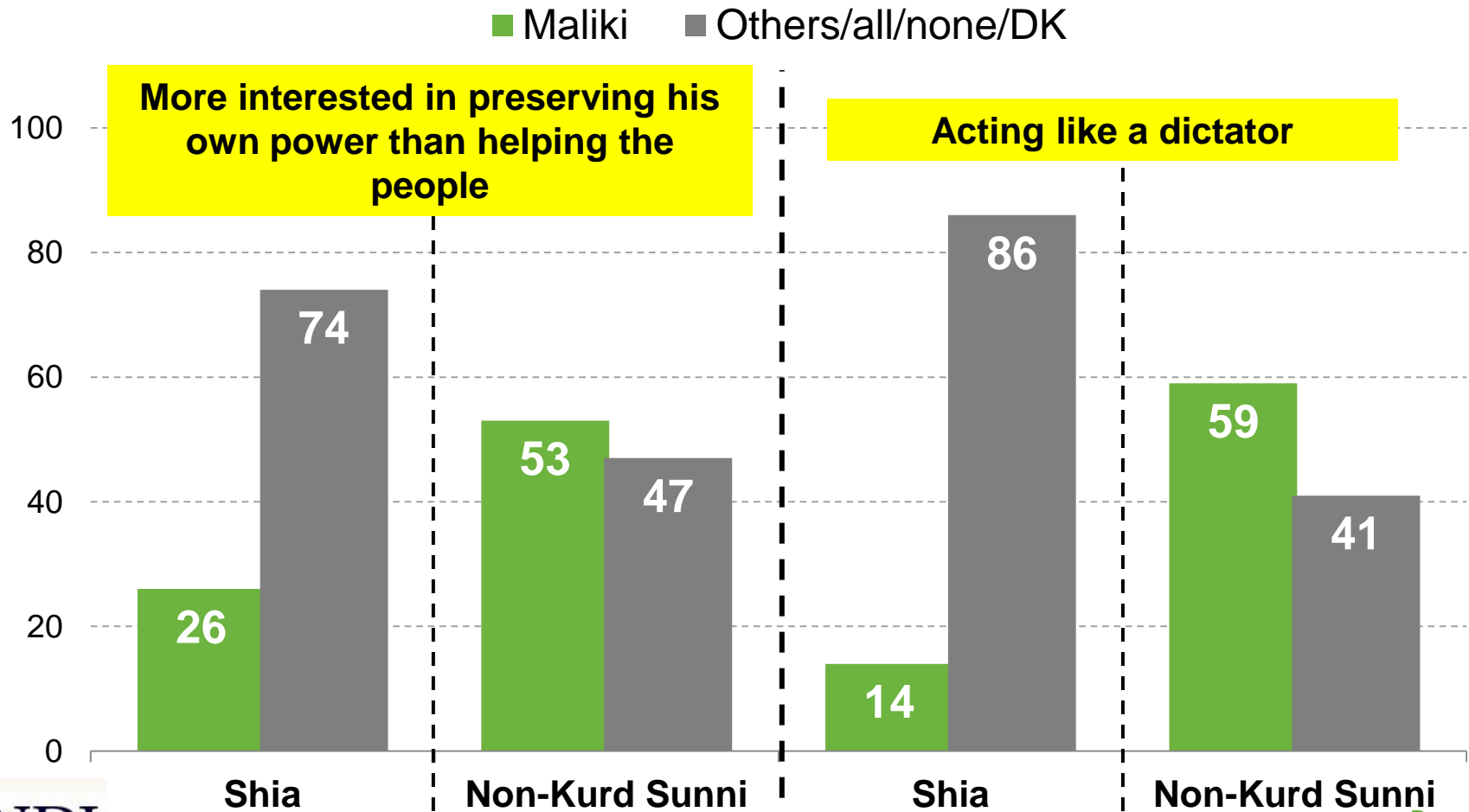
Statement 1: **Members of parliament** are more to blame for the current political crisis.

Statement 2: **Prime Minister al-Maliki** is more to blame for the current political crisis.



# Sunnis see Maliki interested in power, acting like dictator

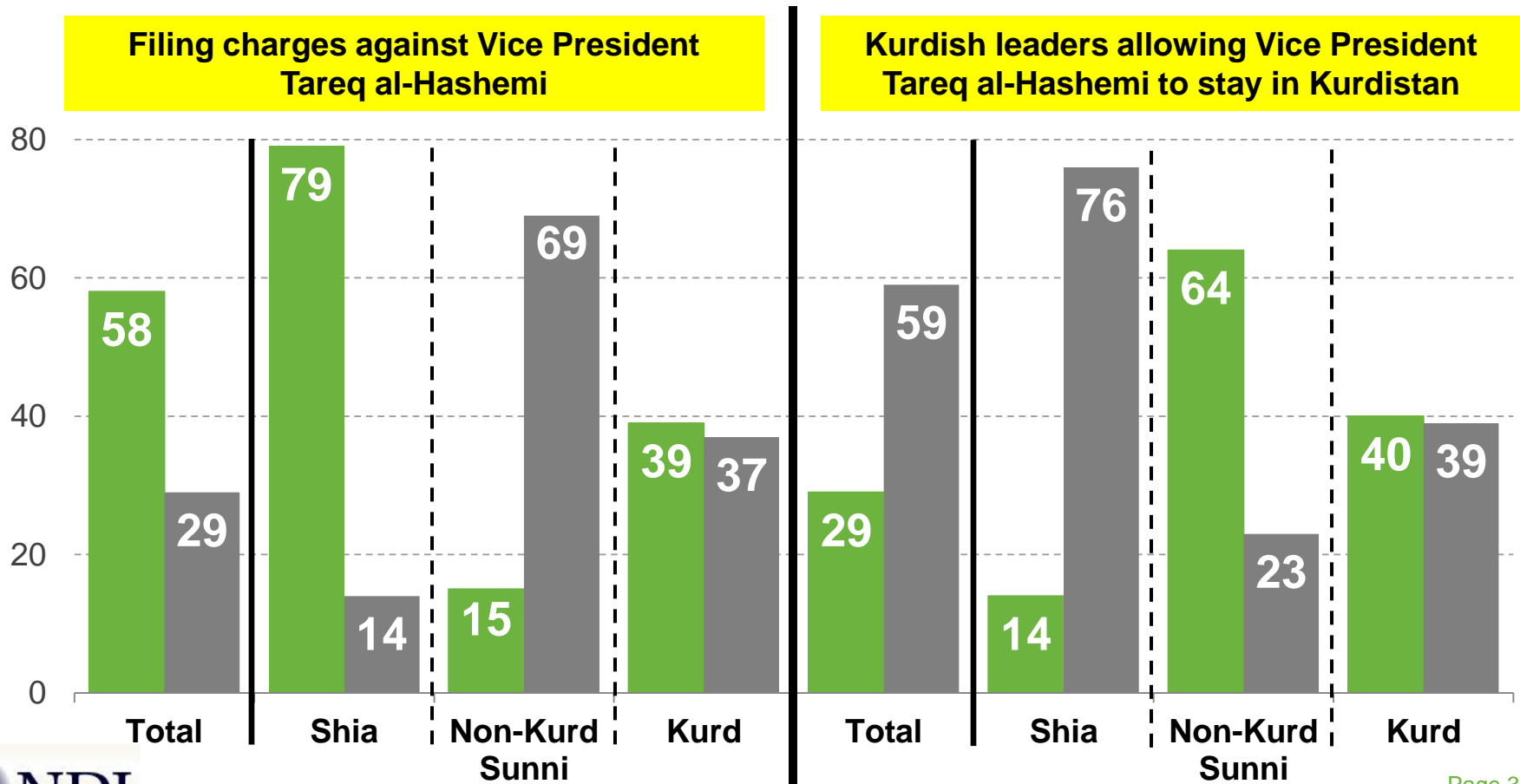
*For each one please tell me which political leader the phrase best describes: Nouri al-Maliki; Ayad Allawi; Ammar al-Hakim; or Muqtada al-Sadr? (NON-KURDSITAN ONLY)*



# Hashemi case divisive; contributes to Sunni concern

*For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of that event.*

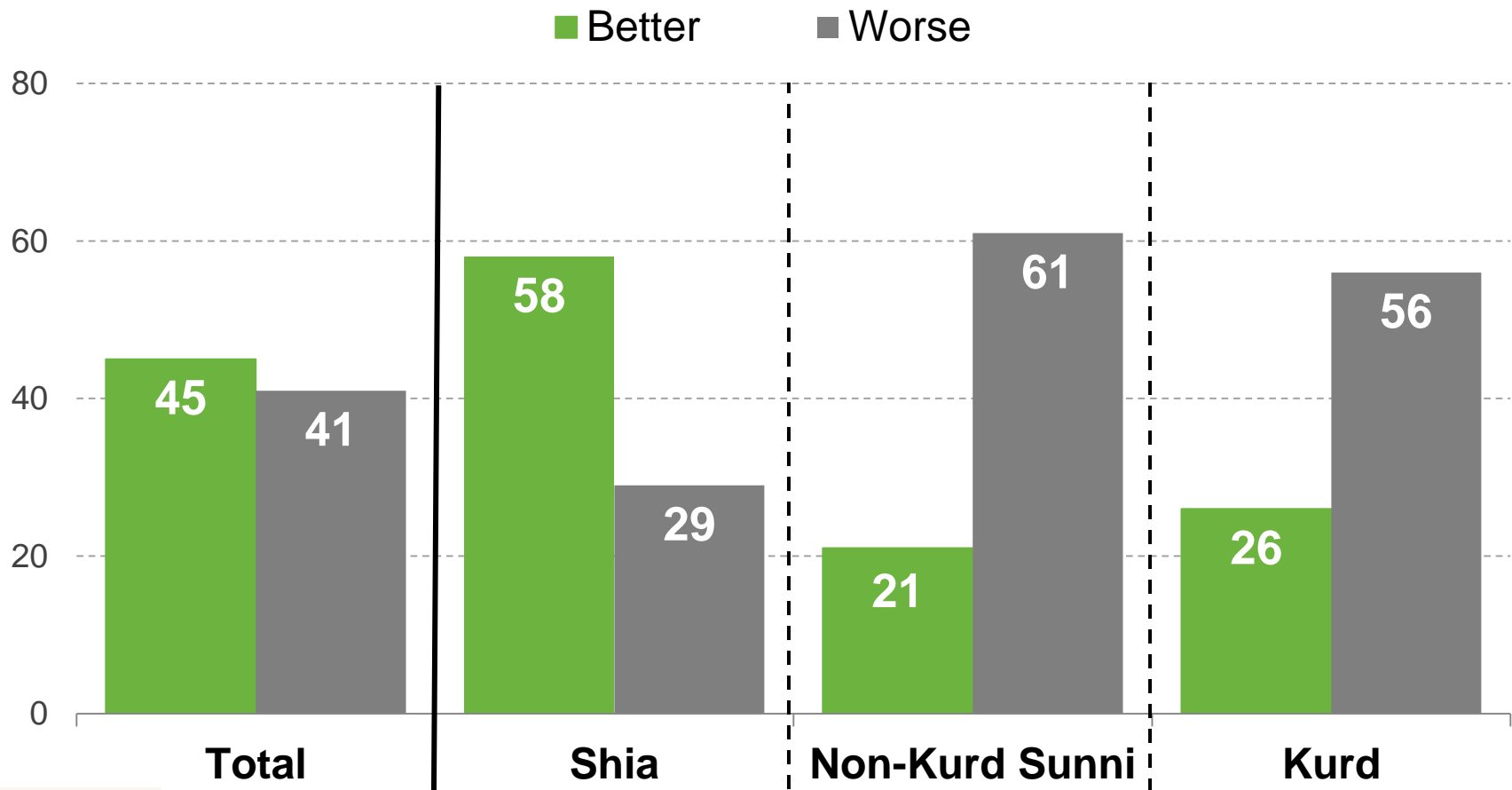
■ Approve    ■ Disapprove



# Most Sunnis see judicial independence worsening

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

## Independence of Iraq's judges and courts

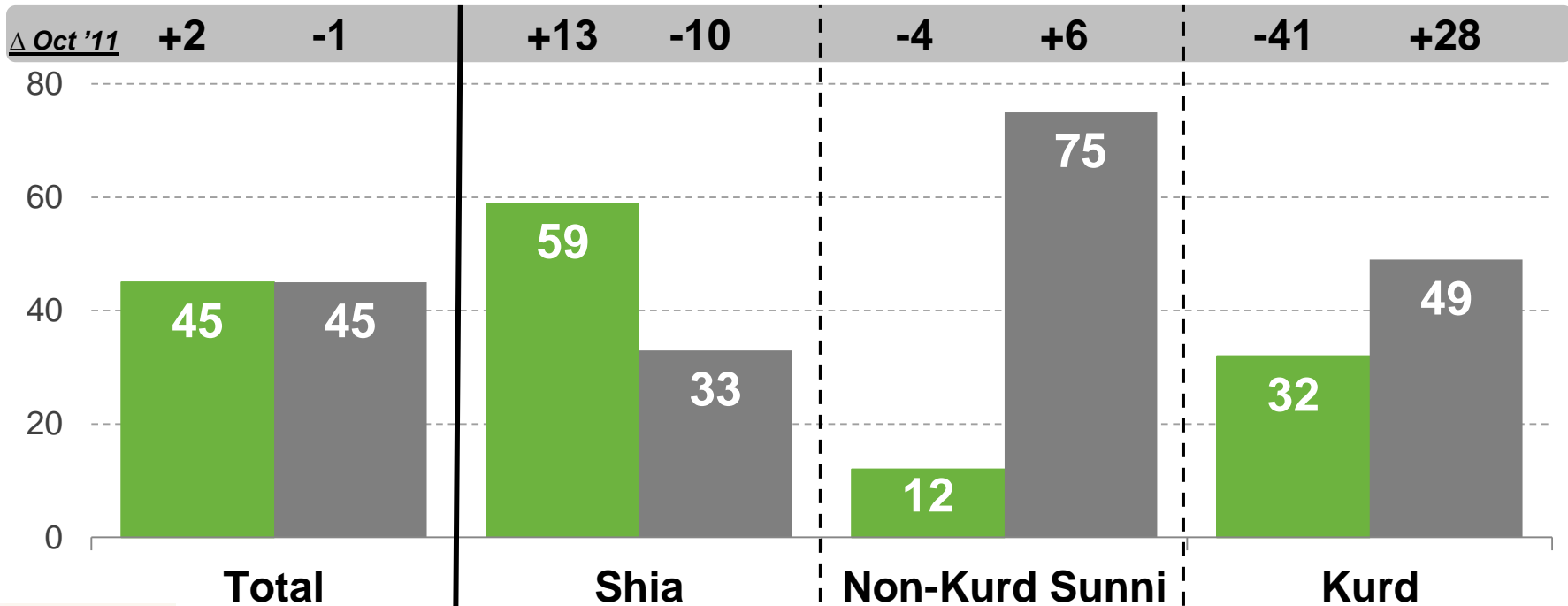


# Sunnis skeptical about Iraq's democratic credentials

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

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

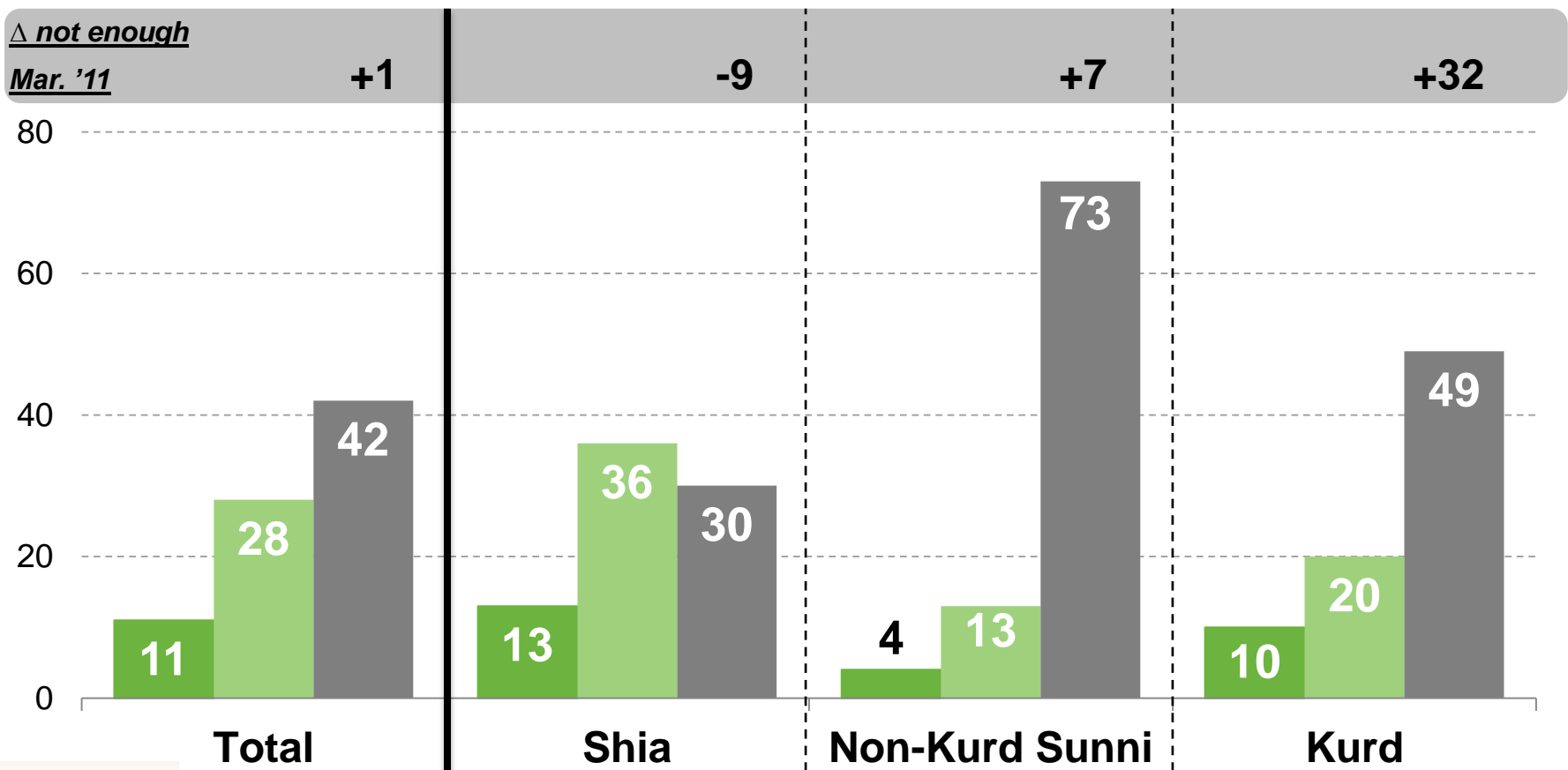
**Statement 2: Iraq today is not a real democracy.**



# Sunnis strongly feel Allawi does not have enough power

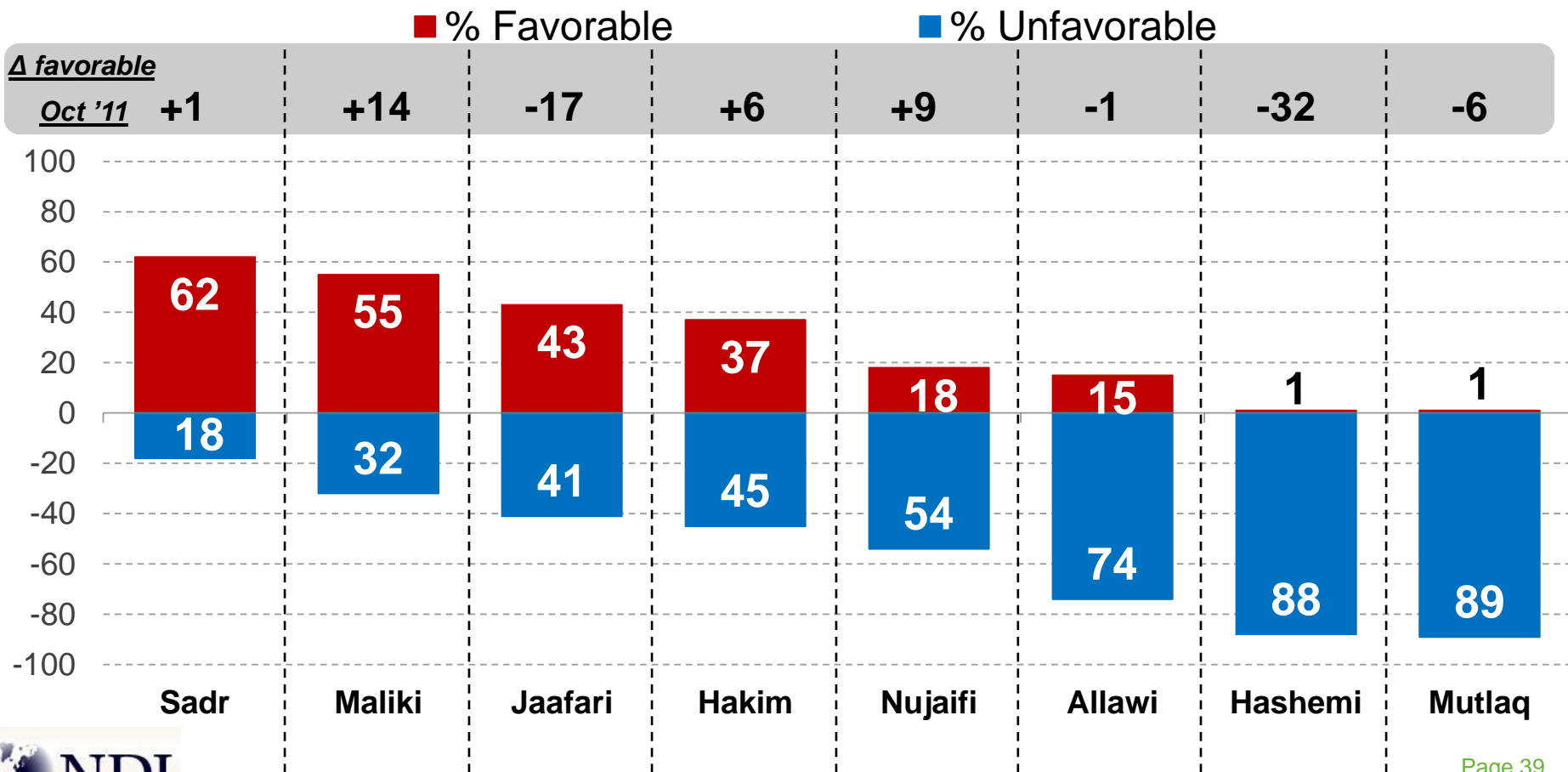
*Do you believe that Ayad Allawi has too much power, just the right amount, or not enough?*

■ Too much power   ■ Just the right amount   ■ Not enough



# Maliki's favorability jumps among "Disaffected Shia"

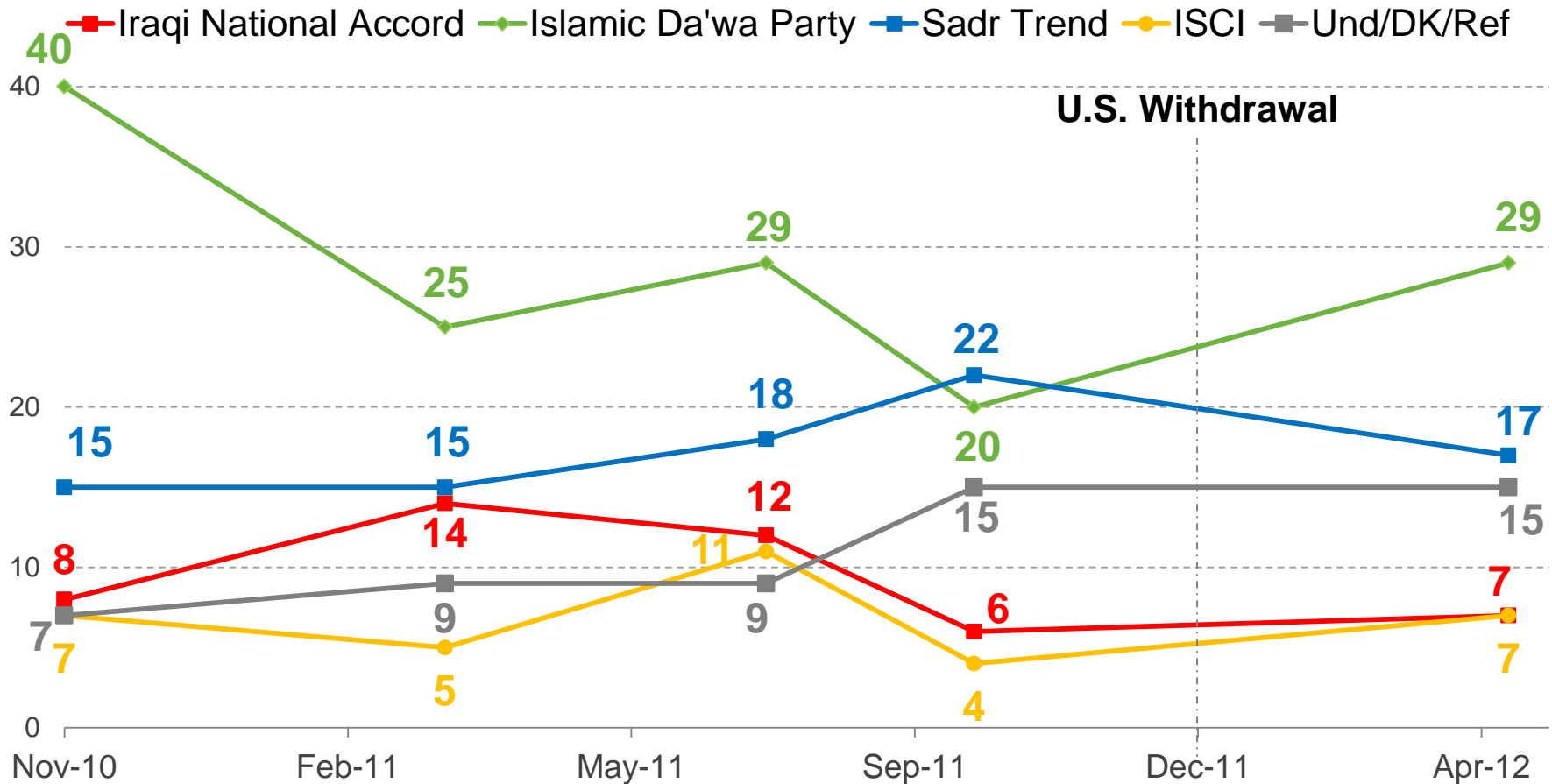
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable. (DISAFFECTED SHIA ONLY)





# Maliki support jumps, Sadr drops among “disaffected Shia”

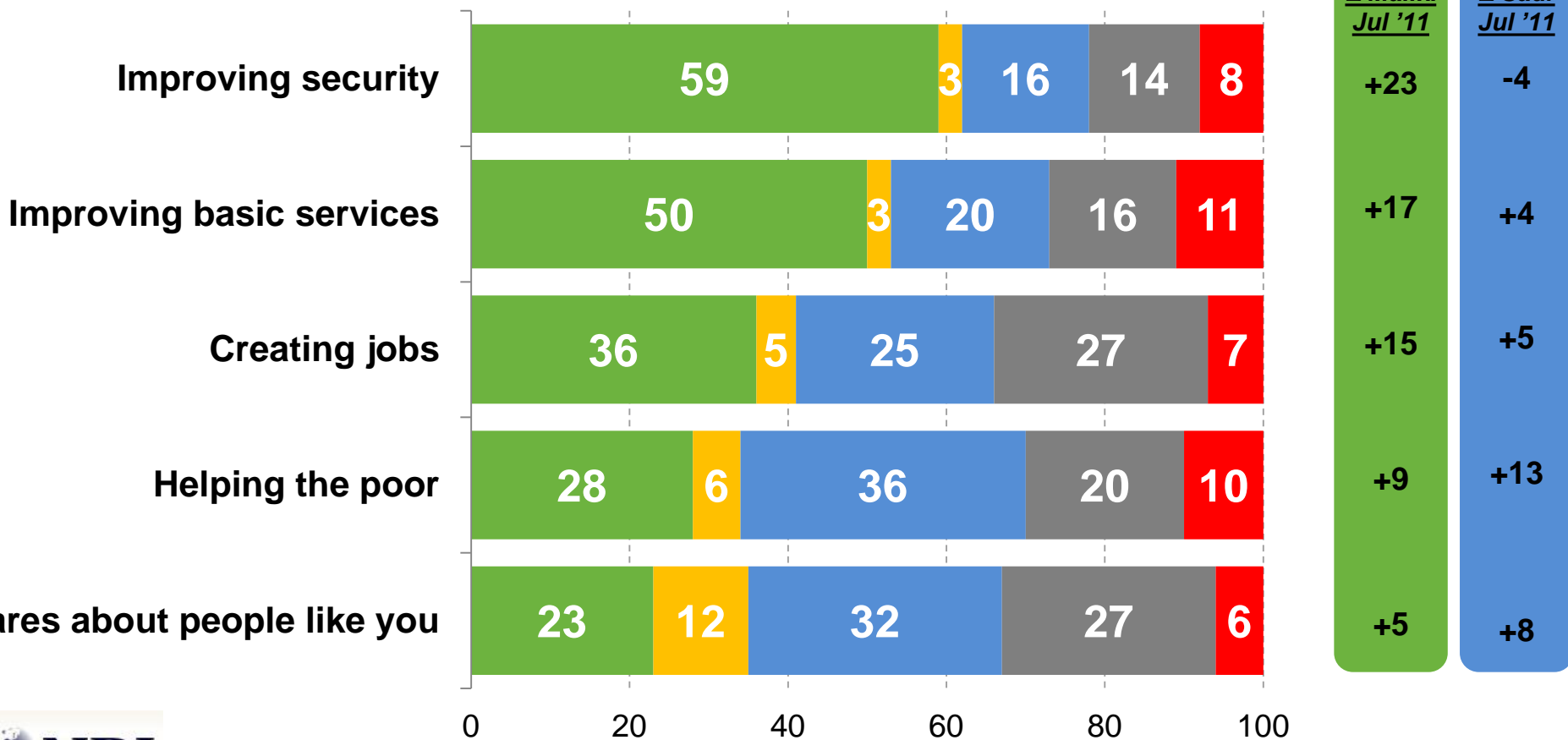
Place a mark next to the political party you would vote for, if the elections were held today.  
(DISAFFECTED SHIA ONLY)



# Maliki improves on key issues | “Disaffected Shia”

*For each one please tell me which political leader the phrase best describes: Nouri al-Maliki; Ayad Allawi; Ammar al-Hakim; or Muqtada al-Sadr? (DISAFFECTED SHIA ONLY)*

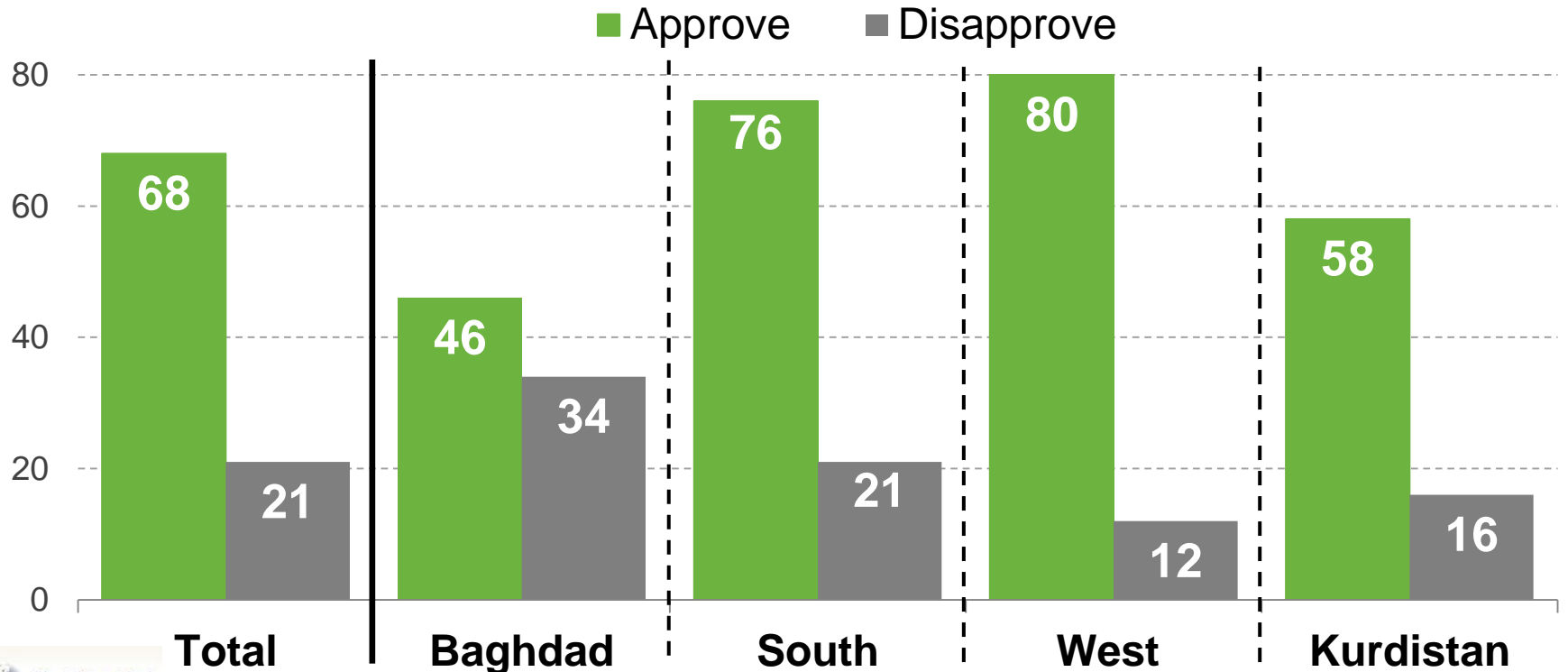
■ Maliki ■ Hakim ■ Sadr ■ All/none/other/DK/ref ■ Allawi



# Openness to opposition group with alternative proposals

*Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of that event.*

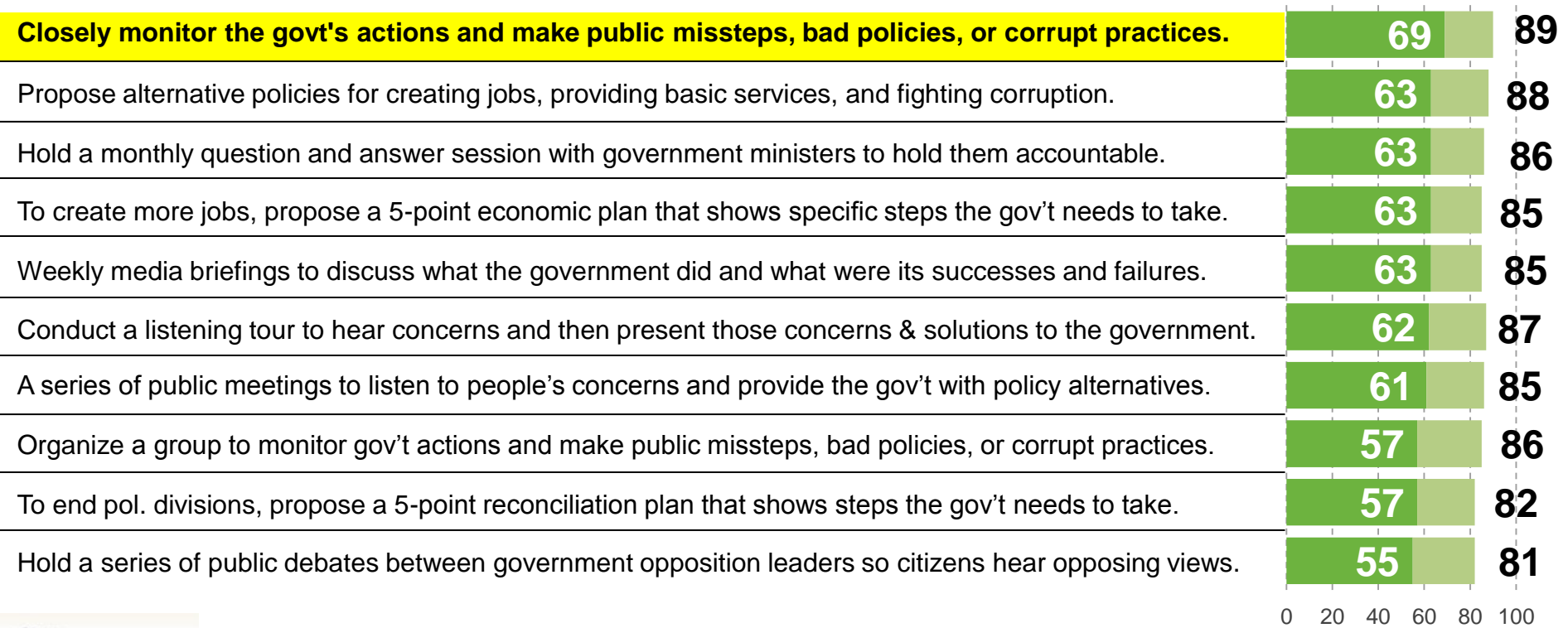
**A group of political parties declaring themselves as opposition within the Council of Representatives and proposing policy alternatives different from those set forth by the government**



# Opposition actions | looking for watchdogs, alternatives

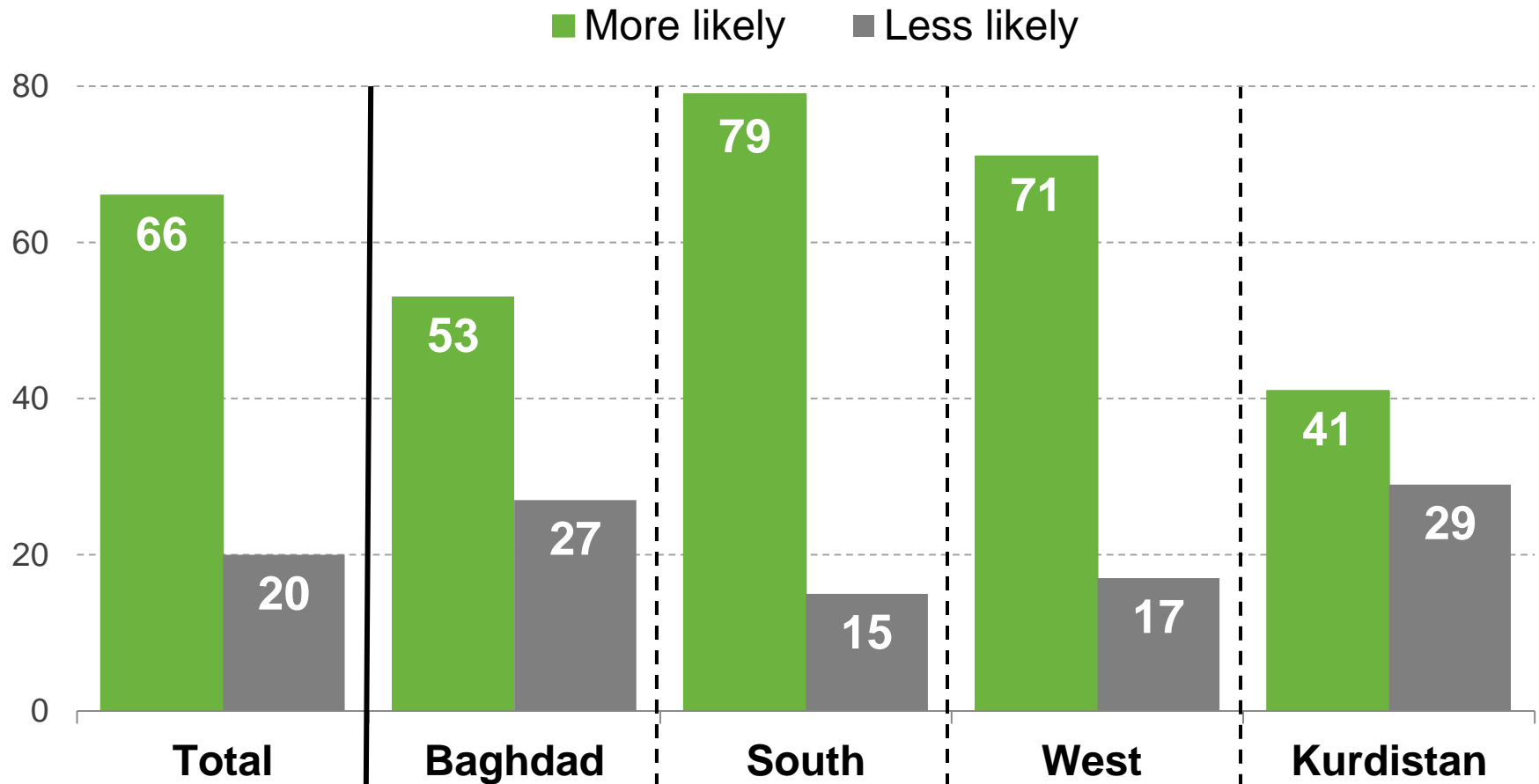
*Imagine that certain members of the CoR made an announcement declaring that they are forming an opposition group within the Council of Representatives. For each action, please tell me how it would make you feel towards this group -- would it make you feel much more favorable, somewhat more favorable, just a little more favorable, or no more favorable?*

■ Much more favorable ■ Somewhat more favorable



# Opposition actions would likely increase support

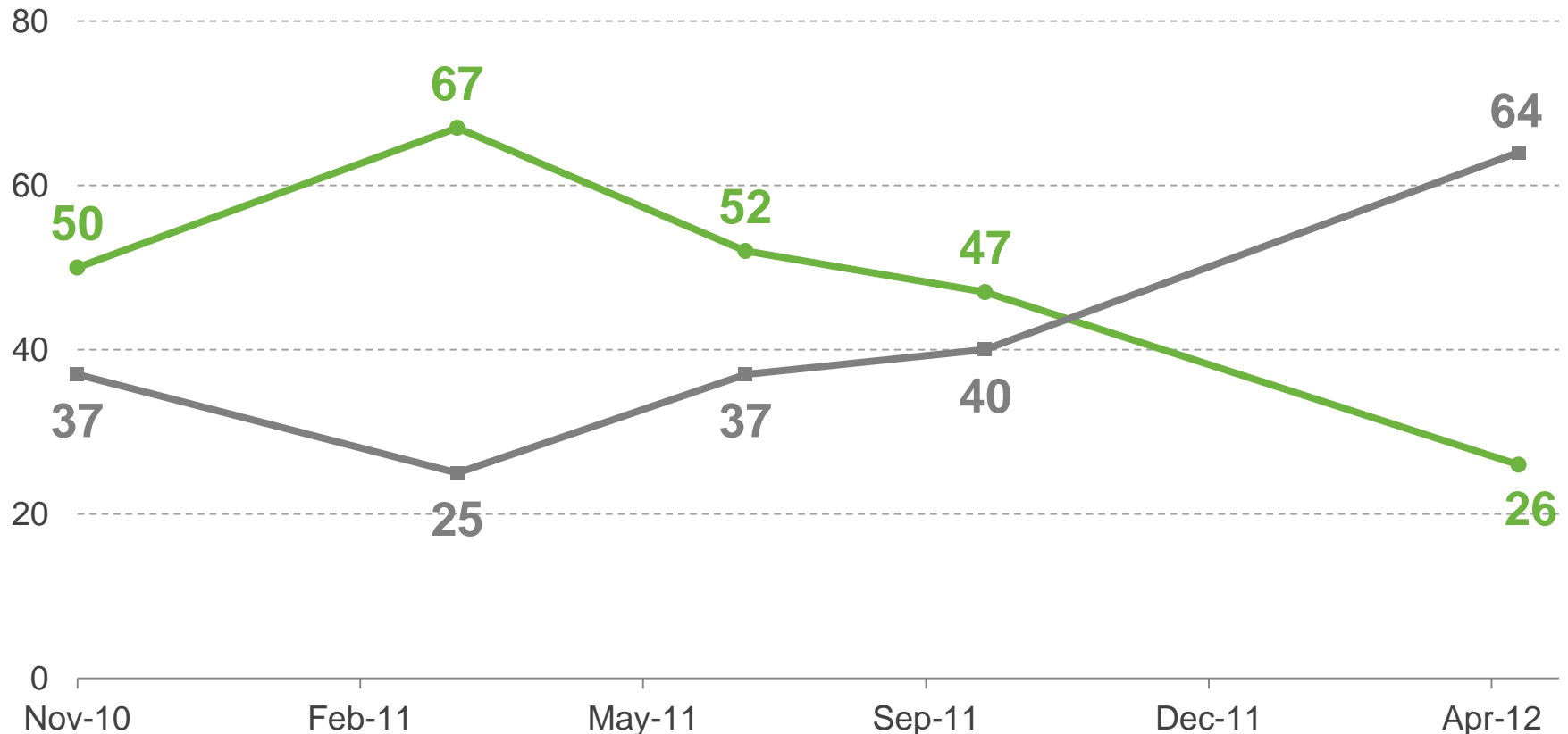
*Assuming an opposition group did some of the things you just heard, would you be more likely or less likely to vote for members of this group in the next election?*



# Significant shift in Kurdistan's perception of Iraq'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? (KURDISTAN ONLY)*

—●— Right direction      —■— Wrong direction

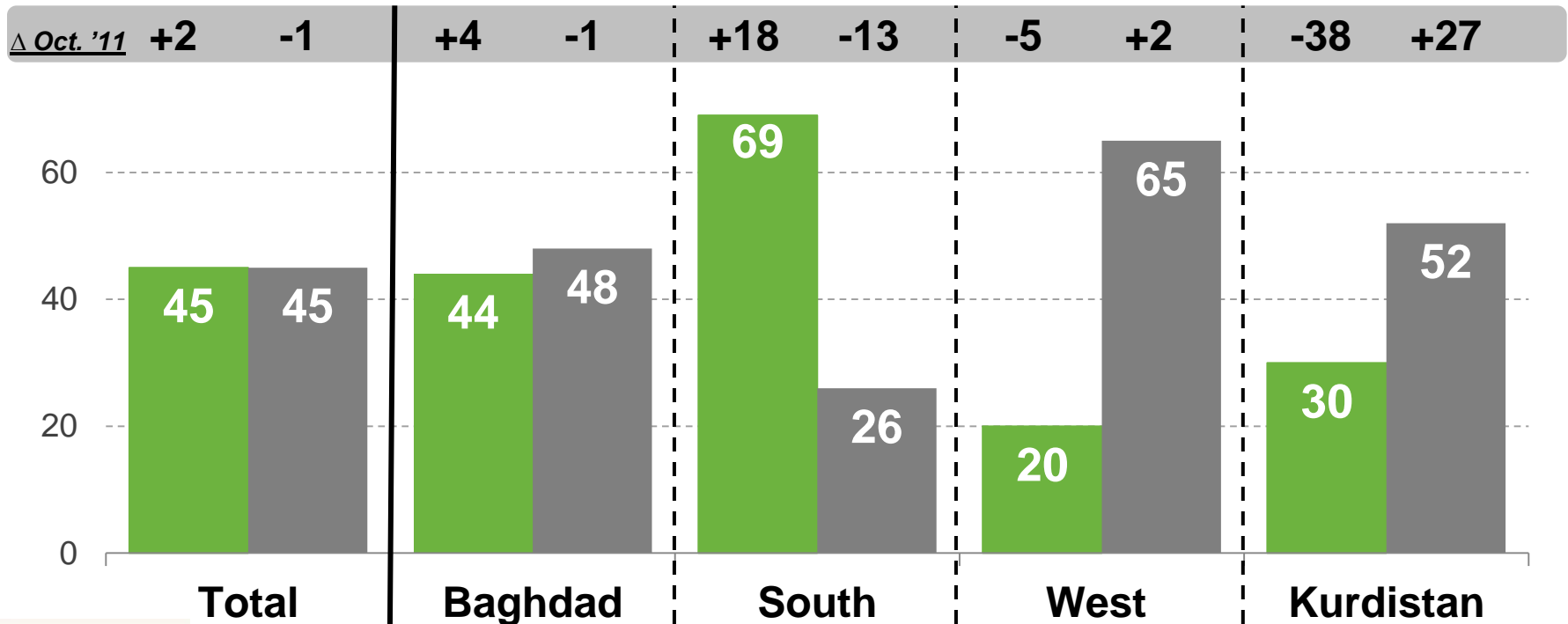


# Kurdistan now has doubts about Iraqi democracy

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

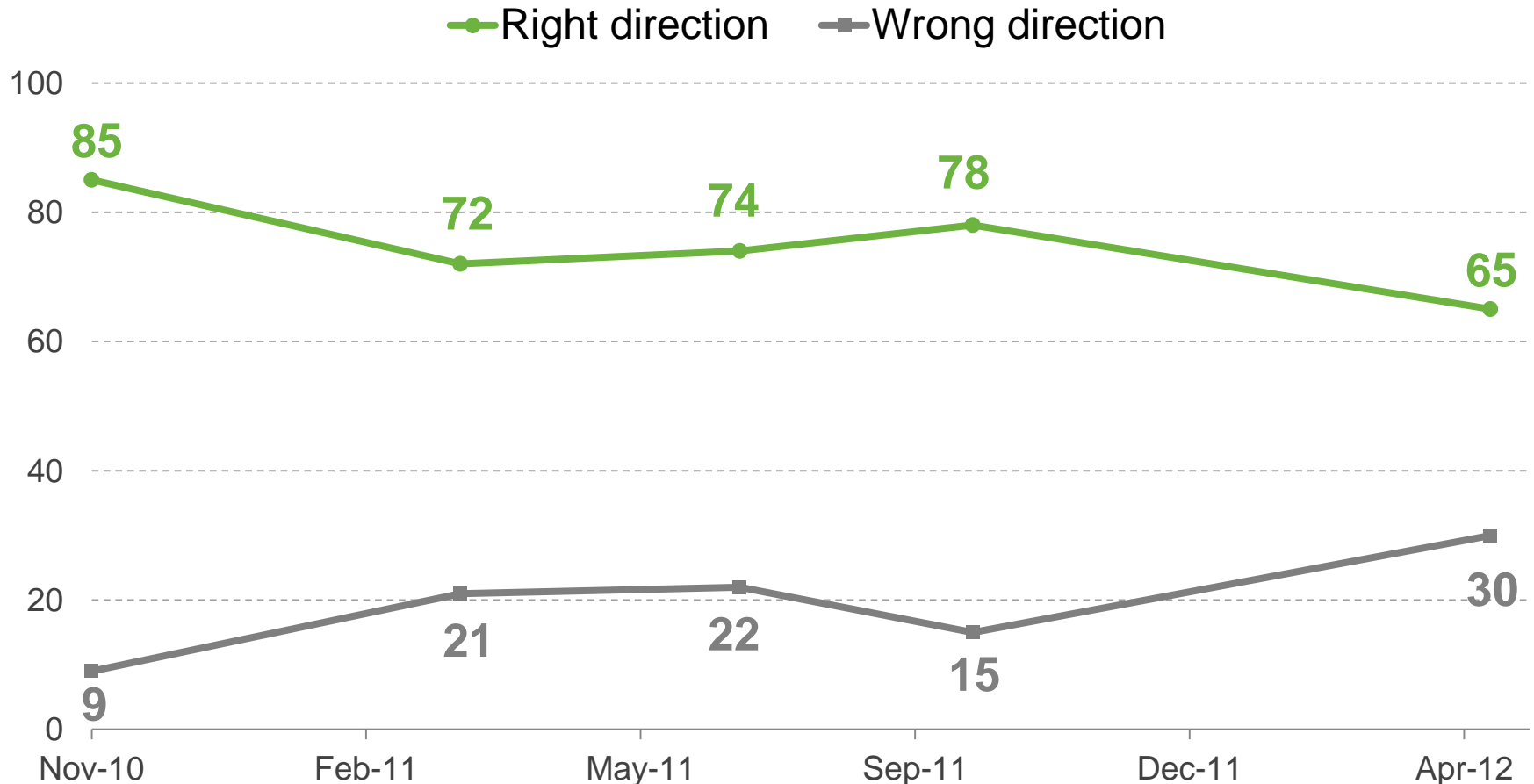
**Statement 1: Iraq today is a real democracy.**

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



## Majority still see *Kurdistan* heading 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? (KURDISTAN ONLY)

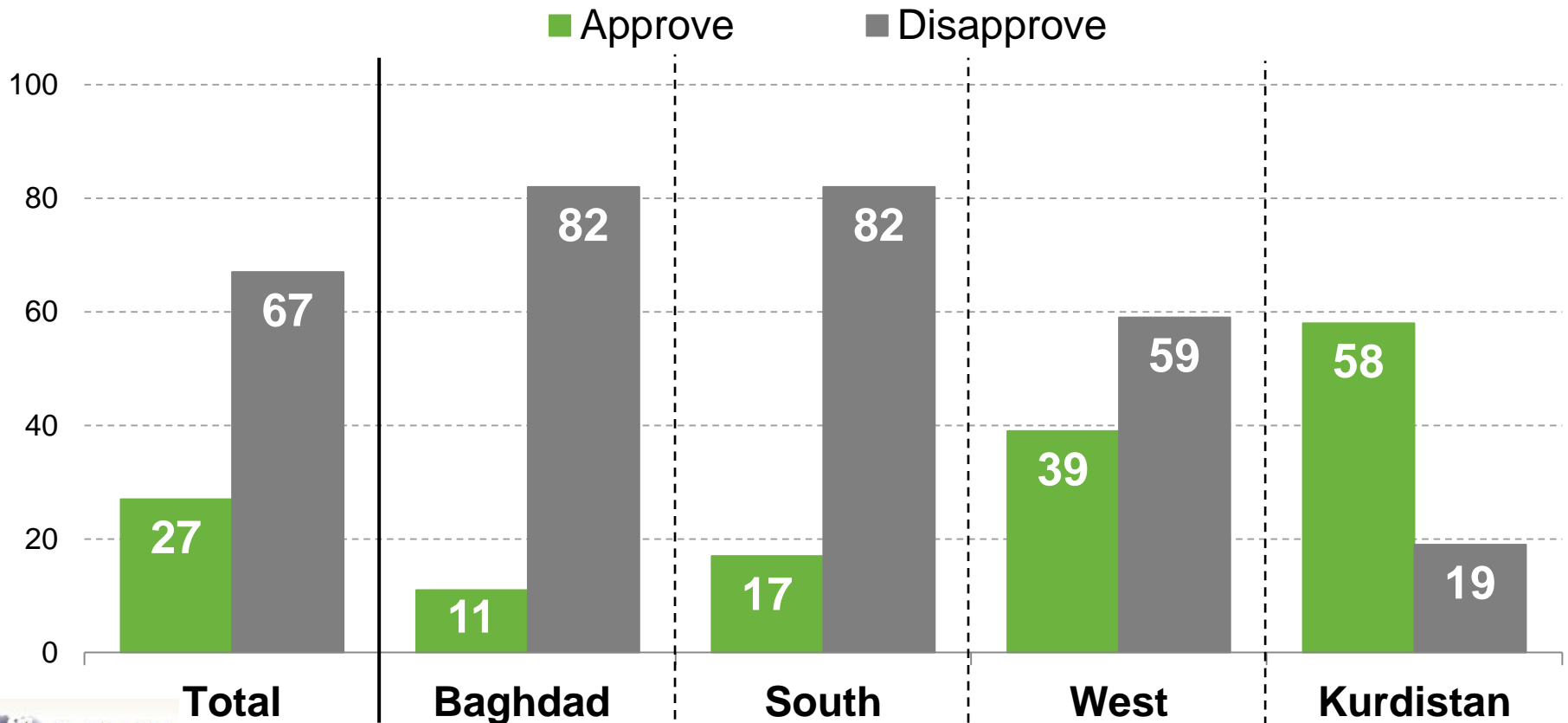




# Kurdistan most supportive of more autonomous regions

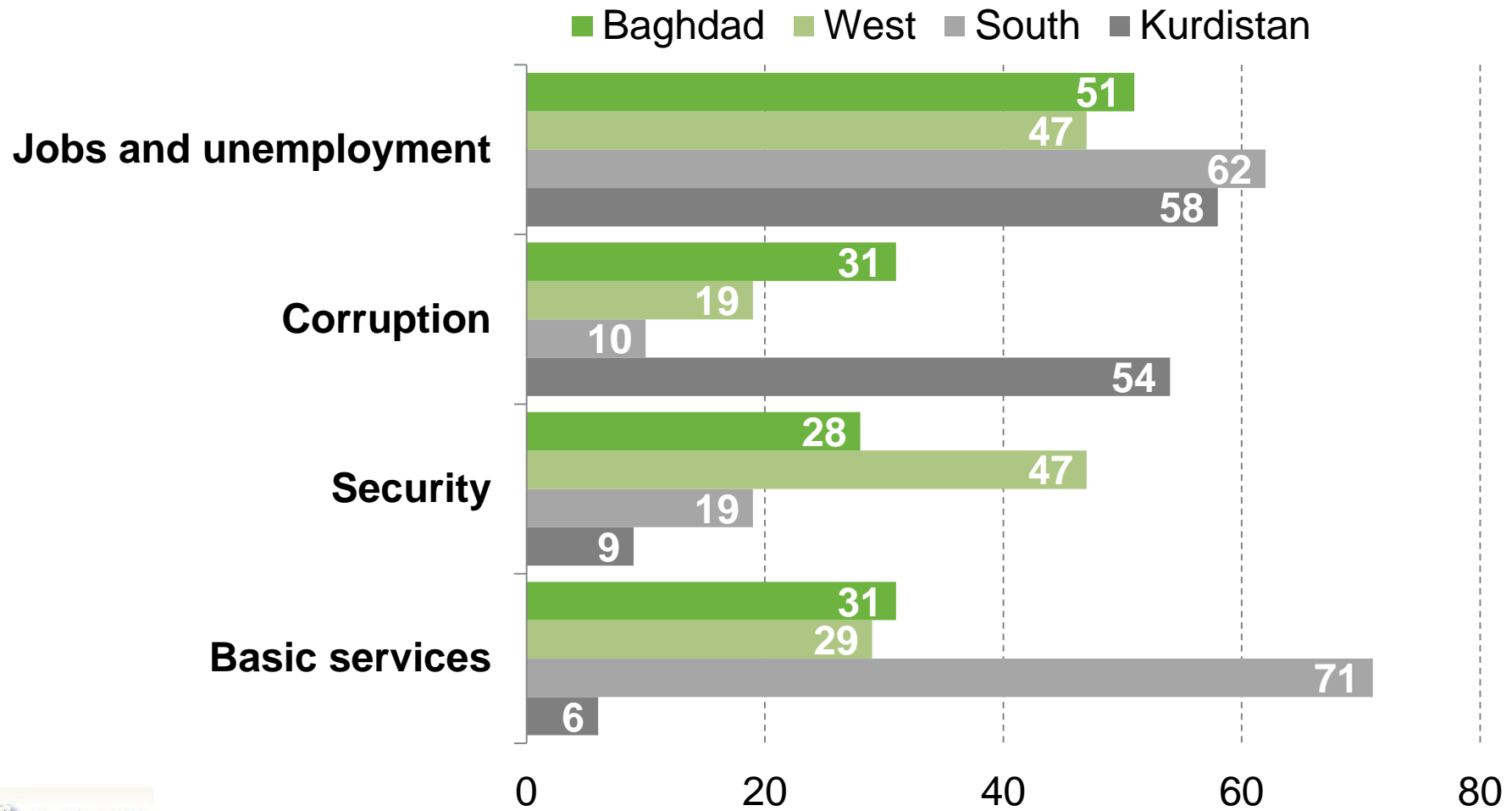
*Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of that event.*

**Leaders from Anbar, Diyala, and Salahaddin asking for the establishment of an autonomous region for their governorate**



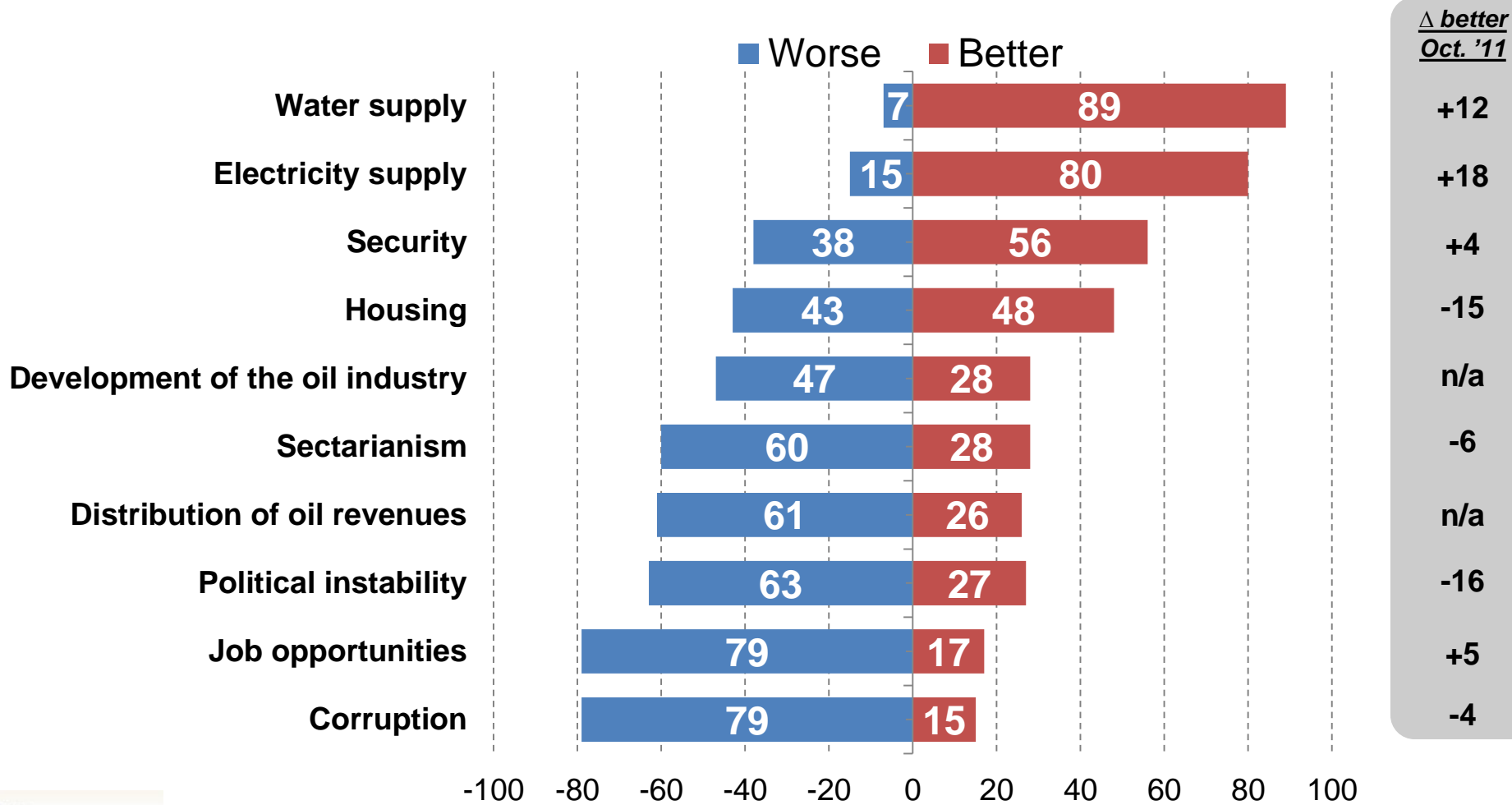
# Jobs and corruption concerns dominate in Kurdistan

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



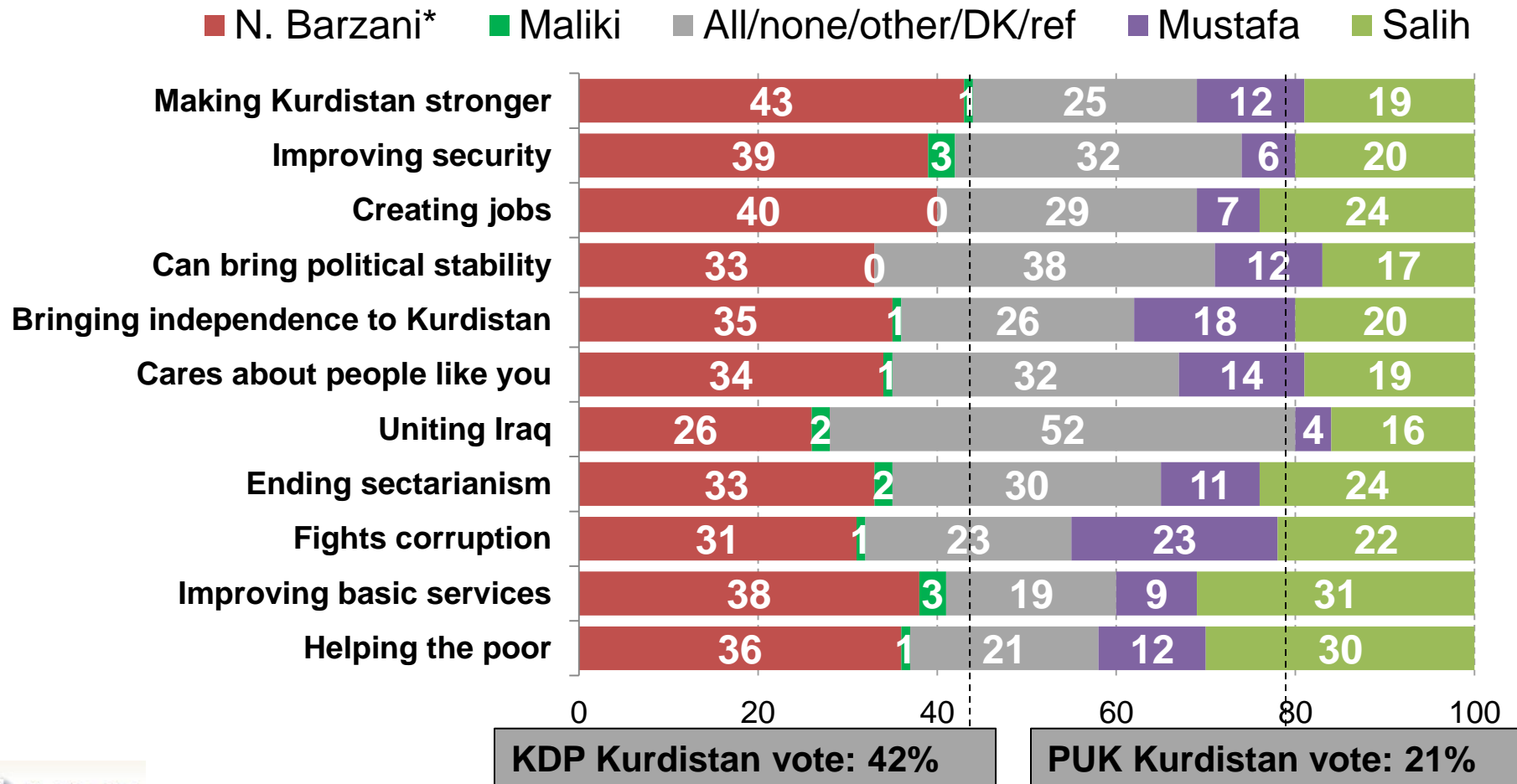
# Corruption and jobs continues to worsen in Kurdistan

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



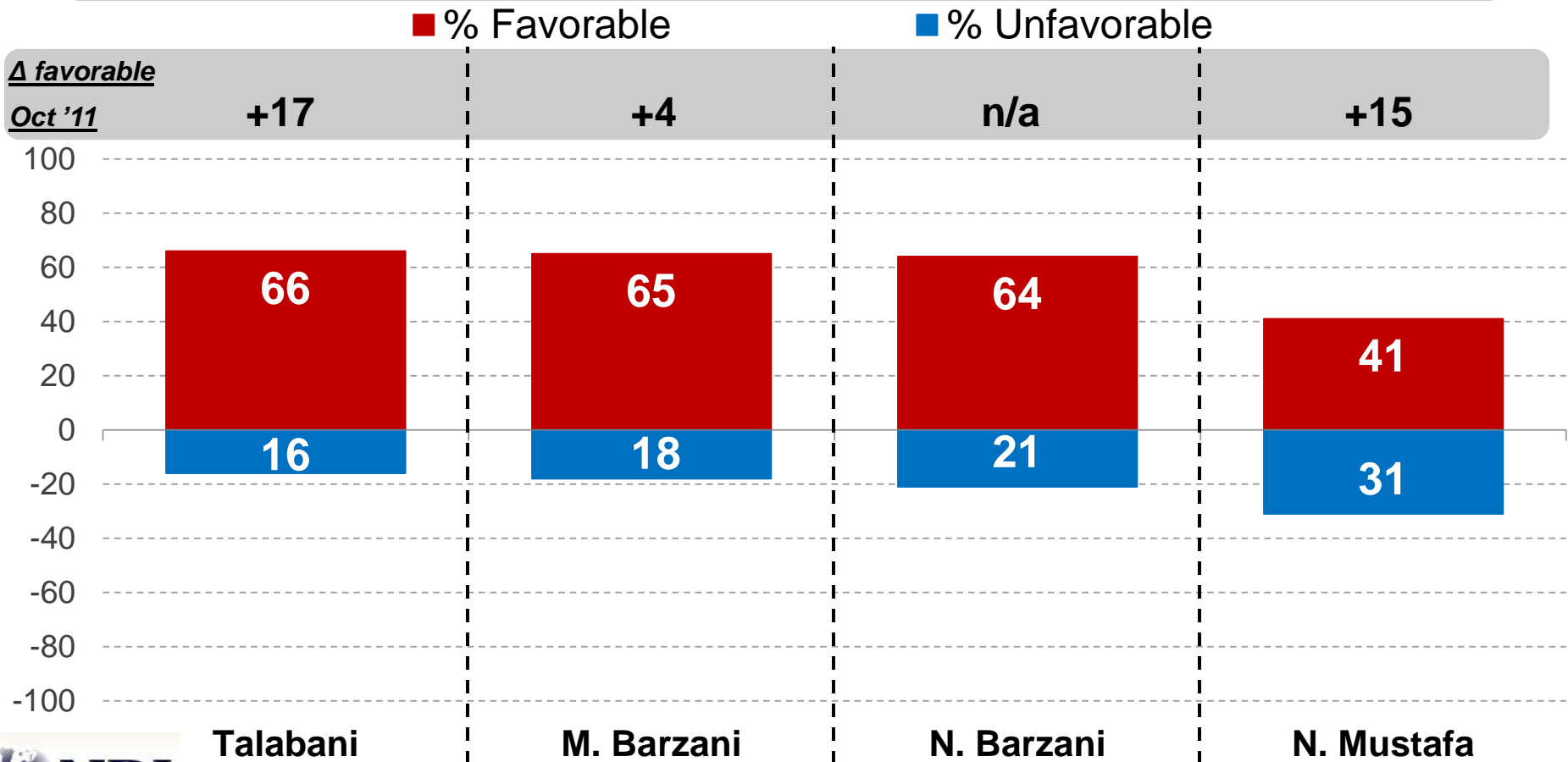
# Barzani/KDP strong on jobs, weak on corruption

For each one please tell me which political leader the phrase best describes: Nouri al-Maliki; Nechirvan Barzani\*; Barham Salih; or Nawshirwan Mustafa? (KURDISTAN ONLY)



# Kurdish leaders ratings improve | Kurdistan only

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. (KURDISTAN ONLY)



# Favorability of Kurdish parties also improves | K'stan only

