



Tribal Electoral Conduct in Contemporary Iraqi Society: An Anthropological Study of Local Elections in Rumaitha District

Adnan Mutter Nassir, University of Al-Muthanna / College of Basic Education/Iraq,
adnannaser900@mu.edu.iq

Abstract- The research aims to know and understand electoral and tribal behaviour as an anthropological parameter that weights the modern political life of contemporary Iraqi society and to verify the suitability of tribal political behaviour to understand the paths of change in the electoral and democratic sphere within the local community institutions in Rumaitha district. The functional and the descriptive approach was adopted by the intentional sampling method as a field for research, and the appropriate tools were used for the two approaches as a tool for gathering information. The research found that the election culture in Iraqi society is still characterized by the traditional character, as tribal and tribal factors play an active role in the political body of society. The research recommended conducting anthropological and social studies to help establish a national and democratic electoral system among citizens in the realities of social life.

Keywords: Electoral behaviour, election, voter, tribe, clan, Iraqi society and anthropology.

I. INTRODUCTION

Iraqi society consists of a large number of tribes, which in turn are divided into several clans and sub-clans whose influence extended to the cities as a result of the escalation of the migration movement from the countryside and the Badia in search of job opportunities during the past decades in which the country witnessed turbulent political, economic and social conditions, and these migrations led to the transmission of traditions.

Tribal and tribal norms and extensions with the new inhabitants of the city, and the role and influence of tribes in Iraq grew after the fall of the political system in 2003 AD, as the tribe turned into a political and administrative entity that protects the rights of its members and achieves their gains, and tribal and clan affiliations have become, at present, exercising several political roles. In this research, attention will be paid to the influence of the tribe on the local elections in the city, specifically in the Rumaitha district in which the local elections were held in each province of Muthanna for two consecutive sessions (the provincial council) between 2009-2013, which resulted in a clear dominance of the clans.

On the electoral process, and its rise strongly as an influential actor in political balances, as tribes played the roles of mobilizing voters, organizing and financing Electoral campaigning, leading campaigns to promote candidates, forming electoral lists, selecting candidates from among its ranks, in addition to resolving disputes that arise between candidates, which is considered an indication of the primacy of tribal affiliations and loyalties. It still represents a peculiarity that affects the formation of cultural and electoral policy in contemporary Iraqi society in general. And the local community in particular.

II. THEORIES EXPLAINING THE RESEARCH

1. Khaldunian theory: the tribal framework, according to Ibn Khaldun, is incomplete as long as the individual does not acquire the customs and customs of the tribe, and the awareness of the existence of a common public interest that draws him to the rest of his group does not make sense because he is one of these or those except the flow of their rulings and their conditions to him, if The most important thing

that calls for cohesion and communication between tribe members is the existence of a collective territory that must be protected and defended from external danger, the latter which contributes to increasing and strengthening internal cohesion between tribe members. And we in the research community, through interviews, noticed the candidate resorting to his tribe and needing to mobilize its members for the sake of personal interest and ambition.¹

2. Functional constructivism: This theory explains the kinship pattern starting from the family as a structure that made this pattern, and this explanation is due to the structural and functional factors surrounding the family that are exposed to a series of changes and transformations, especially the urban family present in the urban community, and for this we can say in general, that Career direction, depends on looking at anything, whether it is an individual, small group, formal organization, society, or even the whole world as a system or system. The group's need for cohesion may be achieved by adhering to traditions, bonds and social relations, or by feeling threatened. From an external enemy and the electoral vote here is determined by the social status of the voter, as well as his religion and place of residence, and thus indicates the political readiness of the voter who considers the groups to which he belongs a decisive factor in his decision and choices influenced by his belonging to his social group in determining his behaviour Elective.²

3. The theory of social exchange: based on three axes (individual, group, and society); So we find (John Romance) focused on the fact that the exchange process between individuals or groups is a process aimed at achieving benefit and profit between the two parties, so Homance sought clarifying the relationship between these axes, as the individual in the framework of his pursuit and interests to satisfy his needs and fulfil his interests enters into a reciprocal relationship with different persons and groups. And community institutions that may compel him to carry out certain activities in exchange for what he wants, and that method is carried out according to the conditions and standards of society. According to the desires and capabilities of each party. While (John Emerson) believes that the beneficial relationships can be in the form of network relationships between a group of individuals, groups, and institutions governed by laws in the relationship, The relationship also embodies the principle of democracy and freedom, so that every individual or institution has the opportunity to enter into this. The relationship and all profits are distributed equally among the group members.³The idea of social exchange expresses a comprehensive deal in the sense that tribal loyalty plays its role in mobilizing and mobilizing members of the tribe behind the candidate who belongs to them out of solidarity and fanaticism, and that the candidate, when elected, does not act out of the same tribal loyalty by implementing his promises such as the application of services And privileges for members of his tribe, and this is what we noticed in our society between voters and candidates in the exchange of benefits.⁴

4. Environmental and geographic theory: Establishing correlations between electoral data and environmental and geographical situation variables, as the way the population spread in cities and rural areas and the extent of their affinity influences the electoral behaviour during the electoral dates.⁵ The candidate finds his public base in his hometown, where he has family and kinship ties compared to other regions, where local features draw the basic features of the shape of the political map. Therefore, the process of interpretation is related to the distinctive geographical characteristics of the place, and through this the effect of the nature of the division of electoral districts on the electoral behaviour is evident.

5. The psychological trend: The owners of this trend believe that voting is conditional on those preparations that parents teach their children, and therefore every voter at the beginning of his youth becomes firmly attached and psychologically attached to a specific political party, and this mechanism that starts from charging the citizen until he becomes partisan, would The role played by the mentor, educator, and role model leader in the process of upbringing and political formation has expanded. Therefore, the psychological model does not refer to electoral patterns to environmental factors or the voter's social circumstances, but rather to deep psychological considerations, such as the desire for security, self-love and love for leadership, or acceptance of a candidate voluntarily or not, jealousy and hostility towards a candidate, or love, respect and appreciation.⁶

6. The theory of strategic analysis: The theory started from the premise that every individual in the organization has goals and strategies within the organization, so individuals act in the organization with limited rationality, so each individual looks at the organization from the angle of his own goals and consolidates his position, and here this behaviour must include competition, conflict and cooperation Between individuals to achieve common goals and be a cause of stimulating exchanges (such as the exchange of interests and privileges) and cooperation to achieve personal goals and aspirations through a strategic vision. This theory has been applied to collective action in organizations, as the actors follow strategies to achieve their goals to some extent and in our society, the concept of strategies is applied to

the situation of the voter who aspires to achieve goals with material utilitarian values (Job accommodation, services, improvement of living conditions ... etc.).⁷

The anthropological view of the election

The influence of tribal organization has increased on the Arab and Iraqi political arena, and the increase of this influence not only confirms its character as a cultural feature, but rather the necessity to deal with it as an anthropological factor that has its weight in political life, and the problems remain in the extent of compatibility of the characteristics of this building with the modern political mechanisms of society.

Therefore, despite modernization, the citizen adheres to the natural and unconditional loyalty to his party and the people of his region and his clan more than his loyalty to party affiliation and the ideological conviction of the state as a representative of the people, as he naturally feels that he belongs to his tribe and does not feel that he is part of that state except at intervals and according to occasions .⁸ Modern political life is based on the effective role of a group of institutions such as the state and parties, and ballot boxes constitute the decisive element in democratic practice. After the Senate was the basis for political organization, the municipal and local council became a modern administrative formation that plays an important role in society and constitutes election as an expression of democracy as the bridge.

The local council tribal groups did not lose their influence on the local council but rather adapted and mounted the mechanisms of political modernization to maintain their weight within the local community.⁹ The election of the local council, even if it is dressed in party robes, is subject to the influence of tribal and clan tendencies. The candidates rely on it to recommend and bless their candidacy for the elections. The governorate and the research area witnessed the birth of a significant number of parties of all kinds, so religious and secular ones were established in large cities such as Rumaitha and the rest of the other cities in the governorate.

Their presence in the countryside and the strategies of many of these parties were based on their participation in the elections, with lists of candidates for those who would apply to run, to confirm their tribal affiliation and lineage, because this would ensure that they garner the largest number of votes. In the past, the authority of the clans was mostly concentrated in the countryside and the surrounding areas of the city, but in the past three decades, it has crept towards city centres and changed the demographic composition and population balance, as the rural presence has become overwhelming in cities in all sectors of life and it has become clear that the keys to power and locations Implementation in cities is in the hands of political figures from the countryside and supported by the clans. Let us not forget that the numerical predominance of the people of the countryside over the people of the cities determines the course of the political and electoral process in Iraq today. Cities have been gradually "defined" by the transfer of customs, traditions and lifestyle. The countryside to the cities, and that the nature of societal relations in cities changed and became controlled by tribal settlements, especially the return of what is known as tribal segregation.

III. ECOLOGICAL LAYOUT

First, Environmental factors: The most important environmental factors affecting the conduct of the electoral process in the research area

1. Location: Al-Rumaitha city is located in the northwestern section, 20 km from the centre of the Al-Muthanna Governorate. Al-Rumaitha was named by this name, to provide the plant and the fertility of its pastures. The Zawalim clan, which belongs to the tribe of Bani (Hujim), migrated to it from Najd and Wadi Al-Qura, and it was also inhabited by the tribes of Khazael, Bani Zarij, Bani Aired, and the Al-Hassan and Al-Aajib clan, and the city in that period was a small village that in 1891 AD became a subordinate to the district of Samawa. The British entered its occupiers in 1920, and from that date, the face of the city began to change, and it turned from a small city into an administrative city and then to a district in 1969. It included four aspects.¹⁰

2. Climate: The election process, like any human activity, is affected by the climate and its components. Bad weather conditions such as low and high temperatures, snowfall, storms and precipitation have a direct relationship with the population movement and their electoral performance.¹¹ It can be said that the climate The success of the electoral process, both administratively and psychologically, is determined to a large degree. Despite the classification of the climate of Iraq and the

climate of the research area within the extremes in terms of temperature and rain due to several factors, the choice of March as a date for elections throughout Iraq is characterized by moderate temperatures and falling rain. Also, the clarity of the atmosphere in the study area on the day of the elections helped to increase the voter turnout.

Second, Human Factors

1. Population: The population of the district centre until the year 2014 AD reached (151077) thousand, as for the inhabitants of the sub-districts belonging to it, Warka (95894) people, Al-Majd (42,306) people, the Crescent (38,765) people, Al Najmi (34,376) people, and the total becomes The judiciary (362418) thousand people. The number of housing units for the district centre in the place of research was about (9797) housing units (Directorate of Statistics in Al-Muthanna, 2014), and this rate varies from one residential neighbourhood to another, and this variation is due to several factors, including the total of families, the number of housing units for each neighbourhood and the location of the neighbourhood from the city and level It is possible to distinguish three categories of the average housing unit density in the city of Al-Rumaitha, which are as follows:¹²

- The first category: represented by the neighbourhoods in which the average housing unit density ranged between (6.8 - 9.8) individuals/housing unit, and included the neighbourhoods of (Al-Sadiq, Al-Imam Al-Askari, Thawrat Al-Twenty, Al-Shuhada).
- The second category: Includes neighbourhoods in which the average housing unit density ranges between (1.8 - 5.8) individuals/housing unit, and it was represented by the neighbourhoods of (Prince and Al Hussein).
- The third category: Includes the neighbourhoods in which the average housing unit density ranges between (6-7) individuals/housing unit, and was represented by the neighbourhoods of (Al Zahraa, Al-Jawadin, Al-Jihad and Al-Hakim).

2. Geographical distribution of the clans in the Rumaitha district and their electoral role: The Bani Hujim tribe is one of the most important tribes in the Middle Euphrates in Iraq and the area of research, and it had the final say with the Iraqi tribes that contributed to the Iraqi Twentieth Revolution, this tribe consists of a group of Arab tribes inhabiting all the lands located on The two sides of the Euphrates in Muthanna Governorate, as well as the lands located between Samawah and Rumaitha, have several Arab origins, and two or three clans may have shared one origin. As for the reason for their name (Bani Hujim), perhaps the name belonged to one of the clans of this group and then included the others on the occasion of one of the occasions, and they may be from the remnants of the (Banu Al-Hakam) who are the belly of the Sa'd clan from since Hajj, or from the (Bani Al-Hakam) a belly of Qadah from Al-Qahtaniyah and the tribe is divided according to its home into two parts: - Banu Hakim (Hujim) Al-Sharqiyyah: Most of the lands of this section are barren with no access to water and include clans: Al-Ghanim, Al-Safran, Al-Barakat, Ottawa, Al-Mutawaq, Al-Abs, Al-Jawaber, The Tawba family, the Fartous family, and the Western Banu Hakim (Hujim) or the people of Dala: their lands are relatively fertile and include the clans of the search area: Al-Zawalim, Al-Hassan, Al-Jayash, Al-Zayyad, Al-Aajeeb .¹³

Table 1. Shows the geographical distribution of the (Hujim) clans and the clans coexisting with them in the Rumaitha district

S	The clan	Areas where they are located
1.	The oppressors	A large clan, they live on the right and left side of the Al-Awja River that passes through the city of Rumaitha.
2.	Al Hassan	Albu Hassan: They live on the western side of the Rumaitha River in the lands of Al-Suwaihiya and Al-Fazaia.
3.	Alaajeeb	Alaajeeb: A large clan that works in agriculture and sheep breeding controls large lands whose borders start from the south of the city of Rumaitha and end to the south in the Badia.
4.	Banu Zareej	Banu Zareej: They live north of Rumaitha, and they control large agricultural lands.
5.	Khazael	An ancient clan who live west of Rumaitha, and they branch out into (Al-Salman, Al-Hamad, and Al-Karnous)

The clan in the research area showed an ability to adapt to the rules of the democratic and electoral process, forcing the parties and electoral lists to go towards the clans in preparation for the elections, as

many conferences are held in which the candidates seek to appear next to the tribal leaders to gain the support of their clans, and these are taken into consideration. Conferences show all tribal traditions and customs, for example, the candidate may wear clothing specific to a region or tribe, declare his loyalty to it, glorify its role and history, and pledge to defend its interests. And some tribes saw that they could play an active role in the parliamentary and local elections, which prompted them to agree with a number of their members to enter the electoral lists and control them, but rather prepared their electoral lists in the 2013 local elections, such as the Middle Euphrates Gathering, Gathering for Al-Muthanna selects the candidates who will run in the official elections, and then the winners are considered the official candidates for the tribe or clan, and thus he can win most of the votes. The clans employ various social media to support specific candidates, as there are many pages on social media sites (Facebook, Telegram, Instagram, and WhatsApp), and these pages usually affect the behaviour of voters, especially in simple tribal societies.

Local elections in the search area

- First, Provincial, Districts and Sub-District Councils Election Law: Regarding the election of members of provincial councils, the House of Representatives issued (Law No. 36 of 2008 for Provincial, Districts and Sub-District Councils Election) and the Presidency Council approved it on 8/10/2008. This law deals with the most important issues dealt with in the election law, such as determining the electoral system used, determining the conditions for the voter, electoral districts, electoral propaganda, electoral crimes, distributing seats to voters and others, as the law approves the proportional representation system, and voting under the open list system, because the voter has The option to vote for the list as a whole or one of the candidates within one of the exclusively competing lists. The governorate, with its administrative boundaries, is considered a single electoral district in the election of the provincial council, and the law gives the individual candidate the right to run, provided that he is registered and approved by the commission. The law was amended according to the amendment of the Provincial and Districts Council Elections Law No. 44 of 2008). The 2009 elections and the 2013 elections were held under the open list system. As the voter has two options, either to vote in favour of the list only by marking the box designated for the list on the ballot paper or to vote for one of the candidates by placing another mark in the box that indicates the candidate's number. Therefore, it can be said that this system combined the open list in the election with the individual system, and we say system Individual because it gives the voter the right to choose one candidate when he indicates the number of the list and the candidate together. One of the problems that arise against the individual system is that it leads to the domination of the clans, especially politically supported, seats in parliament and local councils through the control of the tribes over the districts, sub-districts, or electoral districts of each governorate in the basic sense Elective.¹⁴
- Second, The Governorate Council and its powers: The highest legislative and oversight authority within the governorate's administrative boundaries and has the right to issue local legislation within the governorate's boundaries to enable it to manage its affairs by the principle of administrative decentralization in a manner that does not conflict with the constitution and federal laws. The provincial council consists of 26 seats. Decisions in the provincial council are taken by a simple majority if no dispute stipulates This is by Article 19 of the Law of Governorates not organized in a region for the year 2008, and the provincial council dissolves local councils with an absolute majority of the number of members based on the request of one-third of the members in the event of a serious breach of tasks, violation of the constitution, or loss of one-third of membership conditions, and the provincial council has the right to dissolve Local councils based on a request from the district office about the Judicial Council or one-third of the members of the local council. The dissolved council has the right to appeal before the Federal Supreme Court within 15 days from the date of the dissolution, and the court decides within 30 days from the date on which the objection was registered.
- Third, Voting in the 2009 and 2013 local elections: The Governorate Elections Commission and its rulings in establishing a voter register relied on the Ministry of Trade's data on the ration card that was used as a basic base in 2005 elections. However, some problems emerged in this data that prompted the commission to update it periodically before any new parliamentary or local elections and despite the updating of the voters' registry. However, the Commission did not update the voter register accurately for the provincial council elections in 2009, which led to the emergence of many problems, including the absence of the names of some voters in the records of the electoral centres, which deprived them of the right to vote, as well as typographical errors in the names and the disappearance of some voter names from the register Despite its presence in the voter card and other things, all this urged the commission to

make more accurate updates on the voter register to avoid many of these problems in the 2013 provincial council elections, which reflected positively on voter participation and the final results of the elections.¹⁵

Table 2. Shows the distribution of voters in Rumaitha district and its suburbs

Township	population	Registered number	The percentage%
Rumaitha 2009	290955	148519	51.0
Rumaitha 2013	319585	164754	51.6

It is evident from the above table that the Rumaitha district recorded a low percentage in the 2009 elections, which amounted to 51% of the total population of the district and its suburbs, which amounted to 290,995. In the elections. In the 2013 elections, the population of the research area registered in the three provincial council elections that took place on 4/20/2013 increased to an increase in the number of residents who had reached the legal age to participate in the elections and to update and check the voter register in the electoral centres.

- Fourth, Electoral centres in Al-Rumaitha district : (Election Commission Office in Al-Muthanna, 2020), Al-Rumaitha district and its affiliated Al-Qasabat ranked first for the year 2009 AD in terms of the number of electoral centres throughout the Muthanna Governorate by (68) electoral centres and by 43% of the total electoral centres in the governorate amounting to (158) electoral centres and in the 2013 elections, the number of electoral centres increased to (74) electoral centres in the judiciary, which indicates an increase of (6) electoral centres in comparison to previous elections. The reason for the high rate of participation in the judiciary is the homogeneity of the structure of society, as well as the presence of some influential political, party and tribal figures who constitute a wide voting weight within the judiciary.¹⁶

Table3. Shows the distribution of electoral centres in the district and its sub-districts

Rumaitha District	Registered number	Percentage	Number of electoral centres	Percentage
2009	148519	40,7	68	43.0
2013	164754	41,2	74	43.8

- Fifth, Political entities participating in the 2009-2013 elections: (Elections Commission in Muthanna, 2020).

Table 4. Show classification of political parties and distribution of seats in Al-Muthanna Governorate

The local elections for the year 2009			The 2013 local elections		
S	Political entity	Number of seats	S	Political entity	Number of seats
1	State law	5	1	State of Law Coalition	8
2	Supreme Council	5	2	Citizen Coalition	7
3	The audience	3	3	Free Coalition	3
4	The National Reform Stream	3	4	Iraq Competencies Pool	3
5	The Independent Free Stream	2	5	Muthanna Grouping entity	3

6	The gathering for Muthanna	2	6	Muthanna Alliance for Change	2
7	Independent National List	2			
8	The independent Iraq competencies pool	2			
9	Middle Euphrates Gathering	2			

Two months before the date of the vote, the election campaign begins, and the advertisements for all independent entities and personalities, especially in the tribal areas (Al-Zawalim, Al-Najeeb, Al Hassan, Al-Zareej and others). Everyone tries to market himself as a better candidate for a seat in the Muthanna Provincial Council seats, preparing for these elections from the first moment The Parliament approved the law on governorates that are not organized in a region, and the Commission stipulated that whoever registers for the elections, if he entered in a personal capacity, pays 5 million dinars, and if he enters into a list of paying 25 million dinars, the large, influential lists in the country we found in these elections were divided into more than one list, the party The invitation was divided into the list of al-Maliki and the list of Al-Jaafari, the Supreme Council entered more than one list, all of them form a list of 26 people for the Muthanna Governorate, and according to the quota system that every two of the men must be the third of a woman, and thus a semi-fair distribution is achieved between women and men, and there is a problem of selling Votes are fragmented from some lists when their role is weak in the elections, and it is in the interest of every administrative unit in the governorate to obtain the largest possible number of seats in the provincial council, as some candidates found their influence.¹⁷

The electoral community is limited after they gathered votes from their narrow surroundings, family - clan - friends and acquaintances. The size of these votes in terms of numbers does not allow that candidate to be a good competitor to occupy the seat, so he is used as a trump card that can be used to break up the votes of other candidates. Secondly, the number of votes is added to the first candidate. Candidate No. (1) in the list is the candidate more fortunate to reach the council, so we find that these candidates are less fortunate who sold their votes for the list for an amount of money before the election date.¹⁸

IV. CONCLUSIONS

1. The culture of election in Iraqi society is still characterized by the traditional character, as tribal and clan factors play an active role in the political body of society.
2. The tribal construction with its tendency did not completely reject the idea of modern political and social modernization.
3. Geographical factors have a role in influencing voter behavior and electoral orientation.
4. The local elections in both rounds allowed, through the semi-open proportional electoral system, the freedom to choose candidates, but in favor of large lists.
5. The rate of participation in the local elections fluctuated, as the rate of participation in the 2009 electoral cycle decreased compared to the 2005 elections due to the failure to fulfill the promises and the lack of services, as well as the instability of the security side, and in the 2013 elections the participation rate increased due to the number of population increase Those over 18 years of age and increased voter awareness.
6. The Iraqi women's members were more likely to compete in the electoral lists, benefiting from the distribution of women's seats (quota).

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The effects of the studies brought about a fixed of hints that name for amending the electoral gadget in Iraq to be a blended electoral device among the general public and proportional illustration, and the requirement for the candidate to achieve an absolute majority in the subsequent rounds to most people election machine in order for small parties as well as the unbiased candidate to win the elections, and a complete demographic survey in Iraq pursuits to build an statistics base that enables the electoral

commission within the process of registering male and lady voters within the electoral centers inside the governorate in a way consistent with the size of the population in every administrative unit so that the commission can submit unique information about the behavior of the electoral system with regard to the numbers of registrants and contributors in each electoral middle.

No longer in each deliver middle in popular and the usage of social media as an extra means in local elections via encouraging the voter with this generation instead of focusing on private communicate before, at some point of and after the elections, rooting the values of citizenship in schools and universities and rejecting tribal, sectarian and tribal values, and the need to behavior anthropological studies, and social help in organizing a country wide and democratic electoral device residents inside the realities of social existence.

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