

IRAQI SECURITY AND “HEARTS” AND MINDS”

Selected Results of the ABC News Poll, “Where Things Stand”

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One problem with even the best polls is that users tend to focus on the summary results and not the details. ABC has recently published a poll that provides critical insights in security developments in Iraq, and how Iraqis perceive the details of their current security situation by sect and ethnicity, and the current levels and types of violence they encounter. They also provide important insights into how they perceive US and US forces as well as the neighboring states, the Iraqi security forces, and local militias.

The following tables group the data in the ABC poll for use by expert analysts of the security situation in Iraq. They organize the results into the following categories:

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All of these tables are taken verbatim from work done by Gary Lander and the ABC polling unit, and are drawn from the ABC/BBC/NHK poll in Iraq, "Where Things Stand," issued by ABC on March 16, 2009. This poll was conducted during February 17-25, 2009 through in person interviews, with a random sample of 2,228 Iraqi adults. It included oversampling of Anbar Province, Basra City, Mosul, Kirkuk, and the Sadr City section of Baghdad. ABC reports that the results have a 2.5 point effort margin, Field work was done by D3 Systems of Vienna, VA, and KA Research limited on Istanbul.

The user should examine the full poll to put these results in context. Full details of the poll and methodology, and additional reports, can be found at <http://ABCNews.com/pollingunit>.

Iraqi Perceptions About Levels of Violence

7. Not personally, but in terms of Iraq, what in your opinion is the single biggest problem facing Iraq as a whole?

Summary Table - NET Responses

	Security	Political/ Military	Economic	Social	No opinion
2/25/09	35	27	20	17	*
2/20/08	50	26	9	14	0
8/24/07	56	28	6	11	0
3/5/07	53	26	9	12	0
Sunni					
2/25/09	36	34	16	14	0
2/20/08	55	26	8	10	0
8/24/07	57	31	3	9	0
3/5/07	55	26	9	9	0
Shiite					
2/25/09	37	22	25	16	0
2/20/08	47	30	8	14	0
8/24/07	60	27	3	9	0
3/5/07	52	27	7	13	*
Kurdish					
2/25/09	25	28	16	26	1
2/20/08	43	16	13	28	0
8/24/07	43	22	18	16	0
3/5/07	45	18	18	19	0

Detailed responses:

	2/25/09	2/20/08	8/24/07	3/5/07
Security (NET)	35	50	56	53
Lack of security/Safety (general)	8	13	23	22
War/Civil war/Unrest	6	6	6	7
Sectarian violence	4	7	6	7
Terrorist attacks	7	12	13	9
Ethnic or religious tensions/ Persecution/Discrimination/ Intolerance	6	6	4	3
Common crime/Street crime	4	5	4	3
Political/Military (NET)	27	26	28	26
Political instability/Weak government/Bad leaders	6	5	6	4
No independence for Kurdistan	1	1	1	*
Corruption/Bribery	5	4	5	4
U.S. occupation/Presence	7	6	8	9
Iranian influence	3	3	4	3
Syrian influence	1	2	1	1
Saudi Arabian influence	1	1	1	*
Presence of Al-Qaeda/Foreign jihadis	3	5	2	5
Economic (NET)	20	9	6	9
Economic problems (general)	6	5	1	3
No jobs/Unemployment	4	2	2	3
Low pay/Inconsistent pay	1	*	*	*
High prices/Rising prices	6	1	1	2
Lack of goods and services/ Problems with food ration cards	3	1	*	1

Social (NET)	17	14	11	12
Social problems (general)	1	1	1	1
Can't trust people/Social disintegration	1	2	*	1
Quality of life/Poor living standards/ Poor living conditions (not economic)	1	*	1	1
Poor electricity supply	3	4	4	3
Lack of water/Sanitation	3	*	1	*
Poor public services/Rubble on streets	1	2	*	1
Poor medical services	3	1	*	2
Problems with school/ Educational opportunities	1	*	*	*
Housing problems/Housing availability/ Rent too high/House too small	2	1	*	1
Fuel shortages	*	3	3	3

12. What about the country as a whole - in the past six months, has the security situation in Iraq become better, become worse, or stayed about the same?

	Better	Worse	Same	No opinion
2/25/09	52	8	39	*
2/20/08	36	26	37	*
8/24/07	11	61	28	*
Sunni				
2/25/09	44	15	40	1
2/20/08	10	49	41	*
8/24/07	1	79	20	0
Shiite				
2/25/09	54	5	41	0
2/20/08	49	18	33	*
8/24/07	21	42	38	*
Kurdish				
2/25/09	61	5	35	0
2/20/08	46	9	44	1
8/24/07	5	78	16	1

13. (IF BETTER) How confident are you that this improved security will continue in the future?

	-----Confident-----			-----Not confident-----			No opinion
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Not too	Not at all	
2/25/09	74	30	44	23	19	4	2
2/20/08	82	32	50	17	15	2	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	57	15	43	39	31	8	4
2/20/08	82	21	60	17	10	7	1
Shiite							
2/25/09	81	35	47	16	16	0	3
2/20/08	83	33	50	17	17	*	0
Kurdish							
2/25/09	77	36	41	23	13	10	0
2/20/08	83	35	48	17	10	7	*

11. In the past six months, has [INSERT] become better, become worse, or stayed about the same?

a. The security situation in this neighborhood/village

	Better	Worse	Same	No opinion
2/25/09	50	3	47	*
2/20/08	46	17	36	1
8/24/07	24	31	45	*
Sunni				
2/25/09	47	4	48	0
2/20/08	26	37	37	*
8/24/07	7	56	37	0
Shiite				
2/25/09	57	3	39	0
2/20/08	59	8	33	0
8/24/07	30	21	48	*
Kurdish				
2/25/09	34	0	66	*
2/20/08	48	6	45	2
8/24/07	48	6	46	0

26. How safe do you feel in your neighborhood? Do you feel very safe, not very safe or not safe at all?

	Very safe	Not very safe	Not safe at all	No opinion
2/25/09	59	35	6	*
2/20/08	37	53	10	*
8/24/07	26	47	28	*
3/5/07	26	41	33	*
11/22/05	63	30	6	1
6/14/04	40	40	18	3
Sunni				
2/25/09	33	57	10	0
2/20/08	13	61	26	*
8/24/07	6	52	43	0
3/5/07	3	50	47	0
Shiite				
2/25/09	67	29	4	0
2/20/08	38	57	4	0
8/24/07	24	49	27	*
3/5/07	29	37	34	*
Kurdish				
2/25/09	85	14	1	*
2/20/08	79	21	0	1
8/24/07	74	25	*	0
3/5/07	67	29	3	0

1. Overall, how would you say things are going in your life these days - very good, quite good, quite bad, or very bad?

	-----Good-----			-----Bad-----			No opinion
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
2/25/09	65	21	44	35	19	16	*
2/20/08	55	13	41	45	29	16	*
8/24/07	39	8	31	61	34	26	*
3/5/07	39	8	31	61	32	28	0
11/22/05*	71	22	49	29	18	11	1
6/14/04	55	12	43	45	29	16	*
2/28/04	70	13	57	29	14	15	1

*05 and previous, Oxford Research International, on all questions

Sunni

2/25/09	49	8	42	51	23	28	0
2/20/08	33	7	27	67	38	28	*
8/24/07	12	2	11	88	36	51	0
3/5/07	7	1	6	93	38	55	0

Shiite

2/25/09	70	25	46	30	16	13	*
2/20/08	62	14	48	38	27	11	*
8/24/07	54	9	46	45	31	14	*
3/5/07	53	9	44	47	31	16	0

Kurdish

2/25/09	73	32	41	27	23	4	0
2/20/08	73	24	49	27	20	7	*
8/24/07	49	16	33	50	36	14	1
3/5/07	68	22	46	32	24	7	0

m. Your freedom to live where you wish without persecution

	-----Good-----			-----Bad-----			No opinion
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
2/25/09	43	12	31	56	36	20	1
2/20/08	39	16	24	60	32	28	1
8/24/07	23	8	15	77	32	45	*
3/5/07	23	8	15	77	39	38	*

Sunni

2/25/09	31	1	30	69	42	27	0
2/20/08	19	6	13	80	40	40	1
8/24/07	2	*	2	98	33	65	0
3/5/07	5	*	4	95	42	54	0

Shiite

2/25/09	44	12	32	56	39	17	*
2/20/08	46	17	29	54	29	25	*
8/24/07	25	7	19	74	35	39	*
3/5/07	26	9	17	74	40	33	0

Kurdish

2/25/09	66	32	34	33	21	12	2
2/20/08	60	33	27	39	20	19	1
8/24/07	59	25	33	41	20	20	1
3/5/07	58	22	35	42	27	15	*

i. Your family's protection from crime

	-----Good-----			-----Bad-----			No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opinion
2/25/09	78	24	54	22	17	4	0
2/20/08	54	19	35	46	28	18	*
8/24/07	35	13	22	65	28	37	*
3/5/07	40	14	26	60	32	28	0
11/22/05	66	33	33	33	19	14	1
2/28/04	53	21	31	44	20	23	4
 Sunni							
2/25/09	59	5	54	41	30	10	0
2/20/08	23	5	18	77	38	38	0
8/24/07	6	1	5	94	31	63	0
3/5/07	80	1	6	92	39	53	0
 Shiite							
2/25/09	88	28	60	12	11	1	0
2/20/08	59	15	44	40	29	11	*
8/24/07	39	9	31	61	32	29	*
3/5/07	50	13	37	50	33	17	0
 Kurdish							
2/25/09	89	49	40	11	10	1	0
2/20/08	92	59	32	8	6	2	0
8/24/07	82	48	34	18	14	5	0
3/5/07	78	43	35	22	18	4	0

Iraqi Encounters with Types of Internal Violence (Encounters with US, Iraqi Army, Iraqi Police, and Militias are Listed Separately)

27/28. For each item I read, please tell me if it has or has not occurred nearby here? (IF HAS OCCURRED) Has it happened in the past one or two months, within the last six months, within the past year, or longer ago?

a. Car bombs, suicide attacks

	----- Has occurred nearby -----					Has not	No opinion
	----- Occurred within -----						
NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer			
2/25/09	25	6	10	6	3	75	*
2/20/08	40	10	17	9	4	60	*
8/24/07	42	12	14	10	5	58	*
3/5/07	32	NA	NA	NA	NA	68	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	42	12	19	9	2	57	1
2/20/08	52	18	19	12	2	48	*
8/24/07	61	22	20	11	7	39	0
3/5/07	48	NA	NA	NA	NA	52	0
Shiite							
2/25/09	19	5	7	5	3	81	0
2/20/08	37	8	16	9	5	62	*
8/24/07	36	8	11	11	6	64	*
3/5/07	27	NA	NA	NA	NA	73	*
Kurdish							
2/25/09	8	2	1	3	3	91	*
2/20/08	22	2	12	5	3	78	0
8/24/07	14	2	11	1	*	86	*
3/5/07	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	93	0

b. Snipers, crossfire

	----- Has occurred nearby -----					Has not	No opinion
	----- Occurred within -----						
NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer			
2/25/09	21	2	7	8	3	79	*
2/20/08	34	9	15	9	2	66	*
8/24/07	30	9	11	6	4	70	*
3/5/07	30	NA	NA	NA	NA	70	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	25	3	10	8	3	74	1
2/20/08	46	13	20	11	1	54	*
8/24/07	45	14	17	8	6	54	*
3/5/07	40	NA	NA	NA	NA	60	0
Shiite							
2/25/09	21	2	7	9	3	79	0
2/20/08	36	9	16	10	2	63	*
8/24/07	27	9	9	6	3	72	*
3/5/07	33	NA	NA	NA	NA	67	0
Kurdish							
2/25/09	10	1	3	5	*	90	0
2/20/08	5	0	2	1	1	95	0

8/24/07	5	*	3	1	*	95	0
3/5/07	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	99	*

c. Fighting among sectarian factions

	----- Has occurred nearby -----					Has not	No opin
	NET	----- Occurred within -----					
		1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer		
2/25/09	18	1	5	6	5	82	*
2/20/08	35	8	14	10	3	64	1
8/24/07	27	6	10	7	5	72	1
3/5/07	25	NA	NA	NA	NA	75	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	22	2	7	9	5	77	1
2/20/08	42	12	18	11	2	57	*
8/24/07	35	7	12	9	7	65	0
3/5/07	31	NA	NA	NA	NA	68	*
Shiite							
2/25/09	18	*	5	5	7	82	0
2/20/08	41	9	15	12	5	58	1
8/24/07	30	6	11	7	5	70	*
3/5/07	28	NA	NA	NA	NA	72	*
Kurdish							
2/25/09	8	3	2	3	*	92	*
2/20/08	5	1	1	2	1	95	*
8/24/07	2	*	1	*	1	95	2
3/5/07	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	98	0

d. Kidnappings for ransom

	----- Has occurred nearby -----					Has not	No opin
	NET	----- Occurred within -----					
		1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer		
2/25/09	32	4	13	11	4	68	*
2/20/08	45	12	13	15	4	54	1
8/24/07	40	14	13	9	5	59	1
3/5/07	40	NA	NA	NA	NA	60	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	45	11	19	13	2	54	1
2/20/08	50	14	21	14	1	50	*
8/24/07	52	18	19	11	4	48	*
3/5/07	50	NA	NA	NA	NA	50	*
Shiite							
2/25/09	30	2	11	10	7	70	0
2/20/08	53	15	12	19	7	46	1
8/24/07	42	14	12	10	6	57	1
3/5/07	42	NA	NA	NA	NA	58	0
Kurdish							
2/25/09	11	1	4	7	*	89	0
2/20/08	10	1	3	4	2	89	1
8/24/07	6	2	2	1	1	93	1
3/5/07	10	NA	NA	NA	NA	90	0

e. Fighting between Iraqi government and anti-government forces

	----- Has occurred nearby -----					Has not	No opinion
	NET	----- Occurred within -----					
		1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer		
2/25/09	20	1	5	8	6	79	1
2/20/08	37	7	15	11	4	62	1
8/24/07	34	8	11	8	7	66	*
3/5/07	34	NA	NA	NA	NA	66	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	29	3	11	11	4	70	1
2/20/08	43	9	20	12	2	56	1
8/24/07	33	9	11	8	6	67	*
3/5/07	44	NA	NA	NA	NA	56	*
Shiite							
2/25/09	21	*	2	8	10	79	*
2/20/08	44	8	16	14	6	55	1
8/24/07	44	9	15	11	10	55	1
3/5/07	36	NA	NA	NA	NA	64	0
Kurdish							
2/25/09	3	*	1	1	0	97	*
2/20/08	3	1	2	1	0	97	0
8/24/07	5	1	3	1	*	95	0
3/5/07	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	99	0

Iraqi Perceptions of the US and the US Role in the War

8. From today's perspective and all things considered, was it absolutely right, somewhat right, somewhat wrong or absolutely wrong that U.S.-led coalition forces invaded Iraq in spring 2003?

	-----Right-----			-----Wrong-----			No opinion
	NET	Absolutely	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Absolutely	
2/25/09	42	19	23	56	28	28	2
2/20/08	49	21	28	50	23	27	*
8/24/07	37	12	25	63	28	35	*
3/5/07	48	22	25	52	19	34	*
11/22/05	46	19	28	50	17	33	4
6/14/04	38	12	26	56	24	32	6
2/28/04	48	20	29	39	13	26	13
Sunni							
2/25/09	10	5	4	89	27	62	1
2/20/08	5	1	4	95	32	63	*
8/24/07	4	2	2	96	27	70	0
3/5/07	2	1	1	98	20	78	*
Shiite							
2/25/09	49	19	30	49	32	17	2
2/20/08	65	27	38	35	21	13	*
8/24/07	49	14	34	51	31	21	*
3/5/07	70	34	36	29	20	10	*
Kurdish							
2/25/09	79	46	34	19	15	3	2
2/20/08	87	43	44	13	11	3	0
8/24/07	71	26	45	28	21	8	*
3/5/07	83	36	47	17	9	8	*

20. Who do you think currently controls things in our country; is it the Iraqi government, the United States, somebody else or no one?

	Iraqi government	United States	Somebody else	No one	No opinion
2/25/09	32	53	9	3	3
3/5/07	34	59	4	3	*
11/22/05	44	24	17	6	9
Sunni					
2/25/09	20	65	9	1	5
3/5/07	7	88	2	3	0
Shiite					
2/25/09	42	45	9	2	2
3/5/07	50	44	3	2	*
Kurdish					
2/25/09	22	58	9	8	3
3/5/07	49	42	7	2	0

Iraqi Perceptions of US Forces

16. I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, please tell me if you have a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all.

c. U.S. occupation forces

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	27	12	14	73	28	45	1
2/20/08	20	4	16	79	33	46	1
8/24/07*	14	4	11	86	27	58	0
3/5/07	18	6	12	82	30	52	*
11/22/05	18	7	11	78	23	55	5
2/28/04	25	8	17	66	23	43	8
11/15/03	19	7	12	71	20	52	9

*8/24/07 and previous "US and UK occupation forces"

Sunni

2/25/09	7	3	4	93	25	69	0
2/20/08	3	*	3	96	26	70	1
8/24/07	1	*	1	99	19	79	0
3/5/07	3	0	3	97	18	80	0

Shiite

2/25/09	25	13	12	74	32	43	*
2/20/08	18	1	17	82	38	44	*
8/24/07	9	1	8	91	32	59	0
3/5/07	12	3	9	88	42	46	0

Kurdish

2/25/09	66	27	39	33	21	12	1
2/20/08	55	19	37	44	31	13	1
8/24/07	53	18	34	47	30	17	0
3/5/07	67	26	41	33	24	9	*

f. The local militia in this area

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	18	4	14	81	25	56	1
2/20/08	22	7	15	70	24	47	8
8/24/07	24	11	13	68	26	43	8
3/5/07	36	16	20	64	26	38	*
S Sunni							
2/25/09	6	1	6	94	23	70	0
2/20/08	5	*	4	93	17	76	3
8/24/07	2	*	1	93	27	66	6
3/5/07	12	*	12	88	29	59	0
S Shiite							
2/25/09	16	1	15	84	29	55	*
2/20/08	28	8	20	69	30	39	3
8/24/07	32	12	20	67	30	36	1
3/5/07	51	24	27	49	27	22	*
S Kurdish							
2/25/09	47	21	26	50	17	33	3
2/20/08	38	16	22	31	12	19	31
8/24/07	41	28	13	24	13	11	35
3/5/07	47	27	20	52	18	34	1

Iraqi Perceptions of the Impact of US Withdrawal and the New US Administration

24. An agreement between the Iraqi and U.S. governments says all U.S. troops are to be withdrawn by 2011. Do you think U.S. forces should leave sooner than that, stay longer than that, or is this timetable about right?

	Leave sooner	Stay longer	Timetable is right	No opinion
2/25/09	46	16	35	2
Sunni	61	4	31	4
Shiite	47	15	38	1
Kurdish	23	41	31	5

25. How concerned are you that security may worsen after the U.S. and other coalition forces have withdrawn - very concerned, somewhat concerned, not so concerned or not concerned at all?

	--- Concerned ---			--- Not concerned ---			No opinion
	NET	Very	Smwt	NET	Not so	At all	
2/25/09	42	7	35	57	36	21	1
Sunni	39	5	34	59	43	16	2
Shiite	39	3	36	61	36	25	*
Kurdish	52	23	29	45	24	20	3

29. As you may know, there has been a change in administration in America in which President Bush has left office and President Barack Obama has taken his place. Do you think this change in the American government will make things better for Iraq, make things worse for Iraq, or will not make much difference?

	Better	Worse	No difference	Depends (vol.)	No opinion
2/25/09	35	19	38	5	3
Sunni	29	21	39	8	3
Shiite	38	20	33	5	4
Kurdish	35	11	52	1	1

Compare to:

As you may know, there will be a change of administration in America next year in which President Bush will leave office and a new president will take his place. Do you think this change in the American government will make things better for Iraq, make things worse for Iraq, or will not make much difference?

	Better	Worse	No difference	No opinion
2/20/08	33	27	39	1
Sunni	33	35	31	1
Shiite	32	22	45	*
Kurdish	41	22	33	4

30. What best describes your view of Muntadhar al-Zeidi, the journalist who threw his shoes at the American President Bush in December? Would you say al-Zeidi is a hero because he expressed the views of many Iraqis or would you say he is a criminal because he assaulted a visiting foreign leader and therefore shamed the Iraqi president?

	Hero	Criminal	Both (vol.)	No opinion
2/25/09	62	24	10	4
Sunni	84	6	8	2
Shiite	56	27	11	6
Kurdish	38	51	9	2

Iraqi Perceptions of the Role of British Forces in the South

39. How concerned are you that security in Basra may worsen after the British forces have completely withdrawn from that area - very concerned, somewhat concerned, not so concerned or not concerned at all?

	--- Concerned ---			--- Not concerned ---			No opinion
	NET	Very	Smwt	NET	Not so	At all	
2/25/09	40	12	28	58	37	20	2
Sunni	61	24	37	38	25	13	1
Shiite	31	7	24	69	47	22	*
Kurdish	32	6	26	61	30	30	7

40. Do you think the British military presence in the south of Iraq since 2003 has been generally positive for Iraq or generally negative?

	Generally positive	Generally negative	Both (vol.)	No opinion
2/25/09	36	42	19	3
Sunni	17	66	16	1
Shiite	41	39	18	1
Kurdish	57	10	24	8

41. Specifically, do you think the British military presence in the South has been a help or hindrance in [INSERT]?

a. Establishing long-term security

	Help	Hindrance	No opinion
2/25/09	47	49	4
Sunni	36	61	3
Shiite	45	52	2
Kurdish	72	20	8

b. Rebuilding civil structures in the South such as local government and police

	Help	Hindrance	No opinion
2/25/09	51	47	3
Sunni	43	56	1
Shiite	49	50	1
Kurdish	68	24	8

c. Rebuilding infrastructure in the South such as schools, hospitals, water treatment plants and the like

	Help	Hindrance	No opinion
2/25/09	42	55	4
Sunni	32	65	2
Shiite	38	59	2
Kurdish	66	24	10

Iraqi Perceptions of the US and UK versus Iran, Syria, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia

45. Overall, please say if you think each of these countries is playing a positive, neutral, or negative role in Iraq now?

f. The United States

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	No opinion
2/25/09	18	17	64	2
3/5/07	12	11	77	*
Sunni				
2/25/09	2	6	91	*
3/5/07	1	2	96	0
Shiite				
2/25/09	13	22	64	1
3/5/07	6	11	82	*
Kurdish				
2/25/09	59	19	16	5
3/5/07	53	26	21	*

g. The United Kingdom

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	No opinion
2/25/09	22	18	59	1
3/5/07	11	14	75	*
Sunni				
2/25/09	4	9	87	*
3/5/07	2	4	95	0
Shiite				
2/25/09	21	22	56	*
3/5/07	5	15	80	*
Kurdish				
2/25/09	56	24	15	5
3/5/07	52	28	19	*

d. Syria

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	No opinion
2/25/09	23	38	38	2
3/5/07	7	30	63	*
Sunnis				
2/25/09	34	44	21	1
3/5/07	14	58	28	*
Shiites				
2/25/09	19	38	43	1
3/5/07	2	16	81	0
Kurdish				
2/25/09	13	26	58	4
3/5/07	5	10	85	0

e. Turkey

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	No opinion
2/25/09	35	34	30	2
3/5/07	10	44	46	*
Sunnis				
2/25/09	34	42	21	3
3/5/07	13	70	17	*
Shiites				
2/25/09	43	37	20	*
3/5/07	8	36	56	0
Kurdish				
2/25/09	6	10	79	5
3/5/07	5	11	84	0

b. Saudi Arabia

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	No opinion
2/25/09	21	45	32	2
3/5/07	20	28	52	*
Sunni				
2/25/09	38	54	7	2
3/5/07	39	52	9	0
Shiite				
2/25/09	13	46	41	1
3/5/07	3	7	91	0
Kurdish				
2/25/09	17	27	50	6
3/5/07	29	40	30	1

c. Iran

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	No opinion
2/25/09	12	19	68	1
3/5/07	17	16	67	*
Sunni				
2/25/09	2	5	93	*
3/5/07	*	1	98	*
Shiite				
2/25/09	18	32	49	*
3/5/07	33	27	40	0
Kurdish				
2/25/09	10	8	80	3
3/5/07	6	12	82	0

Iraqi Perceptions of the Readiness and Loyalty of Iraqi Security Forces

23a. Do you think the Iraqi security forces are ready now to take up security without the U.S. and other coalition forces here, or are they not ready yet?

	Ready	Not ready	No opinion
2/25/09	59	40	1
Sunni	38	61	1
Shiite	75	24	1
Kurdish	45	53	2

23b. (IF NOT READY) How long from now do you think they will be ready to take up security - in the next year, in the next two years, longer than that, or never?

	- Within next two years --			--- Longer/Never ---			No opinion
	NET	Next year	Next two	NET	Longer	Never	
2/25/09	63	24	38	34	26	8	4
Sunni	61	23	38	34	26	9	5
Shiite	71	35	36	24	23	1	5
Kurdish	54	14	40	46	30	16	0

23a/b NET

	Ready	----- Not ready -----					No op.
		NET	Within next two years	Longer/Never	No op.	No op.	
2/25/09	59	39	25	13	2	1	
Sunni	38	58	37	21	3	1	
Shiite	75	23	17	6	1	1	
Kurdish	45	53	29	24	0	2	

22a. Thinking about the Iraqi security forces, for the most part do you feel that they are loyal chiefly to individual factions within Iraq, or do you feel that they are loyal to all of the Iraqi nation as a whole?

	To factions	To Iraq	No opinion
2/25/09	30	67	2
Sunni	41	54	4
Shiite	19	79	1
Kurdish	43	54	3

22b. (IF LOYAL TO FACTIONS) What one faction do you think has the loyalty of most of the security forces?

Summary Table - 2/25/09

	All	Sunni	Shiite	Kurdish
Abd Al-Aziz Al-Hakeem/ Ammar Al-Hakeem/Badr forces/Jalal Al-din Al-Saghir	36	49	43	10
Al-Mahdi Army/Muqtada Al-Sadr	16	20	21	5
Political parties and party officials	7	1	0	24
Nouri Al-Maliki	6	7	7	0
Peshmerga	6	11	1	2
Government officials	5	0	0	19
Iraqi Islamic Party/Tariq Al-Hashemi	3	4	4	0
Ahmed Al-Chalabi	3	3	4	0
Mahmood Al-Sarkhi	2	*	6	0
Adnan Al-Dulaimi	2	0	7	1
Hussein Al-Muayid	2	*	4	0
Loyal to where the money is/Loyal to bribe	2	0	0	7
Abu Risha/Sahawa	1	2	0	0
To their ethnicities	1	0	0	6
Only for Arabs	1	0	0	5
They are not loyal to public	1	0	0	3
Other	1	1	0	2
No opinion	5	2	2	17

38a. Thinking now only about Basra, do you think the Iraqi security forces are ready now to take up security without British forces there, or are they not ready yet?

	Ready	Not ready	No opinion
2/25/09	57	38	5
Sunni	48	48	4
Shiite	62	34	5
Kurdish	57	36	7

	Ready	----- Not ready -----			No op.	No op.
		NET	Within next two years	Longer/Never		
2/25/09	57	38	29	9	*	5
Sunni	48	46	38	9	1	4
Shiite	62	33	27	6	*	5
Kurdish	57	35	16	19	*	7

Iraqi Perceptions of the Iraqi Army

16. I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, please tell me if you have a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all.

a. The Iraqi Army

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	73	37	36	27	24	3	*
2/20/08	65	28	37	35	24	11	0
8/24/07	67	23	43	33	21	12	0
3/5/07	61	24	37	39	25	14	0
11/22/05	67	36	31	30	18	12	3
2/28/04*	56	18	38	35	25	10	9
11/15/03	39	13	25	45	29	16	17

*If heard of, 90 percent

Sunni

2/25/09	55	13	42	45	39	6	0
2/20/08	43	11	32	57	33	24	0
8/24/07	34	7	27	66	34	32	0
3/5/07	25	9	16	75	35	40	0

Shiite

2/25/09	85	54	30	15	15	*	0
2/20/08	75	35	40	25	20	5	0
8/24/07	84	29	54	16	15	1	0
3/5/07	80	31	49	20	20	*	0

Kurdish

2/25/09	71	29	42	27	22	6	1
2/20/08	78	40	37	22	19	4	0
8/24/07	80	38	43	20	16	4	0
3/5/07	80	33	47	20	19	2	0

h. Awakening Councils

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	43	15	28	53	28	25	4
2/20/08	56	16	40	36	27	9	7
Sunni							
2/25/09	60	13	47	40	33	7	*
2/20/08	73	34	39	26	20	5	1
Shiite							
2/25/09	35	16	18	62	29	33	3
2/20/08	60	10	49	40	32	7	1
Kurdish							
2/25/09	39	13	25	50	17	34	11
2/20/08	19	1	17	40	19	21	41

Iraqi Perceptions of the Iraqi Police

b. The police

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	74	36	38	25	20	5	*
2/20/08	67	33	34	32	20	13	1
8/24/07	69	33	36	31	17	15	0
3/5/07	64	32	32	36	16	20	0
11/22/05	68	38	31	30	18	12	2
2/28/04	68	26	41	28	20	8	4
11/15/03	45	18	28	45	30	15	10
Sunni							
2/25/09	67	19	47	33	27	6	0
2/20/08	40	13	27	59	33	26	1
8/24/07	37	9	28	63	26	37	0
3/5/07	24	8	16	76	24	52	0
Shiite							
2/25/09	79	44	34	21	18	4	0
2/20/08	81	43	37	19	12	7	*
8/24/07	84	43	40	16	12	4	0
3/5/07	87	47	40	13	10	3	0
Kurdish							
2/25/09	77	44	33	22	12	10	1
2/20/08	79	43	36	20	15	4	2
8/24/07	86	47	39	14	11	3	0
3/5/07	82	43	39	18	15	2	0

g. Unnecessary violence against citizens by the Iraqi police

	----- Has occurred nearby -----					Has not	No opinion
	NET	----- Occurred within -----					
		1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer		
2/25/09	17	4	8	4	2	83	1
2/20/08	20	4	8	6	1	79	1
8/24/07	21	4	6	7	4	79	*
3/5/07	24	NA	NA	NA	NA	76	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	29	8	13	7	1	70	1
2/20/08	39	11	17	10	1	61	*
8/24/07	33	7	8	12	7	67	0
3/5/07	55	NA	NA	NA	NA	44	*
Shiite							
2/25/09	14	2	6	3	3	86	*
2/20/08	14	2	5	5	1	85	1
8/24/07	18	3	6	5	4	82	0

3/5/07	8	NA	NA	NA	NA	92	0
Kurdish							
2/25/09	4	1	2	1	0	95	*
2/20/08	5	0	2	1	2	95	0
8/24/07	3	*	1	*	1	97	0
3/5/07	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	99	0

Iraqi Perceptions of Local Militia Forces and the Awakening Councils

f. The local militia in this area

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	18	4	14	81	25	56	1
2/20/08	22	7	15	70	24	47	8
8/24/07	24	11	13	68	26	43	8
3/5/07	36	16	20	64	26	38	*
Sunni							
2/25/09	6	1	6	94	23	70	0
2/20/08	5	*	4	93	17	76	3
8/24/07	2	*	1	93	27	66	6
3/5/07	12	*	12	88	29	59	0
Shiite							
2/25/09	16	1	15	84	29	55	*
2/20/08	28	8	20	69	30	39	3
8/24/07	32	12	20	67	30	36	1
3/5/07	51	24	27	49	27	22	*
Kurdish							
2/25/09	47	21	26	50	17	33	3
2/20/08	38	16	22	31	12	19	31
8/24/07	41	28	13	24	13	11	35
3/5/07	47	27	20	52	18	34	1

h. Awakening Councils

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	43	15	28	53	28	25	4
2/20/08	56	16	40	36	27	9	7
Sunni							
2/25/09	60	13	47	40	33	7	*
2/20/08	73	34	39	26	20	5	1
Shiite							
2/25/09	35	16	18	62	29	33	3
2/20/08	60	10	49	40	32	7	1
Kurdish							
2/25/09	39	13	25	50	17	34	11
2/20/08	19	1	17	40	19	21	41

i. Judges and the court system

	----- Confident -----			--- Not confident ---			No opinion
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/25/09	67	28	40	32	24	8	1
Sunni	49	11	38	50	36	14	*
Shiite	77	35	42	23	19	3	*
Kurdish	73	35	38	25	14	11	3

10. For each group I name, please tell me how much that group is doing to provide services in your community - a great deal, some, a little or nothing at all?

a. The national government

	--- Great deal/Some ---			--- Little/Nothing ---			No
	NET	Great deal	Some	NET	Little	Nothing	opinion
2/25/09	53	16	37	47	30	17	*
Sunni	41	6	34	59	37	23	0
Shiite	62	22	40	38	29	8	*
Kurdish	49	13	35	49	20	29	2

b. The provincial government

	--- Great deal/Some ---			--- Little/Nothing ---			No
	NET	Great deal	Some	NET	Little	Nothing	opinion
2/25/09	54	15	39	46	34	11	1
Sunni	47	5	42	52	37	16	*
Shiite	50	13	37	50	39	10	*
Kurdish	77	37	40	20	16	4	3

c. Any of the groups known as Awakening Councils, Sons of Iraq or Concerned Local Citizens

	--- Great deal/Some ---			--- Little/Nothing ---			No
	NET	Great deal	Some	NET	Little	Nothing	opinion
2/25/09	27	9	18	69	24	45	4
Sunni	39	8	31	60	31	29	*
Shiite	22	10	12	74	26	48	3
Kurdish	20	6	14	68	6	62	12

d. Militia groups that are not aligned with the government

	--- Great deal/Some ---			--- Little/Nothing ---			No
	NET	Great deal	Some	NET	Little	Nothing	opinion
2/25/09	16	5	11	81	17	64	4
Sunni	7	2	5	92	12	80	1
Shiite	23	7	16	76	22	54	1
Kurdish	11	4	7	76	9	67	14

Iraqi Perceptions of the Kurdish Issue

42. On another issue, do you think Kirkuk should or should not become part of the Kurdish Autonomous Region?

	Yes, Kirkuk should	No, Kirkuk should not	No opinion
2/25/09	20	78	1
2/20/08	27	72	1
Sunni			
2/25/09	1	98	1
2/20/08	4	95	*
Shiite			
2/25/09	8	91	1
2/20/08	19	80	1
Kurdish			
2/25/09	93	2	4
2/20/08	100	*	0

43. How likely do you think it is that the Kurdish provinces will try to formally separate from Iraq and rule themselves independently - do you think this is very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely?

	----- Likely -----			----- Unlikely -----			No opinion
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Very	
2/25/09	59	31	27	40	23	17	2
Sunni	57	33	24	41	23	17	2
Shiite	62	32	30	38	20	18	*
Kurdish	56	30	26	40	29	11	3

44. Is the separation of the Kurdish provinces from Iraq something you would support strongly, support somewhat, oppose somewhat or oppose strongly?

	----- Support -----			----- Oppose -----			No opinion
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	
2/25/09	23	11	12	76	27	48	1
Sunni	9	2	7	89	31	58	1
Shiite	11	2	9	89	31	59	0
Kurdish	86	58	28	10	8	2	5

20. Who do you think currently controls things in our country; is it the Iraqi government, the United States, somebody else or no one?

	Iraqi government	United States	Somebody else	No one	No opinion
2/25/09	32	53	9	3	3
3/5/07	34	59	4	3	*
11/22/05	44	24	17	6	9
Sunni					
2/25/09	20	65	9	1	5
3/5/07	7	88	2	3	0
Shiite					
2/25/09	42	45	9	2	2
3/5/07	50	44	3	2	*
Kurdish					
2/25/09	22	58	9	8	3
3/5/07	49	42	7	2	0

21. Since the war, how do you feel about the way in which the United States and other coalition forces have carried out their responsibilities in Iraq? Have they done a very good job, quite a good job, quite a bad job or a very bad job?

	-----Good-----			-----Bad-----			No opinion
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
2/25/09	30	11	19	69	30	39	1
2/20/08	29	6	23	70	35	35	1
8/24/07	19	3	15	80	32	48	1
3/5/07	23	6	18	77	30	46	0
11/22/05	36	10	27	59	19	40	5
Sunni							
2/25/09	8	3	5	90	28	62	1
2/20/08	7	*	6	93	40	53	*
8/24/07	2	*	2	98	33	65	0
3/5/07	3	*	3	97	30	67	0
Shiite							
2/25/09	32	12	20	67	33	34	1
2/20/08	32	5	27	68	36	32	*
8/24/07	18	2	16	82	35	47	*
3/5/07	21	4	17	79	34	45	0
Kurdish							
2/25/09	62	23	39	36	22	14	2
2/20/08	63	19	44	36	23	13	1
8/24/07	53	14	40	42	22	20	4
3/5/07	74	22	53	26	19	7	0