

# **People's Election Pulse: Feb- March, 2025**

## **A Survey of INNOVISION Consulting**

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## A Survey of INNOVISION Consulting

### Background

INNOVISION is the leading international advisory and management consulting firm in Bangladesh. We have been working to support inclusive economic and social growth in Bangladesh and around the world since 2008. We are the largest in Bangladesh in undertaking research and management consulting services on national economic and social development challenges. INNOVISION is highly regarded in Bangladesh for its leadership in administering research during crisis and post emergency period. We were one of the first organizations to initiate phone call rapid survey during COVID 19 to understand the economic health of low-income population. After the fall of the past regime in August 5, 2024, INNOVISION launched BangladeshSpeaks, a micro polling site to rapidly collect and disseminate people's opinion. We followed up with the first national poll on who people will vote for in September 2024. The current survey is an extended version of our last national poll. We have extended our scope to explain people's opinion on performance of the interim government, expectations from future government, people's voting choice and preferences and voting behaviors. This is the first version of our report which provides the top line findings. The survey was supported by research thinktank BRAIN and policy think tank Voice for Reform.

### Sampling Methodology

- **Sampling Method:** Stratified simple random sampling based on population distribution and primary sampling units as per population census 2011.
- **Sample Size:** 10,696 voters
- **Sampling Units:** 8 divisions, 64 districts
- **Enumerators:** 67 trained personnel, 9 supervisors
- **Data Collection Method:** Computer Aided Personal Interview (CAPI)
- **Primary Sampling Units:** Wards randomly sampled based on the 2011 census
- **Household Sampling:**
  - 20 households systematically sampled from each ward
  - Starting point defined, sampling every third household

### Sample Distribution

- **Total Households Sampled:** 9,823 through door-to-door surveys
- **Additional Samples:** 873 collected from various universities
- **Total Samples:** 10,696
- **Stratification:**
  - **Rural vs. Urban:** 77% rural, 23% urban
  - **Gender:** 55% male, 45% female
  - **Generational Cohorts:**
    - 36% Gen Z (18-28 years)
    - 34% Millennials (29-44 years)
    - 18% Gen X (45-60 years)
    - 8% Boomers II
    - 3% Boomers I
    - 1% Post War

## Demographic Breakdown

- **Religious Affiliation:**
  - 89% Muslim
  - 10% Hindu
  - 1% Christian
- **Ethnic Representation:**
  - 2% ethnic households
  - 98% Bangali

## Geographic Distribution of Samples

- **Dhaka Division:** 26%
- **Chattagram Division:** 19%
- **Rajshahi Division:** 13%
- **Khulna Division:** 12%
- **Rangpur Division:** 11%
- **Mymensingh Division:** 7%
- **Sylhet Division:** 6%
- **Barishal:** 6%

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# About Interim Government

## Expectations from IG

**Economic and social well-being indicators are prioritized by the voters as expectations from the Interim Government (IG); reform agenda scores low in voter's expectation from the IG**

*Table 1: Expectations from the IG- Economic and Social Indicators*

Manage price hikes	69.6%
Improved law and order	45.2%
Employment growth	29.1%
Reduced corruption in public services	21.8%
Election friendly environment	20.2%
Investigate corruption charges	14.5%
Justice for murders during the July revolution	12.3%
Better conditions for business	11.7%
Increased access to public services	11.1%
Reform of law enforcement agencies like Police, RAB	9.3%
Political reform	9.3%
Constitutional reform	5.3%
Cannot comment	2.7%
Others	1.8%
n	10696

**Most of the voters think that the IG has not met their expectations; however, the IG performs relatively better in terms of managing price hikes; it performs poorly in terms of employment growth**

*Table 2: % of voters who think their expectations have been met*

	<i>Managing Price Hikes</i>	<i>Improved Law and Order</i>	<i>Employment Growth</i>	<i>Reduced Corruption</i>	<i>Election friendly environment</i>	<i>Better Conditions for Business</i>
Fully Met	2.62%	1.39%	1.15%	3.09%	2.69%	2.15%
Partially Met	42.33%	40.33%	24.64%	42.56%	29.05%	35.57%
Not Met	55.05%	58.28%	74.21%	54.35%	68.26%	62.28%

# About Law and Order

**Most of the voters think the extortion situation has worsened in last 6 months**

*Table 3: Perception about extortion situation*

Increased	41.0%
Decreased	29.8%
Same	17.8%
Cannot comment	11.4%
(n)	10696

**Comparatively higher percentage of urban voters think the extortion situation has increased**

*Table 4: Perception about extortion situation (rural vs urban)*

	Urban	Rural	Total
Increased	46.74%	38.60%	41.00%
Decreased	23.78%	32.27%	29.78%
Same	18.47%	17.52%	17.80%
Cannot comment	11.00%	11.60%	11.42%
(n)	3145	7551	10696

# Expectations from Future Government

**Economic and social well-being indicators are prioritized by the voters as expectations from the future government**

*Table 5: Expectations from future government*

Manage price hikes	71.2%
Improved law and order	52.2%
Employment growth	39.7%
Reduced corruption in public services	32.8%
Investigate corruption charges	21.7%
Increased access to public services	20.7%
Better conditions for business	18.8%
Justice for murders during the July revolution	15.7%
Reform of law enforcement agencies like Police, RAB	13.5%
Political reform	13.5%
Constitutional reform	8.6%
Cannot comment	2.5%
Others	2.1%
(n)	10696

## Reform agenda are prioritized more by urban voters

Table 6: Expectations from future government (urban vs rural)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Manage price hikes	64.55%	73.95%	71.19%
Improved law and order	49.98%	53.15%	52.22%
Employment growth	41.05%	39.17%	39.73%
Reduced corruption in public services	34.40%	32.08%	32.76%
Investigate corruption charges	23.24%	21.06%	21.70%
Increased access to public services	18.82%	21.44%	20.67%
Better conditions for business	17.81%	19.19%	18.78%
Justice for murders during the July revolution	17.49%	14.90%	15.66%
Reform of law enforcement agencies like Police, RAB	16.41%	12.29%	13.50%
Political reform	18.47%	11.38%	13.46%
Constitutional reform	11.03%	7.64%	8.64%
Cannot comment	2.51%	2.50%	2.51%
Others	1.91%	2.13%	2.07%
(n) =	3145	7551	10696

## Voting Preferences

### Expectation about next election date

**58.1% of the voters want the next election by end of 2025**

Table 7: Month and Year by when the voters want the next general election

June 2025	31.6%
December 2025	26.5%
June 2026	7.9%
December 2026	6.6%
Later than December 2026	10.9%
I cannot comment	16.4%
(n) =	5892

**Higher percentage of the rural voters (34.41%) want the next general election by June 2025 if compared to urban voters (23.95%)**

*Table 8: Month and Year by when the voters want the next general election*

	Urban	Rural	Total
June 2025	23.95%	34.41%	31.59%
December 2025	26.46%	26.58%	26.54%
June 2026	10.18%	7.11%	7.94%
December 2026	7.35%	6.32%	6.60%
Later than December 2026	16.03%	9.04%	10.93%
I cannot comment	16.03%	16.53%	16.40%
(n) =	1591	4301	5892

**50% of the voters did not vote in any of the last three general elections**

*Table 9: % who did not vote in last three general elections*

	Total
New voter	11.2%
Did not vote in any of the last three general elections	39.4%
Voted once in one of the last three general elections	49.4%
(n) =	10696

**Decision criteria and decision-making processes**

**Candidates matter; 38% of the voters assess the candidate's past performance as an MP before making a voting decision**

*Table 10: Voters choice- Party vs candidate*

I decide based on the performance of the previous candidate	38.1%
I always vote for the same party	21.6%
None of the above	14.2%
I cannot comment	8.8%
Not Applicable (for new voter)	8.8%
I vote for a different party in every election	8.6%
(n) =	10696

**But candidates might be completely new; what other determinants might affect the voters? 22% says grassroots politics will affect their votes; 21% says religion-based politics will affect their votes**

*Table 11: influences on voting decisions (% of respondents)*

Social activities of political parties at local level	21.6%
Religion based politics	20.5%
Cannot comment	19.2%
Election manifestos of political parties	18.8%
Alignment with July movement	16.4%
Political parties' stance on the liberation war in 1971	9.7%
None of the above	7.7%
Awami League's participation in the election	7.6%
Political parties' policy on India	3.2%
Others	1.2%
(n) =	10220

**Political alignment with July movement is more important among the Gen Z voters**

*Table 12: influences on voting decisions (% of respondents)- By age groups*

	Gen Z (18-28 years)	Millennials (29-44 years)	Gen X (45-60 years)	Boomers II (61-70 years)	Boomers I (71- 79 years)	Post War (80-97 years)	Total
Social activities of political parties at local level	21.6%	21.1%	21.7%	24.1%	21.2%	14.3%	21.6%
Religion based politics	21.7%	20.2%	18.8%	20.4%	20.0%	23.4%	20.5%
Cannot comment	15.9%	21.1%	20.9%	20.9%	22.1%	24.7%	19.2%
Election manifestos of political parties	18.0%	19.0%	19.8%	19.6%	17.7%	16.9%	18.8%
<b>Political alignment with the July movement</b>	<b>22.8%</b>	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>13.3%</b>	<b>13.7%</b>	<b>7.4%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>16.4%</b>
Political parties' stance on the liberation war in 1971	11.0%	8.2%	9.9%	8.9%	9.7%	13.0%	9.7%
None of the above	7.1%	8.3%	7.8%	7.7%	7.9%	9.1%	7.7%
Awami League's participation in the election	5.9%	7.8%	9.4%	8.7%	10.6%	13.0%	7.6%
(n) =	3731	3461	1836	775	340	77	10220



**Voters vote as a household rather than as individuals; family members will have the most influence on voting decision (47%) followed by neighbours (20%). However, among the media channels, news on social media will have the highest influence on most (18%). Videos of influencers on social media is identified as an influencing channel on voting decision by 5% of the voters**

*Table 13: social vs media influences on voting decisions (% of respondents)- By age groups*

Family members	47.07%
Neighbours	19.88%
News on social media (facebook, Whatsapp, youtube, tiktok etc.)	18.28%
I can't comment	15.19%
Television news	15.18%
Friends	9.03%
Local leaders of the political parties	7.66%
Central leaders of the political parties	7.04%
Others	6.12%
Videos of influencers on youtube or facebook or tiktok or other social media	5.05%
Newspaper/ online news paper	4.25%
Colleagues	3.51%
Religious leader	2.66%
Talk show	2.14%
Community leader	1.29%
(n) =	10696

## Decided vs undecided voters

### One-third of the voters remain undecided

*Table 14: % of voters who have made their voting decision*

Yes	62.0%
No	29.4%
I cannot comment	8.6%
(n) =	10696

### Higher percentage of urban voters are still undecided

*Table 15: % of voters who have made their voting decision*

	Urban	Rural	Total
Yes	52%	66%	62%
No	35%	27%	29%
I cannot comment	14%	7%	9%
(n) =	3145	7551	10696

## Higher percentage of Gen Z voters are undecided (33.64%) if compared to other generation of voters

Table 16: % of voters who have made their voting decision (by age groups)

	Gen Z (18-28 years)	Millennials (29-44 years)	Gen X (45-60 years)	Boomers II (61-70 years)	Boomers I* (71-79 years)	Post War (80-97 years)	Total
Yes	55.15%	64.91%	67.00%	66.46%	67.43%	73.75%	62.00%
No	33.64%	28.06%	25.53%	25.99%	26.00%	21.25%	29.37%
I cannot comment	11.21%	7.02%	7.47%	7.55%	6.57%	5.00%	8.64%
(n) =	3900	3631	1927	808	350	80	10696

## Higher percentage of female voters are undecided (33.77%) if compared to male voters (25.81%)

Table 17: % of voters who have made their voting decision (by gender)

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	66.02%	56.98%	62.00%
No	25.81%	33.77%	29.37%
I cannot comment	8.17%	9.24%	8.64%
(n) =	5897	4782	10679

## Among the undecided voters, 49% want to know about the candidate to make their voting decision; this is consistent with the finding that the candidate matter

Table 18: Reason for being undecided

Not sure who the candidate will be	49.3%
I generally make my decision based on the political situation before the election	33.9%
I am not thinking about the election	14.9%
I do not trust mainstream political parties	9.7%
I cannot comment	6.5%
I don't know if my favorite party will participate in the election.	6.1%
I do not see any alternative political parties	3.7%
Others	0.6%
(n) =	3141

## Revealed vs unrevealed voters

### 35% of the voters who have decided to vote did not reveal their voting preference

Table 19: % who have revealed voting preference

Revealed	65.7%
Not revealed	34.3%
(n) =	6631

## Choice of Parties

### 41.69% of the revealed voters will vote for BNP

Table 20: % of Votes for parties if election was held now

BNP	41.69%
Bangladesh Jamaat E Islami	31.56%
Awami League	13.96%
Student led new political party	5.14%
Others (specify)	3.26%
Islami Andolon Bangladesh	2.55%
Jatiya Party	1.01%
Gono Odhikar Parishad	0.51%
Gono Sanghati Andolon	0.25%
AB Party	0.07%
I can't comment	0.00%
(n) =	4354

**Almost half of the Gen X voters (47%) and Boomers II (47%) will vote for BNP; Jamaat e Islami trails BNP among all generations but has nearly equal votes from Gen Zs**

**Student's party has the highest acceptance among the Gen Zs (10%) but it is almost similar to Awami League's voting share (11%) among the Gen Zs**

Table 21: % of votes for parties if election was held now (by generational groups)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Boomers II	Boomers I*	Post War	Total
BNP	35.5%	42.8%	47.0%	46.9%	44.4%	27.9%	41.7%
Bangladesh Jamaat E Islami	34.2%	31.2%	29.3%	30.1%	28.1%	34.9%	31.6%
Awami League	11.3%	14.4%	15.7%	13.2%	18.1%	32.6%	14.0%
Student led new political party	10.1%	3.8%	2.5%	1.4%	1.8%	2.3%	5.1%
Others (specify)	3.3%	3.9%	2.4%	2.7%	4.1%	0.0%	3.3%
Islami Andolon Bangladesh	3.7%	2.3%	1.1%	3.3%	2.3%	0.0%	2.6%
Jatiya Party	0.5%	1.1%	1.4%	1.6%	0.6%	2.3%	1.0%
Gono Odhikar Parishad	1.0%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.6%	0.0%	0.5%
Gono Sanghati Andolon	0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
AB Party	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
I can't comment	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
(n) =	1331	1553	891	365	171	43	4354

**Male and female voting preferences follow nearly similar trends for all parties; however, Jamaat e Islami's share of votes decline among female voters if compared to male**

*Table 22: % of votes for parties if election was held now (by gender)*

	Male	Female	Total
BNP	42.4%	40.6%	41.7%
Bangladesh Jamaat E Islami	32.6%	29.7%	31.6%
Awami League	13.1%	15.4%	14.0%
Student led new political party	4.9%	5.6%	5.1%
Others (specify)	2.2%	5.1%	3.3%
Islami Andolon Bangladesh	2.6%	2.5%	2.6%
Jatiya Party	1.1%	0.8%	1.0%
Gono Odhikar Parishad	0.7%	0.2%	0.5%
Gono Sanghati Andolon	0.3%	0.1%	0.3%
AB Party	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
I can't comment	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
(n) =	2729	1616	4345

## Urban Vs Rural- Voting Preferences

**Both BNP and Jamaat have comparatively higher acceptance among rural voters if compared to urban; student led party has much less acceptance in rural areas**

*Table 23: % of votes for parties if election was held now (urban vs rural)*

	Urban	Rural	Total
BNP	39.7%	42.2%	41.7%
Awami League	12.9%	14.2%	14.0%
Jatiya Party	1.3%	0.9%	1.0%
Bangladesh Jamaat E Islami	30.4%	31.9%	31.6%
Islami Andolon Bangladesh	3.4%	2.3%	2.6%
Student led new political party	8.9%	4.1%	5.1%
AB Party	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%
Gono Odhikar Parishad	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%
Gono Sanghati Andolon	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%
I can't comment	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Others (specify)	2.7%	3.4%	3.3%
(n) =	921	3433	4354

## Divisional Distribution of Voting Preferences

**BNP is ahead in 6 divisions (Barisal, Chattogram, Dhaka, Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Sylhet) while Jamaat is ahead in 2 divisions (Khulna and Rangpur)**

Table 24: % of votes for parties if election was held now (divisional distribution)

	Barishal	Chattogram	Dhaka	Khulna	Mymensingh	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Sylhet	Total
<b>BNP</b>	39.66%	47.82%	44.71%	38.29%	44.60%	42.68%	21.69%	51.02%	41.69%
<b>Awami League</b>	24.58%	11.08%	18.46%	9.06%	18.28%	12.86%	9.21%	14.87%	13.96%
<b>Jatiya Party</b>	0.00%	0.75%	0.40%	0.17%	2.49%	0.54%	2.30%	2.62%	1.01%
<b>Bangladesh Jamaat E Islami</b>	22.91%	27.27%	25.45%	46.32%	18.28%	35.54%	44.91%	25.95%	31.56%
<b>Islami Andolon Bangladesh</b>	6.15%	2.24%	3.49%	1.37%	2.77%	1.43%	3.07%	1.46%	2.55%
<b>Student led new political party</b>	2.23%	7.35%	5.39%	3.08%	6.37%	6.61%	3.84%	2.62%	5.14%
<b>AB Party</b>	0.00%	0.12%	0.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.07%
<b>Gono Odhikar Parishad</b>	0.00%	0.12%	0.40%	0.68%	3.32%	0.00%	0.19%	0.00%	0.51%
<b>Gono Sanghati Andolon</b>	0.00%	1.00%	0.00%	0.17%	0.28%	0.00%	0.19%	0.00%	0.25%
<b>I can't comment</b>	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<b>Others (specify)</b>	4.47%	2.24%	1.50%	0.85%	3.60%	0.36%	14.59%	1.46%	3.26%
<b>(n) =</b>	179	803	1002	585	361	560	521	343	4354

## The Shy BNP Effect

During our discussions with the enumerators, the enumerators highlighted when they interviewed Jamaat-e-Islam supporters they were always very enthusiastic about expressing their support. The effect of Shy BNP supporters as opposed to JI supporters is difficult to assess only based on the support revealed. We first had to identify proxies which could be used to unearth the Jamaat vote within the unrevealed respondents.

We found strong correlation between the responses against the question which factors are important in deciding who to vote for. We noticed significant correlation between respondents who have highlighted religion-based politics as an important factor in their voting decisions.

Table 25: Religion Based Politics as A Factor in Voting Decision: Population Distribution

	BNP	JI	BAL	Student's party*
<b>%</b>				
Not Important	49.36%	20.49%	17.13%	5.54%
Important	20.12%	62.64%	5.07%	4.02%
<b>#</b>				
Not Important	1,585	658	550	178
Important	230	716	58	46
<b>Total %</b>	41.69%	31.56%	13.96%	5.14%
<b>Total #</b>	1,815	1,374	608	224

- NCP was still not announced as a party when the survey was undertaken

As is evident from above, there is a clear advantage for JI, in respondents who expressed religion-based politics is an important factor for them. The support for JI is highly skewed at 62.64% for JI vs. 20.12% for BNP. On the other hand, where it is not important, BNP leads JI 49.36% to 20.49%. This led us to use religion-based politics as a proxy to segregate BNP and JI support. As a next step, we had to analyze, whether there is a difference in the responsiveness of individuals who expressed Religion Based Politics as an important factor. Again, as the table below shows, there is significant uptick in the willingness to express political support for respondents who suggest Religion based politics is an important factor in voting decision.

*Table 26 Difference in Exposing Voting Preference for Respondents Who Feel Religion Based Politics as An Important Factor in Voting Decision*

	Revealed	Not Revealed/ Undecided	Total
<b>%</b>			
Not Important	37.34%	62.66%	100.00%
Important	54.53%	45.47%	100.00%
<b>#</b>			
Not Important	3,211	5,389	8,600
Important	1,143	953	2,096
<b>Total %</b>	<b>40.71%</b>	<b>59.29%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>
<b>Total #</b>	<b>4,354</b>	<b>6,342</b>	<b>10,696</b>

Combining the observations from Table 25, and Table 26, given the difference in voting preference for the population who suggest Religion Based Politics is an important factor, and their noticeable preference for JI, we conclude that the survey will show a tilt towards JI unless the entire population response is revealed.

To establish this, for the “Not Revealed/ Undecided Population”, we have distributed their votes in the same proportion of revealed voters, segregated between individuals where Religion Based Politics was identified as important vs. not important.

Our Total Unrevealed Vote was 6,342. Out of this population, for 5,389 individuals this factor is not important, but for 953 this factor is important. If we distribute this in the same proportion as the revealed vote, they will breakdown as follows:

*Table 27: Redistributing Unrevealed Vote Based on Revealed - Segregated Between "Religion Based Politics" Being an Important Factor vs. Not.*

	BNP	JI	BAL	Student's party
<b>%</b>				
Not Important (A)	2,660	1,104	923	299
Important (B)	192	597	48	38
Unrevealed (Distributed) (A+B)	2,852	1,701	971	337
Revealed (Actual) C	1,815	1,374	608	224
<b>Total (A + B + C)</b>	<b>4,667</b>	<b>3,075</b>	<b>1,579</b>	<b>561</b>
<b>Total % (Fully Distributed)</b>	<b>43.63% (G)</b>	<b>28.75% (H)</b>	<b>14.76%</b>	<b>5.24%</b>
<b>Total % (Revealed), from Table 1</b>	<b>41.69% (I)</b>	<b>31.56% (J)</b>	<b>13.96%</b>	<b>5.14%</b>

Based on the above table, the swing in favor of BNP if their supporters were as enthusiastic about expressing their opinion would be, G-H-I+J= 4.75%

#### Assumptions/ Comments

- a. We expected the characteristics of the unrevealed and undecided population will maintain the characteristics of the revealed population – in terms of their voting preferences.
- b. We have checked other factors for correlation with JI support. There were no other clear indicators.

## Other Findings

- BNP has a higher vote share in rural areas (42.2%) than in urban areas (39.7%)
- Jamaat has a higher vote share in rural areas (31.9%) than in urban areas (30.4%)
- The new student-backed political party has a higher vote share in urban areas (8.9%) than in rural areas (4.1%)
- Compared to other generations of voters, a higher percentage of Gen Z (18-28) voters (33.64%) are undecided about their voting decision
- A higher percentage of female voters (33.77%) than male voters (25.81%) are undecided about their voting decision
- A higher percentage of female voters (40.70%) than male voters (29.90%) have not expressed an opinion on who they will vote for.

## How do our previous results compare to the current results?

- The percentage of undecided voters has decreased (previously 34%, now 29%)
- BNP's vote has increased from 33.87% to 41.69%
- Jamaat-e-Islam's vote has increased from 22.58% to 31.56%
- Awami League's vote has increased from 8.06% to 13.96%
- The vote of the new student-backed party has decreased from 16.13% to 5.14%.

**Please note:** We have changed our methodology for measurement. Voters who have not made up their minds and those who have not commented are now reported separately and excluded from the voting share. The published results only represent the survey period from February 19, 2025 - March 3, 2025.

## About INNOVISION Consulting

INNOVISION is an international advisory and management consulting firm. We provide research, technical assistance and project management services to solve the world's challenges to poverty. We are working globally with international development partners, NGOs, private sector and public sector agencies to understand poverty and crisis and to design, manage and evaluate inclusive solutions that serve millions of households for better income, jobs, health, education, skills, knowledge, finance, water, sanitation, hygiene and nutrition, empowerment and social inclusion.

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