

Hawkama Index for Democratic Transformation in Iraq 2018-2019

“Stagnant Transition”



Authored by: Researchers Group

Edited by : Governance center for Public Policies (GCCP)

Brief Summary on GCPP:

Governance Center for Public Policies is a research institution and a think tank in Iraq. It focuses on the policy-making activities by relying on analytical approaches seeking to understand the policy-making processes and building capacity to discover, identify, and analyze the problems of the public policies by preparing public policies papers.

Governance Center seeks to contribute to the democratic transition in Iraq by building an integrated, realistic, and objective perspective in various sectors of public policy in order to achieve a level of planning, implementation and evaluation that ensures the upgrading of governmental and community structures and institutions depending on the principles of good governance, as well as, raising social awareness towards strategic issues in Iraq. This awareness is based on the democratic and civil rights and freedoms, enhancing the role of the private sector, advocating for women's issues and vulnerable people, achieving the basis of the social cohesiveness, rule of law and good governance .

Our center has launched numerous workshops and seminars in Baghdad and in number of Iraqi provinces on various national issues such as local peace, national reconciliation, party law, the electoral system in Iraq, educational policies, etc., and presented policy papers prepared in partnership with stakeholders and decision makers to create bridges among those who have creative ideas, stakeholders and policy-makers. In this framework, we encourage creative approaches towards democratic transition.

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And email us on : governancecenter82@gmail.com

Executive Summary

Governance indicator has been developed after studying global indicators and its localization to the context of Iraq through series of seminars by academics of related specialties (political science, Law, Communication, Economy, and Statistics) in order to develop an indicator that better depict the realities of Iraq democracy. It is based on 5 aspects, taken into considerations previous studies, context of Iraqi democracy, and drivers of democratization.

2018 Governance Indicator was based on 8 aspects (political, legal, electoral, media, local governance, economic, human rights, gender), but the aspects of media, human rights, and gender were incorporated into one aspect of “Liberties and Rights,” as well as, incorporating the aspect of local governance with government performance, given its relevance. Therefore, the 2019 indicator is based on the following aspects

- Performance of Government
- Rule of Law
- Economic Stability
- Civil Liberties and Rights
- Electoral Knowledge

Team was distributed to conduct the study each based on his/her specialty, in order to determine relevant variables, questions to measure these variables, with three alternatives for each question measured (0, .5, 1). These variables, questions, and measurements were thoroughly discussed with experts to verify its clarity and its soundness in measuring the variables.

Given that the nature of political systems categorized into autocracy, authoritarian, transitional, democratic, and consolidated democracy.

Therefore, the authors decide to develop an accumulative indicator of 10 values (0 - 10) to reach a better clarification of the democracy in Iraq, as shown in Table I. Authors assumed that all the aspects and questions have the same importance in evaluating the democratic system, hence median was used to calculate each aspect, and eventually calculating the accumulative indicator.

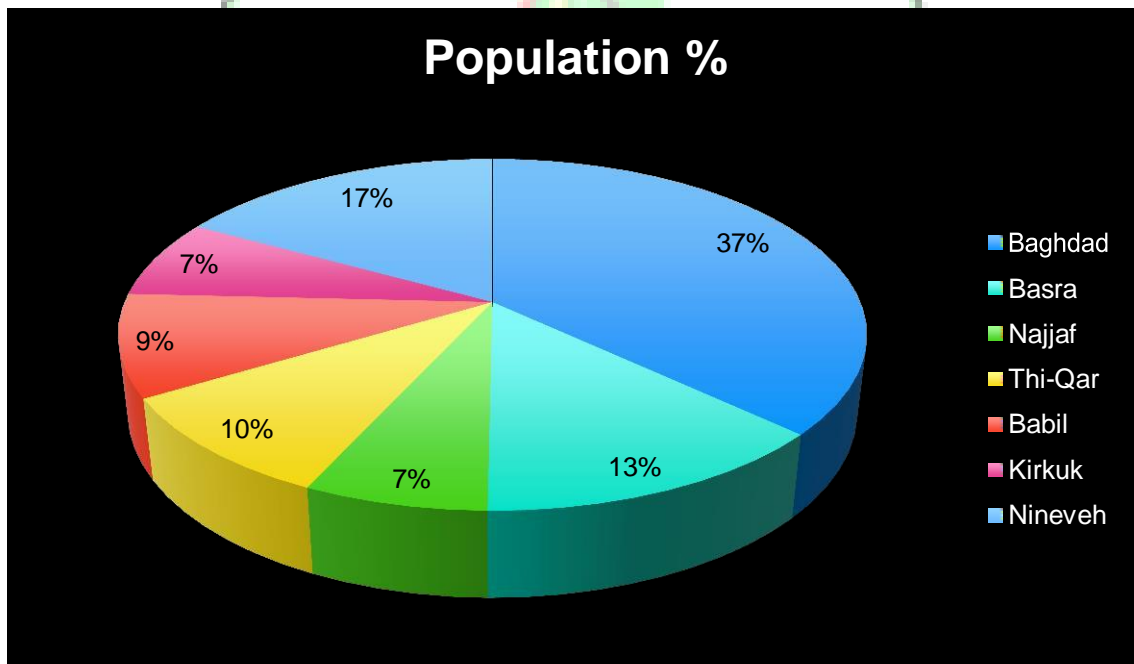
Table (1-1): Governance Indicator for Democratic Transition in Iraq

Political System	Value
Autocracy	0 - 2
Authoritarian	2.1 - 4
Transitional	4.1 - 6
Democratic	6.1 - 8
Consolidated Democracy	8.1 - 10

A team of 21 enumerators were selected from students of social sciences, mainly sociology and psychology. They were trained on conducting face to face interviews, collecting data, and its visualization by 10 academic experts in conducting surveys. The study was conducted in seven provinces (Baghdad, Nineveh, Basra, Kirkuk, Babil, Najjaf, and Thi-Qar) with a sample of 3054 and a margin of error (2%). The sample was equally distributed among provinces according to their demographics, as shown in table (1 -2)

Table (1 - 2): Distribution of Sample based on Demographic of Each Province

Province	Population	Percent	Sample	Percent
Baghdad	8,340,711	36.9	1123	36.8
Basra	2,985,073	13.2	396	13.0
Najjaf	1,510,338	6.7	201	6.6
Thi-Qar	2,150,338	9.5	289	9.5
Babil	2,119,403	9.4	295	9.7
Kirkuk	1,639,953	7.3	220	7.2
Nineveh	3,828,197	17	530	17.4
Total	22574013	100.0	3054	100.0



Concerning gender, samples were distributed into 2019 males and 1035 females, with a percent of 66.1% and 33.6% respectively. The divergence between sample and the estimated numbers of Iraqi Ministry of Planning of 2018 (51% Males, 49% Females) could be attributed to conservative nature of Iraqi society, where women are less likely to take

part in such studies. On the other hand, the sample also covered all age groups, as appears in table (1 - 3), as well as, all educational backgrounds, as shown in table (1 - 4)

Table (1 - 3) Sample distribution based on age groups

Age groups	# of participants	Percent
less than 20	223	7.3
20-29	741	24.3
30-39	813	26.6
40-49	661	21.6
50-59	399	13.1
60-69	177	5.8
More than 70	40	1.3
Total	3054	100.0

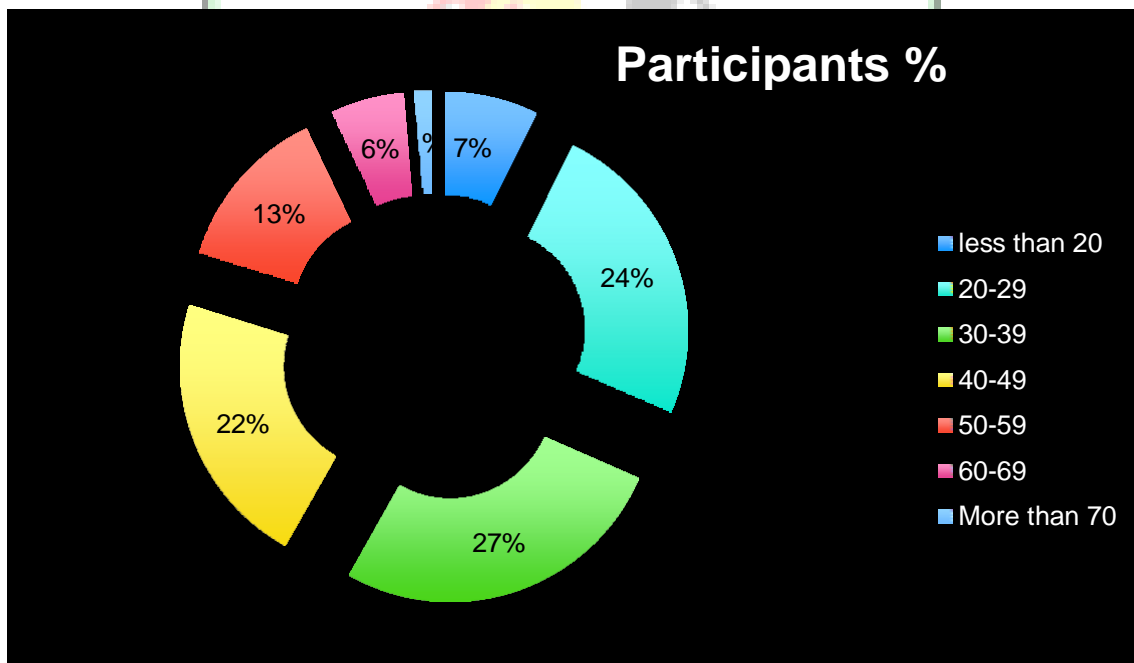
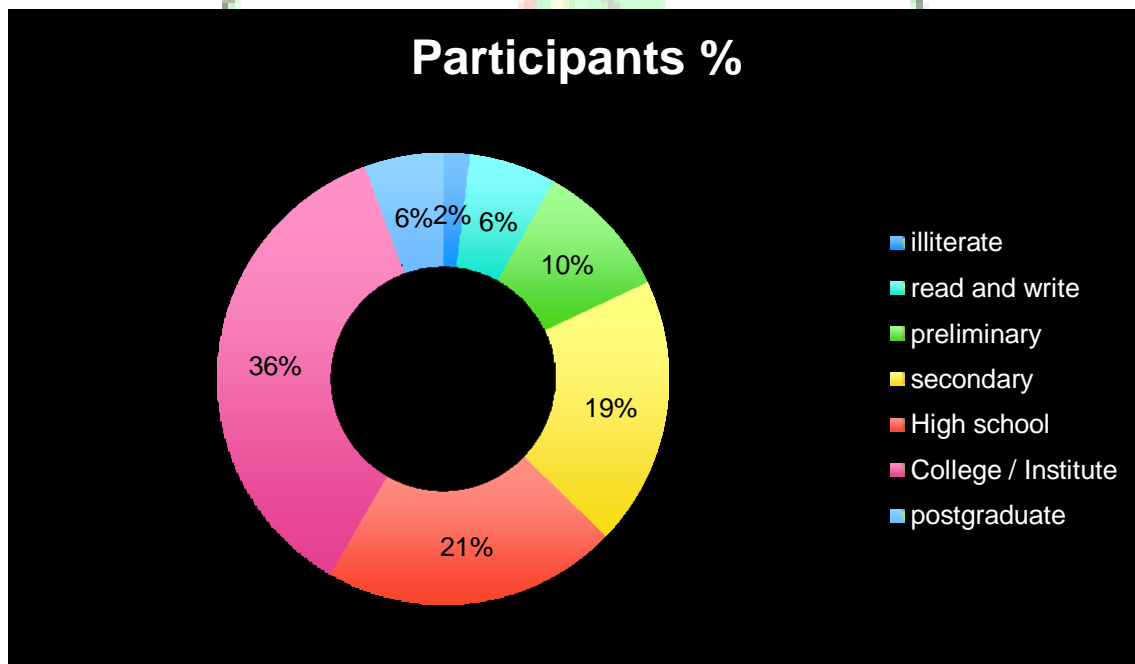


Table (1 - 4) Sample distribution based on educational level

Educational Level	# of participants	Percent
illiterate	59	1.9
read and write	190	6.2
preliminary	301	9.9
secondary	588	19.3
High school	645	21.1
College / Institute	1099	36.0
postgraduate	172	5.6
Total	3054	100.0

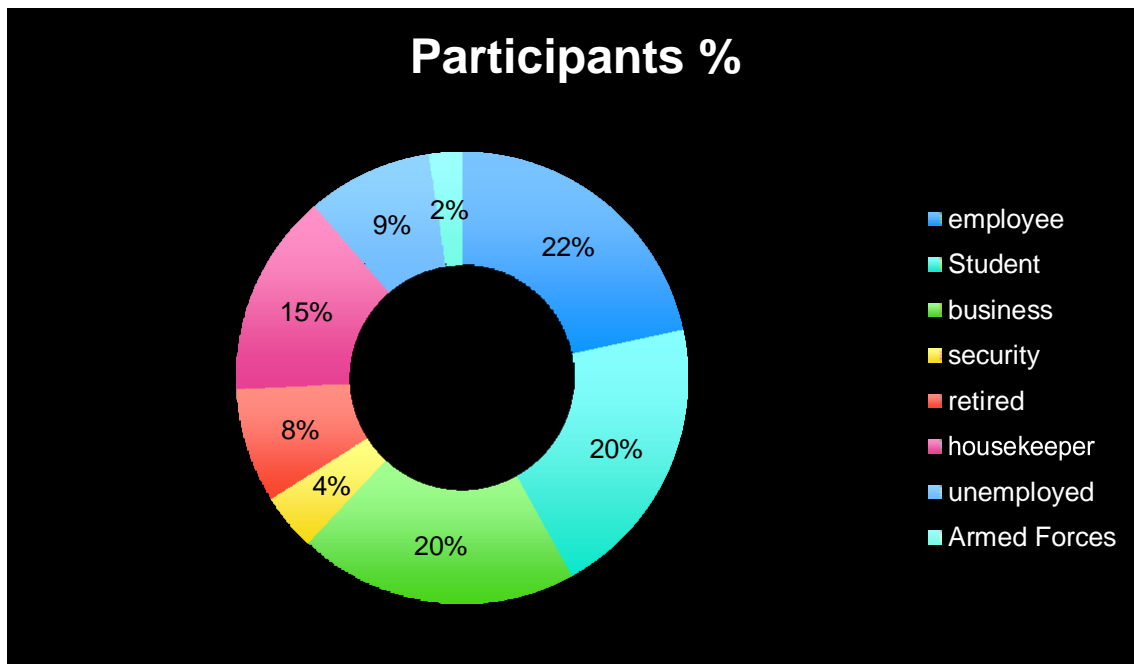


The socioeconomic status of participants was also measured by asking about their occupation. Distribution of sample is close the 2018 estimated numbers of Ministry of Planning. For example, Ministry of Planning reported that 10% of Iraqi work force is unemployed, and 9% of sample was unemployed too. Table (1 - 5) shows the distribution of sample based on the occupation of participants.

In conclusion, the sample of the study matches the demographics of the population in several aspects, according to the statistics of Ministry of Planning of 2018 with a margin of error 2%, hence, one could be confident about generating the study findings to understand Iraqi society perception of democracy in Iraq.

Table (1-5) Sample distribution based on participant's occupation

Occupation	# of participants	Percent
employee	660	21.6
Student	622	20.4
business	611	20.0
security	124	4.1
retired	250	8.2
housekeeper	442	14.5
unemployed	274	9.0
Armed Forces	71	2.3
Total	3054	100.0



Overview of the findings of the five different aspects:

- Performance of Government

- Governmental institutions do not provide its services based on need, in a way that achieves justice and equity among citizens.
- Government is not very transparent.
- There is limited prospect for reform and advancement.
- There is lack of oversight by parliament, especially in term of accountability, which always falls under political deals or as a tool of political rivalry regardless of national interests.
- Iraqi displays negative attitudes towards the performance of „Independent Committees.“
- Iraqi feel the improvement in security, following the defeat of ISIS, and the positivity of lifting T-walls and opening roads blocked since 2003.
- Local Governments are not able to meet basic needs and protect minorities.

- **Rule of Law**

- Selective implementation of the laws and deterioration in enforcing laws.
- State employees lack the needed legal culture to perform their tasks.
- Adjudication is not limited to courts, as tribes and other non-state actors conduct measures of punishments on their own.
- Selective implementation of the Transitional Justice Laws based on political calculations.
- Political pressures undermine the independence of the judiciary.

- **Economic Stability**

- Governmental expenditure is the reason behind deficit.
- Mixed views on whether currency auction achieved stability of the market.
- The increase of taxes and fees did not translated into better services.
- The increase of Oil production did not lead to enhancing standards of living.
- Mixed views on the effect of rehabilitating state owned enterprises into furthering economic development.
- Doubts about allowing private sector to compete fairly in Iraq.
- No trust in the effectiveness of social welfare programs.
- Most participants doubted that economic opportunities are equally available to all.
- There is no suitable environment for privatization.
- Low trust in public and private banks.

- **Civil Liberties and Rights**

- Government does not care about the rights of children.
- Law, policies, and practices are not adequate for women's rights.

- Doubts over equality between men and women in rights and duties.
 - Political participation of women are constrained by social norms and political affiliations.
 - Civil society activism still lacking.
 - Government is not able to guarantee freedom of expression and demonstration.
 - Doubts about the possibility of having media monitor the performance of state institutions.
 - Media does not reflect the demands and needs of people.
 - Doubt over the independence of media in Iraq.
 - There is no sufficient legal protection for those works in media.
- Electoral Knowledge**
- There is a willingness to participate in elections, despite doubts about its integrity.
 - Intimidations of voters did occur before and during 2018 parliamentary elections.
 - There is lack of trust of the political elites dominated the political scene following 2018 elections
 - Doubts about voting procedures inside electoral stations.
 - Most believe there will not be change in the political structures following the next provincial elections of 2020.
 - Less believe that people vote based on national interests.

Categorizing Democratic System in Iraq

Iraq received an accumulative average of 4.5 out of 10 as appears in Table (1 - 6), categorizing Iraq democracy as transitional system.

This means that the Iraqi regime is still transitional despite 16 years of democratic experience in Iraq . So Iraq has been described as a stagnant transition.

Table (1 – 6) Iraq Accumulative Average

Aspect	Average	STDV	Variance
Electoral Knowledge	4.22	2.76	65.40
Government Performance	4.58	2.54	55.37
Economic Stability	4.75	2.49	52.45
Civil Liberties and Rights	4.51	2.54	56.39
Rule of Law	4.32	2.73	63.19
Total	4.50	2.30	51.15

