

ABC NEWS POLL: IRAQ – WHERE THINGS STAND

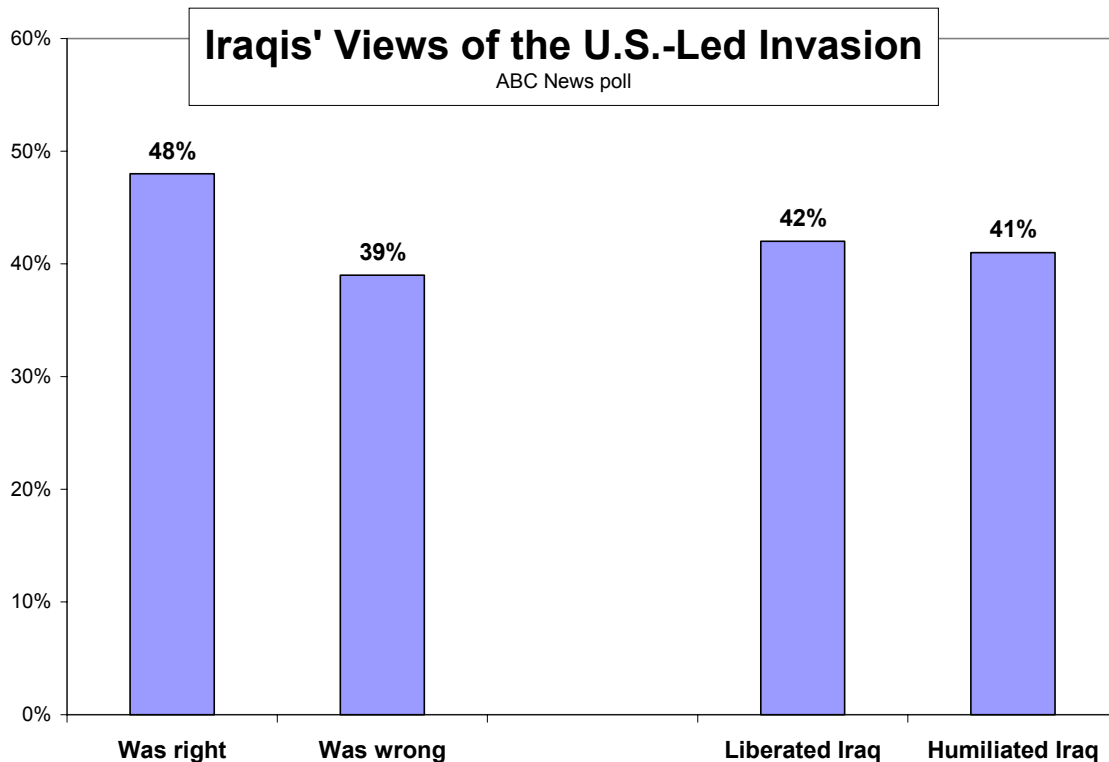
EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE AFTER 6:30 P.M., Monday, March 15, 2004

While Ambivalent About the War, Most Iraqis Report a Better Life

A year after the bombs began to fall, Iraqis express ambivalence about the U.S.-led invasion of their country, but not about its effect: Most say their lives are going well and have improved since before the war, and expectations for the future are very high.

Worries exist – locally about joblessness, nationally about security – boosting desire for a “single strong leader,” at least in the short-term. Yet the first media-sponsored national public opinion poll in Iraq also finds a strikingly optimistic people, expressing growing interest in politics, broad rejection of political violence, rising trust in the Iraqi police and army and preference for an inclusive and ultimately a democratic government.

More Iraqis say the United States was right than say it was wrong to lead the invasion, but by just 48 to 39 percent, with 13 percent expressing no opinion – hardly the unreserved welcome some U.S. policymakers had anticipated.



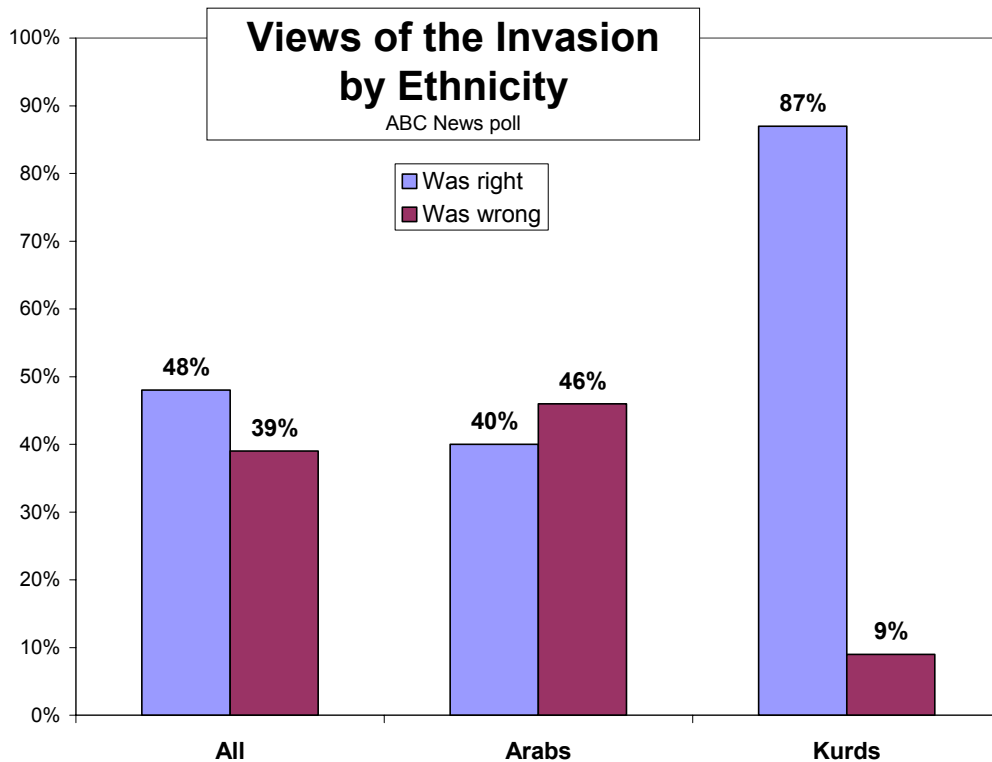
As many Iraqis say the war “humiliated” Iraq as say it “liberated” the country; more oppose than support the presence of coalition forces there now (although most also say

they should stay for the time being); and relatively few express confidence in those forces, in the U.S.-led Coalition Provisional Authority, or in the Iraqi Governing Council.

These results are from an ABC News poll conducted among a random, representative sample of 2,737 Iraqis in face-to-face interviews across the country from Feb. 9-28. Part of ABC’s weeklong series, “Iraq: Where Things Stand,” marking the first anniversary of the war, the poll was co-sponsored with ABC by the German broadcasting network ARD, the BBC and the NHK in Japan, with sampling and field work by Oxford Research International of Oxford, England.

The poll finds that 78 percent of Iraqis reject violence against coalition forces, although 17 percent – a sixth of the population – call such attacks “acceptable.” One percent, for comparison, call it acceptable to attack members of the new Iraqi police.

There are huge differences in these and many other questions between Arab Iraqis, who account for 79 percent of the population, and the Kurdish minority (17 percent). Forty percent of Arabs say it was right for the United States to invade; that soars to 87 percent of Kurds. Just one-third of Arabs say the war liberated rather than humiliated Iraq; it’s 82 percent of Kurds. Thirty percent of Arabs support the presence of coalition forces, again compared with 82 percent of Kurds. Positive views of the invasion also are held disproportionately in the South of the country, as well as in the Kurdish north.



US-led invasion:	All	Arabs	Kurds
Was right	48%	40%	87%
Was wrong	39	46	9

Liberated Iraq	42%	33%	82%
Humiliated Iraq	41	48	11

Presence of coalition forces:

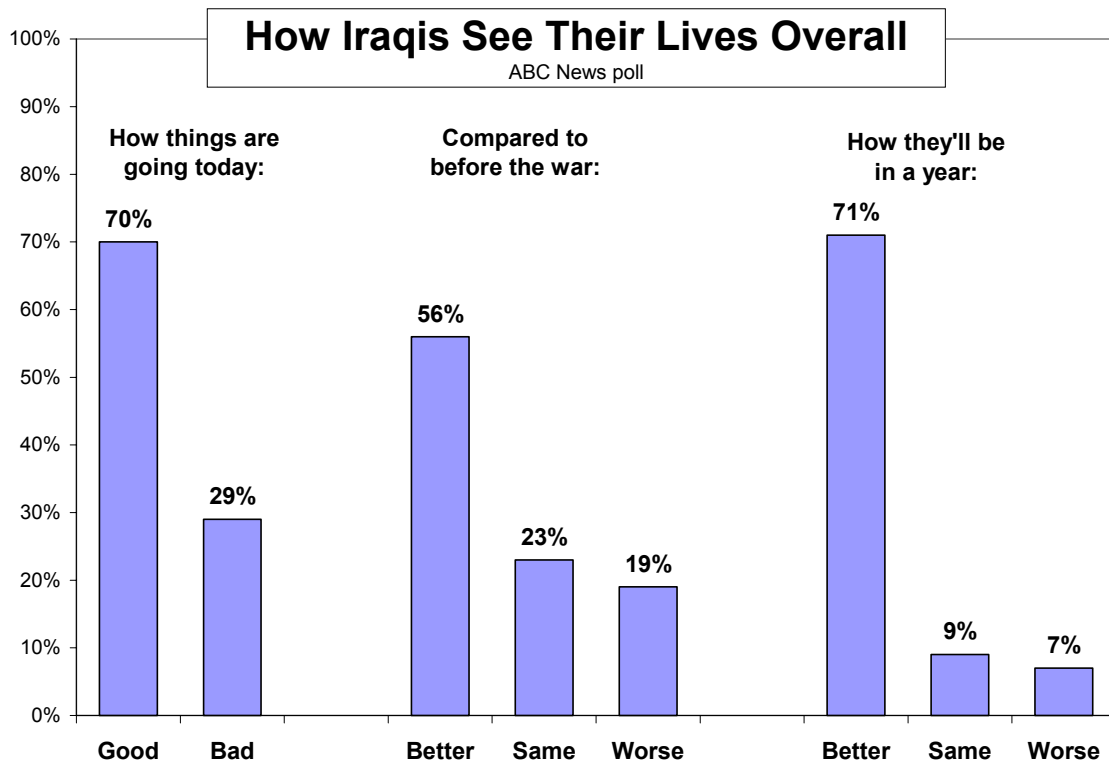
Support	39%	30%	82%
Oppose	51	60	12

Attacks on coalition forces:

Acceptable	17%	21%	2%
Unacceptable	78	74	96

PERSONAL LIVES – On a personal level, seven in 10 Iraqis say things overall are going well for them – a result that might surprise outsiders imagining the worst of life in Iraq today. Fifty-six percent say their lives are better now than before the war, compared with 19 percent who say things are worse (23 percent, the same). And the level of personal optimism is extraordinary: Seventy-one percent expect their lives to improve over the next year.

Again there are regional and ethnic differences. In the Kurdish north, 70 percent say their lives overall are better than before the war; in the south, 63 percent. That declines to 54 percent in the central region, and falls under half – to 46 percent – in the greater Baghdad area, home to more than a quarter of Iraqis.



How Iraqis see their lives overall

How things are going today:	All	North	South	Central	Baghdad
Good	70%	85%	65%	70%	67%
Bad	29	14	34	28	32
Compared to a year ago, before the war:					
Better	56%	70%	63%	54%	46%
Same	23	15	21	22	31
Worse	19	13	13	23	23
How they'll be a year from now:					
Better	71%	83%	74%	70%	63%
Same	9	4	6	10	16
Worse	7	1	4	9	10

Locally, unhappiness is highest by far with the availability of jobs (69 percent say it's bad) and the supply of electricity (64 percent negative). Local schools are rated positively (by 72 percent), and smaller majorities give positive ratings to the availability of basic household goods and the adequacy of local crime protection. About half give positive ratings to the availability of medical care, clean water and household goods beyond the basics, and to local government.

Iraqis divide in their rating of the local security situation now, but strikingly, 54 percent say security where they live is better now than it was before the war. However, for some, local security clearly is a great concern; 22 percent call it the single biggest problem in their lives, more than any other mention ("no job" is second, 12 percent). Local security concerns peak in greater Baghdad, where they're cited by 36 percent as the top problem, compared to a low of eight percent in Kurdistan.

Notably, across the country, no more than 26 percent say any of these conditions are worse now than a year ago; in each about four in 10 or more say things are better; and in each sizable majorities – mostly three-quarters – expect things to improve over the next 12 months.

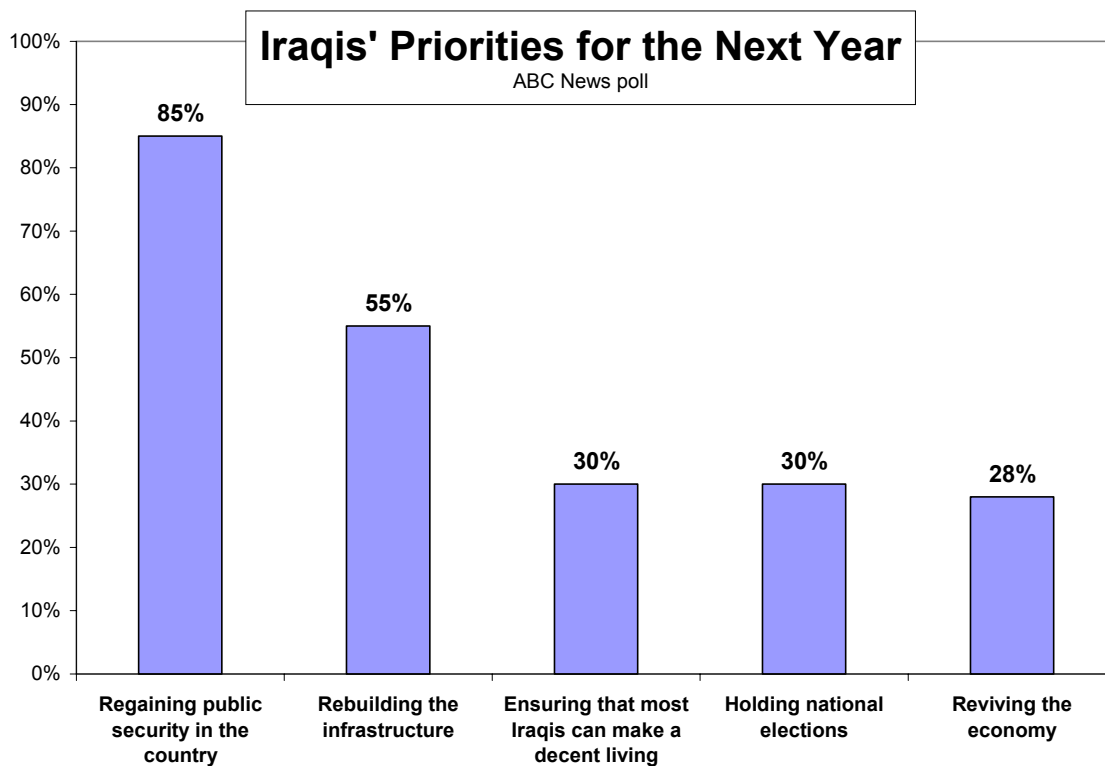
There's political danger, of course, if these expectations go unmet.

Ratings of specific local conditions

	Today		Compared to pre-war			Expectations-1 yr.		
	Good	Bad	Better	Worse	Same	Better	Worse	Same
Schools	72%	26	47%	9	41	74%	3	14
Household basics	56	41	47	16	35	76	3	10
Crime protection	53	44	50	21	26	75	4	11
Medical care	51	47	44	16	38	75	3	12
Clean water	50	48	41	16	40	75	4	13
Local gov't	50	38	44	16	29	69	4	12
Additional goods	49	46	44	17	35	75	3	10
Security	49	50	54	26	18	74	5	10
Electricity	35	64	43	23	32	74	5	11
Jobs	26	69	39	25	31	73	4	11

SECURITY – While less of a local issue for many Iraqis, security at the national level is a vast concern; the public’s top overall priority, by a huge margin, is “regaining public security in the country.” Sixty-four percent give it “first priority” for the next 12 months; out of a dozen issues tested, no other even breaks into double digits.

Combining first, second and third priorities produces a more complete list: Eighty-five percent mention security in one of those slots; 55 percent, rebuilding the infrastructure; 30 percent, holding national elections; 30 percent, “ensuring that people can make a decent living” and about as many, “reviving the economy.” Last on the list: “Dealing with members of the previous government,” cited as a priority by only two percent.



	First, second or third priority*	First Priority
Regaining public security	85%	64%
Rebuilding the infrastructure	55	7
Holding elections for national gov't	30	8
Ensuring that people can make a decent living	30	4
Reviving the economy	28	3
Regaining Iraqi governance	17	3
Ensuring that religious ideals are followed	16	3
Increasing oil production	13	2
Rebuilding the education system	10	1
Ensuring that Iraq could not be		

attacked from the outside	7	1
Giving people more say in their communities	3	1
Dealing with members of the previous government	2	1

*Up to three answers accepted

COALITION FORCES – As noted, 51 percent oppose the presence of coalition forces – but that doesn’t mean most want them withdrawn immediately, likely because of security concerns. Fifteen percent of Iraqis say the forces should leave the country now; by contrast, 36 percent say they should remain until a new government is in place; 18 percent, until security is restored.

How long should coalition forces remain?

Until Iraq gov’t is in place	36%
Until security is restored	18
Leave now	15
Six months or more	10
Few months	8

Just over three-quarters of Iraqis – 77 percent – say they personally never have had any encounter with coalition forces. Those who’ve had such encounters divide on the experience: about half call it a positive encounter; half, negative.

POLITICS – Politically, the survey finds that Iraqis overwhelmingly want their nation to remain united and centralized – 79 percent say so, compared with 14 percent who prefer a federated group of regional states, and four percent who want the country broken into separate nations. Among Iraqi Kurds, federated regional states – but not fully independent ones – are preferred.

Preferences for Iraq’s future governance

	All	Arabs	Kurds
Unified country, central government in Baghdad	79%	90%	26%
Regional states with a federal government	14	5	58
Divide into separate independent states	4	2	12

There is relatively little support for a religious theocracy – it’s low on the list of preferred forms of government.

In one change from the first national poll in Iraq by Oxford Research International last fall, more now call for a “single strong Iraqi leader” – 47 percent say one will be needed a year from now, up from 27 percent previously. That’s more than say “an Iraqi democracy” will be needed, now 28 percent (essentially unchanged).

This interest in a strong leader (not necessarily an undemocratic one) seems based in security concerns. In an open-ended follow-up, references to “freedom” dominate support

for democracy, while those who express support for a single strong leader are more apt to cite the need for security and order in their country.

Iraq's needs for governance

	In 1 year	In 5 years
Single strong Iraqi leader	47%	35%
Iraqi democracy	28	42
Government of religious leaders	10	10
Group of strong Iraqi leaders	3	3
Government of experts/managers	2	2
Iraqi Governing Council	2	*
UN transition government	1	1
Government of Iraqi military leaders	1	*
Coalition Provisional Authority	1	1

In another question, without a time frame mentioned, democracy wins more support than two other options – a strong leader, but one who rules “for life”; or an Islamic state. Forty-nine percent choose democracy, 28 percent a “strong leader” and 21 percent an Islamic state.

Preferred political system

Democracy	49%
Strong leader “for life”	28
Islamic state	21

As noted, more Iraqis express interest in politics – 54 percent, up from 39 percent in November – and 31 percent say their interest in politics has increased in the past year, three times the number who say it’s decreased. Women are more apt than men to express interest in politics, though it’s up among both groups.

FRAGMENTATION – But other results suggest a level of political fragmentation that may challenge the country’s political development, and throws into some question the notion of early elections. Despite interest in a strong leader, six in 10 Iraqis can’t name a single national leader they trust (though even more can’t name one they specifically mistrust).

Sixty-one percent express little or no trust in political parties, and nearly seven in 10 don’t identify themselves with any party. The only parties that emerge with more than minimal support are either Islamist or Kurdish; respondents named more than 25 individual parties, but most had less than one percent support. (All were volunteered in response to an open-ended question.)

Political party support

Islamic Al-Dawa Party	14%
Kurdistan Democratic Party (PKK)	11
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)	10

Iraqi Islamic Party	6
Higher Council of Islamic Revolution	5
All other individual mentions	2 or fewer

Three-quarters say joining a political party is something they “would never, under any circumstances, do”; indeed after decades of repression, more than a third, 36 percent, say that simply talking with other people about politics is something they would never do.

	Have done	Might do	Would never do
Talk with others about politics	46%	15	36
Vote in elections	17	62	18
Join a political party	5	13	75
Take action like demonstrating	5	19	70
Use violence/force if needed	*	12	82

Choices also are fragmented when Iraqis are asked which national leader they “trust the most”– more than 40 individual answers, each with few mentions. Only five received mentions from more than three percent:

- Ibrahim Al-Jaferi, eight percent (main spokesman for the Islamic Dawa Party);
- Massoud Barzani, six percent (leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party);
- Jalal Talabani, six percent (leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan);
- Sayyid Al-Sistani, five percent (the country’s leading Shiite cleric, sometimes described as the most powerful man in Iraq); and
- Adnan Pachachi, four percent (foreign minister in the government deposed by Saddam Hussein in 1968, he founded the Independent Democratic Movement last month.)

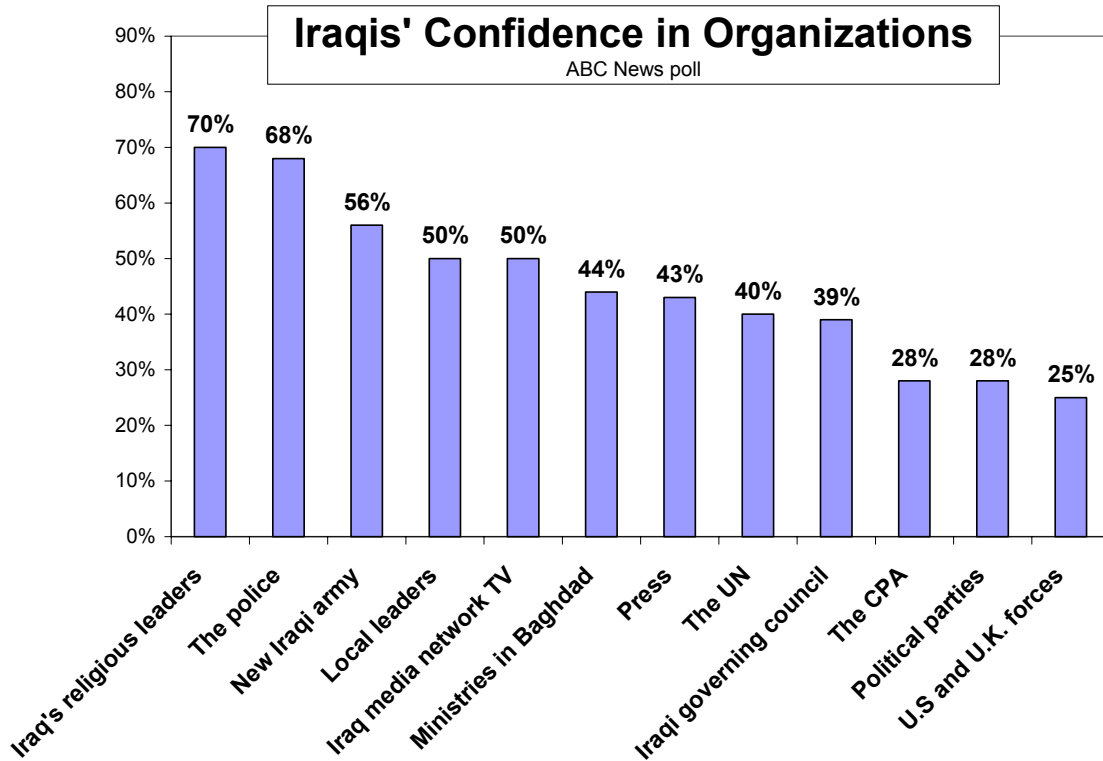
One figure, meanwhile, was cited by 10 percent as a leader they “don’t trust at all” – Ahmed Chalabi, former leader of the London-based Iraqi National Congress, now a member of the Iraqi Governing Council.

TRUST – In terms of confidence in institutions, the gainers, as noted, are the Iraqi police – 68 percent express trust in it, up from 45 percent in November – and the Iraqi army, with 56 percent trust, up from 39 percent in the fall.

Confidence (not necessarily in political terms) peaks at 70 percent for “religious leaders.” No other institutions receive majority trust; notable are the IGC, at 39 percent, the CPA, at 28 percent; and the U.S. and U.K. forces, at 25 percent.

	% confident
Religious leaders	70%
The police	68
New Iraqi Army	56
Local leaders in your community	50
Iraqi Media Network TV	50
Ministries in Baghdad	44
The press	43

The United Nations	40
The (Iraqi Governing) Council	39
The CPA	28
Political parties	28
US and UK occupation forces	25



MODEL – Few Iraqis see non-Arab nations as a model for their country – just six percent cite the United States, five percent Japan – but many more want those nations to play a role in rebuilding Iraq. Among top mentions, 36 percent say the United States should play a role in rebuilding the country, 36 percent Japan, 22 percent the United Kingdom, 22 percent France, and 17 percent Germany.

Again in terms of a model for the country, 24 percent say it doesn't need one. The only other mention above single digits is the United Arab Emirates, a primarily Sunni federation of largely independent city-states (it was cited by 26 percent of Sunnis compared with 15 percent of Shia Muslims, but was top-ranked, by far, in both groups.)

RELIGION – In religious terms, 96 percent of Iraqis are Muslim. In this poll 40 percent identified themselves as Sunni Muslim, 33 percent as Shia, and 23 percent did not cite an affiliation within Islam. Given the potential of sectarian strife and history of repression, there may be reluctance to discuss religious matters in Iraq; just 55 percent say they had even heard of "Iraq's religious leaders," in aggregate. Of those who say they had heard of them, 81 percent of Shia Muslims expressed confidence in these leaders, compared with 57 percent of Sunnis.

In another difference, 92 percent of Shiites prefer a unified Iraq with its central government in Baghdad, compared with two-thirds of Sunnis. And a quarter of Sunnis called attacks on coalition forces acceptable, compared with 11 percent of Shiites.

DEMOGRAPHICS – The poll also paints a compelling demographic portrait of the Iraqi people. In just 20 percent of Iraqi households does the main breadwinner hold a full-time, outside job; 58 percent are self-employed. Average household income is the equivalent of \$164 per month, for an average of eight people per household.

Eighty-one percent of households have a refrigerator; 44 percent, an air conditioner (the average daily high temperature in Baghdad in August is 108 degrees); 44 percent, a washing machine; 37 percent, a telephone; 21 percent, a still camera. There are disparities across regions, with the south of the country substantially poorer.

The poll was conducted among Iraqis age 15 and up; those under age 18 accounted for 10 percent of the total sample (their attitudes are not strikingly different from their elders'). Iraq is a young country: Sixty-six percent of Iraqis 15 and up are under age 35, compared with 36 percent of Americans age 15 and up.

METHODOLOGY - This poll was conducted for ABC News, ARD, the BBC and NHK by Oxford Research International of Oxford, England. Interviews were conducted in person, in Arabic and Kurdish, among a random national sample of 2,737 Iraqis age 15 and up from Feb. 9-28, 2004. The results have a two-point error margin.

Analysis by Gary Langer.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com on the Internet at:
<http://abcnews.go.com/sections/us/PollVault/PollVault.html>

Media contact: Cathie Levine, (212) 456-4934, or Lisa Finkel, (212) 456-6190.

Results follow.

*= less than 0.5 percent.

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
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
2/28/04	70	13	57	29	14	15	1

2. Compared to a year ago, I mean before the war in Spring 2003, are things overall in your life much better now, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse?

	-----Better-----			About	-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	the same	NET	Somewhat	Much	op.
2/28/04	56	22	35	23	19	13	6	2

3. What is your expectation for how things overall in your life will be in a year from now - will they be much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse?

	-----Better-----			About	-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	the same	NET	Somewhat	Much	op.
2/28/04	71	37	34	9	7	3	3	13

4. What is the single biggest problem you are facing in your life these days?

	2/28/04
Lack of security/stability	22
No job	12
Rising prices	9
Housing problems	4
Poor electricity supply	4
Poor public services	4
Poor living standard	4
Terrorist attacks	2
Academic problems	2
Personal problems	2
Health problems	1
Family problems	1
The occupation	1
Uncertainty about political future of Iraq	1
Persecution/imprisonment	1
Chaos	*
No independence for Kurdistan	*
Social problems	*
Ethnic/religious tensions	*
Other	2
None	18
No opinion	8

5. From today's perspective and all things considered, was it absolutely right, somewhat right, somewhat wrong or absolutely wrong that US led coalition forces invaded Iraq in Spring 2003?

	-----Right-----			-----Wrong-----			No
	NET	Absolutely	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Absolutely	op.
2/28/04	48	20	29	39	13	26	13

6. Apart from right and wrong, do you feel the US led coalition force invasion (humiliated Iraq) or (liberated Iraq)?

	Humiliated	Liberated	No opin.
2/28/04	41	42	17

7a. I would like to ask you about today's conditions in the village/neighborhood where you live. How would you rate the following using very good, quite good, quite bad or very bad?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	-----Good-----			-----Bad-----			No op./
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	Not app.
a. The security situation	49	20	29	50	21	29	1
b. The availability of jobs	26	7	19	69	23	46	6
c. The supply of electricity	35	8	27	64	28	37	1

your household's basic needs	75	42	33	10	3	2	1	12
j. Your family's protection from crime	75	42	33	11	4	2	2	11

8. I am going to read some ideas about priorities for the next 12 months. Please tell me which one is your first priority, your second priority and your third priority. Also, please tell me which one you think is no priority at all.

2/28/04 - Summary table

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
a. Regaining public security in the country	85	64	13	7	0
b. Ensuring that oil production increases	13	2	7	4	3
c. Reviving the economy	28	3	15	10	1
d. Dealing with the members of the previous government	2	1	1	*	62
e. Rebuilding the infrastructure (electricity, water supply, telephone, etc.)	55	7	29	19	*
f. Ensuring that most people in this country can make a decent living	30	4	9	17	*
g. Regaining Iraqi control over governing this country	17	3	5	8	1
h. Rebuilding the education system	10	1	4	6	*
i. Ensuring that Iraq could not be attacked from the outside	7	1	2	4	1
j. Ensuring that religious ideals are followed	16	3	5	7	2
k. Holding elections for national gov't	30	8	9	13	1
l. Seeing that people have more say about how things are done in their communities	3	1	1	2	2
No opinion	4	1	1	2	27

Trend where available:

a. Regaining public security in the country

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	85	64	13	7	3
11/15/03	83	67	10	6	*

b. Ensuring that oil production increases

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	13	2	7	4	1
11/15/03	13	4	6	3	3

c. Reviving the economy

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	28	3	15	10	1
11/15/03	26	4	13	8	1

d. Dealing with the members of the previous government

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	2	1	1	*	62
11/15/03	1	*	*	*	77

e. Rebuilding the infrastructure (electricity, water supply, telephone, etc.)

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	55	7	29	19	*
11/15/03	57	9	32	16	*

f. Ensuring that most people in this country can make a decent living

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	30	4	9	17	*
11/15/03	38	4	15	20	*

g. Regaining Iraqi control over governing this country

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	17	3	5	8	1
11/15/03	28	5	9	14	*

h. Rebuilding the education system

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	10	1	4	6	*
11/15/03	16	2	4	10	*

i. Ensuring that Iraq could not be attacked from the outside

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	7	1	2	4	1
11/15/03	14	1	3	10	1

j. Ensuring that religious ideals are followed

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
2/28/04	16	3	5	7	2
11/15/03	22	5	6	11	2

k, l. No trend.

9. [If mentioned at least one priority, Q8) Who should take care of (read first priority mentioned, Q8)? Who should take care of (read second priority mentioned, Q8)? Who should take care of (read third priority mentioned, Q8)?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	-----Priority-----		
	First	Second	Third
Army/Police/Interior Ministry	7	3	2
Coalition forces	5	4	3
Coalition forces and Iraqi gov't	*	*	*
CPA	1	*	1
Educated people/Experts	*	*	*

Governing council	5	6	4
Iraq	*	*	1
Iraqi government	33	38	36
Iraqi government and people	*	*	*
Iraqi people	17	14	15
Iraqi president	1	1	1
Local government	1	*	*
Political parties	1	1	1
Regional government/Leaders	1	*	*
Religious leaders	3	2	2
United Nations	1	1	2
United States	8	7	7
Other	1	1	2
No opinion	16	20	25

10. Considering everything, which country could serve as a model for Iraq in the coming years? If you think Iraq needs no model, please tell me so.

2/28/04

Bahrain	*
Egypt	1
France	2
Germany	2
Iran	3
Japan	5
Jordan	*
Kuwait	6
Lebanon	1
Qatar	*
Russia	*
Saudi Arabia	4
Syria	1
United Arab Emirates	21
United Kingdom	2
United States	6
European Union	*
Denmark	*
Sweden	1
Switzerland	2
Other	2
Iraq needs no model	24
No opinion	16

11. Which countries/organizations should play a role in the rebuilding of Iraq? You may mention up to three countries/organizations in order of importance

2/28/04 - Summary table

	-----Mentions-----			
	NET	First	Second	Third
Algeria	*	*	*	*
Bahrain	1	*	*	1
Egypt	3	1	1	1
France	22	6	9	6
Germany	17	4	6	7
Iran	4	2	1	1
Israel	*	*	*	*
Japan	36	20	8	8
Jordan	3	1	1	1
Kuwait	7	3	2	2
Lebanon	2	*	1	1

Libya	*	*	*	*
Morocco	*	*	*	*
Oman	*	*	*	*
Qatar	1	*	*	1
Russia	6	1	2	2
Saudi Arabia	8	2	3	2
Syria	4	1	1	1
Tunisia	*	*	*	*
Turkey	1	*	*	1
United Arab Emirates	9	4	2	3
United Kingdom	22	4	13	5
United States	36	20	9	6
Arab League	1	*	1	*
European Union	2	*	1	1
Red Cross	*	*	*	*
Relief Organizations	*	*	*	*
United Nations	6	4	1	1
UNICEF	1	1	1	*
Aruba	1	*	*	*
China	2	*	1	1
Italy	1	*	1	*
South Korea	1	*	*	*
Spain	1	*	*	1
Sweden	*	*	*	*
Switzerland	1	*	*	1
Yemen	*	*	*	*
Other	4	1	1	2
None	6	6	2	4
No opinion	16	16	28	38

12. Which countries/organizations should not play a role in the rebuilding of Iraq? You may mention up to three countries/organizations in order of importance

2/28/04 - Summary table

	-----Mentions-----			
	NET	First	Second	Third
Afghanistan	1	*	*	*
Algeria	1	*	*	*
Bahrain	1	*	1	*
Egypt	9	4	3	2
France	4	2	1	1
Germany	2	*	1	1
Iran	19	7	8	5
Israel	37	23	8	6
Japan	1	*	*	*
Jordan	11	3	3	5
Kuwait	17	6	5	5
Lebanon	1	*	*	*
Libya	1	*	*	*
Oman	*	*	*	*
Pakistan	*	*	*	*
Qatar	1	*	*	*
Russia	6	3	2	2
Saudi Arabia	5	1	2	2
Syria	13	4	5	4
Tunisia	*	*	*	*
Turkey	13	6	4	4
United Arab Emirates	*	*	*	*
United Kingdom	12	2	6	4
United States	14	8	4	2
United Nations	*	*	*	*

Australia	*	*	*	*
China	1	*	*	*
Italy	*	*	*	*
North Korea	*	*	*	*
Spain	*	*	*	*
Yemen	1	*	*	*
Other	3	1	1	2
None	7	7	3	4
No opinion	23	23	39	49

13. Which national leader in Iraq, if any, do you trust the most? And, if any, which one do you not trust at all?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	Trust most	Don't trust at all
Abdel-Aziz Al-Hakim	3	2
Adnan Pachachi	4	1
Ahmed Chalabi	*	10
Ali Hassan Majeed	0	*
Bahr Uloom	*	*
Cosrat Rassul	*	0
Ibrahim Al-Jaafari	8	*
Salahuddin Bahauddin	*	*
Jalal Talabani	6	1
King Ghazi	*	0
Massoud Barzani	6	*
Mouwafak Al-Rabii	*	1
Muhsin Abdul Hameed	2	*
Muqtada Sadir	1	*
Saddam Hussein	3	3
Sharif Ben Hussein	1	0
Sayyid Al-Sistani	5	1
Osama bin Laden	0	*
Mishaan Jibbory	0	*
Sultan Hashim	1	0
Sheikh Fawaz	*	0
Mohammed Doori	*	0
Unadim Yousif Kana	*	0
Kareem Mahmood	*	*
Al Hawza	*	0
Noori Abdulla Tahir	*	0
Tariq Aziz	*	0
Ayad Alawi	*	1
Hushiar Zebari	*	*
Falah Hassan Naqeeb	*	0
Saad Mahir Ahmed	*	0
Ayad Jalaluddin	*	0
Adnan Thabit Bukanan	*	0
Jamal Abdul Nassir	*	0
Naji Sabri Hadeethi	*	0
Mohammed Saeed Sahaf	*	0
Moamar Qathafi	*	0
Majeed Hameed Moussa	*	0
Abid	0	*
Yasser Arafat	0	*
Mahmoud Othman	0	*
George W. Bush	0	*
Members of previous regime	*	*
Governing council	0	*
Any Kurdish leader	*	0
Any Shia leader	*	*

Baath party	0	*
Religious parties	*	*
Other	*	*
None	22	27
No opinion	37	50

14a. I am going to read a number of organizations. For each one, could you please tell me if you have heard of them or not.

2/28/04 - Summary table

	Heard	Not heard
a. Iraq's religious leaders	55	45
b. New Iraqi Army	90	10
c. The (Iraqi Governing) Council	96	4
d. Ministries in Baghdad	87	13
e. The police	99	1
f. The CPA	95	5
g. The United Nations	98	2
h. Political parties	94	6
i. US and UK occupation forces	99	1
j. Iraqi Media Network TV	94	6
l. Local leaders in your community	65	35
m. Press	76	24

14b. (IF HEARD OF, Q14A) How much confidence do you have in (INSERT ITEM) - is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op.
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	
a. Iraq's religious leaders	70	42	28	21	13	9	8
b. New Iraqi Army	56	18	38	35	25	10	9
c. The (Iraqi Governing) Council	39	11	28	53	27	26	8
d. Ministries in Baghdad	44	11	33	45	30	15	11
e. The police	68	26	41	28	20	8	4
f. The CPA	28	8	20	62	27	35	10
g. The United Nations	40	14	27	51	26	26	8
h. Political parties	28	7	21	61	25	36	11
i. US and UK occupation forces	25	8	17	66	23	43	8
j. Iraqi Media Network TV	50	13	37	40	24	16	10
k. Local leaders in your community	50	17	34	38	22	16	12
l. Press	43	12	31	46	28	18	11

Trend where available:

a. Iraq's religious leaders

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op.
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	
2/28/04	70	42	28	21	13	9	8

Compare to (asked of all respondents, not just heard of):

11/15/03	63	38	25	27	17	10	9
----------	----	----	----	----	----	----	---

b. New Iraqi Army

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op.
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	

2/28/04	56	18	38	35	25	10	9
---------	----	----	----	----	----	----	---

Compare to:

11/15/03	39	13	25	45	29	16	17
----------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

c. The (Iraqi Governing) Council

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	39	11	28	53	27	26	8

Compare to:

11/15/03	44	14	30	46	25	22	9
----------	----	----	----	----	----	----	---

d. Ministries in Baghdad

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	44	11	33	45	30	15	11

Compare to:

11/15/03	41	12	29	44	28	17	14
----------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

e. The police

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	68	26	41	28	20	8	4

Compare to:

11/15/03	45	18	28	45	30	15	10
----------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

f. The CPA

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	28	8	20	62	27	35	10

Compare to:

11/15/03	23	6	17	64	26	38	12
----------	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

g. The United Nations

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	40	14	27	51	26	26	8

Compare to:

11/15/03	31	11	20	59	26	33	10
----------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

h. Political parties

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	28	7	21	61	25	36	11

Compare to:

11/15/03	19	5	14	66	28	38	15
----------	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

i. US and UK occupation forces

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.

2/28/04 25 8 17 66 23 43 8

Compare to:

11/15/03 19 7 12 71 20 52 9

j. Iraqi Media Network TV

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	50	13	37	40	24	16	10

Compare to:

11/15/03 39 10 29 40 22 18 21

k. Local leaders in your community

	----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No
	NET	Gt. deal	Lot	NET	Not much	None	op.
2/28/04	50	17	34	38	22	16	12

Compare to:

11/15/03 44 19 26 38 21 17 18

l. No trend.

15a. People have different ideas about what Iraq needs at this time. How about you - how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
a. A (single) strong Iraqi leader	81	66	15	14	5	9	5
b. A group of strong Iraqi leaders	53	24	29	39	17	21	8
c. The Coalition Provisional Authority	32	10	22	58	21	37	10
d. A gov't made up mainly of religious leaders	53	27	26	40	16	24	7
e. A gov't made up mainly of Iraqi military leaders	34	11	23	58	20	37	8
f. A UN transition government	39	15	24	51	18	33	10
g. An Iraqi democracy	86	72	14	9	4	5	5
h. An Iraqi gov't made up of experts and/or managers, not politicians	67	35	32	23	12	11	10
i. The (Iraqi Governing) Council	45	16	28	44	16	28	11

Trend:

a. A (single) strong Iraqi leader

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	81	66	15	14	5	9	5
11/15/03	67	50	16	27	14	13	7

b. A group of strong Iraqi leaders

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	53	24	29	39	17	21	8
11/15/03	42	16	25	49	31	19	9

c. The Coalition Provisional Authority

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	32	10	22	58	21	37	10
11/15/03	32	8	24	56	31	25	12

d. A gov't made up mainly of religious leaders

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	53	27	26	40	16	24	7
11/15/03	56	29	28	37	24	13	7

e. A gov't made up mainly of Iraqi military leaders

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	34	11	23	58	20	37	8
11/15/03	24	6	18	68	38	30	8

f. A UN transition government

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	39	15	24	51	18	33	10
11/15/03	42	15	27	49	28	21	9

g. An Iraqi democracy

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	86	72	14	9	4	5	5
11/15/03	85	65	20	9	7	2	6

h. An Iraqi gov't made up of experts and/or managers, not politicians

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	67	35	32	23	12	11	10
11/15/03	63	27	36	27	18	9	11

i. The (Iraqi Governing) Council

	-----Agree-----			----Disagree---			No
	NET	Strgly	Some	NET	Some	Strgly	op.
2/28/04	45	16	28	44	16	28	11
11/15/03	55	20	35	34	17	17	10

15b. (and 15c) What do you think Iraq needs in 12 months time? What do you think Iraq needs in five years time?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
a. A (single) strong Iraqi leader	47	35
b. A group of strong Iraqi leaders	3	3
c. The Coalition Provisional Authority	1	1
d. A gov't made up mainly of religious leaders	10	10

e. A gov't made up mainly of Iraqi military leaders	1	*
f. A UN transition government	1	1
g. An Iraqi democracy	28	42
h. An Iraqi gov't made up of experts and/or managers, not politicians	2	2
i. The (Iraqi Governing) Council	2	*
No opinion	5	6

Trend:

a. A (single) strong Iraqi leader

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	47	35
11/15/03	27	27

b. A group of strong Iraqi leaders

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	3	3
11/15/03	3	3

c. The Coalition Provisional Authority

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	1	1
11/15/03	1	*

d. A gov't made up mainly of religious leaders

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	10	10
11/15/03	11	11

e. A gov't made up mainly of Iraqi military leaders

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	1	*
11/15/03	*	*

f. A UN transition government

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	1	1
11/15/03	5	1

g. An Iraqi democracy

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	28	42
11/15/03	32	38

h. An Iraqi gov't made up of experts and/or managers, not politicians

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	2	2
11/15/03	5	5

i. The (Iraqi Governing) Council

	Needs in 12 months	Needs in five years
2/28/04	2	*
11/15/03	8	3

15d. Can you tell me the [single] reason for your choice (in Q15c)?

	2/28/04
Dictatorship/autocratic rule is no good	2
Iraq isn't ready for democracy/elections	*
Iraq needs a federal system	*
Iraqis know best	*
For avoiding violence	1
It follows God's guidance	3
It guarantees equality and justice	5
It guarantees freedom	16
It guarantees security/peace	10
It guarantees rights of all national/religious groups	2
It improves the situation/brings progress	2
It's gov't by the people for the people	2
It's the best system	3
It provides unity	6
Politicians are bad	*
We want/need it/them	2
We need strong people to do things	2
For improving economic situation	*
To avoid discrimination	1
To take control of the country	7
To make Iraq stronger/to rebuild Iraq	1
To make life better	1
To protect Iraq	1
To run/lead the country	4
To solve problems	1
To get rid of foreign occupation	*
To avoid clashes/power struggles	*
People trust him/her/them	1
They know best	2
To represent the will of people	2
To have a president/gov't/leader chosen by people	1
Other	2
No opinion	23

16. In designing a new political order for Iraq, which of the following would be most important? Which one would be second most important? Which one would be third most important? And which one would be least important?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	First	Second	Third	Least
a. A broad government which includes representatives from all major social, ethnic and religious groups	31	30	20	10

b. A strong government which can do what it thinks best for the country, even if that risks upsetting certain people	24	21	21	25
c. A liberal government which allows people to live without much interference by the state	20	26	29	16
d. A government which follows religious ideals	17	14	22	38
No opinion	8	9	9	10

17. (If ANSWERED A, B, D, E, G in Q15b) There can be differences between the way government is set up in a country, called political system, and the type of people who run that system, called actors. From the six options I am going to read to you, please choose one system and one type of actors.

A. System	2/28/04
Strong leader: a government headed by one man for life	28
Islamic state: where politicians rule according to religious principles	21
Democracy: a government with a chance for the leader(s) to be replaced from time to time	49
No opinion	4
B. Actors	
Democrats: politicians elected by the population	55
Religious politicians: politicians who are religious authorities	14
Strong leader: a politician who takes power	27
No opinion	4
System: Strong leader; Actors: Democrats	7
System: Strong leader; Actors: Religious politician	1
System: Strong leader; Actors: Strong Leader	19
System: Strong leader; Actors: No opinion	1
System: Islamic state; Actors: Democrats	6
System: Islamic state; Actors: Religious politician	11
System: Islamic state; Actors: Strong Leader	3
System: Islamic state; Actors: No opinion	*
System: Democracy; Actors: Democrats	42
System: Democracy; Actors: Religious politician	1
System: Democracy; Actors: Strong Leader	5
System: Democracy; Actors: No opinion	0
System: No opinion; Actors: Democrats	1
System: No opinion; Actors: Religious politician	0
System: No opinion; Actors: Strong Leader	*
System: No opinion; Actors: No opinion	3

18. Irrespective of whether you would like democracy for Iraq or not, what would you say is the most important component of a democracy? What else? What else?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	-----Components-----			
	NET	First	Second	Third
Better life	2	*	1	*
Civil society	2	1	1	*
(Fair) elections	15	7	6	2
Equality	5	1	3	2

Issues of freedom	47	34	9	3
Responding to people's needs	3	1	1	1
Gov't by the people for the people	3	1	1	1
Human rights	1	*	*	*
Independence	2	1	1	*
Jobs	1	*	1	*
Justice	8	3	3	2
Multi-party system	2	1	1	*
Parliament	3	2	1	1
Security/stability	8	3	4	1
Unity of Iraq	1	1	*	*
Other	15	4	6	4
Don't know any/no further component	10	10	6	5
No opinion	30	30	54	77

19. And what would you say is definitively not a component of a democracy?

	2/28/04
Appointed gov't (not elected)	1
Dictatorship/autocracy	15
Extremism	1
Freedom without certain limits	1
Ignoring people's opinions	1
Injustice and exploitation	5
No freedom	2
No security	1
Occupation and foreign control	1
Racism	1
No division between state and religion	1
Terrorism	3
Rigged/unfair elections	2
Political violence	3
Fear	*
Corruption	1
Other	4
Don't know any	23
No opinion	34

20. Which structure should Iraq have in future?

	2/28/04
One unified Iraq with central government in Baghdad	79
A group of regional states with their own regional governments and a federal government in Baghdad	14
Dividing the country into separate independent states	4
No opinion	3

21. How interested would you say you are in politics?

	-----Interested-----			-----Not interested-----			No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Not very	Not at all	opin.
2/28/04	54	17	36	41	22	20	5
11/15/03	39	14	25	57	24	33	4

22. Over the past 12 months, would you say your interest in political matters has increased, stayed the same or decreased?

	Increased	Stayed the same	Decreased	No opin.
2/28/04	31	48	10	11
11/15/03	21	55	11	14

23. Now I would like you to look at this card. I am going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I would like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never, under any circumstances, do it.

2/28/04 - Summary table

	Have Done	Might do	Would never do	No op.
a. Talking with other people about politics	46	15	36	3
b. Voting at elections	17	62	18	2
c. Joining a political party or citizens' action group	5	13	75	6
d. Taking action such as demonstrating	5	19	70	5
e. Using violence or force if it becomes necessary	*	12	82	6

Trend:

a. Talking with other people about politics

	Have Done	Might do	Would never do	No op.
2/28/04	46	15	36	3
11/15/03	37	18	40	5

b. Voting at elections

	Have Done	Might do	Would never do	No op.
2/28/04	17	62	18	2
11/15/03	32	38	26	4

c. Joining a political party or citizens' action group

	Have Done	Might do	Would never do	No op.
2/28/04	5	13	75	6
11/15/03	8	14	72	6

d. Taking action such as demonstrating

	Have Done	Might do	Would never do	No op.
2/28/04	5	19	70	5
11/15/03	6	23	65	6

e. Using violence or force if it becomes necessary

	Have Done	Might do	Would never do	No op.
2/28/04	*	12	82	6
11/15/03	2	17	74	7

24a and 24b. (IF HAVE HEARD OF POLITICAL PARTIES, Q14, AND HAVE OR WOULD VOTE AT ELECTIONS, Q23) As you may know, there are now a variety of political parties in Iraq. Please tell me which one you would vote for in a national election. And, which party/parties would you never vote for?

2/28/04 - Summary table

	--Would vote for--		Would never vote for
	2/28/04	11/15/03	2/28/04
Iraqi Democratic National Movement	1	1	*
Higher Council of Islamic Revolution	5	5	2
Iraqi Communist Party	1	1	11
Iraqi Islamic Party	6	2	1
Islamic Al-Dawa Party	14	5	4
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)	10	3	1
Kurdistan Democratic Party (PDK)	11	7	*
The Movement of Free Officers	*	*	0
National Alliance Movement	0	*	*
Wifaq National Movement	*	1	1
Al-Baath Party	2	*	9
Allah Party	1	*	1
Al-Taliah Party	*	*	*
Ashurian Democratic Party	1	*	*
Ashurian Union	*	*	*
Al-Bajaje Party	*	*	0
Constitutional Monarchy Movement	*	*	*
Democratic National Party	1	*	*
Followers of Al-Said Mohammed			
Sadiq Al-Sadir	1	0	1
Al-adalah wal tanimiah Al-Iraqi Party	*	0	0
Islamic Union Party	2	*	2
Kildan Ashurian Party	*	*	*
Kurdistan Islamic Union (Yagerto)	*	*	*
Liberal Democratic Party	0	*	*
National Coalition Movement	0	*	*
National Iraqi Conference Party	*	1	2
National Iraqi Movement	*	*	1
Socialist Al-Nassiry Party	*	*	0
Turkmen Front Party	*	*	1
Turkmen Islamic Party	*	0	*
Zahmatkeshan	*	*	0
Other	1	1	1
No opinion/Refused	70	71	60

25. (IF HAVE HEARD OF ITEM, Q14A) Now that you have told me about your political action, I would like to ask you what you find acceptable or not acceptable about the political action of other people.

2/28/04 - Summary table

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	No op.
a. Attacks on coalition forces (soldiers, vehicles, buildings, helicopters etc.)	17	78	5
b. Attacks on the CPA	14	82	5
c. Attacks on foreigners working alongside the CPA	10	86	4
d. Attacks on Iraqis who work for the CPA	5	93	3
e. Attacks on foreigners who work for the UN and similar international humanitarian organizations	4	93	3
f. Attacks on Iraqis who work for the UN and similar international humanitarian organizations	3	95	2
g. Attacks on the New Iraqi police	1	97	2

26. (IF HAVE HEARD OF THE COALITION FORCES, Q14A) Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the presence of Coalition Forces in Iraq?

	-----Support-----			-----Oppose-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	op.
2/28/04	39	13	26	51	20	31	10

27. (IF HAVE HEARD OF THE COALITION FORCES, Q14A) If you have had personally any encounters with Coalition Force soldiers, was your last encounter very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative or very negative?

	-----Positive-----			-----Negative-----			No	No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Very	encounter	op.
2/28/04	9	4	6	8	2	6	77	5

AMONG THOSE WHO'VE HAD AN ENCOUNTER WITH COALITION FORCES:

	-----Positive-----			-----Negative-----			No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Very	op.
2/28/04	41	16	26	37	11	26	21

28. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think it would be very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective or not at all effective in improving security.

2/28/04 - Summary table

	---Effective---			---Not effective---			No	
	NET	Very	Some	NET	Not	Very	Not	opin.
a. Creating job opportunities for the unemployed	96	91	5	1	1	*	2	
b. Training and hiring more Iraqi local police	93	77	17	3	2	1	3	
c. Transferring all political authority to an Iraqi gov't	87	68	19	6	4	2	7	
d. Retraining and rehiring military officers and soldiers from the old regime	61	40	21	31	10	21	8	
e. Increasing foot patrols of U.S. and coalition forces in Iraqi neighborhoods	46	25	21	43	15	28	11	
f. Immediate departure of coalition forces	43	30	13	44	14	30	13	
g. Giving more authority to independent neighborhood militias	42	23	19	42	11	31	16	

29. (IF HAVE HEARD OF THE COALITION FORCES, Q14A) How long do you think U.S. and other Coalition Forces should remain in Iraq?

	Leave Now	Few mos.	6 mos. to a yr.	More than a year	Until security is restored	Until Iraqi gov't in place	Never (vol.)	No op.
2/28/04	15	8	6	4	18	36	2	11

Demographics:

	2/28/04	11/15/03
Sex:		
Men	50	51
Women	50	49

Age:		
15-24	39	35
25-34	26	28
35-44	16	17
45-54	10	10
55-64	5	6
65-74	2	3
75+	1	1

Marital status:	
Single	45
Married	52
Separated/Divorced	1
Widowed	3

Household size:	
1-4	16
5-7	37
8-10	26
11+	21
Average, 8	

Education:	
None	15
Primary	31
Secondary	31
Tertiary	23

Employment status:	
Employed	14
Full-time	11
Part-time	3
Self employed	21
Not working	47
Student	17

Last job:	
Legislators,	
Senior officials,	
Managers	1
Professionals	5
Technicians	4
Clerks	4
Service workers,	
Sales	7
Agriculture	6
Craft, trades	5
Plant/machine	
Operators	4
Elementary	5
Never worked	60

Employment type:	
Civil service/ Public sector	22
Public sector state-owned enterprise	18
Private sector enterprise	3
Int'l organization	1
Producer/service cooperative	1

Work in someone else's home	1
Own account worker	54

Native language:

Arabic	79
Kurdish	17
Persian	*
Turkmen	2
Assyrian	1
Turkish	*
Russian	*
Other	*

Language spoken at home:

Arabic	79
Kurdish	17
Persian	*
Turkmen	2
Assyrian	1
Turkish	*
English	*
Russian	*
Other	*

Monthly income:

	2/28/04	11/15/03
Up to \$50	19	22
\$51-100	22	30
\$101-150	27	23
\$151-200	8	11
\$201-300	16	8
\$301-500	7	5
\$501+	3	2

Household items:

Air conditioner	44
Animals for work or food production	20
Bicycle/Tricycle	12
Car	43
Electric cooker	47
Electric fan	92
Electric iron	68
Farm machinery	13
Freezer	48
Gas cooker	67
Heater	94
Motorbike/Moped/ Motortricycle	4
Refrigerator	81
Still camera	21
Telephone (fixed line)	30
Mobile telephone	6
Video recorder/VCD/ DVD	36
Washing machine	44
Other electrical kitchen appliances	38
None	*

Up to four NET	20
Any 5-9 NET	44
Any 10-14 NET	32
Any 15-19 NET	4

Nationality:

	2/28/04	11/15/03
Arab	79	73
Kurdish	17	22
Assyrian	1	3
Turkmen	2	1
Other	1	1

Religion:

	2/28/04	11/15/03
Muslim	96	93
Shia	33	
Sunnii	40	
Non-denom.	23	
Christian	3	5
Other	1	2

Region:

Kurdistan	14
Central	29
Baghdad	28
South	29

Locale:

Baghdad	22
Governorate	
capital	18
Other urban	29
Village	30

11/15/03 data from ORI. Undecideds percentaged in by ABC News.

END