



مركز البيان للدراسات والتخطيط
Al-Bayan Center for Planning and Studies

The aspirations of the Iraqi voters in the 2021 parliamentary elections (Opinion Poll)



About

Al-Bayan Center for Planning and Studies is an independent, nonprofit think tank based in Baghdad, Iraq. Its primary mission is to offer an authentic perspective on public and foreign policy issues related to Iraq and the region.

Al-Bayan Center pursues its vision by conducting independent analysis, as well as proposing workable solutions for complex issues that concern policymakers and academics.

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Since 2014

The aspirations of the Iraqi voters in the 2021 parliamentary elections (Opinion Poll)

The Idea and context (systematic framing):

The current study is designed to cover multiple segments of Iraqi society through a questionnaire consisting of twenty main questions, asked to (1,770) sample units of the people, who were reached randomly through the national phonebook in all governorates. They were considered representatives of the population of Iraq, whose number exceeds (40) million people. At the national level, and in terms of the rate of the population in a governorate, the sample units of people was consistent with the selected sample, with a slight variation caused by the methodology in some governorates.

The poll included citizens aged 18 years and above, who are legally allowed to vote in Iraqi governorates. According to the estimates of the Electoral Commission and the Ministry of Planning (based on the sample units response via direct contact according to the national phonebook for Telecommunications Companies “Asiacell, Kork, Zain”), the sample units were distributed to all governorates of Iraq, and according to the number of the population in each governorate. The interviews were conducted directly by five researchers working at Al-Bayan Center, one of whom is fluent in Kurdish. They conducted their work from the call center by documenting the answers immediately via an electronic form prepared for this purpose. The answers were filled out via Tablets. The governorates were divided among researchers according to the systematic classification, and over a period of two weeks starting from 15th March, 2021 to 30th March, 2021.

The questionnaire was translated into Kurdish, as well as Arabic. Two electronic links were designed for each questionnaire to ensure receiving answers across the governorates. The questions included the variables of gender, age distribution, standard of living, educational level, marital status, nationality, and governorate, as well as thirteen pivotal questions with regards to the objectives and main themes of the poll.

The current poll comes to search the reality of the members of the Iraqi society's aspirations, including all its categories, nationalities, and governorates, in order to reveal the orientations of the surveyed public regarding the following:

- 1- Updating the voters' biometric data.
- 2- Participating in elections and voting.
- 3- Knowing the reasons of those who prefer to refrain from voting.
- 4- The stances of the polled samples towards the candidates:
Do they prefer parties, political blocs, or independent individuals?
What is the main criterion affecting their voting behavior?

5- What are the priorities that the polled samples prefer with respect to electoral programs?

6- The polled samples' evaluation for the performance of the Prime Minister, Mr. Al-Kadhimi.

Through the current poll, data were given to design an analytical study that explains the aspirations of the Iraqi citizen, his views, his positions, and his own experiences regarding the electoral process. The study was based on the descriptive analytical approach to present

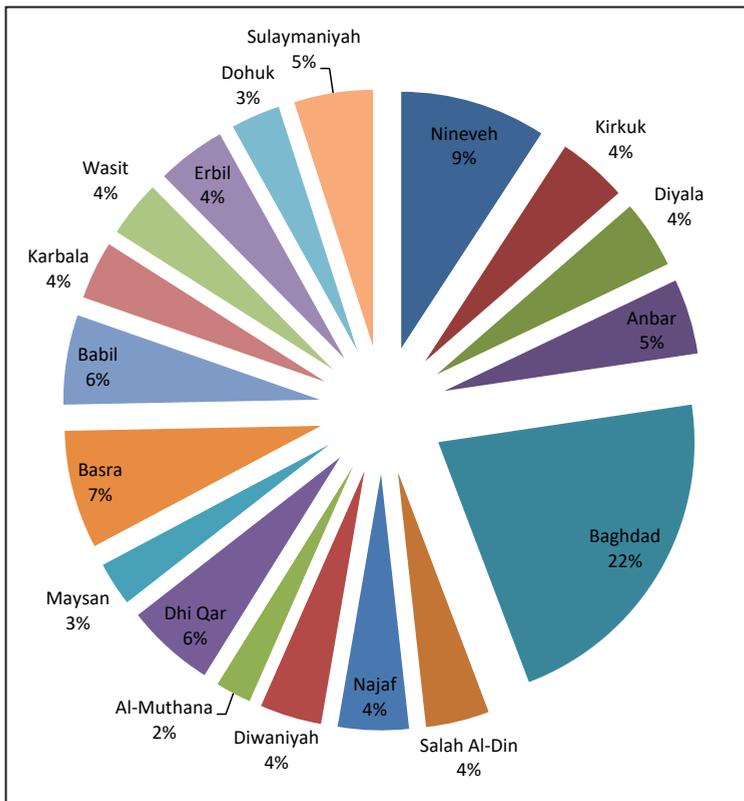
the topic through a social survey to a sample of individuals with different orientations, different geographical areas, and different cultures, in order to generalize the results.

A table showing the size and percentage of the sample in each governorate and the percentage of the population in it according to the population estimates in 2019

Governorate	Population	Population Rate	Sample	Sample Rate
Dohuk	1,326,562	3.4	55	3.1
Ninawa	3,828,197	9.8	163	9.2
Sulaymaniyah	2,219,194	5.7	88	5.0
Kirkuk	1,639,953	4.2	78	4.4
Erbil	1,903,608	4.9	77	4.4
Diyala	1,680,328	4.3	76	4.3
Anbar	1,818,318	4.6	84	4.7
Baghdad	8,340,711	21.3	382	21.6
Babil	2,119,403	5.4	100	5.6
Karbala	1,250,806	3.2	65	3.7
Wasit	1,415,034	3.6	63	3.6
Salahuddin	1,637,232	4.2	71	4.0
Najaf	1,510,338	3.9	79	4.5
Al-Qadisiyah	1,325,031	3.4	69	3.9
Al-Muthanna	835,797	2.2	40	2.3
Dhi Qar	2,150,338	5.5	99	5.6
Maysan	1,141,966	2.9	49	2.8
Basra	2,985,073	7.6	132	7.5
Total	39,127,889	100	1770	100

(Demographic Questions) (Governorate)

The results of the poll had showed a clear variation in the answers of the surveyed samples in (18) Iraqi governorates to the question: (In which governorate do you live?). Most of the answers appeared similar or close to their rate in the total population size in the governorates, and differed slightly with other answers. The details of the results were distributed as shown in the table and figure below:

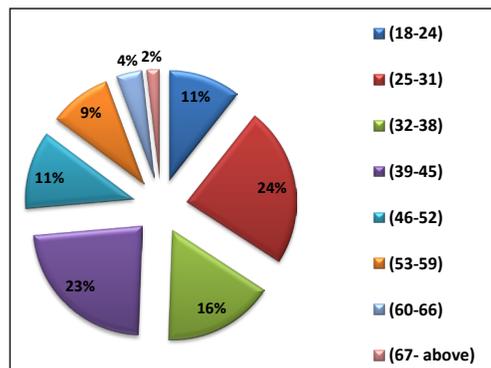


(Age)

It is noticed on the rising cumulative frequency of the ages of the surveyed sample units whose ages range between (18–38 years) amounted to (895) sample, with a combined percentage approaching (50.6%) of the total sample units. That is, more than half of the sample units are counted with the youth category who have not yet reached the stage of senescence. This means they represent the preferred ages for the labor market, marriage and openness to life with its various activities. The most important of these activities is their role in bringing about change and influencing society, whether by political participation or criticism, opposition and influencing public opinion. This will be monitored through the sample units' answers throughout the course of the current poll.

It is also noted that the rising cumulative frequency of the sample units' ages, ranging between (39–67 years and over), have reached about (875) units, with a combined percentage approaching (49.4%) of the total sample units. That is, the units who are counted with the two life phases, the middle age and old age (senescence), are clearly represented in this sample a percentage close to half.

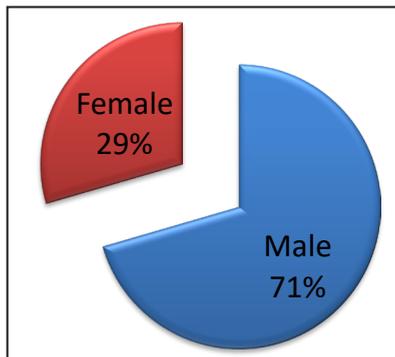
It is clear that the distribution of the sample units age groups was an expression of the reality of their representation in society, which provides opportunities for adopting and generalizing the results.



(Gender)

The current table and figure shows the gender distribution of the study sample units. The number of males reached (1248), that is (70%) of the total sample units, while the number of females reached about (522), which is a percentage of approximately (30%) of the total sample units.

By comparing the percentage of males to the percentage of females for all sample units, it becomes clear that the percentage of males is significantly higher than the one of females, approaching two-thirds to one-third. The process of choosing the samples was based on dialing random numbers of subscribers in the national phonebook. It also depended on these samples' answer to their phones and interact with the caller in all governorates of Iraq. The answers were recorded on this basis, so the females representation in the sample appeared as such. Also the social conservation is always present when a female receives a phone call from a stranger, or a person not adequately identified to her, asking her to fill out a questionnaire. This will make the female hesitant about responding to the questions. This was one of the most important factors contributed to this percentage, not to mention the randomness of the sample and its imbalance. Despite all these factors hindering the achievement of balanced interviews between males and females, making interviews with (522) females is acceptable with regards to hearing the opinion of women and express their orientations within the study samples.

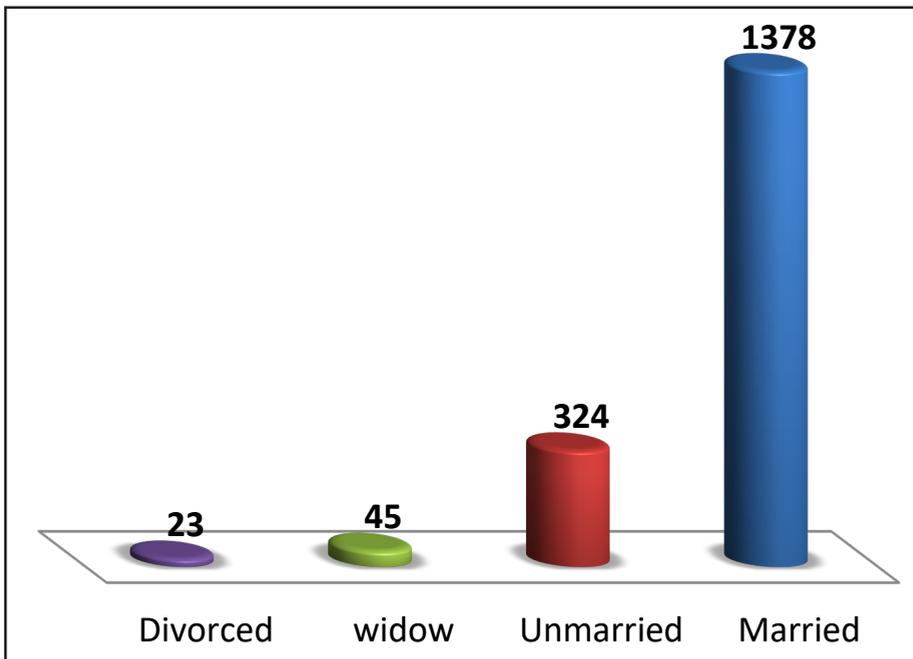


(Marital Status)

The current table and figure shows that the number of married sample units amounted to (1.378), that is (78%) of the total units. The number of unmarried units reached (324), a rate of (18%), while the number of widows/widowers reached (45), a rate of (2.5%) of the total sample units. As for divorced cases, it reached (23) cases, a rate of (1.3%).

It is noticed that the cumulative percentage of married, widows/widowers and divorced units, was (82%), compared to (18%) for unmarried sample units, which is approximately four-fifths to one-fifth (one out of five sample individuals did not experience marriage).

Marriage and family bonding make a person more interested in the surroundings, giving him/her sense of responsibility, planning for the future and following-up the public affairs due to the multiplicity of interests, the expansion of the social relations network, and the diversity of features, characteristics, hopes and ambitions of the family members. As a result, the opinions, decisions, and attitudes of the married individuals, or those who have experienced marriage are often forward-looking and stemming from the concerns and interests of the group, without being dominated by the individual feature. Based on the above, it becomes clear that the marital status in its four categories (married, single, widowed, divorced) came as close as possible to reality with regards to balanced distribution at the level of the total sample, since the poll targets citizens entitled to vote in the elections, i.e., the age of (18 years) and above, which is often the preferred age for marriage, as well as the close of percentages of the sample units in most of the governorates.

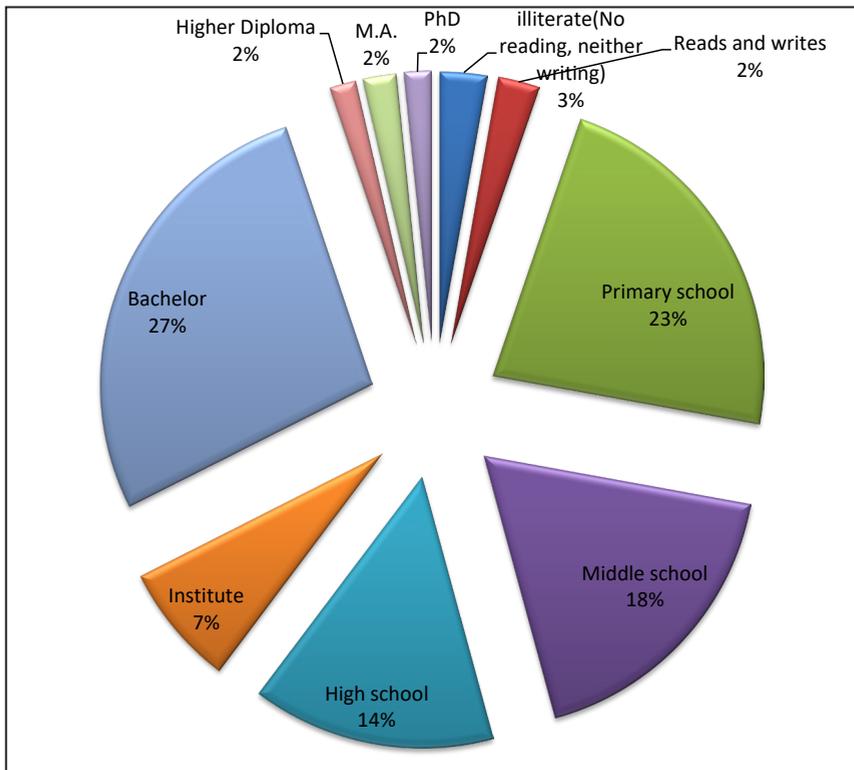


(Educational Level)

From the above table and figure data, we note that the cumulative percentage of primary school degree holders and below has reached about (493), which is (27.9%) of the total sample units. The cumulative percentage of high school and diploma degrees holders was about (574), that is (32.4%) of the total number of sample units. As for the cumulative percentage of the holders of the institute and the bachelor's degrees, it reached about (612), about a percentage of (34.6%) of the total units interviewed. The holders of master's degree or higher education degree were (91) units, a cumulative percentage of (5.2%) of the total number of sample individuals, which indicates that most of the sample units have a (good to a very good) educational level.

The current poll targeted subscribers to the national phonebook of (Asiacell, Korek, and Zain) telecommunication companies. Thus, the sample units included (illiterate, literate, primary school degree holders). It is difficult for such individuals to interact with electronic surveys, which explains their significant presence in the current poll.

The distribution of the sample units on the education levels in its various categories, which was referred to in the above table, came in different rates, starting from a low level then increasing until reaching a certain educational level (institute / bachelor's degree) as the highest rate, then it turn over at a certain educational level (higher diploma / master / Ph.D.) only to decline again., You can see a shape similar to a bell or a graphical curve indicating that the sample distribution came close to the studied community, as this is considered an indication of the sample's representation or its approach to the reality of the studied community.



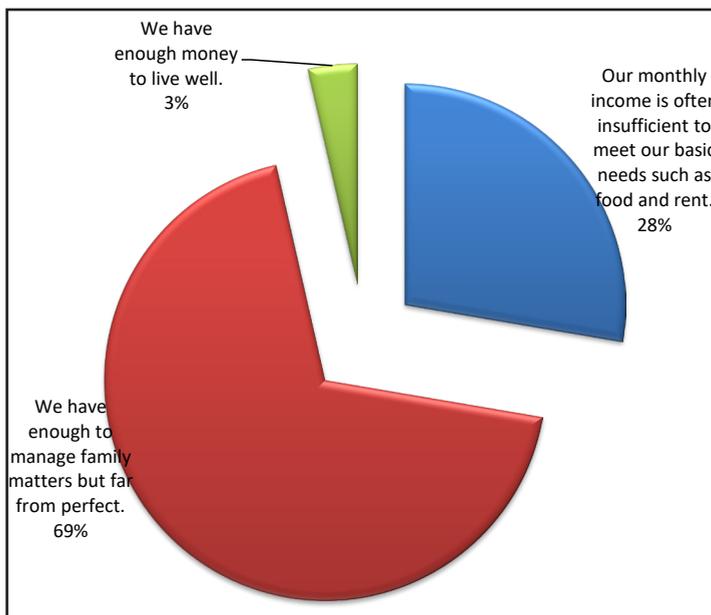
(Living Situation)

To find out the living situation of the study sample units, and in order to avoid mentioning the amount of income in number, which is often unreal due to fear of (envy) or tax prosecution or theft. Thus, three categories were suggested in order to enable the sample units to describe their standard of living in accordance with it. (The first category represents a low standard of living, the second represents a medium standard of living, while the third category represents a high standard of living.)

The survey data shows that the number of those who described their monthly income as often insufficient to meet their basic needs reached about (490), a percentage of (27.7%) of the total sample units. As for those who described their monthly income as sufficient to manage their family matters, but far from luxury, they reached (1,217) individuals, with a percentage of (68.8%) of the total sample units, while (63) individuals, a percentage of (3.6%) described their income and possessions as sufficient for living a luxurious life style.

The results of the table data show that the highest percentage of the sample units are those living a medium level or higher standard of living, with a cumulative percentage of (82%). The standard of living is often linked with many other variables such as educational level, type of profession, number of family members, income level,, etc.. If we conducted a comparison between the educational level and its relation to the standard of living of the units of the study sample, it becomes clear that about (81%) of the total sample units are those with a (good) to (very good) educational level. This, may imply a relation between the educational level and the units' standard of living on one hand, and expanding conditions for entering and

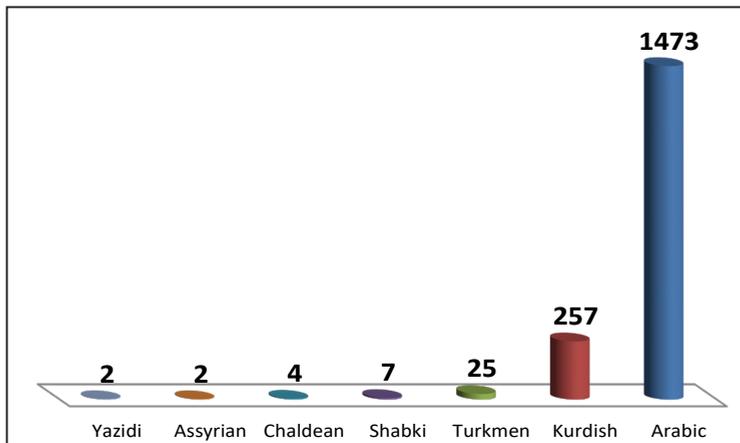
participating in the public sector on the other hand, as the educational level and the quality of good and permanent work contribute, one way or another, in experiencing aesthetics aspects of living, such as going to cafes, attending cultural forums, participating in and joining organizations of Civil society , stimulating political participation, as well as attending universities and academic institutions, and involving in and influencing opinion-making process, etc..



(Nationalism)

It is clear in the data of the table and figure above that (1,473) sample units, and (83.2%) of the total units, defined their nationality as Arab. As for the Kurds, their number reached (257) units, a percentage of (14.5%) of the total sample units. Whereas the number of Turkmen was (25), that is (1.4%) of the total number of units. The number of Shabaks reached (7) units, at (0.4%). Whereas the number of Chaldeans reached (4), a rate of (0.2%). As for those who described their nationalism as Assyrians, they were (2) units, a percentage of (0.1%) of the total units of the sample. As for the Yazidis, they formed (2) units, a rate of (0.1%) of the total units.

On the other hand – and by going back to the data of the table – we note that the cumulative percentage of the four minor nationalities (Shabaks, Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Yazidis) amounted to nearly (1%) of the total sample units, while the major national groups appeared in Iraq (Arabs, Kurds, and Turkmen) reached (about 99%). All the components were represented in the poll sample, and the sample rate as actually close to their representation on the ground. Thus, their presence within the sample provided acceptable opportunities for all components to express their opinions and orientations regarding the upcoming elections.



Q1 / Do you think that the upcoming elections important to improve and develop the country?

More than third of the polled Iraqi people (39%) believe that the upcoming elections are not important for the development and improvement of the country, while about 21% of the total sample units hesitated to decisively answer this question by saying (perhaps) it will be important for achieving improvement and development in the country. That means (60%) of all sample units; more than half of the samples and close to two-thirds, believe that the upcoming parliamentary elections are not important and / or (perhaps) it will be important for achieving improvement and progress in the country.

While more than third of the sample units, (40%), clearly affirmed the importance of the elections. Regarding the answers of the (optimistic) sample units, who believed in the importance of the elections in each governorate alone, Kirkuk governorate came first with a percentage of (51.3%), followed by Muthanna (50%), then Wasit (46%), followed by Diwanayah (43.5%), Dhi Qar (43.4%), followed by Maysan (42.9%), Salah Al-Din (42.3%), then Dohuk and Najaf (41.8%) in each governorate, Basra (41.7%), Karbala (41.5%), then Diyala (40.8%), Baghdad (40.3%), then Babil (39%), Erbil (37.7%),

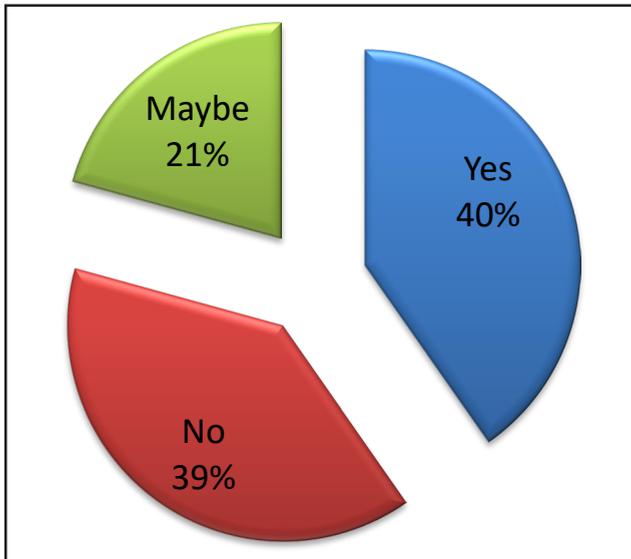
then Ninawa (33.7%), and Sulaymaniyah (33%). Anbar came last, with the lowest level of optimism regarding the upcoming elections, a percentage of only (29.8%) of the total number of the units. (For more information, please see detailed tables in the appendices).

According to the above data, we note that the percentage of optimism among the samples regarding the upcoming parliamentary elections in all governorates ranged from third to slightly more than half.

The results of the survey also show the youth's tendencies towards the current question, as young people within the cumulative age group (18–38 years) see that the upcoming parliamentary elections are not important and / or may be important for improving and developing the country reality, with a cumulative percentage of (61%).

While the results of the poll also reveal the tendencies of women towards the current question. About (302) females out of (522) see that the upcoming parliamentary elections are not important and / or may be important for improving and developing the country, with a cumulative rate of (58%).

Do you think that the upcoming elections are important for the improvement and development of the country?	The Answers	The percentage
Yes	713	40.3
No	690	39.0
Maybe	367	20.7
Total	1770	100.0



Q2 / Did you update your data in the Voter Register?

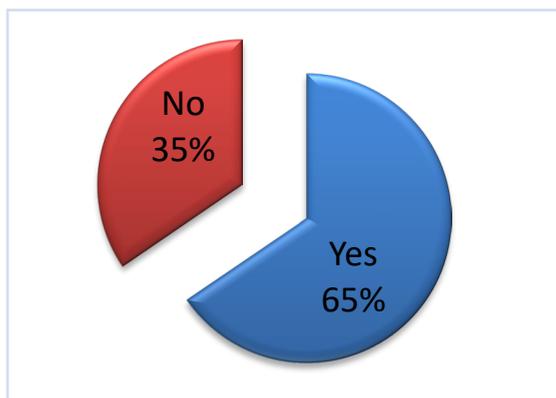
About (65.5%) of all sample units confirmed that they updated their data in the Voter Register, while about (34.5%) of them indicated that they did not. This means that they either have updated it during the previous elections, or they have not done so yet, as they still have time to update them. This contrariness will be shown later by the results of the current survey when the answers of the biometric card holders are presented.

Regarding the answers of those sample units who (updated) their data in the Voter Register, according to each governorate, they were as follows: Wasit governorate was in the foreground with a percentage (74.6%), followed by Sulaymaniyah (73.9%), then Diwaniyah (71%), then Erbil (70.1%), Karbala (70%), Baghdad and Dohuk (67.3%) in each governorate, Babil (66%), Anbar (65.5%), Kirkuk (62.8%), Dhi Qar (62.6%), Basra (62.1%), Najaf (62%), Diyala (61.8%), Maysan (61.2%), then Ninawa (61.1%), and Salah Al-Din (60.6%). Finally, Muthanna came with the lowest percentage of citizens who updated their data in the Voter Register, (57.5%) of the total number of citizens who were surveyed in the governorate. (For more, see detailed tables in the appendices).

The results of the poll also show the youth's tendencies towards the current question, as young people within the cumulative age category (18–38 years) confirmed that they had updated their data in the Voter Register with a percentage of (64%).

The results of the poll also reveal the orientations of women regarding the current question. About (286) females out of (522) confirmed that they had updated their data in the Voter Register with a rate of (55%).

Did you update your data in the voter register?	The Answers	The percentage
Yes	1159	65.5
No	611	34.5
Total	1770	100.0



Q3 / Do you have a biometric card?

Most of the study units, a rate of (82.4%), confirmed that they have biometric cards, while (17.6%) all over Iraq answered that they do not have cards.

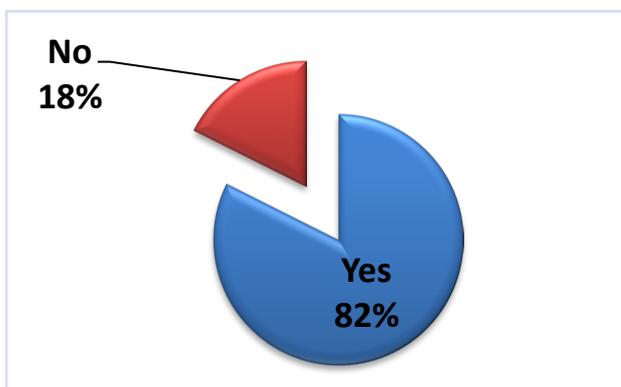
The results of the current poll differ slightly from the data announced by the Independent Electoral Commission regarding the percentage of citizens, eligible to vote, who applied for biometric cards. The Commission indicated earlier that the rate of people applied for cards exceeded (70%). The process of updating and issuing cards is still ongoing, which indicate an increase in the rates of issuing electoral cards in the up-coming months.

As for the citizens who received their biometric cards, according to each governorate, the answers came as the following: Wasit governorate was in the foreground with a percentage (95.2%), followed by Dhi Qar (89.9%), Dohuk (87.3%), y Sulaymaniyah (85.2%), Najaf (83.5%), y Baghdad (82.7%), Diwaniyah (82.6%), then Ninawa (82.2%), Kirkuk (82.1%), and Salah Al-Din (81.7%), then Maysan (81.6%), Karbala (80%), then Babil (79%), Erbil (77.9%), Diyala (76.3%), Anbar (76.2%), while Muthanna Governorate came with the lowest percentage, with only (77.5%) of the total number of citizens who were surveyed. (For more, see detailed tables in the appendices).

The results of the poll also show the youth's orientations towards the current question, as (80%) the young people within the cumulative age category (18–38 years) confirmed that they have biometric cards at a rate of. This indicates a possibility for wide-range youth participation in the upcoming elections.

The results of the survey also reveal the orientations of women towards the current question. About (414) females out of (522), a percentage of (79.3%), confirmed that they have biometric cards.

Do you have a biometric card?	The Answers	The percentage
Yes	1458	82.4
No	312	17.6
Total	1770	100.0



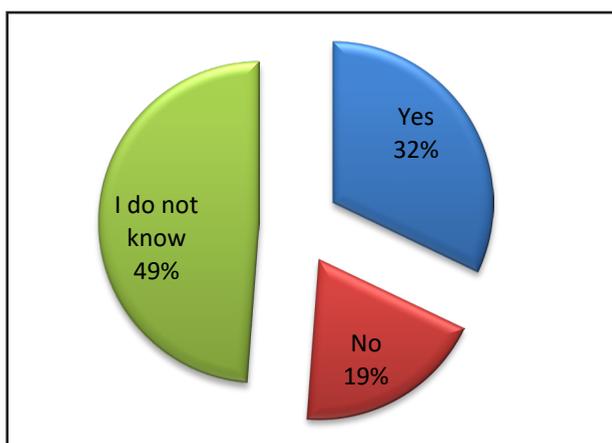
Q4 / Are you satisfied with the new Election Commission and its work?

Although the (current) Independent Electoral Commission consists of new members and presidency, and is considered new and has not yet adequately accomplished any of its functions except for updating the Voter Register and issuing Biometric Cards, about one-fifth of the sample units across all governorates of Iraq, exactly (19.2%), indicated that they are not satisfied with it. On the other hand, about (32.1%) said that they are satisfied with the Commission and its works, while about (48.8%) answered that they do not know anything about it. The answers of citizens who are (dissatisfied) with the current Electoral Commission and the way it works, according to each governorate alone, were as follows: Salah Al-Din governorate is at the forefront with (26.8%), followed by Diwaniyah (26.1%), then Muthanna (25%), Najaf (24.1%), Dohuk (23.6%), Anbar (21.4%), Erbil (20.8%), Wasit (20.6%), then Sulaymaniyah (20.5%) And Ninawa (20.2%), Karbala (20%), Babil (18%), Baghdad (17.8%), Basra (16.7%), Maysan (16.3%), Diyala (15.8%), Kirkuk (12.8%), while Dhi Qar governorate came last with the lowest percentage, (10.1%) of the total number of citizens who were surveyed. (For more, see detailed tables in the appendices).

The results of the survey also show the youth's orientations towards the current question, as (19.4) of them, within the cumulative age category (18–38 years), confirmed that they are not satisfied with the performance of the Electoral Commission. This is nearly a fifth of the sample within the category. Perhaps these youth's impressions about the commission come from previous experiences related to a previous Commission performance they had heard about from others, or even experienced.

The results of the poll also reveal the orientations of women towards the current question. About (90) females out of (522), this is (17.2%), confirmed that they are not satisfied with the performance of the Electoral Commission.

Are you satisfied with the new election commission and the way it works?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	568	32.1
No	338	19.1
I do not know	864	48.8
Total	1770	100.0



Q5 / Do you think elections will take place on it scheduled time?

Nearly two-thirds of the study units, a rate of (62%), indicated that the upcoming elections will not take place on time, while others (approved) that the elections will be conducted on time, a rate of (38%) of the surveyed units in all Iraqi governorates.

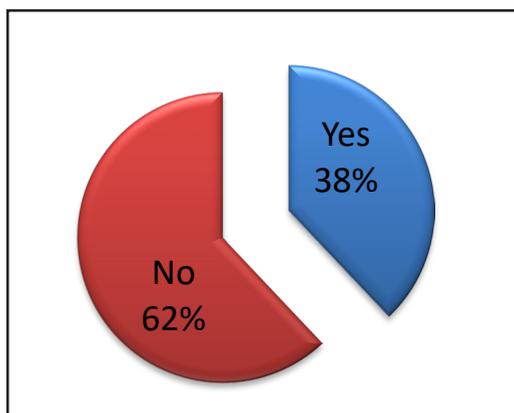
The results of the current poll are consistent with the facts that announced by the government and the Independent Electoral Commission regarding holding the elections, the required funding, legislation and political consensus, as well as the conditions of Corona pandemic, quarantine and the ongoing economic crisis in the country.

The answers of the (pessimistic) sample units regarding holding the elections on time, and according to each governorate, came as follows: Karbala governorate is in the foreground with (75.4%), followed by Sulaymaniyah (75%), then Babil (69%), Erbil and Dohuk (63.6%) in each governorate, Salah Al-Din (63.4%), Baghdad (63.1%), Diwaniyah (62.3%), Anbar (61.9%), Diyala (61.8%), Basra (61.4%), Ninawa (60.7%), Muthanna (60%), then Kirkuk (59%), Wasit (58.7%), followed by Najaf (57%), then Maysan (49%), while Dhi Qar governorate came last with the lowest percentage, only (46.5%). (For more, see detailed tables in the appendices).

The results of the poll also show the youth's orientations towards the current question. (66%) of young people, who were surveyed, within the cumulative age category (18-38 years) have doubted that the elections will be held on time. This indicates the frustration of the youth and their lack of confidence in the ability of the current political class to conduct the elections on time.

=The results of the poll also reveal the orientations of women regarding the current question, as about (354) females out of (522), a percentage of (67.8%), doubted that the elections would be held on time.

Do you think that the elections will take place on time?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	672	38.0
No	1098	62.0
Total	1770	100.0



Q6 / Do you intend to participate in the upcoming elections?

Nearly two-thirds of the study units, a rate of (61.3%), stated that they have the intention to participate in the upcoming elections, . (21.8%) answered with (no) As for citizens who had not yet decided whether to participate in the elections or not, their percentage reached (16.9%).

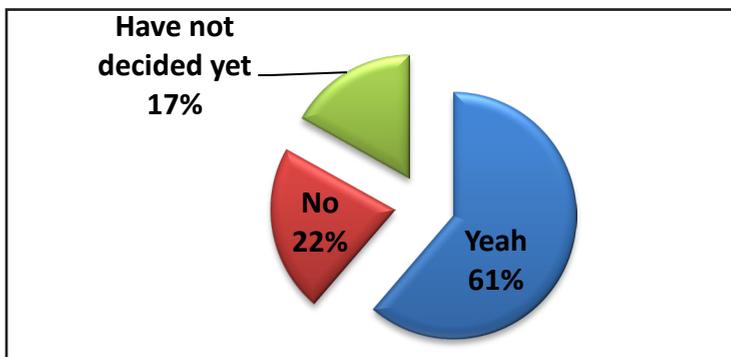
The results of the current poll lay down an anticipation calls for optimism with regards to the high rate of participation in the upcoming elections according to the citizens' intentions. After 2003, Iraq held four parliamentary elections. The participation rates experienced a continuous decline. The highest rate of participation was achieved on 2005, at the beginning of the first elections, then the rate started to decline reaching the 2018 elections. These facts were explained by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), according to the chart below, which shows the percentage of participation and voting. The elections of 2018 recorded participation at a rate of (44.85%), in 2014 the rate reached (60%), and in 2010 the rate was (62.4%) , and (79%) in 2005.

The answers of the citizens who decided to participate in the upcoming elections, according to each governorate, came as follows: Salah Al-Din Governorate was at the forefront with a percentage of (69%), followed by Kirkuk (67.9%), then Dhi Qar (66.7%), Dohuk (65.5%), Wasit (65.1%), Baghdad (64.9%), Najaf (63.3%), Muthanna (62.5%), Erbil (61%), Diwaniyah (60%). 9%), Ninawa (60.7%), Basra (60.5%), Sulaymaniyah (60.2%), Karbala (60%), followed by Babil (58%), then Anbar and Diyala (50%) in each governorate, while Maysan governorate came last with (38.8%). (For more, see detailed tables in the appendices).

The results of the poll also show the youth’s orientations towards the current question, as youth within the cumulative age group (18–38 years) decided to participate in the upcoming elections at a rate of (61.5%), which indicates a possibility for a good youth participation in the upcoming elections.

The poll results also reveal the orientations of women towards the current question, where (324) females out of (522) decided to participate in the upcoming elections, which is a rate of (62.1%).

Do you intend to participate in the next elections?	The Answers	The percentage
Yeah	1085	61.3
No	386	21.8
Have not decided yet	299	16.9
Total	1770	100.0



Q7 / If your answer to question (6) is (no) or (I have not decided yet) to participate in the upcoming elections, which of the reasons below represent your point of view?

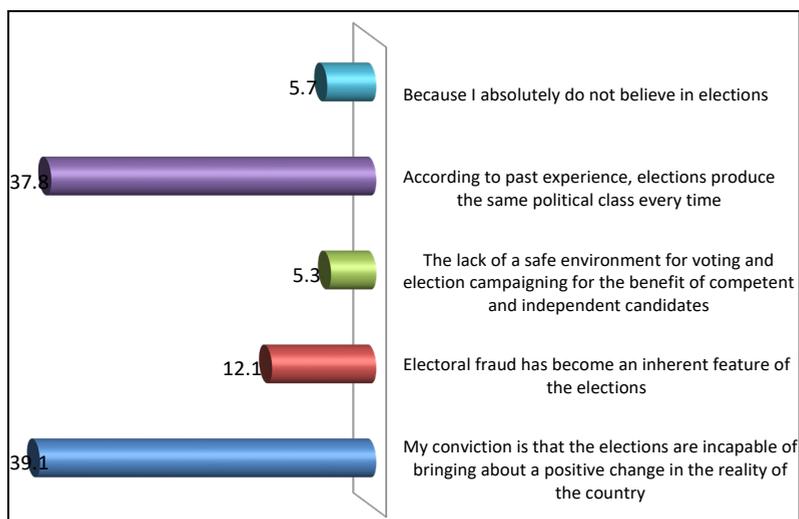
The data of the table and the above figure reveal an orderly unintended sequence of reasons that make citizens refrain from participating in the upcoming elections. The table data shows that about (268) citizens, (39.1%) of the total sample units, confirmed that the reason stands behind their abstention from voting is resulted from their conviction that the upcoming elections will not be able to change anything positively in the country. While (259) units, a rate of (37.8%), said that their reason is that elections boil down to the same political class every time.

As for the third reason was the electoral fraud, and how it became an inherent feature of the elections. The number of citizens who abstain from voting due to fraud has reached (83) citizens, a rate of (12.1%) of the total sample units. The fourth reason was the absolute lack of belief in the elections. Those who did not believe in the elections reached (39), a percentage of (5.7%) of the total sample units.

The fifth reason was the lack of a safe environment for voting and electoral campaigning for the benefit of competent and independent candidates. The number of those who abstain from voting for this reason was (36) citizens, a rate of (5.3%) of the total sample units.

With a closer look at the data and contents of the table, it becomes clear that about (77%) of the sectoral category of citizens will not participate in the vote or have not decided yet because they do not want to restore the same political class, and they do not believe that the elections will bring about any positive change.

If your answer is (no, or I have not decided yet) to participate in the elections, what are the reasons from your point of view?	The Answers	The percentage
My conviction is that the elections are incapable of bringing about a positive change in the reality of the country	268	39.1
Electoral fraud has become an inherent feature of the elections	83	12.1
The lack of a safe environment for voting and election campaigning for the benefit of competent and independent candidates	36	5.3
According to past experience, elections produce the same political class every time	259	37.8
Because I absolutely do not believe in elections	39	5.7
Total	685	100.0



Q8 / If you decide to participate in the upcoming elections, what voting behavior would you prefer according to the options below?

The current question reveals the preferred voting behavior of the citizens surveyed, and this explains the factors that motivate and attract them to vote. (663) citizens answered, a cumulative rate of (37.5%) of the total sample units, that they are motivated to vote for a political party or personalities such as: [A party that serves them (17%), people from their districts who take care of their interests (6.8%), figures from their tribe who serve them (5.6%), a party or persons who directly benefit them on financial basis (4.3%), people of their own nationality who look after their interests (3.3%), and finally an armed faction that serves and protects them (0.5%)].

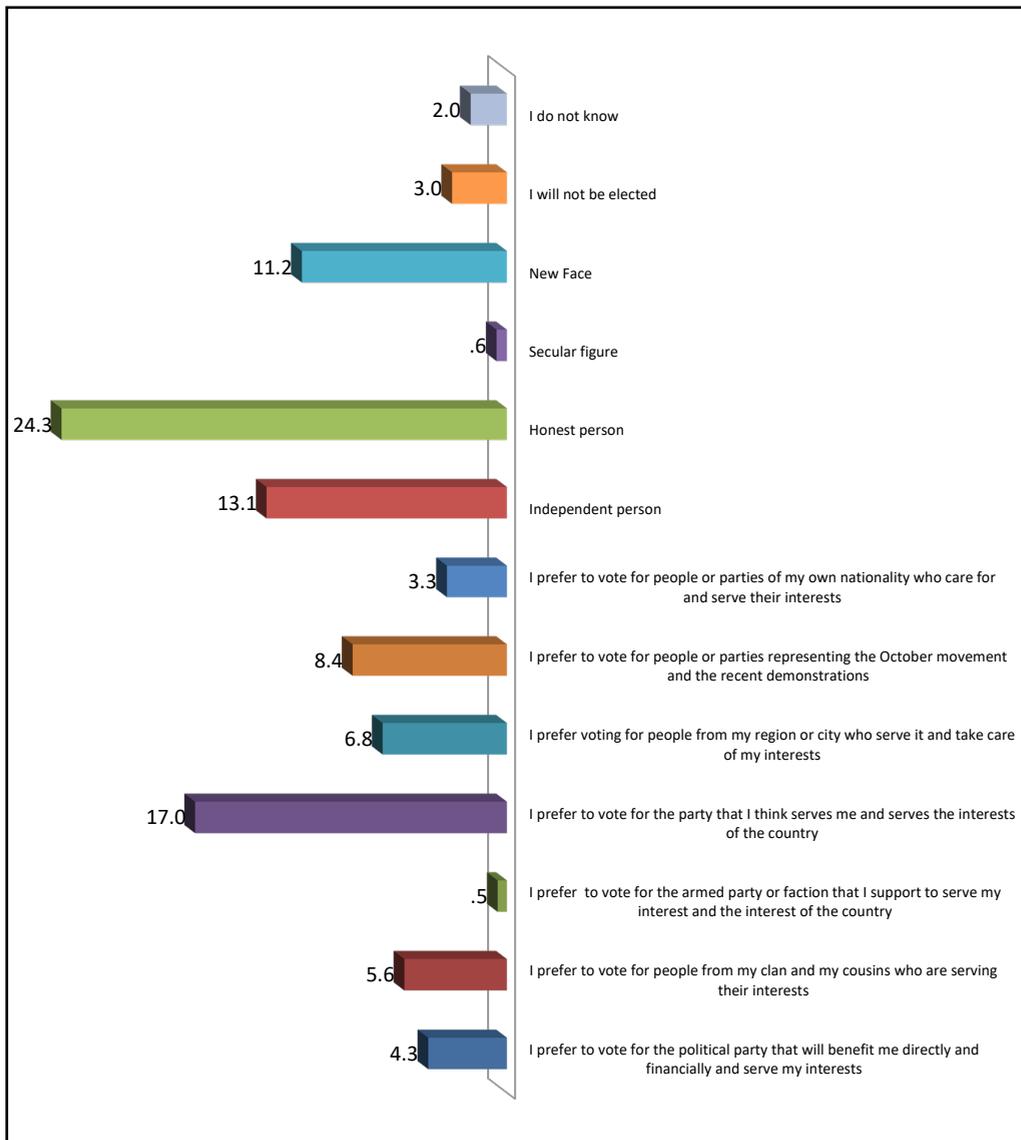
While the answers of about (1,107) citizens, with a cumulative rate of (62.5%) of the total sample units, were as follows: (an honest person (24.3%), an independent person (13.1%), a new face (11.2%), people representing October Protests (8.4%), a secular figure (0.6%), and finally (5%) answered (I do not know and will not vote).

The results of the survey also show the thoughts of young people towards the current question, as young people within the cumulative age group (18–38 years) confirmed that they are attracted to vote for {an honest person (21.7%), an independent person (16%), and a new face (12.4%), figures representing October Protests (8%), a secular figure (0.5%), and finally I do not know and will not vote (5.1%)}, . The cumulative percentage of these answers reached (64%). This confirms the probability that young people are inclined to bring about change in the upcoming elections.

The results of the survey also reveal the orientations of women towards the current question, as about (354) females out of (522) confirmed that they are attracted to vote for [an honest person (23.4%), an independent person (20.1%), a new face (9.6%), people representing the October protests and demonstrations (8%), a secular figure (1%), and (5.7%) answered to: I do not know and will not vote]. The cumulative rate reached (67.8%). In other words, two-thirds of women support the desired political change.

If you decide to participate in the upcoming elections, what voting behavior would you prefer according to the options below?	The Answers	The percentage
I prefer to vote for the political party that will benefit me directly and financially and serve my interests	76	4.3
I prefer to vote for people from my clan and my cousins who are serving their interests	99	5.6
I prefer to vote for the armed party or faction that I support to serve my interest and the interest of the country	9	.5
I prefer to vote for the party that I think serves me and serves the interests of the country	301	17.0
I prefer voting for people from my region or city who serve it and take care of my interests	120	6.8

I prefer to vote for people or parties representing the October movement and the recent demonstrations	149	8.4
I prefer to vote for people or parties of my own nationality who care for and serve their interests	58	3.3
Independent person	232	13.1
Honest person	430	24.3
Secular figure	10	.6
New Face	198	11.2
I will not be elected	53	3.0
I do not know	35	2.0
Total	1770	100.0



Q9 / According to what you chose in Question No. (8), will you elect political figures who are currently in power or have earlier participated in the elections?

A democratic culture provides a kind of belief in the viability of participation in the elections, political and intellectual tolerance, availability of a spirit of initiative, standing neutrally, as well as political confidence. In order to resolve the controversy and confusion over the Iraqi people opinion and their decision whether to re-elect political figures currently participating in power or not, and to know the orientations of sample units towards this issue, the following question was asked: If you participated in the elections, will you elect political figures currently in power or have previously been in power?

The table data reveal that about (241) units, with a percentage of (13.6%) of the total sample units, decided to vote in the upcoming elections in favor of politicians currently involved in power, while (310) units, a percentage of (17.5%) hesitated, answering (maybe Yes and maybe No). About (1,219) units, a percentage of (68.9%) of the total sample units confirmed that they will not re-elect these politicians.

Due to the importance of this problematic question, the results of the units' answers will be presented in detail to explain the alternative answers (yes, no, maybe), based on each governorate. The governorate data will be presented in succession and based on the highest percentage of those who decided to re-vote for some politicians who are currently involved in power and compare it at the same time with the answers of those who hesitated or denied re-voting for these figures.

Muthanna governorate topped the rest of the governorates, and the percentages of answers came as follows: (yes 25%, no 62.5%, maybe 12.5%) of the total sample units. Followed by Dohuk governorate (yes 18.2%, no 74.5%, maybe 7.3%). Kirkuk governorate came third, and the percentages were (yes 16.7%, no 62.8%, maybe 20.5%). Maysan governorate followed, and the percentages were (yes 16.3%, no 57.1%, maybe 26.5%), Dhi Qar governorate (yes 16.2%, no 66.7%, maybe 17.2%).

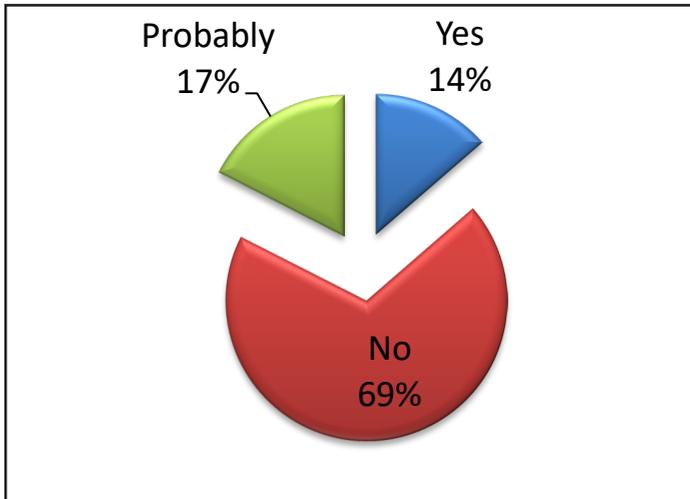
Diwaniyah governorate came sixth, with percentages (yes 15.9%, no 65.2%, maybe 18.8%). Followed by Najaf governorate's answers percentages (yes 15.2%, no 67.1%, maybe 17.7%), Basra governorate (yes, 15.2%, no 74.2%, maybe 10.6%). Erbil governorate followed: (Yes 14.3%, no 64.9%, maybe 20.8%). Anbar governorate was ranked tenth (yes 14.3%, no 66.7%, maybe 19%). Babil followed with results (yes 14%, no 67%, maybe 19%), then Sulaymaniyah governorate (yes 13.6%, no 75%, maybe 11.4%).

While the answers of Diyala governorate was (yes, 13.2%, no 64.5%, maybe 22.4%), Ninawa governorate (yes 12.3%, no 72.4%, maybe 15.3%), Baghdad governorate (yes, 11.8%, no 69.4%, maybe 18.8%), Karbala governorate followed with percentages (yes 10.8%, no 70.8%, maybe 18.5%), Wasit governorate (yes 9.5%, no 65.1%, maybe 25.4%). Salah Al-Din governorate came eighteenth and last with a percentage (yes 5.6%, no 78.9%, maybe 15.5%).

The results of the poll also show the youth's orientations towards the current question, as young people within the cumulative age category (18–38 years), a percentage slightly higher than (71%), decided that they would not elect political figures who had previously participated in power. This indicates a remarkable aversion of the youth towards most of the participants in the political process now.

The results of the poll also reveal the orientations of women towards the current question. About (372) females out of (522), a percentage slightly higher than (71%) of the total units of the same category, confirmed that they would not elect political figures who had previously been in power.

According to what you chose in the previous question, will you elect political figures who are in power now or have participated in the elections?	The Answers	The percentage
Yes	241	13.6
No	1219	68.9
Probably	310	17.5
Total	1770	100.0



Q10 / The elections will take place according to the individual election system. If you decide to participate and vote, will you choose ...?

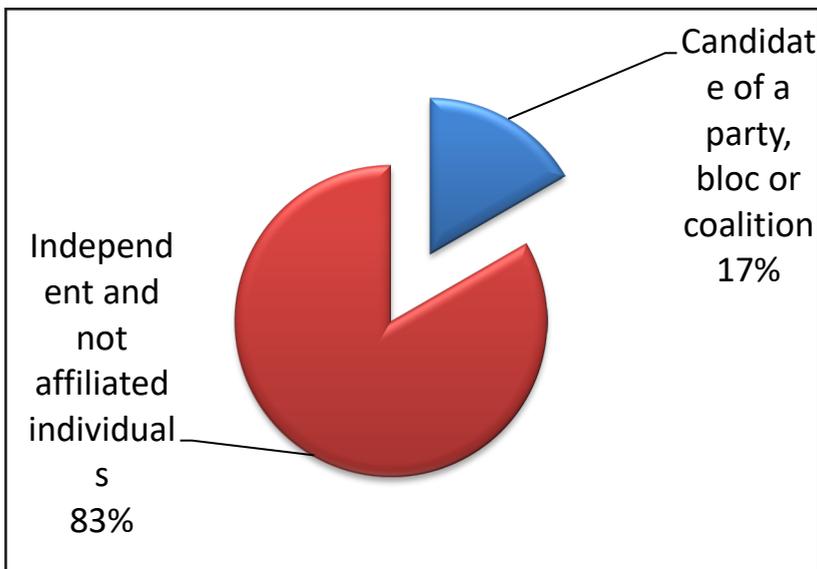
To reveal the intentions of the units and the nature of their preferences regarding the forms of candidacy that they intend to vote for, they were asked the above question. The contents of the table clarify that (1,475) units, with a percentage of (83%) of the total sample units, preferred to vote for individuals who are independent and not affiliated to a party. While (295) units, with a percentage of nearly (17%), said they prefer to vote for the candidate of a party, a bloc, or an alliance.

Regarding the answers of the units who decided to vote for (independent individuals) in the upcoming elections, according to each governorate, answers came as follows: Karbala governorate was in the foreground with a percentage of (93.8%), followed by Kirkuk (88.5%), then Basra (87.9%), followed by Sulaymaniyah (87.5%), Salah Al-Din (87.3%), then Babil (85%), Anbar (84.5%), Erbil (83.1%), Baghdad (82.7%), Al Diwaniyah (82.6%), Wasit (82.5%), Najaf (82.3%), Dohuk (81.8%), Diyala (80.3%), followed by Maysan (79.6%), Ninawa (78.5%), followed by Dhi Qar (77.8%). And finally, Al-Muthanna governorate, as it came last with a percentage of (75%) of the total sample units. (For more, see detailed tables in the appendices).

The results of the poll also show the youth's orientations towards the current question, as young people within the cumulative age category (18-38 years), a rate of (84%), decided to vote to individuals who are independent and not affiliated to a party. This indicates the youth's tendencies against the other forms of candidacy, such as parties and blocs.

The results of the survey also reveal the orientations of women towards the current question, as about (460) females out of (522), a slightly higher percentage (88%) than the total units of the same category, confirmed that they will vote for independent individuals who not affiliated to a party.

The elections will be conducted according to an individual electoral system. If you decide to participate and vote, will you choose ...?	The Answers	The percentage
Candidate of a party, bloc or coalition	295	16.7
Independent and not affiliated individuals	1475	83.3
Total	1770	100.0



Q11 / What are the electoral reforms that support implementing?

Electoral reform is a permanent feature of any healthy democratic system. To formulate an electoral system that satisfies the public, it is a good idea to start by developing a list of criteria that summarize what is intended to be achieved or avoided. To reveal the priority of the most important electoral reforms that citizens support and demand the candidates to implement, we asked them the above question, and units were given the opportunity to identify the most important reforms that determine their preferences for voting.

The data of the table and the above figure reveal a hierarchical, hidden (and unintended) sequence of the citizens' orientations towards the electoral reforms that they demand to achieve during the upcoming elections. The table data show that about (894) units – a rate of (50.5%) of the total sample units – wanted the United Nations to directly supervise the election process. The second option, chosen by (494) units, (27.9%), was in favor of the security forces' heavily presence near the polling centers in areas where armed groups exist.

The third choice was to allow the citizens living inside Iraq exclusively to vote. As the number of units supporting this option reached about (339), a percentage of (19.2%) of the total sample units. In the fourth hierarchical order came the option of (the futility of the demand for reform, no one listens and no one implements anything), the option was chosen by (35) units, (2%) of the total sample units.

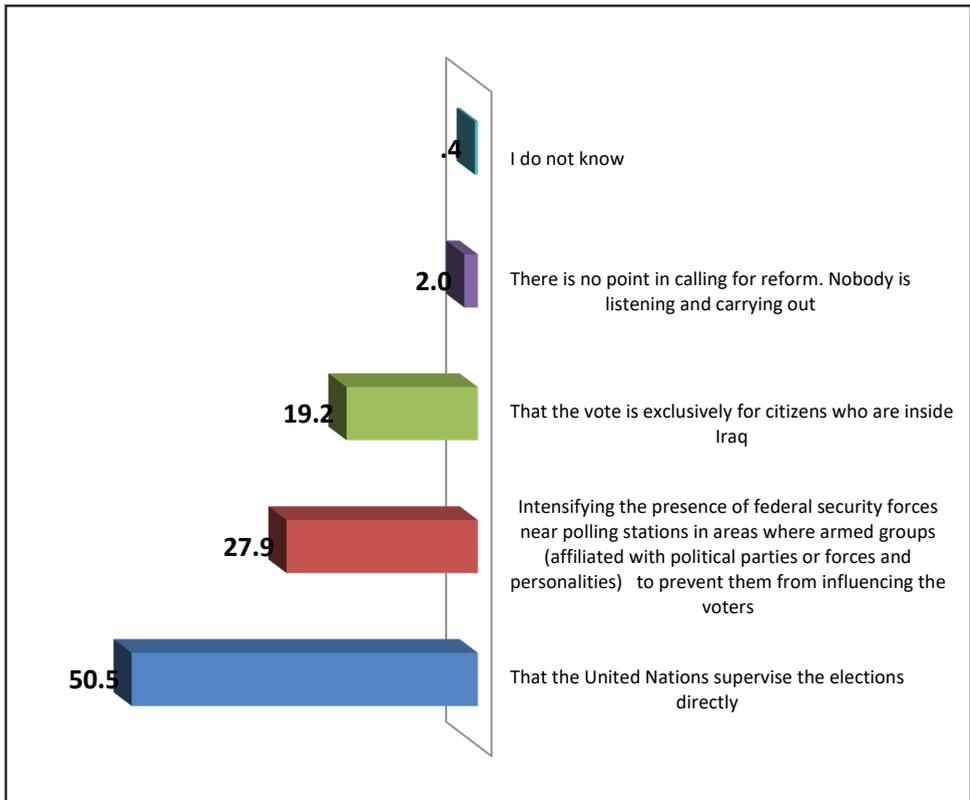
The fifth and last, the option of (I do not know) was chosen by (8) units, at a rate of (0.4%) of the total sample units.

The results of the poll also show the youth's orientations towards the current question, as young people within the cumulative age group (18–38 years), a rate of (36.4%), decided to vote for (United Nations supervision of elections), a rate of (28.6%) decided to choose (intensifying the presence of security forces ... etc., and the choice indicating the voting of the people living in Iraq only reached (21.6%). The cumulative rate reached (86.6%) of the total units of the same category.

While the results of the poll also reveal the orientations of women towards the current question, as about (510) females out of (522) confirmed choosing (United Nations supervision on elections (44.1%), intensifying the presence of security forces ... etc. (28.4%), and exclusive voting of the people living in Iraq (25.3%), with a cumulative rate of (97.8%) of the total units of the same category

What are the electoral reforms that support their implementation?	The Answers	The percentage
That the United Nations supervise the elections directly	894	50.5
Intensifying the presence of federal security forces near polling stations in areas where armed groups (affiliated with political parties or forces and personalities) to prevent them from influencing the voters	494	27.9
That the vote is exclusively for citizens who are inside Iraq	339	19.2

There is no point in calling for reform. Nobody is listening and carrying out	35	2.0
I do not know	8	.4
Total	1770	100.0



Q12 / What are the most prominent electoral programs that you would prefer the candidate to work on?

Perhaps one of the most important stages of formulating electoral programs and revealing the public's priorities is the stage of voter opinion polling. This stage represents the most important stage because it aims to examine the program by communicating with the audience and learning about their preferences and priorities. To reveal the priority of the most prominent electoral programs that citizens support and demand the candidates to implement them, we ask this question about the most prominent electoral programs that the units would like the candidate to implement. Units were given the opportunity to determine the most important programs that determine their preferences for voting.

Five programs were preferred by (1,566) units, with a cumulative percentage (88,5%) of the total answers. The Services And Economy program ranked first, with (696) answers, and a rate of (39.3%). Followed by the Security and Border Protection Program, with (530) answers and a rate of (29.9%). The Education and Health program came third, with (150) answers and a rate of (8.5%). Then program of Individual Freedoms and Rights, with (119) answers and a rate of (6.7%). The Rights of Minorities and Women and Children program came in fifth, with (71) answers and a rate of (4%) of the total units' answers.

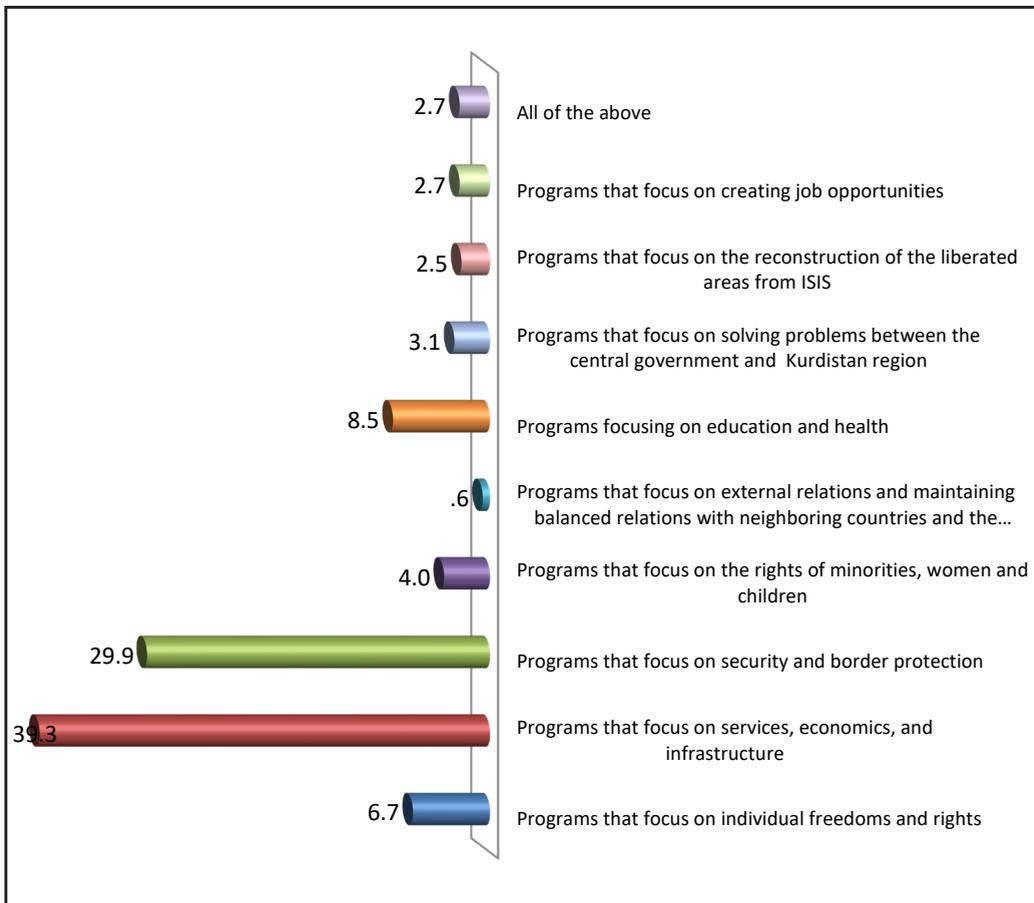
While the answers of the remaining units were distributed among five other programs, with (204) answers, and a cumulative rate of (11.5%) of the total answers. The program of solving problems between the central government and Kurdistan region ranked sixth, with 55 answers, and (3.1%) of the total answers. Followed by a job

creation program, with (47) answers, (2.7%). Followed by a program includes the previous programs, with (47) answers, and (2.7%). Program for the reconstruction of liberated areas from Daesh came ninth, with (44) answers, (2.5%). The foreign relations program and maintaining balanced relations with neighboring countries and the world ranked tenth and last, with (11) answers, with a percentage of (0.6%) of the total answers of the units.

What are the most prominent electoral programs that you would prefer the candidate to implement?	The Answers	The percentage
Programs that focus on individual freedoms and rights	119	6.7
Programs that focus on services, economics, and infrastructure	696	39.3
Programs that focus on security and border protection	530	29.9
Programs that focus on the rights of minorities, women and children	71	4.0
Programs that focus on external relations and maintaining balanced relations with neighboring countries and the world	11	.6
Programs focusing on education and health	150	8.5
Programs that focus on solving problems between the central government and Kurdistan region	55	3.1

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Programs that focus on the reconstruction of the liberated areas from ISIS	44	2.5
Programs that focus on creating job opportunities	47	2.7
All of the above	47	2.7
Total	1770	100.0



Q13: On a scale of (0–10), how satisfied are you with the performance of the Prime Minister, Mr. Al-Kadhimi?

The current question reveals the level of satisfaction of the surveyed units with the performance of Prime Minister Mustafa Al-Kadhimi. About (941) units, and a cumulative rate of (53.1%), indicated that they give him an evaluation ranging between (5–10). While (829) units indicated, with a cumulative rate of (46.9%), that he deserves an evaluation ranging between (0–4). Thus, it is evident that more than half of the public surveyed is satisfied with the performance of the current Prime Minister.

The results of the survey also show the youth's orientation towards the current question, (465) young people within the cumulative age group (18–38 years), a percentage of (52%) of the total units of the same category, indicated that they are satisfied with the performance of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mustafa Al-Kadhimi, and they gave him an evaluation ranging between (5–10). While about (430) young citizens in the same category, a cumulative rate of (48%), indicated that he deserves an evaluation ranging between (0–4). Thus, it is evident that more than half of the citizens are satisfied with the performance of the current prime minister.

While the results of the survey also reveal the orientations of women towards the above question. (318) females out of (522), (61%), indicated that they are satisfied with the performance of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mustafa Al-Kadhimi, as they give him an evaluation ranging between (5–10) and a percentage. While about (204) units within the same category, with a cumulative rate of (39%), indicated that they give him an evaluation ranging between (0–4). Thus, it is evident that nearly two-thirds of the women surveyed are satisfied

with the performance of the current Prime Minister.

On a scale of (0–10), how satisfied are you with the performance of Prime Minister Al-Kadhimi?	The Answers	The percentage
0	288	16.3
1	96	5.4
2	102	5.8
3	152	8.6
4	191	10.8
5	397	22.4
6	154	8.7
7	158	8.9
8	101	5.7
9	44	2.5
10	87	4.9
Total	1770	100.0

