

Attachment A. “Impact of IRI Democracy Promotion Programs in Iraq”

Since 2003, the International Republican Institute (IRI) has conducted a multi-faceted program to support the Iraqi democratic political process. IRI’s impact can be seen through support of political parties, civil society organizations and governmental bodies. IRI has conducted programs to support the political process in Iraq in the following areas:

- **Governance.** Supporting the Iraqi government on all levels to increase transparency, responsiveness and effectiveness.
- **Civil Society Advocacy.** Supporting organized Iraqi civil society groups including youth, in advocating for constituent interests, directly resulting in concrete legislative action.
- **Women’s and Minority Programs.** Assisting women’s and religious minority groups to safeguard their human and political rights.
- **Voter Education and Turnout.** Educating Iraqi voters on how, when and why to vote, resulting in a measurable impact on voter turnout on Election Day.
- **Political Party and Candidate Training.** Training political parties and candidates to encourage an inclusive, issue-based, competitive political field for elections.
- **Public Opinion Research.** Conducting public opinion surveys in order to better inform Iraqi political parties, the Iraqi government and the international community as to public priorities.

What follows are some of IRI’s accomplishments in Iraq in each of the above categories, including citations from IRI quarterly reports to its funders at the National Endowment for Democracy, the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Governance

IRI supports the Iraqi government at both national and local levels, increasing transparency and accessibility to improve effectiveness in listening to and meeting the needs of constituents.

Support to Iraqi Council of Representatives

- IRI supports the Research Directorate of the Iraqi Council of Representatives. Successive speakers of the parliament have been sufficiently impressed with the Research Directorate to request its assistance on specific pieces of legislation.
- The Research Directorate has assisted in drafting legislation, and has written and distributed a report on the 2010 Iraqi budget.¹

¹ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-601-A001 to the U.S Department of State’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, April-June 2010, p. 3

- The Research Directorate has been in discussion with similar entities in Egypt and Lebanon to pursue joint projects.
- The IRI-supported Media Directorate of the Iraqi Council of Representatives now conducts C-SPAN-like coverage of the parliament's work, including a nightly wrap-up television program, called "Mirror of the People," discussing the major topics of each session.² This is the only television program providing such legislative transparency in the Arab world.

Work with the Provincial Councils

- IRI has been conducting a series of trainings with newly elected provincial councils, instructing them on the scope of their powers according to Law 21 (outlining the power of the provincial councils).³
- As an example of the increasing assertiveness of provincial bodies, the council of Salahaddin removed the provincial governor for incompetence and lack of integrity, a decision upheld by Iraqi courts. Babil province has similarly censured its governor.
- The Baghdad, Wassit and Maysan provincial councils have each created provincial-level research directorates on the model of IRI's national-level directorate operating in the parliament.
- Using IRI guidance on methods to raise local revenue and increase local autonomy, Babil passed revenue-raising legislation by imposing fees on tourists and regulations requiring licensing of health care professionals. Wassit province passed legislation to raise funds from health care facilities in order to subsidize higher quality health care for low-income individuals.
- After IRI training in early December 2009, the Basra Provincial Council passed a number of laws towards improving personal freedoms and economic efficiency. First, the council rescinded a previous law banning the sale of alcohol, stating this to be a personal and religious matter outside the authority of the government to regulate; second, after a spate of embarrassing cases of graft and mismanagement by local municipal companies, the Basra council decreed that all municipal contracts for more than \$2 million must go to foreign companies.
- U.S. Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT) often face difficulty gaining access to the political leaders of their provinces, and IRI facilitates these linkages to support their work. In one occasion, the first meeting of a U.S. Department of State PRT representative and elected members of the provincial council in which he was based was at an IRI training.

² IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, July-September 2009, p. 3

³ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-601-A001 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January-March 2010, p. 4

Ninewah Provincial Council: Conflict Management

- Beginning in January 2010 IRI has held a series of conferences and meetings between the two feuding political parties in the Ninewa Provincial Council, one of the few international organizations able to hold such joint meetings. At these meetings both sides have discussed their differences and come closer to accommodation. Subsequently, both sides have publicly praised IRI for its efforts on their behalf and requested continued work.

Civil Society Advocacy

In a successful democracy, effective political parties and well-managed elections must be complemented by organized groups of citizens advocating for constituent needs. To this end, IRI assists a broad spectrum of civil society organizations, including ethnic and religious minority groups, youth organizations, and academic think tanks.

Campaign 25

Two-thirds of the Iraqi population is under the age of 30 and suffers from a disproportionate share of the poverty and political instability troubling the country. In 2007, IRI founded Iraqi-run regional youth centers to advocate for this population from which the insurgency draws its rank and file, and these centers launched a national advocacy campaign to lower the minimum age of candidacy for elected office from 30 to 25 years. The IRI-supported youth centers were the only advocacy coalition seriously involved in this campaign. Beyond the immediate benefit of bringing Iraqi youth into the political process, the success of this campaign has given the future leaders of Iraq direct experience in democratic change.

- After two years of a creative and multi-media advocacy campaign by IRI's Erbil-based partner, the North Youth Center, in February 2009 the Kurdistan Regional Parliament approved an amendment to the Kurdish Election Law, lowering the age of candidacy to 25 years.⁴
- After success in Kurdistan, "Campaign 25" refocused on Baghdad. The Baghdad Youth Center succeeded in obtaining 107 signatures from members of parliament in support of a reduction in the age of candidacy. This degree of cross-partisan agreement is unheard of in Iraqi politics.⁵
- Annual youth conferences are held including hundreds of young activists from national political parties, who receive training on campaign and voter mobilization and who participate in the development of youth-directed political messages, culminating in a mock campaign and election for the conference president.⁶

⁴ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January-March 2009, p. 8

⁵ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, July-September 2009, p. 12

⁶ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, October-December 2009, p. 10

Think Tanks

In a country used to an authoritarian, closed form of government, there has been traditionally little involvement by academia in politics. Since 2005, IRI has been assisting a number of small academic institutes to develop substantive research on topics of concern to Iraq to better inform policy makers.

- IRI-funded think tanks have become thoroughly accepted – nationally and internationally – as a source of information and expertise on Iraqi political, social and economic issues. The think tanks have been asked by parliamentary committees to assist in drafting legislation, invited to participate on television and radio talk shows and featured in foreign publications.
- On January 10, 2009, IRI sponsored a conference hosted by the Iraqi Institute for Economic Reform (IIER) in which many academics presented papers and policy recommendations for Iraq’s 2009 budget. In attendance were several members of parliament, advisors to the Iraqi President and Prime Minister, major cabinet ministries, the United Nations and the U.S. Treasury attaché. Among the conference’s recommendations was the need to tie Iraq’s budget to falling oil prices, a recommendation that was subsequently enacted in the March passage of a much-reduced federal budget.⁷
- On November 8, 2008, IRI funded the Iraqi Elite and Efficiencies Conference on the comparative powers of central and local governments, attended by Prime Minister Maliki, Deputy Prime Minister Barham Salih, both vice presidents, and numerous members of parliament, governors, ministers, and other Iraqi and international government representatives.⁸
- In May 2010, IIER signed a memorandum of understanding with the Basra Provincial Council to conduct an independent evaluation of the council’s municipal activities, and to make recommendations based on international best practices. This project was developed indigenously by IIER, and funded by IRI, and if successful will be replicated throughout Iraq as part of IRI’s ongoing work to improve governance performance.

Women’s Programs

Women remain disadvantaged in Iraq’s political and cultural system, and IRI conducts programs specifically designed to empower them within Iraq’s democracy.

Women’s Leadership Institute

Founded in 2005, IRI brought together two prominent women’s rights advocates: Sundus Abbas and Azhar al Shaikhli (who would later become Minister of Women’s Affairs).⁹ From this

⁷ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January-March 2009, p. 5-6

⁸ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, October-December 2008, p. 4

⁹ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-04-GR-133 to the U.S. Department of State’s Office of Global Women’s Issues, April-June 2004, p. 1

beginning, the Women's Leadership Institute (WLI) has become an internationally recognized organization, with Ms. Abbas traveling frequently throughout the Middle East to participate in women's conferences and trainings.

- WLI trains women political party members, civil society activists, government officials, civil servants and future women leaders of Iraq.
- Through WLI, IRI trained 40 percent of all women winning seats in the 2009 provincial council elections.¹⁰
- In 2007 WLI director Sundus Abbas received the International Women of Courage Award from U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.
- WLI is now financially independent of IRI, and has been approached by the United Nations and PRTs requesting assistance in their women's programs.

Iraqi Women's Capacity Building Program

Between July and September 2009, 199 women from 26 widely differing political parties were trained in grassroots mobilization and database development as political tools. Participants then went on to record a total of 2,666 women into their parties' databases for follow-up voter contact and turnout efforts, as well as 1,398 women interested in actively volunteering for their parties.¹¹

Grassroots door-to-door campaigning and mobilization such as that fostered by the Iraqi Women's Capacity Building Program are very rare in Iraq, especially among women.



Female political party activists from Basra at an IRI training in January 2009.

¹⁰ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-549 to the U.S. Department of State's Office of Global Women's Issues, January-March 2009, p. 1

¹¹ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, July-September 2009, p. 18

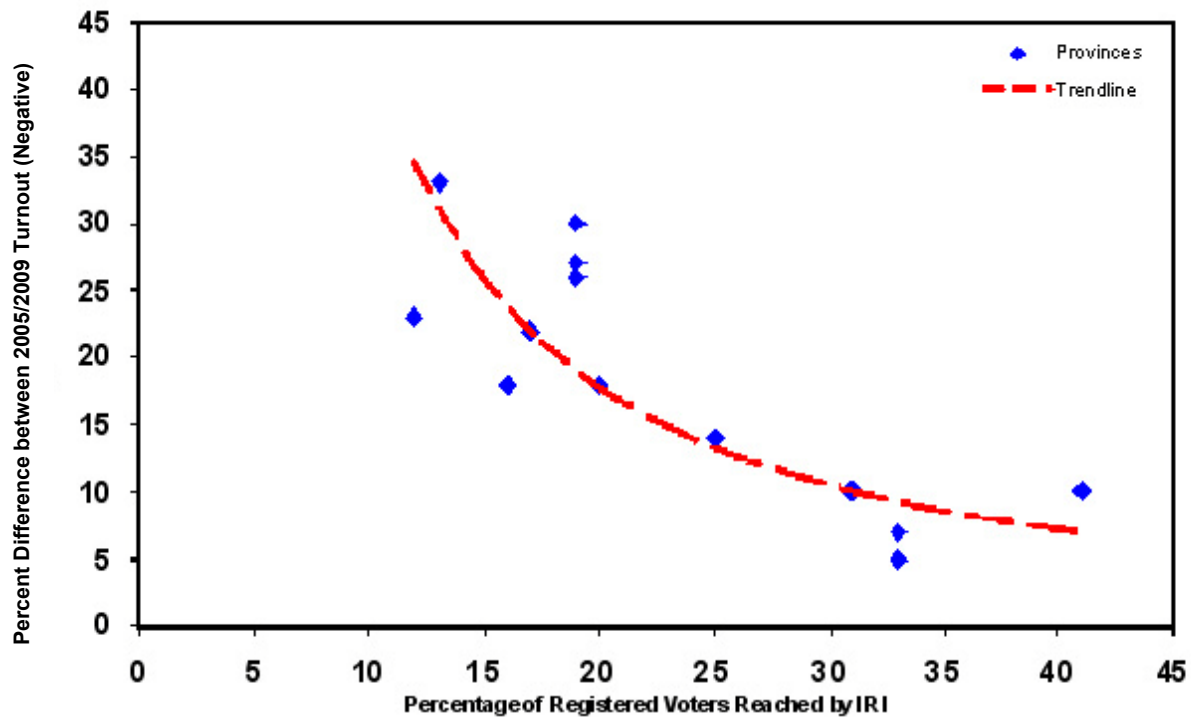
Voter Education and Turnout

A well-trained field of candidates debating issues of importance to their electorate is insufficient to provide credible elections if voters do not know how or when to vote. IRI supports this pillar of the Iraqi elections process through major multi-media voter education campaigns.

January 2009 Provincial Council Elections

IRI distributed more than 3.5 million direct voter education items, including leaflets, posters, newsletters and mock ballots, equal to half the total number of voters on Election Day.¹²

- Analyzing the difference between 2005 and 2009 voter turnout versus the number of IRI voter education materials distributed, there is a clear mathematical correlation between IRI's efforts and voter turnout by province, as illustrated by the graph below:



- Although voter turnout was down across the country from the 2005 parliamentary election (except in Anbar where the majority Sunni population largely boycotted the 2005 election), the difference was inversely correlated to the amount of voter education and mobilization material distributed by IRI.
- Where IRI distribution reached a level of at least one contact per five registered voters, the correlation was strongest, suggesting that a “critical mass” of educational material can be reached to achieve an exponential effect.

¹² IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-601-A001 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January-March 2009, p. 3-7; and IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-549 to the U.S. Department of State's Office of Global Women's Issues, January-March 2009, p. 4

- IRI distributed 59,000 mock ballots in Ninewa alone, more than in any other province of Iraq. Ninewa subsequently had the lowest incidence of spoiled ballots in the country.



Leading Iraqi politicians participate in a January 2009 televised town hall debate at the IRI Media Center before provincial council elections.

July 2009 Kurdistan Regional Parliament Elections

- In the final days before this election, IRI conducted more than a million direct voter turnout contacts, more than one for each of the 800,000 registered households in Kurdistan.¹³

March 2010 Council of Representatives Elections

- Nationally, 4.2 million mock ballots, educational leaflets, and posters were distributed, almost one for every four registered voters. Additionally, a national media campaign aired an average of 4.5 hours of educational programming on Iraqi television per night for the last 10 days of the campaign, all during prime time.
- The result: nationally, more than two million more Iraqis voted in March 2010 than had voted during the January 2009 provincial council elections.
- In the five provinces particularly targeted by IRI, voter turnout was five percent higher than the national average despite worse security, political setbacks in Baghdad, and previous disenchantment with the political process.¹⁴



Ayad Allawi, former Prime Minister and head of the Iraqya List, reads IRI voter education material in his office.

¹³ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-601-A001 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, July-September 2009, p. 3-4

Political Party and Candidate Training

2005 Parliamentary Elections

IRI conducted programs that assisted the emerging Iraqi political process in 2005, including January 2005 elections for transitional assembly, the drafting of the constitution, the national referendum that resulted in its acceptance, and the December 2005 parliamentary elections.

- During the drafting process of the Iraqi Constitution in 2005, IRI conducted more than 800,000 direct voter contacts in the form of workshops and explanatory pamphlets to educate Iraqi voters on the issues being debated in Baghdad. Once the draft was completed, IRI continued a wide-ranging outreach program to educate the electorate on the document and the date of the referendum.¹⁵
- In the first such training of its kind available, IRI trained nearly 1,500 political party activists and candidates from more than 120 political parties in election tactics in preparation for the 2005 parliamentary elections.¹⁶
- Using its state of the art Media Center, IRI filmed a series of 10 candidate debates featuring 39 candidates for the parliament from 15 different parties in advance of the 2005 elections. These debates were televised nationally, in a country entirely unused to watching its political leaders debate issues openly and publicly.¹⁷

July 2009 Kurdish Region Parliamentary Elections

- Forty-nine percent of all winners of competitive seats in the Kurdish Parliament were trained by IRI, including 30 of 38 winners from the two opposition parties.¹⁸
- In response to IRI training, the opposition Change List filled out 75,000 voter-identification cards in Sulaymaniya to assist in the party's turnout efforts on Election Day. The Change List margin of victory in Sulaymaniya was nearly 43,000.¹⁹

2010 Council of Representatives Elections

- IRI trained 2,737 political party activists in the lead-up to this election, the majority of whom were candidates. With a total of 6,000 candidates running, IRI trained approximately one out of three.²⁰

¹⁴ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-10-GR-504 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January-March 2010, p. 4-7

¹⁵ IRI Quarterly Report on grant AFP-A-00-04-00014-00 to USAID, July-September 2005, p. 19

¹⁶ IRI Quarterly Report on grant 2004-232/7484 to the National Endowment for Democracy, October-December 2005, p. 2

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 3

¹⁸ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, July-September 2009, p. 32

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, p. 13-15

- IRI conducted a post-election survey of 432 candidates trained by IRI, and the findings strongly suggested a correlation between following IRI training recommendations and electoral victory:²¹
 - IRI-trained candidates were twice as likely to win a seat as the national average.
 - Winners among IRI’s candidates were more likely to conduct door-to-door canvassing than losing candidates trained by IRI.
 - Winning candidates were three times as likely to have a formal computerized database of voters to contact, track, and turn out on Election Day.
 - Winners’ databases on average included twice as many names of voters as the databases of unsuccessful candidates.

Tribal Program

The 2007 Surge owed much of its success to the rebellion of the Sunni tribes of Anbar against the violent radicals in their midst, but in the years since, the same tribal militias that assisted in routing al Qaida have felt marginalized by the Iraqi central government. To help in the political integration of the tribes with the rest of Iraq, and to ensure they do not once again turn to violence to meet their political goals, IRI has conducted a number of projects strengthening the capacity of tribes to compete in a modern democracy.



Iraqi sheikhs discuss a common Declaration of Principles at IRI’s Tribal Conference in December 2008.

- At the request of the U.S. Embassy Force Strategic Engagement Cell, IRI routinely trains emerging tribal political entities interested in competing in Iraqi elections. Most recently, in November 2009, IRI conducted campaign management training for four tribal entities, the same as that provided to Iraq’s more established political parties.²²
- Over the winter of 2008 and 2009, IRI helped form one of the largest and most diverse tribal coalitions in Iraq. Over successive conferences in Erbil and Baghdad, 300 sheikhs from every sect and geographic division came together to agree upon a shared Declaration of Principles, leadership and bylaws to govern the organization.²³

²¹ IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-07-GR-209 to the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January-March 2010, p. 9

²² IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-601 to the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, October-December 2008, p. 9

²³ Ibid, p. 8; and IRI Quarterly Report on grant S-LMAQM-08-GR-601 to the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, January-March 2009, p. 2

Public Opinion Research

IRI has maintained public opinion research in the form of polling and focus groups since early 2004. In the two years between April 2004 and June 2006, IRI conducted 15 national polls that surveyed residents from at least 15 of Iraq's 18 provinces. Results of the polls ultimately served as a tangible indicator of election outcomes and public concerns. IRI shared its poll results with Iraqi political party partners, Iraqi government officials, Multi-National Force-Iraq officials, the U.S. Department of State and international media.²⁴

Major news outlets including *The New York Times* and *USA Today* have used IRI's public opinion surveys in their own reporting. A complete list of publicly released IRI public opinion research can be found on the [IRI website](#).

²⁴ IRI Final Report on grant 2004-232/7484 to the National Endowment for Democracy, February 2004-December 31, 2007