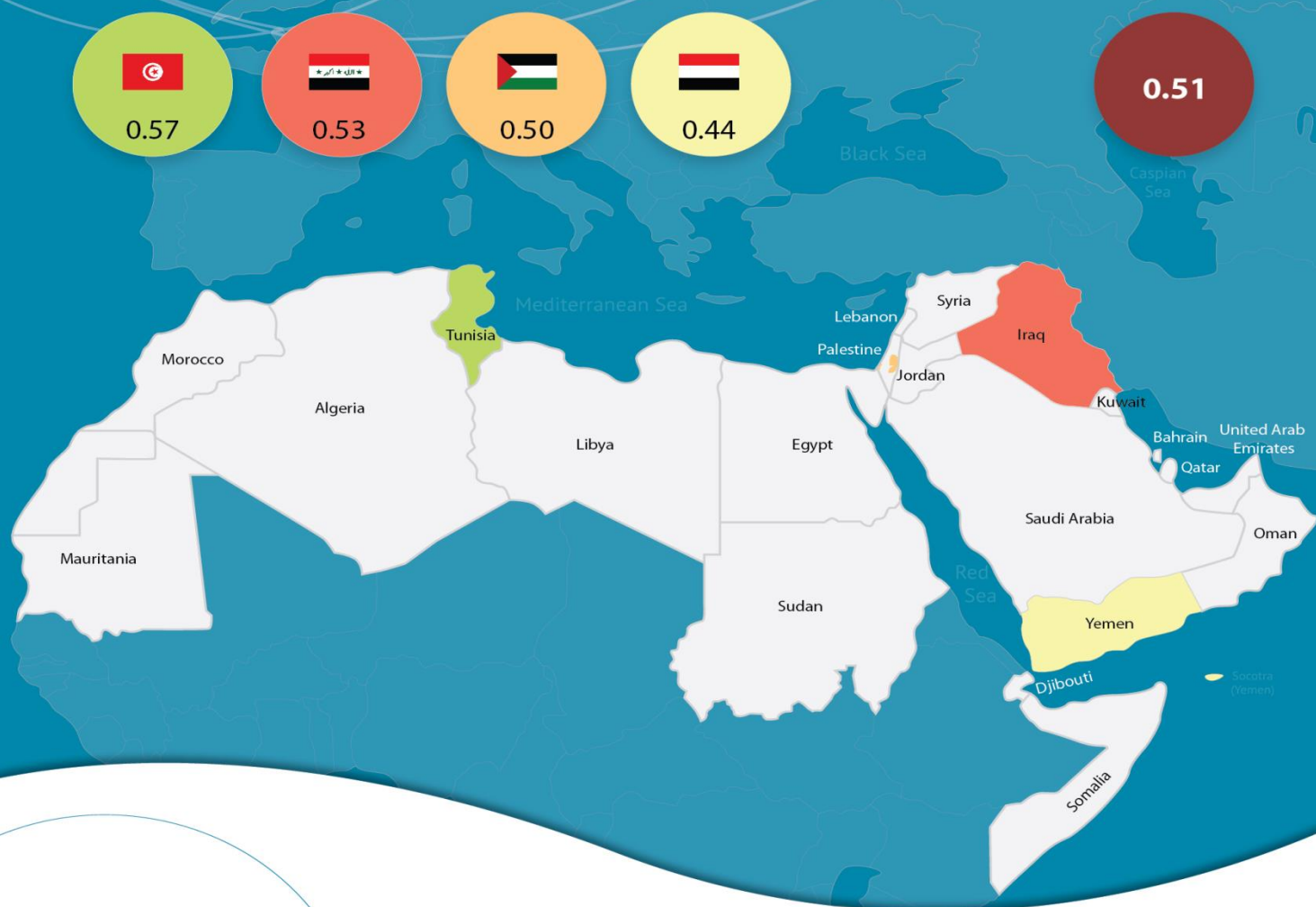


The Arab Security Sector Index: Citizens' Perspectives, 2015



المركز الفلسطيني
للبحوث
السياسية والمسحية
Palestinian Center for
POLICY and
SURVEY RESEARCH

The Arab Security Sector Index: Citizens' Perspectives, 2015

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The Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR)

PSR is an independent nonprofit institution and think tank of policy analysis and academic research. It was founded in 2000 with the goal of advancing scholarship and knowledge on immediate issues of concern to Palestinians in three areas: domestic politics and government, strategic analysis and foreign policy, and public opinion polls and survey research. PSR conducts policy analysis and empirical surveys and public opinion research and organizes task forces, study groups, meetings and conferences. Its work focuses on current public policy issues with a special reliance on empirical evidence as a tool to advance scholarship and understanding.

PSR is dedicated to promoting objective and nonpartisan research and analysis and to encouraging a better understanding of Palestinian domestic and international environment in an atmosphere of free debate and exchange of ideas. PSR is registered as a nonprofit institution in the Palestinian Ministry of Justice.

PSR cooperates with universities and research centers in the Arab World, the US and Europe. Most of its joint research in the Arab World, such as the Arab Democracy Index, Arab Barometer, and Arab Security Sector Index, focuses on security sector reforms, transition to democracy, and public perception of democratic, secular, and religious values.

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The Arab Security Sector Index: Citizens' Perspectives, 2015

Summary

The Arab Security Sector Index: Citizens' Perspectives is a research effort that brings together four Arab research centers to examine public opinion of the security sector in four Arab countries: Tunisia, Iraq, Palestine and Yemen. The index aims to determine the level of progress achieved in security sector reform in the Arab world and the standing of the security services in these countries by diagnosing strengths and weaknesses in performance. Attempts are made to analyze the causes of setbacks and to propose appropriate solutions to policy makers for implementation in reforming and developing the security sector in their countries. Arab security sectors are of growing importance, particularly in their relation to security and the justice system, following the political and accompanying social transformations caused by the Arab Spring in several countries.

The study begins by identifying twelve major indicators that, together, form a general framework from which the security sector in these countries is assessed. Each major indicator is made up of several sub-indicators, and relates to a specific aspect of the security sector. There are 116 sub-indicators reflecting the overall status of the security sector and the justice system as perceived by the general public in the relevant countries.

The status of the Arab security sectors is studied through a public opinion poll in the participating countries. The polls were conducted in the four countries during the period from May 14, 2014 to July 14, 2014. The poll included a representative sample of the public in the relevant countries. The sample also included an additional number of interviewees representing those who had direct experience with the security sector in their countries. In light of the scores of the

indicators defined in the study, the main strengths and weaknesses of the sector are diagnosed in an overall index assessing performance on the basis of seven types of classification: complete, very advanced, advanced, fair, poor, very poor, non-existent. This index enables interested parties and policy makers to detect strengths and weaknesses in the performance of the Arab security system. The report's findings may constitute a launching pad for plans for security sector reform- to reinforce strengths and to find solutions to improve performance and address weaknesses- thereby creating a more accountable security sector. Ultimately, the goal is to attain an advanced security system that ensures stability while guaranteeing public freedoms for Arab citizens.

Effective security sector reforms have not yet been launched

With an overall score of 0.51, the Arab Index indicates that security sector reform in the Arab world has made little progress; indeed half of the Arab citizens surveyed do not trust their security services and are dissatisfied with their performance.

The score for this first round of the Arab index is 0.51. The score reflects a divided society with half of citizens assessing conditions of the security sector as positive, while the other half evaluating these conditions as negative. This finding indicates that several years after the eruption of the "Arab Spring," security sector reform remains stagnant and the Arab masses remain dissatisfied with the performance of the security services.

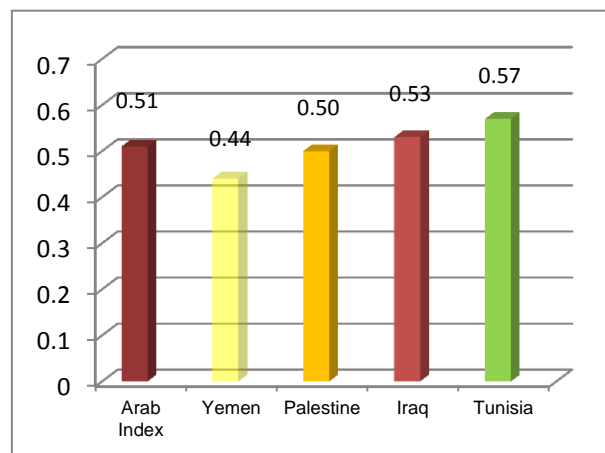
Tunisia comes on top

With six points above the Arab average, the Tunisian security sector receives the top rating while Yemen comes last with seven points below the Arab average.

The overall performance of the security sector and the justice system is rated as "fair" in two

countries: Tunisia, with an index score of 0.57, and Iraq, with an index score of 0.53. Palestine, scoring 0.50, and Yemen, scoring 0.44 are rated as “poor”.

Scores of the various Arab countries compared to the Arab Index



The Tunisian security sector is ranked first with six points above the overall score of the Arab Index. Four indicators are classified as “advanced” or “very advanced.” They include the 5th indicator on confidence in the security services, the 10th indicator on perception of safety and security, the 3rd indicator on future expectations and the 11th indicator on the justice system. One indicator is classified as “very poor,” another as “poor,” and the remaining indicators are classified as “fair.”

The security sector in Iraq is ranked second with two points above the Arab Index. Two indicators, future expectations and perception of safety and security, are classified as “advanced.” One indicator, on corruption, is classified as “very poor,” three as “poor,” and the remaining are classified as “fair.”

The Palestinian security sector, with one point below the score of the Arab index, is ranked third. Two indicators, perceptions of safety and security and future expectations, are classified as “advanced.” One indicator, the 7th on knowledge and awareness, is classified as “non-existent.” Another, on corruption, is classified as “very poor.” Three indicators are classified as “poor” and the remaining indicators are classified as “fair.”

The security sector in Yemen came in fourth place at seven points below the score of the Arab Index. One indicator, on future expectations, is classified as “advanced.” Four indicators, including perceptions of corruption,

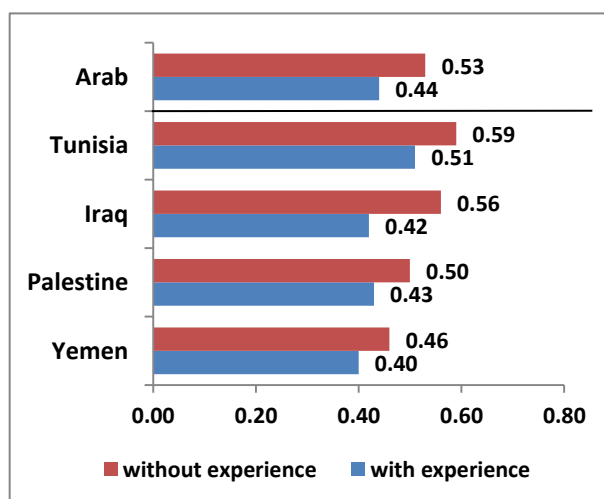
the justice system, and personal experiences are classified as “very poor.” Six indicators, including those on perception of safety and security and confidence in the security services, are classified as “poor.” One indicator, direction of change, is classified as “fair.”

Direct experience with security services leads to negative public perceptions

The score of the Arab index stands at 0.44 among the sample of respondents who had direct experience with the security services and 0.53 among those who do not have such experience.

Findings show that those with direct experience with the security sector and the justice system assess the security sector in a more negative way (0.44) than those without direct experience (0.53). This applies to all participating countries, particularly in Iraq where the index scored 0.42 for those with previous experience with the security sector compared to a score of 0.56 for those without such experience (see figure below).

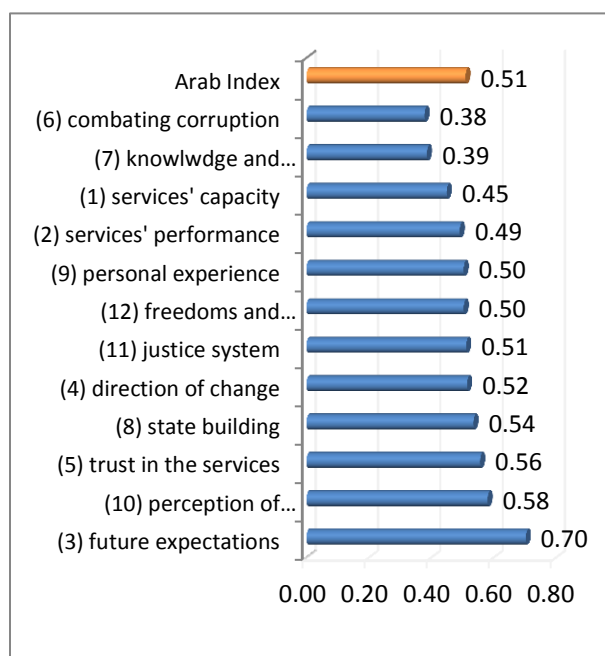
Comparing individuals with experience in the security services and the justice system with those without it, in the Arab index and the participating countries



As shown in the figure below, the highest ranking indicator, scoring 0.70, is number 3,

addressing future expectations regarding the professionalism of the security services. Indicator 10, on public perceptions of personal security and safety, comes second obtaining a score of 0.58. Indicator 5 on the extent of confidence in security services came next with a score of 0.56. By contrast, the lowest score, standing at 0.38, went to indicator 6 which measures public perceptions of corruption inside the security services. The second lowest indicator is number 7 on knowledge and awareness of the tasks and missions of the various security services, scoring 0.39, followed by indicator 1, on public perception and assessment of the professionalism of the security services, scoring 0.45.

Scores of the major indicators of the Arab Index



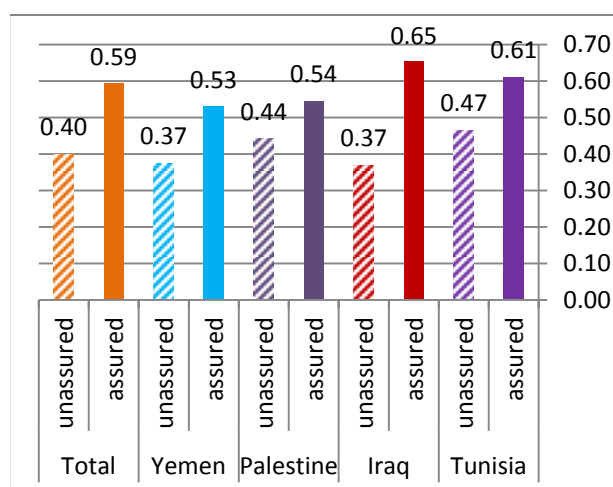
In other words, it is evident that while the public tends to assess the capacity of the security services as low, it, nonetheless, gives the performance of these services a higher rating. Moreover, future expectations and perceptions of the direction of change tend to be positive. It is also evident that the roles, functions and missions of the security services remain a mystery to the majority of the public. Finally, without exception, Arab publics in the four countries tend to have a highly negative view of the security sector's involvement in corruption.

The higher the perception of personal safety and security, the higher the score of the index

Findings show that perception of personal and family safety and security plays a critical role in citizens' evaluation of their country's security sector; the more secure the public is, the higher the security sector score and the less secure, the lower the score.

Perception of personal and family safety and security plays a significant role in citizens' evaluation of the security sector in their country. As shown in the chart below, the score of the Arab index rises to 0.59 among the sample of respondents who feel more safe and secure. By contrast, the score of the index dramatically declines to 0.40 among the sample of respondents who feel less safe and secure. This finding applies to all participating countries. For example, the score in Iraq stands at 0.56 among the more secure and 0.37 among the less secure. Similarly, in Tunisia, the score stands at 0.61 among the secure compared to 0.47 among the less secure. In Palestine, it stands at 0.54 among the secure and 0.44 among the less secure and in Yemen 0.55 among the more secure and 0.37 among the less secure.

Impact of perceptions of personal safety and security on public evaluation of the security sector



Political and sectarian affiliation plays a decisive role

Political and sectarian affiliation has a significant role in determining perceptions of and attitudes toward the security sectors in the various participating countries; but more decisively in Iraq.

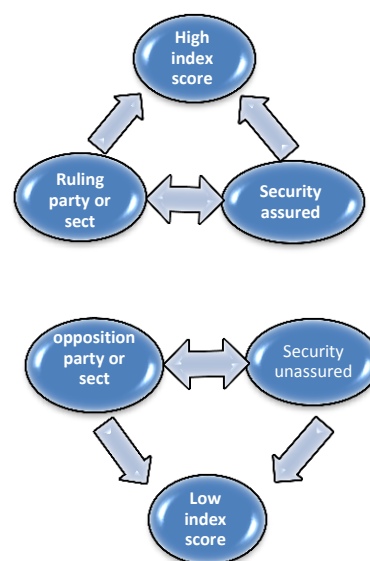
Analysis of the results shows that political and sectarian affiliations play an extremely important role in the formation of public attitudes toward the security sector. The role of political and sectarian affiliation is highly visible in Iraq, where a more positive view of the security services tends to be found among supporters of Shiite parties, followed by supporters of Kurdish parties. The situation is completely reversed, becoming highly negative, among supporters of Arab Sunni and secular parties. A similar trend is found in Palestine among supporters of Fatah compared to Hamas supporters. It is also evident in Tunisia among supporters of al-Nahda compared to supporters of Nida' Tunis, and in Yemen among al-Islah (Reform) Party supporters compared to supporters of the Yemini Socialist Party and General People Congress.

It is clear that there is a strong correlation between the citizens' political/sectarian affiliation and their perception of their personal safety and security: those who support or are affiliated with parties or sects that sit outside government or in the opposition feel unsafe and insecure much more than citizens who support or are affiliated with ruling parties and sects. For example, while perception of safety and security among supporters of Shiite and Kurdish parties in Iraq stands at 68% and 89% respectively, it drops to 9% among supporters of Sunni parties. In Tunisia, perception of safety and security stands at 83% among supporters of al-Nahda party while standing at 75% and 68% among supporters of Nida' Tunis and other parties respectively. It should be noted that al-Nahda party was in power at the time of the poll. In Palestine's West Bank, perception of safety and security stands at 62% among supporters of Fatah and independent nationalists but does not exceed 46% among supporters of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and independent Islamists. In Yemen,

perception of safety and security stands at 67% among supporters of al-Islah party but it drops to 35% and 39% among supporters of the General People Congress and the Yemini Socialist Party respectively.

In other words, if you support or are affiliated with the ruling party, you are more likely to feel safe and secure than the rest of the population. If you support or are affiliated with the opposition party or sect, you are likely to feel less safe and secure than the rest of the population. The score of the index is likely to be affected in similar ways in cases, affiliation and perception of security. As the following chart illustrates, if you support the ruling party or sect, you will feel more secure and the score of the index in this case will be high. If you support the opposition, you will feel less secure and the score of the index will be low.

The direction of influence between political and sectarian affiliation, perception of security, and the score of the index

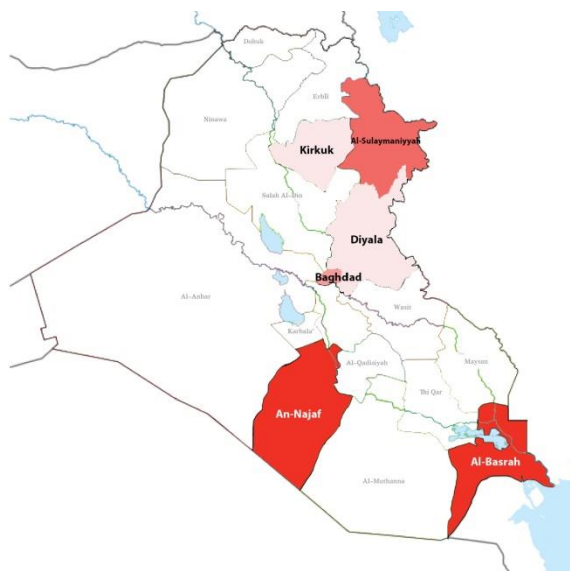


When we plot the two variables of security perception and political/sectarian affiliation on the administrative maps of the participating countries (see maps below), we find that the score of the index significantly rises in those areas that enjoy greater security and have greater support for the ruling party or sect and drops in those areas that enjoy greater insecurity and have greater support for the opposition party or sect.

For example, as the map below illustrates, the score of the Iraqi index stands at 0.70 in areas such as al Basra and al Najaf that have a greater Shiite population and higher perception of security. The score drops to 0.37 in areas such as Dayali which has a Sunni majority and a lower level of security.

The score of the Tunisian index stands at 0.59 in areas like Tunis and Kairouan, with greater support for al Nahda, the ruling party, and greater perception of security. The score drops to 0.45 in areas such as Jandouba and Zaghwan which has less support for the ruling party and a lower level of security.

Distribution of Iraqi governorates according to index scores



Score of the
Security
Sector Index:
0.70

Gap between Sunnite and Shi'ite parties is 93 points in favor of the latter

Security assured: 85%

Score of the
Security
Sector Index:
0.57

Gap between Kurdish and Shi'ite parties is 72 points in favor of the former

Security assured: 83%

Score of the
Security
Sector Index:
0.51

Gap between Sunnite and Shi'ite parties is 38 points in favor of the latter; gap between Shi'ite and Kurdish parties is 51 points in favor of the former; and gap between Sunnite and Kurdish parties 13 points in favor of the former

Security assured: 43%

Score of the
Security
Sector Index:
0.37

Gap between Sunnite and Shi'ite parties is 8 points in favor of the former

Security assured: 42%

Distribution of Tunisian governorates according to index scores



Score of the
Security Sector
Index:
0.59

Gap between Nahda party and Nida Tunis party is 15 points in favor of the latter

Security assured: 79%

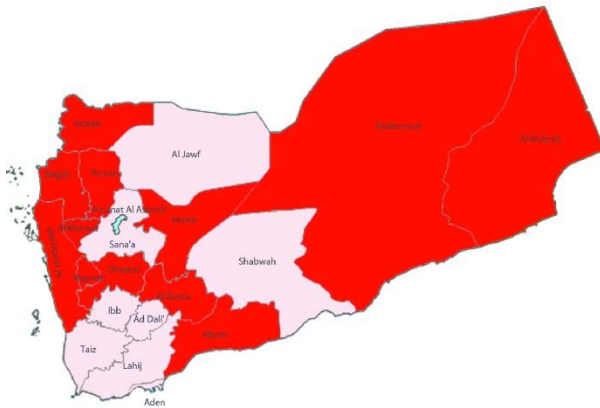
Score of the
Security Sector
Index:
0.45

Gap between Nahda party and Nida Tunis party is 33 points in favor of the latter

Security assured: 41%

The score of the Yemeni index stands at 0.46 in areas such as Hijja, Hadramaut, and Sana which have greater support for al Islah party and greater perception of security. The score drops to 0.42 in areas such as Ibb, Aden, al Hadida, and Taizz which has much less support for al-Islah party and a lower level of security.

Distribution of Yemeni governorates according to index scores



Score of the
Security
Sector Index:
0.46

Gap between Islah (Reform) Party and the Yemini Socialist Party is 15 points in favor of the former
Security assured: 53%

Score of the Security Sector Index:
0.42

Gap between Islah (Reform) Party and the Yemini Socialist Party is 16 points in favor of the latter; and gap between the Yemini Socialist Party and General People Congress is 2 points in favor of the latter

Security assured: 33%

The score of the Palestinian index stands at 0.55 in northern West Bank, which has greater support for Fatah, the ruling party, and greater perception of security. The score drops to 0.48 in southern West Bank which has greater support for Hamas, the opposition, and a lower level of security.

Distribution of Palestinian governorates according to index scores



Score of the
Security
Sector Index
0.55

Gap between Fatah and Hamas is 37 points in favor of the former

Security assured: 67%

Score of the Security Sector Index: **0.48**

- Gap between Fatah and Hamas is 7 points in favor of the latter

- Security assured: 60%

Score of the Security Sector Index:
0.45

Gap between Fatah and Hamas is 9 points in favor of the former

Security assured: 47%

Gender and age matter

Females and older citizens are more positive about the Arab security sectors.

Findings show that women and the elderly view the security services in a more positive light than men and the young. This conclusion applies to the overall Arab index as well as most of the main indicators.

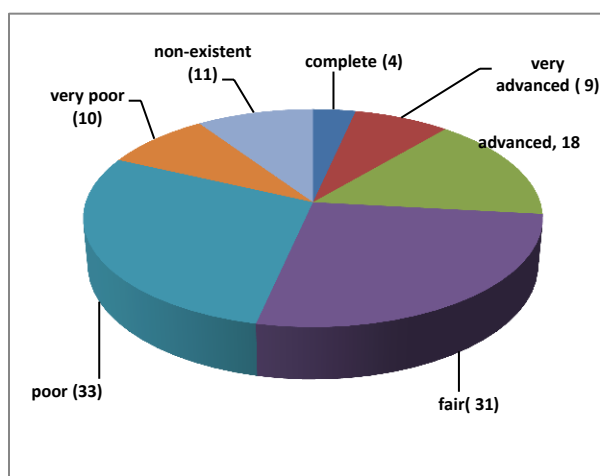
Awareness and knowledge encourage a more positive evaluation of the security sector

Awareness and knowledge of the tasks and missions of the security sector create positive impressions and increase trust in the security services; but the indicator measuring awareness and knowledge receives very low score.

Findings show that people with greater knowledge and awareness of the tasks and missions of the security services hold more positive views than those who are less informed. This conclusion, however, does not apply to all groups. For example, the score of the Arab index drops, as stated above, when it is limited to the sample of those with experience with the security services. Yet, this sample is more informed about the task and missions of the security services than the rest of the public. Women are also less informed than men about the tasks and missions of the various services, but they are among most positive toward these services.

The results of the sub-indicators show that only four were classified as “complete”, nine as “very advanced”, 18 as “advanced”, 31 as “fair”, 33 as “poor”, and 10 sub-indicators were classified as “very poor”. Eleven sub-indicators found reform to be “non-existent” (see figure below).

Classification of the sub-indicators



These results clearly diagnose the strengths and weaknesses in the performance of the security sector in the countries that participated in the first wave of the report. Based on these results, decision makers can implement reforms and enhance the performance of the security sector by tackling weaknesses and reinforcing the strengths identified in detail in this report. This should contribute to improving the performance of security sectors in the Arab world and confronting the major challenges currently facing this sector.

For whom do the security services work?

The public believes that the security services work for the regimes, not the citizens; hence it distrusts them. Effective security sector reform that institutionalizes accountability, combats corruption, respects human rights, and clearly defines tasks, missions, and chain of command is key to winning public trust.

1. The results of the index show that reform in the security sector and justice system remains limited and the general public still believes that the security services work for the ruling elite. Therefore, the pace of reform must be accelerated and deepened for citizens to feel

that reform is being achieved in this sector. This will enable the security sector to win the confidence of the public in the Arab countries that participated in the Arab Security Index.

2. The results of the index indicate that the Arab public believes that there is a serious corruption problem in the security sectors in all countries included in this study. Major efforts should be made to combat corruption by adopting measures that reinforce integrity, accountability and transparency in the work of the security services.

3. The role, authorities and duties of the security services are unclear to the general public. Greater openness and interaction with the public is required on the part of the

security services, in order to promote awareness of their authorities and responsibilities. Duplication of the work of the various security services should be eradicated to avoid public confusion about the duties of each service.

4. Those with direct experience of the security sector and justice system had more negative attitudes than those who had no experience. This highlights the need to focus on the practices of the security services when they deal with the public, and the need to develop a culture of respect for human rights among members of the security services.

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