

IOM IRAQ

# PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY AND POLICE IN IRAQ

## BASELINE SURVEY FINDINGS



Center for  
Global Legal Challenges  
YALE LAW SCHOOL



## ABOUT IOM

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As an intergovernmental organization, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to assist in meeting the operational challenges of migration; advance understanding of migration issues; encourage social and economic development through migration; and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

## ABOUT IOM IRAQ'S COMMUNITY POLICING PROGRAMME

In 2012, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) began implementing a Community Policing Programme in partnership with Iraq's Ministry of Interior (MoI). The programme aims to counter drivers of irregular migration, by contributing to creating safer communities, strengthening security, as well as preventing and responding to crime by improving trust and cooperation between communities and law enforcement institutions. The MoI has created a special Directorate and Departments for community policing and is in the process of expanding and mainstreaming the methodology across all of Iraq's 19 governorates. The Community Policing programme includes three main components: (1) the training of Community Police Officers and Community Members, (2) the construction of Community Police Offices and (3) the establishment of Community Policing Forums.

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## ABOUT THE IOM IRAQ — YALE LAW SCHOOL CENTER FOR GLOBAL LEGAL CHALLENGES STUDY

IOM Iraq has partnered with Yale Law School's Center for Global Legal Challenges to study the effects of IOM's Community Policing Programme, which aims to improve safety and security by building trust and cooperation between Iraqi civilians and law enforcement institutions. To support data-informed programming, IOM Iraq's research team collected data from two waves of door-to-door household surveys of random samples of Iraqi citizens –before and after the implementation of the Community Policing Programme– in three communities: Baradiyah, a Shia Arab majority urban neighbourhood in the city of Basra located in the southern governorate of Basra; Hamdaniyah, a Christian-majority town in the northern governorate of Ninewa; and Jubeil, a Sunni Arab majority urban neighbourhood in the city of Fallujah located in the central governorate of Anbar. As IOM works with Iraq's MoI to integrate community policing methods throughout the state security apparatus as part of a national strategy for security sector reform, this study offers lessons learned about the effects of the Community Policing Programme in diverse contexts. End line surveys were conducted in December 2019 and will be analysed in a subsequent report.

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## INTRODUCTION

In Iraq, where the rule of law is weak and the risk of conflict recurrence is high, public distrust of state security actors is a major policy challenge and barrier to sustainable peace-building.

Since 2003, the country has experienced cyclical episodes of intra-state violence – the most recent of which was the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) crisis between 2014 and 2017 – and continuous, collective calls for improved governance and adherence to the rule of law. This context raises an important question: How can the Iraqi government build legitimacy and trust in state institutions among its citizens? Historically, many Iraqis have viewed the Iraqi police and other security actors as instruments of state repression rather than as providers of justice, security and rule of law. Widespread distrust and fear of the Iraqi police undermines public safety, effective governance and democracy because it discourages citizens from reporting crimes and other problems to state authorities and from exercising their civil and human rights, including freedom of expression and movement. Alienation from the Iraqi police as well as grievances against the federal government are also associated with poor security outcomes, such as the multiplication of informal security actors and opportunities for inter-group violence.

This report aims to shed light on the inter-related security and governance factors at play in three diverse communities in Iraq, as a way to contextualize and evaluate the effectiveness of community policing programming. Previous research suggests that data-driven, evidence-based community policing methods and programming can contribute to promoting mutual trust and cooperation between state

security actors and civilians in post-authoritarian and post-conflict settings, thereby increasing the effectiveness and legitimacy of the government. In communities with poor security and governance outcomes, a negative feedback cycle often exists. Insecurity and ineffective governance are associated with low levels of trust in police and other state institutions, which then weakens the overall legitimacy of the government in the eyes of citizens. Citizens' dissatisfaction with governments they perceive as ineffective and illegitimate may then exacerbate insecurity through a number of different mechanisms, including decreased levels of citizen cooperation and compliance with state institutions and increased support for non-state actors that compete with the state as alternative providers of security and governance. Thus, it is important to understand civilians' attitudes and behaviors towards the providers of security and justice; their perceptions of the legitimacy of the Iraqi government; police officers' attitudes and behaviors toward civilians; and the prevalence of crime and violence. Respondents have answered these questions in the following communities: Jubeil (Anbar), Hamdaniya (Ninewa) and Baradiyah (Basra). Despite overlapping development and governance challenges, such as low employment and poor access to services, these communities diverge significantly in terms of their demographic composition, the array of political and security actors present and their experiences with the ISIL crisis and its aftermath.





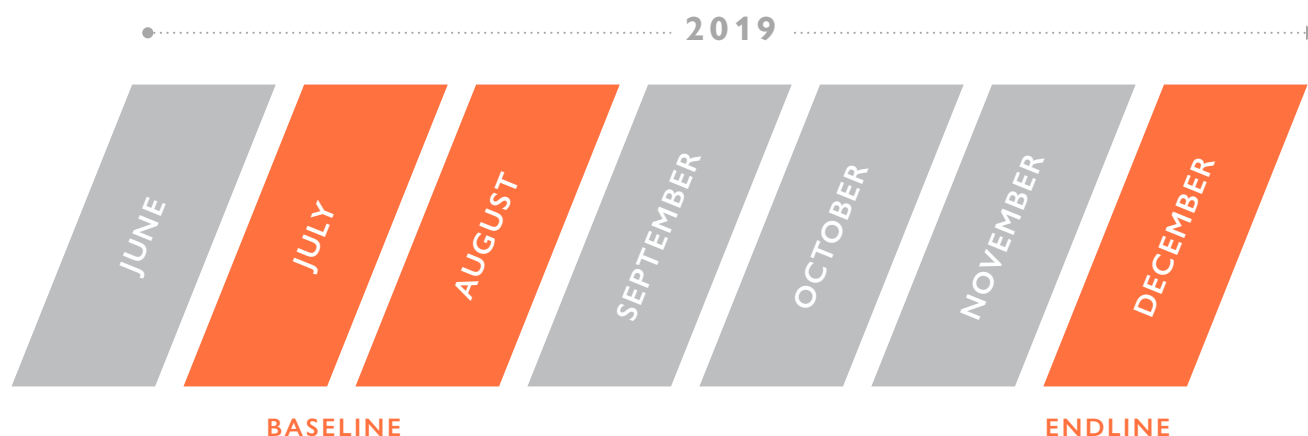
## METHODOLOGY

This report is based on data from the first wave (baseline) of the survey conducted in July-August 2019, before the implementation of the Community Policing Programme. The household survey was conducted by IOM field researchers according to IOM's Data Protection Principles and approved by Yale University's Institutional Review Board.<sup>1</sup>

All of the field teams included male and female field researchers at a 50%-50% ratio. The field researchers followed a random-walk procedure to select every third house. A Kish grid was used to randomly select a respondent from among the adults (18 years or older) living in each house. The study was fielded in three small communities: Jubeil, a Sunni Arab majority urban neighbourhood in the city of Fallujah located in the central governorate of Anbar; Baradiyah, a Shia Arab majority urban neighbourhood in

Basra; and Hamdaniyah, a Christian-majority town in the northern governorate of Ninewa. These three communities vary significantly in their geographical locations, demographic compositions and exposure to the recent conflict with ISIL. Ninety-four per cent of potential respondents agreed to participate in the survey and a total of 911 respondents were surveyed in these three communities (around 300 respondents per community).<sup>2</sup>

Figure 1: Two Rounds of Data Collection



1 This research was approved by Yale University's Institutional Review Board on July 9, 2019 (Protocol #2000025209).

2 The total number of adult respondents in each of the three communities was estimated to be less than 2,500, so while we expect that these samples are relatively representative of the small communities from which they were drawn, they are not necessarily representative of public opinion in the larger districts or governorates in which the communities are located.

## PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY, ACTORS IN THE COMMUNITY AND DISPUTE RESOLUTION STRATEGIES: A CROSS-COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

**The following section discusses key differences and similarities across the three communities of study in five areas:**

1. Perceptions of security
2. Perceptions of different actors present in the communities and their impact on security
3. Strategies for dispute resolution
4. Perceptions of police
5. Gender differences in civilian-police relations

### PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY

**Communities directly affected by the ISIL crisis perceive the greatest relative improvement in security, which likely reflects the dramatic decrease in violence following the end of the military campaign against the group.**

Perceptions of security varied significantly across communities. Respondents from Hamdaniyah (Ninewa) and Jubeil (Anbar), both communities taken by ISIL, were more likely to perceive their communities as very safe (Hamdaniyah 94%, Jubeil 60%) and claimed an improvement in their family's security situation over the past year (Jubeil 72%, Hamdaniyah 35%).

Conversely in Baradiyah (Basra), which was not directly affected by the ISIL crisis, only seven per cent of respondents perceived the community as "very safe" and only two per cent said that their family's security situation had improved over the last year. However, residents of Baradiyah were also the most concerned about the possible increase of violence over the next year (53% compared with 16% in Hamdaniyah and 6% in Jubeil), which might have been related to a growing climate of discontent towards the government in southern Iraq.

**Patterns of violence and crime differ in the communities taken by ISIL where community members are more concerned about experiencing direct acts of violence.**

In Jubeil and Hamdaniyah, direct acts of violence such as bombing, armed assault and killing were among the major security concerns cited. The recent exposure to

direct violence by community members is likely contributing to residents' fears of suffering from such types of violence. By contrast, residents of Baradiyah were mostly concerned about indirect violence or crime such as theft or seizure of property (28%), bribery (19%) and intimidation or harassment (14%).<sup>3</sup>

### PERCEPTIONS OF ACTORS PRESENT IN THE COMMUNITY AND THEIR IMPACT ON SECURITY

**Some actors who have a consistent presence in the community are perceived as having a positive impact on security, but others are perceived as having a negative impact on security.**

For residents of Jubeil and Hamdaniyah, actors with a strong presence in the community are also generally perceived as having a positive impact on security. For example, among the actors present in Jubeil, the mukhtar (a local authority figure), local police and tribal leaders were indicated as having a consistent presence (83%, 66% and 36% respectively). Tribal leaders (84%), the mukhtar (also 84%) and the local police (83%), were also the three actors perceived as having the most positive impact on security.

A majority of respondents from Jubeil also perceived the army (75%) and federal police (70%) as having a positive impact on local security, which probably reflects respondents' appreciation of the role that these actors played in retaking the community from ISIL in 2017.

In Hamdaniyah, respondents rated the mukhtar (93%), local police (82%) and the Church (71%), the Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) (62%) and the Iraqi courts (48%) as having a consistent presence in the community. These same actors were rated as having a positive impact on security: the Church (84%) followed by the local police (73%), the PMF (72%), Iraqi government courts (48%) and the mukhtar (40%). Notably, Hamdaniyah was the only community in which respondents referred to the government courts as having a consistent presence in the community. Although the army and federal police also played an important role in retaking Hamdaniyah from ISIL, these actors are no longer consistently present in that community, as they are in Jubeil.

<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that the withdrawal of security forces from southern Iraq in recent years to fight ISIL in the north may have contributed to an increase in crime in Basra, particularly kidnapping, drug trafficking and extortion. Sinan Salaheddin, "As Iraq fights Islamic State, violence rises in Shiite south," Associated Press (Jan. 9, 2016), <https://apnews.com/3444d55d13334e559292261e61e5f8b3>.



In both Jubeil and Hamdaniyah, which were taken by ISIL and experienced severe violence and insecurity during ISIL's rule, positive perceptions of those security actors who are perceived as most consistently present in these communities may reflect the population's approval of the relative improvement in security since 2017.

However, in Baradiyah, the security actors perceived as most consistently present in the community are not necessarily perceived as having a positive impact on security. Tribal leaders were rated as having the most positive impact on security (67%) followed by the local police (52%), the United Nations (UN) and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (42%), the mukhtar (40%) and the PMF (also 40%). Baradiyah, however, was the only community in which some actors who have a constant presence in the community were perceived as having a negative impact on security: the PMF (42%), tribal leaders (33%) and the local police (18%).

Thus, respondents in Baradiyah seem to be divided as to the perceived role tribal leaders and the PMF have in the community (whether it is positive or negative) and they are more likely than the other communities to emphasize the role of international actors in preserving security.

Another noteworthy finding in Baradiyah is that the UN and international NGOs were rated as having a significantly more positive impact there than in Jubeil or Hamdaniyah, even though only the latter two communities were directly affected by the ISIL crisis and therefore have a greater presence of humanitarian organizations. The high level of support for the UN and international NGOs in Baradiyah may be related to high levels of concern with state corruption, access to services and other grievances against the Iraqi government.



## STRATEGIES FOR DISPUTE RESOLUTION

**Disputes among community members are often first addressed via informal mediation, through the use of an intermediary — either a tribal leader or a relative.**

If informal mediation fails, communities may appeal to state authorities as a second resort. When asked the hypothetical question, “If you have a problem with another person in your community, whom do you go to first to seek help?” respondents in Jubeil and Baradiyah were more likely to turn to non-state actors such as family members or tribal leaders than to state actors such as mukhtars or local police. In Jubeil, 50 per cent of respondents said that they would seek the assistance of a family member, 26 per cent said that they would turn to a tribal leader and 12 per cent would go to an intermediary or someone with connections, whereas only 5 per cent would go to the mukhtar and four per cent would go to the local police. In Baradiyah, 69 per cent of respondents said that they would seek the assistance of a family member, 16 per cent said that they would try to solve

the problem themselves and 11 per cent would turn to a tribal leader, whereas only 2 per cent would go to the local police. The fact that significant percentages of respondents in both Jubeil and Baradiyah would turn to tribal leaders for help probably reflects the tribal nature of both communities where disputes are traditionally addressed first through informal mediation.

In Hamdaniyah, a plurality of respondents would first try to resolve the problem on their own without seeking the assistance of any actor (47%) or would contact a family or relative (34%), followed by a religious leader (11%). Only four per cent would go to the local police first.

Thus, appealing to state authorities is often a second resort in cases when informal mediation — either by tribal leaders or through relatives who act as intermediaries in the dispute fails.



## PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

### **Trust in police differs significantly across communities as well as the perceived effectiveness of the police at fighting crime.**

In general, perceptions of the police were most positive in Hamdaniyah and most negative in Baradiyah with Jubeil in the middle. In Hamdaniyah, 89 per cent of respondents said that they trust the police “somewhat” or “a lot” compared to 82 per cent in Jubeil and only 19 per cent in Baradiyah.

The distributions of other indicators of police legitimacy are similar. In Hamdaniyah, where public opinion toward the police was most favorable among the three communities, 94 per cent of respondents said they were “somewhat” or “very likely” to report crime to the police and 95 per cent of respondents perceived the police as somewhat or very respectful toward them. When asked how they would feel most comfortable approaching the police if they wanted to report an incident or problem, 75 per cent of respondents said they would do so in an indirect way (40% would contact the police indirectly through “an intermediary or someone with connections” and 35% would contact the police anonymously), 33 per cent would report in a more direct way, (25% would go to a police department in person while 8% would approach a police officer whom they personally know outside of a police station) and only 1 per cent would not report at all.

### **Community perceptions of the police varied directly with the likelihood to report a crime and in their preferred ways of approaching local police.**

In Jubeil, 71 per cent of respondents were somewhat or very likely to report crime to police and 75 per cent perceived the police as very respectful toward them. When asked how they would feel most comfortable reporting crime to the police, 56 per cent of respondents said they would do so in an indirect manner (37% would contact the police indirectly through an intermediary, 19% would report anonymously), 48 per cent would report in a more direct way (28% would go to a police department in person, 20% would approach a police officer whom they personally know outside of a police department) and 14 per cent would not report at all.

In Baradiyah, where public opinion toward the police was most negative, 30 per cent of respondents said that they were somewhat or very likely to report crime to the police and 24 per cent left off perceived the police as very respectful toward them. When asked how they would feel most comfortable reporting

crime to the police, 45 per cent said that they would not report at all. Of those that would report a crime, 75 per cent said they would report in an indirect manner (40% would do so through an intermediary, 35% would report anonymously) and 29 per cent would do so in a more direct way (13% would go to the police station and 16% would approach a police officer whom they now personally outside of a police department).

Perceptions of trust in and feeling respected by police and confidence in effectiveness in crime fighting influences residents' likelihood to report a crime as well as their preferred method of reporting. Hamdaniyah and Jubeil residents report high rates of trust, respect and effectiveness and are much more likely to report a crime. Hamdaniyah residents are the most likely out of all three communities to report a crime but most of those who would report prefer to do so in an indirect or anonymous manner. Jubeil residents are likely to report a crime and those who would report are split in terms of preferring direct and indirect ways. Baradiyah residents report low trust, respect and effectiveness of the police and are significantly less likely to report a crime compared to the other two communities. The majority of those in Baradiyah who would report a crime would do so in an indirect manner. Thus, despite the different levels of trust towards the police in the communities, all three communities tend to prefer reporting crimes to police in an indirect manner.

When asked how effective the police are at fighting crime, 92 per cent of respondents in Hamdaniyah and 82 per cent in Jubeil perceived the police as “somewhat” or “very effective” at fighting crime. In Baradiyah, respondents saw considerable room for improvement with only 21 per cent reporting police are “somewhat” or “very effective.”

In all three communities, perceptions of trust in and respect by the police are closely correlated with perceptions of police effectiveness. Communities that have more trust in and feel respected by the police, Hamdaniyah and Jubeil, view them as more effective. Residents of Baradiyah report low trust, respect and effectiveness. Residents' perceptions of trust in and respect by the police may influence their perception of the police's crime-fighting effectiveness in their communities, or perceptions of police effectiveness may influence perceptions of trust and respect.

## GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CIVILIAN-POLICE RELATIONS

**In all three communities, a majority of respondents would not allow female family members to report problems to the police on their own.**

The baseline survey sheds light on the gender dynamics of civilian relations with police in the three communities. In all communities, a majority of male and female respondents said that they would not allow female family members to report problems to the police alone, which could be due, among other potential explanations, to concerns about the vulnerability of women to harassment or reputational damage or to beliefs that men, not women, should represent their families to state authorities. However, the level of discomfort with women interacting with police varied considerably across the communities: Baradiyah respondents were the most uncomfortable followed by Jubeil and Hamdaniyah. In Baradiyah, only nine per cent of men and six per cent of women would allow a female member of their household to report a problem to the police on her own in comparison with 10 per cent of men and 18 per cent of women in Jubeil. In Hamdaniyah, the rates were higher, but still, only 49 per cent of men and 33 per cent of women would allow a female member of their household to report a problem to the police directly. This relates to the levels of trust towards police, which, as seen, are the lowest in Baradiyah where half of respondents distrust the police.

**Female respondents in the three communities also varied in their willingness to report crime to the police.**

The results follow the same pattern described above: women in Baradiyah were the most uncomfortable reporting crime directly to police followed by those in Jubeil and Hamdaniyah. In Baradiyah, only nine per cent of female respondents said that they would feel comfortable reporting a problem to the police on their own, followed by 25 per cent in Jubeil and 29 per cent in Hamdaniyah.

Among women who were initially unwilling to report problems to the police on their own, significant percentages in all three communities would change their mind if, hypothetically, they had the option of reporting to a female police officer. Among women who were initially unwilling to report a problem to the police on their own, 65 per cent of those in Baradiyah, 37 per cent of those in Hamdaniyah and 24 per cent of those in Jubeil said that they would report it if they had the option of reporting directly to a female police officer. The Baradiyah result is particularly striking since women in this community are the least comfortable interacting with police.

The results have some important policy and programmatic implications for efforts to improve the representation of women in community engagement with security actors.





## COMMUNITY CONCERNS

**Governance and economic issues are at the top of community concerns across communities. However, security concerns remain high in Hamdaniyah and to a lesser extent in Jubeil, which were both directly affected by the ISIL crisis.**

Issues related to governance were stated in Baradiyah as top current community concerns: corruption (52%), unemployment (47%) and access to services (40%). In Jubeil, top concerns were unemployment (84%), public health (77%),

corruption (74%), access to services (68%), bribery (34%) and attacks by ISIL (32%). In Hamdaniyah, the top concerns were unemployment (87%), corruption (59%), attacks by ISIL (41%), the return of IDPs with perceived affiliation (37%), access to services (19%), public health (18%). Despite past experience of direct conflict in the area, governance issues – corruption, unemployment and lack of services – are top concerns across all communities of study.

Table 1. Comparison of Three Study Locations

	JUBEIL	BARADIYAH	HAMDANIYAH
City / Town	City	City	Town
Region	Central	South	North
Demography	Sunni Arab Majority	Shia Arab Majority	Christian Majority
Taken by ISIL	Yes	No	Yes
Perception of Current Security	Somewhat Safe (60% feel “very safe”)	Least Safe (7% feel “very safe”)	Very Safe (94% feel “very safe”)
Perception of Improvement in Security Since Last Year	Most Improved (72% report improvement)	Least Improved (2% report improvement)	Somewhat Improved (35% report improvement)
Worried About an Increase in Violence Over the Next Year	Least Worried (6% expect an increase in violence)	Most Worried (53% expect an increase in violence)	Somewhat Worried (16% expect an increase in violence)
Top 3 Community Concerns	Unemployment (84%), Public Health (77%), Corruption (68%)	Corruption (52%), Unemployment (47%), Services (40%)	Unemployment (87%), Corruption (59%), ISIL Attacks (41%)
Trust in Police	Somewhat Trusting (49% trust the police “a lot”)	Least Trusting (2% trust the police “a lot”)	Most Trusting (62% trust the police “a lot”)



# COMMUNITY PROFILES

شكوى  
للشرطة المجتمعية

## JUBEIL

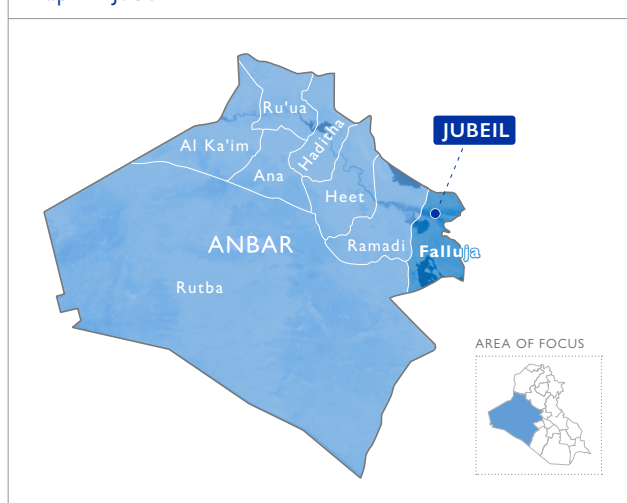
Jubeil (Anbar Governorate) is a Sunni-Arab-majority community that was taken by ISIL in 2014 and experienced high levels of violence and forced displacement. The baseline survey indicates that public opinion toward the police in Jubeil was quite positive in July-August 2019.

Most respondents said that they feel safe in the community and that they do not expect the level of violence to increase over the next year. The top concerns were unemployment, public health, corruption, access to services, bribery and attacks by ISIL.

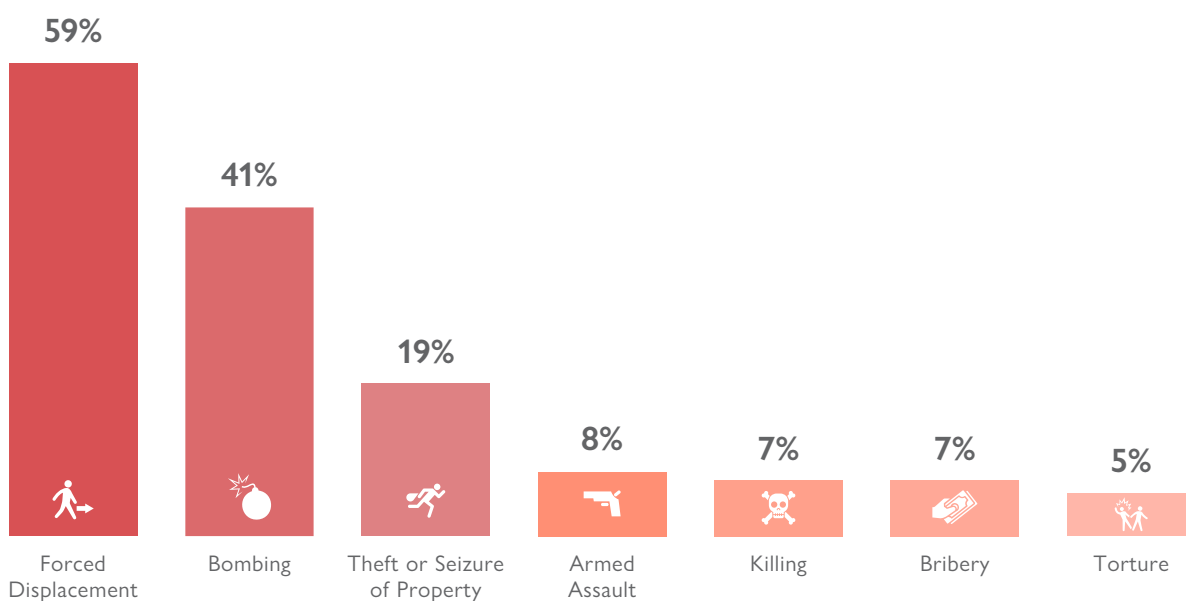
### DEMOGRAPHICS

The sample of 301 respondents was 45 per cent female and 55 per cent male. The average age was 39 years and the median monthly income per household was between IQD 250,000 (USD 210) and IQD 500,000 (USD 419) and with an unemployment rate of 34 per cent. A total of 99 per cent of respondents were Sunni Arab.

Map 1 : Jubeil



### Most Common Types of Violence and Crime\*



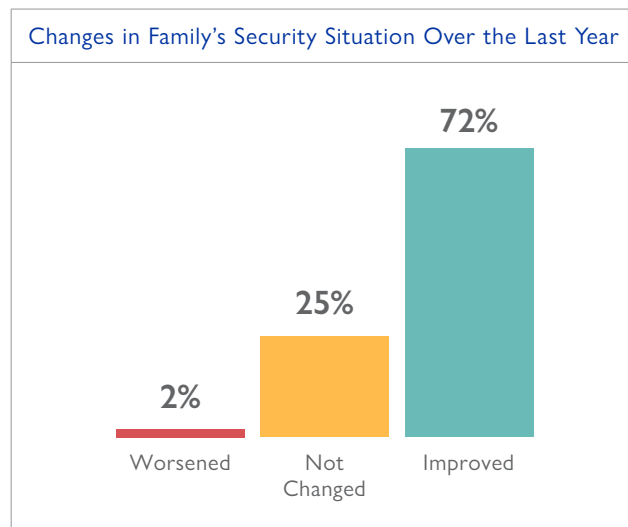
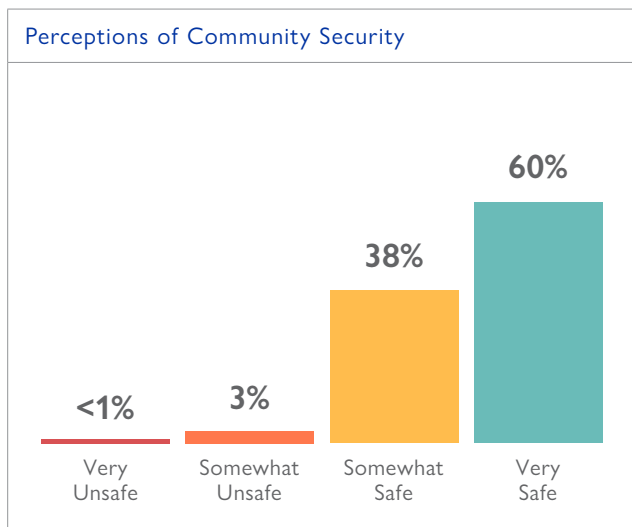
\* Experienced by respondent's household since 2014.



## PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY

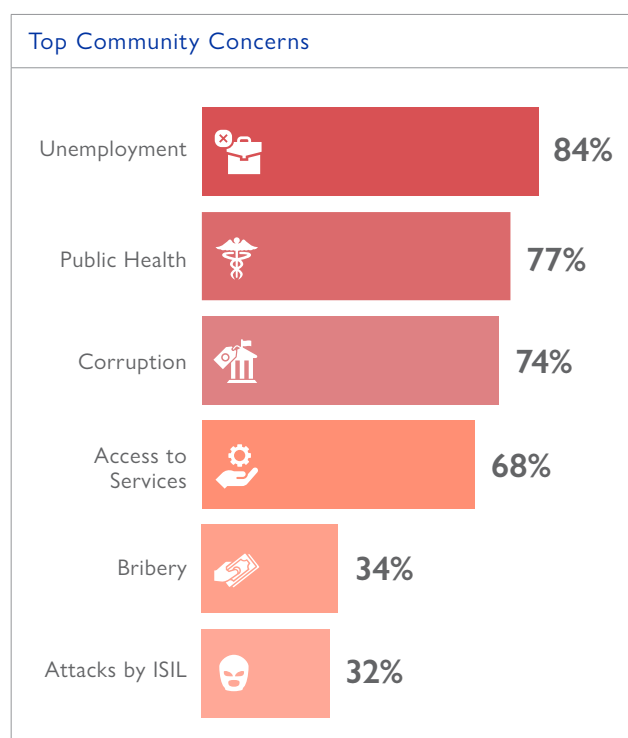
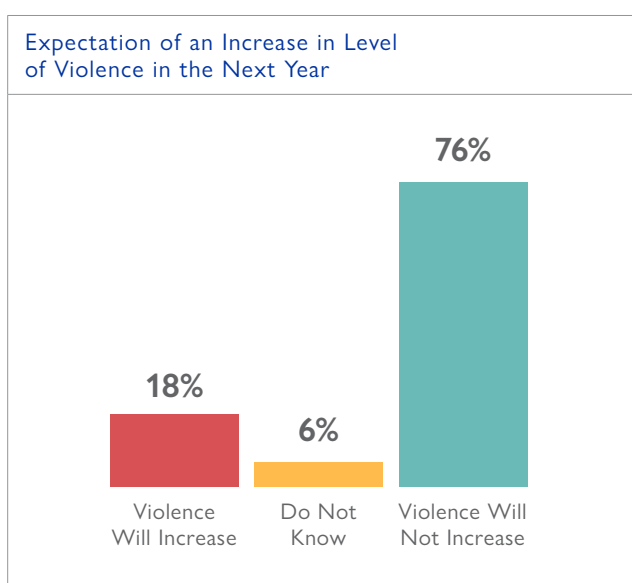
Jubeil was severely affected by the ISIL crisis. The most common types of violence and crime experienced by respondents or their households since 2014 were forced displacement related to the ISIL crisis (59%), bombing (41%), theft or seizure of property (19%), armed assault (8%), killing (7%) and bribery (7%). Despite the community's very recent

exposure to conflict, a majority of survey respondents (60%) perceived the community as "very safe" at the time of the survey in July-August 2019 and 72 per cent said that their family's security situation had improved over the last year. Around 76 per cent of respondents did not expect the level of violence in Jubeil to increase over the next year.



## TOP COMMUNITY CONCERNS

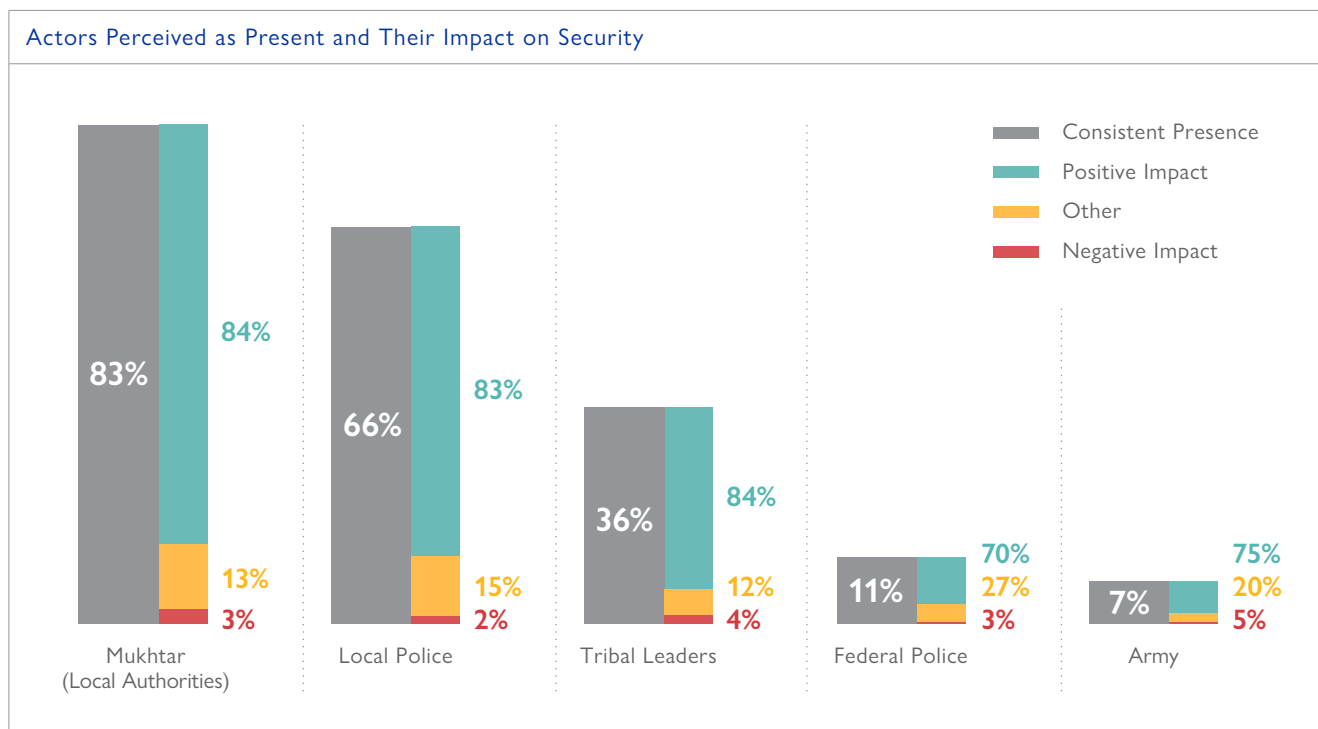
Top community concerns in Jubeil were unemployment (84%), public health (77%), corruption (74%), access to services (68%), bribery (34%) and attacks by ISIL (32%).



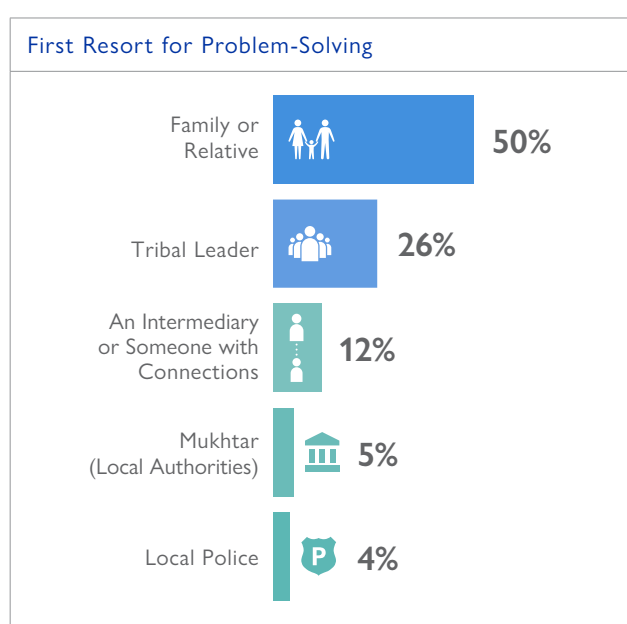
## PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENT ACTORS AND PREFERENCES FOR PROBLEM-SOLVING

Respondents were asked which actors have a “consistent presence” in the community and of the actors that are consistently present, which ones have a positive or negative impact on security. The three actors perceived as having the most positive impact on security were tribal leaders (84% of respondents viewed tribal leaders favorably), the mukhtar (also 84%) and the local police (83%). A majority

of respondents also perceived the army (75%) and federal police (70%) as having a positive impact on local security, which probably reflects respondents’ appreciation of the role that these actors played in retaking the community from ISIL in 2017. Very few respondents (<5%) perceived any of the actors with a consistent presence in the community as having a negative impact on security.



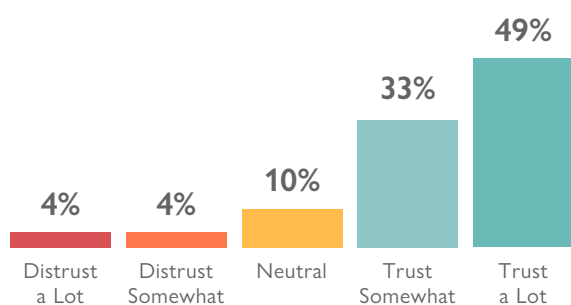
When asked the hypothetical question, “If you have a problem with another person in your community, whom do you go to first to seek help?” 50% of respondents said that they would seek the assistance of a family member, 26 per cent said that they would turn to a tribal leader and 12 per cent would go to an intermediary or someone with connections. Only five per cent would go to the mukhtar and four per cent would go to the local police.



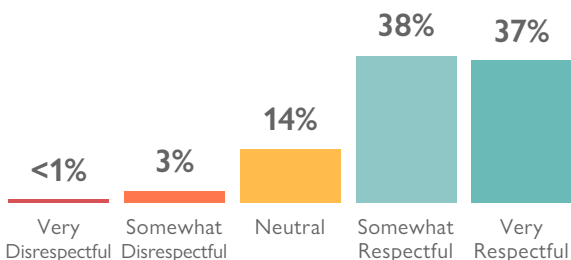
## PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Public opinion toward the police in Jubeil was very positive at the time of the baseline survey in July-August and 49 per cent of respondents said that they trust the police “a lot,” 37 per cent said that the police are “very respectful” toward them and 28 per cent perceived them as “very effective” at fighting crime.

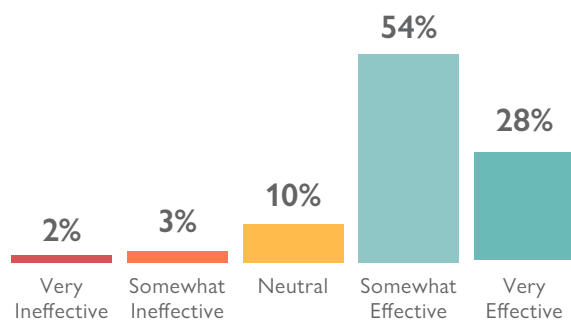
Trust in Police



Feel Respected by Police



Police Effectiveness at Fighting Crime



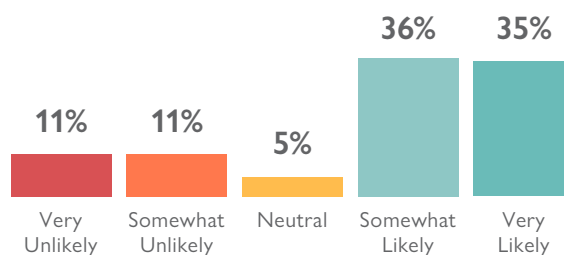
## COOPERATION WITH POLICE

Respondents in Jubeil were the less likely to share information with the police compared to the other communities of study, only 35 per cent of Jubeil respondents said they were “very likely” to report crime to the police. When asked, “If you were to report an incident or problem to the police, how would you feel most comfortable approaching the police?” 37 per cent of respondents said that they would ask an intermediary to talk to the police on their behalf, 28 per cent would go to a police department in person, 20 per cent would approach a police officer whom they know personally outside of a police station, 19 per cent would contact the police anonymously and 14 per cent would not report the incident to the police at all.<sup>4</sup>

Preferred Ways of Approaching the Police to Report Problems



Likelihood of Reporting Crime to Police

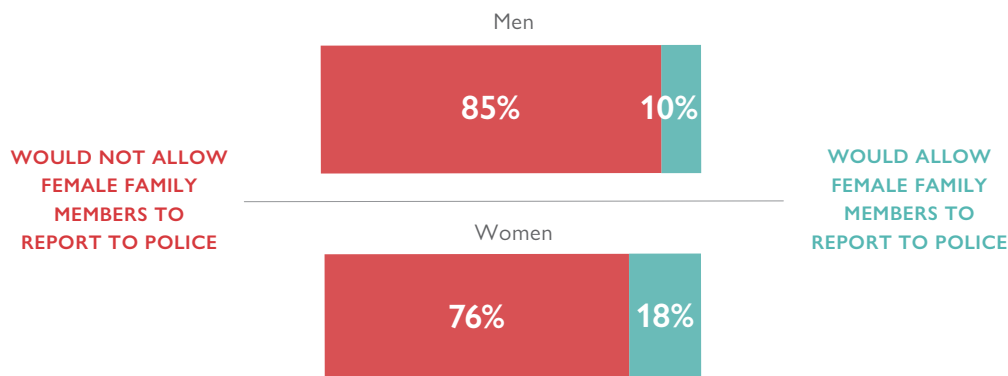


<sup>4</sup> Percentages add up to more than 100% because this was a multiple-selection question.



## GENDER AND POLICE

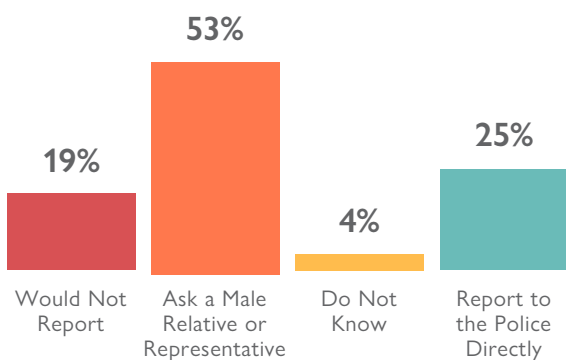
Gender Differences in Allowing Female Family Members to Report Problems Directly to Police



Only 10 per cent of men and a slightly higher percentage of women (18%) would allow a female member of their household to report a problem to the police on her own.

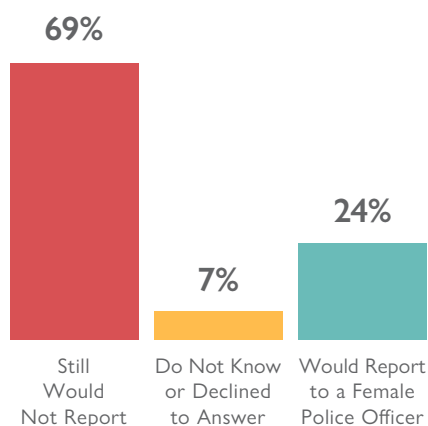
Women in Jubeil were significantly more comfortable interacting with police officers than women in Baradiyah but slightly less comfortable than women in Hamdaniyah. When female respondents were asked how they would feel most comfortable reporting a problem to the police, 53 per cent said that they would ask a male family member or other representative to report the problem on their behalf. A quarter, (25%) would report the problem to the police on their own and another 19 per cent would not report the problem at all.

How Women Report Problems to the Police



Among the majority (75%) of female respondents who would not feel comfortable reporting a problem to the police on their own, 24 per cent of these said that they would feel comfortable reporting a problem directly to the police on their own if they had the option of reporting directly to a female police officer, but 69 per cent still would not report to a female police officer.

Among Women Who Would Not Report a Problem to a Male Police Officer, If They Had the Option of Reporting to a Female Officer









## BARADIYAH

Baradiyah (Basra governorate) is a Shia-Arab-majority community that has in previous years expressed dissatisfaction with state corruption and inadequate public services. The baseline survey indicates that public opinion toward the police in Baradiyah was quite negative in July 2019.

Although most respondents said that they feel safe in the community, a substantial minority reported feeling unsafe and more than half said that they expected the level of violence to increase over the next year. The top concerns were corruption, unemployment, access to services, drug abuse, public health and bribery.

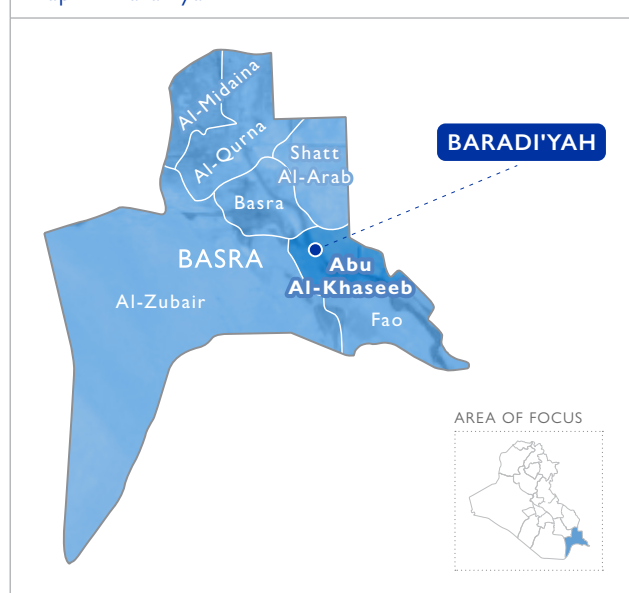
### DEMOGRAPHICS

The sample of 303 respondents was 32 per cent female and 68 per cent male. The average age was 41 years and the median monthly income per household was between IQD 1,000,000 (USD 838) and IQD 1,500,000 (USD 1,260), with an unemployment rate of 15 per cent. A majority (97%) of respondents were Shia Arab and 3 per cent were Sunni Arab.

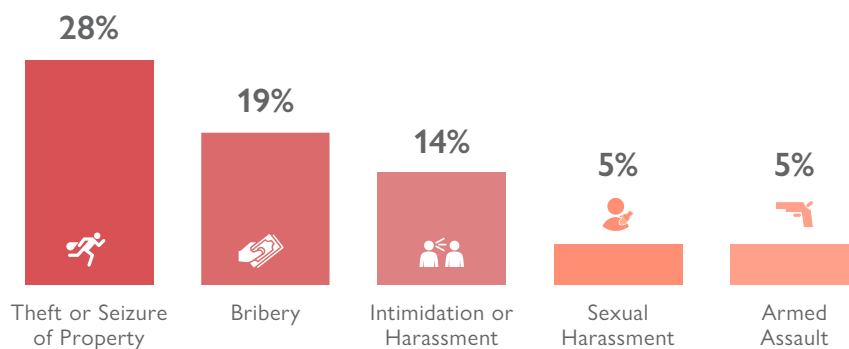
The most common types of violence and crime experienced by respondents or their households since 2014 were theft or seizure of property (28%), bribery (19%), intimidation or harassment (not gender based, 14%), sexual harassment (5%) and armed assault (5%).

Additionally, a majority of respondents were worried about the potential for future insecurity and instability: 53 per cent said that they expect the level of violence in Hamdaniyah to increase over the next year.

Map 2 : Baradiyah



### Most Common Types of Violence and Crime\*

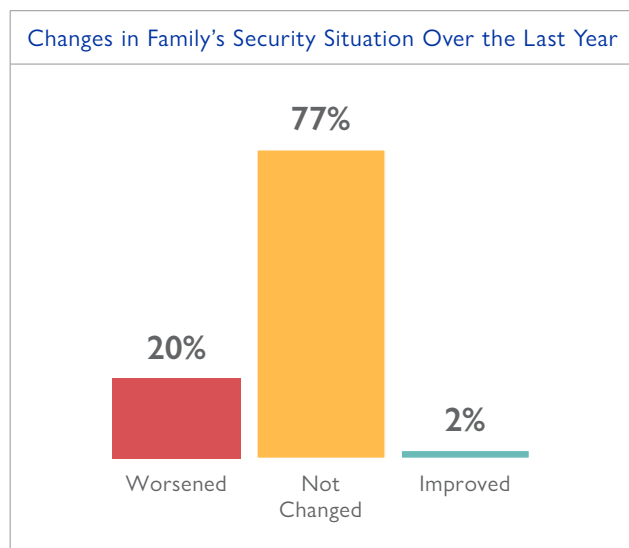
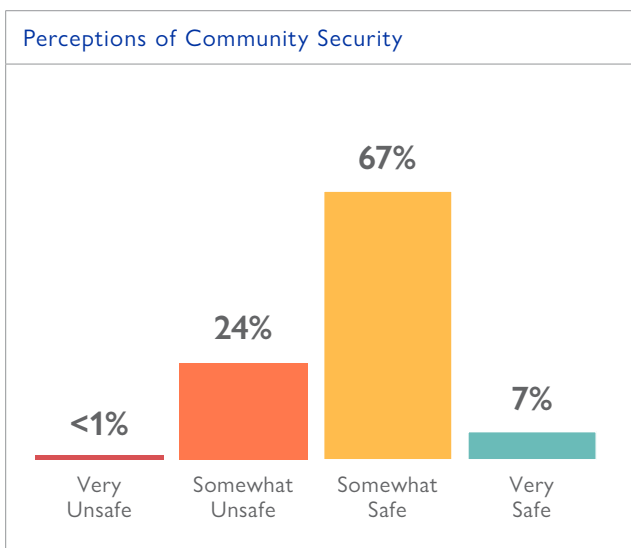


\*Experienced by respondent's household since 2014.

## PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY

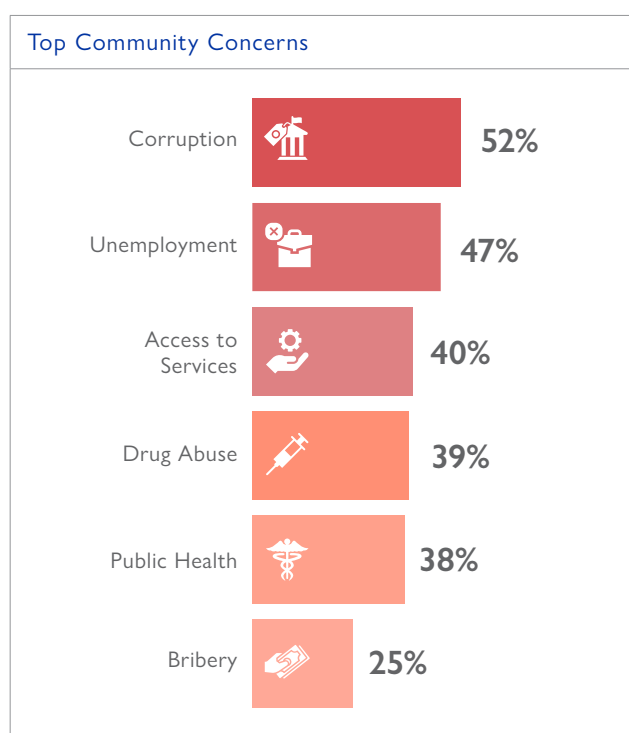
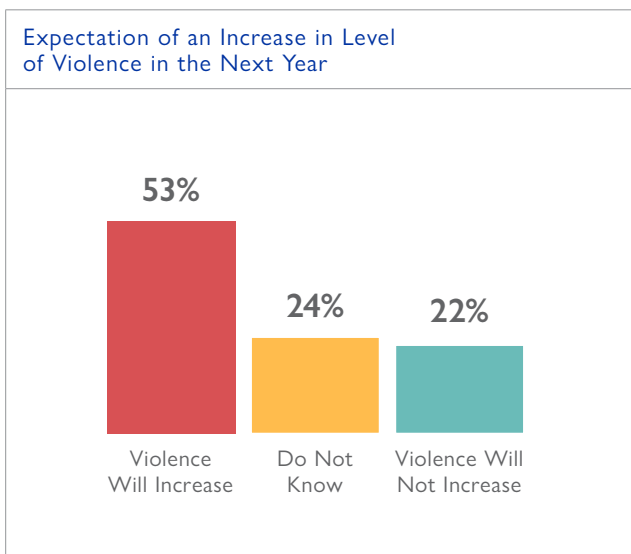
Unlike Hamdaniyah and Jubeil, Baradiyah was not directly affected by the ISIL crisis and respondents were not concerned about the possibility of attacks by ISIL or the return of IDPs with perceived affiliation. However, only seven

per cent of respondents perceived the community as “very safe” at the time of the survey in July–August 2019 and only two per cent said that their family’s security situation had improved over the last year.



## TOP COMMUNITY CONCERNS

Corruption (52% were “very concerned”), unemployment (47%), access to services (40%), drug abuse (39%), public health (38%) and bribery (25%) were the top community concerns in Baradiyah.

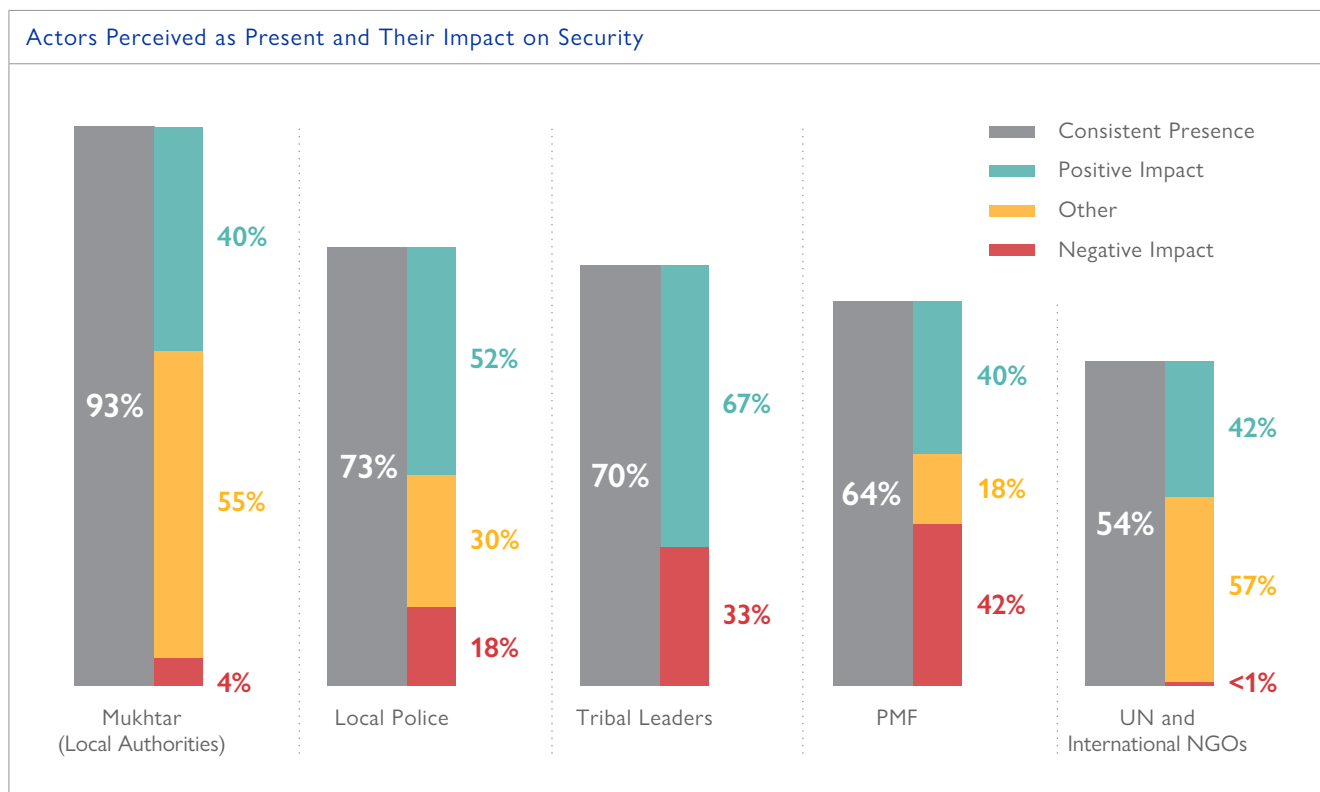




## PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENT ACTORS AND PREFERENCES FOR PROBLEM-SOLVING

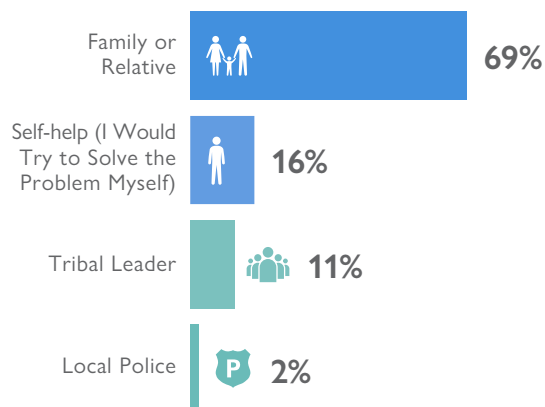
Respondents were asked which actors have a “consistent presence” in the community and of the actors that are consistently present, which ones have a positive or negative impact on security. Among the different institutions and actors present in Baradiyah, tribal leaders are rated as having the most positive impact on security (67%) followed by the local police (52%), the UN and international NGOs

(42%), the mukhtar (40%) and the PMF (also 40%). However, respondents seem to be divided about the role of certain actors such as the PMF (42%) and tribal leaders (33%), followed by the local police (18%). Baradiyah is the only community in which a significant percentage of respondents rated actors with a consistent presence in the community as having a negative impact.



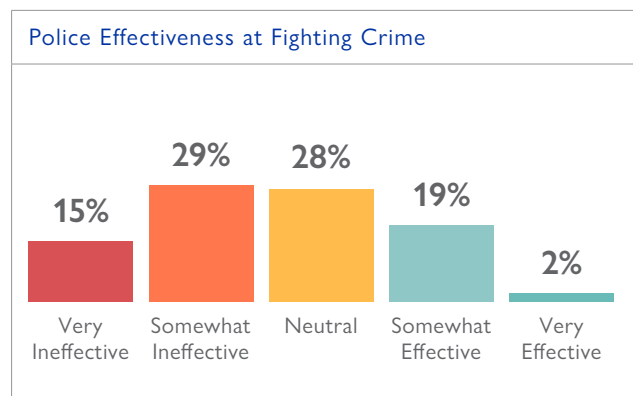
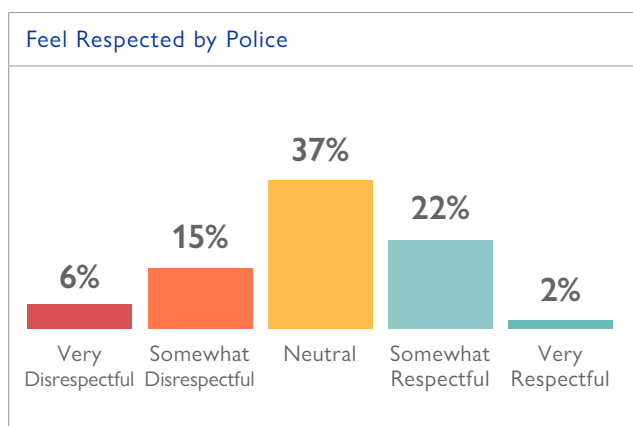
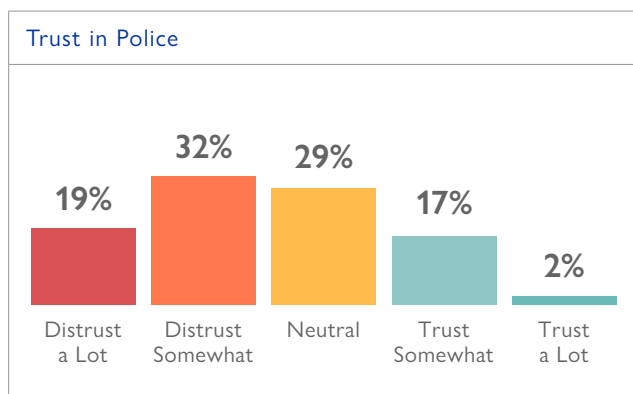
When asked the hypothetical question, “If you have a problem with another person in your community, whom do you go to first to seek help?” 69 per cent of respondents said that they would seek the assistance of a family member, 16 per cent said that they would try to solve the problem themselves and 11 per cent would turn to a tribal leader. Only two per cent would go to the local police.

### First Resort for Problem-Solving



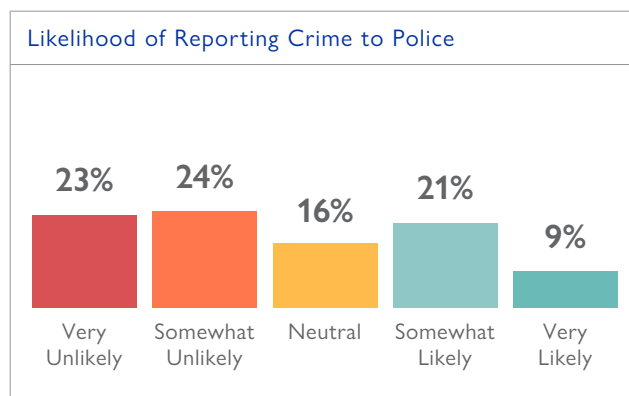
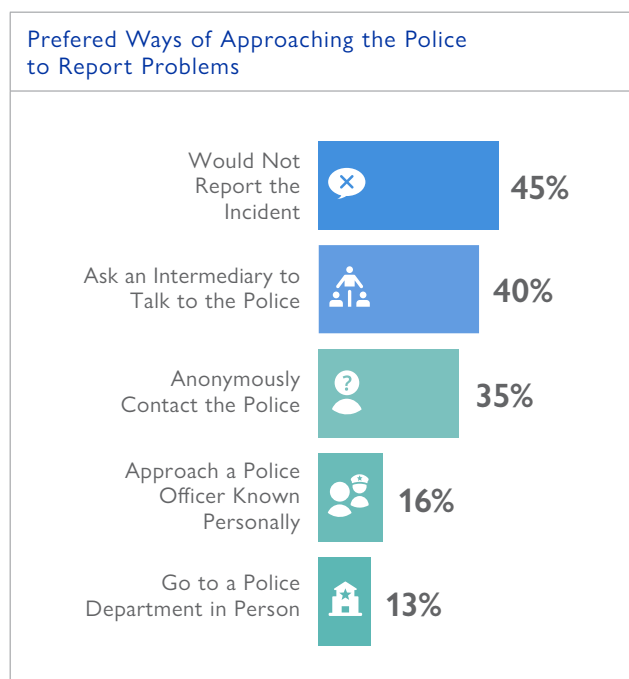
## PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Public opinion toward the police in Baradiyah was quite negative at the time of the baseline survey in July-August 2019 in comparison with Hamdaniyah and Jubeil. Only two per cent of respondents said that they trust the police “a lot,” two per cent said that the police are “very respectful” towards them and two per cent perceived the police as “very effective” in fighting crime.



## COOPERATION WITH POLICE

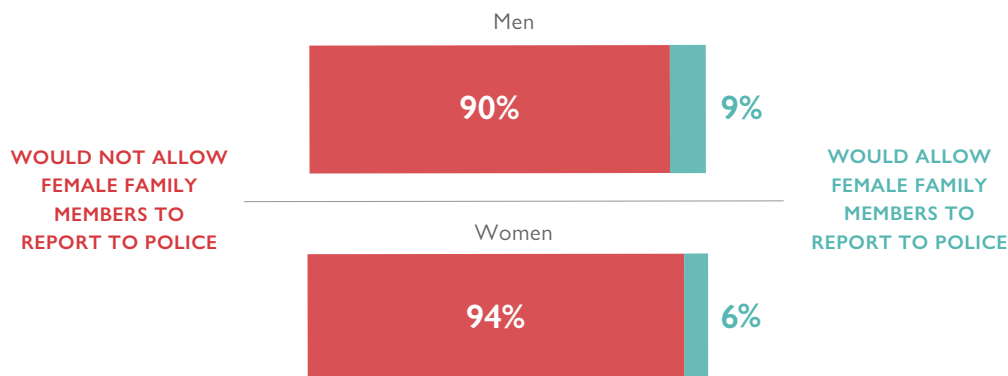
Respondents in Baradiyah were significantly less likely to share information with the police than in Hamdaniyah and Jubeil. Only nine per cent of Baradiyah respondents said they were “very likely” to report crime to the police. When asked, “If you were to report an incident or problem to the police, how would you feel most comfortable approaching the police?” 45 per cent of respondents said that they would not report the incident to the police at all, 40 per cent would ask an intermediary to talk to the police on their behalf, 35 per cent would contact the police anonymously, 16 per cent would approach a police officer whom they know personally outside of a police station and 13 per cent would go to a police department in person.<sup>5</sup>



<sup>5</sup> Percentages add up to more than 100% because this was a multiple-selection question.

## GENDER AND POLICE

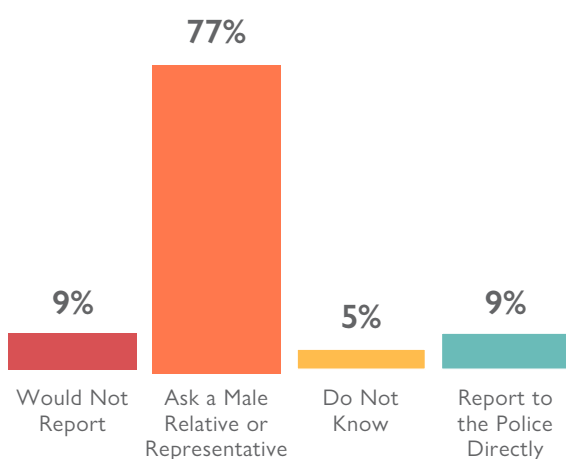
Gender Differences in Allowing Female Family Members to Report Problems Directly to Police



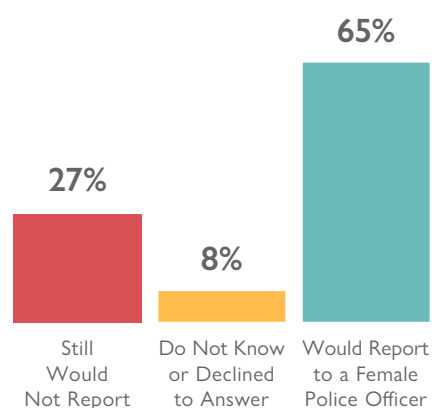
Women in Baradiyah were also significantly less comfortable interacting with police officers than women in Hamdaniyah and Jubeil. When female respondents were asked how they would feel most comfortable reporting a problem to the police, 77 per cent said that they would ask a male family member or other representative to report the problem on their behalf. Only nine per cent said that they would report the problem to the police on their own and another nine per cent would not report the problem at all.

Among the majority (91%) of female respondents who would not feel comfortable reporting a problem to the police on their own, 65 per cent of these said that they would feel comfortable reporting a problem directly to the police on their own if they had the option of reporting directly to a female police officer.

How Women Report Problems to the Police



Among Women Who Would Not Report a Problem to a Male Police Officer, If They Had the Option of Reporting to a Female Officer





## الشرطة المجتمعية في العراق

تقوم الشرطة المجتمعية بإعادة بناء العلاقة بين جهات إنفاذ القانون والمجتمعات للمساعدة في تحسين السلم والأمن.

## COMMUNITY POLICING IN IRAQ

Community Policing rebuilds trust and strengthens the relationship between law enforcement and communities to help improve safety and security.

أعلم ان مفهوم  
الشرطة المجتمعية  
فعال في العراق  
لان...

I know that  
Community Policing  
is working in Iraq  
because...





## HAMDANIYAH

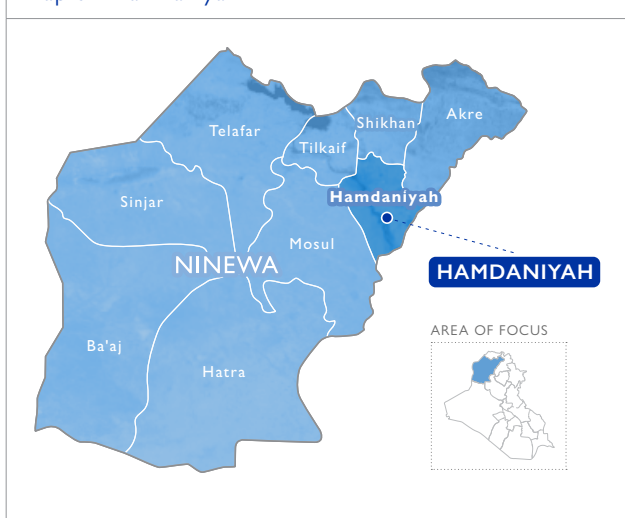
The survey findings indicate that public opinion toward the police in Hamdaniyah was very positive in July 2019, and the vast majority of respondents said that they currently feel safe in the community. However, many respondents were still worried about the potential for future insecurity and instability.

The top concerns were unemployment, corruption, attacks by ISIL, the return of IDPs with perceived affiliation, access to services and access to public health.

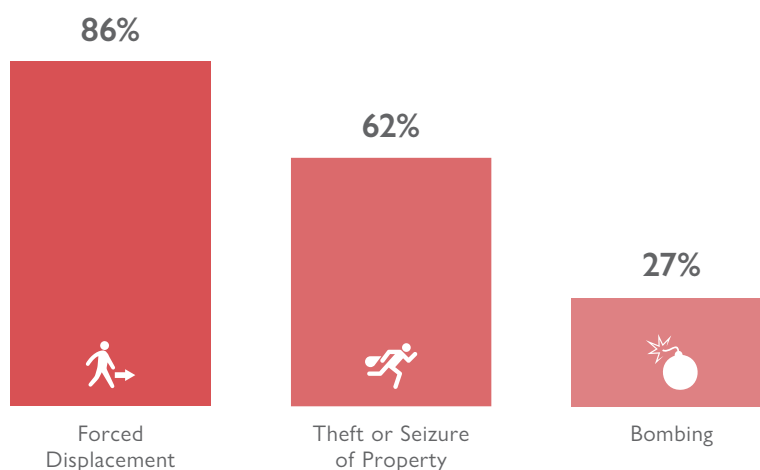
### DEMOGRAPHICS

The sample of 307 respondents was 59 per cent female and 41 per cent male. The average age was 43 years and the median monthly income per household was between IQD 500,000 (USD 419) and IQD 750,000 (USD 630) with an unemployment rate of 13%. The majority (92%) of respondents were Christian, followed by Shia Shabak (3%), Shia Arab (2%), Sunni Arab (2%), Shia Turkmen (<1%) and Kakai (<1%).

Map 3 : Hamdaniyah



### Most Common Types of Violence and Crime\*

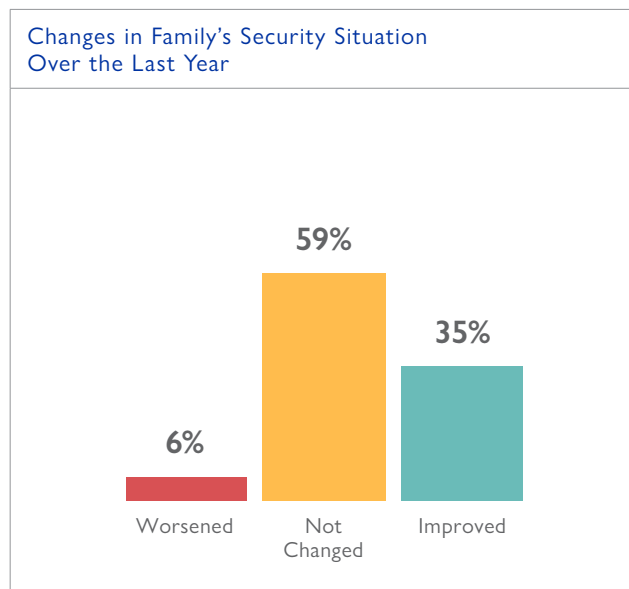
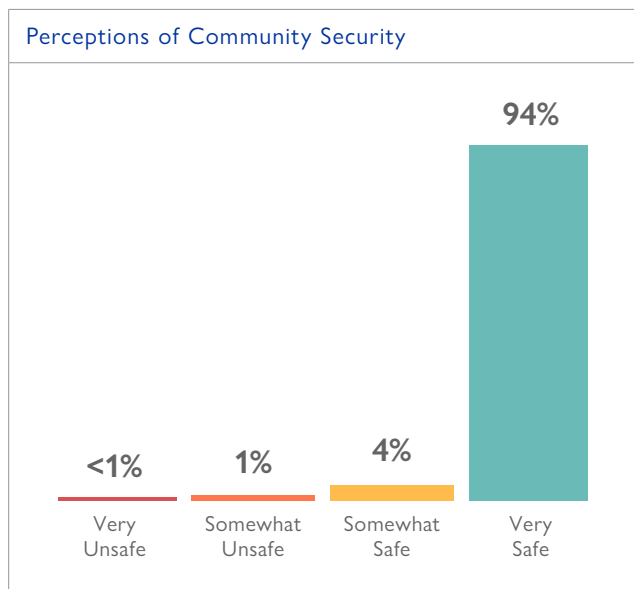


\*Experienced by respondent's household since 2014.

## PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY

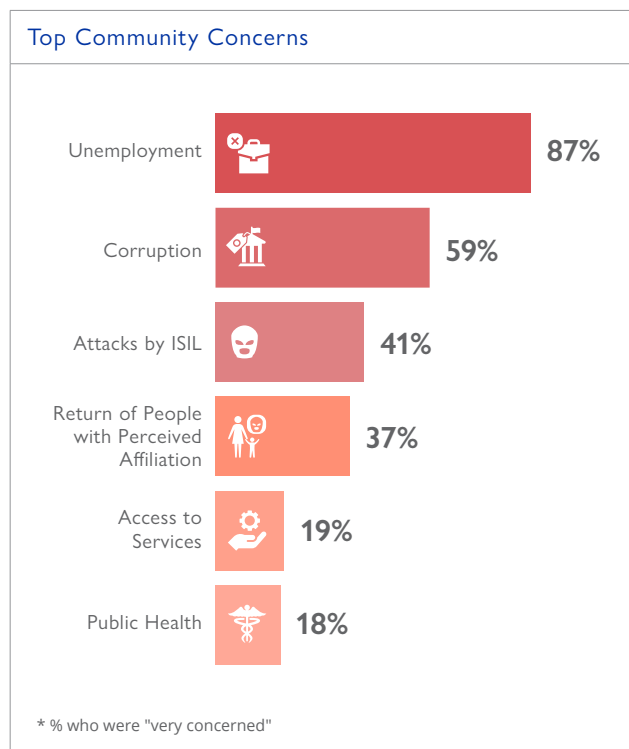
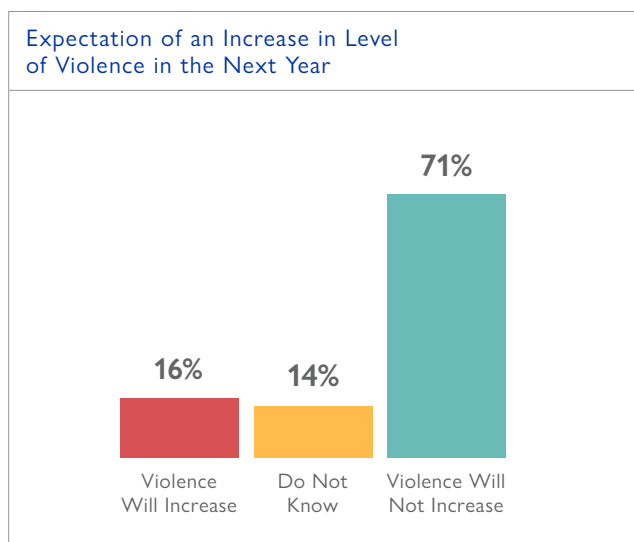
The most common types of violence and crime experienced by respondents or their households since 2014 were forced displacement (86% of which was related to the ISIL crisis) followed by theft or seizure of property (62%) and having experienced bombing (27%). Despite the community's very

recent exposure to conflict, the vast majority of survey respondents (94%) perceived the community as "very safe" at the time of data collection in July–August 2019 and 35 per cent said that their family's security situation had improved over the last year.



## TOP COMMUNITY CONCERNS

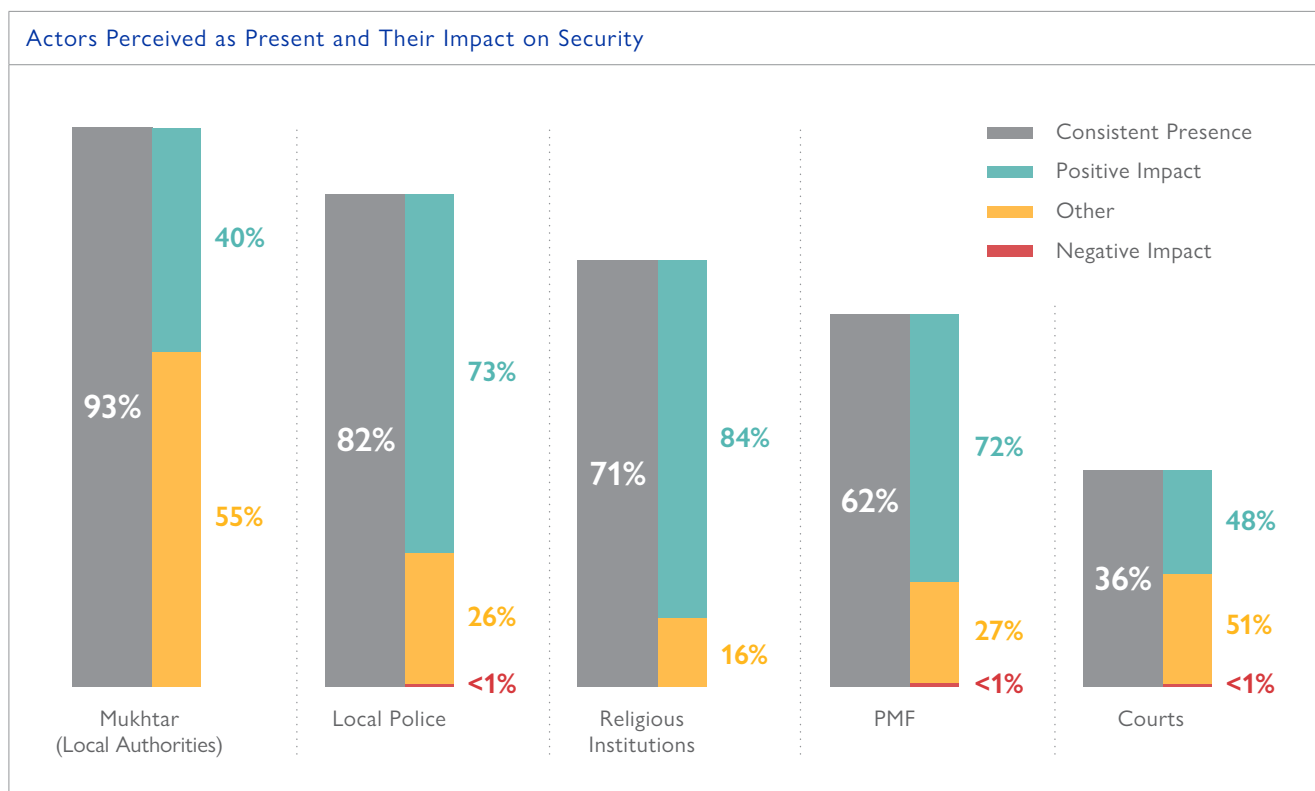
Even though the vast majority of respondents said that they feel safe, they were worried about a number of other issues including unemployment (87%), corruption (59%), the possibility of attacks by ISIL (41%), the return of IDPs with perceived affiliation (37%), access to services (19%) and public health (18%).



## PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENT ACTORS AND PREFERENCES FOR PROBLEM-SOLVING

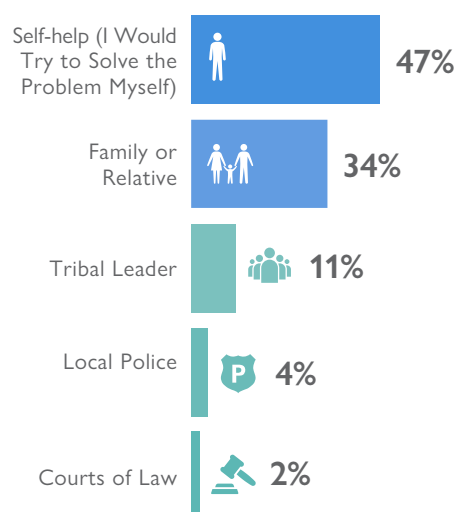
Respondents were asked which actors have a “consistent presence” in the community, and which ones have a positive or negative impact on security. Among the different institutions and actors that were present in Hamdaniyah,

the Church was rated as having the most positive impact on security (84%) followed by the local police (72%), the PMF (72%), Iraqi courts (48%) and the mukhtar (40%).



As to dispute resolution, most respondents would handle the problem personally (47%) or rely on a relative (34%), 11 per cent of community members interviewed would reach out to a religious leader, 4 per cent would contact the local police and 2 per cent would resolve the dispute through the courts.

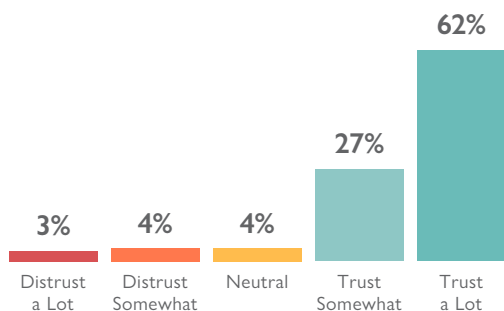
### First Resort for Problem-Solving



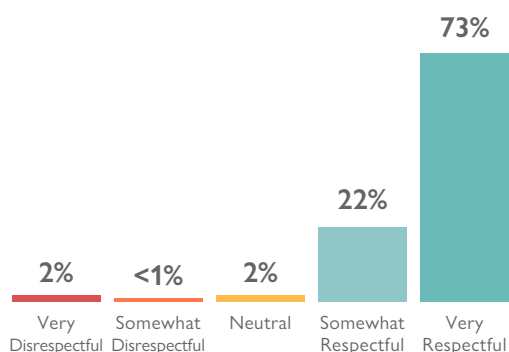
## PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Public opinion towards the police in Hamdaniyah was very positive: 62 per cent of respondents said that they trust the police “a lot”, 73 per cent said that the police are “very respectful” towards them and 37 per cent perceived the police as “very effective”.

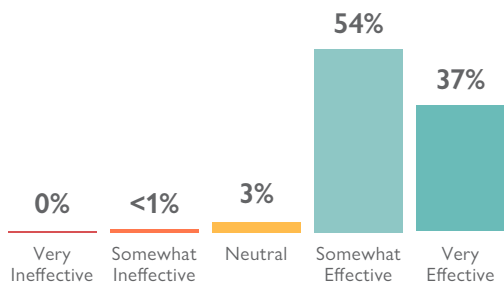
### Trust in Police



### Feel Respected by Police



### Police Effectiveness at Fighting Crime



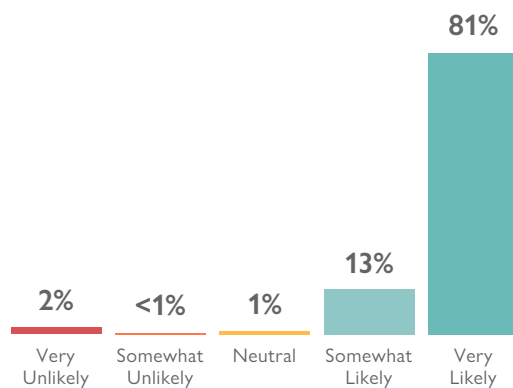
## COOPERATION WITH POLICE

A majority (81%) of respondents said they were “very likely” to report crime to the police. When asked, “If you were to report an incident or problem to the police, how would you feel most comfortable approaching the police?” 40 per cent of respondents said that they would ask an intermediary to talk to the police on their behalf, 35 per cent would contact the police anonymously, 25 per cent would go to a police department in person and 8 per cent would approach a police officer whom they know personally outside of a police station. Only one per cent would not report the incident to the police at all.<sup>6</sup>

### Preferred Ways of Approaching the Police to Report Problems



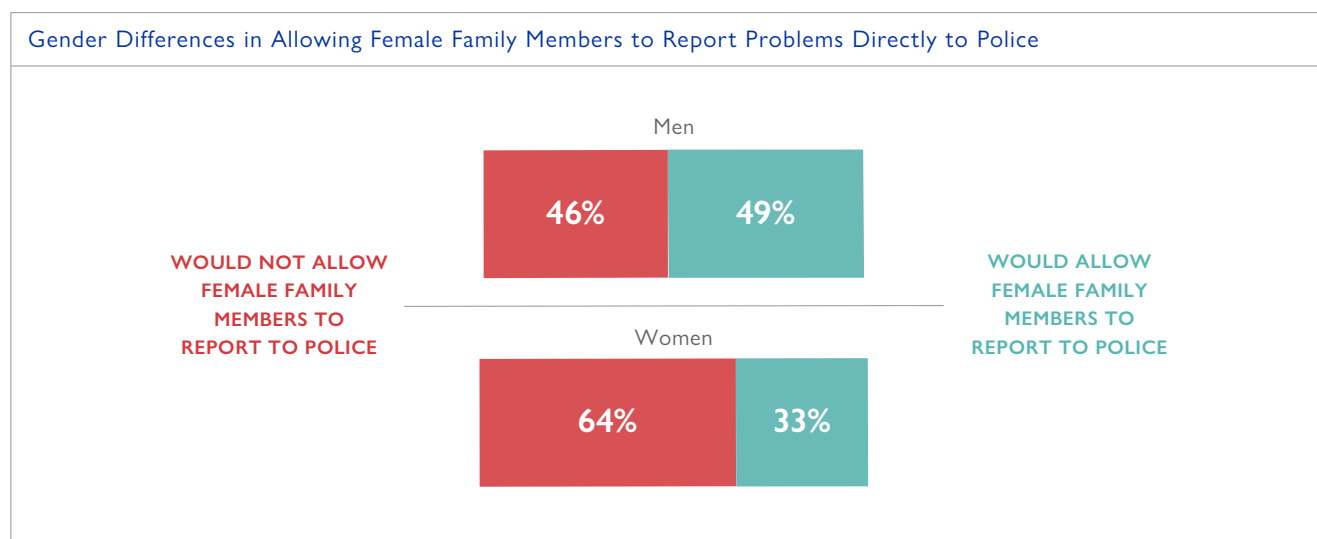
### Likelihood of Reporting Crime to Police



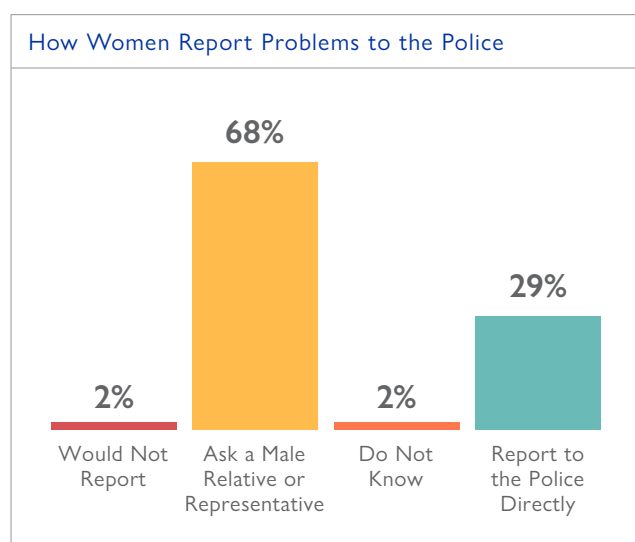
<sup>6</sup> Percentages add up to more than 100% because this was a multiple-selection question.



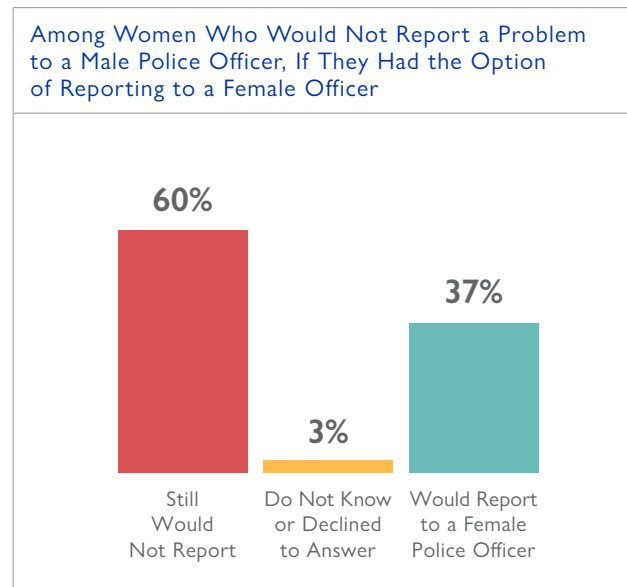
## GENDER AND POLICE



When female respondents were asked how they would feel most comfortable reporting a problem to the police, 68 per cent said that they would ask a male family member or other representative to report the problem on their behalf, 29 per cent said that they would report the problem to the police on their own and 2 per cent would not report the problem at all.



Among female respondents who would not feel comfortable reporting a problem to the police on their own, 37 per cent of these said that they would feel comfortable reporting a problem directly to the police on their own if they had the option of reporting directly to a female police officer.



## DISCUSSION

The three communities analysed in this baseline study share common experiences with high unemployment and concerns related to governance. However, their exposure to ISIL-related violence as well as their demographic compositions distinguish them in terms of their perceptions of security, governance and the police.

For communities recovering from ISIL occupation such as Hamdaniyah and Jubeil, respondents expressed positive attitudes regarding the security situation and the improvements they have witnessed, despite persistent fears of direct violence that emerge in their top concerns. Respondents from Jubeil also mentioned the positive impact of the army and federal police, who played a vital role in retaking the community from ISIL. In these same communities, trust in the police was also higher.

In contrast to the other communities, Baradiyah did not experience ISIL occupation. Residents there were markedly pessimistic about the security situation, while consistently mentioning governance-related issues such as corruption among their top concerns, over violent crimes.

The survey results also indicated heavy reliance on informal actors for dispute resolution in all three communities. In Jubeil and Baradiyah, where tribes are very influential, respondents often prefer to resolve disputes through tribal rather than state institutions. In Hamdaniyah, characterized by a strong Christian identity, respondents rated the Church as having the most positive impact on security and said that they rely on the Church to resolve disputes if self-help and assistance from family members prove unsuccessful.

With greater trust in the police comes a greater willingness to report crimes to the police, a relationship that holds also when it comes to families allowing female family members to approach the police. And when formal security actors are not trusted or considered less effective, positive attitudes towards non-state security actors increase.

Given the history of recurring conflict and weak governance in these communities, the trust and reliance community members express is critical and provides key insight into local sources of stability and legitimacy. Closing the gap of trust and legitimacy between community members and the local and federal government and formal security actors is a vital entry point to improving security outcomes. Understanding the perceptions, attitudes and fears that community members expressed in Jubeil, Baradiyah and Hamdaniyah can facilitate closing this gap and reveal the need for initiatives that strengthen this relationship.

Overall, the baseline survey results illustrate the importance of a security sector reform initiative such as IOM's Community Policing Programme. However, the communities included in this study have varying demographic profiles, security concerns and historical experiences, so there is a need for customization of programming to fit each context. End line surveys conducted in December 2019 will assess these three communities' perceptions of and experiences with the Community Policing Programme as well as any changes in the local security situation over the course of the six-month period between the two waves of data collection.

## IOM IRAQ

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