

If you are safe, I am safe

A survey of residents across five districts of Baghdad



March-April 2018

The 'If you are safe, I am safe' survey

Introduction

This survey was designed to assess the response to the message of 'If you are safe, I am safe' from Iraqis spread across five districts of Baghdad each with different social compositions, thus providing five distinct sets of district data which can be compared and conclusions drawn.

The survey was planned to test their comprehension of the message and their agreement with key underlying and associated concepts to it. Then to measure their agreement with the message and its impact on their level of hope in order to measure emotional responses as well as cognitive responses; thirdly, to measure the extent they would be prepared to play an active part in making 'If you are safe, I am safe' work in Iraq.

In addition, we also asked the interviewees about reconciliation, focusing on their perception of its relationship with key public interests in stability, peace, improved government, national prosperity, and how they perceived its importance for their own hopes for safety, personal prosperity and quality of life. We asked also about whether safety of groups and lack of threat between them was necessary for reconciliation, whether they saw reconciliation as desirable, possible or likely, and whether they felt the case for it was and should be made.

We also asked about their perceptions of their own safety, that of their group and of others.

The findings are set out here in full, with an executive summary highlighting the key findings alone.

Questions are set out in the following three sections: 'If you are safe, I am safe', reconciliation, and perceptions of safety. This is the opposite order in which the questions were asked.

The Survey

The survey was carried out between 23 March and 12 April 2018. It was undertaken on behalf of IF YOU ARE SAFE I AM SAFE by a team based at al-Nahrain University. The analysis of the results was supported by academics from Durham University.

Survey size and location of interviewees

372 people were surveyed across five districts in Baghdad. The districts were selected to provide contrasts between areas populated by the major sects, areas containing a majority and a minority of each main sect and a district where neither sect was predominant.

The five districts and the sample sizes were as follows.

1. Adamiya, Sunni dominated; 75 persons surveyed.
2. Amil, Shi'a dominated; 100 persons surveyed.
3. Hurriya, Shi'a majority and Sunni minority; 50 persons surveyed.
4. Saba Abkar, Sunni majority with Shi'a minority; 48 persons surveyed.
5. Saidiya, a mixed Shi'a-Sunni district; 99 persons surveyed.

Each district has enough people surveyed to provide accurate data and the responses are presented as percentages of those answering in each district and for the five districts as a whole.

Additional Demographics

The gender of the overall sample was 42% female and 52% male. In terms of age, it was 65% 18-40 and 35% 41plus. 54% were school or institute educated and 46% university educated.

The sample is more male, better educated and older than a truly representative sample of Baghdad's population.

1. 'IF YOU ARE SAFE, I AM SAFE'.

IF YOU ARE SAFE, I AM SAFE is a message-based strategy for promoting reconciliation in Iraq. It is designed to change public perceptions of where and how sustainable and real security is to be found and to create support for national and local-level reconciliation as well as to shape implementation programmes to make mutual security a reality on the ground.

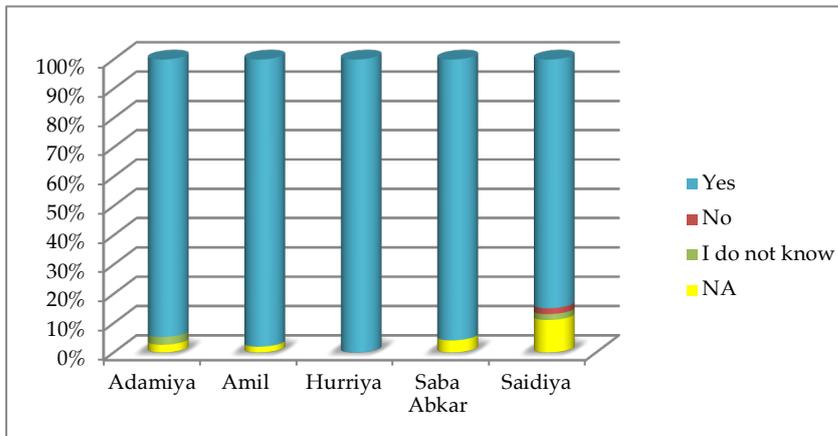
The message is key to the strategy and is designed to be easy to understand and disseminate — and not easily manipulated. Before asking interviewees for their response to the message (1.4), we sought to test both their understanding of the message (1.1, below) and test support for associated concepts (1.2 and 1.3). They were then asked about the desirability of putting it into practice in Iraq (1.5), how it might be put into practice (1.6) and whether they would support 'If you are safe, I am safe' themselves (1.7).

1.1 Testing understanding of 'If you are safe, I am safe'

To see if interviewees understood the message they were given a short explanation of the message and then asked if they agreed with four statements to test their understanding of the message.

Do you think that the message 'If you are safe, I am safe' means any of the following? or select options e or f.

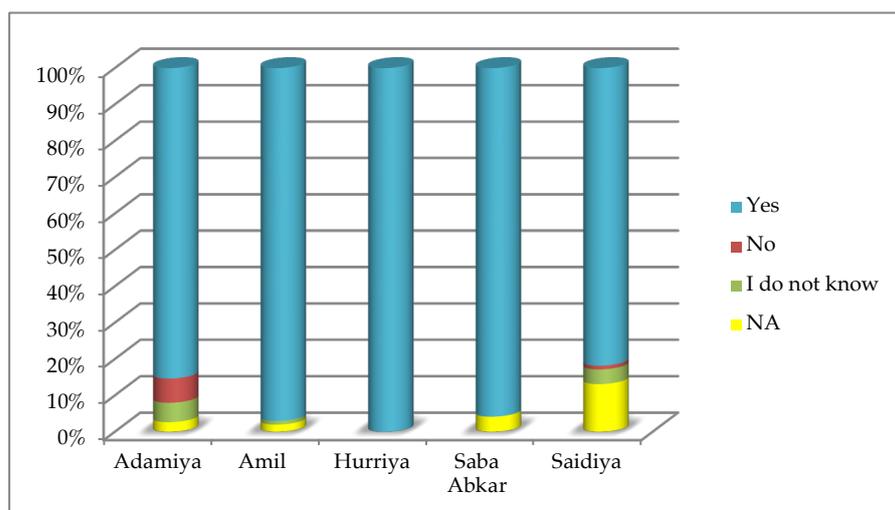
a) That to be safe myself, I need others to be safe too?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	94.67%	98.00%	100.00%	95.83%	84.85%	93.82%
No	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.02%	0.54%
I do not know	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.02%	1.08%
NA	2.67%	2.00%	0.00%	4.17%	11.11%	4.57%

Very high agreement across four districts (100%-94.67%), with Saidiya significantly lower at 84.85%. 'No answer' is the largest alternative response to agreement, and highest in Saidiya.

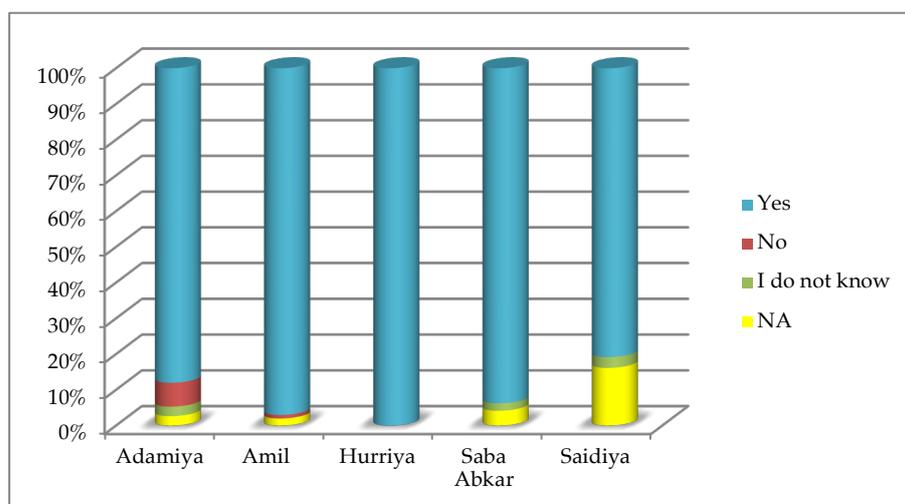
b) That for my sect to be safe, other sects need to be safe as well?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	85.33%	97.00%	100.00%	95.83%	81.82%	90.86%
No	6.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	1.61%
I do not know	5.33%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.04%	2.42%
NA	2.67%	2.00%	0.00%	4.17%	13.13%	5.11%

Clear district variation, with Adamiya and Saidiya with 14.67% and 18.18% not supporting the statement. Only is Adamiya is there a significant 'No' response 6.67%).

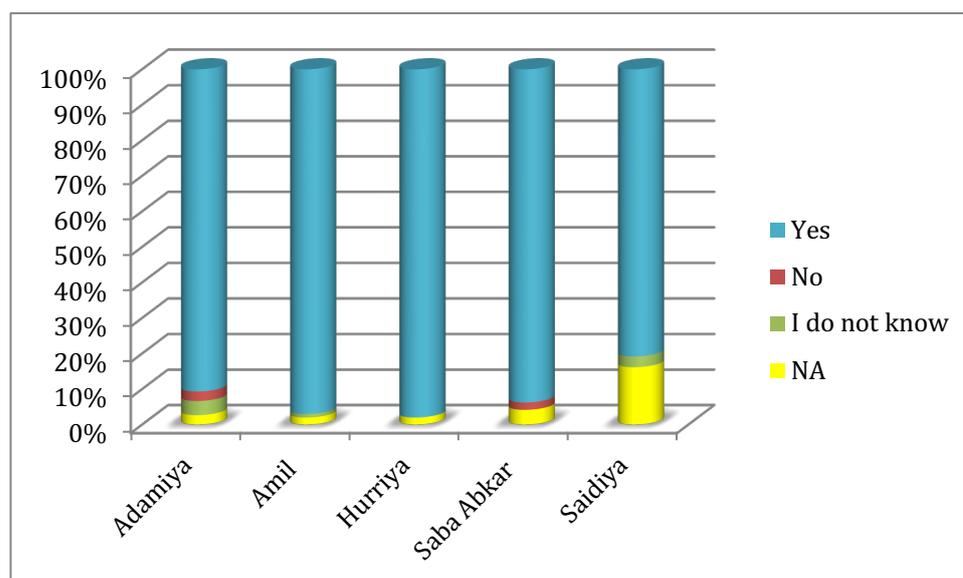
c) *That the level of safety I expect for myself and my sect should be the same level of safety I should expect for other people and other sects?*



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	88.00%	97.00%	100.00%	93.75%	80.81%	90.86%
No	6.67%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.61%
I do not know	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	3.03%	1.61%
NA	2.67%	2.00%	0.00%	4.17%	16.16%	5.91%

The overall response and district variations are very similar to the first statement, including the level of disagreement.

d) That unless we are all safe – individually and as communities and sects – then none of us can be entirely safe?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	90.67%	97.00%	98.00%	93.75%	80.81%	91.13%
No	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	0.00%	0.81%
I do not know	4.00%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.03%	1.88%
NA	2.67%	2.00%	2.00%	4.17%	16.16%	6.18%

e) None of the above

	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
NA	100.00%	99.00%	100.00%	100.00%	98.99%	99.46%
Yes	0.00%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.54%

f) 'I am not sure what "If you are safe, I am safe" means'

	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
NA	97.33%	99.00%	100.00%	95.83%	90.91%	96.24%
Yes	2.67%	1.00%	0.00%	4.17%	9.09%	3.76%

District variation.

In Adamiya, 6.67% answered 'No' to questions B and C – accounting for the higher levels of 'No' across the sample for these questions.

In Saidiya, there are higher levels of respondents who did not know or gave no answer to these questions: 13% for A, 17% for B, 19% for C, 19% for D.

12.6% of respondents answered 'don't know', 'No' or gave no answer to one of the first four questions. Half of those did so to all four of those questions

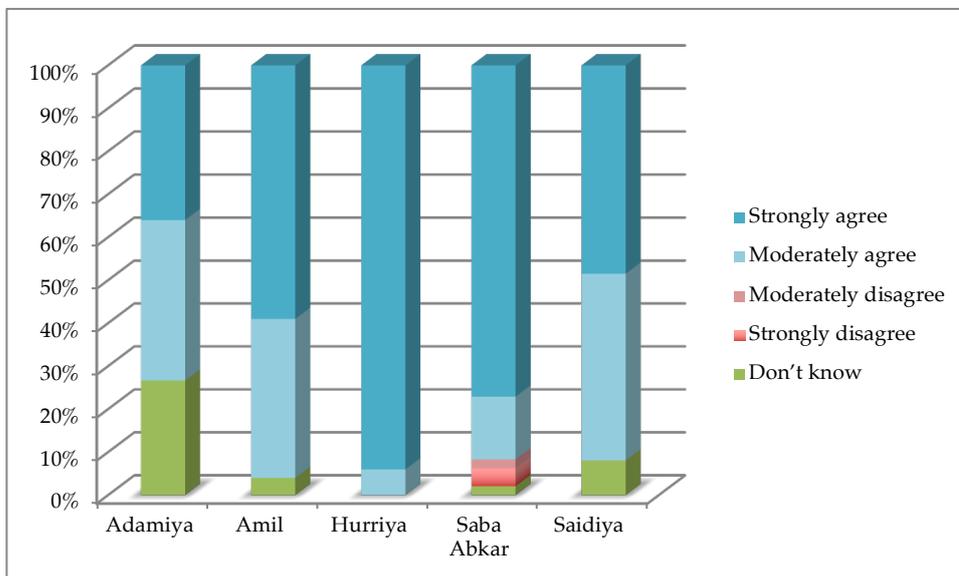
(6.3%) — including all those answering ‘Yes’ to the above question. 87.4% answered ‘Yes’ to all four questions.

1.2 Testing agreement with the concept (part 1): responding to four statements

Those surveyed were then asked to respond to four statements designed to test their agreement with the concept of ‘If you are safe, I am safe’. Two were about safety, and two were about threat.

Safety

2. Do you personally agree that to be safe, you, me, all of us need to make other people safe (even people from communities we may feel alienated from)?

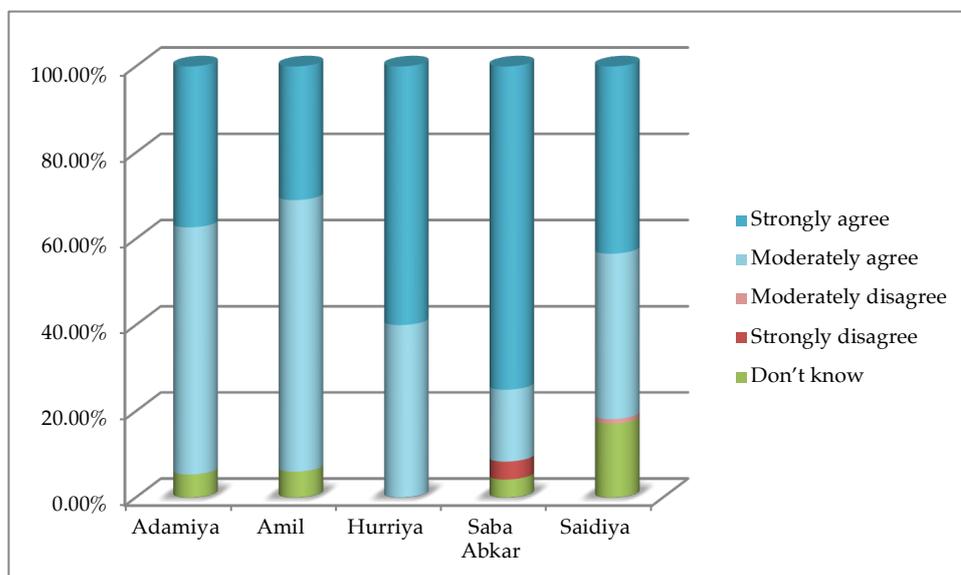


	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	36.00%	59.00%	94.00%	77.08%	48.48%	58.60%
Moderately agree	37.33%	37.00%	6.00%	14.58%	43.43%	31.72%
Moderately disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	0.00%	0.27%
Strongly disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	0.00%	0.54%
Don't know	26.67%	4.00%	0.00%	2.08%	8.08%	8.87%

District variation

Only in Adamiya are there substantial ‘don't knows’ (27%), making it the weakest response in favour of the statement with 73% (36% strong). The range of agreement was 91%-96% for the other four districts.

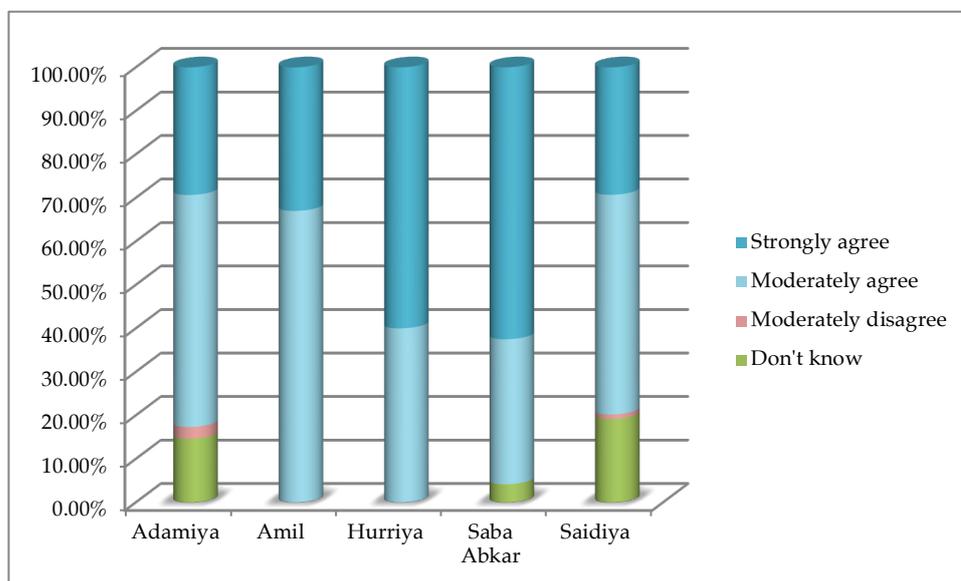
3. Do you personally agree that the safety of your group depends on the safety of other groups – even groups you may feel alienated from?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	37.33%	31.00%	60.00%	75.00%	43.43%	45.16%
Moderately agree	57.33%	63.00%	40.00%	16.67%	38.38%	46.24%
Moderately disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.27%
Strongly disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	0.00%	0.54%
Don't know	5.33%	6.00%	0.00%	4.17%	17.17%	7.80%

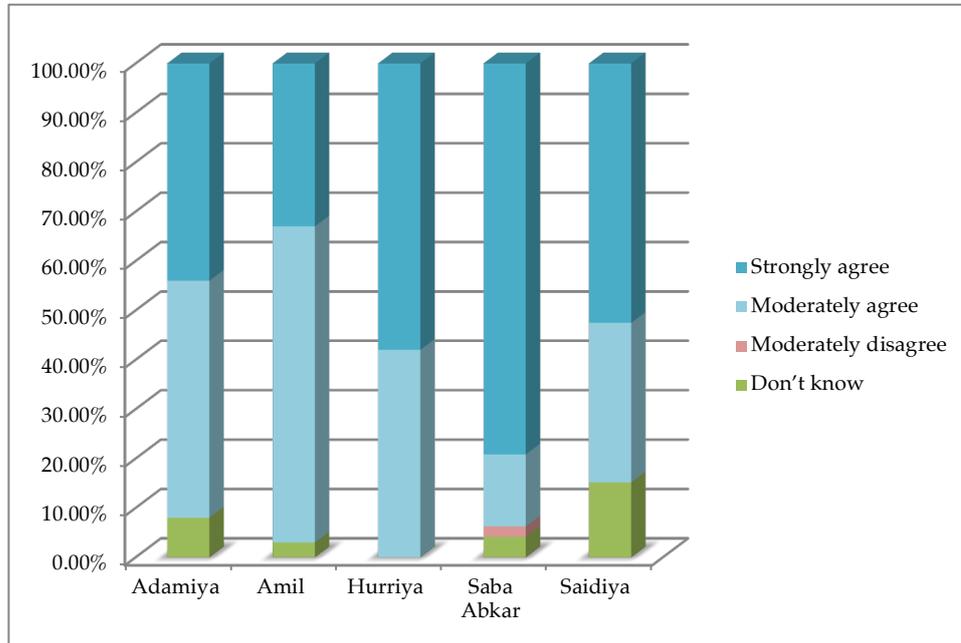
Threat

4. Do you agree that when people are not in any way threatened and their communities are not threatened or don't feel threatened, they are less likely to threaten others?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	29.33%	33.00%	60.00%	62.50%	29.29%	38.71%
Moderately agree	53.33%	67.00%	40.00%	33.33%	50.51%	51.88%
Moderately disagree	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.81%
Don't know	14.67%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	19.19%	8.60%

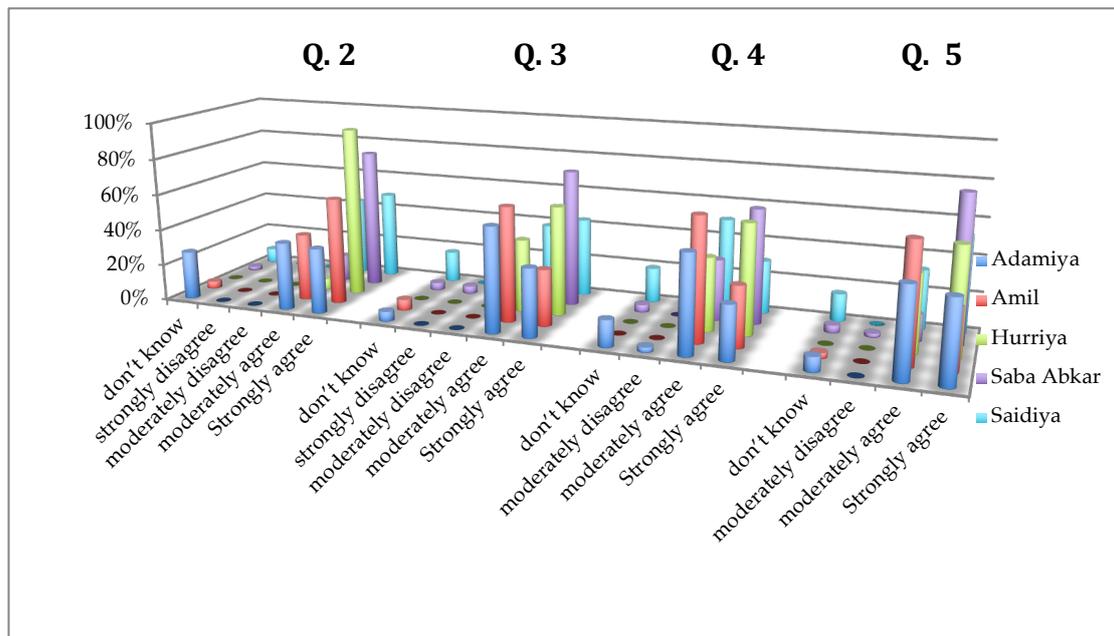
5. Do you agree that reducing the threat people and communities feel will make for greater safety for all?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	44.00%	33.00%	58.00%	79.17%	52.53%	49.73%
Moderately agree	48.00%	64.00%	42.00%	14.58%	32.32%	43.01%
Moderately disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	0.00%	0.27%
Don't know	8.00%	3.00%	0.00%	4.17%	15.15%	6.99%

The highest level of agreement to this set of statements at 93% (50% 'strongly agree'). Disagree 0.27% (Saba Abkar only) and don't know responses from 7%. The range of positive responses is 100%-85%. The tightest distribution of positive responses for all four statements assessing agreement with the concept.

Summary of these four questions



High and strong levels of agreement across all four questions

There are very high levels of agreement with the propositions (93%-90% 'strongly agree' or 'agree'). Those responding "strongly agree" are also very high (59%-45%). For the first and fourth question, strong agreement is higher than moderate agreement (59% to 32% and 50% to 43%) and for the second it is roughly equal (45% to 46%). For the third question, moderate agreement is higher (39% to 52%).

'Neither agree nor disagree' in Adamiya and Saidiya

27% of respondents in Adamiya replied 'neither agree nor disagree' to question 2. 15% in Adamiya and 19% in Saidiya replied likewise to question 4. 15% in Saidiya also replied 'neither agree nor disagree' when asked if they agreed that 'your group safety depends on other group's safety' and 15% replied 'neither agree nor disagree' when asked if they agreed that 'reducing threat increases safety'.

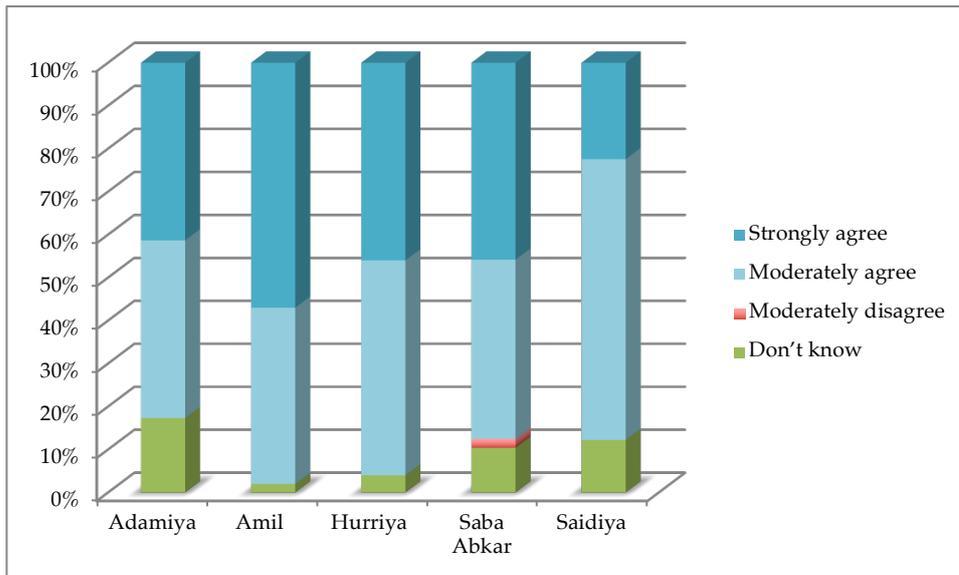
Disagreement low – and very rare except in Saba Abkar

On average, the level of disagreement is 3% across these questions. About two-thirds of this is from respondents in Saba Abkar.

1.3 Testing agreement with the concept (part 2): four questions

To further test agreement of the Iraqi public with the concept, 'If you are safe, I am safe' we asked four questions. *First*, on the relationship between the safety of other sectarian groups and their own group. *Second* whether those threatened are more or less likely to threaten back? *Third*, did respondents think they and their communities had a role in making others feel safe? *Fourth*, did they agree that all Iraqis had to be safe for any to be safe?

6. Do you agree that the group/sect/ethnicity you identify with most will be safe if the other groups/sects are safe?

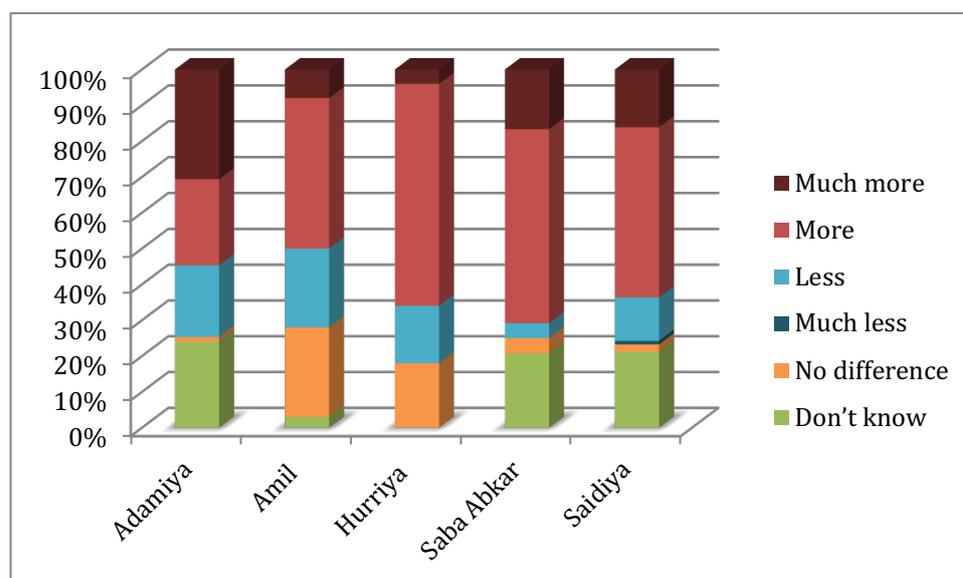


	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	41%	57%	46%	46%	22%	41.78%
Moderately agree	41.33%	41.00%	50.00%	41.67%	65.31%	48.79%
Moderately disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	0.00%	0.27%
Don't know	17.33%	2.00%	4.00%	10.42%	12.24%	9.16%

District variation

The level of agreement across districts ranges from 98%-83%. Strong agreement is evident across all districts, but is very high in four (57%-41%), with Saidiya at 22%. Don't knows vary from 17% in Adamiya, 12% in Saidiya and 10% in Saba Abkar.

7. Do you think that groups or communities who feel threatened by other communities are more or less likely to be a threat to those they feel threatened by?



	Adamiya	Amil	Hurriya	Saba Abkar	Saidiya	Five districts
Much more	30.67%	8.00%	4.00%	16.67%	16.16%	15.32%
More	24.00%	42.00%	62.00%	54.17%	47.47%	44.09%
Less	20.00%	22.00%	16.00%	4.17%	12.12%	15.86%
Much less	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.27%
No difference	1.33%	25.00%	18.00%	4.17%	2.02%	10.48%
Don't know	24.00%	3.00%	0.00%	20.83%	21.21%	13.98%

This is a more complex question than the previous one. It is asking the same question negatively and in a rather less direct way: 'If you are not feeling safe, are you more or less likely to make me not safe'. It is a crucial technical question that relates to the social psychology evidence base of 'If you are safe, I am safe'. Unlike other questions, with three or five possible responses, this question has six. Evidence from social psychology shows that communities that feel threatened are more likely to respond negatively towards the source of threat, even if they are weaker. A threatened community will show more or much more threat. What did the sample say?

Summary

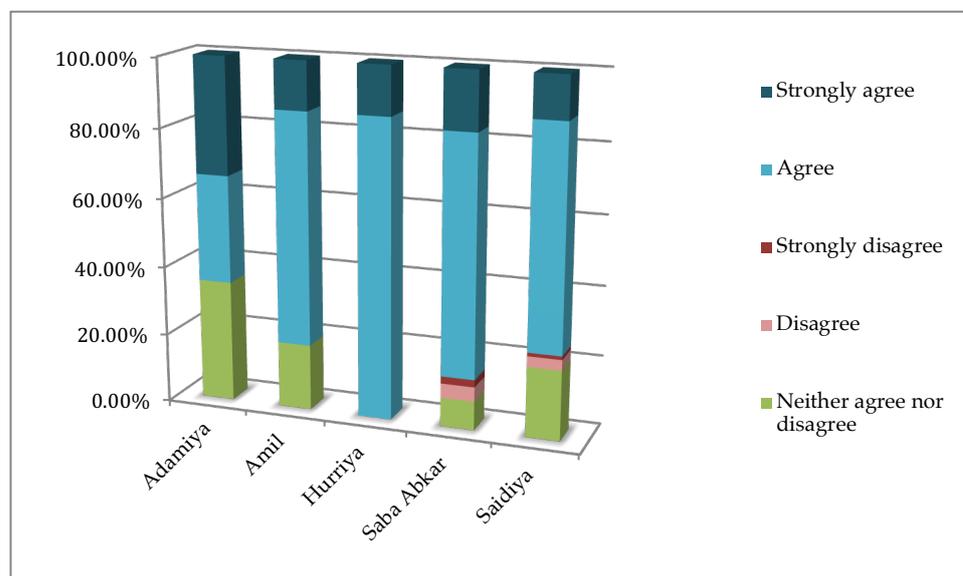
Overall, 59.42% thought a community that felt threatened would be more likely to threaten back (15.32% 'much more'); 15.86% thought it would be less likely to (0.27% 'much less'); 24.46% thought it would make no difference or did not know (10.48% 'no difference', 13.98% did not know).

Analysis

The responses show that more respondents see the relationship between threat perception and threat projection than do not see it. Using a weighted

mean, the district range is 70.8%-58.67% agreement that threatened communities are more likely to threaten in return.

8. Do you believe that you and the community or group you most identify with has a role in making other communities and their members safe?



	Adamiya	Amil	Hurriya	Saba Abkar	Saidiya	Five districts
Strongly agree	33.78%	14.00%	14.00%	16.67%	12.12%	17.79%
Agree	31.08%	67.00%	86.00%	68.75%	63.64%	61.73%
(Total agree)	(64.86%)	(81%)	(100%)	(85.42%)	(75.76%)	(79.52%)
Strongly disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	1.01%	0.54%
Disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	3.03%	1.35%
Neither agree nor disagree	35.14%	19.00%	0.00%	8.33%	20.20%	18.60%

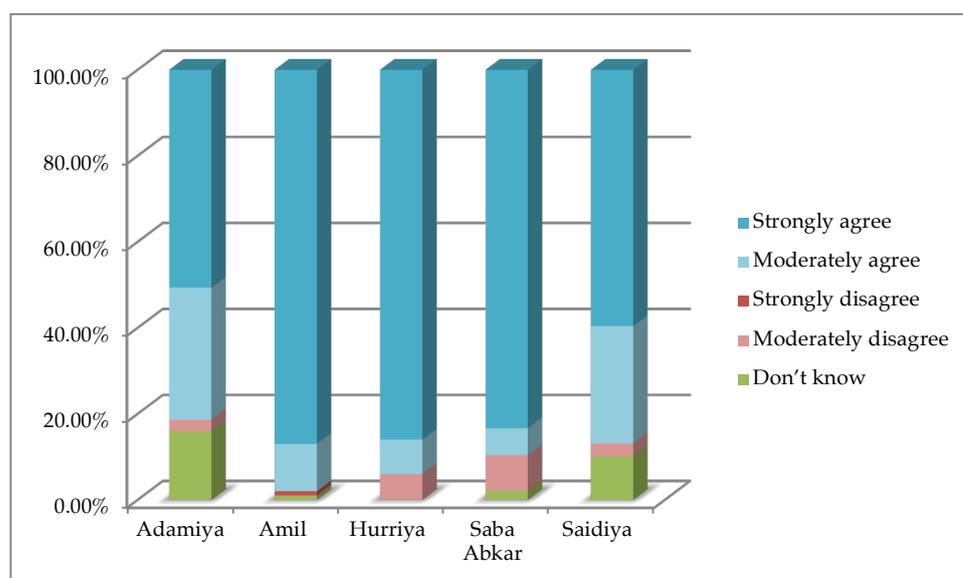
This question adds an emphasis to a previous statement and a previous question — the statement is in first the ‘Testing agreement with the concept (part 1): statements’ about individuals and groups of individuals making each other safe and the second is the first question in the ‘Testing agreement with the concept (part 2): questions’ (*above*), about the relationship between the safety of other groups and the safety of your own group. This question asks about whether your own group has a role in making others groups safe.

Overall for the sample, 80% agree (18% strongly), 1% disagree and 19% do not know. (This is down on the previous question (*noted above*), with 91% agreement — 42% strongly; 0.27% disagreement and 9% don’t knows). The previous statement (*as above*) had 91% agreement (59% strong), 1% disagreement and 9% don’t knows.)

The range of agreement across district is 100%-65%; variation when comparing overall agreement, strength of agreement, presence of disagreement, and concentration of don’t knows.

Hurriya, strongest overall agreement with 100% (14% strong); Saba Abkar with 86% (17% strong); Amil 81% (14% strong); Saidiya 76% (12% strong) and Adamiya 65% agreement of which 34% is strong agreement (the highest). Adamiya has the highest percent of 'don't knows' at 35%; Saidiya 20%, Amil 19% and Saba Abkar 8%. Those disagreeing are 6% in Saba Abkar (2% strongly) and 4% in Saidiya (1% strongly).

9. Do you agree that no Iraqis can be safe unless all Iraqis are safe?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	50.67%	87.00%	86.00%	83.33%	59.60%	71.77%
Moderately agree	30.67%	11.00%	8.00%	6.25%	27.27%	18.28%
Strongly disagree	0.00%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%
Moderately disagree	2.67%	0.00%	6.00%	8.33%	3.03%	3.23%
Don't know	16.00%	1.00%	0.00%	2.08%	10.10%	6.45%

Overall, the sample has 92% agreement (72% strong), 3% moderate disagreement and 0.27% strong disagreement; 6.5% don't know. This is the highest level of strong agreement for any question asked in this section of the survey (*Agreement with the concept, part 1 and 2*).

Strong agreement is high across all districts, and higher than moderate agreement in every district, but noticeably lower in the last two districts in the range.

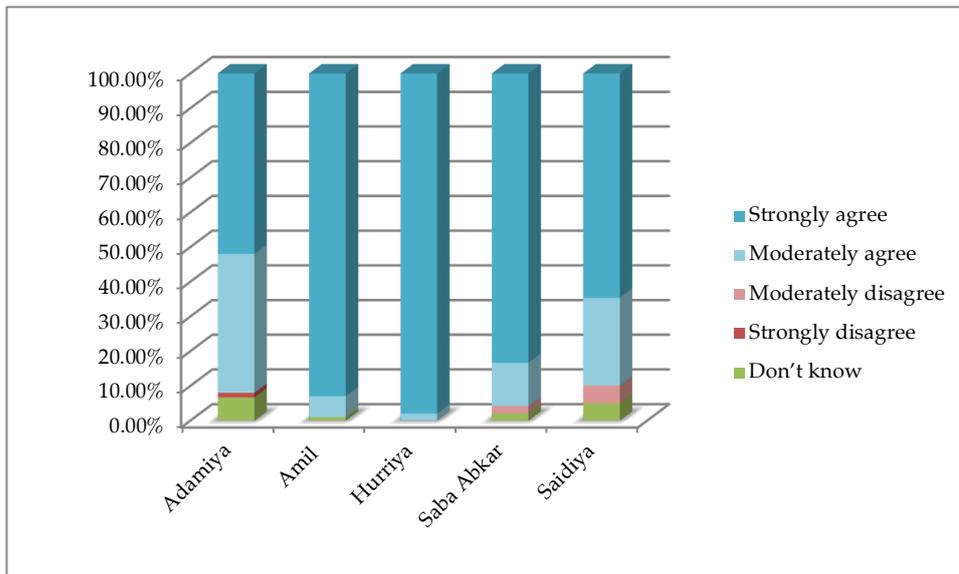
The highest support is from Amil 98% (87% strong), Hurriya 94% (86% strong), Saba Abkar 89% (83% strong) – then there is a drop in strength of agreement: 87% in Saidiya (60% strong) and 82% in Adamiya (51% strong).

The closeness of levels 'disagree' and 'don't knows' is notable. There is 1% 'strong disagreement' in Amil and don't knows of 1%; moderate disagreement in Hurriya of 6% (no 'don't knows'); in Saba Abkar 8% disagreement and 1% don't knows; in Saidiya 3% disagreement and 10% don't knows and Adamiya 3% disagree and 16% don't know.

1.4 Agreement with 'If you are safe, I am safe'

The respondents were asked a set of questions to assess their cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses to the message 'If you are safe, I am safe'. They were asked about agreement with the message, if it made them more hopeful and if so, how much.

10. Do you agree or disagree with this message, 'If you are safe, I am safe'?



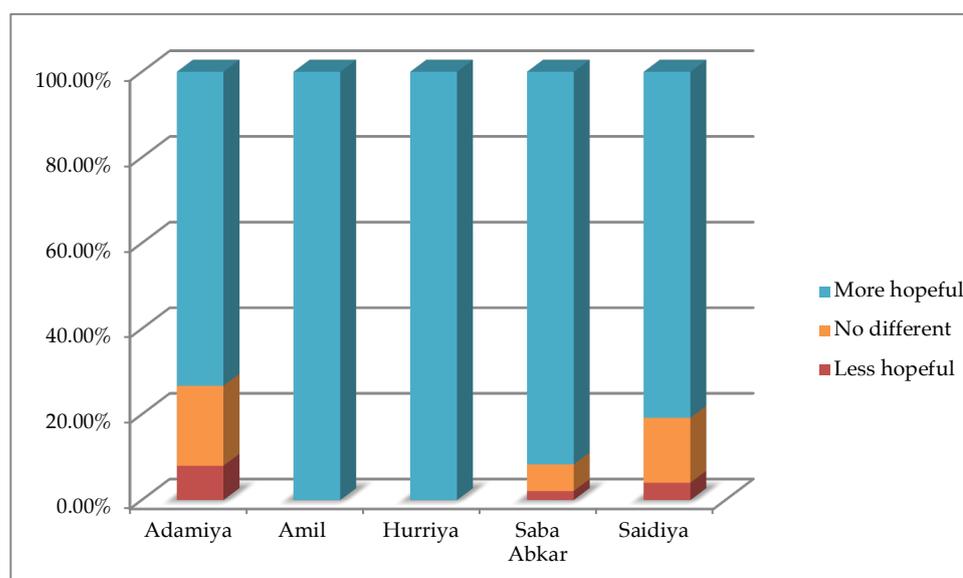
	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	52.00%	93.00%	98.00%	83.33%	64.65%	76.61%
Moderately agree	40.00%	6.00%	2.00%	12.50%	25.25%	18.28%
Moderately disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	5.05%	1.61%
Strongly disagree	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%
Don't know	6.67%	1.00%	0.00%	2.08%	5.05%	3.23%

Agreement with the message was 94.89% across the sample (76.61% strongly agreed). Those who disagreed 1.88% (0.27% strongly); and don't knows 3.23%.

This is the same level of strong agreement as the last question; there is very low disagreement with the message and, notably, few 'don't knows'.

The range of overall agreement in the districts was 100% to 90% and strong agreement from 98% to 52% (similar to the last question).

11. How does the message, 'If you are safe, I am safe' make you feel?



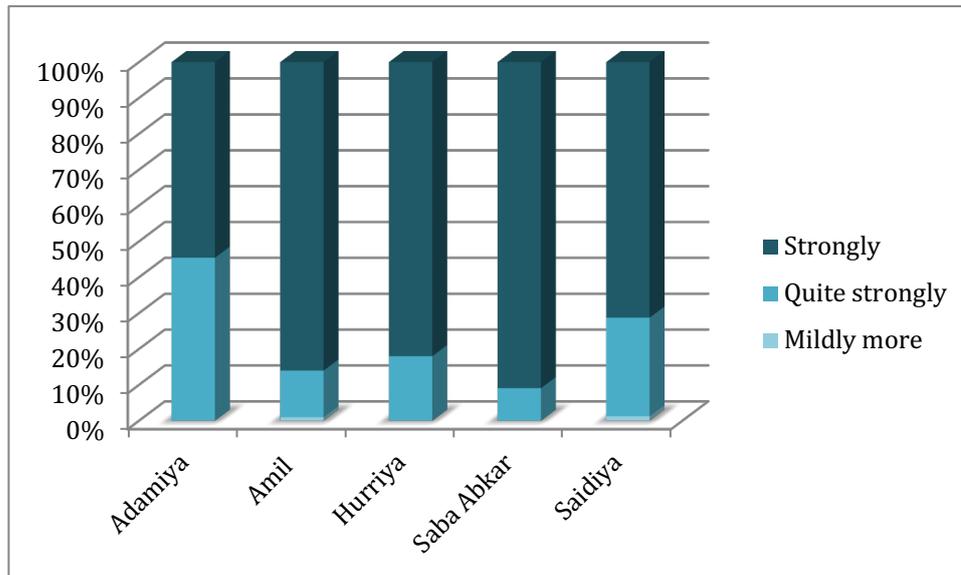
	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
More hopeful	73.33%	100.00%	100.00%	91.67%	80.81%	88.44%
No different	18.67%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%	15.15%	42.67%
Less hopeful	8.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	4.04%	14.67%

To assess whether the message was able to affect emotions, respondents were asked about whether it affected their sense of hope. Did it make them feel less hopeful, no different or more hopeful?

The response was overwhelmingly 'more hopeful', but with significant minorities in Adamiya and Saidiya 'no different' (19% and 15%) and, to a lesser extent, 'less hopeful' (8% and 4%). Likewise, a small minority in Saba Abkar.

This shows that the message has a strong and positive impact on emotional responses but highlights that not there are some who remain to be convinced.

12. For those whom it made more hopeful, how much more hopeful did it make you feel?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly	54.55%	86.00%	82.00%	90.91%	71.25%	77.20%
Quite strongly	45.45%	13.00%	18.00%	9.09%	27.50%	22.19%
Mildly more	0.00%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.25%	0.61%

The 329 respondents who felt more hopeful (88.44% of the sample) were asked to what degree did the message affect their sense of hope.

The responses indicate that the message makes a strong impact on hope, with less than one percent for the combined districts and no more than 1.25% in any district responding 'mildly more'.

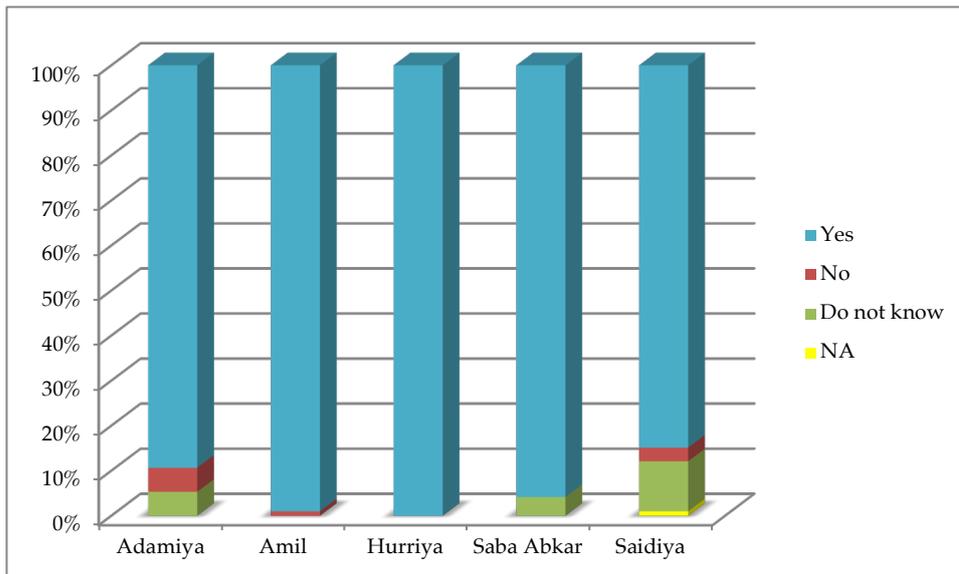
The weighted mean for this question is 97%-85% across all districts, with the sample as a whole at 92%.

Adamiya (45.45% quite strong) and Saidiya (27.5% quite strong) are the two districts with the least strong response.

1.5 'If you are safe, I am safe' in Iraq.

Respondents were asked three questions and then given four statements to respond to concerning the desirability of and the practicality of putting 'If you are safe, I am safe' into practice in Iraq.

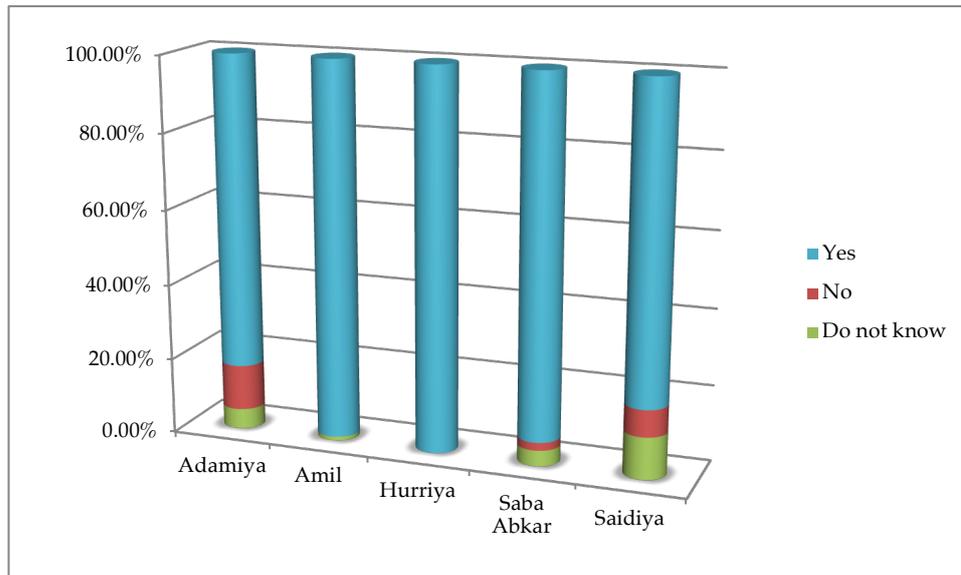
13. Do you think that an Iraq based on this message 'If you are safe, I am safe' would be a better place to live?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	89.33%	99.00%	100.00%	95.83%	85.71%	93.01%
No	5.33%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.06%	2.15%
Do not know	5.33%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	11.22%	4.57%
NA	0	0	0	0	1.01%	0.27%

Overwhelmingly positive response that an Iraq based on 'If you are safe, I am safe' would be a better place to live, but with small groups not agreeing in Adamiya (5% disagree, 5% don't know), Saidiya (3% disagree, 11% don't know, and Saba Abkar (4.5% don't know).

14. Would an Iraq that is based on 'If you are safe, I am safe' make you more hopeful for the future?

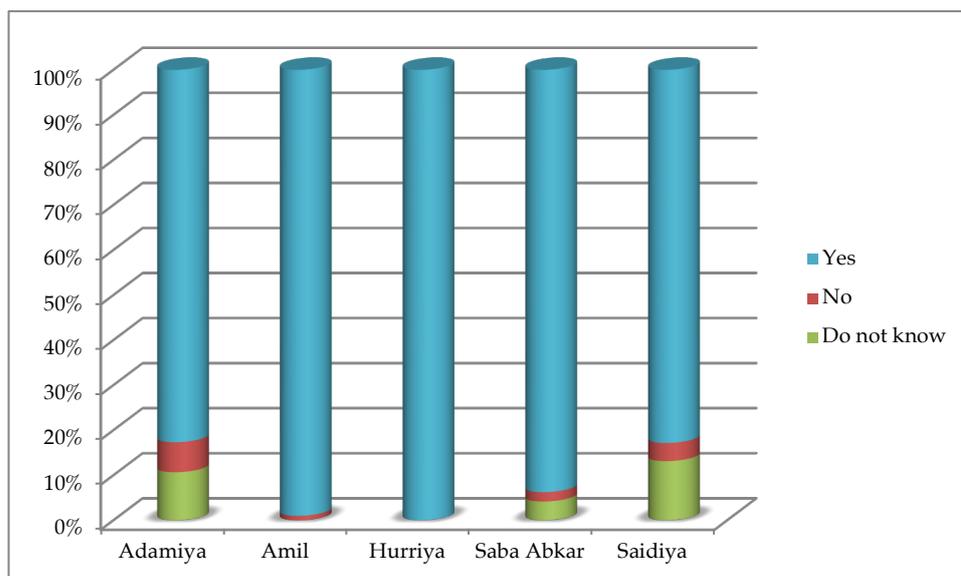


	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	82.67%	99.00%	100.00%	93.75%	81.82%	90.59%
No	12.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	7.07%	4.57%
Do not know	5.33%	1.00%	0.00%	4.17%	11.11%	4.84%

This question takes the question of hope and applies it not just to the message but to whether the implementation of the message would produce hope.

These responses compare closely to those for question 11 'How does the message, 'If you are safe, I am safe' make you feel?' (in the previous section, 1.4, above). These two questions identify significant minorities in Adamiya and Saidiya for whom first exposure to 'If you are safe, I am safe' does not get a positive emotional response according to the respondents.

15. Do you think that the government should work to make 'If you are safe, I am safe' a reality in Iraq?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	82.67%	99.00%	100.00%	93.75%	82.83%	90.86%
No	6.67%	1.00%	0.00%	2.08%	4.04%	2.96%
Do not know	10.67%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	13.13%	6.18%

Overall for these three questions, support for the implementation of 'If you are safe, I am safe' is very high across all districts, Amil and Hurriya exceptionally and consistently so.

Summary for the "If you are safe, I am safe" in Iraq' section.

Overall agreement is 93%-91% across all three questions. The district variation is consistent, with Amil and Hurriya at around 100%, Saba Abkar at around 94%, Adamiya at around 85% and Saidiya at around 83% (both these latter stronger on the first question).

1.6 How should 'If you are safe, I am safe' be implemented in Iraq.

Those surveyed were given four different ideas for government action to make 'If you are safe, I am safe' a reality in Iraq and asked if they agreed or not with each one.

16 a) *Reform the police to make sure they reflect all Iraqis and act with respect towards all Iraqis?*



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Agree	96.00%	100.00%	100.00%	97.92%	91.92%	96.77%
Disagree	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.81%
Do not know	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	7.07%	2.43%
NA	0.00%	0.00%	2.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%

For the sample as a whole, the affirmative response is 96.51% — second highest of the highest in the survey as a whole. 0.81% disagreed and 2.42% did not know and 0.27% did not give an answer.

The district variation is very low: 100%-96% for four of the districts with Saidiya at 91.92%. The response is very consistent across four districts with Saidiya showing a clear increase in lack of agreement over the other districts.

16 b) Government should not advantage any one sect more than another sect?

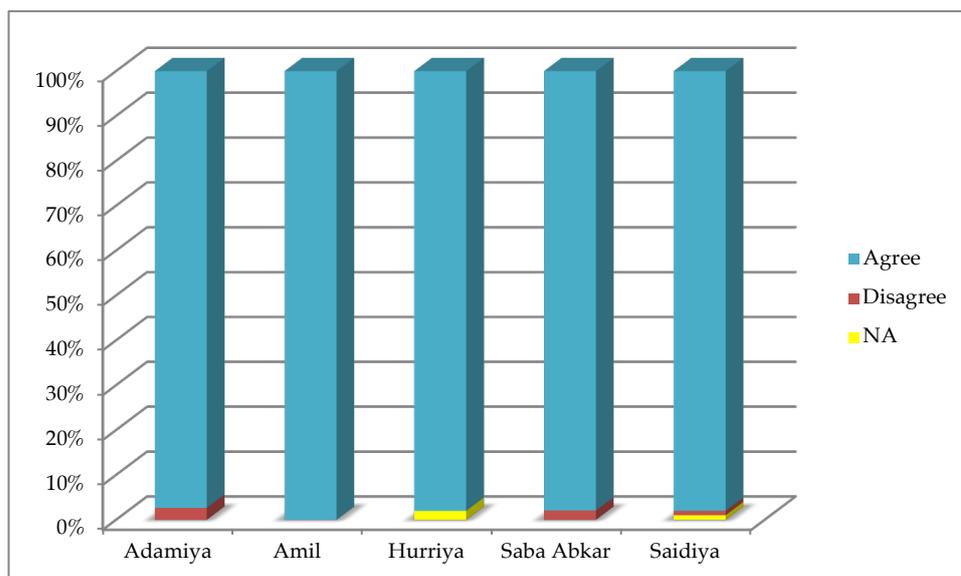


	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Agree	97.33%	100.00%	98.00%	95.83%	98.99%	98.39%
Disagree	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%
Do not know	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	1.01%	1.08%
NA	0.00%	0.00%	2.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%

The overall sample 98.39% agreement is the highest positive response in the whole survey (jointly with the following question, 16c) . 0.27% disagree, 1.08% don't know and 0.27% did not answer.

District variation is even less than for the previous question, with a range of agreement 100%-95.83%.

16 c) Government should always act in the interests of all Iraqis, not for the interests of different sects or parties?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Agree	97.33%	100.00%	98.00%	97.92%	97.98%	98.39%
Disagree	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	1.01%	1.08%
NA	0.00%	0.00%	2.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.54%

The same overall agreement of 98.39% to this question, but with 0% disagree, 1.08% don't know and 0.27% no answer.

Variation across the districts is 100%-97.33% — even closer than the previous question. Amil 100%, Hurriya 98% (2% no answer), Saidiya 97.98% (1.01% don't know and 1.01% no answer); Saba Abkar 97.92% (2.08% don't know) and Addamiya 97.33% (2.67% don't know).

16 d) Government establishes and enforces code of conduct for all its workers to behave fairly and equally to all Iraqis regardless of sect or ethnicity?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Agree	81.33%	99.00%	96.00%	93.75%	88.89%	91.67%
Disagree	9.33%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	3.03%	2.96%
Do not know	9.33%	1.00%	2.00%	4.17%	8.08%	5.11%
NA	0.00%	0.00%	2.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%

The response for the sample is 91.67% agree, 2.96% disagree, 5.11% don't know, 0.27% did not reply.

Variation in agreement across districts is 99% to 81.33%. The variation is higher here than on any other question in this section, with Amil and Hurriya — then Saba Abkar — in close proximity but with Saidiya and Adamiya with less agreement and significant disagreement in Adamiya .

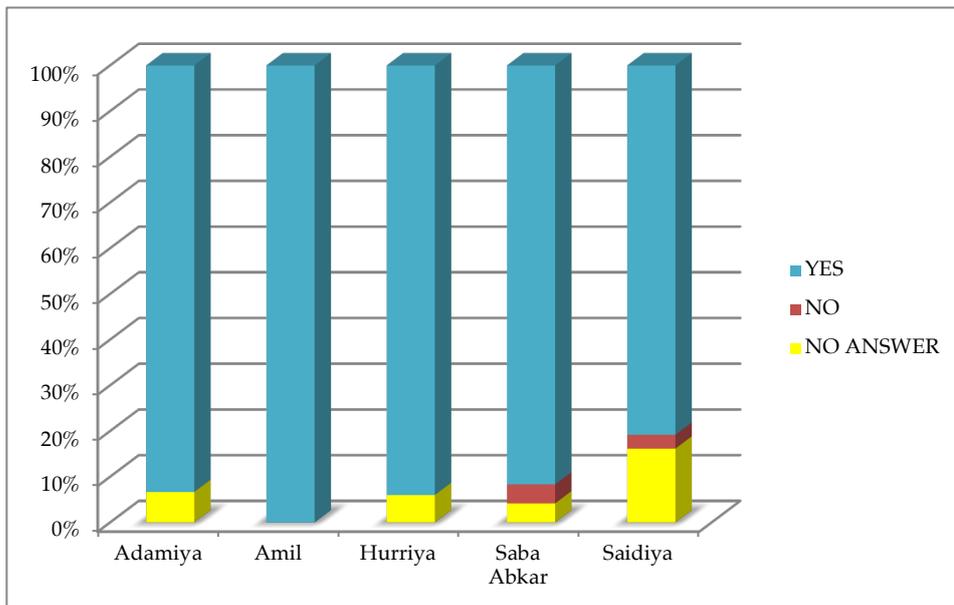
Summary of How should 'If you are safe, I am safe' be implemented in Iraq.

Affirmative responses were high: 97%, on police reform, 98% on government not favouring any one sect, , 98% government always work in the interests of all Iraqis and not of parties or sects, and 92% for introducing and enforcing a code of conduct for all government employees to treat all Iraqis fairly and equally.

1.7 Public support in implementing 'If you are safe, I am safe' in Iraq.

The first question asks for a general response ('would you help implement') ('Yes' 91.67%); the second and third propose specific actions: 'spread the message' (89.52% 'Yes'), and 'find out more' (89.52%). The level of 'Yes' to the first question falls by only 2.42% points for the entire sample, but 9.33% points in Adamiya, 3% in Amil, and rises by 2.08% in Saba Abkar.

17. Would you help to make 'If you are safe, I am safe' a reality in Iraq?

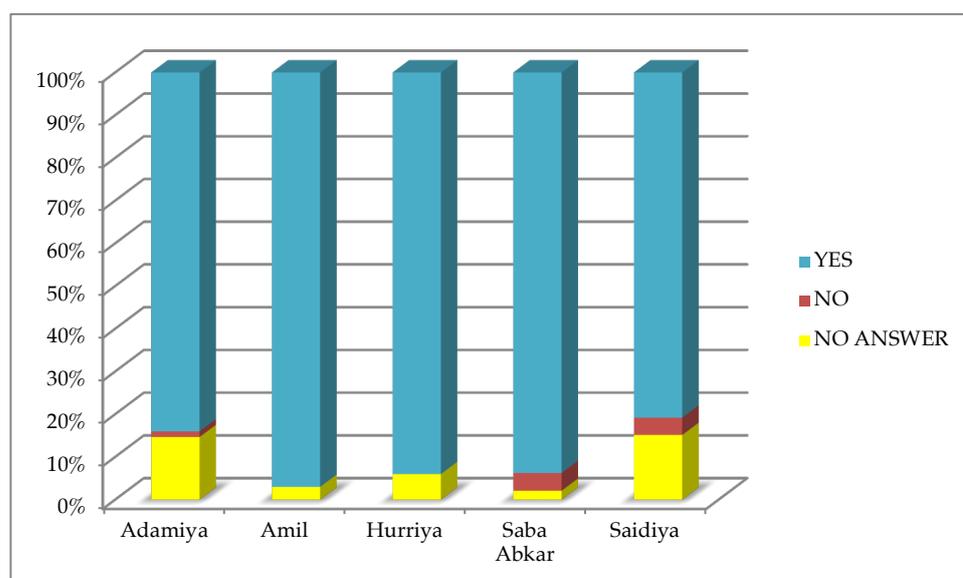


	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
YES	93.33%	100.00%	94.00%	91.67%	80.81%	91.67%
NO	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	3.03%	1.34%
NO ANSWER	6.67%	0.00%	6.00%	4.17%	16.16%	6.99%

The overall response as to whether they would help implement 'If you are safe, I am safe' is 91.67% saying 'Yes', with 6.99% not answering and 1.34% saying 'No'.

District variation is 100% 'Yes' to 80.81%. Apart from Saidiya (80.81%), the range is 100% to 91.67%. The highest 'No' response is Saba Abkar (4%).

18. Will you spread the message 'If you are safe, I am safe'?

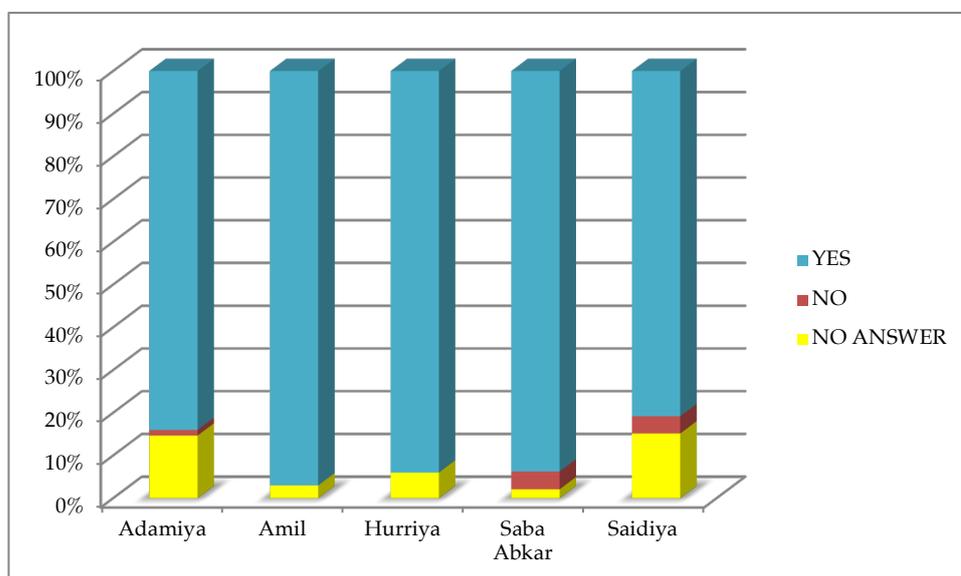


	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
YES	85.33%	97.00%	94.00%	93.75%	80.81%	89.52%
NO	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	3.03%	1.61%
NO ANSWER	12.00%	3.00%	6.00%	4.17%	16.16%	8.87%

89.52% respond that they will help spread the message. 8.87% no reply, with only 1.61% saying 'No'.

District variation is 97% 'Yes' to 80.81%. Saidiya (19%) and Adamiya (15%) stand out with significant minorities not agreeing to spread the message, with the vast majority of these not answering.

19. Would you be interested in finding out more about being an advocate for 'If you are safe, I am safe'?



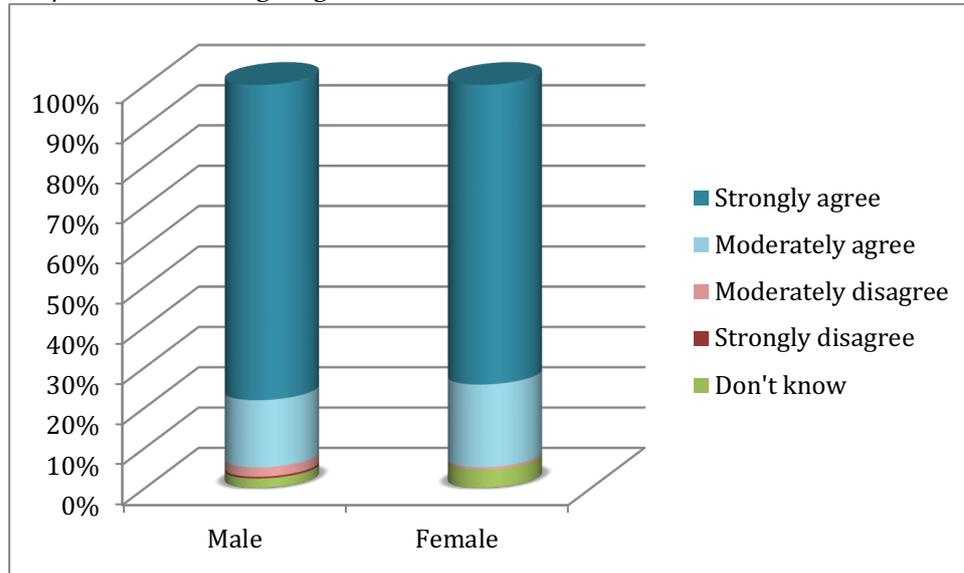
	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	84.00%	97.00%	94.00%	93.75%	80.81%	89.25%
No	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	4.04%	1.88%
No answer	14.67%	3.00%	6.00%	2.08%	15.15%	8.87%

Overall, those replying 'Yes' are 89.25%, 1.88% 'No', and 8.87% don't know, a tiny rise in 'No' replies.

District variation in agreement is the same as the previous question. Responses in Amil and Hurriya are unchanged. For the other three districts, there are tiny changes, mostly either away from Yes to don't know (Adamiya) or from don't know to 'No'.

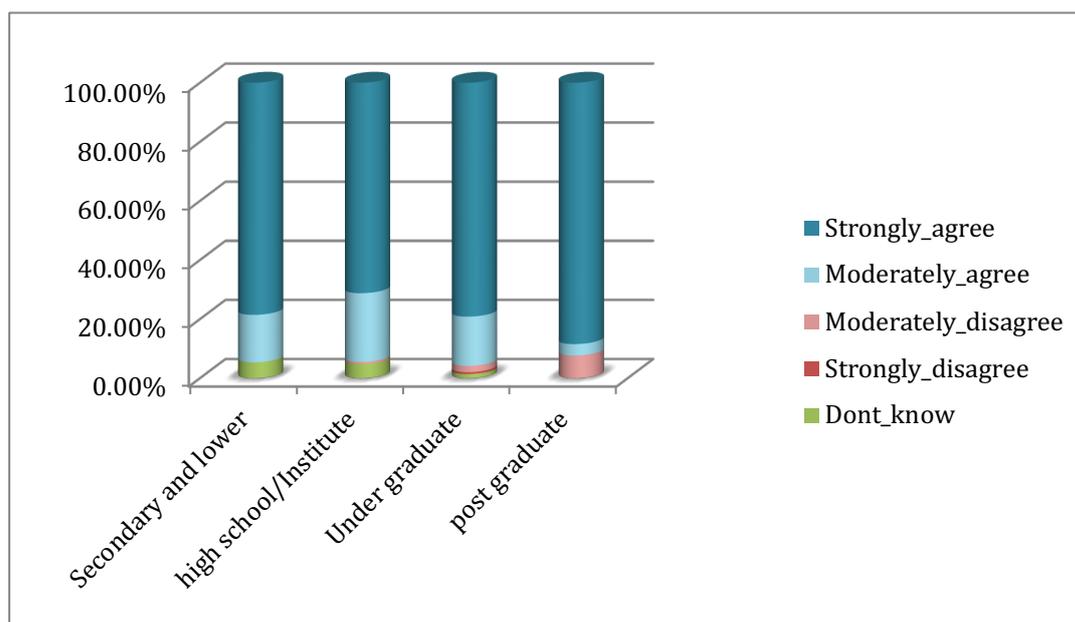
Analysis of responses to the Question ‘Do you agree with the message “If you are safe, I am safe”?’

Responses according to gender



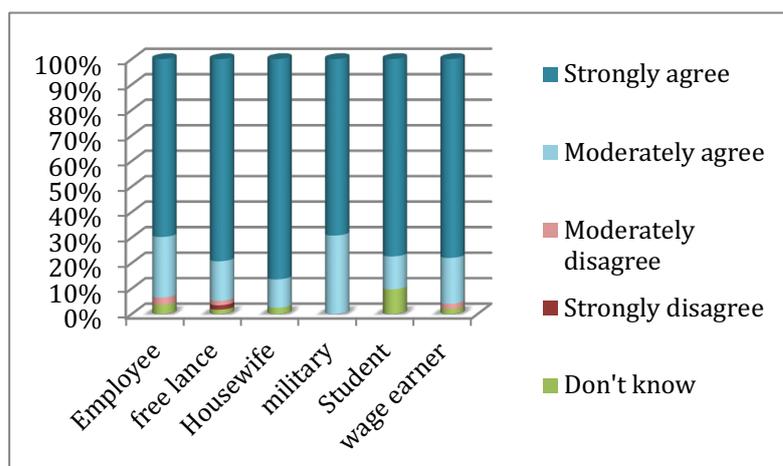
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Don't know	2.31%	4.49%
Strongly disagree	0.46%	0.00%
Moderately disagree	2.31%	0.64%
Moderately agree	16.67%	20.51%
Strongly agree	78.24%	74.36%

Responses according to education



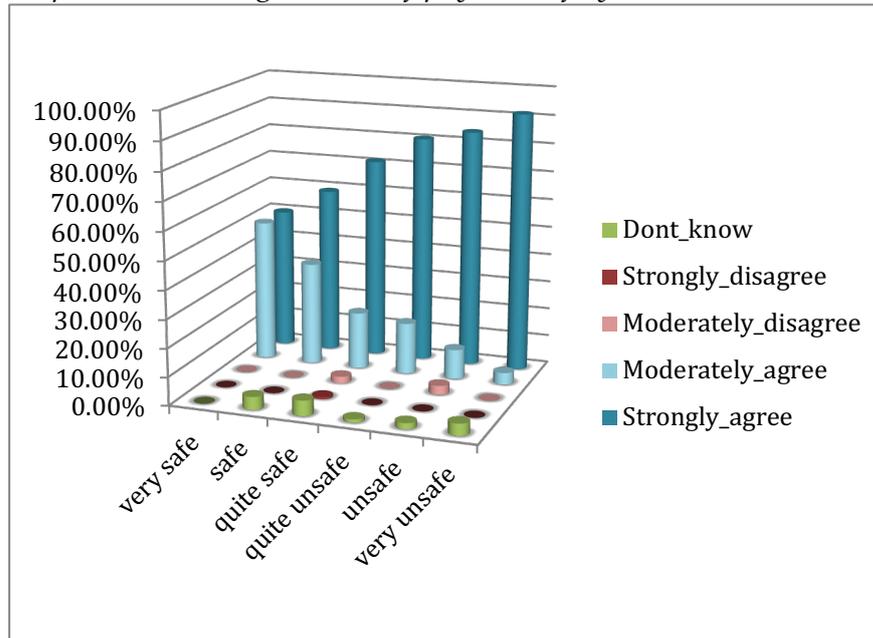
	<i>Secondary or lower</i>	<i>High School or Institute</i>	<i>Undergraduate</i>	<i>Postgraduate</i>
Strongly agree	78.57%	71.23%	79.17%	88.46%
Moderately agree	16.07%	23.29%	16.67%	3.85%
Moderately disagree	0.00%	0.68%	2.08%	7.69%
Strongly disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.69%	0.00%
Don't know	5.36%	4.79%	1.39%	0.00%

Responses according to employment status



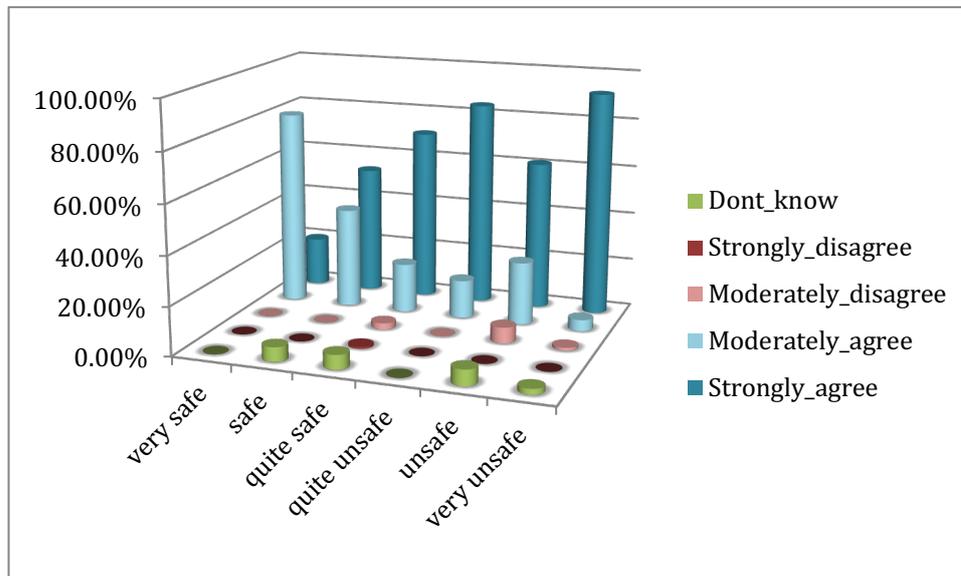
	<i>Employee</i>	<i>freelance</i>	<i>Housewife</i>	<i>military</i>	<i>Student</i>	<i>Wage earner</i>
Don't know	3.60%	1.72%	2.47%	0.00%	9.68%	2.00%
Strongly disagree	0.00%	1.72%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Moderately disagree	2.88%	1.72%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.00%
Moderately agree	23.74%	15.52%	11.11%	30.77%	12.90%	18.00%
Strongly agree	69.78%	79.31%	86.42%	69.23%	77.42%	78.00%

Responses according to levels of physical safety



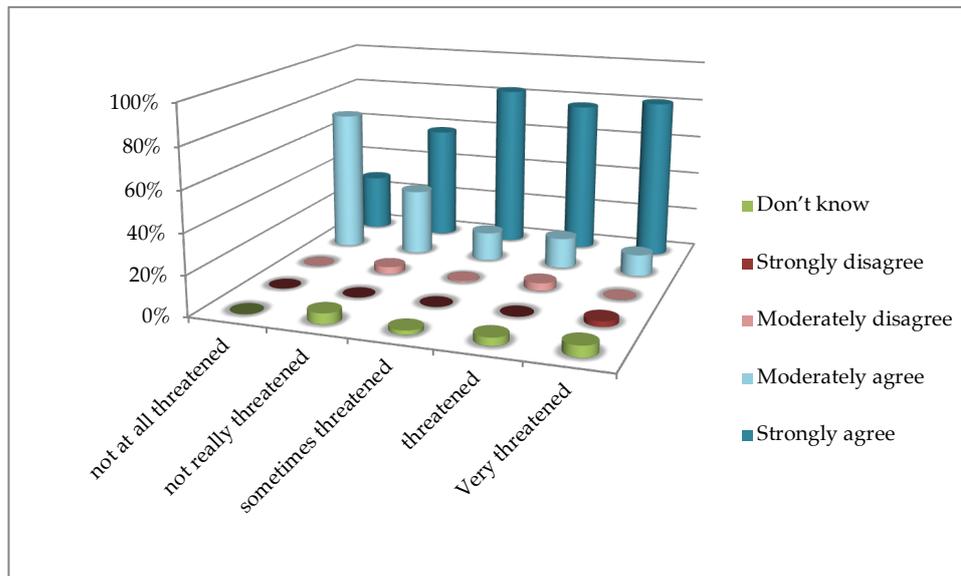
	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Moderately disagree</i>	<i>Moderately agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
Very safe	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%
Safe	4.55%	0.00%	0.00%	36.36%	59.09%
Quite safe	5.43%	0.78%	2.33%	20.16%	71.32%
Quite unsafe	1.14%	0.00%	0.00%	18.18%	80.68%
Unsafe	2.11%	0.00%	3.16%	10.53%	84.21%
Very unsafe	4.17%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	91.67%

Responses according to personal, non-physical safety



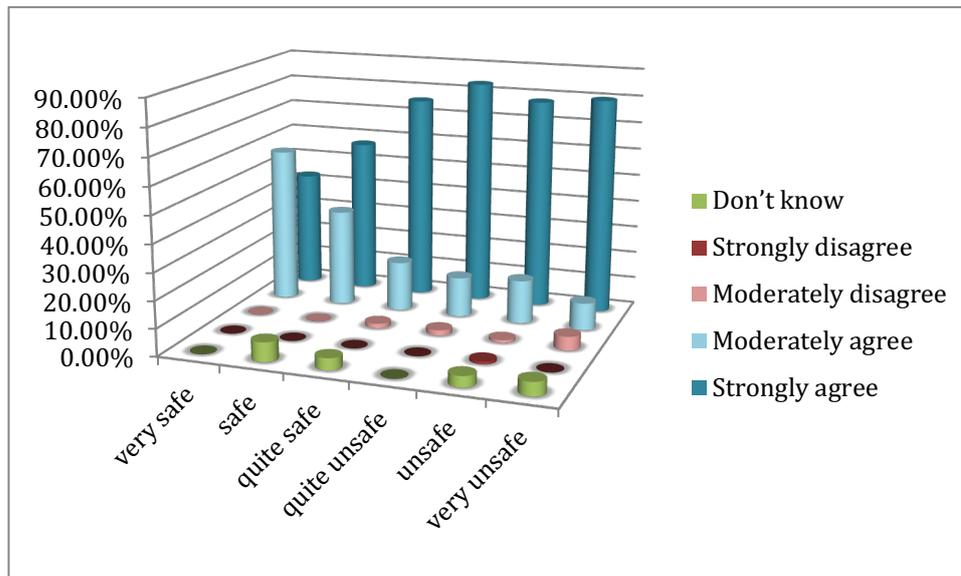
	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Moderately disagree</i>	<i>Moderately agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
Very safe	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	80.00%	20.00%
Safe	5.88%	0.00%	0.00%	41.18%	52.94%
Quite safe	5.88%	0.84%	2.52%	20.17%	70.59%
Quite unsafe	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	15.74%	84.26%
Unsafe	6.45%	0.00%	6.45%	25.81%	61.29%
Very unsafe	2.30%	0.00%	1.15%	4.60%	91.95%

Responses to sectarian identity threat

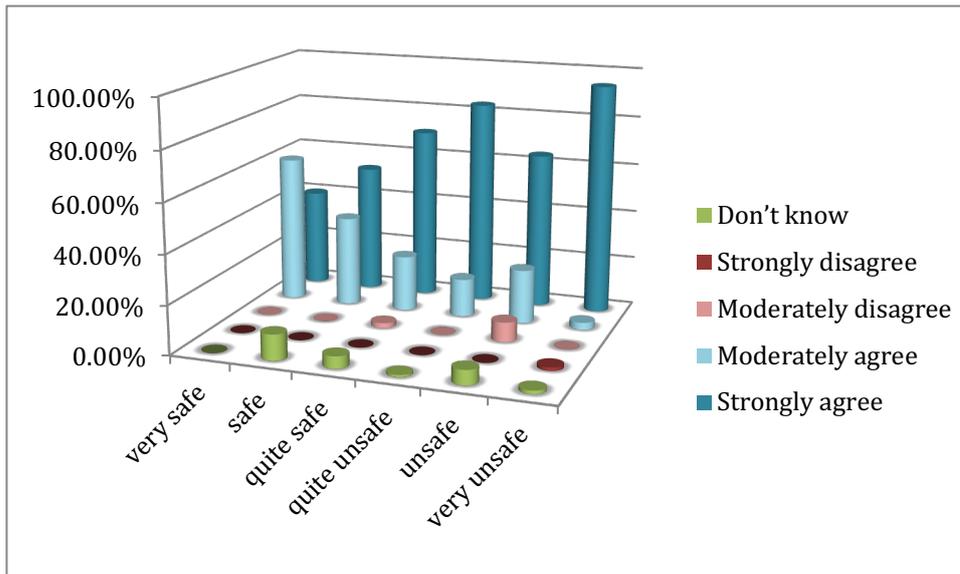


	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Moderately disagree</i>	<i>Moderately agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
Not at all threatened	0%	0%	0%	71%	29%
Not really threatened	5%	0%	4%	33%	58%
Sometimes threatened	2%	0%	1%	15%	83%
Threatened	4%	0%	4%	15%	77%
Very threatened	5%	3%	0%	11%	81%

Responses according to safety of sectarian/ethnic community



	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Moderately disagree</i>	<i>Moderately agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
Very safe	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	57.14%	42.86%
Safe	7.14%	0.00%	0.00%	35.71%	57.14%
Quite safe	4.35%	0.00%	1.74%	18.26%	75.65%
Quite unsafe	0.00%	0.00%	1.96%	14.71%	83.33%
Unsafe	4.00%	1.00%	1.00%	16.00%	78.00%
Very unsafe	5.00%	0.00%	5.00%	10.00%	80.00%



	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Moderately disagree</i>	<i>Moderately agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>
Very safe	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	60.00%	40.00%
Safe	10.53%	0.00%	0.00%	36.84%	52.63%
Quite safe	4.95%	0.00%	2.00%	22.77%	70.30%
Quite unsafe	0.82%	0.00%	0.00%	15.57%	83.61%
Unsafe	6.00%	0.00%	8.00%	22.00%	64.00%
Very unsafe	1.43%	1.43%	0.00%	2.86%	94.29%

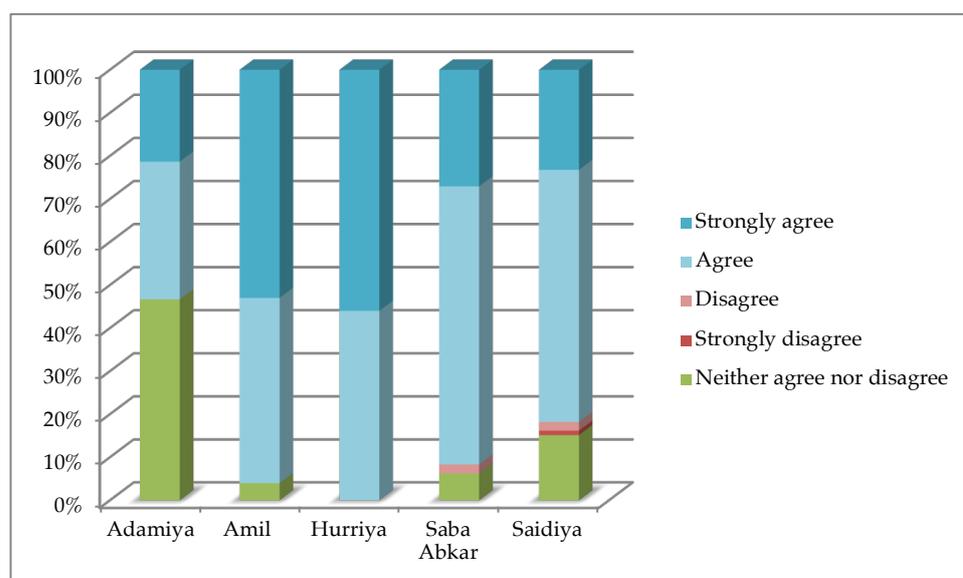
2. RECONCILIATION IN IRAQ

We asked our respondents 15 questions to discover their attitudes to a range of questions relating to reconciliation. These questions focused on different areas: the necessity of reconciliation for changing Iraq; the relevance of reconciliation for realizing personal aspirations; the making of the case for reconciliation; the desirability of reconciliation and the possibility of it being achieved; whether reconciliation is possibly without safety or in the presence of perceived threat.

2.1 Reconciliation and Iraq

We sought to assess how respondents connected key issues — peace, stability, prosperity and good governance — with reconciliation. To do this, we asked respondents to show the extent of their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements concerning reconciliation and issues of national importance that are of concern to individuals.

6. There is no future for Iraq without reconciliation.



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	21.33%	53.00%	56.00%	27.08%	23.23%	35.75%
Agree	32.00%	43.00%	44.00%	64.58%	58.59%	47.85%
Disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	2.02%	0.81%
Strongly disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.27%
Neither agree nor disagree	46.67%	4.00%	0.00%	6.25%	15.15%	15.32%

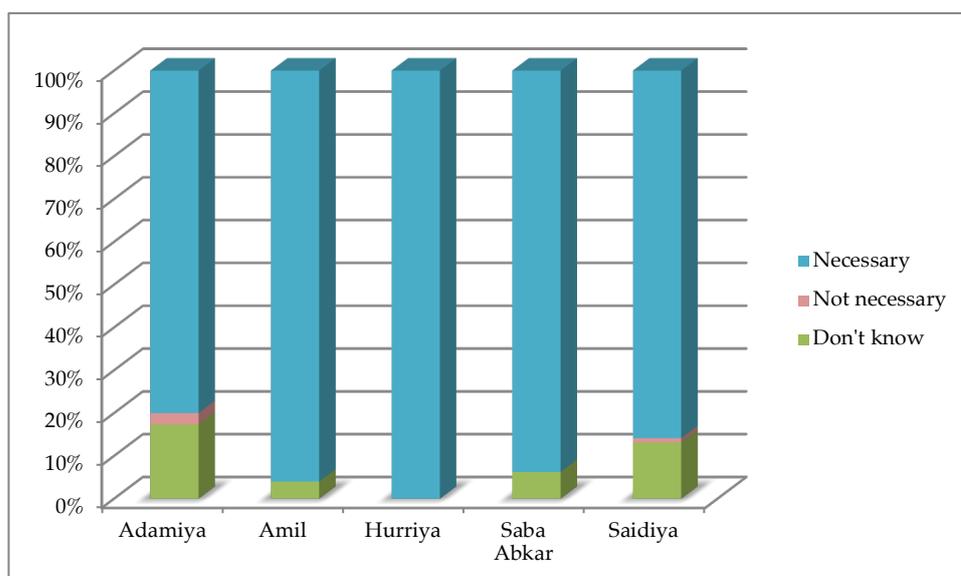
Sample summary

There is hardly any disagreement with the proposition that without reconciliation there is no future for Iraq: only one person strongly disagreed and three disagreed.

District variation

There are clear differences between the 'don't know' responses: 47% of Adamiya, 15% of Saidiya, 6% of Saba Abkar, 4% of Amil and 0% in Hurriya. The very high levels of 'strong agreement' in Amil and Hurriya 53% and 56% with high but lower levels of 27% in Saba Abkar, 23% in Saidiya and 21% in Adamiya.

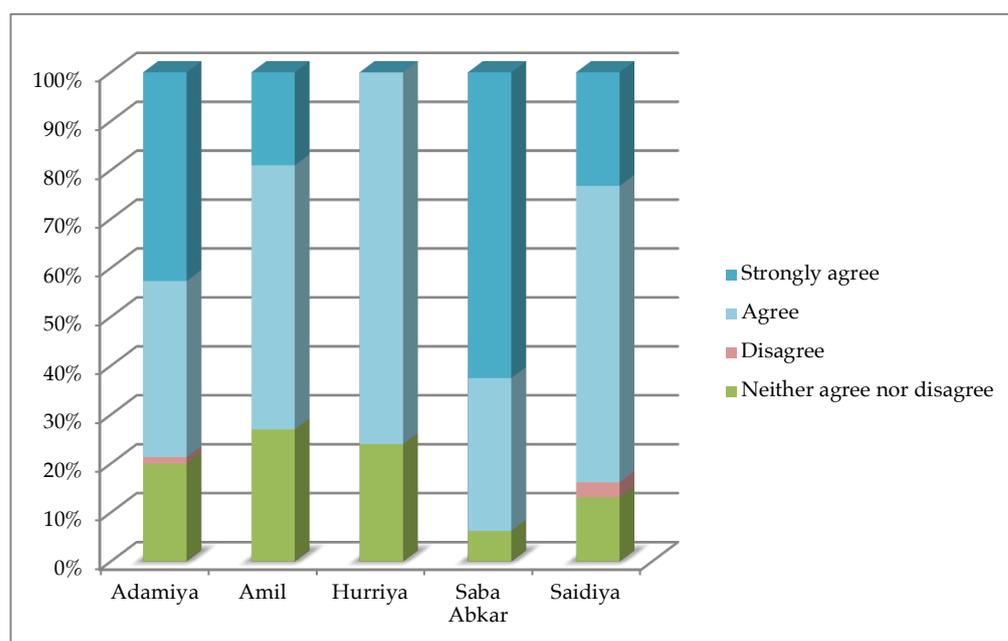
7. Reconciliation between groups in Iraq is necessary for Iraq's peace.



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Necessary	80.00%	96.00%	100.00%	93.75%	85.86%	90.32%
Not necessary	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.81%
Don't know	17.33%	4.00%	0.00%	6.25%	13.13%	8.87%

Again, district responses varied – with ‘don’t know’ being the main variable. Adamiya (20%) and Saidiya (14%) have significant minorities (mostly answering ‘don’t know’) who didn’t respond that reconciliation is ‘necessary’.

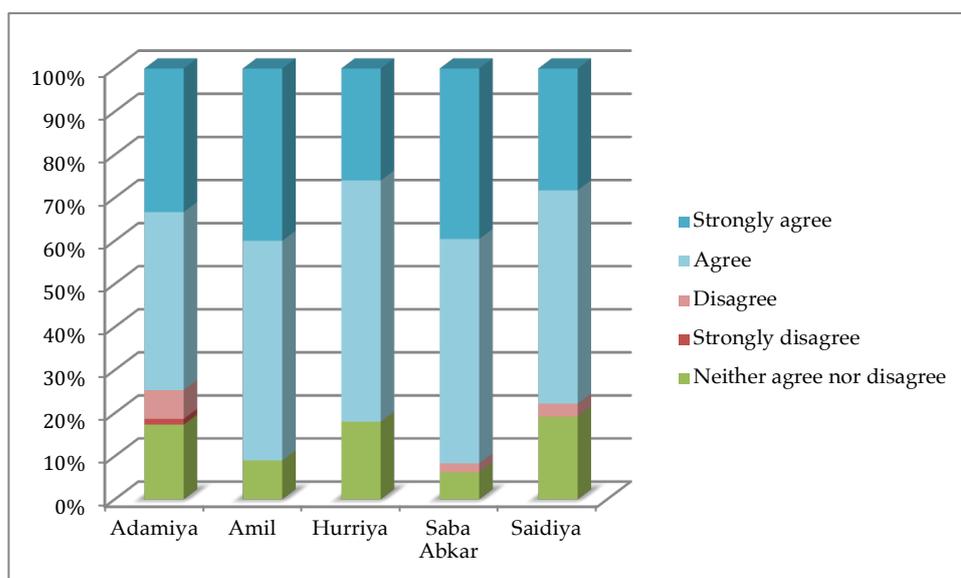
8. Reconciliation between groups in Iraq is necessary for Iraq's prosperity.



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	42.67%	19.00%	0.00%	62.50%	23.23%	27.96%
Agree	36.00%	54.00%	76.00%	31.25%	60.61%	52.15%
Disagree	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.03%	1.08%
Neither agree nor disagree	20.00%	27.00%	24.00%	6.25%	13.13%	18.82%

The variable in responses is 'neither agree nor disagree'. Unlike the previous questions the 'neither nor' response is strong in both Amil and Hurriya (27% and 24%). This leaves Amil and Hurriya as the districts with the lowest positive responses: a significant finding.

9. Reconciliation between groups in Iraq is necessary for Iraq to address problems in government.



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saiidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	33.33%	40.00%	26.00%	39.58%	28.28%	33.60%
Agree	41.33%	51.00%	56.00%	52.08%	49.49%	49.46%
Disagree	6.67%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	3.03%	2.42%
Strongly disagree	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.27%
Neither agree nor disagree	17.33%	9.00%	18.00%	6.25%	19.19%	14.25%

Across the sample, 83% agreed (34% strongly and 49% agreed); there is a little more disagreement — 0.27% disagreed strongly, 2.4% disagree. Only 14% responded 'neither agree nor disagree'.

The district groupings are unusual for this question, with Hurriya decoupling from Amil.

- Amil and Saba Abkar have 91% and 92% agreeing (each with 40% strongly agreeing).
- Hurriya 82% agree (26% strongly), Saiidiya 78% (28% strongly). In Adamiya, 74% agreed (33% strongly).

Summary of reconciliation and national-level issues

Five districts

From these four questions it is clear that reconciliation is clearly identified as necessary for there being a future for Iraq, for peace, prosperity and good governance.

On average, disagreement is less than 2% across these four statements; the highest average disagreement for any district (across the four questions) is 3%.

Don't knows and neither agree nor disagree responses are 14% on average. 84% are in agreement, for the sample as a whole across all statements.

The weakest response for the whole sample was the necessity of reconciliation for prosperity (80%); then good governance (83%), then a future for Iraq (84%): the strongest was the necessity of reconciliation for peace in Iraq (90%).

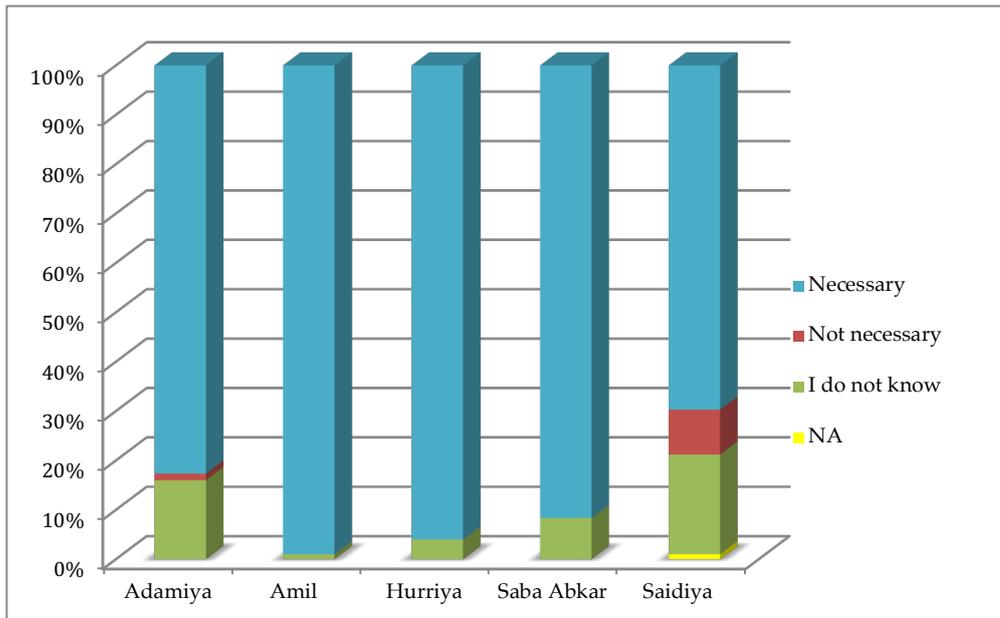
District variation

For districts, Adamiya is the weakest in agreement (54%-80%) then Saidiya (78%-86%), followed by Amil (73%-96%) and Hurriya (76%-100%), with the strongest and most consistent agreement in Saba Abkar (92%-94%).

2.2 Reconciliation and personal interests

To assess whether respondents identified the success of reconciliation with the achievement of key personal goals, we asked them to respond to three statements about reconciliation and their personal prosperity, quality of life and safety. The results were very clearly affirmative.

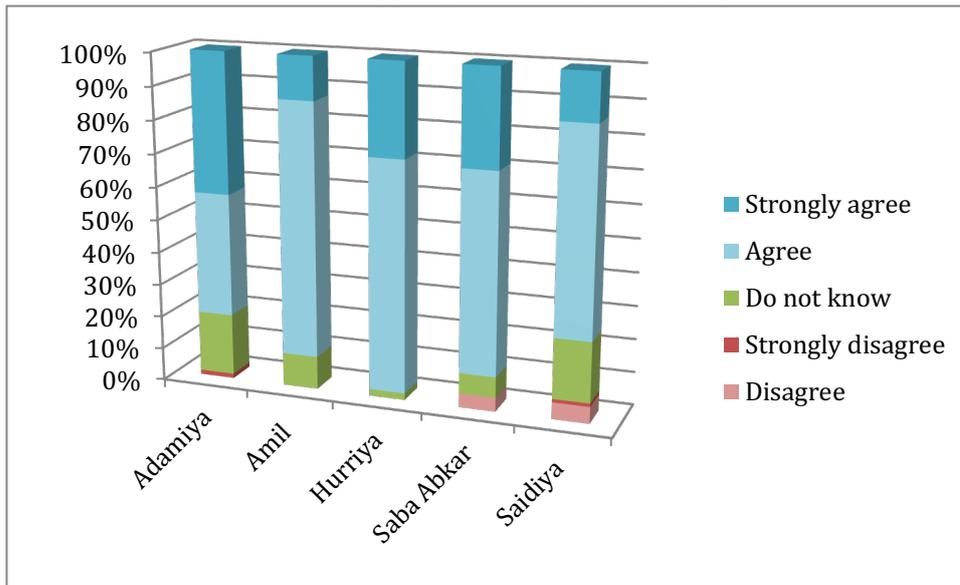
10. Reconciliation is necessary for your own prosperity.



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Necessary	82.67%	99.00%	96.00%	91.67%	70.41%	86.79%
Not necessary	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	9.18%	2.70%
I do not know	16.00%	1.00%	4.00%	8.33%	20.41%	10.51%

District variation is high: 99% to 70%. In contrast to their response to the statement on reconciliation and Iraq's prosperity (73% and 76% respectively), Amil and Hurriya have very high levels of agreement. Adamiya has high don't knows, but the least positive district is Saidiya with 70% agreement, 9% disagreement and over 20% don't know – a significant fall from responses to the national level question (84% agreeing and 3% disagreement).

11. Reconciliation is necessary for your own quality of life.



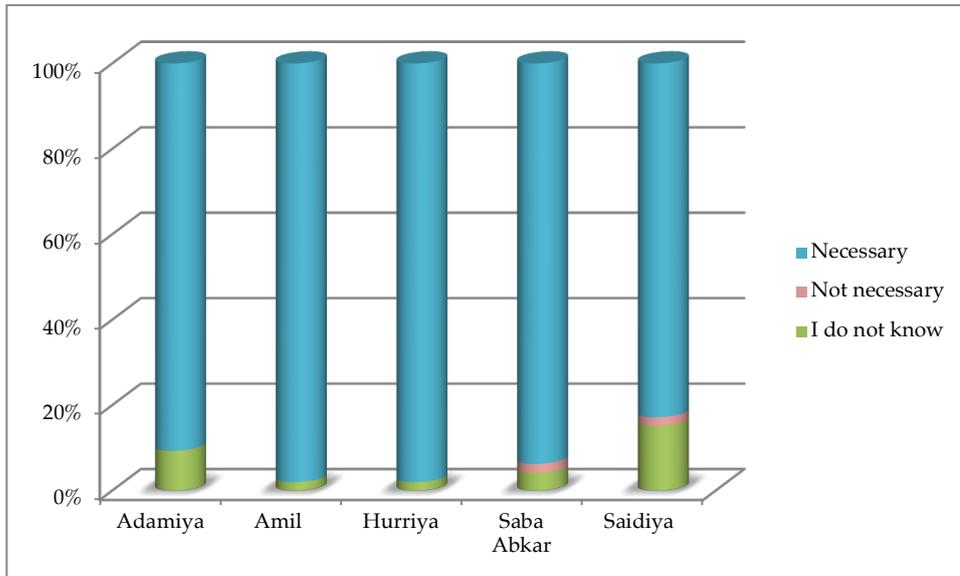
	Adamiya	Amil	Hurriya	Saba Abkar	Saidiya	Five districts
Strongly agree	42.67%	13.00%	28.00%	29.17%	14.14%	23.39%
Agree	37.33%	77.00%	70.00%	60.42%	61.62%	61.83%
Do not know	18.67%	10.00%	2.00%	6.25%	18.18%	12.37%
Strongly disagree	1.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.54%
Disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	5.05%	1.88%

The sample as a whole is 85% in agreement (23% strongly) with this statement, only 2% disagree, none strongly.

District variation

Adamiya has the highest level of strong agreement. Using a weighted mean, its strength of agreement would be second to Hurriya and before that of Amil and Saba Abkar. Saidiya is the least positive.

12. Reconciliation is necessary for your own safety



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Necessary	90.67%	98.00%	98.00%	93.75%	82.83%	92.18%
Not necessary	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	2.02%	0.81%
I do not know	9.33%	2.00%	2.00%	4.17%	15.15%	7.28%

This question has the highest agreement of the sample – 92%. Less than 1% consider reconciliation unnecessary for their own safety; 7% don't know. The district differences are 98%-91%, except for Saidiya at 83%.

Summary of reconciliation and personal interest section (2.2)

The average of the sample is 88% agreement, 2% disagreement, 10% don't know.

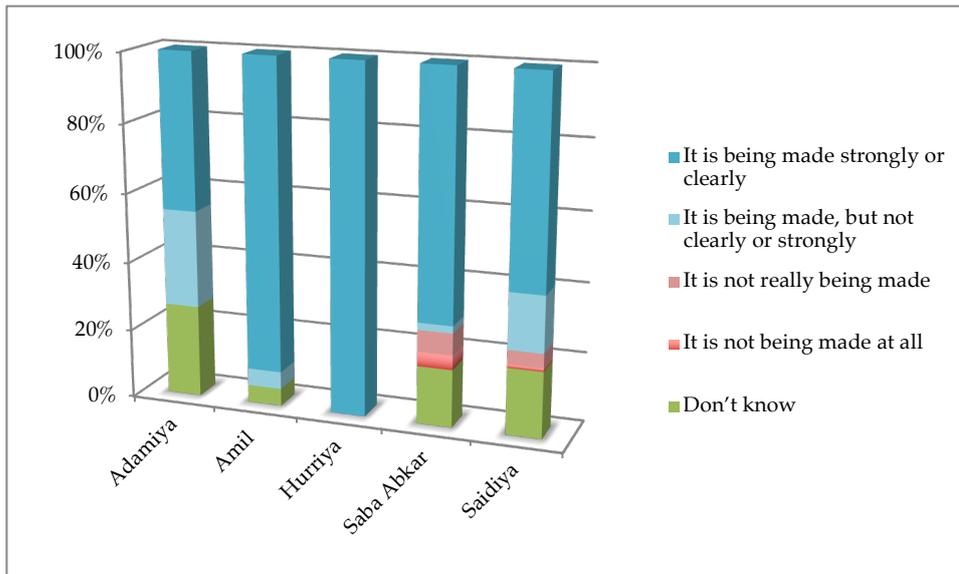
Variation across districts is evident. Hurriya 97% agreement, Amil 96%, Saba Abkar 92%, Adamiya 84% and Saidiya 76%. Adamiya and Saidiya are the lowest two districts, but with Adamiya's high 'strong agreement' response to the second question in this section on quality of life, and Saidiya's high levels of 'disagree' or 'not necessary' responses, it is markedly less positive than Adamiya.

2.3 Making the case for reconciliation

The case for reconciliation is being made in Iraq, but is it being made strongly and clearly or not? And do the public want it made? We asked respondents two questions to find out.

13. Is the case for reconciliation in Iraq being made? Which of the following statements do you agree with:

It is being made strongly or clearly / It is being made, but not clearly or strongly/ Don't know / It is not really being made / It is not being made at all.



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
It is being made strongly or clearly	45.33%	90.00%	100.00%	70.83%	59.60%	71.77%
It is being made, but not clearly or strongly	28.00%	5.00%	0.00%	2.08%	16.16%	11.56%
It is not really being made	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%	4.04%	1.88%
It is not being made at all	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	1.01%	0.81%
Don't know	26.67%	5.00%	0.00%	16.67%	19.19%	13.98%

The sample

72% responded that it was being made strongly and clearly, 12% that it was being made, but not strongly or clearly; 2% that it was not really being made, 1% that it was not being made at all, and 14% did not know.

District variation

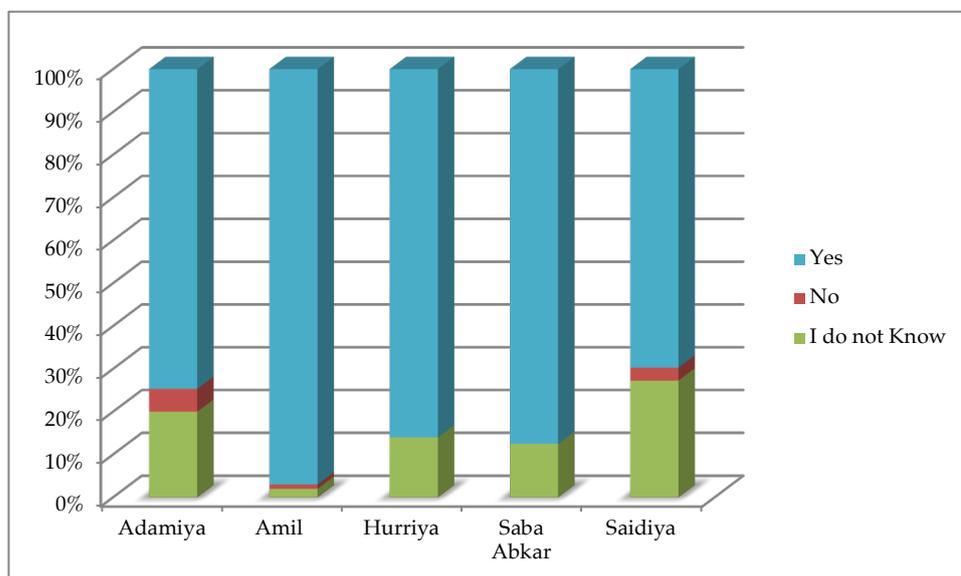
Variation is wide. In Amil (90% 'Yes, strongly', 5% 'Yes, but not strongly' and 5% don't know); Hurriya 100% 'Yes, strongly'; the response is clearly extremely positive in these two districts.

In Saba Abkar 71% responded 'Yes, strongly', in Saidiya, 60% responded 'Yes, strongly' (and 16% 'Yes, but not clearly or strongly'); in Adamiya, 45% responded 'Yes strongly' (28% 'Yes, but not clearly or strongly').

These results show that significant numbers of people in Adamiya (55%), Saidiya (40%) and Saba Abkar (29%) did not respond that they are hearing a strong and clear reconciliation message — in strong contrast to the respondents in Amil (only 10%) and Hurriya (0%).

14. Do you want the case for reconciliation to be made strongly and clearly to the Iraqi people?

82% said 'Yes', 2% 'No' and 15% did not know.



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	74.67%	97.00%	86.00%	87.50%	69.70%	82.53%
No	5.33%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.03%	2.15%
I do not know	20.00%	2.00%	14.00%	12.50%	27.27%	15.32%

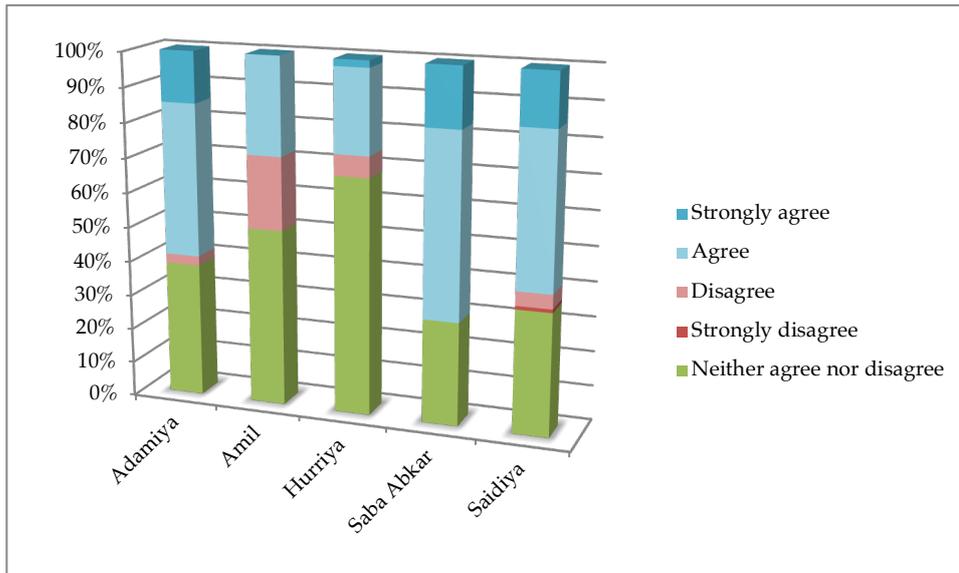
District variation

A strong majority want to hear a reconciliation message (83%) but levels of agreement vary widely: 97% in Amil to 70% in Saidiya, with 'don't know' the dominant alternative to Yes (15%) and a very small minority of 2% not wanting it.

2.4 The effect of safety and threat on prospects for reconciliation

We sought respondents' views as to the impact of threat on the prospects of reconciliation and also whether it is necessary to make groups feel safe for reconciliation to take place. We asked those we surveyed to respond to three statements that explored these issues of safety and threat that are so central to the message 'If you are safe, I am safe'.

15. *Reconciliation is not possible between groups if at least one of the groups feels threatened by the other group.*



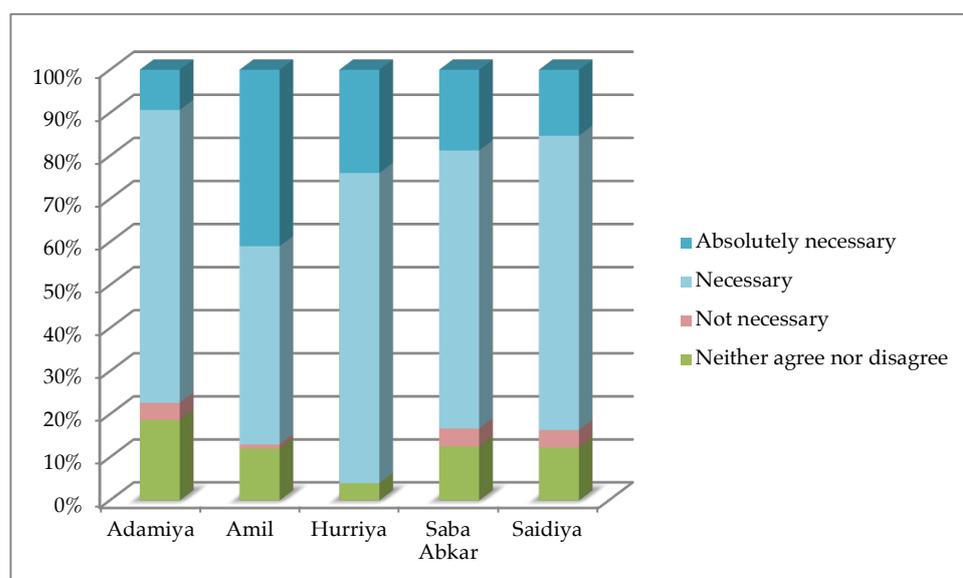
	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	14.67%	0.00%	2.00%	16.67%	15.15%	9.41%
Agree	44.00%	28.00%	24.00%	52.08%	44.44%	38.17%
Disagree	2.67%	21.00%	6.00%	0.00%	4.04%	8.06%
Strongly disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.27%
Neither agree nor disagree	38.67%	51.00%	68.00%	29.17%	35.35%	43.82%

From the sample, 48% agreed, 8% disagreed and 44% did not know.

District variation

The highest levels of agreement are in Saba Abkar, Saidiya and Adamiya (as are the lowest levels of disagreement and of 'don't knows'). The least agreement, the highest disagreement (especially in Amil) and highest 'don't knows', are in Amil and Hurriya. It is a total reversal of the general pattern of the survey.

16. That making groups feel safe is necessary for reconciliation



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Absolutely necessary	9.33%	41.00%	24.00%	18.75%	15.15%	22.58%
Necessary	68.00%	46.00%	72.00%	64.58%	67.68%	62.10%
Not necessary	4.00%	1.00%	0.00%	4.17%	4.04%	2.69%
Neither agree nor disagree	18.67%	12.00%	4.00%	12.50%	12.12%	12.37%
NA	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.01%	0.27%

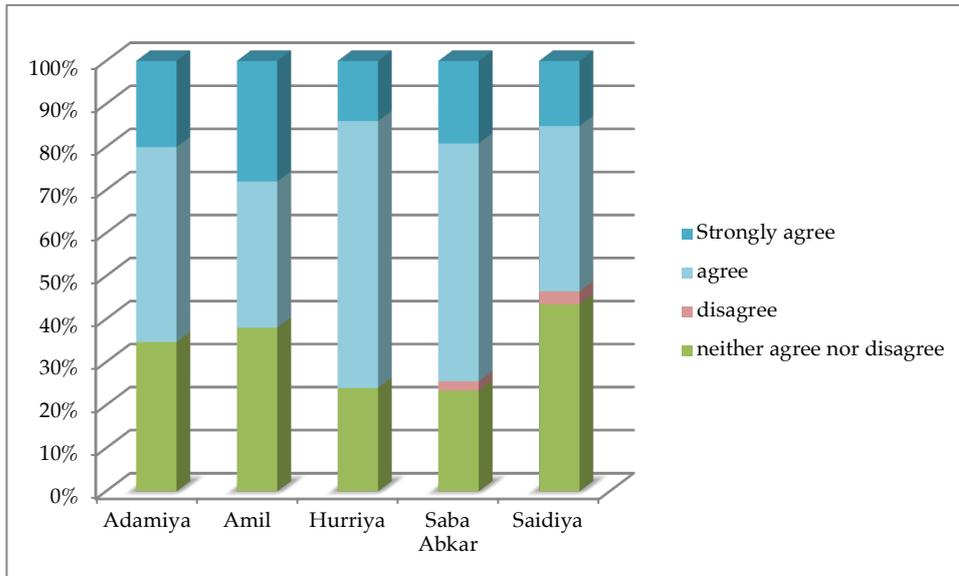
For the sample as a whole

88% agree (26% see it as 'absolutely necessary'). There are no 'absolutely not necessary' responses; 3% responded 'not necessary' and 12% neither agreed nor disagreed.

District variation

Levels of agreements across the districts varied from 96% to 77%. Amil (though with high 'strong agreement'), Saba Abkar and Saidiya are close in range (87%-83%) and have the same level of 'don't knows' (12%), and 'not necessary' responses of 4% for Saidiya and Saba Abkar and 1% for Amil. Hurriya (96% necessary) and Adamiya (77%) are the outliers.

17. That making groups feel safe is a precondition for reconciliation?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly agree	20.00%	28.00%	14.00%	19.15%	15.15%	19.89%
Agree	45.33%	34.00%	62.00%	55.32%	38.38%	43.82%
Disagree	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.13%	3.03%	1.08%
Neither agree nor disagree	34.67%	38.00%	24.00%	23.40%	43.43%	34.95%
NA	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	0.00%	0.27%

There were no 'absolutely not necessary' responses.

The district range of agreement is low and wide: 76% (Hurriya) to 54% (Saidiya). Hurriya and Saba Abkar (74%) are the most in agreement, Adamiya at 65%, Amil at 62% are close together and Saidiya the least.

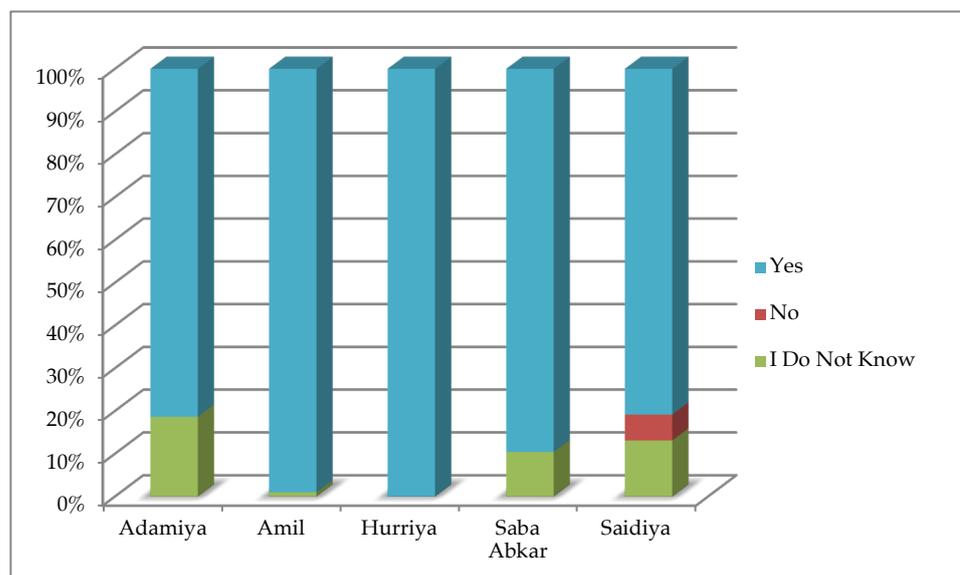
Summary: the relationship of threat and safety to reconciliation.

The purpose was to discover public perception of whether removing threat between groups is necessary for reconciliation between them and to what degree is making groups feel safe — necessary or a pre-condition — for reconciliation.

Our respondents are overwhelming in their agreement (85%) that it is necessary to make groups safe if there is to be reconciliation (the second question). However, this figure falls to 64% in response to the proposition that making groups safe is a *pre-condition* of reconciliation (third question). As to the impossibility of reconciliation if one group feels threatened by the other group, 48% agreed (first question).

2.5 Reconciliation: desirable, possible, likely?

18. Do you think reconciliation between Iraq's communities is desirable?

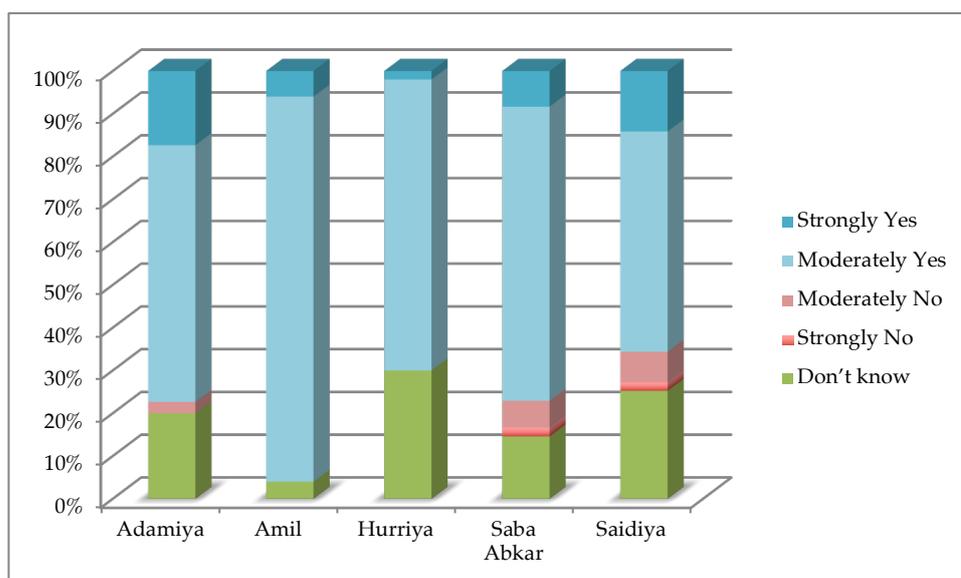


	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Yes	81.33%	99.00%	100.00%	89.58%	80.81%	89.52%
No	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6.06%	1.61%
I Do Not Know	18.67%	1.00%	0.00%	10.42%	13.13%	8.87%

Observations

These responses show that in Saidiya, Adamiya and Saba Abkar there is a lot of work to be done on both understanding local responses to reconciliation and responding to those findings.

19. Is reconciliation possible?



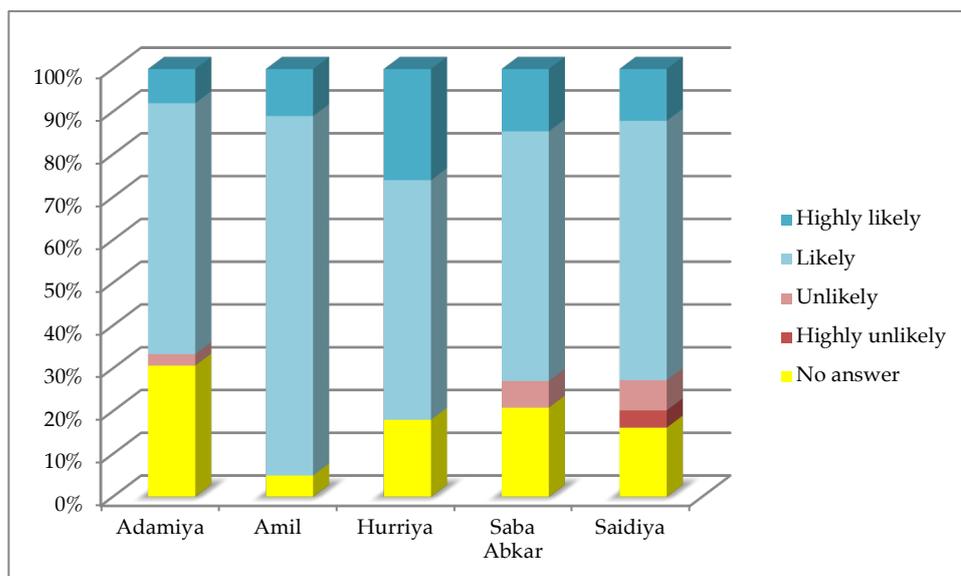
	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Strongly Yes	17.33%	6.00%	2.00%	8.33%	14.14%	10.22%
Moderately Yes	60.00%	90.00%	68.00%	68.75%	51.52%	68.01%
Moderately No	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%	7.07%	3.23%
Strongly No	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08%	2.02%	0.81%
Don't know	20.00%	4.00%	30.00%	14.58%	25.25%	17.74%

The sample as a whole is very positive, with 78% responding 'Yes' (10% strongly 'Yes'). 4% 'No' (1% strong 'No'), and 18% don't know.

The range of agreement that reconciliation is possible — 96%-66% across the districts — is very wide.

For the sample as a whole, there are much lower levels of 'Strong Yes' responses than have been seen in responses to other questions on reconciliation.

20. Do you think reconciliation is: highly likely / likely / no answer / unlikely / highly unlikely?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Highly likely	8.00%	11.00%	26.00%	14.58%	12.12%	13.17%
Likely	58.67%	84.00%	56.00%	58.33%	60.61%	65.59%
Unlikely	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	6.25%	7.07%	3.23%
Highly unlikely	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.04%	1.08%
No answer	30.67%	5.00%	18.00%	20.83%	16.16%	16.94%

Responses across the sample and the districts closely resemble (indeed almost mirror) those to the question on the possibility of reconciliation. However, district responses look a little different to those for the previous question.

The pattern here is a reversion to a pattern often shown in responses in this survey — Amil (95%) and Hurriya (82%, with 26% highly likely) and no 'unlikely' responses, on the one hand; with Saba Abkar and Saidiya (73%) and Adamiya (66%); these three have similar levels of 'highly likely' (8%, 12% and 15%), and 'unlikely' responses 6%, 11% (including 4% 'highly unlikely') and 3%.

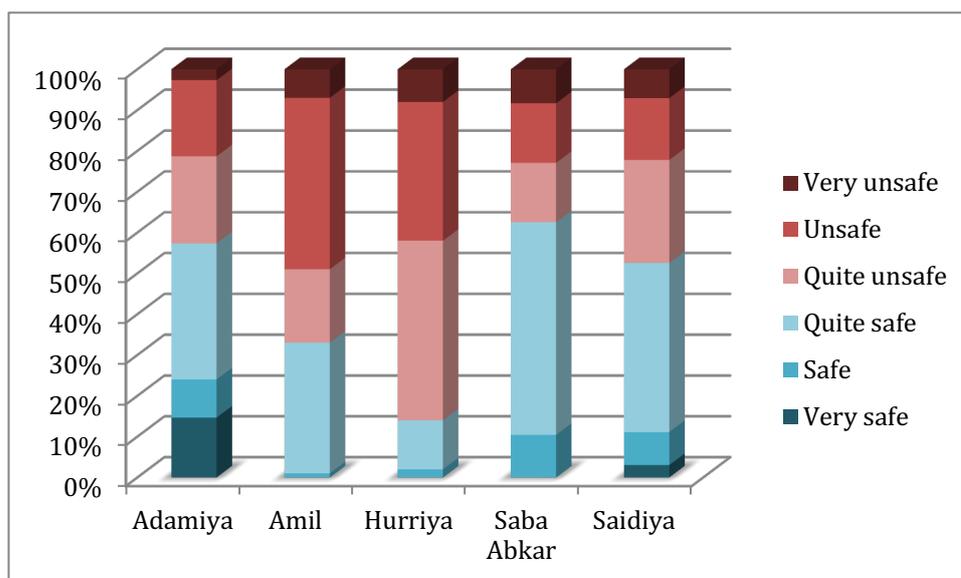
ANNEX. SAFETY

These questions cover both personal safety and perceptions of group safety.

1.1 Personal safety

We asked respondents three questions about how they would describe their physical safety, individual safety, and the safety of their personal sectarian identity.

1. How physically safe do you feel?



	Adamiya	Amil	Hurriya	Saba Abkar	Saidiya	Five districts
Very unsafe	2.67%	7.00%	8.00%	8.33%	7.07%	6.45%
Unsafe	18.67%	42.00%	34.00%	14.58%	15.15%	25.54%
Quite unsafe	21.33%	18.00%	44.00%	14.58%	25.25%	23.66%
Quite safe	33.33%	32.00%	12.00%	52.08%	41.41%	34.68%
Safe	9.33%	1.00%	2.00%	10.42%	8.08%	5.91%
Very safe	14.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.03%	3.76%

Sample as a whole

The overall responses for the sample are 55.65% perceive themselves as unsafe in different degrees compared to 44.35% who perceive themselves as safe to some degree. The weighted mean is 62% unsafe to 38% safe.

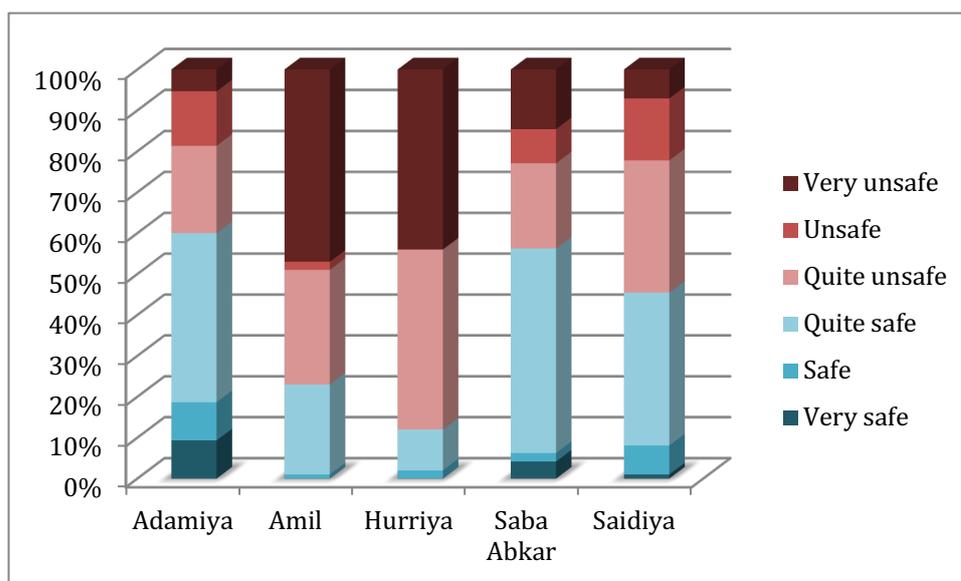
District variation

There is a great deal of variability across the districts, with only Amil and Hurriya having a majority responding 'unsafe' to some degree on both unweighted and weighted responses — though with very large majorities. All three other districts were positive about safety, but one of those, Saidiya, was negative when the response was weighted: 54% unsafe and 46% safe, and Saba Abkar, when weighted, was 51% safe to 49% unsafe. In Adamiya, 43% perceived themselves as unsafe and 57% as safe; when weighted, the balance

of safety compared to lack of safety strengthened in favour of safety to 41% unsafe, 59% safe.

As far as perceptions of physical safety are concerned, though low in every district on all measures, Amil and Hurriya stand out on as districts where the perception of safety is particularly low.

2. Apart from physical safety, how safe do you feel in Iraq today?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Very unsafe	5.33%	47.00%	44.00%	14.58%	7.07%	29.03%
Unsafe	13.33%	2.00%	0.00%	8.33%	15.15%	8.33%
Quite unsafe	21.33%	28.00%	44.00%	20.83%	32.32%	23.39%
Quite safe	41.33%	22.00%	10.00%	50.00%	37.37%	31.99%
Safe	9.33%	1.00%	2.00%	2.08%	7.07%	4.57%
Very safe	9.33%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	1.01%	2.69%

Sample overview

The responses show that perception of safety excluding physical safety is lower than physical safety. For the sample as a whole, 61% perceive themselves unsafe rather than safe, and 39% as safe. When this is weighted according to strength of answer, the response is 70% unsafe to 30% safe.

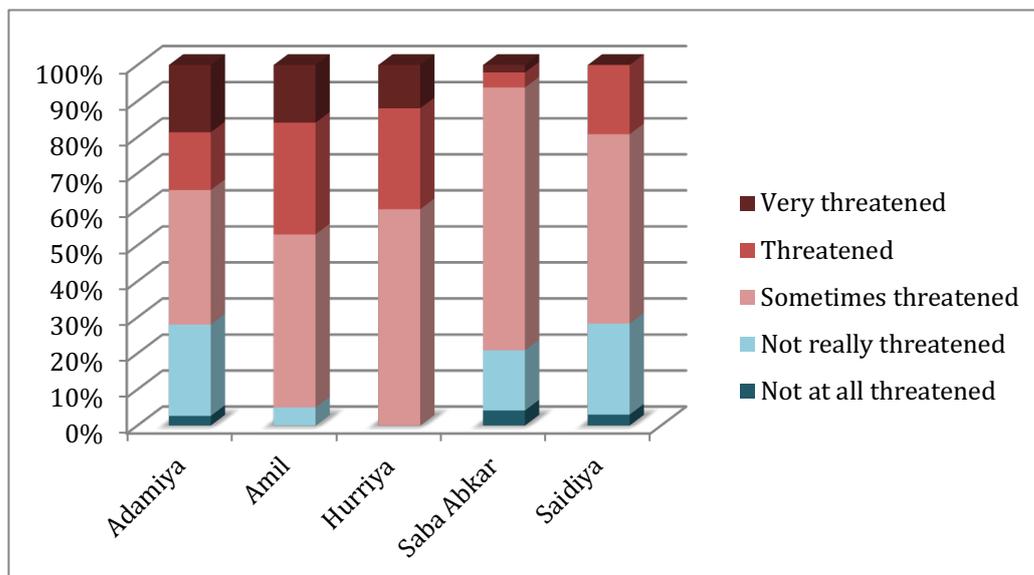
District variation

Amil and Hurriya stand out as having exceptionally high perception of threat, higher still than in the responses to physical safety. Amil 77% to 23%; (weighted 88% to 12%) and Hurriya 88% to 12% (weighted 93% to 7%). Saidiya has a majority of unsafe responses with 55% unsafe and 45% safe; (weighted 61% unsafe and 39% safe). Though Saba Abkar has a majority of respondents perceiving themselves as safe (43% unsafe compared to 57% safe) when weighted the response is 55% unsafe and 45% safe. Adamiya alone has

a majority of respondents perceiving themselves safe, 40% unsafe and 60% safe (when weighted this falls slightly to 42% unsafe and 58% safe).

3. How much do you feel that your sectarian, ethnic or religious identity is threatened in Iraq today?

This question focuses on arguably the most significant element of identity in Iraq.



	Adamiya	Amil	Hurriya	Saba Abkar	Saidiya	Five districts
Very threatened	18.67%	16.00%	12.00%	2.08%	0.00%	9.95%
Threatened	16.00%	31.00%	28.00%	4.17%	19.19%	20.97%
Sometimes threatened	37.33%	48.00%	60.00%	72.92%	52.53%	51.88%
Not really threatened	25.33%	5.00%	0.00%	16.67%	25.25%	15.32%
Not at all threatened	2.67%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	3.03%	1.88%

Overall sample

This represents a strongly negative response (83% threatened at some level to 17% not threatened). When weighted, it is 42% threatened or very threatened, 48% sometimes threatened and 10% not really or not threatened.

District variation

Amil and Hurriya have the highest levels of perceived threat; Amil has 95% threatened at some level and Hurriya has 100% threatened at some level.

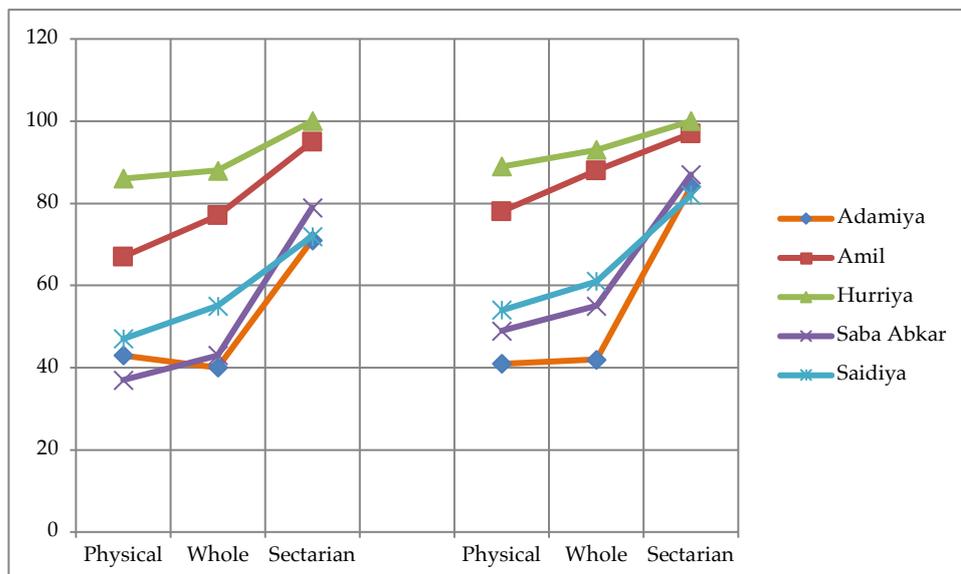
Adamiya, 72% threatened at some level and 28% not threatened; when weighted it is 84% threatened and 17% not threatened. Saidiya has 72% threatened (mostly 'sometimes') and 28% not threatened; weighted it is 81%, threatened and 19% not. Saba Abkar 6% threatened, 73% sometimes threatened and 21% not threatened; when weighted, 10% threatened, 77% sometimes threatened and 13% not threatened.

Summary of individual safety questions

For individuals, by far the highest threat perception is to their sectarian identity. The table below shows all responses for all degrees of 'unsafe' or 'threatened' to the three questions on individual safety — physical safety, safety of the whole person (including identity and interests), and lastly sectarian identity.

When weighted to account for strength of answers, the figures, apart from responses to the first question in the district of Adamiya, all increase for 'unsafe' or 'threatened'; these figures appear in the table below.

	Percentage of respondents			Weighted mean %		
	Physical	Whole	Sectarian	Physical	Whole	Sectarian
Adamiya	43	40	71	41	42	84
Amil	67	77	95	78	88	97
Hurriya	86	88	100	89	93	100
Saba Abkar	37	43	79	49	55	87
Saidiya	47	55	72	54	61	82



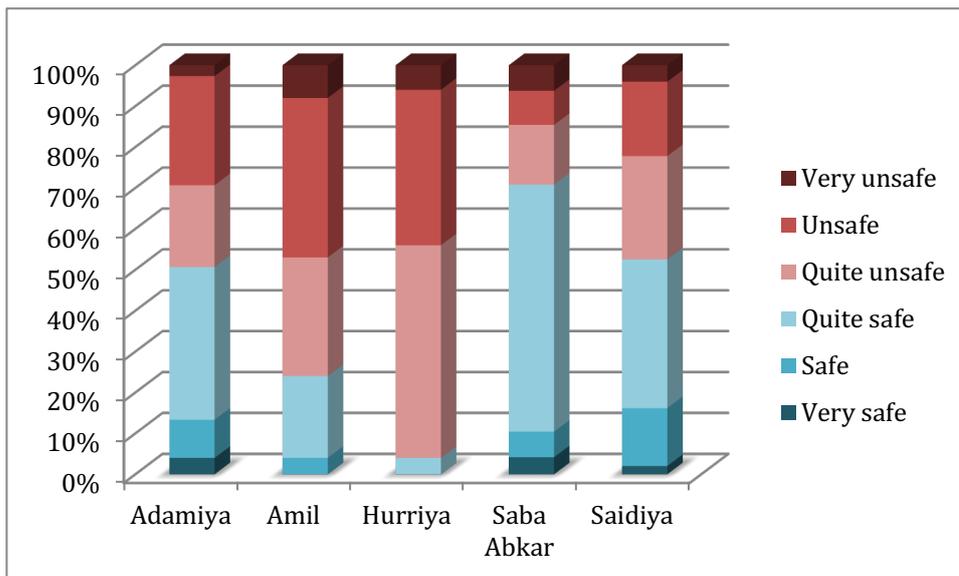
Overall, these figures indicate high levels of lack of safety and threat on every question – physical, whole person and sectarian identity. Even where the responses appear more positive because they are lower than in Amil and Hurriya, they still indicate significant perceptions of threat, even when not weighted to account for strength of answers.

Across the whole sample, those answering 'very safe' physically are 3.7%, with little variation across districts except for responses to the first two questions in Adamiya. This shows just how rare strong perceptions of personal safety are across these five districts of Baghdad.

1.2 Perceptions of the safety of sectarian communities

To measure the perception of community safety we asked respondents about their perception of the safety of their own sect and then about their perception of the safety of other sects. We then compared the two responses.

4. How safe do you feel your sect is in Iraq today?



	<i>Adamiya</i>	<i>Amil</i>	<i>Hurriya</i>	<i>Saba Abkar</i>	<i>Saidiya</i>	<i>Five districts</i>
Very unsafe	2.67%	8.00%	6.00%	6.25%	4.04%	5.38%
Unsafe	26.67%	39.00%	38.00%	8.33%	18.18%	26.88%
Quite unsafe	20.00%	29.00%	52.00%	14.58%	25.25%	27.42%
Quite safe	37.33%	20.00%	4.00%	60.42%	36.36%	30.91%
Safe	9.33%	4.00%	0.00%	6.25%	14.14%	7.53%
Very safe	4.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.17%	2.02%	1.88%

Overall sample

60% perceived their sect as unsafe and 40% as safe; when weighted according to strength of response, the balance was 65% unsafe to 35% safe.

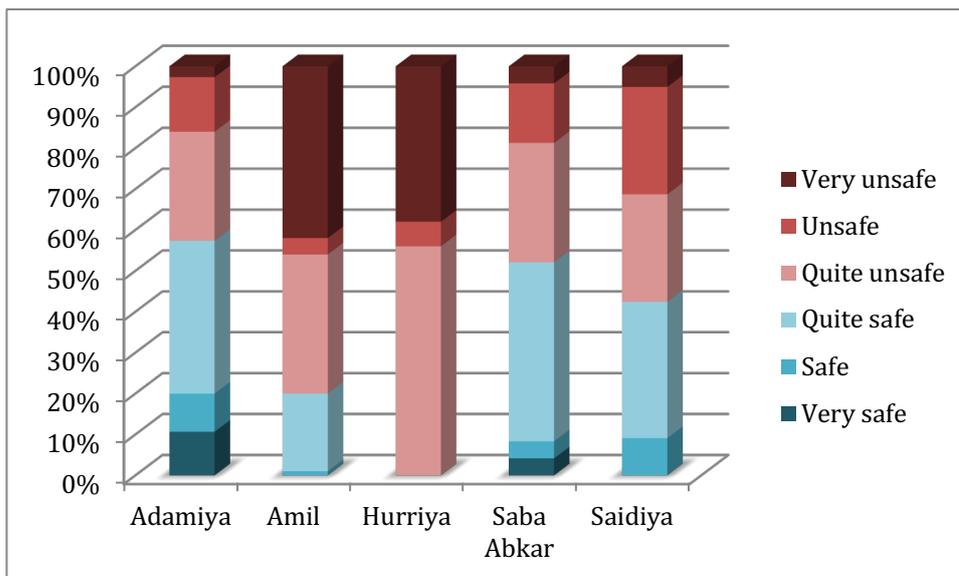
District variation

Two districts have particularly high perceptions of lack of safety: Amil (76% unsafe, 24% safe — weighted 82% to 18%) and Hurriya (96% unsafe and 4% safe — weighted 97% to 3%).

Two districts were divided more or less equally between perceptions of ‘safe’ and ‘unsafe’: Adamiya (49% unsafe and 51% safe — weighted 54% unsafe to 46% safe) and Saidiya (47% unsafe and 53% safe — weighted 51% unsafe to 49% safe).

Only one district had a majority of respondents responding that they felt that their sectarian identity was safe: Saba Abkar (29% responded unsafe and 71% safe — weighted 40% unsafe to 60% safe).

5. ‘How safe do you think other Muslim sects are in Iraq today?’



	Adamiya	Amil	Hurriya	Saba Abkar	Saidiya	Five districts
Very unsafe	3%	42%	38%	4%	5%	18.82%
Unsafe	13%	4%	6%	15%	26%	13.44%
Quite unsafe	27%	34%	56%	29%	26%	32.80%
Quite safe	37%	19%	0%	44%	33%	27.15%
Safe	9%	1%	0%	4%	9%	5.11%
Very safe	11%	0%	0%	4%	0%	2.69%

Overall Sample

The responses for the sample were 65% unsafe and 35% safe, showing higher perception of threat to other sects than to their own.

District variation

Amil (80% unsafe, 20% safe — weighted 89% unsafe and 11% safe) and Hurriya (100% unsafe) again stand out as perceiving other sects as unsafe – and very strongly so. Saidiya has a small majority perceiving other sects as unsafe (57% unsafe to 43% safe — weighted 65% unsafe and 35% safe). Saba Abkar, though a little more positive (48% safe and 52% unsafe — weighted 52% unsafe and 48% safe) is evenly divided; Adamiya (43% unsafe and 57% safe – weighted 41% unsafe and 59% safe) is more positive, including when weighting is added.

What we do not see, except in Adamiya, is a tendency to see others as safer than themselves. Respondents are more likely to see other 'communities' as unsafe than they do their own 'community'.