



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

Parliamentary Elections 2021 in Iraq (Survey)



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

Parliamentary Elections 2021 in Iraq (Survey)

Idea and context (systematic framing):

The current study had been designed to fit multiple segments of Iraqi society, through a survey consisting of nineteen main questions, addressed to 3,026 surveyed and questioned individuals, who were randomly accessed through the national telephone book in all governorates, as representatives of the population of Iraq whose number exceeds 40 million people. The sample units or members were proportional at the national level in terms of the proportion of the population in the governorate to the proportion of the selected sample, with a slight discrepancy suggested by the methodology in some governorates.

The total number of calls reached about 4,672 miscellaneous calls. The number of rejected interviews by phone was 246, and the number of busy phones after repeated calls was 623, while the total of switch-off was 745, non-applicable calls (foreigners or under 18) amounted to 32, and the number of completed interviews by phone was 3,026, as shown in the table below:

Type of connection	Busy / didn't pick up	switched off	Rejected	Call completed	doesn't apply	Total
Total	623	745	246	3,026	32	4,672

The survey included citizens aged 18 years and over, both males and females, who are legally allowed to vote in the Iraqi governorates, according to the estimates of the Electoral Commission and the

Ministry of Planning. The interviews were conducted directly by six researchers working at the Al-Bayan Center, one of whom is fluent in the Kurdish language, three male researchers, and three female researchers, who worked from the call center, and by documenting the responses immediately via an electronic form prepared for this purpose, where the answers were filled out via tablets. The governorates were divided among them (the researchers) according to the systematic classification, three governorates for each researcher, over ten days, for the period from 15 September 2021 to 24 September 2021.

The survey was translated into Kurdish as well as Arabic, and two electronic links were designed for each survey to ensure response in all governorates. The questions included the variables of gender, age distribution, levels of education, and governorate, in addition to five central questions that addressed the survey's main objectives and themes.

The current survey comes to know the aspirations of the members of the Iraqi society of all its categories, nationalities, and governorates, for the purpose of revealing the orientations of the surveyed public regarding the following:

1. Having a voter card and what type of card is it (biometric, non-biometric).
2. Willing to vote again for characters who are currently in power.
3. Participation in elections and voting.
4. What kind of parties, organizations, political figures would the surveyed public prefer to vote for?

Through the current survey, data was given for an analytical study that explains the aspirations, opinions, attitudes, and personal experiences of the Iraqi citizen regarding the electoral process, which was based on the descriptive analytical approach to present the topic through a social survey of a sample of individuals with different orientations, different geographical areas, and different cultures in a way that allows generalization of the results on them.

Dr. Ahmed Qassem Muften, a researcher specializing in sociology, and a lecturer at the University of Baghdad, is the researcher who proposed the current survey project for Al-Bayan Center, he designed and coded the questionnaire, trained the researchers on the questionnaire and its contents, as well as reviewing and auditing data, extracting tables, designing shapes, and commenting on them, to reach conclusions and recommendations.

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

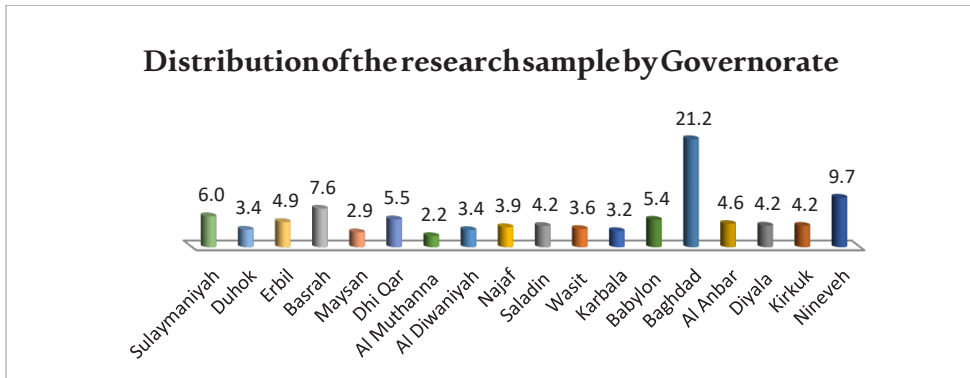
Governate	Population	Population %	Sample	% Sample
Dohuk	1,326,562	3.4	104	3.4
Nineveh	3,828,197	9.8	294	9.7
Sulaymani-yah	2,219,194	5.7	183	9.5
Kirkuk	1,639,953	4.2	127	4.2
Erbil	1,903,608	4.9	149	4.9

Diyala	1,680,328	4.3	128	4.2
Al Anbar	1,818,318	4.6	138	4.6
Baghdad	8,340,711	21.3	641	21.2
Babylon	2,119,403	5.4	163	5.4
Karbala	1,250,806	3.2	96	3.2
Wasit	1,415,034	3.6	108	3.6
Saladin	1,637,232	4.2	126	4.2
Najaf	1,510,338	3.9	119	9.3
Al Qadisiyah	1,325,031	3.4	102	3.4
Al Muthanna	835,797	2.2	66	2.2
Dhi Qar	2,150,338	5.5	165	5.5
Maysan	1,141,966	2.9	88	2.9
Basra	2,985,073	7.6	229	7.6
Total	39,127,889	100	3026	100

The Demographic Questions

Governorates

The results of the survey showed a noticeable discrepancy in the surveyed individual's answers for 18 governorates in Iraq to answer a question: in which governorate do you live? Most of the answers appeared the same or close to the fact that they represented the total population size in the governorates, and the answers came varied, very slightly with each other, and the details of the results were distributed as shown in the table and figure below.

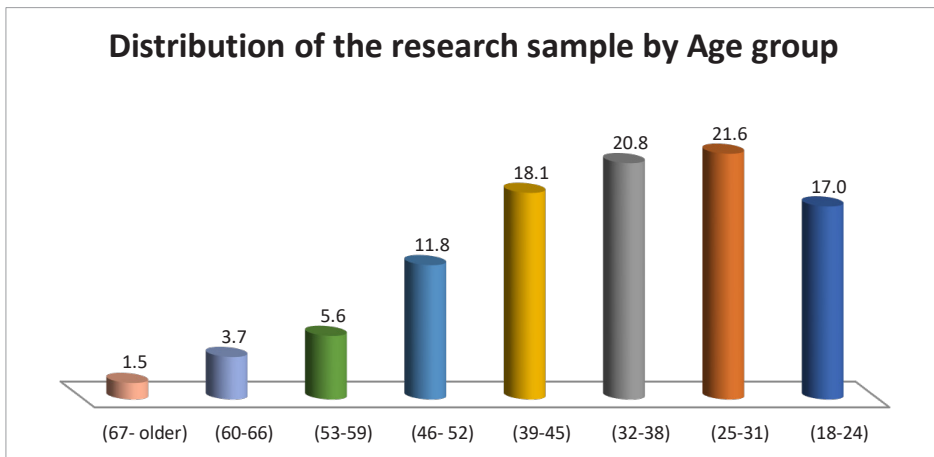


The Age

It is noted that the cumulative ascending frequency of the ages of the surveyed individuals whose ages are between 18–38 years reached about 1.794 persons, with an aggregated percentage close to 59.3% of the total sample units, which means that more than half and almost two-thirds of the number of surveyed people belong to the category of young people who have not yet reached the stage of old age. This category represents the preferred ages for the labor market, marriage, and can engage themselves in life in its various activities and events, and

the most important among these is their role in bringing about change and influencing society, whether through political participation or through criticism and opposition and influencing public opinion. This will be monitored through the responses of the surveyed people, and throughout the paragraphs of the current survey.

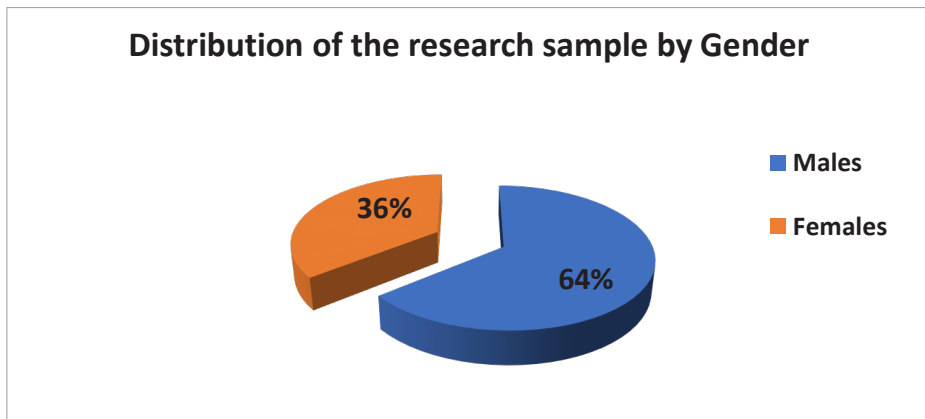
It is also noted that the cumulative ascending frequency of the ages of the surveyed whose ages between 39–66 years and above reached about 1.232 persons, with an aggregate percentage representing 40.7% of the total sample units, meaning that the surveyed people who are counted in the middle-aged or they are old were represented in the sample, with a percentage of nearly half of the sample.



It is clear that the distribution of the surveyed individuals' age groups expresses the reality of their representation in society, which makes the results accredited and generalized.

The Gender

The current table and figure show the gender distribution of the studied sample units, as the number of males reached 1.943, at a rate of approximately 64% of the total sample units, while the number of females reached about 1.083, and at a rate of approximately 36% of the total units of the sample.

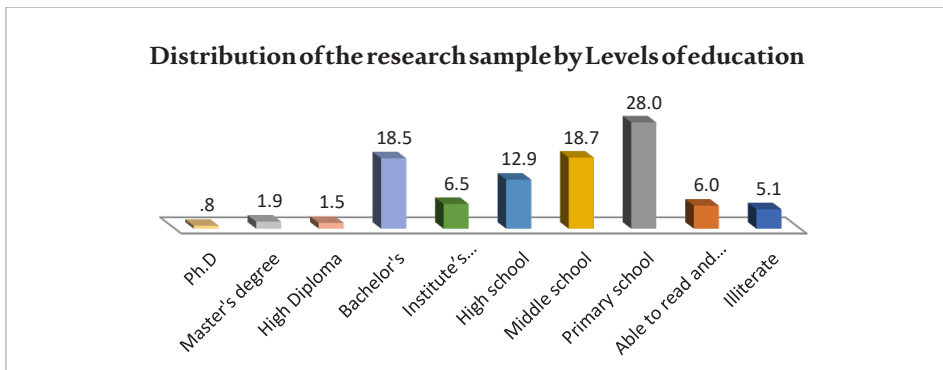


When comparing the rate of males to the rate of females, it becomes clear that the rate of males is significantly higher than the rate of females, which is close to two-thirds to one-third, as the sample choices were made according to random numbers that were reached according to the response of subscribers to the national telephone book and those interacting with communications in all governorates of Iraq, so the representation of females in the sample appeared in this way. Also, the social reservation of filling out a survey form received with a contact from a person who is not sufficiently known to them – a stranger or a foreigner – pushes some women to hesitate to complete the answers. This represented one of the most important factors in the occurrence of this percentage, in addition to the randomness of the sample and there is no requirement for its balance. With all these

factors that hinder achieving balanced interviews between males and females, we completed the interviews with 1.083 females, which is a very acceptable number to know the women's opinions and express their orientations within the study sample.

The Educational Level

We note from the data in the table and figure above that the cumulative percentage of those holding a primary school certificate or lower has reached about 1.185 persons, and at a rate of 39.1% of the total sample units. The cumulative percentage of the middle school and high school certificate holders combined reached about 958 persons, and at the rate of 31.6% of the total surveyed individuals, and the cumulative percentage of the holders of the Institute's certificate and the bachelor's degree combined reached about 758, and at the rate of 25.1% of the total surveyed people. Then the holders of higher degrees, a high diploma or higher came, with 125 persons, and a cumulative rate of 4.2% of the total persons, which indicates that more than half of the sample units have a good to exceptionally good educational level.



The current survey targeted individuals whose names are mentioned in the national phone book of companies (Asiacell, Korek, Zain), so

some people are appeared among the sample units (illiterates, those who can read and write, and those with a primary certificate), as such people are often unable to interact with electronic surveys, which explains their presence in the current survey is noticeable.

The distribution of sample units across the various levels of education referred to in the table above has varied in proportions from a low level to an increased level of education (Institute's certificate and the bachelor's degree) as the peak. Then it goes lower with educational level (higher diploma, Master's degree, and Ph.D.). In doing so, it paints a bell shape or a diagram indicating that the distribution of the sample is close to the studied society, which is indicative of the representation of the sample or its proximity to the reality of the studied society.

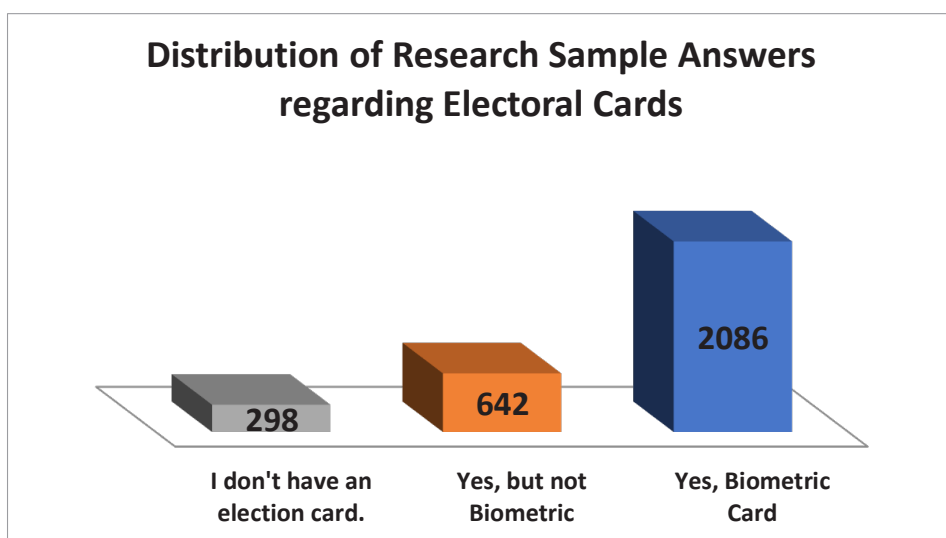
Q1/ Do you have a voter card?

More than two-thirds of the study units confirmed that they had biometric cards and patches (69%). while 21% indicated that they had voter cards but that they were old. Only about 10% of the total study units responded (I don't have a voter card).

The results of the current poll vary very slightly with data released by the Independent Electoral Commission on the proportion of biometric card holders eligible to vote in the election, indicating earlier that they had exceeded the (70%). This indicates that the results of the current survey correspond to reality and confirms the weighting of reliance on its results.

Concerning the responses of the surveyed individuals who have received biometric cards, and according to each department alone, they are as follows: Karbala in the lead with 89.6%, followed by

Sulaymaniyah (85.8%), and Basra. (85.2%), followed by Erbil (80.5%), Saladin (80.2%), Anbar (78.3%) and Nineveh (77.9%), then Muthanna (77.3%), Diyala (76.6%), Kirkuk (76.3%), then Dhi Qar (66.1%), Duhok 64.4%, Diwaniyah (61.8%), Babylon (57.1%), Baghdad (56.3%), Najaf (52.9%) and Maysan (50%), finally Wasit resolved with the lowest percentage of biometric cardholders and only 41.7% of the total. (For more information, please check the attached excel sheets).

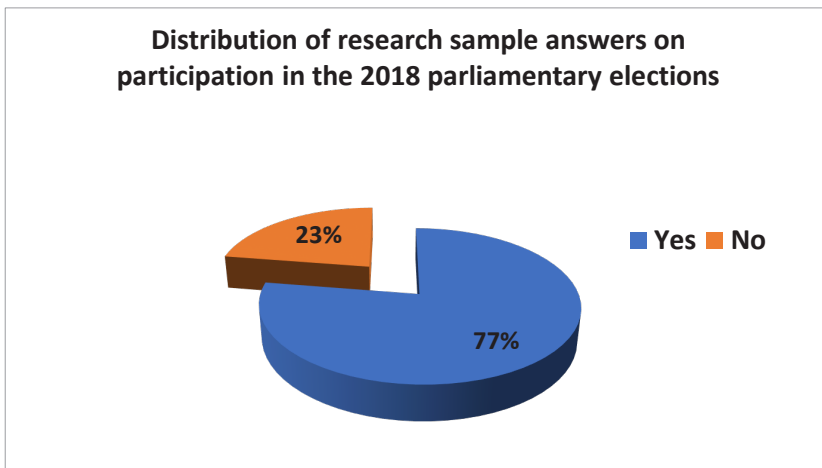


The results of the survey also show the trends of young people in the current question, where young people in the cumulative age group 18–38 years (1,794) males and females, (1,205) confirmed that they had biometric cards and 57.8%. This suggests a potential for broad youth participation in the upcoming elections.

The results of the survey also show women's attitudes to the current question, where about 675 out of 1,083 surveyed females confirmed that they had biometric cards 62.3%

Q2/ Did you vote in 2018's parliamentary elections?

The question above represents the percentage of the surveyed public who participated in the parliamentary elections 2018, this question is related to the next one, and it concludes the possibility of re-electing the same candidate or political party again in this year's elections. The answers were surprisingly shocking to some extent, 77% of the surveyed public voted in 2018. However, 23% didn't. This means three-quarters of them participated in the previous parliamentary elections, despite the decline in the total involvement to 44.85% by those who were eligible to vote at the time.



And given the information above, we can sort the voters of 2018's parliamentary elections (just the individuals who are included in this survey) by the governorates they lived in, according to the participation from most to least: Sulaymaniyah took the lead (91.5%), followed by Kirkuk (88.3%), then Dhi Qar (87.5%), followed by Duhok (87.4%), Karbala (85.2%), followed by Wasit and Basra (81.6%) for each Governorate, followed by Erbil. (81.5%), Diyala (79.7%), Diwaniyah (78.9%), Najaf (78.6%), Babylon (77.9%), Saladin

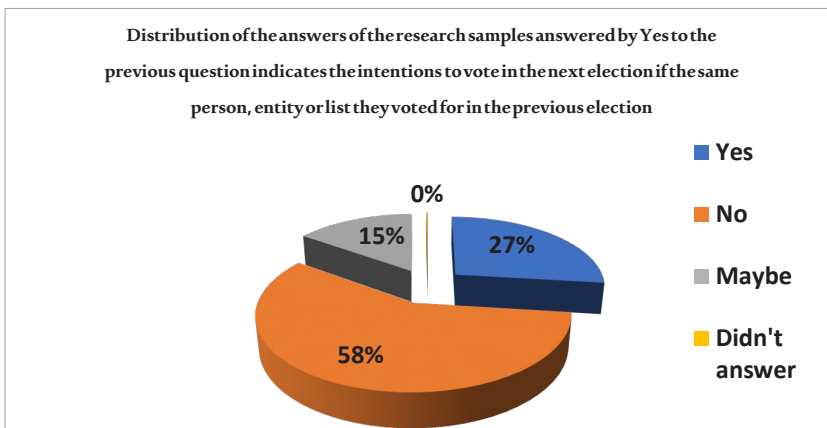
(77.8%), Al-Anbar (72.5%), Al-Muthanna (72.3%), Maysan (70.1%) and Baghdad (69.1%), and with the lowest percentage was Nineveh with only 65.6% of the total surveyed public. (For more information, please check the attached excel sheets).

The results of the survey also show the trends of young people regarding the current question, where young people in the cumulative age group 18–38, 1,104 confirmed that they (participated in the 2018 elections) 52.2%, more than half the sample in the category.

However, the total number of females participants in this survey was 956, but only 723 did vote in the 2018 elections, at a rate of 76% of the sample in the category.

Q3/ If your answered (yes) to the previous question and you decided to vote in the next election, would you vote for the same person, entity, or list that you voted for in the previous election?

The current question is a sectorial question that subsumed from the previous question, so it reflects the distribution of answers from the 2,114 who responded (yes), we had participated in the previous election.



Over half of them stated that they're not voting for the same candidate/political party again this year, 58% to be specific, on the other hand, 27% didn't change their opinions, 15% were undecided, only 0.01% refused to answer.

It is clear from the above data that the cumulative proportion of those who responded with (Yes, Maybe, didn't answer) combined amounted to about 42% of the total concerned, which means 6 out of 10 surveyed individuals decided not to vote for the same person, party or list they voted for in the previous election.

Based on what we've discovered, we can distribute the majority (won't be electing the same candidate/political party) by the governorates they lived in, most to least: Basra in the lead (91.7%), followed by Diyala (81.9%), Diwaniyah (81.7%), followed by Babylon (77%), Muthanna (72.3%), followed by Karbala (72%), Dhi Qar (69.9%), Maysan (64.8%), Wasit (63.8%), Al Anbar (62.1%), Saladin (60.4%), Najaf (60.2%), Baghdad (57.7%), Nineveh (51.8%), Kirkuk (35.7%), Erbil (21.8%), followed by Sulaymaniyah (21%), and finally Duhok with only 15.8% of the total surveyed public. (For more information, please check the attached excel sheets).

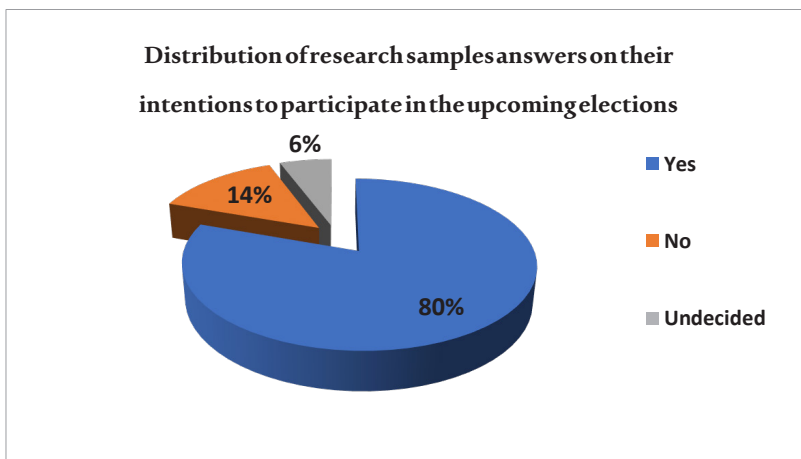
The results of the survey also show the trends of young people to the current question, where young people in the cumulative age group (18–38) confirmed that they (will not) vote for the same person or party they voted for in the previous election and 50.8% of the sample in the category. This marks the frustration of just over half of the young people in the category and their lack of confidence in the ability of the current political class to achieve their aspirations.

While the results of the survey also show women's trends to the current question, with 388 out of 723 surveyed females stating that

they (will not) vote for the same person or party they voted for in the previous election at a ratio of 52.1%, which marks the frustration of just over half of the women in the category, and their lack of confidence in the ability of the current political class to achieve their aspirations.

Q4/ Are you willing to vote in the next parliamentary elections?

Almost three-quarters (equal to 80%) of the surveyed public are willing to vote during October's elections, 14% are not willing to vote, boycotting, 6% are still undecided.



Compared to the similar survey we made before 2018's elections: 61.3% (confirmed on voting), 21.8% (were boycotting), 16.9% (undecided). Outcoming with a marginal difference by 19% in favor of the majority who are willing to vote. Reasons for this slight increase might be due to a combination of (finalization of updating personal information and the growth in numbers of the biometric cardholders, the unambiguous and repeated declaration of Sadrism Movement of

their desires to assume the Prime Minister position next elections, this statement encouraged their followers as well as their opposers to vote, government's proclamation of land allocation for citizens, employees and the poor, the rise of a new generation of young political candidates who were never been a part of previous governments, as the past experiences with elections tells us participation does not necessarily mean voting, it could also mean participate to not vote and invalidate their vote by giving a blank paper to reduce fraud and manipulation). Thus, the results of the current survey cause optimism to the growing numbers of possible voters in the next elections.

When comparing the trends of those who did not vote in the 2018 elections in the current sample units (614) surveyed individuals, knowing their intentions to participate in the upcoming elections (In particular), it turns out that their intentions have changed, pointing towards 369 of them are in the category, 60% of them that they will be participating in the next election, while 188 confirmed that they're not voting (30.6%), and 57 answered that they had not yet decided.

Regarding those who have chosen (to vote) in the next elections, according to the governorates they live in, Sulaymaniyah in the lead (97.7%), followed by Dohuk (95.4%), Basra (91.3%), Saladin (90.6%), Anbar (89.3%), Diyala (87.3%) and Karbala (84.1%), Erbil (83.6%), Kirkuk (82%), Muthanna (81.5%), and Wasit (77.6%), Nineveh (76.7%), Baghdad (73.8%), Dhi Qar (72.4%), Babylon (71.7%), Diwaniyah (68.9%), and Maysan (68.8%), Najaf (66.1%) of the total. (For more information, please check the attached excel sheets).

The results of the survey also show the trends of young people regarding the current question, with young people in the cumulative age group (18–38) deciding to vote in the next elections, and by about

56.7%. This marks the likely prospect of good youth participation in the upcoming elections.

The results of the survey also show the trends of women to the current question, where 754 out of 956 surveyed females confirmed their participation in the next elections (79%).

Q5/ If you decided to participate in the upcoming elections, to which candidate/political party will you vote?

The data above shows an unintentional sequence towards the surveyed individuals' tendencies to elect a certain candidate/political party in the upcoming elections, the responses of the surveyed individuals varied from being sufficiently informed of the (candidate/political party) who they decided to vote for, and the knowledge of the constituency, some responses were based on general personal satisfaction through their political or administrative professional performance, regardless of whether they were nominated or not. Others were limited to identifying the group, entity, or coalition in general without identifying a particular person, data from the table show about 1.764 surveyed individuals, by a cumulative 75% from the total surveyed individuals and their answers were distributed as follows: (14.8%) confirmed that they would vote for Saairun led by "Muqtada al-Sadr", those who indicated that they would vote for the State of Law Coalition led by "Nouri al-Maliki" at 11.8%, (9%) of the total surveyed public indicated that they would vote for Takadum party led by "Mohamed al-Halbousi".

The fourth, people who decided to make the reservation, didn't mention a candidate/political party to whom they intended to vote (no answer) and by 8.1%, followed by supporters of the Kurdistan Democratic Party led by "Masoud Barzani" 7.5% of the total surveyed

public.

In the sixth-place people who decided to vote for (an independent candidate) and with a percentage of (5.1%), the same rank of supporters came to vote for the Alliance of State Powers (Victory Alliance led by “Haider al-Abadi” and The National Wisdom Movement led by “Ammar al-Hakim”) and for the same percentage (5.1%) of the total sample. They were followed by those who decided to vote for the Fatah Alliance led by “Hadi al-Amiri” by 4.6%.

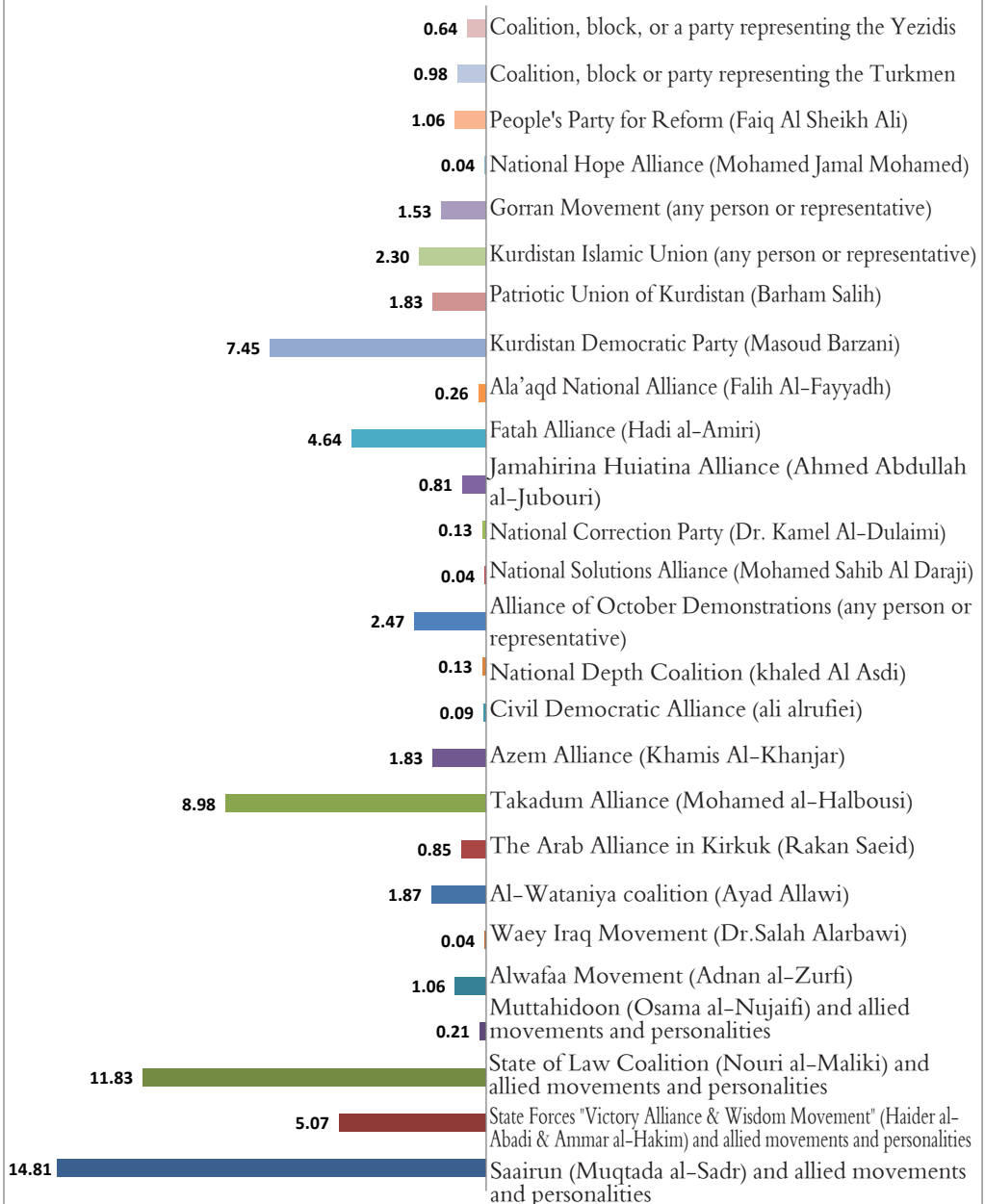
The eighth-place people who decided to vote for a Shia List or Alliance came in general without identifying the candidate or list and by 4.3% of the total surveyed public. followed by people voting for (a person, entity, or coalition representing the October demonstrations) in general, without identifying the candidate or list and with 2.5% of the total surveyed public. Tenth-place came who decided to vote for the Kurdistan Islamic Union were with 2.3% of the total surveyed public.

Order	If you decide to vote in the next election, to which person or party would you give your vote? (A)	Answers	%
1	Saairun (Muqtada al-Sadr) and allied movements and personalities	348	14.81
2	State Forces "Victory Alliance & Wisdom Movement" (Haider al-Abadi & Ammar al-Hakim) and allied movements and personalities	119	5.07
3	State of Law Coalition (Nouri al-Maliki) and allied movements and personalities	278	11.83

4	Muttahidoon (Osama al-Nujaifi) and allied movements and personalities	5	0.21
5	Alwafaa Movement (Adnan al-Zurfi)	25	1.06
6	Waey Iraq Movement (Dr.Salah Alarbawi)	1	0.04
7	Al-Wataniya coalition (Ayad Allawi)	44	1.87
8	The Arab Alliance in Kirkuk (Rakan Saeid)	20	0.85
9	Takadum Alliance (Mohamed al-Halbousi)	211	8.98
10	Azem Alliance (Khamis Al-Khanjar)	43	1.83
11	Civil Democratic Alliance (ali alrufiei)	2	0.09
12	National Depth Coalition (khaled Al Asdi)	3	0.13
13	Alliance of October Demonstrations (any person or representative)	58	2.47
14	National Solutions Alliance (Mohamed Sahib Al Daraji)	1	0.04
15	National Correction Party (Dr. Kamel Al-Dulaimi)	3	0.13
16	Jamahirina Huiatina Alliance (Ahmed Abdullah al-Jubouri)	19	0.81
17	Fatah Alliance (Hadi al-Amiri)	109	4.64

18	Ala'aqd National Alliance (Falih Al-Fayyadh)	6	0.26
19	Kurdistan Democratic Party (Masoud Barzani)	175	7.45
20	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (Barham Salih)	43	1.83
21	Kurdistan Islamic Union (any person or representative)	54	2.30
22	Gorran Movement (any person or representative)	36	1.53
23	National Hope Alliance (Mohamed Jamal Mohamed)	1	0.04
24	People's Party for Reform (Faiq Al Sheikh Ali)	25	1.06
25	Coalition, block or party representing the Turkmen	23	0.98
26	Coalition, block, or a party representing the Yezidis	15	0.64

If you decide to vote in the next election, to which person or party would you give your vote? (A)



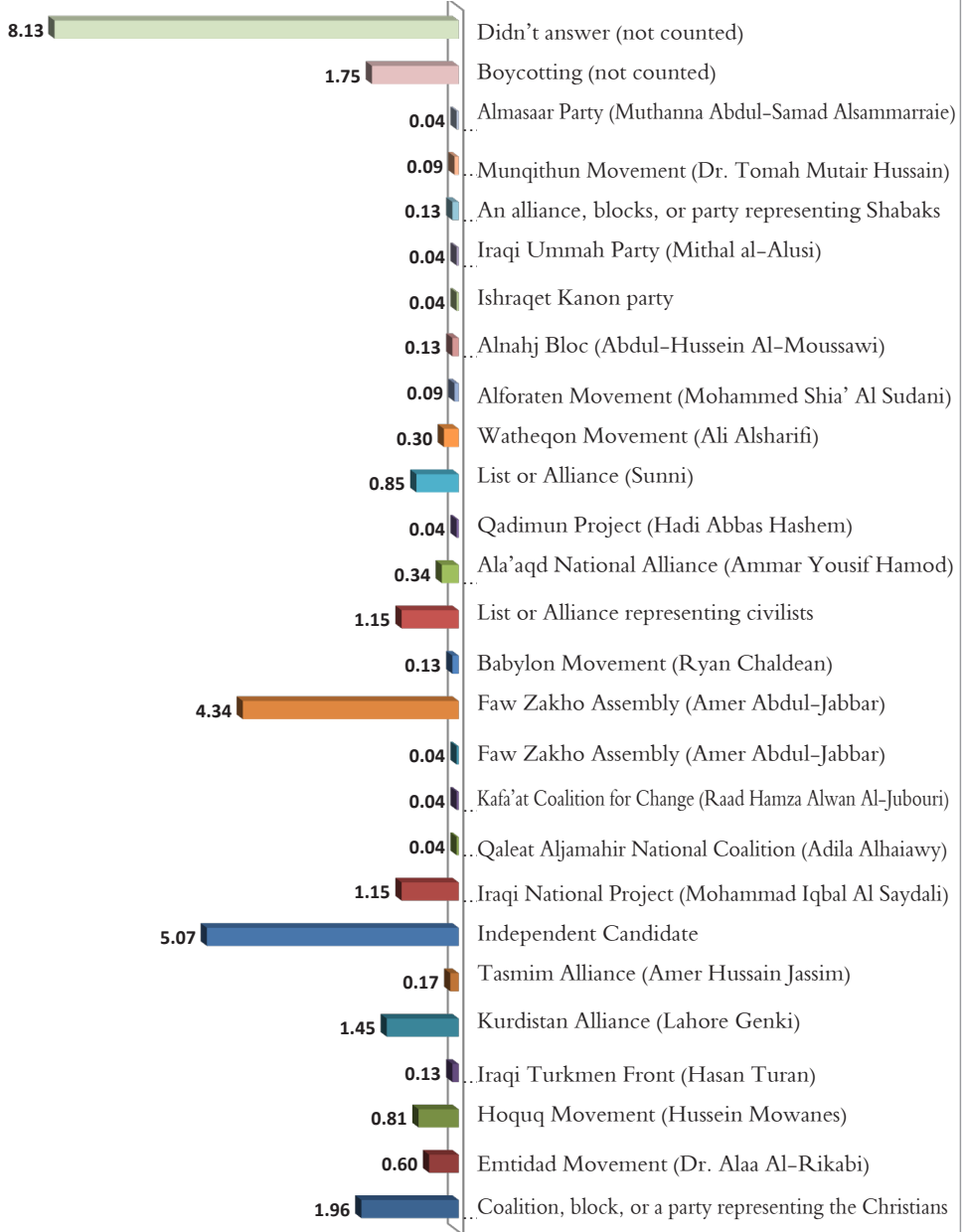
Order	If you decide to vote in the next election, to which person or party would you give your vote? (B)	Answers	%
27	Coalition, block, or a party representing the Christians	46	1.96
28	Emtidad Movement (Dr. Alaa Al-Rikabi)	14	0.60
29	Hoquq Movement (Hussein Mowanes)	19	0.81
30	Iraqi Turkmen Front (Hasan Turan)	3	0.13
31	Kurdistan Alliance (Lahore Genki)	34	1.45
32	Tasmim Alliance (Amer Hussain Jassim)	4	0.17
33	Independent Candidate	119	5.07
34	Iraqi National Project (Mohammad Iqbal Al Saydali)	27	1.15
35	Qaleat Aljamahir National Coalition (Adila Alhaiawy)	1	0.04
36	Kafa'at Coalition for Change (Raad Hamza Alwan Al-Jubouri)	1	0.04
37	Faw Zakho Assembly (Amer Abdul-Jabbar)	1	0.04
38	List or Alliance (Shia)	102	4.34
39	Babylon Movement (Ryan Chaldean)	3	0.13
40	List or Alliance representing civilists	27	1.15
41	Ala'aqd National Alliance (Ammar Yousif Hamod)	8	0.34

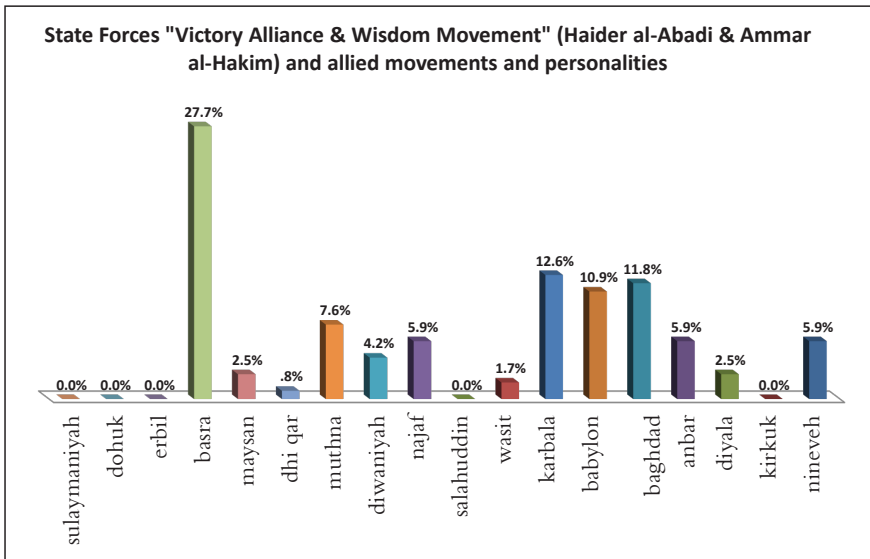
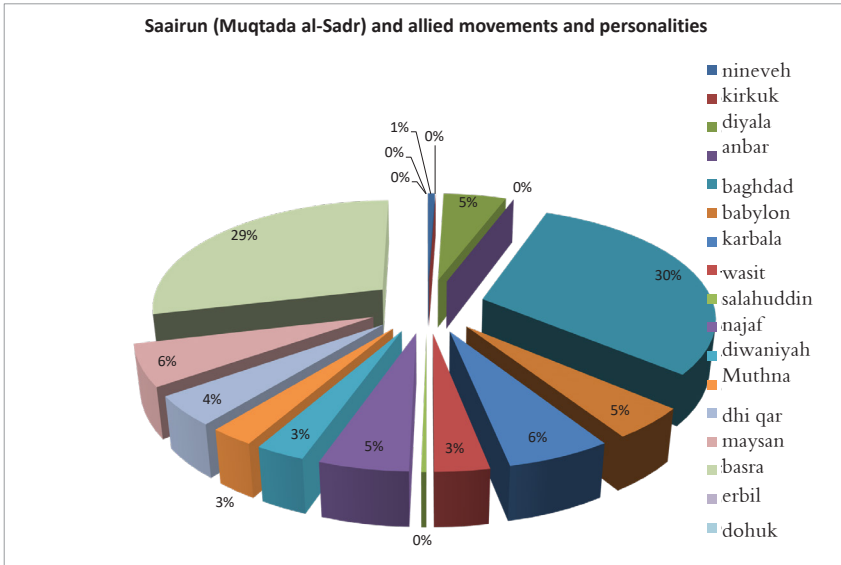
42	Qadimun Project (Hadi Abbas Hashem)	1	0.04
43	List or Alliance (Sunni)	20	0.85
44	Watheqon Movement (Ali Alsharifi)	7	0.30
45	Alforaten Movement (Mohammed Shia' Al Sudani)	2	0.09
46	Alnahj Bloc (Abdul-Hussein Al-Moussawi)	3	0.13
47	Ishraqet Kanon party	1	0.04
48	Iraqi Ummah Party (Mithal al-Alusi)	1	0.04
49	An alliance, blocks, or party representing Shabaks	3	0.13
50	Munqithun Movement (Dr. Tomah Mutair Hussain)	2	0.09
51	Almasaar Party (Muthanna Abdul-Samad Alsammarraie)	1	0.04
52	Boycotting (not counted)	41	1.75
53	Didn't answer (not counted)	191	8.13

The answers of the remaining 585 surveyed individuals with a cumulative 25% of the surveyed public were distributed between the remaining movements, alliances, and characters detailed in the table above, ranging from 0.4% to 2% per person.

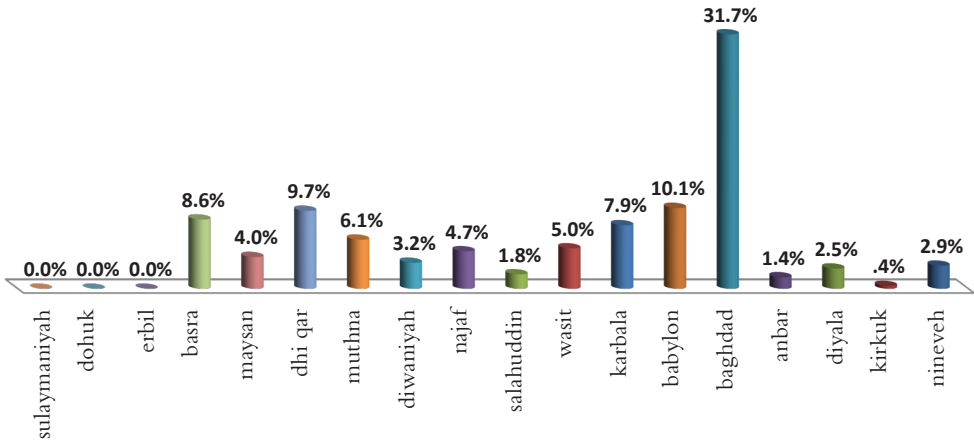
In terms of the geography of the proliferation of supporters of each coalition, list, or person (candidate) by governorate, the following schemes illustrate the reality of support and the desire to vote for each entity or party individually.

If you decide to vote in the next election, to which person or party would you give your vote? (B)

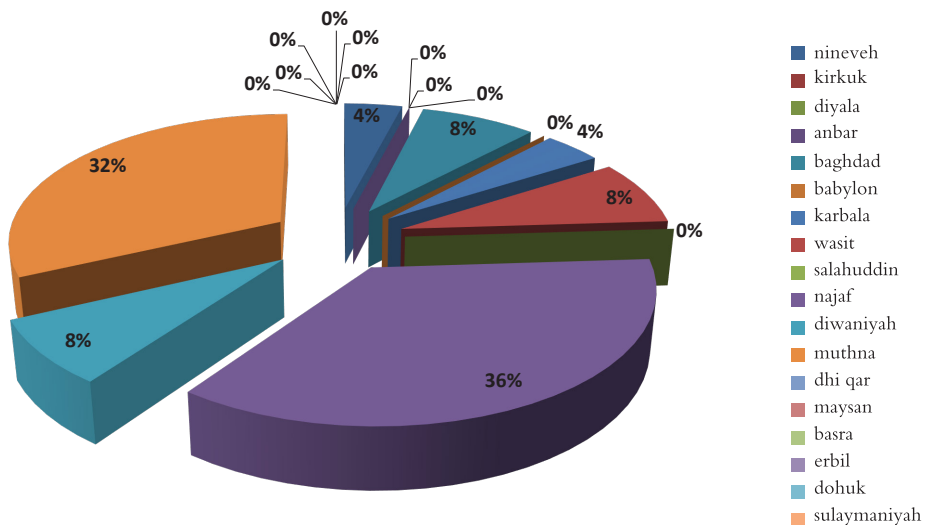


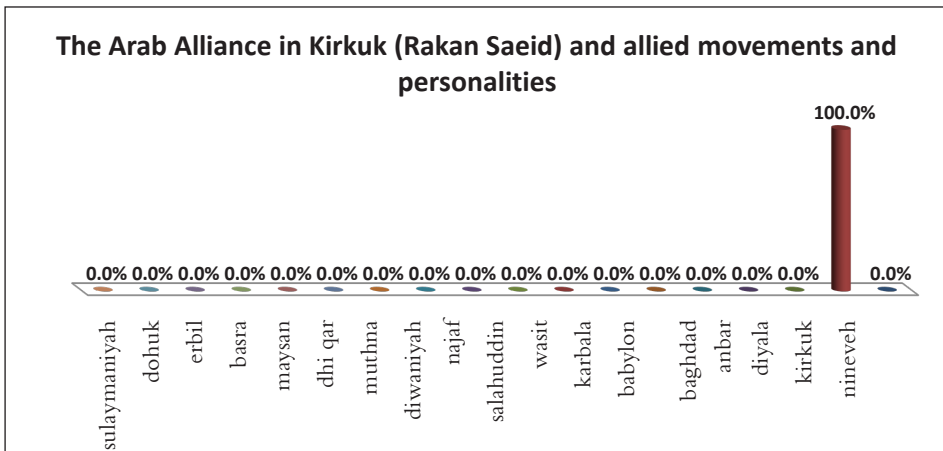
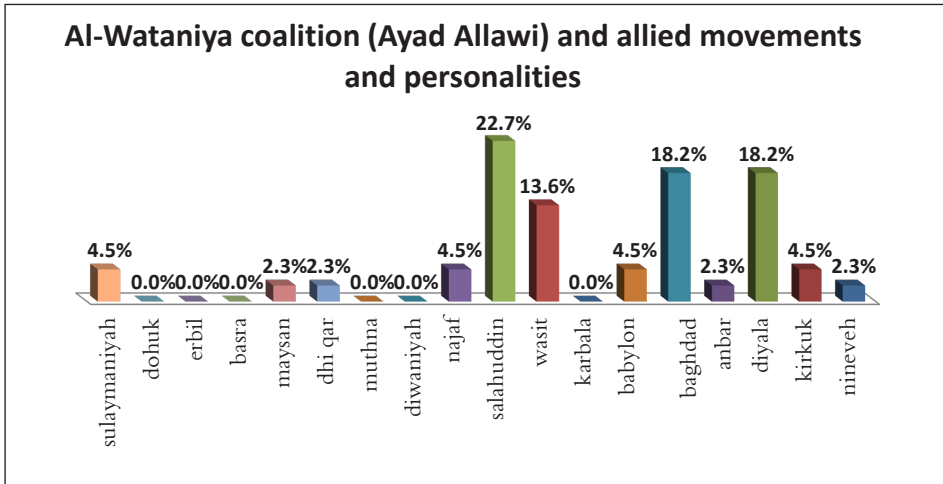


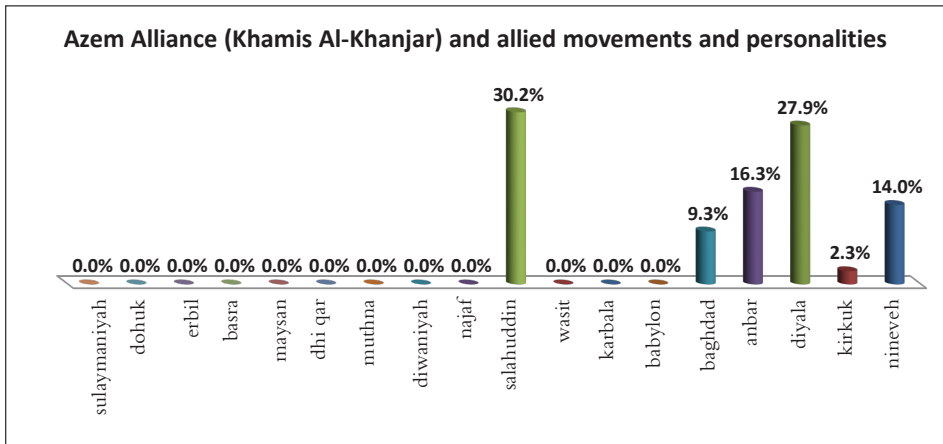
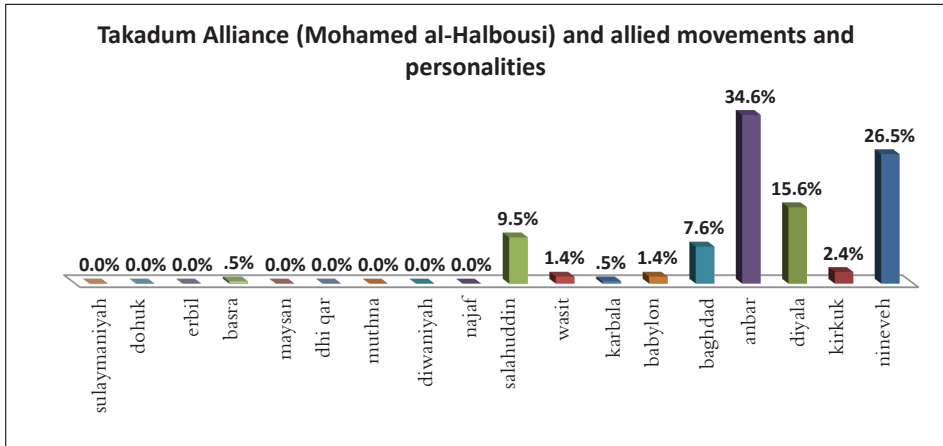
State of Law Coalition (Nouri al-Maliki) and allied movements and personalities

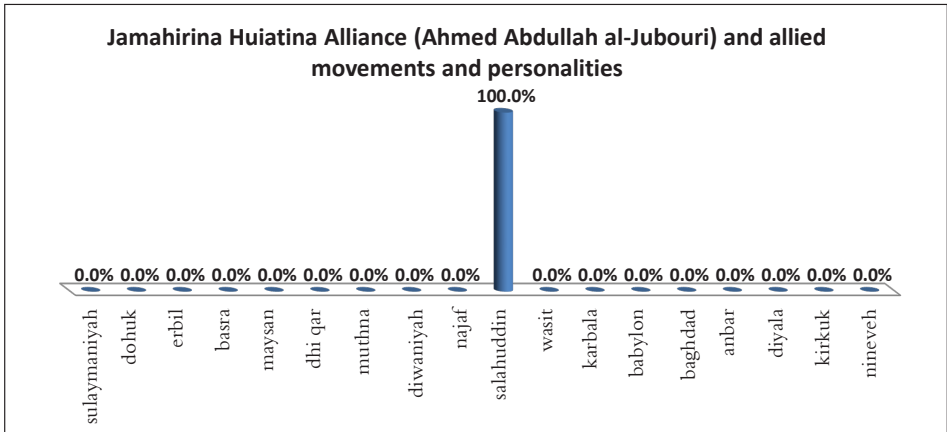
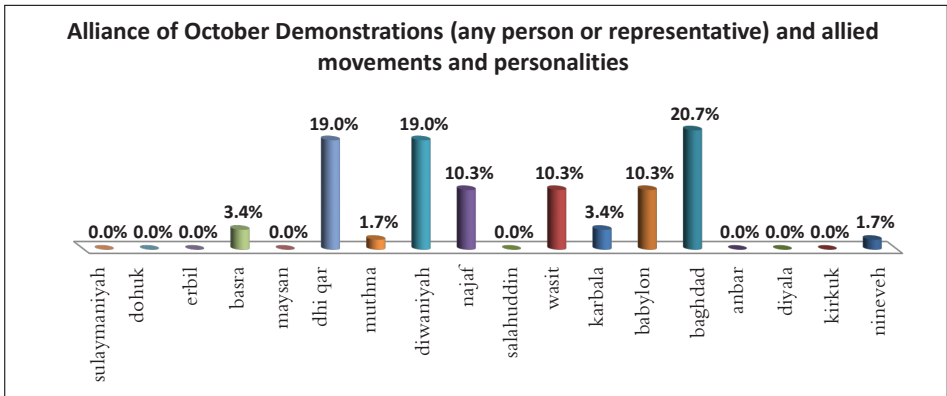


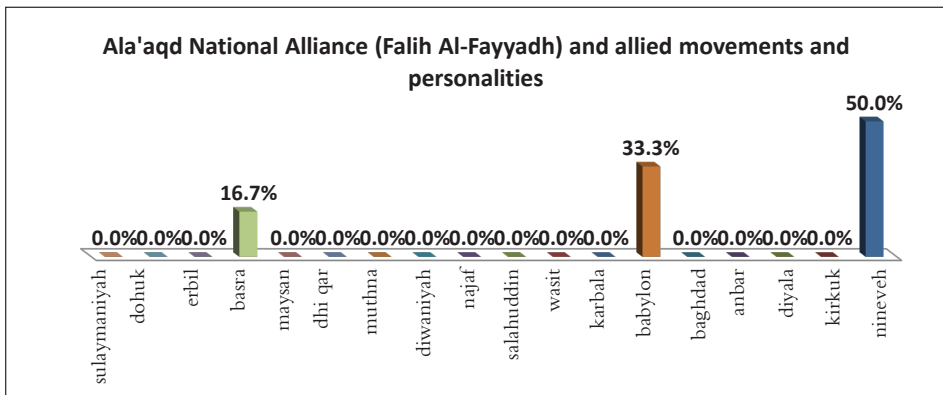
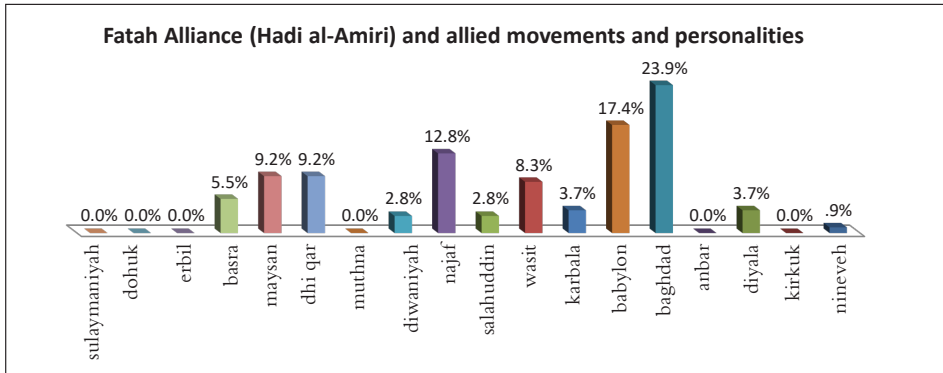
Alwafaa Movement (Adnan al-Zurfi) and allied movements and personalities

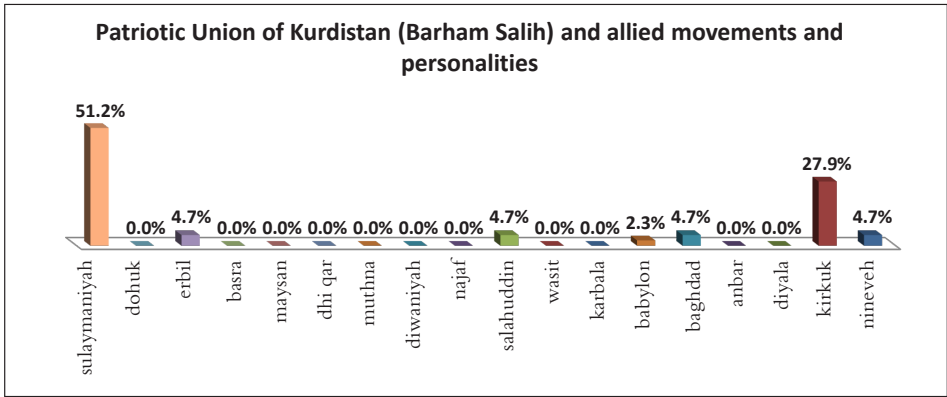
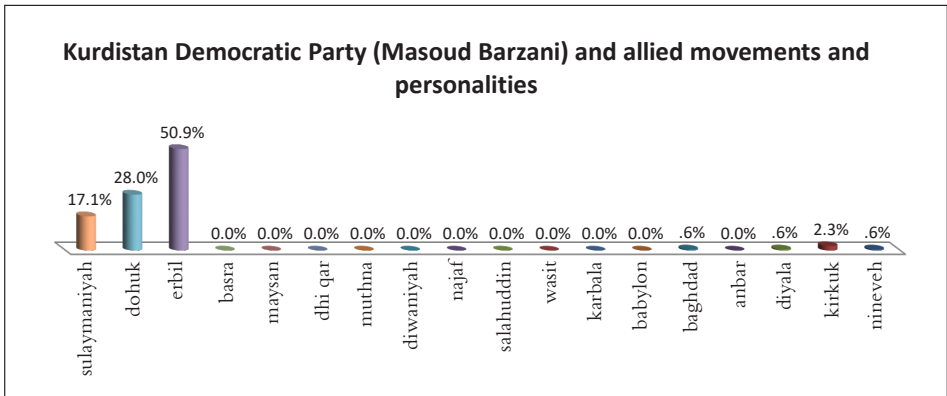


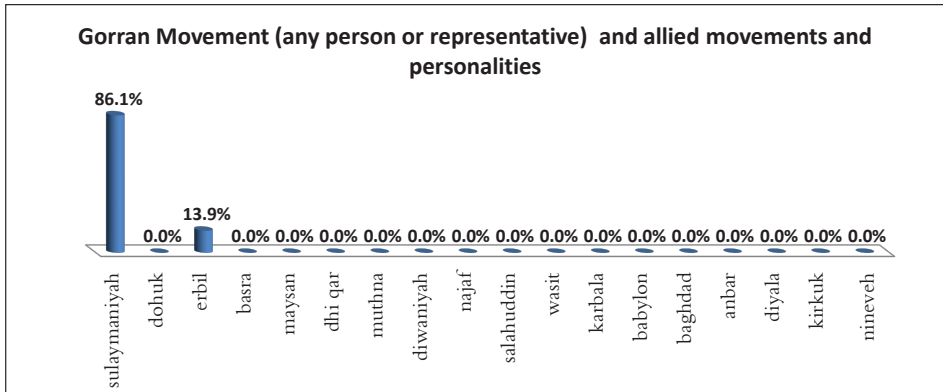
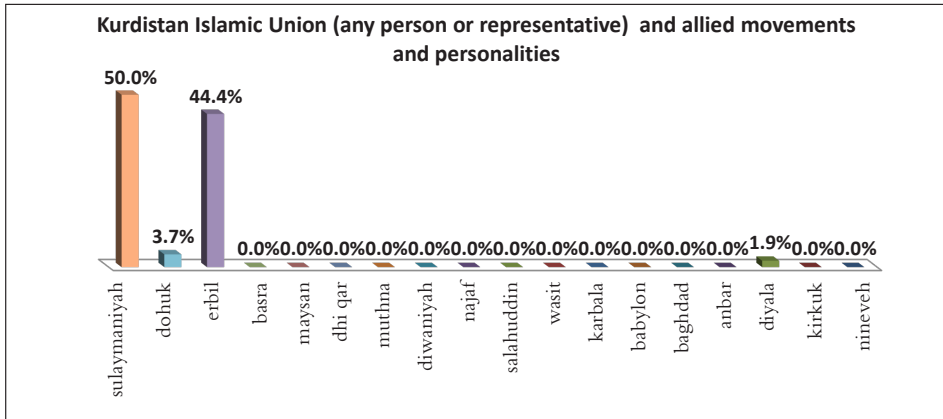


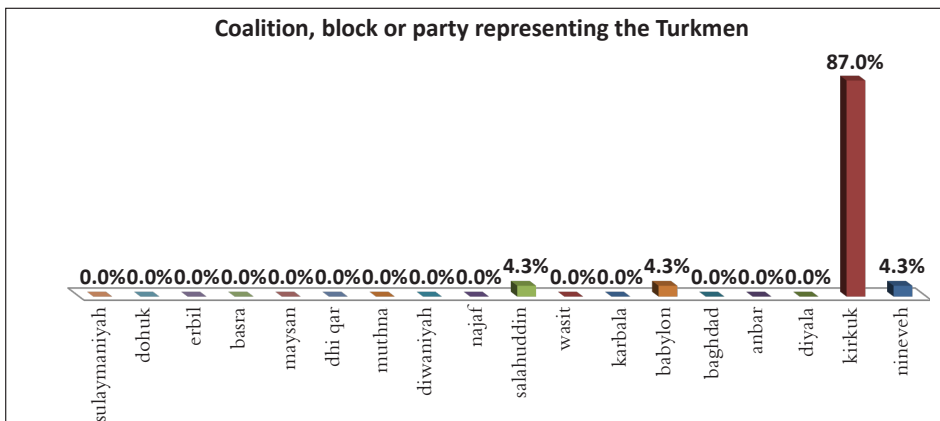
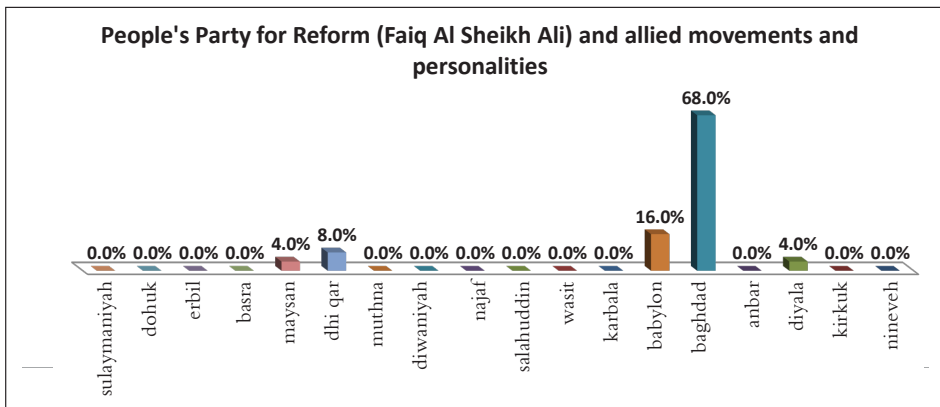


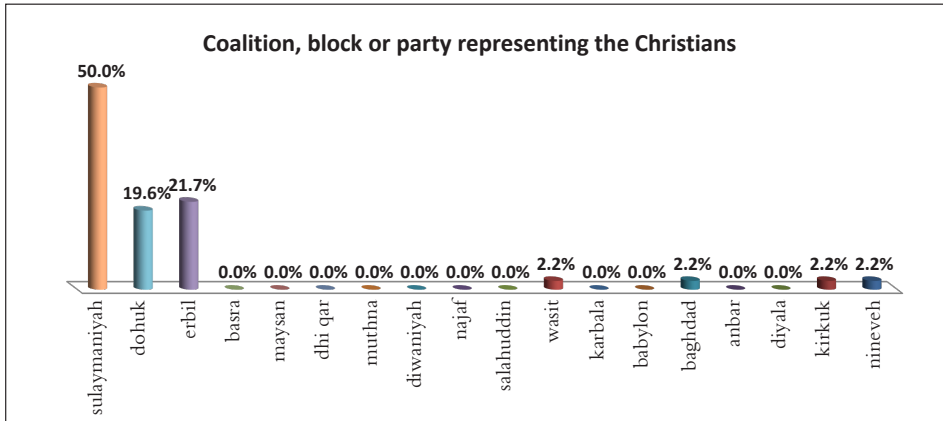
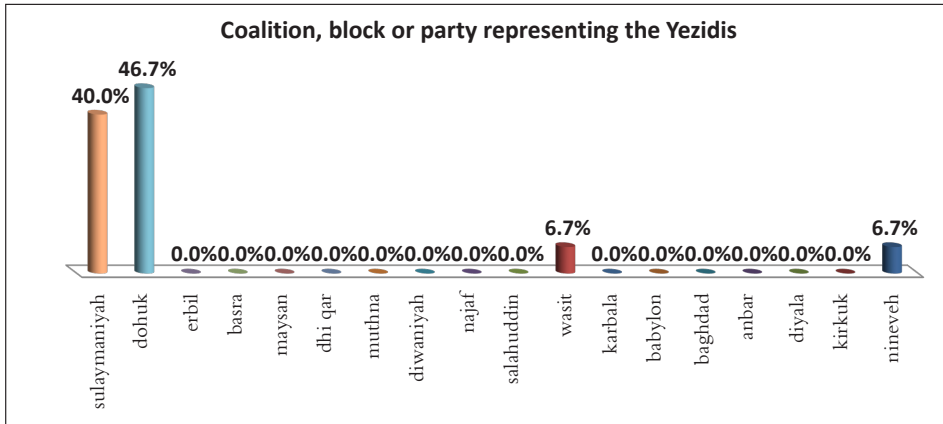


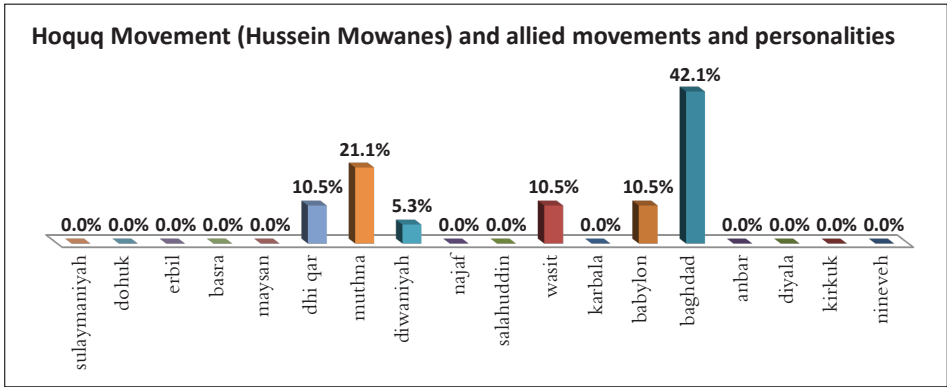
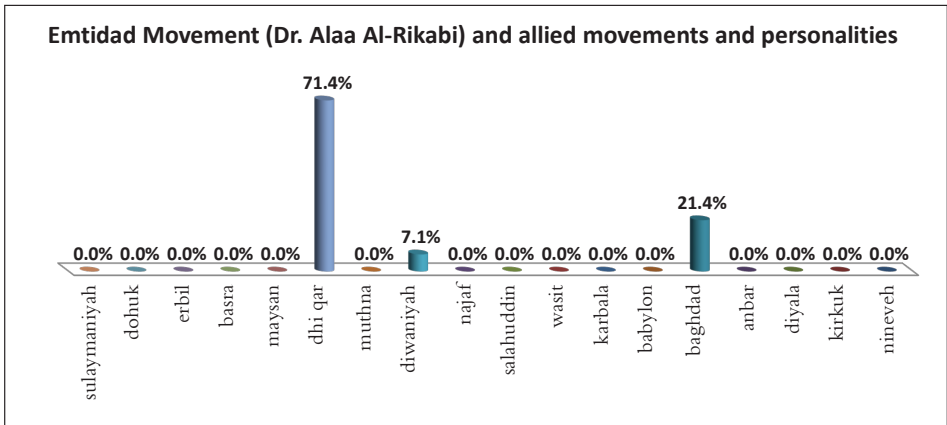


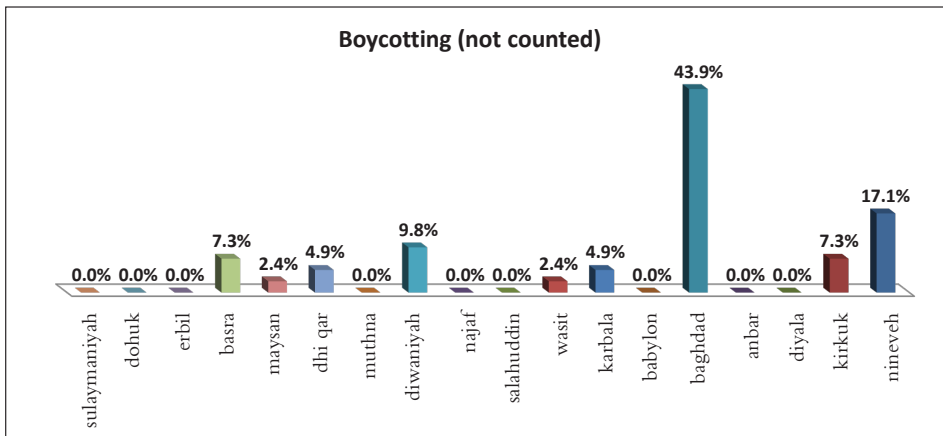
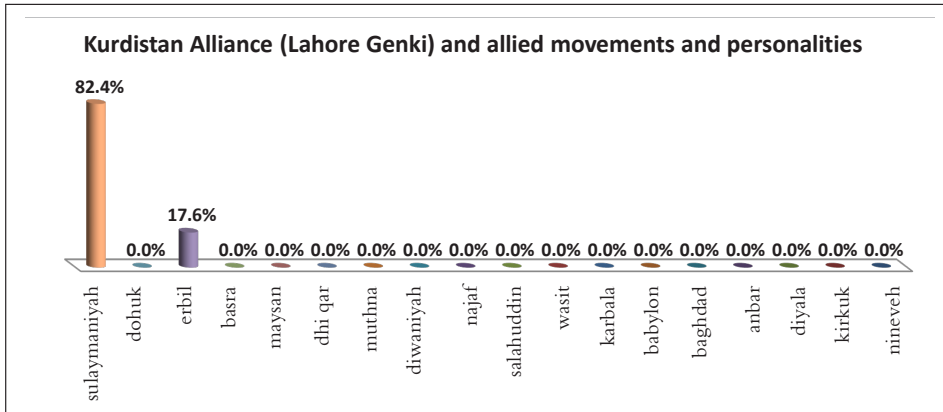


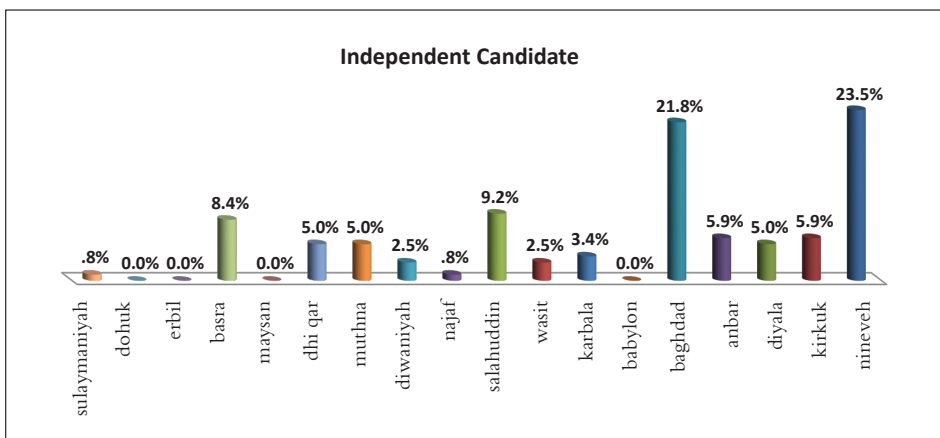
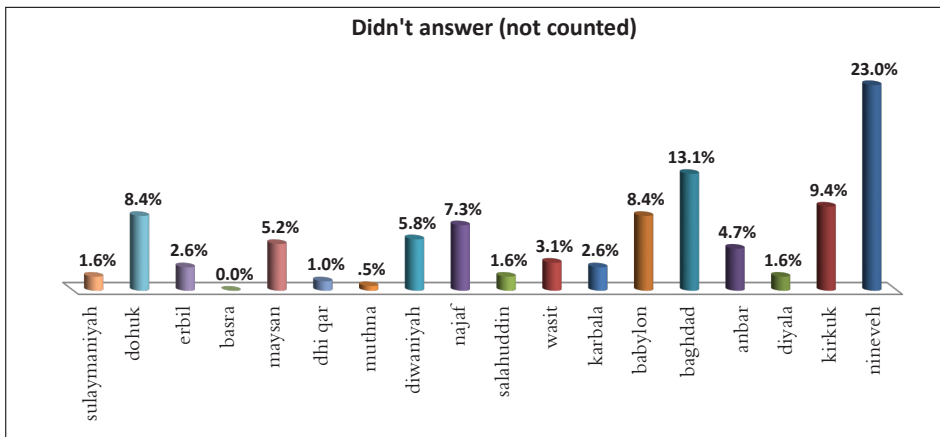




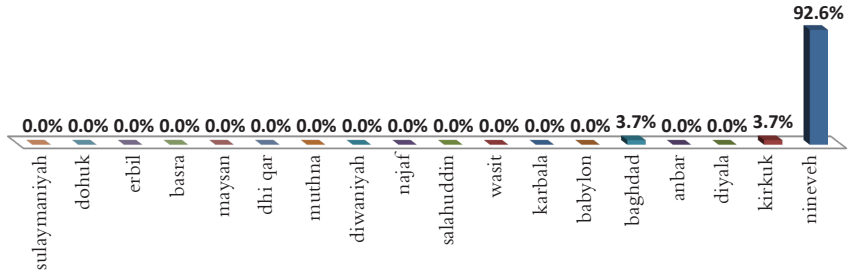








Iraqi National Project (Mohammad Iqbal Al Saydali) and allied movements and personalities



List or Alliance (Shia)

