



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

**PEACE BUILDING IN IRAQ  
FROM 2003-2018**

BERISK HUSSEIN HAJI

MASTER'S THESIS

NICOSIA  
2019

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2019

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## DECLARATION

I Berisk Hussein Haji, hereby declare that this dissertation entitled 'Peace building in Iraq' has been prepared myself under the guidance and supervision of "Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dilek Latif in partial fulfillment of The Near East University, Graduate School of Social Sciences regulations and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any Law of Copyrights and has been tested for plagiarism and a copy of the result can be found in the Thesis.

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Berisk Hussein Haji

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my father Mr. Hussein Haji and my mother Mrs. Bayan Razzaq.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **PEACE BUILDING IN IRAQ FROM 2003-2018**

Peace-building over the years have been part of the major arguments of international relations which aims at resolving conflicts, nation building, and the making of important reforms in the different institutions and sectors of the state. It includes strategies that aim at stopping the future reoccurrences of conflict, which is important for the maintenance of global security and protecting the security of the civilians. Iraq entered a new phase of political transition in 2003 after the intervention of US and its allies and the fall of Saddam Hussein. The US intervention in Iraq not only led to the collapse of the regime of Saddam, but also led to the collapse of the Sunni-dominated Iraqi state. The aim of the intervention was to build a liberal state where there is the presence of democracy, human rights, rule of law, and a system where the government is accountable to the citizens of the country. The United States involvement in Iraq can be explained by its role as a hegemonic power to maintain global peace and security because Saddam Hussein was accused to possess weapons of mass destruction that can risk the global security. Through the use of qualitative research method using analytical, descriptive and historical dimensions, the aim of this thesis is to answer two major research questions: (1) Despite the substantial design and implementation of peace building approach, why peace building reached a limited success in Iraq?(2) what are the main obstacles of peace building in Iraq?

**Keywords:** Peace building, Terrorism, Instruments of peace building, US foreign policy, State building.

## ÖZ

### IRAK'TA 2003-2018 BARIŞ BİNASI

Güvenlik ve güvenlik problemlerini çevreleyen açıklama ve tartışmalarda: güvenlik nedir? kimin güvenliğine yoğunlaşıyoruz? Büyük bir güvenlik sorunu olarak neler düşünülmeli? Güvenliği sağlamanın adımları nelerdir? Bunların hepsi, hem bireyler hem de devletler tarafından, her bir ülkeyi çevreleyen gerçek politikalarına ve zorluklarına bağlı olarak tanımlayabilecekleri önemli sorulardır ve dış politika yapımında ve diğer devletlerle ilişkilerinde önemli rol oynarlar. Irak, ABD ve müttefikleri tarafından yapılan müdahaleler, Saddam Hüseyin'in devrilmesinden sonra 2003'te yeni bir siyasi geçiş aşamasına girdi. ABD'nin Irak'a müdahalesi yalnızca Saddam rejiminin çöküşüne neden olmakla kalmadı, aynı zamanda Sünni egemen Irak devletinin çöküşüne de yol açtı. Müdahalenin amacı demokrasinin, insan haklarının, hukukun üstünlüğünün, devletin ülke vatandaşlarına karşı sorumlu olduğu bir liberal bir devlet inşa etmektir. ABD'nin Irak'a müdahalesi küresel hegemonyasını sürdürme amacı olarak açıklanabilir çünkü Saddam Hüseyin, küresel güvenliği tehlikeye sokacak kitle imha silahları bulundurmakla suçlandı. Analitik, betimleyici ve tarihsel bir boyutla nitel araştırma yöntemini kullanan bu tezin amacı, iki ana araştırma sorusuna cevap bulmaktır: (1) Barış inşası yaklaşımının esaslı tasarım ve uygulamasına rağmen, barış inşası neden Irak'ta sınırlı bir başarıya ulaştı? (2) Irak'taki barış inşasının önündeki başlıca engeller nelerdir?

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Barış inşası, Terörizm, Barış inşası araçları, ABD dış politikası, Devlet inşası.



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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

MWA- Baghdad Women Association

CPA- Coalition Provisional Authority

DFID- Department of International Development

EU- European Union

FTO- Foreign Terrorist Organization

FFIS- Funding Facility for Immediate Stabilization

ISCI- Islamic Supreme Court of Iraq

IDP- Internal Displaced People

ISIL- Islamic States of Iraq and Levant

IRAM- Improvised Rocket Assisted Munitions

ISF- Islamic States Fighters

LGP- Local Government Project

NIHR- National Institute for Human Rights

NGO- Non-Governmental Organizations

PMF- Popular Mobilization Forces

UN- United Nations

UNSC- United Nations Security Council

US- United States

UNSCOB- United Nations Special Mission to the Balkans

UNEFI- United Nations Emergency Forces

UNMOGIP- United Nations Middle East Observer Group in Pakistan and India

## INTRODUCTION

The concept of peace building was developed from 1960 and it became an area of concentration from the 1970s. It was better elaborated and explained by Johan (1999) who explained that there are three very important aspects of peace building. Peacekeeping signifies putting in place military actions or non-violence methods to end active violence between the conflicting parties. This method comes after peacekeeping, it has to do with peaceful mediation and negotiation to end or manage the conflict between the conflicting parties and then finally what he refers to peace building is a way of creating a stable peace that involves state-building and other very important aspects that makes up a democratic state (Brovin, 2017).

Peace building according to Heathershaw (2008) is set of instruments which aim at resolving conflict, some of these mechanisms end up not having the required and demanded effect that is intended to have because the causes of the issues are not discussed. Peacekeeping and peace building can be understood in different ways. Over the past years after the Cold war, most peace interventions mostly involved the use of military force as post-conflict intervention; these initiatives can be argued to have been the major reasons behind the increase in failed states and governments that peace building efforts have built up (Heathershaw, 2008).

Now some may argue that there is a difference between what peace building and state-building mean but it is important to note that it is not different and the consequences are always the same. Has the liberal peace building been

pragmatic? Other questions are should liberal peace building encourage the use of force? When and how should the use of force be initiated? And what effect does the use of force has on peace building? Now there are various domains and perspectives that might have been neglected, immediately after the Cold war, defensive liberalism became the major mechanism that has been used by the United States but prior to the 9/11 incident, it has shifted to offensive liberalism which encouraged the use of force (Heathershaw, 2008).

The individual perspective is mostly been neglected in the implementation of peace building. Constructivism argues that the structure can be built by peace building effort but it cannot exist without the individuals themselves, believing that a state building is basically been done with the population in mind. But what impact does peace building has on the citizens that the structures are been built for and how safe are they in the conflicting environment? The United States has been one of the permanent members of the Security Council have the responsibility of maintaining global peace; this explains its decision to intervene in Iraq (Heathershaw, 2008).

In the explanations and the debates surrounding the Problems of Security and Security studies major questions like; what is security? Whose Security are we concentrating on? What should be considered to be a major security problem? And what are the steps to ensuring security? These are all important questions that mean and can be defined by both individuals and states differently, depending on their respective realities and challenges surrounding each state which plays an important role in their making of foreign policies and also their relationship with other states. When peace building is been initiated whose security is ensured? What is really supposed to be considered as peace building or what situation demands peace building? And what measures or mechanisms should be organized before getting involved in peace building (Galtung, 1990), These questions explain the reasons of most efforts by the international society to establish successful peace building which involves state-building that always ends as a failure. Can the use of nonviolent communication play a role in the establishment of peace building or is the use of dialogue only specific to

particular countries and not to some other countries? The United States interest in building a state most have played a role in the failure of the state, perception can be in the way a state sees another state and that was the major effect it had on the decision to intervene in Iraq. Looking at it from another perspective the United States might have been right in deciding to use force prior to the history of the Iraqi government from the gulf war to the invasion of Iraq, any delay might have been to the detriment of the United States considering the rapid growth and the escalation of terrorism after the 9/11 bombing (Herring, 2008).

The use of force might have been initiated with anger considering the 9/11 incident and the capability of the Iraqi government might have been underestimated. Another question is how doing peace-building and state-building affects the sovereignty of the state? In the case of Iraq, invasion of one, over the other with the aim to establish democracy affects the tendency of building a state in itself. What impact does the use of force has on the ability of the citizens to easily communicate and associate with the built structures when there is no peace? The eradication of terrorism is one of the major reasons behind the Iraqi peace building which opened up new doors for terrorist activities in the country. Some may argue that the medium through which terrorism entered Iraq was subtle and unrecognized and may believe the United States before its intervention in Iraq was very much aware of the ethnic pressure, sectarian division and religious conflict that have been on-going in the country (Harrison, 2010).

Al Qaeda took advantage of the negligence of the United States to get into the country. Bad planning can also be attributed to the reasons behind a policy that was supposed to eradicate terrorism. It ignited a new wave and a ground for terrorism. Terrorism has been a major topic in Iraq after the 2003 intervention. Terrorism did not just start in a day and it's important to understand that terrorist groups are not illiterates they are very much educated looking at how they take their time to plan their attacks, they recognize the mistakes that have been made in the past and act on it. Some of the failures of the occupation government were used by the terrorist organizations to achieve their objectives,

the terrorist Organizations were interested in making the Iraqi population understand how incapable the occupation government was and how the occupation government is against their religious beliefs (Herring, 2008).

Portraying the occupation government as a failure and how the westerners are always trying to dominate Islam by trying to forcefully induced there way of life, corruption has been a topic that has been going on from the Saddam Hussein era but it is said to have been more serious after the 2003 United States intervention one of the reasons why stopping corruption has become a major problem. This is because of the conflict between different ethnic groups, religious groups as well as the way terrorism is on the rise in the country (Looney, 2008).

After the end of the cold war in 1990, the common way of resolving conflict and peace building is the liberal peace building which has to do with the reconstruction of a state. It involves state-building and most at times the three important aspects that have been explained by Galtung, (1999) are all included in the peace building process peacekeeping, peacemaking, and state-building (David, 2010). The peace building in Iraq is an intervention that started in 2003 this has been a topic of interest, it officially started on March 19th, 2003 and was declared a success on the 15th of April 2003 though it was tagged as an intervention by the US/UK coalition because Saddam Hussein was suspected to be in position of weapons of mass destruction and he was also accused of violating human rights (Herring, 2008).

The 2003 intervention in Iraq was a war of choice which was an invasion because it violated international law as it did not allow the UN peaceful disarmament inspectors to finish the disarmament process (Saikal, 2003). It was also a medium for the two allies to carry out their selfish interest which involved having access to Iraq's oil. This forceful cancellation of the UN inspector's mission brought about or rather magnified a religious crisis in Iraq by trying to forcefully enforce democracy, ignoring the fact that it is supposed to start from the grassroots rather than introducing the usual liberal peace method that has failed in so many countries (David, 2010).

Peace building involves state formation and state-building, setting out strategies to tackle ethnic, religious and minority issues that have been a problem right from the creation of Iraq by Britain. Saikal, (2003), for over eight decades Iraq has been under the leadership of the Sunnis, the Shiites are actually the majority of Muslims in Iraq and the Kurds are the minorities, these three groups have a history of animosity that involved who will succeed the prophet Muhammad Abu Bakr (Sunni) or Ali (Shiite) (Brovina, 2017).

Iraq entered a new phase of political transition in 2003 after the intervention of the US and its allies with the fall of Saddam Hussein. The US invasion of Iraq not only led to the collapse of the regime of Saddam but also led to the collapse of the Sunni-dominated Iraqi state. That is why not only Sunni pro-Saddam Arabs but some Sunni-opposing Arabs was against Saddam's actions in Iraq. Sunni groups in Iraq after Saddam Hussein had a different approach to Iraqi domestic issues and foreign relations. The Sunni Arabs in Iraq see Arabian countries as their natural and permanent supporters, and the majority of the behaviors and ideologies of Sunni groups are based on the views and policies of Arab governments (Cronin, 2003).

Today, Sunni militias, who are victims of the Salafi extremists, Takfiris, and wounded Ba'athists, are launching renewed attacks. They have the spiritual and sometimes material support of some Arab regimes, and they have turned Iraq into a bloody stage using advanced methods and techniques (Vista, 2016).

These groups not only target coalition forces, but also civilians, and in particular the Shiites, in addition to some Iraqi infrastructure. The purpose of these groups is to retaliate, and to deter Iraq from any further progress. The existing and returning minority problems are the same as they were in previous decades, and for this purpose, Sunni militias in Iraq have reformed as various groups and organizations (Dodge, 2003).

Looking at the history of Iraq been under an authoritarian regime since the Ba'ath party took control in 1968. Though some scholars view this mission of overthrowing a dictator has been successful because the main target of the coalition group was achieved which involves creating a liberal state, a



democratically elected president and the formation of a democratic state. This thesis will focus on answering the following research questions: (1) Despite the substantial design and implementation of the peace building approach, why peace building reached a limited success in Iraq? (2) What are the main obstacles of peace building in Iraq?

## **I. Statement of the problem**

The resolution of conflict that involves peace building has been a serious topic not only in the Middle East but in the world at large that needs more and serious time, resources, and better initiatives to tackle it from escalating because over the years conflicts have shown higher and evidence of escalating and spilling over to other territories. The United Nations Committee on peacekeeping has deliberated on this topic in 2013. One of the reasons was to practically look for methods that can be used in countries that have been having continuous crisis and conflicts over the years.

Although there have been arguments concerning how the international organization handle conflicts one of the arguments is letting regional powers to participate in the resolution of conflicts as well as state building. The United States and the United Kingdom have been the major actors at the beginning of the intervention and understanding that the conflict was actually going to a direction they never expected has them to openly call on other countries as well as actors to participate in the peace building, this questions the topic of regional integration in the region, drawing our minds on how well involved was the regional powers in the conflict.

Countries like Iran, Syria the Arab League were involved in a peace building process but did the United Nations let them participate or not? Scholars argue that the 2003 Iraq intervention which according to the former Secretary General

was a violation of international law but with that knowledge the United States and its allies still went ahead to invade the Iraqi territory. When and how to deploy troops has been a question one of the problem of finances, resources, and how involved is the Iraqi military and police force in the Iraqi conflict.

The continuous rise in terrorism prior to the beginning of the peace building in Iraq has become an area that needs to be explored as much as there have been studies on the reasons behind the continuous rise in terrorist attacks some of the reasons was the inability of the international community involved in the peace building to build up more pragmatic measures to stop terrorism. It is also important to note that one of the topic that needs to be explored more is the topic of terrorism and how it has contributed in the failure of the state building in Iraq, Another question that needs to be asked is how much has been invested? Is the Iraqi population fully involved in the peace building process? Or was state building the major priority.

The United Nations as well as other international community's has played a role in the peace building but so far so good from the year 2003 -2018 can we say a work Weldon to their efforts? What actually needs to be done that is not been done? The rise of terrorist activities in the country from the year 2003 has brought up too many questions regarding the future of Iraq with the Kurdistan fight for their independence.

## **II. Methodology**

This research uses qualitative research methods that are both analytic and descriptive, it focuses on exploring the peace building process in Iraq from the year 2003 to 2018 and looking at the role that has been played by the international community and how it has shaped Iraq. Data was been collected through various documents that are important for this research and there has been a use of secondary sources, that are important for this research classified and sorted out in other to get the required information's suitable for this research paper.

Secondary sources have been used, journals, newspapers, internet sources, books, articles. The data has been analyzed through the use of a qualitative research with a systematic and a logical pattern with also a descriptive and a historical pattern. This research method will be suitable for this thesis, because it helps go through various research papers, journals, and newsletters, books in order to know what has been written and the results of various researches in the past. This method will help to find where the lapses are in the peace building in Iraq.

A historical review of the conflict in Iraq is explored and on how it has contributed to the peace building process also understanding it through a theoretical and conceptual perspective. Journals and Articles on conflict resolution, state building, conflict management have been explored to look at some techniques that can be included in the current situation in Iraq and also lapses in the peace building journals considering how stable the country has been since the intervention and the peace building started in 2003-2018.

### **III. Objective of the Study**

This thesis aims at exploring analytically the role that has been and is still played by various actors for the peace building in Iraq and how the United Nations Security Council has been involved in tackling the aftermath of the 2003 Iraq intervention by the United States so as to better understand the peace building:

- Evaluating all the steps that have been used in the peace building in Iraq and how it has affected the sectors, institutions, economy, religion, ethnic groups in Iraq
- Critically evaluating the instruments of peace building in Iraq

### **IV. Significance of the Study**

This study is derived from an academic perspective because conflicts and wars have been on the rise and there is a need to find a better method and practical mechanism to tackle conflicts from not only spreading but from starting. This

includes the best methods that can be used or measures. When it comes to resolving conflict this includes how and when troops are supposed to be deployed. The United Nations needs ways to improve its strategies internationally and it can be best said that each region confronts its own challenges, but it is also important to understand that as much as there are some similarities in countries in a particular region a typical example is the Middle East and one of the common paradigm is Islam, authoritarianism, and dictatorship. This does not apply to every country in the Middle East although there is a resemblance in the style of governance.

Every country deserves a particular mechanism when it comes to conflict resolution and peace building is an important aspect that is often neglected. The peace building in Iraq according to so many scholars is different from other countries, one of the reasons is the way elite classes show how strong and important they consider the September 11 bombings in the United States. This study aims at explaining and recommending a better way of involvement in the case of Iraq considering the level it has gotten to, it almost seems like all efforts that are been made and have been made have not achieved the expect target. This thesis through its findings will contribute to the existing literatures on peace building, conflict resolution, state building and also open up better methods and ways that the United Nations, European Union, the Arab League, and other donor states in an joint effort to bring sustaining peace in Iraq and also to the other countries in the region.

#### **v. Research questions**

1. Despite the substantial design and implementation of peace building approach, why peace building reached a limited success in Iraq?
2. What are the main obstacles of peace building in Iraq?

## **vi. Hypothesis**

Peace building strategy in Iraq had both positive and negative impacts. The positive impact has been the outcome of successful implementation of peace building. The negative impact has been the consequences of the obstacles of peace building in Iraq such as terrorism, sectarianism and economic problems.

## **vii. Scope and Limitations**

This thesis basically aims at exploring the recent events over the years in Iraq although countries in the Middle East will be used to explain what happened in the conflict in Iraq with the use of a descriptive qualitative research basically using secondary data, as much as there is ethnic, and sectarian politics as well as terrorism in the Middle East region.

This study particular concentrates on the case study of Iraq between the years of 2003-2018 and each country in the region that is experiencing the same dilemma requires specific and particular methods as well as mechanisms. This thesis will also focus on the peace building in Iraq looking at some of the reasons why there is a continuous conflict considering how much efforts has been initiated and how will the situation can be managed. One of the constraints that serve as a limitation is the time limit as well as the resources.

This thesis is divided into three major chapters. The first chapter explores the theoretical framework and conceptualization of peace building, chapter two focuses on peace building in Iraq and the instrument of peace building in Iraq. Chapter 3 explores some of the obstacles of peace building in Iraq and finally the conclusion.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PEACE BUILDING**

Peace building can be traced back to 1956 when the United Nation Emergency Force (UNEF) was created in Egypt. The UNEF started based on understanding, meaning that before an intervention the country encountering the conflict must agree and give their consent before the UN can intervene. The intervention was aimed at being partial and the use of arm force is only during self-defense. The reason behind peace building was with the objective of reaching a peace building negotiation between the conflict parties. The first peace building operations wasn't aimed at state building or making reforms in the state. It was aimed at creating peace or stopping the war between the conflicting parties, such as the United Nations Operation in Congo (ONUC) (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995).

From 1988 the principles changed. In the Namibian peace building the United Nations took part in the state building through the creation of an electoral process and making changes in the different government sectors in the country. Boutros Ghali, (1992) argued that peace building must create reconciliation between the conflict parties as well as establish a government that is effective. Peacemaking is important in peace building and there are cases when the use of force is important while there are some cases that do not necessitate the use of force (Boutros Ghali, 1992).

The expansion of security agendas played an important role in the establishment of peace building, after the Cold war the liberal democracy has been a factor behind the continuous growth of peace building because of the need for a transparent government, the promotion of human rights, promotion of democracy, this were some of the reasons behind the creation of peace building. Non-government organizations (NGO) were responsible for the protection of human rights based on the concept of the rule of law (Heathershaw, 2008).

The NGOs go through government and companies policies that abuse human rights so as to pressure governments to make changes to some of those policies. The non-government organizations play a role in the establishments and the creation of agendas to point out the important topics that needs to be given more attention. Compared to the beginning of peace building process by the government, there have been changes in peace building operations from 1990. The operations were focused on making reforms and rehabilitations, the “second generation” of peace building increased peacekeeping operations which as aimed at establishing political and social development and also to tackle security challenges (Heathershaw, 2008).

From 1992, peace building has shifted from stopping violence to trying to find the causes behind conflicts. This has created the relative closeness between peace building and conflict resolution meaning that the peace building is no longer concentrating in the creation and restructuring of states but rather going down to the grassroots, different levels of the society and trying to close the gap between the elite class and the general population (Richmond, 2012).

How peace building has expanding to peace keeping can be seen in Mozambique, Angola, El Salvador, and Cambodia. Some of the peace building efforts contained peacekeeping but most of the cases state building through the creation of elections, restructuring the security sector, creating a transparent government that is accountable and focusing on political issues. The “third generation” focused on the use of force in peace making, peace enforcement,

military role in establishing peace and security this later led to the development of state building which was aimed at establishing political and economic reforms (Kathryn, 2005).

Is not every peace building process that involves nation building, but all nation building involves peace building. The expansion of peacekeeping brought about the creation of peace building, this has established peace building and instead of limiting it to only peace keeping operation and having limited impact on the state and its structure, it later became more interested in the state institutions, development of its political, social and economic sectors. According to” *Fen Hampson divides external intervention into three categories: realist, governance-based and social-psychological. The realist category ranges from "hard" approaches, which advocate limited security involvement and no peace-building tasks, to "soft" approaches, which employ a variety of policy options in order to build support for a peace settlement*” the development of UN peace keeping in 1989, over 36 peacekeeping operations were been authorized each with either: Extended peace building, Nation building and Limited peace-building (Kathryn, 2005).

Each contains different attributes. Extensive peace building has to do with: limited enforcement, accepted peace agreements, focuses on some reforms as its target, involves in the creation of electoral processes and election, and retraining the security and military. Limited peace building focuses on: there is no enforcement of power, focuses on the protection and the civilians as well as the provision of assistance to the population, negotiates peace agreements, supervises cease fire operations, and monitors disarmament (Richmond, 2012).

The last which is Nation building contents the full enforcement of power which is mostly carried out by other organizations, follows peace agreements, follows and accepts various reform programs, establishes different political and economic institutions, aims at reintegrating combatants to the military, has limited power over the making of policies as well as have limited control over the state in question (Kathryn, 2005).



Some of the challenges in peace building are mostly related to the planning of peace building process, this has to do with what needs to come before the other. That is what is more important when a peace building process is been organized, the main aim of peace building is to stop the reoccurrence of conflict as well as a failed state when it involved state building. The main question when it comes to the achievement of the peace building objective is, how can the aim and objective be attended? And over the years the UN has been more interested in the creation as well as strengthening of various government sectors and institutions. This has incorporated in most peace building processes the use of both limited and extended operations to ensure state building. Comparing peace building from 1989-1994 and from 1995 to 2005 it is clear to see the changes (Rasmussen, 2010).

Peace building focuses more on the quantity than on the quality meaning that state building has more priority and neglecting how effective the peace building was or can be is been neglected, this can be said to be one of the reasons why peace building has been experiencing limited success. The participants involved in peace building have a major role to play and obligation to participate has led to negligence or the lack of diligence in peace building process (Fouskas & Gokay, 2005).

The participation of the state encountering conflict is important I the impact the peace building process will have, this has to do with the commitment of the local actors to willing enforce the various reforms and in their ability to accept the various changes that needs to be done. Peace process is a major part of peace building which makes up conflict resolution, peace process aims at realizing or maintaining peace this can be in the form of intra-state or inter-state. It can involve intervention from external actors (Heathershaw, 2008).

Peace building has over the years become popular been a part of conflict resolution. It explains the importance for state building in states and societies that have experienced or are not experiencing conflict; the objective of peace building goes beyond state building and the resolution of conflict but also

avoiding future reoccurrence of conflict. the importance of peace building in the sustenance of peace is not only applicable to the state or society but it norms is aimed at bettering the political and economic status of the state that is one of the reason it has become a major topic in international relations that helps in the maintenance of global security (Schwartz & Swain).

The term emphasizes on the need to stop violence and encouraging agendas that will protect lives and properties, creating a representative government, involvement in local affairs that helps in making changes. Peace building stands to promote a stable peace in the international system, this aims at preventing conflict and also intervening and building a state that has been destroyed by conflict. With the continuous rise on the need to maintain the sovereignty of the state, how does peace building interfere with the sovereignty of state? This is a very important question that demands proper attention. Peace building is been initiated in the cases of states that have been torn by terrorism, sectarian conflict, civil war etc; most literatures are centered on the achievements of peace building as well as the political, economic and social achievement of the peace building (Kathryn, 2005).

Peace building incorporates different dimension very important aspect of peace building it's the humanitarian part of it. But considering the intervention in somaliain1993 little attention was given to that. The peace building in Somalia was been regarded as a failure because of the continuation of violence after the peace building that claimed the lives of so many civilians, this brings up the topic if humanitarian intervention is important during a peace building process or is the building of structures more important than assuring the security of the population (Kathryn, 2005).

The Rwandan case (Kathryn, 2005,) portrays negligence from the international community when it comes to humanitarian incident, the war in Rwanda happened a year after the one in Somalia and comparing the two peace building it is clear that the share some similarities, untimely intervention was one of the things. This brings of the question of when and how should a peace building

process be initiated? In the case of Rwanda the intervention came very late. The output of a peace building is not always certain that is why it is almost impossible to predict the outcome of an intervention in general (Kathryn, 2005).

Different literatures of peace building have shown that over the years peace building have encountered so many failures than success, as peace building became the major topic in international relations it shows the constant change in the international system. Is the change in the international system behind the rise in conflicts or are there other factors that are contributing to the continuous rise in conflict as well as peace building processes in the world? This has obliged states to participate in peace building operations across the globe (Richmond, 2012).

It has been almost 26 years after the Somalia intervention, how has the peace building process in the country helped in the reforms and positively restricted the different institutions and sectors in the country? Most times the intervention is almost in a hurry to create structures and reforms which end up having limited structures and brings about the reoccurrence of the conflict (Kathryn, 2005).

Before the concept of peace building can be initiated there must have been a conflict, peace means different things to different people the normal understanding of what peace is the absence of war while others see it to be the opposite peace and war work hand in hand (Higashi, 2009). In the case of Iraq as the peace building was different compared to other countries after the intervention in 2003 which was called the Operation Iraqi freedom came to an end on paper in May 2003 according to the former US president Bush (Higashi, 2009). It was over on paper which signifies that most of the killings and violence was supposed to come to an end but it rather continued (Pinar, 2005).

Some scholars like Yildiz, (2006) argue that the peace building initiative brought about a civil war. He further argues that measures were not well established before the initiative was embarked upon (Yildiz, 2006). Although the international community expected the intervention and peace building in Iraq to

be without challenges, Nordstrom (2004) argues the peace building in Iraq as a failure because of the understanding by the international community of what peace and war entails (Malkasian, 2016).

Important concept means a political factor or objective because the international actors tend to define it and is in line with these political objectives. This points out to cases whereby a country or a community is under serious conflict and violence but a formal peace agreement has been signed on paper but that doesn't mean that the violence is over in some other cases there is the absence of conflict but the owners of what war and peace means make it out as a war zone (Saikal, 2003).

Peace building in Iraq has been argued by some scholars as a way of the United States securing its territory by declaring a war against terrorism and the intervention in Iraq this is prior to the September 11 bombings in 2001. Although former American president George Bush in his speech in the January of 2009 has focused on the impact terrorism has on America and countries like North Korea, Iran. Iraq was a measure treat to American peace and practical measures needed to be initiated to contend it. The weapons of mass destructions were head topics that were been discussed this did not targeted only the safety of the United Nations by the global and international security according to the former American President George Bush (Yildiz, 2006).

These global security strategies included countries responding to the security demands of the international community. These included free trade, financial accountability, and regulatory measures on the weapon of mass destructions. This new world order started with the intervention in Iraq. This can be related with the end of the cold war, which introduced a new era of the United Nations peace building, peacemaking and peace keeping traced back to the 1990s. Scholars like Berdal, (2004) argued that most of the peace building process that are introduced by the United Nations are just self-related motives that indicate selfish interest that are connected to the interventions and peace building initiatives. Tansey, (2010) argues that over the years, evident failures in the

peace building efforts have been created more harm than good to divided societies (Berdal, 2004).

Right before the peace building in Iraq the countries have had internal conflict that has to do with ethnicity. Most at times, these things are not taken into consideration. That is why few months after the Iraqi intervention the United States realized that they have bitten more than they can chew, it was actually supposed to be very easy but it has caused the country too much instability and a resting ground for terrorist activities as well as ethnic conflicts (Tansey, 2010).

The activities of al Qaida actually started before the US invasion of Iraq but it became more based on the belief that the intervention was more centered on selfish interest rather than intervention as it was called. Based on the charges that were laid on Saddam Hussein it included weapons of mass destruction, human rights violations but the basic thing was to bring down a dictator and bring peace building in the country. That included state building, which has to do with having a stable political election with periodic elections (David, 2005).

The reason why the United States intervened in Iraq was argued to have been because of selfish interest this encouraged terrorist activity in the country. Al Qaida because of its ideologies and the clash of values according to what Newman considers as part of the possible causes of terrorist activities, Al Qaida which is known as the founders of ISIS an extremist Islamic group, another possible reasons behind al Qaida's activities in Iraq is the rise in poverty and exploitation by the international community because of the mineral resources in the country (oil). This terrorist group has really been fighting foreign occupation in the country although the aim of the invasion has been fulfilled by the international community but ended up building a monster that the world at large is finding it impossible to contain (Newman, 2006).

To understand the ideologies of the United States that was based on selfish interest, before Al Qaeda had a place in Iraq they Sunnis were strongly fighting against the US habitation of Iraq. The aim of Al-Qaeda was also to get rid of the

occupation government making the Sunnis believe they both have a common enemy. Understanding that Al Qaeda was more advanced in terms of skills, technology the Sunnis group was been trained by Al Qaeda and they started working together this made them to have more fighters to fight against the US habitation of Iraq (David, 2005).

This collaboration further enhanced and established Al Qaeda's activities in the country because they believed they had a common enemy that needs to be eliminated from the country, one of the main reason was because of the sectarian differences between the Shiite and the Sunnis believed that with Al Qaeda by their side they will easily win the war (David, 2005).

Al Qaeda made the Sunnis to understand that they had a common enemy which was the Shiites and the occupation government, working together with Al-Qaeda was for the Sunnis to make use of their skills and their technical knowhow, although they aims they Sunnis were trying to fight for their rights while the other group which was Al Qaeda had its strong extremist ideas but with the understanding that they had a common enemy they decided to work together (Dodge, 2005).

One of the challenges of the peace building effort in Iraq is the clash of goals between the internationals and the locals in the sense that the internationals were more interested in enforcing their own objectives rather than considering the lifestyles, religion and individual interest of the locals. The future of state formation in the Middle East has always been a debated topic. Gerges, (2012) argued on how the orient look at the occident as inferior and they are not given the opportunity to represent themselves and also marginalizing the line between Islam and democracy and establishing a liberal democracy was the main aim of the internationals (Anderson, 2006).

The second challenge was the sectarian, ethnic and religious differences in Iraq, Iraq comprises of different ethnic and religious groups the majority are they Shiite followed by the Sunni and then the Kurds now one of the reasons of the

intervention by the internationals was to overthrow a dictator. Iraq has been carved from the Ottoman Empire. Iraq has been under the leadership which led to the marginalization of other groups like the Shiites the majority group in Iraq while the Kurds in the north have been fighting for their independence (Crane, 2004).

The third challenge is the psychological perspective or mindset of the locals towards the internationals so many scholars argue that the first reasons for this intervention or rather invasion of Iraq was just for the internationals to control the oil rich Iraq been the second largest reserves in the world. Considering the Iran-Iraq war and the Iraq-Kuwait war both have affected Iraq economically and the sanctions imposed on it after its invasion of Kuwait depreciated its power economically so the locals look at the internationals as oppressors and each group in Iraq having its own different desire makes it more of a challenge for the internationals to successfully achieve their objectives (David, 2005).

Some other scholars argue on the past Iraq government and its political orientation and stability and how the peace building was introduced in the country might have been a reason why buildings and official institutions can be build but reconciliation and peace might never have its place because these important aspects have been ignored, proportional representation which have shown signs of failure over the years in Iraq, the sectarian conflict in Iraq explains why the country is divided (Yildiz, 2010).

Right from when the intervention started in 2003 the country has been faced with so much violence amongst different groups in the country from the attacks on the Shiite shrines to the kidnapping of the Sunnis, as much as institutions were been built it hasn't stopped the conflicts in the country. From 2006 to 2008 the country has experienced a civil war that claimed so many lives, rendered many homeless, increased the poverty rate, unemployment, Over 3000 people were killed in the civil war, as much as the peace building efforts in Iraq was not targeted to only Iraq but it was seen as a way of further enhancing the global peace according to former United States president George Bush (Kurth, 2006).

One thing that remains clear in studying the history of Iraq and the Arab world is evident that the sectarian conflict has been going on for so many years and if better solutions are not initiated to handle the sectarian conflict the peace building in Iraq may never work. Structures can be built but troops have to always be in the field protecting the physical structures that have been built. Al-Badrani (2005) argues the point that going back to Iraq history from the 1950s to the 1960s there has been serious sectarian conflicts in the country (Kurth, 2006).

The end of Cold war was supposed to usher the world into a new level of peace which focuses on democracy and the existence of free market economy, liberalism is supposed to help in maintaining peace but it has rather increased insecurities according to Kaldor *“new war are wars that take place in the context of the disintegration of states typically authoritarian states under the impact of globalization wars that are fought by networks of state and non-state actors, often without uniforms as in the case of the Croatian militia in Bosnia Herzegovina most violence are directed towards civilians”* (Kathryn, 2005).

### **1.1 Peace building in an Agenda for Peace**

Peace building has been defined by the former UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali (1992) as *“an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict and as the creation of structures for the institutionalization of the peace”* Boutros-Ghali (1992).

According to Azar (1990), conflicts cannot be addressed effectively if deep root causes are not identified while Lederach (2001) argued that in peace building nothing should be neglected all of the different age groups and people on different status should be considered both from the rural and the urban areas the grass roots to the upper classes, everyone's voice must be listened to, this will make the peace building to be more effective (Lederach, 2001).



Another perspective which is the deductive peace building perspective is concentrated mostly on the intervention by the international community which is different from the inductive going down to the main reasons and the causes of the conflict not sidetracking the different classes in the society, according to the former UN Secretary General peace building is been viewed mainly as the last part in the resolution of conflict this has to do with the making of peace and state building, this entails deliberations and proper hearing from the conflicting parties with a formal peace agreement (Azar, 1990).

The criteria's for peace included in the Agenda of Peace makes it clear that the only actor that is capable of filling it is only the international community (UN) which means that the deductive method is mostly in use because most of the peace building are been done by international actors. Some scholars argue that modern peace building as much as the international organizations are fully involved in it grass root causes of the conflict are been identified and taken into consideration topics like reconciliation, disarming the conflicting parties(DDR) (Bellamy et al, 2009).

Peace building can be said to be a medium through which different mechanisms are been coupled in place in other to ensure that there is a cease fire peace, to put effective strategies in place to stop possible future eruption of violence by investigating and finding out the real causes of the war and how it can be resolved by also putting in place a stable political, economic and a military transformation (Recchia, 2007).

Inductive method better suits this thesis, considering the different challenges that the peace building have encountered right from the beginning in 2003. Inductive peace building puts into consideration the main reasons as well as the root causes of the continuous instability in the country. Both the structures and the individuals are been considered and rather than quick actions proper planning are been done to understand the instruments appropriate and fitting to the case study. That is also applicable to the peace building in Iraq (Recchia, 2007).

There is a need for agreement between the conflicting parties during the conflict resolution. Peacemaking can be traced back to the conflict in Namibia with the Central American process 1987-1990. Peacemaking involves methods or measures that can be initiated to bring about peace or a way of eliminating violence and the possibilities of any violence to erupt in the future, this process entails the presence of an external actor in the presence of both parties in order to arrive with an agreement and an accord (Galtung, 1990).

Miller and King (2005) define peace keeping as *“the maintenance of public security, civil services, and cease-fire agreements in war and conflict zones by UN or regional military, police, and civilian forces with the consent of the nation-state on whose territory these forces are deployed”* peacekeeping involves the deployment of soldiers to a society or country that is encountering conflict in order to reinstate peace and order this can be in the form of cease-fire (Miller & King, 2005).

The United Nations Chapter VI vividly explains the objectives of peacekeeping which is to them a serious responsibility, over the years the term peace keeping has been referred to as “mission creep” this includes humanitarian aid and the protection of the civilians through the provision of food, making sure that the civilians are been transported to a safe place mostly known as the safe heaven and the success of this peacekeeping is related to the neutrality of the deployed troops (Galtung, 1990).

Peacekeeping according to Miller & King (2005) have four different stages the first what they call observance this is in a situation where there has been a ceasefire incident but troops are been deployed in order to make sure that the conflict doesn't erupt again, this is just the presence of troops to make sure that peace is been sustained. The second stage is the political transition, troops are been deployed to help in the peaceful political transition the success of this action is determined by how receptive the internal government is and how the citizens of the country accommodate the troops and the availability of the necessary resources needed plays an important role in the output of the

deployment. The third stage involves peace enforcement while the final stage IV involves peace building or “post conflict reconstruction” (Miller & King, 2005).

There have been arguments on the initiation of peace keeping this has to do with when and in what case are troops supposed to be deployed and how is the appropriate way or method of deploying troops. In 1950 peacekeeping operations has been on the rise from the Balkans known as the United Nations Special Mission to the Balkans (UNSCOB), later in 1956 peacekeeping became stronger from the United Nations emergency forces (UNEFI) in observing the happenings in the Middle East (UNMOGIP) was been organized the United Nations Middle East Observer group in Pakistan and India (Miller & King, 2005).

Before troops can be deployed it is necessary for the country or experiencing the to accept the deployment of the soldiers, peace enforcement entails enforcing a cease fire this aims at introducing or bringing about what is referred to as a negative peace. This activity involves the elimination of violence through the use of force, bringing about ceasefire between the conflict parties, protection of civilians through the creation of safe heavens, provision of food and other humanitarian aids (Miller & King, 2005).

The neutrality of the troops been deployed is very key to how effective and productive it will be, although there have been arguments regarding peace enforcement prior to the happenings in 1991 in Iraq 1992 in Liberia and also 1992 in Somalia as well as other countries that have experienced this. Arguments regarding the safety of civilians are not taken as the outmost priority an example is Rwanda and Bosnia (Miller & King, 2005).

## **1.2 Instruments of Peace Building**

The propagation of the instruments of peace building are rooted in democracy because democracy is regarded as a better instrument which can incorporate and implement the instruments of peace building in the case of both internal and external the conflict, democracy is important in the sustenance of the global peace. The organizing elections, periodic elections, disarmament,

demobilization and reintegration (DDR), governance reforms, security sector reforms, human rights reforms, the above mentioned instruments are important in state building as the makeup an important aspect of democracy which is been implemented in peace building (Zeeuw, 2001).

### **1.2.1 Governance reform**

The presence of conflicts and civil wars are as a result of lapses and a failed government. It shows that the state government has not been able to live up to its expectation and responsibilities which has led to internal conflict. Making government reforms is important in societies that have been destroyed by conflicts; the making of major government reforms is mainly aimed at reconstructing a state that has been damaged by internal conflict and also providing a stable and reliable security so as to prevent future reoccurrence of conflict (Zeeuw, 2001).

Governance reforms is not only limited in the construction and reconstruction of infrastructure, government institutions and the various sectors but also organizing an building a stable and strong administration to manage it. This includes a non-violent procedure which involves an inclusive government which encourages the participation of civil societies. For this to be effective the state most create a source of revenue, to stop depending on external support. This can be done through the introduction of tax which will serve as a major medium of revenue (Duke & Courtier, 2009).

There must be a clear distinction between the various arms of government the executive, judiciary and the legislative branch of government the major part of government reform has to do with the rule of law and separation and identification of the responsibilities of each arm of government is important in making sure that the rule of law is been observed. The political structures that have been established by the peace building most consider some of the causes of the conflict if not violence will occur again in the future (Duke & Courtier, 2009).

### **1.2.2 Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)**

The important aspect of peace building that necessitates the success or failure of the peace building is the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex combatants. Failure to find measures through which combatants can be disarmament and reintegrated into the society might lead to the future reoccurrence of the conflict; this process takes like four years for it to be achieved effectively this includes: assembly, discharge, short-term and long term reintegration. The first stage involves the assembling of the ex-combatants and food, shelter clothing and other important facilities are been provided followed by the disarmament of the combatants, this was the method used in Bosnia,-Herzegovina, Angola and Somalia. For this process to be effective the government needs to provide an economic support which will help in giving them employment opportunities (Zeeuw, 2001).

Before they are been discharged, there is the short term disarmament this entails support in terms of food, transport and regular orientation to equip them, the long term disarmament involves the giving of capitals that will help them to establish a business that will serve as a medium of livelihood to the ex-combatants. Reintegration is important because the ex-combatants are been reintegrated into the society, the society needs to accept them and discrimination of ex combatants needs to be explained so that the reintegration process will be effective. If the (DDR) process is not followed and practiced effectively the ex-combatants might end up going back to been combatants or get involved in other forms of criminal acts (Yannis, 2002).

### **1.2.3 Security Sector Reform**

The security sector is responsible for the assuring and ensuring law and order in the society. The security sector is not only responsible for the domestic security of the state but also preventing external factors that might serve as a security threat to the state from having access to the state. Security is very essential in

peace building and conflict management, security is a very important topic that the international community is focusing on, this has led to the making of strategies to improve the sector and the training of forces to maintain security and also protect human rights (Zeeuw, 2001).

Political institutions involvement in the security sector is a major debate because of transparency and accountability, security sector reforms should not only be made with a short term direction which is the training of military and security forces and the building of prisons but a security sector that is transparent and accountable is important this entails that it is civilian-control which will help in not only preventing violence and conflicts but also stopping it from escalating (Yannis, 2002).

#### **1.2.4 Post-Conflict Elections**

Periodic elections in a post conflict society is important this involves civil society participation which is aimed at mobilizing, education the general public as well as the monitoring of election, an independent electoral commission as well as the date and the time table. As an instrument of peace building that is been initiated by the international community there is a need for supervision of the election process by the international community. Supervision will improve transparency as well as the credibility of the elections and reduce election malpractice and the rigging o the election (Zeeuw, 2001).

In most cases because of the political transition and assessment is important in countries like Liberia in 1990 a political transition through an election was been initiated as violence was still going on. The international community had made efforts to make a stable cease fire agreement but the violence should be terminated before electoral process can be initiated. The DDR process should be completed before electoral process can be initiated this can guarantee the success of the elections, but when the DDR process is not followed and completed this can lead to a relapse in the electoral process and the elections. This was the case in the 1992 Cambodian elections. The political, economic and

social condition of the state contributes to the post conflict election of the state (Boege, 2009).

### **1.2.5 Human Rights Reform**

The violation of human rights during conflicts, in most cases the minorities and the groups in the society that are been portrayed as less important are mostly been targeted. The major aspect of peace building is reconciliation and when human rights based crimes are not given attention and handled with impartiality peace building through reconciliation cannot reach the grass roots which are the society and individual level. A government that is able to punish crimes on the violation of human rights is important (Boege, 2009).

Because of how sensitive human rights crime is, the International community has been able to establish war crime tribunals inside and outside of the state, because there are regimes that violate human rights and a tribunal needs to be established to properly respond to it. The truth and reconciliation commission, human rights filed operations, the reason why the above mention instruments are important in making human rights reform effective is because false denials needs to be prevented from the perpetrators, victims of human rights tell their story which is important in the reconciliation process, to stop the reoccurrence of the atrocities and the creation of a model of accountability in the society (Zeeuw, 2001).

### **1.2.6 Empowering Civil Societies**

All the instruments of peace building are important in the peace building process but there is a need for the establishment of the culture for peace, this has to do with institutions that will help in the management of conflict. the will serve as mediators between the government and the population, help in the propagation of democracy to the grass roots, a representative to their districts, and watch the actions and the decision of the government. The civil society is very important in peace building process because of its role as a mediator, helps in the reconciliation process between and within the community (Zeeuw, 2001).

### 1.3 Obstacles of Peace Building

There are several factors that serve as an obstacle to peace building, the transition to peace, stability and prosperity this entails that eradicating conflict and insecurity is the preliminary stage of peace building but the sustenance of peace, stability and prosperity is important in the peace building process, economic problems, terrorism and sectarianism is a major obstacle to the success of peace building (Del Castillo, 2017).

The rise in terrorist organizations has served as major threat to international security, with terrorist groups like: Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), Hezbollah, Hamas, Al Qaeda these groups are raising continuous as they continue to mobilize and recruit new members. These terrorist groups provide food, jobs, in states that the government those not respond to the needs of the population and states that have been occupied by foreign interveners that are not responding appropriately to the needs of the citizens of the country. Some of the reasons why the population is left with no option but to join terrorism is because of bad governance which leads to economic failures (Dobbins & Miller, 2013).

Most countries that have been torn by conflict become resting grounds for terrorist groups and drug traffickers, production, and manufacturing of illegal drugs. According to the former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon “ *The connections between drug trafficking, organized crime, corruption and terrorism are becoming more diverse and sophisticated , and fuel insecurity and political instability globally*” foreign interveners failure which leads to humanitarian crises and the continuous rise in refugees is affecting the socio-economic, security, political status in the Middle East and Europe. The spread of diseases in humans, plants and domestic animals has been on a rise, diseases such as Ebola, malaria, Zika virus. Countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea were affected by Ebola (Newman & Richmond, 2006).



Finances plays an important role in peace building, peace has a high level of consequences, in 1992 the Salvadoran government was having difficulty in implementing the peace agreements that have been negotiated because of lack of finances. Transitioning from an economy of war to the economy of peace is mostly a difficult thing for most states that have encountered conflicts; this has affected the socio-economic development of states. The United Nations has not been able to successful bring up better means of transitioning which has become a major obstacle to peace building. This has increased insurgencies, criminal activities as well as discontentment in the population (Del Castillo, 2017).

Government failure serves as an obstacle because of corruption, unaccountability, important aspect as the rule of law, justice, and human rights are not improved. This has increased security problems. Social and economic developments are important in peace building and preventing conflicts from happening, when the living standard, health facilities, employment opportunities, provision of basic needs, and infrastructures are been provided the conflict can be avoided instead of managed. Reintegrating ex combatants is important in stopping violence from escalating and I also helps in preventing future reoccurrence of violence (Ginty & Richmond, 2013).

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **PEACE BUILDING IN IRAQ**

#### **2.1 Historical background of the 2003 Iraqi intervention**

The former United States president George Bush made an appeal on the 17<sup>th</sup> March 2003 to Saddam Hussein to step down from power within in 48 hours but Saddam Hussein refused. This led the Bush administration to decide in the month of March 19 to finally intervene in Iraq. Arguments are still ongoing regarding the authenticity of the allegations against Saddams regime. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2003 after the 19<sup>th</sup> March deployment of troops into Iraq the Bush administration believed that the enemy has been over throne this led to the public announcement of the end of the Iraqi military intervention (Torreon, 2012).

Whether or not Saddam and his sons accepted the request of the United States to give up power in Iraq is still an argument that is ongoing, according to the United States the Iraqi administration was been asked to step down from power before the use of force was been initiated in the country. The United Nation Resolution 1441 with resolution 678 to justify military deployment in Iraq. One of the factors according to some scholars that necessitated the use of military force in Iraq was because of Saddam Hussein possession of weapons of mass destruction. The United Nation Security Council accepts the use of force because this stands as a threat to international peace. When understanding the bases of United States decision to forcefully go into Iraq it is important to take into consideration the responsibilities as well as the place of the United States in the United Nation Security Council. The decision of the United States to

intervene in Iraq through the use of force is not in violation of international law (Kurth, 2006).

Before the United States finally decided to deploy troops into Iraq, former American president Bush addressed the United Nations in September 2002 concerning the need to use military force in Iraq. Because of how Iraq according to the United States stands as a serious threat to global peace because Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. These brought up the ad hoc “coalition of the willing” this was a success after the Iraqi Baath party with the Iraqi military was been over thrown this happened within two months after the deployment of troops into Iraq. With this the United State became responsible for the state building in Iraq. Other factors as to why the Iraqi administration acted the way it did as regards the use of force in the country can be said to be on the bases of self-defense because normal consolation and negotiation was not been carried out by the United States before the deployment of troops into the country (Yoo, 2016).

In August 1990, Iraq allegedly invaded Kuwait this according to some scholars justifies the move of the Unites States in Iraq, the efforts that were been initiated by the United Nation Security Council in 1990 in making sure that the global peace was been maintained this was in the call for Iraq to immediately exit its occupation of Kuwait. This was mainly to ensure that resolution 60 was been implemented despite how much effort was been organized to peacefully exit Iraq from the Kuwait territory with the deadline Iraq still refused to peacefully accept the request of the United Nation Security Council (Kurth, 2006).

This made the UN to deploy troops in making sure that Iraq exited Kuwait this mission was called ‘operation desert storm’ in February 1991. During the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait they suspected the use of biological weapons as well as the weapon of mass destruction; this was one of the reasons why the United States took it serious. The Iraqi government was not willing to peacefully step out of power and considering the September 11 pentagon bombings which has instigated so much fear and has disrupted global peace and the status of the

United States as a hegemony most have been the major reason behind the Iraqi 2003 peace building (Yoo, 2016).

### **2.1.1 External factors**

In August 1921, a Hashemite monarchy was introduced into Iraq by Britain because Iraq was carved out of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq actually gain its independence from Britain in 1932. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire of which Iraq used to be a part of it the British took over the leadership of the Mesopotamia, Iraq is centered at the lower and upper of the Mesopotamia the Arabian and the Syrian desert, the first world war (1914) brought the end of the Ottoman rule With the first Sunni appointed king Faisal Ibn Husayn II (1885-1933) (Pollack, 2013).

As the military control was held by the British royal force his son took over power after his death. King Faisal II 1933 until he was overthrown in 1958 which brought about the establishment of a Republic through a coup d'état by Colonel Abdul Salam Arif with the leadership of Brigadier Abdal-Karim Qasim who was later assassinated in February 1963 which brought about the Ba'ath party under the leadership of General Ahmend Hassan Al-Bakr who was the Prime Minister and Colonel Abdul Salam Arif as the President. After his death in a helicopter in April 1966, his brother General Abdul Rahman Arif took over power in 1968 Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr in July 1979 was overthrown and Saddam Hussein became the President and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (1979-2003) (David, 2005).

### **2.1.2 Internal factors**

Iraq with a population of 25 million people of Shiites are the majority in the southern part with a population of 60-65%, followed by the Sunnis in the middle triangle with a population of 32-37% followed by the Kurds in the north with a population of 17% there are other little religious groups like the Assyrians, Jews,

Christians, Mandeans, Turkmens and the Romans. Iraq is centered at the lower and upper of the Mesopotamia the Arabian and the Syrian Desert (Pollack, 2013).

Economically Iraq can be said to be a successful country because it was the second world's largest producers of oil before it was faced by three wars that disrupted its economy the Iraq-Iran, Iraq-Kuwait and the 2003 US/UK. One of the things that affected the economy of Iraq and created more dependence on the UN oil for food program, politically Iraq has experienced a monarchy and an authoritarian regime not until after the 2003 intervention in 2004 when the Interim Government was established (Peri, 2010).

The war in Iraq has been on the forefront internationally for years from the Iran-Iraq to Iraq-Kuwait to the 2003 US/UK intervention in Iraq. It was referred to it as an invasion that has engendered or magnified the Ethnic, Sectarian and Religious animosity that was already underground, the intervention was centered at overthrowing a dictator and establishing democracy where human rights will be respected (Herring, 2006).

The 2003 intervention has been a topic of interest, it officially started in March 19<sup>th</sup> 2003 and was declared a success on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 2003 though it was tagged as an intervention by the US/UK Coalition because Saddam Hussein was suspected to be in position of weapons of mass destruction and he was also accused of violating human rights, so many scholars referred to it as a war of choice they view it to rather be an invasion because it violated international law and not allowing the UN peaceful disarmament inspectors to finish the disarmament process. Other scholars view it as just a way for the two allies to carry out their selfish interest which involved having position of Iraq's oil; the forceful cancellation of the UN Inspectors mission brought about or rather magnified a religious crisis in Iraq (Peri, 2010).

Britain forcing the Sunnis been the second minorities group that have been the ruling class as King Faisal was the first appointed King for over eight decades,

Iraq has been under the leadership of the Sunnis. The Shiites are actually the majority Muslims in Iraq and then finally the Kurds the minority group at the northern part of Iraq. These three groups that have a history of animosity that involved who will succeed the Prophet Muhammad Abu Bakr (Sunni) or Ali (Shiite) were forcefully made to leave together. The fact that this country has been under an authoritarian regime since the Ba'ath party took control in 1968. Though some scholars view this mission of overthrowing a dictator as been successful because the main target of the coalition group was achieved which involved creating a Liberal State, a democratically elected President and the formation of a democratic state (Peri, 2010).

## **2.2 Peace building in Iraq**

The review of UN peace operations known as “Brahimi” made recommendations for strengthening UN’s capacity in peace operations that indicated the instruments to be used. The Report mentioned the elements in peace operations such as the rule of law and respect for human rights, helping to achieve national reconciliation; consolidation of disarmament, demobilization and better integration of electoral assistance into a broader strategy for the support of government institutions. This thesis takes the instruments mentioned in the “Brahimi Report” of the United Nations. These peace building instruments were also differently categorized and used by several authors such as Terrence Lyons and Krishna Kumar “post-conflict elections”, David Chandler “democratization and human rights”, and Jeroen de Zeeuw “governance and security sector reforms” (Pollack, 2013).

The peace building in Iraq is actually different from other countries first of all because Iraq has had several incidences of war from the Iran-Iraq to the Iraq Kuwait later to the recent 2003 US/UK intervention or rather invasion as some scholars call it. The main reason for the intervention was because Saddam Hussein was suspected to be in position of weapons of mass destruction and

also he was also accused of violating human rights, corruption mismanagement of public funds and also to overthrow the authoritarian regime to a liberal state. Iraq was actually the biggest producers of oil as other scholars argue that one of the main reasons behind the intervention was just for a personal and selfish interest by the two allies (oil) also so many scholars argue that the recent sectarian and religious conflict in Iraq was as a result of this intervention as it brought to light so many resentments (Schofield, 2008).

The peace building in Iraq is kind of different compared to other countries that have experienced conflict and wars that involved intervention from either the international community or regional powers? The peace building effort in Iraq was more as an intervention from the US and UK allies with the aim of overthrowing a dictator (Saddam Hussein) that has been accused of been in position of weapons of mass destruction and also he was charged with the violation of human rights the main purpose of this intervention following the September bombings in the US was to save the world from a future reoccurrences and also to bring about a state formation, state building introducing a liberal democracy into Iraq (Peri, 2010).

Although despite the UN Security Council refusal to give a go ahead to the two allies US/UK invasion into Iraq, the two allies insisted with the hope that the intervention would not be much of a struggle but with a continuous resistance politically and economically forced the two allies to call for more involvement from other countries. The UN Security Council issuing of the Security Council Resolution 1483 months after the war the UN assumed little involvement there through the appointment of a special representatives for Iraq by the Secretary General Kofi Annan, few months after the involvement of the UN the UN headquarters in Baghdad was bombed killing 15 staffs and the special representative. This forced the UN to pull out some of its troops (Yildiz, 2006).

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of June 2004 the Security Council Resolution 1546 was adopted unanimously calling for an end to the occupation and the assumption of full responsibility by a fully sovereign and an Interim Government. In February 2004

the US motivated the UN to help create a new Interim Government. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2004 occupation ended by the CPA which transferred limited power to a new Iraqi government led by Prime Minister Iyad Alawi. They also took part in the organization of a democratic election in January 2005 of which on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 2005 Prime Minister Ibrahim Al-Jaafari and President Jalal Talabani assumed power. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2008 the UNSC resolution 1790 extended the mandate of the multinational force in Iraq. NATO involvement in Iraq was basically in the training mission of which 15,000 Iraqi officers were trained that was between 2004 and 2011. In 2012 Iraq and NATO signed an agreement to counter insurgency and terrorist attacks. In 2012 Barrack Obama finally withdrew from Iraq (Crane, 2015).

The United States after the intervention in Iraq a statement by the former President Bush states that, the peace building and the state building in the country will not sidetrack both the majority and the minority groups in the country every citizen of Iraq will have a say in the government. Human rights and the rule of law will not be neglected, Zalmay Khalilzad was in the fore line in the talk for a representative government in the country, this initiative was argued by scholars that it can bring about a peaceful change in the Middle East (Lederach, 2004).

### **2.2.1 Governance reform**

One of the major instruments of peace building is the governance reform, the governance reform involves the different sectors in the country from the government officials to the different government institutions and one of the major areas is the constitution of the country. State building involves restructuring the system and the government. That entails choosing a type of government that is more suitable for the state that is going through major reconstruction should it be a unitary government federal, or a con-federal, parliamentary, presidential, this also involves defining the responsibilities and a governing institution that all the



sectors and the institutions as well as the elected government is answerable to, that is the court of justice (Looney, 2008).

These are all important factors considering is a country that has been under a dictatorship government with little or no understanding of democracy and with no stable political orientation. The need for a constitution makes it important in trying to create a conducive atmosphere for all the groups in the country both the majority and the minorities, this involves having a system that doesn't give more power to one group while the other group feels marginalized by the system, having a government that is dedicated to serving the population rather than violating their rights through the abuse of power (Benomar, 2004).

The announcement in April 2003 by the US department of defense which according to them Saddam Hussein has fallen, meaning that they were now ready to start restructuring the country, this led to the introduction of a Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) which was later taken out in June 2004 and power was given to the Iraqi interim government. The United States state department continued with its objective of reconstructing the state its political institutions, different institutions and sectors, the economy, making better plans in establishing infrastructures, and most importantly eradicating injustice and establishing a democratic state (Benomar, 2004).

One method which can be said to have been more inclusive is creating an atmosphere where the citizens from different levels can get involved in the rebuilding of the government sector one method that was been implemented with the aim of taking government to the grass roots was the Local Government Project (LGP), this initiative was been organized by the United States Agency for international development, the LGP was aimed at creating an atmosphere for civil societies participation from the local level so as to help in creating good governance while other groups that were been organized like the USAID and the CPA were more concerned about the transition of government in the country which involved the organization of general elections (Roth, 2004).

The LGP was aimed at creating an avenue for citizens from the local level to benefit from the state and citizens from the local levels could get involved and participate in the political decision making in the country, state social amenities will not only be relegated to only few groups in the society and also to increase the participation of civil societies in the country this in a way was aimed at reducing corruption and making the government more transparent and accountable to the population (Brinker et al, 2005).

Other areas of the LGP involved educating and training individuals that will be involve in working in this sector under the LGP there will be local councils, municipal and the LGP will be working with the central authority, small business and infrastructural companies will be receiving assistance from the government so as to encourage their participation in the state reconstruction, the LGP stands as a model which encourages democracy which was going to help in the building of a democratic Iraq. Some of the areas that seem more important is the United Nations funding facility for immediate stabilization (FFIS) this worked on the organizing of the public service sector so that work could be resumed on time, this included the establishment of eight health centers, five water facilities, seven schools and three electrical infrastructures this was in 2016. Both the local and the private sectors were organized though have different responsibilities but they were in a way compactable (Pollack, 2013).

In the governance reform in Iraq right after the intervention by the United States and its allies Paul Bremer was been sent to Iraq by the United States on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 2003 mainly to serve as the head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, from the year 1979 up until the United States intervention the country has been under the leadership of a dictator. After the Coalition Provisional Authority the system introduced a power sharing system between the major ethnic groups in the country the Shi'a Sunni, Kurds. The CPA was in control of the Judicial, Legislative and the Executive organs of the government. The various institutions were been reconstructed by the CPA. The CPA didn't have much control over

the officials that have been sent to Iraq for administrative reasons mostly because of the military (Saikal, 2010).

Because most of the Iraqi officials and administrators left their work posts, the CPA was able to have access to funds which was supposed to help in the peace building process. Other issues as regarding the United States occupation of Iraq made some of the neighboring countries to Iraq more on alert, with the fear that the United States might try to occupy their territories. With the understanding that both the United States and the United Kingdom acted independently, without the knowledge and the permission of the United Nations Security Council (Saikal, 2010).

When the whole intervention was going out of hand because it didn't go the way the planned it, they started looking for support on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 2003 the intervention was been accepted by the United Nations Security Council. In the February of 2004 the US motivated the UN to help create a new Interim Government on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2004 occupation was ended by the CPA which transferred limited power to a new Iraqi government led by Prime Minister Dyad Alawi. They also took part in the organization of a democratic election in January 2005 of which on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 2005 Prime Minister Ibrahim Al-Safari and President Jalal Taliban assumed power (Herring, 2006)

The government reform in a post-conflict country like Iraq demanded different and a sensitive instrument, this instrument is important knowing that the main objective of the United States was not only to get rid of a dictator but it was mainly aimed at building a state and one of the major area that involves that is the reformation of the government sector. In the case of Iraq it can't be argued that there was a government system but it was just been ran with a different mindset different from the liberal democracy which was the main aim of the United States (Pollack, 2013).

Having a reformation in the government sector demands infrastructures now was letting go the government officials a good plan? One of the important things

is not the offices or the people working in the government establishment but has to do with the minds of the people. The establishment of the government reform would have yield better if it was done gradually education would have worked better in Iraq working on the mindset of the public workers. The population of Iraq had little or no political orientation they needed explanation concerning the major changes that was taking place instead of rushing things and believing that it would work in a very short period of time (Pollack, 2013).

In better evaluating the government reform in Iraq it is important to have an understand of what good governance means according to the United Nations Development Program good governance “the proper functioning of institutions and their acceptance by the public” good governance can be how the government properly represents and provides the population with what they need looking at the government that has been built in Iraq is very clear that there is still no connection between the government and the citizens because the gap between the elites and the citizens have not been eradicated, institutions have been built even with the presence of the local councils and the municipal which is aimed at bringing the government closer to the masses, there is still a major gap and this dissatisfaction from the Iraqi citizens can be said to be one of the reasons why terrorism has become a major form of livelihood for some of the citizens because of the rate at which corruption is rising (Herring, 2008).

The people are not been provided with the basic needs and services such as good hospitals, transport systems, clean water, basic education etc. the government that was established in the country was based on the quota system (Muhassasa) the politics in Iraq was more of an identity base politics most of the leadership in the country were been headed by the Kurd, Sunni, Shiite another factor that shows that representation from the population and shows the gap between the government and the citizens is the way power is been exchanged between the same set of people just that the same people change seats and positions with time. The presence of sectarian conflict and ethnic conflict shows that the government that has been established through the major reforms that

have been done was a failure. The sectarian conflict and terrorist organizations is a major reason behind the failed state but the government reform prepared unconsciously a place for the state to be failed through the continuous conflict and terrorist attacks (Pollack, 2013).

### **2.2.2 Security sector reform**

The Iraqi security sector was one of the sectors that needed to be rebuilt from the scratch this involved the de'Bathification of the country mainly because of the mind set the occupation government believed the security sector was having because of the past regime and how the country has been governed over the years. One of the reasons is based on the sector understanding of what security is. Although some scholars believe that although the state building in Iraq and all the sectors were rebuilt from the scratch and none of them have been a success. Some of the factors that played a role in not making this sector as strong as expected was the inability to have good leadership, some of the policies of the United States were not good, the presences of militia groups as well as some other internal politicians in the country (Harrison, 2010).

Some of the questions that needed to be asked are how dose reinstated and building from the ground a new security sector affects the socio-economic and political direction of the state? Whether or not the United States was unable to keep up to the desired expectation and the future of the security sector in Iraq is still questioned and will the lack of good security lead the country into division and no longer known as one Iraq but get divided into two different states? (Salih, 2014).

From the year 2003 to 2005 Iraqi was recorded as one of the most violent country in the world because of how the topic of security was greatly lacking in the country, so many conflicts and insurgencies as well as the continuous presence of terrorist organizations in the country. The department for international development (DFID) define security reform as “ *the complete*

*transformation of the security sector which includes all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions, so that it is managed and operated in manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance, and thus contributes to a well-functioning security framework”* the security sector for it to be successful it must possess traits of accountability this helps to reduce the risk of conflict in the state and it is impossible for a state to develop all the other sectors in the state if the security sector is not functioning appropriately (Harrison, 2010).

One of the tools that was been used during the reformation of the security sector in Iraq involved totally removing the forces that were operating during the Saddam Hussein government, according to the CPA government letting the same army to continue can disrupt the state building process because letting the army that was working under the dictator regime the fear that the forces was still loyal to the Iraqi regime and keeping them is keeping a dangerous snake that might end up biting and turning against them at the end of the day (Salih, 2014).

The refusal to work with the Iraqi army during the state building most have aided in the failure but on the other hand it is important to understand the mindset of the military as well as their loyalty. The CPA decision cannot be considered as unprofessional considering how long the military has been functioning the way it was functioning but from another perspective the state building through the reformation of the security sectors was not well planned because the United States didn't deployed enough troops that will be able to fill in the space that has been left void by the absences of the Iraqi army (Dobbins, 2003).

The CPA was in hast to recruit new military personal by just allowing anybody to become part of the army without the understanding or neglecting the fact that it will take a long time to trained and have the desired output. The Iraqi army is connected to the Iraqi ministry of defense the whole army was handed over in 2006 to the Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri Al-Maliki who was also the commander in chief of the arm forces, been the head over the Military helped out in the making

of major reforms in the country and appointing military aids that were directly loyal to him and to his government (Salih, 2014).

Several attempts as much as efforts were been made by the peace building effort to establish the security in Iraq by training and recruiting the military as well as the police force, the former New York police chief Bernard Kerik was supposed to be in charge of the recruiting and the training of the police force in Iraq, he rather was more busy in the maintaining of peace in Baghdad rather than doing his assigned assignment. Months later Bernard went back to the United States the responsibility was later transferred to Clayton McManaway towards the ending of 2003 he was able to organize and start training a large number of Iraqi police officers (Dodge, 2005)

There has been an argument on the reasons by the security reform was been taken serious, because terrorist activities became more severe and serious in the country. And there was a realization that there was a need for extra troops to take part in the maintenance of peace in the country and the better way is by establishing the security in the country known as the Iraqi civil defense corps. The military of the United States was later in control and under the obligation of training both the Iraqi police and the military force in 2004 (Collins, 2008).

The Coalition Provisional Authority in the year 2004 was able to introduce and the train the national security institutions known as the ministerial committee on national security under the direction of PM Ayad Allawi, there was a restructuring of the Iraqi military by the CPA because of the majority of the military leadership was head by the Baath meaning that the former administration mindset was still in play and the better way of having a better military force is by restarting by recruiting new military force In the Kurdistan region the military force known as the Peshmarga were been given the responsibility of maintaining peace, law and other in the Kurdish region one of its key responsibilities is fighting against the increasing rise in insurgency and terrorist activities in the country with the financial support of the United States (Dodge, 2005).

The year 2017 in the Iraqi security there has been an increase and improvement in the security sector of the state after the Iraqi military was able to have victory over ISIS. Abadi made a speech thanking all the security forces: the police, armed forces, mobilization forces, the agency in charge of countering terrorism in the country, the Iraq air force, the aviation forces, Peshmerga. These shows that the country over the years after the 2003 intervention after the United States exited the country, the country has been able to set up a security sector that was able to fight against one of the strongest terrorist organization known as ISIS (Dodge, 2005).

The security sector there is the engineering, medicals and also those in charge of handling the logistics. The country has over the years been able to create a military system that is organized and each of the military and security sector is accountable to the ministry in charge of the defense of the country and the ministry of defense is answerable and accountable to the prime minister. There is the Shia Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) and this military group possesses the same power as the Iraqi military (Palley, 2015).

The United States even after exiting the Iraqi territory it still render support to the peshmerga and the popular mobilization of forces (PMF) this support is in training the forces, and in the provision of financial support, with the understanding that the fight against terrorism in Iraq is something that is unending. The different military groups although they tend to have disagreement because of their different political ideologies, as Sadrist is against the PMF he believes that the military of the country should be integrated as one. Countries like Denmark have pledged to contribute to the security reform in Iraq under the directions and the supervision of the United Nations Development program (UNDP) (Palley, 2015).

The total amount of 4 million United States dollars, the UNDP has on its own working on improving the Iraqi security sector by partnering with all the major security sectors as well as the high judicial and the ministry of justice. Some of the projects are basically to help reach other societies that are isolated in trying



to train police which will enhance the relationship between the forces and the population at the local level, because most terrorist groups tend to easily penetrate areas that seem not to be reached by the government forces. The Danish national police is collaborating with the Iraqi security sector this has been ongoing since 2015 (Palley, 2015).

### **2.2.3 Post Conflict Reform**

Although an interim government was been established by the CPA the first general election was been held in 2005, the reasons behind the post conflict election was to establish a government through a democratic means, letting the citizens of Iraq to participate in the selection of their leaders, the election was successful but because of the terrorist threat by the Musab-Alzarqaw group, the Iraqi constitution was later revisited in the October of 2005 through what is referred to as a referendum (Herring, 2006).

Because of how the terrorist activities in the country was a trait to the civilians there was a low voters turnout for the election in 2005 with less participation from the Sunnis but the 2009 elections was more opened and there was a high number in the participation level from all the ethnic groups in the country this in a way showed how the post conflict elections its yielding and growing in the country (Herring, 2006).

Looking at the different parliamentary elections from the year 2003 as much as the elections are been organized yet the winners of the elections still need get to assume their positions as prime minister an example is in the 2005 elections where Ibrahim al-Jaafari representing the Dawa party won the election but was been partitioned by Nouri al-Maliki which happened to be from the same political party as him same thing happened in the year 2010 Ayad Allawi was declared the winner of the elections but still couldn't assume the position this brought about Maliki to be reelected into office (Herring, 2006)

Maliki also won the election in 2014 but because of the presence of ISIS activities in the country Haider al-Abadi assume was chosen. Dawa political party is the largest Shia political party, in the year 2014 92 out of 328 was been won by this political party against the Sadrist al-Ahrar political party which got 39 of the seats while Ammar al-Hakim al-Muwatin party won 29 of the seats. The Dawa party was been established in the year 1950 but became more prominent and recognized after the 2003 Iraqi intervention, it has been recorded that all of the prime ministers are from the Dawa political party, prime ministers like Ibrahim al-Jaafari who won the 2005 elections, Nouri al-Maliki in office from the year 2006-2014 and finally Haider al-Abadi from the year 2014 (Palley, 2015).

Other political parties like the Islamic supreme council of Iraq (ISCI) this political party have been in Iraq for years from the year 1982, the ISCI was expected to be one of the strongest and influential political party after the 2003 Iraqi intervention but because of its affiliation to some political parties in Iran the political party was not influential as it was expected to be, due to this reason in the year 2007 the political party changed its name to Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, in the 2014 elections ISCI participated in the elections, in the 2017 elections didn't perform well in the elections, other parties like the National Wisdom Trend led by Ammar al-Hakim who was part of the ISCI but left the political party to form its own party. After the United States exited Iraq a nationalist organization led by Asaib ahl-al-Haq became interest in participating in the politics in Iraq he was part of the Sadrist and Abadi party (Palley, 2015).

The electoral reform was stressed in 2014 on the number of threshold that is required to win a seat and also including that when the number of threshold has been agreed on and when a candidate exceeds that number by the votes, the votes that exceeds can be given to either individuals or other parties running for the same seat, at the same time when a candidate that is running for the seat fails to win the votes will be given to other candidates running for the same seat. So many MPs due to this reform failed to win the election because of the threshold that they couldn't get. With this electoral reform which was

implemented in the year 2014 Maliki was able to win the election and there was a gap between his party and other opposition parties (Fox, 2017).

Sadrists protested against the electoral reform explaining that in the election of the MP as well as other elections the Maliki bloc is dominating and controlling the parliament, this is in looking at what makes up a constituency because most of the MPs are representatives each a province where they are from which can be said to be a single constituency. This made it difficult for other constituencies to be properly represented and the protest was calling for the creation of more representatives as well as more constituencies, with all the protest that was done the electoral system was still not amended (Badie, 2010).

The post conflict reform over the years from the United States intervention in 2003 there is an evident progression in the political activities of the country this has to do with the establishment of a government through general elections so as to encourage and install public participation and involving the citizens of Iraq in the government of the country. The post conflict reform involves the organization of elections in the governance reform the government divided the country into different groups which involved the creation of local councils and municipal this was aimed at bringing the government closer to the people it can be said that over the years from the year 2003 one political party has been more dominant this can be argued to be because of the electoral reform although the rise of corruption in the country is alarming (Fox, 2017).

From the 2003 intervention there has been an improvement in the political participation as well as representation although power is been held by few elites group. What was not known in the country as a periodic election is now ongoing meaning that even if the system is not perfect the instrument of post conflict reform has been successful in the country because of the interest of the citizens to participate not only in the periodic elections but also as candidates. The presence of corruption in the system is just like every other country the electoral system as well as the medium through which it was been initiated and

introduced in the country may have not been as perfect as it should have been but the Iraqi state is now fully ran by the Iraqis themselves (Malkaisian, 2016).

#### **2.2.4 Human Rights**

During the peace building process in Iraq various groups were been organized and established by the United Nations Security Council one of which is an institute in charge with the maintain ace of human right National Institute for Human Rights (NIHR) mainly sensitizes the public's on the importance of human right and also making out researches on better ways of handling the human rights affairs in Iraq which involves humanitarian aids and also the proper management of the conflict in Iraq (Malkaisian, 2016).

So many organizations have come about in the ability to reconstruct the Iraqi state some of these organizations are: Al Messalla this organization it's into human rights related affairs which has to do with building of capacity of the Iraqi population that have been affected by the intervention and the conflict that has been going on in Iraq in other to facilitate and reduce conflict and violence, also the women leadership institute encourages the importance of women in the peace building process in Iraq by encouraging women to get involved and participate in the initiative Other groups engage in gender related issues in the course of the peace building process founded in the year 2007 Al Rafidain Peace Organization have been helpful in the human rights gender issues (Herring, 2006).

Women are mostly vulnerable in conflicts and in the case of Iraq so many women have been victims of rape and have lost children as well as husbands organizations like the Baghdad Women Association (BWA) have been established by the united nations for women that have been affected by the war, this initiative involves empowering them both physically and emotionally (Herring, 2006).

A major area that has been strengthened is the participation of women in the political affairs of the country with the understanding of the important role that can be played by women in the rebuilding of a country that has been torn by war. Women have been given the opportunity to vote with having 30% of the MPs as it has been reported in the year 2005 while in the Kurdish region prior to the 2009 election there has been a 30% rise in this number. Also to some extent the media has grown to have a certain level of freedom in the country (Harrison, 2010).

Although report has shown that Iraq is one of the countries in the world that have had high level of death rate of civilians from the year 1990 to the year 2015 more than 300 journalists have lost their lives in the country. The human right aspect has been in a way a failure and more needs to be done for it to be corrected the violence on women is still happening, women and children are still not been protected, the court that has been established to take care of issues like this is not living up to its expectation no proper hearings are been done before execution (Pughm et al, 2008).

In the year 2018 an estimated number of 1.8 million Iraqi population were still displace and some of the human right violation in 2018 is still committed by the security that are supposed to maintain law and order and hinder the violations of human rights. It is recorded that there is the absence of fair trial from the institutions that are responsible for that in areas that use to be dominated by terrorist organizations people from there are been ill-treated and not tried appropriately and anybody that has a family member that supports or is part of a terrorist organization are been treated badly (Harrison, 2010).

The freedom of expression is still an area that needs to be looked into in Iraq, the violation of women's rights, and the death penalty without trial is something that needs to be looked into. The Iraqi government has not been able to state that some of the war crimes that have been perpetrated by some of the terrorist organizations, the Iraqi government is supposed to include it as a war crime in the Iraqi war because of the way the terrorist organizations have been killing

both civilians and targeted armed forces which under the international laws these are war crimes and can be said to be a form of genocide (Malkaisian, 2016).

Suspects alleged to be terrorist or affiliated to terrorist organizations are not been tried as it's supposed to because they get arrest without a warrant for arrest and the measures that are been used are against human rights because they get detained for months without given the opportunity to go before the law as required and during a protest by the civil workers in Kurdistan most of the protested were been arrested and detained because they were protesting against their unpaid salaries by the government (Malkaisan, 2016).

Some of the suspects that were apprehended the military forces were not adhering to the Iraqi law that says that any person arrested needs to go be before the judge within the next 24 hours but on the contrary people are been arrested and detained in custody for moths with torturing. Violence against women is something that is still not taken with severe seriousness one of which is the domestic violence, although the Iraqi laws incriminates assaults and violence, and at the same time article 398 still says that in cases where the person accused is married to the person the case should be dropped (Malkaisian, 2016).

### **2.2.5 Return of Refugees**

So many factors contributed to the return of refugees this can be security, socio-economic factors, some of this can be related to the homes of the refugees been destroyed some of this played a role to whether the refugees will return or not UNISAT recorded that over 7,500 homes were been destroyed as a result of the intervention. The presence of military forces in the country in a way prevented some of the refugees from returning back an example is refugees at the Iraq-Syria border, Kirkuk, and other parts of Iraq the presence of army forces served as a hindrance to them coming back to their homes (Looney, 2008).

Other groups in the country which are mostly the minority groups with the presence of terrorist organizations in the country were afraid to come back to the country this is related to the uncertainty they have as regards to their safety because of the lapses in the Iraqi government to ensure their safety when they return, some of these minority groups are the Christians, Yazidi and Shabak. Most of the refugees in the safe heavens as well as those that have found shelter outside of the Iraqi territory required aid from the government in the form of cash (Looney, 2006).

But most of them were more concerned about their capacity to adapt to the new government and situation in the country with the uncertainties they demand for jobs opportunities which can help them to establish themselves when they return. Another important demand by the refugees is the security in terms of the refugees coming back to Iraq with something for them to do that will support them and their families and one of the challenges that served as a hindrance was the continuous presence of terrorist organizations as well as the sectarian conflict that was ongoing (De torrente, 2018).

There has been a high level of refugees from Iraq some were able to find refuge in some of the regional countries while others in other countries outside of the Middle East, there has been a total number of 1.8 million refugees but there is still the possibility that the number is more than this both internally and externally. Research also indicated that more than 80 people are being displaced on a daily basis in Iraq, from the year 2003 over 1.5 million just in that same year, although the UNHCR with the aid of some international organizations and some NGOs in Iraq tried their possible best in making sure that some of the displaced Iraqis were being brought back home but it was quite a failed effort because of how terrorist activities have been escalating in the country but rather safe heavens as well as IDP camps have been organized by the international community and the number of people in the camps and in the safe heavens have been on the rise daily (Pughm et al, 2008).

Immediately after the intervention the UN refugee agency were making plans for does that have been displaced by the 2003 intervention to willingly come back to the country but that can only be possible if the country was safe enough it terms of how they will be able to survive both economic and military security. The UNHCR have undoubtedly expressed how difficult it was to trying to bring back does that have been displaced outside of Iraq to come back considering the security status of the country, over 500,000 Iraqi were been expected to return back to the country, the financial support of \$30 million an estimated amount of over \$118 million was said to be needed for the plan to be effective considering the fact that most of the people displaced have lost their homes and on coming back the need to have something to rely on as a source of livelihood. Some of the plans that was been organized included a shelter, protection, transportation of the returnees (De torrente, 2018).

As of 2003 the estimation of 212,000 refugees outside of the Iraqi territory and over 202,000 were mainly in Iran out of the estimate total of 500,000 refugees they expected 165,000 of the refugees to return home while 165,000 refugees were in European countries. Better arrangements were been organized by the UNHCR for over 35,000 people. Other Iraqi that seek for asylum outside of Iraq are estimated to be 84,000 while others living in related situation in Jordan and Syria is about 240,000. Aside from the ones that are refugees in other countries there are the ones that are internally displaced within the Iraqi territory (De torrente, 2018).

### **2.2.6 Empowering Civil Societies**

The peace building in Iraq has been able to open up and increase the participation of civil societies in the country, more than 12.000 civil societies have been registered in the country with NGOS owned by Iraqis as well as other international organizations, the Coalition Provision Authority has played a very important role in the year 2003 in making sure that doors are been opened for



the civil society to have a say in the peace building process with the aim that it will regulate violence in the country and enhance cooperation with the international community in the peace building process and for the civil societies to work hand in hand with the government (Roth, 2004).

Some of the civil societies included the world vision organization with the aim of handling human rights related issues and also with educating young youths on peace dialogues and the implications of terrorist activities because unemployed youths are been targeted and recruited by terrorist groups. the Un ponte per maintaining in charge of educating people on the importance of participating and working with the civil societies and making talks on the need for reconciliation. Basra Network for Peace and Development, Mennonites central committee etc (Pughm et al, 2008).

As much policies have been organized to enhance the participation of civil societies their presence is still marginalized, other aspects of the civil society as to some of the challenges been encountered is in the division among the civil societies in Iraq. The European union in trying to increase the participation of civil societies in to the government activities it explains that most at times in post conflict building and state building more emphasizes are putting to the building of institutions and the important actor that can help in the reconciliation process is been marginalized when is the place of the civil society in peace building and state building using Iraq as an important example (Malkasian, 2016).

The European Union introduced the civil society strategy in Iraq, believing that the civil society has an important role to play when it comes to the domestic security of the country, different human right organizations, minority organizations, gender organizations, the different departments in the country participated in it. This was aimed at looking at the different challenges that are been encountered by civil societies in the country when it comes to relating with each other and also the international community (Rynnings, 2003).

The involvement of civil societies and their visibility in Iraq is still questionable but compared to Saddam's administration there is an increase in participation and freedom. The country is still undergoing major state building as the different sectors in the country are still under construction. Just like any other country even in countries that haven't experienced dictatorship or a kind of government the freedom and participation of the civil society is still questioned. It is important to note that for the civil society in Iraq to grow to a certain level it will require time and also the government needs to play its role by encouraging more and more civil societies in the country, external civil societies are participation in the country (Malkasian, 2016).

The instruments of peace building were successfully designed and implemented. Although there were lapses when it came to planning because of the desire to quickly create a political structure and reconstruct the state which contributed to the limited success of the peace building in Iraq. Having the objective of just building a state without considering and preparing for challenges played a role in the failed state in Iraq. It is important to note that it was because of the 2003 peace building that brought about a periodic election, democratic institutions, rule of law etc although most of the structures and the institutions that were been built have issues, this shows that there is no perfect state and at the same time the international community must look at the case of Iraq to better its instruments of peace building as well as methods of implementation.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE AFTERMATH OF THE PEACE BUILDING IN IRAQ: MAIN OBSTACLES**

This chapter focuses on the aftermath of the peace building in Iraq by exploring some of the main obstacles behind the peace building in Iraq which are: lack of security and terrorism, sectarianism and religious conflict, and economic problems.

#### **3.1 Lack of security and terrorism**

The interim government was been established by the United Nations there have been so many stories of the peacekeeping troops that were been sent to maintain peace violating civilians one of the serious cases that happened was the rape of a 13 years old girl by some of the United States troops and the killing of her family. Another factor that contributed to the failure of the policy against terrorism is related to the inability to have a government with stable government institutions (Harrison, 2010).

After the occupation of Iraq the existing government was eradicated which means that no stable government was present at the moment apart from the provision government provided by the United States and understanding this factor from a nationalistic perspective which has to do with the external and the

internal there will be a quest for leadership which includes selfish interest and also greed possessing government funds for personal use, this open up doors for insurgency to flow as well as increase the rate of crimes in the country. When there is a rise in crime which makes life unbearable for the population people see the government as a failure that unable to ensure their security and they will turn to individuals, groups, religious leaders as well as political actors or leaders that seem capable to ensure their security and safety (Hummington, 2010).

In New man's article on the causes of terrorism he mentioned that terrorism has a trait of bitterness in it one of the things that instigate terrorism is the gap between the rich and the poor in the society and the way the government is treating the people. Taking the power from the supposed minorities to the majority group is also a problem. Proportional representation which has shown signs of failure over the years in Iraq, the sectarian conflicts in Iraq explains why the country is divided. Right from when the intervention started in 2003 the country has been faced with so much violence amongst different groups in the country from the attacks on the Shiite shrines to the kidnapping of the Sunnis, as much as institutions were been build it hasn't stopped the conflicts in the country (Higashi, 2009).

In 2006 to 2008 the country has experienced a civil war that claimed so many lives, rendered many homeless, increased the poverty rate, unemployment, Over 3000 people were killed in the civil war, as much as the peace building efforts in Iraq was not targeted to only Iraq but it was seen as a way of further enhancing the global peace according to former united states president George Bush the creation of two separate government known as the Iraqi Kurdistan's which brought about the Baghdad and the Erbil which has increased more tension when it comes to the sales of the petrol without the knowledge of the government. This instigated more explosions and bombings in the country and increased terrorist activities and made livelihood difficult for the citizens of Iraq, the bombings targeted all important areas in Baghdad meaning that targeting

the social and the political domains in Iraq mostly by the Ahrimans Islamic state these extremist group was controlling almost 3 third of the countries territory over a very short period of time (Badie, 2010).

It has been years after the Iraqi intervention but the country has been argued by so many scholars to be a failed state, the 2003 intervention according to George Bush the former US president (2003) was supposed to serve as an example for countries in the Middle East meaning that at the end of the intervention the country will be operating under a stable democracy with a stable political system and countries in the Middle East will learn from Iraq. The current reoccurrences in terms of terrorism and instability in government and the political institutions brings up questions on how effective were the measures or policies implemented in Iraq because of how it has spiraled up a failed state (Badie, 2010).

One of the reasons behind the failed state have been argued by some scholars to have been the use of force by the United States in Iraq which includes disbanding the Iraqi Army, excluding the governing elites in the country, removing the Ba'ath party. Major roles has been played by some of the neighboring countries like Iran and Syria in eliminating the Saddams administration, the disbandment of the Ba'ath party which was with the estimated number of 30,000 and also the relinquishing of the Iraqi army 350,000 in number engendered an anger against the United States occupation (Harrison, 2010).

According to them the Americans drove them to unemployment without a means for them to sustain themselves and their families. Some scholars argue that one of the reasons behind the relinquishment of the Iraqi army by the United States was because the United States were trying to effective build up all the sectors from the scratch and letting the participation of the Iraqi army might affect its objective of state building (Dodge, 2013).

Several attempts as much as efforts were been made by the peace building effort to establish the security in Iraq by training and recruiting the military as well as the police force, the former New York police chief Bernard Kerik was supposed to be in charge of the recruiting and the training of the police force in Iraq, he rather was more busy in the maintaining of peace in Baghdad rather than doing his assigned assignment. Months later Bernard went back to the United States the responsibility was later transferred to Clayton McManaway towards the ending of 2003 he was able to organize and start training a large number of Iraqi police officers (Dodge, 2013).

There have been arguments on the reasons why the security reform was not well implemented, because of the rise in terrorist activities became more severe and serious in the country. There was a need for extra troops to take part in the maintenance of peace in the country; the better way is by establishing the Iraqi civil defense corps (Dodge, 2013).

The 2003 military intervention has increased terrorist activities in Iraq one of which is the de Ba'athification of Iraq this made the Ba'athists to bring up unrest in the quest to come back to power and eliminate the foreign occupation, in 2011 the united states decided to withdraw their soldiers from the Iraqi territory this became a major problem for the Iraqi government as well as the military, the military has not received enough training to be able to properly withstand the terrorist groups and safe guard the civilians this gave rise to some of the militants group that have been silenced to become a trait to the Nouri al-Maliki administration, some of these groups included the Takfiri, and the Ba'ath party (Foyle, 2004).

With the 2009 elections, the united states withdrew its troops from the Iraqi territory some scholars argue that as much the peace building process in the country seemed like it was a success because after the death of the Zargawi this brought up support from the awakening councils for national reconciliation

and the terrorist organization were calmed this brought a reduction in the terrorist activities in the country, in the year 2011 the terrorist activities in the country was an alarm this in a way signaled that the state building was a complete failure. This can be seen in the lack of skills as well as the adequate technology, strategies and techniques to contain the terrorist activities in the country by the country's military which can be said to be incompetent (Foyle, 200).

One of the cases is how the some of the members of Al Qaeda were able to escape from the Abu Ghraid and Taji prisons in 2013 they were over 2,000 in number this prisons are they major prisons in the country not far from the Iraqi capital, this brings up the question of how can a military like this be able to stand up and maintain the security of the country and also shows how well skilled the terrorist organizations are. One of the most difficult things according to scholars to do is to define the concept of terrorism, up until date there is no general and universal definition of terrorism. Which is the basis for the joint and coordinated action of governments and international organizations? Perhaps for this reason, there is still no understanding and insight on the global elements of terrorism (Foyle, 2004).

On the one hand, it seems that one of the reasons why terrorism is not defined as a comprehensive and unstated barrier is to make a commitment, and countries do not want to commit themselves under any responsibility beyond their national interests in combating terrorism. Some governments are reluctant to cooperate against international terrorism due to their national security concerns. They leave the terror sources alone, fearing that they will be victims and targets terrorist attacks. Therefore, there has not been any universal and unanimous definition of this emergence so far (Qaderi & Roohollah, 2011).

The reasons why the international community finds it difficult to fight the activities of terrorist organizations is because of how states decide to fight terrorism on personal bases one of the reasons behind these decisions is based on the fear of attracting terrorism into their territory. States focus more on their

internal security rather than external security by this they make out policies that will only stand and support their own interest, this plays an important role in the reason why defining the term seems difficult because each state, organization as well as an individual has a different perspective and definition of what the term is that is why states internally make out their own policies independently based on their own understanding of what terrorism is and is not (Roth, 2004).

Al-Qaeda's political ideology in Iraq is rooted in the Islamic discourse among the Sunnis that has been formed over the past three decades and has been named after the jihadist Salafism. The main goal in Salafi's thinking is to purify the religion from the common thoughts. According to the Salafis, these thoughts have come to Islam in the course of time, and they have caused divine punishments. The need to remove polytheism from the body of Islam is a return to the principle of monotheism, as it was posited by the Prophet of God and in the Qur'an. In their view, the great examples of Shirk Akbar are the worship of idols, and the holiest of some people. They regard the Shiites in particular as idolaters, apostate peoples, and religionists because of what they regard as excessive respect for the people of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Another group of Muslims who, according to jihadist Salafis, have been infected with polytheism are proponents of democracy. They consider this group to be idolatrous for violating the sovereignty of the religion. This aspect of monotheism has been raised by thinkers like Seyyed Qutb and Abu'l-Al-Mawoodi, saying that as creator of the universe, only the God who can declare in law what rights and vices are. Thus, from the viewpoint of the jihadist Salafis, any state who rejects the sovereignty of God must be an apostate. Another point to be noted is that, while other Salafists have a very strict process for declaring Takfir, jihadi Salafis have set very high standards in this regard. They believe that "anyone who speaks a word or performs a practice that indicates blasphemy is considered to be an apostasy for this word or act, even if he does not intend to achieve her apostasy in this way." (Palley, 2015).



The principle of Alwali and al-Barra, which is a relatively recent transformation in the Sunni Islamic thought, was initially considered the head of the Hanbali religion in religion. But with the advent of Sunni scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah in the 13th century, the holy Quran has become one of the basic principles of the thinking of the Salafist jihadists. The interpretation of Holy Quran from al-Wali and al-Barra brings about a relationship between the pilgrimage and monotheism, which "condemns the political leaders of Islamic countries to the duty of the Muslims who do not escape from them." Instead of declaring loyalty to them, Moghadasi emphasizes that Muslims are obliged, because of the principles of their religion, to denounce their political leaders who have no practical commitment to Islam (Shariati & Shahrooz, 2015).

After the fall of Saddam, al-Qaeda has become Iraq's most important and bloodiest Sunni militant group in Iraq. This group, which originated directly from al-Qaeda and called itself al-Qaeda in Iraq, was led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an originator of Jordan. Zarqawi was killed in the 2006 US Air Operations in Iraq. In 2013, the group changed its name to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and in 2014 its name was called the Islamic State, and its leadership, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, called himself a Muslim caliph and published a map of his caliphate. The CIA began its ISIS work early on, estimated that the terrorist group had succeeded in gathering 20 to 30 thousand militants. Since 2013, the terrorist group has continued its operations in Iraq and managed to take control of parts of Iraq. In this regard, the group has brought a lot of material and spiritual damage to Iraq, and has lost hundreds of thousands of defenseless citizens, apart from the devastation that has been left (Weiss et al, 2005).

Some members of militant groups are composed of members of the Ba'ath Party or the military of this period of Iraq. Some of these groups have maintained their independence, but mostly have close ties with ISIL. These include the Revolutionary Brigade of 1920, the Islamic Army of Iraq, and most notably Naqshbandi. Naqshbandi was formed in Ninawa province, and then it became one of the most bloodthirsty militant groups in Iraq, alongside ISIL. In mid-2012,

the group conducted deadly attacks against the base of US forces in northern Iraq. Naqshbandi are under the leadership of Ezat al-Duri, a former Saddam Hussein (Karimi & Sahar, 2015).

The Naqshabandi Order is also known by its Arabic acronym “JRTN”. The JRTN, based primarily in Nineveh Province, has been designated by the United States as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). The groups in this organization disagree with the Islamic State’s ideology but apparently support it as a Sunni organization opposed to the Iraqi government. The JRTN attacks on U.S. facilities in northern Iraq apparently contributed to the State Department decision to close the Kirkuk consulate. In February 2013 Sunnis linked to the JRTN circulated praise for the protests from the highest-ranking Saddam regime figure still at large, Izzat Ibrahim al Duri (Malkasian, 2016).

He reportedly issued anti-Iraq government statements during the course of the 2014 Islamic State. Iraqi officials claim that they have killed Duri during a battle in northern Iraq in early May 2015, but that claim still awaits confirmation. Some JRTN ex-Saddam military officers operate under a separate structure called the “General Military Council for Iraqi Revolutionaries,” which includes Sunni tribal fighters and other ex-insurgent figures. Some of these ex-military officers reportedly are helping the Islamic State by providing tactical and strategic military planning (Malkasian, 2016).

Jaish al-Mahdi was formed in 2003 by Muqtada al-Sadr, who is known as a nationalist cleric, to combat the presence of Americans in Iraq. Muqtada Sadr was the opposition to Nouri al-Maliki, and in 2012 was one of the politicians who were trying to impeach him. However, Muqtada al-Sadr declared on the eve of 2014 parliamentary elections that he would withdraw himself from the political arena. But his party members continued to work in the cabinet (Malkasian, 2016).

The military wing of the group continued to operate until the withdrawal of the US forces, but in 2011, Muqtada al-Sadr issued a decree ordering the end of

Jaish Al-Mahdi's operation, now called "Lava al-'um al-Mamoud". This group received weapons under the name of Sariyas-al-Islam (peace blocs) very soon after ISIL emerged and Ayatollah Sistani issued a decree of jihad against ISIL. The Sariyah-al-Salam group first announced its goal of protecting the mosques and sacred places of Shiites and Sunni Iraqis, but later participated in various operations in areas such as Samarra, Diyala, Amrli and Jurf al-Sahr. (Abdokhodai & Mojtaba 2015).

Sadr is considered an Iraqi "nationalist" who did not go into exile during Saddam's rule, and his following is particularly strong among lower class Shiites. Sadr has sometimes tried to reach out to Sunni leaders in an effort to demonstrate opposition to sectarianism and bolster his nationalist credentials. Sadr's professed nationalism in part explains his opposition to the United States for most of the period of the large U.S. military presence in Iraq. Sadr formed his large Mahdi Army militia in 2004 to combat the U.S. military presence in Iraq, and U.S. troops fought several major battles with the Mahdi Army and an offshoot, called the "Special Groups," from 2004 to 2008 (Malkasian, 2016).

Sadr, through demonstrations and threats of armed action by militias under his control, pressed for the full U.S. withdrawal at the end of 2011. Sadr's campaign meshed with Iran's policy to ensure that the United States completely withdrew from Iraq. U.S. officials accused Shiite militias of causing an elevated level of U.S. troop deaths in June 2011 (14 killed), and Iran of arming these militias with upgraded rocket-propelled munitions, such as Improvised Rocket Assisted Munitions (IRAMs). The United States pressed the Iraqi government to insist that Iran to stop aiding the militias but, until the U.S. withdrawal in December 2011, rocket attacks continued against the U.S. consulate in Basra (Malkasian, 2016).

During the years of the occupation of Iraq by the American military, the pressure that Sadrioun (followers of Muqtad Al-Sadr) brought to Washington was based on their military wing, and was complemented by the activities of several Shiite groups. Among these Shiite groups was the Asaeb al-Haq. After the United

States retreated from Iraq in 2011, most of these Shiite groups who were no longer concerned about the presence of Americans began to operate in the construction sector of the country. After the emergence of ISIL in this country and the fatwa of the Iraqi authorities on jihad against the terrorist group, these Shiite militant groups came under a single command under the formation of the al-Hashid al-Sha'abi army, and they came to confront ISIL. The group, also known as the Iraqi popular mobilization, has so far won the most victories in the war against ISIL (Abdokhodai & Mojtaba, 2015).

The Sadrist pressure on the United States was amplified by the activities of several other Shiite militias, some of which left Sadr's control. These include Asa'ib Ahl al-Haq (AAH, League of the Family of the Righteous), Khata'ib Hezbollah (Hezbollah Battalions), and the Promised Day Brigade, the latter organization of which still answers to Sadr. In June 2009, AAH's leader, Qais al-Khazali, took refuge in Iran in 2010 after three years in U.S. custody for his alleged role in a 2005 raid that killed five American soldiers (Malkasian, 2016)

After the U.S. withdrawal in 2011, most Shiite militia activity subsided. Much of the Mahdi Army had already been slowly integrating into the political process as a charity and employment network called Mumahidoon ("those who pave the way"). In 2011, AAH's leaders, including Khazali, returned from Iran and opened political offices to recruit loyalists and set up social service programs. The group did not compete in April 2013 provincial elections, but allied with Maliki in the 2014 elections (Sly, 2013).

The Popular Mobilization Forces came into force with a longer story. The Badr Organization was the armed wing of the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq, a mainstream Shiite party, headed now by Ammar al-Hakim. The Badr Organization largely disarmed after Saddam's fall and integrated into the political process. Its leader is Hadi al-Amiri, an elected member of the National Assembly, was viewed as a hardliner advocating extensive use of the Shiite militias to recapture Sunni-inhabited areas (Malkasian, 2016).

The group has approximately 30,000 militia fighters. All the established Shiite militias began to reactivate as unrest in the Sunni areas escalated during 2012-2014, and particularly following the 2014 Islamic State offensive. After the Islamic State capture of Mosul, the militias mobilized were joined by Shiite “Popular Mobilization Forces” (PMF) answering Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani’s call for Shiites to rally to fight the Islamic State. Former Mahdi Army militiamen reorganized as the “Salaam (Peace) Brigade.” Some Shiite militia forces returned from Syria, where they were protecting Shiite shrines and conducting other combat in support of the government of Bashar Al Assad (Abigail & Hauslohner, 2013). The established militias—the Salaam Brigades, Badr Organization, Khata’ib Hezbollah and Asa’ib Ahl Al Haq, and the Promised Day Brigades are considered armed and trained by Iran (Malkasian, 2016).

According to the State Department’s Country Reports on Terrorism for 2014, released on June 19, 2015, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps—Qods Force (IRGC-QF) advises, arms, and trains these militia. The Popular Mobilization Forces operate under a variety of names. They are generally commanded by ISF forces, although some might also supply manpower to the more established militias (Malkasian, 2016).

Some Sunni fighters are included in the PMF, for the primary purpose of freeing Sunni inhabited areas from Islamic State rule. The United States has said as of May 2015 that it would provide to Shiite militias that are under ISF command. Current estimates of the total Shiite militiamen available to assist the ISF—including the Sadrist militia, the Sadrist offshoots, the Badr Organization, and Popular Mobilization Forces operating under various names—number about 100,000 (Malkasian, 2016).

Finally, Hezbollah has long been involved in assisting Iraq’s Shiite militias, in part because Hezbollah members speak Arabic, whereas Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard personnel speak mostly Persian (although many speak Arabic as well). In February 2015, Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah publicly

acknowledged that Hezbollah had sent personnel to Iraq to help the ISF and the Shiite militias to combat the Islamic State (Department of State, 2015).

The internal situation in Iraq, was not as Americans anticipated before the occupation and after the apparent transfer of government to the interim administration, Ayad Allawi, things didn't get much better. In such a situation, the factors of instability can be summarized as follows. By the time the April 30, 2014, national (COR) elections were held, and the ISIL-led insurrection in Anbar appeared to be contained. That assessment was upended on June 10, 2014, when Islamic State fighters—apparently assisted by movement of a large numbers of its fighters into Iraq from the Syria Theater—captured the large city of Mosul, mostly due to mass surrenders and desertions by the ISF (Malkasian, 2016).

The group later that month formally changed its name to “The Islamic State.” Apparently supported by many Iraqi Sunni residents, Islamic State-led fighters subsequently advanced down the Tigris River valley as far as Tikrit as well as east into Diyala Province. The offensive captured the Mosul Dam and enabled Islamic State fighters to loot banks, free prisoners, and capture U.S.- supplied military equipment such as Humvees, tanks, and armored personnel carriers. From positions around Abu Ghraib, IS-led forces moved to within striking distance of Baghdad International Airport, which is southwest of the city (Malkasian, 2016).

The Islamic State, along with its partners, also expanded previous gains in Anbar Province, including encroaching on the Haditha Dam. By the end of June, Shiite militias had mobilized in large numbers to assist the ISF and the remaining ISF regrouped to some extent. These developments, coupled with the fact that Islamic State fighters faced resistance from any location not dominated by Sunni inhabitants, appeared to lessen the threat to Baghdad itself. The defense of Baghdad was aided by U.S. advisers, as well as by Iran, who sent military equipment. Furthermore, Islamic Revolutionary Guard - Qods Force (IRGC-QF) units were also sent to Iraq (Malkasian, 2016).

The ISF was able to prevent IS-led forces from capturing the Baiji refinery, which produces about one-third of Iraq's gasoline supplies. The KRG came under major threat by August 2014 when IS-led forces advanced into territory controlled by the Peshmerga. The relatively lightly armed Kurdish forces withdrew under pressure from numerous towns (Sinjar, Zumar, Wana, and Qaraqosh) inhabited mostly by Christians and other Iraqi minorities, particularly the Yazidis—a Kurdish-speaking people who practice a mix of ancient religions, including Zoroastrianism, which held sway in Iran before the advent of Islam. Fearing IS threats to execute them if they refused its demands that they convert to Islam, about 35,000-50,000 Yazidis fled to Sinjar Mountain, where they were surrounded by Islamic State forces. By August 8, 2014, IS-led fighters had advanced to within about 30 miles of the KRG capital of Erbil, causing substantial panic among Iraq's Kurds, who had long thought the KRG region secure, and causing U.S. concern about the security of U.S. diplomatic and military personnel there (Tharoor, 2014).

The terrorist acts spread exponentially in the aftermath of the American occupation of Iraq. The Ba'athis, Salafis and the psychological environment caused by the occupation of the country led Iraq to become the focus of terrorist acts. The Salafism led by Abu Musab Zarqawi, a former Ba'athist led by Ezzat Ibrahim al-Duri, led the terrorist elements towards the government centers and the people, and created a new wave of violence and assassination in Iraq. The aim of these fear and terrorism acts was to create disappointment among the people to prevent them from participating in the campaigns. In the January 2005 elections, the terrorists achieved this goal among the Sunnis of Iraq. Iraqi Sunnis did not participate in the election, and the national alliance of Shiites and Kurdistan alliance with the authority went to the election stage (Nasr & Wali, 2011).

### **3.2 Sectarianism and Religious Conflict**

Religion is presently the predominant model for political violence because ideology and nationalism remain strong catalysts of extremist behavior.

Religious extremism has become a central issue for the global community as many religious fanatic groups continue to proclaim the superiority of their religion over others. The propagators of religious terrorism are devoid of logic, rationale, or reason. They make it difficult for different religions to coexist, regardless of how much the international communities have tried over the years to eliminate these boundaries these individuals promote an extreme cult in which religious coexistence is ruled out (Martin, 2013).

This form of terrorism seeks to coerce followers of other religions into accepting the supremacy of their religion. Any challenge to religious terrorism is not tolerated, and its challengers are usually killed. On a smaller scale, single-issue fanatics are obsessed with the desire to change a specific policy or practice within a specific society (Aksoy, 2002).

After 2003, Iraqi civilians remained under attack because of their religion, ethnicity, and affiliations. Several large-scale attacks were directed toward Shi'ite pilgrims and their places of worship. Religious terrorists also target Christian communities, as were members of the Turkoman community, and members of other ethnic and religious minorities, such as Yezidi, Sabian Mandaean, Shabaks, and Manichaeans. These religious fanatics also kill members of sexual minorities despite the widespread sanctions against discrimination and the presence of Iraqi security forces and other government institutions who are failing to protect them (Aksoy, 2002).

Iraq with a population of 25 million people of which Shiites are the majority in the southern parts with a population of 60-65%, followed by the Sunni in the middle triangle with a population of 32-37% followed by the Kurds in the north with a population of 17% there are other little religious groups like the Assyrians, Jews, Christians, Mandaeans, Turkmens and the Romans Iraq is centered at the lower and upper of the Mesopotamia the Arabian and the Syrian desert (Herring, 2008)



Most terrorist organizations and Islamic extremist fighting against infidels, in the case of Iraq there are different terrorist organizations although one of the major reasons of Al Qaeda in Iraq was with the aim of building a Islamic caliphate is also evident that the reasons why terrorists are terrorist are different according to New on the root cause of terrorism he argues that most terrorist groups use the failures in a state and where states and governments are unable to meet up with the needs of their populations some of these are lack of clean water, unemployment, clash of values, corruption, marginalization of some societies, clash of values and rural to urban migrations (Herring, 2008).

It is that one of the reasons why the Sunnis were fighting against the foreign occupation because the Shi'a according to them were been favored by the CPA. The extremist group used some of the root causes that were been mentioned by New man to recruit members by making them believe that they were fighting for the right thing and against a system that have been depriving them of their rights and the only way to be free is by getting rid of everything that has been established by what the referred to as the infidels, major constructions have been neglected in the Sunni base areas of Anbar, Ninawa and Salahuddin (Hutchinson, 1972).

The activities of Ahriman's in the year 2003 after it called its self as an Islamic state with using violence mostly using children in its mission scholars argue that this Islamic terrorist group became strong in its activities between a very short period of time, research shows that in each family one or two relatives or family members are engaged in extremist violence. The terrorist activities in Iraq can be traced back to the beginning of the intervention in 2003 (Martin, 2013).

Records shows that the rise in terrorism in Iraq became very serious some basically were fighting the western occupation because according to them the west was acting base on its own interest just to get something from the country and the Jihadist group stands as one of the groups that according to them the

west has always been against Islam and is willing to do anything possible to rule them which is against their interest and the best way to destroy their attempts and their agendas to rise and fight against them and religion becomes a tool (Martin, 2013).

Most of these religious extremist often target government structures and institutions with the aim of establishing the minds of the Iraqi population how incapable the system is and portraying them as the best option for the country, this has contributed in the failure of the state because major institutions that make up the state are often under attack. The oil pipelines which have as the major source of income and revenue in the country has also been attacked which affects the economy of the country and creates insecurity in the minds of nations as well as companies that whole like to trade with the country or establish a company in Iraq (Hafez, 2007).

### **3.2.1 Sunni-Shiite conflict**

In the year 1932 king Faisal made a comment on how divided Iraq was because of the religion and ethnic differences which will serve as a major hindrance to the country, it is evident that there has been issues of which 0 years after the king Faisal death the country is still encountering the same challenges just that Saddam's government has not been able to properly handle the situation. It brought up questions about the reason there is so much hatred between the Sunni and the shite (Martin, 2013).

The shites view Saddam regime as oppressive and excluded from the affairs of the country and they were forced to live in a country rather than a home. When Saddam was overthrown the ethnic grievance was uncontrollable it erupted with full fire understanding that the Sunnis who happen to be the minorities have been heading the country while the majorities the shite believe that the regime have been unfair to them brought up more conflict according to the Sunnis the

United States was acting in favor of the Shiites of which Saddam is a Sunni (Palley, 2015).

There have been arguments on the reasons behind the political status of Iraq has been shaky one of the reasons is because Iraq became a state after the World War 1, this constituted the coming together of different ethnic groups together to form Iraq. Although most Iraqi believe that Iraq's formation is like every other state, the first Iraqi president after the fall of the Sadams regime mentioned that Saddam played a role in the destruction of the countries identity. The sectarian conflict in the country can be explained as a quest for power and it is not necessary on identity or one group is marginalized compared to the other. This sectarian conflict that has often been categorized to be based on ethnic and sectarian differences is political, each group believes that they have the right to rule and do better than the other group (Martin, 2013).

From the creation of Iraq, the Kurds have always portrayed themselves to be mostly continues of identity as well as power driven from the monarchy of 1921-1958 to 1958-1963 coming down to the fall of Saddam more Kurdish movements have been created, another topic that is still debated is the state building and what it can bring about, states with histories of ethnic conflict have often been opened to terrorist groups and the efforts to construct a state with includes building up a politically structure which has to do with democracy, this of course has its repercussion on the state. In the other hand the Iraqi population is open to the creation of a democratic state but the sectarian differences which happens to be more political has made it impossible which has opened up doors for terrorist activities in the country (Higashi, 2009).

Scholars argue that Saddam prepared a counter attack against the united states by investing in the villages and organizing movements against the United States that was why immediately the united states attacked its regime he reacted to it, mostly the Sunni community because right from inception the country have been

under the leadership of the Sunnis while other groups believe that they have been marginalized over the years by this regime. The Shiites in the other believe that they have not been properly represented during the past administration and also arguments on if religion should be separated from politics (Kurth, 2006).

### **3.3 Economic Problems**

A large part of the revolts of the Iraqi people can be rooted in the economic turmoil and the hardship of social and health conditions. This has made people realize that neither the occupiers nor the government have been able to address these problems and the issues of Iraqi citizens. When the Bush administration decided to invade Iraq and finish the struggle in Kuwait, they announced they were going to uproot the economic situation of the people (Martin, 2013).

But since the first day the economic situation got worse to the limit of starvation. Those who, for years, under the economic blockade of Iraq and the imposition of various sanctions, have killed and destroyed thousands of Iraqis, including men, women and children, from the very beginning of the rule of Iraq, not only did not think about building the proper economic infrastructure, but their only intent was simply plundering of the natural resources and signing single-party contracts in the interest of Western and American companies (Martin, 2013).

In late 2009, the poverty rate in Iraq was very high. According to the Mead News Agency, about 23 percent of the population lived below the poverty line. According to statistics of the Ministry of Planning, more than 930 thousand people in the country (3% of the population) had no food security in Iraq in 2009. Also more than 4.6 Millions of Iraqis, equivalent to 22 percent of the population, were dependent on food ration cards. The United Nations also announced in its 2008 report that "More than 4 million Iraqis faced severe food shortages".

Various polls have taken place in Iraq during the occupation, the results of which reflected the widespread dissatisfaction of Iraqis with the conditions prevailing in

their country. Of course, these dissatisfactions had different dimensions, but the main disappointments were economic conditions. One of the major polls in 2007, using the 3D system, was a new survey for the BBC, ABCNEWS, the German television channel ARD and the Today USA newspaper. The poll showed that Iraqis suffer from dictates of living in addition to violence and lack of security (O'Hanlon & Michael, 2005).

### **3.3.1 Unemployment and lack of proper education**

With the collapse of the Ba'athist system and the lack of proper employment, the closure of factories and infrastructure and the unemployment resulting from the invasion of the occupying forces has made the youth and those seeking work for their livelihoods and their welded groups hardly earn a living. Terrorist groups have sought to absorb these abandoned individuals in the Iraqi community and have attracted many of them, only to be executed for murder, robbery, hostage-taking, spying and insulting people when they were no longer of any use (Shakibai & Mehdi, 2013).

There were numerous problems at the very beginning of the collapse, such as the emergence of the massive numbers of urban poor consisting of unemployed villagers, the emergence of a widespread smuggling and black market phenomenon which was carried out on numerous occasions with the participation of the occupying forces. Serious water and electricity shortages, massive amount of garbage piles in the streets, oil pipe-line explosions and waste, smuggling of goods, displacement, and poverty were all too common.

In 2003, the unemployment rate in Iraq reached to 60%. The Americans still had the prospect of improving the economy, but the economic challenges quickly became apparent in many ways. As in the interim Shiite government of Ibrahim

Jafari in 2005 came to power, the unemployment crisis severely aggravated the situation in terms of economic and social collapse. According to a poll conducted in that year, among the four options for unemployment, crime, national security infrastructure, and Multinational forces, the Iraqi Shiites and Sunnis considered the unemployment crisis to be the country's most important problem. Based on a research of a British group, 40 percent of Iraqi Shiites suffered from unemployment in the same year, reflecting the bitter reality of the deep economic turmoil inherited from Saddam Hussein's destructive policies on the one hand, and the multi-year economic sanctions of the new regime on the other.

The inadequate economic situation in Iraq, of course, is not only limited to the early years of the fall of Saddam. In 2006, the first permanent government of Iraq under the leadership of Nuri al-Malik announced that the official unemployment rate was 37.2%. In the same year, the Iraqi Minister of Commerce also announced that the national unemployment rate in this country was between 50% and 60%, and the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs reported it to be higher than 60 percent. The unemployment rate in Iraq has now declined to 28 percent. Although the unemployment rate in Iraq has been steadily declining to this day, the unemployment rate is still very high compared to world standards. In addition, the decline in the unemployment rate of people's livelihood Iraq has not recovered much since the removal of Saddam Hussein, and many problems (Ozlu, 2006).

### **3.3.3 Socio-economic factors**

Economically Iraq can be said to be a successful country because it was the second world's largest producers of oil before it was faced by three wars that disrupted its economy the Iraq-Iran, Iraq-Kuwait and the 2003 US/UK move over one of the things that affected the economy of Iraq and created more dependence on the UN oil for food program, politically Iraq has basically

experienced a monarchy and a authoritarian regime not until after the 2003 intervention in 2004 an interim government was established (Kaufman, 2004).

One of the major factors that makes the policy against terrorism to be visualize as a failure and has increased the number of militants in the country is the economic crisis and the difficulties that is been faced by the people in terms of health facilities, social, education, this has brought up questions on the impact the intervention has had on the country as well as out incapable the Iraqi government is and its incompetence in responding to the needs of its people.

When the united states came to Iraq and after the fall of the Iraqi head of state so many of the public offices were been deserted by the workers so many business, companies and enterprises had to close down, this increased the poverty rate, unemployment in search for survival, so many of the youths were been left with terrorism as a source of livelihood (Kaufman, 2004).

When the new Iraqi government came to power in the year 2010 after the 2009 elections this was with the expectation that this will further strengthen the state through the restructuring of the countries various sectors, there was still less transparency in terms of the accountability and not much as well-developed to enhance the rule of law holding leaders accountable for their decisions and mismanagement of public funds this led to an increase in the oil sector which happens to be the highest medium of income into the country, this affected the health system making it difficult for people to have access to the required drugs, medicine and the adequate equipment needed in the hospitals (Kaufman, 2004).

If the economic environment in a country is not favorable for the citizens it will rather increase crime, the united states played a vital role in trying to rebuild the economy of Iraq some scholars argue that the united states were not really aware of how broken the Iraqi economy was before the decision to intervene the intervention involves the reconstruction of the economy of Iraq, as much as the

interim government was introduced in the year 2004 it was still under the control of the united states (Looney, 2008).

There was an increase in the production of oil to 2.5 million barrels per day, it is also important to understand that prior to the Iran Iraq war the gulf war and so many other sanctions the economy of Iraq has been suffering for years, although before the 1990s the economy of Iraq has been the strongest in the Arab world. Under the interim government the population had an expectation that the livelihood in the country will be better but rather the interim government explained that they were experiencing difficulties which brought about the reduction in the number of barrels been produced in a day from 2.5 million to 2 million per day, the country still was importing oil, prior to that because of lack of transparency oil pipelines were been targeted and attacked by terrorist groups, some of the NGOS in Iraq actually blame both the CPA and the interim government for mismanagement and lack of accountability to the population(Richmond, 2004).

the lack of transparency and accountability from the CPA concerning the oil revenue shows that the intervention in Iraq was not really meant to be advantageous to the country but it was rather from the occupation government to rip the country's economy by building up stories of how dismantled the country's economy was before the intervention and the united states had to spend more of its resources in rebuilding the country, the CPA rather focused on one single means of reconstructing the economy from scholars argue that when a country focused majorly on a single medium of building the country it furthers widens the gap between the different classes in the country this will increase the chances of instability because of issues related to conflict, little growth in the basic human resources and development, decrease in the growth of the economy, bad governance, violation of human rights (Kaufman, 2004).

Due to the way terrorist activities was on the rise in the country and major structures were been sabotaged the CPA mentioned that it was due that that they had to keep some of its activities as well as achievement confidential one of which is the sewage treatment in the city of Baghdad that was something that



has not been done for more than a decade. The state that was been built by the united states and its allied and the government that was been established by the peace building efforts left the state in a worst state than it was in the beginning there has been argument of corruption in all the sectors that was supposedly reconstructed or build by the occupation government from the health, defense, justice, there has been cases of bribes for the release of militants (Richmond, 2004).

This thesis argues that the main challenges of peace building in Iraq have been lack of security and terrorism, religious conflict and sectarianism that also led to economic problems. The combination of the obstacles of peace building in Iraq resulted in limited success of overall peace building strategy. The lack of security prevented the effectiveness of the instruments of peace building that was been designed and implemented.

## CONCLUSION

Peace building has been a major topic in international relations right from the 1960s to the 1970s. Peace building has been explained by Galtung, (1990) to be in three different stages; peacekeeping, mediation, and state building. Each of these steps are important in ensuring a successful peace building, there are instruments of peace building which aids in the resolution of the conflict as well as state building. Some of the instruments includes: governance reform, security sector reforms, post conflict election reforms, return of refugees, empowering civil societies, and human rights reform. This thesis peace building in Iraq from 2003-2018 using qualitative methodology focused on answering two major research questions which are: 1) Despite the substantial design and implementation of peace building approach, why peace building reached a limited success in Iraq? 2) What are the main obstacles of peace building in Iraq?

The United Nations committee on peacekeeping has deliberated on the methods of peacekeeping. One of the reasons was to practically look for methods that can be used in countries that have been, having continuous crisis and conflicts over the years. Although there has been arguments concerning how international organizations handle conflicts one of the critics is how involved the local regional powers to participate in the resolution of the conflict as well as state building. The United States and the United Kingdom have been the major actors at the beginning of the peace building in Iraq, drawing our minds to how well involve were the regional powers in the peace building.

Exploring and evaluating the instruments of peace building in Iraq shows that the United States was more interested in building a state which resulted to a failed state. The lack of proper planning was a major factor that made the instruments of peace building in Iraq to be ineffective. The gap between the elite class and the general population shows that the policies that are been made by

the government brings about the marginalization of some groups and areas in the society. Must especially the people in the grass roots. The instruments of peace building were implemented mainly with the aim of creating a democratic state.

The continuous rise in terrorism prior to the beginning of the peace building in Iraq has become an area that needs to be explored as much as there has been studies on the reasons behind the continuous rise in terrorist attacks one of the which has been the inability of the international community involved in the peace building to build up more pragmatic measures to stop terrorism. The United Nations as well as other international communities has played a role in the peace building but so far so good from the year 2003 -2018 can we say a work Weldon to their efforts? What actually needs to be done that is not been done? The rise in terrorist activities in the country from the year 2003 has brought up too many questions regarding the future of Iraq with the Kurdistan fight for their independence. In carrying out this research a qualitative study both analytic and descriptive which focused on the peace building process in Iraq from the year 2003 to 2009 looking at the various roles that was been played by the international community and how it has impacted the country.

One of the challenges of the peace building effort in Iraq is the clash of goals between the internationals. The locals believe that the internationals were more interested in enforcing their own objectives rather than considering the lifestyles, religion and individual interest of the locals. How the orient look at the occident has been inferior and they are not given the opportunity to represent themselves and also marginalizing the line between Islam and democracy which establishing a liberal democracy was the main aim of the internationals.

The second challenge was the sectarian, ethnic and religious differences in Iraq, Iraq comprises of different ethnic and religious groups the majority are they Shiite followed by the Sunni and then the Kurds now one of the reasons of the intervention by the internationals was to overthrow a dictator, since Iraq was been carved out of the ottoman empire, the system has been led by the Sunnis

which the majorities which happen to be the Shiites have been oppressed while the Kurds that are at the northern part of Iraq have been fighting to have their own independence. How the peace building was introduced in the country shows that buildings, institutions and structures can be build but reconciliation and peace might never have its place because these important aspects have been ignored.

Right from when the intervention started in 2003 the country has been faced with violence amongst different groups in the country. From the attacks on the shi'it shrines to the kidnapping of the Sunnis, as much as institutions were been built it hasn't stopped the conflicts in the country. From 2006 to 2008 the country has experienced a civil war that claimed so many lives, rendered many homeless, increased the poverty rate, unemployment, and Over 3000 people were killed in the civil war. As much as the peace building efforts in Iraq was not targeted to only Iraq, it was seen as a way of enhancing the global peace according to former United States president George Bush

The United States decision to intervene in Iraq brings up the clear constructivist perspective, although the intervention was not based on a mutual understanding it has been argued to be more of an invasion which was a violation of international law. This was based on what the United States perceives Iraq to be or need. Before the United States finally decided to deploy troops into Iraq, former American president Bush addressed the United Nations in September 2002 concerning the need to use military force in Iraq because of how Iraq according to the United States stands as a serious threat to global peace, because Iraq was in possession of weapons of mass destruction. These brought up the ad hoc "coalition of the willing" this was a success after the Iraqi Baath party with the Iraqi military was been over thrown this happened within two months after the deployment of troops into Iraq. With this the United State became responsible for the state building in Iraq.

In 1990 Iraq allegedly invaded Kuwait this according to some scholars justifies the move of the Unites States in Iraq, the efforts that were been initiated by the

United Nation Security Council in 1990 in making sure that the global peace was been maintained this was in the call for Iraq to immediately exit its occupation of Kuwait. This was mainly to ensure that resolution 60 was been implemented despite how much effort was been organized to peacefully exit Iraq from the Kuwait territory with the deadline Iraq still refused to peacefully accept the request of the United Nation Security Council.

This made the UN to deploy troops to make sure that Iraq exited Kuwait this mission was called 'operation desert storm' in February 1991. During the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait biological weapons were suspected to have been used, this according to some scholars most have been the reason why the United States took the allegations against Iraq serious. Understanding how difficult the Iraqi administration was not willing to peacefully step out of power and considering the September 11 pentagon bombing which has instigated so much fear and has disrupted global peace and the hegemony of the United States.

In Order to understand the peace building in Iraq it will be important to note that it was different compared to other countries that have experienced peace building. Iraq was not encountering any conflict but the United States believed that because of the allegations on the Iraqi government, Iraq stands as a major threat to global security and peace, other allegations as to the violations of human rights which involved the marginalization of other groups in the country. The peace building in Iraq focused more in the central level while the local level was ignored.

Security is a major topic when it comes to post conflict state building civilians that have been displaced as a result of conflict find it difficult to come back home, because of the inability of the government to ensure their security. In Iraq terrorist organizations and terrorist attacks serve as a major hindrance for the population that have been displaced to return, most especially areas that were under the domination of some of the terrorist groups. The presence of explosive hazards is an issue and the Iraqi government and military needs to be supported by other external actors like the European Union and the United Nations in

terms of training the local police forces most especially in areas that were under the terrorist groups before it was defeated to avoid the risk of them having to return again (Harrison, 2010).

There should be sensitization on the need for the security sector and all the different security groups to have trust for each other. This can be done if all the different state and non-state forces are been integrated. Each society that has been affected by the terrorist attacks and the peace building, special plan should be made for societies like that so as to encourage those that have been displaced to return home. Some of the support can be in the form of infrastructures and some other services as well as job opportunities that can sustain the displaced when the return back. The provision of food, electricity, good health system and educational facilities, a system should be organized which is inclusive and open to conversed with the various provinces. More like the central government relating with other provinces one relationship that needs to be looked into is the Baghdad-Kurdistan relationship so as to avoid any future confrontation and conflict. This applies to other provinces that have been affected by internal conflicts as well as terrorist attacks.

Another important area that may positively affect the state building in Iraq is limiting how involved external countries like the United States and Iran are in the affairs of the country, having the perception that other external forces are still getting involved in the decision making of the country stands the chances of not producing any long lasting effect on both the Iraqi central government and the Iraqi population. A new strategy on countering terrorism needs to be initiated as well as basic judicial reforms on crimes relating to terrorism. A mechanism that needs to be integrated that will better serve the rebuilding of the state is on the transitional justice which will involve better reconciliation process.

Global security strategy included countries responding to the security demands of the international community these included free trade, financial accountability, and regulatory measures on the weapon of mass destructions. This new world order started with the intervention in Iraq. This can be related to the end of the

Cold war which introduced a new era of the United Nations peace building, peacemaking and peace keeping traced back to the 1990s, scholars alike Berdal, (2004) argued the point that most of the peace building introduced by the United Nations are just self-related motives which indicates that selfish interest are connected to the interventions and peace building initiatives.

The situation in Iraq has gone beyond just a state handling it because there is now sectarian conflict, terrorism and political instability. The United States is now involved in trying to resolve the situation and both the individual and societal level needs to be considered, because building a state is one thing but what is the state without the citizens? the state should be conducive for the citizens to live in. understanding the effect the use of force has on the population is important, according to Pinar (2000) peace that is derive through the use of force should not be expected to be durable. The United Nations as well as the United States needs to consider the following factors:

- There is a need for skill troops and the required equipment for the troops to effectively execute their duties and the United Nations need to consider this factor
- Before embarking on a peace building strategies should be well established and organized
- The political history and orientation of the country in question needs to be considered
- The consequences of the use of forced needs to be considered and measures through which it can be handled needs to be considered
- Possible challenges that can be encountered during peace building needs to be foreseen and prepared for
- The importance of unity needs to be emphasized through education
- The citizens of Iraq must be included in the political affairs of the country not only some few elites

- Employment opportunities should be made available for the population so as not to lead them into looking for other alternatives to meet their end needs
- The elected government needs to live up to its expectation in terms of the promises it gives before going into office
- Religion been the major stand point for the country should be treated with outmost consideration
- All the ethnic and religious groups need to be treated equally nor group should be marginalized
- The government needs to reach the grassroots by meeting their needs like security, education, health facilities, social amenities, good transport systems etc. (De Torrente, 2018).

It is important to understand how effective a stable peace dialogue can have in not only stopping the violence through the use of force but initiating a dialogue of reconciliation, which contents healing in both the individual level and the societal structures. The United Nation needs to take note of past peace building operations and the deployment of troops to maintain peace; peacekeeping has been going on for years with various results some cases have responded well while others have been a total failure. There has been cases of late response, negligence, quick response from the United Nations these tends to live the question when is it proper for the United Nations to get involved in a conflict unanswered? As time passes and technology is also changing with better ways of doing things and new ways of doing things. Lessons are supposed to be learned from past mistakes. Each conflict is peculiar to that country and the society in question. Strategies cannot be implemented based on imaginations or assumptions pragmatic measures with a new way of implementing instruments of peace building is important.

Can the peace building in Iraq be considered as a success? Some scholars believe that to some extend it was successful because of the successful implementation of the instruments of peace building. The main aim of the United



States was to build a democratic state and to change the government in Iraq, looking at it from the motives with which the United States decided to intervene in the country which was to create a democratic state, change the government, weapons of mass destruction, and help secure the global security. They succeeded in getting rid of Saddam Hussein and his two sons, changed the government as for the weapons of mass destruction it was said to have been just an allegation with no evidence to support it. This intervention opened doors for terrorist groups into the country it's clear that at the beginning it didn't seem like the case.

Some scholars believe that Iraq is the definition of a failed state, even though periodic elections have been held there has been a rise in the participation of civil societies this doesn't mean that there is equal participation by the masses, in terms of the political affairs of the state meaning that power is still in the hands of few and the sectarian conflict hasn't been handled which is one of the reasons why terrorism is still on the rise. Terrorist groups often need people to participate and they find a way of recruiting new members and they use the lapses and the realities in the country to recruit their members by making them believe that the government is not good. In most cases the corruption and the embezzlement of public funds are some of the reasons why terrorism is on the rise in the country.

How is Iraq doing economically compared to Saddams administration? In trying to understand the situation in Iraq, the case needs to be looked at from different perspective as well as time, before the intervention, during the intervention, after the intervention and the present day Iraq. This research proves that the peace building strategy in Iraq has both positive and negative impacts. The positive impact has been the outcome of the successful implementation of peace building instruments. The negative impact has been the consequences of the obstacles of peace building such as terrorism, sectarianism and economic problems in Iraq.

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## PLAGIARISIM

Brisk Hhaji thesis

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**ETHICS COMITE**

12.06.2019

**BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMALAR ETİK KURULU**

Dear Berisk Hussein Haji

Your project **“Peace Building in Iraq from 2003-2018 ”** has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project it does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

**Note:** If you need to provide an official letter to an institution with the signature of the Head of NEU Scientific Research Ethics Committee, please apply to the secretariat of the ethics committee by showing this document.