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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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1.1 Which of these media channels do you own at home and are in working condition? [READ OUT]

Radio	72%
TV set	95
Telephone set (Land)	21
Thurayya Telephone set / Mobile	4
Home PC	2
Have access to internet at home	1
Use of Internet outside the home	*

1.2 How often do you read daily newspapers these days, irrespective of time you spend reading?

7 days a week	6%
6 days a week	1
5 days a week	2
4 days a week	5
3 days a week	7
2 days a week	8
1 day a week	7
Less than 1 day a week	7
Do not read	57

1.3 How often do you watch TV these days, irrespective of channels you watch?

7 days a week	76%
6 days a week	6
5 days a week	4
4 days a week	3
3 days a week	2
2 days a week	1
1 day a week	*
Less than 1 day a week	1
Do not watch	6

1.4 How often do you listen to radio these days, irrespective of stations you listen to?

7 days a week	24%
6 days a week	3
5 days a week	5
4 days a week	7
3 days a week	8
2 days a week	6
1 day a week	4
Less than 1 day a week	4
Do not listen	40

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SUMMARY TABLE: MEDIA VIEWERSHIP

	<u>Daily Newspapers</u> %	<u>TV</u> %	<u>Radio</u> %
7 days a week	6	76	24
6 days a week	1	6	3
5 days a week	2	4	5
4 days a week	5	3	7
3 days a week	7	2	8
2 days a week	8	1	6
1 days a week	7	*	4
Less often	7	1	4
Do not read / watch / listen	57	6	40

2.1 What are the channels that you received at home without any difficulties?
[ASK Q2.2 FOR THOSE WHO WATCH TV, N Q1.3]

Iraqiya	84%
Jazeera	33
Arabiya	32
Hurriyah	29
Abu Dhabi Satellite	27
Al Alam	25
Al Manar	22
Kuwait Sat	20
Al Hurra	18
BBC World	15
CNN	9
DK/refused	*

2.2 What are the TV channels that you have watched in the past seven days?
[READ OUT CHANNELS]

Iraqiya	74%
Arabiya	28
Jazeera	27
Hurriyah	20
Abu Dhabi Satellite	18
Al Alam	11
Al Manar	11
Kuwait Sat	8
Al Hurra	6
BBC World	4
CNN	3
DK/refused	3

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2.3 Different people have different opinions about different TV channels. I will read out to you some attributes. I would like you to tell me which TV channels you think each word / statement applies to. Please bear in mind that a statement could apply to many channels, to only one channel, or to none. [READ OUT STATEMENTS; PRESENT SHOWCARD OF TV CHANNELS. ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS]

	Channels Received at <u>Home</u> %	Watch the <u>Channel</u> %	Objective/ Is not <u>Biased</u> %	Pro US- <u>Britain</u> %	First to Break the <u>News</u> %	<u>Bold</u> %	Pro- Former Iraqi <u>Regime</u> %	Really Supports Iraqi <u>People</u> %
CNN	9	3	2	10	3	2	*	1
Al Iraqiya	84	74	21	8	10	9	1	30
Abu Dhabi Satellite	27	18	22	5	17	12	3	11
Al Arabiya	32	28	39	7	58	47	17	30
Al Jazeera	33	27	35	8	55	45	24	28
BBC World	15	4	4	11	6	4	*	2
Kuwait Satellite	20	8	5	9	2	2	*	7
Al Alam	25	11	8	2	6	6	1	5
Al Hurriyah (Kurd Sat.)	29	20	7	3	3	5	1	15
Al Manar	22	11	18	1	8	9	1	13
Al Hurra	18	6	4	14	2	2	*	3
Do not know / cannot say	*	3	18	41	16	23	43	15
Applies to none			6	16	4	6	25	11

3. Taking everything into consideration, do you think the coalition invasion of Iraq has done more harm than good or more good than harm? [READ OUT. ACCEPT SINGLE ANSWER]

More harm than good	46%
More good than harm	33
The same	16
Don't know	4
Refused	1

4.1 In your opinion, is Iraq is much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than before the U.S. and British invasion? [READ OUT. ACCEPT SINGLE ANSWER]

Much better off	11%
Somewhat better off	31
About the same	17
Somewhat worse off	24
Much worse off	15
Don't know	2
Refused	*

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4.2. What about [NAME OF GOVERNORATE WHERE INTERVIEW IS TAKING PLACE]. In your opinion, is _____ much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than before the U.S. and British invasion? [READ OUT]

Much better off	11%
Somewhat better off	32
About the same	27
Somewhat worse off	18
Much worse off	11
Don't know	1
Refused	*

5.1 How about you and your family, would you say are much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off than you were before the U.S. and British invasion? [READ OUT. ACCEPT SINGLE ANSWER]

Much better off	14%
Somewhat better off	37
About the same	25
Somewhat worse off	15
Much worse off	10
Don't know	1
Refused	*

10. There are many actions some people as individuals or as groups or states do. I will read out to you a number of these acts / events and I would like you to indicate to which extent you can personally justify them morally? [PRESENT SHOWCARD] [START WITH ITEM MARKED WITH X)] [Rotate Statements]

	Cannot be justified at <u>all</u>	Cannot be justified, <u>somewhat</u>	Can be justified, sometimes <u>cannot</u>	Can be justified, <u>somewhat</u>	Can be justified, <u>completely</u>
The US-British military action in Iraq	39%	13	16	19	12
Current attacks against US forces in Iraq***	25%	22	22	17	13
Attacks and bombings targeting Iraqi police	81%	11	4	2	1

*****NOTE: ALTHOUGH THE QUESTION SAID "CURRENT ATTACKS," 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 -- "CURRENT" MAY BE MISLEADING.**

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- 19.1 After the invasion of Iraq by the U.S. and British forces, which of the following, if any, happened to you personally or to members of your household? [READ OUT, START WITH STATEMENT MARKED WITH X]
- 19.2 Did this happen within past four weeks? (Before past 4 weeks / Since Invasion; or Since Invasion)
- 19.3.1. Which of the following, if any, happened to you personally or to members of your family in the year before the invasion?

SUMMARY TABLE

	Q 19.1	Q19.2	Q19.3
	At all since <u>invasion</u>	Within past four <u>weeks</u>	Happened in the final months before <u>invasion</u>
	%	%	%
Gone without electricity for long periods of time	78	47	68
Been without clean drinking water for long periods of time	49	32	36
Had to stand in line for long periods of time to buy gasoline	74	36	7
Been unable to obtain food because of shortages	25	16	11
Been afraid to go outside your home for safety reasons	57	34	7
Had home burglarized	3	1	3
Been unable to obtain medical assistance or medicine	25	17	15
Had a car or property stolen	3	1	1
Been physically attacked	2	1	3
Felt freer to express any political views in public	76	61	2
Felt afraid of practicing religions beliefs	8	5	54
Been afraid to go outside your home at night for safety reasons	74	60	10
Lost my job	7	5	4
Gone without public sewage system	40	31	37

20. In your opinion which would you prefer – for the U.S. and British forces to leave [READ OUT]

Immediately, say in the next few months, or	57%
Do you think they should stay in Iraq for a longer period of time?	36
Do not know	7

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21. In your opinion, how have U.S. forces in Iraq conducted themselves? [READ OUT]

Very well	10%
Fairly well	24
Fairly badly	29
Very badly	29
Don't know	9
Refused	1

22. [IF ANSWERED FAIRLY OR VERY BADLY] Do you say this [READ OUT]

From personal experience,	7%
From things you have seen yourself, or	39
From what you have heard?	54

23. Just your personal opinion... for each of the following, would you say it happens a lot, a little or not at all?:

	Happens <u>a lot</u>	Happens <u>a little</u>	Does not <u>happen at all</u>	Don't <u>know</u>
U.S. soldiers show disrespect for Iraqi women in their interrogations and searches.	21%	25	39	14
U.S. soldiers show disrespect for Iraqi people in the searches of their homes.	35%	25	29	10
U.S. soldiers show disrespect for Islam in the searches of places of worship	20%	22	43	14

24. In general, how hard do you think U.S. forces are trying to accomplish each of the following – a lot, only a little, or not at all?:

	Trying <u>a lot</u> %	Trying <u>only a little</u> %	Does not <u>trying at all</u> %
Restoring basic services like electricity/clean drinking water to Iraqis	11	41	44
Trying to keep ordinary Iraqis from being killed/wounded during exchanges of gunfire	11	18	67
Working to repair Iraqi schools and classrooms	17	50	26
Working with local councils to try to improve neighborhood conditions/services	7	34	49
Maintaining roads and bridges	8	23	60
Improving local health centers	13	40	40

25. Have you or any other household members had any personal contact with any U.S. military forces or not?

Yes	6%
No	94

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26.a On balance, do you, personally, now think of the Coalition forces mostly as occupiers, or mostly as liberators?

Mostly as occupiers	71%
Mostly as liberators	19
BOTH EQUALLY	8
Don't Know	2
REFUSED	*

26.b At the time of the invasion last spring, did you, personally, think of the Coalition forces mostly as occupiers, or mostly as liberators?

Mostly as occupiers	43%
Mostly as liberators	43
BOTH EQUALLY	9
Don't Know	4
REFUSED	*

26.c I will read some statements related to the attacks against-the Iraqi police, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the contents of each statements.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
	%	%	%
The attacks are an effort to liberate Iraq from U.S and Coalition forces	21	67	12
The attacks are an effort to disrupt the plan for transferring responsibility for our security to Iraqi forces	58	27	15
The attacks are an attempt to incite divisions and civil war in Iraq	62	21	17
The attacks emphasize the need for the continued presence of Coalition forces in Iraq	51	34	14
The attacks are an effort by U.S forces to persuade others that they need to remain in Iraq	52	31	15
The attacks are meant to deter Iraqi police force from collaborating with Coalition forces	44	29	21

26.5.1. Over the past three months, would you say that conditions for creating peace and stability in Iraq have improved or worsened?

Improved	25%
Worsened	54
Stayed the same (vol.)	19
Don't Know	2

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26.4. If the Coalition left Iraq today, would you feel more safe or less safe?

More safe	28%
Less safe	53
No difference (vol.)	12
Don't Know	8

27. Do you think that Saddam Hussein would have been removed from power by Iraqis themselves if U.S. and British forces had not taken direct military action?

Yes	4%
No	89
Don't Know	6
Refused	2

30. I would like you to express extent of liking or admiration with respect to a number of people you may be aware of. You can do this using a five point scale: the more you like a person the closer the rating is to five; the lower the level of liking, the closer the rating is to one. [ROTATE STARTING POINT]

	FAVORABLE		Neither like nor dislike	UNFAVORABLE		Not aware of person	Not sure / don't know
	<u>Very</u> %	<u>Some- what</u> %		<u>Some- what</u> %	<u>Very</u> %		
Tony Blair	9	8	14	11	36	21	2
Jacques Chirac	3	13	20	15	28	20	2
Saddam Hussein	5	4	9	7	73	1	1
Paul Bremer	11	20	22	12	30	4	1
George W. Bush	13	11	17	11	44	3	1

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31. On a one-to-five rating scale, where 1 means very bad and 5 means very good, how would you rate the performance of the Coalition Provisional Authority to date?

1 Very bad	21%
2	21
3	27
4	20
5 Very good	5
Don't Know	6
Refused	*

34. Taking everything into consideration, would you say the actions taken by the CPA have turned out better than you expected at the beginning of the invasion or have they turned out worse than you expected?

Better than expected	22%
Worse than expected	64
Don't know	12
Refused	1

36.1. Do you think your life or your family's life would be in danger if you were seen to be cooperating with the CPA?

Yes, would be in danger	69%
No, will not be in danger	22
Don't know	8
Refused	1

41. Just your own perception: Do you think most of the American people support the policies and actions taken by their government in Iraq, or do you think most of the American people oppose the actions taken by their government in Iraq?

Most support American policies/actions	30%
Most oppose American policies/actions	48
Don't know	20
Refused	1

54. During the previous regime were you, or was any member of your immediate family who lived in your household? [ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS]

Detained for a short period?	10%
Detained for a long period?	10
Executed?	10
Disappeared (destiny unknown)	10
Fled /left the country	10
None	64

56. Have you served in the army?

BASED ON MALES

Yes	74%
No	26

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57. Did you serve as a conscript or professional soldier?

BASED ON MALES WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE ARMY

Conscript	90%
Professional soldier	10

58. Some people say that the other Arab governments in the region were too supportive of Saddam Hussein's regime. Do you mostly agree, or mostly disagree with that view?

Mostly agree	66%
Mostly disagree	11
Don't know	20
Refused	3

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60. Thinking about any hardships you might have suffered since the US, Britain invasion, do you personally think that ousting Saddam Hussein was worth it or not?

Yes, was worth it	61%
No, was not worth it	28
Don't know	9
Refused	2

64.1.1. In Iraq's war with Iran, was there anyone in your immediate family – and by that, I mean a father, brother or son – who was

Killed, or still missing in action?	10%
Wounded?	7
Taken prisoner, but later released?	3
Refused	80

64.1.2. And what about in the 1990-1991 War, was there anyone in your immediate family – a father, brother or son – who was...

Killed, or still missing in action?	3%
Wounded?	3
Taken prisoner, but later released?	2
Refused	91

64.2. Finally, since the invasion of Iraq last March, was there anyone in your immediate family – a father, brother or son – who was...

Killed, or still missing in action?	1%
Wounded?	2
Taken prisoner, but later released?	1
Refused	10
No answer	86

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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.

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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 Sulaymaniyah 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%).