Analyzing rebuilding state of post-2003 Iraq from Frances Fuku-yama's concept of state building

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to answer the question of study; why was rebuilding Iraq become difficult? This study is important because Iraq has been highlighted one of the most corrupted state in the World. Also, because of its capacity to deal with unrest, terrorism and ongoing social, economic and political instability. While the process of rebuilding state in Iraq has been adopted since 2003, there have been challenges. Since its birth in 1920, the top down state building project has been adopted by the British. However, the project arguably has failed to deliver its main aim which was building a strong state. Iraq is a multi-ethnic and do not have a common language, history, culture and religion. The Kurds, Shia Arabs and Sunni Arabs have tried to protect their own identities and fought for domination. This internal factors could be seen the main issue of state building. However, after the 2003 invasion by the US led coalition, this internal factor combined with the new political system have become the obstacles to build a strong state. Applying the Fukuyama's state-building concept in regard to rebuilding Iraq, the author argues that Iraq is a failed because the Iraqi institutions are not organized and not designed well.

Key words: State-Building, Nation-Building, Frances Fukuyama, and Sectarianism.

پوخته

مەبەستی سەرەکی لە ئەنجامدانی ئەم توێژینەوەیە، هەوڵدانە بۆ بەدەستهێنانی وەڵامی پرسیاری سەرەکی، کە بۆچی دووبارەبونیادنانی دەوڵەتی عێراق ئەستەمە؟ بایەخی توێژینەوەکەش لەوەدایە، عێراق بە یەکێك لە وڵاتە هەرەگەندەڵەکانی جیهان دادەنرێت، هەروەها لەبەر ئەو توانا سنورداریە کە دەوڵەتی عێراق هەیەتی بۆ مامەڵەکردن لەگەڵ هەریەك لە پرسەکانی ناسەقامگیری سیاسی، ئابوری، کۆمەڵایەتی و تیرۆریزم. لە کاتێکدا پرۆسەی دووبارەبنیادنانی دەوڵەت لە ٢٠٠٣ هوە هەوڵی جێ بەجێکردنی بۆ دراوە، بەڵام هێشتا کۆمەڵێك ئالینگاری بەرۆکی عێراق گرتووە.

لەلایەن دەوڵەتی بەریتانیاوە لە ساڵی ١٩٢٠هوە پرۆژەی دروستکردنی دەوڵەت لە عێراق چەسێندراوە بە شێوازێك بووە، کە ئاراستەکەی لەسەرەوە رووەو خوارەوەبووە. هەرچەندە ئەم پرۆژەیە لە دروست کرنی دەوڵەتێکی بەهێز بۆ گەلانی عێراق سەرکەوتوونەبووە، لەبەرئەوەی عێراق وڵاتێکی فرەنەژادە، خاوەن زمان و مێژوو و کەلتور و ئاینی یەکگرتوو نییە. هەریەك لە شیعەکان و سونەکان و کوردەکان بەجیا لە هەوڵی پاراستنی ناسنامەی خۆیانن، ئەمەش لە پێناو زاڵ کردن و چەسپاندنی نفوزی خۆیانە لە عێراقدا. بۆیە دەشێ ئەم فاکتەرە ناوخۆیانە بە بەربەستی سەرەکی دابنێن لە دروستکردنی دەوڵەتێکی بەهێز لە عێراقدا، ئەگەرچی لەدوای هاتنی ئەمریکاو هاوپەیمانان لە٢٠٠٣ هوە، ئەم فاکتەرە نێوخۆیانە تێکەڵی سیستەمێکی سیاسی نوێ کران، کە بوونە بەربەست لە دروست کردنی دەوڵەتێکی بەهێز. بەجێ بەجێکردنی چەمکی دووبارەبونیادنانی دەوڵەت لەلایەن فرانسس فۆکۆیاما بۆ بونیادی دەوڵەتی عێراق، پێمان دەڵێت کە عێراق وڵاتێکی شکستخواردووە، چونکە دەوڵەتێکی دامەزراوەی رێکخراوەی باش نییە.

وشەباوەکان: بونیادنانی دەوڵەت، بونیادنانی نەتەوە، فرانسس بۆکۆیاما، ئیتنیکی و مەزهەبی.

Introduction
Background

The process of state building is one of the most recent and important processes after the events of 11 September attacks, especially for weak or failed states. Following the change of Iraqi political system in 2003 from the dictatorship system to democratic one, Iraq has struggle to function as a responsible state particularly providing peace, security, stability to its own citizens. The existence of a strong state is the will of all countries, and this has changed throughout history. The existence of peace and security within the country as well as the protection of the borders are the basis principles of the state.

Frances Fukuyama believes that all nations must build a strong state that delivers the basic needs of population including peace and security and good economy. In this paper, I will focus on the concept of Building state by Fukuyama and looking at Iraq as a case study. The question in the study is that Why was rebuilding Iraq become difficult?

The main goal of this research is to understand the process of state-building. This research focuses on the process of state building in Iraq, and the design of its institutions, also seeks to highlight the obstacles to the strength of the Iraqi state.

The main issue in the study of Iraq is that there is a debate about whether Iraq is a fail state or weak state, if so why. Most academic scholars, journalists, politicians have extensively written about Iraqi history, politics, geography and religion. However, there is a limited research about why Iraq is one of weak states in the Middle

East in relations to security, economic, social integration and well-being of its citizens. This research aims to examine the status of Iraq and why it has been classified as a weak state in the region. The main question in this study is why was rebuilding Iraq so difficult? Also, what are the main issues in the process of rebuilding it? In this research, the qualitative approach will be employed as a way to undertake and advance in the study. The approach proposed by this paper is derived from review of a wide body of academic literature, the main sources of data used in this research is secondary sources, collecting the information's in scientific way is in the library, journals, and books, journal articles and websites... etc. The approaches of comparative study, historical study, analytical study and the case study were used in this research as a method to complete the main aim. This study is going to adapt the concept of state building in the "State building and World Order in 21st Century, 2004" Francis Fukuyama's view. Because Fukuyama is a modern political thought in 21st century, his views about state building are creating relations between states. Also, the study is going to adapt the most important assumptions and the definition of state building in his book.

The Concept of Building-State

The term of state building is one of important concepts in international relations, and it is now a major issue of concern and it is a long term, there are many scholars that describe the concept of state building. State Building is a normative concept that means different things to different people. And the concept has changed considerably over the years. State-building became the centerpiece of international peace-building, especially at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, driven by the liberal thinkers of peace that predicts stable peace on both the existence of functioning and effective economic and political institutions (Dzelilovic, Kostovicova and Rampton, 2014, p. 3). In its simplest definition, in particular as understood by the international community since the 1990s, state building, relates to the political and historical creation processes, stabilization and stable state development and it refers to the set of the actions that undertaken by the national and international actors to create, reform and reinforce state institutions where they have been seriously eroded or lacking, state building does not simply means the creation or establishing a state, rather it is about reforming, stabilizing or re-establishment of the state and its institutions (Caplan, 2005).

In addition, Francis Fukuyama, an American political scientist, and the most prominent authors in international relations in 21st century, in his famous book State-Building and World Order in 21st Century explained the term of building-state and defined it as "building and creating new institutions of government and make the existing ones stronger". It means that there is already a state and it will reestablish it. He believes that the crucial roots and source of the world's serious problems are failed or weak states like Afghanistan, Somalia (Fukuyama, 2004, p. ix). He states that the world's most crucial problems like AIDS, terrorism, immigration, drugs, and corruption result of weak or failed states (Garzarelli and Thomassen, 2006, p. 1).

Therefore, State-building is a crucial need for weak or failed states and this occurs in all states, whether they are rich or poor, resilient or fragile. All states must attempt to getting to "Denmark" which is good governance,

transparency, well organized, and non-corrupt state. This can be achieved by strengthen their structures of government (Whaites, 2008, p. 4).

According to the report by the World Development Report (WDR) in 2011, most fragile countries are affected violence, conflict, and unstable. The report focused on the needs of building state in order to save and protect civilians in those countries. The report was called for legitimate and inclusive institutions which can clearly provide security, justice and employment for people, because they put the legitimacy as the top key for stability, and providing citizen security, justice, and jobs is also prevent violence or reduce it inside a state (WDR, 2011). Moreover, for the process of state building it is necessary for state to gain the support of the international actors. This is because it gives the state legitimacy and recognize it as an official state. Even though the role of external actors in the process of contemporary state-building is increased since the 1990s, but these efforts remain limited unless the internal and domestic actors are committed and build the internal support. And the process of state-building is also not legitimate and sustainable over the long term without a strong internal political leadership and without ownership of the state-building process by the elite groups in a country. Because the main task in this process for those who want to build a state is to strengthen the capacity of the state's institutions (Fritz and Menocal, 2007: 11-12).

No Scope, Strength

In the Twenty century, many scholars discussed regarding state power. While dictatorship systems took over the strong economy, other states deregulated with revenge. Especially when both Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan plans about the world order after Second World War. After 2000, neoliberalism model uses by most of the western countries. This is known as a "Washington Consensus," that motivated states do not intervenes on each other and let market forces work, even in the places that before come under state control. However, the Consensus did not succeed very well this is because international institutions like World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), tried solve market in developing countries and they did not success. However, there was nothing basically wrong with the Consensus. This is because economic developments require limited "scope" of the state and important "strength" (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 19). In an interview, Fukuyama said that great struggles of the 20th century all concerned the scope of the state, this considered as an assumption of beginning of state-building (Fukuyama, 2004).

Here, it is important to explain and make a distinction between Scope and Strength: the scope of state depends on the numbers of functions that is tries to get it. First, minimal functions like law and order, public health, and macroeconomic managing. Second, intermediate functions such as anti-trust regulations, the protection of environment, and education in country. Finally, activist functions such as industrial policy and wealth redistribution. States can be planned on the activist functions in order to achieve its better its scope. The Washington consensus decreased the scope of state but did not increasing their strength.

The strength of the state, institutional capacity, is not like the scope. It is measured by the effectiveness of

state. In other words, it is a capacity of the governments institutions to create and impose laws, control government obvious, non-corruption, and stay accountable. Strength can be planned by using number of administrators like Transparency International, the World Bank, and Freedom House's index of civil and political liberty. For instance, Sierra Leon and Turkey are not strong states but the USA, Japan, and France are strong states (Garzarelli and Thomassen, 2006).

According to Fukuyama (2004) it is important to differentiate between both the scope and the strength of state, as he states:

State scope refers to a state's range of functions, from domestic and foreign security, the rule of law and other public goods, to regulation and social safety nets, to ambitious functions such as industrial policy or running parastatals. State strength refers to the effectiveness with which countries can implement a given policy. States can be extensive in scope and yet damagingly weak, as when state-owned firms are run corruptly or for political patronage (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 7).

Fukuyama believes that the lack of state capability in poor countries has come much more strongly to affect the developed world, because some of the problems in those countries are not just local, but they are a huge strategic challenge to the developed countries as well. For example, the terrorist attacks on September 11 which weak states were accused of behind the attack (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 18). States need to reduce scope and increase strength, to have a successful state-building (Garzarelli and Thomassen, 2006, p. 2).

Furthermore, according to Jazwinski (2011, p. 10) in his writing about the scope of functions and the strength of institutions argued that "Fukuyama expressed a viewpoint that it is necessary to promote a concept of the state with powerful institutions and with a limited scope of the functions – a powerful but limited state". This indicates that a state which have strong institutions are much more safer and stronger than the states which have a failure institutions like Somalia and Afghanistan.

In combining these two dimensions of scope and strength, the matrix in figure 1 will be available, and this map is dividing into four quadrants, it shows the different significances of economic growth in each of them:

FIGURE 1—STATE SCOPE AND STRENGTH
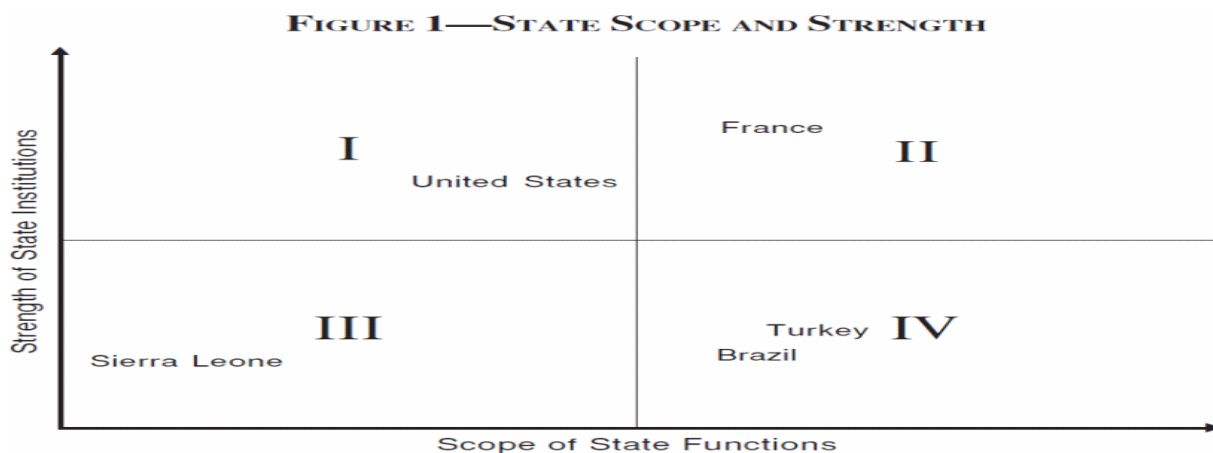
Source (Newton, 2019).

The United States is located in the quadrant I, and it measured as the best place for states, because it combines a limited scope of state's functions and significant of strong institutions. France, which has fallen into the II quadrant, is both at its highest level, which has made it a stable country. The worst place, according to political scientists, is the IV quadrant, because despite the fact that the scope is in that limited but there are still countries which their strength is low. Unfortunately, a large number of developing countries are located in this quadrant, such as Turkey and Brazil (Fukuyama, 2004, pp. 11-12).

Why Strengthen is hard to achieve?

It is a basic principle of international system that states must attempt to strength its functional or some states goes beyond its basic needs such as extensively spending in military and economic power. Here, states can make a balance between scope and strength in many ways. However, reducing the scope without strong institutions is very hard to achieve.

Nonetheless, strong institution is very difficult to achieve because of lack of demand and fund. The author has signified the importance of well-organized country, transparency, non-corruption. However, there are some reasons behind the rejection of strong state by some groups within states.

Lack of information or awareness about the importance and the benefit of a strong state is one of the problems that developing and poor countries face. This will affect country to not having encourages to provide welfare for their citizens in terms of education, protecting rights and so many other aspects. Otherwise, citizens could have a voice and choice in the state and government (Maaia, 2009).

However, some historical events require citizens to make a strong state. For instance, the destruction Othman Empire and the US intervention in Iraq in 2003 made a demand for Iraqi people to rebuild a state in new design (The Fund for Peace, 2015).

The developed and rich countries are funding other states in order to establish a strong state. In other words, they are providing foreign aid and loans through International Monetary Fund (IMF) to those countries as a condition to make a reform and help them to create a strong state. This can be political, financial and economic or trade fund (Elayah, 2016). For example, the United States first aid was after WWII, when George Marshall provided aid for the European countries and assisted them to rebuild their infrastructure, strengthening its economy, and stabilizing the region, this was known as the Marshall Plan, which led to several aids all around the world (Foreign Assistance, 2020). According to a United Nations report, the lack of funding by other countries is one of the biggest challenges for the developed countries because all reach countries are not usually ready to give funds to undeveloped countries (UN News, 2017). Funding is such a tool that will provide a good and unique performance profile, and it will make the institutions strong (Rice and Patrick, 2008).

Many of the developing countries that have a high level of corruption among their government. So the foreign aid and loan in these countries were not useful in the building the state due to the corruption. If this happen,

the economic situation becomes even more fragile as they will not be able to pay back the loan. Also by having to convert their money to dollar or euros, and if the value of their currency goes down they will suffer a lot because their debts will increase (Kenne, 2002, p. 84). Loans have negative impact on the economic growth in those countries, for example, China known as one of African's largest lenders, the Chinese loans to sub Saharan Africa rose to more than $10 billion from 2012 to 2017, as Africa needed the debt to rebuild its economic infrastructure, but some experts believe that governments are taking out more and unnecessary loans under the name of development (Dahir, 2018).

Another challenge face developing countries is that there are elite groups who work towards their interest and strengthening their power in the state. This directly affected equality, justice, fairness and prosperity. Consequently, the middle class lose out of the socialization process that leads to become a weak or a fragile state (Kaplan, 2017; Fukuyama, 2015). Corruption is another disease that have negative impact on economic developments (Shen and Williamson, 2005).

In order to understand the institutional capacity, it is important to explain which institutions are important and how these institutions should be designed, and how they are related to development outcomes. It can be say that the design of government institutions has a positive impact over the defining a state whether is a weak or strong state. This is because the institutions such as parliament and government should act as an institution and not be affect by intervention of parties or any other group in a state. Rather, the institutions themselves are the proximate causes of development, and can be shown to be exogenous in several cases to the material circumstances under which a particular society grows (Fukuyama, 2006). Here, there are four main mechanisms that Fukuyama stated in terms of building a strong institution (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 23).

First, Organizational Design and Management refers to good structure and design that helps to improve connectivity, increase productivity and promote creativity (Luebke, 2011).

Secondly, Political System Design: there is no specific agreement regarding which political system is the best (Fukuyama, 2004, pp. 24). There are various forms of political systems such as authoritarian, monarchies, militarist regimes, and democracy. The most stable political system is the one that can survive in the time of crisis without the internal warfare (Heslop, 2019). As Fukuyama argues that building state is not just about the political system, rather it is about the way of governing the state. For instance, the Nigeria took income from oil about 400$ to nearly 500$ billion in last 30 years. While the per capita is still decreasing in this country and the poverty rate is about %70. This is because there were not applying a great system of governance (Fukuyama, 2015, p. 2).

Thirdly, Basis of Legitimization: this is another important characteristic of institutional capacity. States without legitimacy is very rare to achieve their goal of building a strong state. This is because people should feel that the state is theirs and can protect people's interests. (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 26). However, legitimacy is varying from one society to another. As Samuel Huntington (1968) in his book, Political Order in Changing Societies argues

that the state capacity (the political development) and the state legitimacy can be separate from one another. He added that states could govern regardless or free from their basis of legitimation. For example, previous Soviet Union worked free from the legitimacy, while the US is a liberal democracy. Both of them were highly developed, stable communities. In addition, most of scholars, especially western scholars believe that democracy system is the best one to achieve legitimacy (Fritz and Menocal, 2007: 11). At the result of, providing security internal and external, development economy, and the accepted their biases in Human Rights Charter by UN (Huntington, 1993).

Fourthly, Cultural and Structural Factors that linked to norms, values and culture are affecting on institutional capacity. Foreigners must pay attention on this point because not all cultural accept all forms of institutions. For instance, it is wrong to apply Western institution to Asian or African countries because each culture Western institutions is designed for their culture not for others. As in Arab spring, most of protesters in Libya and Syria ask for Sharia Law based on Quran, Holy book for Islam, they rejected democracy (Dara, 2020). In addition, cultural factors are strongly influencing the development of formal institutions. For example, after the WWII the institutional quality of states like Japan, Korea and Taiwan is not exists in the technocratic booklets, but it exists in the essence of the traditions of the mandarin bureaucratic that have roots in the country for centuries, but this cannot be imposed to other states such as Brazil and Pakistan (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 30).

Nation States Must Engage in State Building

Fukuyama argues that international community, especially developed countries such as the United States and European States must engage in and help the failed states such as Somalia, Kosovo and Haiti. This is because they became a threat to the international community. This can be carry out through various tasks. For instance, through post-conflict reconstruction (Kosovo), institution strengthening (Peru), and institution building (Bosnia) (Fukuyama, 2004: 99-104). This approach increasingly discounts sovereignty that have been accepted since long time ago. Here, Fukuyama let and legitimate Western power, especially the USA and EU to intervene wherever they want.

The USA and European Union have different views about intervention. The USA believes that it is their state responsibility to promote democracy around the World. It believes both mechanism such as peaceful method diplomacy and dialogue, and military power be used to deliver its mission (Callaghan and Kernic, 2003, p. 131). While EU believes that international community have legitimacy that based on justice's principles. This can be achieved by using soft or normative power (Manners, 2013). However, there were circumstances that the violation of human rights were taken place and it urgently required military action. For instance, the US's intervention in Balkan Situation in 1990 (Fukuyama, 2004).

While many of failed states are legally recognized as sovereign states, they are failed at its responsibilities. The problem is weak or failed states that has implication to the global system. In this regard, sovereignty must be

ignored in order to make stability and security. For example, the US intervention in Iraq in 2003 given another chance to the Iraqi people to build a strong state. However, until now it is not clear whether the process of state building that led by the US will succeed because there are still a political upheaval and economy crisis in Iraq (Ali, 2019). It has been argued that the intervention of the international community in a post-conflict countries will achieve full sovereignty (Ghani, Lockhart and Carnahan, 2005, p.13).

Iraq as a Case Study

Iraq is one of the artificial states in the Middle East. Historians generally agree that Iraq, not in the current geographical order, has been a placed of many civilizations since ancient times (Miles, 1990). Iraq was at the greatest of development and knowledge throughout the history (Shafaaq, 2009). After the First World War when the world system changed from multi-polar system and nation state system born, Iraq became one of the new state in it. Since then, Iraqi state examined many forms of government like monarchy, authoritarian, and federal democracy, but it is still facing many challenges and obstacles in terms of building state. (Chambers and Khadduri, 2020).

Looking at the Fukuyama's ideas which has focused on building a nation before a state. It means that the project of building state is very difficult without the project of building nation. Since the beginning of Iraq in 1920, Iraq failed to build a strong nation (Kafala, 2003). This is because the process of building state was top-down project. In other words, the decision of making state has been made by western countries, especially Britain. The decision did not come from the hearts of Iraqi people. And there are some ethnic groups like Kurds did not feel of belonging in new created state. Because Iraqi Kurds believe that they are a civilization of its own, and are one of the oldest nations in the regions. This, they must have equal rights in the regions like Arabs, Jews, Turks and Persian. Here, Iraqi Kurds rejects the new identity and colonialism that has been imposed on. This has been the issue for Iraqi state since its birth. This internal struggle has led to war, conflict, genocide, ethnic cleansing, human rights abuses, non-stability, and economic crises (McDowall, 2007).

In 2003, when the US intervened Iraq and change political system from the totalitarian system to democracy system. Iraq has been at a crossroads in terms of its building state through political development and democratic process. Iraqi people were allowed to have their voice heard in a new parliamentary democracy. All ethnic groups including Kurds were involved in post-Saddam national politics on an equal footing together to rebuild a new state in Iraq (Iraqi Constitution, 2005). Again, new system is still facing a lot of challenges.

The Scope of Iraqi state

In order to understand the scope of the state of Iraq, the institution divided for three different functions. As the result of this we will able to understand the ability of Iraqi institutions in terms of rebuilding their state in recent years.

First, the Minimal Function of Iraq: After the US invention in Iraq there is a space of security and this affected law and order in the country. This is because when the system is changed usually this happen but for the short time. Since that time there are a lot of conflicts inside country, even terrorist attacks like ISIS occupied a most area in country. As political scientist Anders Persson (2011) (Enabling occupation or building a state?) states that one of the crucial dimensions of building state is security, especially in a post-conflict countries, in order to impose law and order in the country (Persson, 201: 7).

Moreover, Iraqi government is not able to deliver public health for its citizens. According to the report by World Bank Group in 2007, the health care system in Iraq, like other sectors has been affected by wars, internal conflicts, as well as political instability and international sanctions, which damaged this sector and limited access to health services (CPIN, 2019, p. 5). This has led to poverty and increasing mortality. For instance, according to the report by World Bank Group for microeconomics, trade & investment (2018), poverty has risen sharply from 19.8 in 2012 to 22.5 in 2014 in Iraq (WBG, 2018).

Secondly, The Intermediate Function: Until the early 1980s, the Iraqi education system was considered one of the most successful in the world. However, in recent years, there have been a number of wars and conflicts that have had a negative impact on the education system (Alwan, 2004, p. 18). According to a UNICEF's report, due to a series of ongoing wars, the educational system has downgraded from being one of the best on the world (UNICEF, 2018).

Thirdly, the Activist Function of Iraq are referring to all the activities by the government at the high level, for instance wealth distribution and industrial policy. The industrial policy in Iraq is generally characterized as the involvement of selective governments to promote a particular economic field and to facilitate structural change this address sectors such as manufacturing, agriculture or services. However, there is not long-term plan in the sector of industrial. It means that there are not national projects in the country to build state in long-term (Mahdi, 2018).

Iraq has oil and natural sources. It is one of the richest countries in the region in terms of natural resources. However, the wealth that get from oil is not distributed equally (Schwarz, 2008: 102-103). The main cause of poverty in Iraq is the mismanagement of state resources, and the corruption that is plaguing all Iraqi resources (Fatah, 2019). The rate of poverty in a country is depends on how the wealth is distributed.

The Strength of Iraq

The assessment of the Iraqi state as a strong state or not, can be demonstrating in many ways, this study emphasizes the non-corruption and transparency in the Iraqi state, to determining the strength of the state of Iraq.

1. The Corruption in Iraq

Corruption is an action or gain that falls outside the scope of legal institutional procedures (Hamasalih, 2019). What is clear is that the rate of poverty in many countries are rooted in corruption. At the result of this corrup-

tion build a weak or failed state.

However, Iraq like any other countries is not safe from the corruption in its institutions. As Transparency International in 2019 stated that Iraq is one of the most corrupted countries in the world. Iraq is placed in 162 out of 182 corrupted countries in 2019 (Trading Economics, 2019).

Some scholars have pointed out the exit of high level of corruption will negatively affect the stated of Iraq and may collapse it. In the future, it will undermine human potential and justice brings it down to a bad level, and then it destroys trust between the government and its people. If the corruption situation continues in long-term, it will bring political upheaval and economic crises in the country, and it will have a very negative impact on becoming a strong state (Hamasalih, 2019).

2. The Transparency in Iraq

In order to understand what Transparency is, it is important to define it. Transparency in the governance sense, means being open and truthful in all official activities and it means that the governments should act openly the assumption is that all operations are sufficiently scrupulous to withstand public scrutiny (Rouse, 2014).

Transparency is a great measure to evaluate the well of any government to reform and fight the corruption. Lack of transparency indicates the unwillingness of the state or the government towards decreasing corruption. Transparency is not just about exposing data and information, but real transparency requires the accuracy and precision of the data. Transparency is not only related to the financial side, but also to the nationalization to some extent of the governing process in general. This means that citizens need to know what is going on with money and how it is spend. In Iraq, for example, there is a data on the official website of the Ministry of Oil regarding revenue of state on monthly. But the problem is with the spend of it (Hamasalih, 2020).

Many scholars believe that the existence of transparency is low level and is relative in Iraq. And this make anti-corruption data and corruption rates unsatisfactory. This is also confirmed by the data and information by international agencies, regarding the transparency and corruption of countries. The recent protests in Baghdad and some other provinces have sparked outrage in the current situation (Hamasalih, 2020).

3. The Well Organized State

The concept of well-organized state has been used by Fukuyama which is another important subject in terms of building state. The concept of well-organized state can also have called a way of life of a society (Fukuyama, 2004: 82). This means that the organization of society is consider as the way of life which reflected in all individuals of the society. A well-organized society requires peace and security as well as predictability. Indeed, a well-organized state is one of the basics for the strength of that state. It means that if a state institutions and society are organized and worked well and actively affected on building a strong state. Hence, the well-functioning institutions are essential for thriving states and a solution to the failed state's problem.

Moreover, state's order has been changed since the widespread of globalization. Thus, societies need to be well-organized in order to corresponded with the international order like technology. It means the way of providing peace and security is changed from what we used to have (United Nations, 2002).

Most of institutions in Iraq are not organized and do not work actively because of the lack of institutionalization. However, in 2003 when the United States invaded Iraq tried to reorganize the country and make it a well-organized state. Especially after changing the political system from dictatorship to democracy without pay attention to the social values and norms for Iraqi society. This is because the US believed that they can well-organized state by applying democratic principles on the Iraqi society. However, they were not succeeded because Iraq has a population that throughout history known as a religious people, and prioritize religion above other human invented principles. Iraqi society has their own values and norms which are based on Islamic societies.

The Challenges of the building state process in Iraq

In order to explore the serious obstacles facing the establishing of strong state in Iraq, this part of paper addresses the challenges of the process of building state in Iraqi. The framework clarifies our understanding of the strong state in post-dictatorship countries and proposes indicators of institutionalization that could be used to assess the process in Iraqi. Thus, the process of state-building is always facing many challenges, especially in states like Iraq which are multi-cultural, multi-religion and sectarian. Here, focusing only on strong state in post-conflict countries by considering four challenges:

Sectarian conflict in Iraq

Iraqi society is a multi-ethnic, multiculturalism and multi-religious structure. After the death of the prophet Muhamad (peace be upon him), Islam civilization divided between two main sects Sunni and Shia. Conflict between two sects is expected because of unchanging, essential characteristics of the members of these categories. The antagonism toward another group has existed since the identity of sectarianism was first created (Strand, 2016).

The difference between Sunni and Shia is partly driven by historical interpretation of events and Islam in general. Each sects rejects the other, waits for opportunity to dominate the other. This has been the case since the death of Prophet Mohammed (peace upon him). The thousand year's history of these two sects cannot be resolved in the matter of times. Iraq was ruled by Sunnis since its birth in 1920. After the US led invasion, that ended the Sunni rule through imposing a democratic model that has allowed the Shia majority to dominate the political atmosphere. Since the establishing new government in 2003, there were not national project in order to establish a government on Iraqi nationalism. For example, they divided main positions in the government on the basics of sectarianism and ethnicity, such as the position of Iraqi Prime Minister must be for Shias and the positions of Parliament speaker for Sunnis (Ali, 2019).

This shows that the country is constantly at risk of escalating conflicts and divisions, and this sectarianism will be a risk for the coexistence of society and the structure of the state. This is because the deepening of this phenomenon in politics, it is a mistake that the political authorities in Iraq have taken over since 2003.

Formation of political parties in Iraq based on sectarianism and ethnicity, and the elite groups of sects controlled those political parties are also the contributing factors. They have prioritized their interests above national one. These different interests and sects have created a vacuum of political maneuvers. They are able to do that because they have their own militia. Each of these sects and elites aims to dominate and rule. Consequently, Iraq has become a place anyone has militia has a place in wealth and ruling (Strand, 2016).

Moreover, regional competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia have negative impact on the process of building state in Iraq. This is because Iran and Saudi led different sects in the region and they use Iraqi political parties that based on sectarian as their proxy agents. Thus, the sectarian side has led Iraq to be a weak and unstable.

Role of law and the judicial system in Iraq

The state building theory for the rule of law and a judicial system in countries presented in the theoretical framework considers the rebuilding of law and order, responsibility and public trust as a significant basis for a state building process. It is also considered as one of the most crucial supports of the characteristics of building state in countries because there has been growing acknowledgement that the mechanisms of building state will not work without it. Here, it is significant to find independent, objective, and effective juridical organizations and control mechanisms to guarantee the rule of law in order to raise the reliability of legal proceedings and remove injustices. As Fukuyama stated in his book The End of the History and Last Man another reason that make states as a failure state is the failure of legitimacy, and all regimes must have some principles of legitimacy in order to do effective actions (Fukuyama, 1992).

Thus, national security in Iraq is under threat than ever, because the power that has lost the mental legitimacy of society. And the livelihoods of the people are in a state of disrepair because the division of society is the result of dictatorship and monopoly. Therefore, more important than the state is the legitimacy of power, and if there is no legitimacy, it threatens national security and the country (Abdullah, 2017).

Lack of Individual Confidence in the State and Institutions

The existence of trust between the government and its citizens is considered as one of the most important factors in the strength of the state. In contrast, the lack of that trust will have a negative impact on the country and will lead to instability and insecurity. In Iraq, there is a lack of trust, so it means that the Iraqis do not have confidence in the society so it doubts that the state will be able to achieve their dreams and goals.

Economic crises, no electricity, clean water in south provinces, and poverty became a part of daily life for Iraqi people. This situation led to make untrusted of Iraqi people to its government (Looney: 2008: 8-15).

Moreover, Iraq divided between three main different regions like Shia Arabs, Sunni Arabs, and Kurds. This leads to a decrease the sense of Iraqi patriotism among individuals. This is because each of these groups have their own identity instead of their main identity which is Iraqi identity. In other words, the identity of Iraq breaks down to sectarian or ethnic identity (Haddad, 2016: 4-8). For example, Kurds from north of country do not recognize themselves as Iraqi. That's why they usually seek to get their independence from Iraq and establish their own state. Even Sunni Arabs do not feel confidence with the state of Iraq, especially when Shia sect control most of the great authority in the state. That's why they accept and help ISIS to control Sunni areas in the country in 2014 (Ali, 2019).

It can be concluded that, all of these problems will lead to weakness in the country, also will lead to political, economic and social instability, and be a challenge to the process of state building. So, the Iraqi government, if it wants to have a strong state, must try to achieve the trust of its citizens first and foremost.

Building nation as a precondition for building sate in Iraq

Strong state is based on building a nation first. Without building a nation is very difficult to build a state. Nation building is a controversial issue in Iraq. This is because since 1920 Iraq is struggle to function property. Kurds inside country does not want to live with Arabs, rather they want to build their own nation. In 2005, when the US invade Iraq tried to change a political system, federal democratic, and make a new constitution for Iraqi people, in order to build Iraqi nation before Iraqi state (Fanack, 2009).

Nation building play a crucial role in terms of peace, coexistence. But in Iraq, there is always tensions and conflict between Sunni, Shiite, and Kurds groups. Since the invasion in 2003, the Iraqi structure has collapsed and the peace and security of the community have been threatened, the terrorist groups have been formed and social stability has been severely curtailed. There has always been inequality between ethnic and religious groups, from the seizure of power to the acquisition of the country's wealth, which in itself leads to the country's instability (Cordesman, 2020). Accordingly, all of these problems between Sunni and Shiite, and Kurds have negative impact on building nation in the country and resulted over the process of building a strong and powerful state.

Conclusion

From the very beginning of human existence, they have lived collectively and later created societies then states. Each scholar defining a concept of state differently, but it can generally be said that a group of people live in a certain area that have their own culture, language and set of rules and laws. Modern definition is different from the classic one that focused on international recognition. Modern political thought like Frances Fukuyama in his great book State-Building, Governance and World Order in 21st Century focused on the concept of state building, especially in weak or failed states. Because those countries are considering as a source of worlds problem

like unrest and terrorism and immigration issues. However, this concept does not mean the creation of a new state, rather it is an attempt to reorganize and activate its institutions. And also states that state-building means building new institutions and strengthening the existing ones.

In addition, States need to determine their scope and strength that scope consider as a range of activities and strength as effectiveness. Here, states require to limited their scope and increase their strength in order to build a strong state. Achieving strength in a state is not an easy task, and many countries are failing in their efforts to strengthen. Greater strength seems to have economic development, however, reducing scope without establishing strong institutions in a country would not able to encourage developments.

Strong states require non-corruption, transparency, and well-organized stated. In Iraq, the rate of corruption is very high in all sectors. According to Transparency International Report, Iraq listed as corrupted 162 out of 182 countries in the world. Moreover, transparency in Iraq is relatively not clear, there are some data that shows the income and the rate of selling oil in the country, but there is not accurate data about the Iraqi revenue and it is not clear how the wealth of country distributed. In addition to transparency, Iraq is not well organized country in terms of governing system, security sector, and a good economic system.

There are challenges that face the process of re-building state in Iraq. First, since 2003, there is internal conflict between Shia and Sunni sects. This is because during Saddam Husain's regime Sunnis were on power and they use that power against Shia in the country and now Shia sect mostly dominated the power after 2003 wanted to revenge on Sunni people. Second, while there are judicial institutions especially high federal court, but carrying out the law is under the hands of Shia because they dominated most important branches of the government like prime minister and other great minsters in the government. Third, there is not trust and individual confidence between the state and its people. Partly because economic crises, no electricity, clean water in south provinces, and poverty became a part of daily life for Iraqi people. Finally, nation building as a precondition for building state, till now Iraq is struggling with it. This is because Iraq is a multi-ethnic like Kurds Arabs and others. Each of them is working to build their own nations. It means building nations inside another nation make a huge challenge front of building state.

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