Iraq 16 years later... Is the country still at war with itself?

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Al Mustakilla For Research
April 2019
Methodology

- A series of Nationwide representative Surveys conducted since 2003 with a sample size ranging from 1500-5000 Interviews.
- Proportional probability random samples.
- Margin of error 2.8% ±
- 95% confidence.
- CAPI F2F and PAPI F2F.
Overview

• Since the beginning, Iraqis had a very negative attitudes toward the invasion.
• The new regime was not able to gain the trust of Iraqis
• This led to a political vacuum
• Religious groups and parties were ready and well suited to fill the vacuum.

Here is the evidence!
Highlights from the surveys over the past 16 Years
IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE REASON BEHIND THE WAR OF 2003?

- occupy Iraq and plunder its wealth: 53%
- fight Islam: 25%
- Bring down Saddam's regime and achieve democracy: 15%
- Divide Iraq: 15%
WHAT IS THE CLOSEST DESCRIPTION TO YOUR MIND ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF THE COALITION FORCES IN IRAQ? DO YOU THINK OF THEM AS...

- An Occupying force
- A liberating force
- A peace keeping force
- Other

Feb. 2004

84%
Hopes & Concerns
Iraqis were optimistic and with high expectations!

Main concerns are:

• Security
• Corruption
• Unemployment
• Public services
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2016**</th>
<th>2014*</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>Unemployment +15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployment Rates are at Maysan, Basrah, Erbil and Dhi Qar</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>Unemployment (15-24) Male</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>Unemployment (15-24) Female</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>Unemployment (15-24) Total</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>42.7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment (6-14) Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>Unemployment (6-14) Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Unemployment (6-14) Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Iraqi Ministry of Planning

* Highest Unemployment Rates are at Maysan, Basrah, Erbil and Dhi Qar
GENERALLY SPEAKING, DO YOU THINK THINGS IN IRAQ ARE GOING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION OR THE WRONG DIRECTION?
MAIN CONCERNS FOR IRAQI PEOPLE

- 2019
  - Security: 21%
  - Corruption: 47%
  - Unemployment: 32%

- 2004
  - Security: 72%
  - Infrastructure: 15%
  - Unemployment: 13%

- 2009
  - Security: 37%
  - Infrastructure: 35%
  - Unemployment: 28%
HOW SAFE DO YOU FEEL IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD?
% SAFE

Shiaa
Sunni
Do you think that corruption is spread in Iraq?

- 2012: 89%
- 2019: 93%
Main Political Highlights
Lack of trust is a main political and social hurdle

- Low trust in political leadership
- Low trust in institutions
- Negative attitudes toward foreign players
TRUST % POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

2014
- Prime Minister: 37%
- President of Iraq: 35%

2018
- Prime Minister: 45%
- President of Iraq: 13%

2019
- Prime Minister: 33%
- President of Iraq: 29%
TRUST % IN SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

- **Army**: 63%, 81%, 64%, 83%, 75%, 78%, 79%
- **Police**: 81%, 64%, 83%, 75%, 78%

Years: 2004, 2014, 2018, 2019
TRUST %
PARLIAMENT AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Parliament: 2014 - 21%, 2018 - 17%, 2019 - 17%
In your opinion, is the government effective in combating corruption?
DISSATISFACTION WITH IRAQI DEMOCRACY

Do you think Iraq has a democratic system?

- 2011: Yes (52%)
- 2012: Yes (36%)
- 2019: Yes (19%)
DO YOU THINK **IRAN** IS A RELIABLE PARTNER TO IRAQ?

![Timeline Diagram]

- **First Parliament Election**
- **US Troops Partial Withdrawal**
- **ISIS Occupation**
  - Iraqi second civil war begins
- **Defeat of ISIS**
  - Iraqi second civil war ends
- **Current Situation**

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**YES %**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Shiaa</th>
<th>Sunni</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005-2006</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014-2015</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016-2017</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018-2019</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- **2005-2006:** Shiaa 61%, Sunni 40%, Total 40%
- **2009-2010:** Shiaa 40%, Sunni 26%, Total 26%
- **2014-2015:** Shiaa 26%, Sunni 18%, Total 18%
- **2016-2017:** Shiaa 14%, Sunni 14%, Total 14%
- **2018-2019:** Shiaa 11%, Sunni 11%, Total 11%
DO YOU THINK THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS A RELIABLE PARTNER TO IRAQ?

First Parliament Election  US Troops Partial Withdrawal  ISIS Occupation Iraqi second civil war Begins  Defeat of ISIS Iraqi second civil war Ends  Current Situation

YES %

75% 76% 73% 65% 72%

27% 21% 24% 18% 7%

20% 8% 9% 40%

Sunni  Shiee  Kurds  Total

Religion & Politics

From Islam Is The Solution .... To Islam Is A Problem

How 16 Years Changed The Way Iraqis View Religion
PERCENTAGE OF IRAQIS WHO BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BASE ITS LAWS ENTIRELY FROM ISLAMIC LAWS (SHARIAA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Shiaa</th>
<th>Sunni</th>
<th>Kurd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The percentage of Iraqis who believe it's better to separate religion from politics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Shiaa</th>
<th>Sunni</th>
<th>Kurd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>68%</td>
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</table>
Main Social Highlights:

Trust In Others, Sectarianism, National ID And Demographic Changes
Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

- 2013: 40%
- 2014: 30%
- 2018: 11%

Most people can be trusted
% OF IRAQIS DESCRIBING SELVES AS “IRAQIS ABOVE ALL”

I'M IRAQI ABOVE ALL %

- 23% (2003-2004)
- 28% (2005-2006)
- 60% (2009-2010)
- 41% (2014-2015)
- 81% (2016-2017)
- 65% (2018-2019)
HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS SECTS IN IRAQ TODAY?

2012: 71%
2013: 55%
2014: 35%
2015: 57%
2016: 64%
2017: 62%
2018: 76%

The graph shows the percentage of people who describe relations between different religious sects in Iraq as good, with a trend from 71% in 2012 to 76% in 2018.
Top 3 Reasons Behind Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Political Reasons</th>
<th>Security Reasons</th>
<th>Economic Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
% of Iraqis who think of fleeing the country

2012: 17%
2019: 33%
DO YOU THINK THAT THINGS IN IRAQ WERE BETTER WHEN SADDAM'S REGIME WAS IN POWER

2005

- Better: 58%
- Same: 27%
- Worse: 11%

2019

- Better: 47%
- Same: 35%
- Worse: 14%
Red Flags, AGAIN!

This Time They Are Not From Sunni Areas Only
How much confidence do you have in the claim that ISIS has been defeated inside Iraq?

- 34% A lot of confidence
- 21% A little of confidence
- 18% Not very much confidence
- 26% None at all

Source: The Independent

*F2F representative survey in Sunnis areas in 2019*
Over the next TWO years, how likely do you think it is, that Iraq will witness another violent extremist group trying to take over certain towns or regions of our country?

F2F representative survey in Sunnis areas in 2019
Who do you think was responsible for the recent explosions in Mosul?

- ISIS: 38%
- Political parties: 23%
- The US: 10%
- New terrorism group: 7%

Iraqi men gather at the scene of a car bomb explosion in which two people were killed and ten others were wounded near a restaurant in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul, March 8, 2019. Source Rudaw

*F2F representative survey in Sunnis areas in 2019*
GENERALLY SPEAKING, DO YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATION HAS A POSITIVE INFLUENCE OR A NEGATIVE INFLUENCE ON INTERNAL EVENTS AND AFFAIRS IN OUR COUNTRY

- Anbar - Ninewa

- 69% - 60%

- 43% - 42%

2017 2019

+ Influence
TAKING ALL THINGS TOGETHER, WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE HAPPY OR UNHAPPY?
HOW MUCH CONFIDENCE DO YOU HAVE IN THE IRAQI CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN IRAQ?

- Shiaa
- Sunni
- Kurd

2012: 59%
2014: 48%
2016: 27%
2017: 28%
Mar-18: 56%
Oct-18: 50%

2012: 35%
2014: 24%
2016: 14%
2017: 17%
Mar-18: 18%
Oct-18: 17%
How Much Confidence Do You Have In The Iraqi Police To Improve The Situation In Iraq?

Shia’s confidence in the local police is at its lowest Point Ever!
There Are Some Provinces That Have Recently Called For Establishing Their Own Federal Region Similar To The Kurdistan Region.

Do You Agree With The Idea Of The Following Federal Regions?

**The Federal Region Of Basra**

- Kurdistan: 37%
- Arab North: 15%
- Baghdad: 17%
- Basrah: 31%
- South (Exc. Basrah): 16%

Total: 11.5% Agree
Thank You for Your Time!

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