

# Governance Indicator of the Democratic Transformation in Iraq

2018 – 2017  
(Swinging Democracy)

Prepared by  
Group of Researchers  
Edited by  
Governance Center for Public Policies  
(GCPP)



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## **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, analyze the problems of the public policies according to the methodology of preparing public policies documents.

As provided above, our center seeks to contribute to meeting the requirements of the democratic transformation 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 governance and wise management and 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, advocacy for women's issues and disadvantaged groups, achieving the fundamentals of the social peace, the rule of law and supporting wise institutional management.

Our center launched numerous focus workshops and seminars in Baghdad and a number of Iraqi provinces on various national issues such as civil 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 so as to create bridges among those who have creative ideas, stakeholders and policy-makers. In this framework, we encourage the efforts of the intellectual-applies innovation that serve the orientations of the democratic transformation.

You can view our activities through the website of the Center mentioned below.

<http://www.iqgcpp.org/>

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[governancecenter82@gmail.com](mailto:governancecenter82@gmail.com)

## **Report Summary:**

The measurement of democracy in its development or decline requires surveys and opinion questionnaires to identify the real opinions of the public on various political, social and economic issues, assessing the behaviors and practices, measuring the people interest and trust, their expectations of their future and their children's. In many areas around the world particularly in the countries that are newly introduced to democracy and its values and methods depended on the use of polls and surveys. These surveys and questionnaires succeeded in measuring democracy, contributed in identifying problems facing societies accurately and effectively, developed other reasoning tools that increased the credibility and effectiveness of these measurements. The key to these questionnaires is unified questions that are repeated periodically on a representative national sample of the population. We give them multichoice answers, yet, they have very deep meaning.

The surveys tackles the public assessment of the governmental performance and the system generally, the mutual controversial effect between the economic statuses and the form of ruling, the trust in institutions, media, corruption, culture, freedoms and other matters. In order to complete the image, this survey is not enough. There is a need to measure relying on indirect ways like surveys to study the constitution, legislations and laws in the country and compare them to the "democracy traditions" like protecting freedoms, the forms of expressions, elections, the independency and effectiveness of judiciary specially monitoring the

implementation of the legislations. Other surveys are on the policies of the government and the ruling political leadership and methods of implementation in terms of circulating the authority or cornering it, etc., the forms of the social organizations need to be studied too like the parties, syndicate, associations and clubs in terms of commitment to the democratic principles, popularity and impact on the public. In addition to holding interviews, seminars and workshops with focus groups who have interest and benefit in the topics so as to cover different samples.

The need to develop an indicator to measure democracy in Iraq stems from several essential requirements that we have discussed and we will discuss the rest consecutively, but one of the most important requirement is that most of the international indicators to measure democracy or the democratic transformation had frequently depended on general information in categorizing the level and status of the democracy in Iraq. These information had been derived from media or political reports or according to the international organizations data. Many of them were distant from the Iraqi scene and collected their information from unreliable, unauthorized, disqualified or from individuals and organizations of the neighboring countries.

Furthermore , the lack of the environmental/ local perspective, and the lack of Iraqi specialists who have high competency and expertise and are really living this experience onground.

Therefore, GCPP looks forward to build a measure that adapts the criteria of privacy, relativity and level of social , economic and political development . As well as the adaptation of the standards or the international indicators to the state of the country with the different priorities.

This initiative is a pioneering scientific experiment at the level of Iraq and the region. It relates to the need of identifying and developing a democratic transformational process accurately and subjectively far from the political, ideological situation which is a feature of plenty of relevant researches and studies. Also, the applied or civil pattern is a mark of highly reliable and credible functionality. It shows this experiment as a pilot trail that requires more sources, development, rehabilitation and continuity to upgrade the level of the governance indicator up to the International indicators class.

Developing the indicator of the governance for democracy was conducted by a group of academics, professors and experts according to the following context:

- 1- A number of meetings and periodical seminars were held to analyze the Iraqi status aiming to adapt a group of general indicators to measure democracy. The committee figured out eight essential indicators that can stand as a pillar to study the democratic transformation in Iraq considering the previous studies, the singularity of the Iraqi

society, the active factors in establishing democracy and its positivity and negativity. The eight of them are (political, legal, electoral, media, local governing, economic, human rights and gender).

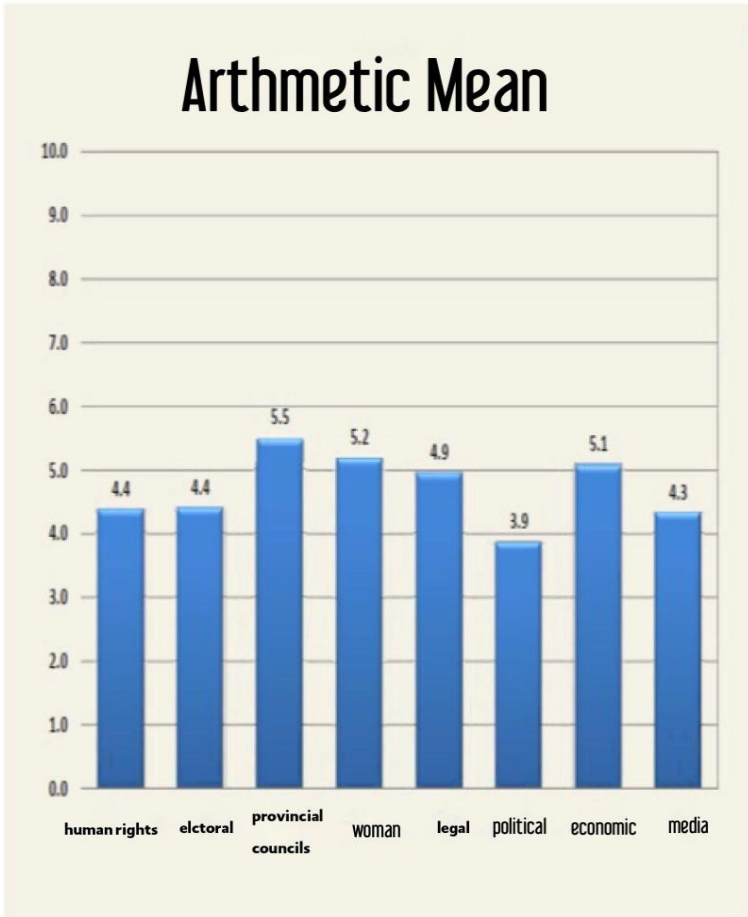
- 2- The pillars have been distributed among the working team according to their specialty so as to pre- pare questions to read and study each pillar of the mentioned above. Each question should have three choices ranging from (0 - 0.5- 1).
- 3- The total of the approved governance indicators became (82) questions. All of them were discussed by the working team to ensure accuracy of the wording, clarity and the ability to measure the ideas they were put for and omitting and excluding the ambiguous or duplicate paragraph among the pillars. All the pillars consist of ten questions expect the electoral and political, which were made of eleven.
- 4- A study was conducted to ensure credibility, clarity and lack of ambiguity. It was preliminary survey applied on a sample of individuals. The results showed that all the questions are clear and understandable by the sample. This was an introductory step to achieving honesty.
- 5- The committee nominated a group of experienced figures (researchers) who have high and elementary education degrees to act as implementing re- searchers of the indicators after they attended a training workshop to build their capacity on how to apply the



indicators, how to choose the sample, and how to tackle the procedures of applying by relying on a specialist in measurement and psycho-educational assessment.

- 6- The final application was carried out on a random sample of 1889 individuals. They were classified as 179 for the legal pillar, 227 for gender, 183 for the local governance, 204 for the electoral, 323 for the human rights, 217 for media, 189 for the economic and finally 367 for the political. The researchers depended on two types of application, one is on- line and the other is manual by directly addressing the sample.
- 7- The data was collected and unloaded by a specialist in statistics and psycho-educational assessment. The data was processed using Excel and SPSS and the average result became the standard of all the sub indicators and the general indicators (pillars).

## The Classification of Iraq



**(GCPP) Indicator for the Democratic Transition in Iraq  
2017-2018**

In reference to the above figure, we can tell that the average of governance indicator pillars of the democratic transformation in Iraq in 2017-2018 reached 4.7 out of 10 degrees. This means that it is slightly below the half. Since the democratic indicators depend on comparative approach in determining the level or classification of the democratic transformation in any given country or regime. Due to the fact that our indicator studies the status of Iraq only, the need to classify the level of the democratic transformation in Iraq needs an overall comparison with the approved and reliable international indicators. That is why we are going to rely on two of these indicators. They are:

- The Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy.
- Freedom in the World issued by Freedom House.

When comparing to the above indicators, we can figure out that the classification of Iraq of the democratic transformation according to the democracy/ economist indicator lies under Hybrid Regimes. To be more accurate, it lies in an elementary stage since it does not exceed the half (4 – 5.9). In other words, the democratic transformation of Iraq in 2017-2018 after 15 years of the transition is never close to any higher level of democracy other than calling it a transitional hybrid regime. In case we measure according to the Freedom In the world indicator/ Freedom House and by comparing the average range of the previously mentioned governance indicator, we

can tell that Iraq is located just a little bit the countries described as partly free countries as it is in the middle according to the economist. Iraq is below the half because it recorded 4.7 out of 10. this means that Iraq is slightly under the “electoral democracy” according to Freedom House. This does not hold the meaning of being qualified to the description “electoral democracy” as it is close to them.

### **Conclusion :**

To analyze the data of the governance indicator and to conclude the final results, we need to clarify the characterization of the Iraqi status.

### **Politically :**

It is clear to us that the past 13 years of work under the umbrella of the constitution of 2005, the institutions were unable to achieve the active political participation, which should have been the first step to achieve partnership in governance in harmony with the aim 16 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals ( related to building peace, justice and strong institutions). Furthermore, the negligence of the political powers and the official institutions to the goal number 10 of the Sustainable Development related to reduced inequalities and the number 5 goal related to gender equality as well as the weakness in the diplomatic work in terms of legislative and executive authorities in goal number 17 related to partnerships for the goals. This is what we found

clearly on the answers of the studied sample. This could stand as an obstacle when classifying Iraq according to the United Nations and other agencies concerned with development to shift Iraq From a middle sustainable state down to low sustainable state despite the fortune and human and other resources in Iraq. These features in Iraq should support listing it as one of the high sustainable countries.

The current reality of Iraq and the level of services provided by the different institutions of the state are reflected it clearly in the answers of the audience when we shared the eleven questions with them. This showed that the political powers have opportunity to improve their political and media program in order to gain the support of the public. If the situation remains like that, it will reflect negatively on the process of democratic transformation in Iraq. The answers we collected from the questions showed us these indicators clearly.

**Legally :**

we find the reality shows that there are huge problems facing the process of the democratic transformation in Iraq. Sometimes, there are laws that oppose the constitution and do not agree with it, because of the political sectarianism, the quota system, the non- reaching to the ideology of building the state and existence of the institutions, and the system of separating the authorities and the need to activating the

sanctions in the Iraqi laws. The security forces should be highly professional in performing the legal orders and not to violate them at all and to hold the ones who violate them countable. In addition, there is a weakness in raising the legal awareness and the legal media awareness as well as activating the role of the public prosecution properly. There should be an absolute rule of the law along with the need to treating the issues of the transitional justice laws and amnesty without injustice or abuse of the victims neither to the victims nor to the accused nor to those who have not been convicted by transforming the issue into a legal case without letting the political aspect to interfere in it. The laws related to the transitional justice should be far from the selective, permanent, revenge forms. Meanwhile, the general amnesty should not be an opportunity for the criminals and terrorists and even the corrupt people to slip. Iraqi should commit to the international obligations related to respecting the human dignity and prevent disrespecting it.

By reviewing the results of the answers, we can tell the difficulties and problems. The most remarkable ones are the lack of providing legal curriculum in the text books of the elementary and primary education, the decrease of the priorities of the essential rights in the social awareness and the absence of applying the legal sanctions and the easy ability to escape from them and the lack of reliable active institutions to publish the legal culture. Many solutions and methods are

to be given like legal and human rights curriculum in the elementary and primary education stages in addition to the higher education, involving both of the civil and military governmental employees in legal and human rights work- shops. Raising the awareness of the human rights and respecting law and considering attending these workshops as part of the promotion standards to reach the leading seats. Also to establish a form of media that is based on the approach of integrity and sharing in disseminating the legal awareness. The dissemination of the adjudication issued by different courts and tribunals in their different degrees. The need to find a kind of public control to monitor the state institutions generally and finally to emphasize on firm and meantime flexible enforcement of the law.

### **Economically :**

By analyzing the general orientation of the public answers, we can conclude that the economic system in its current situation which we already have studied. it still have core weaknesses and because of this it is not qualified to support the process of democratic transformation in Iraq. These weaknesses have a lot of reasons and the most important ones are the expedient profit of the Iraqi economy and the international relationship with Iraq in terms of the unilateral exports which was inherited for many years in the times of the wars and the economic sanctions. The Iraqi citizen had used to find a lot of free services provided from the public money. The state has to

continue accepting this situation as a result of internal political stress because it is the only employment direction.

The private sector withdrew the desire to produce and heading only to import and provide unoriginal products by exploiting the gaps of the taxes law and the easy ability to escape form them. The overall environment is not adapted to found production since the rates of the un- certainty and risk are very high.

The state should move towards the sponsorship role that does not interfere in economics so as to highlight the role of the private sector.

Also it should build the security and social stability to provide a baseline to change into an economical system that considers the essential rights of the citizen and one of the most important is the prosperous and stable living conditions which is going to provide the baseline for democratic transformation.

### **Human Rights :**

It is clear from the above mentioned that during the 13 years of working under the umbrella of the Iraqi constitution since 2005. Neither the institutions nor the executive, legislative and judicial authorities were able to enhance, secure and protect the human rights. The institutions failed to raise the awareness of the human rights in accordance with the aims of the 17 sustainable development of the United Nations which do not act as the essential rights, but also they are



essential to establish peace, prosperity and sustainability in the world. Providing competencies in the opportunities, equality in obtaining these rights like education, health care, and respectable job, representation of the political and economical processes and decision-making to achieve justice, will be the fuel of the sustainable economy and will bring benefit to the communities and all the humanity. We found them clearly in the questions we provided to the studied groups. This could stand as an obstacle when classifying Iraq according to the United Nations and other agencies concerned with development to shift Iraq from a middle sustainable state down to low sustainable state despite the fortune and human and other resources in Iraq. These features in Iraq should support listing it as one of the high sustainable countries. The political will and the participation of the public are the peak of upgrading in sustainable development.

The fact of the current human rights and the level of services and care provided for the Iraqi citizen provided by the various state institutions, the huge legislative mistakes in the enforced legislations as for the level of security and securing the human rights and the reduction in implementing them have reflected clearly in the answers of the public when raising the ten questions. This shows that the political authorities need to improve their programs, and political and media speeches in terms of enhancing human rights,

also the three authorities ( the legislative, executive, and judicial) now have the chance to improve their service, legislative, and judicial programs in terms of human rights too in order to gain the support of the public. If the situation remains like that, it will reflect negatively on the process of democratic transformation in Iraq.

The answers we collected from the questions showed us these indicators clearly.

### **Electoral :**

We cannot tell that achieving an honest election that is able to feature the true democracy is something easy without providing the suitable conditions to protect the path of the electoral process starting from the electoral system, the different parties, providing the convenient atmosphere, and the relation among all of the mentioned to the current political regime. Each electoral process has to provide three essential standards, they are : the legal framework of the election, an independent organization to oversee, the political supportive atmosphere. Considering the results of the measuring democracy indicators in Iraq, it is now clear the legal framework of the election represented by the election law was not available in a form that suits the requirement of democracy which is people rule themselves. This kind of rule cannot be achieved unless the people are able to elect their representatives fairly through a legal framework because the election system is the mechanism which transforms the votes into

seats in the legislative authority. If this mechanism went through properly, the election is proper and the democratic experiment is proper too.

If it is not, the election and democracy are in danger. The fact that 57.4% of the sample believe that the election law was not fair means that we have to look thoroughly in this issue to provide a convenient legal framework.

Whereas the independent monitoring organization of the election , which is the Independent High Electoral Commission, needs another revision specially after deactivating its duty after the results in 12 May 2018. Deciding the availability of one of the most important standard of the honest election is standby until conviction or innocence is confirmed against the accusations raised against it.

Concerning the supportive political environment of the election, it is provided superficially. This support was not real concerning changing the faces or changing the political equation according to the results of the survey which showed that elections cannot change anything worth mentioning due to the categorized clusters and the keen of the politicians to stay in the possession of authority as long as they can.

### **Media :**

The Iraqi media witnesses a state of mistrust with the audience. It is the worst thing to happen now since cannot rely on media as a reflective mirror of

the citizens' concerns according to the given data. Absence, blocking, marginalizing the role of the authority of press provides the chance to legal systematic violations by the powerful parties whether they are governmental, party related to both.

Journalists in Iraq suffers from obstacles and obstructions standing against their essential missions represented by defending the human rights and securing freedoms. They do not have enough protection. They cannot reach the information that interest the public. If they managed to reach ( with risk sometimes), the dependent or bias media does not allow publishing it unless it is in a context of targeting the competitors or extortion them. These actions are far from the Charters of Honor of the occupation and it is against the interest of the country.

### **Women Rights :**

In reference to the above points, during the 13 years of the Iraqi constitution since 2005, neither the institutions, the legislative and executive nor even the judicial authority were able to enhance, secure and protect the women rights as a human and did not achieve gender equality with what should accord with Goal 5 of the sustainable development goals of the United Nations which does not act as an essential right, but also a necessary base to establish peace, prosperity and sustainability in the world. Providing equality among women and girls to get education, health care, suitable work,

representation in the political and economical processes, decision-making and access to justice will be the fuel to the sustainable economies and will bring benefit to communities and all the humanity. This is what we found clearly on the answers of the studied sample. This could stand as an obstacle when classifying Iraq according to the United Nations and other agencies concerned with development to shift Iraq from a middle sustainable state down to low sustainable state despite the fortune and human and other resources in Iraq. These features in Iraq should support listing it as one of the high sustainable countries.

### **Local Governing :**

The overall look to the orientation of the studied groups shows that there is a gap between the performance and the result. The democratic regime is originally a means to achieve certain objectives. One of the most important is the actual representation of the voters, achieving actual political participation in decision-making, creating policies on a local level in order to reach the best method in providing services and achieving the essential needs which are the reasons behind the existence of a local government, but, what is happening in Iraq is that the rate of participation in the election is a little bit okay and there is freedom in choosing the members of the local councils, but there is no awareness and there is a weakness in the political culture and lack of citizenship. These are essential reasons in producing hybrid councils that do not meet the

aspirations of the citizen consisting of incompetent members brought by tribal relations, corruption and selling votes. Thus, they are not a true representatives of their provinces and regions. They cannot provide services because they are disqualified to perform their duties although they have power approved by the constitution and the enforced laws. If these powers were to be used properly, the reality of the provinces would have been better than now hugely.

