

Iraq: National Survey Results

December 2014 – January 2015 Survey Findings

The research

- **National Survey**
 - **10 December 2014 – 8 January 2015**
 - **1,388 Respondents (2,000 unweighted)**
 - **319 Baghdad respondents (600 unweighted)**
 - **500 South respondents (500 unweighted)**
 - **375 West & IDP respondents (400 unweighted)**
 - **194 North respondents (500 unweighted)**
 - **Margin of error on total sample +/- 2.2%**
 - **+/- 4.0% in Baghdad; +/- 4.4% in South; +/- 4.9% in West & IDPs; +/- 4.4% in North**

West and IDP research

- “West”: 100 Baquba (Diyala) + 100 central/South Kirkuk + 200 IDPs; results weighted according to governorate population estimates
- IDP original governorate and location of interview:

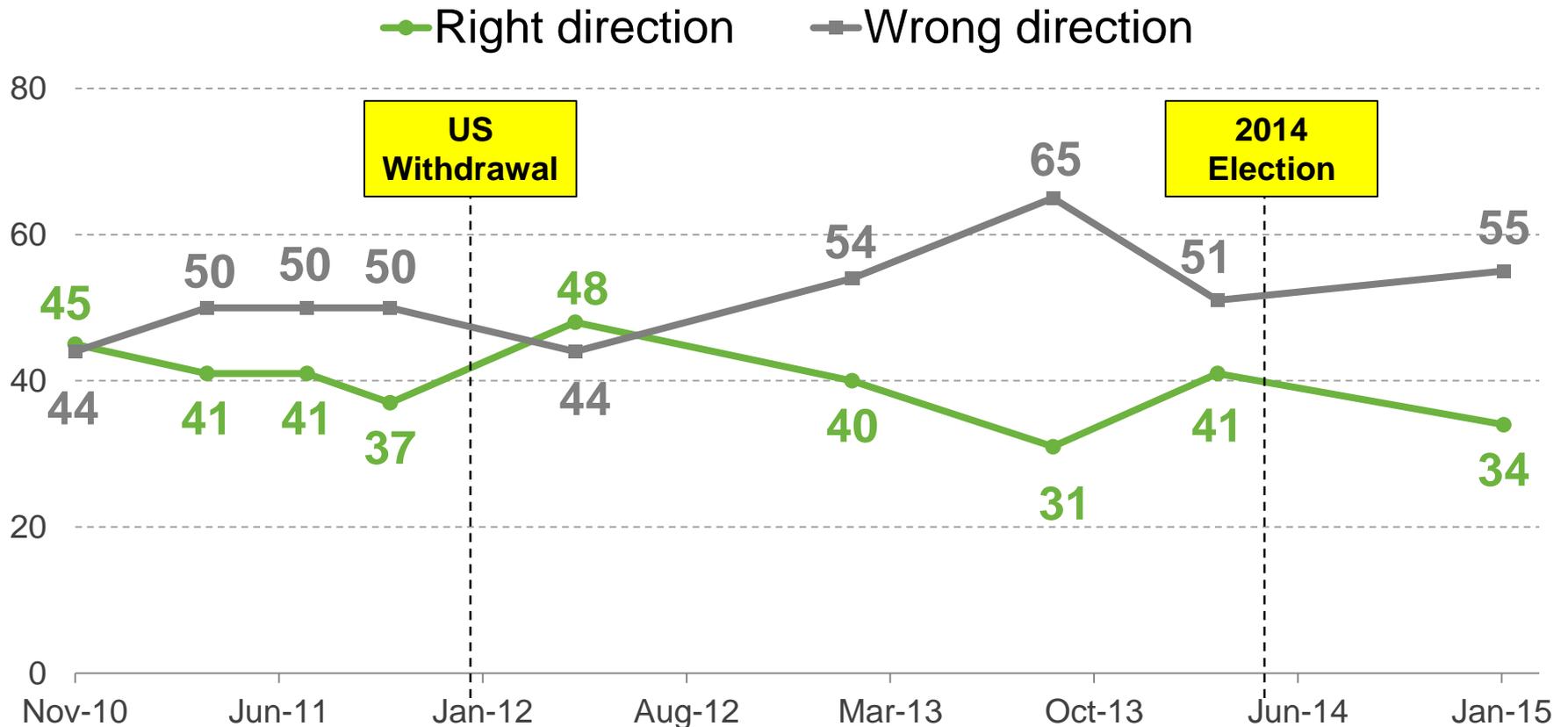
Original governorate	# of interviews	Governorates of displacement/ interview	# of Interviews	Non-formal settings	Formal settings
Anbar	50	Baghdad	20	Camps, school buildings, religious buildings, unfinished buildings, collective centers, informal settlements	Hotels/motels, rented houses, own house, with relatives, with host community
		Erbil	15		
		Sulaymaniyah	10		
		Kirkuk	5		
Ninewa	100	Dohuk	70		
		Erbil	30		
Salah ad-Din	50	Kirkuk	25	100	100
		Erbil	15		
		Sulaymaniyah	10		

- IDPs more older men, more Kurdish, more likely to be minority or interact with them, more pessimistic, more critical of government

The Evolving Political Landscape

Country direction near lowest level since 2010

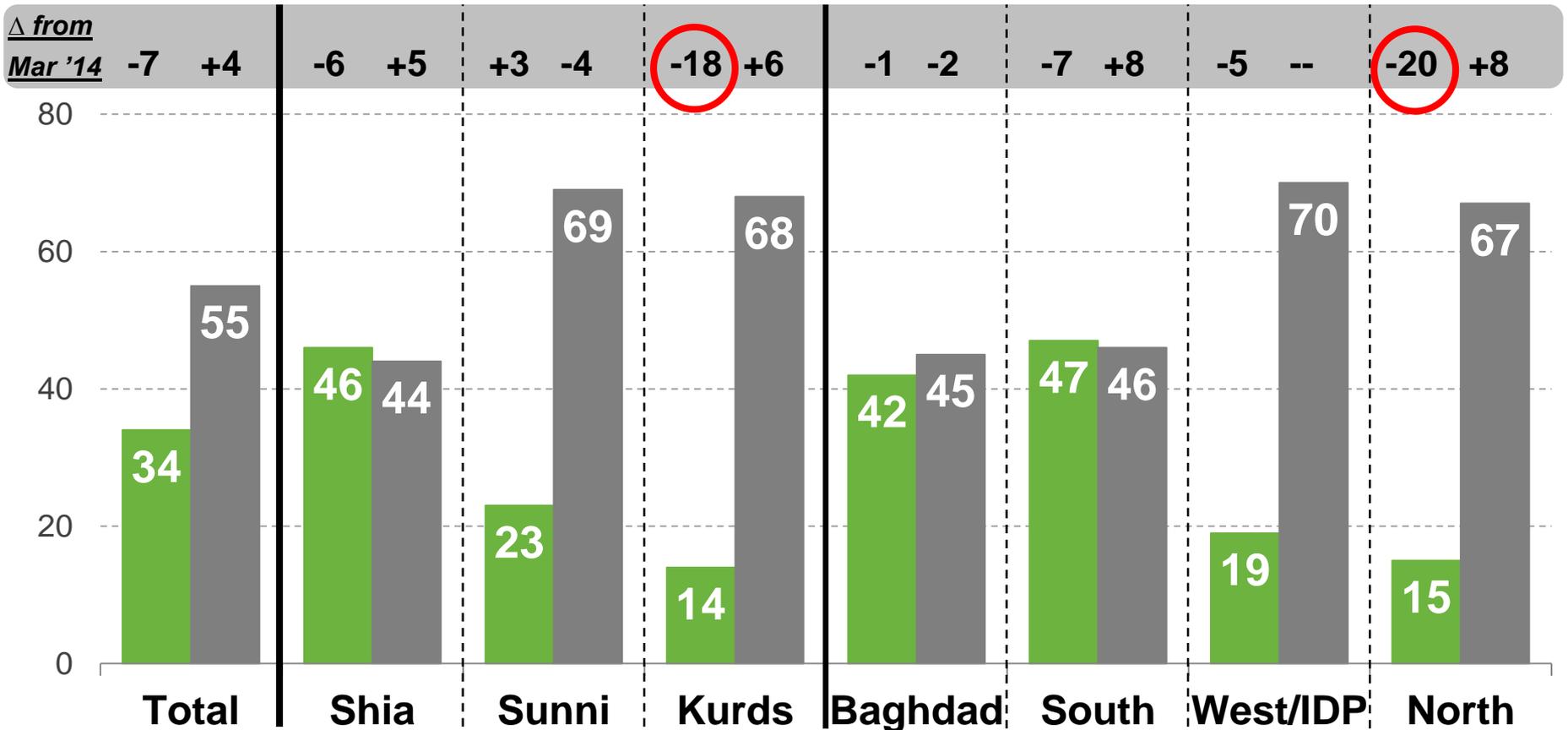
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?



Some improvement among Sunni, big drop among

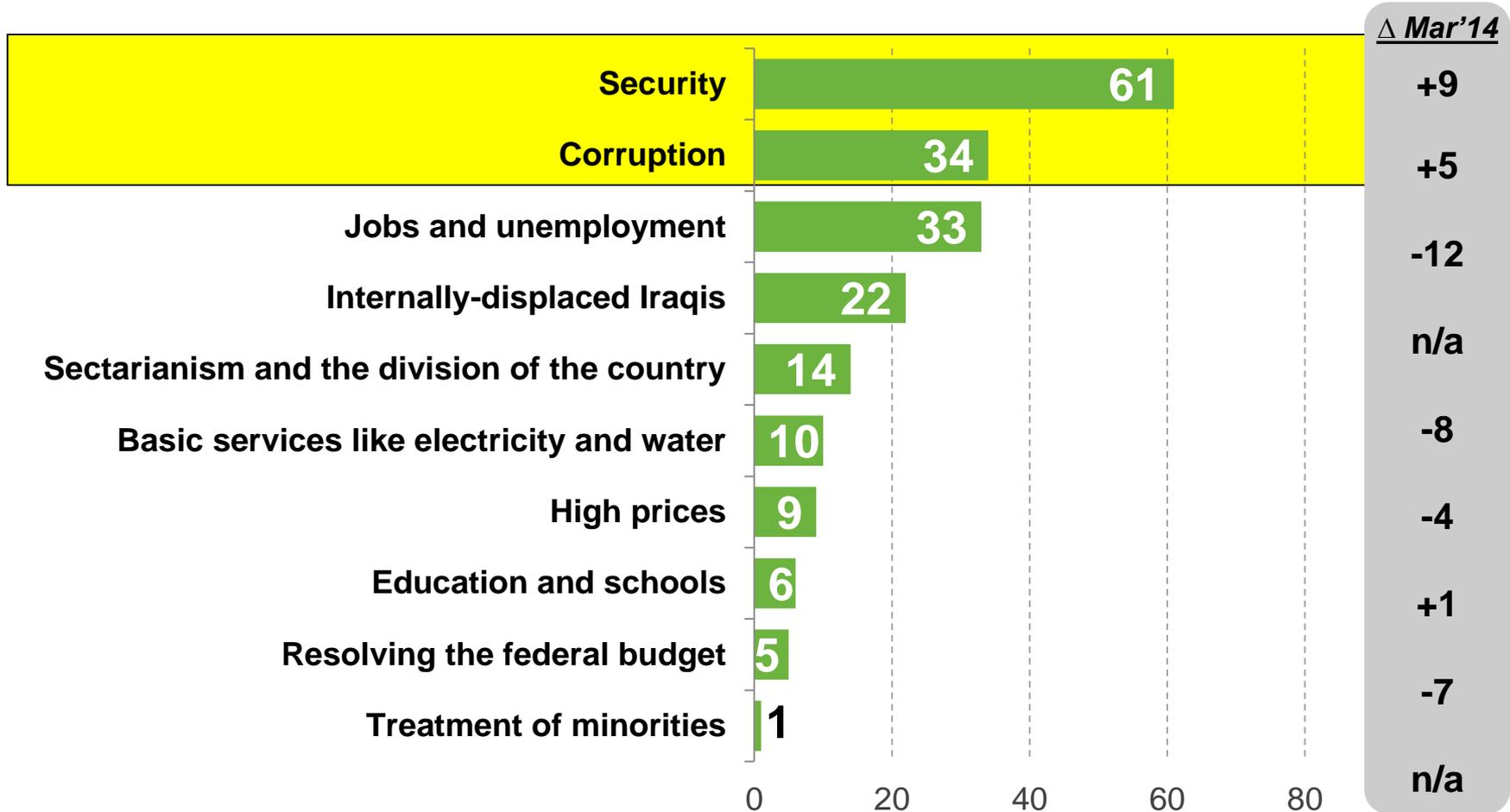
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

■ Right ■ Wrong



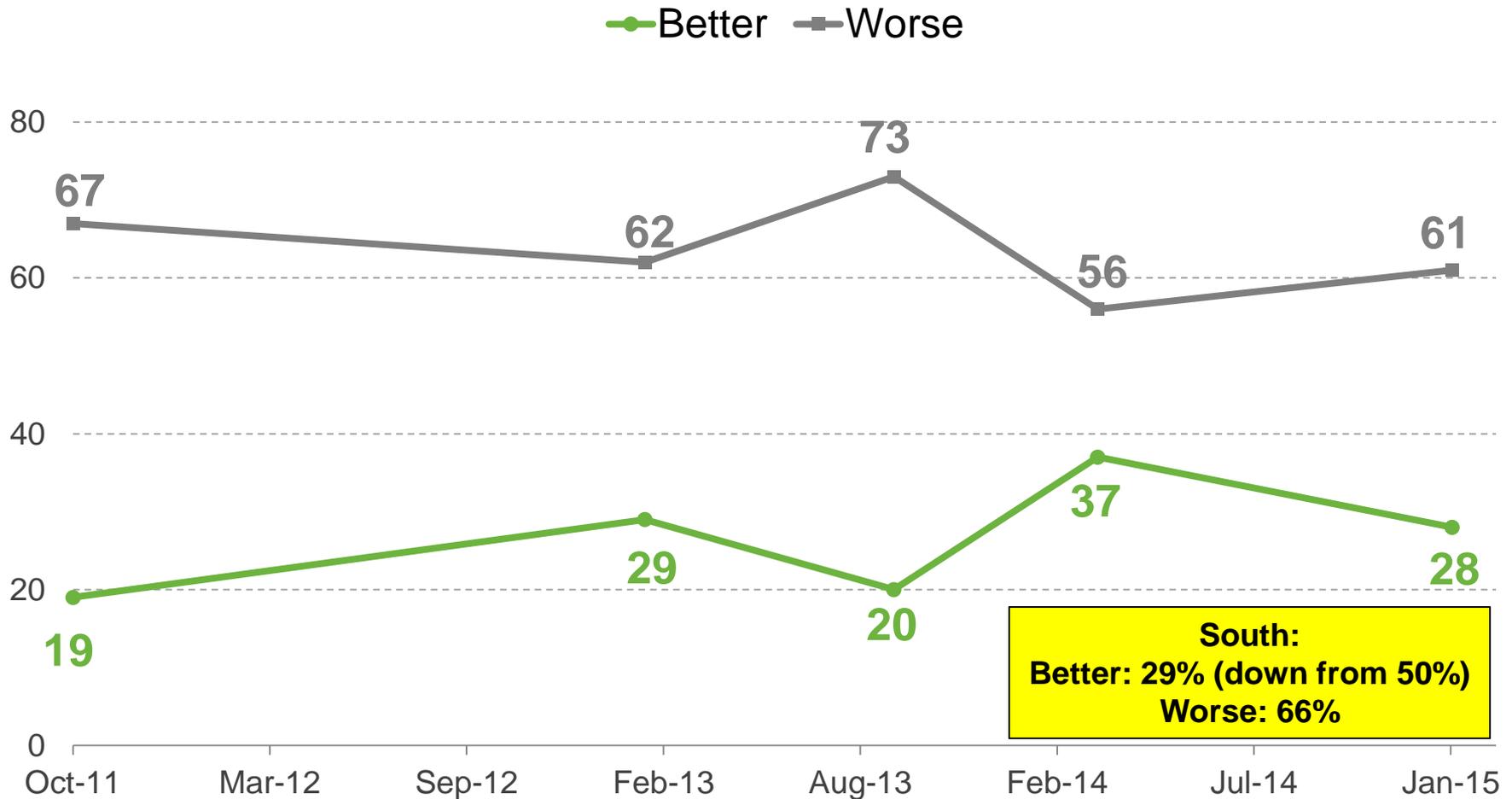
Jump in security and corruption concerns

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



Government responsiveness to people's needs

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

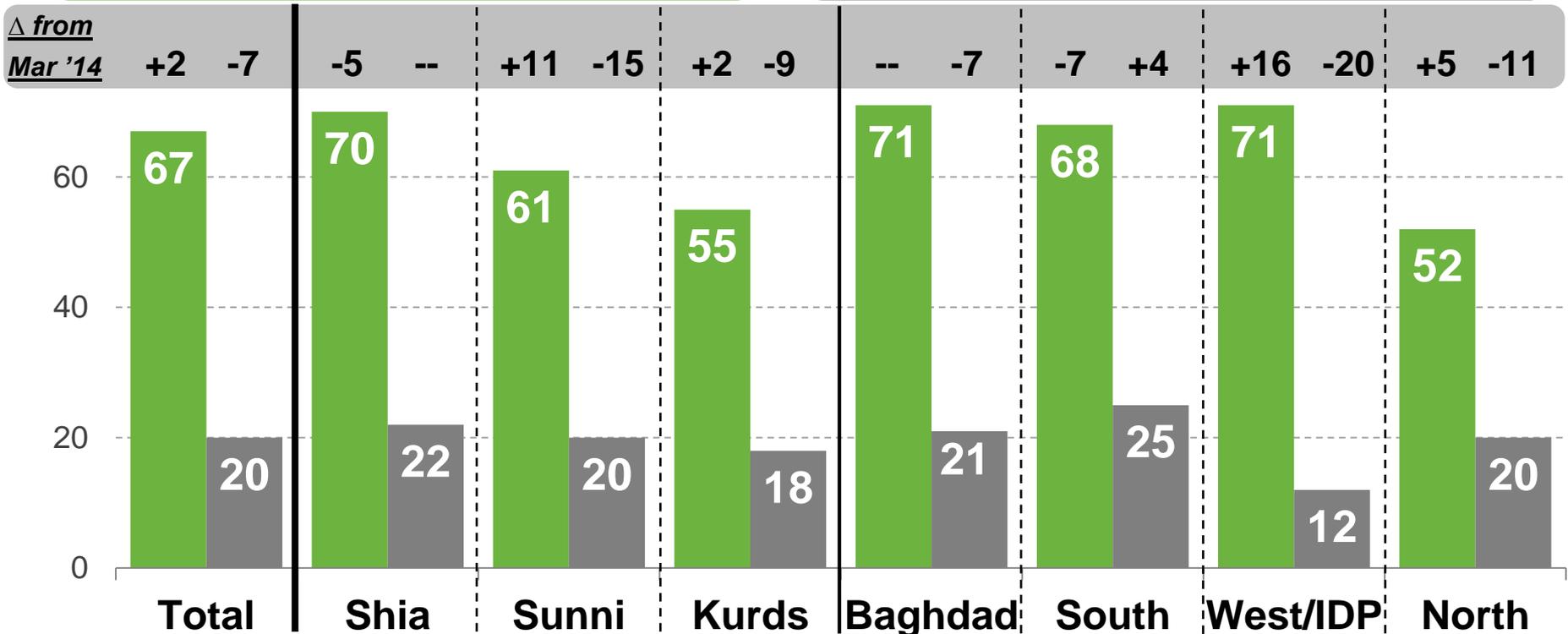


Democracy best form of government

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Democracy is the best form of government for Iraq, even if it has flaws.

Another form of government aside from democracy is better for Iraq.

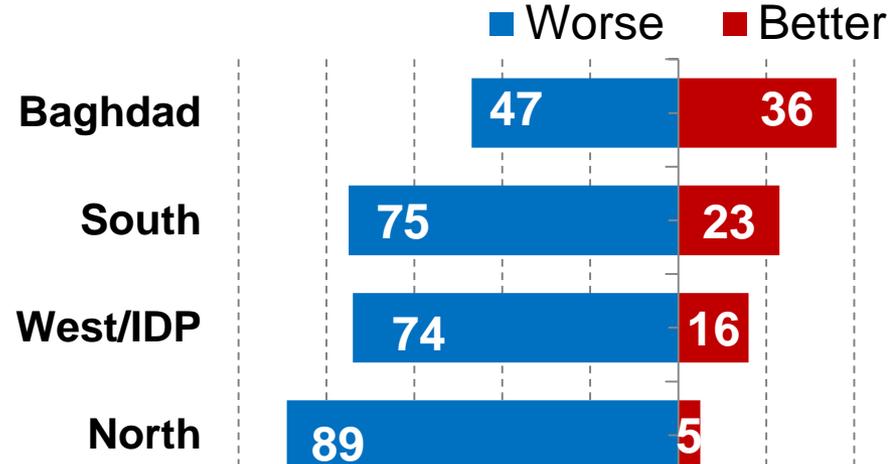


Anticipating Direction of Iraqi Attitudes

Economic indicators viewed as worsening

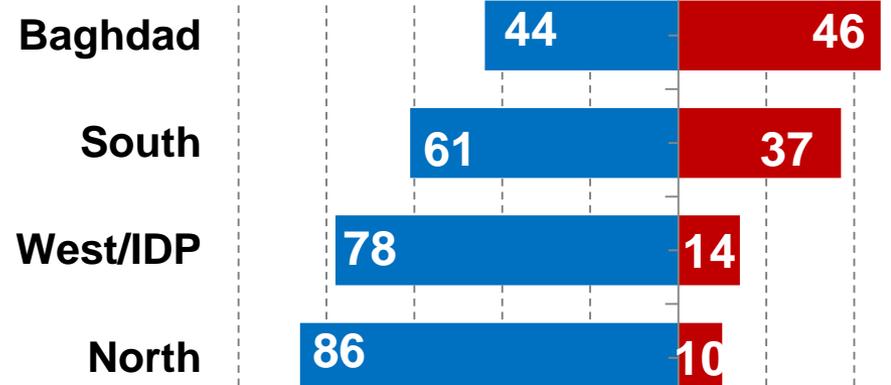
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.

Job Opportunities



△ Better
Mar '14

Cost of Living



-100 -80 -60 -40 -20 0 20 40 60 80 100
-38

-19

-32

-21

-32

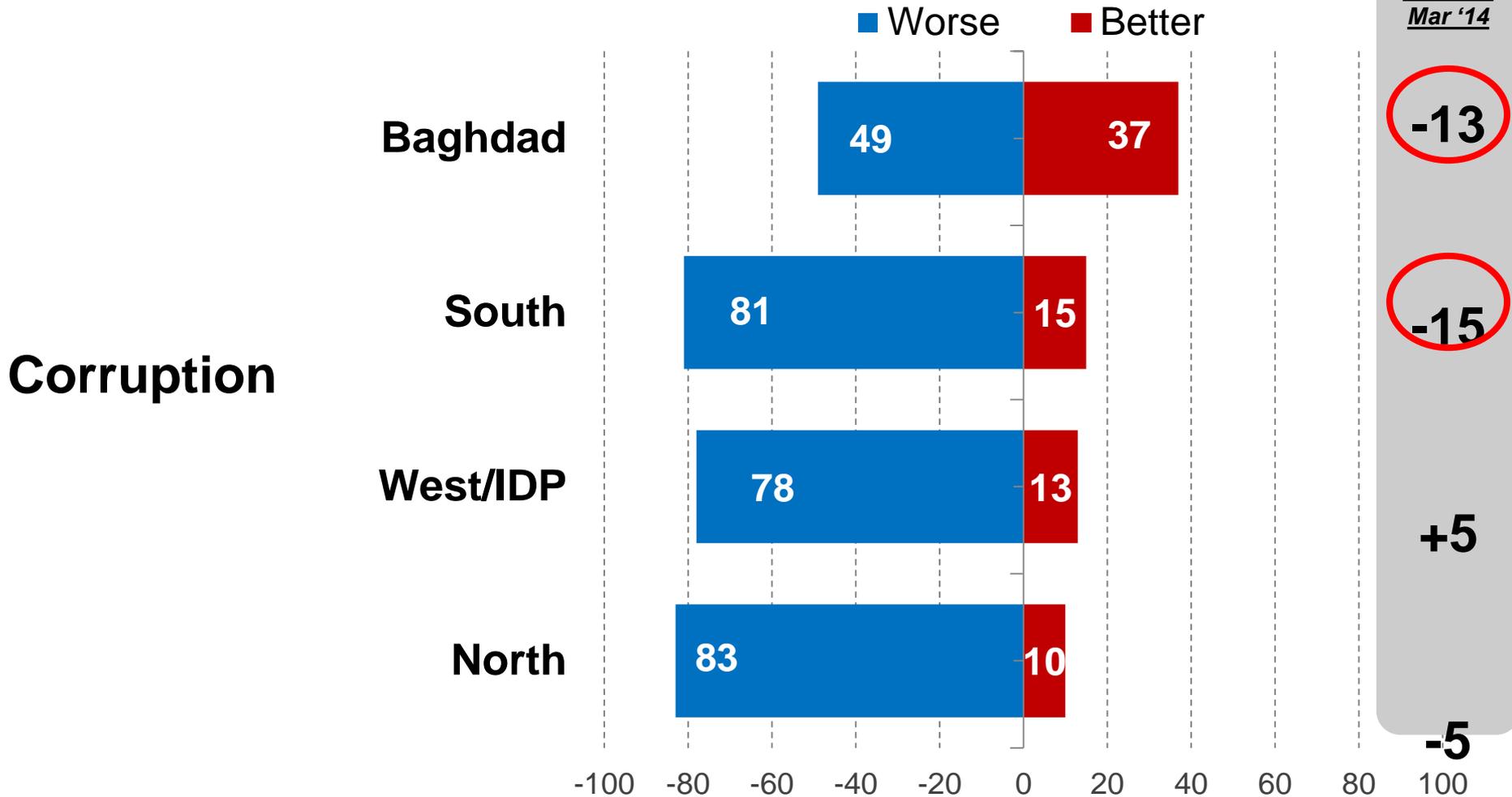
-9

-32

-25

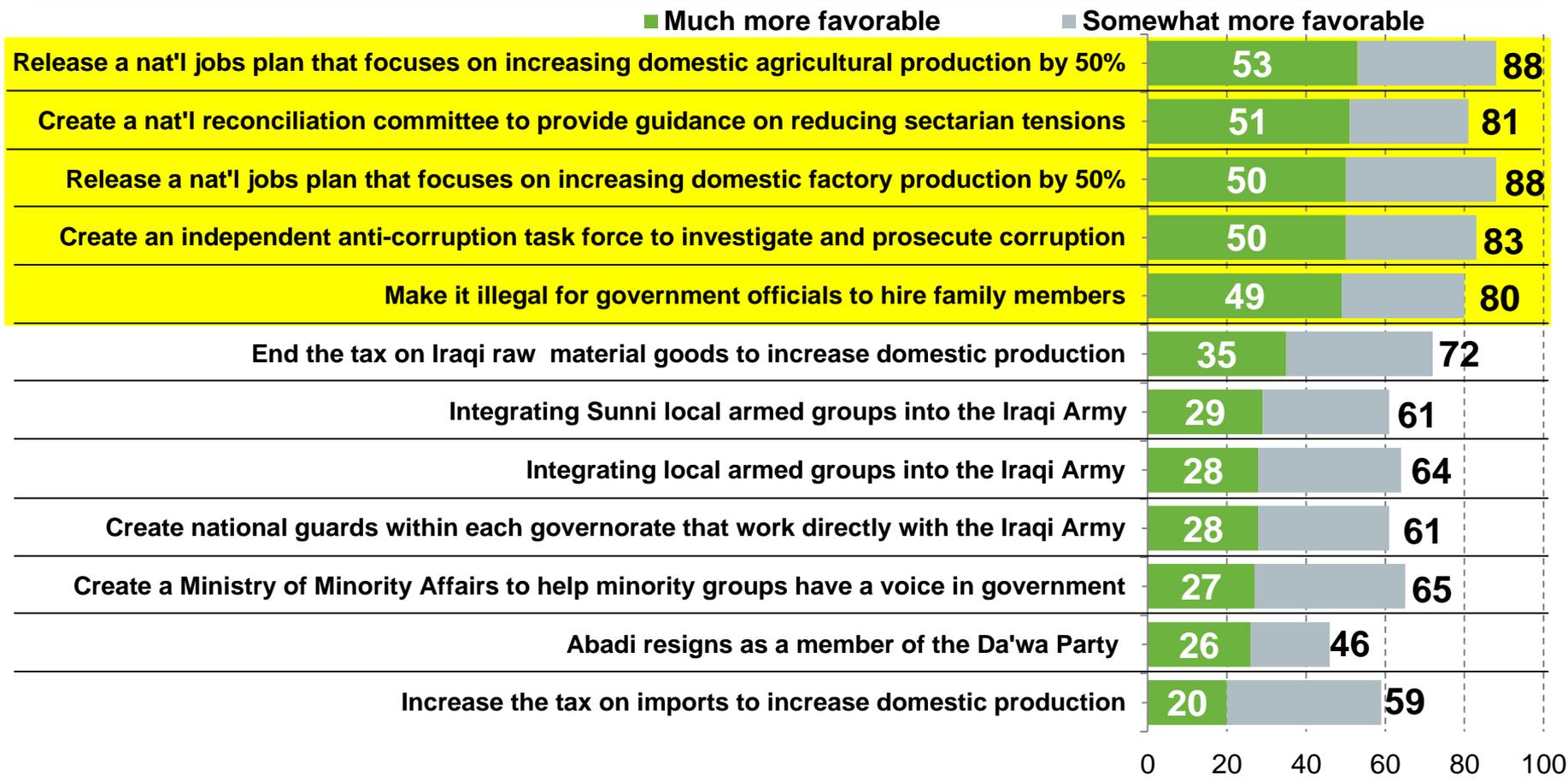
Corruption viewed as worsening, especially in Baghdad, North

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



Jobs, corruption, unity strongest proposals

Now I am going to read you a list of things the new government, led by Haider al-Abadi, might do in the next 6 months. For each one, please tell me if this makes you more favorable toward the new government, less favorable toward the new government, or would make no difference in how you feel toward the new government.



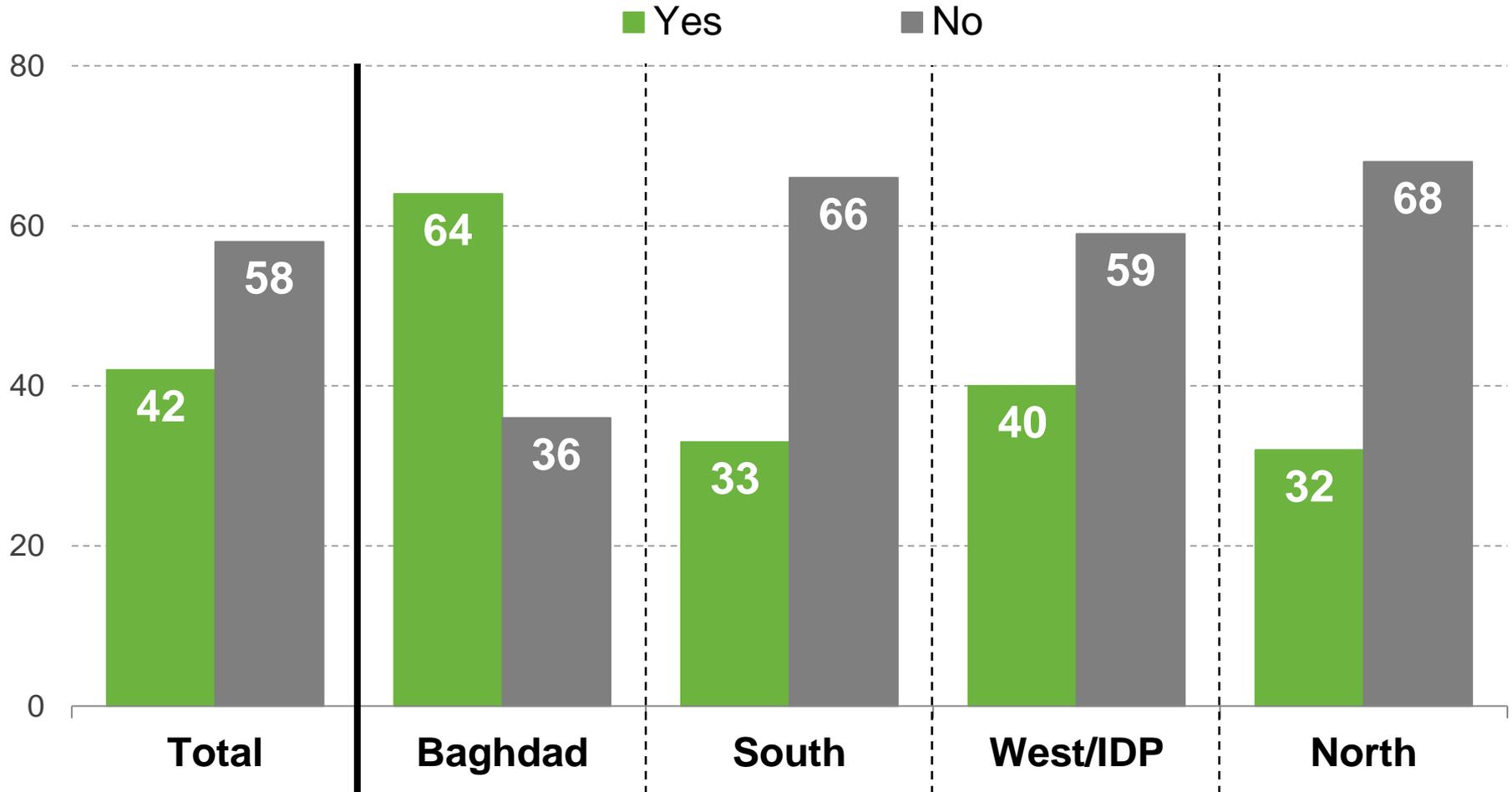
Targeting government proposals

Much more favorable toward the government

Proposal	Total	Shia	Sunni	Kurds	Baghdad	South	West/IDP	North
Jobs plan–agriculture	53	55	55	38	66	49	59	31
National reconciliation committee	51	54	51	28	72	42	60	25
Anti-corruption task force	50	50	68	28	86	33	57	22
Jobs plan–factory production	50	57	47	31	60	52	50	30
Illegal for gov't to hire family	49	50	50	34	51	47	60	27
End raw materials tax	35	41	43	17	40	37	39	18
National Guards w/ local groups	29	29	46	13	49	19	35	10
Integrate Sunni groups into Army	29	30	37	17	28	36	25	19
National Guards	28	29	36	14	50	21	29	10
Integrate local groups into army	28	39	21	8	34	38	20	9
Ministry of Minority Affairs	27	24	36	22	36	19	35	17
Abadi resigns from Da'wa	26	17	47	17	31	13	42	19
Increase import tax	20	20	27	19	21	19	20	20

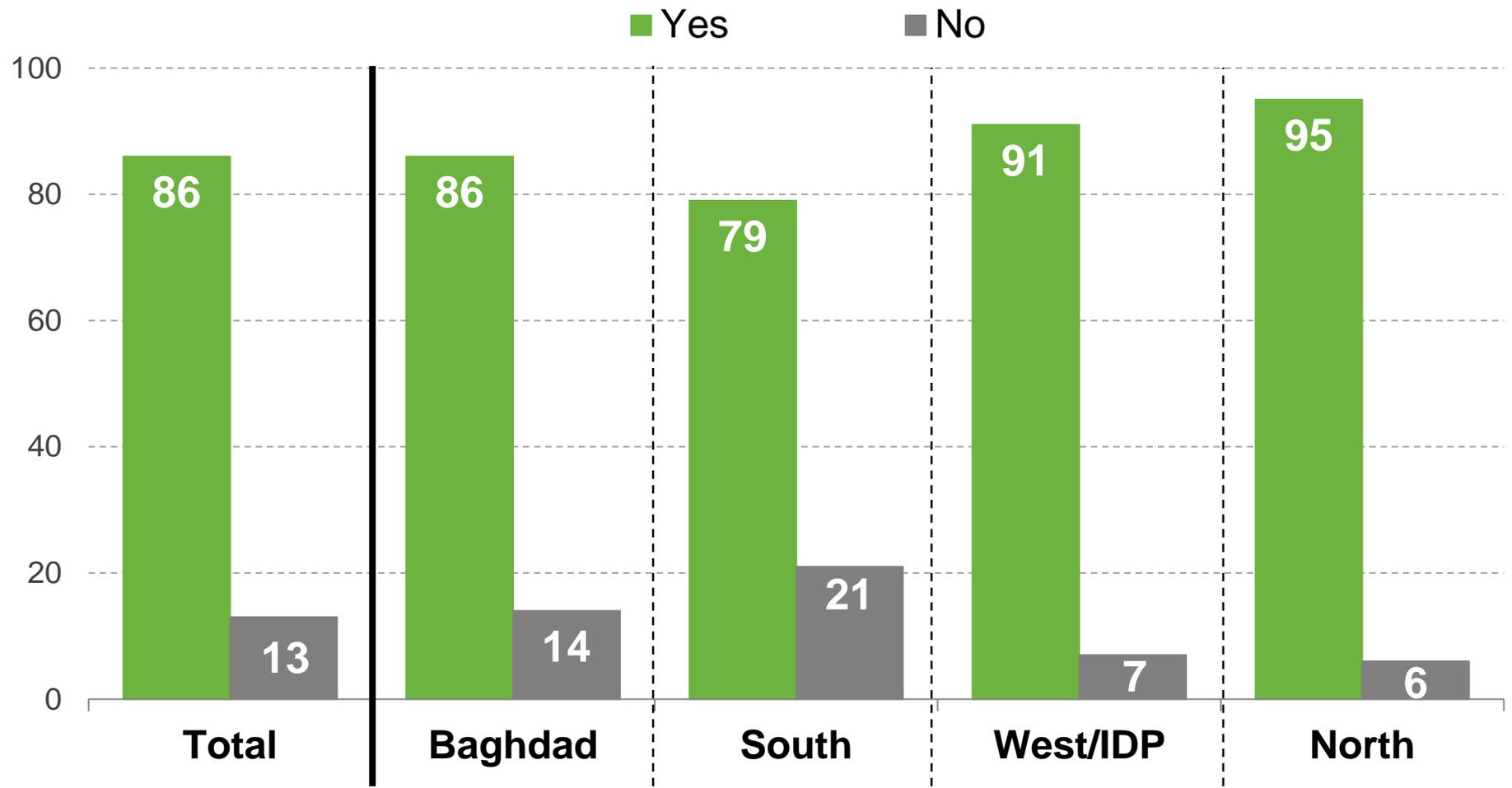
Using digital for communications, especially in Baghdad

Do you have regular access to the Internet?



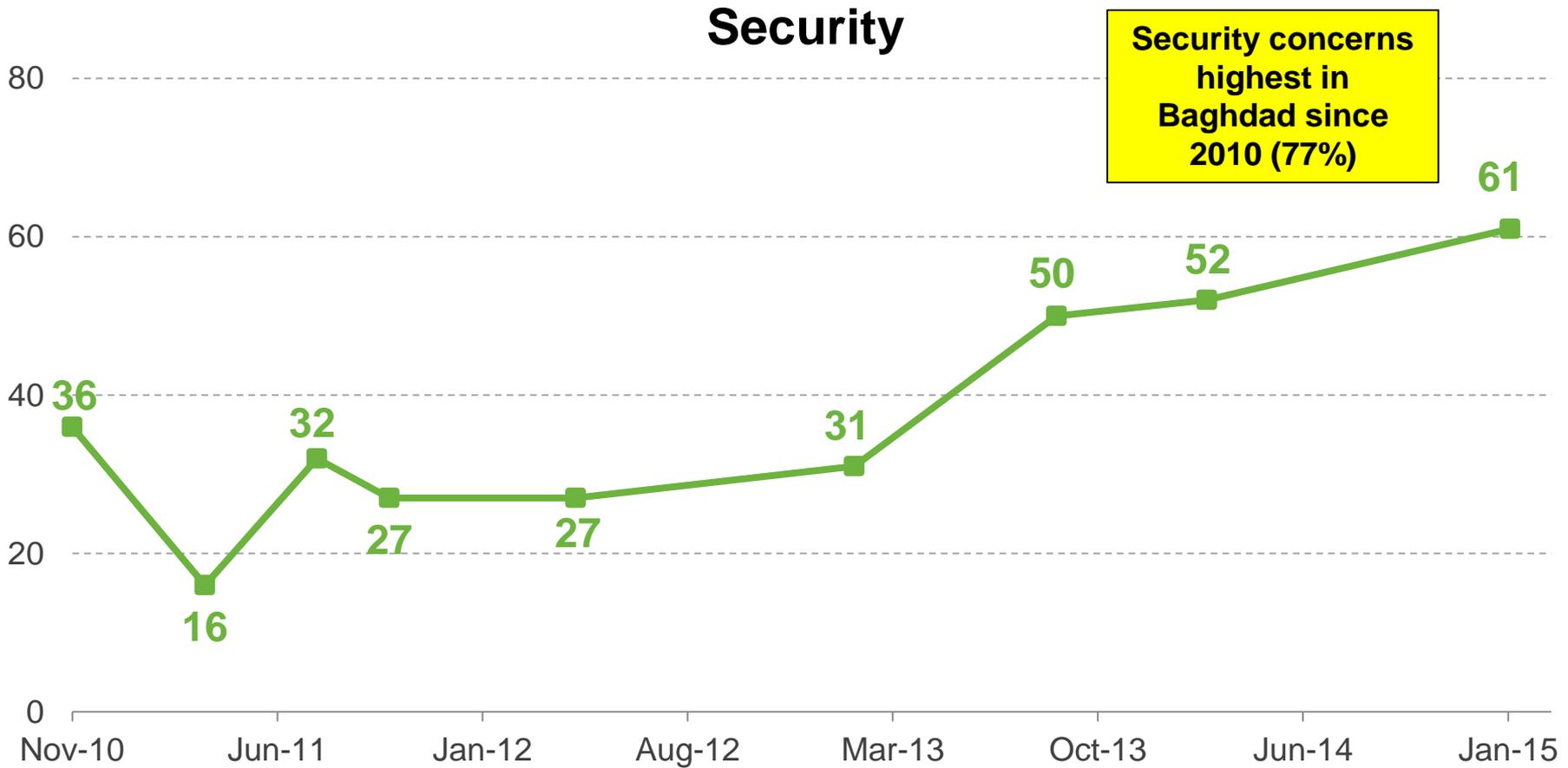
Facebook usage high among those with Internet

(If YES in Internet) Do you have a Facebook account?



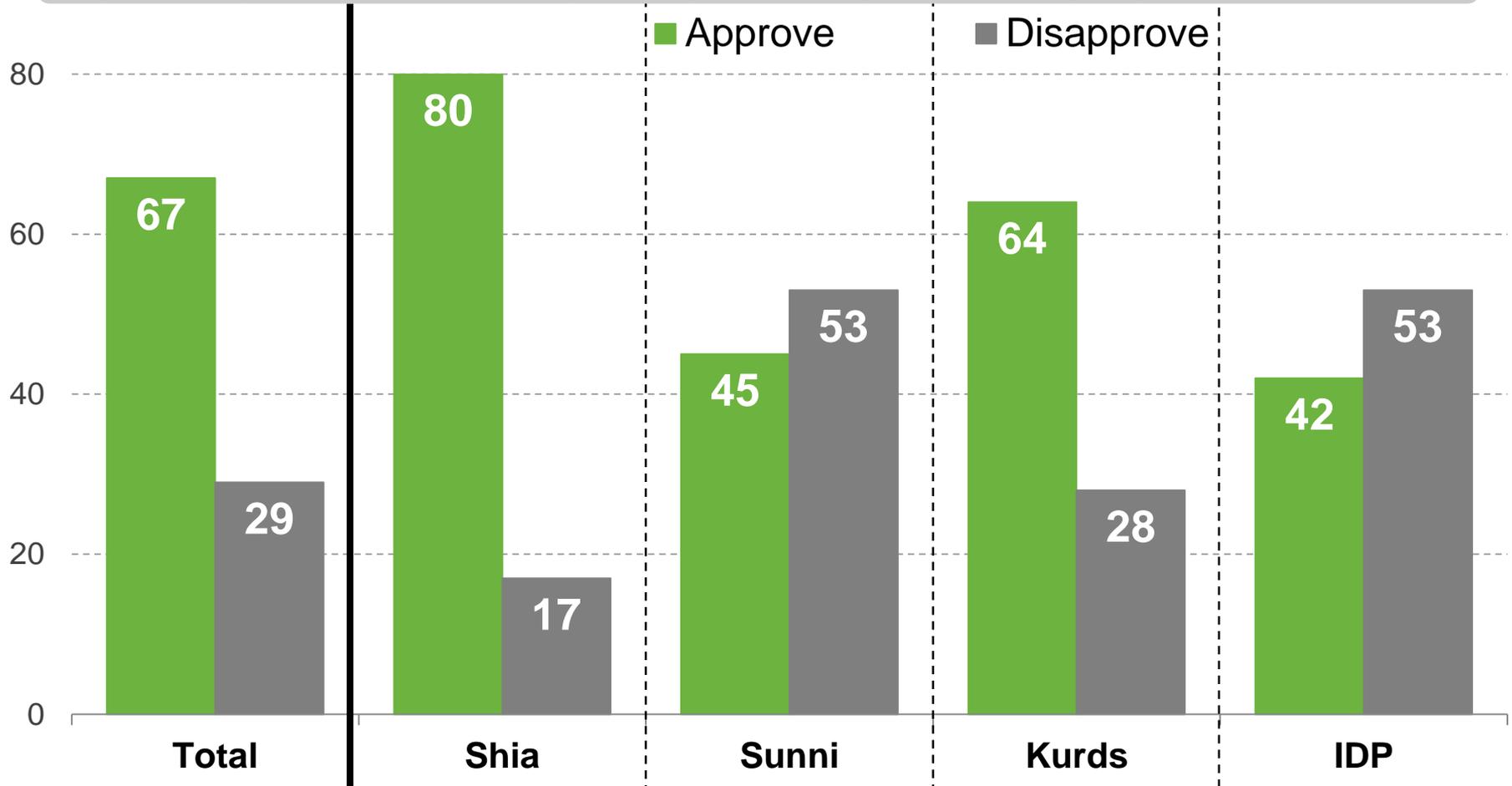
Security concerns at highest levels since 2010

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



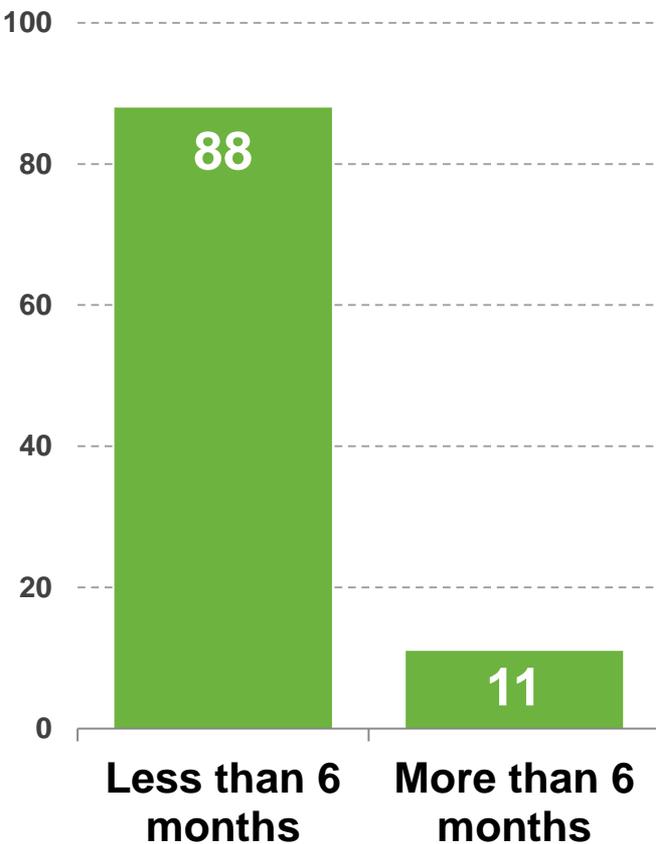
Shia, Kurds approve of gov't actions with IDPs

Thinking about internally-displaced people in Iraq, do you approve or disapprove of the job the government is doing to help internally-displaced people?

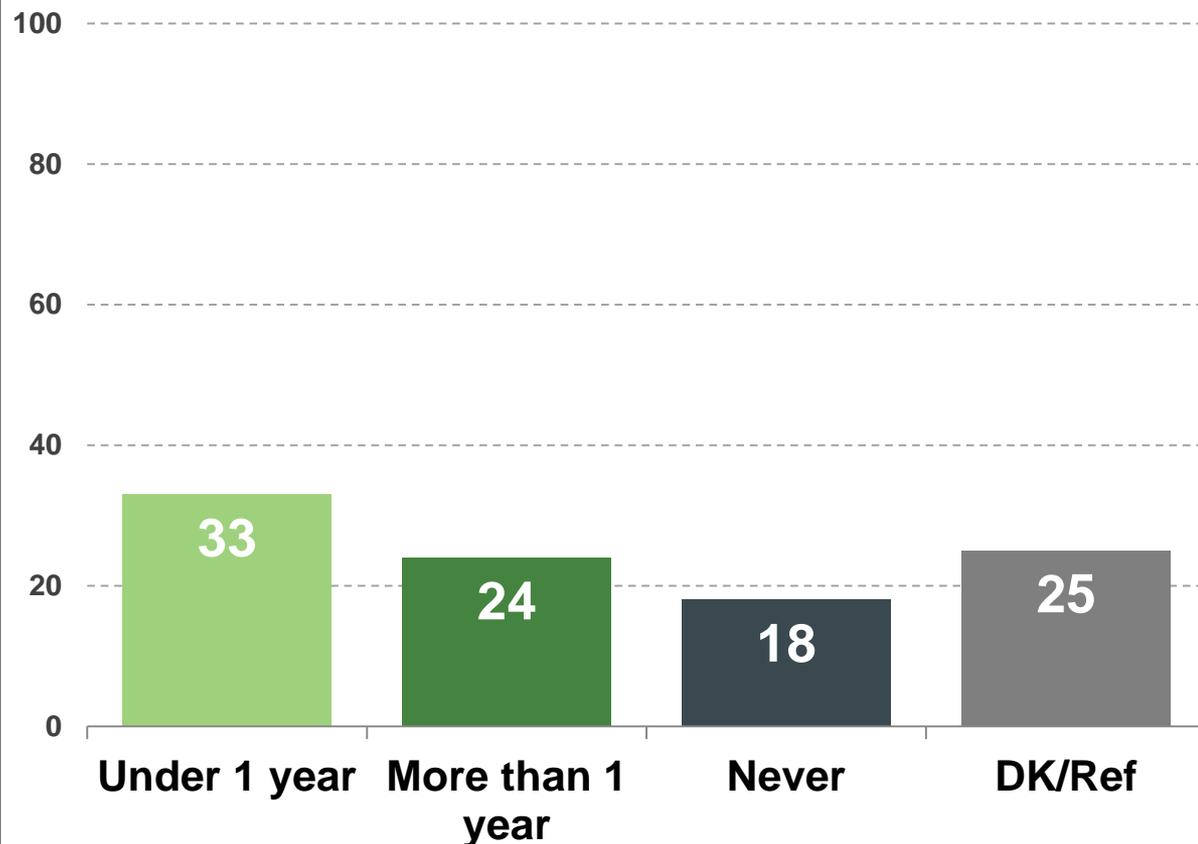


Most IDPs see current status as longer term

How long ago did you move away from your home?

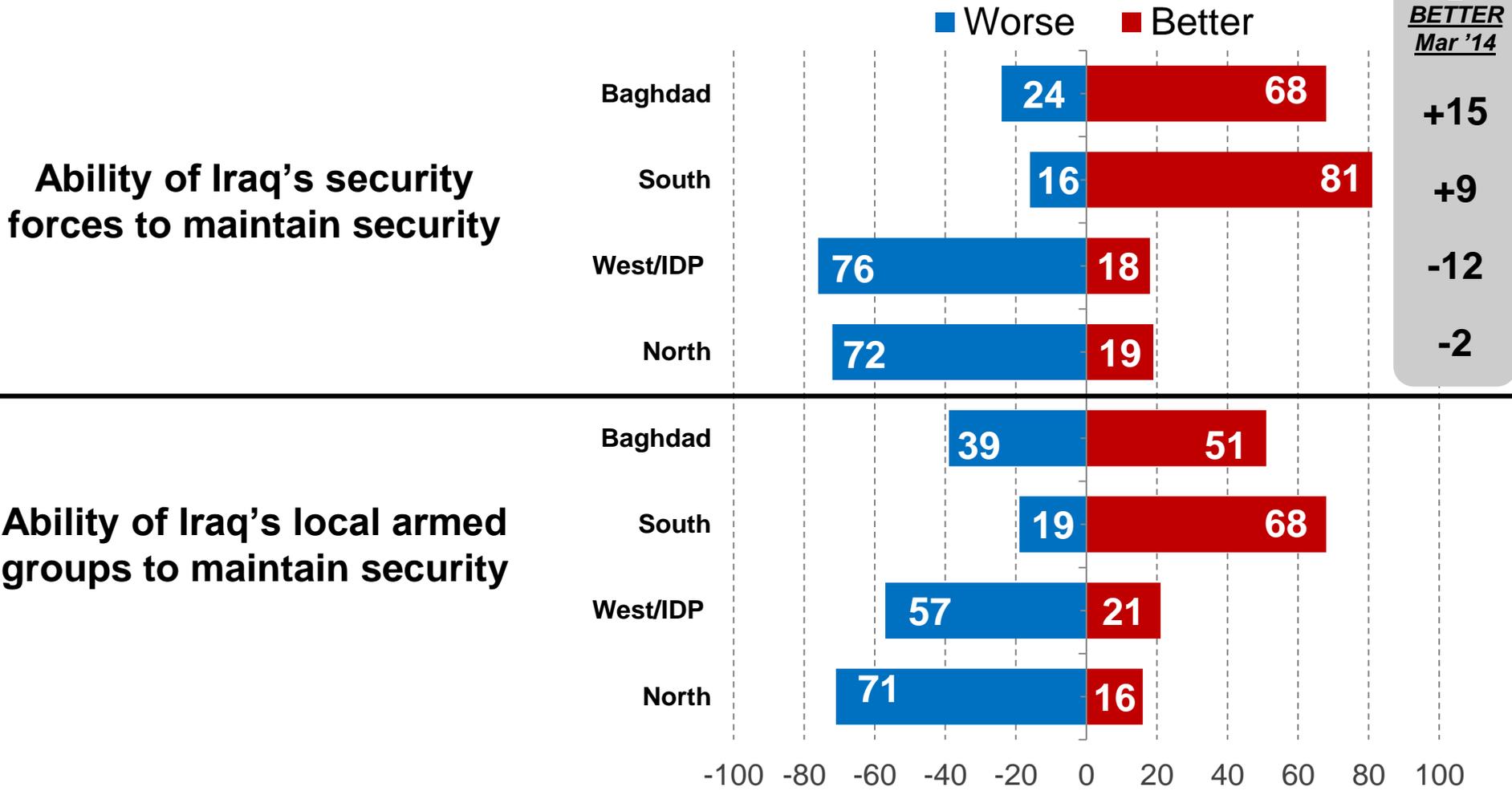


When do you expect to move back to your home - within this month, within the next 1-6 months, in 6-12 months, in 1-2 years, more than 2 years, or do you never expect to move back to your home?



Divided opinions on Army and local groups to maintain security

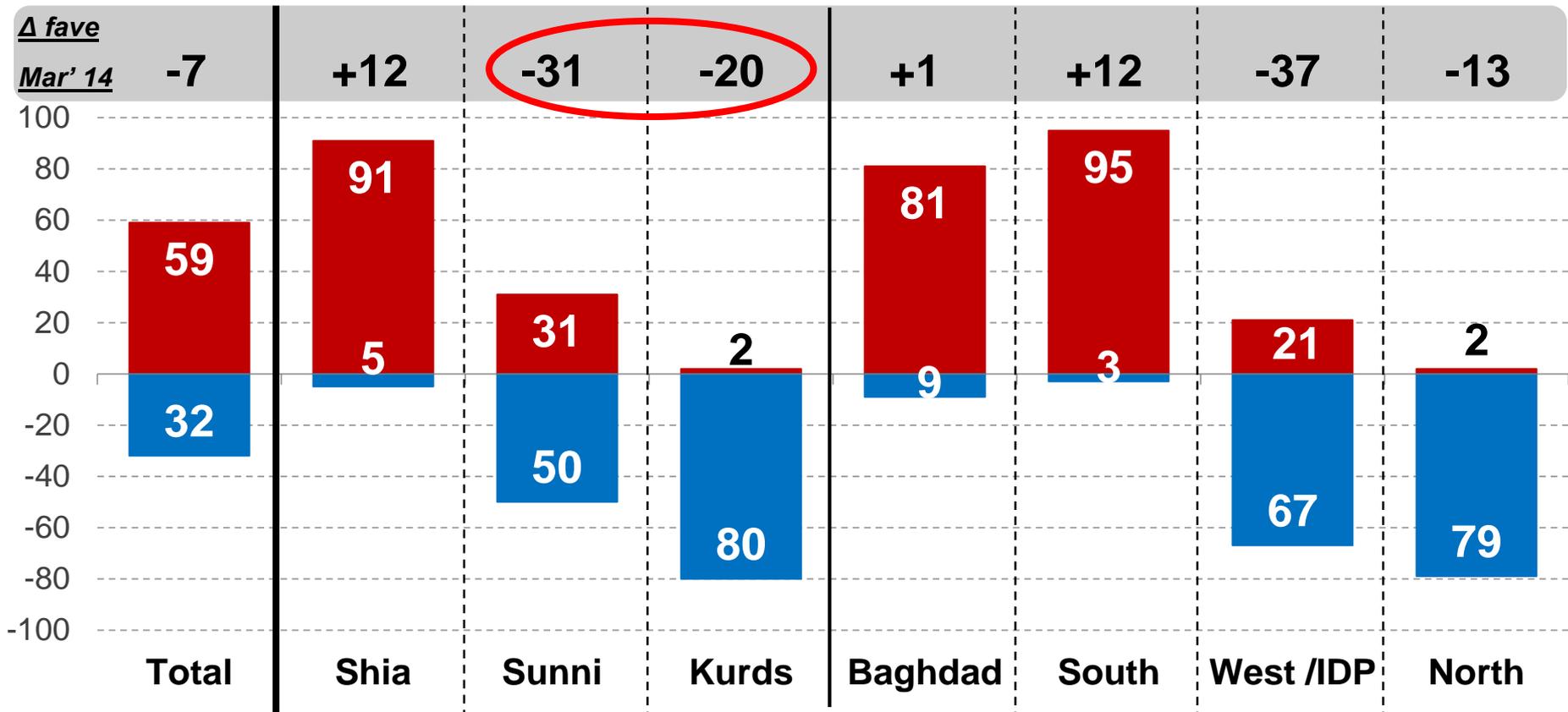
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



Views toward Iraqi National Army drop among Sunni, Kurds

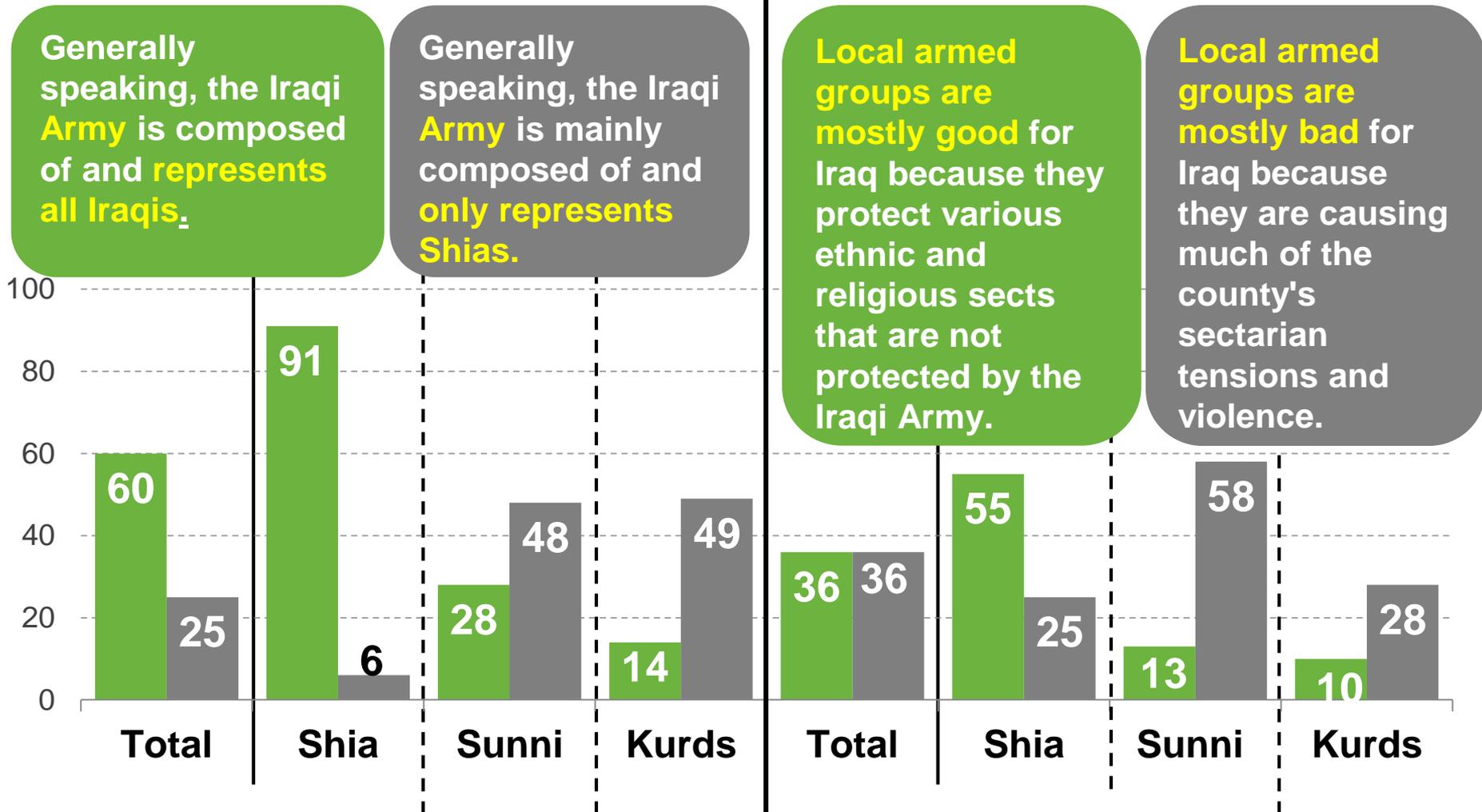
I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable.

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



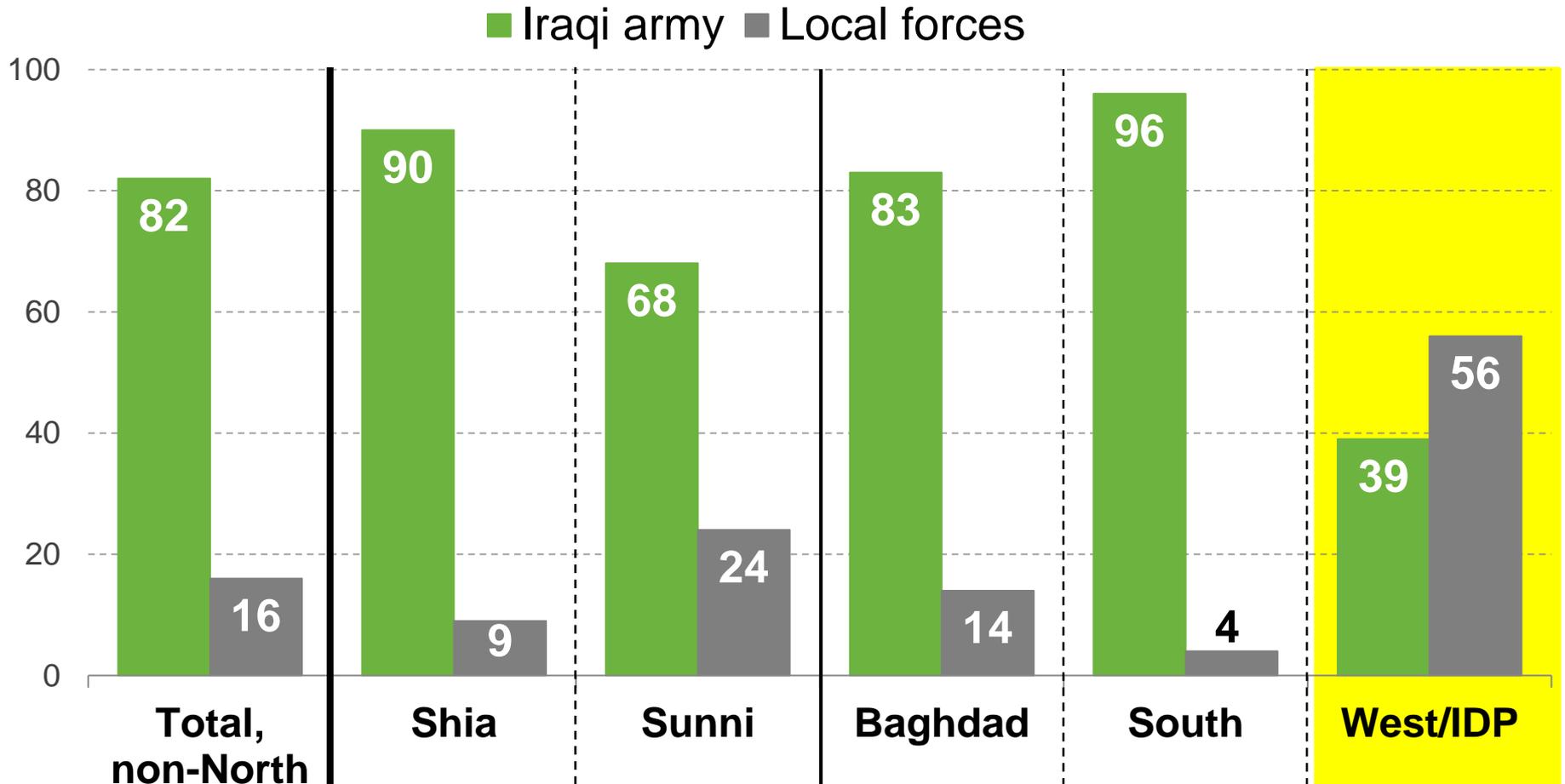
Divided opinions on Army representation, local armed groups

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



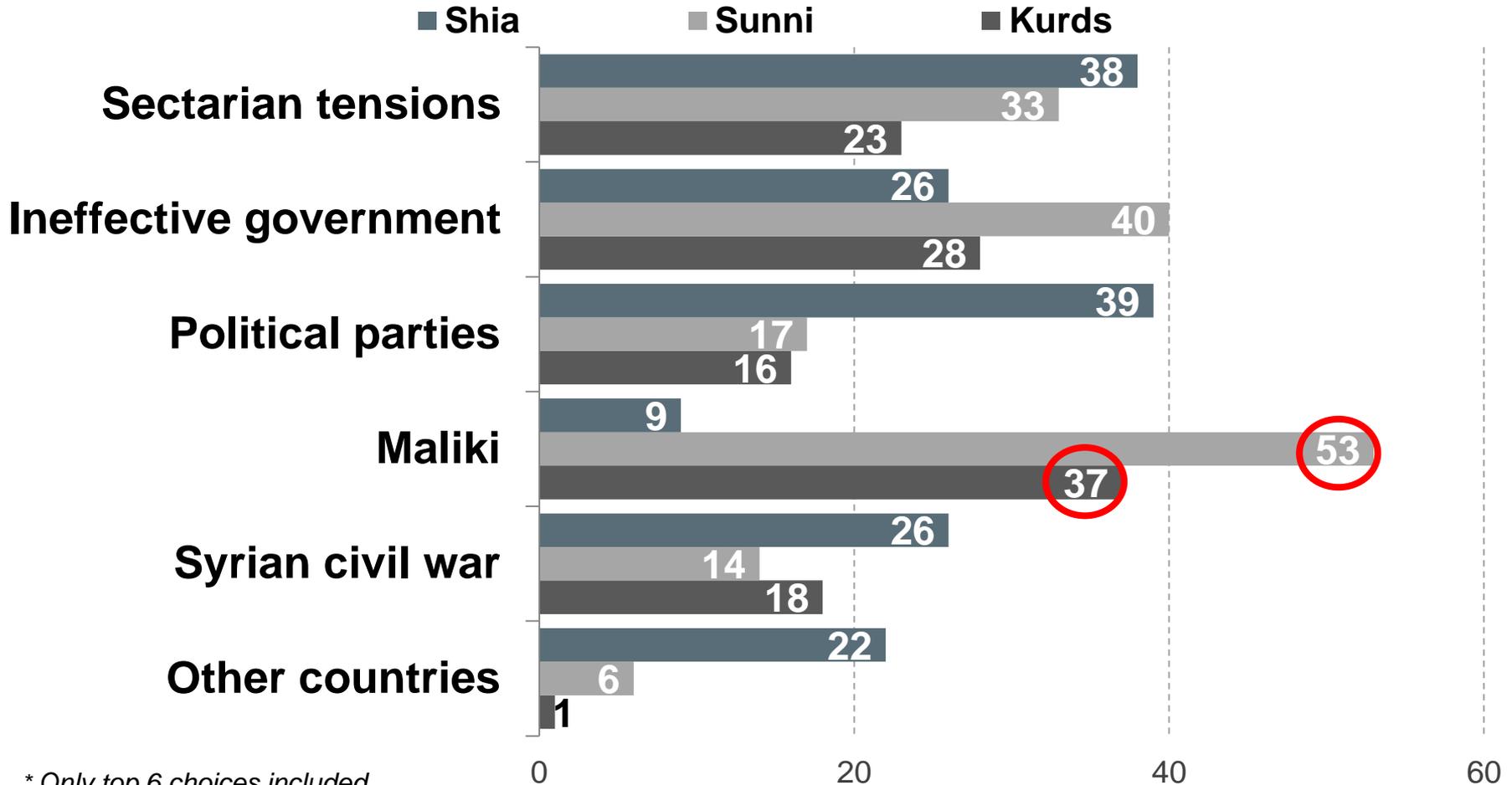
Iraqi army vs. local forces

Who do you trust more to keep you safe - the Iraqi Army or your local forces?



Sunni, Kurds blame Maliki, ineffective gov't for ISIS

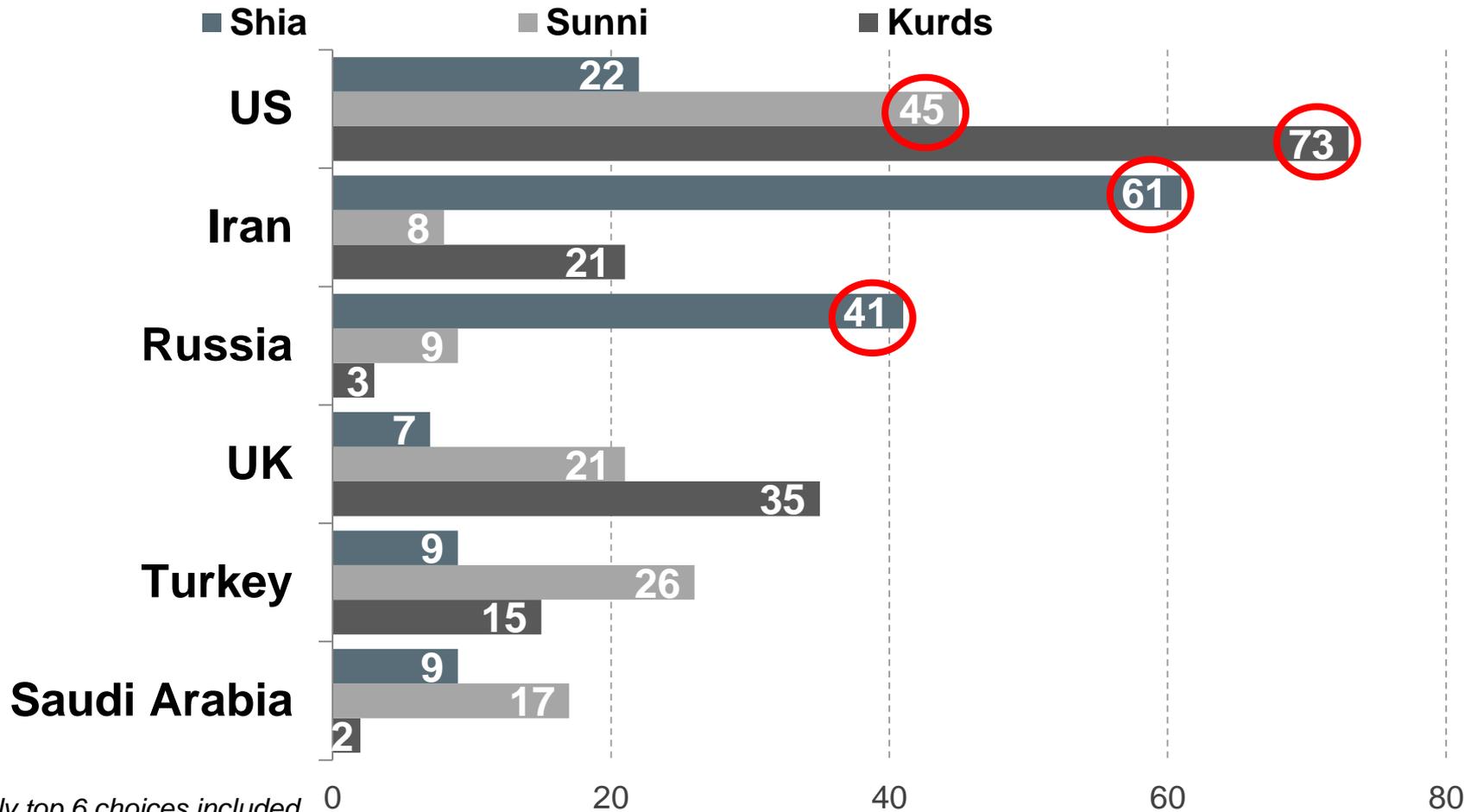
Now I am going to read a list of things some people may blame for the rise of ISIS in Iraq. Which of the following TWO things are most to blame for the current security situation?



* Only top 6 choices included

Kurds, Sunni want US help with ISIS, Shia want Iran, Russia

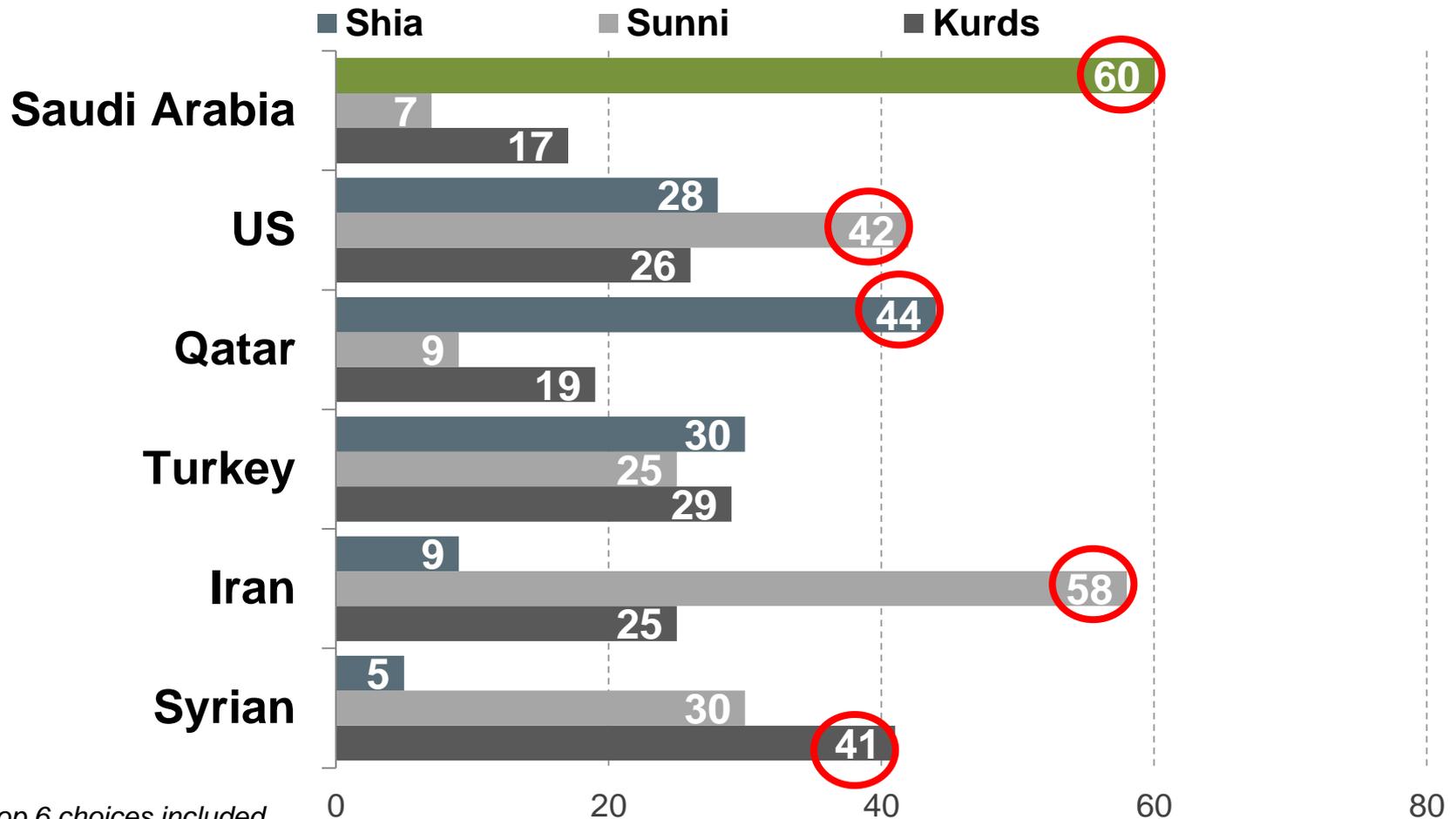
Which TWO of the following countries would you prefer to help Iraq with the ISIS situation?



* Only top 6 choices included

Mostly regional actors are blamed for ISIS

Which TWO of the following countries would you blame the most for the ISIS situation in Iraq?



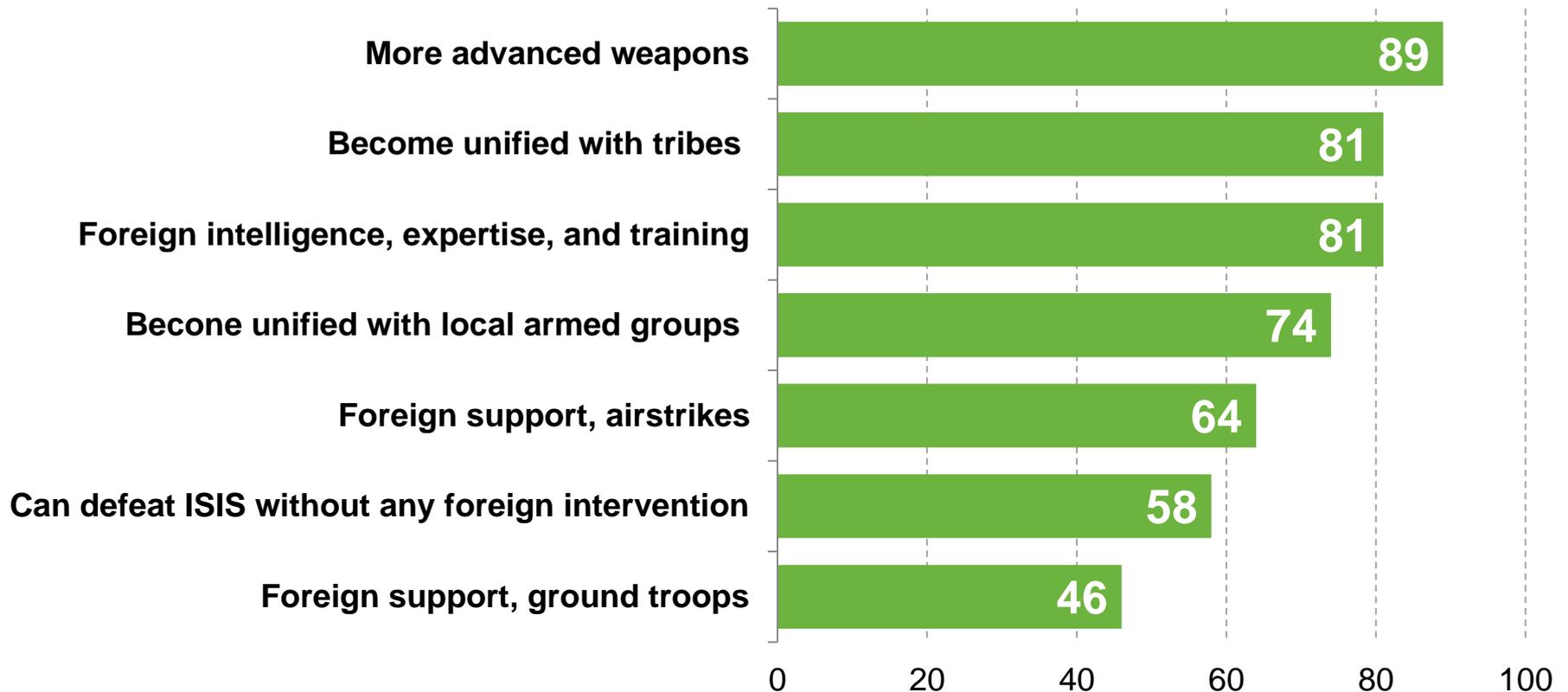
* Only top 6 choices included

Only foreign ground troops has less than majority support



Now I want to read you a list of things some people say about the Iraqi Army and its ability to defeat ISIS. For each one please tell me where you agree or disagree with that statement.

% that agree that particular action is needed to defeat ISIS



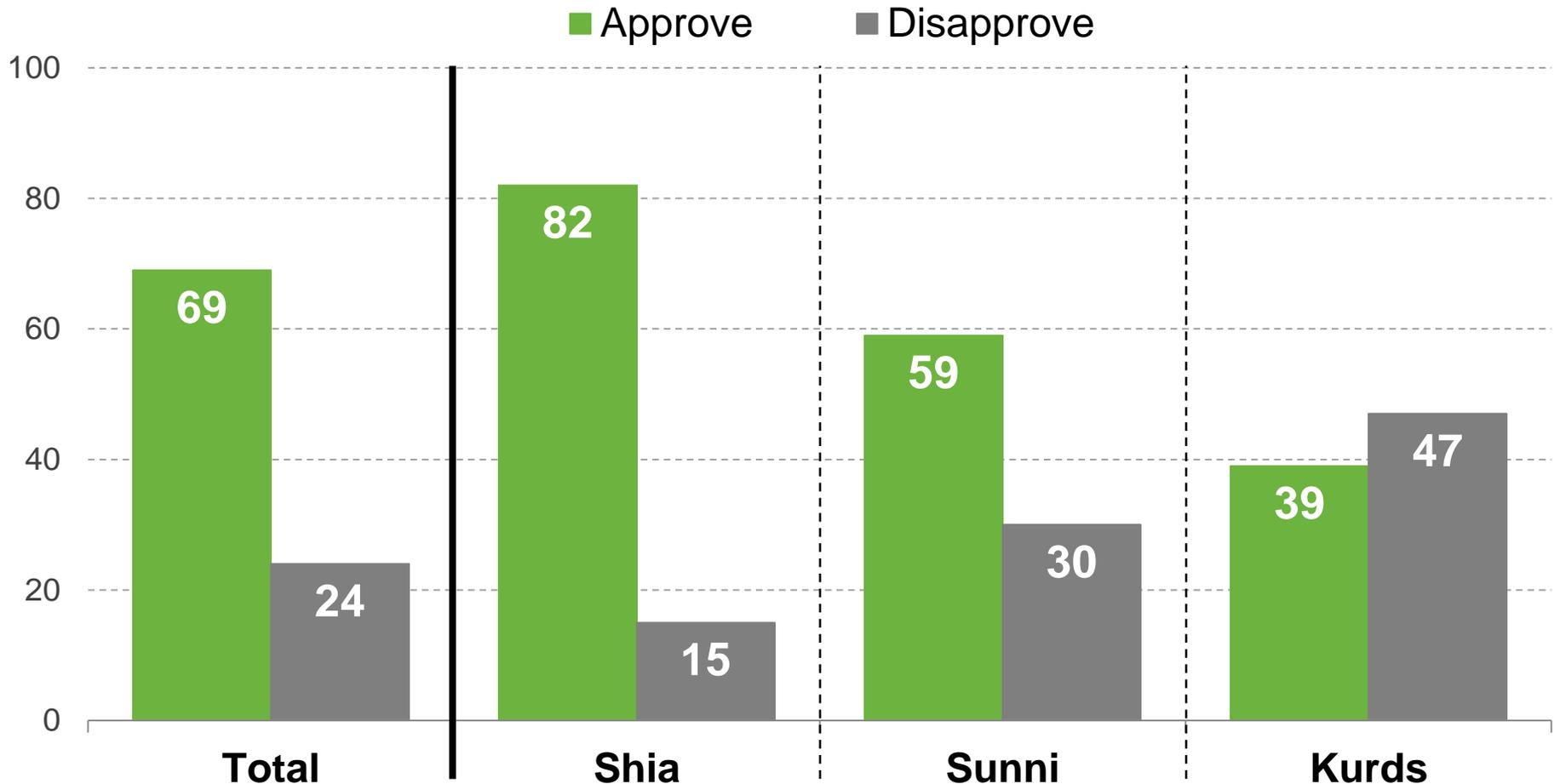
Army action to defeat ISIS

Now I want to read you a list of things some people say about the Iraqi Army and its ability to defeat ISIS. For each one please tell me where you agree or disagree with that statement.

% Agree with action to defeat ISIS	Total	Shia	Sunni	Kurd
More advance weapons	89	93	87	75
Become unified with tribes	81	78	89	77
Foreign intel, expertise, training	81	89	85	61
Become unified with local armed groups	74	91	55	48
Foreign support, airstrikes	64	50	79	83
Don't need foreign help	58	82	36	23
Foreign support, ground troops	46	20	75	73

Strong support for compulsory service among Shia, Sunni

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

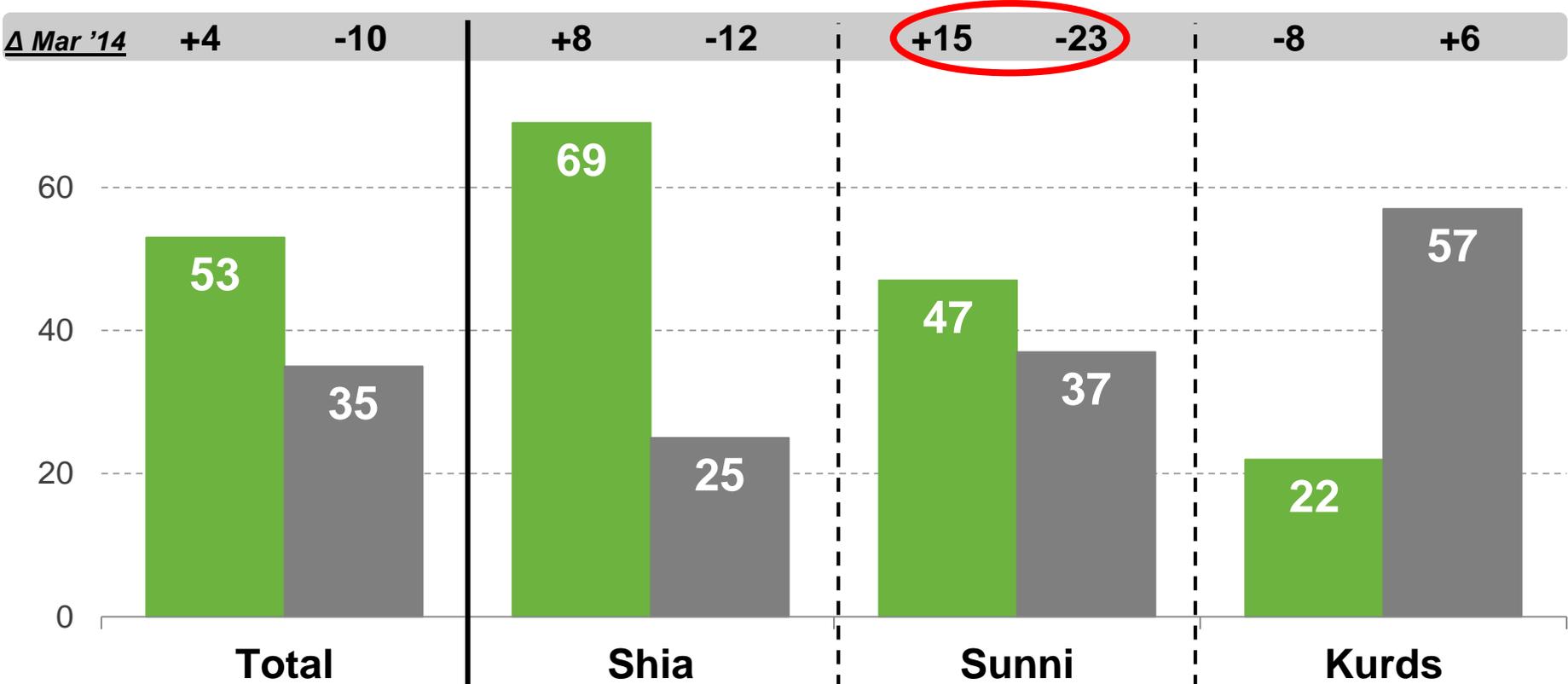


Shia see a united country, Sunni improve, Kurds divided

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

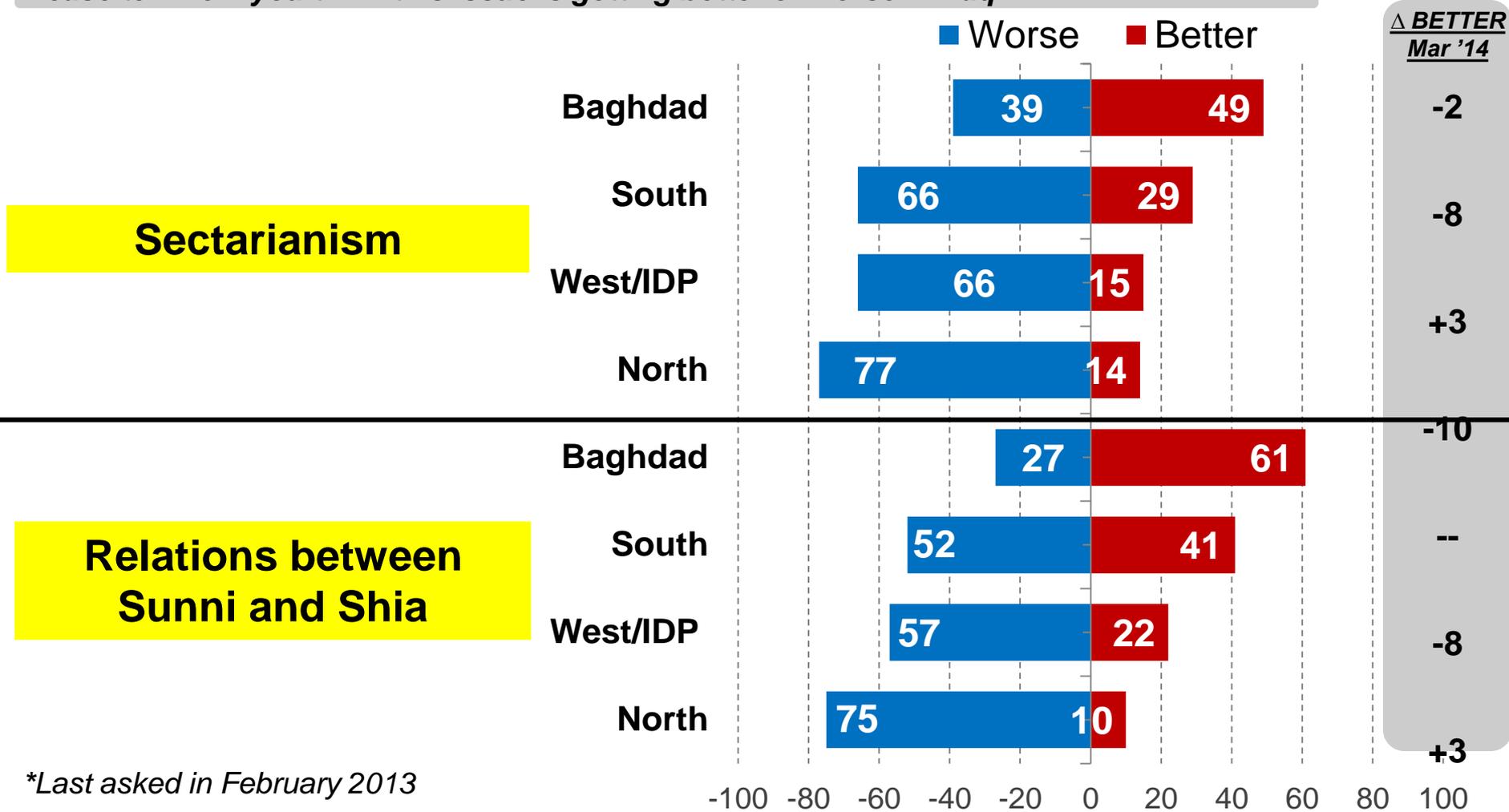
Iraq is mostly **a unified country.**

Iraq is mostly **a divided country.**



Baghdad sectarian optimism, KRG-Baghdad relations improve

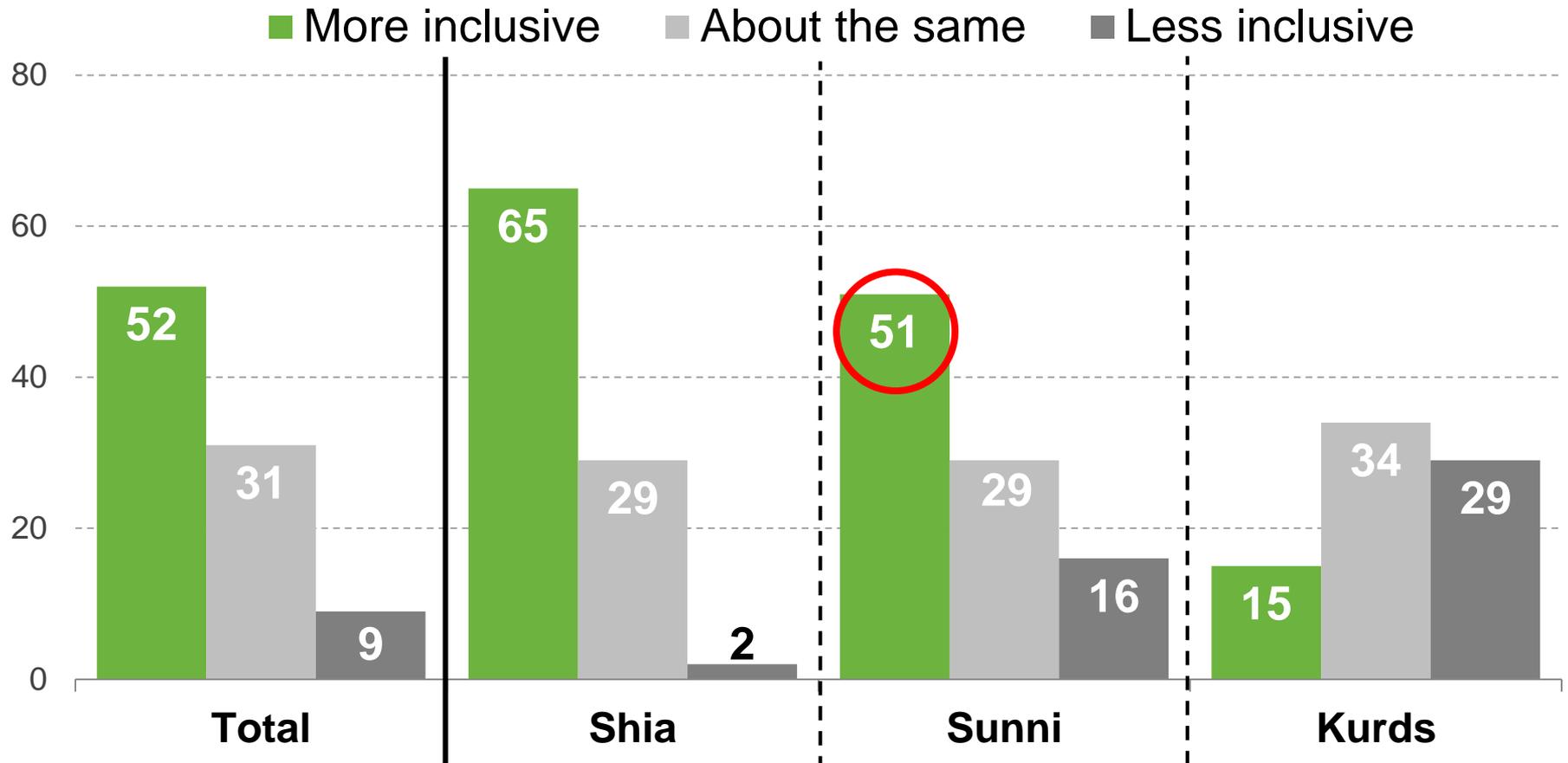
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq.



*Last asked in February 2013

Shia, Sunni view Abadi gov't as more inclusive, Kurds less so

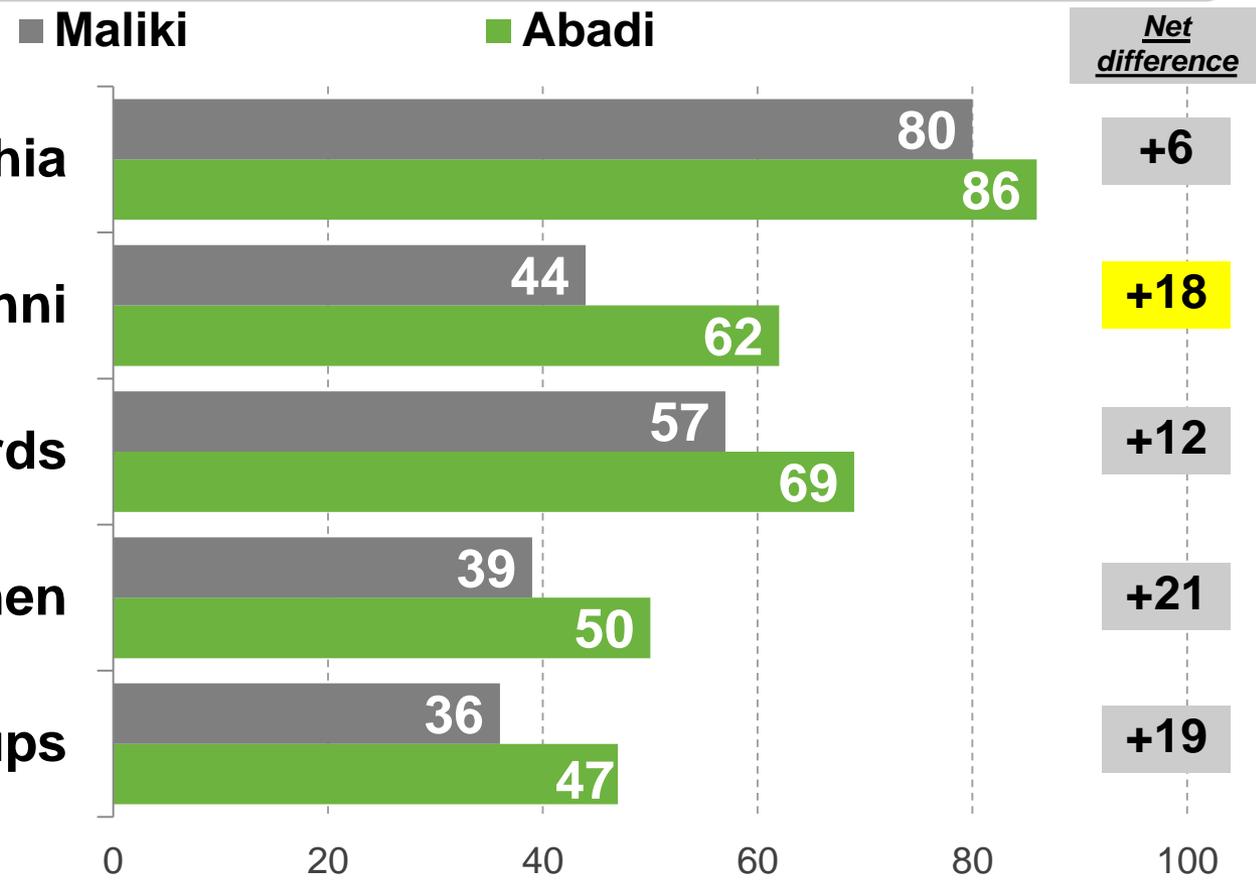
Compared to Maliki's government, do you think the new government is being more inclusive of Sunnis, less inclusive of Sunnis, or is it about the same as the previous Maliki government?



Abadi government more representative than Maliki's

Now I would like to ask you about the new government, led by [leader] and how it represents various sects, ethnicities, and religions. For each one, please tell me if you think the [ABADI/MALIKI] government fairly represents that specific sect, ethnicity, or religion, or if it unfairly represents that group.

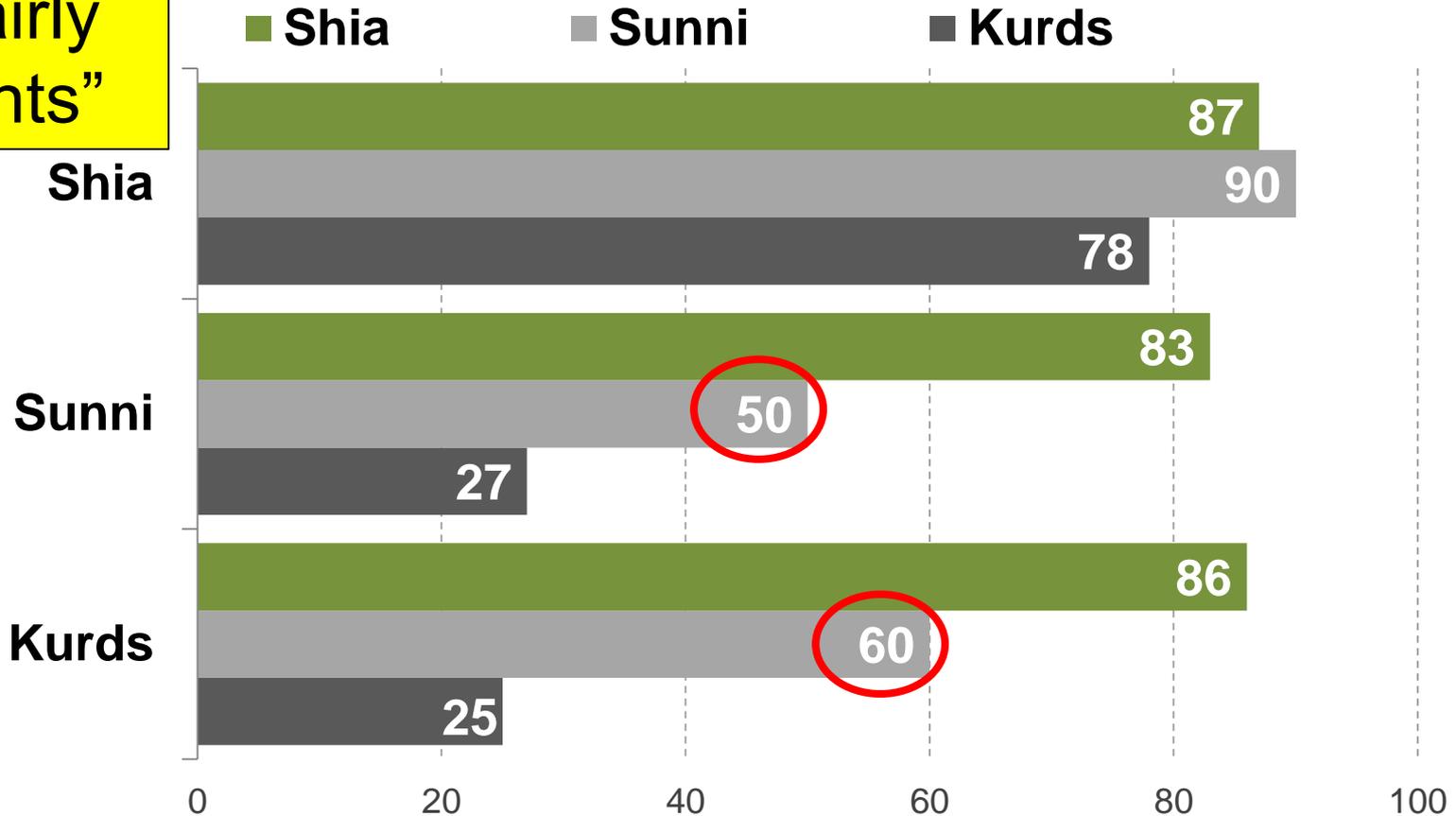
Total "fairly represents"



Sectarian differences in views of government representation

Now I would like to ask you about the new government, led by [leader] and how it represents various sects, ethnicities, and religions. For each one, please tell me if you think the Abadi government fairly represents that specific sect, ethnicity, or religion, or if it unfairly represents that group.

Total “fairly represents”

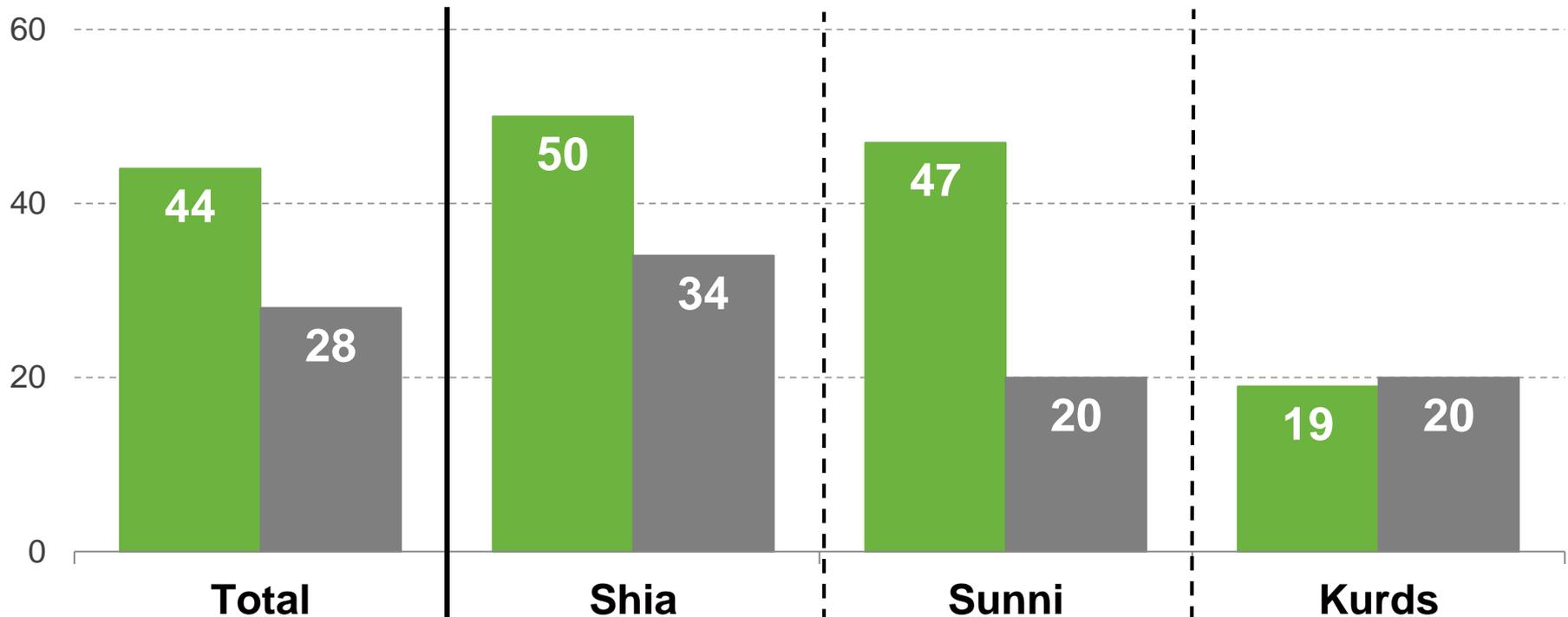


Quotas viewed as causing tension rather than diminishing it

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

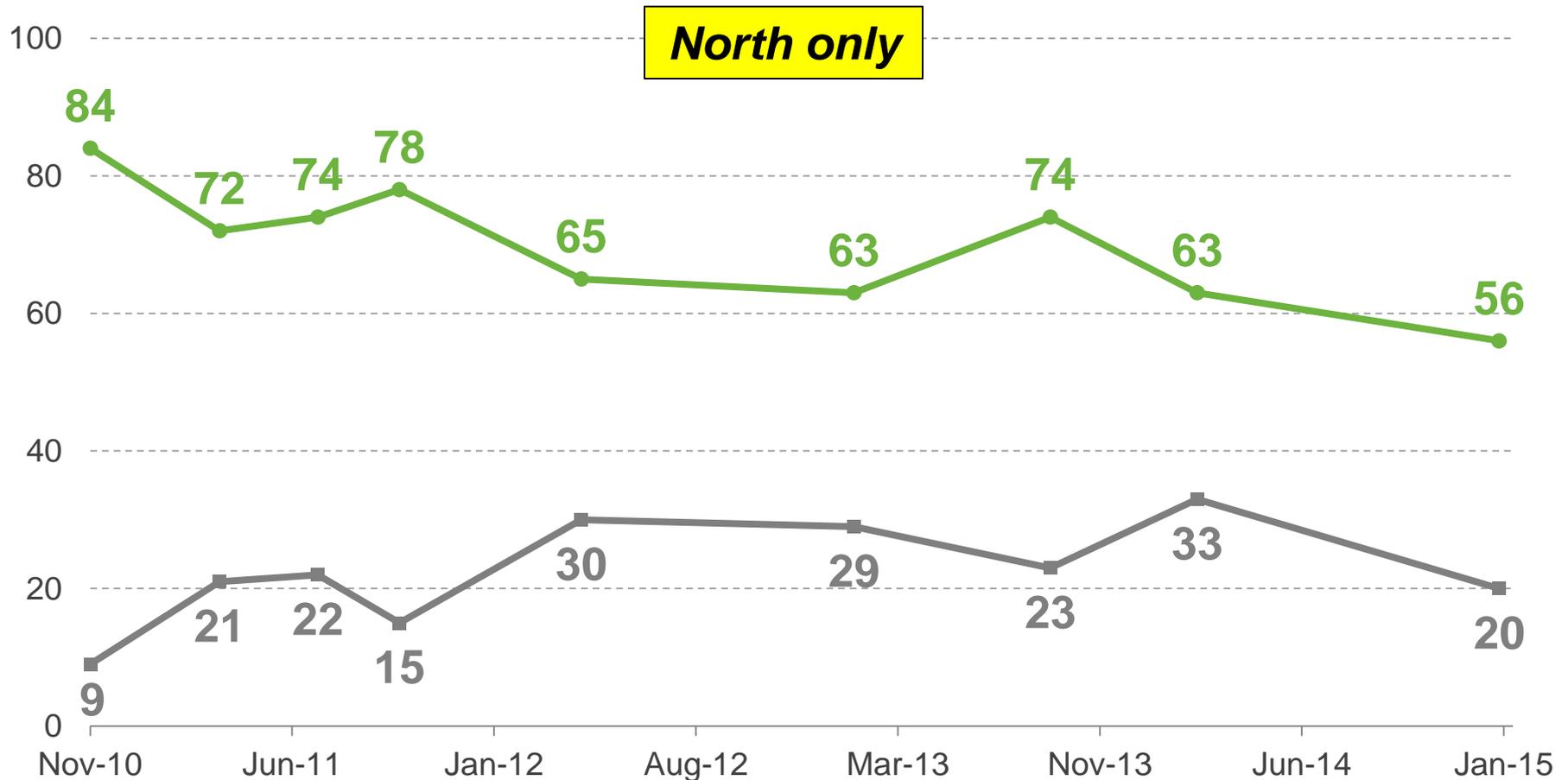
Quotas in the government are the **cause of sectarian tensions.**

Quotas in the government **ensure** that all sects and ethnicities are **fairly represented.**



Kurdistan direction at lowest point since 2010

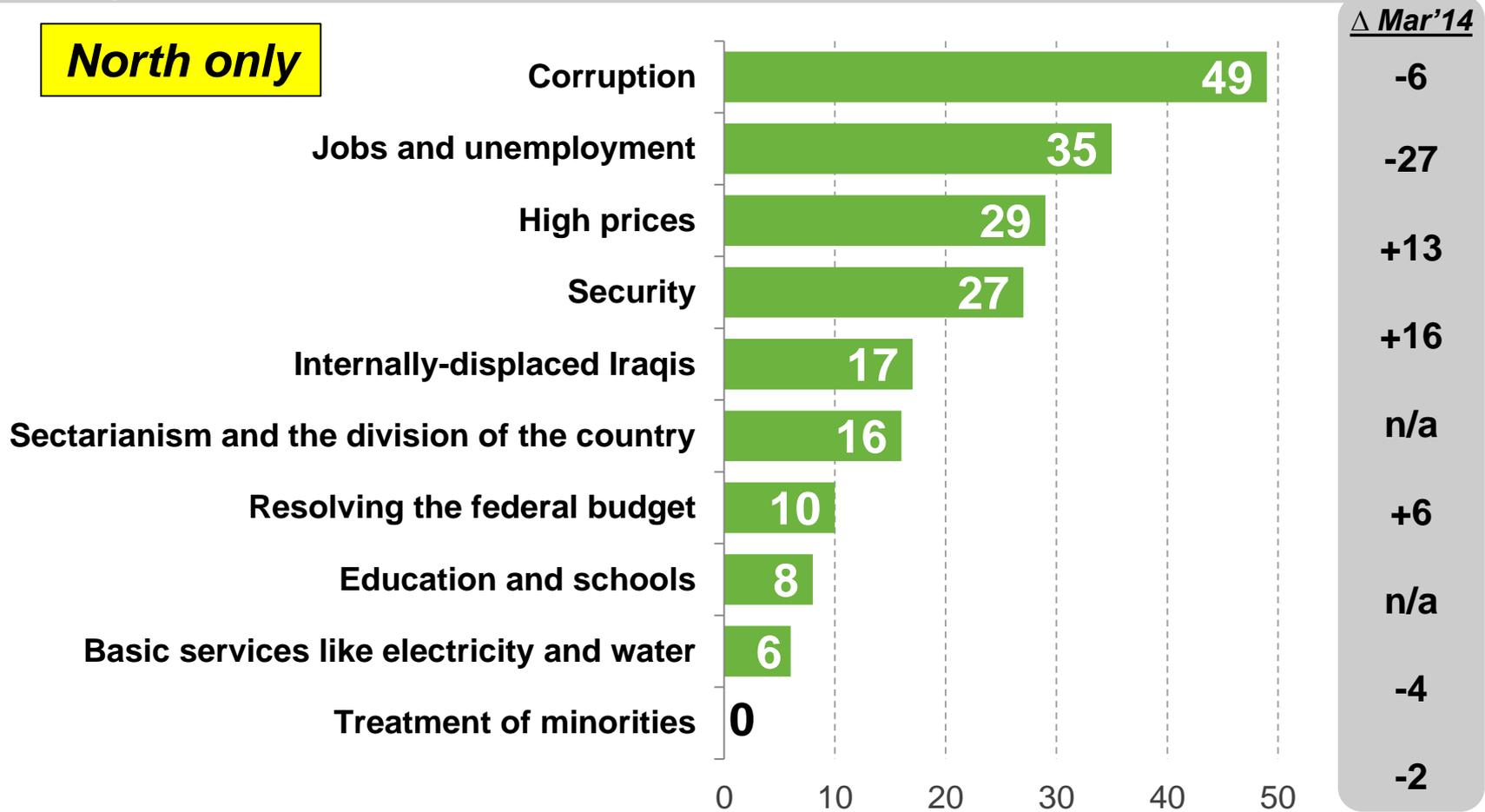
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Kurdistan are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction? (NORTH ONLY)



Corruption concerns still dominate in North, econ issues follow

Please tell me which TWO of these are the most important for the Iraqi government to address. (NORTH ONLY)

North only

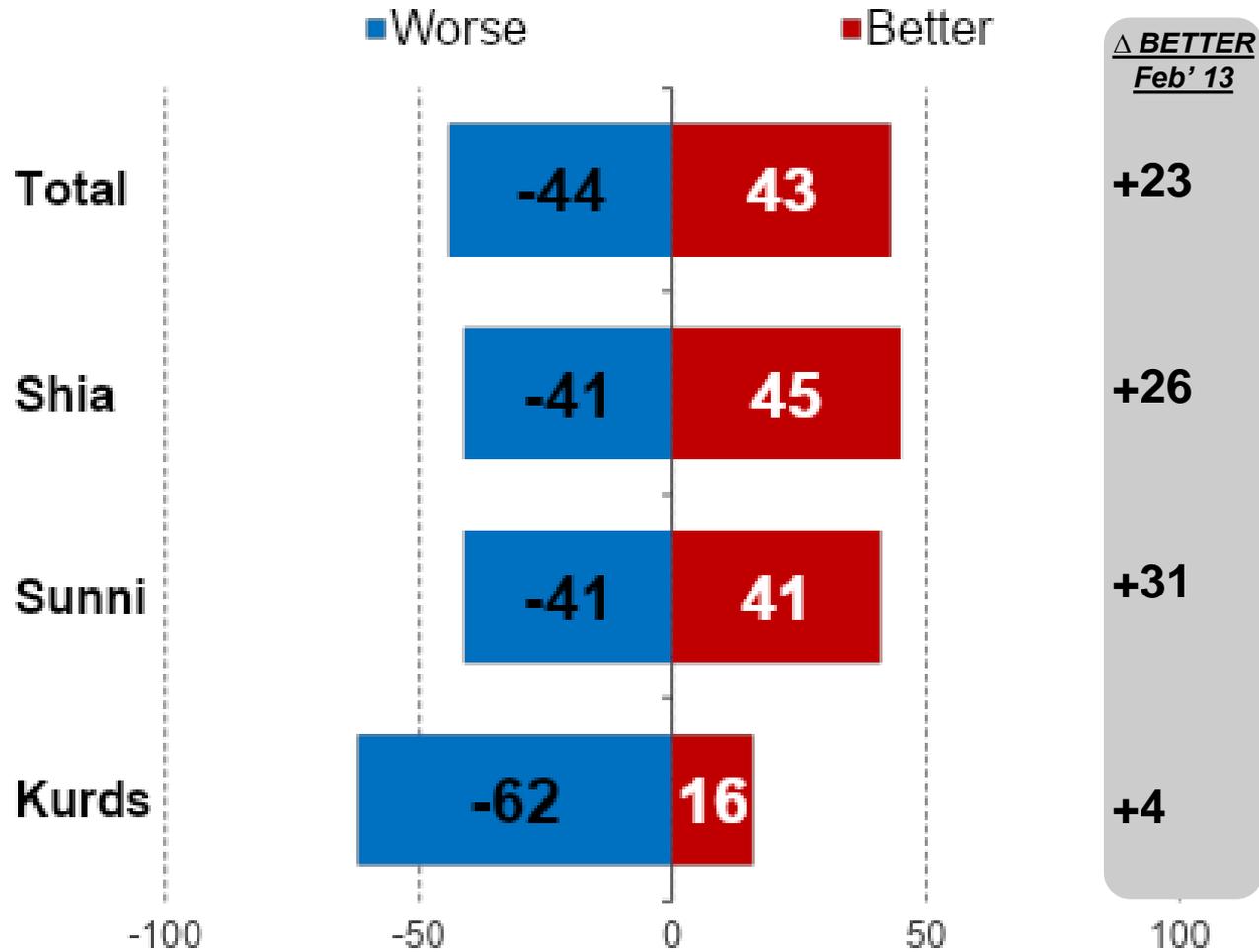


n/a

Kurds view KRG-Baghdad relations as worsening

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

**Relations
Between KRG
and National
Government**

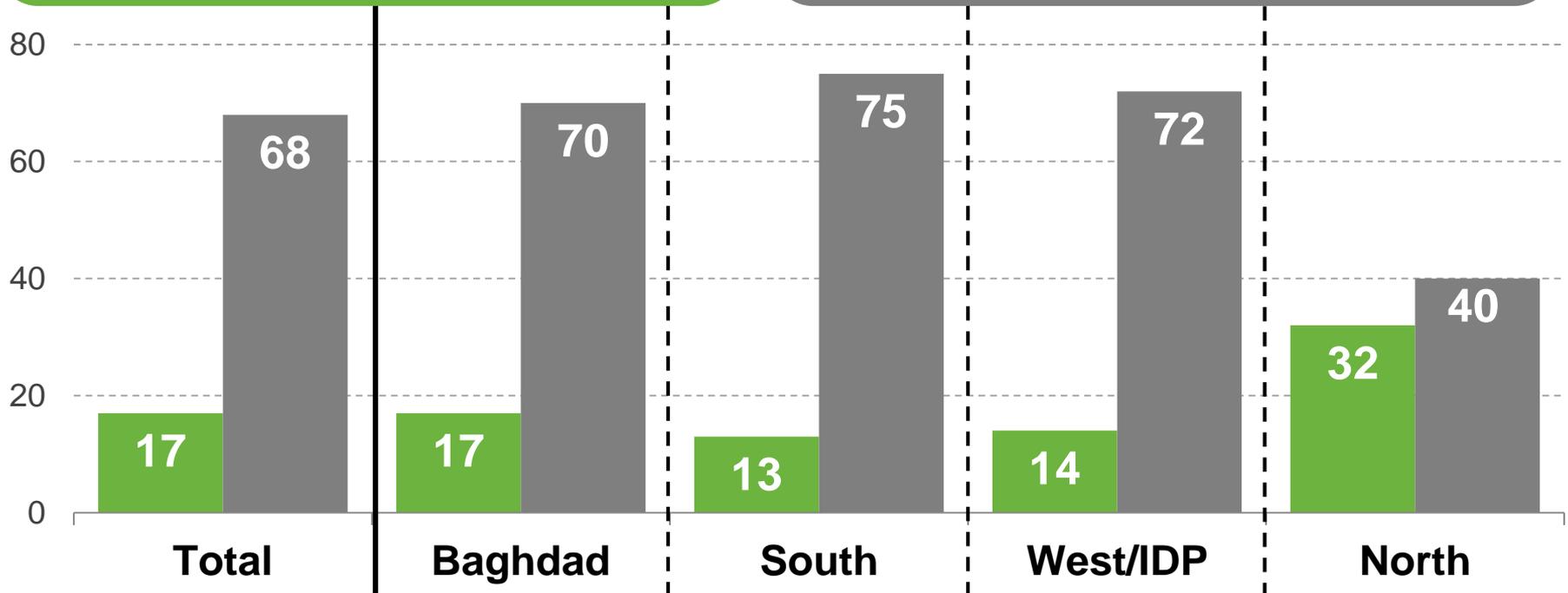


Kurds more likely to look to their own for political leadership

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

A political leader has to come **from my ethnic group** in order to represent my beliefs and interests.

It is possible for a political leader to represent my beliefs and interests even if he/she is **not from my ethnic group**.

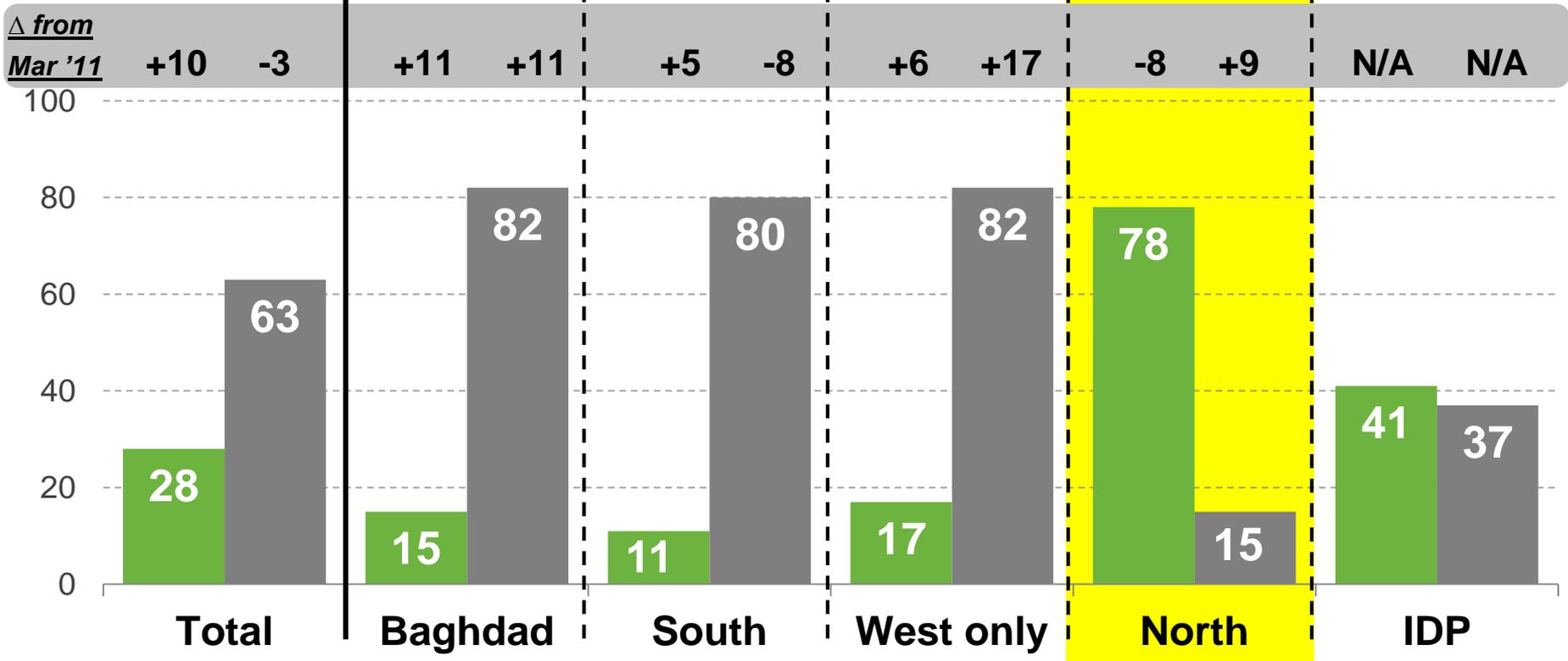


North still has strong desire for independence

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Kurdistan should become an independent country.

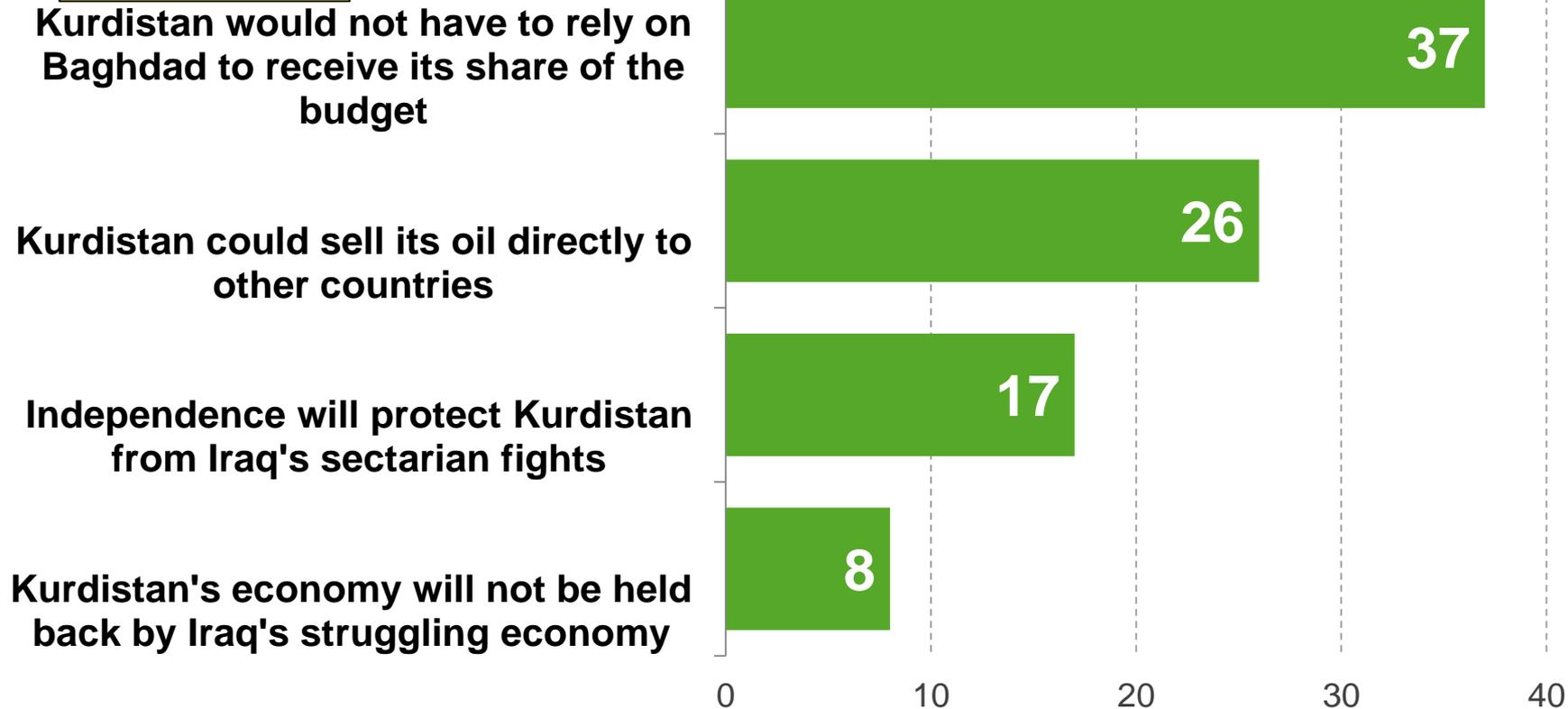
Kurdistan should remain an autonomous region of Iraq.



Econ. independence drives support for Kurdish independence

Now to something different. I will read you a list of reasons why some people say Kurdistan should become an independent country, separate from Iraq. Please tell me which ONE is the best reason for Kurdistan become an independent country. (NORTH ONLY)

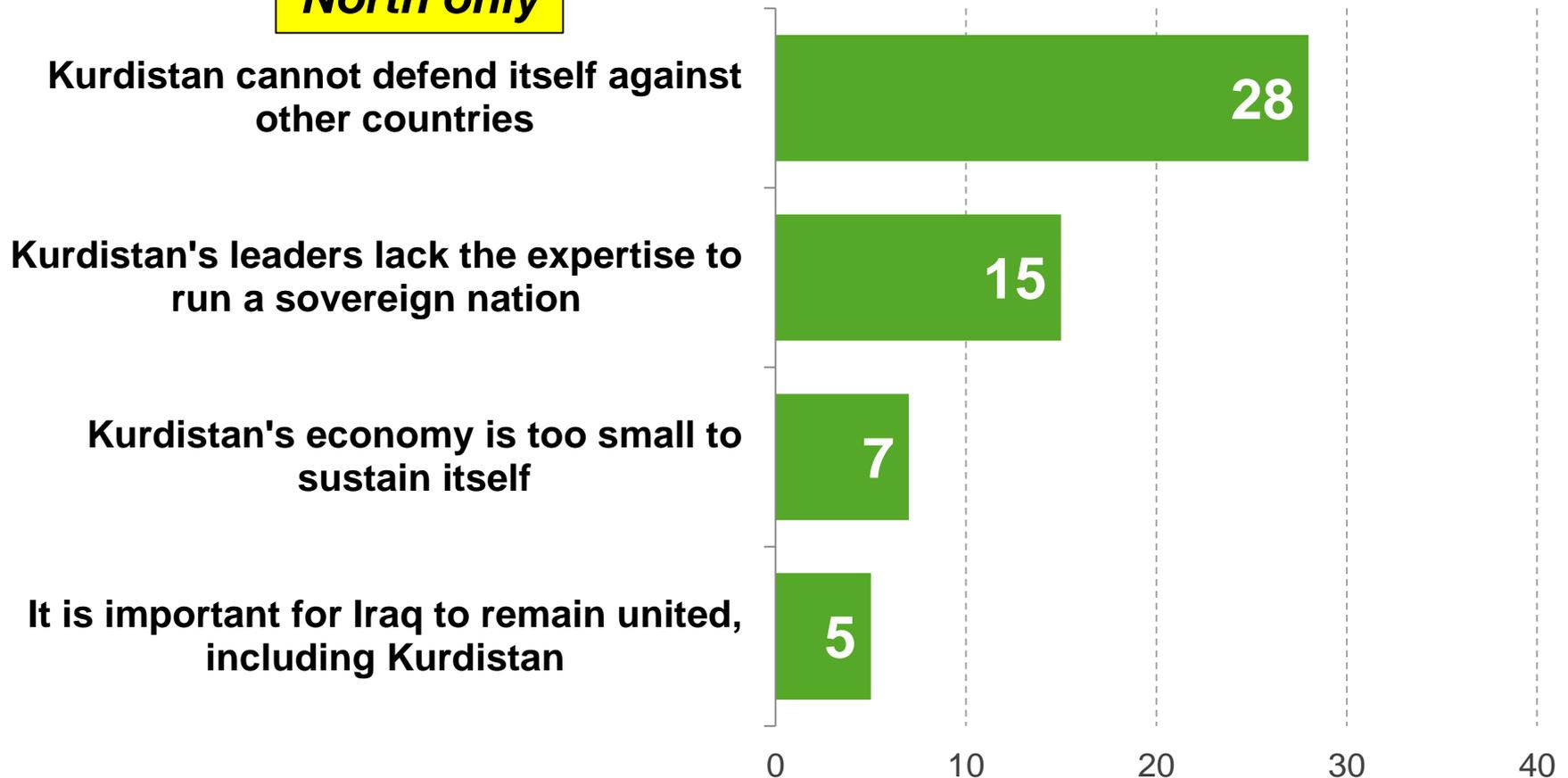
North only



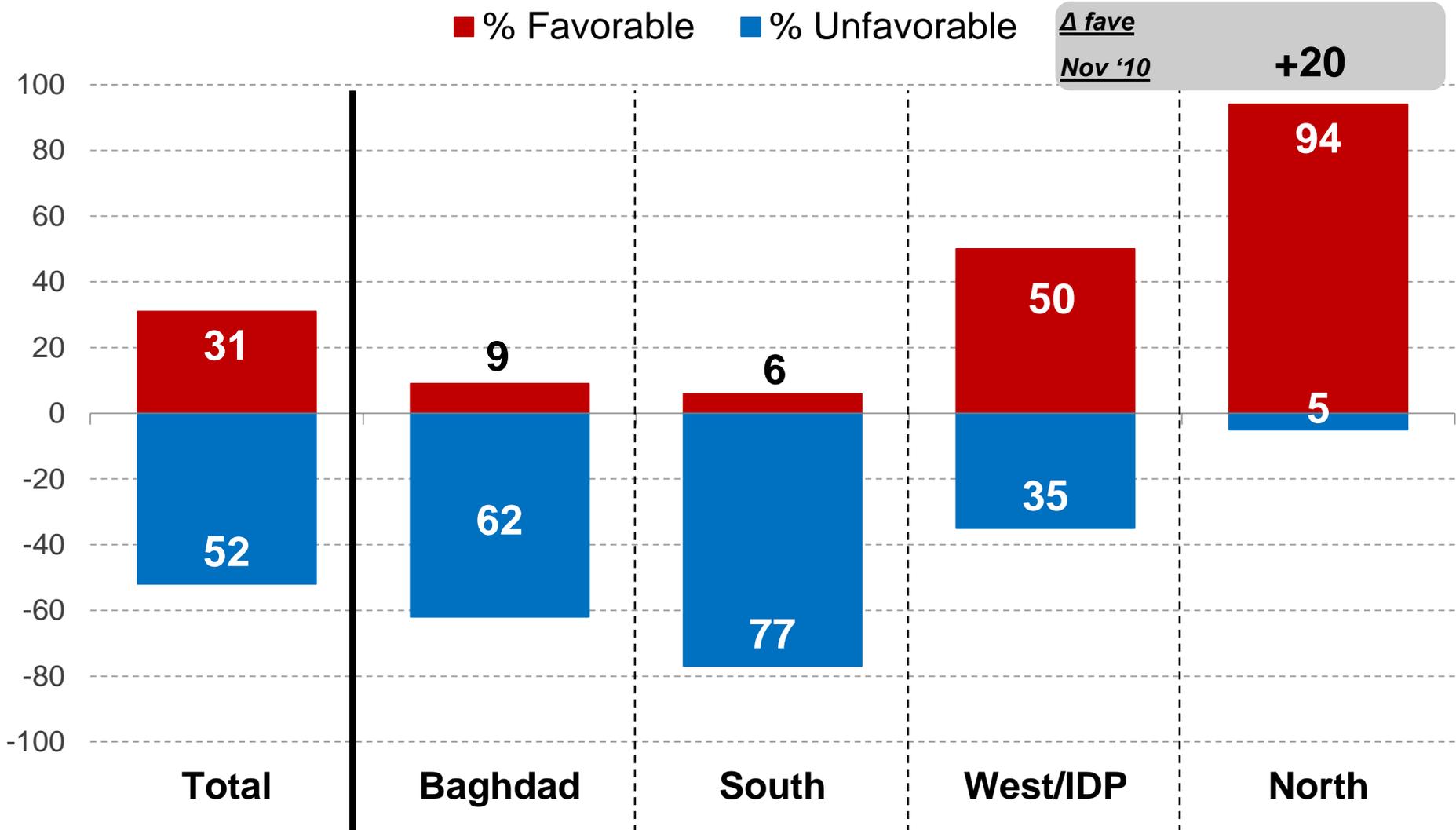
Security concerns strongest argument against independence

Now to something different. I will read you a list of reasons why some people say Kurdistan should not become independent, and should instead remain a part of Iraq. Please tell me which ONE is the best reason for Kurdistan to remain a part of Iraq. (NORTH ONLY)

North only



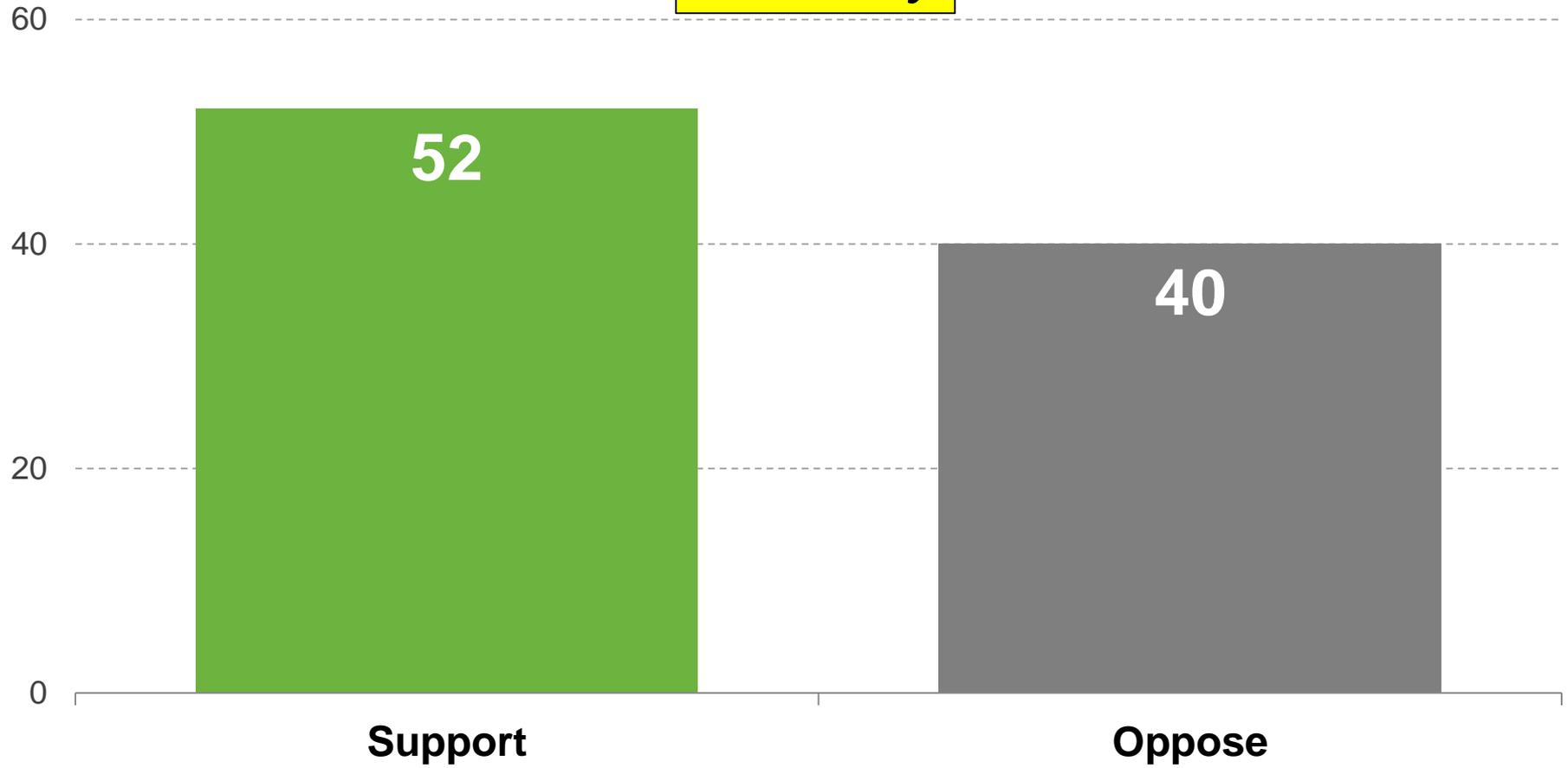
Peshmerga strong ratings in North and West



Majority of North wants greater Peshmerga, Army cooperation

*Do you support or oppose the idea of the Peshmerga working more closely with the Iraqi Army?
(NORTH ONLY)*

North only



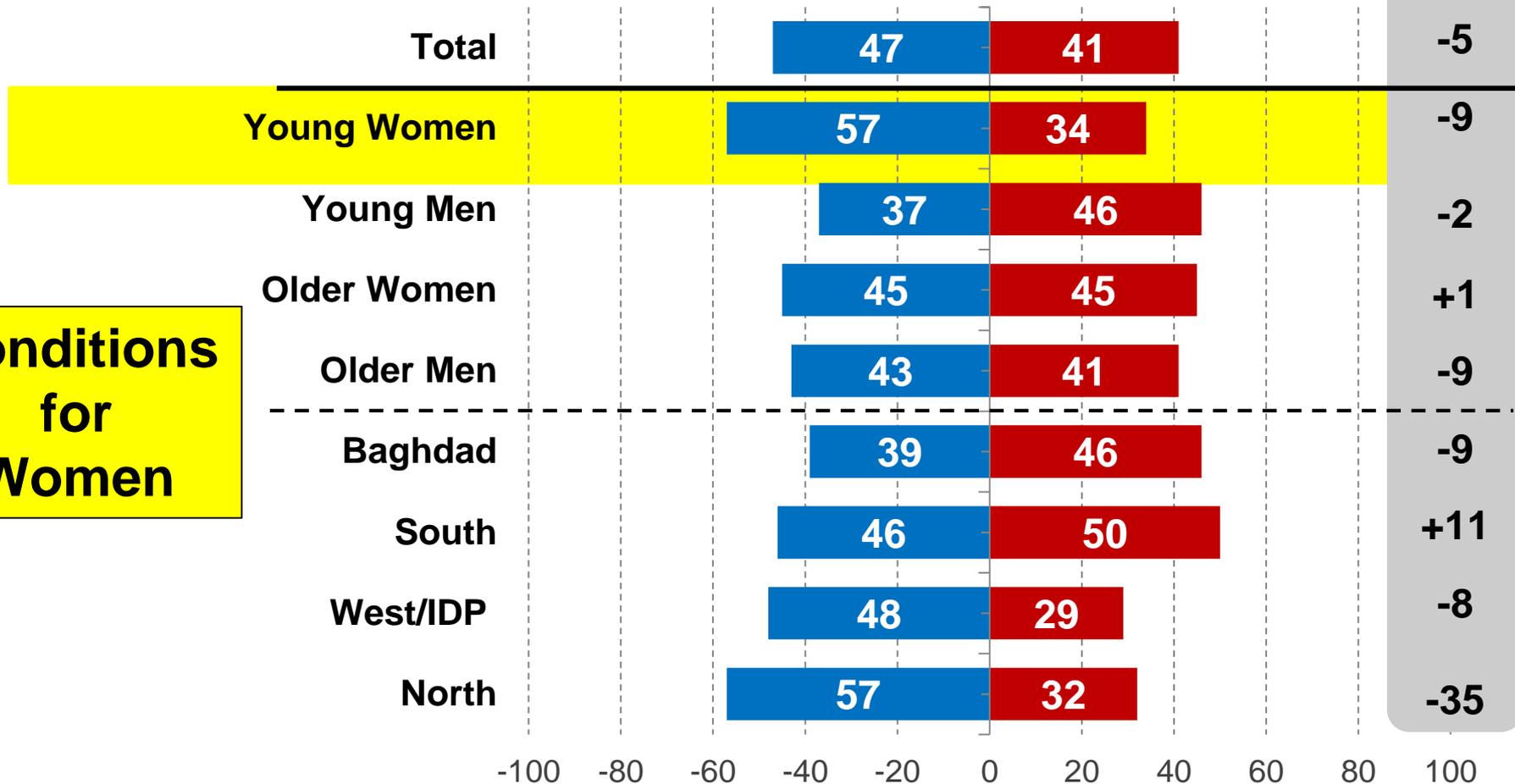
Women's Roles in Iraq

Young women most pessimistic about conditions for women

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

Δ **BETTER**
Mar '11

■ Worse ■ Better



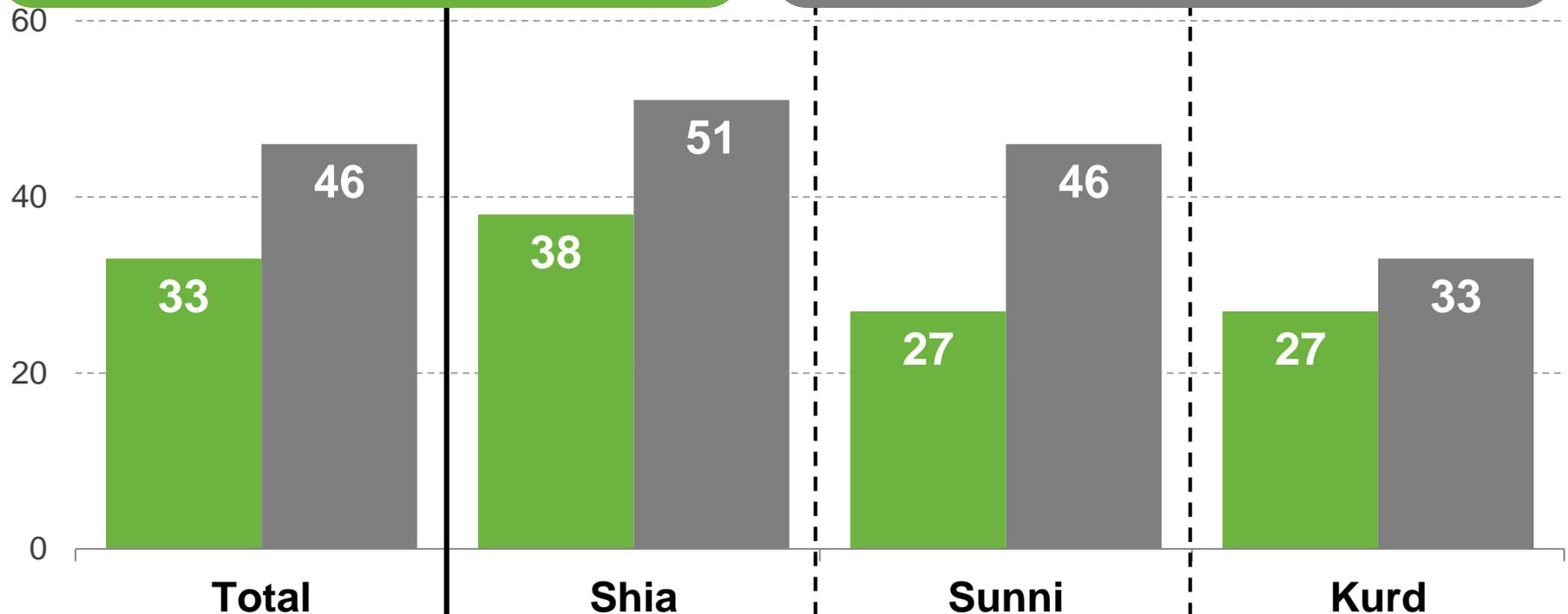
**Conditions
for
Women**

Plurality want women to play a “modern” role in society

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

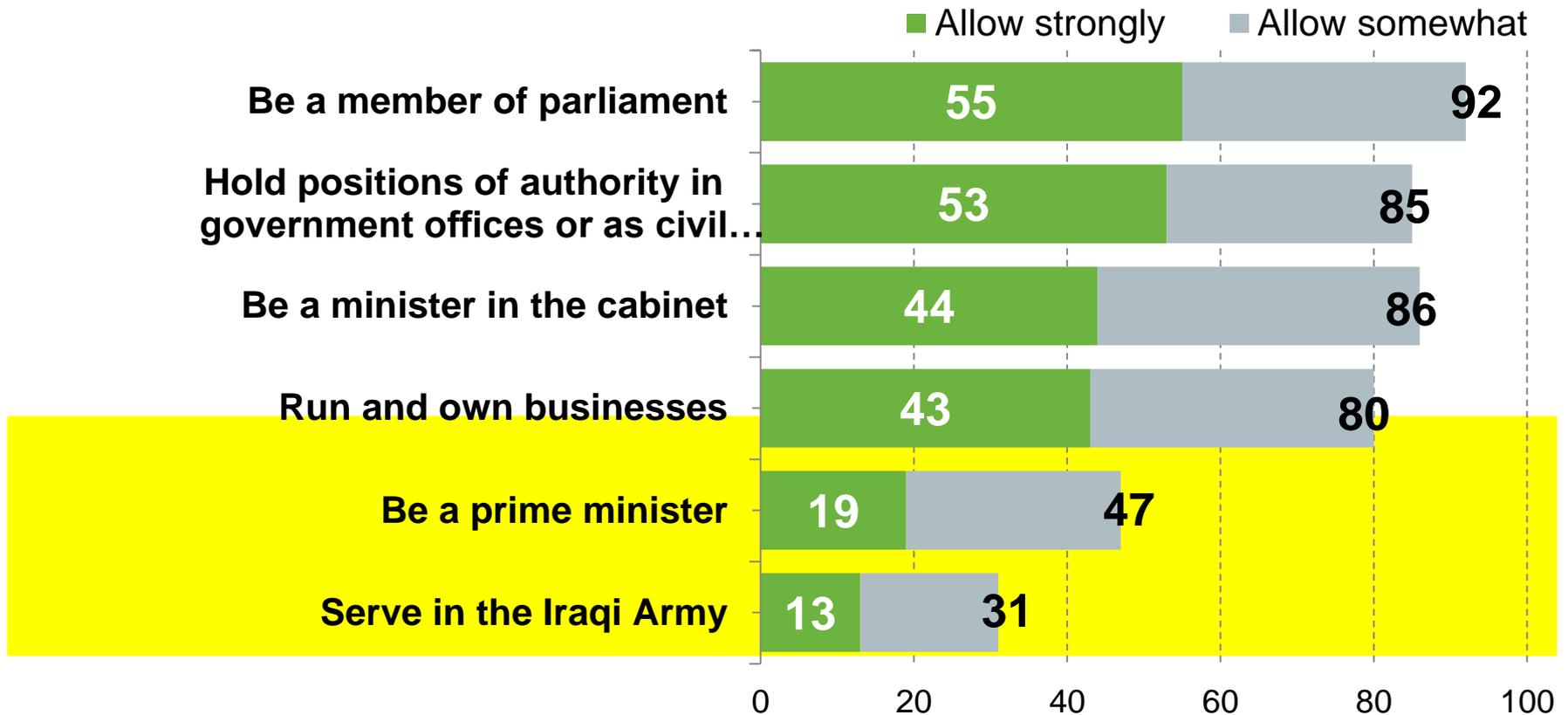
Generally speaking, it is better for Iraq to have women play more **traditional roles** in our society.

Generally speaking, it is better for Iraq to have women play more **modern roles** in our society.



Openness for role of women, except as PM and in Army

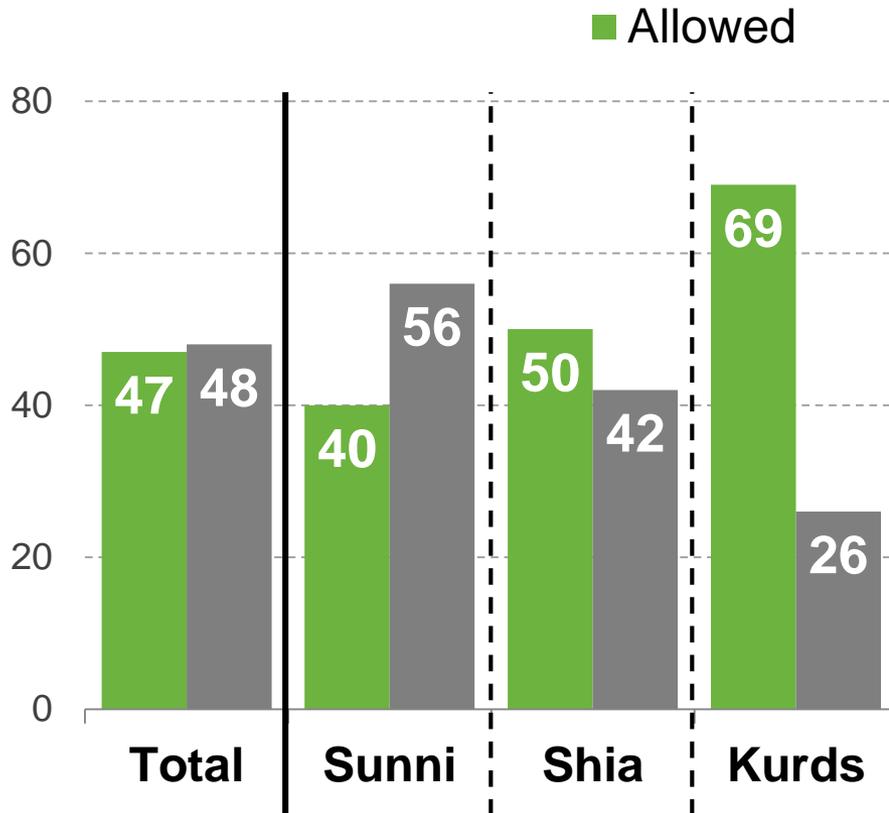
Now I want to ask you about the role of women in Iraq. For each item, please tell me if you think Iraqi women should or should not be allowed to do that particular item.



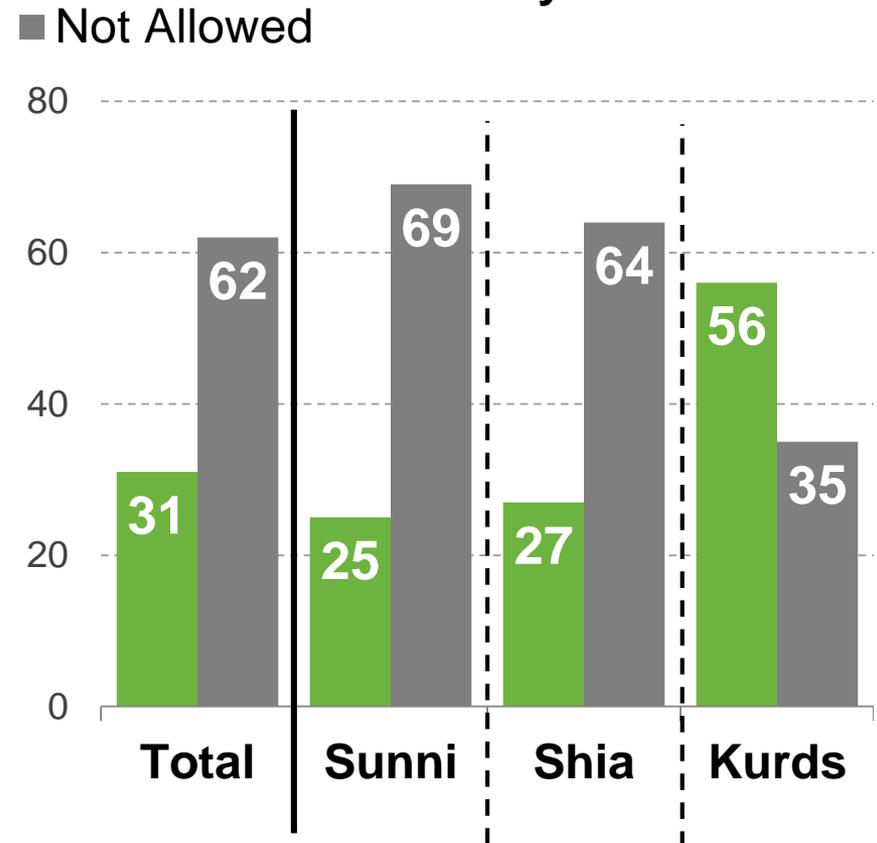
Majority of Sunni, Kurds see woman as PM

Now I want to ask you about the role of women in Iraq. For each item, please tell me if you think Iraqi women should or should not be allowed to do that particular item.

Be a Prime Minister

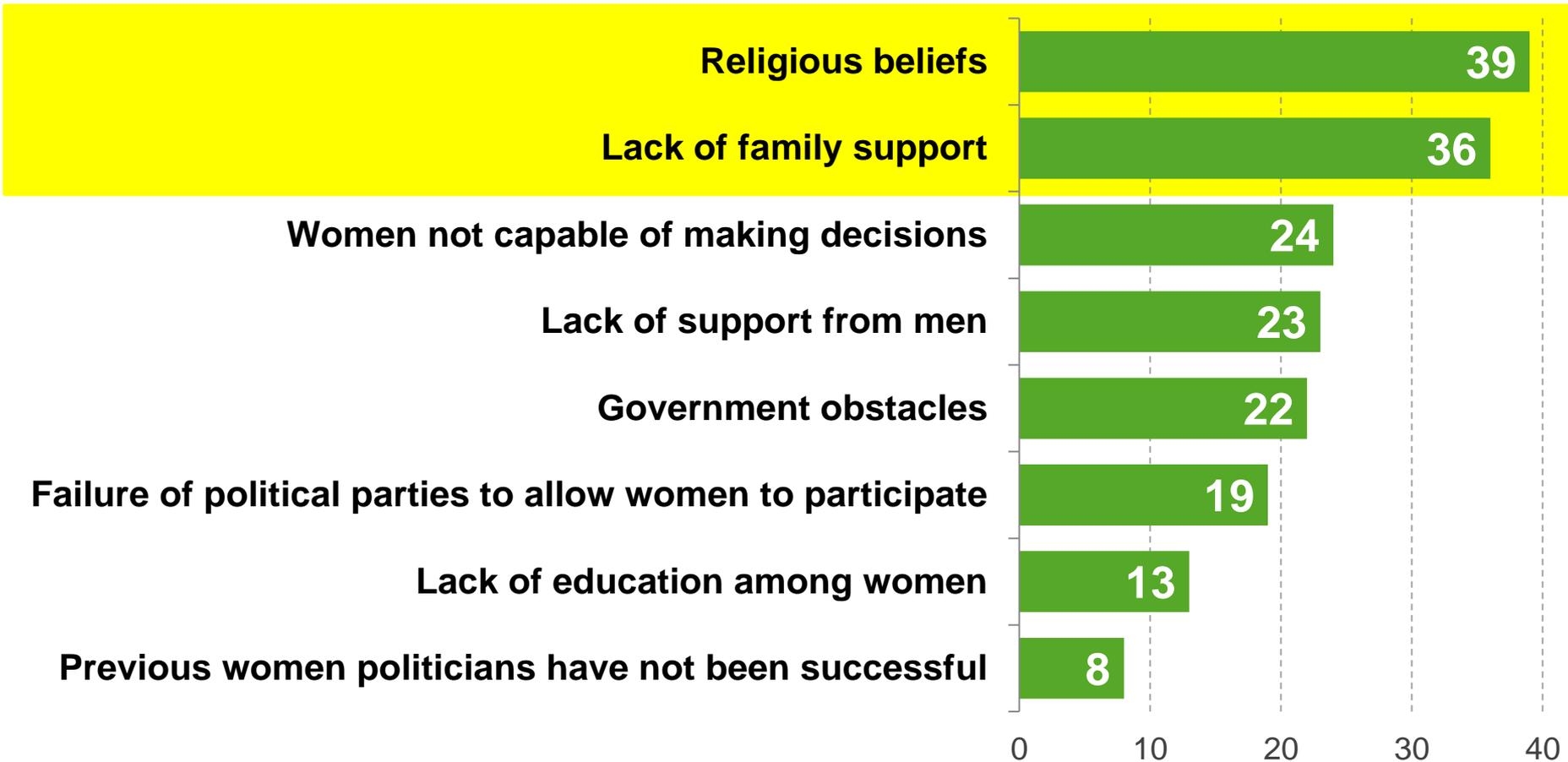


Serve in the Iraqi Army



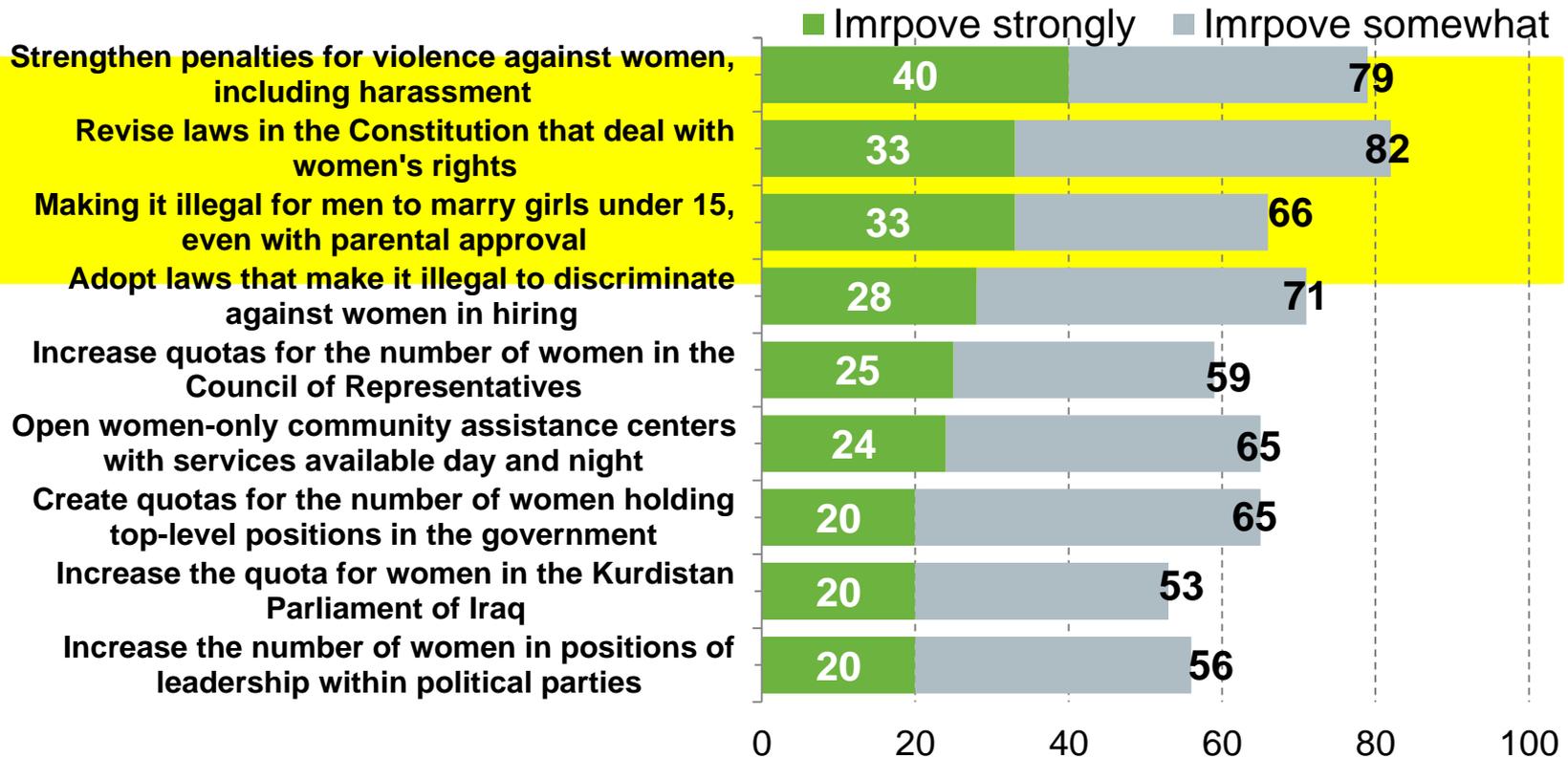
Religious beliefs and family holding women back in politics

What do you think are the TWO main reasons why more women are not involved in politics and government?



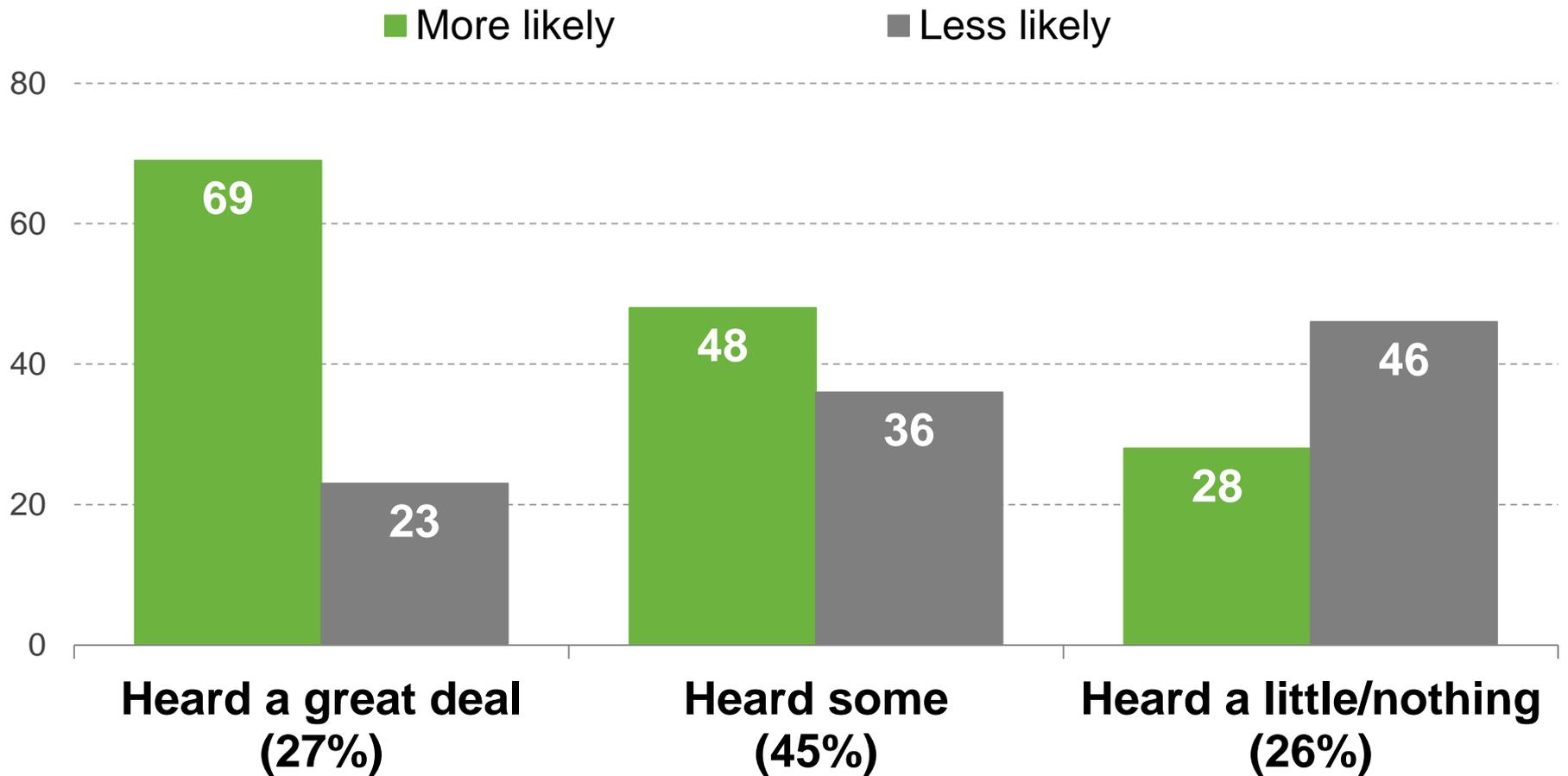
Strengthening women's rights laws have perceived impact

Now I am going to read you some recommendations that some people say will improve conditions for women in Iraq. For each one, please indicate whether you think the recommendation would improve the lives of women in Iraq, or whether you think it would not improve the lives of women in Iraq.



Women MPs have more support when heard

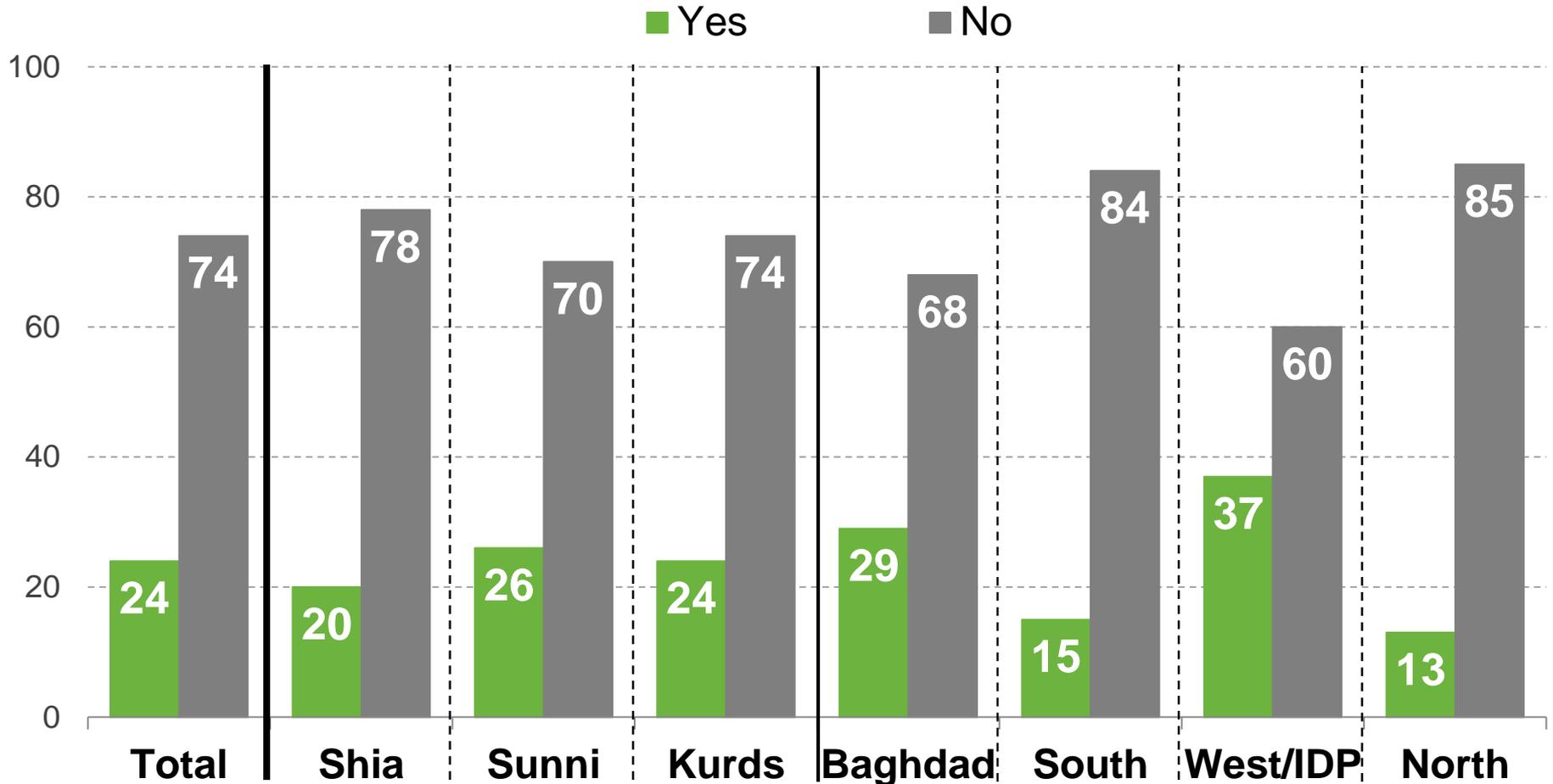
Based on what you have heard from current or former female MPs, are you more or less likely to vote for female MPs in the future?



Minority Issues

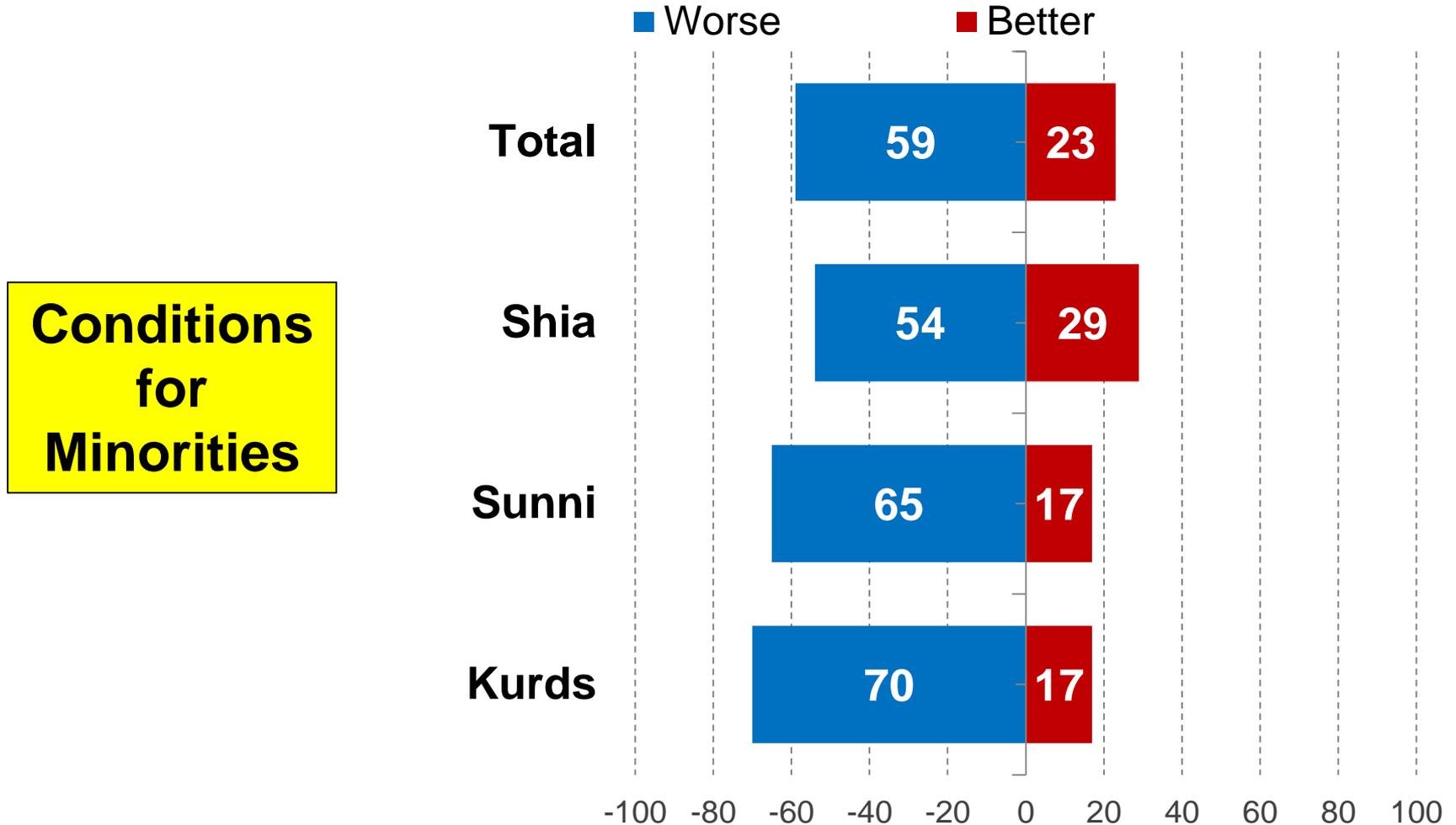
One in four have friends or family who are minorities

Do you have any close friends or family members who belong to one of Iraq's minority groups, such as Yazidis, Christians, or Sabians?



Conditions for minorities viewed as getting worse

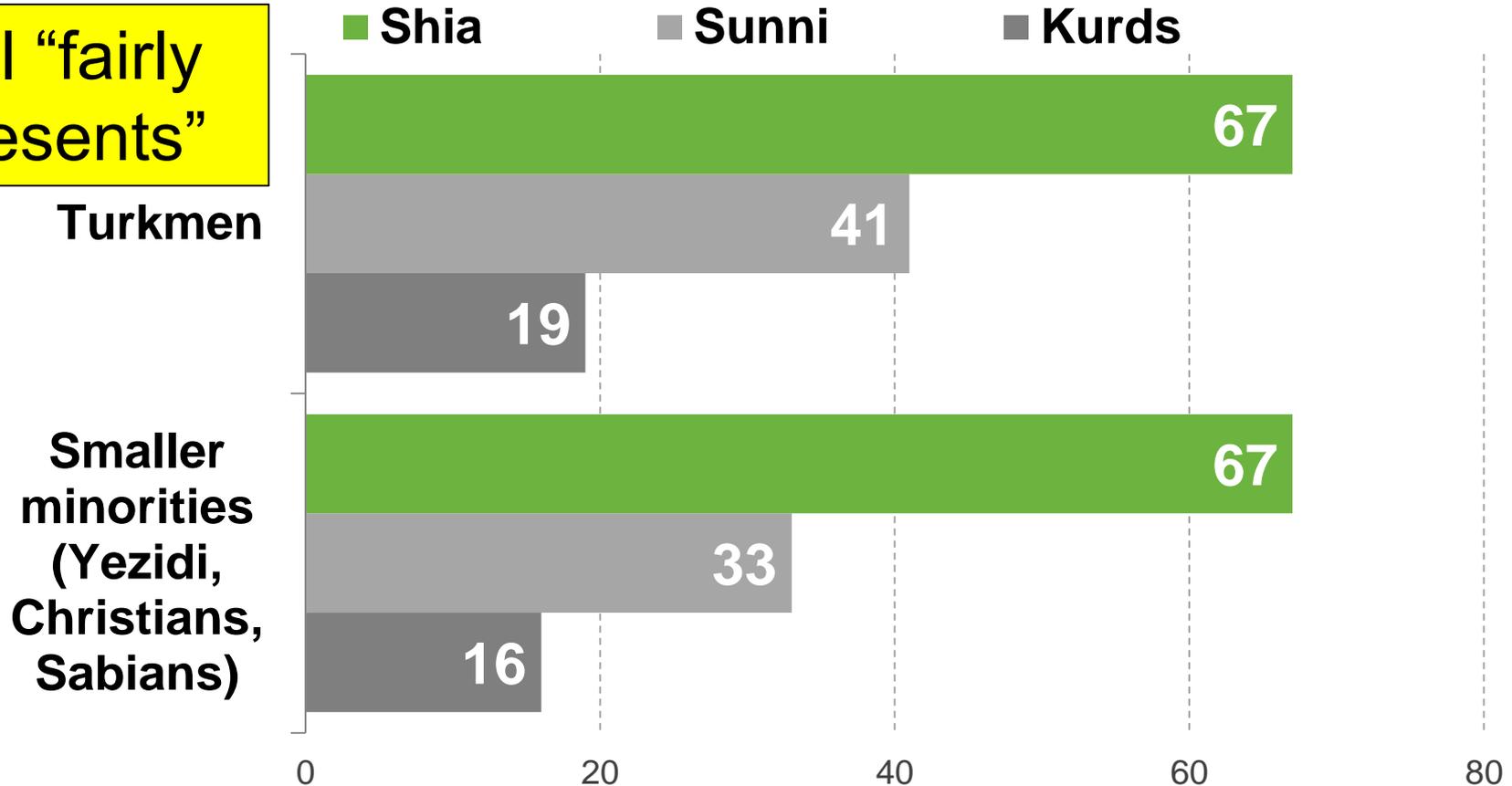
Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq. (Conditions for minorities)



Views of gov't representation of Turkmen, other minorities

Now I would like to ask you about the new government, led by Haider al-Abadi and how it represents various sects, ethnicities, and religions. For each one, please tell me if you think the Abadi government fairly represents that specific sect, ethnicity, or religion, or if it unfairly represents that group.

Total "fairly represents"

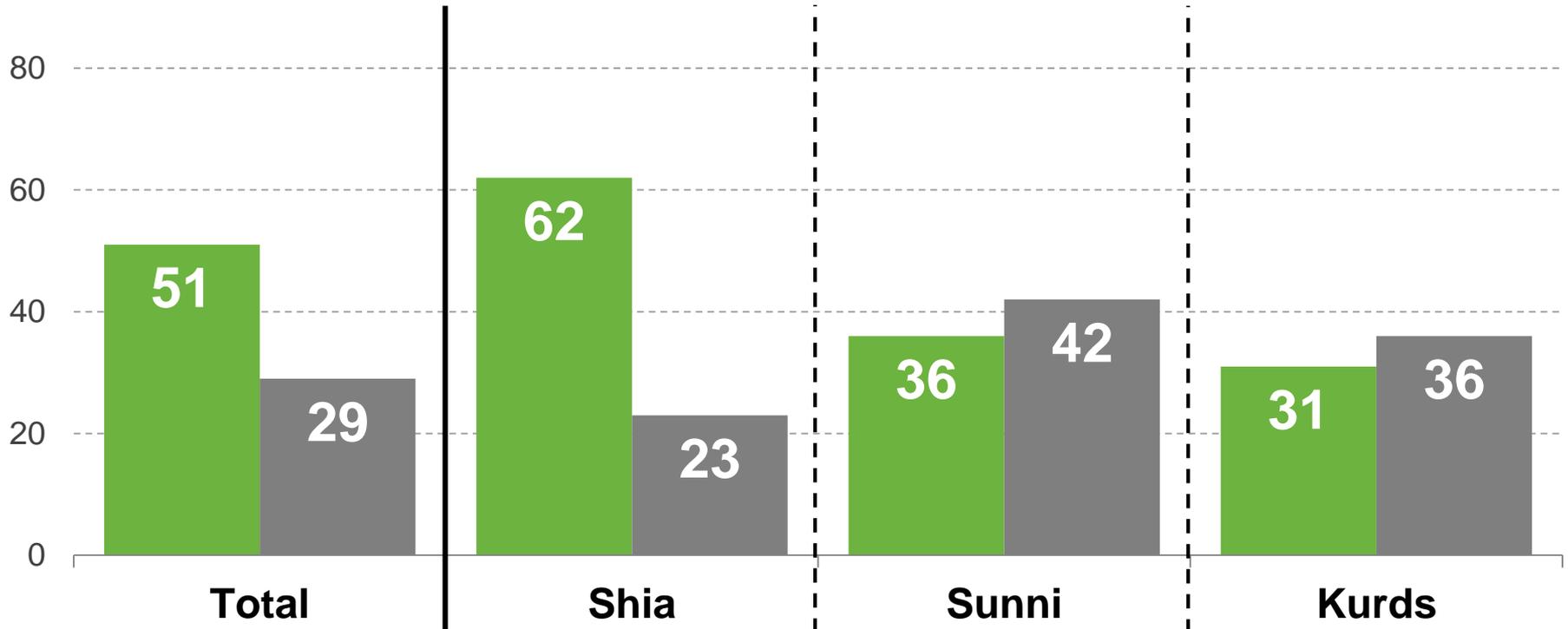


Divided opinions on effectiveness of minority seats

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

Reserved seats for minorities in parliament are an **effective way** to ensure the rights of minorities.

Reserved seats have **not done enough** to ensure the rights of minorities.

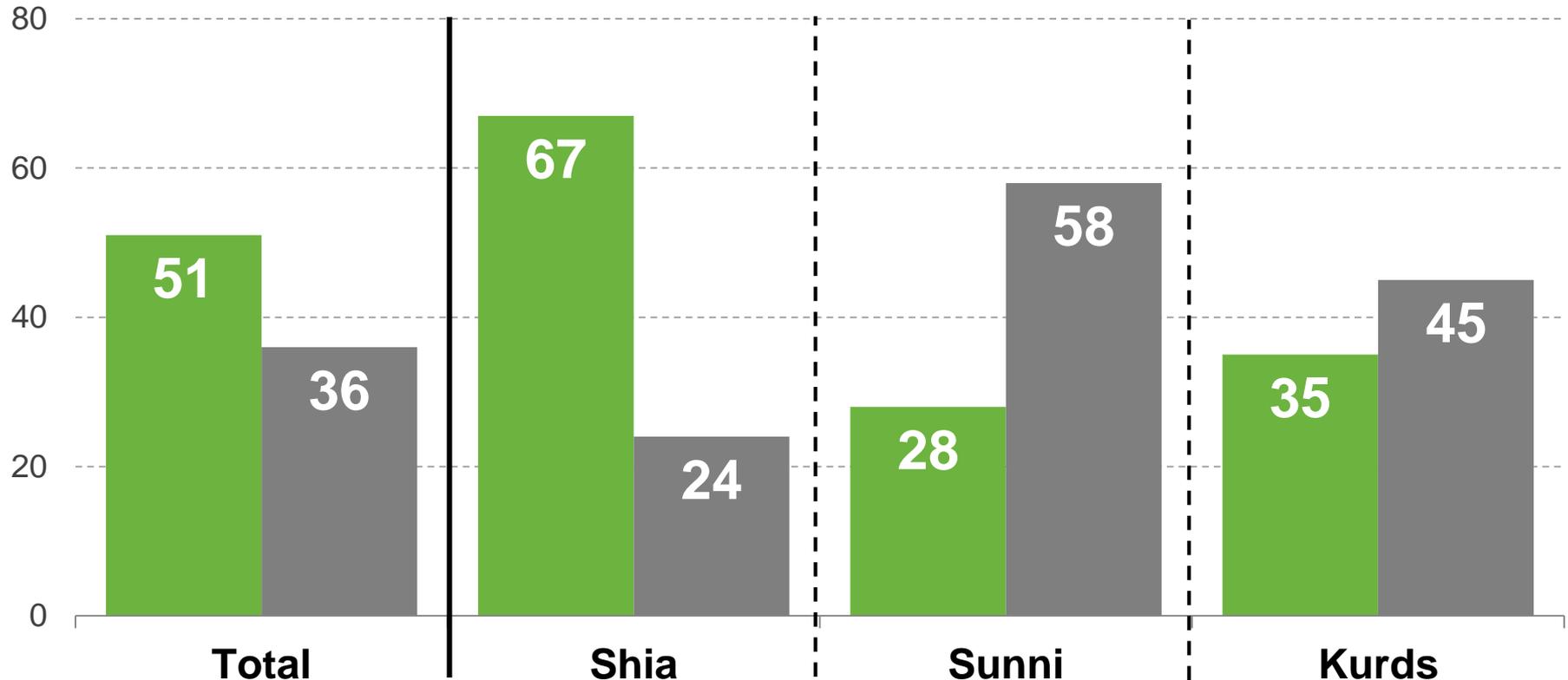


Also division on how fairly treated minorities are by

I'm going to read you a pair of statements, and for each one, I want you to tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view.

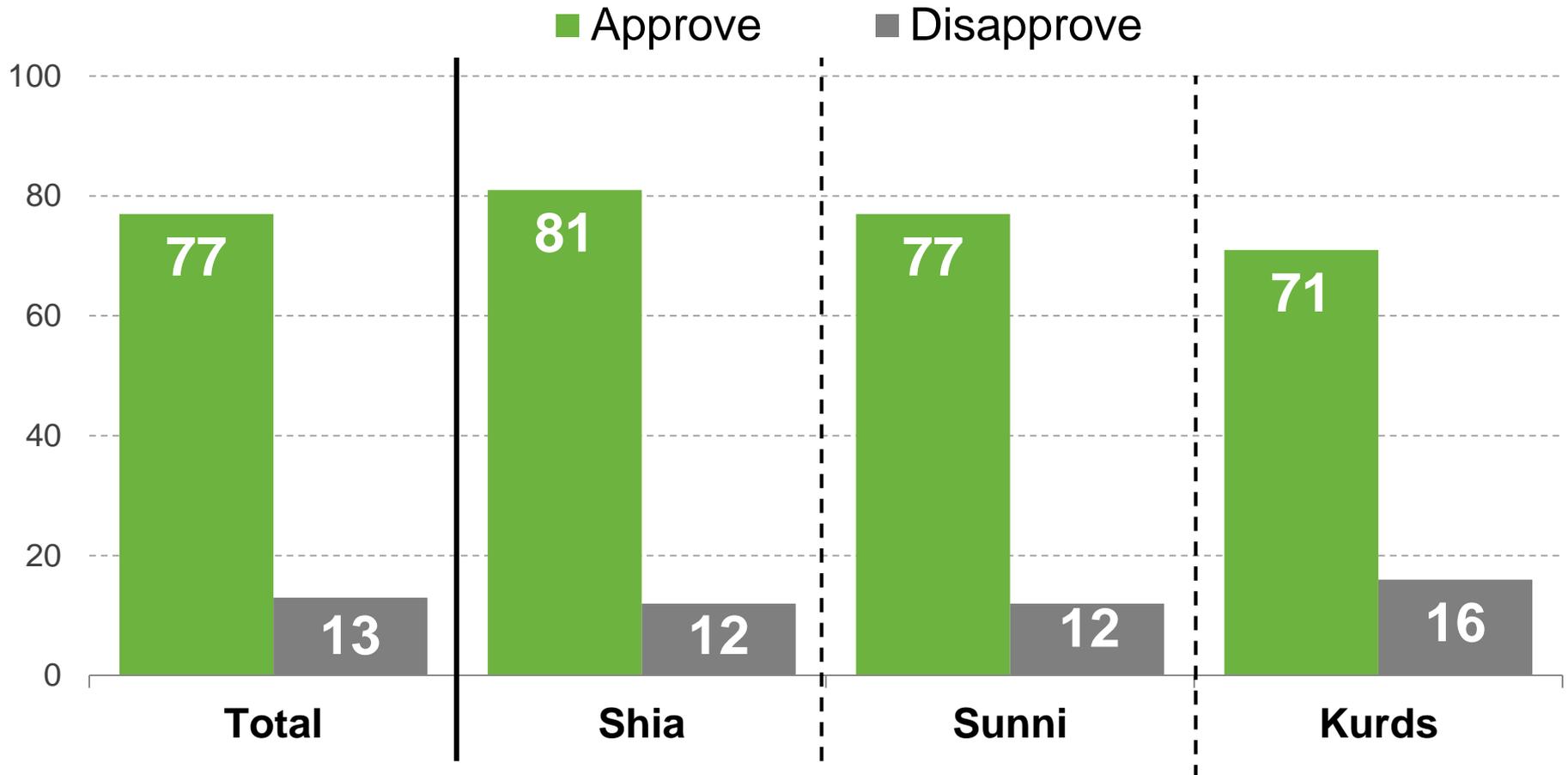
Minorities in Iraq are **treated fairly** by the government.

Minorities in Iraq are **not treated fairly** by the government.



Strong support for affirmative action

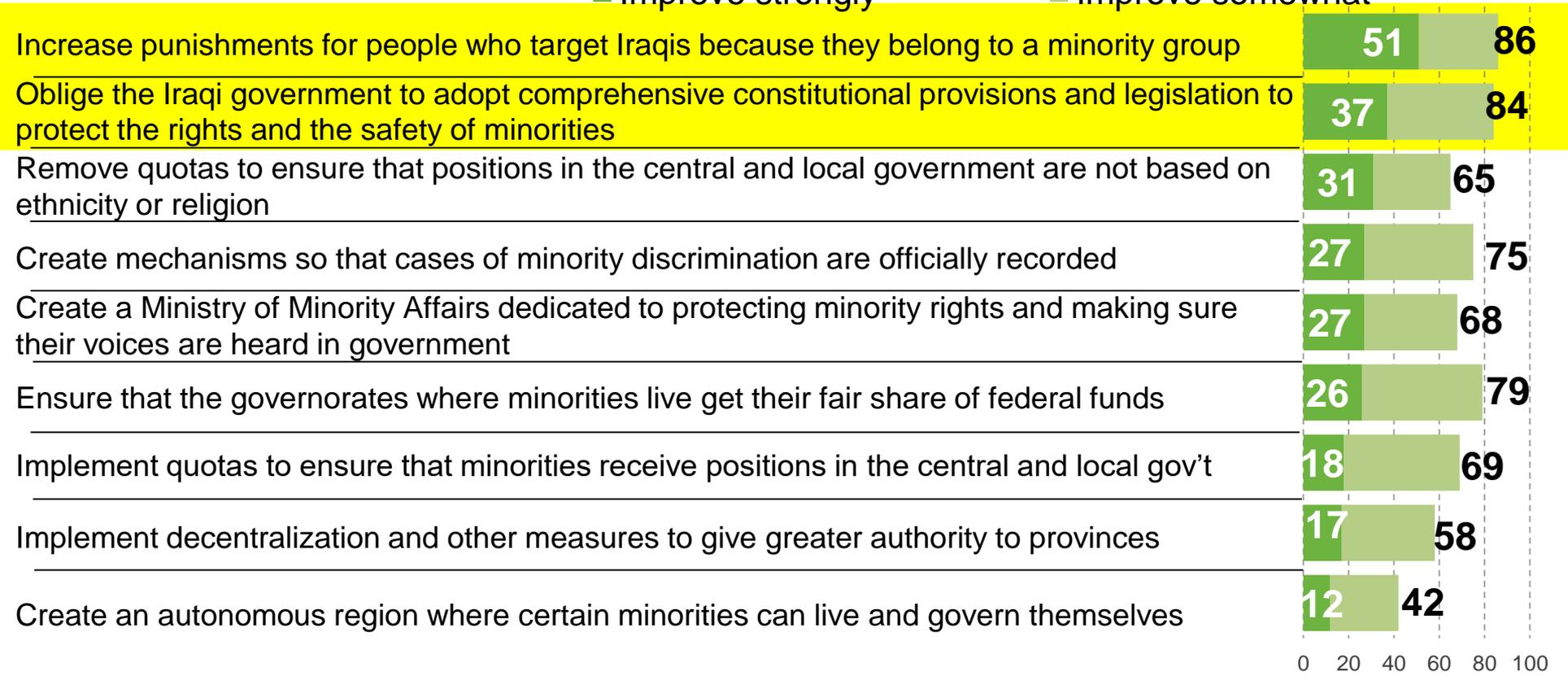
Generally speaking, would you approve or disapprove of the government providing additional benefits to minority groups so they can have the same opportunities as other Iraqis?



Hate crime and protective legislation very popular

I am going to read you some recommendations that some people say will improve conditions for minorities in Iraq. For each one, please indicate whether you think the recommendation would improve the lives of minorities in Iraq, or whether you think it would not improve the lives of minorities in Iraq.

■ Improve strongly ■ Improve somewhat



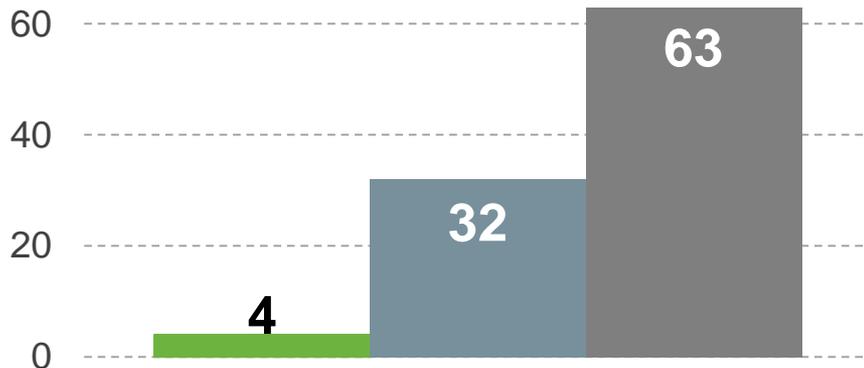
Constituent Offices

MP offices

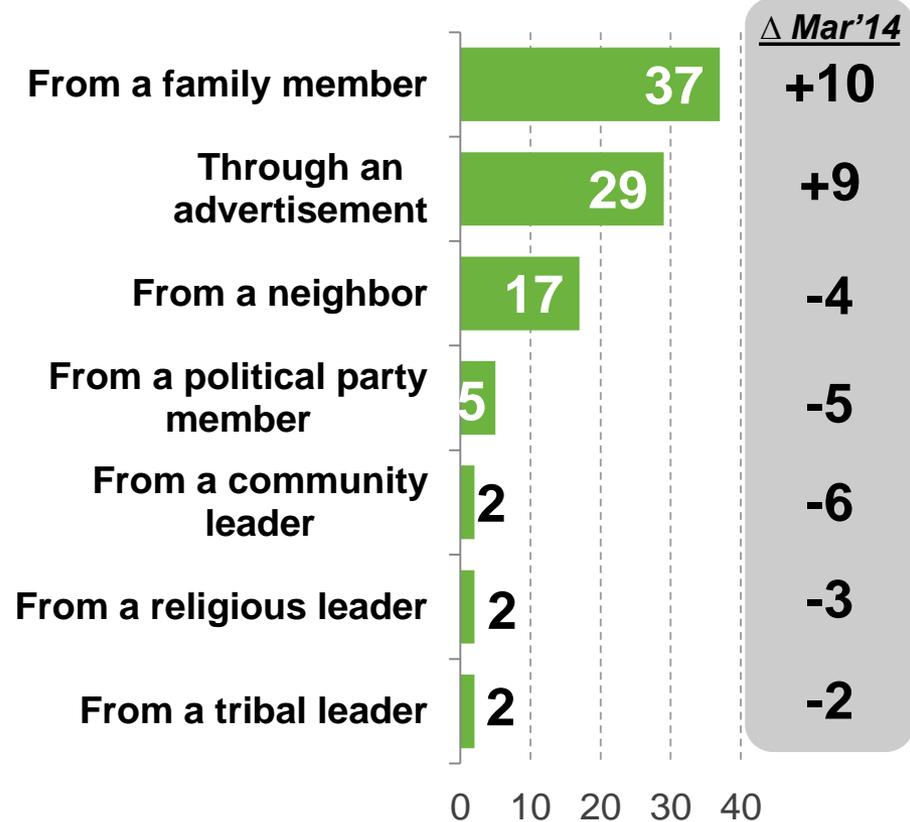
Some members of parliament opened offices throughout Iraq as a means for average Iraqi's to provide their views to the members of parliament and their staff and request assistance with daily needs. Many people have not heard about these offices. What about you? Have you heard about a member of parliament opening an office in your area?

■ Visited ■ Only heard
■ Not heard

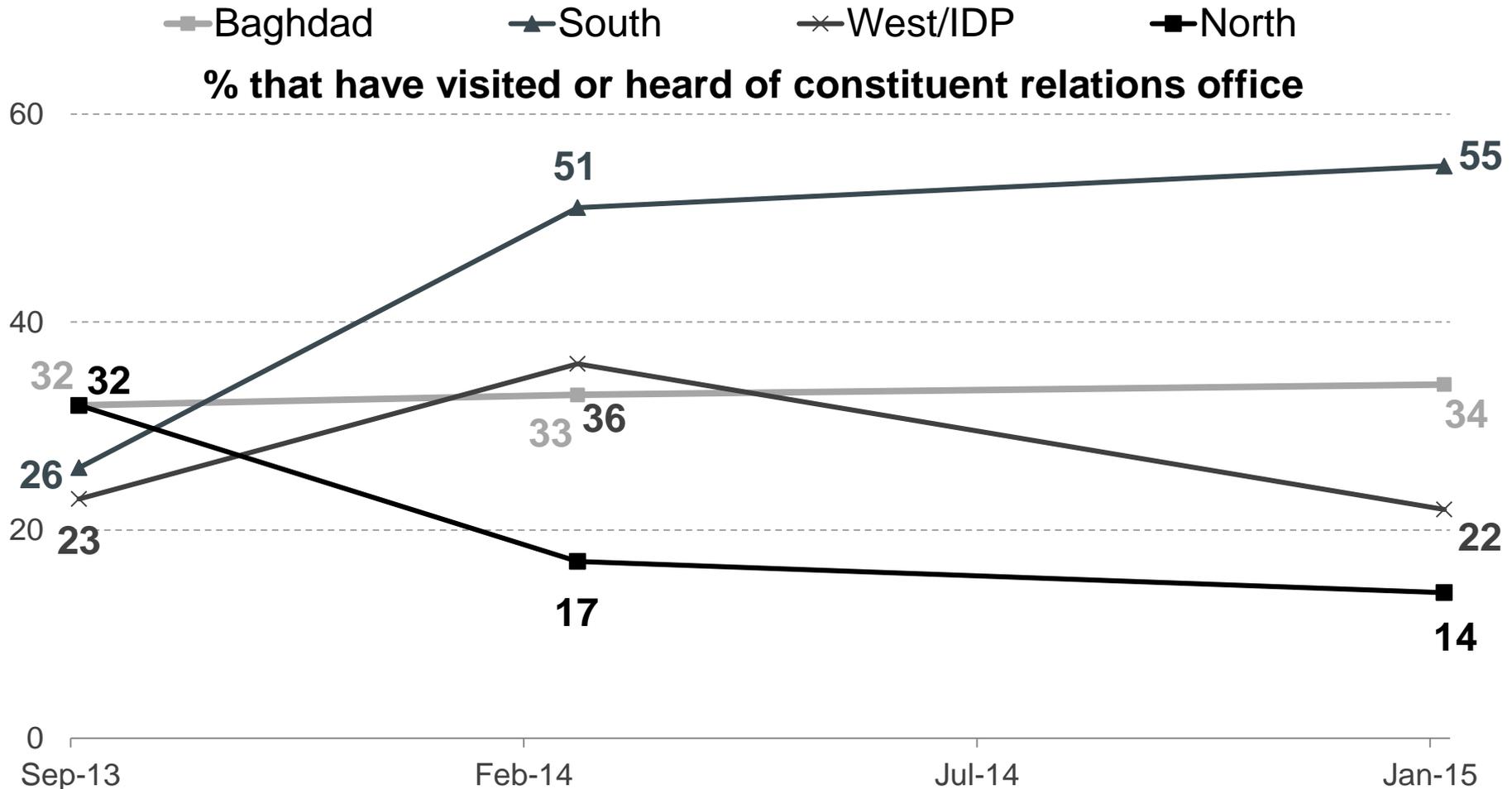
Δ from Mar '14 -3 +1 +3



(IF HEARD OR VISITED) Which of the following best describes how you heard about your member of parliament opening up an office to address constituent needs?



Visited or heard of constituent relations office



Survey was fielded with the assistance of Greenland Quinlan Rosner Research

