



# **The Social Contract in Iraq through Social Media: A Twitter Analysis Annex Compendium**

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## ANNEX 1 CORE GRIEVANCES AND THEIR SUBDIMENSIONS

### I. Security

Under security, the listening tool drew in perceptions and discussions on the following subdimensions.

**Legitimate force:** This includes all components of the Iraqi State's security apparatus such as the military (armed forces), the police (general security) and intelligence bodies (general intelligence and military intelligence).

**Militias:** The Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF), the largest security organization outside direct government control, is a key player in Iraq's security landscape. As an umbrella organization with tens of thousands of fighters and multiple operating militias, the PMF came about in 2014 when the State's security apparatus collapsed in the face of encroachment by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).<sup>1</sup> The PMF holds substantial security and political power in Iraq and is criticized by many for not operating under the rule of law, for spreading violence and for substantially increasing the volatility of the security situation.<sup>2</sup>

**Security sector reform:** Security sector reform is a longstanding priority for development in Iraq.<sup>3</sup>

**Perceptions towards ISIS:** ISIS has been a major security concern in Iraq in past years and continues to pose a threat to the Iraqi population.<sup>4</sup>

**Violence and crime:** Typical security-related concerns include murder, assault, theft, rape and sexual assault, etc.<sup>5</sup>

**Domestic violence:** Domestic abuse, or intimate partner violence, refers to "a pattern of behavior in any relationship that is used to gain or maintain power and control over an intimate partner."<sup>6</sup> It includes sexual, physical, emotional, psychological and/or economic acts or threats of violence.<sup>7</sup>

**Trust:** This assessed general trust (or lack thereof) in the security apparatus.

### II. Corruption

Corruption is endemic in Iraq and its system of governance, posing a hurdle to rights and access to services, resources and economic opportunities.<sup>8</sup> In 2020, Iraq ranked 160 out of 180 countries on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index.<sup>9</sup> The following subdimensions of corruption were included in the listening tool.

**Degree of spread/pervasiveness:** This subdimension covers perceptions of widespread, pervasive and endemic corruption.

**Link to sectarianism:** Iraq's ethnosectarian power-sharing arrangement permeates state institutions and has contributed to the spread of politically sanctioned corruption along sectarian fault lines.<sup>10</sup>

**Accountability and transparency:** Transparency refers to having access to information on rules, plans, processes and actions of the Government and is “the first step to curbing corruption.”<sup>11</sup> Accountability entails ensuring that public officials are answerable to the public and that checks and balances hold public officials and administrators accountable.<sup>12</sup> A lack of transparency and accountability fuels and perpetuates corruption.<sup>13</sup>

**Justice system and impunity:** According to Human Rights Watch, Iraq’s “criminal justice system is plagued with arbitrariness and opacity,”<sup>14</sup> while state officials (including security officers) benefit from with impunity.<sup>15</sup>

**Economic cost:** Corruption costs are high, limiting state revenues and crowding out private investment.<sup>16</sup>

### III. Services

Grievances about State-provided services are common in Iraq. The research covered the following subdimensions.

**Water and sanitation:** Growing water scarcity<sup>17</sup> and insecurity affect vulnerable segments of the population, such as internally displaced persons.<sup>18</sup>

**Electricity:** With fragile electricity infrastructure, the Iraqi population struggles with power shortages that are especially debilitating during summer months.<sup>19</sup>

**Health care:** Iraq’s public health system is severely damaged and underresourced, and most physicians and medical professionals opt to leave the country.<sup>20</sup>

**COVID-19:** The pandemic overlapped with this research project. Grievances around COVID-19 include and go beyond health care.

**Cost of services/affordability and access:** This refers to high costs and a lack of unaffordability as well as unequal access.<sup>21</sup>

**Fairness of distribution:** This captures unfair and unjust distribution of public services.

### IV. Economy

In the past couple of years, volatile oil prices—with oil still at the heart of the Iraqi economy despite attempts to move towards diversification—paired with the COVID-19 pandemic yielded a sharp contraction of 10.4 percent in Iraq’s GDP in 2020.<sup>22</sup> Unemployment is a major concern. The listening tool tapped into the following subdimensions.

**Unemployment and job security:** Unemployment has risen steadily since 2012, affecting 13.74 percent of the working-age population in 2020. Youth unemployment, among those aged 15-24, reached 24.2 percent before COVID-19.<sup>23</sup>

**State resources and oil revenues:** This subdimension assesses perceptions of the Iraqi State’s management (and mismanagement) of its resources, especially oil revenues, which constitute 60 percent of GDP, 99 percent of exports<sup>24</sup> and 95 percent of government revenues.<sup>25</sup>

**Aid:** Aid comprises humanitarian aid, which is usually short-term and alleviates short-term problems, and development aid, which is assistance aimed at accelerating medium to long-term socioeconomic growth.<sup>26</sup> This subdimension captures both types.

**Economic justice:** Facets of economic justice comprise equal opportunities, equal distribution of resources, economic inequality and the wealth gap.

**Networks of patronage:** Networks of patronage reflect clientelism in the distribution of economic resources, including jobs. This pervasive phenomenon in Iraq is directly tied to corruption and accountability.<sup>27</sup>

**Women's economic participation:** According to the Global Gender Gap subindex on women's economic participation and opportunity, Iraq ranks lowest in the world out of 153 countries.<sup>28</sup> Women's labour force participation is 13 per cent, ranking Iraq at 152 out of 153 countries globally.<sup>29</sup>

## V. Governance

Since the 2003 invasion, Iraq has seen an ongoing, delicate process of State-building. Several crises in governance culminated in mass protests in October 2019,<sup>30</sup> underlining that grievances around governance are critical to address in a reimagined social contract. The governance-related subdimensions captured in the listening tool are as follows.

**Muhasasa (power-sharing):** *Muhasasa*, or *muhasasa taifiyah*, reflects the ethnocentric power-sharing system in place in Iraq since 2003. Many Iraqis see this as driving endemic corruption.<sup>31</sup>

**Satisfaction:** This subdimension gauges dissatisfaction with governance systems.

**Political fragmentation:** This captures discussions about political fragmentation and discord.

**Identity politics:** The power-sharing agreement has emphasized sectarian and ethnic identities as a "primary organizing principle in Iraqi politics by apportioning political power on the basis of ethno-sectarian quotas."<sup>32</sup> Any content on the role of identity in politics is tagged under this subdimension.

**Marginalization and discrimination:** Iraq is home to numerous ethnic and sectarian minority groups, including the Kurdish population, Christians, Yazidis, Baha'is and many more. They face discrimination and marginalization in the political sphere, which hinders their participation in governance.<sup>33</sup>

**Representation:** For this listening tool, representation refers to representative politics. This includes content around parliamentary elections, Parliament and its members and political representation.

**Ethnocentric division:** This subdimension reflects divisions and fragmentation on the basis of ethnocentric divides.

**Legitimacy and trust:** This subdimension covers perceptions of the lack of legitimacy of representative bodies and governance structures as well as basic mistrust in government institutions.

**Iraqi Identity:** This subdimension taps expressions of a unified Iraqi identity, one that transcends ethnocentric divisions. It captures nuances around how users describe the Iraqi identity and/or where such references emerge. Listening to content produced by Iraqis does not provide a definition of Iraqi identity but simply documents content that explicitly uses this terminology.

Table A1: Five core grievances and their subdimensions

Core Grievance	Dimensions	Core Grievance	Dimensions	Core Grievance	Dimensions
<b>Security</b>	Legitimate force (state security forces: military, police, etc.)	<b>Services</b>	Water and sanitation	<b>Governance</b>	Muhasasa (power-sharing)
	Militias (including paramilitary)		Electricity		(Dis)satisfaction
	Security sector reform		Health care		Political fragmentation
	Perceptions toward the Islamic State		COVID-19		Identity politics
	Violence and crime		Cost of services/affordability and access		Marginalization and discrimination
	Domestic violence		Fairness of distribution		Representation
	Trust		Satisfaction		Ethnocentric division
<b>Corruption</b>	Degree of spread/pervasiveness	<b>Economy</b>	Unemployment and job security		Ligitimacy and trust
	Link to sectarianism		State resources (and oil revenues)		Iraqi identity
	Accountability and transparency		Aid		
	Justice system and impunity		Economic justice		
	Economic cost		Networks of patronage		
			Women economic participation		

## ANNEX 2 FUTURE OUTLOOK DICTIONARY IN ARABIC

\*\*\*Note: The words مستقبل العراق or المستقبل were used across most searches under future outlook in conjunction with the terms below.

### I. Perception/sentiment (تصورات و مشاعر)

#### Hopeful/positive/optimistic (مفعم بالأمل/ايجابي/ايجابي)

Answers from UNDP country office surveys	Other keywords/expressions	Other keywords/expressions
ازمة وتعدي	متفائل	إيجابي
املنا بالشباب الواعي المثقف	مفعم بالأمل	زاهر
نتأمل الاحسن و الافضل بدون احزاب و بدون فساد	مشجع	إيجابي
بتكاتف ابناء البلد لبناء مجتمعي افضل وبالتالي مستقبل افضل	مبشر	مشرق
ان شاء الله احسن	مبشر بالخير	أفضل
لازم تفرج على العراق وسوف ينهض بجهود الخيرين	واعد	أحسن

#### Hopeless/negative/pessimistic (فقدان الأمل/سليبي/متشائم)

Answers from UNDP country office surveys	Other keywords/expressions	Other keywords/expressions
لو بعد 100 سنة منصير مثل اوربا	كئيب	الى الحضيض
مجهول	قاتم	لا امل فيه
تايه	موحش	ماكو امل
ضايع	محزن	دموي
مظلم	مقلق	رديء
مستقبل ضايع	فاجع	مشؤوم
راح بالزلك	مأساوي	سيئ
كل الشعوب تتطور بينما العراق من التطور الى الجاهلية	ضاع	تعيس
ماكو مستقبل بالعراق	مخيف	أليم
مستقبل العراق الى الهاوية	مرعب	بائس
مستقبل العراق ( الفساد..الدمار .. الخراب .. لا للحرية والديمقراطية	الى الهاوية	محبط
والله عمي مستقبل مجهول	بشع	قبيح
يا مستقبل عمي كل عقلك انت؟؟	شنيع	مرير
رايح للتقسيم . شيعة وسنة واكراد	غير واضح	مؤسف
2003 قضية العراق مبيوعة من	مبهم	الله يستر
ماكو مستقبل	ضبابي	ميووس
ضيع الصاية والصراية	سليبي	مقرف
كما هو الحال او اسوء	ميئوس منه	مؤلم
للأسف العراق البلد الوحيد اللي ماضيه اجمل من حاضره	يائس	مزري
يخوف	الى الهاوية	غامض



## II. Willingness to take action

### Active-agentic

نتظاهر	علينا أن	بيدنا
لن نصمت	ضروري	بيد الشعب
لن نسكت	سنقاوم	لازم
نحتج	نصرخ	يد بيد
		ننزل الشارع

## III. Conditionality: variables shaping outlook

### Leadership

قيادة	زعامة	هيئة سياسية
إدارة	زعماء	توجيه سياسي
سلطة جديدة	صدارة	ترشيد سياسي
قائد	حاكم	قيادة جديدة
حكم	رئيس	قيادة فعالة
ارشاد	حاكم	قادة
رئاسة	قيادة سياسية	مسؤول
رائد	حكومة	مسؤولين

### Collective action

تحشيد	حراك شعبي	ثورة
تعبئة شعبية	العراق ينتفض	عصيان مدني
استنفار	مظاهرة	حراك
تظاهر	مظاهرات	احتجاجات
مسيرة	متظاهرين	انتفاضة
عمل تضامني	ناشطين	تظاهرات
	تظاهرات	وعي شعبي

### External pressure/intervention

امريكا	مجلس التعاون	بيد الدول الاقليمية
الامريكان	السعودية	تدخل خارجي
تحالف دولي	سوريا	تدخل دولي
تركيا	الخليج	ايران
أمم متحدة	أوروبا	

### Divine intervention

لا يعرفه غير الله	توكلوا على الله	بيد الله
ما شاء الله	بإذن الله	الله يستر
بعون الله	إن شاء الله	الله يعين
يمهل ولا يهمل		



## ANNEX 3 FUTURE OUTLOOK DICTIONARY IN KURDISH

\*\*\*Note: The words **پاشەرۆژ** or **داهاتوو** or **ئاینده** or **ئایندهی کوردستان/عێراق** were used across most searches under future outlook in conjunction with the terms below.

### I. Perception/sentiment

#### Hopeful/positive/optimistic (مفعم بالأمل/ایجابی/ایجابی)

Answers from UNDP country office surveys	Other keywords/expressions	Other keywords/expressions
قهیران	گهشبین	ئىجابى
هيوامان به گهنجانی هوشياره	به ئومیدوه	ئهزنی
هيوای کوردستانیکی خوشگوزهران دور له دهستتیهردانی حیزب	هاندهر	گهشاوتر
گهنجان ئایندهی کوردستانن	ئاسوی روون	گهشتر
به پشتیوانی خوا باستر دهی	جنگه ی ئومیدی خه لک	باستر
خه لک هوشياره	پهیمان	چاکتر
داهاتوو مان گهشه	مسته قبه ل	پاشەرۆژ
داهاتوو مان روونه	ئاینده مان روونه	ئاینده مان گهشه

#### Hopeless/negative/pessimistic (فقدان الأمل/سلبي/متشائم)

Answers from UNDP country office surveys	Other keywords/expressions	Other keywords/expressions
سه د سالی تریش ناگهین به ئه وروپا	نیزارکەر	لێره هیچ شتێک مانای نه ماوه/نه مایه
نادیار	دهستمان له خۆمان بهردهوا	هیچ ئومیدیگمان نییە
دهستم له خۆم بهرداوه	نی تاقهت بووین	نی ئومید بووین
فهوتا	جنگه ی داخه	نی هیوایی
ئاینده مان لێره فهوتا	نیگهران	نی ئومیدی
مسته قبه لمان فت	وتران بووه	رهشبین
بخوێنی و نه خوێنی ههر وه کو یه که	کارهستیار	خراب
هه موو دونیا به رهو پیش ده روا، ئه وانهش تازه به تازه	رۆیشت/گوزهشت	تهواو نی هیوا بوومه له کوردستان
له کوردستان هیچ ئایندهیه ک نییه	ترسناک	به ئازار
قهت کورد نای به هیچ	ترسینه ره	ئهو بهری نی هیوایی
قهت نابین به دهولهت	بۆ زیلدان	خه موکی
به خوای کاکه ژیان لێره نه مایه وه/نه ماوه	چاو برسی	ناشرین
کاکه باسی کام ئاینده و مسته قبه ل ده که ی؟	چاو چۆنک	کاول
کوردستان به سه ر هه ردوو بنه ماله دابه شکراوه	ناروون/نارۆشن	جنگه ی داخه
کوردستان فرۆشراوه	لێ ناگه رین ئاسووده بین	خوا چاک بکا
هیچ ئایندهیه ک نییه	تاریک	نی ئومیدم
ژیانمان نه ما	سلبي/نه زینی	فیزه ون
سال به سال خۆزگه مان به پار	لێیان نی هیوا بووینه	جنگه ی خه مه
به داخه وه رۆژ به رۆژ خراپتر ده ی	نی هیوا	تونیه کی تاریک
مسته قبه لمان نه ما	بۆ زیلدانی میژوو	نارۆشن
هه مووی خه تای حکومه ته	کوری هه ژار نابته هیچ	به من و تو چاک نای

Answers from UNDP country office surveys	Other keywords/expressions	Other keywords/expressions
میللہ ته کی بی ساحتین	هەر دانامه زرتین	بروانامه ته هه بی یا نه بی هەر نای به هیچ
به سهه سالی تریش ته هم ولاته چاک نابیت	تهم ولاته هه تا بیت خرابتر ده بیت	خۆت بۆ کی ماندوو ده که ی
کورد هیچی نابیت به هیچ	خوتندن و شه هاده لهم ولاته دا هیچ سویدیکی نییه	ژیان لیژه نه ماوه تاکه ریگا رۆیشتنه بۆ ده ره وه
هه موو ته مهنمان رۆی	به خۆرایی	شازده سال خوتنیدمان
داهاتوو مان تاریکه	داهاتوو مان نادیاره	تا دی ته هم ولاته کاو لتر ته ی

## II. Willingness to take action

## Active-agentic

خویشاندان بکهین	ئیمه دهی	بهیه کهوه
بی دهنگ نه بین	پتویسته له سه رمان	کهله دهتوانی
نالی پیده نگ بین	له سه ر ئیمه پتویسته	لازم دهی
به رهنگاریان بیننه وه	دهی بیگورین	دهتوانین
بئینه سه ر شه قام	دهنگمان بهرز بکهینه وه	دهست له ناو دهست
		مان بگرین

### III. Conditionality: variables shaping outlook

## Leadership

سەرکردایه‌تی	رابه‌رایه‌تی	ده‌سته‌ی سیاسى
ئیداره	سەرکرده‌كان	ئاراسته‌ی سیاسى
ده‌سه‌لاته‌کى نوئ	سەرداران	رابه‌رى سیاسى
سەرۆک	حاکمه‌كان	سەرکرده‌یه‌تییه‌کى نوئ
فهرمانره‌وا	سەرۆک	سەرکرده‌یه‌تییه‌کى کارا
رئیشه‌بانه‌ر	حاکم	ده‌سه‌لاتداران
سەرۆکایه‌تی	سەرکرده‌ی سیاسى	به‌رپرِس
سەردار	حکومه‌ت	به‌رپرسان

## Collective action

گردبونه‌وه	خۇپيشاندانى جەماوەرى	شۆرش
كۆبونه‌وهى جەماوەرى	غىراق/كوردستان رادەپەرى	ياخېبونى مەدەنى
ئىدانه	پرۇتتېست	مانگرتن
خۇپيشاندار	نارەزاىيە كان	نارازاىى
مەسىرە	خۇپيشاندەران	راپەرىن
كارى ھەرەوھەزى	چالاکووانان	خۇپيشاندانە كان
	خۇپيشاندان	ھۆشيارى خەلک

## External pressure/intervention

دهستی دهره کی	ئهنجومه نی هاریکاری کهنداو	ئهمریکا
دهستیهردانی دهره کی	سعودیه	ئهمریکیه کان
دهستیهردانی نیودهولهتی	سوریا	هاویهیمانی نیودهولهتی
ئیران	کهنداو	تورکیا
ئیسرائیل	فهره نسا	به ریتانیا
	ئهوروپا	نهتهوه په کگرتووه کان

## Divine intervention

به دهستی خوابه	مه گهر ته نیا خوا چاکی بکا	ته نیا خوا چاکی ده کا
خوا چاکی بکا	به پشتیوانی خوا	ما شاء الله
خوا له ناویان ببا	ان شاء الله/انشالله	به ئیزی خوا
خودا چاکی بکا	به ته مای خوا	هیچ شتیک لای خوا بزر نای

## ANNEX 4 USE OF TWITTER AND GUIDING FRAMEWORKS ON DATA PRIVACY, ETHICS AND DATA PROTECTION

UNDP has free access to Twitter data via a legal agreement between UN Global Pulse and Twitter. It is conditional on respect for data privacy and protection frameworks in designing research methods and queries. In line with the UN Personal Data Protection and Privacy Principles adopted in 2018,<sup>34</sup> which call for putting proper data protection measures in place to prevent data misuse or mishandling, UN Global Pulse has developed a two-phase “Risk, Harms and Benefits Assessment Tool.” It acts as a data privacy, ethics and data protection compliance mechanism to identify and minimize risks and maximize positive impacts from data innovations.<sup>35</sup>

The legal agreement with Twitter offers detailed guidance on ‘what not to do’. For instance, creating a query that would look just for common words like ‘and’ or ‘or’ to ‘get all the tweets’ would come across as abusive and could cut off access. Similarly, querying for an individual would fail to respect Twitter account users’ privacy and undercut the requirement to make sure that no one person is singled out in public.<sup>36</sup>

This current research initially looked into accessing Facebook data, in particular public pages and posts, but an institutional agreement with Facebook seems farfetched at this stage. Facebook’s Automated Data Collection Terms ban the “transfer of data collected through Automated Data Collection in aggregated or bulk form.”<sup>37</sup> Any meaningful analysis of content displayed on public pages relevant to Iraq would only be useful and in line with the data privacy frameworks if aggregated.

Albeit full of merit, big data comes with big challenges. The first pertains to the technical infrastructure that governs data collection through UN Global Pulse. Although it grants access to the complete Twitter archive, it does not allow collection of an infinite amount of data. Instead, we collected data over 100 days historically every month, which limited historical data. Each month, while collecting our granted quota and to benefit from the remaining quota redirected to our project, we optimized data processing by running two collection jobs in parallel, the maximum number allowed.

The size of the data set grew at a very fast pace. More than 12 million tweets were collected each month. Challenges surfaced while running data analysis scripts so we performed parallel processing tasks to efficiently handle the big data given the limited timeframe and high dependency on the research teams for all remaining data preparation tasks. Any small bugs in the code, which are expected with big data, translated into delays in research outputs.



## ANNEX 5 LIST OF MONTHS AND DATES FOR DATA COLLECTION

Month	Number of days	Notes
2021_06	30	
2021_04	30	
2021_03	31	
2021_02	28	
2021_01	31	
2020_12	31	
2020_11	30	
2020_10	31	
2020_09	30	
2020_08	31	
2020_07	31	
2020_06	30	
2020_05	31	
2020_04	30	
2020_03	31	
2020_02	29	
2020_01	31	
2019_12	31	
2019_11	30	
2019_10	31	
2019_09	30	
2019_08	31	
2019_07	31	
2019_06	30	
2019_05	31	
2019_03	31	
2019_01	31	
2018_10	19	From 12 to 31
2018_09	30	
2018_07	31	
2018_06	30	
2018_05	31	
2018_04	30	
2018_01	21	From 10 to 31
Total	1,015	

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