



Contributing
to a Better
Future

ISIL in Iraq: A disease or just the symptoms?

A public opinion analysis

Second wave

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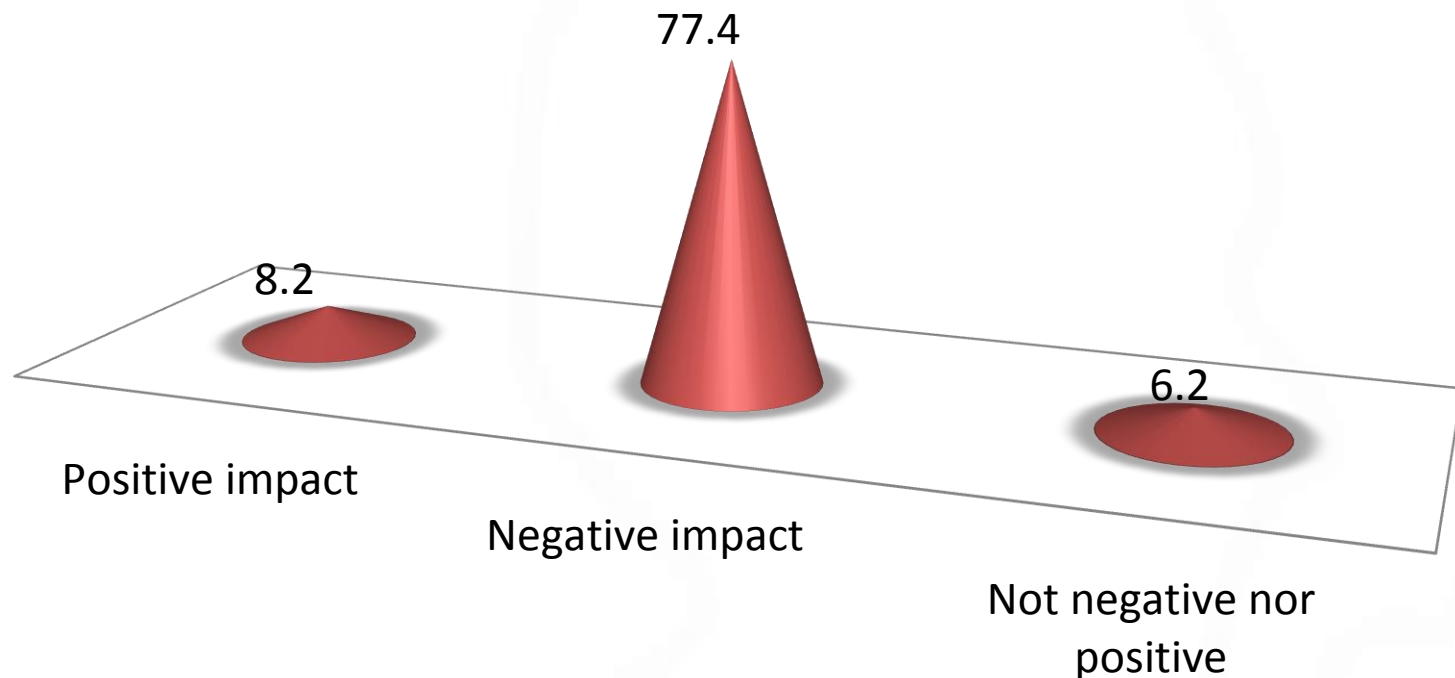
- Nationwide poll (2000 interviews) on July 2014.
- 200 phone interviews in Mosul (controlled by ISIL) on 15th June 2014.
- 500 flash F2F poll on 15th of Sep 2014 in Sunni's areas including those controlled by ISIL.
- In depth interviews with opinion leaders from areas controlled by ISIL.

**It is a big mistake if we think that ISIL is a disease ,It is really a symptom of the Real disease which is Sunni's suffering and frustration since 2003
Actually ISIL has a deep contradiction with its Sunni incubator and here are the Evident:**

1

IRAQI SUNNIS RECOGNIZE DANGER POSED BY ISIL

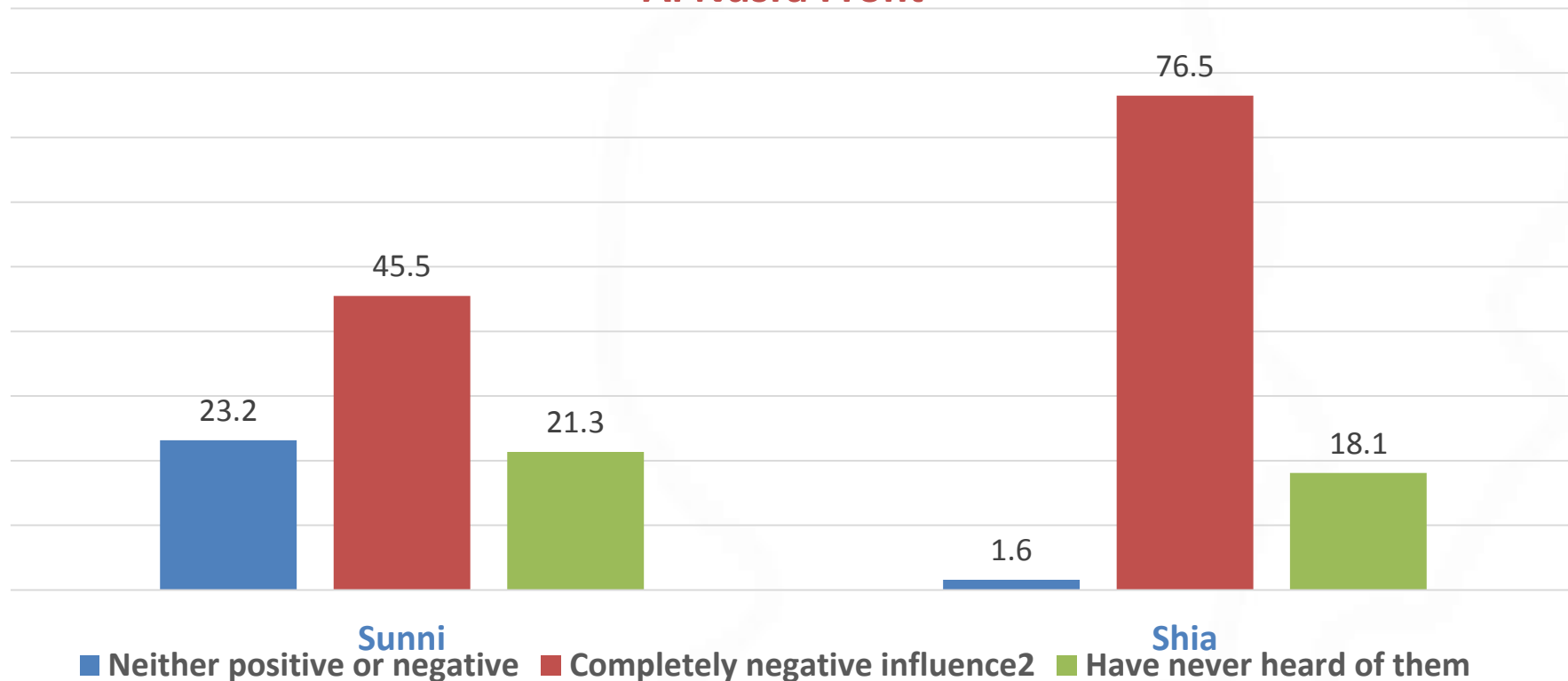
In general, do you think that ISIL has a positive or negative influence on life in Iraq?



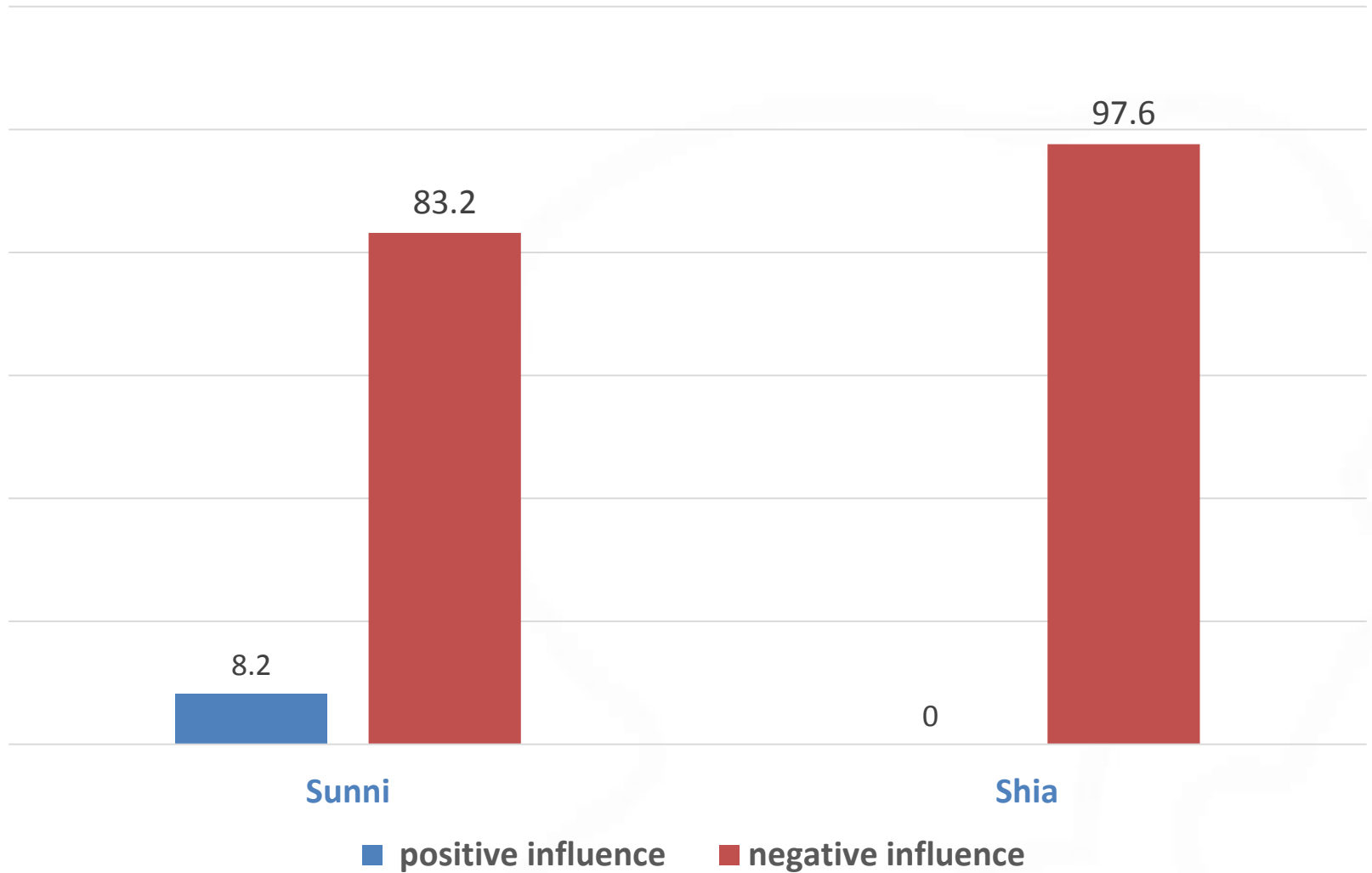
Flash poll in Sunni areas controlled by ISIL, 15th of Sept. 2014

Generally speaking, do you think the following organizations have a positive or negative influence on the internal events/affairs in Iraq?

Al Nusra Front



Al Qa'ida



Nation wide survey 8th June 2014

2

**HOW DID ISIL TAKE OVER SUNNI
AREAS SO EASILY ?**

A- Sunnis are not happy ...(1)

Generally speaking, do you think that things in Iraq are going in the right direction, or do you think things are going in the wrong direction?

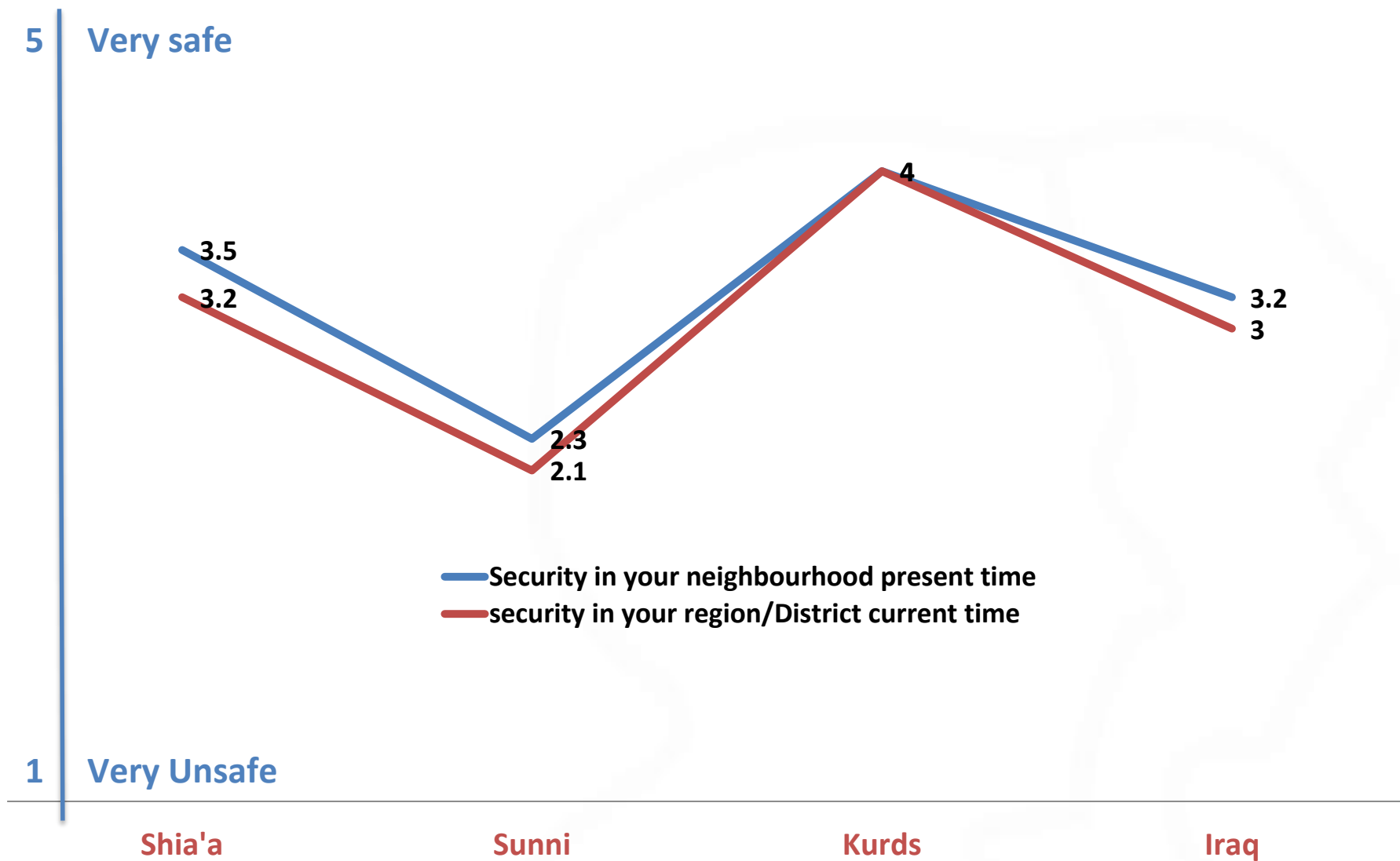
■ Right Direction ■ Wrong Direction



A- Sunnis are not happy ...(2)

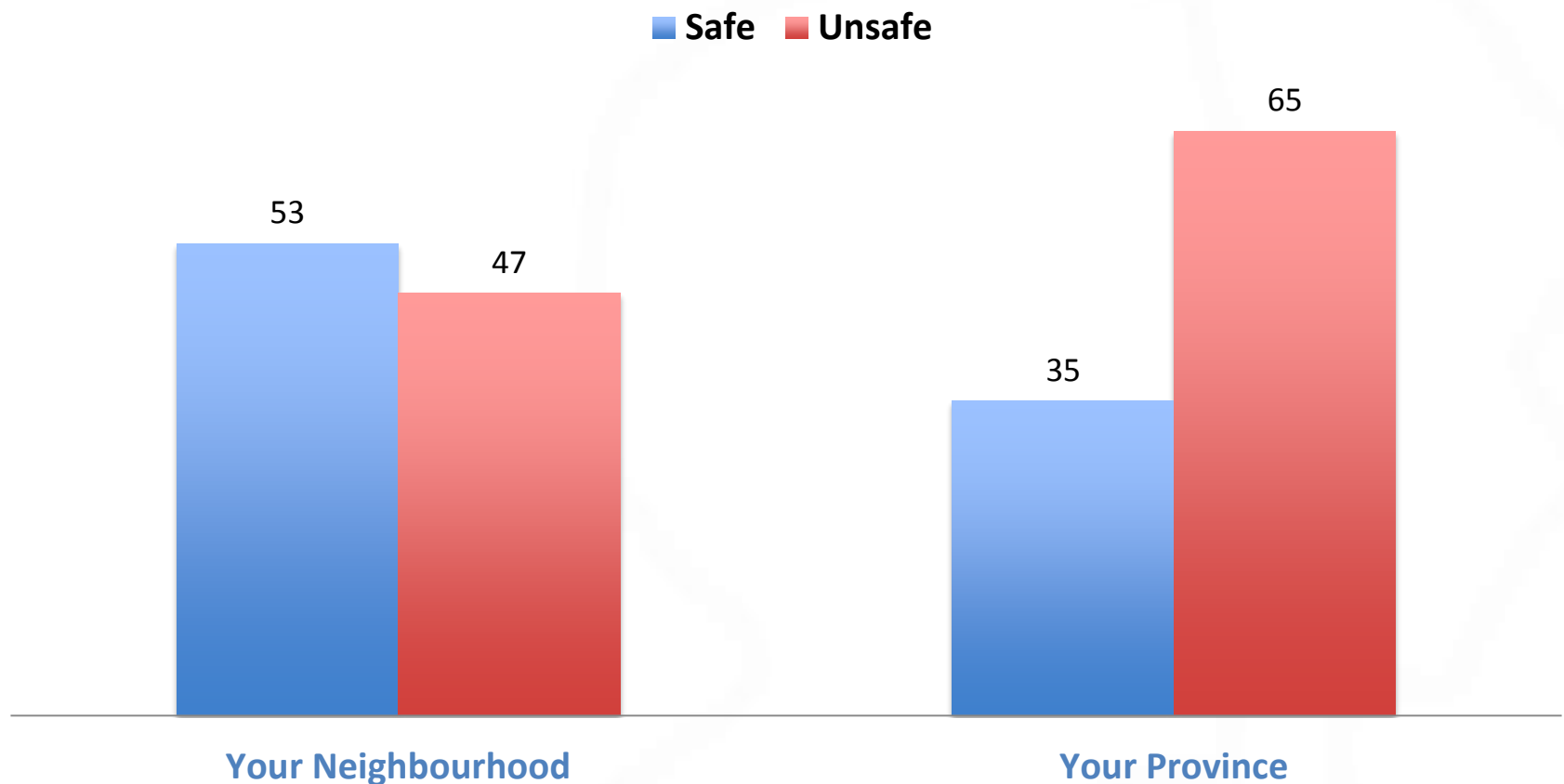
- More than 33% of Sunnis feel forced to live outside Iraq versus 20% of Shia and 14% of Kurd's who feel similarly.
- 23% of Sunnis feel that authoritarianism in Iraq is a real challenge versus 6% of Shia's and 10% of Sunni's who feel the same.
- **Xenophobia:** 76% of Sunnis now feel that most people are not trustworthy versus 65% of Shia's who feel the same.

B- Feel Insecure ...(1)



B- Feel Insecure ...(2)

How safe do you feel in:

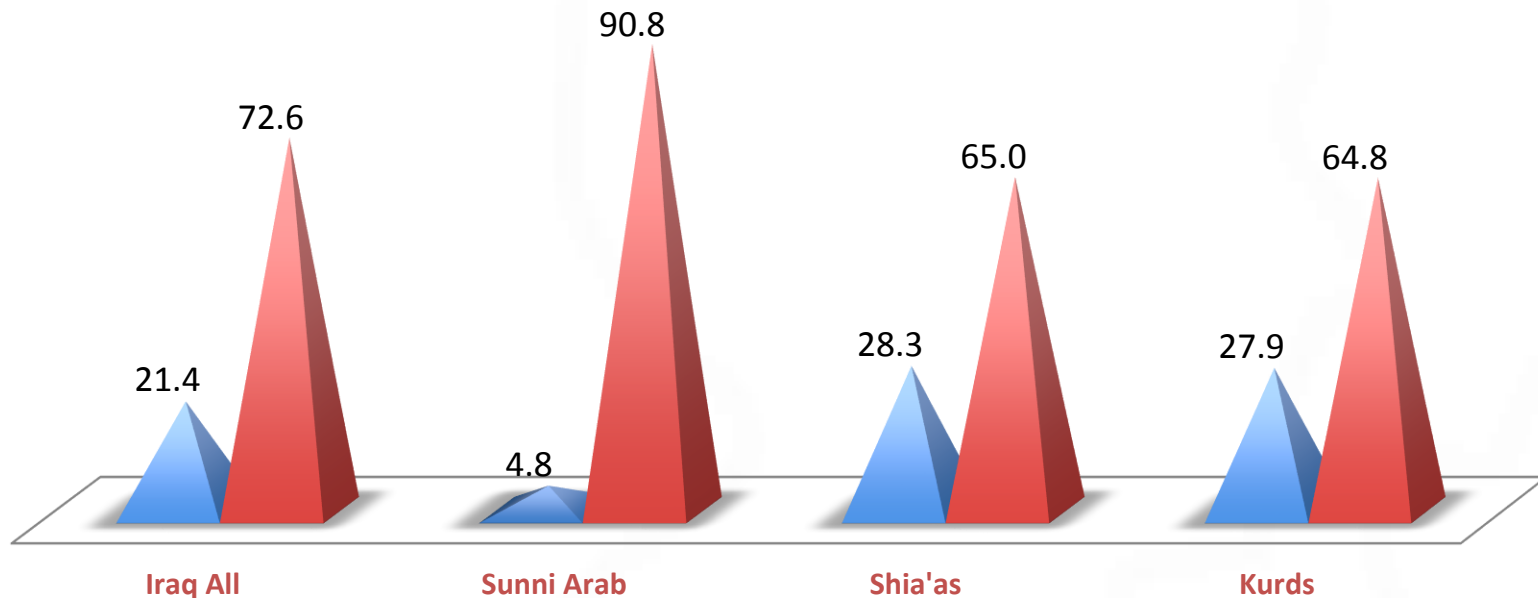


Flash poll in Sunni areas controlled by ISIL, 15th of Sept. 2014

In government and its institutions

Satisfaction: the way the central government performs its duties in national office

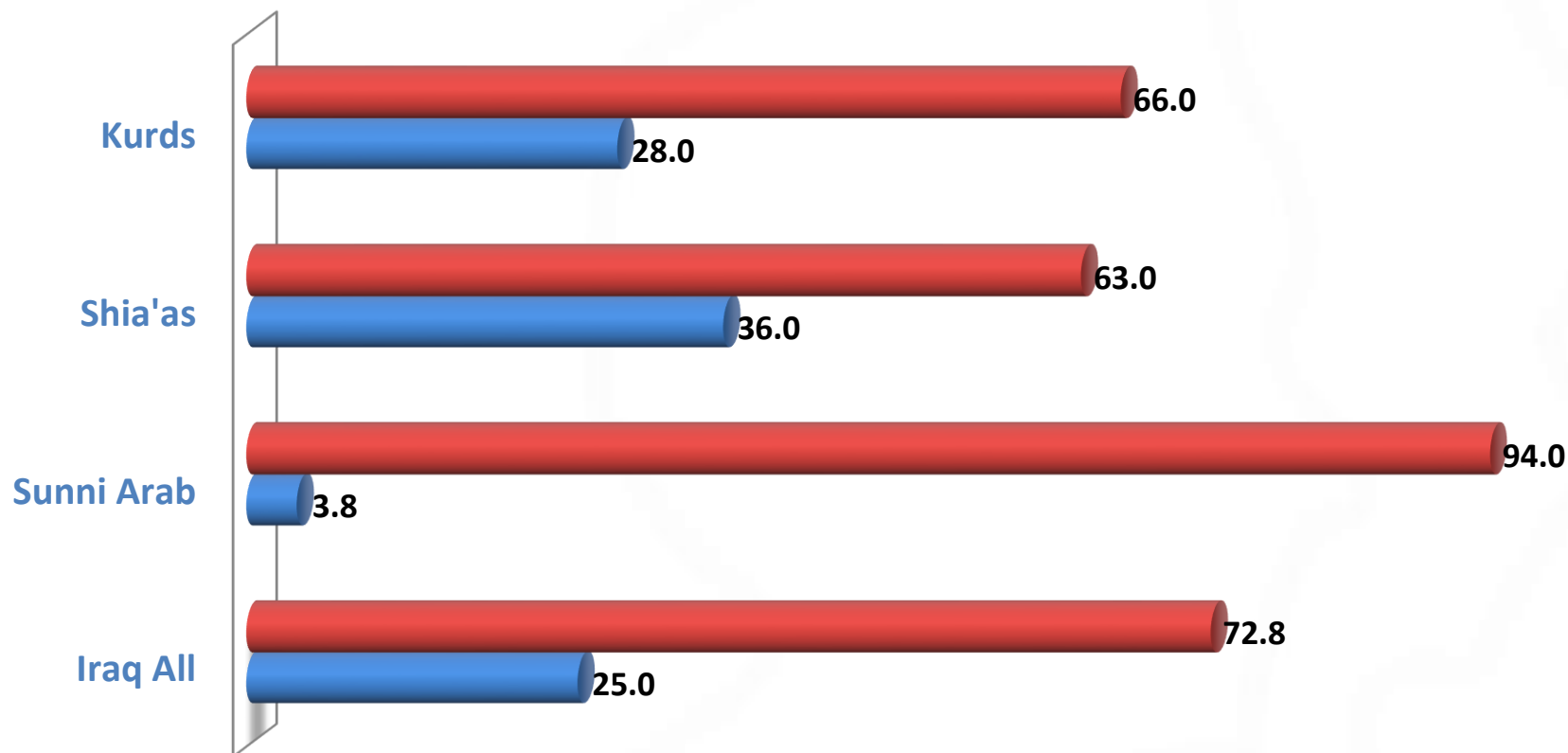
■ Agree ■ Do not agree



C- Lack of trust ...(2)

Trust in institutions: government (Council of Ministers)

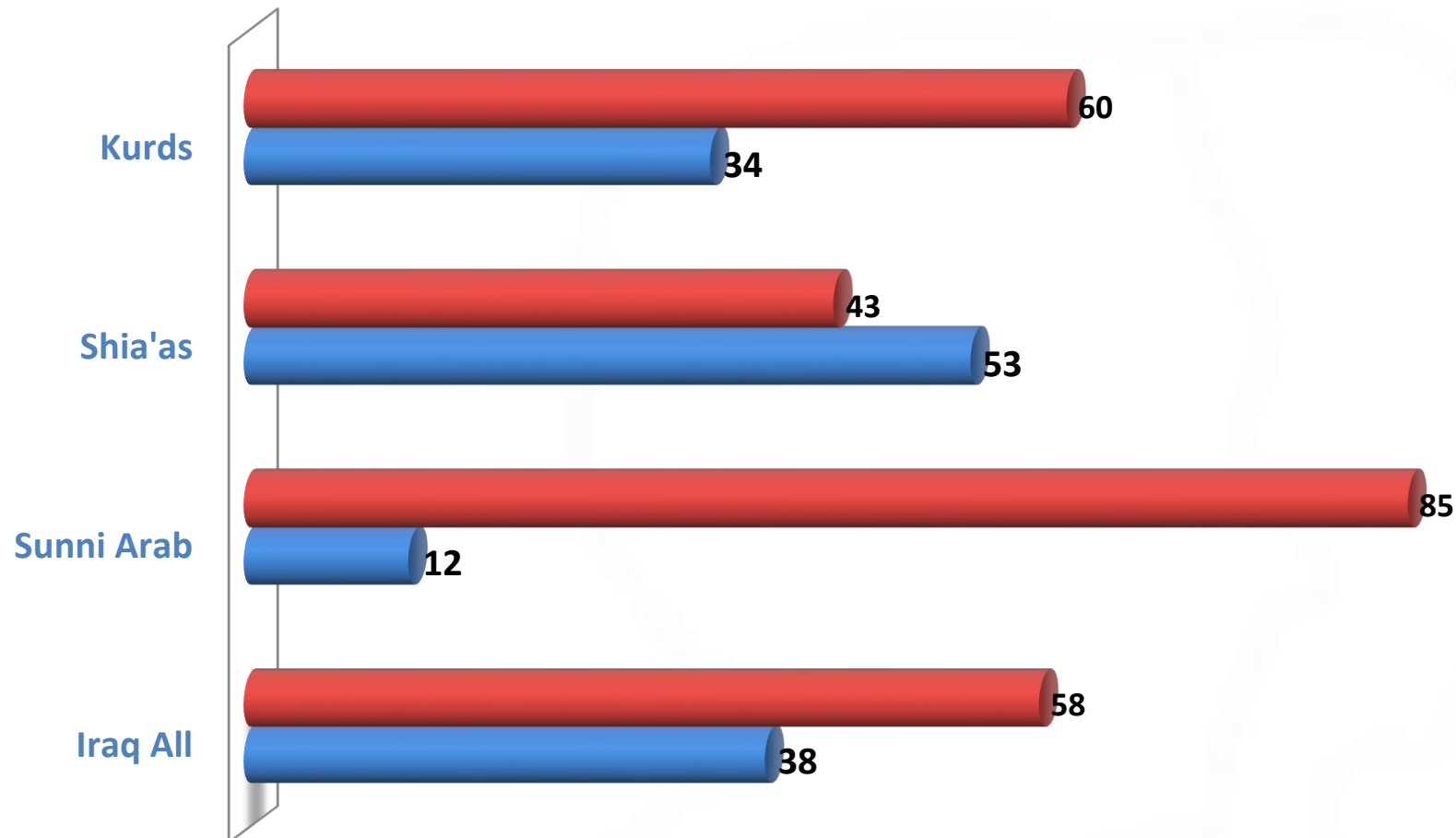
■ I do not trust ■ I trust



C- Lack of trust ...(4)

Trust in institutions: Courts and legal system

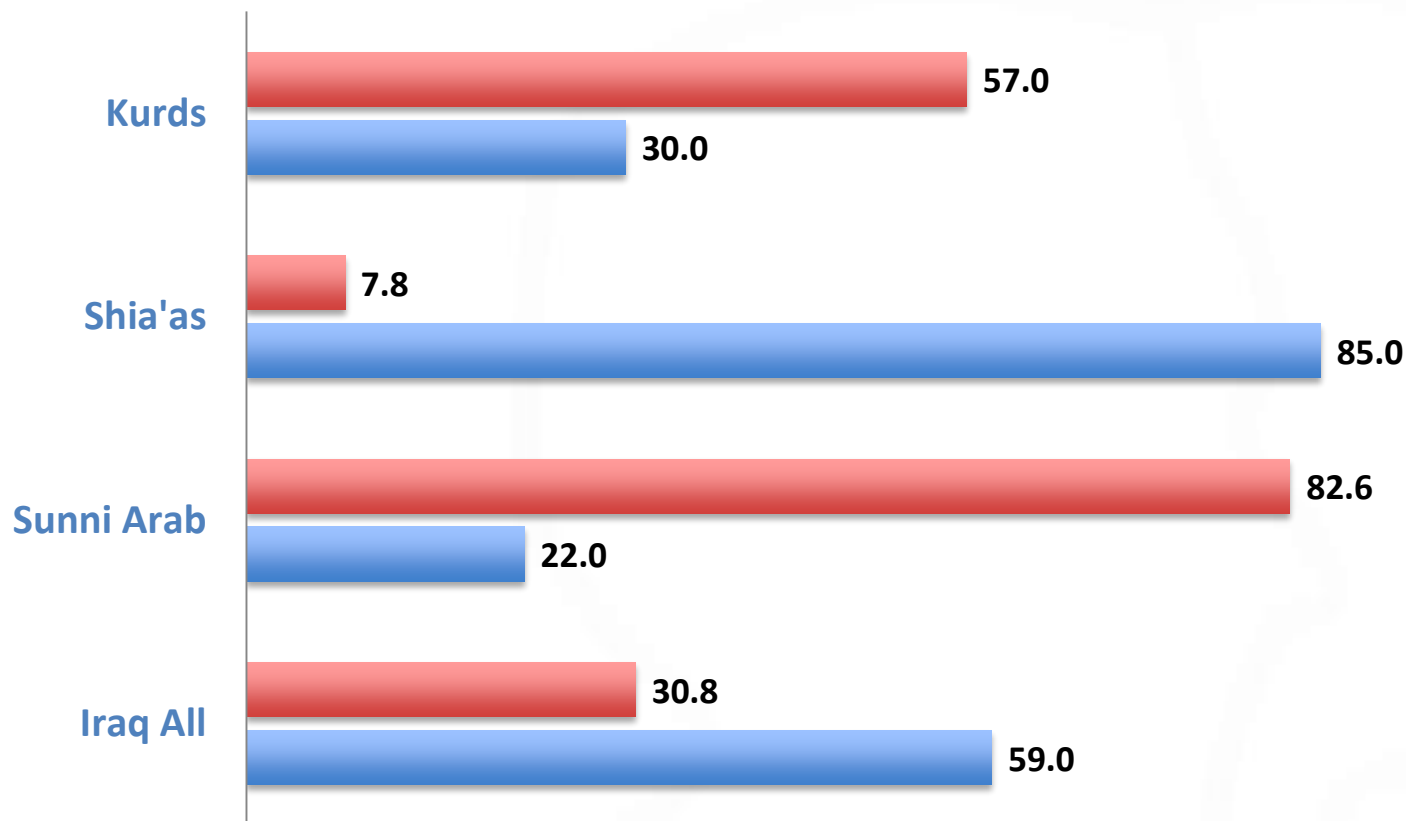
■ I do not trust ■ I trust



C- Lack of trust ...(5)

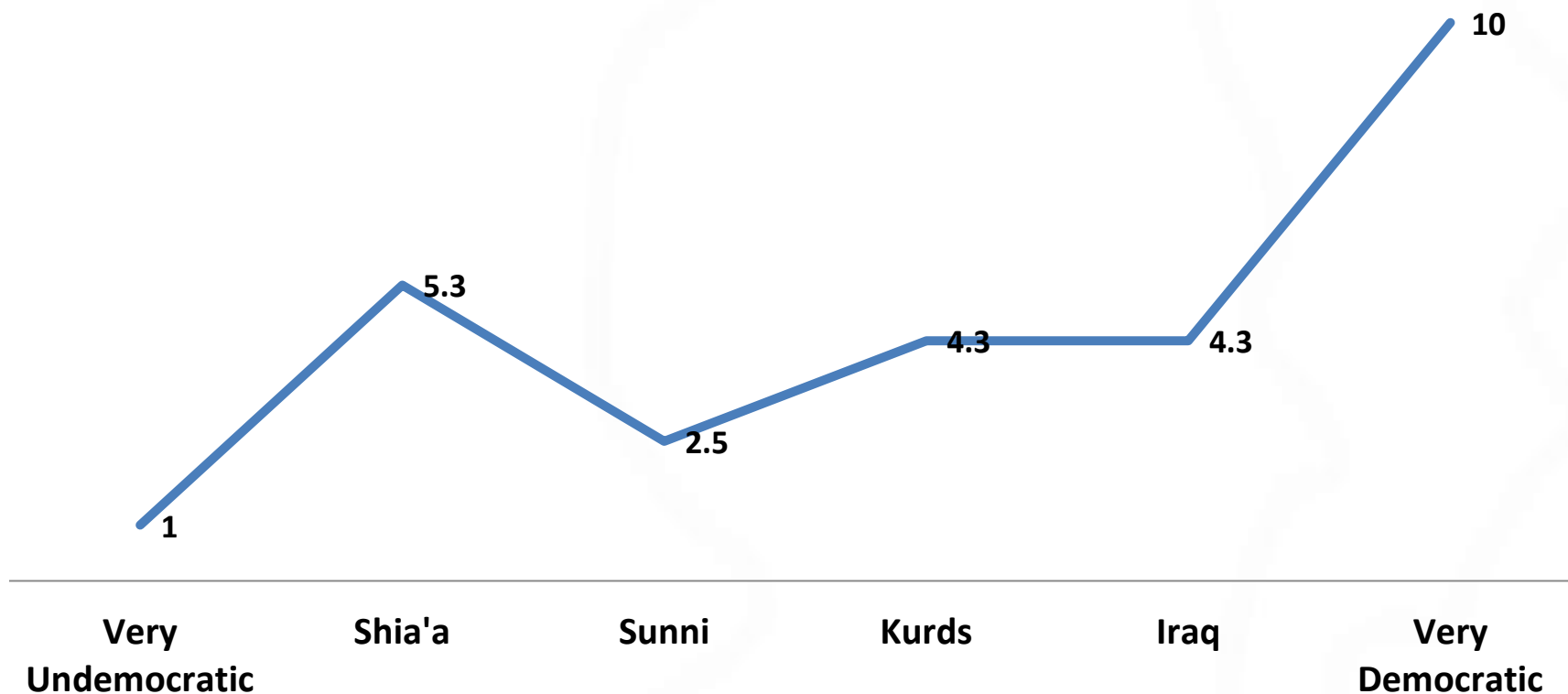
Trust in institutions: the Armed Forces (the Iraqi Army)

■ I do not trust ■ I trust



C- Lack of trust ...(7)

On a scale of 10, how democratic is your country



Sunnis' association with Iraq as the basis for their identity dropped down sharply from 80% on 2008 to 60% on 2010 and it is now only 40%



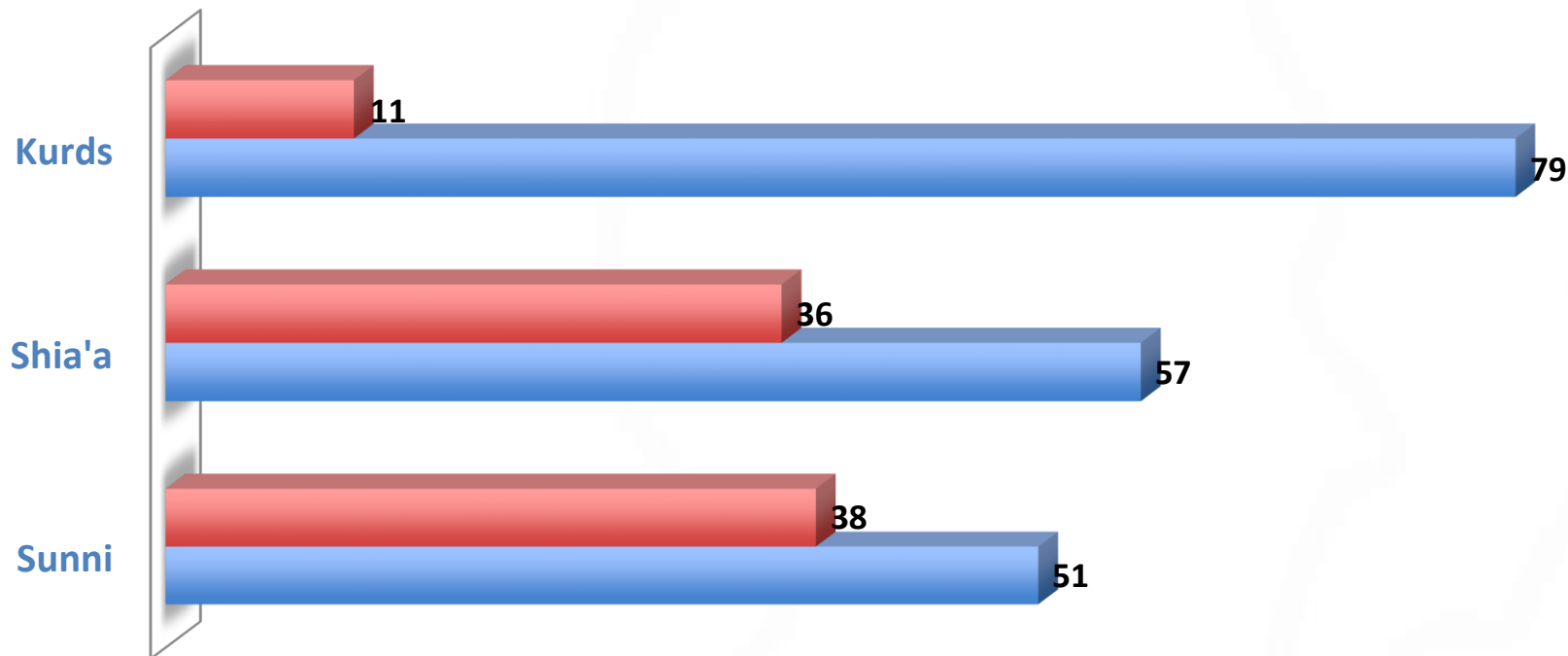
3

IDEOLOGICAL CONTRADICTION BETWEEN IRAQI SUNNIS AND ISIL

A- Sunni's support secular politics...(1)

The Government should implement only the laws derived from Sharia (Islamic Laws)

■ Agree ■ Do not agree

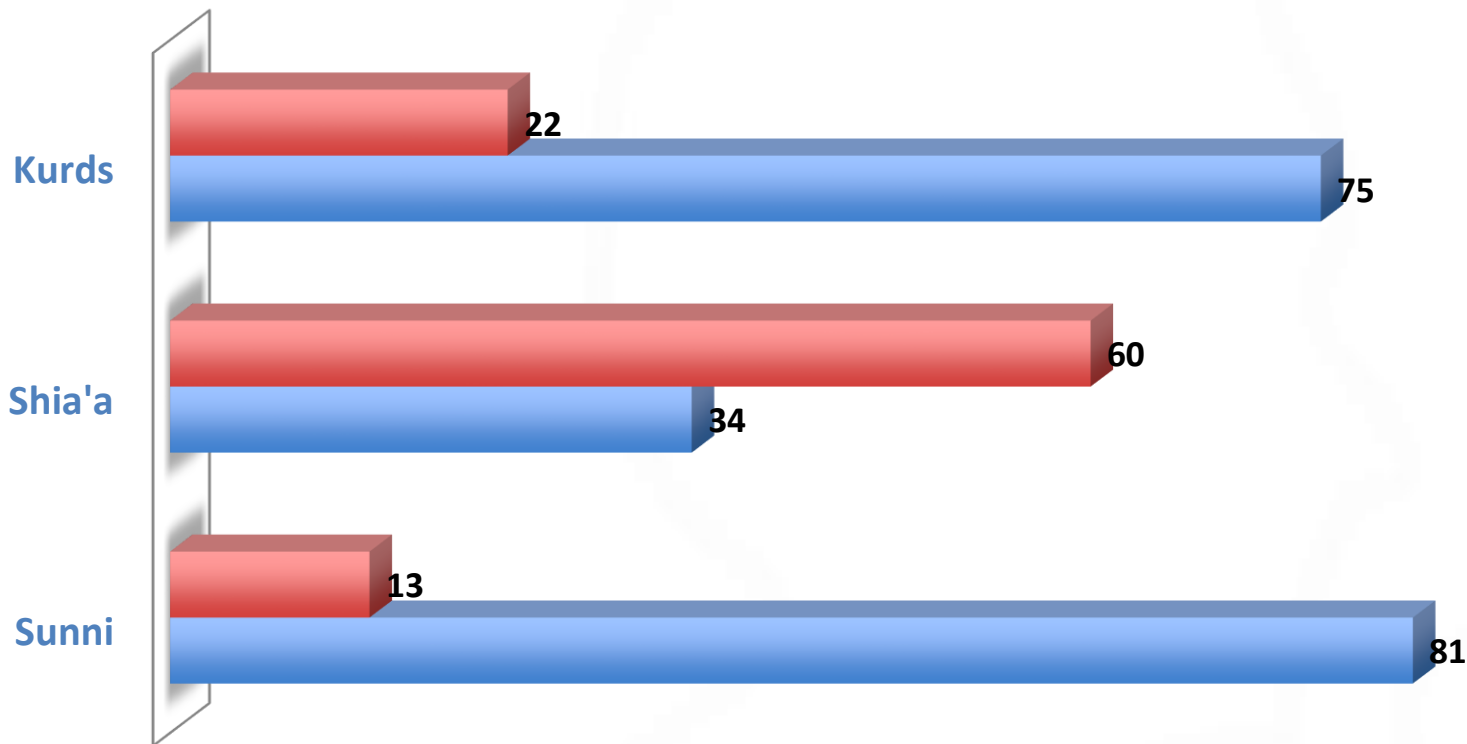


Nationwide poll July 2014

A- Sunni's support secular politics...(2)

Iraq would be a better place if religion & politics were separated

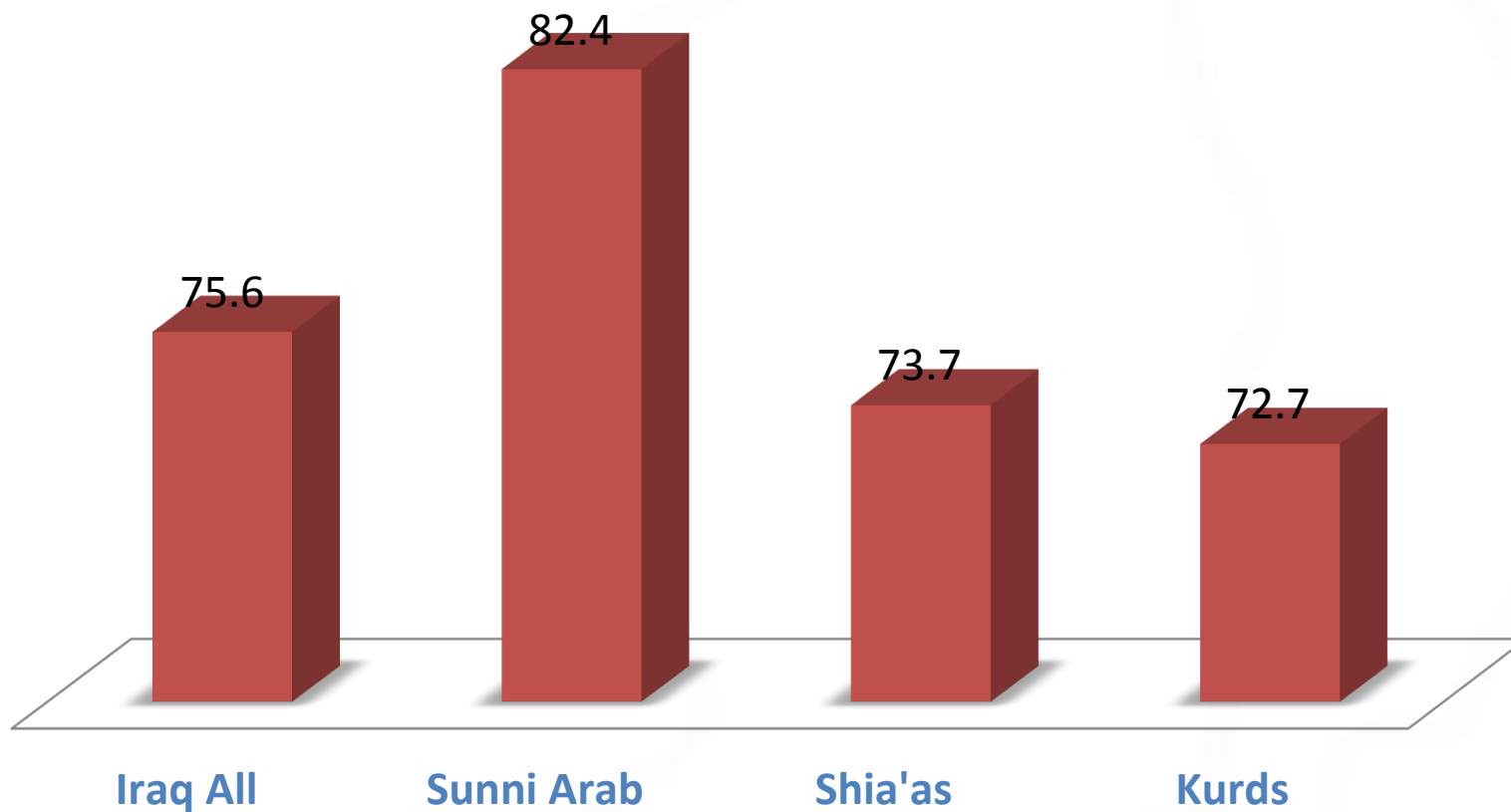
■ Disagree ■ Agree



Nationwide poll July 2014

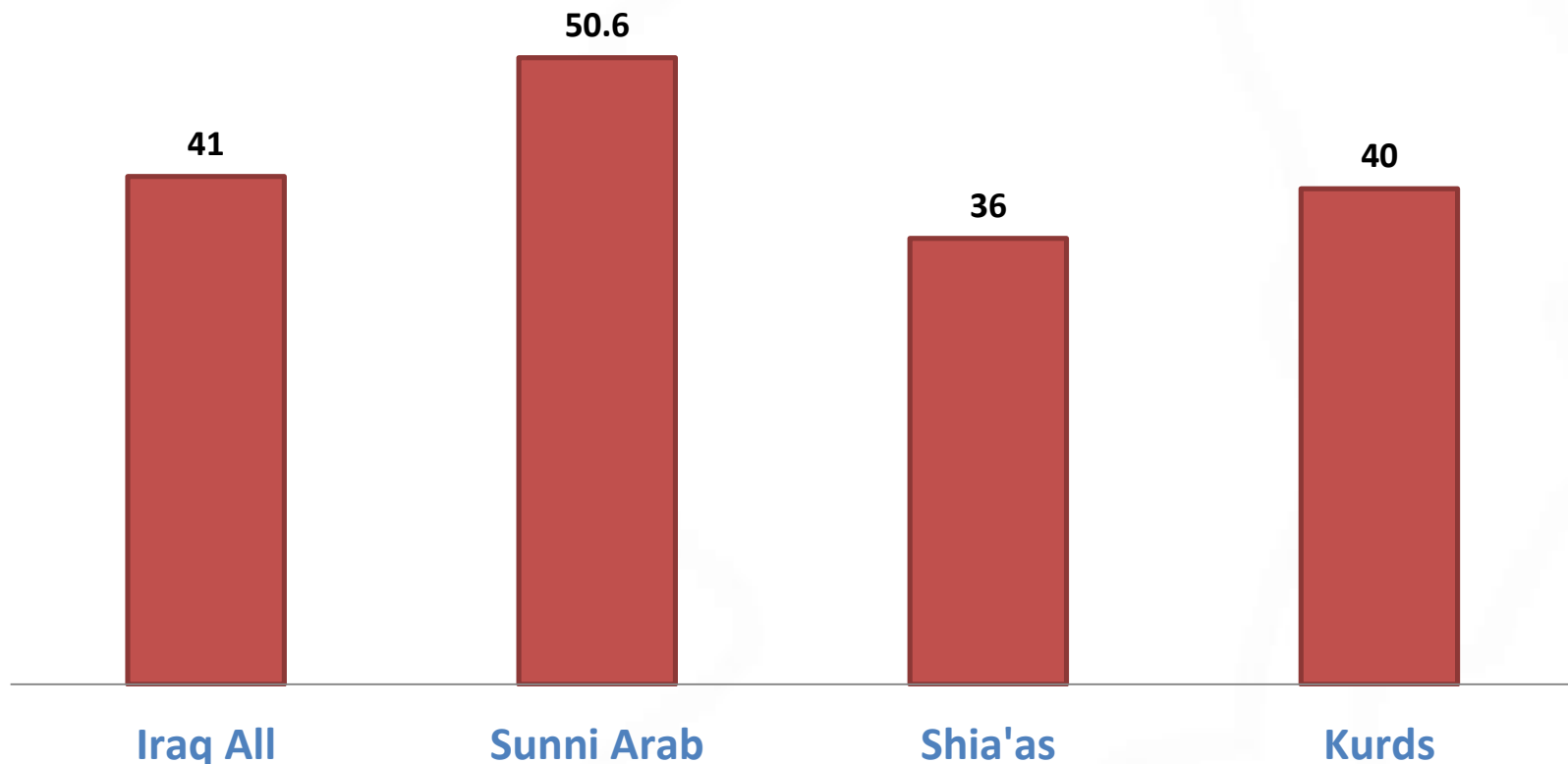
B- Sunnis support for democracy is highest

A democratic system may have problems, yet it is better than other systems



B- Sunnis value elections as means of change

Most important characteristics that are essential to democracy is the opportunity to change the government through elections

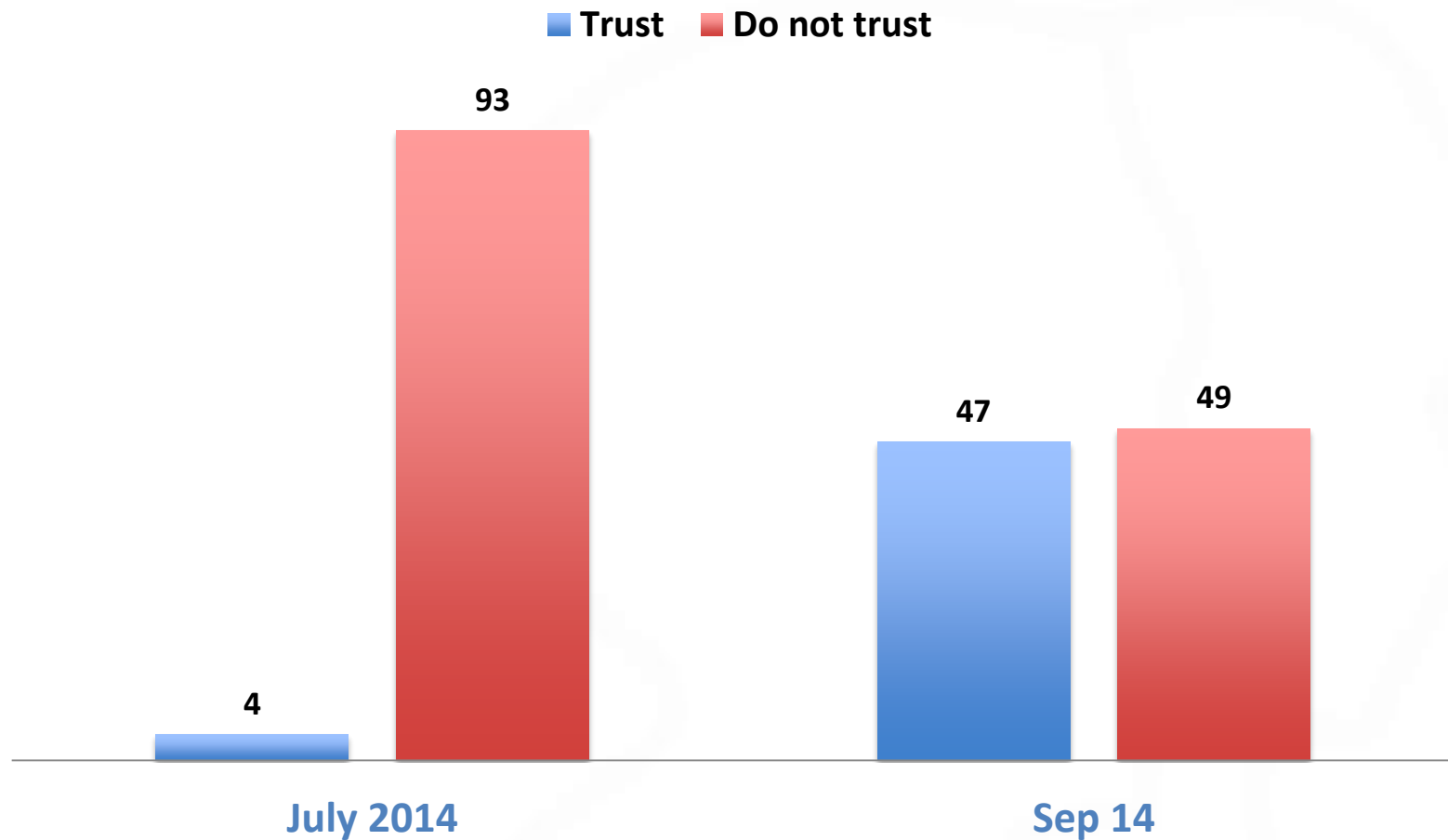


4

THE BASIS FOR HOPE

A- Trust in the new government

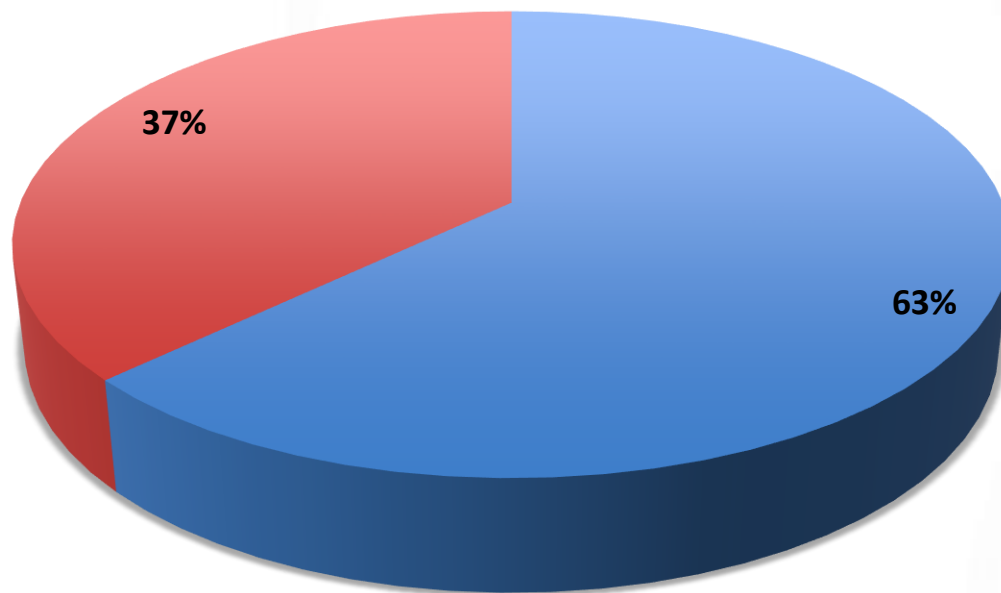
Trust in government



B- Support for fighting ISIL

There is an attempt now to compose new international alliance to fight ISIL, do you support this?

■ Yes ■ No



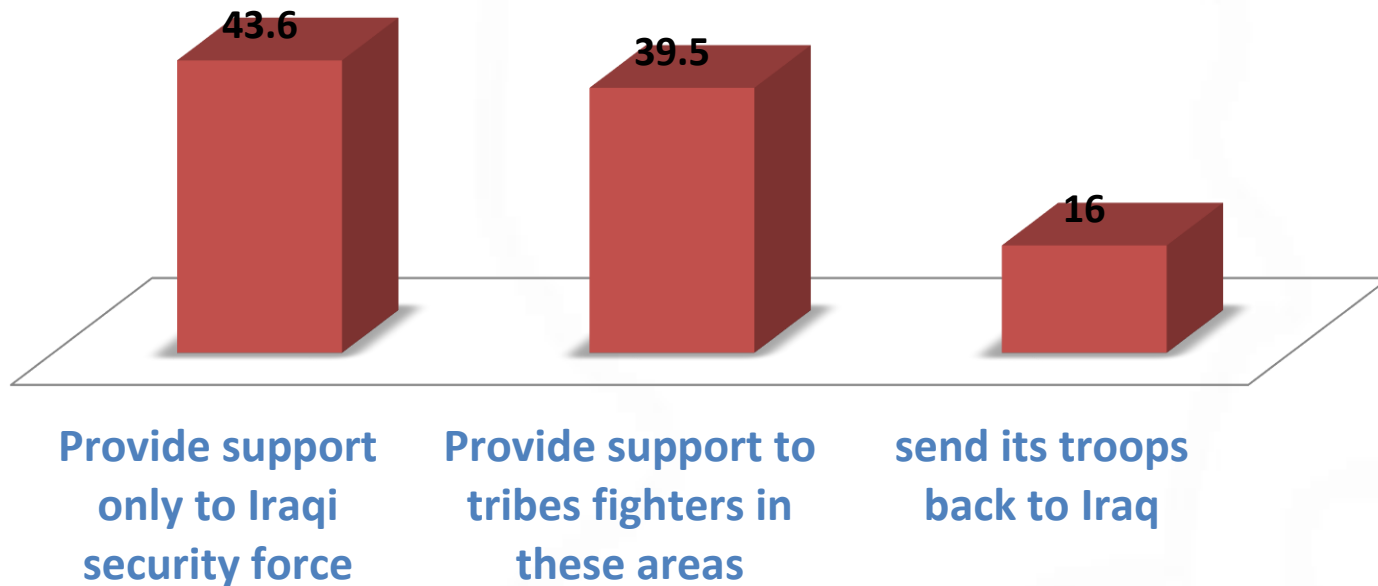
5

CAUTIONARY POINTS

A- Support for sending troop

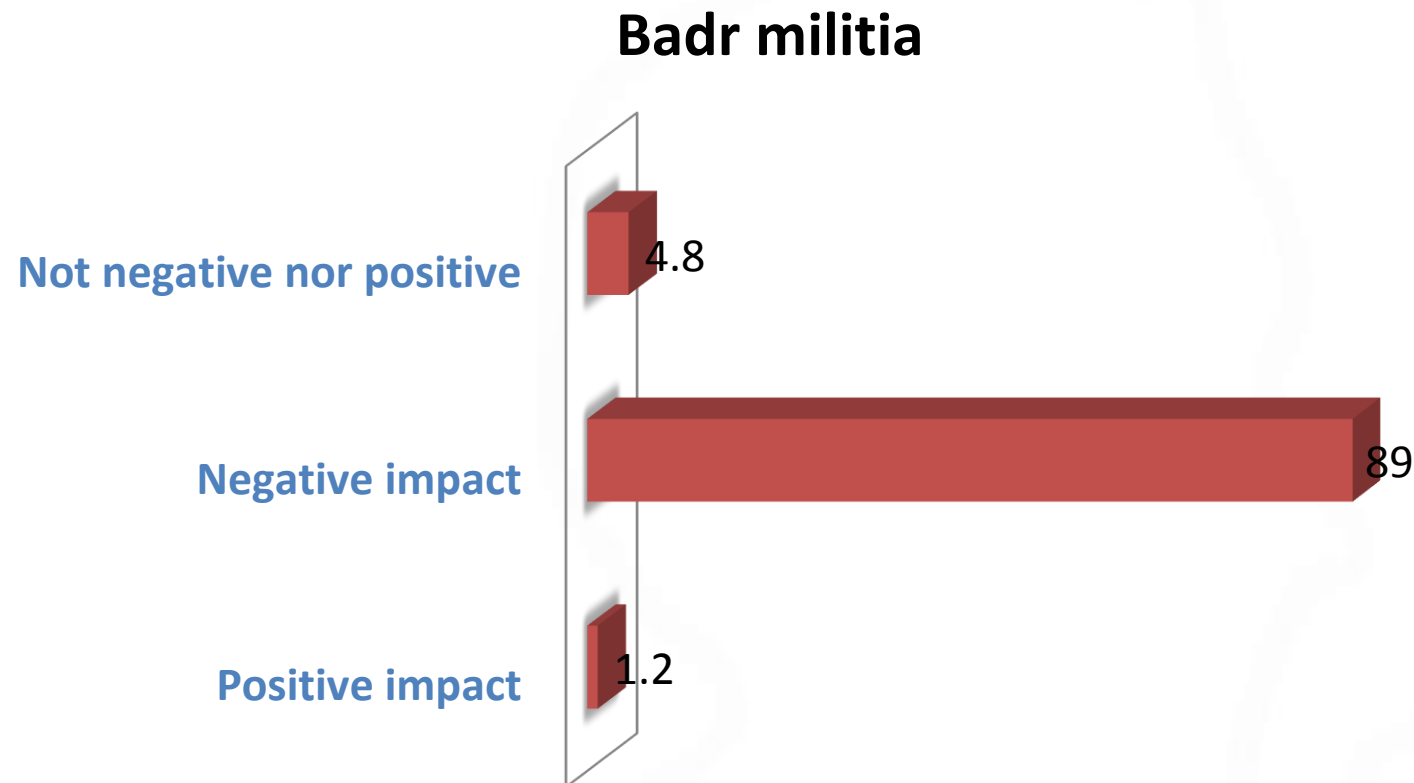
Sunnis DO NOT support sending troops back to Iraq

What role should be played by these forces?



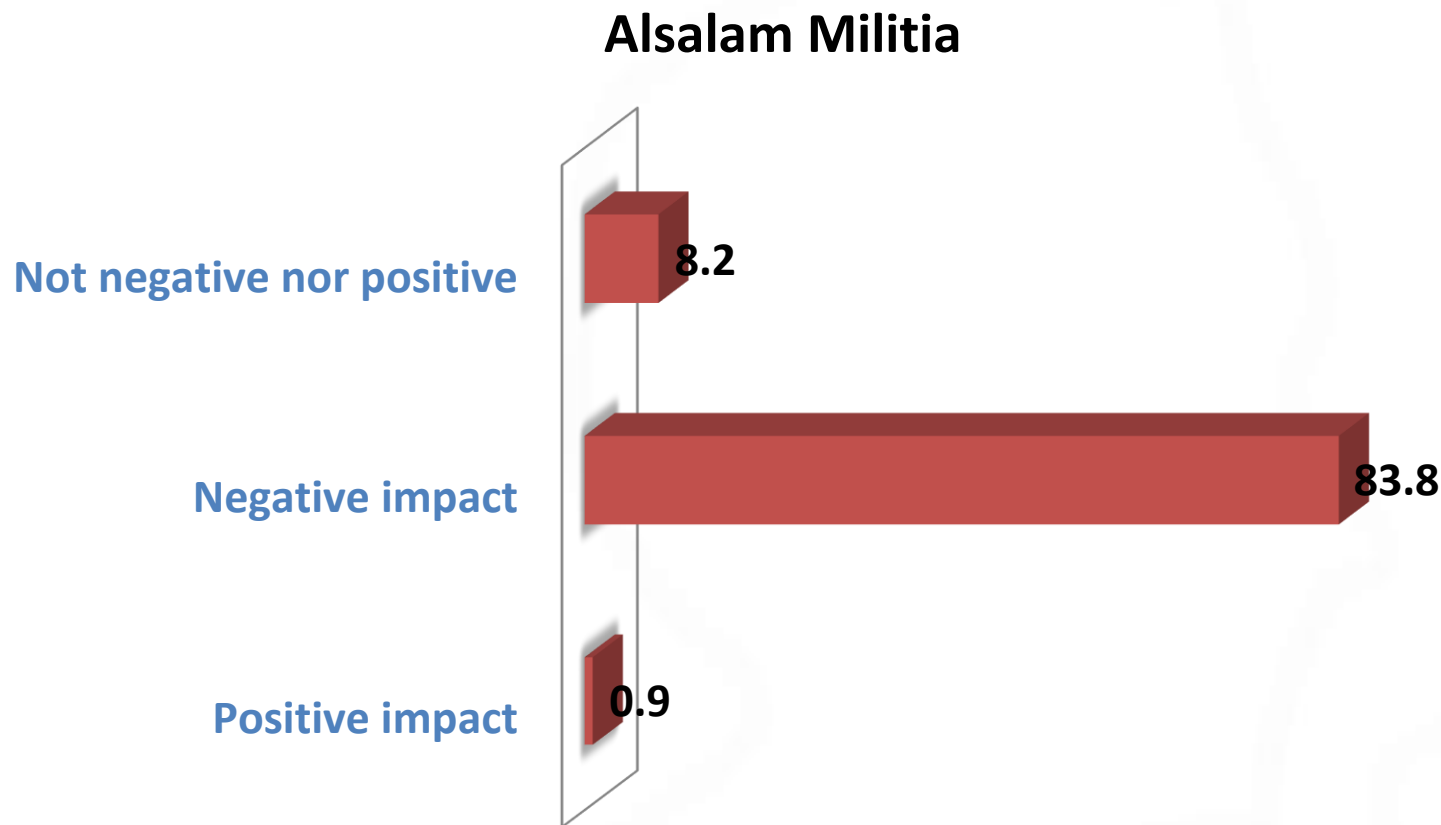
B- All militias must be defeated ... (1)

In general do you think that the following has positive or negative influence on the internal issues of Iraq



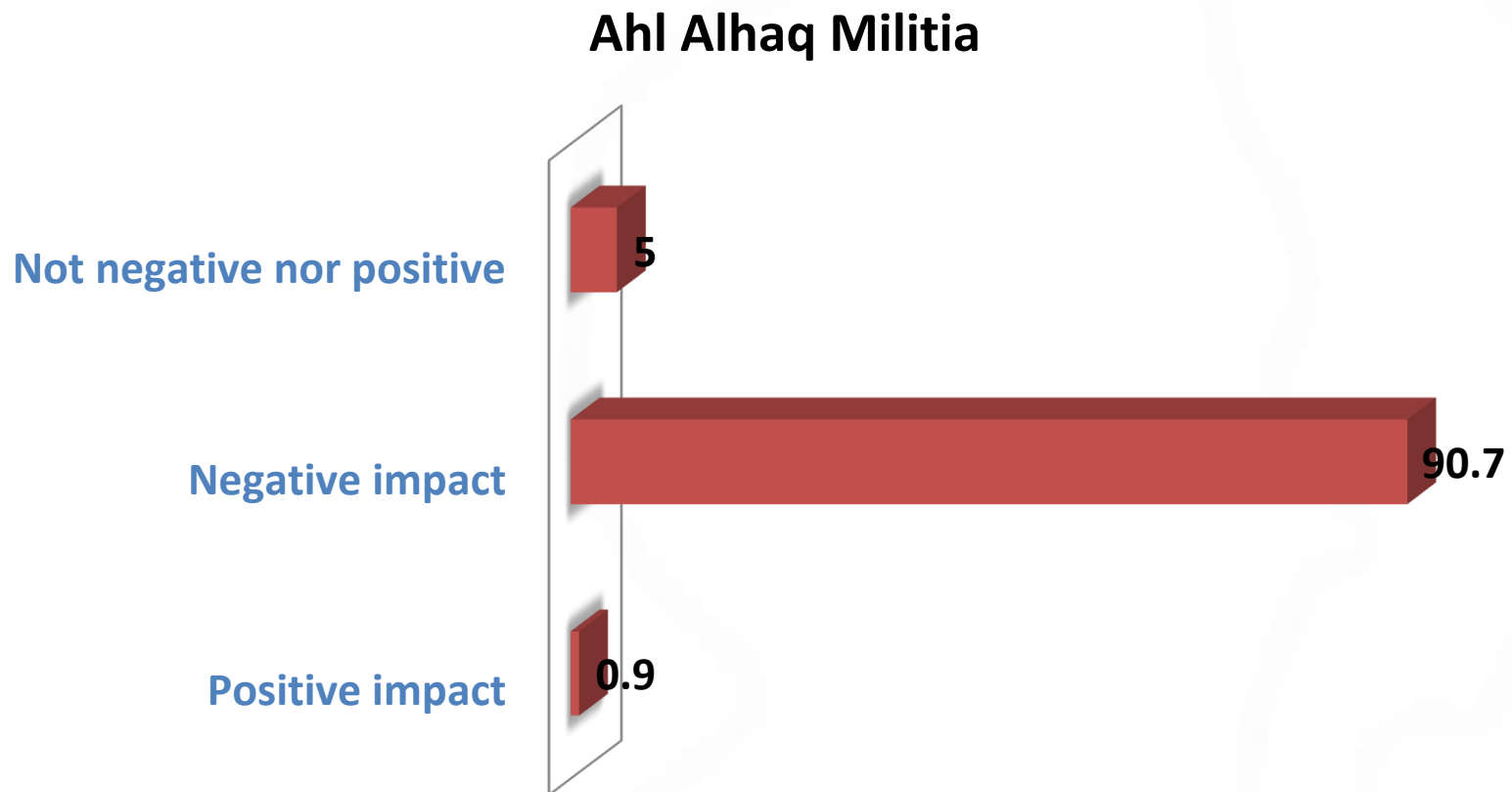
B- All militias must be defeated ... (2)

In general do you think that the following has positive or negative influence on the internal issues of Iraq



B- All militias must be defeated ... (3)

In general do you think that the following has positive or negative influence on the internal issues of Iraq



Conclusion... (1)

Aspirin will hit the symptoms only, hit the disease

- Based on my long-standing work in Iraq and communications with many tribal figures and individuals associated with the previous regime, I am able to draw conclusion from anecdotal information, including frequent conversations with persons "on the ground" in ISIL-controlled areas such as Mosul, Anbar, Salahadin, and elsewhere.
- On the whole, my interlocutors are concerned about serious misunderstandings about what is happening in their areas of Iraq which could have serious implications for any actions taken by the Iraqi central government and outside powers. For instance:

Conclusion ... (2)

- ISIL recruitment is on the rise as the ranks of its forces are now estimated at 30,000. Initial forces from early June were largely foreign-based, but now recruiting is on the rise, especially among rural, male youth from villages outside Mosul
- Unemployment rate in Ninawa is more than 20%, in Rural areas it reach 30%.
- Educational level in rural areas is much lower than the center (University graduate is 5% VS. 25% in the center of Mosul).
- Income level in rural area is much lower also. For instance those who have income of more than \$600 monthly in rural areas are 12% vs. 22% in Mosul center and those who have more than \$800 monthly income in rural areas are 7% vs. 18% in the center.
- In addition the center of Mosul has a long tradition of multi ethnicities and religious community.

Conclusion ... (3)

- There are several rationales that ISIL is using to drive this recruitment:
 - First, there is the external threat of the Iraqi military and police forces of the Maliki government that were largely composed of Shi'a militias who broadly abused local populations over the last several years.
 - Second, there is a strong and growing hatred of Iran and its involvement in these areas ([Click Video](#))
 - Third, there is a new, combined threat posed by the United States acting in concert with Iran. This is being communicated as a "new crusade" of Christians against Muslims.

- Another basis of recruitment is theological, defense of Sunni values. Yet this is flawed on many levels. As indicated previously, Sunnis are, on the whole, significantly more secular than Shi'a. The destruction of mosques is one example of how ISIL are imposing their own version of religion that is not consistent with the practices and traditions of the region. More information about this needs to be disseminated.



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مدينة نينوى | هدم ضريح ومزار (أحمد الرفاعي) في ناحية ا



مدينة نينوى | تفخيخ وנסف معبد (حُسينية سعد بن عقيل) في مدي



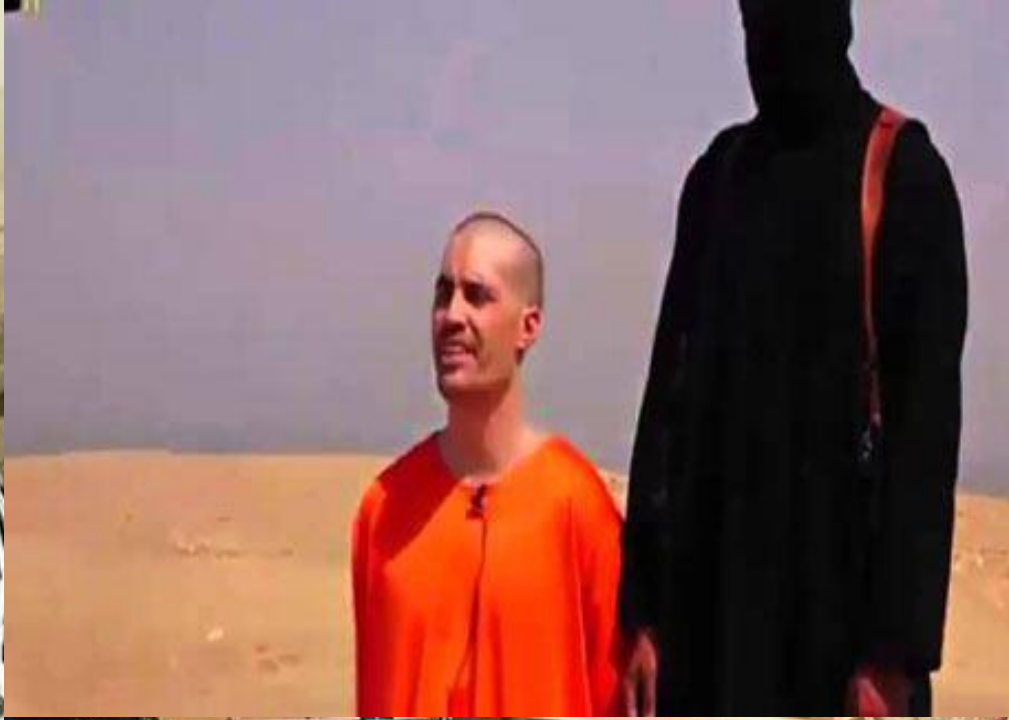
مدينة نينوى | تفخيخ وנסف معبد (حُسينية جواد) في مدي

Conclusion ... (5)

- ISIL is anticipating airstrikes and aims to gain maximum advantage from these. Currently, ISIL is placing its flag on civilian centers to ensure maximum collateral damage from strikes, that will push public sentiment further to its side and generate even greater hatred of those behind the strikes.
- Airstrikes alone will be disastrous. A carefully-calibrated effort to win the hearts and mind of the people in this areas is critically important, yet there has been too little discussion of what this will involve. The fears of the people in these areas must be addressed and a better alternative to ISIL must be presented. There are a number of ways to communicate with people in these areas

- Most popular media sources in Sunni areas:
- The penetration rate of satellite TV. Set is 100% inside areas controlled by ISIL and around 90% said that their main source of info come from TV.
- There are around 42% of people living there have an access to the internet.

Thank you



غزوة أسد الرحمن البيلوي... أبو عبد الرحمن

إعتقال المئات من قطعان الجيش الصفوي الفارين من المعارك بالزّي المدني



