Chapter 19. "Political Cleavages and Social Inequalities in Algeria, Iraq, and Turkey, 1990-2019"

Lydia ASSOUAD, Amory GETHIN, Thomas PIKETTY, Juliet-Nil URAZ

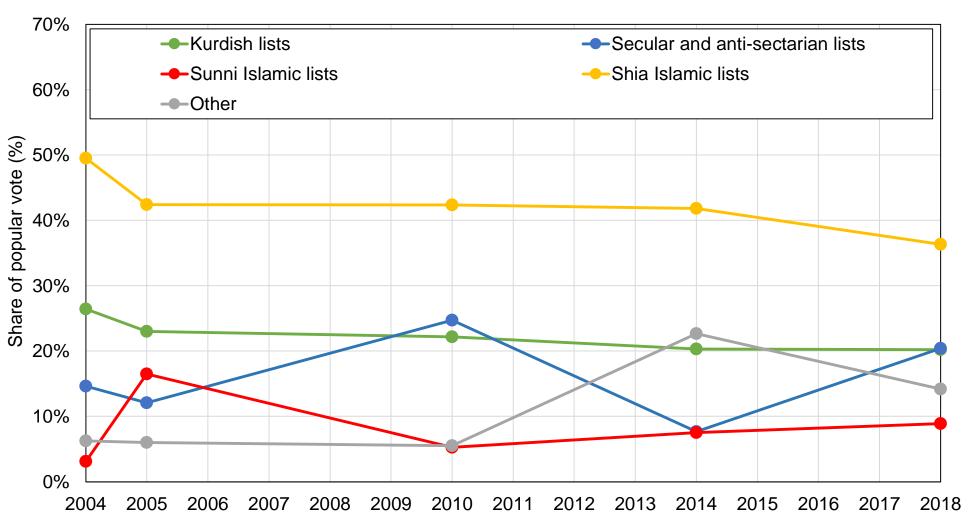
Appendix B - Iraq

Appendix B - Iraq		
Main figures		
Figure B1	Legislative election results in Iraq, 2005-2018	
Figure B2	Geographical distribution of main ethno-religious groups in Iraq	
Figure B3	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by region	
Figure B4	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among low-income voters	
Figure B5	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by education group	
Figure B6	Trust deficit towards the government by region	
Appendix Figures - Structure of the Iraqi population		
Figure BA1	Composition of the electorate by education level	
Figure BA2	Composition of the electorate by age	
Figure BA3	Composition of the electorate by region	
Figure BA4	Composition of the electorate by linguistic group	
Figure BA5	Composition of the electorate by political activism	
Figure BA6	Composition of income quintiles by language, 2004	
Figure BA7	Composition of income quintiles by language, 2014	
Figure BA8	Composition of income quintiles by region, 2004	
Figure BA9	Composition of income quintiles by region, 2018	
Figure BA10	Composition of education groups by region, 2004	
Figure BA11	Composition of education groups by region, 2018	
Figure BA12	Composition of income groups by political activism, 2005	
Figure BA13	Composition of income groups by political activism, 2018	
Figure BA14	Composition of income quintiles by employment sector, 2010	
Figure BA15	Composition of income quintiles by employment sector, 2018	
Figure BA16	Income composition of Iraqi regions, 2004	
Figure BA17	Income composition of Iraqi regions, 2018	
Appendix Figures - Structure of the vote		
Figure BB1	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by education group	
Figure BB2	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by education group	

Figure BB3	Vote for Sunni Islamic lists by region
Figure BB4	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by region
Figure BB5	Vote for Kurdish lists by region
Figure BB6	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by language
Figure BB7	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by language
Figure BB8	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by age group
Figure BB9	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by age group
Figure BB10	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by gender
Figure BB11	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by gender
Figure BB12	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by degree of religious practices
Figure BB13	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by degree of religious practices
Figure BB14	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by political activism
Figure BB15	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by political activism
Figure BB16	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by wealth index
Figure BB17	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by wealth index
Figure BB18	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by level of confidence in the government
Figure BB19	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by level of confidence in the government
Figure BB20	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by interest in politics
Figure BB21	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by interest in politics
Figure BB22	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by income quintile
Figure BB23	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by income quintile
Figure BB24	Vote for Shia Islamic lists by income group
Figure BB25	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by income group
Figure BC1	Vote for Shia Islamic lists among top-income voters
Figure BC2	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among top-income voters
Figure BC3	Vote for Sunni Islamic lists among top-income voters
Figure BC4	Vote for Shia Islamic lists among low-income voters
Figure BC5	Vote for Shia Islamic lists among highest-educated voters
Figure BC6	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among highest-educated voters
Figure BC7	Vote for Shia Islamic lists among lowest-educated voters
Figure BC8	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among lowest-educated voters
Figure BC9	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among young voters
Figure BC10	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among women
Figure BC11	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among voters experiencing significant economic difficulties
Figure BC12	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among politically active voters

Figure BC13	Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among voters not trusting the government		
Figure BC14	Vote for Shia Islamic lists among Southern Iraq voters		
Figure BD1	Abstention by region		
Figure BD2	Abstention by age group		
Figure BD3	Abstention by education group		
Figure BD4	Abstention by income group		
Figure BD5	Abstention by political activism		
Figure BD6	Political activism by region		
Figure BD7	Composition of regions by political activism, 2005		
Figure BD8	Composition of regions by political activism, 2018		
Figure BD9	Political activism by income group		
Figure BD10	Trust deficit towards the government over time		
Figure BD11	Trust deficit towards the government by income group		
Figure BD12	Turnout among top-income voters		
Figure BD13	Turnout among low-income voters		
Figure BD14	Turnout among highest-educated voters		
Figure BD15	Turnout among lowest-educated voters		
Figure BD16	Turnout among young voters		
Figure BD17	Turnout among women		
Map B1	Geographical distribution of multidimensional poverty in Iraq in 2017		
Map B2	Socio-spatial disparities evolution in Iraq between 2004 and 2018		
Map B3	Socio-spatial disparities in Iraq in 2004		
Map B4	Socio-spatial disparities in Iraq in 2018		
	Appendix Tables		
Table B1	Survey data sources		
Table B2	Complete descriptive statistics		

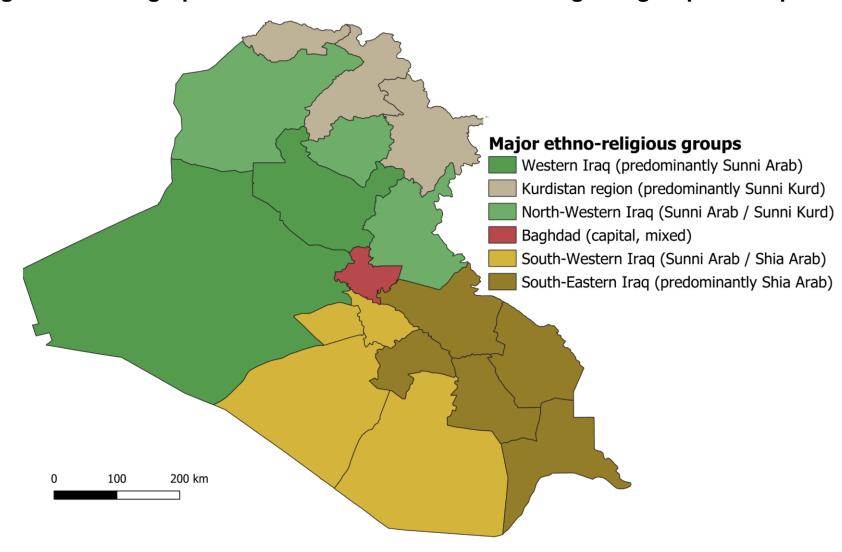
Figure B1 - Legislative election results in Iraq, 2005-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Iraqi political parties in legislative elections between 2005 (January, labelled here as 2004) and 2018.

Figure B2 - Geographical distribution of main ethno-religious groups in Iraq



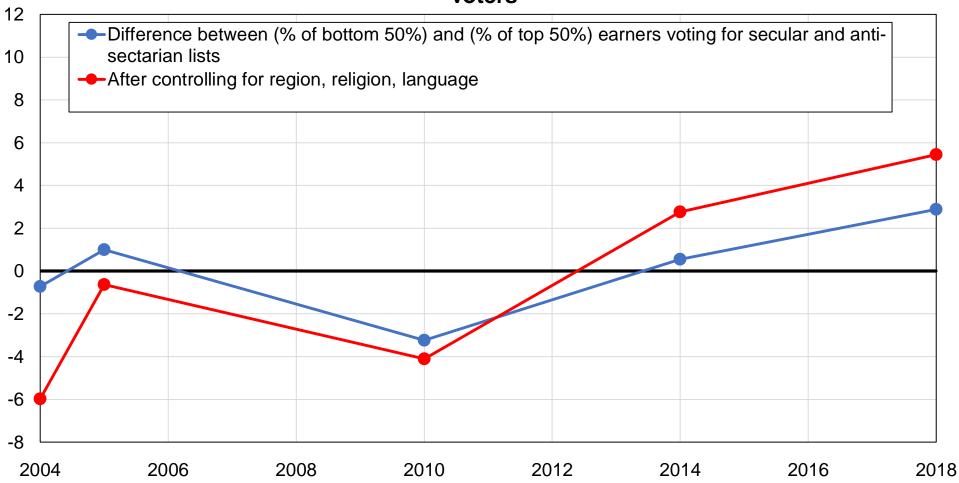
Source: authors' computations.

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% 2010 2018 2004 2005 2014 Southern Iraq ■ North-Eastern Iraq (Kurdistan region) ■ Middle-Northern Iraq Baghdad

Figure B3 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by region

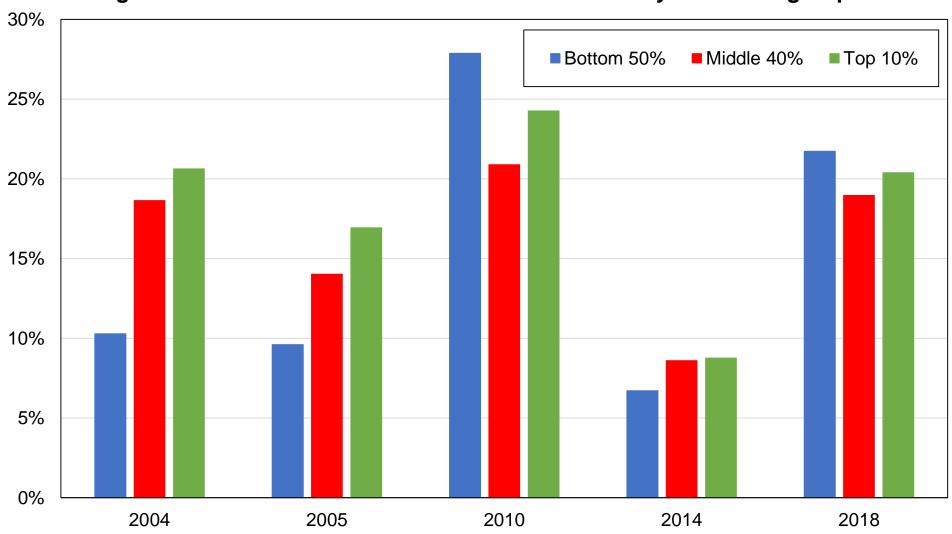
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by region. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure B4 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among low-income voters



Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% voters and the share of top 50% voters in terms of income voting for secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controlling for ethnoreligious identity.

Figure B5 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by education group



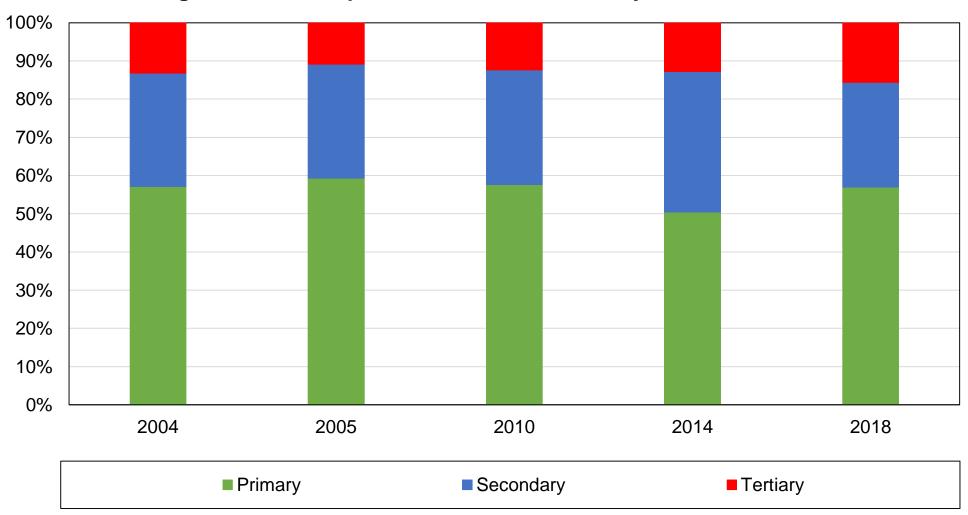
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by education group.

80% ■ Middle-Northern Iraq Southern Iraq Baghdad ■ North-Eastern Iraq (Kurdistan region) 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% 2004 2005 2010 2014 2018

Figure B6 - Trust deficit towards the government by region

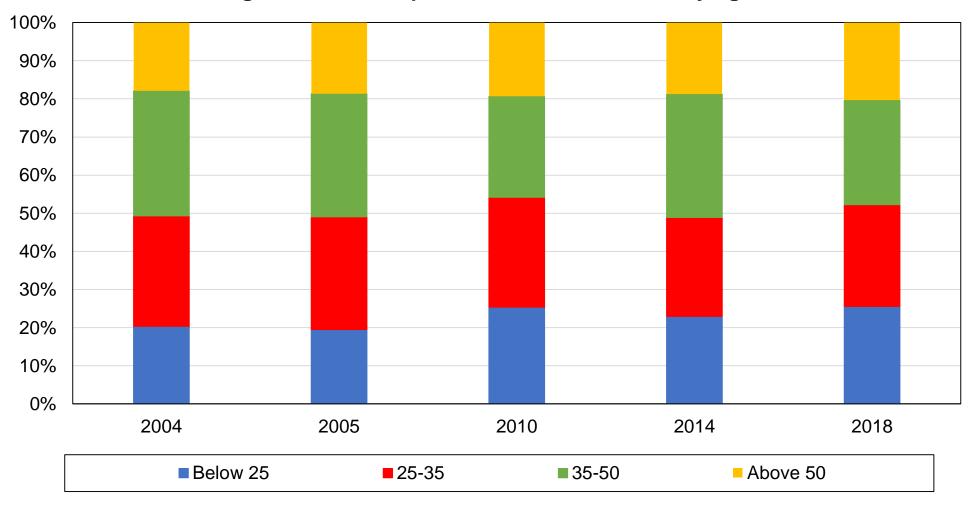
Note: the figure shows the regional decomposition of trust deficit expressed towards the government in the Iraqi adult population. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BA1 - Composition of the electorate by education level



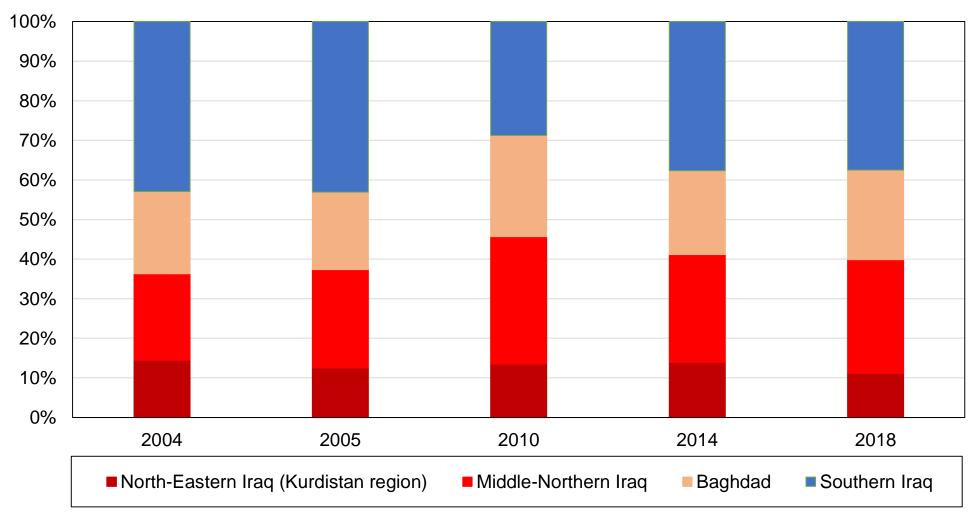
Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys. Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

Figure BA2 - Composition of the electorate by age



Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys. Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

Figure BA3 - Composition of the electorate by region



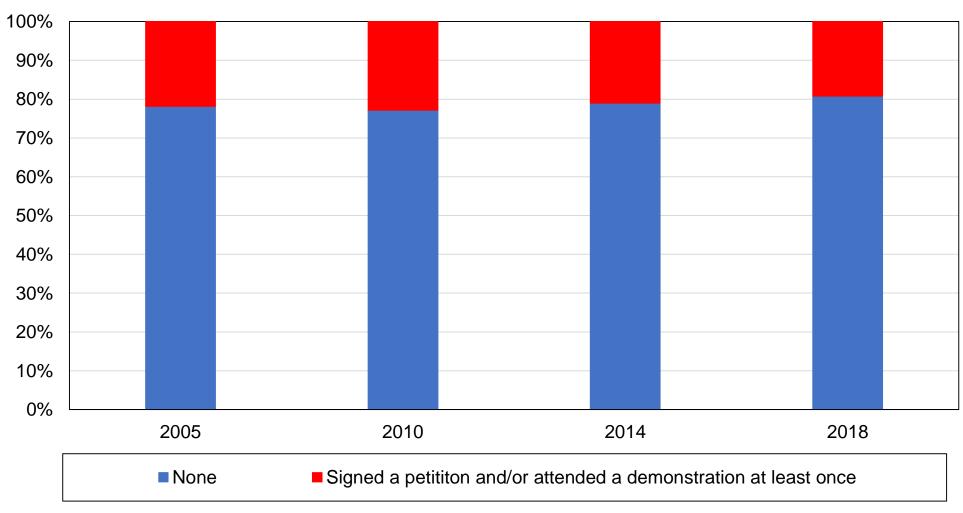
Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys. Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by region.

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% 2004 2005 2010 2014 Arabic Kurdish Other

Figure BA4 - Composition of the electorate by linguistic group

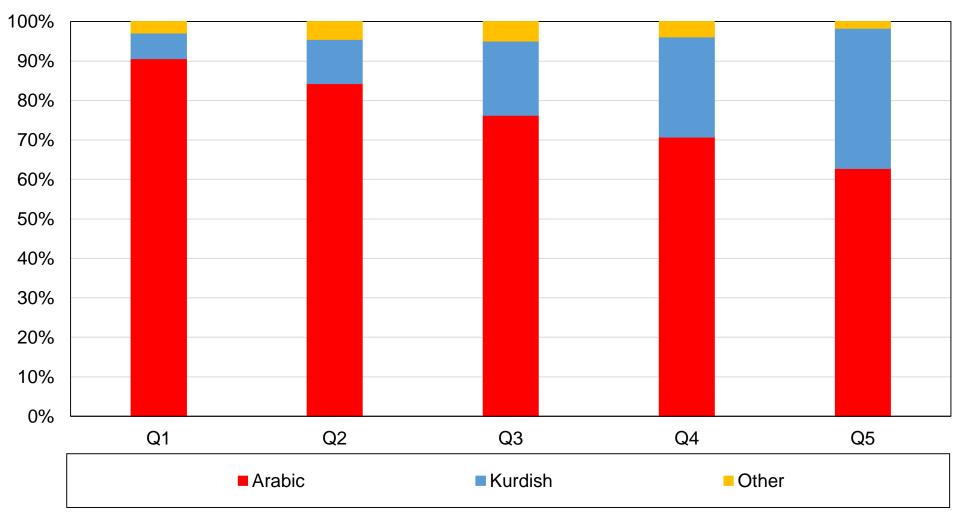
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by language. No data available in 2018.

Figure BA5 - Composition of the electorate by political activism



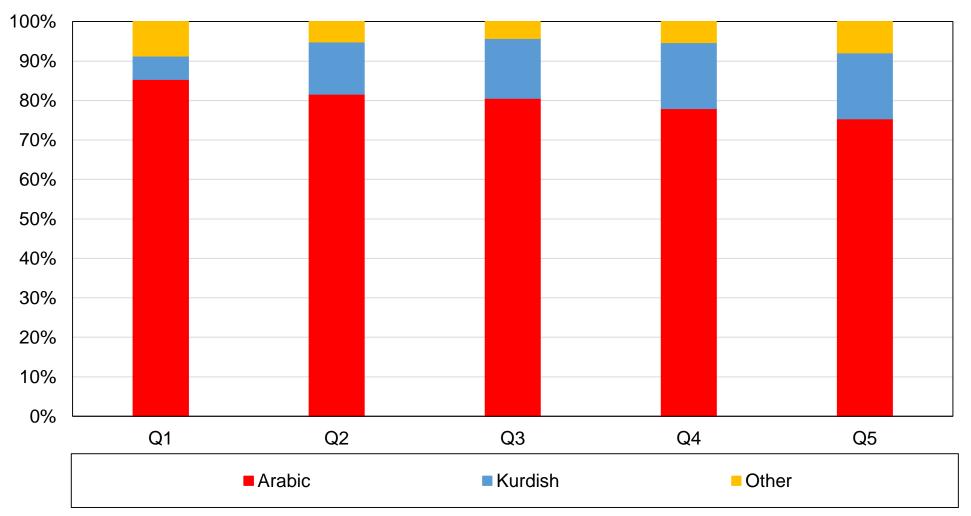
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by degree of political activism (defined as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration).

Figure BA6 - Composition of income quintiles by language, 2004



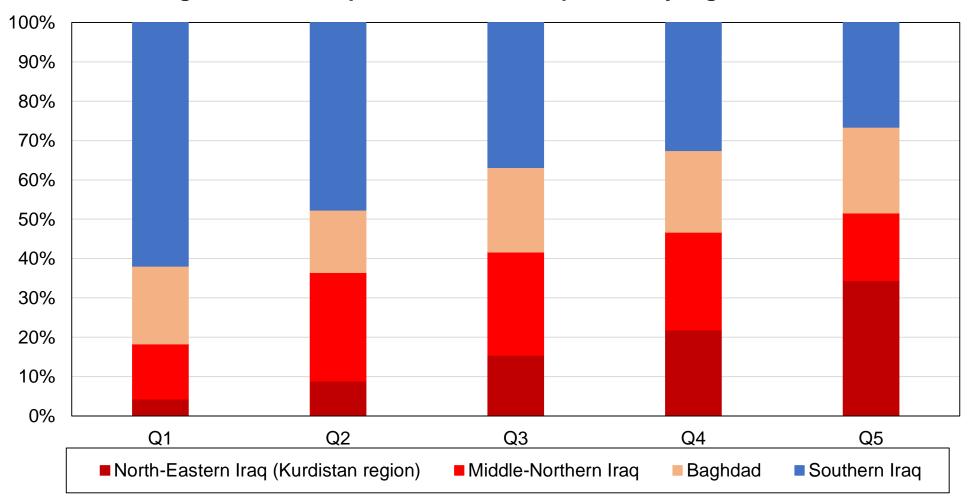
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by language in 2004.

Figure BA7 - Composition of income quintiles by language, 2014



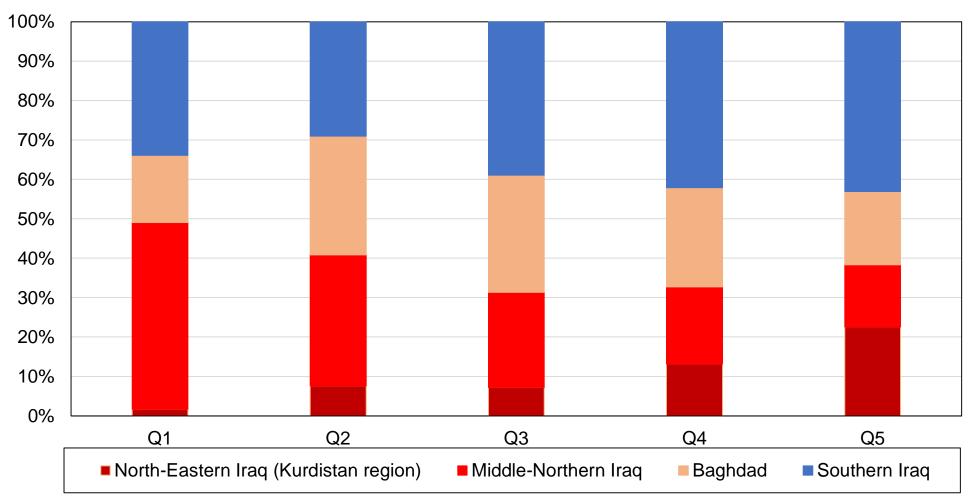
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by language in 2014.

Figure BA8 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2004



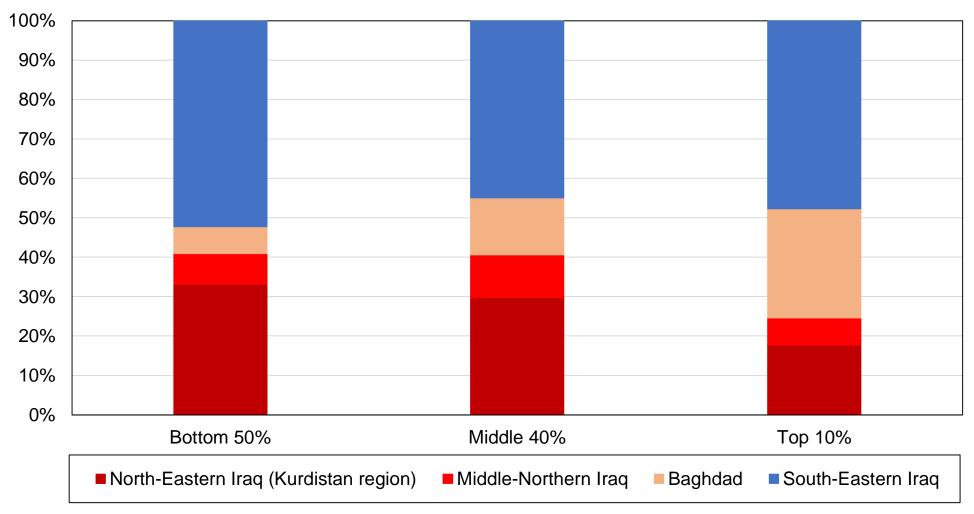
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in 2004. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BA9 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2018



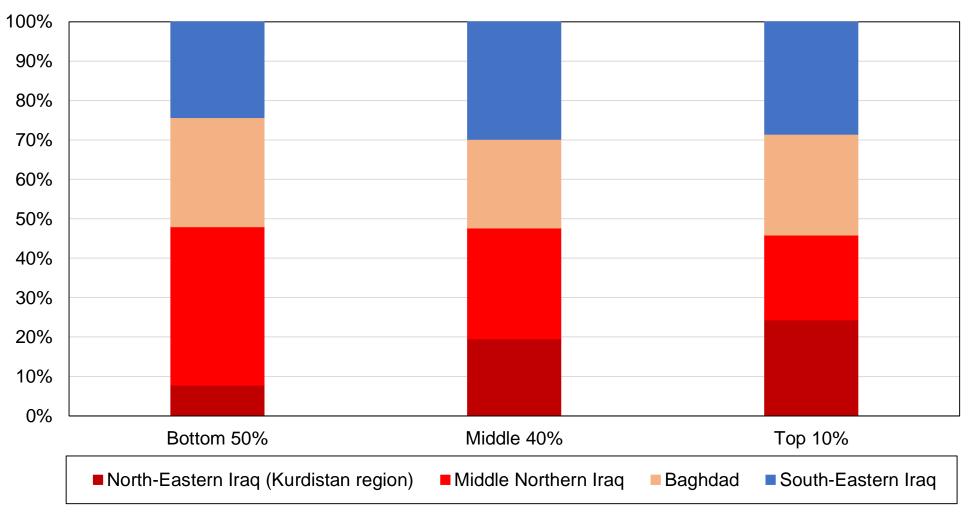
Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles by region in 2018. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BA10 - Composition of education groups by region, 2004



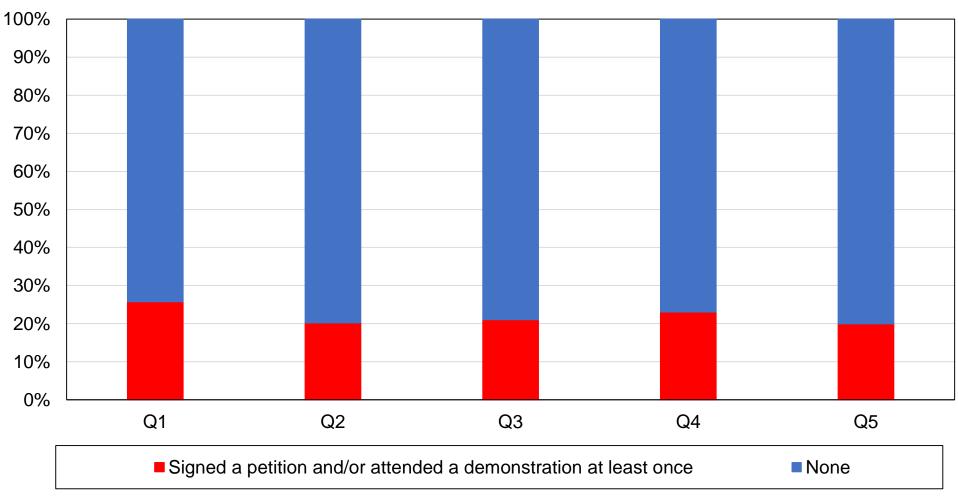
Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by region in 2004. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BA11 - Composition of education groups by region, 2018



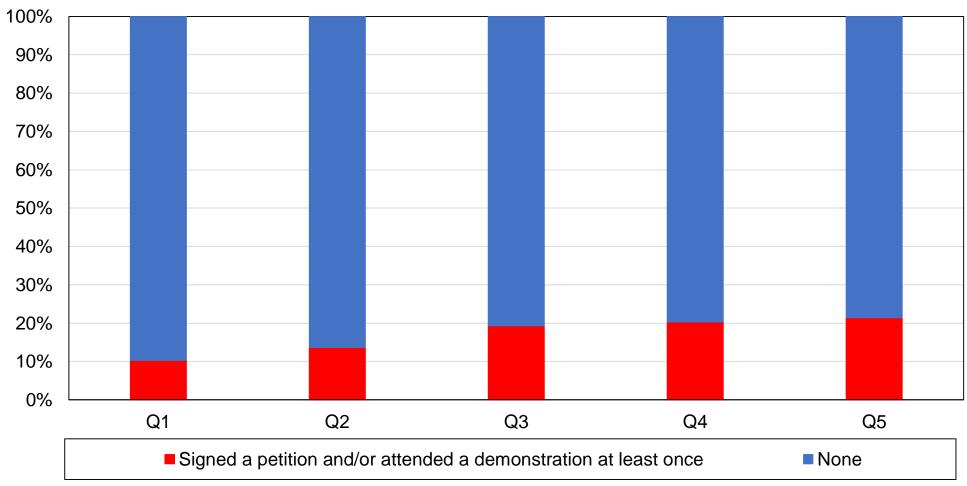
Note: the figure shows the composition of education groups by region in 2018. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BA12 - Composition of income groups by political activism, 2005



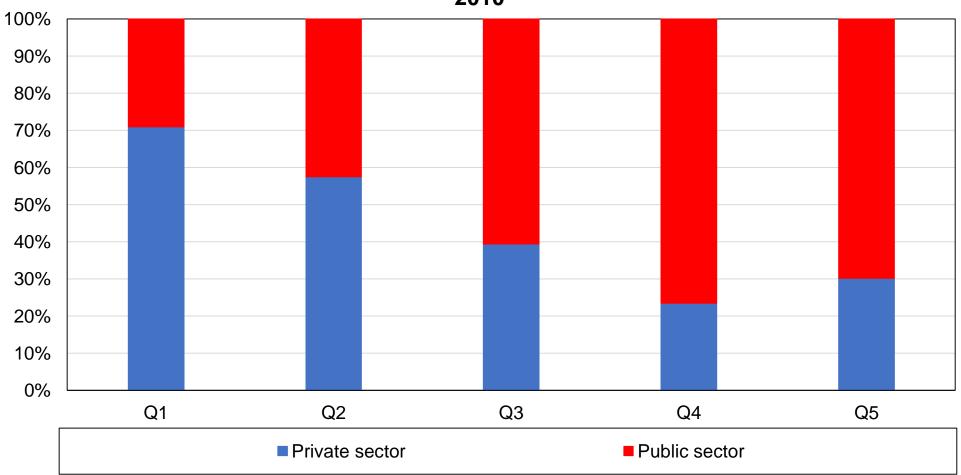
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by political activism (defined as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration) in 2005.

Figure BA13 - Composition of income groups by political activism, 2018



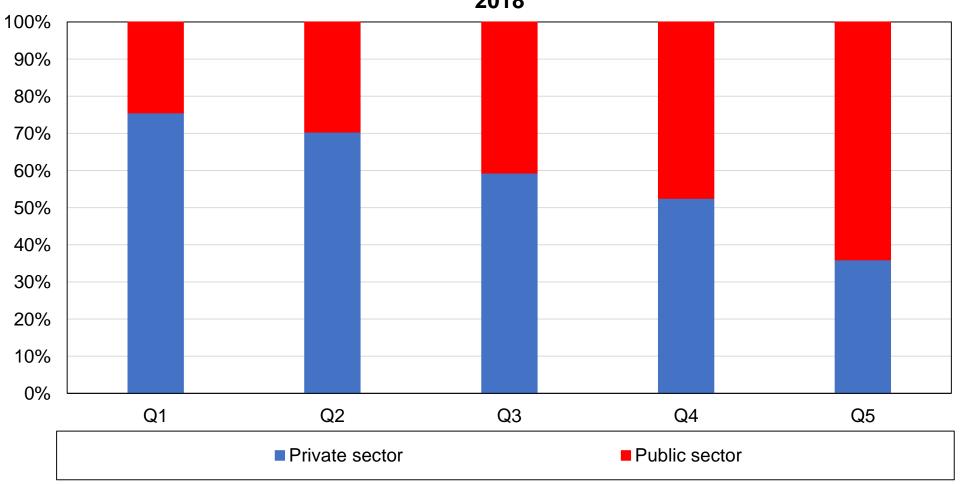
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by political activism (defined as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration) in 2018.

Figure BA14 - Composition of income quintiles by employment sector, 2010



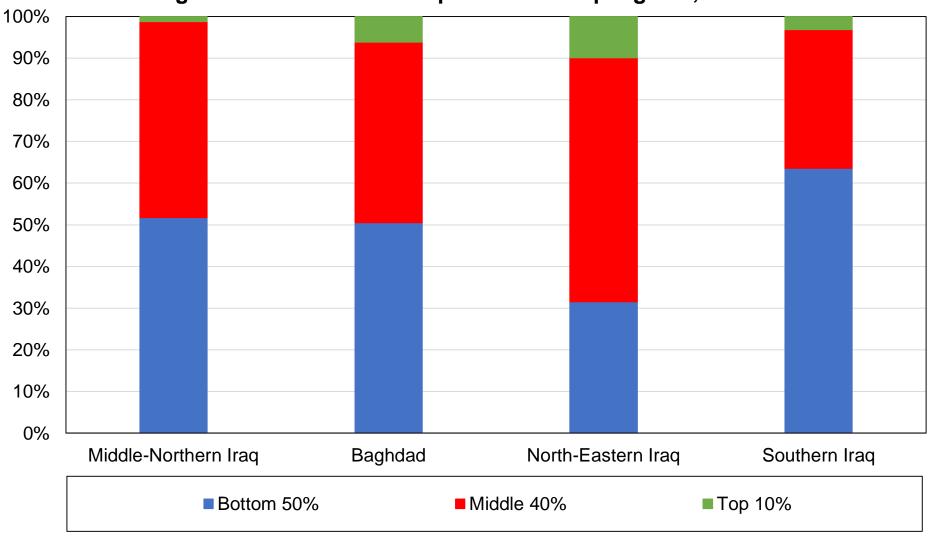
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by employment sector in 2010.

Figure BA15 - Composition of income quintiles by employment sector, 2018



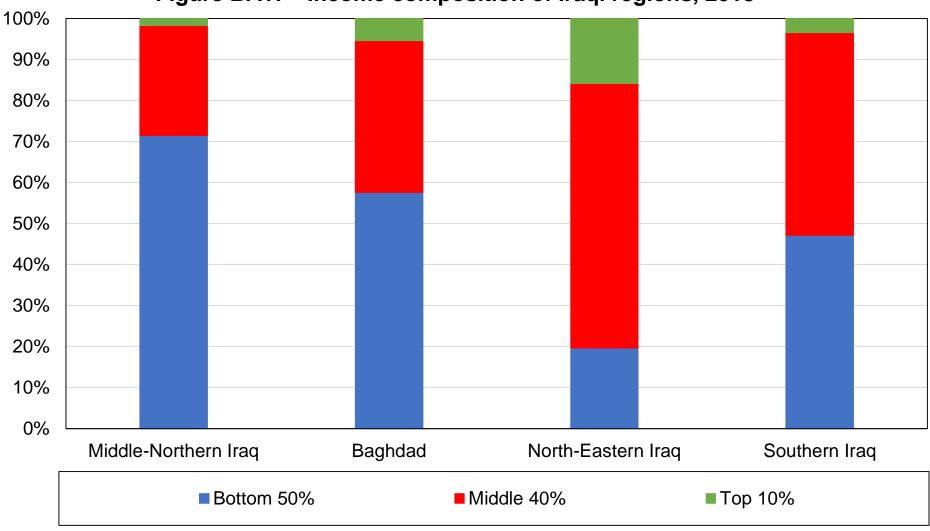
Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles by employment sector in 2018.

Figure BA16 - Income composition of Iraqi regions, 2004



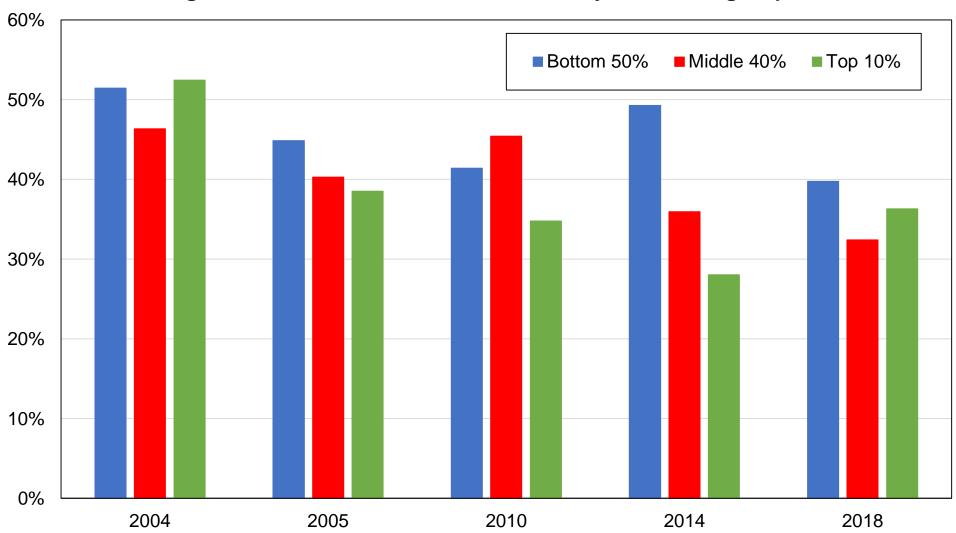
Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by region in 2004.

Figure BA17 - Income composition of Iraqi regions, 2018



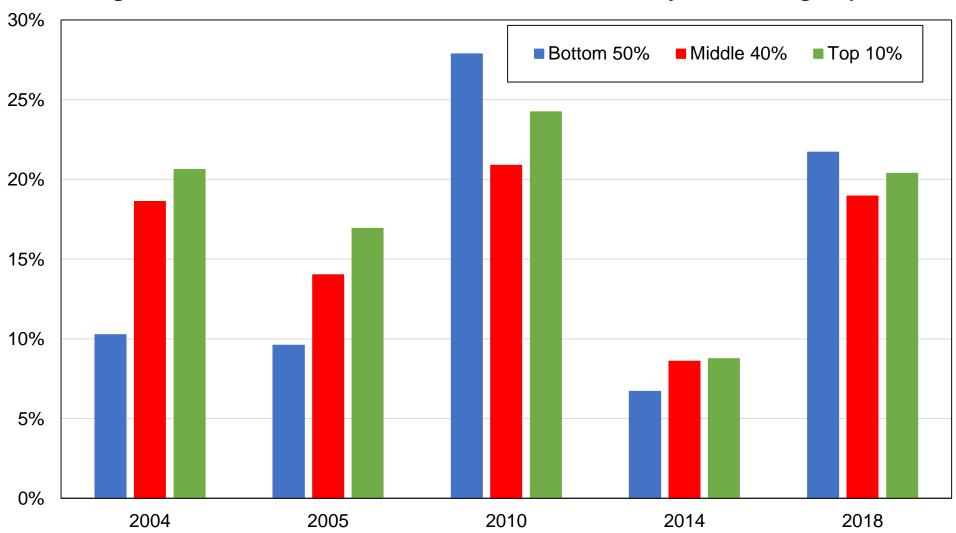
Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by region in 2018.

Figure BB1 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by education group



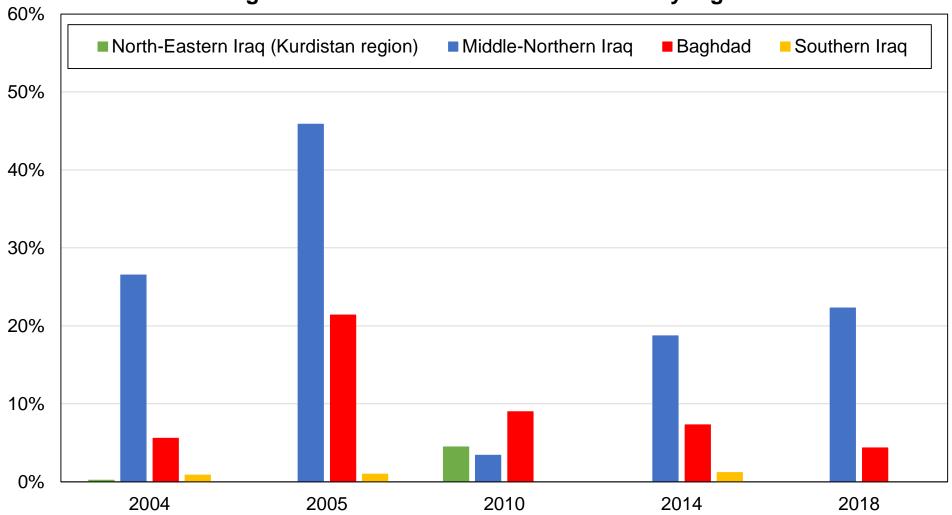
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by education group.

Figure BB2 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by education group



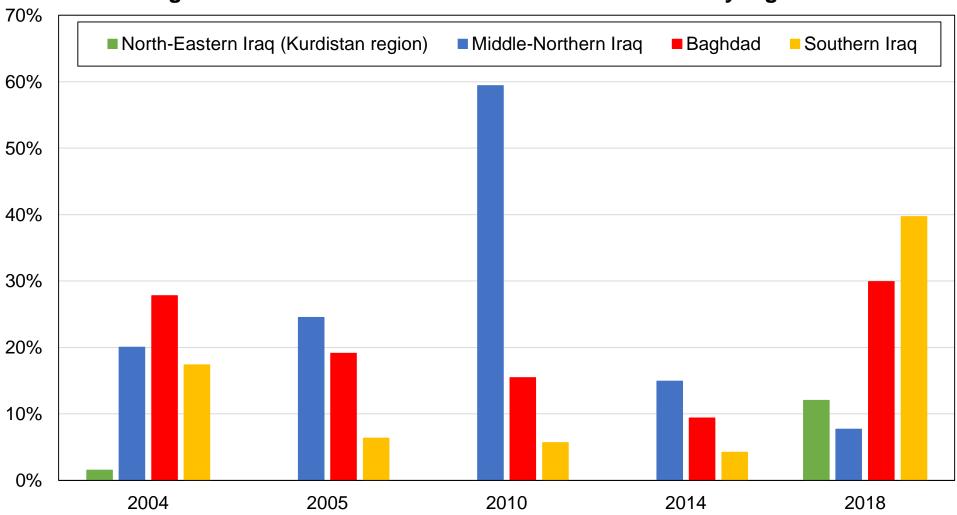
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by education group.

Figure BB3 - Vote for Sunni Islamic lists by region



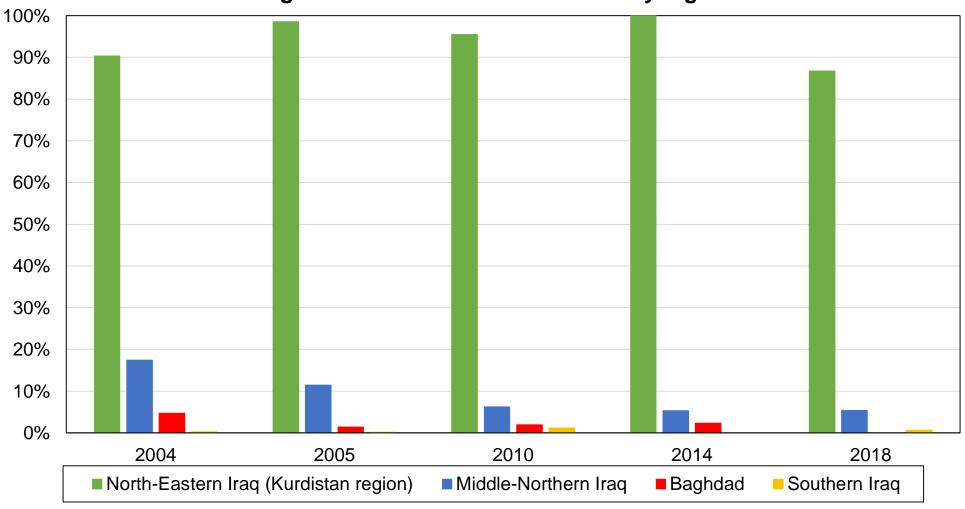
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Sunni Islamic lists by region. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BB4 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by region



Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by anti-sectarian lists by region. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

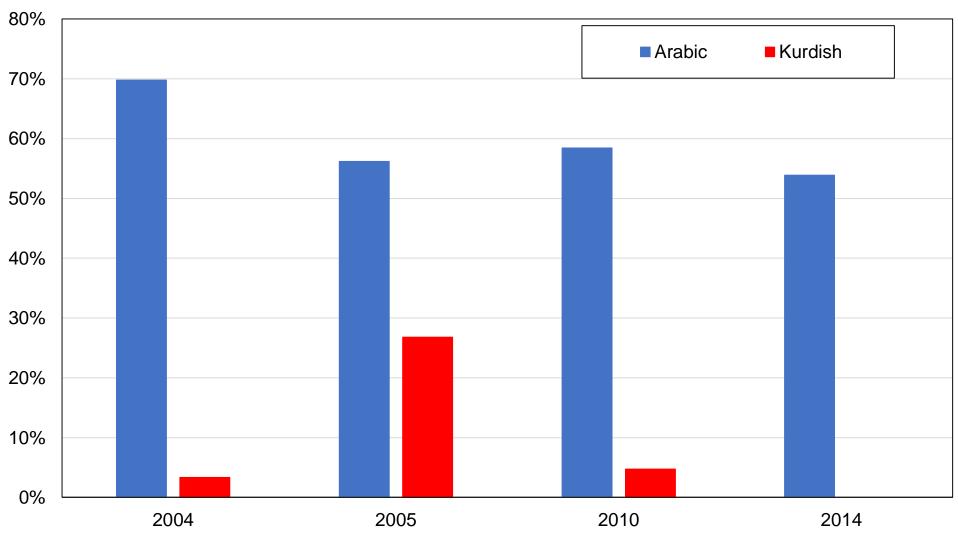
Figure BB5 - Vote for Kurdish lists by region



Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys.

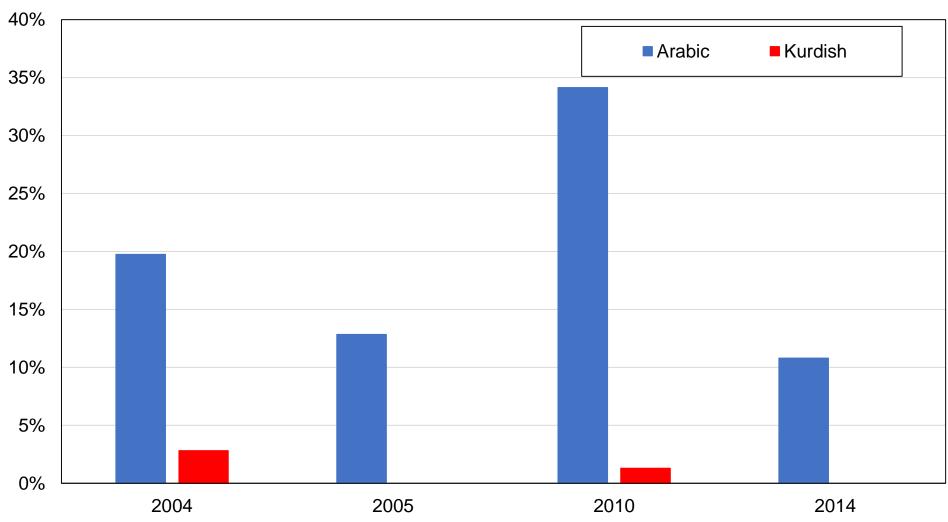
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Kurdish lists by region. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni, Baghdad is mixed, Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BB6 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by language



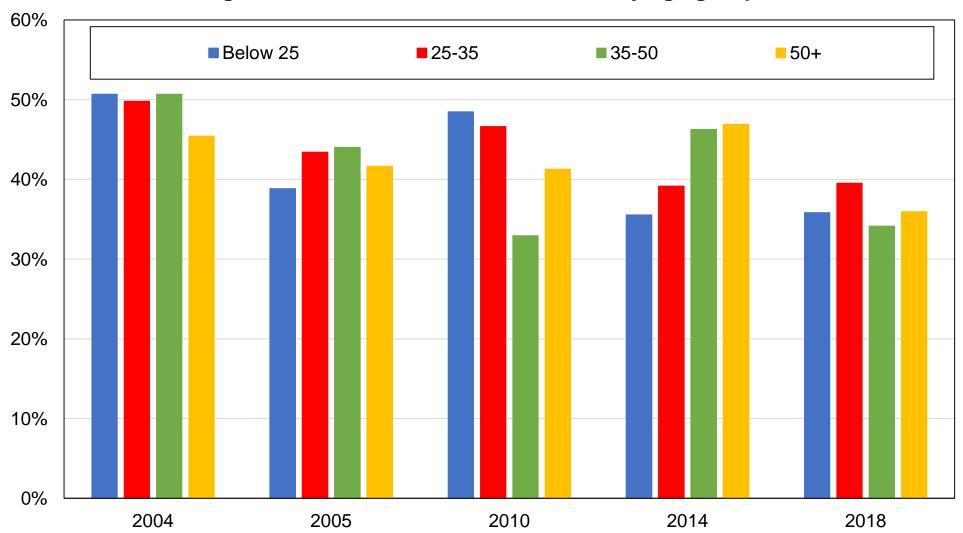
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by language. No data available in 2018.

Figure BB7 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by language



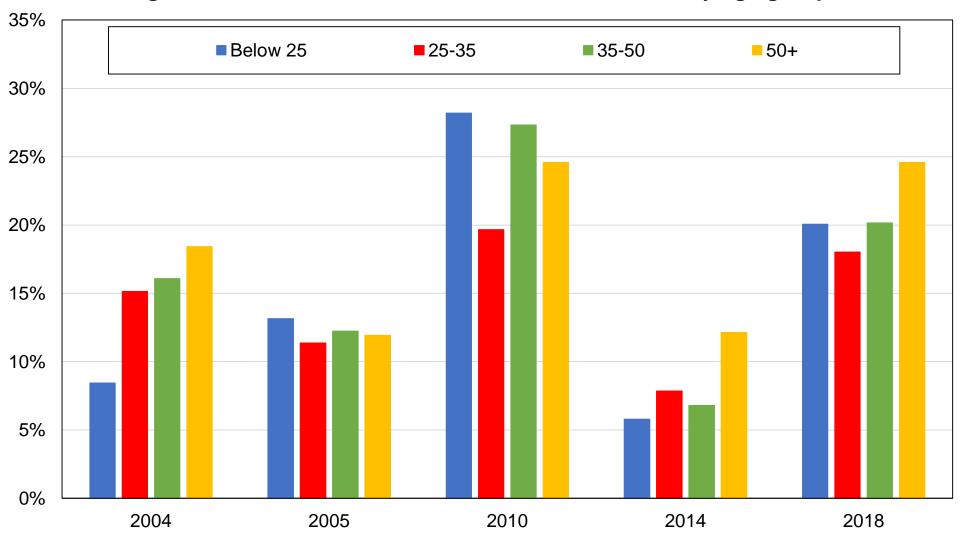
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by language. No data available in 2018.

Figure BB8 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by age group



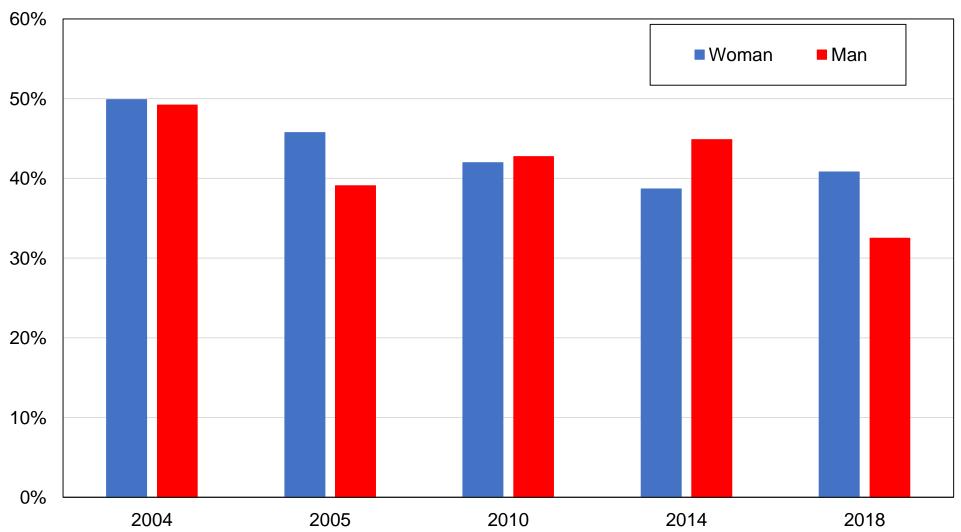
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by age group.

Figure BB9 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by age group



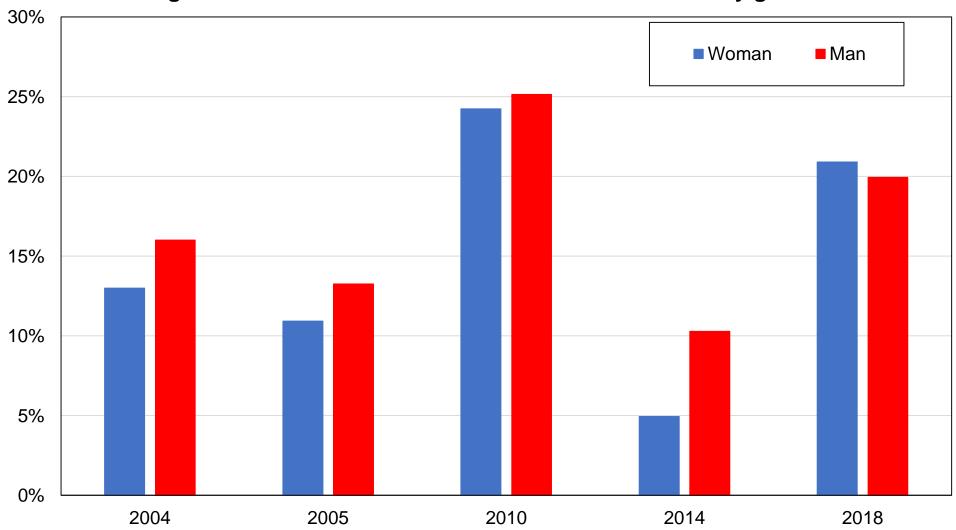
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by age group.

Figure BB10 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by gender



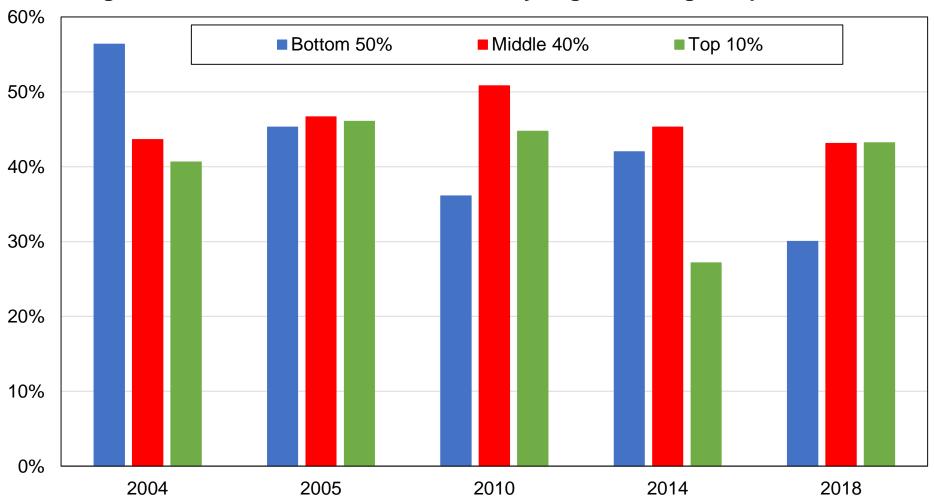
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by gender.

Figure BB11 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by gender



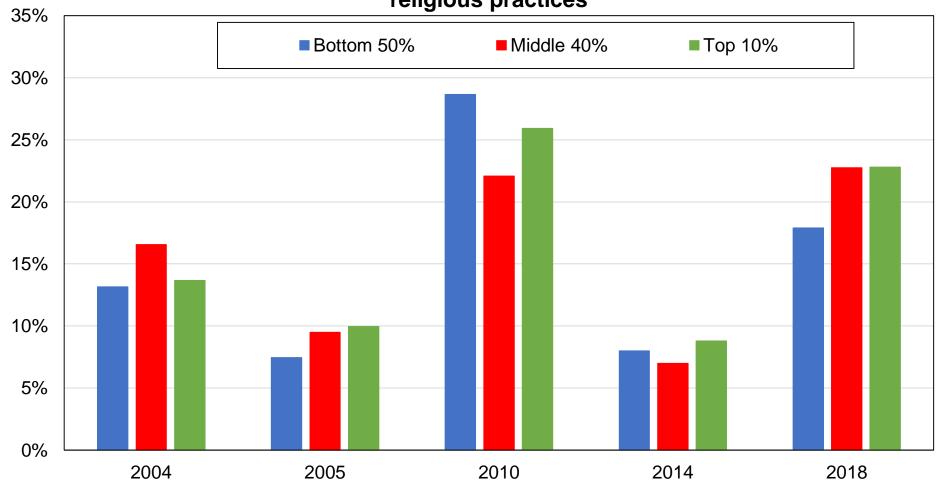
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by gender.

Figure BB12 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by degree of religious practices



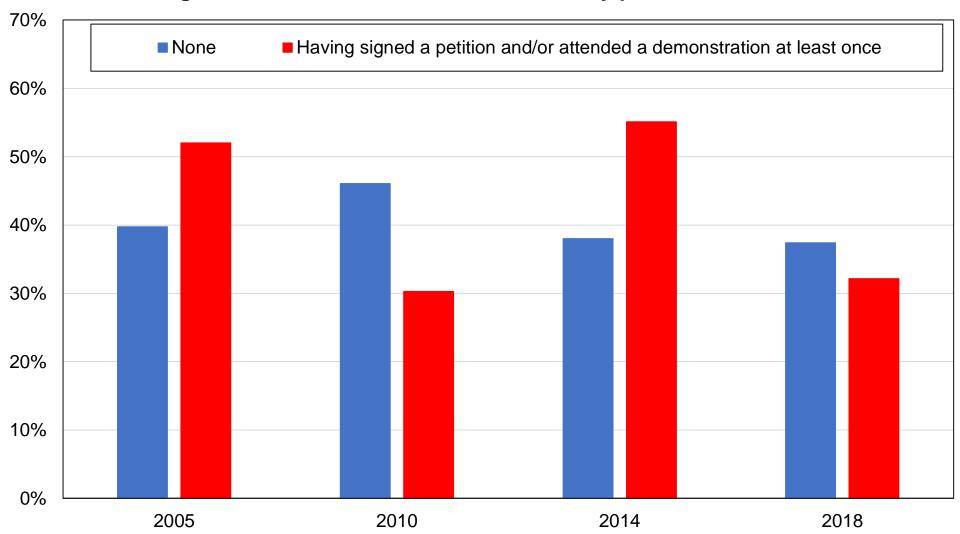
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by degree of religious practices. Bottom 50% denotes highly religious (regular practices) and top 10% denotes none or hardly no religious practices.

Figure BB13 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by degree of religious practices



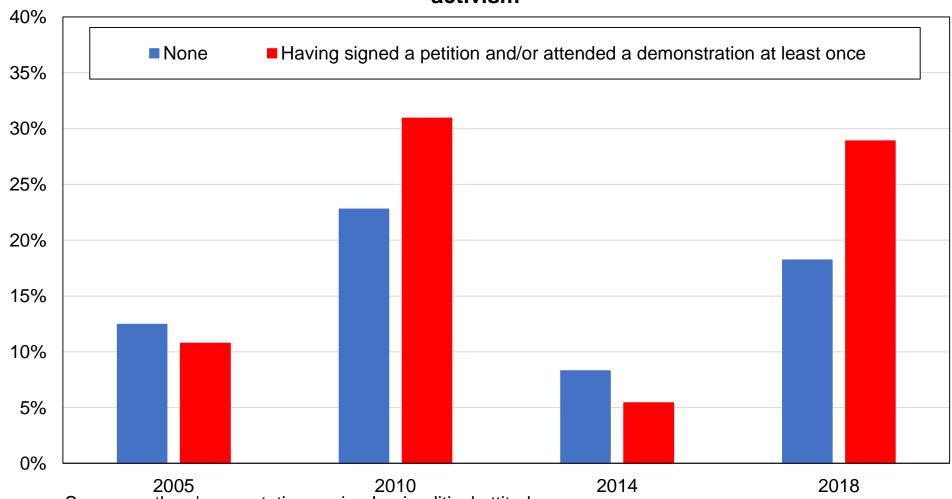
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by anti-sectarian lists by degree of religious practices. Bottom 50% denotes very religious (regular basis) and top 10% denotes none or hardly no religious practices.

Figure BB14 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by political activism



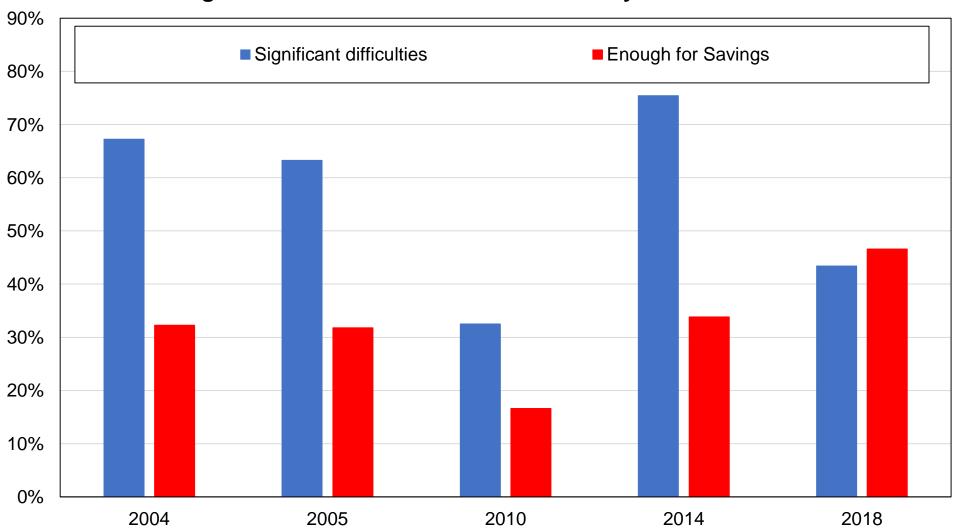
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by political activism degree measured as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration. No data available in 2004.

Figure BB15 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by political activism



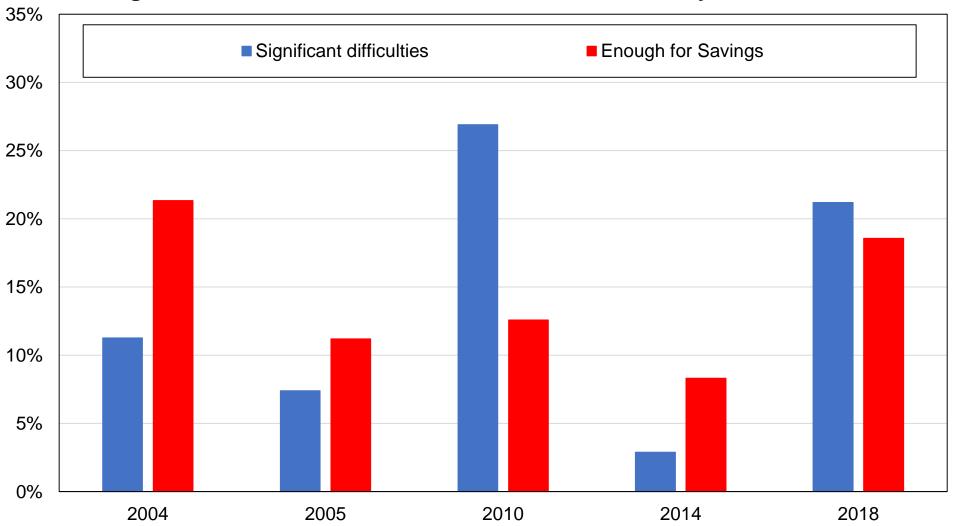
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by political activism degree measured as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration. No data available in 2004.

Figure BB16 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by wealth index



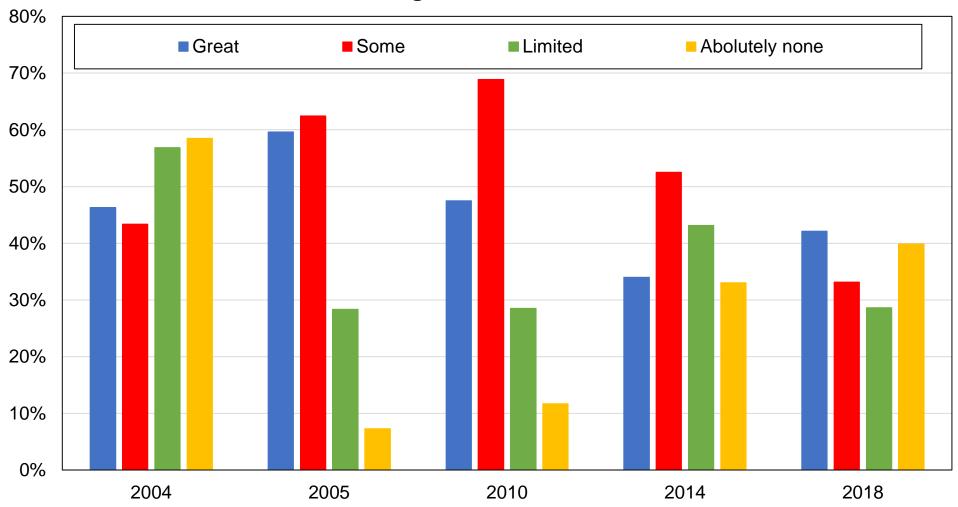
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by wealth index.

Figure BB17 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by wealth index



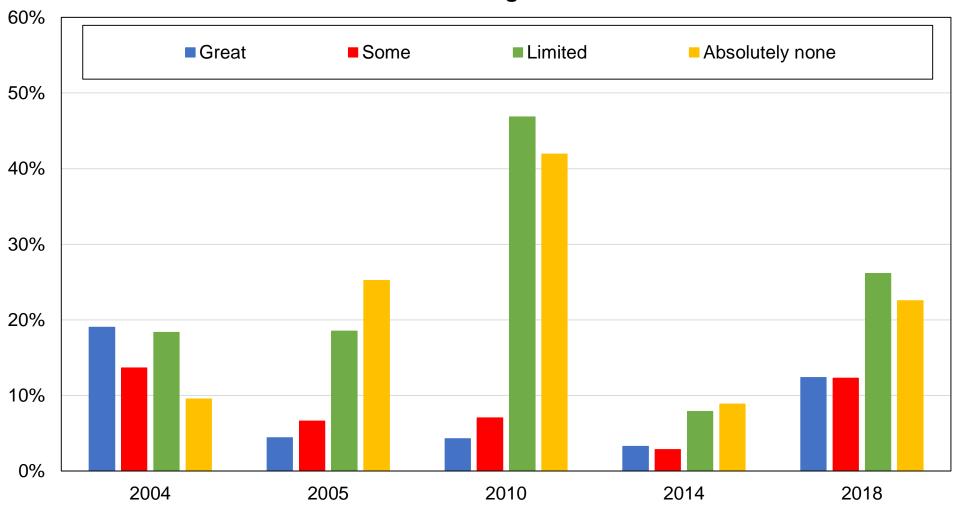
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by wealth index.

Figure BB18 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by level of confidence in the government



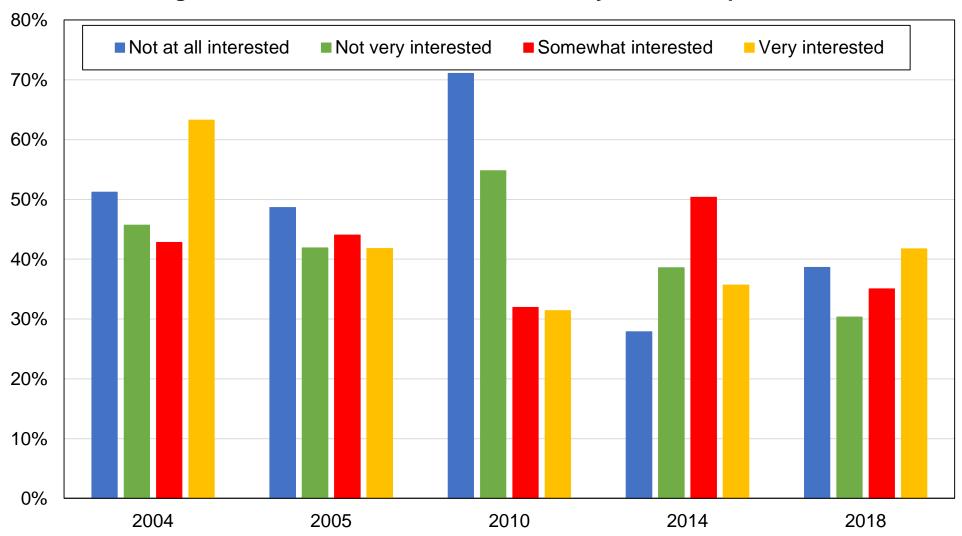
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by confidence expressed in the government.

Figure BB19 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by level of confidence in the government



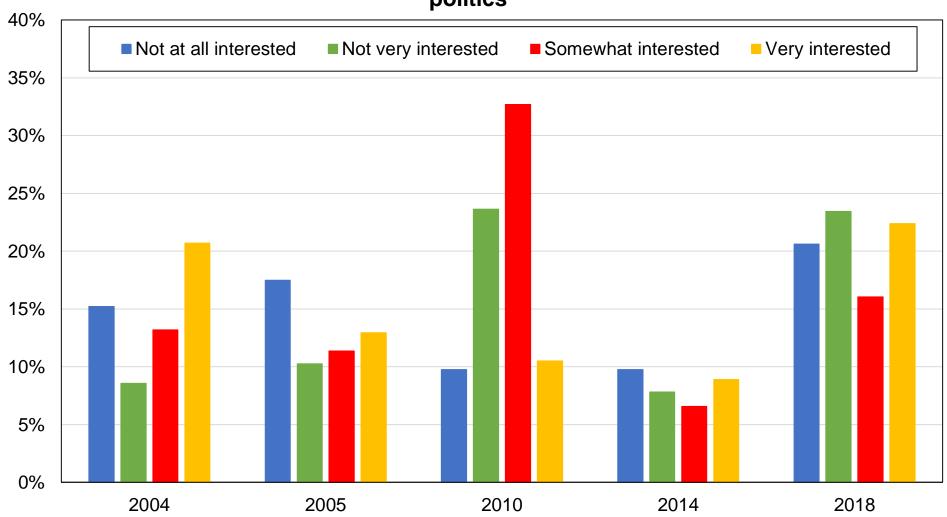
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by confidence expressed in the government.

Figure BB20 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by interest in politics



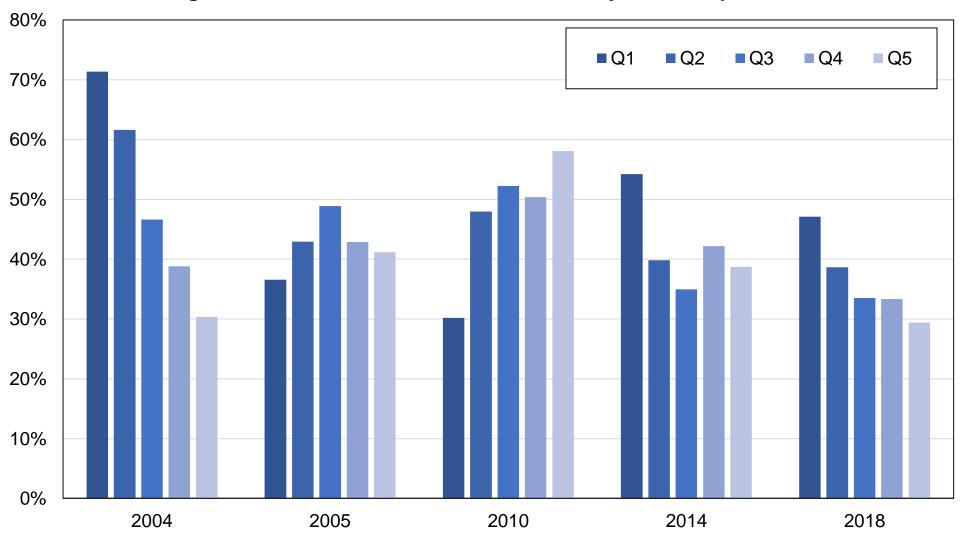
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by interest declared in politics.

Figure BB21 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by interest in politics



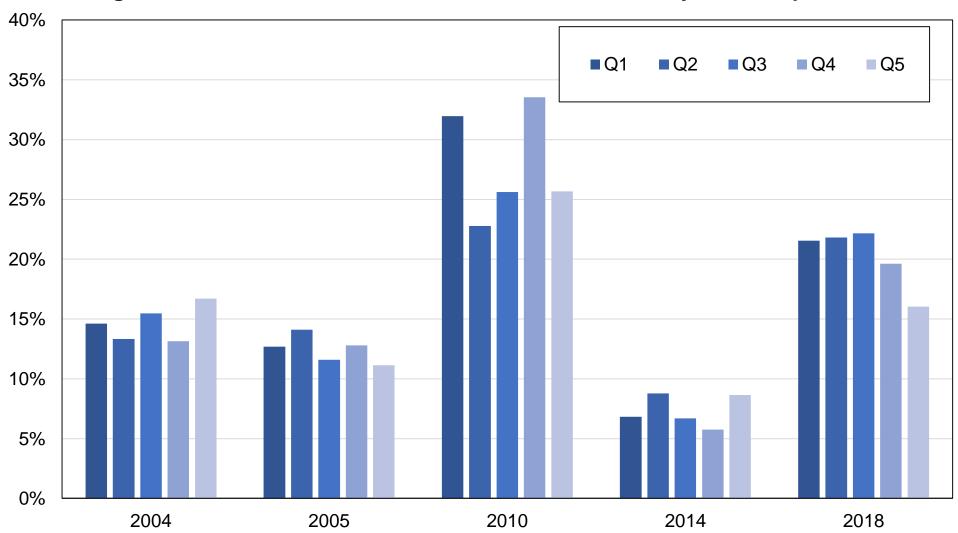
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by interest declared in politics.

Figure BB22 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by income quintile



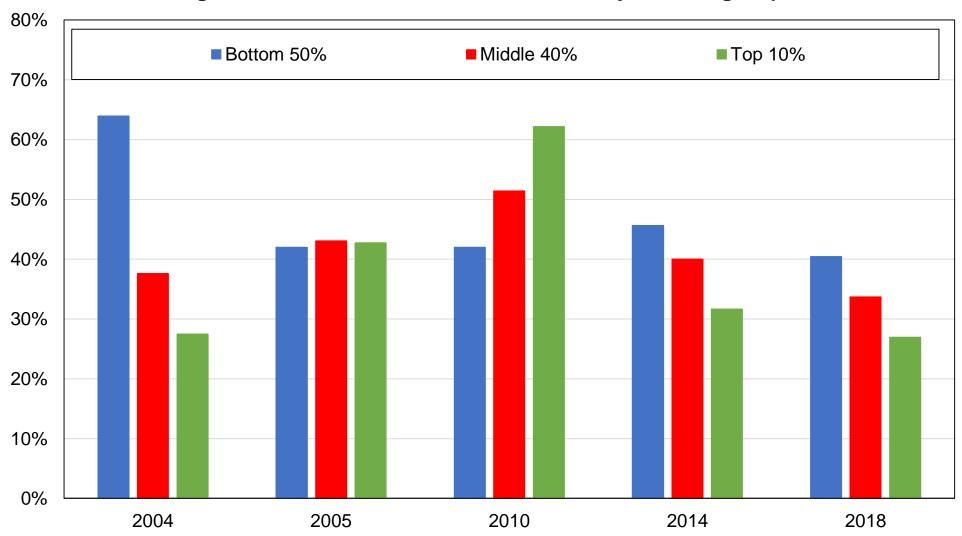
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by income quintile.

Figure BB23 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by income quintile



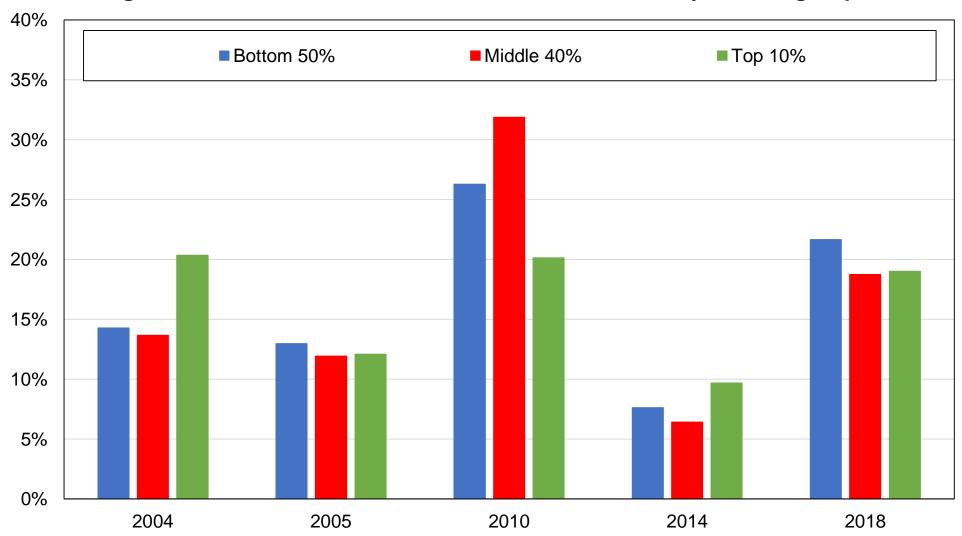
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by income quintile.

Figure BB24 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists by income group



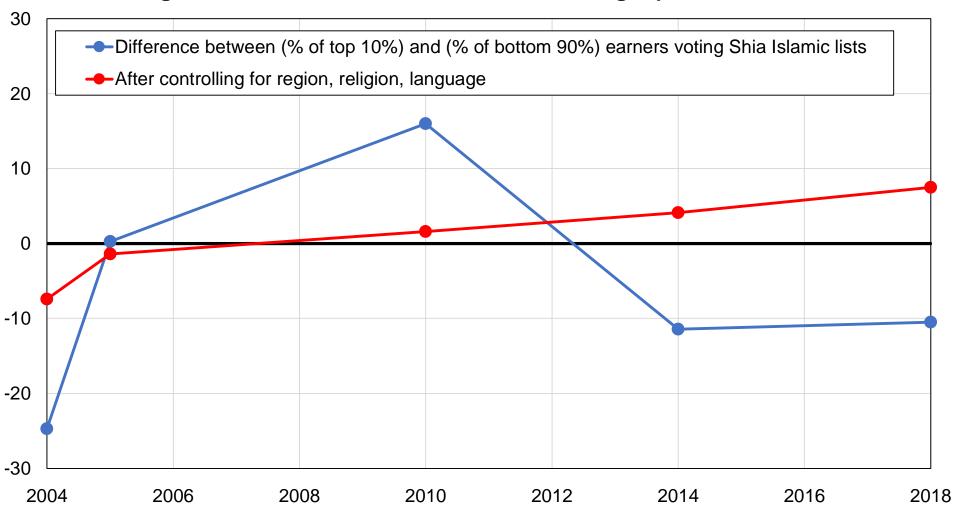
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Shia Islamic lists by income group.

Figure BB25 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists by income group



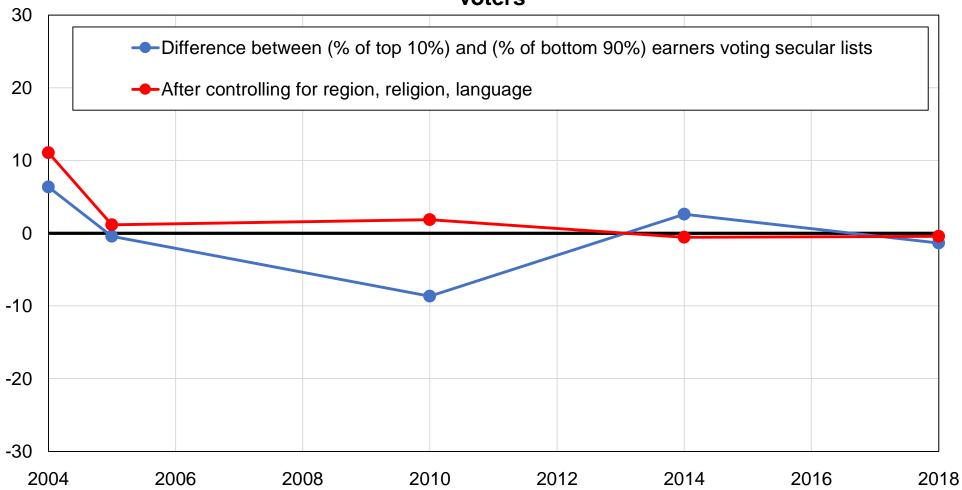
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by secular and anti-sectarian lists by income group.

Figure BC1 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists among top-income voters



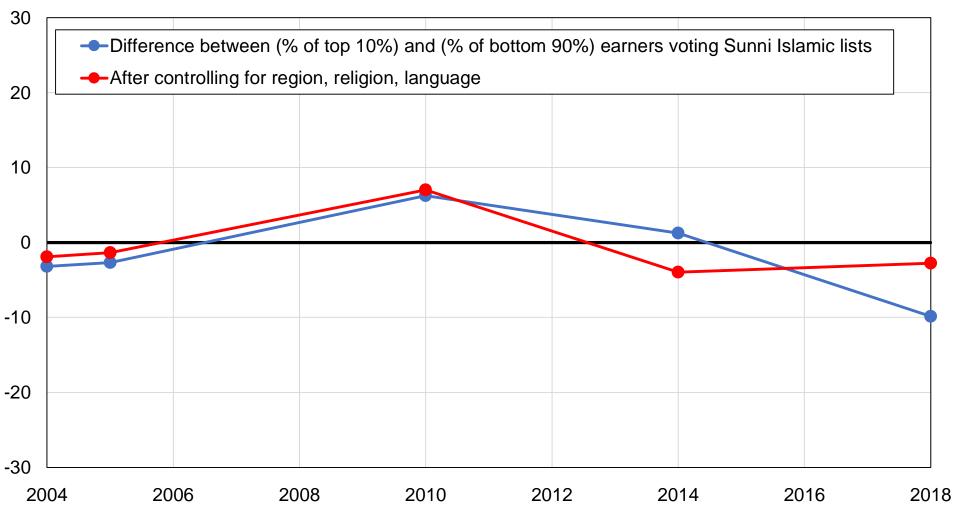
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Shia Islamic lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC2 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among top-income voters



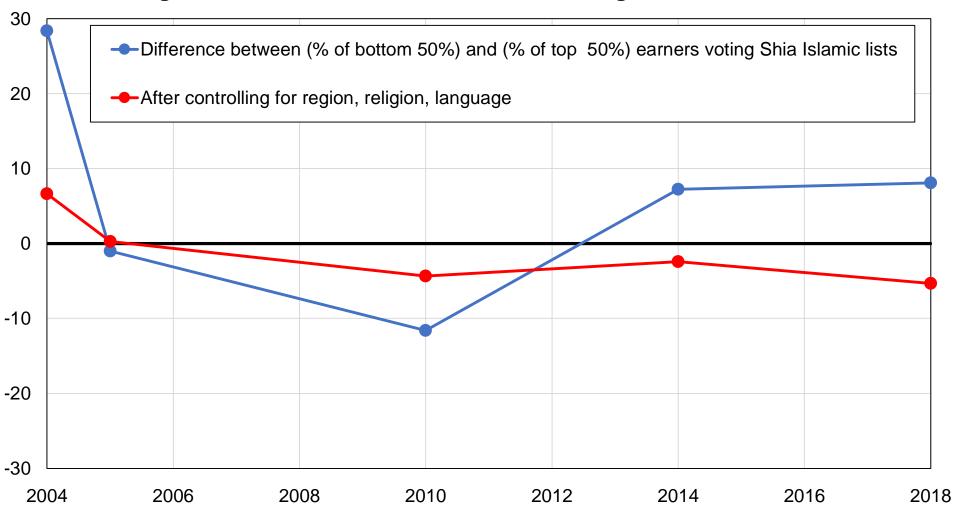
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC3 - Vote for Sunni Islamic lists among top-income voters



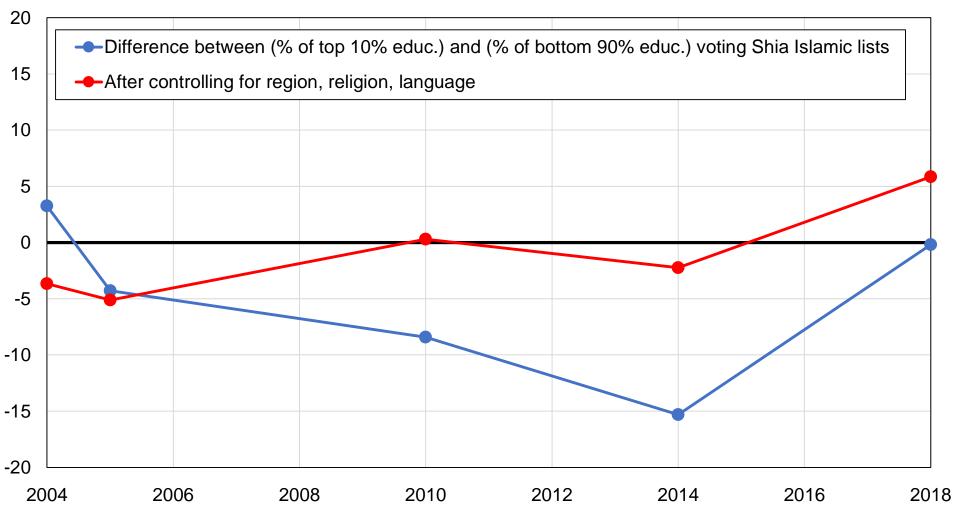
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Sunni Islamic lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC4 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists among low-income voters



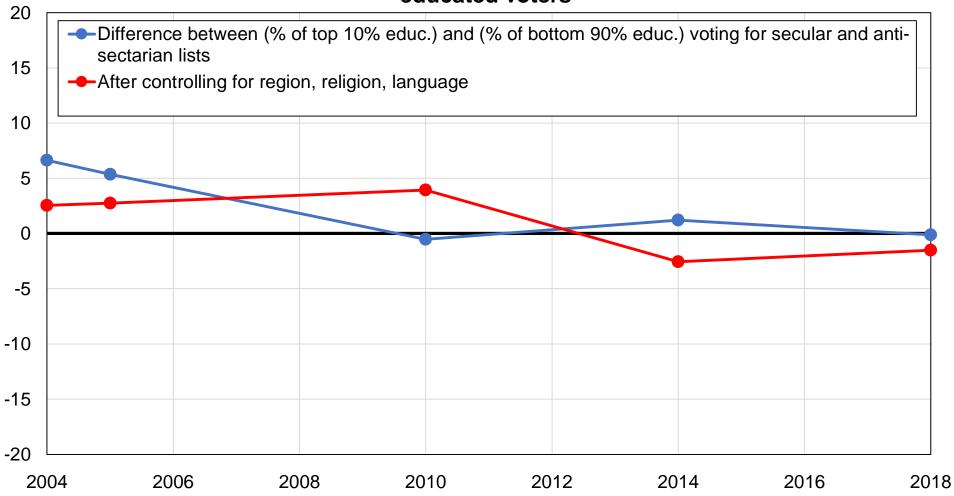
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% earners voters and the share of other voters voting for Shia Islamic lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC5 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists among highest-educated voters



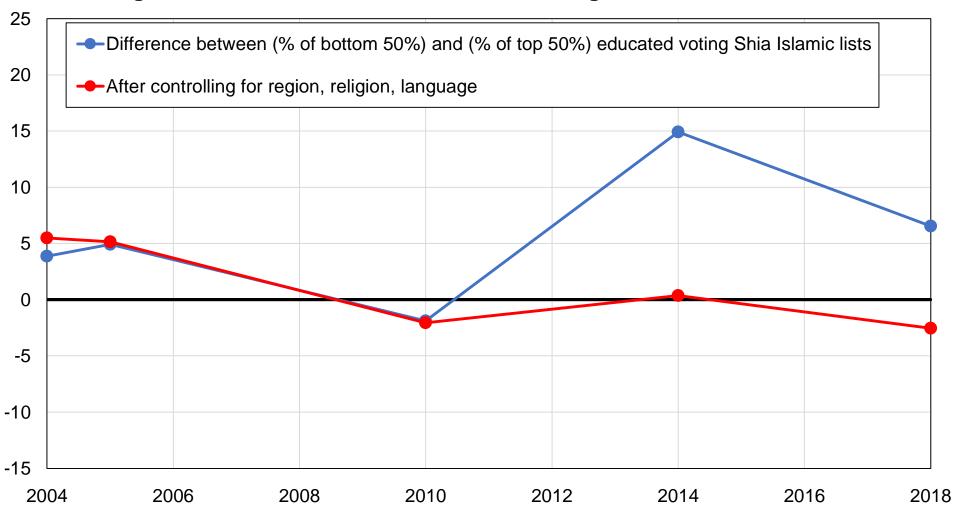
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voting for Shia Islamic lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC6 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among highesteducated voters



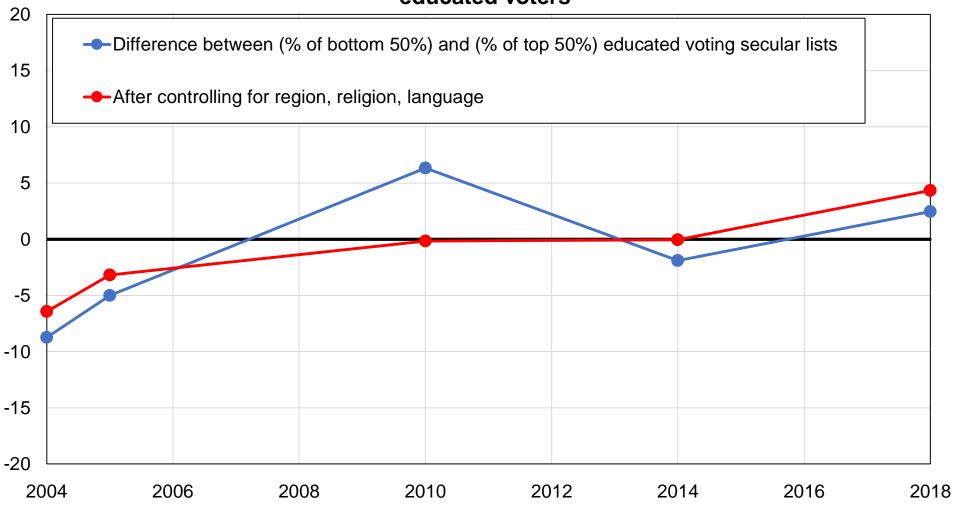
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voting for secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controlling for ethnoreligious identity.

Figure BC7 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists among lowest-educated voters



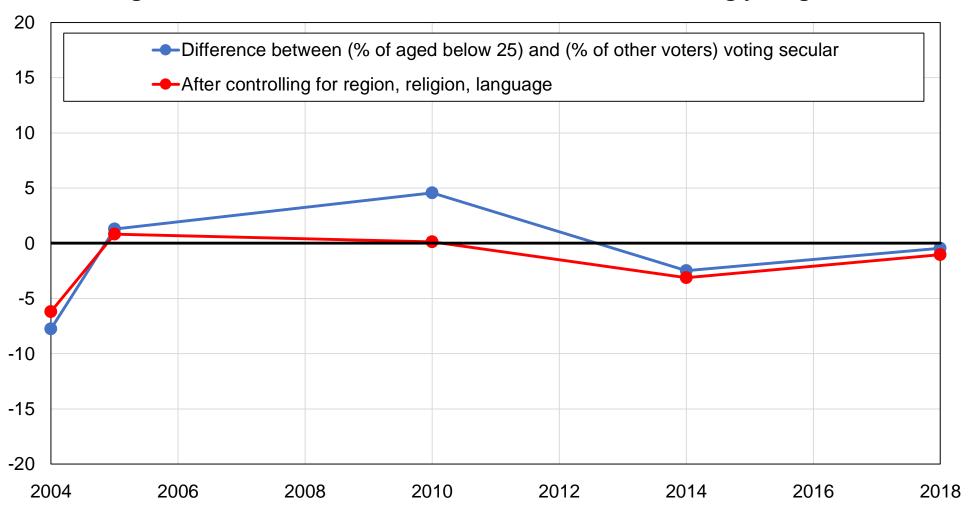
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% voters and the share of top 50% voters in terms of education voting for Shia Islamic lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC8 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among lowesteducated voters



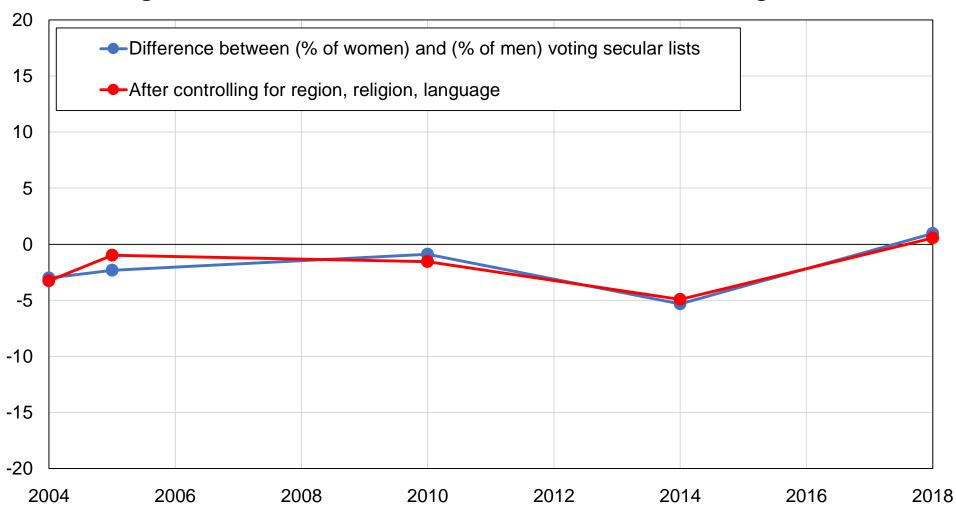
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% voters and the share of top 50% voters in terms of education voting for secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controlling for ethnoreligious identity.

Figue BC9 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among young voters



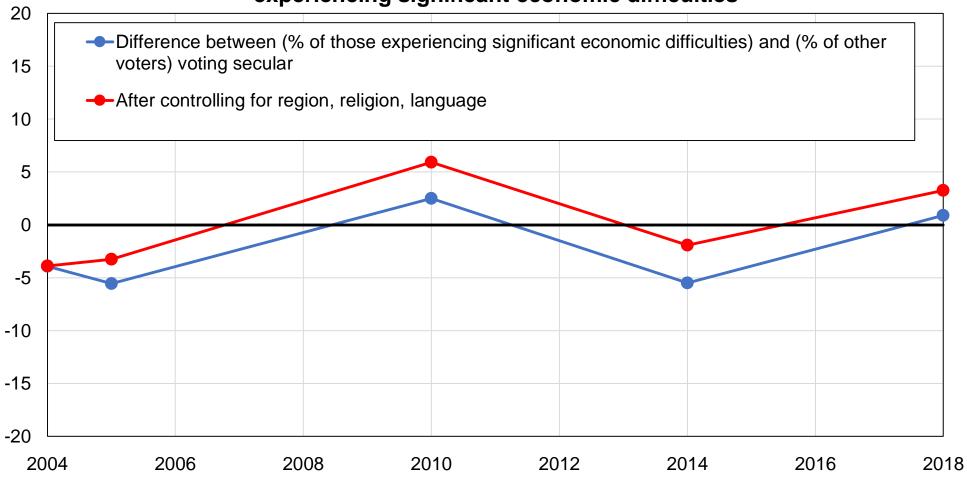
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged below 25 and the share of older voters voting for the secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controls.

Figure BC10 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among women



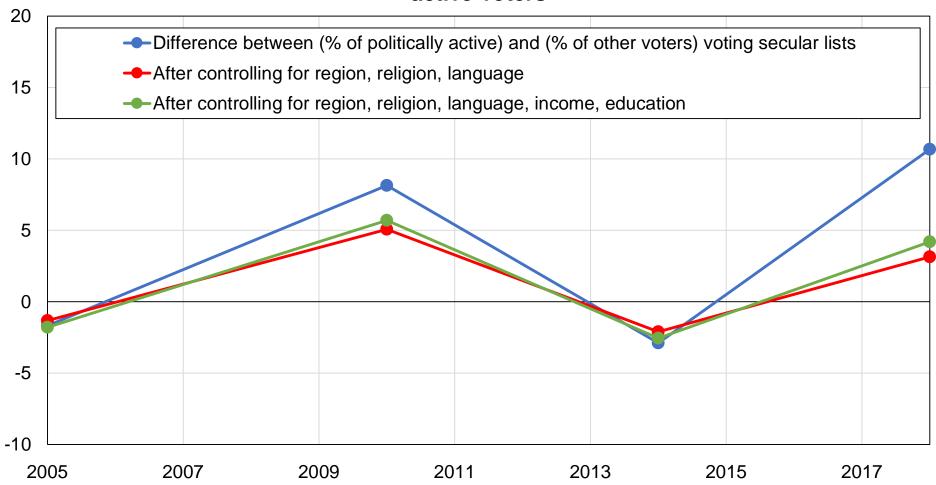
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controls.

Figure BC11 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among voters experiencing significant economic difficulties



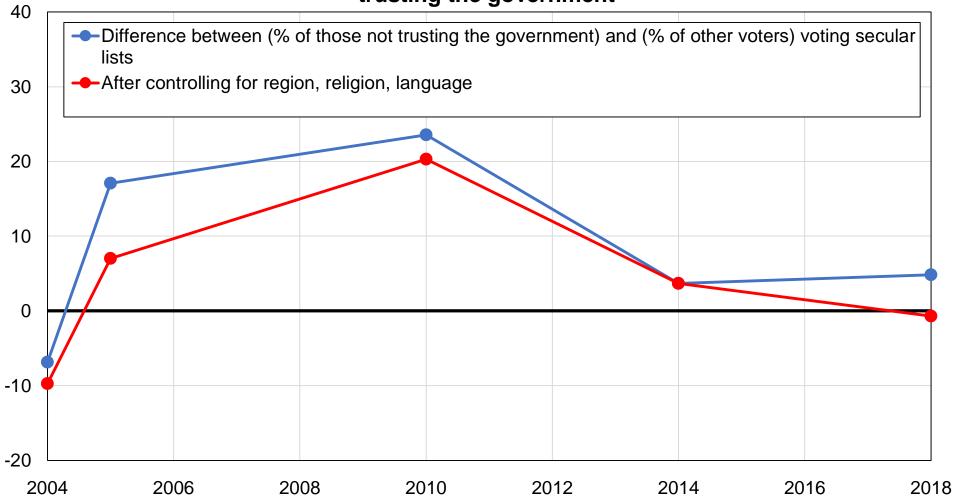
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters who declared experiencing significant economic difficulties and the share of other voters voting for the secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC12 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among politically active voters



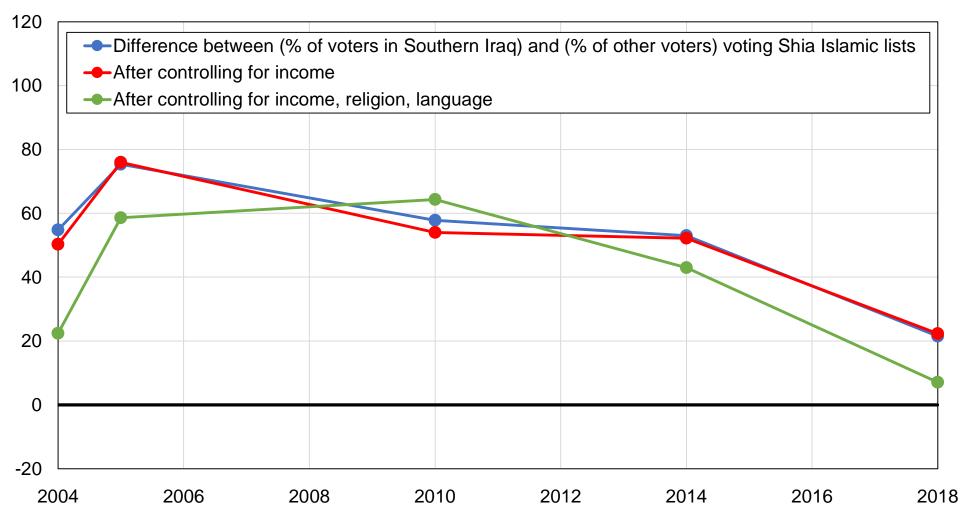
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of politically active and the share of other voters (defined as having already signed and/or attended a demonstration) voting for secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controls.

Figure BC13 - Vote for secular and anti-sectarian lists among voters not trusting the government



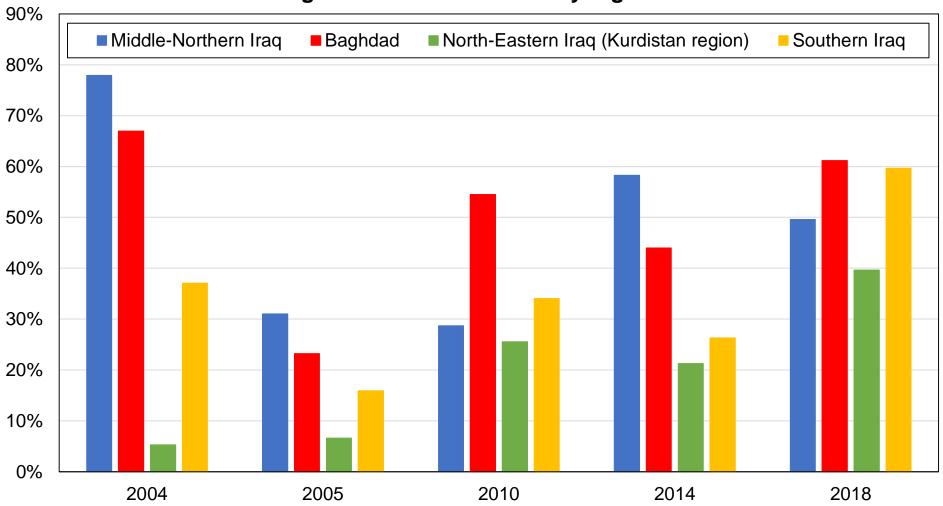
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters having limited or no confidence in the government and the share of other voters voting for secular and anti-sectarian lists, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BC14 - Vote for Shia Islamic lists among Southern Iraq voters



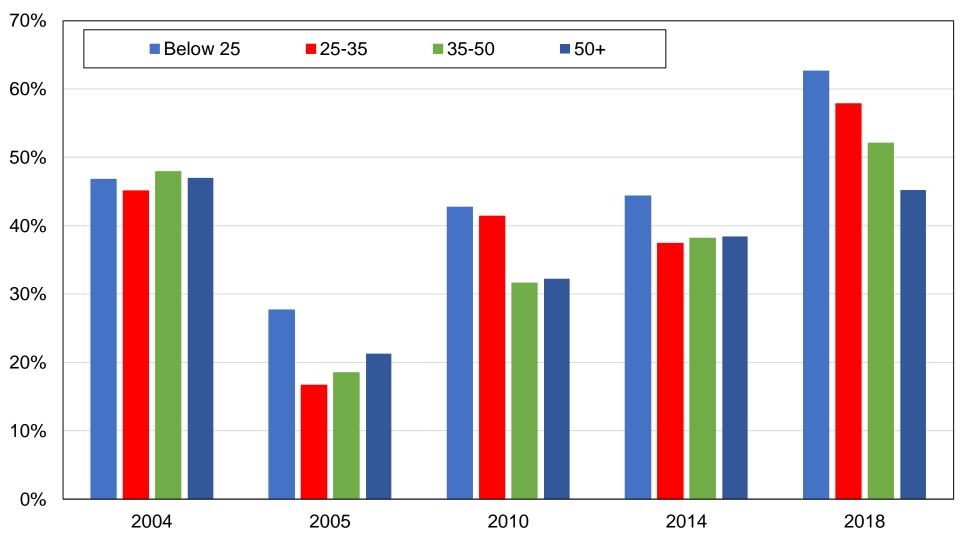
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters in Southern Iraq and the share of other voters voting for Shia Islamic lists, before and after controlling for income and ethno-religious identity.

Figure FBD1 - Abstention by region



Note: the figure shows the share of voters who declared having not voted in the last elections by region. Middle-Northern is predominantly Sunni. Baghdad is mixed. Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

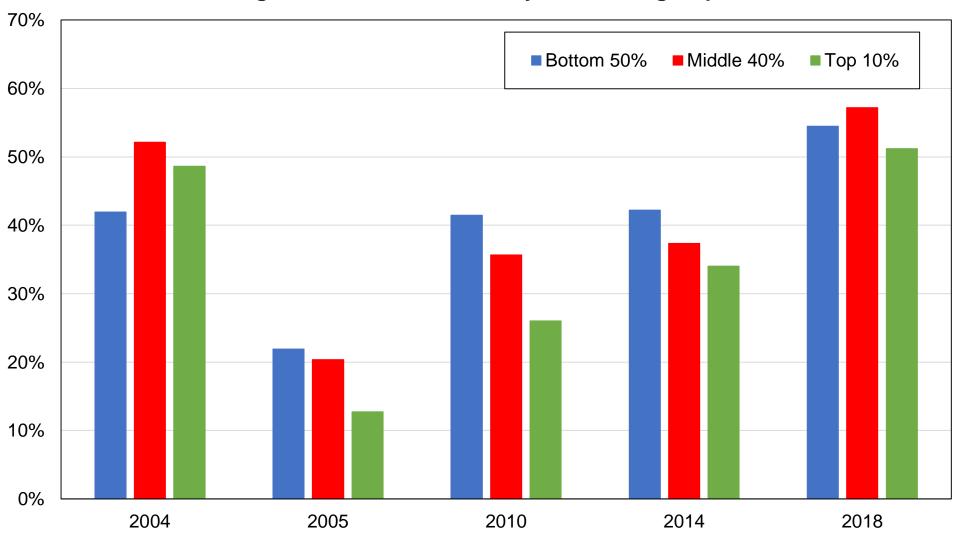
Figure FBD2 - Abstention by age group



Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys.

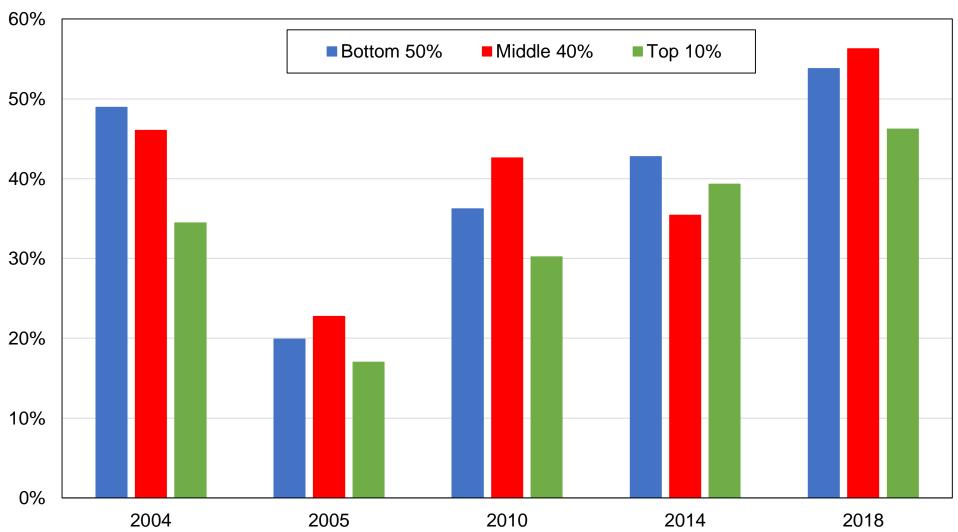
Note: the figure shows the share of voters who declared having not voted in the last elections by age group. Results have been reweighed to match official abstention rates.

Figure FBD3 - Abstention by education group



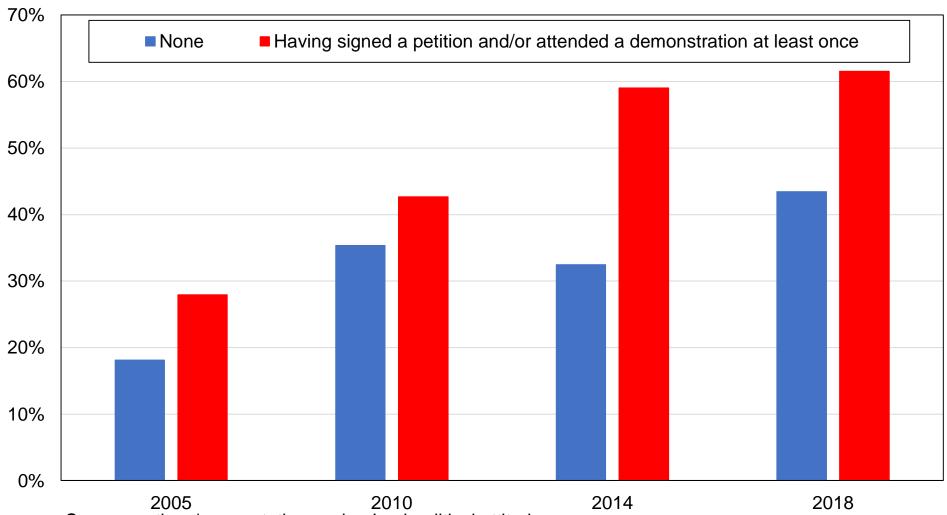
Note: the figure shows the share of voters who declared having not voterd in the last elections by education group. Results have been reweighed to match official abstention rates.

Figure BD4 - Abstention by income group



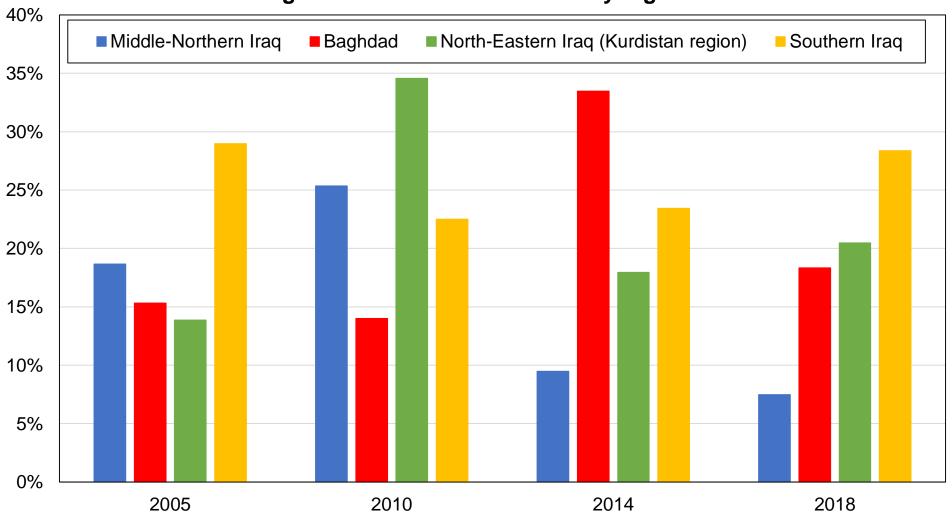
Note: the figure shows the share of voters who declared having not voted in the last elections by income group. Results have been reweighed to match official abstention rates.

Figure BD5 - Abstention by political activism



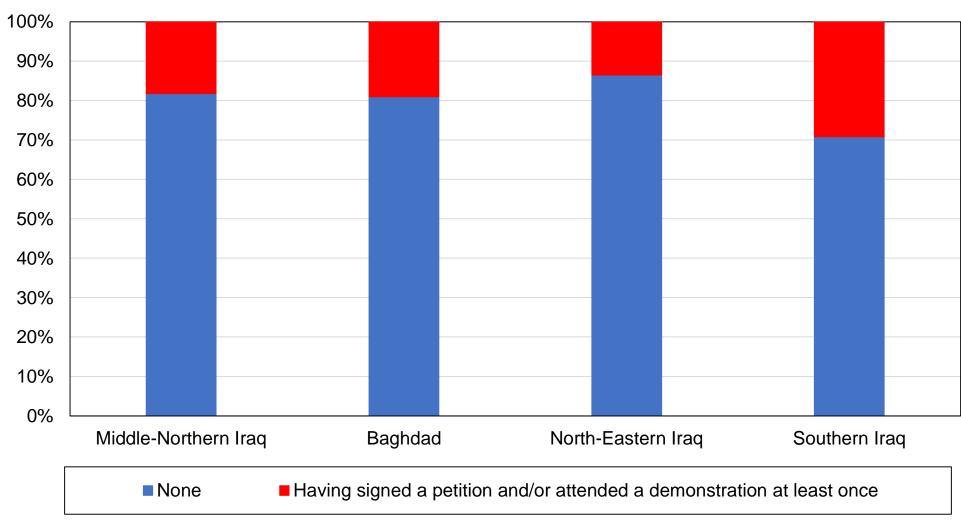
Note: the figure shows the decomposition of the electorate who declared having not voted in the last elections by political activism degree measured as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration. No data available in 2004.

Figure BD6 - Political activism by region



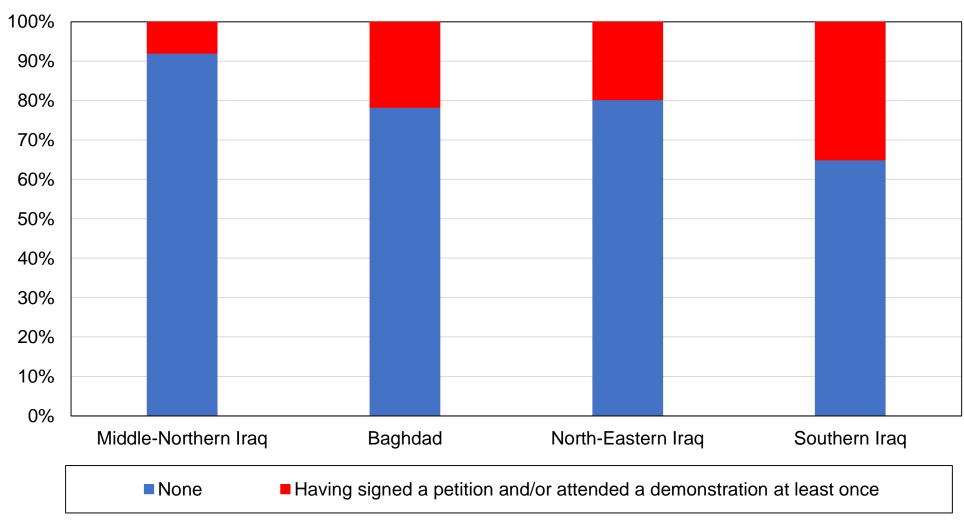
Note: the figure shows the regional decomposition of political activism (defined as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration) in the Iraqi adult population. Middle-Northern Iraq is predominantly Sunni. Baghdad is mixed. Southern Iraq is predominantly Shia.

Figure BD7 - Composition of regions by political activism, 2005



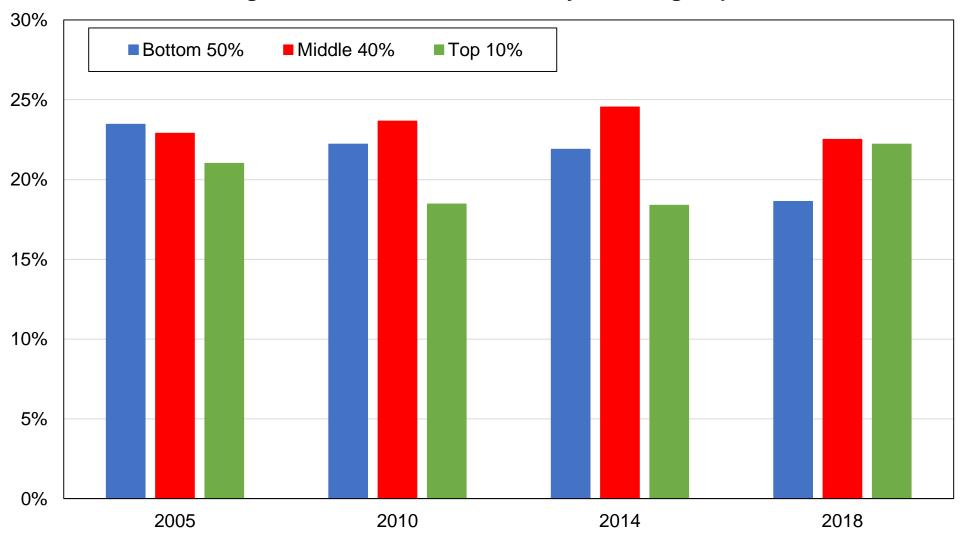
Note: the figure shows the distribution of political activism, measured as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration, by region in 2005.

Figure BD8 - Composition of regions by political activism, 2018



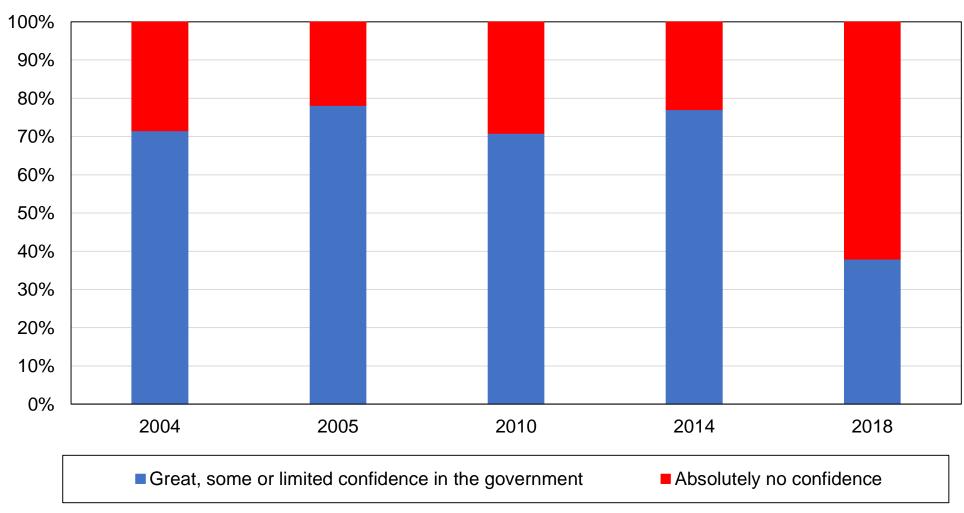
Note: the figure shows the distribution of political activism, measured by having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration, by region in 2018.

Figure BD9 - Political activism by income group



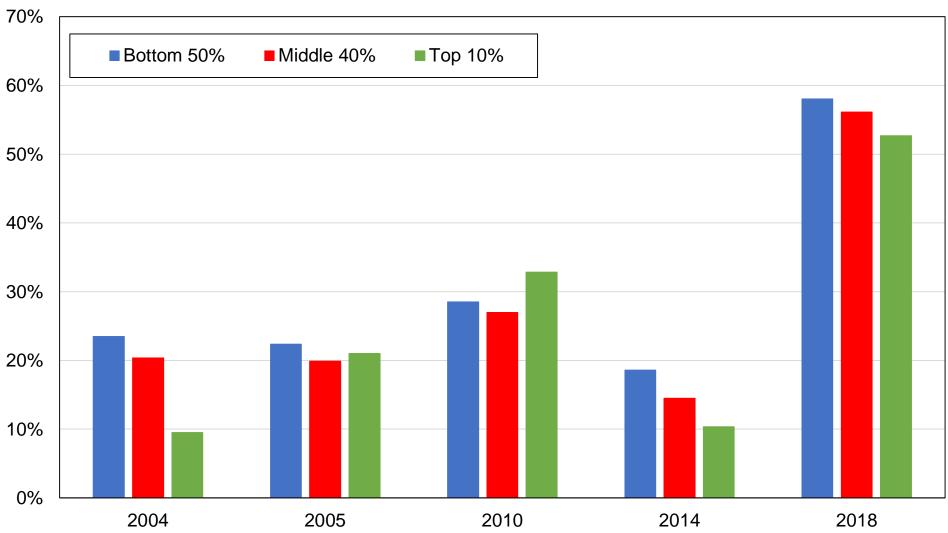
Note: the figure shows the share of voters who declared having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration by income group.

Figure BD10 - Trust deficit towards the government over time



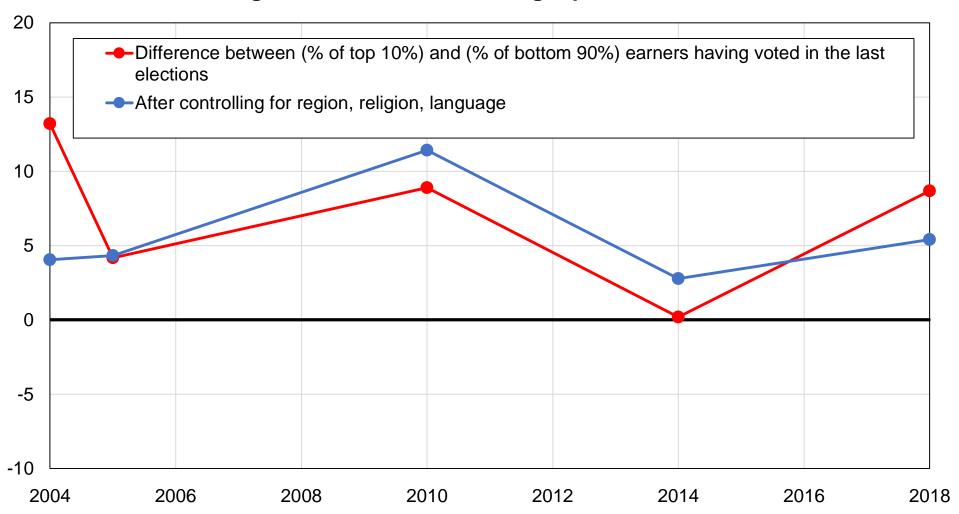
Note: the figure shows the distribution of trust expressed in the government in the Iraqi adult population and its evolution over time.

Figure BD11 - Trust deficit towards the government by income group



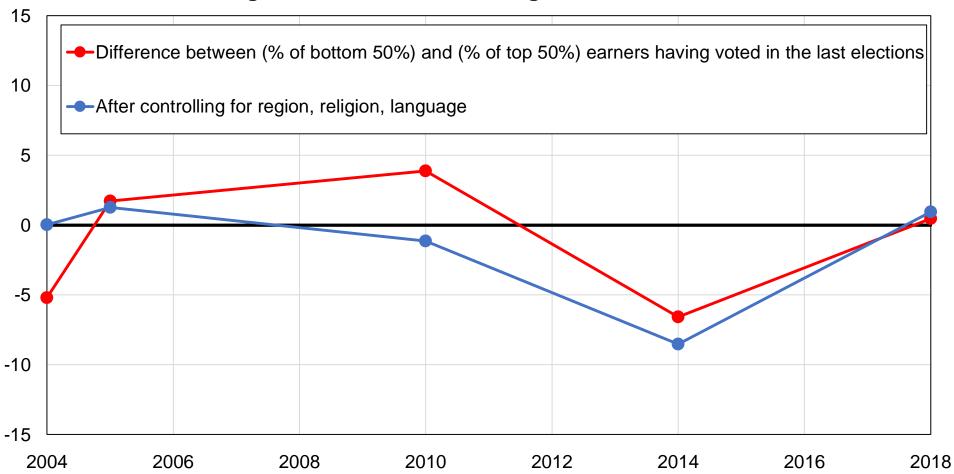
Note: the figure shows the share of voters who declared having absolutely no confidence in the government by income group.

Figure BD12 - Turnout among top-income voters



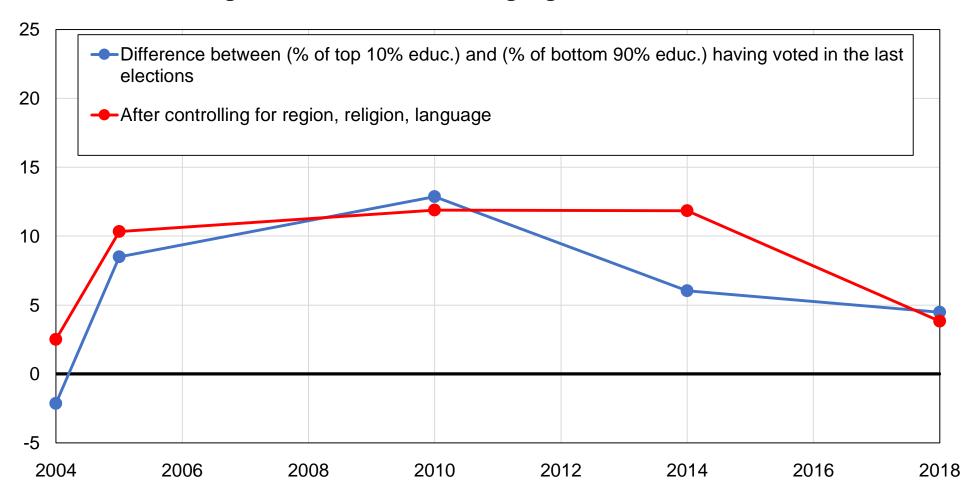
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters who declared having voted in the last elections, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BD13 - Turnout among low-income voters



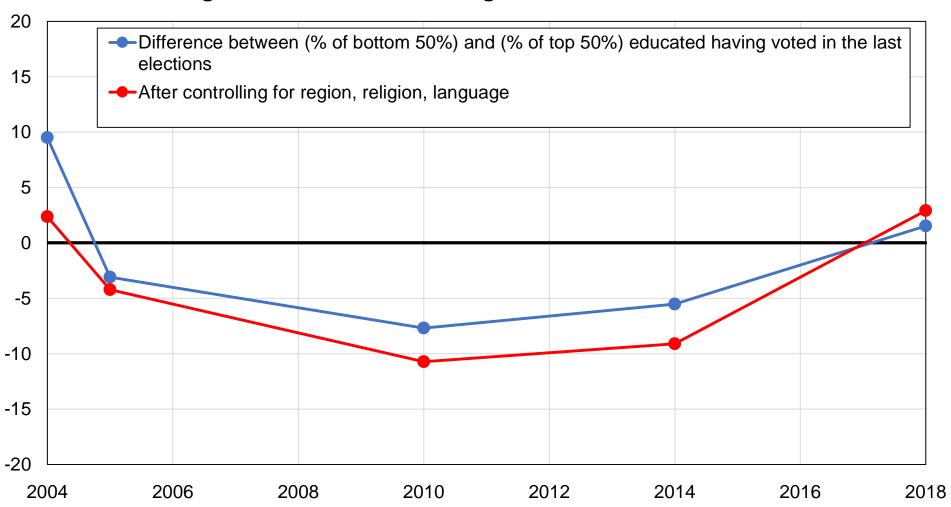
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% voters and the share of top 50% voters in terms of income who declared having voted in the last elections, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BD14 - Turnout among highest-educated voters



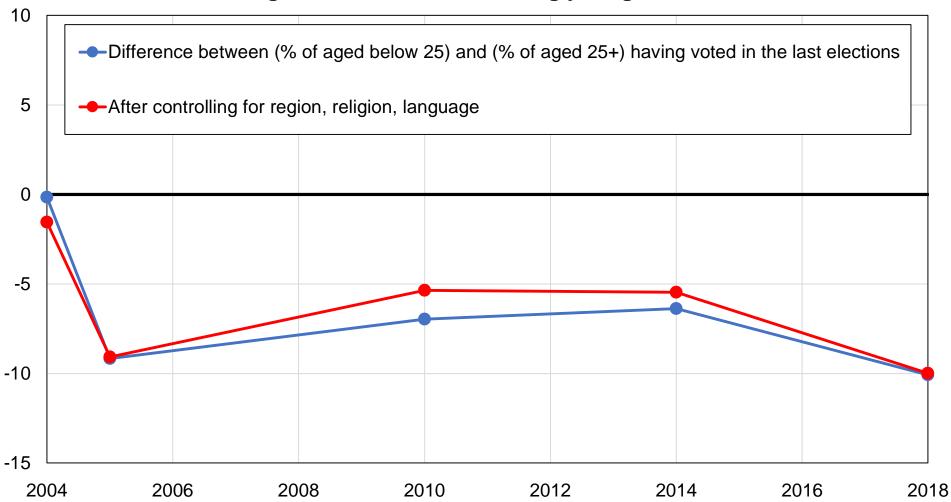
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of lowest 90% educated voters who declared having voted in the last elections, before and after controlling for ethno-religious identity.

Figure BD15 - Turnout among lower-educated voters



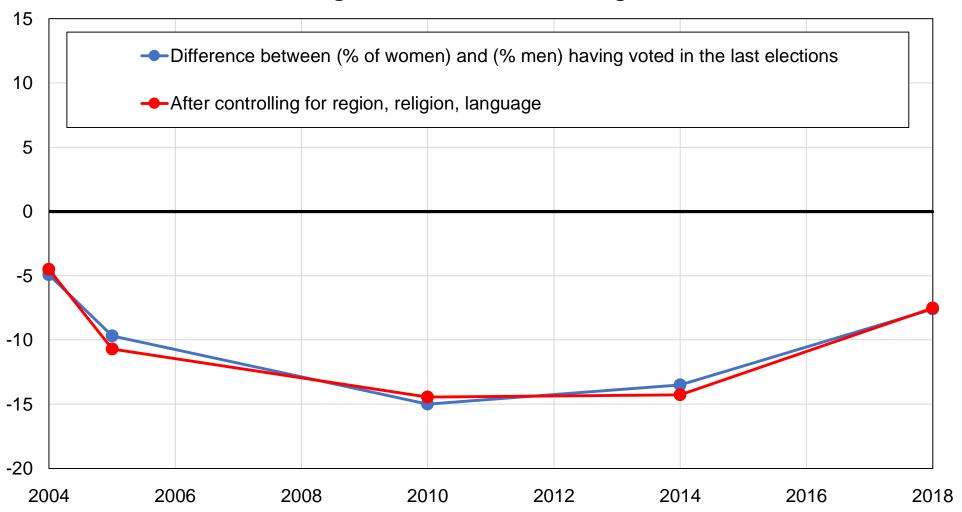
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% educated voters and the share of other voters who declared having voted in the last elections, before and after controls.

Figure BD16 - Turnout among young voters



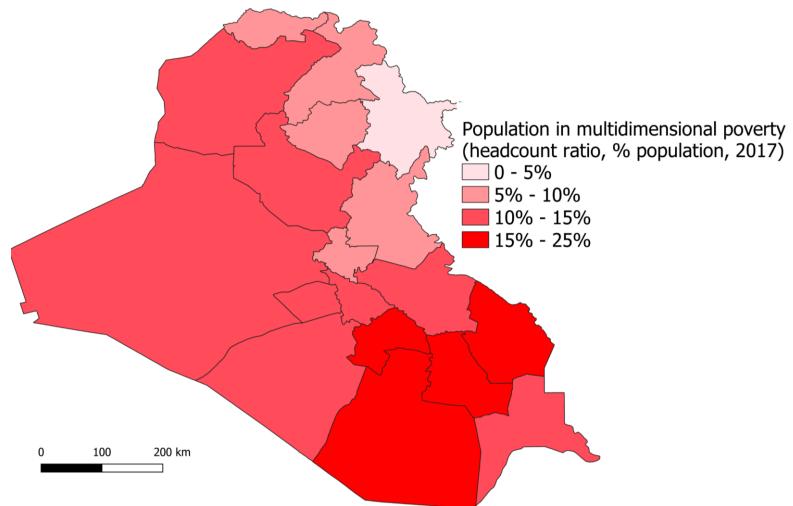
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged below 25 and the share of older voters that declared having voted in the last elections.

Figure BD17 - Turnout among women



Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men that declared having voted in the last elections.

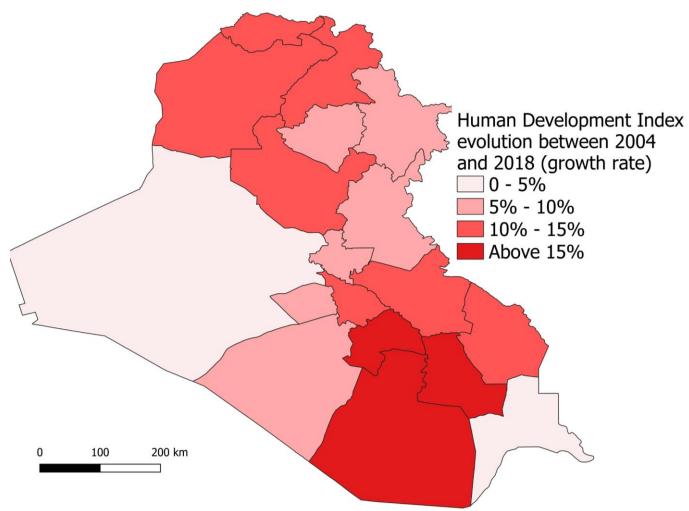
Map B1 - Geographical distribution of multidimensional poverty in Iraq in 2017



Source: authors' computation using subnational decomposition of the Global Multidimensional Poverty Index from the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (University of Oxford).

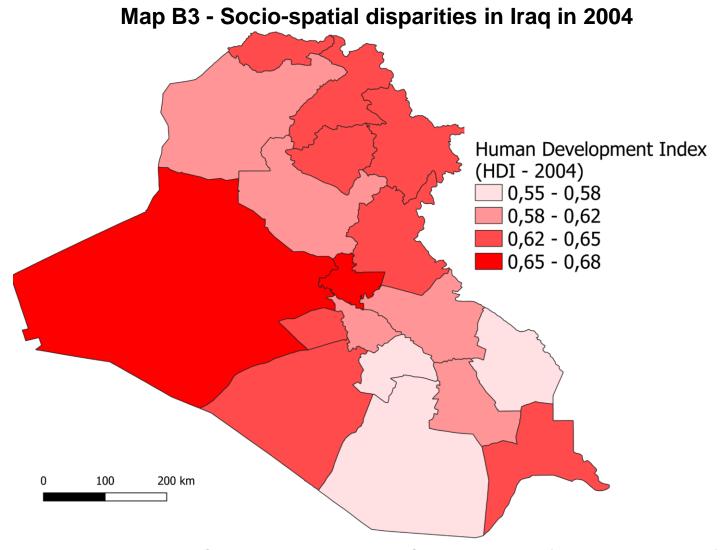
Note: The Muldimensional Poverty Index is an international measure of acute poverty that identifies deprivation across health, education and living standards.

Map B2 - Socio-spatial disparities evolution in Iraq between 2004 and 2018

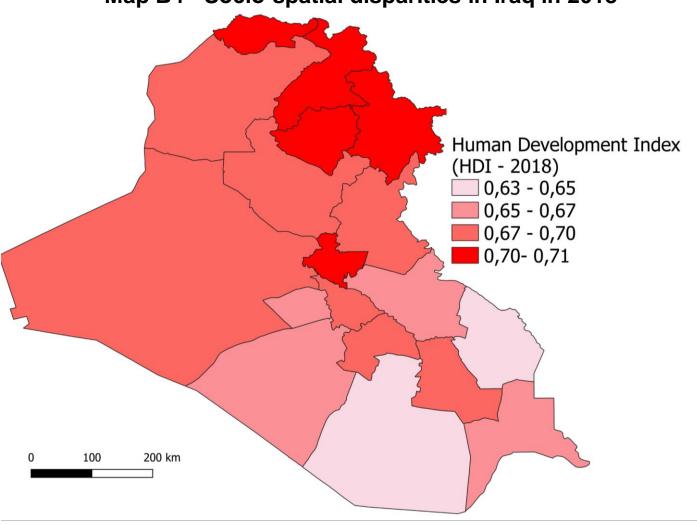


Source: authors' computation. SHDI database from the Global Data Lab (Radboud University).

Note: The map shows the geographical time-evolution of the Subnational Human Development Index (SHDI). The SHDI is a translation of the United Nations Development Programme's official Human Development Index to the subnational level and captures education, health and living standards.



Source: authors' computation. SHDI database from the Global Data Lab (Radboud University). **Note**: The Subnational Human Development Index (SHDI) is a translation of the United Nations Development Programme's official Human Development Index to the subnational level and captures education, health and living standards.



Map B4 - Socio-spatial disparities in Iraq in 2018

Source: authors' computation. SHDI database from the Global Data Lab (Radboud University).

Note: The Subnational Human Development Index (SHDI) is a translation of the United Nations Development Programme's official Human Development Index to the subnational level and captures education, health and living standards.

Table B1 - Survey data sources								
Year	Survey	Source	Sample size					
2004	World Values Survey	WVS	2 325					
2006	World Values Survey	WVS	2 701					
2011	Arab Barometer	WVS	1 234					
2013	World Values Survey	WVS	1 200					
2019	Arab Barometer	Arab Barometer	2 461					

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

Table B2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year									
	2004	2005	2010	2014	2018				
Education: Primary	57%	59%	58%	50%	57%				
Education: Secondary	30%	30%	30%	37%	27%				
Education: Tertiary	13%	11%	12%	13%	16%				
Gender: Woman	52%	52%	51%	48%	49%				
Gender: Man	48%	48%	49%	52%	51%				
Employment status: Employed	39%	40%	38%	39%	25%				
Employment status: Unemployed	10%	8%	8%	9%	11%				
Employment status: Inactive	51%	52%	53%	52%	64%				
Marital status: Not Married	28%	28%	30%	31%	35%				
Marital status: Married	72%	72%	70%	69%	65%				
Religion: Sunni	32%	25%	76%		41%				
Religion: Shia	67%	73%	23%		59%				
Ethnicity: Arab	80%	75%	83%	79%					
Ethnicity: Kurdish	17%	23%	16%	15%					
anguage at home: Arabic	80%	71%	83%	79%					
anguage at home: Kurdish	17%	27%	16%	15%					
∟anguage at home: Other	3%	2%	2%	6%					
Furnout: Did not vote	49%	9%	17%	23%	40%				
Furnout: Voted	51%	91%	83%	77%	60%				
nterest in politics: Not at all interested	26%	19%	11%	19%	56%				
nterest in politics: Not very interested	21%	17%	37%	34%	19%				
nterest in politics: Somewhat interested	35%	37%	41%	39%	17%				
nterest in politics: Very interested	18%	26%	11%	8%	9%				
Wealth: Significant difficulties	11%	8%	15%	11%	15%				
Wealth: Some difficulties	19%	15%	45%	15%	32%				
Welath: Without notable difficulties	61%	68%	34%	42%	37%				
Wealth: Enough for savings	10%	9%	7%	32%	17%				
Political activism: None		78%	77%	79%	81%				
Political activism: Having signed a petition and/or attended a									
demonstration		22%	23%	21%	19%				
∟ocation: Urban			70%	33%	71%				
Location: Rural			30%	67%	29%				

Region: Middle-Northern Iraq	22%	25%	32%	27%	29%
Region: Baghdad	21%	20%	26%	21%	23%
Region: North-Eastern Iraq	14%	13%	13%	14%	11%
Region: Southern Iraq	43%	43%	29%	38%	38%
Age: 18-24	20%	20%	25%	23%	26%
Age: 25-34	29%	30%	29%	26%	27%
Age: 35-50	33%	32%	26%	32%	27%
Age: 50+	18%	19%	19%	19%	20%
Government trust: Great, some or limited	71%	78%	71%	77%	38%
Government trust: Absolutely not	29%	22%	29%	23%	62%

Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys. **Note**: the table shows descriptive statistics by year for selected available variables.

		Share of votes received (%)						
		Kurdish	Secular	Sunni				
	Shia parties	parties	parties	parties	Other			
Overall vote share	49,53%	26,45%	14,65%	3,11%	6,26%			
Education level								
Primary	51%	29%	10%	2%	7%			
Secondary	44%	25%	21%	6%	5%			
Tertiary	52%	17%	21%	3%	7%			
Education group								
Bottom 50%	51%	29%	10%	2%	7%			
Middle 40%	46%	25%	19%	4%	5%			
Top 10%	52%	17%	21%	3%	7%			
Income decile								
D1	75%	3%	17%	2%	3%			
D2	68%	11%	13%	3%	6%			
D3	64%	13%	13%	5%	6%			
D4	60%	16%	14%	5%	5%			
D5	54%	21%	16%	4%	5%			
D6	40%	36%	15%	3%	6%			
D7	40%	36%	15%	3%	6%			
D8	38%	38%	11%	4%	9%			
D9	33%	42%	13%	3%	9%			
D10	28%	47%	20%	0%	4%			
Income group	2070	47 70	2070	0 70	7 /0			
Bottom 50%	64%	13%	14%	4%	5%			
Middle 40%	38%	38%	14%	3%	3 <i>%</i> 8%			
Top 10%	28%	30 % 47%	20%	3 <i>%</i> 0%	4%			
Employment status	20 /0	47 /0	20 /6	0 /6	4 /0			
	45%	29%	17%	10/	5%			
Employed				4%				
Unemployed	62%	22%	9%	2%	5%			
Inactive	53%	24%	13%	3%	7%			
Gender	500 /	070/	400/	00/	00/			
Woman	50%	27%	13%	2%	8% 5%			
Man	49%	26%	16%	4%	5%			
Marital status	470/	000/	4404	00/	7 07			
Not Married	47%	32%	11%	2%	7%			
Married	50%	25%	16%	3%	6%			
Age		0001		221	.			
Below 25	51%	32%	8%	3%	6%			
25-35	50%	26%	15%	3%	6%			
35-50	51%	25%	16%	3%	5%			
50+	45%	23%	18%	4%	9%			
Region								
Middle-Northern Iraq	23%	17%	20%	27%	13%			
Baghdad	58%	5%	28%	6%	4%			
North-Eastern Iraq	2%	90%	2%	0%	6%			
Southern Iraq	75%	0%	17%	1%	6%			
Religion								

Sunni	5%	77%	6%	5%	8%
Shi'ite	73%	0%	18%	2%	7%
Other	31%	0%	69%	0%	0%
Confidence in government					
Great	46%	32%	19%	0%	2%
Some	43%	36%	14%	1%	6%
Limited	57%	17%	18%	2%	5%
Absolutely not	59%	13%	9%	11%	8%
Interest in politics					
Not at all interested	51%	16%	15%	4%	14%
Not very interested	46%	31%	9%	4%	10%
Somewhat interested	43%	38%	13%	3%	4%
Very interested	63%	12%	21%	3%	2%

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in january 2005.

		Share of votes received (%)					
	Shia	Kurdish	Secular	Sunni			
	parties	parties	parties	parties	Other		
Overall vote share	42,40%	23,00%	12,10%	16,50%	6,00%		
Education level							
Primary	45%	25%	10%	14%	7%		
Secondary	39%	22%	16%	19%	5%		
Tertiary	39%	16%	17%	23%	5%		
Education group							
Bottom 50%	45%	25%	10%	14%	7%		
Middle 40%	40%	23%	14%	18%	5%		
Top 10%	39%	16%	17%	23%	5%		
Income decile							
D1	30%	25%	15%	24%	7%		
D2	43%	20%	11%	18%	8%		
D3	39%	19%	15%	17%	8%		
D4	46%	17%	13%	15%	9%		
D5	51%	15%	11%	13%	10%		
D6	47%	18%	12%	16%	7%		
D7	43%	22%	13%	19%	4%		
D8	43%	22%	13%	19%	4%		
D9	40%	32%	10%	15%	4%		
D10	43%	27%	12%	15%	4%		
Income group							
Bottom 50%	42%	19%	13%	18%	8%		
Middle 40%	43%	23%	12%	17%	4%		
Top 10%	43%	27%	12%	15%	4%		
Employment status							
Employed	38%	25%	14%	20%	3%		
Unemployed	44%	10%	15%	19%	12%		
Inactive	46%	23%	10%	13%	8%		
Gender							
Woman	46%	25%	11%	12%	7%		
Man	39%	21%	13%	21%	5%		
Marital status							
Not Married	38%	28%	12%	16%	6%		
Married	44%	21%	12%	17%	6%		
Age		-	-	-			
Below 25	39%	26%	13%	15%	6%		
25-35	43%	22%	11%	19%	5%		
35-50	44%	22%	12%	15%	7%		
50+	42%	24%	12%	18%	5%		
Region				- / -			
Middle-Northern Iraq	3%	11%	25%	46%	15%		
Baghdad	56%	1%	19%	21%	2%		
North-Eastern Iraq	0%	99%	0%	0%	1%		
Southern Iraq	90%	0%	6%	1%	3%		
Language	30 /0	0 /0	0 /0	1 /0	J /0		

Arabic	56%	1%	13%	30%	0%
Kurdish	27%	71%	0%	1%	1%
Other	60%	16%	19%	5%	0%
Religion					
Sunni	1%	58%	5%	29%	7%
Shi'ite	91%	0%	6%	1%	3%
Other	0%	85%	15%	0%	0%
Confidence in government					
Great	60%	32%	4%	1%	3%
Some	62%	22%	7%	3%	6%
Limited	28%	24%	18%	18%	11%
Absolutely not	7%	8%	25%	53%	6%
Interest in politics					
Not at all interested	49%	18%	18%	11%	4%
Not very interested	42%	25%	10%	14%	9%
Somewhat interested	44%	22%	11%	14%	8%
Very interested	42%	15%	13%	28%	2%

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in 2005.

		Share of votes received (%)					
		Kurdish	Secular	Sunni			
	Shia parties	parties	parties	parties	Other		
Overall vote share	42,37%	22,16%	24,72%	5,25%	5,50%		
Education level							
Primary	41%	22%	28%	5%	4%		
Secondary	46%	17%	21%	6%	10%		
Tertiary	35%	38%	24%	3%	0%		
Education group							
Bottom 50%	41%	22%	28%	5%	4%		
Middle 40%	45%	19%	21%	6%	9%		
Top 10%	35%	38%	24%	3%	0%		
Income decile							
D1	24%	18%	40%	3%	15%		
D2	36%	11%	24%	1%	27%		
D3	48%	5%	22%	10%	15%		
D4	48%	10%	23%	13%	5%		
D5	54%	13%	22%	12%	0%		
D6	51%	19%	29%	0%	0%		
D7	54%	8%	34%	5%	0%		
D8	47%	20%	33%	0%	0%		
D9	54%	15%	31%	0%	0%		
D10	62%	7%	20%	11%	0%		
Income group							
Bottom 50%	42%	11%	26%	8%	13%		
Middle 40%	51%	15%	32%	1%	0%		
Top 10%	62%	7%	20%	11%	0%		
Employment status							
Employed	44%	25%	25%	5%	1%		
Unemployed	27%	15%	22%	9%	27%		
Inactive	43%	21%	25%	5%	6%		
Gender							
Woman	42%	25%	24%	5%	4%		
Man	43%	20%	25%	6%	7%		
Marital status							
Not Married	44%	20%	26%	2%	8%		
Married	42%	23%	24%	7%	4%		
Age							
Below 25	48%	19%	28%	0%	5%		
25-35	47%	21%	20%	5%	7%		
35-50	33%	24%	27%	9%	6%		
50+	41%	25%	25%	6%	3%		
Region							
Middle-Northern Iraq	13%	6%	59%	3%	18%		
Baghdad	74%	2%	15%	9%	0%		
North-Eastern Iraq	0%	96%	0%	4%	0%		
Southern Iraq	93%	1%	6%	0%	0%		
Language							

Arabic	58%	1%	34%	6%	0%
Kurdish	5%	90%	1%	4%	0%
Other	0%	0%	7%	0%	93%
Religion					
Sunni	15%	41%	29%	4%	11%
Shi'ite	81%	3%	10%	5%	0%
Other	15%	73%	12%	0%	0%
Confidence in government					
Great	47%	43%	4%	5%	0%
Some	69%	20%	7%	4%	0%
Limited	29%	11%	47%	8%	5%
Absolutely not	12%	25%	42%	5%	16%
Interest in politics					
Not at all interested	71%	13%	10%	6%	0%
Not very interested	55%	11%	24%	11%	0%
Somewhat interested	32%	22%	33%	2%	11%
Very interested	31%	52%	10%	3%	3%

Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in 2010.

		Share o	f votes receiv	ed (%)	
	Shia parties	Kurdish parties	Secular parties	Sunni parties	Other
Overall vote share	41,84%	20,32%	7,67%	7,52%	22,65%
Education level					
Primary	50%	16%	7%	8%	19%
Secondary	37%	26%	9%	7%	21%
Tertiary	28%	18%	9%	8%	37%
Education group					
Bottom 50%	49%	17%	7%	8%	19%
Middle 40%	36%	25%	9%	7%	23%
Top 10%	28%	18%	9%	8%	37%
Income decile					
D1	67%	7%	5%	4%	18%
D2	42%	21%	9%	9%	19%
D3	37%	22%	11%	7%	23%
D4	43%	24%	7%	6%	21%
D5	40%	23%	7%	6%	24%
D6	30%	22%	7%	7%	34%
D7	34%	22%	6%	7%	30%
D8	50%	22%	5%	9%	13%
D9	46%	22%	8%	11%	13%
D10	32%	18%	10%	9%	32%
Income group	3270	1070	1070	370	<i>32</i> /0
Bottom 50%	46%	19%	8%	6%	21%
Middle 40%	40%	22%	6%	9%	23%
Top 10%	32%	18%	10%	9%	32%
Employment status	32 /0	10 /0	10 /0	9 70	32 /0
Employed	42%	21%	9%	9%	19%
, ,		5%	4%	3%	27%
Unemployed Inactive	62% 39%	22%	4 % 7%	3 % 7%	27 % 25%
Gender	39%	ZZ 70	1 70	1 70	25%
	200/	220/	5 0/	00/	250/
Woman	39%	23% 18%	5% 10%	8% 7 %	25%
Man Marital atatus	45%	10%	10%	7%	20%
Marital status Not Married	220/	200/	70/	C 0/	070/
	33%	28%	7%	6%	27%
Married	46%	17%	8%	8%	21%
Age	000/	200/	00/	00/	000/
Below 25	36%	30%	6%	6% 7 0/	23%
25-35 35-50	39%	22%	8% 7 0/	7%	24%
35-50 50-	46%	14%	7%	7%	25%
50+	47%	15%	12%	11%	15%
Region	4.407	=0/	4.504	4001	4701
Middle-Northern Iraq	14%	5%	15%	19%	47%
Baghdad	74%	2%	9%	7%	7%
North-Eastern Iraq	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Southern Iraq	76%	0%	4%	1%	18%
Language					

Arabic	54%	0%	11%	7%	29%
Kurdish	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Other	41%	0%	0%	32%	26%
Confidence in government					
Great	34%	33%	3%	4%	26%
Some	53%	21%	3%	5%	19%
Limited	43%	14%	8%	7%	29%
Absolutely not	33%	22%	9%	17%	19%
Interest in politics					
Not at all interested	28%	8%	10%	15%	40%
Not very interested	39%	22%	8%	9%	23%
Somewhat interested	50%	22%	7%	4%	17%
Very interested	36%	32%	9%	4%	20%

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in 2014.

	1	Complete structure of the vote in Iraq, 2018							
		Share of votes received (%)							
	01.1	17	Anti-						
	Shia	Kurdish	Sectarian	Sunni	041				
	parties	parties	parties	parties	Other				
Overall vote share	36,33%	20,21%	20,39%	8,88%	14,19%				
Education level									
Primary	40%	12%	22%	12%	14%				
Secondary	30%	33%	18%	4%	15%				
Tertiary	36%	27%	20%	4%	12%				
Education group									
Bottom 50%	40%	12%	22%	12%	14%				
Middle 40%	32%	29%	19%	6%	14%				
Top 10%	36%	27%	20%	4%	12%				
Income decile									
D1	46%	5%	24%	10%	14%				
D2	48%	10%	19%	4%	19%				
D3	44%	7%	24%	8%	17%				
D4	33%	11%	20%	19%	17%				
D5	31%	12%	22%	20%	16%				
D6	36%	14%	23%	11%	16%				
D7	35%	30%	23%	0%	13%				
D8	32%	32%	17%	7%	13%				
D9	32%	36%	13%	10%	9%				
D10	27%	45%	19%	0%	9%				
Income group									
Bottom 50%	40%	9%	22%	12%	16%				
Middle 40%	34%	28%	19%	7%	13%				
Top 10%	27%	45%	19%	0%	9%				
Employment status	,,			0,0	3,5				
Employed	26%	32%	22%	4%	17%				
Unemployed	33%	25%	22%	9%	10%				
Inactive	42%	14%	20%	11%	14%				
Gender	1270	1-170	2070	1170	1-170				
Woman	41%	16%	21%	8%	14%				
Man	33%	23%	20%	9%	15%				
Marital status	3370	2570	2070	370	1370				
Not Married	34%	28%	17%	7%	14%				
Married	38%	16%	22%	10%	14%				
Age	30 70	10 /6	22 /0	1070	1470				
Below 25	36%	25%	20%	5%	13%				
25-35	40%	25%	18%	5% 9%	13%				
25-55 35-50	34%	16%	20%	9% 14%	16%				
35-50 50+	34% 36%	16%	20% 25%	14% 6%	16%				
	30%	1370	2 370	070	1470				
Region Middle Northern Iron	460/	E0/	00/	220/	400/				
Middle-Northern Iraq	46%	5%	8%	22%	18%				
Baghdad	38%	0%	30%	4%	27%				
North-Eastern Iraq	0%	87%	12%	0%	1%				
Southern Iraq	53%	1%	40%	0%	6%				

Religion					
Sunni	25%	39%	11%	15%	10%
Shi'ite	51%	0%	36%	0%	12%
Other	25%	0%	53%	0%	22%
Confidence in government					
Great	42%	10%	12%	18%	18%
Some	33%	30%	12%	10%	14%
Limited	29%	24%	26%	14%	7%
Absolutely not	40%	16%	23%	6%	16%
Interest in politics					
Not at all interested	39%	13%	21%	6%	21%
Not very interested	30%	25%	23%	17%	5%
Somewhat interested	35%	34%	16%	4%	10%
Very interested	42%	11%	22%	13%	11%

Source: authors' computations using Iraqi political attitudes surveys. **Notes**: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in 2018.

Table B8 - Complete structure of the vote in Iraq, 2018				
	Feels close to no party	Did not vote in the last elections		
Overall sample share	51,71%	55,15%		
Gender	1			
Woman	53%	59%		
Man	51%	51%		
Age				
Below 25	52%	63%		
25-35	53%	58%		
35-50	51%	52%		
50+	53%	45%		
Education group				
Bottom 50%	51%	54%		
Middle 40%	52%	57%		
Top 10%	54%	51%		
Income group				
Bottom 50%	53%	54%		
Middle 40%	58%	56%		
Top 10%	45%	46%		
Employment status				
Unemployed	56%	51%		
Employed	46%	50%		