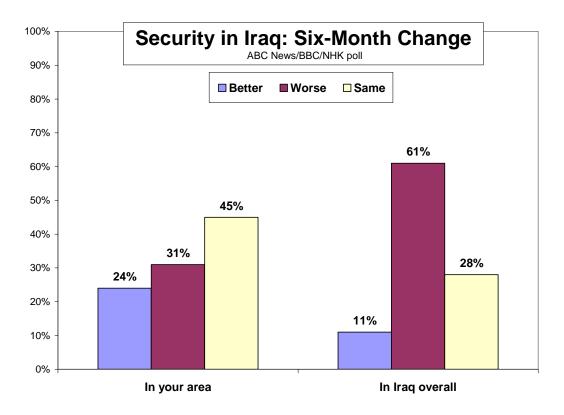
Iraqis' Own Surge Assessment: Few See Security Gains

Barely a quarter of Iraqis say their security has improved in the past six months, a negative assessment of the surge in U.S. forces that reflects worsening public attitudes across a range of measures, even as authorities report some progress curtailing violence.

Apart from a few scattered gains, a new national survey by ABC News, the BBC and the Japanese broadcaster NHK finds deepening dissatisfaction with conditions in Iraq, lower ratings for the national government and growing rejection of the U.S. role there.

More Iraqis say security in their local area has gotten worse in the last six months than say it's gotten better, 31 percent to 24 percent, with the rest reporting no change. Far more, six in 10, say security in the country overall has worsened since the surge began, while just one in 10 sees improvement.

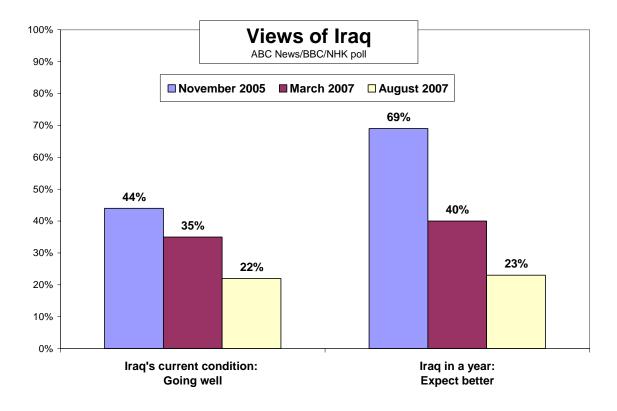


More directly assessing the surge itself – a measure that necessarily includes views of the United States, which are highly negative – 65 to 70 percent of Iraqis say it's worsened rather than improved security, political stability and the pace of redevelopment alike.

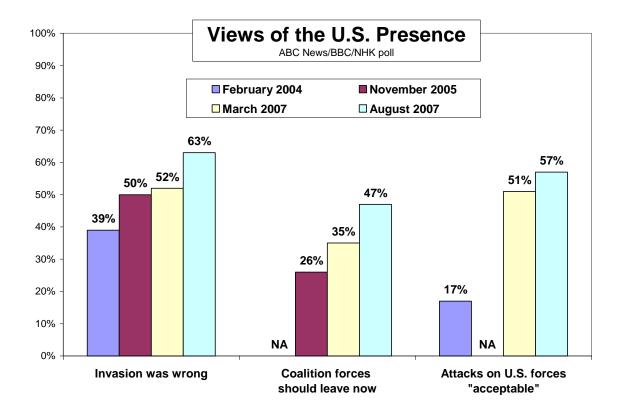
There are some improvements, but they're sparse and inconsistent. Thirty-eight percent in Anbar province, a focal point of the surge, now rate local security positively; none did so six months ago. In Baghdad fewer now describe themselves as feeling completely unsafe in their own neighborhoods – 58 percent, down from 84 percent. Yet other assessments of security in these locales have not improved, nor has the view nationally.

Overall, 41 percent report security as their greatest personal problem, down seven points from 48 percent in March. But there's been essentially no change in the number who call it the nation's top problem (56 percent, with an additional 28 percent citing political or military issues). And there are other problems aplenty to sour the public's outlook – lack of jobs, poor power and fuel supply, poor medical services and many more.

BIG PICTURE – The big picture remains bleak. Six in 10 Iraqis say their own lives are going badly, and even more, 78 percent, say things are going badly for the country overall – up 13 points from last winter. Expectations have crumbled; just 23 percent see improvement for Iraq in the year ahead, down from 40 percent last winter and 69 percent in November 2005.



More than six in 10 now call the U.S.-led invasion of their country wrong, up from 52 percent last winter. Fifty-seven percent call violence against U.S. forces acceptable, up six points. And despite the uncertainties of what might follow, 47 percent now favor the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq – a 12-point rise.



In a better result for the United States, fewer now blame U.S. or coalition forces directly for the violence occurring in Iraq – 19 percent, down from 31 percent six months ago; as many (21 percent) blame al Qaeda. (Eight percent blame George W. Bush personally.)

If the United States is unpopular, others fare no better. Seventy-nine percent of Iraqis believe Iran is actively engaged in encouraging sectarian violence in Iraq, up eight points; majorities also suspect Saudi Arabia and Syria of fomenting violence. And the poll finds almost unanimous opposition to most activities of al Qaeda in Iraq; the sole exception is its attacks on U.S. and other coalition forces.

ASSESSMENT – This survey, based on face-to-face interviews of 2,212 randomly selected Iraqis across the country Aug. 17-24, follows a similar poll in Iraq by ABC, the BBC and other partners last Feb. 25-March 5. Together the two surveys bracket the surge, providing an independent assessment of changes in local conditions and attitudes.

The Bush administration, with input from the U.S. military and its commander in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, reports this week on its own assessment of conditions in Iraq and the effect of the surge of approximately 30,000 additional U.S. troops there.

Iraqis' own views can differ from military evaluations of the surge for good reason. Public attitudes are not based on a narrow accounting of more or fewer bombings and murders, but on the bigger picture – which for most in Iraq means continued violence, poor services, economic deprivation, inadequate reconstruction, political gridlock and other complaints. For instance, the reported drop in Baghdad from 896 violent deaths in

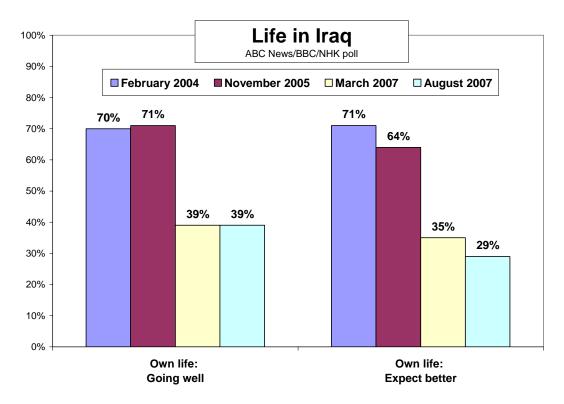
July to 656 in August may simply have been insufficient to boost morale – particularly when violent deaths nationally were up by 20 percent, largely on the basis of bombings that killed an estimated 500 in two villages near the Syrian border on Aug. 14.

Indeed just a quarter of Iraqis in this poll say they feel "very safe" in their own neighborhoods, unchanged from six months ago. (And none reports feeling "very safe" in Baghdad or Anbar province.) Reports of car bombings and suicide attacks are more widespread; 42 percent now say these have happened nearby, up 10 points.

With both continued violence and no improvements in living conditions, frustration with Iraq's own government has grown as well. Despite billions spent, only 23 percent of Iraqis report effective reconstruction efforts in their local area. And about two-thirds disapprove of the work of both the current government overall (up by 12 points since winter), and of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki personally.

The ABC/BBC/NHK poll, consisting of interviews that averaged nearly a half-hour in length, covered a wide range of attitudes and perceptions – personal experiences, views of the nation's prospects, ratings of security and the surge, politics and reconstruction, the performance of the United States, the level of local violence, ethnic cleansing and more.

PERSONAL PROSPECTS – In perhaps the most bottom-line measure of a country's well-being, 61 percent of Iraqis say their lives are going badly, unchanged from last winter and double what it was in late 2005. Among Sunni Arabs, the country's elites under Saddam Hussein, this soars to 88 percent, while among Kurds in the semi-autonomous north it's jumped from one-third to half in the last six months alone.



The change over the long term is striking: In November 2005, 71 percent of Iraqis said their own lives were going well, compared with 39 percent in the last two polls.

The future looks equally bleak: Only 29 percent of Iraqis expect their own lives to get better in the next year, down six points from last winter, including a 17-point drop among Kurds. And just a third of Iraqis now think their children will have a better life than they do, down nine points from six months ago. Hopes for the next generation have fallen by 11 points among Shiites – and by 24 points among increasingly negative Kurds.

IRAQ'S CONDITION – In terms of the country more broadly, in November 2005 a bare majority of Iraqis, 52 percent, said things were going badly. That rose to 65 percent last March, and 78 percent in this poll. The latest change includes a huge 40-point jump in negativity among Kurds, who enjoy far better living conditions in their northern provinces, but seem to have grown more alarmed about the situation to the south.

Expectations that the country will be in better shape a year off, at just 23 percent, are a third of their November 2005 level. Positive expectations have fallen by 23 points among Shiites and by 34 points among Kurds; they remain rock-bottom among Sunni Arabs.

SURGE and SECURITY – Overall assessments of security show no improvement since last winter, and direct ratings of the surge are highly negative. In one measure, the number of Iraqis who rate their local security positively (43 percent) is no better than it was in March. In another, as noted, just 24 percent say local security has improved in the last six months, including 16 percent in Baghdad, and not one respondent in Anbar.

Even fewer, 11 percent nationally, think security has improved in the country as a whole.

The widespread nature of the violence is part of this. In Baghdad, 52 percent report car bombings or suicide attacks in their local area, the same as in March; but so do 39 percent in the country, up from 26 percent six months ago. Accounts of other forms of violence – such as snipers or crossfire, kidnappings for ransom and sectarian or factional fighting – also remain widespread, though their prevalence has not increased.

	Occurred nearby?				
	Now	March	Change		
Car bombs, suicide attacks	42%	32%	+10		
Kidnappings for ransom	40	40	=		
Gov't/anti-gov't fighting	34	34	=		
Snipers, crossfire	30	30	=		
Sectarian/factional fighting	27	25	+2		
Unnecessary violence by:					
U.S./coalition forces	41	44	-3		
Local militia	30	31	-1		
Iraqi police	21	24	-3		
Iraqi army	19	24	-5		

Across the country overall, feelings of personal safety are no better than in March; just 26 percent of Iraqis feel "very safe" in their own neighborhood. And that's almost nonexistent across Iraq's major metro areas – Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk and Mosul – where 98 percent of residents feel either "not very safe" (50 percent) or "not safe at all" (48 percent). Ratings of personal safety are better, though hardly good, in Iraq's smaller cities, villages and rural areas.

Direct ratings of the surge itself are particularly negative. At best, only 18 percent of Iraqis say it has improved security in surge areas; at worst, just six percent say it's improved the pace of economic development. Indeed, as noted, the surge broadly is seen to have done more harm than good, with 65 to 70 percent saying it's worsened rather than improved security in surge areas, security in other areas, conditions for political dialogue, the ability of the Iraqi government to do its work, the pace of reconstruction and the pace of economic development.

	Impact	. surge:	
	Better	Worse	No effect
Political dialogue	10%	70	20
Security in surge areas	18	70	11
Security in other areas	12	68	20
Pace of reconstruction	9	67	24
Pace of econ. development	6	67	26
Govt's ability to function	12	65	22

Every respondent in Baghdad, and also in Anbar (where George W. Bush paid a surprise visit to a sprawling U.S. base last week), says the surge has made security worse now than it was six months ago (anti-U.S. sentiment in these areas is very high, and likely a factor in these direct assessments). Views in the rest of the country are hardly positive: Outside Baghdad and Anbar, still just 26 percent say the surge has improved security.

A broader question, not specifically linked to the surge, has an equally negative result: Just 18 percent of Iraqis say the presence of U.S. forces is making security better in their country overall, about the same as in March (21 percent). Instead 72 percent say the U.S. presence is making Iraq's security worse.

While fewer in Baghdad now feel "not safe at all," it's hard to tell if that reflects better conditions, or more people accommodating themselves to existing conditions – the "new normal." Indeed, another result finds a 20-point drop in the number in Baghdad who rate local security positively.

In Anbar, as noted, 38 percent now rate local security positively – none did in March. But there's been no improvement in the number who feel entirely unsafe (44 percent, compared with 38 percent in March).

There's one further, disquieting result on security: Asked which group is in command of security in their village or neighborhood, 16 percent of Iraqis – up 11 points since March – reply that no one commands security in their area. Across Iraq's major metropolitan

areas, that rises to 30 percent. In Baghdad alone, it's 36 percent. This may be less a direct assessment of local command than an expression of frustration with ongoing lawlessness.

MORE BAGHDAD and ANBAR – There's particular interest in conditions in the focal points of the surge. In his visit to Anbar last week, Bush declared, "normal life is returning." Yet most Anbar residents seem not to see it that way.

Forty-six percent in Anbar say lack of security is the biggest problem in their own lives, as many as say so elsewhere (it's 41 percent nationally). Seventy-four percent expect their children's lives to be worse than their own – nearly double the national figure. On the plus side, as noted, 38 percent rate local security positively, while none did in March; and half as many now call it "very bad," 32 percent. But still 62 percent in Anbar rate local security negatively overall. And reports of factional fighting there are up.

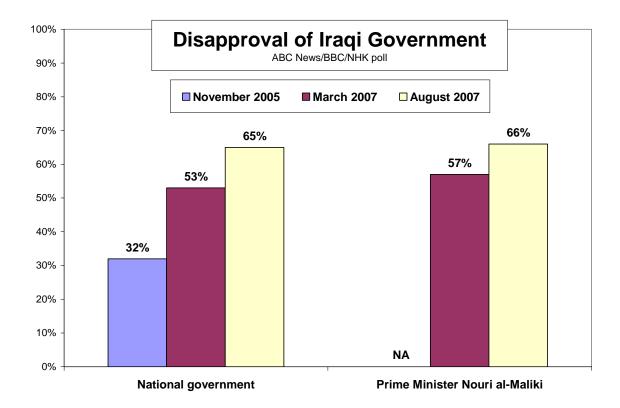
Further, there have been increases in the most negative ratings ("very bad") on a variety of other issues in Anbar – including the availability of jobs (now rated as very bad by 62 percent, nearly double the March figure), local schools, the supply of clean water and the availability of household goods, among others. Sixty-three percent say their freedom of movement is very bad; 73 percent say that about the availability of fuel.

Baghdad has its own continued problems. There have been 13- and 14-point drops in the number of Baghdad residents who report snipers or crossfire and kidnappings for ransom nearby; but still 43 and 44 percent, respectively, report these as occurring in their own areas. Sixty-eight percent call local security "very bad" – actually up from March. One reason may be that even apart from sectarian violence, sharply more give a "very bad" rating to their family's protection from crime – 66 percent, up from 44 percent in March. Again, as these are attitudinal measures, the drivers can be less crime protection – or simply less patience among a wearied and dispirited population.

RECONSTRUCTION and POLITICS – Nor, in the eyes of Iraqis, have reconstruction efforts or political leadership improved. As noted, only 23 percent of Iraqis report effective reconstruction efforts in their local area – down by 10 points in the past six months. It's down by 25 points among Kurds, another of many signs of increasingly negative views in that once-positive group.

In terms of national politics, 65 percent disapprove of the way the Iraqi government has carried out its responsibilities, while just 35 percent approve. Disapproval of the Shiite-dominated government is up by 15 points, to 47 percent, among Shiites themselves; and up by 24 points among Kurds. It remains nearly unanimously negative among Sunni Arabs.

Similarly, disapproval of Maliki's performance as prime minister is up by nine points, to 66 percent. His approval rating, 33 percent overall (very similar to George W. Bush's), has fallen by 10 points since winter, including by 13 points among Shiites and by 27 points among Kurds.



GLIMMERS? – In one slim glimmer of political improvement, half of Iraqis now say members of parliament are "willing to make necessary compromises" for peace; that's up by nine points from 41 percent last winter. But while most Shiites and Kurds say so (66 and 55 percent, respectively,) far fewer Sunni Arabs – 24 percent – agree. (The day before interviews began, Maliki and Iraq's Kurdish president announced a new alliance of moderate Shiites and Kurds; Sunni moderates, however, refused to join.)

There are a few other whispers of possible gains. There's been a scant five-point drop in the number of Iraqis who report unnecessary violence against citizens by the Iraqi army occurring in their local area; notably that includes a 26-point decline among Sunni Arabs (but a 10-point rise among Shiites, albeit just to 17 percent). There have been five- and six-point gains in the level of confidence in the Iraqi army and police, to sizable majorities of 67 and 69 percent, respectively. (This confidence still is vastly lower, albeit somewhat improved, among Sunni Arabs.) And there's been a 12-point drop, to just 24 percent, in confidence in local militias, including a 19-point decline among Shiites.

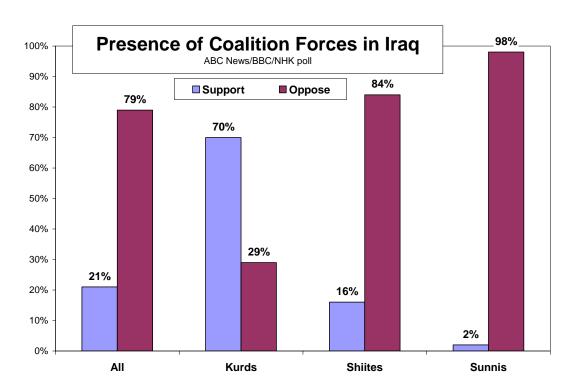
	Confide	ence amor	ng Iraqis
	Now	March	Change
In local teachers	74%	71%	+3
In the police	69	64	+5
In the Iraqi army	67	61	+6
In local leaders	46	45	+1
In national gov't	39	49	-10
In local militia	24	36	-12
In U.S./U.K. forces	14	18	-4

Another hopeful sign – and a remarkable one given its troubles – is the continued preference for Iraq to remain a single, unified state with a central government in Baghdad. Sixty-two percent favor that outcome, about the same as in March (albeit down from 79 percent in February 2004).

Support for a single, centrally governed state has risen among Shiites, but fallen among Kurds, who've moved more toward favoring separation of the country into independent states. Separation now gets 49 percent support among Kurds, up 19 points; an additional 42 percent of Kurds favor the Swiss-like solution of a group of regional states with a federal government in Baghdad. A single state retains most support among Sunni Arabs.

THE WAR and U.S. FORCES – Other assessments of the United States are overwhelmingly negative. As noted, nearly two-thirds of Iraqis now say it was wrong for the United States and its allies to have invaded Iraq – 63 percent, up from 52 percent six months ago and from 39 percent in the first Iraq poll by ABC, the BBC and NHK (and the German broadcaster ARD) in February 2004.

Even among Shiites, empowered by the overthrow of Saddam, 51 percent now say the invasion was wrong, up sharply from 29 percent in March. (Further deterioration may be ahead; among Shiites who still support the invasion, the number who call it "absolutely" right has fallen from 34 percent in March to 14 percent now.) Only among the largely autonomous Kurds does a majority still support the invasion, and even their support, 71 percent, is down by 12 points.



Seventy-nine percent of Iraqis oppose the presence of coalition forces in the country, essentially unchanged from last winter – including more than eight in 10 Shiites and nearly all Sunni Arabs. (Seven in 10 Kurds, by contrast, still support the presence of these forces.)

Similarly, 80 percent of Iraqis disapprove of the way U.S. and other coalition forces have performed in Iraq; the only change has been an increase in negative ratings of the U.S. performance among Kurds. And 86 percent of Iraqis express little or no confidence in U.S. and U.K. forces, similar to last winter and again up among Kurds.

Accusations of mistreatment continue: Forty-one percent of Iraqis in this poll (vs. 44 percent in March) report unnecessary violence against Iraqi citizens by U.S. or coalition forces. That peaks at 63 percent among Sunni Arabs, and 66 percent in Sunni-dominated Anbar.

This disapproval rises to an endorsement of violence: Fifty-seven percent of Iraqis now call attacks on coalition forces "acceptable," up six points from last winter and more than three times its level (17 percent) in February 2004. Since March, acceptability of such attacks has risen by 15 points among Shiites (from 35 percent to 50 percent), while remaining near-unanimous among Sunnis (93 percent).

Kurds, by contrast – protected by the United States when Saddam remained in power – continue almost unanimously to call these attacks unacceptable.

Acceptability of attacks on U.S. forces also varies by locale, peaking at 100 percent in Anbar, 69 percent in Kirkuk city and 60 percent in Baghdad, compared with 38 percent in Basra and just three percent in the northern Kurdish provinces.

WITHDRAWAL – Given such hostile views, 47 percent now say the United States and other coalition forces should leave Iraq immediately – a view that's risen equally among Sunni Arabs (72 percent now say the U.S. should leave immediately, up 17 points) and Shiites (44 percent, up 16 points). Kurds almost unanimously disagree; just eight percent favor an immediate withdrawal.

The number of Iraqis favoring an immediate U.S. withdrawal has risen from 26 percent in November 2005 and 35 percent last winter; at 47 percent it's now a plurality for the first time (in the next most-popular option, 34 percent say U.S. forces should "remain until security is restored"). The fact that support for an immediate pullout of U.S. forces is not even higher, given the vast unpopularity of their presence, likely reflects the uncertainty of what might follow their departure.

Indeed, apart from Kurds, support for immediate withdrawal is lowest, and has risen the least, in Baghdad, whose mixed Shiite-Sunni status puts it at particular risk. Desire for the United States to "leave now" is highest in Anbar, still deeply anti-American despite any accommodation its leaders have made with the U.S. military.

The rise in support for U.S. withdrawal is linked to worsening views of the country's condition. People who think things are going badly for Iraq are far more likely to favor immediate withdrawal – 56 percent vs. 16 percent. Similarly, people who are pessimistic about the country's future also are far more likely to favor withdrawal – 53 percent, vs. 23 percent among optimists. With optimism down, support for withdrawal is up.

Say U.S. should
"leave now"

Things in Iraq:
Good 16%
Bad 56

Expectations for future:
Better 23%
Worse 53

Clearly there are concerns – varying sharply by population group – about the implications if the U.S. does withdraw without first restoring civil order. Nearly half of Iraqis, 46 percent, foresee Shiite-dominated Iran taking control of parts of Iraq. As many foresee parts of Iraq becoming bases of operation for international terrorists. Fewer, just over a third, think U.S. withdrawal would lead to full-scale civil war in Iraq, but with big differences: Two in 10 Shiites foresee full-scale civil war, but that rises to four in 10 Sunni Arabs and six in 10 Kurds.

Paradoxically, Sunni Arabs – who dislike the United States most intensely and are most apt to favor its immediate withdrawal – also are most apt to foresee a takeover of parts of Iraq by Shiite-dominated Iran if the United States does pull out. This apparent lack of palatable alternatives underscores Sunni Arabs' quandary, leaving them, in particular, so discontented with conditions in Iraq today.

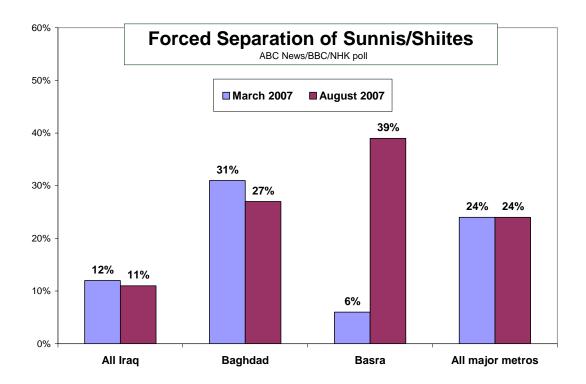
AL QAEDA in IRAQ – While U.S. efforts are viewed resoundingly negatively, this does not translate into support for activities of al Qaeda in Iraq. Disturbingly, nearly half of Iraqis (predominantly Sunni Arabs) say it's acceptable for al Qaeda in Iraq to attack U.S. and coalition forces. But Iraqis – Sunni and Shiite alike – almost unanimously reject other activities of al Qaeda in Iraq – attacking Iraqi civilians (100 percent call this unacceptable), attempting to gain control of some areas (98 percent) and recruiting foreign fighters to come to Iraq (97 percent).

OTHER LOCAL CONDITIONS – Overall, of 13 local conditions tested in this poll, just one is reported to have improved – ratings of local schools, eight points better to 51 percent positive. All the rest are stable or slightly worse, and all are rated poorly, ranging from views of local security (rated negatively by 57 percent) to the supply of electricity and fuel (both 92 percent negative). All are devastatingly bad in Baghdad, where in most cases every single respondent rated local conditions negatively, as was the case in March.

	Nega	ative rat	ings
	of lo	ocal cond	ditions
	Now	March	Change
Availability of fuel	92%	888	+4
Supply of electricity	92	88	+4
Jobs	79	80	-1
Freedom from persecution	77	77	=
Freedom of movement	74	75	-1
Medical care	67	69	-2
Crime protection	65	60	+5
Economic situation	63	64	-1
Availability of			
household goods	61	62	-1
Local government	61	57	+4
Clean water	75	70	+5
Security	57	54	+3
Schools	49	57	-8

SEGREGATION and VIOLENCE – Segregation of Iraqis – both forced and voluntary – continues to occur. Across the country, one in six Iraqis – 17 percent – report the separation of Sunni and Shiite Arabs on sectarian lines, including 11 percent who describe this as mainly forced. In Baghdad, it soars: Forty-three percent report the separation of Sunnis and Shiites from mixed to segregated areas, and 27 percent say it's mainly forced – similar to the 31 percent who said so in March.

Ethnic cleansing clearly is not isolated in Baghdad. The forced separation of Iraqis along sectarian lines is reported by 39 percent in Basra city, in the mainly Shiite south; and by 24 percent – one in four – across all major metropolitan areas.



In a continued sign of hope, this separation is enormously unpopular: Ninety-eight percent, with agreement across ethnic and sectarian lines, oppose it.

Related results underscore the difficulty of life in Iraq: Seventy-seven percent rate their freedom to live where they want without persecution negatively; 74 percent rate their freedom of safe movement negatively. Both are essentially unchanged from March.

Ethnic cleansing is far from the only violence being visited upon Iraqis. As noted, 42 percent report car bombs and suicide attacks nearby; that includes 26 percent – one in four – who say these have occurred in the past six months.

Forty-one percent report unnecessary violence against Iraqi citizens by U.S. or coalition forces (26 percent say this has occurred in the last six months). Four in 10 also report kidnappings for ransom in their areas; notably that soars to 82 percent in Kirkuk and 68 percent in Basra, vs. 44 percent in Baghdad.

Other forms of violence are also troublingly high: Thirty-four percent of Iraqis report fighting between government and insurgent forces in their local area (two in 10 in the last six months), 30 percent report snipers or crossfire; as many report unnecessary violence by local militias, 27 percent report sectarian fighting and two in 10 report unnecessary violence by the Iraqi army or police.

The number of Iraqis who believe Iran is encouraging sectarian violence in Iraq, 79 percent, is up by eight points since March, chiefly because a majority of Shiites now share this view (62 percent, up 15 points). There's also been a nine-point rise, to 65 percent, in the number who believe mainly Sunni Saudi Arabia is encouraging violence. (Just 28 percent of Sunni Arabs hold this view, but that's up by 17 points, and it's risen among Kurds as well.) As many, 66 percent, also suspect Syria of encouraging violence.

SUNNI/SHIITE – A final point is a key one in Iraq's political equation: the makeup of the country by ethnic and religious groups. Iraq commonly is described as a majority Shiite nation, apparently on the basis of an undated and unsourced reference in the CIA's "World Factbook" proposing that 60 to 65 percent of Iraqis are Shiites.

In this survey, instead, Shiite Arabs comprise just under half of the population, 48 percent, as they did in the March poll, 47 percent.

Sunni Arabs account for 33 percent in this poll, again very similar (and within sampling tolerances) to their 35 percent in the March poll. Kurds accounted for 16 and 15 percent, respectively, in the two surveys; with three percent "other" in both. Together these two surveys consist of more than 4,400 interviews from 915 sampling points, a large combined sample with an unusual level of geographical coverage.

METHODOLOGY – This poll for ABC News, the BBC and NHK was conducted Aug. 17-24, 2007, through in-person interviews with a random national sample of 2,212 Iraqi

adults, including oversamples in Anbar province, Basra city, Kirkuk and the Sadr City section of Baghdad. The results have a 2.5-point error margin. Field work by D3 Systems of Vienna, Va., and KA Research Ltd. of Istanbul.

See ABCNews.com/pollvault.html for methodological details and additional reports.

Analysis by Gary Langer.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com at http://abcnews.com/pollvault.html.

Media contact: Cathie Levine, (212) 456-4934.

Full 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.
8/24/07	39	8	31	61	34	26	*
Sunni	12	2	11	88	36	51	0
Shiite	54	9	46	45	31	14	*
Kurdish	49	16	33	50	36	14	1
3/5/07	39	8	31	61	32	28	0
Sunni	7	1	6	93	38	55	0
Shiite	53	9	44	47	31	16	0
Kurdish	68	22	46	32	24	7	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

2. 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?

		Bette	tter			Worse			
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.	
8/24/07	29	6	23	32	39	23	16	1	
Sunni	10	1	9	24	66	38	28	0	
Shiite	39	9	31	38	22	14	8	*	
Kurdish	38	10	28	27	31	19	12	4	
3/5/07	35	12	23	32	32	25	7	1	
Sunni	4	1	3	35	61	44	17	*	
Shiite	51	18	33	30	18	16	2	*	
Kurdish	55	19	36	30	12	11	2	3	
11/22/05	64	35	29	14	13	7	5	10	
2/28/04	71	37	34	9	7	3	3	13	

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

	8/24/07	3/5/07	11/22/05	2/28/04
NET Security	41	48	18	25
NET Political/military issues	15	13	NA	2
NET Economic issues	16	17	15	21
NET Social issues	26	22	16	18
NET Personal issues	1	1	7	4

Other No problem (vol.) No opinion	0 * 0	, ,		4 31 9	2 18 8	
NET Security NET Political/military issues		8/24/07 Shiite 45 13	7 Kurdish 21 5	 Sunni 57 19	3/5/07 Shiite 50 10	Kurdish 20 5
NET Economic issues NET Social issues NET Personal issues	8 22 1	14 27 1	39 31 3	9 15 0	20 19 1	28 43 3
No problem (vol.) No opinion	0	0	1	0	0 *	1 0
Detailed responses:	8	3/24/07	3/5/07	11/22,	/05 2/	28/04
Security (NET) Lack of security/safety (genera War/civil war/unrest	1)	41 17 4	48 18 7	18 16 NA		25 22 NA
Sectarian violence Terrorist attacks Ethnic or religious tensions/		6 7	7 9	NA 2		NA 2
<pre>persecution/discrimination/ intolerance Common crime/street crime</pre>		4 3	3 4	NA NA		1 NA
Political/military (NET) U.S. occupation/presence		15 5	13 6	NA NA		2
Political instability/weak government/bad leaders Country breaking apart		6 4	4 3	NA NA		1 NA
Economic (NET) Economic problems (general)		16 3	17 4	15 3		21 NA
No jobs/unemployment Low pay/inconsistent pay High prices/rising prices		6 1 4	6 * 5	11 NA 2		12 NA 9
Lack of goods and services/ problems with food ration car	ds	2	2	NA		NA
Social (NET) Social problems (general)		26 2	22 2	16 NA		18 NA
Can't trust people/social disinguality of life/poor living state poor living conditions (not expected)	ndards/	1 1	2	NA 4		NA 4
Poor electricity supply Lack of water/sanitation	.conomic,	9	6 1	2 NA		4 NA
Poor public services/ rubble on Poor medical services Problems with school/	streets	2 1	1 2	5 NA		4 NA
educational opportunities Housing problems/housing availa	bility/	*	*	2		2
rent too high/house too small Fuel shortages		1 5	1 5	5 NA		4 NA
Personal (NET) Personal problems (general)		1 1	1	7 NA		4 2
Health problems Family problems		*	*	NA NA		1 1

	Better	Worse	Same	No opin.
8/24/07	33	42	25	*
Sunni	7	72	22	0
Shiite	55	19	26	*
Kurdish	26	46	27	1
3/5/07	42	37	21	*
Sunni	6	71	22	*
Shiite	66	17	17	*
Kurdish	50	22	27	*

5. Now thinking about how things are going, not for you personally, but for Iraq as a whole, how would you say things are going in our country overall these days? Are they very good, quite good, quite bad, or very bad?

		Good-				No	
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	22	3	19	78	40	38	*
Sunni	2	*	2	98	38	60	0
Shiite	39	6	33	61	42	20	0
Kurdish	17	2	15	83	36	47	0
3/5/07	35	4	31	65	35	31	*
Sunni	5	1	4	95	40	55	0
Shiite	50	4	46	50	32	18	*
Kurdish	57	11	46	43	30	13	*
11/22/05	44	14	30	52	23	30	3

6. What is your expectation for how things will be for Iraq as a country overall a year from now? Will they be much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse?

		Bette	er		Worse			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
8/24/07	23	4	19	35	42	25	17	*
Sunni	4	*	3	27	70	35	35	0
Shiite	38	7	32	43	18	14	4	*
Kurdish	19	1	18	27	53	33	20	1
3/5/07	40	14	26	26	34	21	13	*
Sunni	5	1	4	27	67	37	30	*
Shiite	61	23	38	22	16	13	3	0
Kurdish	53	14	39	33	13	10	3	1
11/22/05	69	41	28	11	11	6	5	9

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

	8/24/07				3/5/07			
	All	All Sunni Shiite Kurd				Sunni	Shiite	Kurd
NET Security	56	57	60	43	53	55	52	45
NET Pol./military issues	28	31	27	22	26	26	27	18
NET Economic issues	6	3	3	18	9	9	7	18
NET Social issues	11	9	9	16	12	9	13	19
No opinion	0	0	0	0	0	0	*	0

Detailed responses:

8/24/07 3/5/07

Security (NET)	56	53
Lack of security/safety (general)	23	22
War/civil war/unrest	6	7
Sectarian violence	6	7
Terrorist attacks	13	9
Ethnic or religious tensions/		
persecution/discrimination/		
intolerance	4	3
Common crime/street crime	4	3
Political/military (NET)	28	26
Political instability/weak		
government/bad leaders	6	4
No independence for Kurdistan	1	*
Corruption/bribery	5	4
U.S. occupation/presence	8	9
Iranian influence	4	3
Syrian influence	1	1
Saudi Arabian influence	1	*
Presence of Al-Qaeda/foreign jihadis	2	5
Economic (NET)	6	9
Economic problems (general)	1	3
No jobs/unemployment	2	3
Low pay/inconsistent pay	*	*
High prices/rising prices	1	2
Lack of goods and services/	_	_
problems with food ration cards	*	1
Social (NET)	11	12
Social problems (general)	1	1
Can't trust people/social disintegration	*	1
Quality of life/poor living standards/	-1	1
poor living conditions (not economic)	1	1
Poor electricity supply	4	3
Lack of water/sanitation	1	
Poor public services/rubble on streets	*	1
Poor medical services	*	2
Problems with school/		
educational opportunities	*	*
Housing problems/housing availability/		
rent too high/house too small	*	1
Fuel shortages	3	3

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				
	NET	Absolutely	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Absolutely	opin.		
8/24/07	37	12	25	63	28	35	*		
Sunni	4	2	2	96	27	70	0		
Shiite	49	14	34	51	31	21	*		
Kurdish	71	26	45	28	21	8	*		
3/5/07	48	22	25	52	19	34	*		
Sunni	2	1	1	98	20	78	*		
Shiite	70	34	36	29	20	10	*		
Kurdish	83	36	47	17	9	8	*		
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		

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

a. The security situation

		Good	d	Bad			No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	43	15	28	57	24	32	0
Sunni	21	2	19	79	27	52	0
Shiite	46	14	32	54	26	29	0
Kurdish	84	48	36	16	13	3	0
3/5/07	46	17	30	54	21	32	0
Sunni	7	1	6	93	23	70	0
Shiite	61	17	45	39	24	14	0
Kurdish	89	52	37	11	6	5	0
11/22/05	61	31	30	38	17	21	1
2/28/04	49	20	29	50	21	29	1

b. The availability of jobs

		Good				No	
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	21	4	17	79	37	43	*
Sunni	1	0	1	99	37	62	0
Shiite	26	1	24	74	40	35	*
Kurdish	46	17	29	54	30	24	0
3/5/07	20	3	17	80	44	35	0
Sunni	4	0	4	96	50	46	0
Shiite	20	*	20	80	45	35	0
Kurdish	57	19	38	43	29	14	0
11/22/05	38	11	27	58	23	34	5
2/28/04	26	7	19	69	23	46	6

c. The supply of electricity

		Good	1			No	
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	8	2	6	92	35	58	0
Sunni	2	*	2	98	38	60	0
Shiite	8	1	6	92	35	57	0
Kurdish	17	7	10	83	27	56	0
3/5/07	12	2	11	88	37	51	0
Sunni	3	*	3	97	30	66	0
Shiite	16	1	15	84	41	42	0
Kurdish	17	5	13	83	38	45	0
11/22/05	45	11	35	54	30	24	1
2/28/04	35	8	27	64	28	37	1

d. The availability of clean water

		Good	E			No	
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	25	9	16	75	35	40	0
Sunni	11	3	8	89	39	51	0
Shiite	22	5	17	78	36	42	0
Kurdish	57	26	31	43	27	16	0
3/5/07	30	9	22	70	35	34	*
Sunni	14	2	12	86	39	47	0
Shiite	28	6	22	72	38	33	*
Kurdish	68	27	41	32	19	13	0
11/22/05	5.8	19	3.9	42	27	15	*

2/28/04 50 20 31 48 22 26 1

e. The availability of medical care

		Good	1		No		
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	33	9	23	67	37	30	*
Sunni	14	2	12	86	39	47	*
Shiite	36	10	26	64	39	25	0
Kurdish	60	22	38	40	28	12	0
3/5/07	31	8	23	69	35	34	*
Sunni	11	1	10	89	36	53	0
Shiite	31	6	25	69	38	31	*
Kurdish	70	30	40	30	22	7	0
11/22/05	62	27	35	36	23	13	2
2/28/04	51	17	34	47	24	22	3

f. Local schools

		Good	£			No	
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	51	15	36	49	30	19	*
Sunni	27	6	21	73	38	35	0
Shiite	59	14	45	41	29	12	*
Kurdish	76	35	41	24	17	7	0
3/5/07	43	12	31	57	35	21	*
Sunni	19	4	15	81	49	32	0
Shiite	48	14	34	52	33	19	*
Kurdish	79	27	52	21	16	5	0
11/22/05	74	43	31	25	17	7	1
2/28/04	72	37	35	26	15	11	3

g. Local government

		Good	E			No	
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	39	11	28	61	32	29	0
Sunni	13	1	13	87	33	54	0
Shiite	47	10	37	53	33	20	0
Kurdish	66	32	35	34	24	9	0
3/5/07	43	12	31	57	31	26	0
Sunni	9	1	8	91	41	51	0
Shiite	58	14	45	42	27	14	0
Kurdish	71	32	39	29	22	6	0
11/22/05	51	21	30	42	24	18	7
2/28/04	50	18	32	38	20	18	12

h. The availability of basic things you need for your household

		Good	d			No	
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	39	9	30	61	34	27	0
Sunni	29	4	25	71	33	38	0
Shiite	39	7	33	61	37	24	0
Kurdish	60	26	34	40	28	13	0
3/5/07	38	8	30	62	39	23	0
Sunni	23	2	21	77	48	29	0
Shiite	40	7	33	60	36	23	0
Kurdish	57	19	39	43	30	12	0
11/22/05	60	22	38	39	23	15	2
2/28/04	56	18	38	41	24	17	2

i. Your family's protection from crime

		Good			Bad			
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.	
8/24/07	35	13	22	65	28	37	*	
Sunni	6	1	5	94	31	63	0	
Shiite	39	9	31	61	32	29	*	
Kurdish	82	48	34	18	14	5	0	
3/5/07	40	14	26	60	32	28	0	
Sunni	80	1	6	92	39	53	0	
Shiite	50	13	37	50	33	17	0	
Kurdish	78	43	35	22	18	4	0	
11/22/05	66	33	33	33	19	14	1	
2/28/04	53	21	31	44	20	23	4	

j. Your family's economic situation

		Good			Bad			
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.	
8/24/07	37	7	30	63	37	26	*	
Sunni	25	2	22	75	41	34	0	
Shiite	36	4	32	64	40	24	0	
Kurdish	65	24	42	35	19	16	0	
3/5/07	36	7	29	64	41	23	0	
Sunni	16	1	15	84	45	40	0	
Shiite	40	4	36	60	43	17	0	
Kurdish	66	27	39	34	28	6	0	
11/22/05	70	22	48	30	20	10	1	

	Good			Bad			
NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.	
8	1	8	92	33	59	*	
2	0	2	98	29	69	0	
10	1	8	90	37	53	*	
17	2	15	83	27	56	0	
12	1	11	88	40	48	0	
2	*	2	98	36	61	0	
19	2	17	81	45	36	0	
12	0	12	88	32	56	0	
	NET 8 2 10 17 12 2 19	NET Very 8 1 2 0 10 1 17 2 12 1 2 * 19 2	8 1 8 2 0 2 10 1 8 17 2 15 12 1 11 2 * 2 19 2 17	NET Very Quite NET 8 1 8 92 2 0 2 98 10 1 8 90 17 2 15 83 12 1 11 88 2 * 2 98 19 2 17 81	NET Very Quite NET Quite 8 1 8 92 33 2 0 2 98 29 10 1 8 90 37 17 2 15 83 27 12 1 11 88 40 2 * 2 98 36 19 2 17 81 45	NET Very Quite NET Quite Very 8 1 8 92 33 59 2 0 2 98 29 69 10 1 8 90 37 53 17 2 15 83 27 56 12 1 11 88 40 48 2 * 2 98 36 61 19 2 17 81 45 36	

1. Your freedom of movement - the ability to go where you wish safely

		Good			Bad			
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.	
8/24/07	26	8	17	74	32	42	*	
Sunni	2	*	2	97	34	64	*	
Shiite	28	6	22	72	34	37	0	
Kurdish	68	35	33	31	21	10	1	
3/5/07	25	8	16	75	40	35	0	
Sunni	5	*	4	95	46	49	0	
Shiite	28	9	19	72	39	33	0	
Kurdish	56	24	32	44	30	13	0	

m. Your freedom to live where you wish without persecution

		Good			Bad			
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.	
8/24/07	23	8	15	77	32	45	*	
Sunni	2	*	2	98	33	65	0	
Shiite	25	7	19	74	35	39	*	
Kurdish	59	25	33	41	20	20	1	
3/5/07	23	8	15	77	39	38	*	

Sunni	5	*	4	95	42	54	0
Shiite	26	9	17	74	40	33	0
Kurdish	58	22	35	42	27	15	*

10. In the past six months, has the security situation in this neighborhood/village become better, become worse, or stayed about the same?

	Better	Worse	Same	No opinion
8/24/07	24	31	45	*
Sunni	7	56	37	0
Shiite	30	21	48	*
Kurdish	48	6	46	0

11. 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
8/24/07	11	61	28	*
Sunni	1	79	20	0
Shiite	21	42	38	*
Kurdish	5	78	16	1

12. How effective or ineffective have the reconstruction efforts been in the area where you live since the war of spring 2003?

	Effective				Ineffective				No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	No efforts	needed	op.
8/24/07	23	4	19	72	34	38	3	1	1
Sunni	3	*	3	89	34	55	5	3	0
Shiite	29	4	25	68	35	33	2	*	*
Kurdish	45	11	34	49	31	19	1	1	4
3/5/07	33	6	27	67	35	23	9	1	0
Sunni	6	1	5	94	39	47	8	1	0
Shiite	40	6	34	60	36	11	13	*	0
Kurdish	70	20	50	29	22	6	1	1	0
11/22/05	36	18	18	52	14	26	12	NA	12

13. Which of the following structures do you believe Iraq should have in the future?

		8/24/	07 3/5/0	7 11/2	22/05	2/28/04
One unified Iraq with central government in Baghdad A group of regional states with		62	58		70	79
own regional governments and government in Baghdad Dividing the country into separ		28	28	-	18	14
independent states		9	14		9	4
No opinion		0	1		3	3
		- , , -	 Kurdish		-, -, -	 Kurdish
One unified Iraq with central government in Baghdad A group of regional states with their own regional governments and a federal	97	56	9	97	41	20

government in Baghdad	3	42	42	2	40	49
Dividing the country into						
separate independent states	*	2	49	1	19	30
No opinion	1	0	*	0	0	1

14. 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			
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.	
8/24/07	67	23	43	33	21	12	0	
Sunni	34	7	27	66	34	32	0	
Shiite	84	29	54	16	15	1	0	
Kurdish	80	38	43	20	16	4	0	
3/5/07	61	24	37	39	25	14	0	
Sunni	25	9	16	75	35	40	0	
Shiite	80	31	49	20	20	*	0	
Kurdish	80	33	47	20	19	2	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	0 percent						

II licara or, so percer

b. The police

		Confident			Not confident			
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.	
8/24/07	69	33	36	31	17	15	0	
Sunni	37	9	28	63	26	37	0	
Shiite	84	43	40	16	12	4	0	
Kurdish	86	47	39	14	11	3	0	
3/5/07	64	32	32	36	16	20	0	
Sunni	24	8	16	76	24	52	0	
Shiite	87	47	40	13	10	3	0	
Kurdish	82	43	39	18	15	2	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	

c. US and UK occupation forces

		$ {\tt Confident}$			Not confident			
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.	
8/24/07	14	4	11	86	27	58	0	
Sunni	1	*	1	99	19	79	0	
Shiite	9	1	8	91	32	59	0	
Kurdish	53	18	34	47	30	17	0	
3/5/07	18	6	12	82	30	52	*	
Sunni	3	0	3	97	18	80	0	
Shiite	12	3	9	88	42	46	0	
Kurdish	67	26	41	33	24	9	*	
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	

d. Local leaders in your community

Confident			Not confident			No
NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.

8/24/07	46	11	36	53	34	20	*
Sunni	20	1	19	80	41	39	0
Shiite	56	11	46	43	33	10	*
Kurdish	72	30	42	28	19	9	*
3/5/07	45	11	34	55	34	21	0
Sunni	12	2	10	88	42	46	0
Shiite	57	9	48	43	34	8	0
Kurdish	80	35	44	20	17	4	0
11/22/05	41	17	23	50	29	21	10
2/28/04*	50	17	34	38	22	16	12
11/15/03	44	19	26	38	21	17	18
*If heard	of,	65 percent					

e. National government of Iraq

		Confident			Not confident			
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.	
8/24/07	39	11	28	61	31	30	0	
Sunni	4	1	3	96	32	64	0	
Shiite	58	17	41	42	30	12	0	
Kurdish	54	13	41	46	31	15	0	
3/5/07	49	18	31	51	27	24	0	
Sunni	8	1	7	92	36	56	0	
Shiite	72	30	42	28	22	6	0	
Kurdish	73	18	55	27	19	8	0	
11/22/05	53	23	30	41	25	16	6	

f. The local militia in this area

		Confident			Not confident			
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.	
8/24/07	24	11	13	68	26	43	8	
Sunni	2	*	1	93	27	66	6	
Shiite	32	12	20	67	30	36	1	
Kurdish	41	28	13	24	13	11	35	
3/5/07	36	16	20	64	26	38	*	
Sunni	12	*	12	88	29	59	0	
Shiite	51	24	27	49	27	22	*	
Kurdish	47	27	20	52	18	34	1	

g. Local teachers

		Confident			Not confident			
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.	
8/24/07	74	26	48	26	22	4	*	
Sunni	63	19	44	37	31	6	0	
Shiite	79	26	52	21	19	2	*	
Kurdish	80	37	44	19	13	6	1	
3/5/07	71	19	52	29	26	3	*	
Sunni	62	8	54	38	35	3	0	
Shiite	73	18	55	27	25	2	*	
Kurdish	85	42	43	15	12	3	*	

15. Thinking of the current national government of Iraq, how do you feel about the way in which it has carried out its responsibilities? Has it done a very good job, quite a good job, quite a bad job or a very bad job?

	Good				No		
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
8/24/07	35	6	28	65	27	38	*
Sunni	3	1	3	97	20	77	0
Shiite	53	9	44	47	29	18	0

Kurdish	45	9	36	53	33	20	2
3/5/07	46	10	36	53	27	26	*
Sunni	6	1	5	94	32	62	0
Shiite	68	15	53	32	25	6	0
Kurdish	71	16	55	29	22	7	1
11/22/05	61	22	39	32	17	16	7

 $16.\ \mathrm{Do}\ \mathrm{you}\ \mathrm{approve}\ \mathrm{or}\ \mathrm{disapprove}\ \mathrm{of}\ \mathrm{the}\ \mathrm{way}\ \mathrm{Nouri}\ \mathrm{Kamel}\ \mathrm{al-Maliki}\ \mathrm{is}\ \mathrm{handling}\ \mathrm{his}\ \mathrm{job}\ \mathrm{as}\ \mathrm{prime}\ \mathrm{minister?}$

	Approve	Disapprove	No opin
8/24/07	33	66	1
Sunni	2	98	0
Shiite	54	45	1
Kurdish	33	65	3
3/5/07	43	57	*
Sunni	3	96	*
Shiite	67	33	0
Kurdish	60	40	0

17. Overall, do you think the members of the National Assembly of Iraq are willing or not willing to make necessary compromises to bring peace and security to the country?

	Willing	Not willing	No opin.
8/24/07	50	48	2
Sunni	24	76	0
Shiite	66	32	1
Kurdish	55	39	6
3/5/07	41	58	1
Sunni	9	90	*
Shiite	57	42	1
Kurdish	61	36	2

18. 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-	Bad		
NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
19	3	15	80	32	48	1
2	*	2	98	33	65	0
18	2	16	82	35	47	*
53	14	40	42	22	20	4
23	6	18	77	30	46	0
3	*	3	97	30	67	0
21	4	17	79	34	45	0
74	22	53	26	19	7	0
36	10	27	59	19	40	5
	NET 19 2 18 53 23 3 21 74	NET Very 19 3 2 * 18 2 53 14 23 6 3 * 21 4 74 22	NET Very Quite 19 3 15 2 * 2 18 2 16 53 14 40 23 6 18 3 * 3 21 4 17 74 22 53	NET Very Quite NET 19 3 15 80 2 * 2 98 18 2 16 82 53 14 40 42 23 6 18 77 3 * 3 97 21 4 17 79 74 22 53 26	NET Very Quite NET Quite 19 3 15 80 32 2 * 2 98 33 18 2 16 82 35 53 14 40 42 22 23 6 18 77 30 3 * 3 97 30 21 4 17 79 34 74 22 53 26 19	NET Very Quite NET Quite Very 19 3 15 80 32 48 2 * 2 98 33 65 18 2 16 82 35 47 53 14 40 42 22 20 23 6 18 77 30 46 3 * 3 97 30 67 21 4 17 79 34 45 74 22 53 26 19 7

19. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the presence of coalition forces in Iraq?

	Support				No		
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
8/24/07	21	5	16	79	26	53	*
Sunni	2	*	1	98	25	73	0
Shiite	16	2	15	84	30	54	0
Kurdish	70	21	48	29	20	9	1

3/5/07	22	6	16	78	32	46	*
Sunni	3	*	3	97	29	68	0
Shiite	17	2	15	83	39	44	0
Kurdish	75	28	47	25	21	4	*
11/22/05	32	13	19	65	21	44	3
2/28/04	39	13	26	51	20	31	10

20. As you may know, the United States has increased the number of its forces in Baghdad and surrounding provinces in the past six months. For each item that I read, please tell me if you think this increase in US forces has made it better, made it worse, or had no effect.

Do you think this increase in US forces has made... $[read\ category]$ better, worse, or had no effect?

8/24/07 - Summary Table

	Better	Worse	Had no effect	No op.
a. Security in areas where these				
forces have been sent	18	70	11	*
Sunni	6	89	6	0
Shiite	22	66	11	*
Kurdish	33	43	23	1
b. Security in other areas of Iraq	12	68	20	*
Sunni	5	86	9	0
Shiite	13	64	23	*
Kurdish	22	48	28	2
c. Conditions for political dialogue				
in Iraq	10	70	20	*
Sunni	1	85	14	0
Shiite	12	66	22	*
Kurdish	20	55	24	1
d. The ability of the Iraqi government				
to carry out its work	12	65	22	*
Sunni	2	79	19	0
Shiite	16	63	21	0
Kurdish	22	47	30	1
e. The pace of reconstruction in Iraq	9	67	24	*
Sunni	3	78	19	0
Shiite	11	66	23	0
Kurdish	11	52	37	1
f. The pace of economic development				
in Iraq	6	67	26	*
Sunni	3	79	18	*
Shiite	9	67	24	*
Kurdish	5	49	45	1

21. How long do you think U.S. and other coalition forces should remain in Iraq? They should...

	8/24/07	3/5/07	11/22/05
Leave now	47	35	26
Remain until security is restored	34	38	31
Remain until the Iraqi government			
is stronger*	10	14	19
Remain until the Iraqi security forces			

can operate independently	7	11	16
Remain longer but leave eventually	2	2	3
Never leave	*	1	1
No opinion	*	*	4

^{*}In 2005, "Remain until the Iraqi government elected in December is in place"

		8/24/07			3/5/07 -	
	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd
Leave now	72	44	8	55	28	11
Remain until security is restored	27	38	36	41	39	28
Remain until the Iraqi government						
is stronger	*	10	28	3	18	28
Remain until the Iraqi security						
forces can operate independently	1	6	18	1	13	24
Remain longer but leave eventually	0	1	8	*	2	7
Never leave	0	*	2	0	*	2
No opinion	*	*	1	0	*	*

22. Overall, do you think the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq is making security in our country better, worse, or having no effect on the security situation?

	Better	Worse	No effect	No opin.
8/24/07	18	72	9	*
Sunni	2	95	3	0
Shiite	17	73	10	0
Kurdish	53	28	17	2
3/5/07	21	69	10	*
Sunni	2	94	4	0
Shiite	19	71	10	*
Kurdish	67	15	18	0

23. Thinking about the political action of other people, do you find each of these items to be acceptable or not acceptable?

a. Attacks on coalition forces

	Accept-	Not	No
	able	acceptable	opin.
8/24/07	57	43	*
Sunni	93	7	*
Shiite	50	50	0
Kurdish	5	94	1
3/5/07	51	49	*
Sunni	94	6	0
Shiite	35	65	*
Kurdish	7	93	0
2/28/04	17	78	5

b. Attacks on Iraqi government forces

	Accept-	Not	No
	able	acceptable	opin.
8/24/07	7	93	*
Sunni	18	82	0
Shiite	2	98	*
Kurdish	2	97	1
3/5/07	12	88	0
Sunni	34	66	0
Shiite	1	99	0

Kurdish 1 99 0

24. 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 opin.
8/24/07	26	47	28	*
Sunni	6	52	43	0
Shiite	24	49	27	*
Kurdish	74	25	*	0
3/5/07	26	41	33	*
Sunni	3	50	47	0
Shiite	29	37	34	*
Kurdish	67	29	3	0
11/22/05	63	30	6	1
6/14/04	40	40	18	3

25. For each item I read, please tell me if it has or has not occurred nearby here?

26. (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						
			Occurre	d within		Has	No
	NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.
8/24/07	42	12	14	10	5	58	*
Sunni	61	22	20	11	7	39	0
Shiite	36	8	11	11	6	64	*
Kurdish	14	2	11	1	*	86	*
3/5/07	32	NA	NA	NA	NA	68	*
Sunni	48	NA	NA	NA	NA	52	0
Shiite	27	NA	NA	NA	NA	73	*
Kurdish	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	93	0

b. Snipers, crossfire

Has occurred nearby						
Occurred within				Has	No	
NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.
30	9	11	6	4	70	*
45	14	17	8	6	54	*
27	9	9	6	3	72	*
5	*	3	1	*	95	0
30	NA	NA	NA	NA	70	*
40	NA	NA	NA	NA	60	0
33	NA	NA	NA	NA	67	0
1	NA	NA	NA	NA	99	*
	30 45 27 5 30 40	NET 1-2 mon 30 9 45 14 27 9 5 * 30 NA 40 NA 33 NA	Occurre NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 30 9 11 45 14 17 27 9 9 5 * 3 30 NA NA 40 NA NA 33 NA NA	Occurred within NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 1 year 30 9 11 6 45 14 17 8 27 9 9 6 5 * 3 1 30 NA NA NA NA 40 NA NA NA NA 33 NA NA NA	Occurred within NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 1 year Longer 30 9 11 6 4 45 14 17 8 6 27 9 9 6 3 5 * 3 1 * 30 NA NA NA NA NA 40 NA NA NA NA NA 33 NA NA NA NA	Occurred within Has NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 1 year Longer not 30 9 11 6 4 70 45 14 17 8 6 54 27 9 9 6 3 72 5 * 3 1 * 95 30 NA NA NA NA NA 70 40 NA NA NA NA NA 60 33 NA NA NA NA NA NA 67

c. Fighting among sectarian factions

	Has occurred nearby						
		Occurred within					No
	NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.
8/24/07	27	6	10	7	5	72	1
Sunni	35	7	12	9	7	65	0
Shiite	30	6	11	7	5	70	*
Kurdish	2	*	1	*	1	95	2
3/5/07	25	NA	NA	NA	NA	75	*
Sunni	31	NA	NA	NA	NA	68	*

Shiite	28	NA	NA	NA	NA	72	*
Kurdish	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	98	0

d. Kidnappings for ransom

	Has occurred nearby							
	Occurred within					Has	No	
	NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.	
8/24/07	40	14	13	9	5	59	1	
Sunni	52	18	19	11	4	48	*	
Shiite	42	14	12	10	6	57	1	
Kurdish	6	2	2	1	1	93	1	
3/5/07	40	NA	NA	NA	NA	60	*	
Sunni	50	NA	NA	NA	NA	50	*	
Shiite	42	NA	NA	NA	NA	58	0	
Kurdish	10	NA	NA	NA	NA	90	0	

e. Fighting between Iraqi government and anti-government forces

	Has occurred nearby							
		Occurred within					No	
	NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.	
8/24/07	34	8	11	8	7	66	*	
Sunni	33	9	11	8	6	67	*	
Shiite	44	9	15	11	10	55	1	
Kurdish	5	1	3	1	*	95	0	
3/5/07	34	NA	NA	NA	NA	66	*	
Sunni	44	NA	NA	NA	NA	56	*	
Shiite	36	NA	NA	NA	NA	64	0	
Kurdish	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	99	0	

f. Unnecessary violence against citizens by US or coalition forces

	Has occurred nearby							
	Occurred within					Has	No	
	NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.	
8/24/07	41	13	13	8	8	57	2	
Sunni	63	22	21	11	9	37	*	
Shiite	38	10	10	8	9	59	4	
Kurdish	7	2	1	1	2	93	0	
3/5/07	44	NA	NA	NA	NA	55	*	
Sunni	60	NA	NA	NA	NA	39	1	
Shiite	46	NA	NA	NA	NA	54	0	
Kurdish	8	NA	NA	NA	NA	92	0	

g. Unnecessary violence against citizens by the Iraqi police

		Has o	ccurred	nearby			
	Occurred within						No
	NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.
8/24/07	21	4	6	7	4	79	*
Sunni	33	7	8	12	7	67	0
Shiite	18	3	6	5	4	82	0
Kurdish	3	*	1	*	1	97	0
3/5/07	24	NA	NA	NA	NA	76	*
Sunni	55	NA	NA	NA	NA	44	*
Shiite	8	NA	NA	NA	NA	92	0
Kurdish	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	99	0

h. Unnecessary violence against citizens by the Iraqi Army

 Has	occurred	nearby			
 	- Occurred	l withir	1	Has	No

	NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.
8/24/07	19	4	5	5	5	81	0
Sunni	30	7	9	7	7	70	0
Shiite	17	3	3	5	5	83	0
Kurdish	1	1	*	0	0	99	0
3/5/07	24	NA	NA	NA	NA	76	*
Sunni	56	NA	NA	NA	NA	43	1
Shiite	7	NA	NA	NA	NA	93	0
Kurdish	*	NA	NA	NA	NA	100	0

i. Unnecessary violence against citizens by local militia forces

Has occurred nearby							
Occurred within						No	
NET	1-2 mon	6 mon	1 year	Longer	not	op.	
30	8	7	8	8	70	*	
38	7	9	12	11	62	0	
33	11	7	7	8	67	*	
2	0	1	1	1	98	0	
31	NA	NA	NA	NA	69	*	
55	NA	NA	NA	NA	45	*	
22	NA	NA	NA	NA	78	0	
2	NA	NA	NA	NA	98	0	
	NET 30 38 33 2 31 55 22	NET 1-2 mon 30 8 38 7 33 11 2 0 31 NA 55 NA 22 NA	Occurre NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 30 8 7 38 7 9 33 11 7 2 0 1 31 NA NA 55 NA NA 22 NA NA	Occurred within NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 1 year 30 8 7 8 38 7 9 12 33 11 7 7 2 0 1 1 31 NA NA NA NA 55 NA NA NA NA 22 NA NA NA	Occurred within NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 1 year Longer 30 8 7 8 8 38 7 9 12 11 33 11 7 7 8 2 0 1 1 1 1 31 NA NA NA NA NA 55 NA NA NA NA NA 22 NA NA NA NA NA	Occurred within Has NET 1-2 mon 6 mon 1 year Longer not 30 8 7 8 8 70 38 7 9 12 11 62 33 11 7 7 8 67 2 0 1 1 1 1 98 31 NA NA NA NA NA 69 55 NA NA NA NA NA NA 45 22 NA NA NA NA NA 78	

27. Who do you blame the most for the violence that is occurring in the country?

		8/24/07				3/5/07			
	All	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd	All	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd	
US/coalition forces	19	20	23	6	31	38	34	8	
President Bush	8	14	6	1	9	12	8	2	
Iraqi government	9	13	7	6	8	13	5	4	
Iraqi army	2	5	0	3	1	3	*	2	
Iraqi police	2	5	*	2	1	2	0	1	
Sunni militias/leaders	6	0	10	7	5	*	8	6	
Shiite militias/leaders	7	15	*	9	6	9	1	14	
Sectarian disputes	5	4	5	7	8	5	7	13	
Al Qaeda/foreign jihadis	21	3	32	23	18	2	28	27	
Common criminals	4	2	6	4	6	3	7	8	
Iran	11	19	4	12	7	12	1	13	
Neighboring countries	*	0	*	2	0	0	0	0	
Terrorists	*	0	*	*	0	0	0	0	
Political parties	*	*	*	1	0	0	0	0	
Former regime	*	0	*	2	0	0	0	0	
Religious figures	*	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Saudi Arabia	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	
Syria	2	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	
Turkey	1	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	
No opinion	*	0	*	0	*	0	*	0	

28. Thinking about the organization known as al Qaeda in Iraq, please tell me if you think each of the following are acceptable or unacceptable activities by that organization.

Do you think that...[read item] is an acceptable or unacceptable activity by al Qaeda in Iraq?

8/24/07 - Summary Table

0/24/0/ - Summary Table			
	Acceptable	Not acceptable	No op.
a. Attacks on US and coalition forces	48	51	*
Sunni	92	8	0

Shiite	35	65	1
Kurdish	2	98	*
b. Attacks on Iraqi civilians	*	100	*
Sunni	*	100	0
Shiite	*	100	0
Kurdish	0	100	*
c. Attempts to gain control in local areas	1	98	*
Sunni	2	98	0
Shiite	1	98	*
Kurdish	0	100	0
d. Recruitment of foreign fighters to come			
to Iraq	2	97	*
Sunni	4	96	0
Shiite	2	97	1
Kurdish	*	99	0

29. Who do you feel is most in command of security in this area at this time: the Iraqi police, the Iraqi army, coalition forces, local militia, other extralegal armed forces, or is no one in command of security here?

	Iraqi police	Iraqi army	Coalition forces	Local militia	Other forces	No one	No opinion
8/24/07	46	26	3	6	2	16	1
Sunni	30	19	1	1	7	43	*
Shiite	53	32	1	10	*	2	1
Kurdish	59	24	15	3	0	*	0
3/5/07	41	23	11	9	10	5	1
Sunni	18	14	23	3	28	12	2
Shiite	56	30	2	11	*	1	0
Kurdish	50	21	13	14	0	2	1

30. There are areas of Iraq where in the past Sunnis and Shiites lived together in the same mahallah. In some of these areas people are now separating — Sunnis moving to live among Sunnis only, Shiites moving to live among Shiites only. Has this separating of people been happening in this mahallah, or not? 31. (IF YES) Has this movement of people been mainly forcible, or mainly voluntary?

		-Yes, has ha	appened			
		Mainly	Mainly	No, remains	No, never	No
	NET	forcible	voluntary	mixed	was mixed	opin.
8/24/07	17	11	5	29	54	0
Sunni	28	19	9	23	48	0
Shiite	14	10	4	36	49	0
Kurdish	*	*	0	14	86	0
3/5/07	14	12	3	38	47	*
Sunni	21	17	4	40	39	*
Shiite	13	11	2	44	43	0
Kurdish	2	1	2	14	83	1

32. Do you think the separation of people on sectarian lines is a good thing or a bad thing for Iraq?

	Good thing	Bad thing	No opin.
8/24/07	2	98	*
Sunni	2	98	0
Shiite	2	98	*

*
0
*
*
(

33. Do you think that the following countries are or are not actively engaged in encouraging sectarian violence within Iraq?

a. Syria				
8/24/07 Sunni Shiite Kurdish 3/5/07 Sunni Shiite Kurdish	Yes 66 27 86 91 66 29 87	No 34 73 14 9 34 71 13	No	opin. * 0 0 * * 0 * * 0 * 0 * 0
b. Iran				
8/24/07 Sunni Shiite Kurdish 3/5/07 Sunni Shiite Kurdish	Yes 79 99 62 92 71 98 47 84	No 21 1 38 7 29 2 53 16	No	opin. * 0 * 1 * 0 * 0 * 0 *
c. Saudi Arabia 8/24/07 Sunni Shiite Kurdish 3/5/07 Sunni Shiite Kurdish	Yes 65 28 91 65 56 11 92 46	No 34 72 9 31 44 89 8	No	opin. 1 0 0 4 * 0 0 2

34. Thinking about another country, Japan, for each item I read, please tell me if you think Japan is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount.

8/24/07 - Summary Table

a. Contributing financially to	Too much	Too little	Right amount	No op.
reconstruction efforts in Iraq	20	42	36	2
Sunni	15	45	41	0
Shiite	22	41	35	1
Kurdish	23	39	30	8
b. Assisting in political and diplomatic efforts to bring a				
peaceful settlement in Iraq	18	38	41	3
Sunni	13	40	47	*
Shiite	21	40	37	2
Kurdish	15	31	45	8

c. Supporting the presence of				
United States forces in Iraq	23	40	35	3
Sunni	16	44	39	*
Shiite	23	41	34	2
Kurdish	32	28	31	8

35. Suppose the US withdraws from Iraq before civil order is fully restored. Do you think US withdrawal would make each item I read more likely, make it less likely, or US withdrawal will not make much difference in whether this happens?

8/24/07 - Summary Table

	More	Less	Have no	No
	likely	likely	effect	opinion
a. A full-scale civil war in Iraq	35	46	19	*
Sunni	41	44	15	*
Shiite	20	55	25	*
Kurdish	60	26	13	1
 Parts of Iraq becoming bases of operation for international 				
terrorists	46	40	14	*
Sunni	47	43	9	*
Shiite	41	42	17	*
Kurdish	55	33	12	0
c. Iran taking control of parts				
of Iraq	46	29	24	1
Sunni	74	18	7	*
Shiite	21	38	41	1
Kurdish	61	26	12	1
d. Increased violence in the				
Kurdish areas of Iraq	9	45	44	2
Sunni	6	51	42	1
Shiite	6	44	48	2
Kurdish	22	36	40	2

36. Selected demographics:

Monthly income:

		8/	24/07			5/07		
	All	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd	All	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd
0 to 100,000 dinars	1	0	2	0	1	2	1	0
100,001 to 200,000	8	8	11	3	12	13	6	1
200,001 to 300,000	29	39	31	12	25	35	27	18
300,001 to 400,000	31	36	33	21	33	32	34	32
400,001 to 800,000	17	16	18	14	27	17	24	31
More than 800,000	11	2	5	31	2	2	8	7
Average	397,36	1			393,73	1		
Median	350,00	0			350,00	0		

Trend for comparison in U.S. dollars: (not inflation-adjusted)

	Up to	\$51-	\$101-	\$151-	\$201-	\$301-			
	\$50	100	150	200	300	500	\$501+	Average	Median
8/24/07	*	1	3	a	38	40	a	¢321	4283

Sunni	0	1	4	10	38	40	7	\$303	\$283
Shiite	0	1	3	9	37	40	10	\$328	\$299
Kurdish	1	1	1	4	40	39	14	\$349	\$323
3/5/07	*	1	13	11	45	22	8	\$322	\$286
Sunni	*	1	13	12	46	20	9	\$320	\$286
Shiite	*	1	11	11	47	24	6	\$324	\$286
Kurdish	0	0	26	11	29	23	11	\$319	\$286
11/22/05	2	9	22	11	33	16	8	\$263	\$204
2/28/04	19	22	27	8	16	7	3	\$164	\$150

Employment:

	Full- time	Part time	Self- Employed	Not Employed	Home- maker	Stu- dent	Unable	Retired/ Disabled
8/24/07	25	16	NA NA	9	31	14	NA	4
Sunni	24	16	NA	8	34	15	NA	4
Shiite	26	16	NA	12	30	11	NA	4
Kurdish	27	17	NA	5	28	18	NA	5
3/5/07	23	16	NA	10	35	13	NA	4
Sunni	23	16	NA	13	32	13	NA	3
Shiite	22	16	NA	8	38	12	NA	4
Kurdish	27	14	NA	6	32	16	NA	5
11/22/05	14	2	18	5	38	18	1	4
2/28/04	11	3	21	7	37	17	1	3

Doctrine:

Doctrine:		
	8/24/07	3/5/07
Shiite Arab	48	47
Sunni Arab	33	35
Kurdish	16	15
Other	3	3

How often do you attend mosque?

		Several			Several	Yearly		No
	Daily	times/wk	Weekly	Monthly	times/yr	or less	Never	opin.
8/24/07	2	8	17	10	6	4	52	0
Sunni	1	8	19	9	6	3	55	0
Shiite	2	7	16	12	7	6	51	0
Kurdish	5	8	17	10	4	3	53	0
3/5/07	5	9	17	10	7	4	49	0
Sunni	3	8	13	12	10	6	48	0
Shiite	2	11	19	9	5	3	52	0
Kurdish	13	7	23	4	3	2	48	0

Household items:

	8/24/07	3/5/07	11/22/05	2/28/04
Air conditioner	60	55	58	44
Car	54	56	55	43
Refrigerator	96	96	90	81
Telephone (fixed	line) 46	45	38	30
Mobile telephone	91	89	62	6
Washing machine	68	59	54	44
Television	100	99	99	NA
Satellite dish	97	96	86	32*
Radio	89	92	77	NA
Computer	39	37	17	NA
Internet access	14	15	9	NA

Shortwave radio	62	67	NA	NA
Car radio	52	53	NA	NA
*11/15/03				

	8/24/07				3/5/07			
	Sunni	Shiite	Kurdish	Sunni	Shiite	Kurdish		
Air conditioner	61	61	55	52	62	46		
Car	59	47	68	50	61	63		
Refrigerator	99	93	96	93	99	97		
Telephone (fixed line) 49	43	48	52	43	43		
Mobile telephone	97	85	95	84	95	90		
Washing machine	64	70	73	53	63	67		
Television	100	100	100	100	100	94		
Satellite dish	99	98	89	97	100	83		
Radio	92	86	88	93	94	90		
Computer	47	38	30	33	44	32		
Internet access	14	14	18	13	17	15		
Shortwave radio	69	53	69	68	77	46		
Car radio	57	43	68	47	60	57		

Hours of electricity from power lines per day:

	8/24/07			3/5/07				
	All	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd	All	Sunni	Shiite	Kurd
Less than 4 hours a day	1	1	1	3	9	8	4	29
5 to 8 hours a day	29	17	26	60	18	17	18	16
9 to 12 hours a day	31	38	33	10	25	24	29	16
More than 12 hours a day	17	22	15	12	12	7	19	4
No electricity from								
power lines	22	22	24	14	34	45	26	33
No opinion	*	0	1	1	2	0	4	2

END