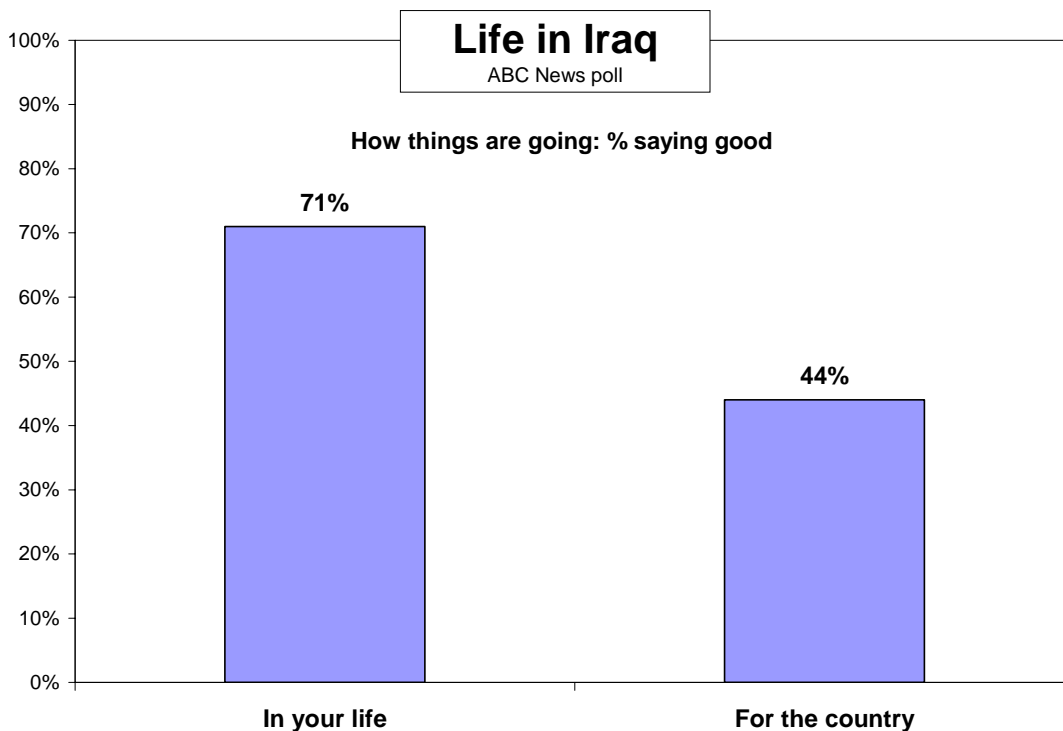


Poll Finds Broad Optimism in Iraq, But Also Deep Divisions Among Groups

Surprising levels of optimism prevail in Iraq, with living conditions improved, security more a national worry than a local one and expectations for the future high. But views of the country's situation overall are far less positive, and there are vast differences in views among Iraqi groups – a study in contrasts between increasingly disaffected Sunni areas and vastly more positive Shiite and Kurdish provinces.

An ABC News poll in Iraq, conducted with Time magazine and other media partners, includes some remarkable results: Despite the daily violence there, most living conditions are rated positively, seven in 10 Iraqis say their own lives are going well and nearly two-thirds expect things to improve in the year ahead.

Insurgent attacks notwithstanding, more than six in 10 Iraqis feel very safe in their own neighborhoods, up sharply from 40 percent in a June 2004 survey. And 61 percent say local security is good – up from 49 percent in the first ABC News poll in Iraq in February 2004. Nonetheless, nationally, security is seen as the most pressing problem by far; 57 percent identify it as the country's top priority.

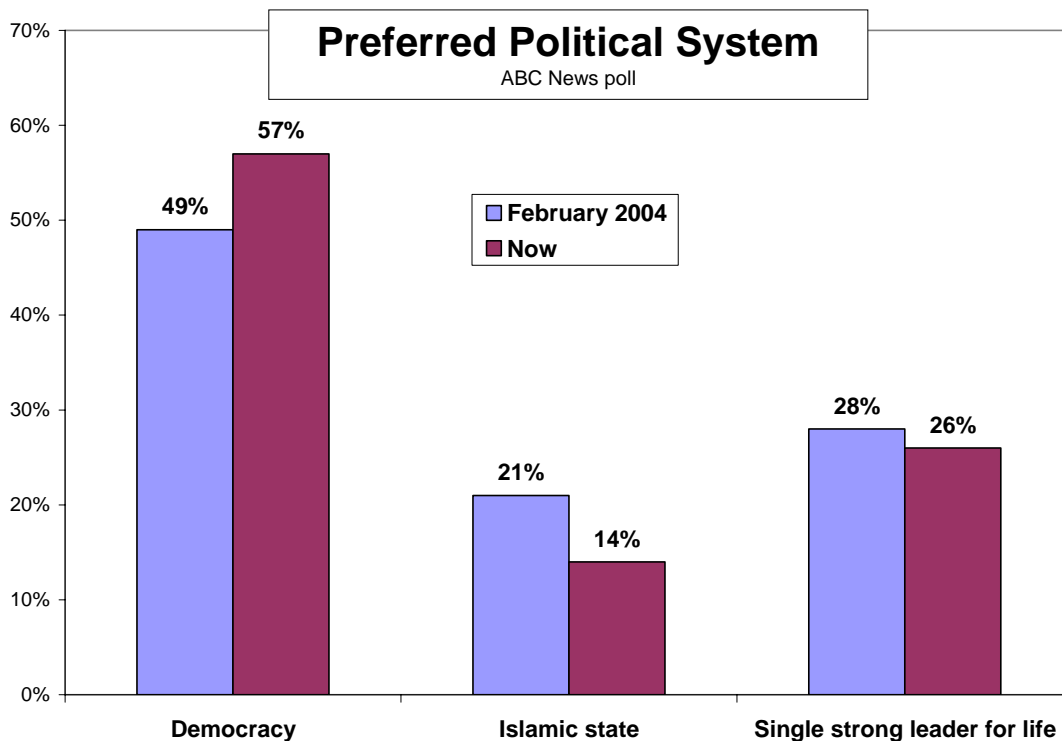


Economic improvements are helping the public mood. Average household incomes have soared by 60 percent in the last 20 months (to \$263 a month), 70 percent of Iraqis rate their own economic situation positively and consumer goods are sweeping the country. In early 2004 six percent of Iraqi households had cell phones; now it's 62 percent. Ownership of satellite dishes has nearly tripled, and many more families now own air conditioners (58 percent, up from 44 percent), cars, washing machines and kitchen appliances.

There are positive political signs as well. Three-quarters of Iraqis express confidence in the national elections being held this week, 70 percent approve of the new constitution and 70 percent – including most people in Sunni and Shiite areas alike – want Iraq to remain a unified country. Interest in politics has soared.

Preference for a democratic political structure has advanced, to 57 percent of Iraqis, while support for an Islamic state has lost ground, to 14 percent (the rest, 26 percent, chiefly in Sunni Arab areas, favor a “single strong leader.”)

Whatever the current problems, 69 percent of Iraqis expect things for the country overall to improve in the next year – a remarkable level of optimism in light of the continuing violence there. However, in a sign of the many challenges ahead, this optimism is far lower in Sunni Arab-dominated provinces, where just 35 percent are optimistic about the country's future.

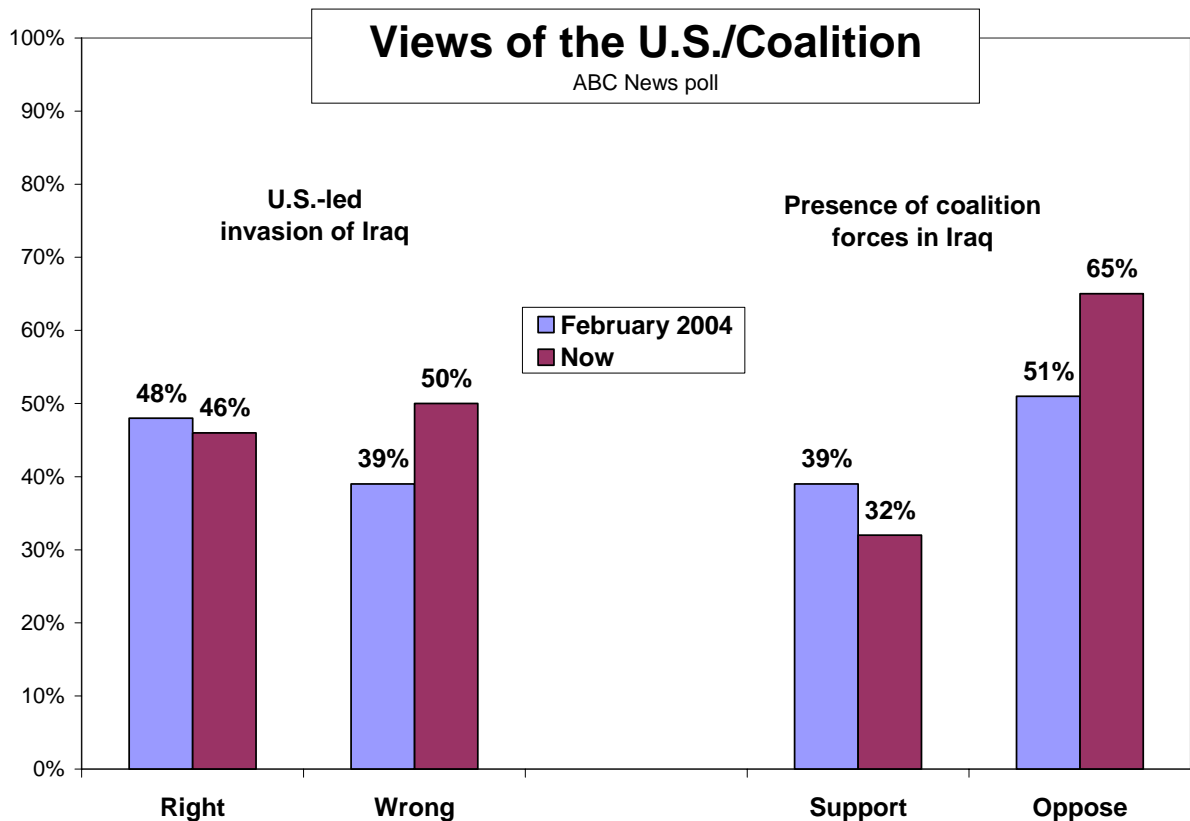


NEGATIVES – Other views, moreover, are more negative: Fewer than half, 46 percent, say the country is better off now than it was before the war. And half of Iraqis now say it was wrong for U.S.-led forces to invade in spring 2003, up from 39 percent in 2004.

The number of Iraqis who say things are going well in their country overall is just 44 percent, far fewer than the 71 percent who say their own lives are going well. Fifty-two percent instead say the country is doing badly.

There's other evidence of the United States' increasing unpopularity: Two-thirds now oppose the presence of U.S. and coalition forces in Iraq, 14 points higher than in February 2004. Nearly six in 10 disapprove of how the United States has operated in Iraq since the war, and most of them disapprove strongly. And nearly half of Iraqis would like to see U.S. forces leave soon.

Specifically, 26 percent of Iraqis say U.S. and other coalition forces should "leave now" and another 19 percent say they should go after the government chosen in this week's election takes office; that adds to 45 percent. Roughly the other half say coalition forces should remain until security is restored (31 percent), until Iraqi security forces can operate independently (16 percent) or longer (five percent).



This survey was sponsored by ABC News with partners Time, the BBC, the Japanese network NHK and the German newsmagazine Der Spiegel, with field work by Oxford

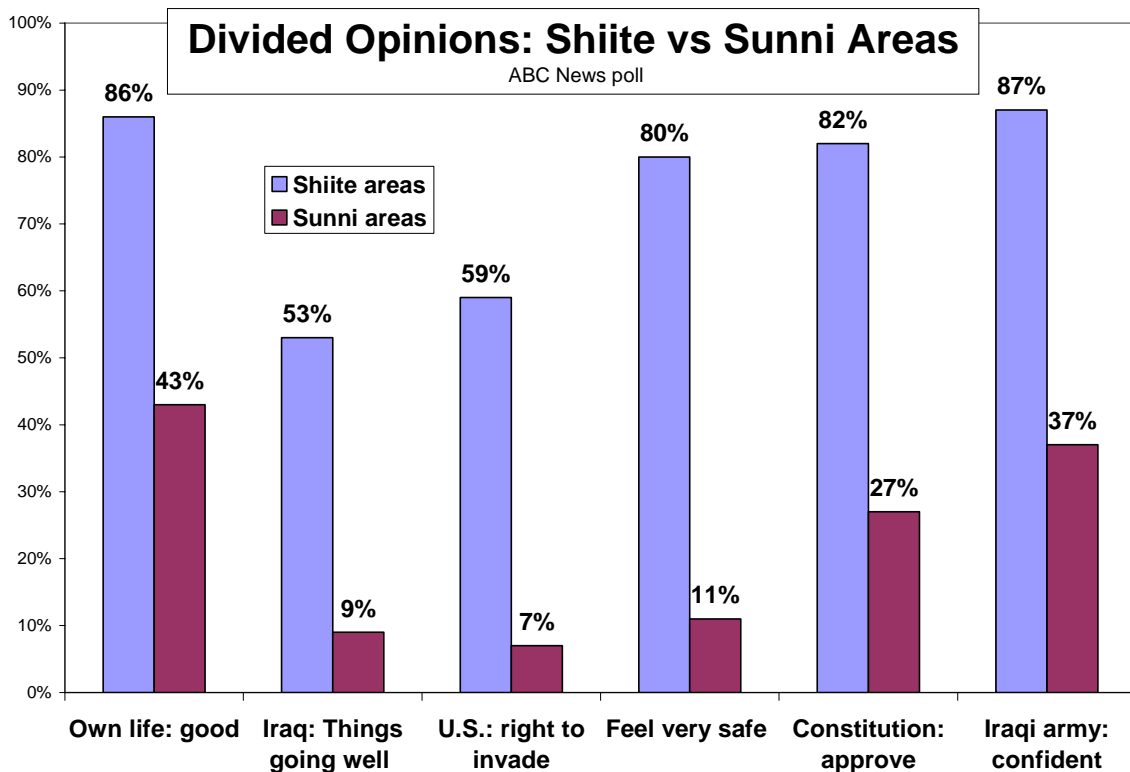
Research International. It consists of in-person interviews with a random national sample of 1,711 Iraqis from early October through Nov. 22.

There were limitations on questions in the survey because of security concerns; for example, Iraqis were not asked their religious doctrine, Sunni or Shiite. Instead this analysis looks at Sunni-dominated, Shia-dominated, mixed and Kurdish regions, using previous data to categorize provinces.

SUNNI and SHIITE – Sunni Arabs, the favored group under Saddam Hussein, lost their status with his overthrow and clearly resent it. In contrast Shiites, the larger group, are embracing their newfound political clout despite the attacks that have targeted them. Kurds in the North (who are Sunnis, but attitudinally far different from Sunni Arabs), the strongest supporters of the United States by far, are the most positive Iraqi group, by dint of the greater autonomy they've long sought.

People in mixed areas of the country, notably the population center, Baghdad, tend to view conditions much more favorably than those in Sunni Arab areas, and generally more in line with views in the mainly Shiite South.

Majorities in Shiite and Sunni Arab areas do share some views, such as discontent with the presence of U.S. forces and – perhaps crucially for Iraq's future – a desire to keep the country unified. But the degree differs sharply; for example, 88 percent in Sunni areas want a unified Iraq, compared with 56 percent in Shiite provinces. And on other matters, including fundamental political issues, Sunni/Shiite-area views more directly conflict.



Confidence in this week's elections is far lower in Sunni Arab areas – 48 percent, compared with more than 80 percent elsewhere – but, given broad disaffection in Sunni areas, that could be worse. Perhaps more threatening is that just 27 percent in Sunni areas approve of the constitution, compared to more than eight in 10 Iraqis in the rest of the country, Shiite, Kurdish and mixed areas alike.

Such gaps seem to represent Iraq's greatest challenge. On issue after issue, from personal satisfaction to security to political views, people in Sunni areas – about one in four Iraqis – express vastly more negative views than their Shiite- or Kurdish-area counterparts.

Just 11 percent of people in predominantly Sunni provinces, for example, feel safe in their own neighborhoods, compared with eight in 10 Iraqis in other areas. People in mainly Sunni areas are far less confident in the Iraqi government, army or police. They're half as likely as those in mainly Shiite provinces to say their own lives are going well and half as likely to expect things to improve in the next year. While 53 percent of people in predominantly Shiite areas say the country as a whole is doing well, a mere nine percent of those in mostly Sunni provinces agree.

GROWING GAPS – Rather than moving toward healing, the gaps between views in Sunni areas vs. the rest of Iraq have widened sharply since early 2004, with attitudes worsening in Sunni areas while improving elsewhere. While Iraqis in Shiite, mixed and Kurdish provinces all rate the security situation, their job opportunities and their family's protection from crime more positively than they did 20 months ago, those in Sunni provinces have grown decidedly more negative.

Similarly, while Iraqis' positive ratings of their lives overall look stable (71 percent today vs. 70 percent in 2004), beneath those overall numbers are a 21-point improvement in Shiite areas – and a 26-point decline in the outlook in Sunni provinces.

	Local conditions good, '04-'05 change				
	-----Region-----				
	All	Shiite	Sunni	Mixed	Kurdish
Overall life	+1	+21	-26	+6	-4
Crime protection	+13	+7	-22	+45	+13
Security	+12	+22	-19	+29	+14
Jobs	+12	+31	-12	+16	+9

The Sunni/Shiite gap has also grown on measures of confidence in key Iraqi institutions. While people in mainly Shiite provinces are 22 points more likely to have faith in the Iraqi army than they were in 2004, in mainly Sunni areas confidence has fallen by 13 points; a 15-point gap has now grown to 50. The divide in views of police similarly has increased by 23 points.

As noted, both Sunni and Shiite communities oppose the presence of U.S. and coalition forces, but views on the subject in Shiite areas have held steady over the past year and a

half, while support for coalition forces in Sunni areas has gone from minimal, 24 percent, to near zero, four percent.

ANBAR – Attitudes in Anbar – a Sunni Arab-dominated province that’s been a center of anti-coalition sentiment – are even more extreme than views in other predominately Sunni areas. (Anbar includes Fallujah and the provincial capital, Ramadi.) Already lower than in non-Sunni areas, confidence in institutions craters in Anbar: Only three in 10 of those in Anbar have confidence in the police, a scant one in 10 expresses confidence in the new Iraqi army and a mere four percent approve of the Iraqi government’s performance.

The United States fares even more poorly in Anbar, where a solitary one percent say the U.S.-led invasion was a good thing for Iraq, and not a single respondent expresses confidence in the U.S. and U.K. occupation forces.

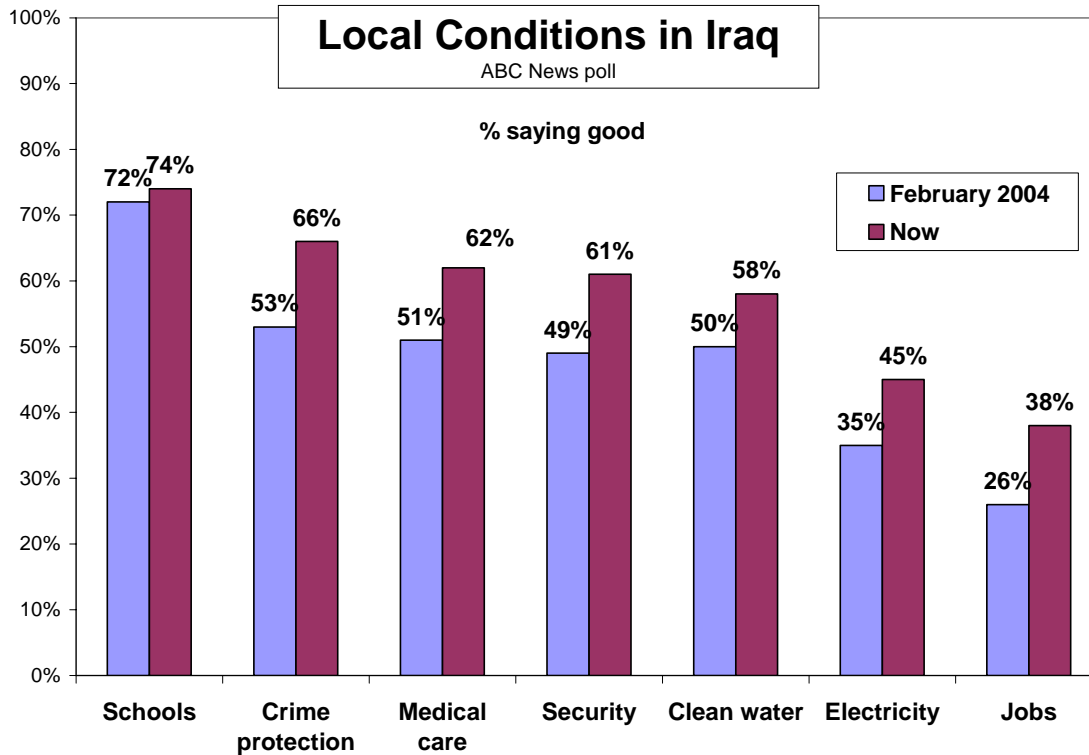
While last year’s survey identified strong anti-American sentiment in Anbar, the unsettled security situation may help drive the low ratings of Iraqi institutions (only religious leaders are more highly rated in Anbar than elsewhere). Nearly half in Anbar call instability their biggest problem – 17 points more than in other, already on-edge, Sunni areas – and just 13 percent say their local security situation is good. Only 28 percent expect security to improve.

The political outlook, however, could improve. Nearly six in 10 Anbar residents have confidence that the upcoming elections will lead to a stable government. They’re also more likely than people in other Sunni areas to be interested in politics and to talk politics with others (more than eight in 10 in Anbar say they do both). But only two in 10 Anbar residents approve of the newly minted constitution.

LOCAL CONDITIONS – Across Iraq, most local conditions are rated positively – and more so than in early 2004. This survey finds 10- to 13-point gains in ratings of local crime protection, security and medical care, as well as in the still-problematic areas of electric supply and jobs. (Even including the substantial number of self-employed workers, Iraqis are only about half as likely as Americans to hold jobs.)

Expectations for improvement in local conditions are all high – in the mid-70s – and similar to their levels in early ‘04.

Still, there clearly is room for improvement in local conditions. Many of the ratings are predominantly “good” rather than “very good” (freedom of speech, after the repression of the Saddam years, is one notable exception; schools are another). On as basic an element as the supply of clean water, for example, just 19 percent say theirs is very good, and on electrical supply it’s just 11 percent.



	Local conditions			Good, change from 2/04
	Good NET	Very Good	Bad NET	
Crime protection	66%	33	33	+13 points
Security	61	31	38	+12
Jobs	38	11	58	+12
Medical care	62	27	36	+11
Electricity	45	11	54	+10
Clean water	58	19	42	+8
Basic goods	60	22	39	+4
Schools	74	43	25	+2
Local government	51	21	42	+1
Free speech	78	45	19	na
Economic situation	70	22	30	na

Although most of these ratings have improved since February 2004, fewer Iraqis now say these conditions are better than they were before the war. That could reflect both dimmer recollection and an unwillingness to give the war credit for positive change. The measure above, rating conditions without relying on recollection, is more reliable one.

FUEL, POWER and RECONSTRUCTION – Electricity, taken for granted in the United States, is a continued sore point. Fifty-four percent say it’s bad in their area, although that’s down from 64 percent last year. More than half of Iraqis (again 54 percent) have electricity for no more than eight hours a day. Just five percent have it around the clock.

Ironically for an oil-rich nation, fuel supply also is a persistent problem. Among Iraqis who drive, seven in 10 say they encounter fuel lines. Just under half say they say they wait for hours; a quarter, for days.

Two-thirds of Iraqis also report waiting lines for another necessity, heating or cooking fuel. Four in 10 say they wait for hours; just under three in 10, for days.

And despite the billions spent, reconstruction does not win broad accolades. Just 18 percent of Iraqis say postwar reconstruction efforts in their area have been “very effective.” Instead 52 percent say such efforts have been ineffective or, while needed, have not occurred at all.

Few – just six percent – credit the United States with the main role in reconstruction. More say it’s the Iraqi people (12 percent) or the Iraqi government (nine percent), but 37 percent say it’s “no one.”

SECURITY – With 57 percent giving it top priority for the country overall, security dwarfs other national concerns (next, cited by 10 percent, is getting the United States out of Iraq; nine percent say it’s rebuilding infrastructure, with other options in lower single digits.) In another example of the majority’s positive outlook, 70 percent think security nationally will improve in the next year. But that falls to 40 percent in Sunni areas (and 28 percent in Anbar).

When asked what could be the worst thing to happen in Iraq in the next year, a combined total of 37 percent cited a lack of security, or chaos; civil war or internal trouble; or the division of the country. An additional 12 percent cited terrorism as the worst thing that could happen; nine percent said the occupation forces not leaving Iraq, with other answers in the low single digits.

Alternatively, 52 percent said the best thing that could happen was security, or peace and stability. In another sign of optimism, Iraqis are much more likely to say the best thing is likely to happen (90 percent think so) than the worst thing (51 percent).

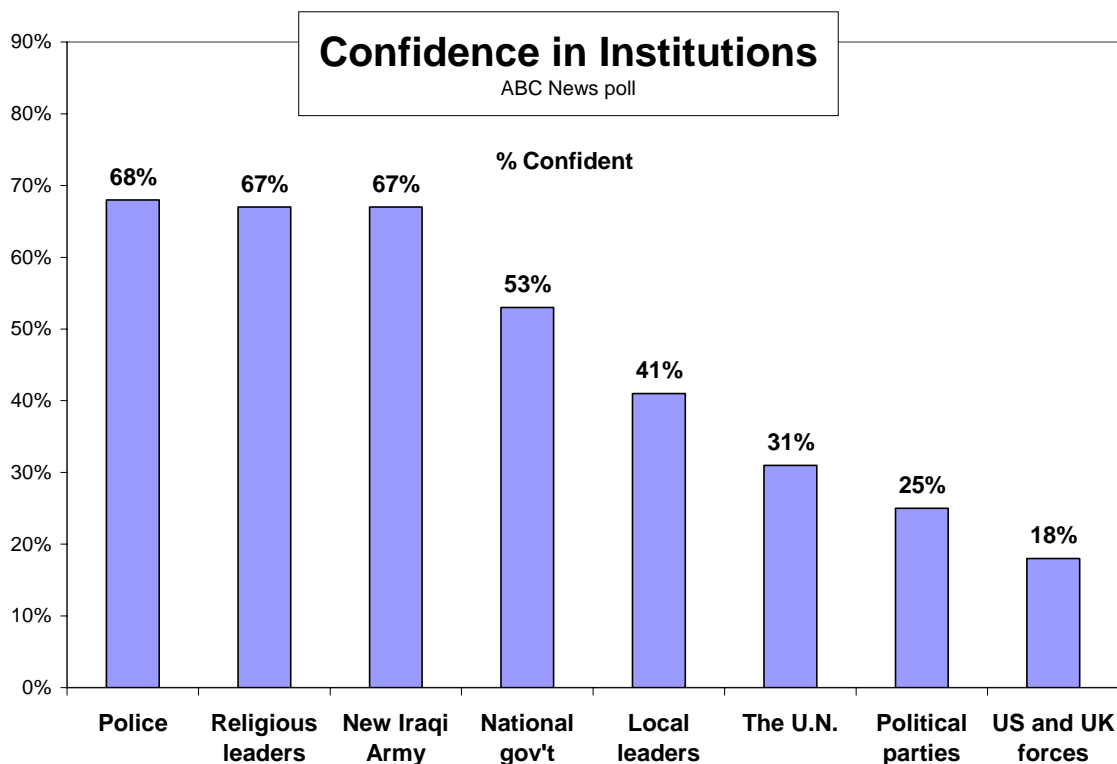
Respondents also were asked what makes them feel unsafe, or if, instead, they feel safe. This measure of personal security – rather than national security – shows notable improvement: Fifty-one percent say they feel safe, nearly double what it was in June 2004.

Among the half of Iraqis who do feel unsafe, the main reason given, by far, is terrorism. And many in this “unsafe” group “very often” take a range of measures: avoiding U.S. forces (67 percent), avoiding checkpoints (52 percent), avoiding police and government buildings (47 percent) and being careful what they say (43 percent).

Top security-related priorities for the future are fighting ordinary crime and stopping attacks on civilians and the Iraqi police or army. Stopping attacks on coalition forces comes in much lower.

CONFIDENCE – Despite the growing gap between Sunni and Shiite provinces, confidence in some national institutions has risen overall, particularly confidence in the Iraqi Army, up from 39 percent in November 2003 to 67 percent now; and in the police, up from 45 percent to 68 percent (but stable since last year).

Confidence in...	Now	2/04	11/03
Police	68%	68	45
Iraqi army	67	56	39
Religious leaders	67	70	63
Nat'l gov't	53	na	na
Ministries in Baghdad	45	44	41
Local governorate	42	na	na
Local leaders	41	50	44
UN	31	40	31
Political parties	25	28	19
U.S./U.K. forces	18	25	19



ELECTION – As noted, 76 percent of Iraqis express confidence that this week's elections will produce a stable government, although fewer, 42 percent, are very confident of it. Interest in politics has soared – 39 percent in an Oxford survey in November 2003, 54 percent in February 2004 and 69 percent now. But there's been an 11-point dip since June

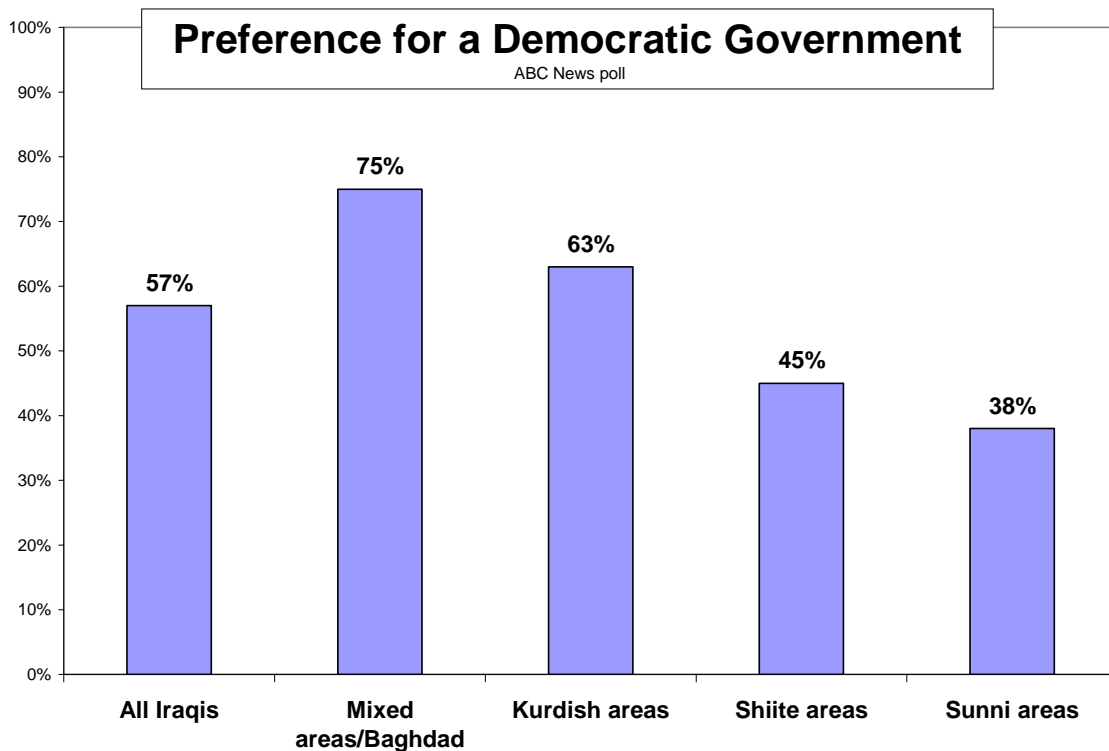
2004 in people talking about politics, in what may reflect increased caution in light of the Iraqi insurgency.

The election itself looks wide open, at least from the perspective of these October-to-November interviews. Thirty-seven percent of Iraqis said they hadn't decided which party to support (but were planning to vote). Those with a preference were scattered among a wide range of political parties.

Support for former prime minister's Ayad Allawi's Wifaq National Movement, or Iraqi National Accord Movement, was nine percent; the Kurdish PUK, nine percent; the Shiite-affiliated Islamic al-Dawa Party, eight percent. Parties people would "never vote for" include the now-outlawed al-Baath (nine percent) and al-Dawa (seven percent).

National leaders with the greatest trust include the current prime minister, Ibrahim al-Jaafari (15 percent), Allawi (15 percent) and Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani (10 percent), with others in single digits. But al-Jaffari also comes up as No. 1 on the don't-trust-at-all list, at 12 percent. Such is politics.

DEMOCRACY – As in so many of these issues, a closer look at views on Iraq's future system of government may give pause to policy makers there (and in the United States as well).



Overall, as noted, 57 percent of Iraqis prefer democracy to either strongman rule or an Islamic state. But preference for democracy falls under 50 percent among people in Shiite

areas (45 percent) and Sunni areas (38 percent) alike. Democracy is boosted to a majority by its support in Kurdish provinces and in mixed Shiite/Sunni areas, chiefly the capital, Baghdad.

At the same time, that result measures support for democracy “now,” which for some Iraqis may be constrained by concern about the country’s current situation. When Iraqis instead are asked which of these systems they prefer not now, but in five years’ time, support for democracy is a bit higher – 64 percent – mainly at the expense of support for a strong leader. And in this formulation it reaches a majority in all groups, albeit still with some substantial differences.

	What Iraq needs in five years		
	Democracy	Islamic state	Strong leader
All	64%	12	18
Mixed areas	74	8	11
Kurdish areas	61	14	17
Shiite areas	59	24	11
Sunni areas	55	4	34

WOMEN – Finally, this survey asked about women’s rights in Iraq, and found a broad range of responses: On one hand 99 percent of Iraqis support women voting or working as medical doctors; on the other fewer than half say a woman should be able to serve as president, and fewer still, 38 percent, say women should be eligible to serve as an elected village or town chief, known as a mukhtar.

These views, surprisingly in the less-tolerant cases, are almost identical among men and women. The differences instead, as in so much in Iraq, appear in the regions. In Kurdish areas, 76 percent say a woman should be able to be elected as mukhtar. In Shiite-dominated areas it’s 56 percent. But that falls to 32 percent in mixed Shiite-Sunni areas, and bottoms out at just six percent in mainly Sunni provinces.

	All	% Support		
		-----Region-----		
		Kurdish	Shiite	Sunni
Women voting	99%	100	99	99
Women doctors	99	99	96	98
Women driving	84	96	83	75
Women in nat’l assembly	80	92	83	62
Woman governor	51	79	57	22
Woman president	46	71	57	21
Woman mukhtar	38	76	56	6

The range is similar for other offices. Seventy-one percent of Kurds say a woman should be able to serve as president; in Sunni areas this dives to 21 percent. And it goes lower: In Anbar province, the conservative center of Sunni discontent, just eight percent would accept a woman as president of Iraq.

METHODOLOGY – This poll was conducted for ABC News, Time magazine, the BBC, NHK and Der Spiegel by Oxford Research International. Interviews were conducted Oct. 8-Nov. 22, 2005, in person, in Arabic and Kurdish, among a random national sample of 1,711 Iraqis age 15 and up. The results have a 2.5-point error margin. Details of the survey methodology are available upon request.

This analysis examines regions where different groups predominate, based primarily on data from the February 2004 Iraq poll. Predominantly Shiite Arab provinces were identified as Basra, Kerbala, Missan, Najaf, Qadissiyah and Wassit, all in the South. Predominantly Sunni Arab provinces are Anbar, Diyala, Ninewa and Salah Al-Din. Mixed provinces are Babil, Baghdad and Tameem, and predominantly Kurdish provinces in the North are Dokuhk, Erbil and Suleymaniya. The two remaining provinces, Muthanna and Thi-Qar, both in the mainly Shiite South, were not selected in the random-sampling process in this survey.

Analysis by Gary Langer and Jon Cohen.

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 .05 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 opin.
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
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

*6/14/04 survey by Oxford Research International for Oxford University.

2. Compared to the time 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 the same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat		NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	51	21	31	19	29	19	10	1
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 the same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat		NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	64	35	29	14	13	7	5	10
2/28/04	71	37	34	9	7	3	3	13

4. 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-----			-----Bad-----			No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
11/22/05	44	14	30	52	23	30	3

5. Compared to our country as it was before the war in spring 2003, are things in Iraq overall 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	opin.
11/22/05	46	22	24	13	39	21	18	2

6. 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	opin.	
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	

7. 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?

	-----Better-----			About	-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	the same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
11/22/05	69	41	28	11	11	6	5	9

8. Thinking ahead to the next 12 months, what would be the best thing which could happen to Iraq?

	11/22/05
Security	33
Peace and stability	19
A better life	8
American forces leaving Iraq	6
Sound government	3
Free/independent Iraq	1
Independence for Kurdistan	2
A strong/progressive Iraq	2
Unity	2
Approval of the Constitution	1
Freedom	1
A job	1
A better economic situation	1
Reconstruction	1
An Iraqi democratic/independent government	1
Improved services (electricity, water, etc.)	1
Strong/fair leader	*
A federal Iraq	*
American forces staying in Iraq	*
Other personal	*
Executing Saddam	*

Successful elections	*
Iraq uses Arab countries as a model	*
An Islamic government	*
Saddam's return	*
Improved/resumed education	*
None	*
Other	3
No opinion/No answer	13

9. You said the best thing that could happen to Iraq over the next 12 months is [read out the answer to Q8]. How likely do you think is this to happen?

	----- Likely -----			----- Unlikely -----			No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
11/22/05	90	56	34	6	4	2	4

10. What would be the worst thing that could happen to Iraq in the next 12 months?

	11/22/05
Lack of security/chaos	17
Civil war/internal trouble	16
Terrorism	12
Occupation not leaving Iraq	9
Division of the country	4
No government	2
Current situation continues	2
Bad conditions/living standard	1
Rejection of the Constitution	1
Return of Saddam/former regime	1
Unfavorable situation for Kurds	1
Unemployment	1
No services (electricity, water, etc.)	*
American forces leaving Iraq	*
High prices	*
Personal problems	*
Lack of Iraqi political control	*
Islamic rule	*
No freedom	*
None	*
Other	2
No opinion/No answer	31

11. You said the worst thing that could happen to Iraq over the next 12 months is [read out the answer to Q10]. How likely do you think is this to happen?

	----- Likely -----			----- Unlikely -----			No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
11/22/05	51	15	36	35	23	12	14

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

	11/22/05
Lack of stability	16
No job	11
Housing problems	5
Personal problems	5
Poor public services	5

Poor living standards	4
Economic problems	3
Terrorist attacks	2
Academic problems	2
Poor electricity supply	2
High prices	1
Other	4
No problem/no single biggest problem	31
No opinion	9

13a. 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?

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	----- Good -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./ Not app.
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
a. The security situation	61	31	30	38	17	21	1
b. The availability of jobs	38	11	27	58	23	34	5
c. The supply of electricity	45	11	35	54	30	24	1
d. The availability of clean water	58	19	39	42	27	15	*
e. The availability of medical care	62	27	35	36	23	13	2
f. Local schools	74	43	31	25	17	7	1
g. Local government	51	21	30	42	24	18	7
h. The availability of basic things you need for your household	60	22	38	39	23	15	2
i. Your family's protection from crime	66	33	33	33	19	14	1
j. Your family's economic situation	70	22	48	30	20	10	1
k. Your freedom of speech	78	45	32	19	14	5	3

Trend:

a. The security situation

	----- Good -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./ Not app.
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
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 -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./ Not app.
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
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 -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./ Not app.
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
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 -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./ Not app.
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	
11/22/05	58	19	39	42	27	15	*
2/28/04	50	20	31	48	22	26	1

e. The availability of medical care

	----- Good -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	Not app.
11/22/05	62	27	35	36	23	13	2
2/28/04	51	17	34	47	24	22	3

f. Local schools

	----- Good -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	Not app.
11/22/05	74	43	31	25	17	7	1
2/28/04	72	37	35	26	15	11	3

g. Local government

	----- Good -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	Not app.
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 -----			----- Bad -----			No opin./
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	Not app.
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 -----			No opin./
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	Not app.
11/22/05	66	33	33	33	19	14	1
2/28/04	53	21	31	44	20	23	4

j-k. No trend

13b. Compared to the time before the war in Spring 2003, would you say (item) is much better now, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse?

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	-----Better-----				-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
a. The security situation	44	27	17	16	39	16	22	1
b. The availability of jobs	32	13	19	24	39	25	15	5
c. The supply of electricity	29	11	19	32	38	24	13	1
d. The availability of clean water	33	15	19	38	28	19	9	1
e. The availability of medical care	37	17	20	39	21	15	6	3
f. Local schools	41	26	15	43	14	10	4	2
g. Local government	36	16	20	30	27	15	12	7
h. The availability of basic things you need for your household	43	17	26	29	26	16	10	2
i. Your family's protection from crime	45	24	20	24	29	18	12	2
j. Your family's economic situation	43	19	24	32	24	17	7	1
k. Your freedom of speech	47	27	20	25	25	12	14	3

Trend:

a. The security situation

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	44	27	17	16	39	16	22	1	
2/28/04	54	26	28	18	26	15	11	2	

b. The availability of jobs

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	32	13	19	24	39	25	15	1	
2/28/04	39	12	27	31	25	16	9	5	

c. The supply of electricity

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	29	11	19	32	38	24	13	1	
2/28/04	43	15	28	32	23	15	8	2	

d. The availability of clean water

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	33	15	19	38	28	19	9	1	
2/28/04	41	18	24	40	16	10	6	2	

e. The availability of medical care

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	37	17	20	39	21	15	6	3	
2/28/04	44	16	28	38	16	11	5	3	

f. Local schools

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	41	26	15	43	14	10	4	2	
2/28/04	47	24	23	41	9	7	3	3	

g. Local government

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	36	16	20	30	27	15	12	7	
2/28/04	44	17	27	29	16	11	6	10	

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

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	43	17	26	29	26	16	10	2	
2/28/04	47	18	28	35	16	11	5	3	

i. Your family's protection from crime

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	

11/22/05	45	24	20	24	29	18	12	2
2/28/04	50	23	27	26	21	13	8	3

j-k. No trend

13c. What is your expectation for (item) a year from now, do you expect it to be much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or much worse?

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
a. The security situation	77	53	24	10	4	3	1	9	
b. The availability of jobs	75	48	28	11	4	3	1	10	
c. The supply of electricity	74	48	26	14	4	3	2	8	
d. The availability of clean water	73	47	26	17	3	2	1	7	
e. The availability of medical care	73	48	26	16	3	2	1	8	
f. Local schools	75	51	23	18	2	1	1	6	
g. Local government	72	46	25	15	3	2	1	11	
h. The availability of basic things you need for your household	76	49	27	13	4	3	1	8	
i. Your family's protection from crime	76	51	26	12	3	2	1	9	
j. Your family's economic situation	76	50	26	12	4	3	1	8	
k. Your freedom of speech	76	56	20	12	3	2	1	8	

Trend:

a. The security situation

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	77	53	24	10	4	3	1	9	
2/28/04	74	42	32	10	5	3	3	11	

b. The availability of jobs

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	75	48	28	11	4	3	1	10	
2/28/04	73	38	35	11	4	2	2	13	

c. The supply of electricity

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	74	48	26	14	4	3	2	8	
2/28/04	74	40	34	11	5	3	2	10	

d. The availability of clean water

	-----Better-----				Same	-----Worse-----			No opin.
	NET	Much	Somewhat			NET	Somewhat	Much	
11/22/05	73	47	26	17	3	2	1	7	
2/28/04	75	43	32	13	4	2	1	9	

e. The availability of medical care

	-----Better-----				-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
11/22/05	73	48	26	16	3	2	1	8
2/28/04	75	43	32	12	3	2	1	10

f. Local schools

	-----Better-----				-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
11/22/05	75	51	23	18	2	1	1	6
2/28/04	74	44	30	14	3	1	1	9

g. Local government

	-----Better-----				-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
11/22/05	72	46	25	15	3	2	1	11
2/28/04	69	40	29	12	4	2	2	15

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

	-----Better-----				-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
11/22/05	76	49	27	13	4	3	1	8
2/28/04	76	43	33	10	3	2	1	10

i. Your family's protection from crime

	-----Better-----				-----Worse-----			No
	NET	Much	Somewhat	Same	NET	Somewhat	Much	opin.
11/22/05	76	51	26	12	3	2	1	9
2/28/04	75	42	33	11	4	2	2	11

j-k. No trend

14. 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.

11/22/05 Summary Table

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	priority
a. Regaining public security in the country	81	57	14	10	*
b. Ensuring that oil production increases	23	7	9	7	3
c. Reviving the economy	24	4	11	9	1
d. Dealing with the members of the previous government	2	*	1	1	63
e. Rebuilding the infrastructure (electricity, water supply, telephone...)	46	9	22	15	1
f. Ensuring that most people in this country can make a decent living	34	5	14	16	1
g. Rebuilding the education system	12	2	5	5	1
h. Establishing a stable national government	34	5	12	18	*
i. Reducing crime	14	2	4	8	1
j. Getting U.S. and other occupation forces out of Iraq	28	10	8	11	4
k. No opinion/No answer	*	*	-	-	26

Trend:

a. Regaining public security in the country

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
11/22/05	81	57	14	10	*
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
11/22/05	23	7	9	7	3
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
11/22/05	24	4	11	9	1
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
11/22/05	2	*	1	1	63
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
11/22/05	46	9	22	15	1
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
11/22/05	34	5	14	15	1
2/28/04	30	4	9	17	*
11/15/03	38	4	15	20	*

g. Rebuilding the education system

	-----Priority-----				Not a
	NET	First	Second	Third	Priority
11/22/05	12	2	5	5	1
2/28/04	10	1	4	6	*
11/15/03	16	2	4	10	*

h-j. No trend

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

	--- Effective ---			----- Ineffective -----				No opin./
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	No efforts	Not app.
11/22/05	36	18	18	52	14	26	12	12

16. Who in your opinion has contributed most in helping the reconstruction of post-war Iraq?

	11/22/05
The Iraqis	12
Iraqi government	9
Americans	6
Kurds	4
Foreign companies	3
Coalition forces	2
Local government	2
Jalal al-Talabani	1
Iraqi organizations	2
Al-Sadr's militias	1
The UN	1
Ibrahim al-Jaafari	*
Humanitarian organizations	*
Massoud Barazani	*
Arab countries	*
European countries	*
Political parties	*
Other countries	1
Someone else	*
Other	1
No one	37
No opinion	18

17. Which structure should Iraq have in future?

	11/22/05	2/28/04
One unified Iraq with central government in Baghdad	70	79
A group of regional states with their own regional governments and a federal government in Baghdad	18	14
Dividing the country into separate independent states	9	4
No opinion	3	3

18a. Which national leader in Iraq, if any, do you trust the most?

	11/22/05
Ibrahim al-Jaafari	15
Ayad Allawi	15
Jalal al-Talabani	10
Massoud Barazani	5
Saddam Hussein	3
Abdul Aziz al-Hakeem	2
Muqtada al-Sadr	2
Mithal al-Alousi	2
Saleh al-Mutlaq	2
Adnan al-Pachachi	1
Ahmed Chalabi	1
Al Sistani	1
Hareth al-Darry	1
Other	1
Any Kurdish leader	1
Muhsin Abdul Hameed	*
Adnan al-Dilemy	*

Al Sharif Ben al-Hussein	*
Sultan Hashim	*
Mishaan Jibbory	*
Tariq Aziz	*
Majeed Hameed Moussa	*
Abdul Hameed Majeed	*
Ahmed al-Kubaesi	*
Leeth al-Kuba	*
Bahram Salih	*
Ghazi Ajeel al-Yawer	*
Fasal al-Guood	*
None	17
No opinion/No answer	20

18b. And, if any, which one do you not trust at all?

	11/22/05
Ibrahim al-Jaafari	12
Saddam Hussein	6
Ahmed Chalabi	5
Ayad Allawi	5
Abdul Aziz al-Hakeem	4
Saleh al-Mutlaq	2
Jalal al-Talabani	1
Adnan al-Dilemy	1
Ghazi Ajeel al-Yawer	*
Hareth al-Darry	*
Baath Party	*
Mishaan Jibbory	*
Adnan al-Pachachi	*
Massoud Barazani	*
Muqtada al-Sadr	*
All leaders	*
Al Sharif Ben al-Hussein	*
Mithal al-Alousi	*
Muafaq al-Rubae	*
Falah Hassan al-Naqeeb	*
Bahr al-Uloom	*
Muhsin Abdul Hameed	*
Arab leaders	1
Other	1
Any Shia leader	*
Members of previous regime	*
Religious parties	*
None	29
Not sure/no answer	31

19. I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? If you have not heard of an organization, please tell me so.

11/22/05 Summary Table

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No op./ Not heard
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	
a. Iraq's religious leaders	67	40	27	27	16	12	6
b. New Iraqi Army	67	36	31	30	18	12	3
c. Ministries in Baghdad	45	19	26	48	26	22	7
d. The police	68	38	31	30	18	12	2

e. The United Nations	31	11	20	64	26	38	5
f. Political parties	25	8	17	69	29	39	6
g. US and UK occupation forces	18	7	11	78	23	55	5
h. Local leaders in your community	41	17	23	50	29	21	10
i. National government of Iraq	53	23	30	41	25	16	6
j. The governorate	42	16	26	43	26	16	16

Trend:

a. Iraq's religious leaders

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
11/22/05	67	40	27	27	16	12	6
2/28/04*	70	42	28	21	13	9	8
11/15/03	63	38	25	27	17	10	9

*Asked among those who have heard of Iraq's religious leaders (55 percent).

b. New Iraqi Army

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
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

*Asked among those who have heard of the New Iraqi Army (90 percent).

c. Ministries in Baghdad

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
11/22/05	45	19	26	48	26	22	7
2/28/04*	44	11	33	45	30	15	11
11/15/03	41	12	29	44	28	17	14

*Asked among those who have heard of the Ministries in Baghdad (87 percent).

d. The police

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
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

*Asked among those who have heard of the police (99 percent).

e. The United Nations

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
11/22/05	31	11	20	64	26	38	5
2/28/04*	40	14	27	51	26	26	8
11/15/03	31	11	20	59	26	33	1 0

*Asked among those who have heard of the United Nations (98 percent).

f. Political parties

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
11/22/05	25	8	17	69	29	39	6
2/28/04*	28	7	21	61	25	36	11

11/15/03 19 5 14 66 28 38 15
 *Asked among those who have heard of political parties (99 percent).

g. US and UK occupation forces

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
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

*Asked among those who have heard of US and UK occupation forces (99 percent).

h. Local leaders in your community

	-----Confident-----			---Not confident---			No op./
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	Not heard
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

*Asked among those who have heard of local leaders in their community (65 percent).

i-j. No trend

20a. Irrespective of the form of government Iraq has now, 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 – do agree strongly, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree?

11/22/05 Summary Table.

	-----Agree-----			-----Disagree-----			No op.
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	
a. A (single) strong Iraqi leader	91	75	16	8	4	4	1
b. A group of strong Iraqi leaders	58	29	29	39	15	23	3
c. A gov't made up mainly of religious leaders	48	25	23	50	18	32	3
d. A gov't made up mainly of Iraqi military leaders	49	22	27	48	20	27	4
e. An Iraqi democracy	90	74	16	8	5	4	2
f. An Iraqi government made up of experts and/or managers, not politicians	68	35	34	28	14	13	4
g. An Iraqi government endorsed by the U.N.	37	14	23	59	17	42	5

Trend:

a. A (single) strong Iraqi leader

	-----Agree-----			-----Disagree-----			No opin.
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	
11/22/05	91	75	16	8	4	4	1
6/14/04	86	71	15	10	5	6	4
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 opin.
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	

11/22/05	58	29	29	39	15	23	3
6/14/04	56	19	38	39	21	17	5
2/28/04	53	24	29	39	17	21	8
11/15/03	42	16	25	49	31	19	9

c. A government made up mainly of religious leaders

	-----Agree-----			-----Disagree-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
11/22/05	48	25	23	50	18	32	3
6/14/04	53	22	31	42	24	17	5
2/28/04	53	27	26	40	16	24	7
11/15/03	56	29	28	37	24	13	7

d. A government made up mainly of Iraqi military leaders

	-----Agree-----			-----Disagree-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
11/22/05	49	22	27	48	20	27	4
6/14/04	32	8	24	62	31	31	7
2/28/04	34	11	23	58	20	37	8
11/15/03	24	6	18	68	38	30	8

e. An Iraqi democracy

	-----Agree-----			-----Disagree-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
11/22/05	90	74	16	8	5	4	2
6/14/04	84	67	17	11	7	4	5
2/28/04	86	72	14	9	4	5	5
11/15/03	85	65	20	9	7	2	6

f. An Iraqi government made up of experts and/or managers, not politicians

	-----Agree-----			-----Disagree-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
11/22/05	68	35	34	28	14	13	4
6/14/04	68	36	32	23	14	9	9
2/28/04	67	35	32	23	12	11	10
11/15/03	63	27	36	27	18	9	11

g. No trend

20b/c. What do you think Iraq needs after the election planned for December 2005? What do you think Iraq needs in five years time?

a. A (single) strong Iraqi leader

	Needs after election	Needs in five years
11/22/05	51	31
2/28/04*	47	35
11/15/03	27	27

*2/28/04 and prior ask "what do you think Iraq needs in next 12 months?"

b. A group of strong Iraqi leaders

	Needs after election	Needs in five years
11/22/05	4	3
2/28/04*	3	3
11/15/03	3	3

*2/28/04 and prior ask "what do you think Iraq needs in next 12 months?"

c. A government made up mainly of religious leaders

	Needs after election	Needs in five years
11/22/05	5	6
2/28/04*	10	10
11/15/03	11	11
*2/28/04 and prior ask "what do you think Iraq needs in next 12 months?"		

d. A government made up mainly of Iraqi military leaders

	Needs after election	Needs in five years
11/22/05	2	1
2/28/04*	1	*
11/15/03	*	*
*2/28/04 and prior ask "what do you think Iraq needs in next 12 months?"		

e. An Iraqi democracy

	Needs after election	Needs in five years
11/22/05	28	45
2/28/04*	28	42
11/15/03	32	38
*2/28/04 and prior ask "what do you think Iraq needs in next 12 months?"		

f. An Iraqi government made up of experts and/or managers, not politicians

	Needs after election	Needs in five years
11/22/05	3	3
2/28/04*	2	2
11/15/03	5	5
*2/28/04 and prior ask "what do you think Iraq needs in next 12 months?"		

g. An Iraqi government endorsed by the U.N.

	Needs after election	Needs in five years
11/22/05	2	1

20d. Can you tell me the [single] reason for your choice (in Q20c).

Why a strong leader:

To take control of Iraq	25
Peace and security	19
Unity	9
We want/need one	7
Best system	6
Unified decisions/ opinion	5
To run the country	3
We need strong people to do things	2
Maintaining rights of main groups in society	2
A better life	2
Equality and justice	2
To make Iraq stronger/to rebuild Iraq	1
A leader like Saddam	1

To protect Iraq	1
To solve problems	1
To represent the people	1
An end to occupation	*
Other	3
No opinion	10

Why democracy:

Freedom	27
Best system	10
To have a government/ leader chosen by the people	9
Peace and security	6
Maintaining the rights of main groups in society	5
It improves the situation/ brings progress	5
Equality and justice	4
A better life	4
To make Iraq stronger/to rebuild Iraq	3
To get rid of the former regime	2
Unity	1
We need/want it	1
To represent the will of the people	1
To fulfill people's hopes/aims	1
Dictatorship is no good	1
Gov't by the people for the people	1
Leadership	1
Independence of Iraq	1
Unified decisions/opinion	*
To educate people	*
To solve problems	*
Other	3
No opinion	13

Why religious leaders:

Iraq is an Islamic country	36
Best system	11
Equality and justice	8
People trust them	5
Peace and security	2
To solve problems	2
They know best	2
A better life	2
We want/need them	1
To take control of Iraq	1
Other	2
No opinion	30

21a. There can be differences between the way government is set up in a country, called political system. From the three options I am going to read to you, which one do you think would be best for Iraq now?

	11/22/05	2/28/04
Strong leader: a government headed by one man for life	26	28
Islamic state: where politicians rule according to religious principles	14	21
Democracy: a government with a chance for the leader(s) to be replaced from time to time	57	49
No opinion	3	4

21b. And which one of these systems will be best for Iraq in five years time?

	11/22/05
Strong leader: a government headed by one man for life	18
Islamic state: where politicians rule according to religious principles	12
Democracy: a government with a chance for the leader(s) to be replaced from time to time	64
No opinion	7

22. How much confidence do you have that the elections planned for December 2005 will create a stable Iraqi government? Is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?

	-----Confident-----			----Not confident----			No
	NET	Great deal	A lot	NET	Not much	None	opin.
11/22/05	76	42	34	19	14	5	5

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

	-----Interested----			-----Not interested----			No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Not very	Not at all	opin.
11/22/05	69	29	40	28	18	10	3
2/28/04	54	17	36	41	22	20	5
11/15/03	39	14	25	57	24	33	4

24. 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.

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	Have done	Might do	Would never do	No opin.
a. Talking with other people about politics	51	26	22	1
b. Voting at elections	60	36	3	1
c. Joining a political party or citizens' action group	14	16	66	4
d. Taking action such as demonstrating	11	20	64	5

Trend:

a. Talking with other people about politics

	Have done	Might do	Would never do	No opin.
11/22/05	51	26	22	1
6/14/04	62	27	9	2
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 opin.
11/22/05	60	36	3	1
6/14/04	17	70	11	2
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 opin.
11/22/05	14	16	66	4
6/14/04	5	18	74	4
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 opin.
11/22/05	11	20	64	5
6/14/04	4	17	75	5
2/28/04	5	19	70	5
11/15/03	6	23	65	6

25a. As you may know, there are now a variety of political parties in Iraq. Please tell me which one you are planning to vote for in the national election planned for December 2005.

Wifaq National Movement	9
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan /PUK	9
Islamic al-Dawa Party	8
Kurdistan Democratic Party /PDK	5
Higher Council of Islamic Revolution	3
Islamic Union Party	2
Iraqi Islamic Party	1
Al-Baath Party	1
Followers of al-Said Mohammed Sadiq al-Sadir	1
Al-Uma party	1
Iraqi Communist Party	1
Iraqi National Dialogue Council	1
National Iraqi Conference Party	1
Al-Fadhela party	1
Kurdistan Alliance	1
Iraqi Democratic National Movement	*
National Coalition Movement	*
Islamic Religious Union	*
Allah Party	*
Kurdistan Islamic Union (Yagerto)	*
Iraqi National Unity	*
National Alliance Movement	*
The Movement of Free Officers	*
Ashurian Democratic Party	*
Ashurian Union	*
Democratic National Party	*
Kildan Ashurian Party	*
Liberal Democratic Party	*
Socialist al-Nassiry Party	*
Al-Bajaje Party (Independent Politicians Movement)	*
Zahmatkeshan	*
Other	2
I have not decided for a party, but I am planning to vote	37
I am not sure I will vote	7
No answer	9

25b. And which party/parties would you never vote for?

Al-Baath Party	9
Islamic al-Dawa Party	7
Higher Council of Islamic Revolution	5
Iraqi Communist Party	3
Wifaq National Movement	2
Islamic Union Party	2
Kurdistan Democratic Party /PDK	1
Kurdistan Islamic Union (Yagerto)	1
Al-Uma party	*
Iraqi Islamic Party	*
National Iraqi Conference Party	*
Iraqi Democratic National Movement	*
Constitutional Monarchy Movement	*
Turkmen Front Party	*
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan /PUK	*
Al-Fadhela party	*
Ashurian Democratic Party	*
Followers of al-Said Mohammed Sadiq al-Sadir	*
National Coalition Movement	*
Iraqi National Dialogue Council	*
Other	3
There are no parties I would never vote for	37
No answer	29

26. A new constitution was drafted last summer. How familiar are you with this document?

	-----Familiar-----			-----Not familiar-----			
	NET	Great deal	Quite	NET	A bit	Hardly	Not at all
11/22/05	55	25	30	45	21	17	7

27. What is your opinion of the new Iraqi constitution?

	----- Approve -----			----- Disapprove -----			No opin./
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	No answer
11/22/05	70	45	26	19	7	13	11

28. In dealing with the following issues, do you think the new Iraqi constitution does too much, about the right amount, or too little? If you do not know enough about any of the issues I am going to read out, please tell me so.

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	Too much	About right	Too little	No opin.
a. Allowing freedom to practice any religion	54	21	6	20
b. Allowing freedom of speech	51	23	7	19
c. Allowing freedom of the media	50	18	8	24
d. Allowing non-violent gatherings	41	20	12	27
e. Keeping religion and state independent	35	21	13	30
f. Providing the right to a fair trial for everyone	48	17	9	27
g. Establishing Sharia law	40	18	10	32
h. Providing equal rights for all Iraqis (e.g., to work, vote, attend university)	53	16	8	23

29. 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-----			-----Bad-----			No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
11/22/05	61	22	39	32	17	16	7

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

	Iraqi government	U.S. government	Somebody else	No one	No opin.
11/22/05	44	24	17	6	9

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

	-----Good-----			-----Bad-----			No
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Quite	Very	opin.
11/22/05	36	10	27	59	19	40	5

32. 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	opin.
11/22/05	32	13	19	65	21	44	3
2/28/04	39	13	26	51	20	31	10

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

	11/22/05
Leave now	26
Remain until security is restored	31
Remain until the Iraqi government elected in December is in place	19
Remain until the Iraqi security forces can operate independently	16
Remain longer but leave eventually	3
Never leave	1
No opinion	4

34. 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.
11/22/05	63	30	6	1
6/14/04	40	40	18	3

35. Not all people in Iraq are feeling safe these days. How about you, what takes away from you feeling safe? Please tell me up to three things which make you feel insecure. However, if you feel safe, please tell me so.

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	NET	First	Second	Third
Terrorism	54	22	19	12
Crime/ Lack of law enforcement	12	2	4	5
US/coalition presence	10	6	3	2
Lack of security	8	3	2	3
Arrests	7	2	2	2
External threats	3	1	1	1
Police presence	3	*	1	1
Ethno-religious conflict	1	*	1	*
Volatile political situation	1	*	*	1
No government	1	*	*	*
Guns in society	1	*	*	*
Ministry of Home Affairs	1	*	*	*
Lack of law and order	1	*	*	*
No job	*	*	*	*
Traffic situation	*	*	*	*
Poor living standards	1	*	*	*
No trust	*	*	*	*
Reconstruction/infrastructure	*	*	*	*
Other	4	1	2	1
I feel safe	51	51		
Difficult to say	8	8		
No answer	2	2		

36. (Ask those who do not feel safe-Q35) In order to avoid trouble, how often if ever have you done any of the following over the past year? Is it very often, quite often, not so often, never?

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	---More Often---			----Less often----			No op.
	NET	Very	Quite	NET	Not so	Never	
a. Avoiding going out of your home	73	39	34	25	14	11	2
b. Not sending your children to school	55	21	34	40	20	19	6
c. Avoiding passing/driving by police stations and other public buildings	74	47	27	23	13	9	3
d. Avoiding markets and other crowded areas	69	40	29	28	18	9	3
e. Avoiding checkpoints	77	52	26	20	10	9	3
f. Avoiding US and other coalition forces	86	67	19	11	6	5	3
g. Avoiding travel	68	38	30	28	19	9	4
h. Being careful about what you say about yourself to others	74	43	31	22	16	6	5

37. Has security in Iraq improved, deteriorated, or remained unchanged since the end of the CPA?

	Improved	Deteriorated	Unchanged	No opin.
11/22/05	41	31	18	10

38a. (IF IMPROVED) Who do you think is mainly responsible for this? Who else?

	NET	First	Second
Police	28	17	11
Current government	22	19	4
Iraqi army	12	5	7
Security forces/national guards	10	6	5
The Iraqis	10	6	3
Kurdish government/leaders/ organizations	8	7	1
Americans/coalition forces	6	3	3
Talabani	5	3	2
Ministry of Home Affairs	3	1	1
Ministry of Defense	3	1	1
Iraqi leaders	2	2	1
Barzani	2	1	1
Terrorists	1	1	*
Religious/ethnic groups	1	*	*
Former regime	*	*	*
Al Sistani	*	*	*
Baathists	*	*	*
Other	6	4	2
No answer	24	24	-

38b. (IF DETERIORATED) Who do you think is mainly responsible for this? Who else?

	NET	First	Second
Americans/coalition forces	34	22	11
Current government	30	22	9
Terrorists	17	11	6
Police	5	1	4
Ministry of Home Affairs	5	1	4
Iran	4	2	2
Israel	4	1	3
The Iraqis	3	2	1
Security forces/national guards	3	1	2
Iraqi army	2	1	1
Foreigners	2	1	*
Baathists	2	*	1
Other Neighbouring countries	2	1	1
Al-Zarqawi	1	0	1
Religious/ethnic groups	1	*	1
Ibrahim Al Jaafari	1	1	0
Saddam Hussein	1	1	*
Former regime	1	1	0
Iraqi leaders	1	*	*
Ministry of Defence	1	*	*
Kurdish government/leaders/ organisations	*	0	*
Other	17	7	10
No answer	24	24	-

39. Irrespective of whether regaining public security in the country is one of your priorities, could you please tell me which of the following is the most important to you? Which is second most important? And third most important?

	Most	Second	Third
Fighting crime such as burglary, muggings, kidnappings, etc.	42	25	18
Stopping the attacks on civilians	32	32	19
Stopping violent behavior of			

ordinary people in settling			
day to day disputes	5	12	22
Stopping attacks on Coalition Forces	3	7	8
Stopping attacks on the police or			
new Iraqi army	15	20	29
No opinion	3	3	4

40. Do you think that the security situation will improve, worsen, or remain the same in one year's time?

	Improve	Worsen	Stay same	No opin./No ans.
11/22/05	70	12	11	7

41. How important is it to you, personally, to stay informed about news and current events?

	-----Important-----			-----Not important-----			No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Not very	Not at all	opin.
11/22/05	85	51	34	14	11	3	1

42. People get information about news and current events from many different sources. For each one of the sources I mention, please tell me how often you use that source to get news and information about current events: daily or almost daily, several times a week, once a week, less than once a week, or never.

11/22/05 - Summary Table

	Daily/almost daily	Several times/week	Once a week	Less than once a week	Never	No op.
Television	84	13	1	1	1	*
Radio	30	26	12	8	25	*
Newspapers	11	12	10	15	51	1
Internet	3	4	2	4	86	1
Family members	62	22	5	5	7	1
Friends	53	25	7	6	9	1

43. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you have to be very careful in dealing with people?

	Most people can be trusted	Have to be careful in dealing with people	No opin.
11/22/05	12	85	3

44. Thinking about the role of women in public life, do you think that women should:

	Yes	No	No opin.
Vote	99	1	*
Be able to stand for mukhtar	38	60	2
Be able to stand for public office such as local council	77	20	3
Be able to stand for public office such as national assembly	80	18	2
Be able to be governor	51	46	4
Be able to be president	46	51	3
Be able to instruct men in their work	78	20	2
Be a medical doctor	99	1	1
Drive a car	84	14	2

Selected demographics:

Monthly income	11/22/05	2/28/04
Up to \$50	2	19
\$51-100	9	22
\$101-150	22	27
\$151-200	11	8
\$201-300	33	16
\$301-500	16	7
\$501+	8	3
Average	\$263	\$164

Household items	11/22/05	2/28/04
Air conditioner	58	44
Animals for work or food production	29	20
Bicycle/tricycle	30	12
Car	55	43
Electric cooker	61	47
Electric fan	94	92
Electric iron	79	68
Farm machinery	22	13
Freezer	59	48
Gas cooker	68	67
Heater	85	94
Motorbike/moped/ motortricycle	11	4
Refrigerator	90	81
Still camera	28	21
Telephone (fixed line)	38	30
Mobile telephone	62	6
Video recorder/VCD/ DVD	33	36
Washing machine	54	44
Other electrical kitchen appliances	51	38
Television	99	na
Satellite dish	86	32*
Cable connection	11	na
Radio	77	na
VCR	34	na
Computer	17	na
Internet access	9	na
None	*	*

*11/15/03

Employment	11/22/05	2/28/04
Full-time	14	11
Part-time/casually	2	3
Self-employed	18	21
Unemployed	5	7
Homemaker	38	37
Student	18	17
Unable to work	1	1
Retired	4	3

Availability of electricity		11/22/05
All day, everyday		5
More than 8 hours daily		41
4-8 hours daily		28
2-4 hours daily		18
1-2 hours daily		5
Only on certain days		2
Never		1

Fuel waiting times	11/22/05	
	Heating/cooking fuel	Car fuel
Up to 1 hour	1	1
1-2 hours	13	9
3-6 hours	21	18
7-24 hours	5	3
1-3 days	12	12
4-10 days	6	4
11-30 days	3	*
Longer than 1 month	8	0
No waiting time	31	19
Don't need/don't drive	1	34

END