

CNN/USA TODAY/GALLUP POLL

NATIONWIDE POLL OF IRAQ

-- FINAL TOPLINE --

Face-to-face interviews with 3,444 adults in Iraq were conducted in Arabic and Kurdish by Iraqi interviewers hired and supervised by the Pan Arab Research Center of Dubai. All interviews were conducted in the residences of the respondents. These poll results are based on interviews conducted in all parts of Iraq, both urban and rural, representing about 93% of the total Iraqi population. Nearly all the interviews were conducted between March 22-April 9, 2004. An extremely small number of interviews were conducted between April 16-22.

***NOTE: NEARLY ALL OF THE INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED BEFORE APRIL 9, SO SOME QUESTIONS MAY NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ANY CHANGES IN IRAQI OPINION BASED ON THE EVENTS OF THE LAST TWO TO THREE WEEKS. THAT MEANS THAT SOME QUESTIONS MUST BE HANDLED WITH CARE -- PAY ATTENTION TO THE NOTES ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS, AND ALWAYS KEEP THE TIMING OF THE INTERVIEWS IN MIND WHEN ANALYZING THE RESULTS.

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6.1. Lets talk about Iraq, say five years from now. Do you think Iraq will be much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than it was before the U.S. and British invasion? [READ OUT]

Much better off	29%
Somewhat better off	34
About the same	7
Somewhat worse off	4
Much worse off	6
Don't know	20
Refused	1

6.2. What about _____ [NAME OF GOVERNORATE WHERE INTERVIEW IS TAKING PLACE]. In your opinion in five years from now, do you think it will be much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than it was before the U.S. and British invasion? [READ OUT]

Much better off	28%
Somewhat better off	37
About the same	11
Somewhat worse off	4
Much worse off	4
Don't know	17
Refused	1

7. Now, I'd like you to think about different aspects of your life, and the circumstances that affect your life. Assume that your evaluation of your life can be represented at a certain point on this 10 points scale.

On which step of this scale would you say you personally feel you stand **at this time** assuming that the higher the step the better you feel about your life, and the lower the step, the worse you feel about it? Just point to the step that comes closest to how **you feel now**. [PRESENT SHOWCARD]

Mean 4.7

8. On which step would you say you **stood five years ago**? [PRESENT SHOWCARD]

Mean 3.8

9. Just your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand **five years from now**? [PRESENT SHOWCARD]

Mean 6.4

11. Now, here are a few questions about the form of government you believe would be best for the new Iraq. As I read off a description of each of these forms of government, would you tell me whether or not it would be acceptable to you as a form for a new Iraqi government?
12. Now suppose you had to choose only **one** of these seven forms of government. Which one would you prefer as the new government for Iraq?
13. Looking ahead, say five years from now, which one of these different forms of government do you think Iraq is **most likely** to have?

SUMMARY TABLE

	Q11 Govern- ment form <u>acceptable</u> %	Q12 Preferred govern- ment form <u>form</u> %	Q13 Most likely govern- ment form <u>form</u> %
Multi-party parliamentary democracy such as that in most European nations, US and some Asian countries	54	40	50
An Islamic democracy, such as that in Pakistan.	5	2	1
An Islamic theocracy in which religious leaders or Mullahs have a strong influence, such as in Iran.	20	12	6
A conservative Islamic theocracy, such as existed in the former Taliban regime in Afghanistan	1		
A conservative Islamic kingdom, such as that in Saudi Arabia	11	4	2
A royal constitutional regime such as the one prevailed in Iraq before 1958	20	7	7
A system based on the Islamic concept of SHURA (mutual consultation)	42	25	12
Do not know	6	9	19
Others	2	1	3

- 14.1 The Transitional Governing Council approved on March 8th on the Transitional Administrative Law; i.e, the Provisional Constitution. How interested were you in following this event? Would you say you were [READ OUT]

Very interested	20%
Somewhat interested	34
Neither interested nor not interested	20
Not interested to some extent	10
Not interested at all	12
Unspecified	1
Have not heard about it	4

14.2 Do you consider yourself to be sufficiently informed about the key points that are in the Provisional Constitution and what it aims to achieve?

Yes, sufficiently informed	12%
No, not sufficiently informed	85
Not specified	3

14.3 Based on what you heard about the key points that are in the Provisional Constitution unanimously approved by the Governing Council members, how optimistic are you that it has ushered in a new social and political stage for Iraq? [READOUT]

Very optimistic	7%
Somewhat optimistic	32
Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	33
Somewhat pessimistic	11
Very pessimistic	7
Unspecified / do not know	10

14.4 As I read off provisions that are included in the Provisional Constitution, would you tell me whether you agree or do not agree on the inclusion of each of these provisions in the **new** constitution?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
Freedom of speech - allowing all Iraqi citizens to express their opinion on the political, social and economic issues of the day.	94%	2	4	1
Freedom of religion - allowing all Iraqi citizens to observe any religion of their choice and to practice its teachings and beliefs.	73%	22	4	1
Freedom of assembly - allowing all Iraqi citizens to assemble or congregate for any reason or in support of any cause.	77%	12	9	2

15.1.1 As you may know, the Iraqi Governing Council has announced that Saddam Hussein will be tried by Iraqi judges on charges that he committed crimes against Iraqis. Do you agree with putting him on trial, or not?

Yes	83%
No	8
Don't know (vol.)	7
Refused	2

- 15.3 Suppose Saddam Hussein is tried by a tribunal of Iraqi judges. Regardless of how you think such a court might rule, I'd like your personal opinion of whether or not you think Saddam Hussein is probably guilty of the following possible charges: [READ AND ROTATE]: [FOR EACH ITEM, RESPONSE CATEGORIES ARE: 1) IS PROBABLY GUILTY, 2) IS PROBABLY NOT GUILTY, 3) DON'T KNOW, 4) REFUSED]

	<u>Probably responsible</u>	<u>Probably not responsible</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Refused</u>
Responsibility for the murder of Iraqi civilians	84%	6	7	2
Responsibility for the torture of Iraqi civilians	84%	6	8	2
Responsibility for crimes against humanity in Iraq, from the use of poison gas against Iraqi civilians	83%	6	9	2
Responsibility for war crimes during the war with Iran, from the use of poison gas against Iranian soldiers	80%	8	10	3

- 16.1 Suppose that Saddam Hussein is tried by an Iraqi court on charges that he was responsible for ordering the murder of Iraqi civilians, do you think he would be likely to receive a fair trial, or do you think he would probably not receive a fair trial?

Likely to receive a fair trial	56%
Probably will not receive a fair trial	23
Don't Know	18
Refused	2

- 16.2.1 Do you say that because you think he may be found guilty even though if he is really innocent of that charge, or because you think he may be found innocent even though he is really guilty of that charge?

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY SADDAM HUSSEIN WILL NOT RECEIVE A FAIR TRIAL

May be found guilty even if innocent	29%
May be found innocent even if guilty	62
Don't Know	9
Refused	1

17. Suppose that a court presided over by Iraqi judges were to find Saddam Hussein guilty of having been responsible for the murder of Iraqi civilians. If this were to happen, what sentence do you think he should face? [READ AND ROTATE]

The death penalty	61%
Life in prison, but not execution	21
Long prison sentence, not life in prison	5
Other	9
Don't Know	4
Refused	1

18.1 As you may know, the Coalition recently announced that former President Hussein has been granted the status of a prisoner of war he would not be put on trial. Do you agree with this status, or would you prefer for him to have the same status as any other person being held awaiting trial on criminal charges?

Should be held as a prisoner of war	9%
Should have same status	75
Should not be held at all (vol.)	5
Don't Know/ Refused	11

28. There is a notion, which calls for the separation of religion from political government. What is your stance on this issue? [READ OUT] Do you

Oppose it, or	58%
Support it	31
Do not know	11

29. In general, what opinion do you have of the following nations and international or government organizations? You can do this using a five point scale: the more you like a nation the closer the rating is to five; the lower the level of liking, the closer the rating is to one.

[ROTATE STARTING POINT] [PRESENT SHOWCARD]

	FAVORABLE		Neither unfavorable nor favorable	UNFAVORABLE		Don't know
	<u>Very</u> %	<u>what</u> %		<u>what</u> %	<u>Very</u> %	
France	5	22	30	14	18	11
The United States	12	11	17	19	36	5
Great Britain	11	9	19	19	37	6
Iraqi Governing Council	14	40	22	8	13	3
United Nations	9	24	37	9	14	6
Coalition Provisional Authority	8	20	22	17	29	4
The new Iraqi Police	38	38	14	4	3	3
The new Iraqi Army	37	35	14	4	3	7

36.2 Do you think if people co-operate with CPA it will speed up bringing stability and a better life?

Yes	45%
No	42
Don't know	13
Refused	1

37. I will read out to you a set of statements, which you may or may not totally agree with. As I read them out I would like you to indicate whether you agree or disagree with each [READ OUT STATEMENTS; ROTATE ORDER]

NOTE: NEARLY ALL OF THE INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED BEFORE APRIL 9, SO THIS QUESTION DOES NOT REFLECT IRAQI VIEWS OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST THREE WEEKS. HANDLE THIS QUESTION WITH CARE -- IN PARTICULAR THE ITEMS ON CIVIL WAR AND THE ATTACKS ON U.S. FORCES!

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>Can't Say</u> %
The U.S. is very serious about improving the economic lot of the Iraqis	37	54	10
The U.S. is very serious about establishing a democratic system in Iraq	37	50	13
The U.S. will allow Iraqis to design their own political future as they see fit without direct U.S. influence	28	57	15
The U.S. is completely serious about preserving the political and geographical unity of Iraq	33	51	16
If the U.S. were to pull out its troops any time soon Iraq will fall into anarchy	41	44	15
A civil war will not happen in Iraq	58	24	18
The future political system of Iraq means that the local religious leaders will grab more powers.	26	35	39
The old regime has been smashed forever.	86	5	8
Creating job opportunities for Iraqis will reduce attacks on the occupying forces	68	20	12
The removal of the former Iraqi regime by the coalition forces will weaken the activities of Islamic fundamentalist organizations in the region	30	39	31
The U.S. will not leave Iraq unless it is forced to do by force by the Iraqis	55	28	18

38. As you may know, the Iraqi Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority announced in November that an agreement had been reached to transfer sovereignty from the CPA to an independent Iraqi Transitional National Government by June 30th of this year.

Which of the following, if any, were reasons that the United States was willing to transfer governmental power back to Iraqis? [READ. ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE]

Pressure from Iraqis	26%
A genuine U.S. to political desire to transfer power	13
Agreement by both Iraqis and Americans	31
The transfer of power will be superficial will not reduce U.S influence in Iraq afterwards	40
Pressure from resistance attacks against the U.S. forces	17
Do not know	13
Refused	1

40. Should the new Iraq ask the coalition forces to leave immediately after June 30th, because even if there could be civil unrest and security problems, Iraqis should handle these problems entirely by themselves, or should it ask foreign troops to stay on, but only for a limited period of time?

Leave immediately	45%
Stay on	45
Don't know	9
Refused	1

42. Using a one-to-five rating scale, where 1 means very bad and 5 means very good, how would you rate the performance of the Iraqi Governing Council to date?

Very bad	12%
Somewhat bad	12
Neither bad nor Good	36
Somewhat Good	32
Very good	3
Don't Know	5
Refused	*

43. In general, do you think the Iraqi Governing Council is fairly independent, or do you think its policies and decisions are mostly determined by the coalition's own authorities?

Generally independent	11%
Determined by coalition authorities	79
Don't know	9
Refused	1

44.1 Iraq has shifted from a one-party system to multi-party system where some of these parties are represented in the Transitional Governing Council and the government ministries. Do you think that that political favoritism and nepotism has been eliminated totally, eliminated to some extent, remains as it was in the previous regime, or increased compared to what it was at in the previous regime?

Eliminated totally	2%
Eliminated to some extent	21
Remains as it was	43
Increased	26
Don't know / Not specified	9

44.2 What is your level of trust in the New Iraqi Police? [READ OUT]

Very high level of trust	19%
Medium level of trust	51
Somewhat low level of trust	18
No trusted at all	8
Don't know	4

45. Since elections will not be held and there will be no Transitional National Assembly in place by June 30th, to which of the following would you prefer the CPA transfer sovereignty until elections for that Assembly are held -- the current 25 member Iraqi Governing Council, An expanded 50 member Iraqi Governing Council, whose additional members would be selected jointly by the current IGC and the CPA, or A caretaker Iraqi government with limited powers, whose main responsibility would be to arrange and conduct elections?

The current 25 member Iraqi Council	11%
An expanded 50 member Iraqi Council	9
Caretaker Iraqi gov't w/ limited powers	58
Other	2
Don't know	18
Refused	1

46. How confident are you that the rights and interests of ethnic and religious minorities will be fairly treated under the new Iraqi government and constitution? [READ OUT]

Very confident	25%
Somewhat confident	36
Not confident	19
Don't know	21

48. For the past decade, Iraq's Kurdish governorates have governed themselves independently. Under Iraq's next constitution, do you think these Kurdish areas should -- have no more local governmental autonomy than any other part of Iraq, have some additional local autonomy, but remain an integral part of Iraq, or something else?

Have no more local autonomy	55%
Have some additional local autonomy	16
Other (Specify)	12
Don't Know	16
Refused	2

- 49.1 Iraq has historical political, cultural, trade, social and economic relationship with many neighbouring countries. In your opinion, with which countries or group of countries should Iraq establish strong relationships?
[PRESENT SHOWCARD. ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE ANSWER]

- 49.2 Similarly, with which countries or group of countries should Iraq establish no relationship with in order to protect its interests?
[PRESENT SHOWCARD. ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE ANSWER]

SUMMARY TABLE

	Q49.1 <u>Strong Relationships</u>	Q49.2 <u>No Relationships</u>
	%	%
Arab Gulf Countries	80	
Turkey	55	
Israel	1	
Syria	64	
Jordan	63	
Iran	58	
Palestine	61	
Lebanon	64	
None of the above	5	
Don't know	6	

50. When you think of your identity – who you are -- which of the following do you regard as the most expressive of your identity?

1. Which is the first most important?
2. Which is the second most important?
3. Which is the third most important?
4. Which is the fourth most important?
5. Which is the fifth most important?

	<u>1st most important</u>	<u>2nd most important</u>	<u>3rd most important</u>	<u>4th most important</u>	<u>5th most important</u>	<u>Not important</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Religion (in general)	67	19	9	3	*	1
Tribe	1	24	23	26	17	8
Ethnicity (Nationality)	12	20	30	20	7	6
Iraqi National identity	18	24	20	22	5	3
Sect	1	9	8	12	43	21

- 51.1 As an Iraqi citizen, given the current political and social situation in Iraq, which of these authorities/bodies do you rely on most to protect your legal and political rights? **(INT: READ. ACCEPT SINGLE ANSWER)**
- 51.2.1 In the future and when the new Iraqi governing system is in place, as an Iraqi citizen, which of these authorities/bodies would you rely on most to protect your legal and political rights? [READ. ACCEPT SINGLE ANSWER]

SUMMARY TABLE

	<u>Q51.1</u> %	<u>Q51.2</u> %
Coalition Forces	6	1
Religious Authorities	14	7
Governmental Institutions	55	81
Tribal Chiefs	18	5
Political Party / Parties	2	2
None of the above	6	1
Don't know	3	7

- 52.1.1 There has been some discussion about what role, if any, Iraq's religious leaders should play under the country's next government. I'm going to read a list of possible areas. For each one I mention, please tell me whether you think the country's religious leaders should play a direct role in that particular area or not [READ AND ROTATE]
- 52.1.2 In the area of _____ (ITEM), do you think the role of religious leaders should be to advise government officials who have this responsibility, or do you think that religious leaders themselves – rather than government officials – should be put directly in charge of this function?

	<u>Q.52.1.1</u>	<u>Q. 52.1.2</u>	
	<u>Should play direct role</u>	<u>Advise officials who hold this function</u>	<u>Put directly in charge of this function</u>
	%	%	%
Secular family law	78	50	17
Deciding what will be taught in the country's schools	70	44	13
Writing national legislation – that is, drafting new laws to which all Iraqis would be subject	73	37	21
Deciding what may be broadcast on television or published in newspapers	73	43	15
Deciding who may run for elected office	67	34	15
Deciding how women may dress in public	71	43	15

Drafting Iraq's next constitution.

73

33

24

Determining Iraq's foreign policy, and its relations with other countries.

61

27

13

53. 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? [READ AND ROTATE]

	<u>Disagree</u>	Somewhat	Strongly	Can't
	%	<u>agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>say</u>
	%	%	%	%
An Iraqi democracy	3	9	84	3
A single strong Iraqi leader	40	20	35	4
A group of strong Iraqi leaders	55	21	15	9
An Iraqi government made up of experts/managers, not politicians	45	23	19	13
A government made up mostly of religious leaders	50	19	22	9
A government made up mostly of Iraqi military officers	65	13	10	12

59.1 In your opinion, and concerning the Iraqi women in particular, do you think women?

Should have more freedom than before U.S.-British invasion	26%
Should have same degree of freedom as before invasion	15
Should follow more traditional/conservative roles than before invasion	53
Don't know	6
Refused	*

59.2 There are discussions about the rights that the new constitution should provide to women. Please tell me whether you agree with each of the following?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
	%	%	%
Women should have the same legal rights as men	49	47	3
Women should be allowed to vote w/o interference of influence by family members	78	18	4
Women are able to make their own decisions on whom to vote for	77	17	6
The Iraqi government should impose certain dress codes on women	42	53	4
Women should not be allow to drive car a by themselves	31	65	4
Women should be allowed to hold any job for which they are qualified outside home	79	17	3
I support women in holding leadership positions in cabinet and the national council	62	31	6

Sample Design and Methodology – Gallup Nationwide Poll of Iraq, 2004

The strict, probability-based sample design used by Gallup to conduct this survey projects with scientific accuracy to all adults (age 18+) residing in Iraq, with the exception of those residing in the governorates of Arbil and Dahuk*. All 3,444 interviews were conducted face-to-face, in the privacy of the respondent's own home. For results based on this sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum error attributable to sampling and other random effects is $\pm 1.7\%$

Interviewing was conducted during the period of March 22 through April 2, with the exception of the governorate of Sulaymaniya where interviewing extended until April 9, 2004. The cooperation rate was 98% – that is, only 2% of those households we contacted refused to be interviewed. Average interview length was 70 minutes.

Interviewing was conducted in 350 separate locations across the country, encompassing both urban and rural sectors. Two-thirds of the interviews were conducted in areas classified as urban, and the remaining third in areas classified as rural.

Selection of the sample was done at the *qadha* administrative unit level, with a total of 350 primary sampling units (PSUs) selected on a strict, probability-proportional-to-size basis. An average of 10 interviews, one per household, was conducted in each of these locations.

A more detailed description of the selection process is as follows:

Each governorate (“*mohafatha*”) consists of multiple administrative units known as *qadhas*. The sixteen governorates surveyed include a total of 93 *qadhas*, and interviewing was conducted in each of these during the course of this survey. Each *qadha* consists of multiple districts known as *nahiya*; there are a total of 223 *nahiyas* in the sixteen surveyed governorates.

Each *nahiya* consists of a multiple of *mahalas* (neighborhoods) of varying population sizes. The adult population of each of these *mahalas* was obtained by Gallup from a 2002 Central Statistical Office update, with adult population was defined as those born in 1986 or earlier. In collaboration with the Central Statistical Offices of Baghdad and Sulaymaniya, these data enabled Gallup to assign the appropriate population weight for each of the *mahalas* into which a sampling point for our survey fell. There are a total of 2443 *mahalas* in the sixteen governorates surveyed.

Each *mahala*, in turn, is comprised of blocks known as *majals*. *Majals* contain multiple, proximate housing units, often along the course of a given road or street (longer roads may stretch across multiple *majals*). Within our sampling frame, there are 116,314 *majals* exclusive of Sulaymaniya, where the available census data extend only to the level of *mahalas*.

Once the number of PSUs to be allocated to a given *qadha* was determined, these were then assigned – again, on a probability-based basis – to specific *nahiyas*, *mahalas* and *majals* within that *qadha*, with no more than one *majal* selected within any given *mahala*.

Interviewers were given the all the relevant address details for each PSU. However, since the only available residential listings were based on a 1997 census, all residential listings had to be updated. In addition, the available listings consisted solely of dwelling addresses, regardless of the number of independent families residing within a given housing unit. Therefore, we compiled separate listings identifying independent families, based on the criterion of their preparing or eating meals independently.

In those instances where more than ten independent families resided in a given, selected *majal*, a random selection table was used to select which families would be interviewed.

Finally, within each selected household, the specific adult to be interviewed was selected by the Kish method. This research procedure, designed to ensure proper representation of all age groups and both genders in the sample, involves first recording the ages and sex of each of a selected household's adults on a grid. The respondent to be interviewed is then selected according to a prescribed systematic procedure.

(*) The three predominantly Kurdish governorates of Arbil, Dahok and Sulayminayah have their own administrative agencies that have been largely independent from those based in Baghdad for more than a decade. Because the Central Statistical Office of Arbil did not participate in this project, we were unable to interview in Arbil and Dahok. Additional interviewing was therefore conducted in neighboring Sulaymaniyah, so that a total of 446 interviews – 13.0% of our nationwide sample – was conducted within this region. According to the latest available population estimates, these three governorates collectively account for 13.1% of Iraq's total population (Sulaymaniyah: 6.3%, Arbil: 5.1%, Dahok: 1.7%).