

## National Poll Survey in Iraq (2023)

### Written by Interviewer

Number of Interviewers		
C1		

Number of Questionnaires			
C2			

Date	Day	C3	Month	C4
Area	Governorate	C5		C6
District (urban or rural)		C7		

### Interviewer

Name

نحن من جامعة بغداد نروم اجراء بحث بشأن آراء العراقيين بخصوص بعض القضايا العامة. لقد تم اختيارك بطريقة عشوائية. ستوضع إجابتك مع العديد من إجابات أشخاص آخرين وبالتالي لن يتم التعرف عليك بأي شكل من الأشكال. ونؤكد مرة أخرى على أن كل ما يرد من معلومات في هذه الاستمارة سيحافظ على سرية المطلقة. شاكرين تعاونكم معنا .

1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Neutral	(4) Disagree	(5) Strongly disagree	(6) I do not know
1. Political conditions in Iraq after the political change in 2003 are better than those before the invasion in 2003					
1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Three years later, political conditions in Iraq will be better than now					
1	2	3	4	5	6

2. To what extent do you support or do not support the ideologies listed below?

(1) Strongly support	(2) Support	(3) Neutral	(4) Do not support much	(5) Do not support at all	(6) I do not know
1. Arab countries must cooperate with each other to unify as one country.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Iraqis must unite as one nation, regardless of sectarian or ethnic differences					
1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Kurds should have the right to national self-determination and gain an independent state					
1	2	3	4	5	6
4. State and politics should be managed and conducted in accordance with Islamic law					
1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Individual freedom and human rights should fully be respected					
1	2	3	4	5	6
6. The authority of the tribal chief must be respected and socioeconomic management must be based on tribal ties					
1	2	3	4	5	6

3-1. Which policy do you think the most important in order to achieve socio-political stability in Iraq?

Please choose one policy that you consider the most important.

1. To strengthen national integration based on Iraqi nationalism	Go to 3-2-1
2. To strengthen national integration based on love of motherland	Go to 3-2-2
3. To strengthen national integration based on national symbol-Mesopotamian civilization	Go to 3-2-3
4. To strengthen national integration based on reconciliation among ethnic and sectarian groups	Go to 3-2-4
5. To implement democracy and freedom	Go to 3-2-5
6. To strengthen national integration based on social justice	Go to 3-2-6

3-2-1. Please tell me the reason you support the above-chosen policy most.

1. Because Iraqi nationalism had been deeply rooted in society, and renaissance of Iraqi nationalism is needed now
2. Because Iraq might be segmented if Iraqi people do not have Iraqi nationalism
3. Because violent conflict might take place if people do not have Iraqi nationalism
4. Because there are not any means to unite people other than Iraqi nationalism

3-2-2. Please tell me the reason you support the above-chosen policy most.

1. Because Iraqi people has had strong sense of love of motherland
2. Because Iraq might be segmented if Iraqi people do not have sense of love of motherland
3. Because violent conflict might take place if people do not have sense of love of motherland
4. Because there are not any means to unite people other than sense of love of motherland

3-2-3. Please tell me the reason you support the above-chosen policy most.

1. Because Iraqi people are proud of Mesopotamian civilization
2. Because it was Mesopotamian civilization that had been one of the key factor to national integration in the last couple of decades
3. Because Iraq might be segmented if Mesopotamian civilization does not play an important role
4. Because violent conflict might take place if Mesopotamian civilization dose not play an important role
5. Because there are not any means to unite people other than Mesopotamian civilization

3-2-4. Please tell me the reason you support the above-chosen policy most.

1. Because there had not been such thing as sectarian conflict in Iraq
2. Because Iraq might be segmented if sectarian conflict was extended
3. Because sectarian conflict bring about violent conflict
4. Because there are not any means to unite people other than overcoming sectarian conflict

3-2-5. Please tell me the reason you support the above-chosen policy most.

1. Because democracy and freedom is the one Iraqi people obtained in 2003
2. Because Iraq might be segmented if democracy and freedom are not implemented
3. Because violent conflict might take place if democracy and freedom are not implemented
4. Because there are not any means to unite people other than democracy and freedom

3-2-6. Please tell me the reason you support the above-chosen policy most.

1. Because social justice is the means to balance right and duty
2. Because security situation become deteriorating if social justice is not implemented
3. Because social justice strengthens judicial power rather than religious and tribal power

3-3. In your opinion, how important is it for the state to deal with the following tasks?

(1) Very important	(2) Important	(3) Neutral	(4) Not important	(5) Not at all important	(6) I do not know
1. To strengthen central government in Baghdad in order to maintain unity of Iraq					
1	2	3	4	5	6
2. To establish federalism based on decentralization by transferring authority to regional government					
1	2	3	4	5	6
3. To establish de-fact regional government according to ethnic and sectarian groups					
1	2	3	4	5	6
4. To solve problems such as status of disputed areas, concessions of oil, and salary payment between the federal government and the Kurdistan Regional Government					
1	2	3	4	5	6
5. To establish independent Kurdistan Regional Government					
1	2	3	4	5	6
6. To achieve national reconciliation by dialogue with supporters of former regime					
1	2	3	4	5	6
7. To exclude supporters of former regime					
1	2	3	4	5	6
8. To strengthen anti-corruption and welfare policies					
1	2	3	4	5	6

3-3-2. Among the tasks 1-8 listed in the previous question, which do you think is the most important?

Please choose the most important task, second important task, and the third important task.

1. Most important task	
2. Second important task	
3. Third important task	

4. Iraq has been suffering a number of political intervention from foreign countries. To what extent do you think the political intervention from the following countries must be stopped?

	(1) Must be stopped completely	(2) Must be stopped	(3) Neutral	(4) Should not be stopped	(5) Must not be stopped	(6) I do not know
1. The U.S	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Russia	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. The U.K.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. France	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Saudi Arabia	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Turkey	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Iran	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Qatar	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. UAE	1	2	3	4	5	6

5-1. To what extent do you support the following political parties? Please tell me on scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that you strongly do not support and 10 means that you strongly support.

1. State of Law Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. Fatah	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3. Sadr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4. Hikma and Nasr Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5. Taqaddum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. Azm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7. Imtidad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8. Wataniya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9. KDP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10. PUK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11. New Generation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

5-2. Which party do you support?

1 State of Law Alliance (Maliki faction)	9 Imtidad
2 Fatah	10 Wataniya
3 Sadr	11 KDP
4 Hikma	12 PUK
5 Nasr Alliance	13 New Generation
6 Asa'ib Ahl al-Haqq	14 Other
7 Taqaddum	15 I do not have a party to support
8 Azm	

5-3. What is the reason for your support for the party?

1. Leader	Go to 5-3-1
2. Policy	Got to 5-3-2

3. Cleanliness (Free from corruption)	Got to 5-3-3
4. Ethnicity and/or Religion	Go to 5-3-4
5. Ideology	Go to 5-3-5

5-3-1. Which of the following statements best describes the reason for your support for the party?

1. Because of the family name of the leader of this party
2. Because the leader of this party has a higher academic degree
3. Because the leader of this party is well known
4. Because I have a personal connection with the leader of this party
5. Because I expect improvement of my living conditions such as cleaning of road if the leader of this party gains political power
6. Because the leader of this party is from the same ethnic or religious group as mine

5-3-2. Which of the following statements best describes the reason for your support for the party?

1. Because the policies of this party are helpful for the national interest
2. Because the policies of this party are helpful for my region
3. Because the policies of this party are better than those of other parties

5-3-3. Which of the following statements best describes the reason for your support for the party?

1. Because this party is not involved in the corruption
2. Because this party is fighting against corruption

5-3-4. Which of the following statements best describes the reason for your support for the party?

1. Because this party is supporting my ethnic or religious group
2. Because a cadre and most members of this party are from my ethnic or religious group
3. Because this party is reflecting voices of all ethnic and religious groups

5-3-5. Which of the following statements best describes the reason for your support for the party?

1. Because this ideology is helpful for public goods
2. Because this ideology is similar to my custom and tradition
3. Because this ideology is helpful for my ethnic and sectarian group

5-4. If the elections will be held tomorrow, which party will you vote for?

1 State of Law Alliance (Maliki faction)	9 Imtidad
2 Fatah	10 Wataniya
3 Sadr	11 KDP
4 Hikma	12 PUK
5 Nasr Alliance	13 New Generation
6 Asa'ib Ahl al-Haqq	14 Other
7 Taqaddum	15 I will not vote
8 Azm	

<List experiment 1>

Survey participants are randomly divided into two groups, A and B. Only options (1) through (3) are presented to A, and options (1) through (4) are presented to B. A is the control group and B is the experimental group.

6. HOW MANY of the following statements do you agree with? Please answer ONLY the NUMBER of statements you agree with, NOT which ones you agree with.

[Control group]

- 1) Elections should be held democratically.
- 2) We do not need elections that have become an opportunity for political elites to fight for their own interests.
- 3) Elections improve your life

6-A

[Experiment group]

- 1) Elections should be held democratically.
- 2) We do not need elections that have become an opportunity for political elites to fight for their own interests.
- 3) Elections improve your life
- 4) Election violence against rival political parties is necessary.

6-B

7-1. To what extent do you trust or distrust the following institutions? Place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means “strongly trust” and 5 means “strongly distrust.” If you do not have a particular opinion, choose (3), which means “neutral.” If you do not know, please choose (6).

	(1) Strongly trust	(2) Trust	(3) Neutral	(4) Distrust	(5) Strongly distrust	(6) I do not know
7-1-1. President of Iraq	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-2. Prime Minister of Iraq	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-3. Speaker of Iraqi parliament	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-4. Court	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-5. Military	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-6. Police	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-7. Political Parties	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-8. Mayor of your governorate	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-9. Parliament of your governorate	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-10. Mayor of your municipality	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-11. Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	6

of your municipality						
7-1-12. Media	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-13. NGOs	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-14. Religious leaders	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-1-15. Tribal Chiefs	1	2	3	4	5	6

7-2. When you are facing following problems, whom do you talk to? Among the options listed below from (1) to (14), choose to whom you talk most frequently.

7-2-1. When you get robbed by a mugger	
7-2-2. When you have a trouble with family and relatives regarding inheritance of assets	
7-2-3. When you are looking for a job	
7-2-4. When you are in economically difficult situations	
7-2-5. When your area needs more roads, schools or hospitals	
7-2-6. When security situation become deteriorating	

(1) Central government	(2) Mayor or parliament of your governorate	(3) Mayor or parliament of your municipality	(4) Military
(5) Police	(6) Political party leader	(7) Hashd al-Sha'bi (PMU)	(8) Leader of your local community
(9) Tribal chief,	(10) Religious leader	(11) NGO	(12) Colleagues in the workplace
(13) family and relatives	(14) friends and neighbors		

<Group survey>

Interviewer put number from A, B, and C in order to answerer (sprit sampling). The first answerer is asked 7-A, the second answerer is asked 7-B, the third answerer is asked 7-C, and the forth is asked again 7-A, and so on.

8-A-1. Please imagine the following situation in election. Someone from the party you support calls you during election campaign saying that “please go to polling station and vote for us so that our party can obtain more seats”. Will you go to polling station?

1. Yes, I will go	2. No, I will not go
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8-A-2. Please choose a reason why you will not go to vote (to those who reply 2 in 8-A-1)

1. Because I do not trust political party
2. Because I do not trust party leader and its executive members
3. Because nothing will change by election
4. Because there is difficulties for going to vote in terms of security
5. Because it takes time to go to vote
6. Because I will be get involved to political struggle if I am mobilized by the party

8-B-1. Please imagine the following situation in election. Someone from the party you support calls you during election campaign saying that “please go to polling station and vote for us because rival party (the party we oppose) is seemed to increase its seats”. Will you go to polling station?

1. Yes, I will go	2. No, I will not go
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8-B-2. Please choose a reason why you will not go to vote (to those who reply 2 in 8-B-1)

1. Because I do not trust political party
2. Because I do not trust party leader and its executive members
3. Because nothing will change by election
4. Because there is difficulties for going to vote in terms of security
5. Because it takes time to go to vote
6. Because I will be get involved to political struggle if I am mobilized by the party

8-C-1. Will you go and vote for next election?

1. Yes, I will go	2. No, I will not go
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8-C-2. Please choose a reason why you will not go to vote (to those who reply 2 in 8-C-1)

1. Because I do not trust political party
2. Because I do not trust party leader and its executive members
3. Because nothing will change by election
4. Because there is difficulties for going to vote in terms of security
5. Because it takes time to go to vote

<List experiment 2>

Survey participants are randomly divided into two groups, A and B. Only options (1) through (3) are presented to A, and options (1) through (4) are presented to B. A is the control group and B is the experimental group.

9. HOW MANY things do you think are destabilizing or confusing Iraqi politics? Please answer only HOW MANY, not which ones you agree with.

[Control group]

Government policies of national unity, neighboring countries’ intervention, demonstrations and other social movement

9-A

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[Experiment group]

Government policies of national unity, neighboring countries’ intervention, demonstrations and other social movement, PMU

9-B

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<Demographics>

D1. Sex	(1) Male		(2) Female			
D2. Age				(98) I do not know		(99) refused (Don't read)
D3. Educational background	(1) Illiterate		(2) can read and write		(3) primary school	
	(4) secondary school		(5) high school		(6) vocational school	
	(7) university		(8) university graduate		(9) post-graduate	
D4. Place of birth						
D5. Mother tongue	(1) Arabic	(2) Kurdish	(3) Persian	(4) Turkish	(5) Other (please specify)	
D6. If you speak other language(s) fluently, please specify it/them						
D7. Occupation	(1) Worker			(2) Government employee		
	(3) private employee			(4) Student		
	(5) House worker			(6) unemployed		
	(7) retired on pension			(99) refused (Don't read)		
D8. Income	(1) under US\$100	(2) US\$100 ~500	(3) US\$500 ~1,000	(4) US\$1,00 ~1,500	(5) US\$1,500 ~2,000	(6) over US\$2,000
D9. Ethnicity, religion, sect	(1) Sunni Arab	(2) Shia Arab	(3) Christian	(4) Kurd	(5) Other	(99) refused (Don't read)

<For interviewer>

How many people rejected before you complete this interview?		C8
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Time of Interview		分 C9
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