

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

August 2011

Public Discontent and Divisions Intensifying

Results from the July National Survey

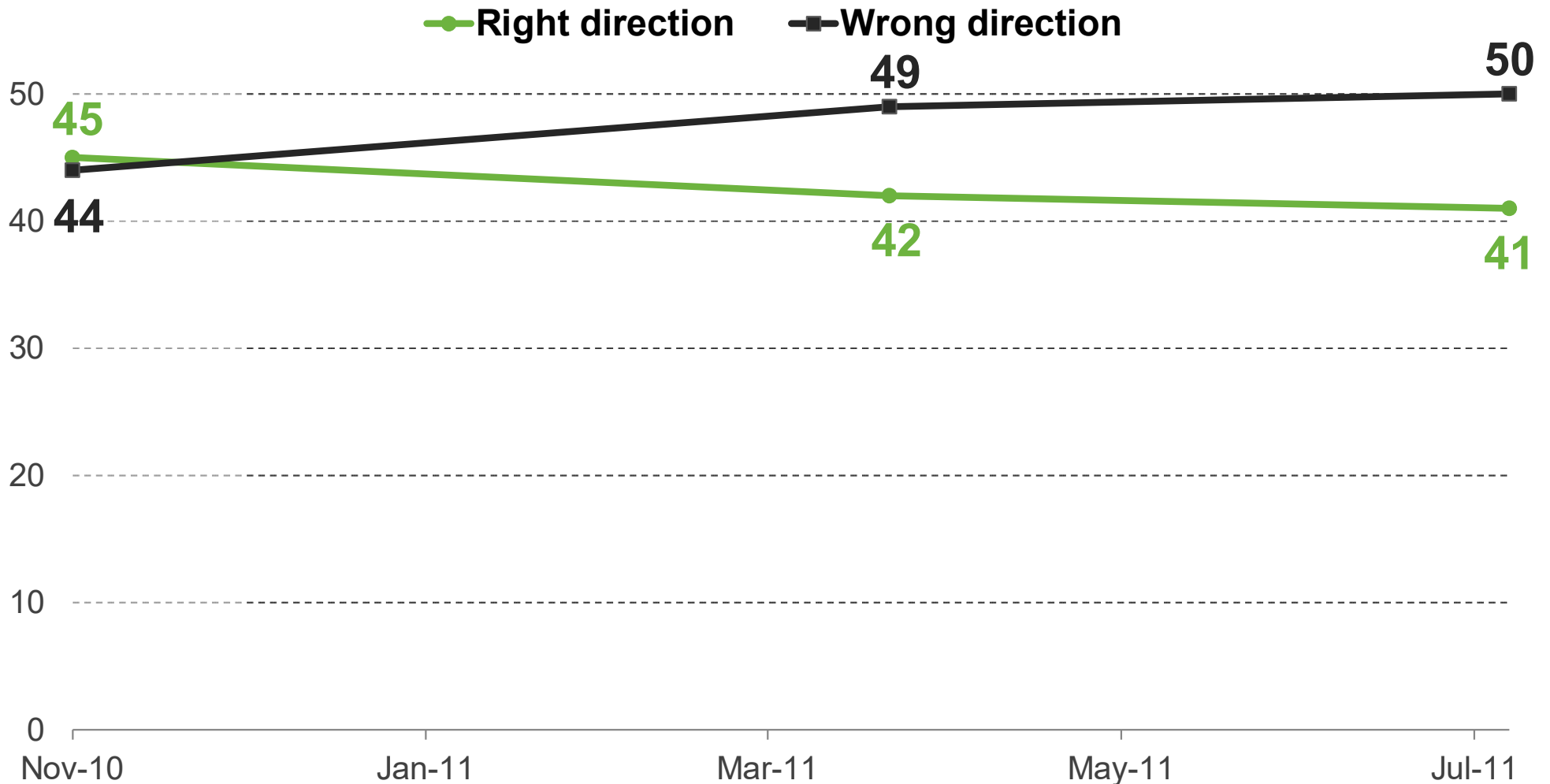
The Research

- **National Survey**
 - June 18 – July 8, 2011
 - 2,000 national face-to-face interviews
 - 500 interviews in each of the following regions:
Baghdad, South, West, and North – weighted
representatively
 - Margin of error +/- 2.6%

Country Mood Stable, but Signs of Weakening

Country direction stable

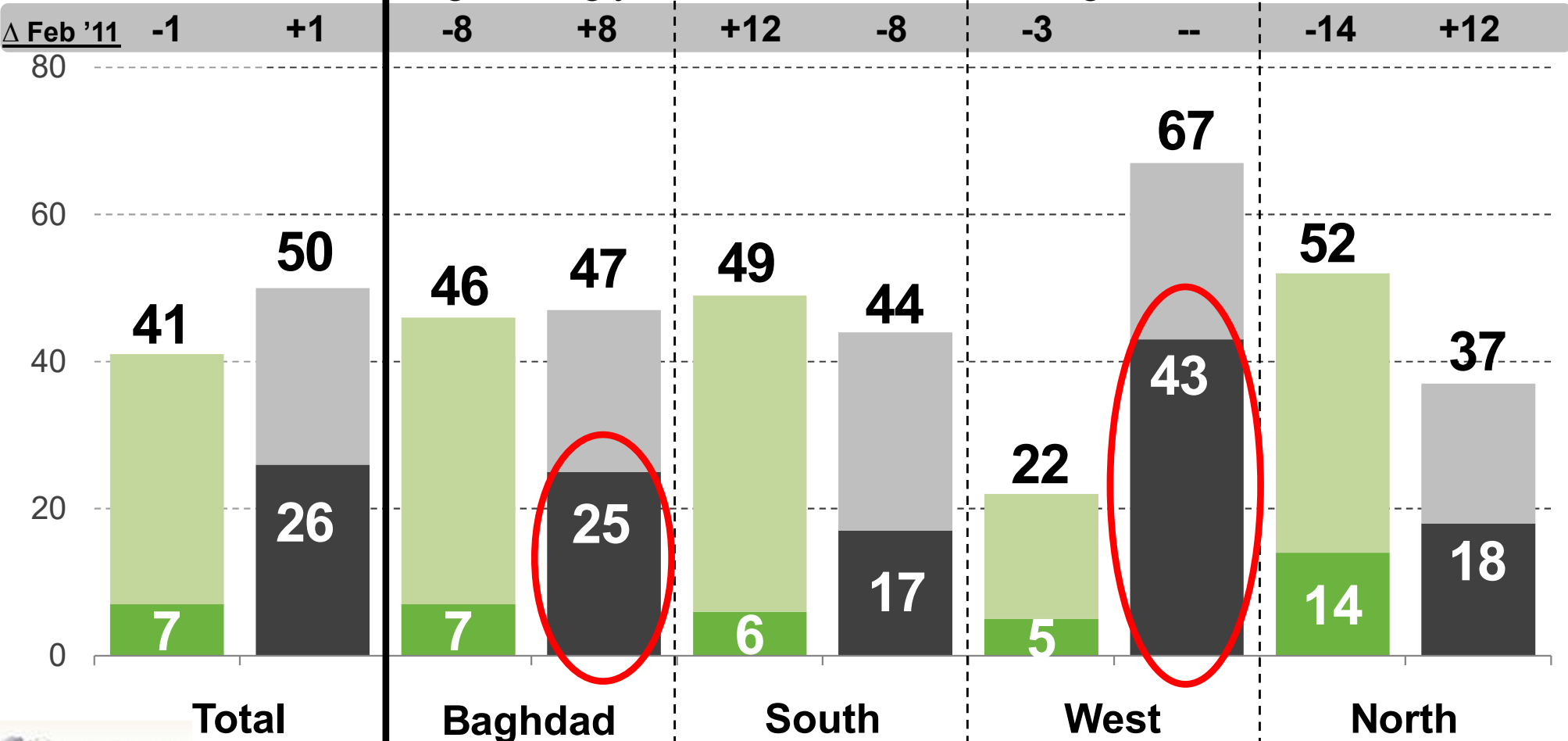
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?



Wrong direction intensity high in Baghdad and West

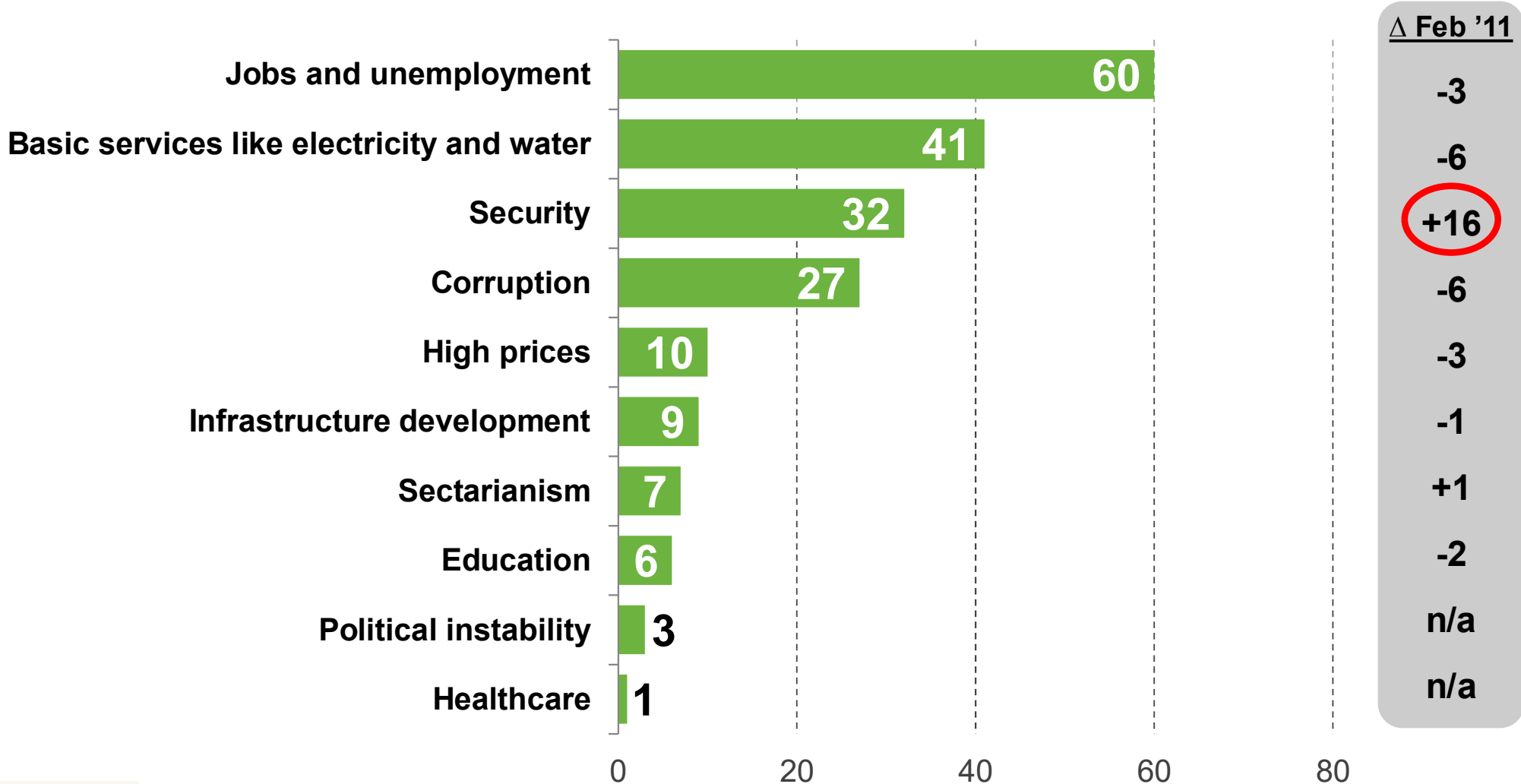
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are going in the wrong direction?

■ Right, strongly
■ Right, somewhat
■ Wrong, strongly
■ Wrong, somewhat



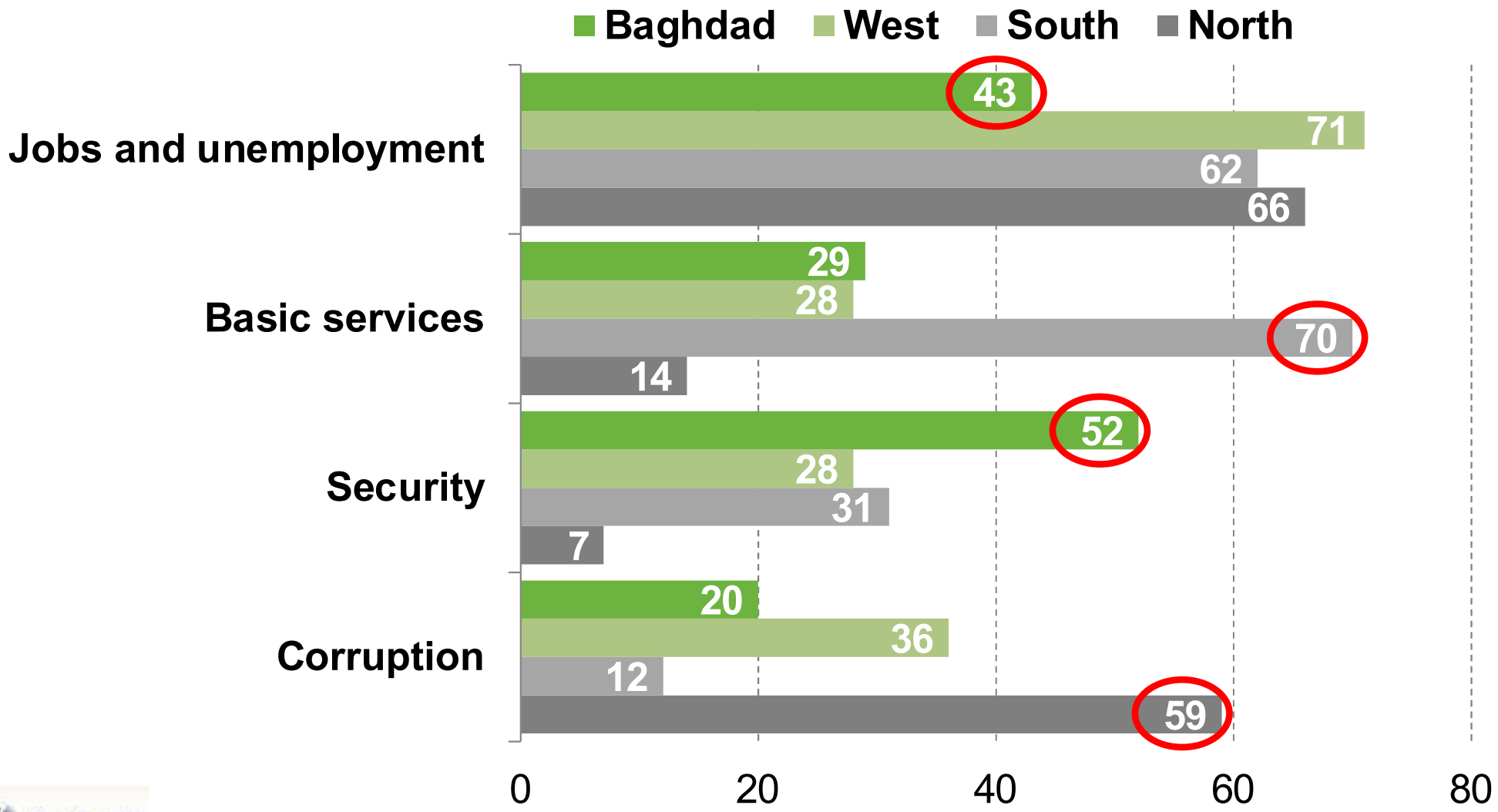
Jobs continues to dominate, security issues on rise

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 the government to address.



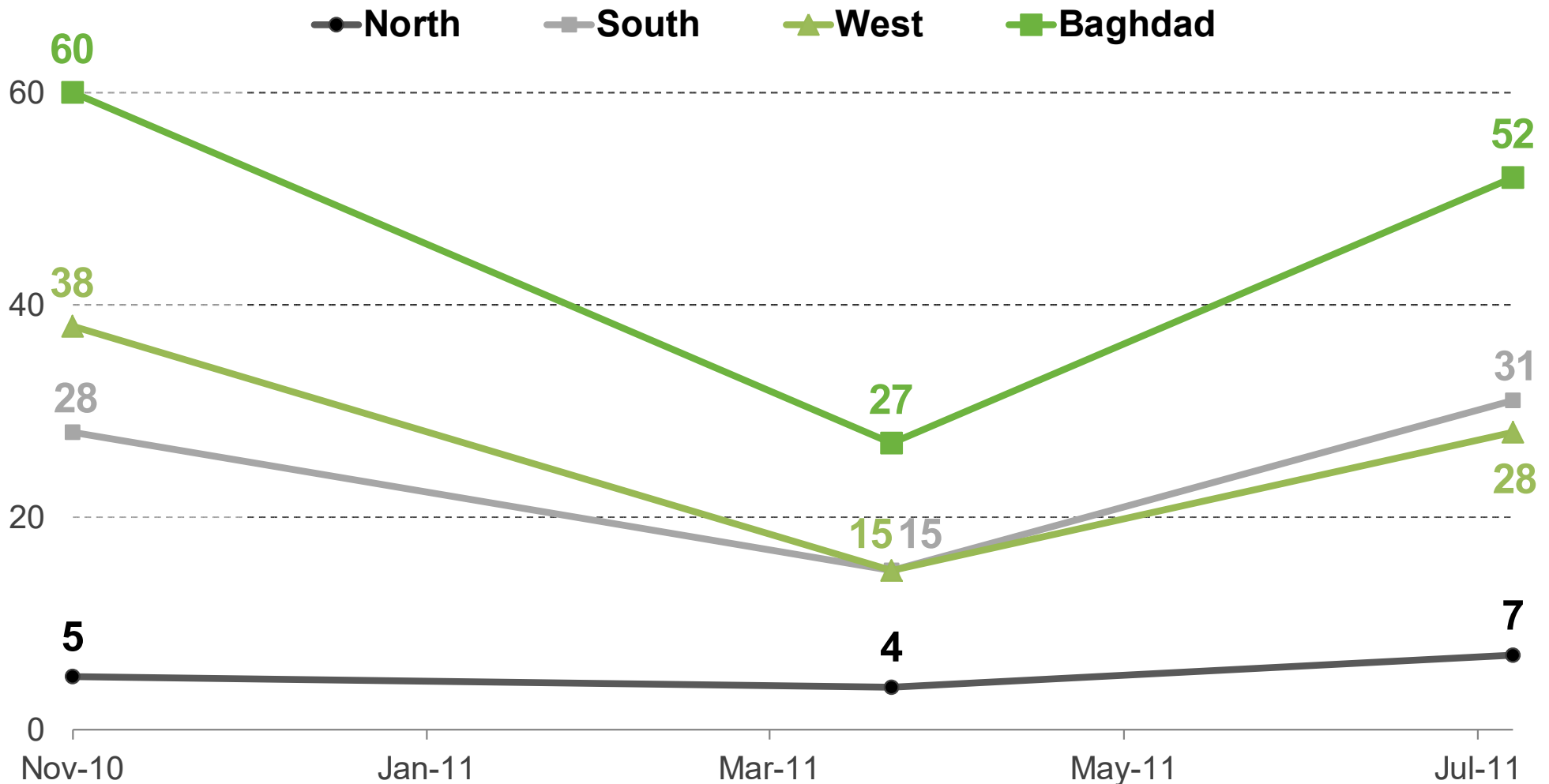
Job concerns dominate, other concerns vary by region

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 the government to address.



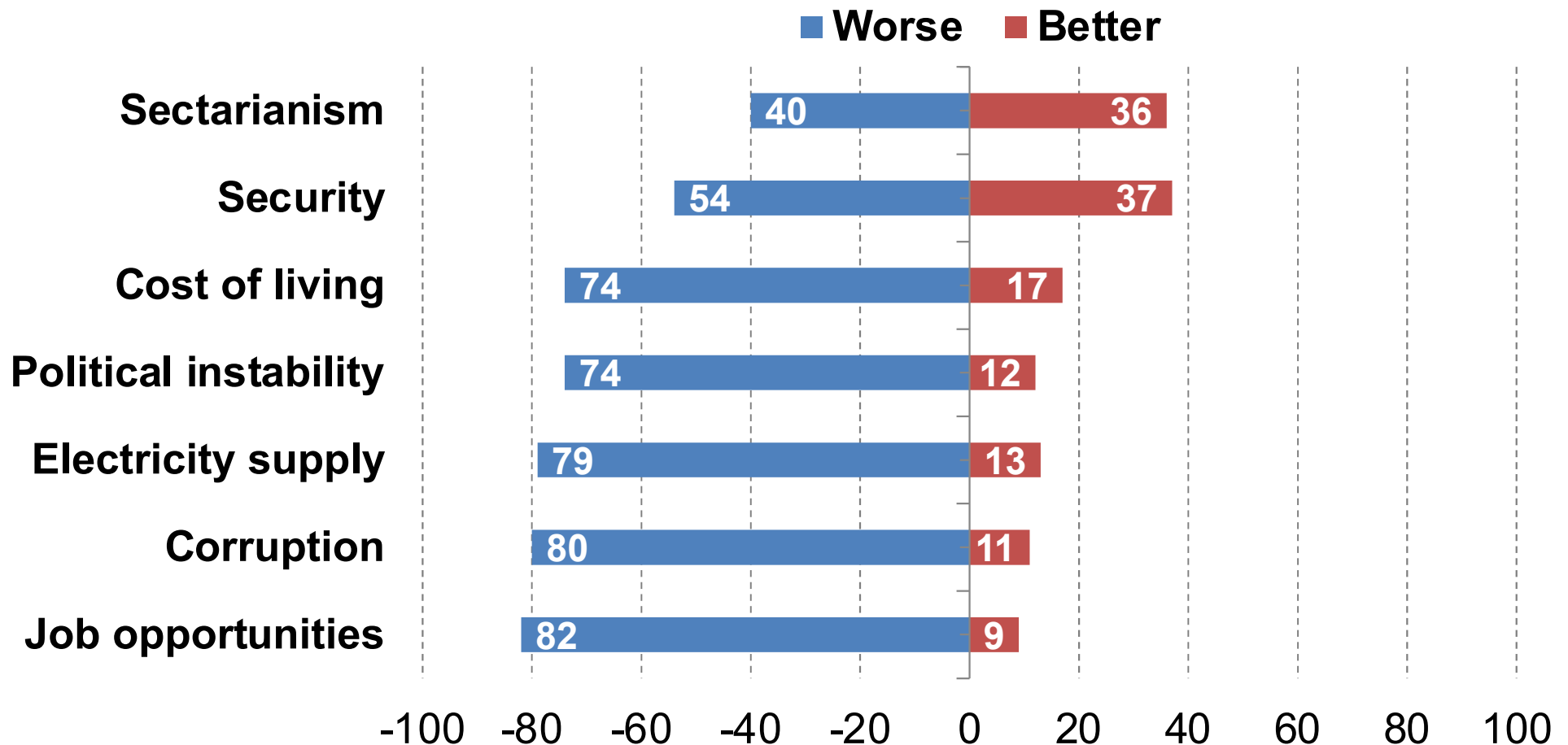
Strong jump in security concerns, especially in Baghdad

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 the government to address. [SECURITY]



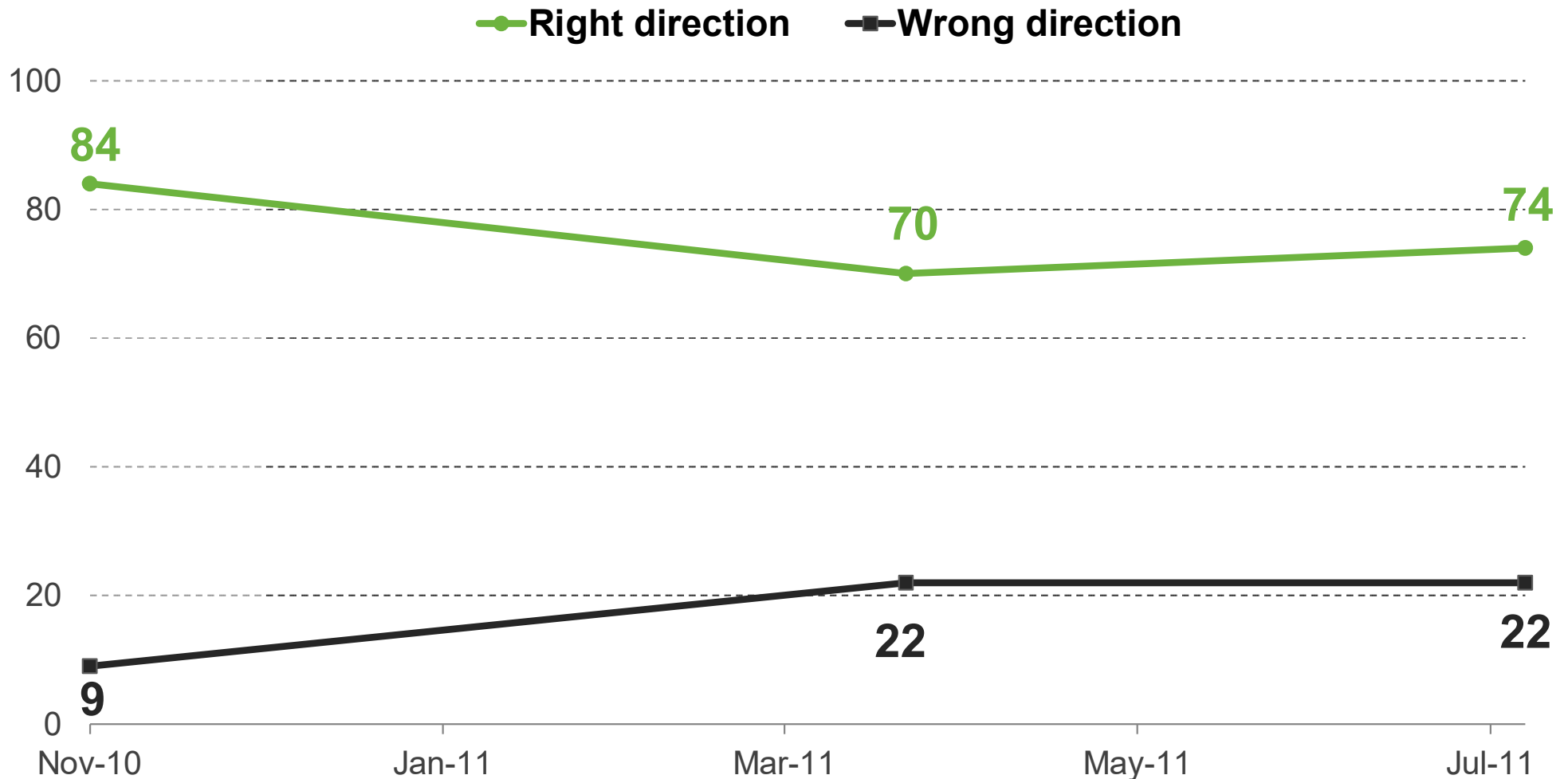
Iraqis pessimistic about current conditions | non-North

Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue is getting better or worse in Iraq. (NON-NORTH ONLY)



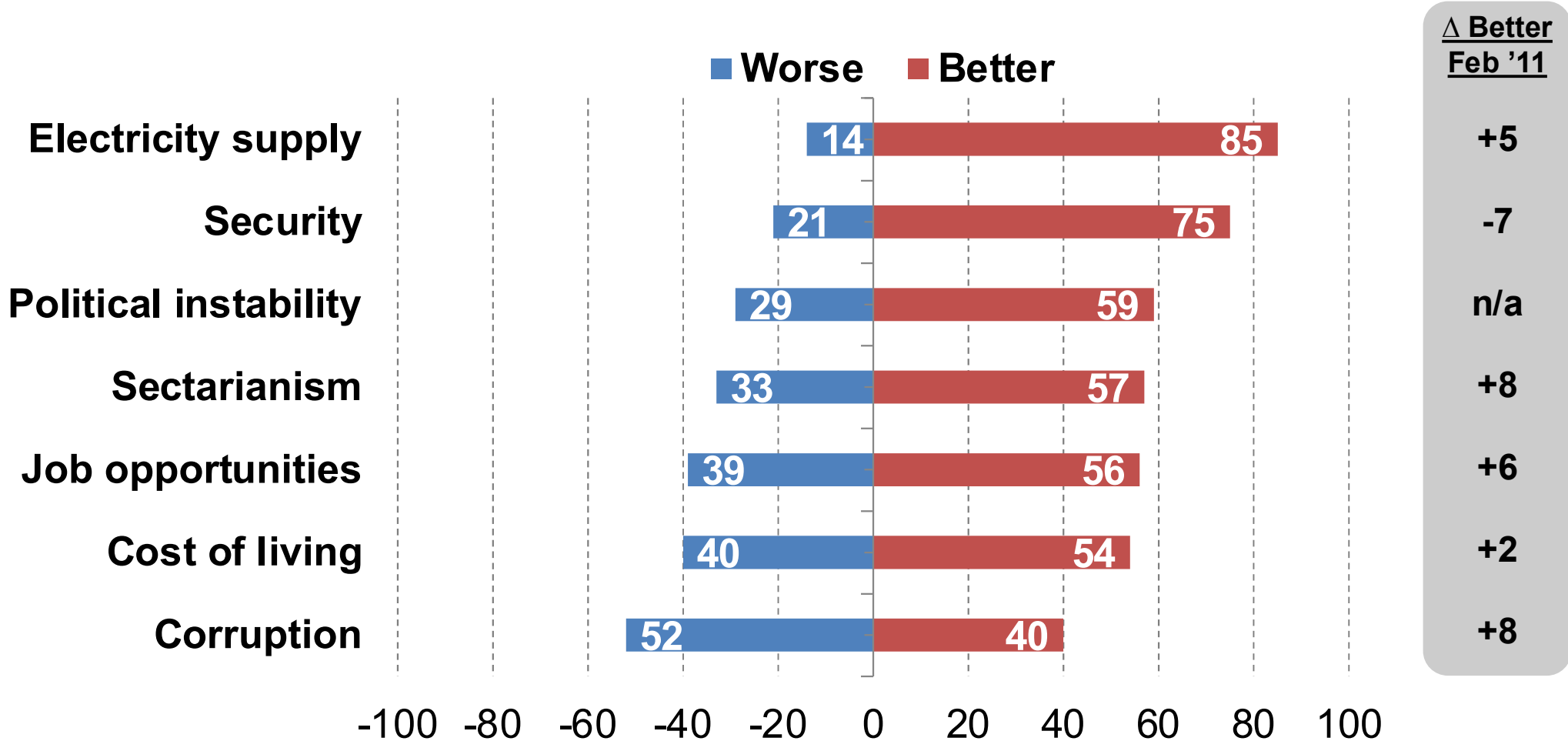
Kurdistan direction stable and positive

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)



Aside from corruption, North perceived as getting better

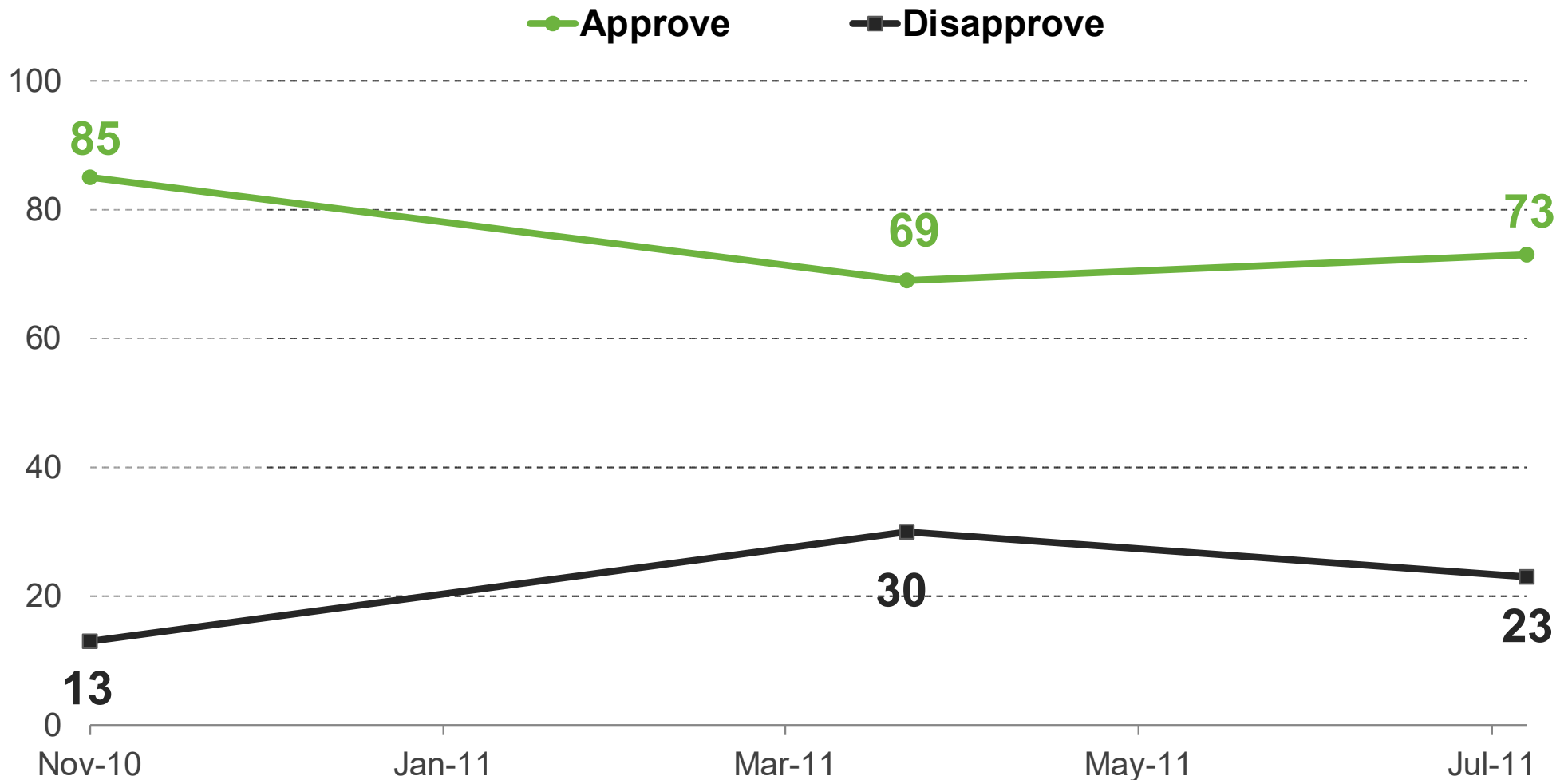
Now I will read you a list of issues. Please tell me if you think this issue will get better or worse in Iraq. (NORTH ONLY)



Mood Impacting Politicians and Intensifying Divisions

Kurdistan Regional Government approval

Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by the Kurdistan Regional Government, or the KRG? (NORTH ONLY)

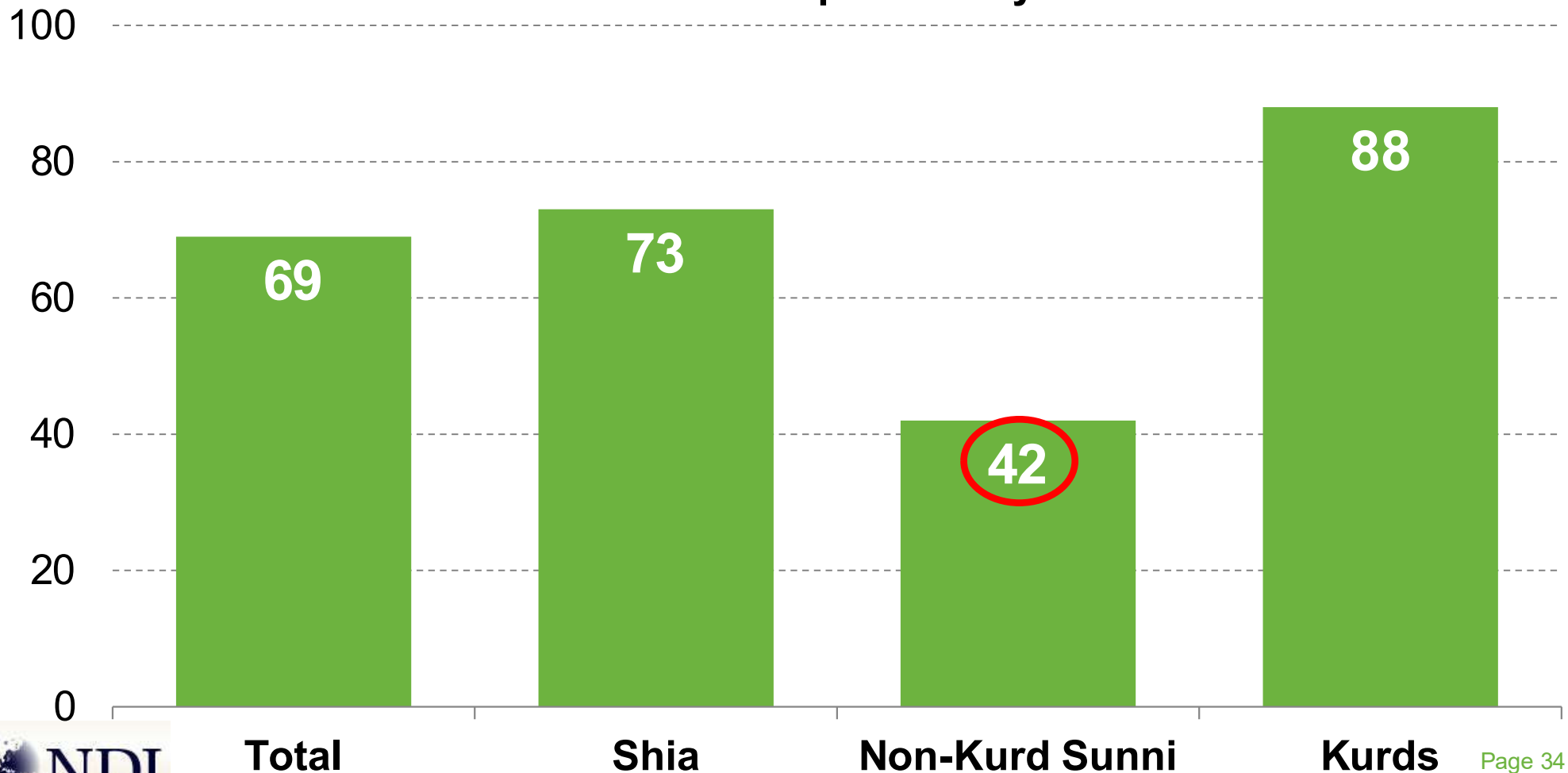


Despite Mood, Stable Political Support

Non-Kurd Sunnis least likely to vote

Even though they may be far off, how likely would you be to vote in the next parliamentary elections, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 means you are certain to vote and 1 means you are certain not to vote? You can choose any number from 1 to 10.

Percent of 6-10 on a 10-point likely to vote scale



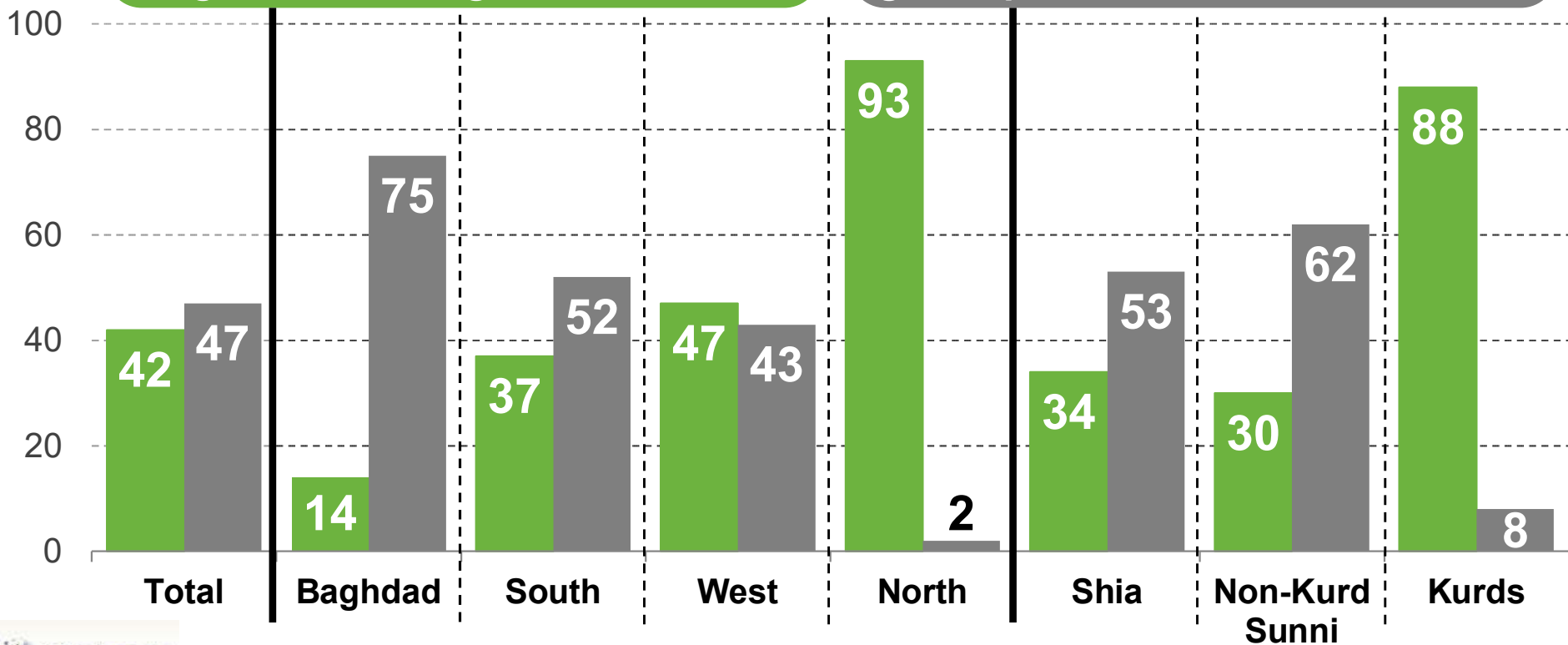
Frustrations Weakening Democratic Attitudes

Iraqis split on whether unity gov't better, but distinctions

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

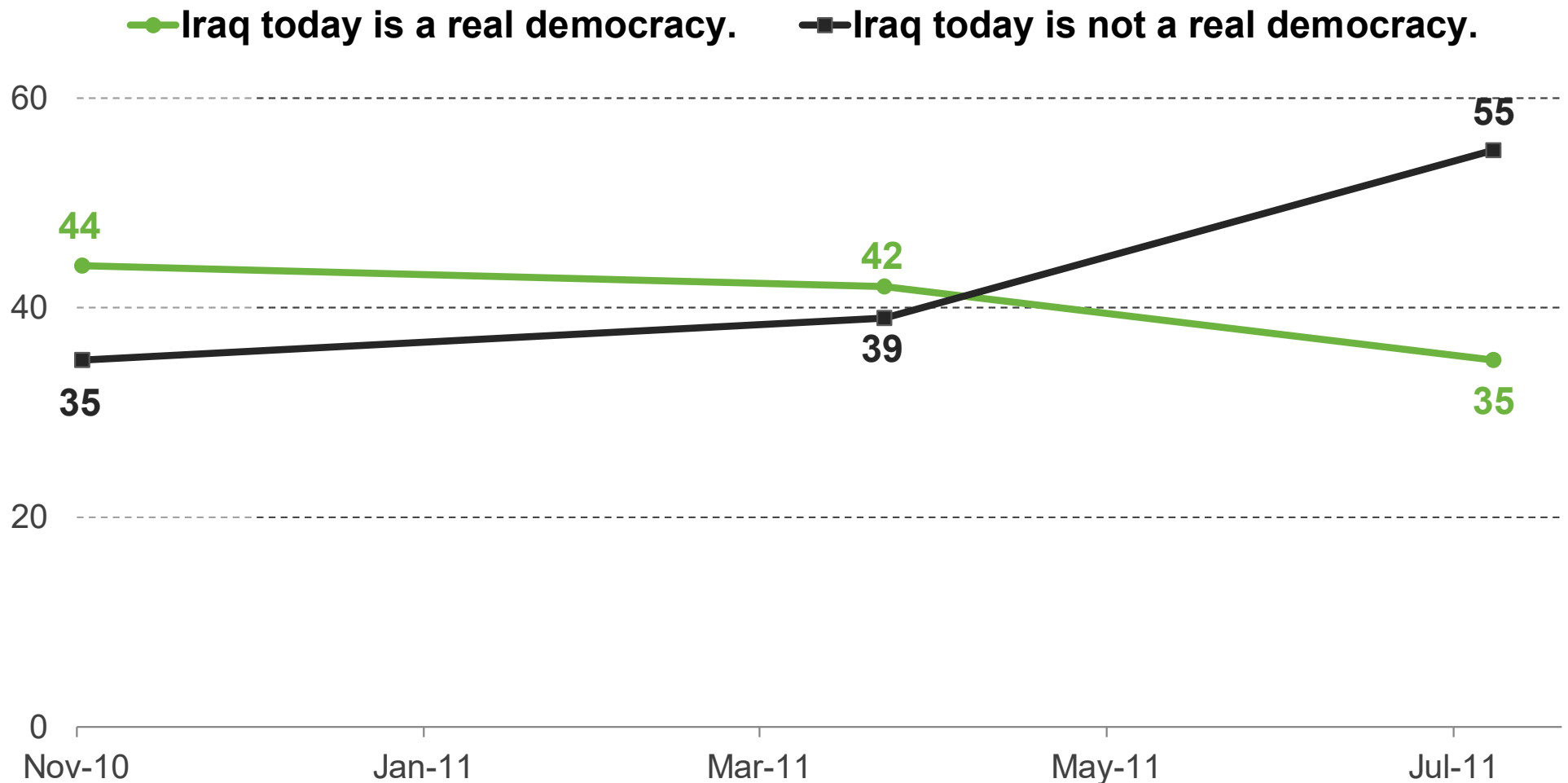
Statement 1: It is better to have a unity government that includes all political parties even if it takes longer to achieve goals.

Statement 2: It is better to have a government composed of fewer political parties that achieves goals quicker.



Majority of Iraqis do not believe 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.

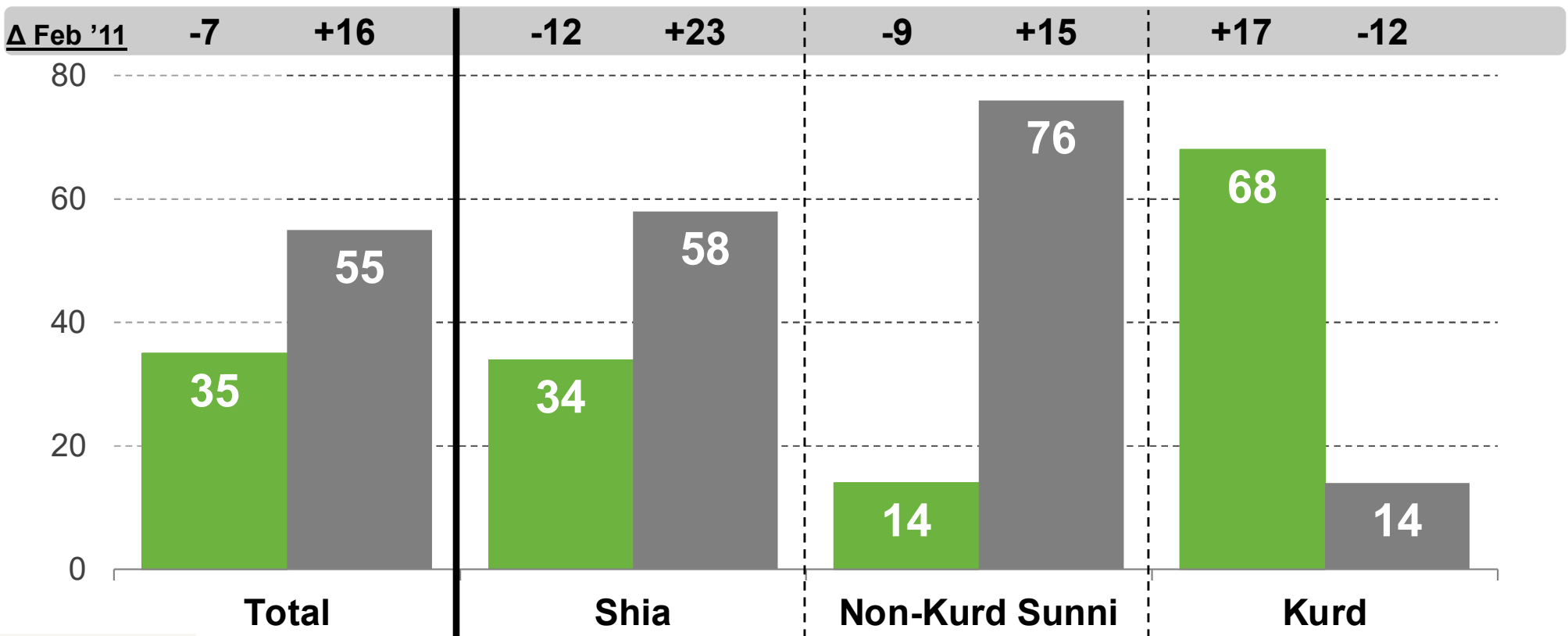


Only Kurds see Iraq as a real democracy

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.

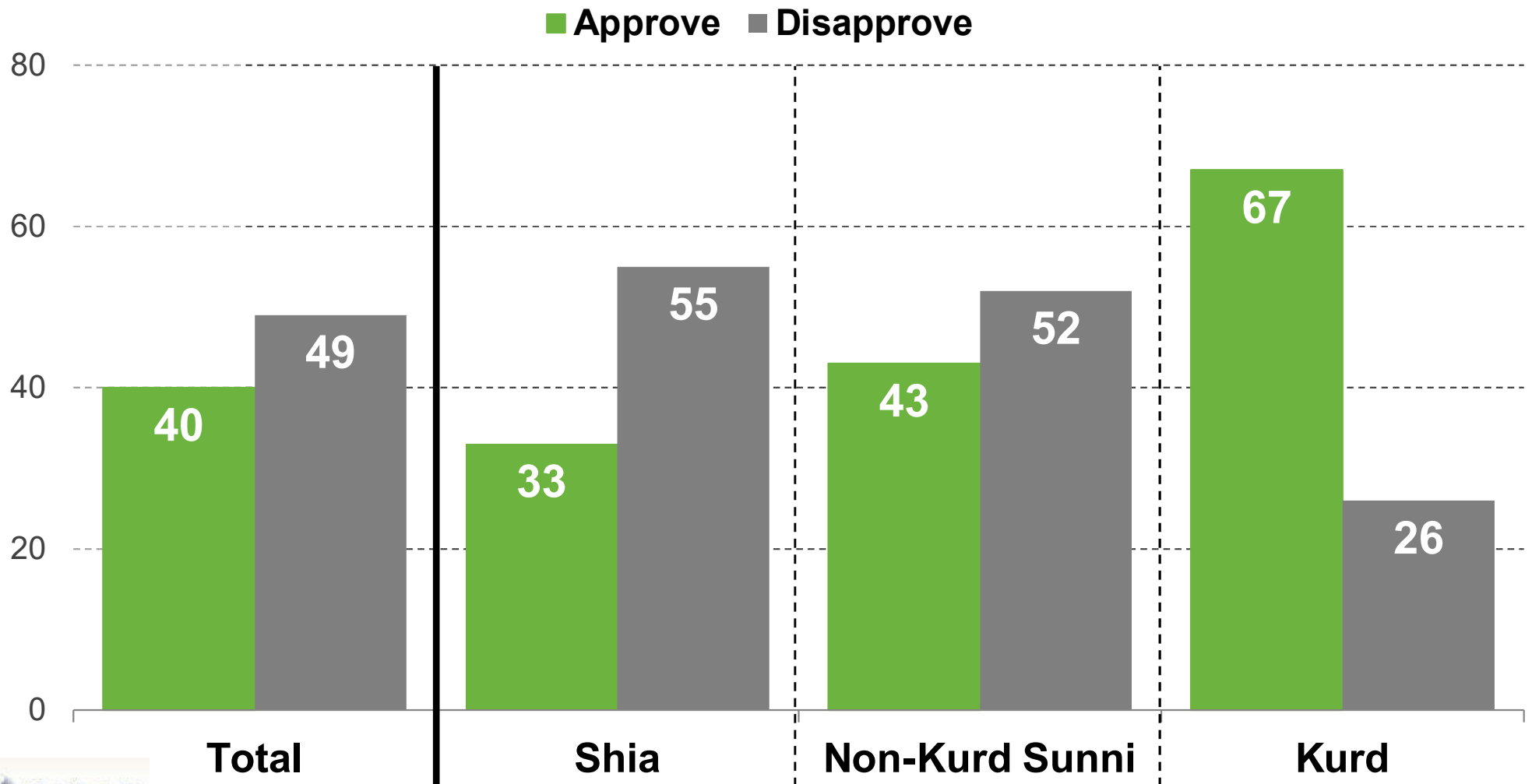
Statement 1: Iraq today is a real democracy.

Statement 2: Iraq today is not a real democracy.



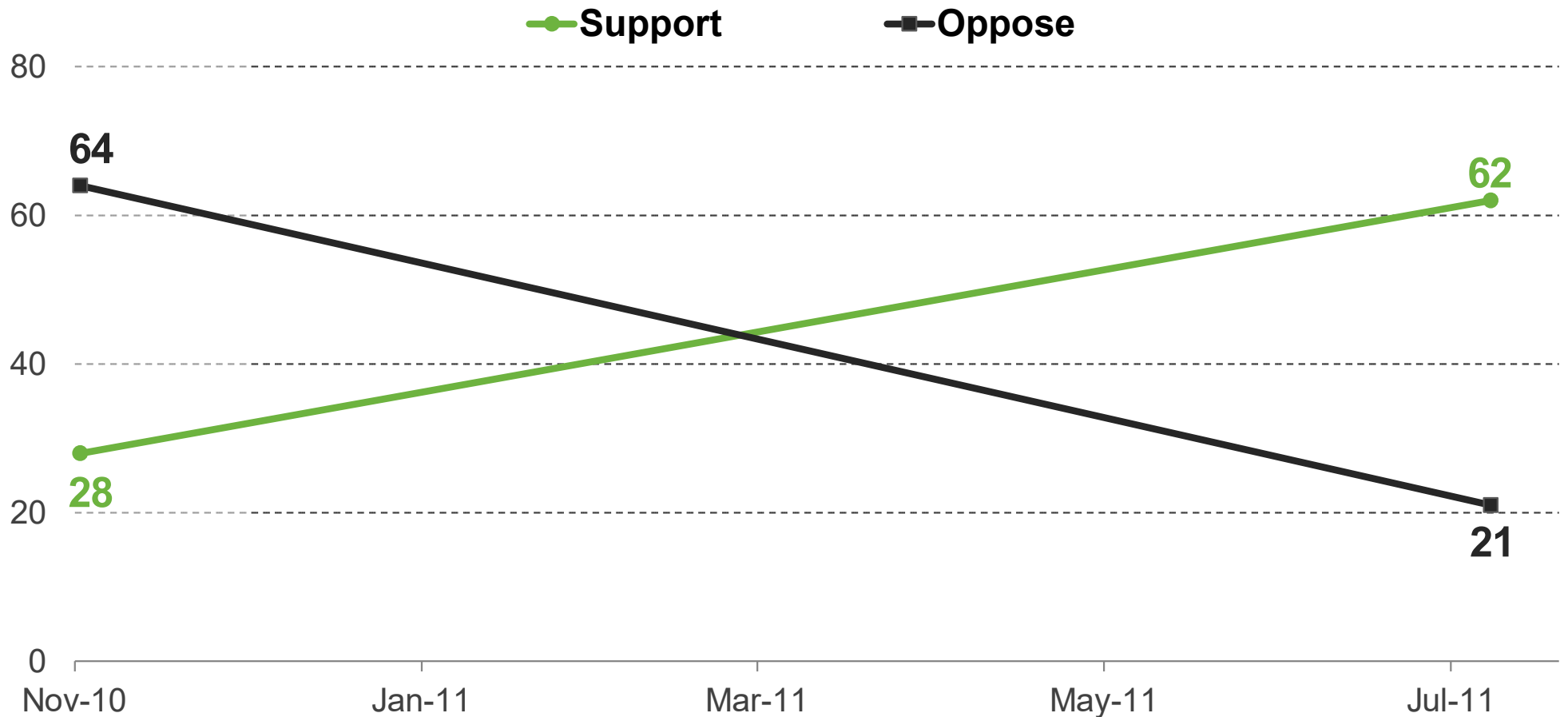
Only Kurds see citizens influencing government

I want to read you some different areas of the performance of the current government - for each one, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of the government's handling of that area. (ENABLING AVERAGE CITIZENS TO INFLUENCE THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISIONS)



Strong support for new elections

Do you support or oppose holding new parliamentary elections in the near future?



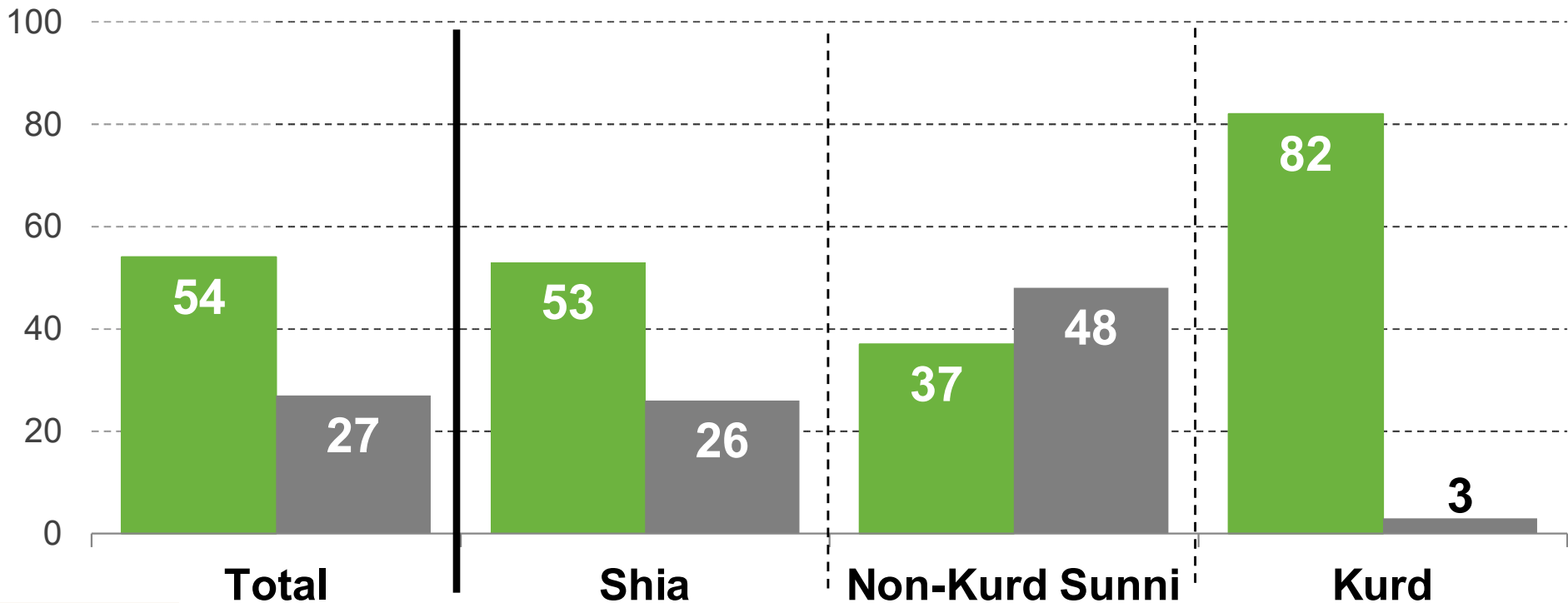
* In Nov. '10, question-language read: "As you may know, it has been seven months since the last election and there is still no government. Do you think new elections should be called to attempt to settle the current impasse?"

Majority think elections will bring stability; Sunnis doubtful

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: Holding new elections will improve political and economic stability.

Statement 2: Holding new elections will not do much to improve political and economic stability.

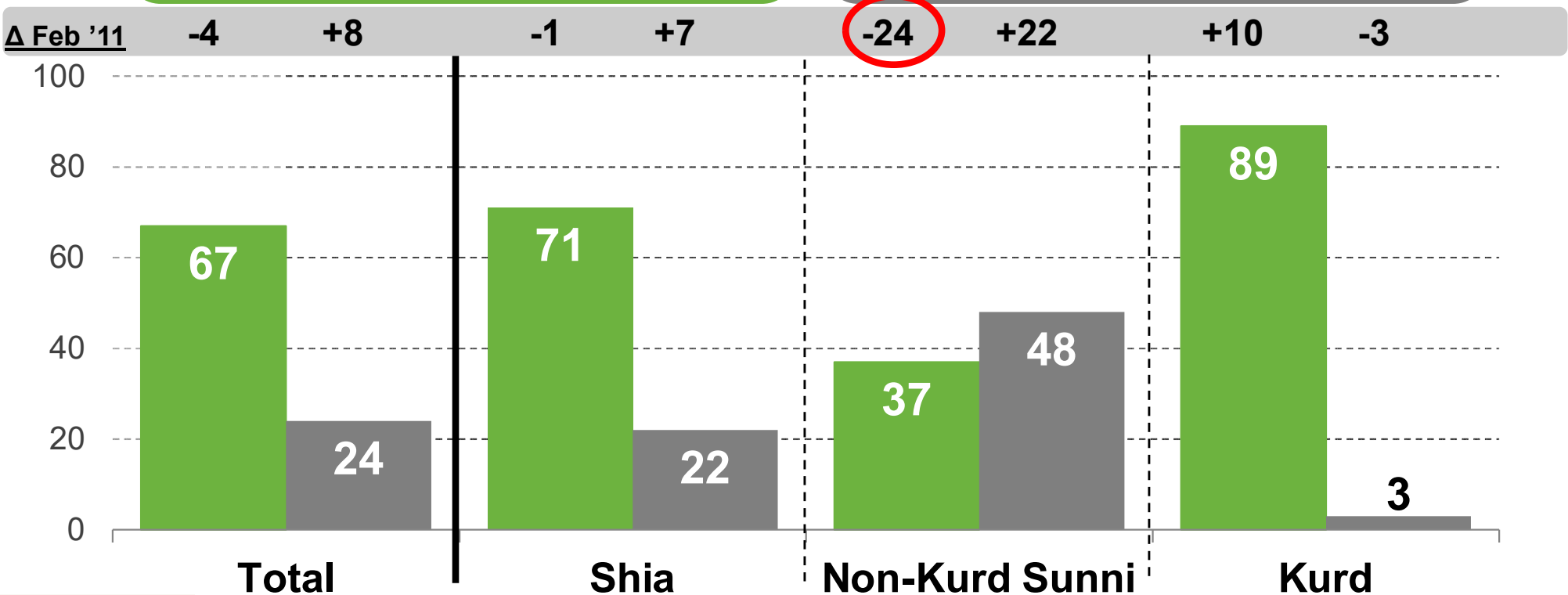


Non-Kurd Sunnis doubt democracy will improve lives

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: Making Iraq more democratic will likely improve services and our quality of life.

Statement 2: Making Iraq more democratic would likely make services worse and hurt our quality of life.



Negative View of Gov't's Response to Protests

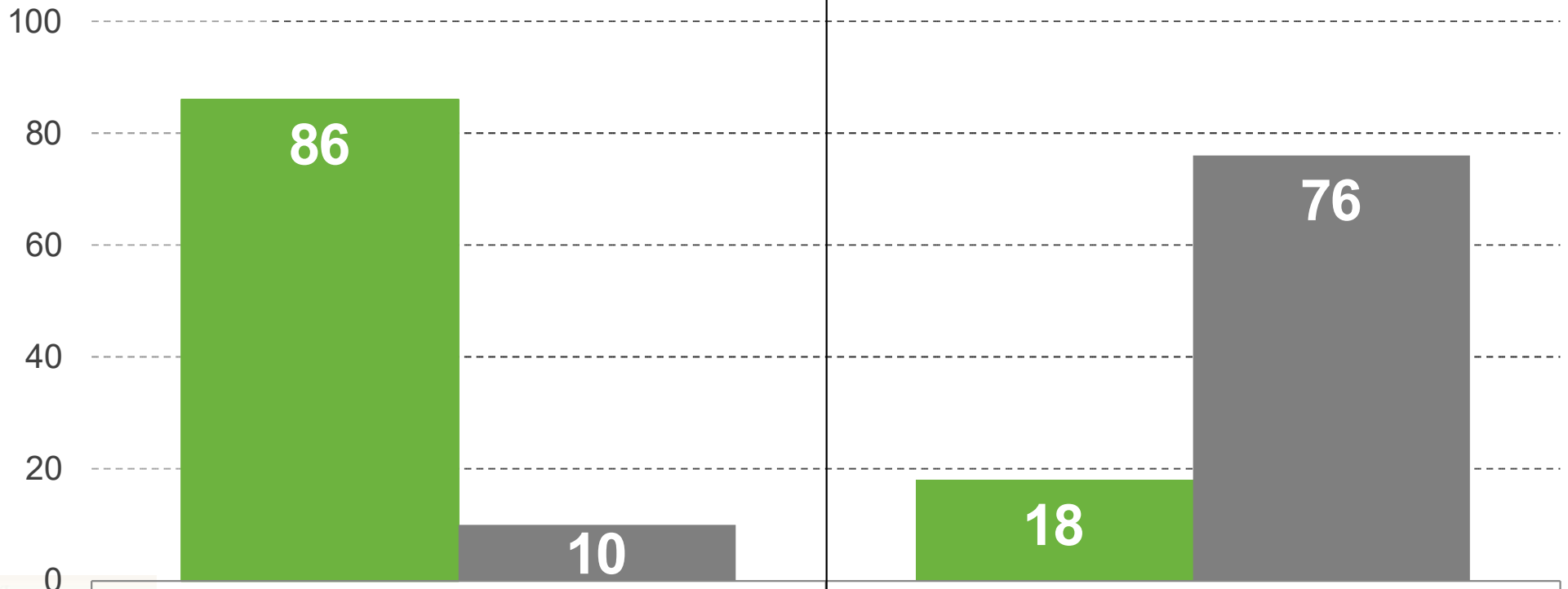
Strong support for protests and protestors | non-North

■ Approve

■ Disapprove

*And based on what you have heard or seen about the protests and demonstrations, would you say that you approve or disapprove of **the protests and demonstrations**? (NON-NORTH ONLY)*

*And based on what you have heard or seen about the government's response to the recent protests and demonstrations, would you say that you approve or disapprove of **the government's handling of the protests and demonstrations**? (NON-NORTH ONLY)*



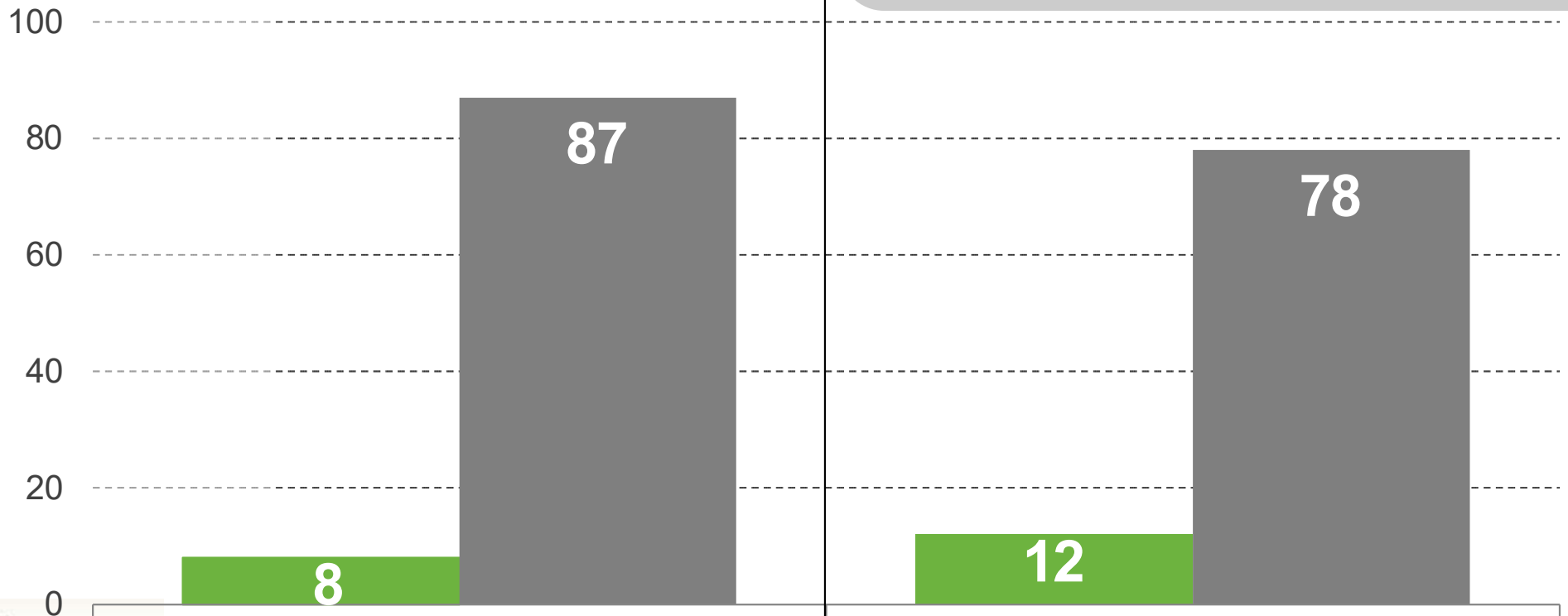
Disapproval of gov't's handling of protestors | non-North

■ Approve

■ Disapprove

*In your opinion, do you approve or disapprove of the Iraqi security forces detaining Iraqis who go into the streets to **protest against the government**? (NON-NORTH ONLY)*

*In your opinion, do you approve or disapprove of the Iraqi security forces detaining Iraqis who go into the streets to protest against the government even though the **protests are conducted without permission and in violation of the law**? (NON-NORTH ONLY)*



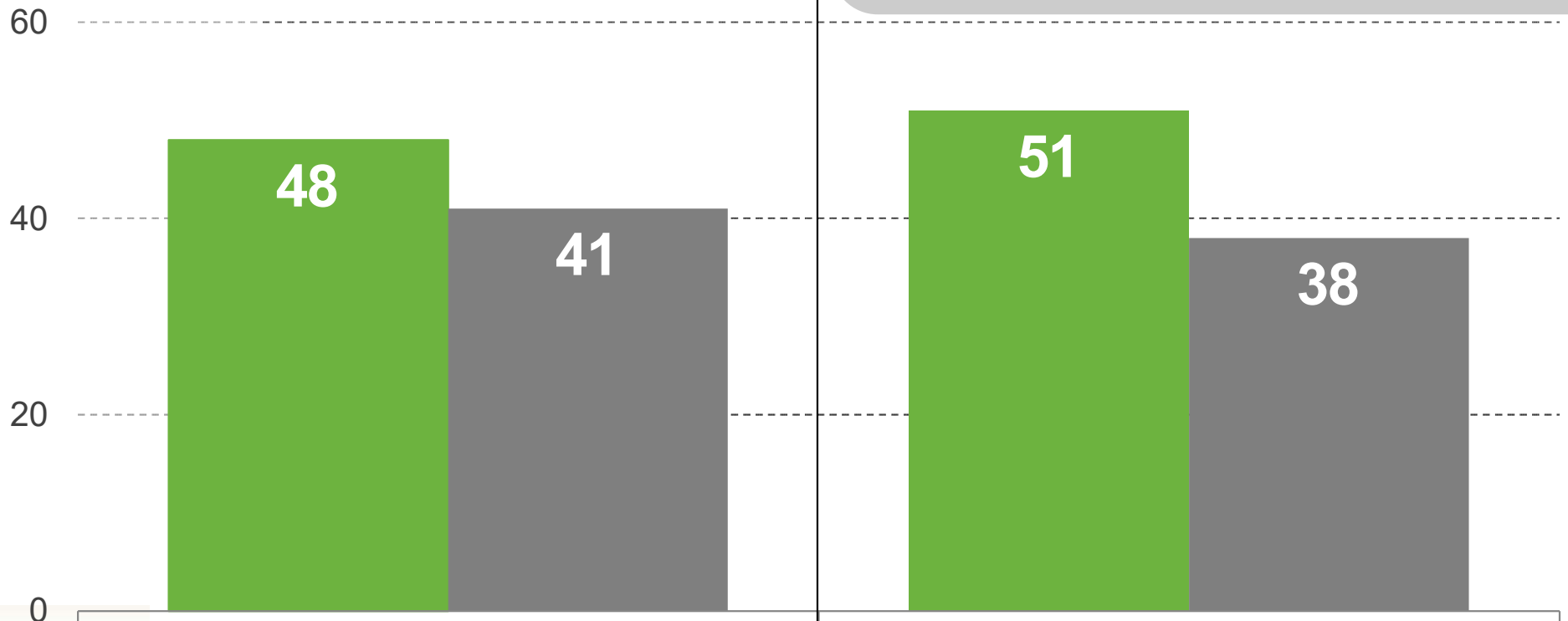
Split on support of protests and protestors | North only

■ Approve

■ Disapprove

*And based on what you have heard or seen about the protests and demonstrations, would you say that you approve or disapprove of **the protests and demonstrations**? (NORTH ONLY)*

*And based on what you have heard or saw about the Kurdistan Regional Government's response to the protests and demonstrations, would you say that you approve or disapprove of **the KRG's handling of the protests and demonstrations**? (NORTH ONLY)*

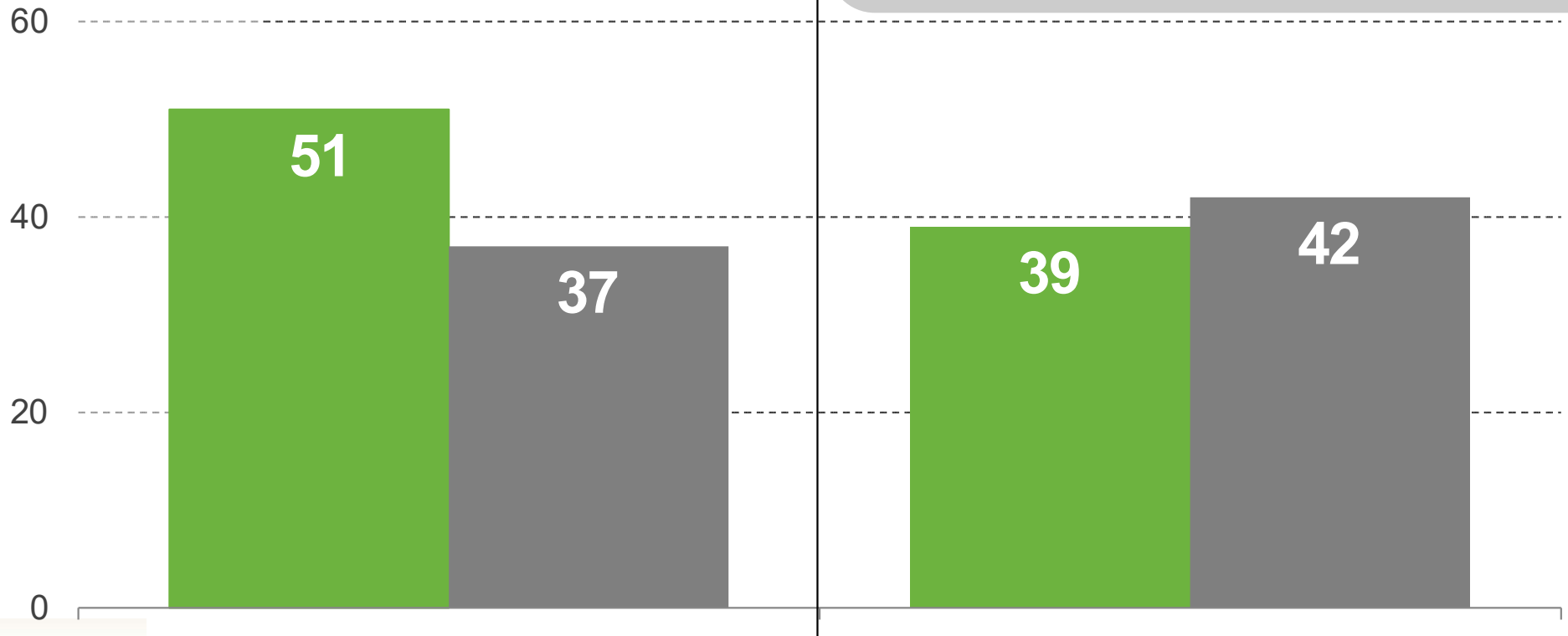


Support for gov't's handling of protestors | North only

■ Approve ■ Disapprove

*In your opinion, do you approve or disapprove of the Kurdish security forces detaining citizens who go into the streets to **protest against the government?** (NORTH ONLY)*

*In your opinion, do you approve or disapprove of the Kurdish security forces detaining citizens who go into the streets to protest against the government even though the **protests are conducted without permission and in violation of the law?** (NORTH ONLY)*

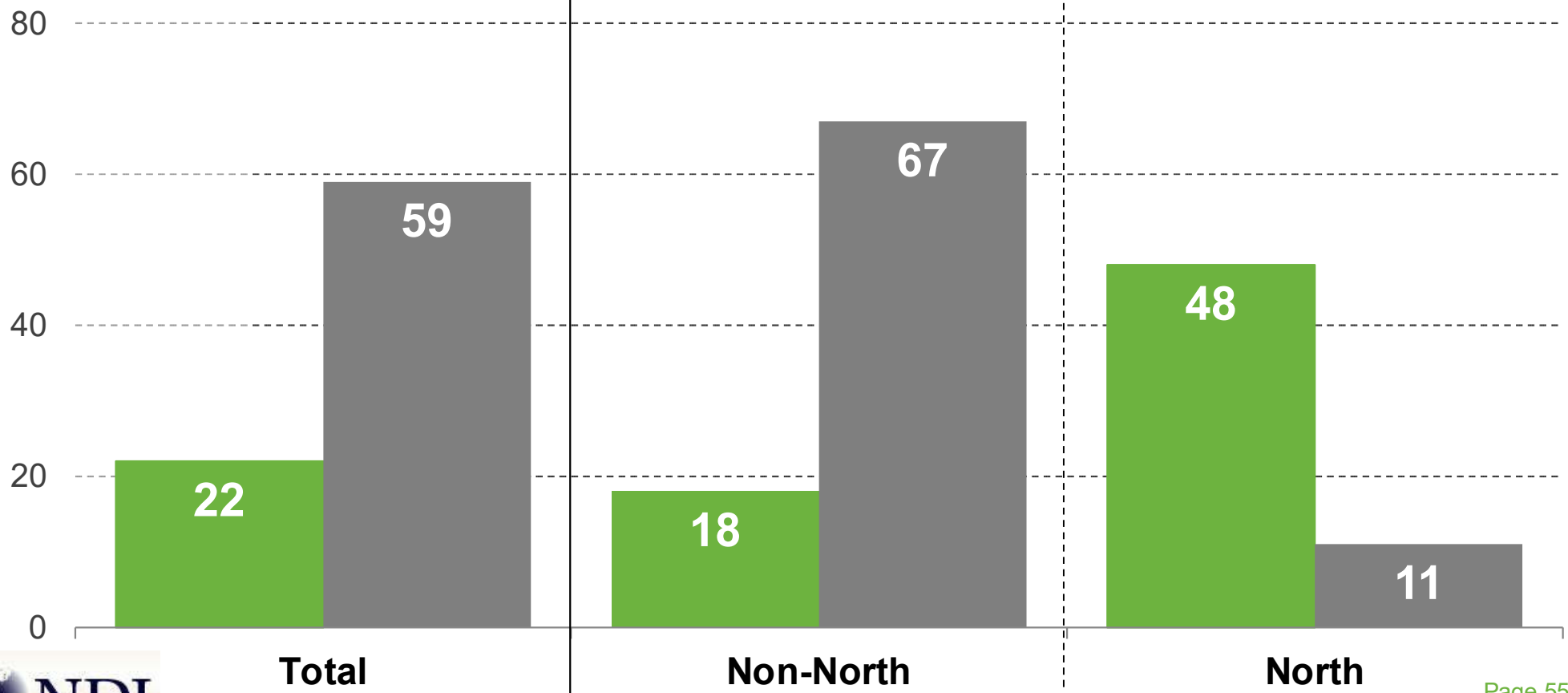


Need to quicken handling of detainees, except in North

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: The current government is processing the cases of Iraq's detainees quickly enough.

Statement 2: The current governing is not processing the cases of Iraq's detainees quickly enough.

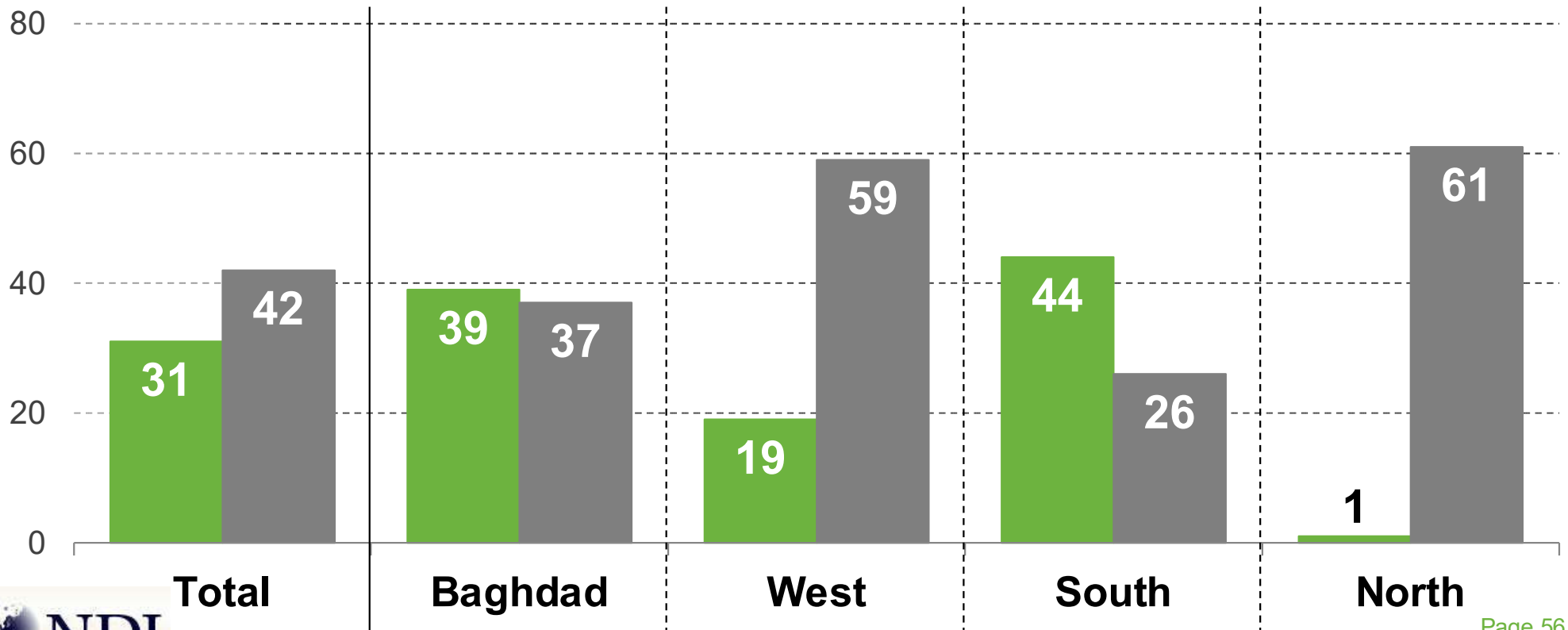


Article 4 statement pair by region

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

Statement 1: The current government uses Article 4 of the Law on Terrorism to improve the security situation in Iraq.

Statement 2: The current government uses Article 4 of the Law on Terrorism to limit freedom of expression in Iraq.

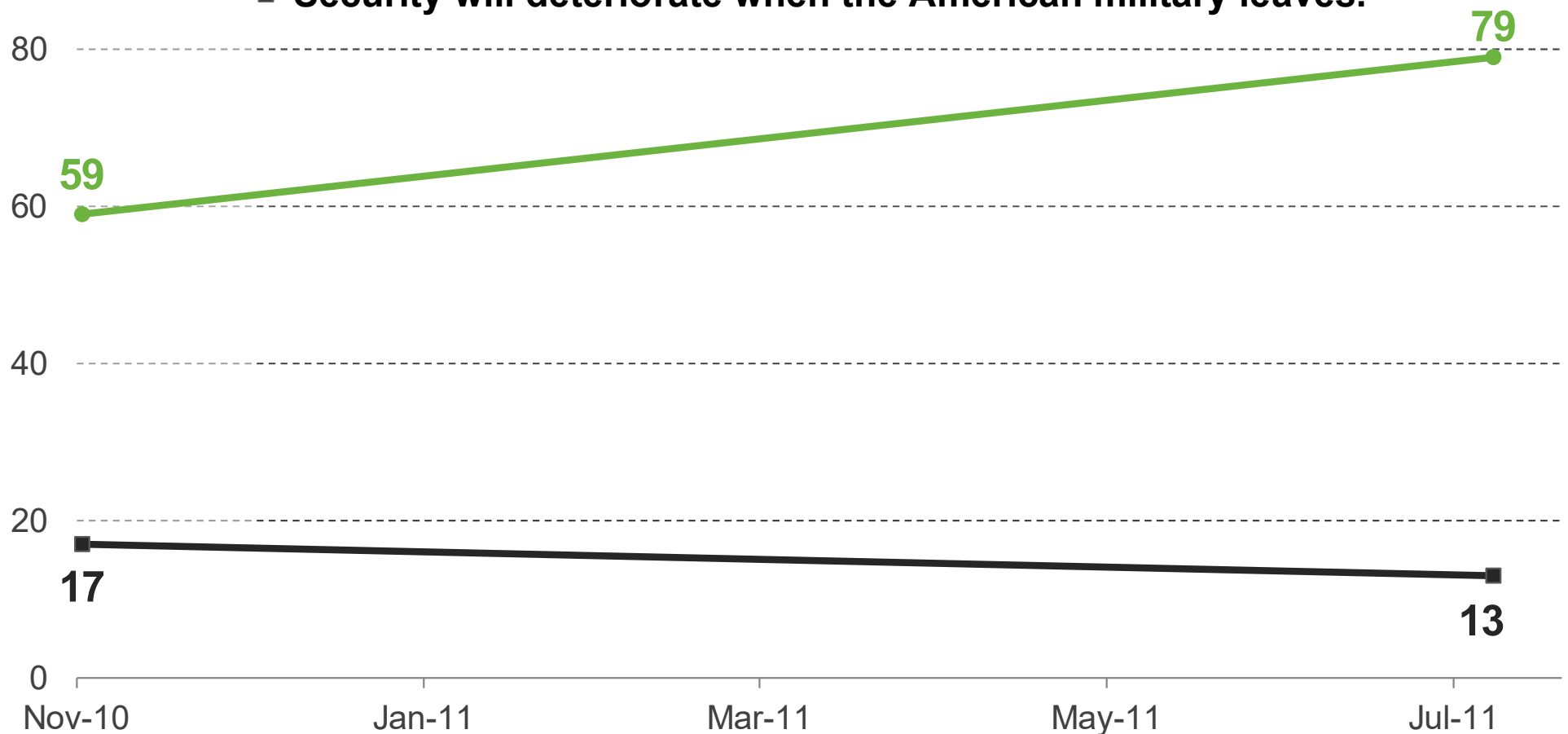


Strong Support for Total U.S. Withdrawal

Strong belief US military withdrawal will improve security

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.

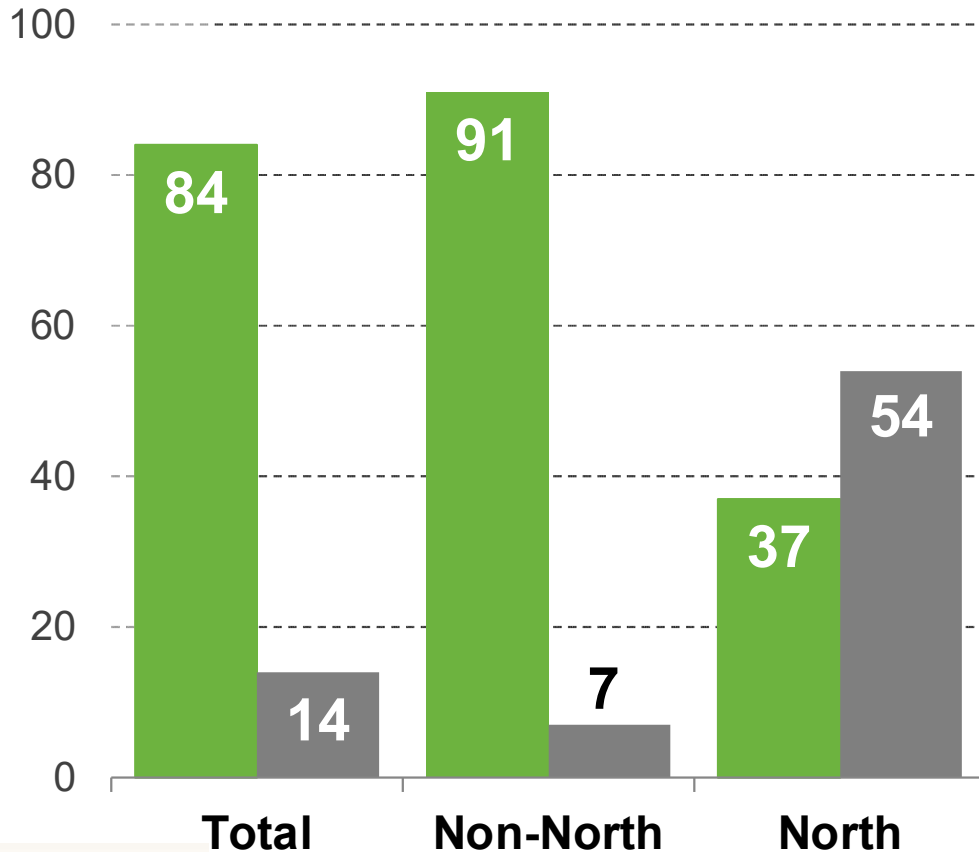
- Security will improve when the American military leaves.
- Security will deteriorate when the American military leaves.



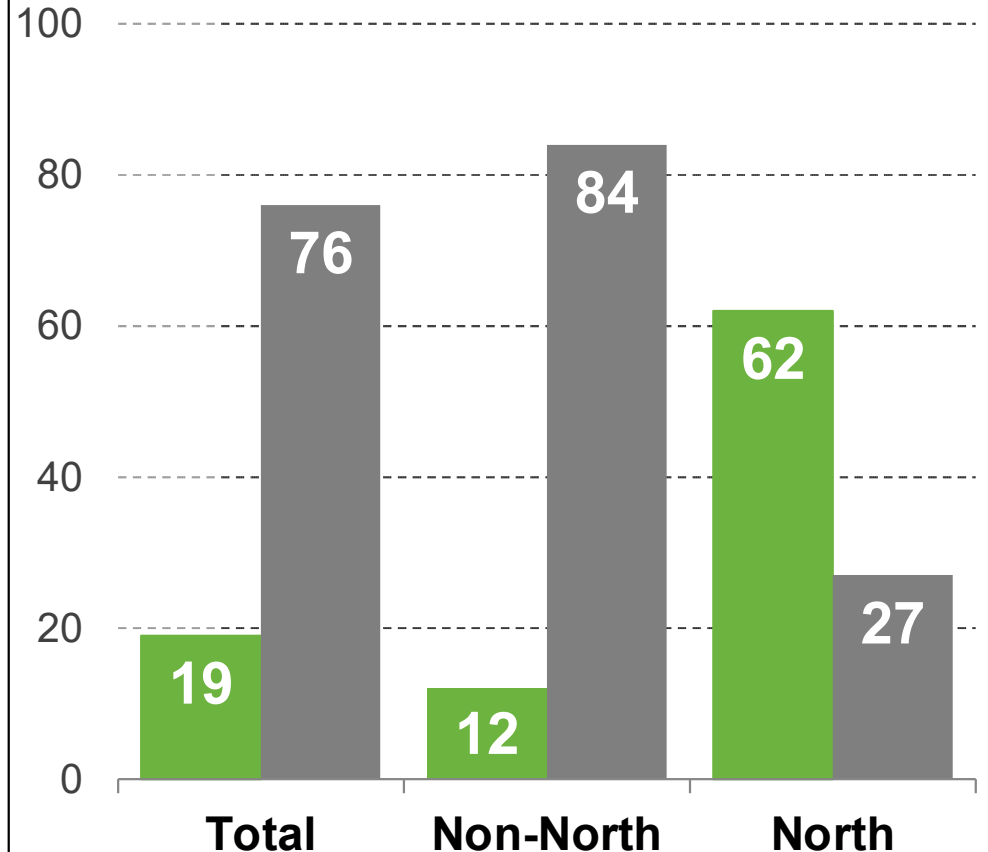
Only North supportive of US military

■ Support ■ Oppose

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



Do you support or oppose the idea of some U.S. troops remaining in Iraq after 2011 to provide training and logistical support to the Iraqi army?

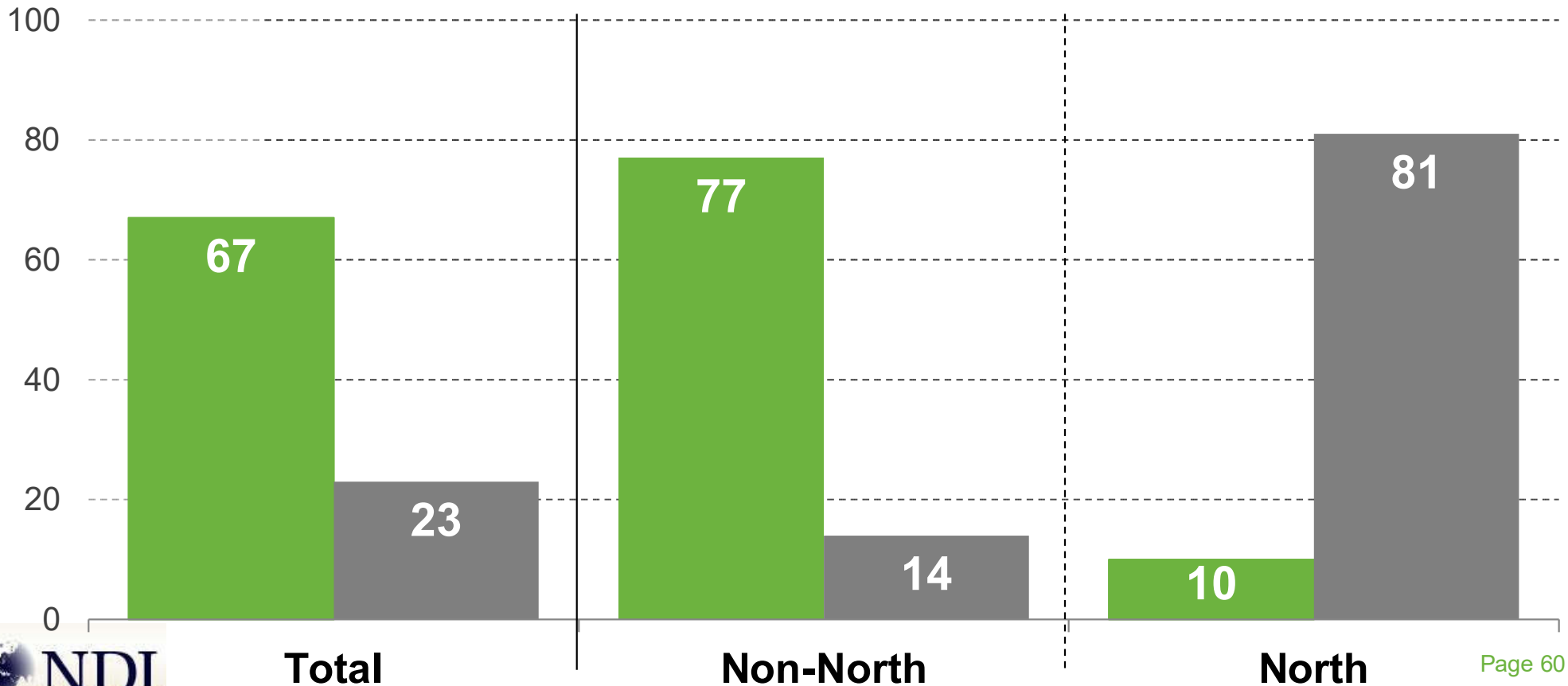


Only North worried about US withdrawal

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.

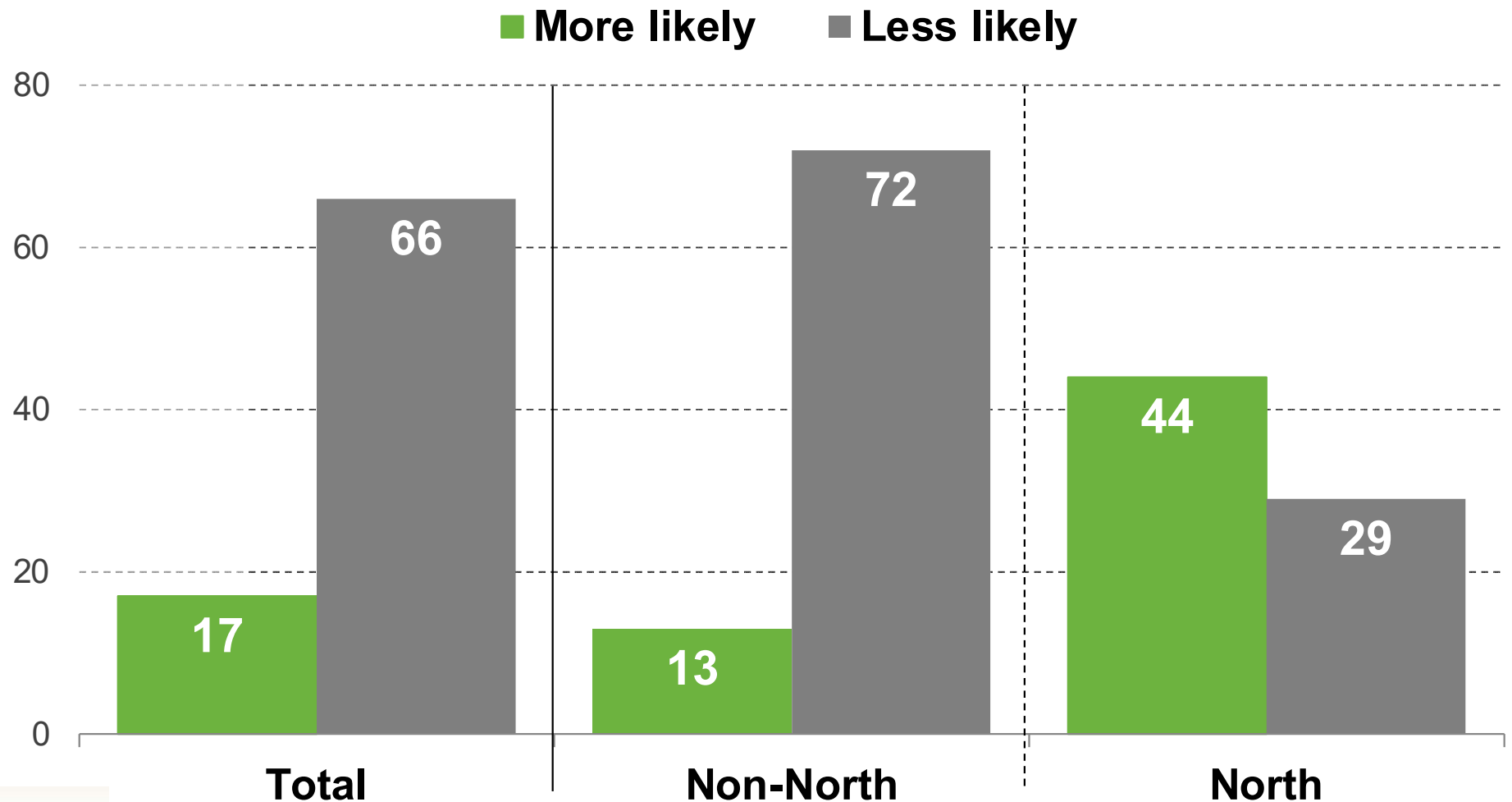
Statement 1: I am mostly relieved by the on-going withdrawal of US troops from Iraq.

Statement 2: I am mostly worried about the on-going withdrawal of US troops from Iraq.



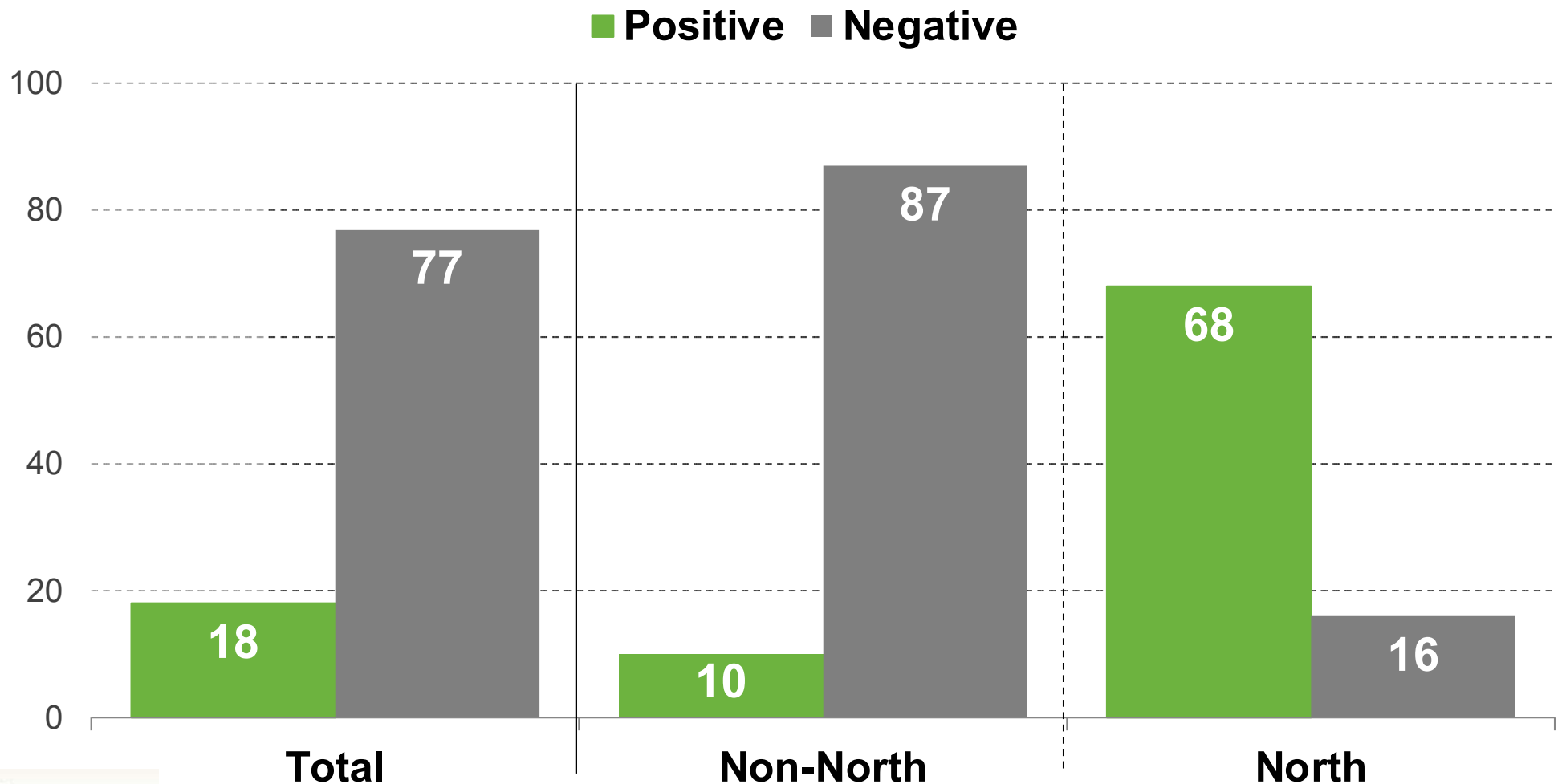
Politically dangerous for non-North to support US military

Are you more or less likely to support a political party that advocates for a small number of U.S. troops to remain in Iraq after the 31 December, 2011 deadline?



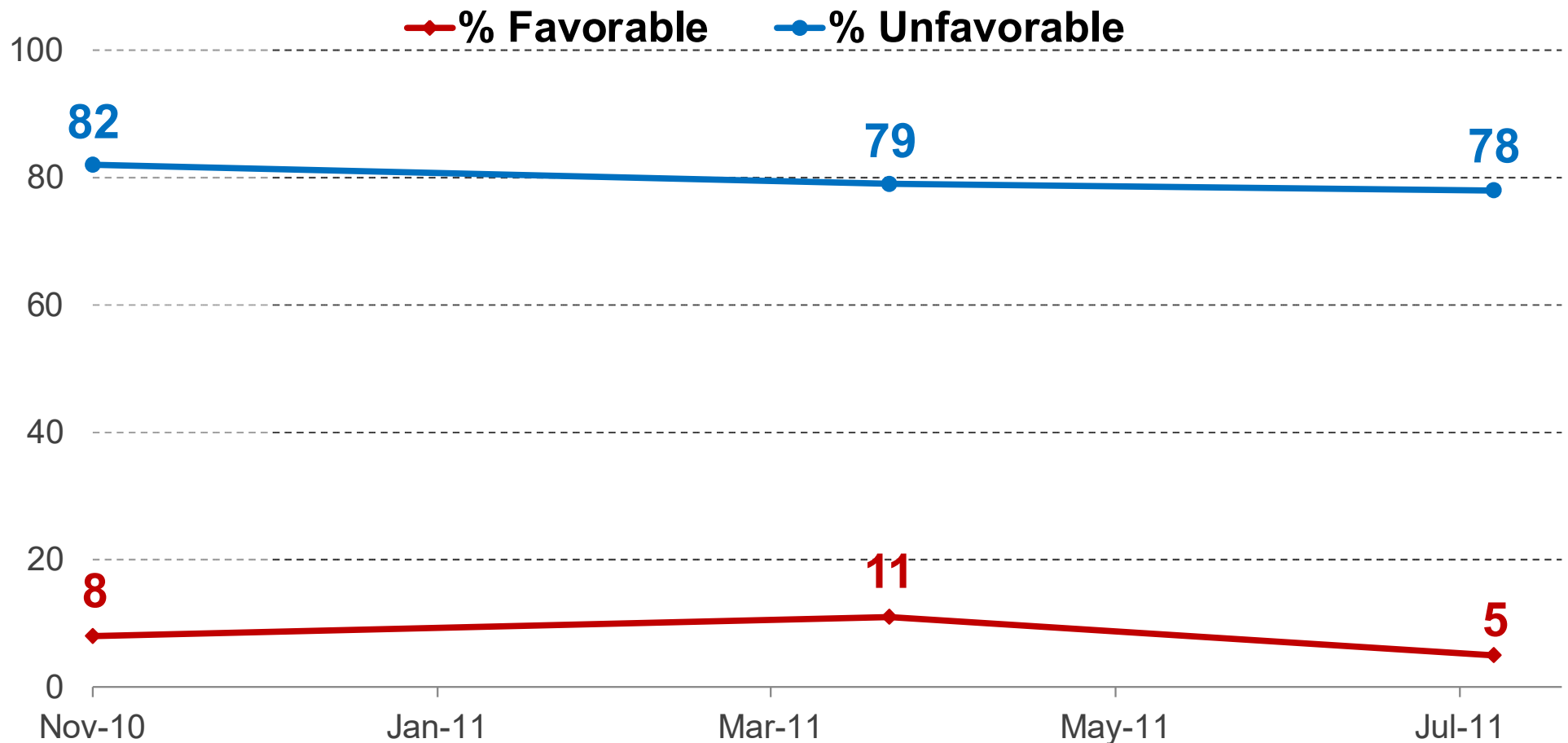
Only North positive about US presence since 2003

Thinking back over all that has happened since the US military came to Iraq since 2003: all things considered, do you feel the presence of the United States and its military since 2003 has been mostly positive for Iraq, or has mostly been negative for Iraq?



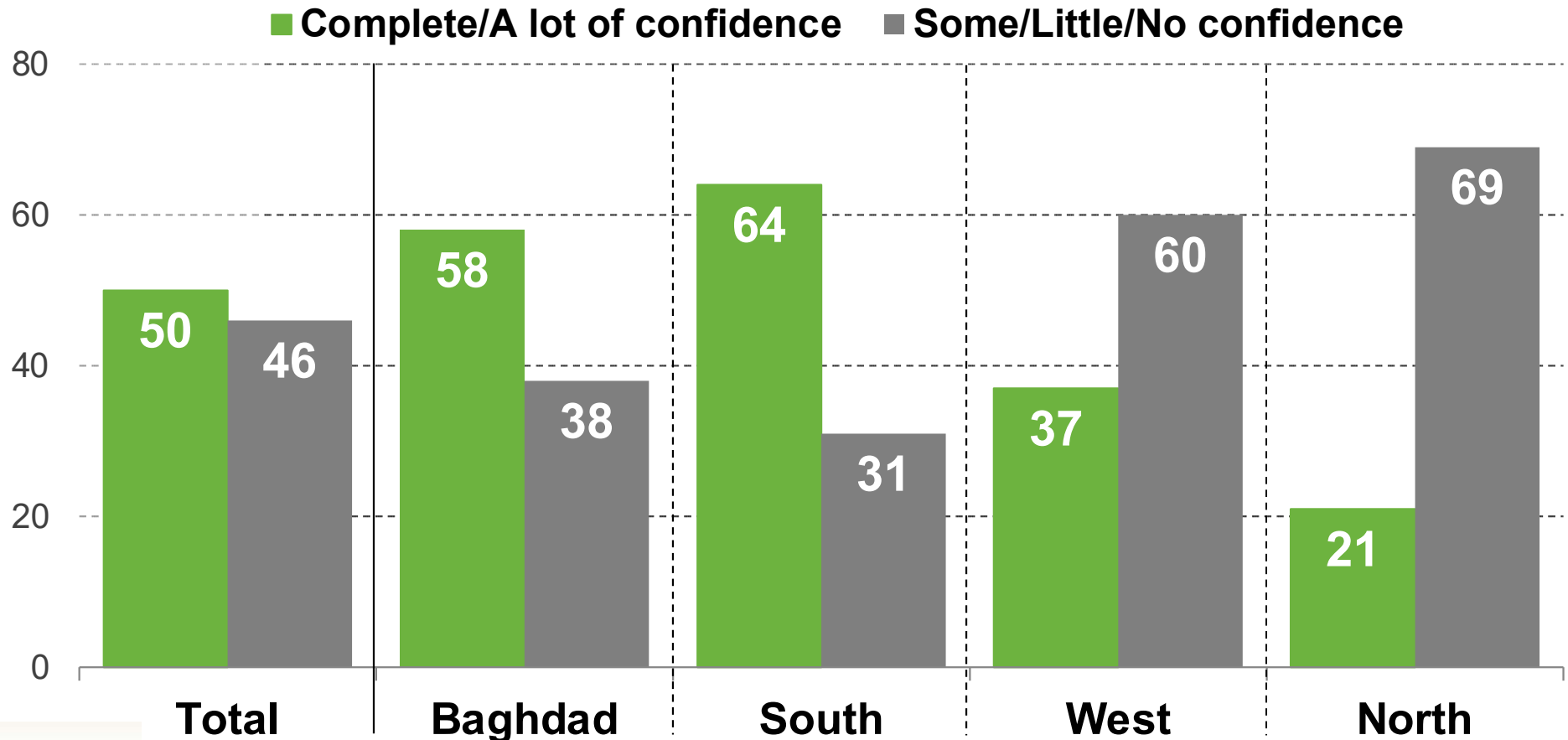
US image extremely weak

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. (THE UNITED STATES)



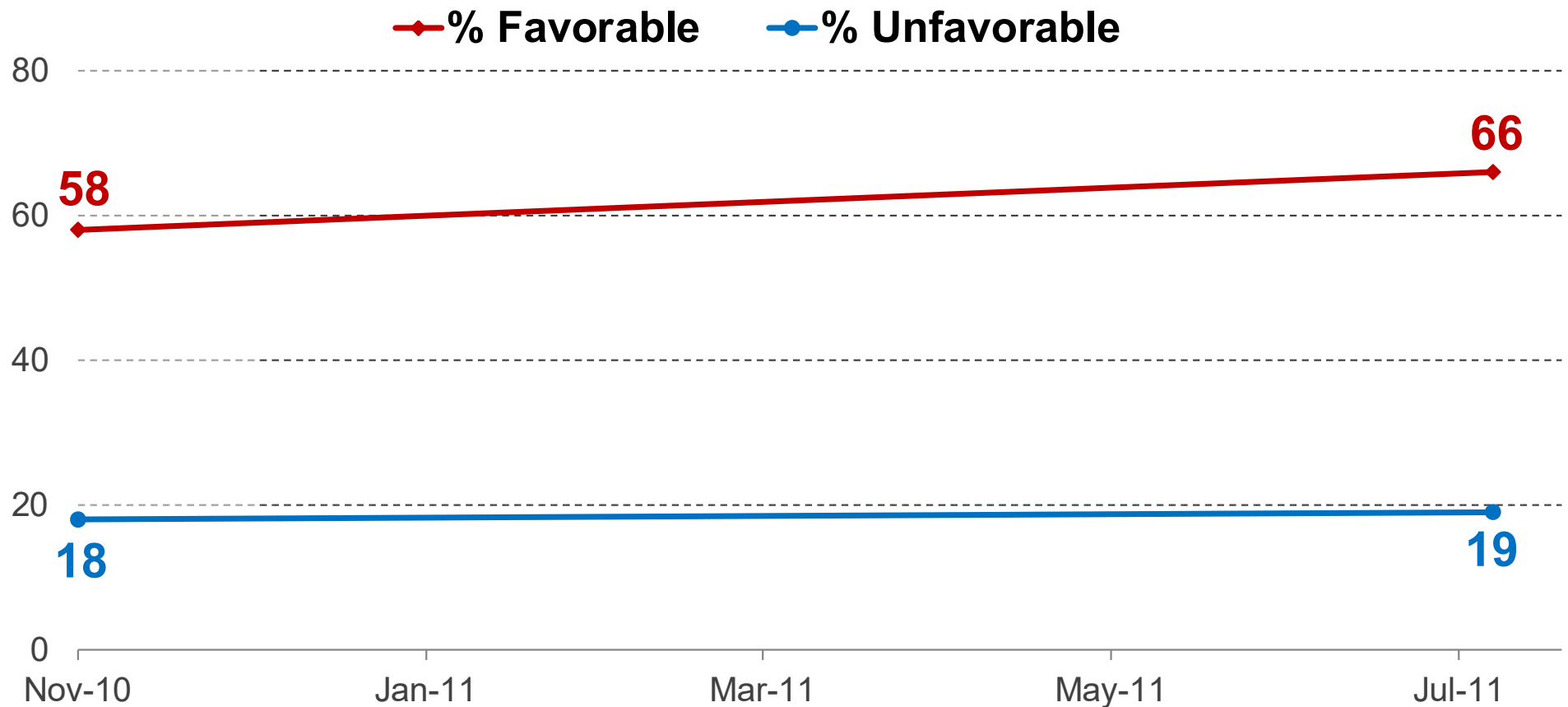
Confidence in Iraqi military divided

As you may know, all remaining U.S. troops are scheduled to leave Iraq by 31 December 2011 and the Iraqi military will take over complete control. How much confidence do you have in the Iraqi military's ability to maintain security once all U.S. troops have left - complete confidence, a lot of confidence, some confidence, just a little confidence, or no confidence at all?



Iraq National Army favorability improving

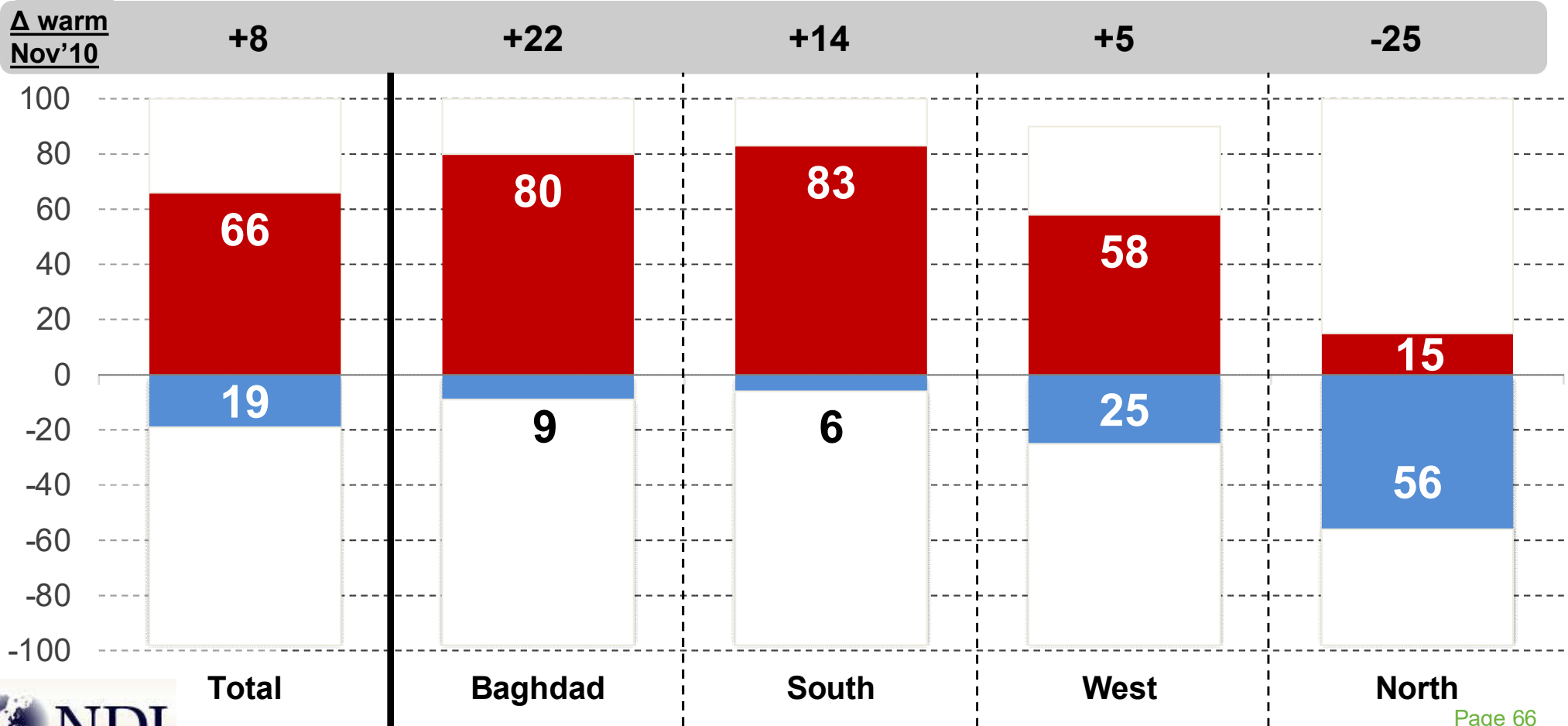
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people, things, and organizations, with "100" meaning a VERY FAVORABLE feeling; "0" meaning a VERY UNFAVORABLE feeling; and "50" meaning not particularly favorable or unfavorable. (IRAQI NATIONAL ARMY)



Iraqi National Army favorability weak in North

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

■ % Favorable ■ % Unfavorable



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