Public Opinion Towards Terrorist Organizations in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Libya

* A special focus on Dai’sh in Iraq

Discussion hosted by Anthony H. Cordesman, Burke Chair in Strategy, CSIS,

featuring

Munqith M. Dagher
Independent Institute for Administration and Civil Society Studies (IIACSS)
Iraq

Prepared for March 4, 2015 Presentation at CSIS, Washington, D.C.
Methodology

- Series of F2F nation wide polls conducted in Iraq since 2003.
- 3 F2F nation wide polls conducted in Libya (2012-2014)
- Two F2F nation wide polls conducted in each of Yemen and Syria (2013-2014)
- In depth interviews with opinion leaders from areas controlled by ISIL.
Introduction

**Historical brief review**

- **Modern militant Islamic movements** started in 1979 with Khomeini’s revolution in Iran
- **Al Qa'ida** which established to fight Soviet Union in Afghanistan was very active in Iraq between 2004-2010
- **ISIL (Dai’sh)**
  - Appeared in Syria in 2013 as one of the main players there
  - Used by Asad to justify the suppression of the revolution, on one hand, and to gain international support on the other hand
  - The beginning of ISIL activities in Iraq was in Anbar after the ignorance of central government to demonstrator’s demands
What is Dai’sh?

- Dai’sh is the latest and most powerful incarnation of what began as an al-Qaida affiliate in Iraq following the 2003 US-led invasion.
- American forces spent years and enormous resources to bring the group largely to heel before US troops pulled out of the country in December of 2011.
- Since then, the region has been convulsed in political turmoil and sectarian hatred. The Islamic State has seized on those Sunni-Shiite tensions to help whip up its Sunni extremist followers.
- The group is led by an ambitious Iraqi militant known by his nom de guerre of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.
- On 9th of June 2014 Dai’sh took over Mosul and few days later it controlled nearly 40% of Iraq total area.
Introduction

• The Syrian uprising, which began in 2011, opened the door to his greater ambitions. Al-Baghdadi dispatched militants to Syria to set up a group called the Nusra Front. Initially, more moderate Syrian rebels welcomed the group's experienced fighters. But the Islamic State alienated many rebels and Syrian civilians alike with its brutality and attempts to impose its strict interpretation of Islam.

• Eventually, the Islamic State's (Dai’sh) presence in Syria proved so destabilizing that it fell out with the Nusra Front. Their mutual patron at the time, al-Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahri, formally disavowed the Islamic State.
Where is Dai’sh?
Like many, I have struggled to understand the precise factor that led to the dramatic rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) over the past ten months. Social science, like other sciences, often depends on trial and error. First, I thought religion must be a driving force of ISIL, after all, its leader has called for a new caliphate and professes to be the standard-bearer of a "pure" if extreme form of Islam. (Here I should note that I am myself a devout, practicing Muslim, and while my understanding of my own faith rejects this explanation out of hand, as an honest scientist, I am compelled to explore the possibility.) After careful examination of public attitudes in the areas where Da'ish (Arabic word for ISIL) has become dominant, I saw a clear contradiction in religious beliefs between Da'ish/ISIL and the population at large.
Polls show that in the areas where Da’i’sh took control in Iraq or Syria, over 90% of people perceived religion as either important or very important in their life. Yet only 13% of the public in Syria support their goals and activities. While 97% of Sunni’s in Iraq see Da’i’sh as a terrorist organization.

BY AND LARGE, MUSLIMS DO NOT BELIEVE OR SUPPORT DA’I’SH
Some people describe the following movements as legitimate resistance while others describe them as terrorist. Do you think Al-Qaida is a legitimate resistance movement or a terrorist movement?
Some people describe the following movements as terrorist while others describe them as non-terrorist. Do you think Nusra Front is a terrorist movement or non-terrorist movement?
Some people describe the following movements as terrorist while others describe them as non-terrorist. Do you think ISIL is a terrorist movement or non-terrorist movement?
Some people describe the following movements as terrorist while others describe them as non terrorist. Do you think ISIL is a terrorist movement or non terrorist movement? By Territory Controlled in Syria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory Controlled</th>
<th>ISIL Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Controlled by the Syrian opposition</td>
<td>63% Terrorist Movement, 35% Not a Terrorist Movement, 2% Don’t Know/ Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controlled by the current government</td>
<td>88% Terrorist Movement, 12% Not a Terrorist Movement, 0% Don’t Know/ Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISIL</td>
<td>63% Terrorist Movement, 37% Not a Terrorist Movement, 0% Don’t Know/ Not Sure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some people describe the following movements as legitimate resistance while others describe them as terrorist. Do you think ISIL is a legitimate resistance movement or a terrorist movement? By Religion - Iraq

- Sunni: 97% support as a terrorist movement, 1% not a terrorist movement, 2% don't know.
- Shi'a: 99% support as a terrorist movement, 1% not a terrorist movement, 0% don't know.
- Muslim: 82% support as a terrorist movement, 15% not a terrorist movement, 3% don't know.
Terrorist Movements vs. Legitimate Resistance Movement/Non Terrorist Movements - Syria

- **Terrorist Movement**
  - Al-Qaida: 83%
  - ISIL: 72%
  - Nusra Front: 65%
  - Hizballah: 55%

- **Not a Terrorist Movement/Legitimate Resistance Movement**
  - Al-Qaida: 15%
  - ISIL: 27%
  - Nusra Front: 33%

- **Don’t Know/Not Sure**
  - Al-Qaida: 2
  - ISIL: 1
  - Hizballah: 1
  - Nusra Front: 2

- **Refused to Answer**
  - Al-Qaida: 1
Support/Opposition for international coalition against ISIL - by country

- **Support**
  - Iraq: 69
  - Libya: 54
  - Yemen: 32
  - Syria: 26

- **Oppose**
  - Iraq: 21
  - Libya: 12
  - Yemen: 60
  - Syria: 71

- **Don’t Know/ Not Sure**
  - Iraq: 6
  - Libya: 31
  - Yemen: 7
  - Syria: 2

- **Refused to Answer**
  - Iraq: 4
  - Libya: 3
  - Yemen: 0
  - Syria: 1
Support/Opposition for international coalition against ISIL

By Territory Controlled in Syria

Controlled by the Syrian opposition:
- Support: 21%
- Oppose: 77%
- Don’t Know/Not Sure: 3%

Controlled by the current government:
- Support: 36%
- Oppose: 61%
- Don’t Know/Not Sure: 2%

ISIL:
- Support: 7%
- Oppose: 93%
- Don’t Know/Not Sure: 0%
Support/Opposition for international coalition against ISIL - By Religion and Religious Sect in Iraq

- **Sunni**
  - Support: 80%
  - Oppose: 9%
  - Don’t Know/Not Sure: 7%

- **Shi’a**
  - Support: 63%
  - Oppose: 30%
  - Don’t Know/Not Sure: 5%

- **Muslim**
  - Support: 59%
  - Oppose: 28%
  - Don’t Know/Not Sure: 6%
Who do you think is mainly responsible for the emergence of ISIL?

- **Iraqi Government**: 8% (Syria), 14% (Yemen), 1% (Iraq)
- **Syrian Government**: 14% (Syria), 2% (Yemen), 7% (Iraq)
- **Iran**: 12% (Syria), 18% (Yemen), 13% (Iraq)
- **USA**: 15% (Syria), 15% (Yemen), 44% (Iraq)
- **Religious Extremism**: 17% (Syria), 14% (Yemen), 11% (Iraq)
- **Other**: 17% (Syria), 14% (Yemen), 7% (Iraq)
- **Don’t Know**: 17% (Syria), 1% (Yemen), 6% (Iraq)
- **Refused to Answer**: 2% (Syria), 3% (Yemen), 1% (Iraq)
What are the top reasons that people might join or help ISIL? (SYRIA)

- Religious Reasons: 14%
- Ignorance & propaganda: 11%
- Materialism: 11%
- Standing for people Justice and security: 7%
- Bad economic conditions: 6%
- Agrees with ISIL: 5%
- Fear Factors: 5%
- Fighting Assad regime: 5%
- Passion of power and criminality: 5%
- Strength & Courage of ISIL: 4%
- Give up the crisis and loss of confidence in the opposition: 3%
- No answer: 1%
- Don’t know: 8%
- Others: 15%

%
Support their goals and activities vs. oppose them completely?

- **Nusrah Front**: 31%
- **The Islamic front**: 27%
- **Syrian Opposition Coalition**: 18%
- **Islamic State of Iraq and Syria**: 17%
- **Al-Quds force**: 13%
- **International coalition against ISIL**: 10%
- **Al-Qaida**: 9%
- **Hezbollah**: 49%
- **International coalition against ISIL**: 59%
- **Al-Quds force**: 63%
- **Syrian Opposition Coalition**: 56%
- **Islamic State of Iraq and Syria**: 59%
- **The Islamic front**: 75%
PART I:
IDEOLOGICAL CONTRADICTION BETWEEN IRAQI SUNNIS AND ISIL
The Government should implement only the laws derived from Sharia (Islamic Laws)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Do not agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kurds</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shia'a</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nationwide poll July 2014
Iraq would be a better place if religion & politics were separated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kurds</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shia'a</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nationwide poll July 2014
Iraqis Support Secular Politics – Slide 3

Percentage of Iraqi respondents who “agree” or “strongly agree” that Iraq would be better place if religion and politics were separate

![Graph showing percentage of Sunni and Shia Muslim respondents who support secular politics over time.](image-url)
Iraq –
What you think about each system of government for your country?

A parliamentary system in which nationalist, left wing, right wing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections

A system with a strong president in which elections and competition among political parties are not important

A system with a strong military force in which elections and competition among political parties are not important

A system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections

Not suitable at all | Somewhat suitable | Suitable | Very suitable
---|---|---|---
5.8 | 10.9 | 36.6 | 42.0
63.7 | 17.9 | 8.2 | 1.8
68.7 | 10.0 | 6.6 | 4.2
65.9 | 10.6 | 5.1 | 4.1
Degree of agreement: Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government?

Libya: Agree 56.3, Disagree 36.3
Iraq: Agree 51.1, Disagree 39.2
(Libya) How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

1. **Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government**
   - Strongly agree: 37.9%
   - Agree: 27.8%
   - Disagree: 33.3%
   - Strongly disagree: 7.1%
   - Don't know (Do not read): 6%
   - Refuse: 1%

2. **Religious clerics should not influence how people vote in elections**
   - Strongly agree: 8.7%
   - Agree: 37.9%
   - Disagree: 1%
   - Strongly disagree: 1.3%
   - Don't know (Do not read): 7%
   - Refuse: 1.3%
These are more reasons to reject Dai’sh ideology
PART II:
POVERTY OR LACK OF SERVICES?
Is it Poverty or Lack of Services

• Second, I considered public demand for better services. After all, elsewhere in the region we have seen religious parties successfully providing the services the state fails to, and as a result growing in popularity. But again, there was a clear contradiction. In Iraq, there is not a substantial difference in the level of services provided between predominantly Shi'a and Sunni areas. BUT IS THERE A GAP IN ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY TODAY: STATE JOBS ARE MORE AVAILABLE TO IRAQI SHI'A.
## Unemployment Rate by Governorate for the year 2008

### Governorate

**Grand Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governorate</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nineveh</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Anbar</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salah Al-Deen</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sunni provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governorate</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Babil</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karbala</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasit</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Najaf</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Qadisiya</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Muthanna</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thi-Qar</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missan</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basrah</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Shia provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governorate</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Najaf</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Muthanna</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basrah</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement comes closest to describing your household income

IRAQ – No significant differences in household income between Shia and Sunnis

Our household income covers our expenses well and we are abl

Our household income covers our expenses without notable dif

Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face

Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Sunni Muslim</th>
<th>Shia Muslim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Our household income covers our expenses well</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our household income does not cover our expenses</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our household income does not cover our expenses</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No significant differences in household income between Shia and Sunnis.
How satisfied are you with the financial situation of your household?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Provinces with Qaeda presence</th>
<th>Provinces with no Qaeda presence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely dissatisfied</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completely satisfied</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How satisfied or dissatisfied with your standard of living?

Provinces with Qaeda presence:
- Very unsatisfied: 38%
- Somewhat unsatisfied: 17%
- Somewhat satisfied: 24%

Provinces with no Qaeda presence:
- Very unsatisfied: 25%
- Somewhat unsatisfied: 29%
- Somewhat satisfied: 29%
Moreover, in Libya, where ISIL has also grown tremendously in recent months, the impacted areas have enjoyed a relatively high level of development over the past five years, according to the UN Human Development Reports.
## Human Development Index (HDI)

### Libya vs. Syria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Human Development Index (HDI)</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### High Human Development

- **Libya**
  - 55
  - 1980: 0.641
  - 1990: 0.684
  - 2000: 0.745
  - 2005: 0.772
  - 2008: 0.789
  - 2010: 0.799
  - 2011: 0.753
  - 2012: 0.789
  - 2013: 0.784

### Medium Human Development

- **Syrian Arab Republic**
  - 118
  - 1980: 0.528
  - 1990: 0.570
  - 2000: 0.605
  - 2005: 0.653
  - 2008: 0.658
  - 2010: 0.662
  - 2011: 0.662
  - 2012: 0.662
  - 2013: 0.658

- **Iraq**
  - 120
  - 1980: 0.500
  - 1990: 0.508
  - 2000: 0.606
  - 2005: 0.621
  - 2008: 0.632
  - 2010: 0.638
  - 2011: 0.639
  - 2012: 0.641
  - 2013: 0.642
PART III:
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS
3. **Why** then did Dai’sh take over Sunni’s areas?

**Political and social factors**

So, eliminating religion or unequal development as driving factors, I found in the research a third cluster of reasons that stand out as powerful motivators. In the areas where Da'ish/ISIL have surged, there exist wide feelings of injustice, deep resentments about basic inequality and a growing gap of trust between the governors and the governed.

What this has led to in the areas where Da'ish/ISIL has strengthened its grip is a radicalism that is filling the gap left absence of national identity.
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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Right Direction</th>
<th>Wrong Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Feeling of unhappiness among Sunni and Shia Muslims

- Muslim (Sunni): 42.4%
- Muslim (Shiite): 33.6%
• 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.
Insecurity among Iraqi Sunnis

How would you describe the current security situation in Iraq today?

![Graph showing the percentage of Sunni and Shia Muslims who consider the security situation to be good in Iraq from 2011 to 2014. In 2011, 52% of Sunni Muslims and 45% of Shia Muslims thought the situation was good. In 2012, this increased to 68% of Sunni Muslims and 37% of Shia Muslims. In 2013, it decreased to 35% of Sunni Muslims and 19% of Shia Muslims. In 2014, it was 38% of Sunni Muslims and 16% of Shia Muslims.]}
How safe/unsafe do you feel in your neighborhood?
Mosul and Salahdin

Sunni vs. Shia Perceived Insecurity – Mosul and Salahdin

Nation wide survey June 2014

Sunni Muslim
Shia Muslim
Generally speaking, do you think most people are trustworthy or not?

- Most people are trustworthy
- Most people are not trustworthy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sunni Muslim</th>
<th>Shia Muslim</th>
<th>Sunni Muslim</th>
<th>Shia Muslim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generally speaking, do you think most people are trustworthy or not?

- Most people are trustworthy: 63.90%
- Most people are not trustworthy: 30.00%
- Don't know: 3.60%
- Refused to answer: 2.50%

Libya – Perceptions of insecurity and xenophobia
C. Lack of trust (1)

How much confidence do you have in the following to improve the situation in Iraq? (Iraqi Government)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sunni Muslim</th>
<th>Shia Muslim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trust 2011</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust 2012</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust 2013</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust 2014</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lack of trust (1)
Yemen – Trust/Confidence in Government

How much confidence you have in the government?

Provinces with Qaeda presence
- A great deal: 1.7%
- Quite a lot: 15.2%
- Not very much: 34.6%
- None at all: 35.9%
- Don't Know: 12.7%

Provinces with no Qaeda presence
- A great deal: 11.4%
- Quite a lot: 19.4%
- Not very much: 35.5%
- None at all: 27.7%
- Don't Know: 6.0%
IRAQ – Confidence in Iraqi Parliament

Trust in institutions: Council of Ministers (Iraqi Parliament)

- Kurds: 28.0% do not trust, 66.0% trust
- Shia's: 36.0% do not trust, 63.0% trust
- Sunni Arab: 3.8% do not trust, 94.0% trust
- Iraq All: 25.0% do not trust, 72.8% trust
IRAQ – Hope for improvement?

How much confidence do you have in the Parliament’s ability to improve the situation in Iraq?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sunni Muslim</th>
<th>Shia Muslim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you have confidence, or do you not trust the justice system?

- **Trust**
  - Sunni Muslim: 68
  - Shia Muslim: 37

- **I don’t not trust**
  - Sunni Muslim: 60
  - Shia Muslim: 30
How much confidence you have in the courts?

Provinces with Qaeda presence

- A great deal
- Quite a lot
- Not very much
- None at all
- Don't Know

Provinces with no Qaeda presence

- A great deal
- Quite a lot
- Not very much
- None at all
- Don't Know

YEMEN: Confidence in Courts?
How much confidence do you have in the Iraqi Army to improve the situation in Iraq?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sunni Muslim</th>
<th>Shia Muslim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much confidence do you have in the Iraqi Police to improve the situation in Iraq?

- Sunni Muslim
- Shia Muslim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sunni Muslim</th>
<th>Shia Muslim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On a scale of 1-10, how democratic is your country?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Undemocratic</th>
<th>Shia'a</th>
<th>Sunni</th>
<th>Kurds</th>
<th>Iraq</th>
<th>Very Democratic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IRAQ: Perceptions of democracy?
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Under some conditions, war is necessary to obtain justice"?

Provinces with Qaeda presence:
- Agree: 53%
- Disagree: 43%
- Don't Know: 4%

Provinces with no Qaeda presence:
- Agree: 36%
- Disagree: 57%
- Don't Know: 7%
• Iraqi’s defining selves as Iraqi above all?
• Sunni association with Iraq as the basis for their identity decreased sharply
Sunnis’ association with Iraq as the basis for their identity decreased sharply from 80% in 2008 to 60% in 2010 and it is now only 40%.
Most closely identify yourself?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Muslim (Religion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**National vs. Religious association by country**
PART IV:
BASIS FOR HOPE?
Trust in the new government

Trust in government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>Do not trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 2014</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 14</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trust in government: July 2014 vs. Sep 14
There is an attempt now to compose new international alliance to fight ISIL, do you support this?

- Yes: 63%
- No: 37%
PART V: CAUTIONARY POINTS
In general do you think that the following has positive or negative influence on the internal issues of Iraq

- Negative impact: 89%
- Not negative nor positive: 4.8%
- Positive impact: 1.2%
In general do you think that the following has positive or negative influence on the internal issues of Iraq

**Alsalam Militia**

- **Not negative nor positive**: 8.2
- **Negative impact**: 83.8
- **Positive impact**: 0.9
In general do you think that the following has positive or negative influence on the internal issues of Iraq.

Ahl Alhaq Militia

- Negative impact: 90.7
- Positive impact: 0.9
- Not negative nor positive: 5
These Shia’s militias are currently:

1. Over 100,000 fighters.
2. Under direct leadership of Iran.
3. Displaced, killed and prisoned hundreds of Sunni’s families in the areas that Dai’sh had withdrawn from it. Sunni’s politicians in Iraqi parliament suspended their membership due to the demographic changes imposed by these militias in many areas as they claim.
• Though Da'ish/ISIL alternative cannot logically hold, what we need to direct our attention towards today is a way to address the real social and political needs of people in these areas that will further de-legitimize Da'ish/ISIL.

• Da’ish raised up in Sunni’s areas in Iraq and Syria as a result of deep and wide feelings of injustice, unfairness and lack of trust in governments. Without addressing and healing these feelings in the region, any military action will have a very limited results and may make things even worse.
• There are several rationales that ISIL is using to drive this recruitment:

  o 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.

  o Second, there is a strong and growing hatred of Iran and its involvement in these areas (Click Video)

  o 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.
• 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
Thank you