

Non-governmental organizations role in Modern democracies a case of study Iraq

By

Abdul-Adiem Jabber Hafiz

Department of political science, political systems and general policies major, Al- Nahrain University, Baghdad, Iraq, 10016
Email: dr.abd@nahrainuniv.edu.iq

Hassan Ali Muhammed

Department of political science, political systems and general policies major, Al- Nahrain University, Baghdad, Iraq, 10016
E.mail hassan.a.algarawi@gmail.com

Abstract

help In their activities and may be the reverse when they include certain Iraq, and this environment and circumstances may include incentives to surrounds, and this applies to the work of civil society organizations in into account the circumstances and environment in which it operates and importance of its work and its role, but it cannot work without taking despite the importance of civil society organizations and the situations that may themselves be obstacles hinder their work

Keywords: (civil society, non-governmental organizations, democratic transformation, civil society, organizations)

Introduction

Civil society organizations are considered one of the most important active institutions at the present time in light of the political, social, and economic and security developments and technological development that the world is going through. These organizations, just as their work and activity became a societal need that prompted them to increase their mobility and effectiveness.

The conditions of Iraq in light of the stage of the American occupation and the enormity of the consequences of wars, conflicts and the destructive policies of the occupation prevent the state's ability to confront these effects on its own, and it often stands unable to address the problems and crises that the country is going through, which gave way to social forces, including civil society organizations To achieve integration, as there are many factors that encouraged these organizations to play many important roles in community service, including The movement of civil society organizations in the Arab world is relatively recent, including Iraq. It needs a lot of efforts that should be made in order for civil society organizations to be able to bear the burdens that are placed on them. In addition to the auxiliary factors that have strengthened the role of civil society organizations and their presence there. A number of things impede the work of these organizations and may lead to paralyzing their movement, inability to work and preventing them from keeping pace with the march. research importance: The importance of the research comes from the fact that it deals with a topic that is considered recent at the level of studies in Iraq has many unstable contents that require efforts to be identified and then analyzed, such as incentives and obstacles to the work of civil society organizations in Iraq.

Published/ publié in *Res Militaris* (resmilitaris.net), vol.13, n°1, Winter-Spring 2023

Search problem: It includes an attempt to explain the motivating and hindering factors for the work of community organizations Civilians in Iraq in light of the current situation, among which a number of questions are raised, represented by:

What are the incentives that help civil society organizations in performing their work and activities?

What are the obstacles that limit or impede the work of civil society organizations?
Research Hypothesis: The research is based on the premise that the work of civil society organizations in Iraq It needs a set of stimuli that contribute to the effectiveness of this work and activity, and on the other hand, there are a number of things that constitute obstacles that hinder its work.

Research Methodology: In order to achieve the research hypothesis, the systematic analysis method was adopted in the study Civil society organizations and analyze their work and roles and investigate the incentives and obstacles facing their work and activities in Iraq.
search structure: The structure of the research included the introduction, two chapters and a conclusion, as follows: The first topic comes under the title: "Civil Society Organizations' Motivations in Iraq". The second topic is entitled: "The Obstacles of Civil Society Organizations in Iraq".

1.1 overview: And then comes the conclusion, which includes the most important conclusions reached by the research The first topic: incentives for the work of civil society organizations Motivations are defined as (a type of systematic and studied internal security that depends on the individual's confidence in his preparations, capabilities, skills, and the extent to which he is able to implement his goals and culture for himself and the possibility of achieving them." It is the opposite of discouragement. From front to back, it is the cause of attenuations and delay (Abass,2013).

Although civil society organizations have existed for decades, with different names and the nature of their work However, it cannot work without motives and incentives, including internal and external, in order to perform its work in a peaceful manner, as well as to face the obstacles and challenges that hinder its work. After the change of the political system in Iraq in 2003, this period witnessed the growth of many civil society organizations in light of the desire of large numbers of Categories of the Iraqi people to participate in civil and political life, in addition to allowing and encouraging such kind of activities by the American occupation forces, as many forms of civil society organizations appeared, some of which were an extension of old organizations with some modifications to their programs and the nature of their work, and some of them came in line with the changes and the new situation Which was imposed by the occupation or what arose due to the situation and the existence of the popular desire to overcome the disasters cause by the war (Saeed ,2010)

Civil Society Development And Growth

There are a number of stimuli that have caused the establishment and development of civil society organizations, and they can be mentioned as follows:

First - Democracy and Civil Society: Democracy is the appropriate political ground for the emergence and development of civil society in Iraq, and democracy expresses a historical concept that has taken multiple forms and applications in the context of the development of cultures and societies. Before the Arab governments, including Iraq, civil society took an

important space and its position in the public space of the state was linked to democratic transformations, as there is a reciprocal relationship between the term civil society and democracy because the latter is the political face of civil society because it expresses a peaceful formula for managing dissonance and difference according to agreed constitutional rules within the state. Civil society organizations are also schools for political upbringing on democracy, and there has become a dialectical relationship between democracy and the development of civil society and its regression as well. Thus, civil society cannot grow, continue, and achieve its goals and programs in a non-democratic environment (Karbala: 2014).

It means the existence of an interrelationship between democracy and civil society, as none of them is achieved in the absence of the other, and it is difficult to build a civil society within the framework of an authoritarian state that lacks legitimacy, as civil society organizations are working to rebuild the state into a state of institutions that interact with it to develop its performance for the better and in order to activate the role of Civil society institutions and their promotion to serve the community and build what Destroyed by war and disasters, a number of conditions and mechanisms must be met and achieved on the ground,

civil organizations Role: the most important of which are the following: (Al-Kufa: 2018)

1. The political system must work to activate and enhance participation as the essential aspect of democracy, which depends on the prevailing political culture in society, as the political culture is what pushes citizens to contribute to making and taking political decisions, in contrast to the culture of submission that makes the citizen unable To achieve independence and incapable of innovation and creativity.
2. Spreading the culture of democracy, that is, not only issuing laws, holding elections, and setting political procedures and arrangements, but also consolidating democracy on a broad system of activists and citizens alike.
3. Reform civil society organizations and make more efforts to reform their conditions to be more transparent, and to confront the negatives, including their lack of internal democracy, confinement in narrow elitist frameworks, overcoming internal conflicts, and the commitment of these organizations to the rules of democratic action.

secondly-Poverty and its increasing rates in Iraq had a significant impact on the growing role of civil society organizations: This is due to government policies, including the austerity policy adopted by the government as a result of the drop in oil prices, in addition to the high levels of unemployment in the presence of (5009) unimplemented projects, and the state was not able to address such circumstances on its own. It must create a partnership between the state, civil society and the private sector to reduce poverty in Iraq, and its launch was represented in the availability of the initial foundations to build a base for building a joint work established by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, according to which channels of communication were opened with all social partners to implement its pre-prepared strategy towards the groups it sponsors. In cooperation with civil society organizations, the Ministry was keen on August 13, 2016 to find a real partnership with the organizations and use them to implement its strategy, the most important of which is (Social Protection Law No. 11 of 2016), which includes conducting social research for families eligible for social protection subsidy, and that civil society organizations will have a prominent role as It has experiences in diagnosing families covered and eligible for subsidy, and thus it becomes clear that the government has a role in encouraging and motivating civil society organizations and that the government effort is to find a partnership with community organizations. Thus, it becomes clear that the

government has a role in encouraging and motivating civil society organizations, and that the government effort is to find a partnership with community organizations. Thus, it becomes clear that the government has a role in encouraging and motivating civil society organizations, and that the government effort is to find a partnership with community organizations. Civil, meaning the institutional and societal effort to reduce poverty in Iraq, which encouraged the establishment of organizations and strengthened their role in society (Baghdad:2016).

Third-Globalization, which is the most important secretions of the era after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dominance of the United States. The United States of America is based on the international system, and globalization in its simple concept is the fall of borders or the disappearance of distance and the world has become like a small village and is based on the tremendous progress in information technology and the globalization of mechanisms and ideas of the market economy, and the increasing role of the private sector in it. To the importance of civil society as an economic phenomenon as it is the driving force for the activities and growth of the private sector, which stumbled in previous periods (Baghdad:2013).

In addition to giving a large role to civil society organizations or non-governmental organizations at the international and governmental levels, globalization has also led to an increase in the rates of similarity between societies, as policies have been adopted, including the removal of sanctity of power and its transfer to society and individuals, as the concept of civil society is one of the important concepts that has become an expression of Postmodernism in political thought, which was accompanied by the ideas of the third wave of "Samuel Huntington" and the end of history by "Francis Fukuyama" as well as the American developments of the third world countries as frameworks for reform projects (Baghdad:2006).

The spread of corruption in Iraq in its various forms, the collapse of the control authority, the weakness of accountability and transparency, the deterioration of administrative capabilities, as well as the spread of manifestations of nepotism and corrupt practices, and the adoption of a culture of loyalty to a group or sect instead of a culture of performance and achievement. Ever (Baghdad:2006).

One of the problems that cannot be overlooked and that has affected Iraqi society greatly is: Political sectarianism, as Iraq witnessed after 2003 a major revival in the phenomenon of political sectarianism, as the latter pushed in the absence of citizenship, the continuation of job sharing, the sectarian quota system, and the exclusion of efficiency standards. Ideology and nationalism (political, economic and doctrinal), but has become a means of regional and not internal approach. All of this pushed Iraqi society to more fragmentation and a feeling of mistrust, especially minorities whose targeting would mean an attempt to eradicate or displace them. (Baghdad:2005).

Face Iraq after a 2003 a set of internal and external variables and challenges, which in their basis came as a result of the accumulation of policies that preceded that date that cast a shadow on the reality of the state. In society, the change from a totalitarian regime to a pluralist democracy did not pass easily, but rather faced obstacles, some of them political and some economic and security.

The consensual approach and political quotas were largely reflected in the reality of society. The existence of these higher institutions of the state was not limited to, but included multiple joints that burdened the state, as well as economic philosophy.

Unclear after 2003 and the transition from the socialist system that prevailed in Iraq and its repercussions are still influential in many sectors to the market economy and investment openness, as it did not draw the appropriate culture and ground for it that match the existing social reality, nor with the economic institutions capable of absorbing this transformation (Baghdad:2018).

As a step to fill the political and social vacuum that occurred in the country, civil society organizations played a prominent role in guiding members of society to demand their various rights through protests and demonstrations. These organizations have had a significant impact on the political process, as these organizations worked to bring Iraqi society out of the politics of marginalization and political absence into participation. Positive and effective in political life. Hence, the deteriorating political, economic and social conditions have greatly affected the establishment of many civil society organizations and encouraged their formation (Grawal, 2021).

What has increased the importance of civil society organizations is the decline of the state and the attention of its authorities to the main issues and problems within society, which led to the expansion of the role of the organizations and their bearing the burden of meeting the demands of many segments and alerting the government to pay attention to the issues that it overlooks in society and its problems (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014).

As far as civil society organizations in Iraq are concerned, they have gone beyond being a societal need to being an urgent necessity, especially because the country is going through a wide change, which gives these organizations an opportunity to invest in laying a new and solid building to overcome the complexities and mistakes of the past and overcome the problems of the present. Thus, civil society has gained The importance of this is to put the worsening crisis, if not to say the catastrophe that Iraq is going through after 2003, as it began with the American occupation and its repercussions and the change of the political system through sectarianism and wrong government policies that increased the severity of the crisis and to the period of the growth of Muslim and terrorist groups outside the authority of the government, and finally ISIS control over many From the Iraqi provinces, which had a great impact on society, these cities witnessed a mass exodus, and this period was accompanied by a great drain on the country's military, economic and human capabilities due to the battles with armed groups and the liberation of cities, all of which led to difficulty The government can overcome these problems, which may be very heavy, and through cooperation with civil society organizations, many problems can be overcome and overcome, due to the ability of civil society to absorb the tensions arising from ethnic, sectarian, racial and partisan differences through its focus on the principle of citizenship as it regulates the relationship of the individual with society And its relationship with the state, and works to achieve equality in rights and duties and subject to the law, and the citizen has the right to express his will freely and be held accountable for its violation.

Obstacles to the work of civil society organizations

The process of building civil society organizations in all countries of the world, including Iraq, especially a young movement, requires a lot of efforts to establish a mature civil society capable of bearing various burdens, performing its functions and playing its real role.

Inner and Outer Obstacles

Especially since the Iraqi civil society organizations are in the stage of becoming and formation.

Perhaps the most prominent of those obstacles are: Political and security obstacles Cultural and social obstacles, intellectual obstacles, economic obstacles, technical and administrative obstacles, which will be explained as follows:

Political Obstacles:The political obstacles facing the work of community organizations can be identified Civilian in several main points, including the following:

The most important obstacles facing civil organizations are the limited space for freedoms available to organizations in the Arab countries compared to other countries in the world, and that the state's authorities are still absolute and not subject to accountability, and these countries, including Iraq, prevail over the state's hegemony and control over the work and politics of organizations and the narrowing of the freedom space available to them And its expression, in addition to the weak legislation of civil society organizations that regulate their work, financing, programs and goals, which hinders the work of civil society organizations and cannot respond to the requirements of international standards for the work of organizations, which leads to weak effectiveness and activity and thus deprived of support and logistical from large international organizations or the Iraqi state (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995).

The increase in burdens and the expansion of the problems and issues, including internal displacement and the deterioration of the political situation in many governors of Iraq, which witnessed the phenomenon of mass displacement following the entry of ISIS into So the Sunnis of Iraq went to the Kurdistan region and to other regions, the increasing frequency of terrorism, the continued deterioration of most state institutions, the continuing electricity crisis in the country, and the deterioration of the educational and health sector (Davis,2001).

which made civil society organizations a heavy burden that cannot fulfill all the needs, especially with the presence of a large governmental vacuum in subsidizing organizations to solve these problems, thus leading to the existence of an obstacle in civil society.

One of the obstacles facing many civil society organizations is the attempt by political parties or some influential people to contain, politicize and dominate their work. To lose their confidence in these organizations, which paralyzes their movement and fails their work (Isakhan,2021).

One of the obstacles facing the work and development of civil society organizations is the process of registering organizations, as the Civil Society Organizations Registration Department is the NGO Department affiliated to the Cabinet Secretariat and not affiliated with the Ministry of Civil Society Affairs, as it was affiliated with the Ministry of Planning at its inception and the registration process was at that time It is easy and convenient, as the department was clear in terms of structure and formation, and there was clear consistency in its work, and the feeling of the department's work is subject to pressure and is not qualified, and despite the issuance of the NGO Law by the Cabinet Secretariat in 2010, the instructions are still not approved in their final form in these Accordingly, the process of registering or re-registering organizations hinders the effectiveness and work of civil society organizations in Iraq (Washington DC: Brookings Institute Press 2019).

Violence, political instability and internal conflicts for any society lead to the dismemberment of political institutions and is one of the indicators of the absence of formal and informal channels, because the presence of these phenomena led to an increase in the state's control and dominance over all state facilities (Reger,2020).

Security Obstacles:Among the obstacles facing civil society organizations are threats Security, as civil society organizations in Iraq are subjected to repeated attacks and threats, especially in areas witnessing armed conflicts and where armed and outlawed groups and terrorist organizations are present.

For Human Rights, Ruwaida Relief Organization, Voices of Iraqi Freedom, and the National Organization for Human Rights after they carried out activities in Makhmour and Mosul (New York,Oxford University press, 2018).

And the media in this case and other formations in society have a major role in changing this image and the quality of citizens towards civil society organizations and their importance and the important role they play in society and the dissemination of values, democracy and humanity in addition to virtuous values and ethics (London:overseas development institute, 2006).

Cultural and Social Obstacles:The state of urbanization is one of the most important social obstacles, especially after Social changes in the second half of the twentieth century, especially the large Iraqi cities, as they represent a major problem facing the work of civil society organizations, represented by the difficulty of moving from tribal societies to civil societies and the mechanisms that drive this process, and that loyalty to the tribe or clan led to the lack of citizen engagement with civil society organizations As he is not aware of good citizenship and its principles and kept swinging between traditional society and urban society, i.e. between tribal and civil, i.e. imposed by the era or the political society. (Nationalism" is a structure in which most people participate on the basis of participation (Stanski, 2005).

It also produced a behavior characterized by utilitarianism and their lack of sense of responsibility and personalization on the basis of institutionalization, and hence the crystallization of awareness of individuals relatively far from the reformist vision (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007).

It is worth noting that what distinguishes Iraqi civil society is the pivotal role played by kinship in directing the relations of its members on the basis of sectarian affiliation or lineage, which leads to the instillation of narrow values and deepening commitment to their implementation To achieve the public interest (Baghdad:2021).

Intellectual Obstacles: One of the challenges that hinder the work of civil society organizations is the absence of The real understanding of their work by government institutions on one side and society on the other hand, government institutions often play negative roles that prevent the success of the work of organizations represented by not allowing the organizations to cooperate and coordinate to work with them on the other hand, these institutions worked by setting complex conditions and multiple procedures for any relationship that links Organizations with any component of society, as these conditions are not commensurate with the nature of the work of organizations, as they need to move quickly away from the complications and procedures set by these institutions.

As for society, it still does not trust greatly any work outside the official government framework, as the government is considered the balance More powerful It is more appropriate for them to provide services and obtain rights for them, and do not give these organizations importance unless the government institutions are the unjust party to them and their rights have been arbitrarily taken away, so society realizes their importance (NGO Iraq Registration: 2011).

Economic obstacles: It is one of the most important obstacles facing civil society organizations, which results from the lack of services and the unfair distribution of income, and the ordeal that Iraqi society is going through is the high rates of unemployment and poverty, which led to the absence of the middle class in society, and many groups felt marginalized and excluded, and there became a great disparity between Local communities in the field of human and economic development, on the other hand, witnessed a government absence to support and develop the private sector, which negatively affected the work and building of civil society organizations. To submit a financial report by each organization to the Non-Governmental Organizations Department in accordance with Law No. (12) for Non-Governmental Organizations for the year 2010 and every year, but these measures have not been taken to date, On the other hand, there is an obstacle to civil society and it loses one of its most important characteristics and components, which is taking monthly grants from the government. This appears in organizations in general and organizations in the Kurdistan region. Thus, these organizations lose their financial and administrative independence and this affects their work, programs and policies.

Internal Obstacles: In addition to the aforementioned obstacles, there are obstacles within Civil society organizations and their structures hinder their work, as follows : (Baghdad:2012).

- 1- The absence of a culture of work in civil society organizations, and the lack of specialized trained cadres and it is noticeable that most of its employees have a superficial culture that depends on a superficial reading of the experiences of some countries, which are almost different from the nature and composition of Arab and Iraqi society.
- 2- The ambiguity of funding sources for some civil society organizations, which leads to the politicization of their work The majority of civil society organizations are politicized, and in terms of their political or intellectual reference, they are linked to parties or actors in the political arena, which has made them lose the ability to express civil society as a whole, as they did not confront it.
- 3- The problem of fragmentation and disorder in civil society organizations despite the great changes that it has witnessed The country, which witnessed the emergence and establishment of hundreds of civil society organizations and associations, but many of those who established associations and non-governmental organizations are profiting from foreign funding on the account of real service to society, and thus they have an opportunity to create wealth at the expense of serving the vulnerable and marginalized groups.
- 4- Because of the confused circumstances that accompanied the emergence of organizations and the lack of experience and self-awareness of what Civil society: The majority of civil society organizations suffer from weak structures in them with founding work, management and building their own strategies, which has left them in a state of stagnation and inactivity.
- 5- The exacerbation of financial and administrative corruption led to the exacerbation of administrative and financial corruption of some community organizations Civilians lost the trust of funders and donors and an atmosphere of mistrust prevailed in them, as it contributed greatly to dispelling the possibility of playing a role to empower citizens and enhance their own capabilities.

- 6- The swinging role of donors and funders, as donors to civil society organizations play two roles Positive and negative, the positive role is represented in providing funds for Iraqi projects and facilitating the process of training and capacity building, while the negative role is represented in the weak coordination between its policies and development programs and its limited sensitivity to the priorities and aspirations of Iraqi society, in addition to the imposition of some donors for their political agendas through funding, meaning that funding is conditional and in some cases Unfair and unrealistic conditions for the development support provided.

Conclusion

Based on the visions and ideas that were discussed in the subject of research on a theoretical and practical level, to reach the conclusion of the content, civil society organizations in Iraq have searched for the possibility of finding incentives and solutions to obstacles. This period after 2003 witnessed a growth of many civil society organizations in light of the desire Large numbers of the Iraqi people participate in civil and political life, in addition to allowing and encouraging such kind of activities by the US occupation forces, as many forms of civil society organizations have emerged, some of which were an extension of old organizations with some modifications to their programs and the nature of their work.

We can put a number of conclusions that were reached through research in this area, as follows:

1. There is a dialectical relationship between democracy and the development of civil society and its regression as well. If the foundations of democracy are rooted in the state, the position of civil society organizations will be strengthened, and vice versa. Thus, civil society cannot grow, continue, and achieve its goals and programs in a non-democratic environment.
2. After 2003, Iraq faced a number of internal and external variables and challenges, which in their basis came as a result of the accumulation of policies that preceded that date, which cast a shadow over the reality of the state and society. The change from a totalitarian regime to a pluralistic democracy did not pass easily, but rather faced obstacles, some of which are political, and some are economic and security.
3. The increase in the burdens on the work of organizations and the widening of the problems and issues, including internal displacement and the deterioration of the political situation in many Governances of Iraq, which witnessed the phenomenon of mass displacement following the entry of ISIS into the lands, so the Sunnis of Iraq went to the Kurdistan region and to other regions, the increasing frequency of terrorism.

References

- Rawnaq Odeh Abbas, "The Legal Organization of Civil Society Organizations", an unpublished master's thesis, College of Law, Al- Nahrain University, Baghdad, 2013.
- Shailan Wahid Saeed, (Civil Society Institutions and Their Impact on the Democratic Transition Process: Iraq as a Model", an unpublished master's thesis, College of Law and Politics, University of Sulaymaniyah, Sulaymaniyah, 2010.
- Doreen Benjamin Hormuz, (Democracy and the Institutions of Civil Society",Karbala University Scientific Journal, Volume 12, Number 2, (Karbala:2014).
- Ziad Samir Al-Dabbagh, Mechanisms for Strengthening the Work of Civil Society Institutions in Achieving Good Governance,Kufa magazine for legal and political sciences, Issue 36, (Kufa: 2018).

- Sahar Kamel Khalil, public policy and the means of civil society institutions in making it a theoretical study, magazine, College of Education for Girls, University of Baghdad, Volume 24, Volume 2, 2013.
- Abbas Fadel Mahoud, (Civil Society Organizations in Strengthening Democratic Building in Iraq”, Professor magazine, Issue 203, (Baghdad, 2013).
- Adnan Yassin, (Civil Society and Social Variables in Iraq”, Journal of Social Studies, Issue 18, (Baghdad: 2006).
- Qais Al-Nouri, (Local Society and Civil Society: The Dialectic of Belonging and Loyalty in Iraq), Al-Nabaa Magazine, Issue 84, (Baghdad: 2006).
- Kawthar Abbas Al-Rubaie, (Civil Society in Iraq: Concept and Application, ”International Studies Journal, Issue 27, (Baghdad: 2005).
- Hana Abdel Ghaffar Hammoud and Atheer Abdel Khaleq Mohammed, Activating the Role of Civil Society in International Partnership to Alleviate Poverty in Iraq, Journal of Management and Economics, Issue 107, (Baghdad: 2018).
- Sharan Grewal, (Ten years in, Tunisian democracy remains a work in progress, (The Washington Post, 2021), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/14/tenyears-tunisian-democracy-remains-work-progress/>.
- Eric Davis, The Historical Genesis of the Public Sphere in Iraq, 1900–1963.
- Ali A. Allawi, Faisal I of Iraq (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 379.
- Zuhair Humadi, (Civil Society under the Ba’ath in Iraq,” in Toward Civil Society in the Middle East? A Primer, ed. Jillian Schwedler (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995), 50-52.
- Eric Davis, (The Historical Genesis of the Public Sphere in Iraq, 1900–1963,” 401.
- Benjamin, Isakhan, (Civil Society in Hybrid Regimes: Trade Union Activism in Post-2003, Iraq, Political Studies (April 29, 2021), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/00323217211005322>.
- Bruce Riedel, Beirut 1958: How America’s Wars in the Middle East Began (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2019).
- Eric Davis, The Historical Genesis of the Public Sphere in Iraq, 1900–1963, 399.
- Jeffrey Drew Reger, (Ba’athist State Feminism: The General Federation of Iraqi Women in the Global 1970s, Journal of Women’s History 32, no. 4 (Winter 2020): 38-62, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2020.0039>.
- Samuel Helfont, Compulsion in Religion: Saddam Hussein, Islam, and the Roots of Insurgencies in Iraq (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- Alexandre Carle and Hakim Chkam, (Humanitarian action in the new security environment: policy and operational implications in Iraq, (London: Overseas Development Institute, September 16, 2006), <https://odi.org/en/publications/humanitarian-action-in-the-new-securityenvironment-policy-and-operational-implications-in-iraq/>.
- Victoria Stanski, Linchpin for Democracy: The Critical Role of Civil Society in Iraq,” Journal of Third World Studies 22, no. 2 (2005): 197–225, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45198565>.
- Alexandre Carle and Hakim Chkam, (Humanitarian action in the new security environment)
- Robert M. Perito, (Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq, (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, February 1, 2007), <https://www.usip.org/publications/2007/02/provincial-reconstruction-teams-iraq>.
- Author interview with foreign diplomat, Baghdad, February 2021.
- NGO Coordination Committee For Iraq, (NGO Registration Iraq - Update 13th March 2011: Update on actual legal registration status,” Reliefweb, March 13, 2011, <https://reliefweb.int/report/iraq/ngo-registration-iraq-update-13th-march-2011-update-on%C2%A0-actual-legal-registration-status>.
- My analysis excluded the KRI because NGOs operating there are governed by a different set of laws.