Social and Political Repercussions of Federalism in Iraq

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Abstract

The present study tackles federalism in Iraq by identifying the application of federalism and its social and political repercussions on the Iraqi society. Federalism is defined as a type of governance in which authorities are divided between a central government and smaller governmental units, such as regions or states that are interdependent on one another and share sovereignty in the state. Federalism may involve the shape of government or constitutional structure existing in Federal States. So, it is a governance system in which states give up some of their authorities to a central government.

Keywords: Federalism, repercussions, confederation.

Introduction

As a governing system, federalism is a civilized phenomenon, which means that all social components of a society are equal. It gives rights equally in all areas of life and according to the law. It depends on an agreed constitution and strictly governed by human laws. This system reduces the responsibilities placed on the central state to smoothly manage the affairs of the country.

As this system has many factors, it has positive and negative social and political repercussions as well, which need to be tackled. Repercussions are the direct effects and tendencies of the work to be conducted. Federalism directly affects any society or a state as it is related to daily life of rights, duties, and human rights to give an opinion and live with dignity. Hence, federalism means submitting to the constitution that governs the country.

The Problem Statement

There are certainly undeniable problems facing the study process on the subject of federalism, especially in a country like Iraq. The novelty of the issue in itself is the first obstacle. Iraq has never had an experience like federalism and administrative divisions as it is today. The successive governments in Iraq were mostly military, except for the monarchy, which was also militarily managed by Britain. There was no definite and future program for such a law by which the regions could administer themselves by themselves, adhering to the conditions of the state. Rather, the ruler was the law in all its details. There was no deviation from it.

Therefore, what was written about federalism in previous periods cannot be said to mean that it has become a reliable source for building an integrated research on it. Then, problems are still stuck in the application of federalism due to a lack of understanding and lack of acceptance by some politicians and the Iraqi people, attempts to control all policies by the parliament concerning the form of government in the region or regions that implement federalism as a governing system, as well as external obstacles and interference by countries that have their interests in Iraq that impede the implementation of the federal system for many reasons, including losing economic and political interests, demanding federalism that is similar to Iraq, which

will lead to problems in the systems of governance in those countries, as well as the struggle over who dominates Iraq's strategic location and control of water resources and its internal wealth. Therefore, the problems of research on the issue of federalism may be many, first in terms of concept and secondly in terms of The novelty of the subject, which has not been previously discussed, and the difficulty of comparing what has been applied in countries that have a long history in implementing the federal system and Iraq, which is modern in its application. Among the most prominent research questions are: What is the nature of the federal system in Iraq? What are the conditions for its establishment and its characteristics? What are the social and political repercussions of the federal government experience in Iraq?

These questions constitute the core of the research problem that is to be answered through research procedures.

Significance of the Study

Studying the subject of federalism is one of the important studies so that it is possible to write about it in the form of volumes. The topic needs many studies as it is somewhat new to the Middle East region. Therefore, the present study is about the federal experience in Iraq represented by the Kurdistan Region and attempts to form other regions in the West, the Center, and the South. It is a simple and preliminary study due to the immaturity of the main formula in its full and equal application to the federations of countries that adopted a formula for governance and succeeded in it with great success and were able to overcome obstacles that posed risks to its construction. Identifying the political and social repercussions on the federal experience leads to identifying their problems and the obstacles they face and what will lead to the fate of the comprehensive federal program and its applications to enhance the concepts of

coexistence and the distribution of powers, then programming the policy of the regions and their compatibility with the government program according to the approved constitution with all its legal articles. The federal system is characterized by progress and development in The process of managing the affairs of government, especially in the far-flung countries whose differences in their political, social, and economic conditions. It is a practical means that stands in the middle between surrendering to a distracted reality and idealism that calls for complete fusion and comprehensive unity because of the embodiment of joint rule.

In light of the foregoing, tackling federalism is significant in that it is considered the safest system currently in countries that include multiple ethnicities, gender, peoples, languages, and multiple geography as well.

In order to identify merits, many international laws should be tackled about the best points that enhance the federal process and the obstacles that hinder its application while revealing the most prominent social and economic repercussions of this experience in order to avoid shortcomings and support the positive aspects to compare what is on the ground and what has been applied like it in many countries and try to bring out the useful as a natural, geographical, and social reality. Studying the topic of federalism, identifying the obstacles of its application, and finding solutions to them could be a long program that would serve many peoples if they wanted to implement it.

As the subject of federalism is new to a country like Iraq, and since its application needs many programs, research and studies on this topic are useful in finding solutions to problems that may occur. The present study may be useful in analyzing the federal

Reality, its problems, obstacles, social and economic repercussions, as well as the treatments.

Objectives of the study

The present study aims to obtain a number of objectives, including:

1   Understanding the importance of the federal system, the conditions for its establishment, and its characteristics.
2   Revealing the social and political repercussions of the federal system in Iraq.
3.   Seeking to test differences according to the variables of age, gender, nationality, and standards of living of the respondents about the obstacles and social and economic repercussions of the experience of the federal system in the region.

Limits of the study

The present study is limited to individuals employed in the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Education in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

Definition of Key Terms

Federalism

Idiomatically; It is a set of complex political systems of government that combine strong units that make up the government and a strong general government, with each side enjoying the powers entrusted to it by the people through the constitution and having the authority to deal with citizens directly through practicing its legislative, administrative, and tax powers (Wats, 2006).

In the broad sense, federalism can be defined as a legal technique based on assembling distinct human groups, which leads to reconciling two contradictory trends: the direction of autonomy for member groups, and the direction of the hierarchical organization of an overall group that includes the group of primary groups. The various federal structures, regardless of their objective or legal system, show the two general laws that form the basis of every federal system: the law of autonomy and the law of superposition (Saifan, 2004).

Federalism may indicate a political approach to managing the complex state through the duality of the legislative and executive powers as the correct expression. Yet, it may indicate an approach of division or dispersion of the state. For others, it may indicate the right to decide the fate within the framework of the state (Ahmed, 2013).

Procedurally; Federalism can be defined, according to the study directions, as a union that is partly subject to one central authority and maintains partial constitutional, administrative, and judicial autonomy.

Repercussions

Idiomatically; It is a term that is almost synonymous with the term effects, which means the consequences or effects and results, whether they are social, political, or economic.

It represents a description of behavior and attitudes towards others. It also means a situation in which there is a mutual influence between parties that have ties and relations. It is an effect of the impressions it receives from outside (Muhammad, 2020).

Procedurally; The term repercussions   is   the manifestations or results that result from a particular phenomenon, whether this phenomenon is social, economic, or political, and it positively or negatively affects individuals or society.

Confederation

It is a term that refers to a union established by a treaty between fully sovereign states, between which a permanent body called the Assembly, Conference, or Congress shall be established and entrusted with common powers to be practiced individually or jointly with the other member states, which retain their sovereignty and the greater part of their powers, such as their right to independent political representation and the right to conclude treaties And dealing with foreign countries directly, with the exception of certain issues stipulated in the document of the union. The authorities of the union are granted only limited powers that were agreed upon in the treaty of the union. These powers are not subject to modification except with the approval of all the member states (Abboud, 2005).

The Social Theory of Federalism by Williams Livingston

The theory is defined as a consistent deductive intellectual system about a phenomenon or a group of homogeneous phenomena that contains theoretical concepts and issues that clarify the relationship between phenomena and organize them in a meaningful way. It has a dimension that depends on reality and its data. It also has a direction that helps to understand the future of the phenomenon, even in probabilistic formulas.

The social theory of the scientist William Livingstone states that federalism is a form of political and constitutional organization in which there are a number of diverse

groups or component political systems in one system of government so that the personality and individuality of the component parts is preserved to a large extent. Federal institutions are basically a product of Social, economic, political, and cultural powers of institutions, which means that these institutions are essential to the external form of federalism. So, the federal government is a tool through which the federal characteristics of society can be expressed and protected.

Hence, Livingston believes that federalism as a product of society and mentions that his social theory emerged as a result of the gaps in the legal theory. He emphasized that federalism is not a function of constitutions but a function of societies. It expresses the diversity of people in society and may be Expressing the diversity among members of society in a way that some positions exist in certain regional areas or may be widely spread throughout the society as they are collected at the regional level.

Livingstone's theory came as a reaction to the theories before it, such as legal theory which indicates that the federal government is a group of states that are formed for certain common purposes, with member states retaining a great deal of their original independence. Criticisms leveled against this theory are that it has not been tested in time and that it is a comprehensive theory from the view of federalism. It is purely central and it is not universally applied. They considered it a theory with a high legal tone.

In his theory, Friedrich states that federalism is a dynamic process that is a means to achieve an end, not an end in itself. This theory is criticized as that viewing it as a dynamic process made it hard to determine a time frame to claim that the political regime practices federalism and that it failed to address how federalism is a system of government. Thus, these scholars neglected the role of economic, social, cultural, and

political powers, i.e. institutions, parties, economists, labor powers, culture, thinkers, and other powers of society. Livingstone believes that these have a role or a right to demand federalism Because despite the presence of a number of similarities and agreements between the center and the region, there are certain differences or intractable problems that are difficult or impossible to address without federalism, for example, the regions have suffered from ethnic cleansing or ethnic wars with regard to social powers, or a dispute over wealth with regard to economic powers, and so on.

In the context of the present study, the social theory is the closest. Federalism is a system resulting from the union of various states and regions. Federal institutions are the product of social, political, and economic powers. Each federal government has social and political repercussions. Federalism is a successful system in a country that is characterized by pluralism and diversity such as Iraq.

Applying Livingstone's theory to Iraq gives a theoretical approach. Its content states that federalism is found in the economic, social, political, and cultural powers that make the external forms of federalism necessary.

Since granting the Kurdistan Region Auto-governance in 1992, it appeared that it was the result of a number of factors, such as fear of the people of Kurdistan from the return of dictatorship, which is the political concern, the seizure of their capabilities and bounties by the center, which is an economical concern, seeking to use repressive methods to Arabize them and erase their language and sub-culture, which is a cultural concern, as well as marginalizing them and dealing with them as if they were second-class citizens, which is a social concern. In addition, based on the results of the present study, generally, applying federalism, the region has succeeded to preserve the achievements that have been achieved, whether culturally, socially, or economically as

well as politically. Federalism contributed to enhancing democracy. It also contributed to granting minorities the various rights guaranteed by the constitution to every citizen or component. The application of federalism was reflected in the regional government's practicing of some of its fiscal and financial authorities. The implementation of the federal system in the region was reflected in helping the region's members to meet their needs easily, as well as identifying social, economic or political crises. In addition, the application of federalism contributed to improving the social, economic, and political conditions of the region's members. There is convergence and congruence between the region and the center From the cultural, social, economic, and political aspects. From the cultural point of view, the various Kurdish intellectuals have common links and ties with the intellectuals of Baghdad and the other Iraqi provinces. It is distinguished by mountains, valleys, water springs, and bright nature, unlike the rest of the plain, flat and desert regions of Iraq in some areas. On the other hand, there is a similarity, for example, in religious rituals such as celebrating the month of Ramadan and eating the same types of food. In terms of social powers, there are no fundamental differences between the residents of Baghdad or the residents of the region. Rather, there are points of consistency and similarity that are more than differences. That is evidenced by the coexistence of all the different components, nationally, religiously, or ethnically. The region is now considered a miniature Iraq that includes many sects, races, and religions that coexist in harmony and peace and are linked by kinship, companionship, and many interests, for example, sharing a common destiny and rejection of injustice and tyranny, whatever it is. From the economical aspect, these powers are the same between the Kurdistan Region and the center, i.e. Baghdad. The private sector in Iraqi Kurdistan is still below the required level in terms of the volume of production and export of local goods of any

kind, in addition to its inability to provide decent job opportunities for the residents of the region. The clearest example of that is the student protests and finally, teachers' protests for not receiving their salaries for months. As for the government sector, it is still dominant in the region, but it is not better than the private sector in terms of providing services in various ways, such as health, housing, or education. All these sectors are still below the required level, despite possessing the same wealth as the other regions of Iraq. Moreover, the region's share of the federal budget exceeds the budget allocated to the other the provinces such as Basra, the most oil-producing province in Iraq, but it failed to create prosperity for its citizens despite autonomy since 1990. But, the region has not witnessed the deterioration of the security situation compared to the other Iraqi provinces. From the political aspect, it can be said that the composition of the Kurdistan Region's government is similar to that of the central government in terms of government administration. It is a miniature model of the central government in terms of following the same cabinet formation, the policy of wealth management, combatting poverty, the ruling class's monopoly of wealth and influence at the expense of the working class, in addition to inability to face the security risks from some neighboring countries without resorting to the center. The region is always exposed to attacks from these countries despite the aforementioned rapprochement. Yet, it cannot be denied that there are differences between the region and the other Iraqi provinces at many levels represented by cultural, social, administrative, and economic aspects that require the application of an independent local administration in various aspects to manage its own affairs. There must be an agreement between the Federal and the Region's governments   to achieve stability and peaceful coexistence.

Social and Political Repercussions of Federalism in Iraq

Federalism is a form of social, economic, and political organization. It is a constitutional and administrative organization that arises either at the internal level through the transformation

of a simple state into a federated complex state, i.e. federation, as well as at the international level through the establishment of federal relations between independent and sovereign states, which lose their independence and sovereignty and retain their autonomy While sovereignty is confined to the federal state or the federation arising from this union. This type of federalism is political federalism. It is related to the geographical shape of the state. Social and economic federalism is a general awareness that includes the entire society. There are many repercussions. These repercussions may be social or political. These repercussions affected the social lives of individuals. Accordingly, this section is divided into several subsections, as follows:

Social repercussions of federalism in Iraq

Repercussions are the direct effects and directions of the work to be done. The impact of federalism on any society or state is a direct effect that affects the daily life of everyone in terms of human rights and the right to express opinion and live in dignity. Repercussions of federalism is that there is submission to the constitution that governs the country.

Federalism and democratic values

Democracy imposes itself today as the natural form of political organization and the political manifestation of modernity. Democracy is based on three principles:

Recognizing the basic rights of individuals and groups

Social actors should feel that they are responsible for their own freedom and recognize the rights and value of human beings. There is no democracy without this responsibility that is either created or eliminated by family and school.

The social representation of officials and their policies

There is no democracy without the presence of representation, that is, without the choice between rulers being compatible with defending the different interests and opinions represented by society.

Awareness of citizenship

The people who choose the rulers and participate in the democratic process must be citizens.

There is no doubt that the reality of democracy, even in light of advanced democracies, is very different from its ideal model, given that individual and factional interests do not regress before the rule of the general will. Through a group of manifestations, including (the decline in political participation, the crisis of political representation, and the weakness of awareness of citizenship), which make many individuals feel that they are consumers rather than citizens, and an increasing number of them feel that they are marginalized and that they do not participate in it for economic, political, ethnic, or cultural reasons.

All democratic countries share certain characteristics. Periodic fair elections guarantee political participation and representation of the interests of all sectors of society.

Transparency allows citizens to monitor the procedures through which their elected representatives adopt and implement public policies. For a state to become a true democracy, it must guarantee the basic human rights of all citizens, such as freedom of expression, assembly, religion, fair trials, and rights of minorities must be guaranteed. There are four

conditions for democracy as follows (Davis, 2005):

First; Democratic states must build strong institutions that protect citizens from the arbitrary practice of political power. Citizens can only be free by resorting to institutions that protect their interests.

Second; Citizens must have access to information about the workings of the political system in their society. Without this information, they cannot develop critical thinking skills that allow them to make objective choices between competing political parties and policies.

Third; The government must ensure that all citizens enjoy social justice.

Fourth; All democratic societies must be characterized by agreement among citizens on the basic ideals that unite them.

The prevailing opinion among thinkers and researchers is that it is not possible to establish a real and permanent federal state except in the presence of a democratic system. By its nature, the federal system requires a democratic system of government, whether within the constituent states of the union or at the level of central government bodies and institutions because the federal system by its nature requires democratic ruling and free government because if the system is not democratic, the representatives in the government will become mere delegates to the autocratic rulers in the regions and   regional government or central government autocracy and dictatorship will lead to

the elimination of equality in the legal status and independence that those governments must possess within their constitutional jurisdiction. If the regions are a dictatorship, they choose their delegates, not the elected representatives of the regions to represent the regions in the central government, and so for the federal government. If it is a dictatorship, it tries to expand its control over the regions, eliminate their independence, and transform the state into a state of unity. On the other hand, some jurists say that the federal solution is enough to solve The problem of democracy and achieving coexistence and harmony among nationalities in societies that are not harmonious, heterogeneous socially, ideologically, culturally, and politically conflicting within one geographical and human space (Ameen, 2006).

The relationship between federalism and democracy is a strong and vital relationship at the level of the origin and the level of intellectual presentation. But, it is not so at the level of institutional organization. Democracy is a desire for freedom represented by the adoption of election, choice and voting. Federalism is the product of two desires. The first is a desire for union and the second is a desire for independence. Federalism cannot be understood without relying on a democratic basis for freedom in federal or non-federal choice, such as confederation, for example. There are examples that represent this relationship. The United States of America is a federal and democratic state, while France is a democratic state, but it is not a federation. As for Iraq, the constitutional texts stipulate that Iraq is a federal democratic country together, while recognizing that democracy and federalism as an experiment on the ground have not yet been completed (Ahmed, 2009).

As the ideal solution for the future of Iraq is through achieving democracy and federalism. Democracy means the state of law, institutions, and behavior based on

legal culture and recognition of the right of the other opinion. The federal solution that guarantees the rights of the Kurds and recognizes their right to choose a form of government

that is proportionate to their aspirations and their legitimate rights in a manner that achieves the present and future of the Iraqis and becomes An integral part of the democratic process.

It is noticed that there is a close relationship between democracy and federalism. There can be no federal system without the presence of democracy as one of the principles of federalism is the existence of democracy. The federal system requires a democratic system of government, whether within the states or at the level of central government institutions. Democracy is a desire for freedom and the adoption of election, choice, and voting.

Federalism and minorities

Minorities are human groups with characteristics that differ from their counterparts in the majority of the society. Each of them has religious, ethnic, or national characteristics that are common to its members. The minority differs among itself in type, identity, and affiliation. The Political Encyclopedia defines a minority as a group of residents of a country or a region that differs from the majority in ethnic, linguistic, or religious affiliation without necessarily implying a distinct political position through certain ties, such as the state of the unity of origin, language, or religious belief. These individuals feel that they are different regarding these ties from the majority of the population of their country (Bashir, 2009).

Most of the world's countries consist of diverse minorities of various origins, religions, or cultures. It can rarely be found in a country that there is a society that is monolithic in religion, language, or culture. The Iraqi State, like many other states,

embrace many minorities that are different among them about the bases on which they are formed. Some minorities focus on a religious motive, on the motive of race, and on the motive of sect. The state must do what is necessary for all these minorities in a way that the motives are placed into a different image based on the elimination of differences between all. This cannot be done without submission to constitution that is the authority of the state that must be preserved without any infringement upon it (Al-Assaf, 2010).

Most countries of the world include large and diverse minorities with their origins, cultures, or religions. The presence of a religious, ethnic, or sectarian minority does not necessarily lead to a clash or the emergence of a political or security dilemma or a war. There are goals that minorities seek to achieve as follows (Al-Ayashi, 2018):

The inclusion of minorities and regions

That is achieved by grouping the minorities present in several regions and neighboring countries into one state (the mother country) with the aim of developing a national feeling that includes a realization of belonging and the unity of destiny.

Achieving equality

The minority aims to be treated according to the principle of equality in its relationship with other groups, i.e. recognition by the other members of society, regardless of the characteristics that distinguish them in legal equality away from discrimination.

Autonomy

Self-government is the right of the state or a region to administer its internal affairs freely without being subject to the directions or orders of any foreign state. Achieving

self-rule is a primary solution for minorities. In the event that appropriate conditions are available, they seek total independence or secession to fully achieve its goals.

Separatism

One of the most important goals of minorities is separatism as it is their ultimate goal that they seek to achieve in order to preserve their ethnic, linguistic, and religious identity.

Since 1921, Iraq has been suffering from ethnic, sectarian, and religious problems, such as the problem of the Kurdish minority, who aspired from the beginning to obtain a Kurdish national homeland for them in northern Iraq to be a nucleus for the joining of the Kurdish minorities scattered in neighboring countries, especially in Turkey, Iran, and Syria.

Federalism is the ideal system that leads to a fair and harmonious organization between the majority of the population and minorities. But, the establishment of a democratic federal system requires steps and building appropriate institutions, foremost among which is the recognition of minorities, guaranteeing their rights, and taking positive measures to protect the rights of persons belonging to minorities against the actions of the state itself and against the actions of individuals in the state's territory as well as the establishment of local and national institutions to transform all of this into practical reality. Once again, it is affirmed that democratic federalism is the only system that is capable of addressing the problems of minorities in a sound and equitable manner. This is achieved by spreading culture, awareness, and education of the principles of mutual tolerance between the majority and the minority and the culture of dialogue. The right of difference, respect for opinion and other opinion, cultural diversity, and the establishment of political and constitutional institutions

based on popular representation, self-rule or federal construction, as well as providing equal opportunities at all levels for all must be guaranteed (Hadi, 2005).

Federalism and women's rights

In most Arab and Middle Eastern societies, women double suffer because they are subjected to oppression and persecution on the public and political freedom and the deterioration of the human rights situation as a result of prolonged tyranny in its various forms or as a result of sectarian quotas, corruption, and the absence of good governance in cases that do not have an authoritarian regime, as in Lebanon and Iraq after the fall of the previous regime. It receives a fair share of social oppression, discrimination, and persecution in all its forms under the pretext of inherited customs, norms, and traditions that are supported and enshrined by laws and legislation that draw on a legacy that contradicts the rights of women the rights of women in its content and utterances. These laws protect who practice their domination and persecution over the woman because she is a woman (Aziza, 2018).

As for women's rights from a political point of view, they did not reach Parliament through electoral competition, but through proportional representation for necessities required by the reality of Iraq for many reasons. The quota system, women's quota system, to reduce the gap between the representation of men and women in Parliament, was established in Iraq to activate the role of women and to ensure their participation In the administration of the state. This system is considered a step forward in the way of achieving equality between women and men. Recognizing that women are the ones who make life, and the other part, which is men, recognizes their full rights and give them an opportunity to perform their social and political role correctly, will significantly and positively contribute to the industry and formulation of human beings and societies in a formulation that moves away from intellectual Jond deviant distortions, intellectual, sectarian, and ethnic distortions. The Iraqi woman has suffered many

pains of injustice, oppression, and terrorism, which led to the confiscation of their legitimate rights under the pretext of wrong interpretations of religion, traditions, social heritage, cultural system, and destitution. She moved away from obtaining her right of education and culture. Instead of educating her and raising her awareness, she roams the streets and roads to beg as a result of the wars that were imposed on the Iraqi people, the economic blockade, and terrorism. Women moved away from building a spiritually conscious and healthy society. There are many challenges that limit women's participation in social and political life, including poverty, economic factors, high illiteracy rate, inherited culture, weak political and legal awareness, the dominance of the masculine mentality, the cultural and value system that perpetuates a stereotypical image of women and their role in society, and constitutional and legal factors. The legislature does not stipulate the principle of equality between males and females with regard to some political rights.

Women have an important role in public life and also in the conflict stage. They play a pivotal role in the conflict and post-conflict stage at the local level. That role is   similar to their role as a fighter, breadwinner, leader in society, and peacemaker in times of conflict. Women often expand the limits of their energies and enter the public space and thus defy the rules and the traditions that constrain them by examining the new horizons that open up to women (Aziza, 2018).

As for the Iraqi government and its measures to protect women's human rights, it has failed in its obligations to ensure effective solutions in cases of violations and prevent impunity. All Iraqis face insecurity due to terrorism and civil wars. Women and girls face additional harm because of their gender, despite the fact that many provisions contained in the Iraqi law aim to protect women's human rights. Atrocious gender-

based violence is still prevalent, including domestic violence, honor killings, rape, sexual assault, forced marriage, underage marriage, and temporary marriage, which is a reality for many Iraqi women and girls. Cultural rules and some Iraqi legal provisions encourage a culture of impunity for these violations.

The political repercussions of federalism in Iraq

Federalism and the political elite

Elite can be defined as a group of people whose great influence and control over the affairs of the society in which the elite constitutes a ruling minority that can be distinguished from the ruled class according to the criterion of power and authority. This group possesses power and influence in society more than the ruled class because of what it possesses. This minority is one of the advantages of strength and experience in practicing authority and organization within society, which qualifies it to lead it. As for the political elite, it can be defined as the ruling group that possesses intellectual and creative capabilities to conduct political affairs more than other members of society. This elite is subject to the law of change according to the requirements of the development that their societies are going through on the basis of a transitional cycle through which new elites are replaced according to a mechanism that has the aim to achieve social balance in its comprehensive content that involves the political, economic, organizational, and other conditions of society. The important point in defining the political elite is that it is a minority of the people of society that has positive qualities that enable it to have a minimum level of stability and cohesion that qualifies it to take over the rule and move towards achieving its basic goals.

Characteristics of Political Elite

Elite refers to certain social groups. The spread of this word and its popularity dates back to the writings of Vilfredo Pareto. Pareto proceeded from criteria to distinguish the elite from the other society members. He focused on the factors of efficiency, activity, and ability in distinguishing the elite. The phenomenon of elite is present in all societies and the distinction between the masses and elites is natural. Therefore, early thinkers such as Pareto and Mills considered elite as a ruling group and distinguished between the rulers and the ruled, between the minority that practiced power and the majority that did not. As for the French thinker Saint-Simon, he was the first to put the outlines of elite analysis with a sociological methodology that enabled him to view society as a vast pyramid with an elite centered at its summit, directing and charting its course. Simon admits in his elitist theory that the existence of the elite is an indispensable thing for social life, emphasizing its great role in reforming society and advancing its political life (Watfa, 2015).

The political elites and their decision-making power in their countries make them the main actor in managing the transitional phase of the democratization process, especially after the political transformations that some Arab countries have witnessed, including Iraq, in recent years, whose reality constantly emphasizes the centrality of political elites and the important roles they play. The elite, as a phenomenon, is linked to human society with its disparities and differences in the distribution of sources of power and influence, which is reflected in the hierarchy of individuals within it, which gives preference to some who monopolize these resources in terms of privileges over those who lack them (Salimi, 2021).

The Iraqi political elite after 2003

On the ninth of April, 2003, the American occupation forces arrived in Baghdad after 19 days of war, announcing the end of the Baath regime that had ruled Iraq for more than 30 years, and beginning a new phase. Two decisions were issued by the civil governor (Paul Bremer) namely de-Baathification and dissolution of the Iraqi army. The decision to dissolve the army greatly contributed to a rapid collapse in the security situation in the country, which left an administrative vacuum that contributed to intensifying the chaos, which constituted a major obstacle to the new political elite in carrying out their duties. After excluding the old elites in Iraq after 2003, there was a comprehensive redistribution of power between religious and ethnic groups in Iraq for those positions that were the preserve of the Sunni political elites. The new political elite that emerged since 2003 stood at the opposite end of their predecessors in almost all respects. Members of the new political elite came from several directions, including sheikhs of clans and tribes, clerics and religious leaders, former leaders and leaders of the opposition, and a group of leaders of the new political parties that were established after 2003. The most characteristic that distinguished the new political elites in Iraq is that they were from The expatriates who constituted the majority. Most of the leaders after 2003 are either people who left Iraq or lived in the Kurdistan region away from the control of the former regime. Most of these political elites came with the American support starting from the transitional governing council to the formation of successive governments and the best evidence is that the majority of the ruling politicians elites were outside Iraq and came with the arrival of the American forces to Baghdad on the ninth of April 2003, with the exception of the Kurdish political elites and some other characters (Yass and Abdulmawloud, 2019).

Federalism and distribution of powers

The issue of the distribution of powers and competencies in the federal state between the federal government on the one hand and the regional governments on the other is one of

the important issues in the federal system. It can be described as the backbone of the federal state, as it defines the concept of the federal system and distinguishes it from other legal ideas. The principle of the distribution of competencies between the Federal government and regional governments is one of the most important issues that accompany the emergence of the federal state. This topic takes on special importance in the countries of the federal union, especially when it comes to determining the extent to which the regions possess the competencies through which they can practice some aspects of internal sovereignty. Without the distribution of powers. It cannot be said that there is a federal system. The issue of distributing competencies between the federal government and the regions is one of the most important constitutional difficulties facing the federal system (Alshabib, 2015).

The relationship between the federal authorities and the state authorities is not a relationship of subordination because each of them possesses sovereignty and independence within the scope of their jurisdiction. Therefore, the organization and nature of these legal and political relations depend on the basis of distributing competencies and defining the topics that fall within their scope and implementing them in practice. The distribution of competencies between the federal government and state governments in the field of internal affairs varies according to the different circumstances inherent in each union in terms of how it is established and to the goal it aims to achieve. There are political, economic, military, ethnic considerations, and legal considerations that govern the principle of participation in competencies.

The process of distributing competencies between the federal and state authorities and the way the state organizes this process, which is the essence of the federal system, is based on the political and practical considerations specific to each state and is not limited to legal considerations alone. At the forefront of these considerations is the way the federal state was established. The federal state established by joining several Independent countries to each other will have them seeking to restrict the competencies of the federal authorities. The federal state that arose as a result of the disintegration of a unified state moves towards expanding the competencies of the federal authorities.

One of the most sensitive issues regarding federation is the issue of the distribution of competencies between the center and the federation parties. This issue has always been a cause of disputes between the center and the parties, especially in national federations and those consisting of parties with different economic levels. The richer parties seek to invest their strong economic position To dictate its conditions and pass its decisions, especially through state agencies, legislative ones in particular.

The Study Methodology and Procedures

The research methodology is one of the important aspects in the research community and it is of great importance and requires great care in choosing and clarifying the type of study, its methodology, the fields and population of the study, the design of the questionnaire, and the statistical methods used in data analysis.

The Study Methodology and Its Population

In order to obtain the objectives of the present study, the researcher has adopted the social survey method in a sample method, which is an appropriate approach to identify

social and political repercussions of federalism in Iraq using appropriate statistical means. The study population was represented by employees working in the Ministry of Higher

Education and Scientific Research and the Ministry of Education in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq exclusively.

Sample of the Study

The study sample was limited to (375) employees of the Ministry of Higher Education and scientific Research and the Iraqi Ministry of Education in the Kurdistan Region. In selecting the sample, the researcher relied on the simple random sample due to the lack of detailed data on the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Education and its departments that were randomly drawn through the lottery test. Questionnaires were distributed to the employees of the departments of these two ministries in order to find out social and political repercussions of federalism in Iraq.

Tool of the Study

Questionnaire

Questionnaire is one of the most widely used and common data collection tools in social research due to the advantages that this tool achieves in terms of effort, time, and cost, as well as the ease of processing its data statistically.

The questionnaire passed through several stages as follows:

Preparation of the questionnaire

At this stage, the researcher should take care of preparing his/her questionnaire in a way that motivates the respondents to answer. The researcher put a set of questions related to the subject of the present study and prepared it in its initial form through in-

depth readings and access to sources and previous studies, as well as relying on the theoretical side of the present study. It was then presented to a group of experts to test the validity of the questionnaire.

The Validity of the Questionnaire

The validity of the questionnaire means the extent of its validity to measure the behavior or direction for which it was designed. Its validity is one of the most important procedures followed in designing the means and tools of the study. To ensure the validity of the questionnaire, the researcher presented the questionnaire in its initial form, which consisted of (48) questions to (9) experts in sociology, in order to take their opinions by agreeing or not, or modifying some of the questions.

Questionnaire stability test

After designing the questionnaire and after distributing it to a sample or a large scale, it should be tested on a small scale and the answers that were obtained through the initial test should be examined in order to determine the validity of the questionnaire and its suitability to the problem of the subject of the study (Al-Toumi, 1971). Thus, the researcher applied the questionnaire to a sample of (20) respondents. Then, the test was repeated on the respondents themselves again after two weeks. The degree of the first test and the degree of the second test were determined. The respondent obtained two forms bearing the same number, after which the results were saved and the dependence coefficient was used according to the (Spearman) equation

which showed that the value of the reliability coefficient is about (0.8), which indicates that the questionnaire has a high degree of stability, which in turn leads to the adoption of the questionnaire in its final form.

Statistical means

A number of statistical methods were used in the process of describing and analyzing the data for the present study, including percentage, mean, standard deviation, and chi-square.

This section presents the most important results, hypotheses, and recommendations.

The Results

The basic data of the present study

1   The results of the field study indicated that the proportion of males in the sample constituted (62.1%), compared to females whose size was (37.9%).
2   The results of the present study showed that the (31-41) years age group obtained the highest percentage of (28%).
3   The results of the field study indicated that the highest percentage of the respondents' academic level was in favor of the (bachelor's) with a rate of (34.1%).
4   The results showed that the highest percentage of respondents' social status was for a married group, at a rate of (50.4%).
5   The results of the field study showed that the highest percentage of the respondents' social background was urban with (77.1%).
6   The results of the field study indicated that two-thirds of the surveyed sample reside in the city center at a rate of (66.7%).
7   The data of the field study showed that the highest response rate of those of Kurdish nationality was (65.6%).
8   The results of the field study showed that the highest response rate to the monthly income as filling the need was (68.6%).
Second The results of the personal data about social and political repercussions of the application of federalism in Iraq
9   The statistical results of the field study indicated that three-quarters of the respondents confirmed that federalism contributed to strengthening the values of democracy in Iraq by (74.7%).
10   The statistical data of the field study indicated that three quarters of the respondents confirmed that the federal system in the region contributed to granting minorities and various components constitutional rights at a rate of (69.9).
11   The statistical data of the field study showed that three quarters of the respondents, at a rate of (70.9%), affirmed that the Kurdish woman possesses all rights under the umbrella of the federal system.
12   The statistical data of the field study indicated that (69.6%) of the surveyed sample confirmed that federalism greatly contributed to the emergence of political elites representing the rights of the Kurdish people.
13   The statistical data of the field study showed that two thirds of the respondents confirmed that the application of federalism was reflected in the regional government's practice of some important monetary, financial, and customs powers at a rate of (68.6%).

14   The statistical data of the field study indicated that two-thirds of the respondents (51.7%) expressed their rejection and disagreement that under the application of federalism, the regional government extracted, distributed or invested wealth away from the authority of the central federal government.

15   The statistical data of the field study showed that more than half of the respondents indicated and confirmed that one of the repercussions of the application of federalism is that the regional government concludes foreign contracts for investment, exploration, export, and use without the approval of the central authority and its parliament at a rate of (64.3%).

16   The statistical data of the field study showed that the application of the Kurdistan Region experience led to a feeling of independence and belonging to Iraq at the same time as it came in the first hierarchical sequence with a percentage of (65.6%). In the second hierarchy, the experience of the Kurdistan Region undermined and reduced the votes for secession by (20%). As for this experience, it helped in developing the need for separation by 14.4%, which came in the third hierarchical order.

17   The statistical data of the field study indicated that two-thirds of the respondents emphasized that one of the repercussions of applying the federal system in the region is the ease of identifying the needs of its citizens and meeting them easily at a rate of (66.7%).

18   The statistical data indicate that most of the surveyed sample confirmed that among the repercussions of applying federalism is the local authority's ability to identify crises within the region at a rate of (71.5%).

19   The statistical data of the field study showed that three quarters of the respondents confirmed and expressed their agreement that the distribution of powers between the center and the region effectively contributed to reducing federal expenditures by (64.5%).

20   The statistical data of the field study indicated that most of the respondents (65.6%) confirmed that the application of the federal system contributed to improving the social and economic conditions of the citizens of the region.

21   The statistical data of the field study showed that the future of the federal system in the region will lead to the region's separation from the center in the long run, with a percentage of (59.2%) that came in the first hierarchical sequence. In the second hierarchy, the region's return to the decentralized administrative system came at a rate of (20.8%). As for the region's separation from the center in the near term, it came in the third hierarchy with a percentage of (13%). The fourth hierarchy was occupied by the occurrence of a civil war between the center and the region with a percentage of (4%). The last and fifth hierarchy was occupied by the occurrence of wars between the region and neighboring countries by (3%).

22   The statistical data of the field study indicated that the majority of the respondents confirmed that respect for the federal constitution and the absence of conflict between the articles of the region's constitution with the federal constitution are the measures that help the success of the federal experience in Iraq. It ranked in the first hierarchical sequence with a percentage of (25.3%). In the second rank is the commitment to determine the sharing of power and the distribution of powers and not to be exceeded by the federal and local governments with a percentage of (21.6%). As for the third hierarchy, it was occupied by   the adoption of the federal system based on

geographical administrative bases and not ethnic or sectarian with a percentage of (20.5%). The application of federal decentralization in other provinces came in the fourth rank with a percentage of (20%). As for the formation of the Council of States that is similar to the House of Representatives to ensure equality among all provinces, it came in the fifth and last rank with a percentage of (12.5%).

Hypotheses of the Study

The first hypothesis; There are statistically significant differences between the age of the respondents and their opinion about federalism from successful constitutional systems.

This hypothesis showed that there are statistically significant differences between the age of the respondents and the nature of their opinion. The chi value was (2.885) with a confidence level of (0.03). So, there are statistically significant differences between the age of the respondents and the nature of their opinion, that is, the alternative hypothesis is accepted and the null hypothesis is rejected.

The second hypothesis; There are statistically significant differences between the gender of the respondents and the nature of their support for the existence and continuation of the federal system in the region

The second hypothesis showed that there are statistically significant differences between the respondents' gender and the nature of their support as the chi value was (7.621) with a confidence level of (0.006). So, there are statistically significant differences between the respondents' gender and the nature of their support, that is, the alternative hypothesis is accepted and the null hypothesis is rejected.

The third hypothesis; There are statistically significant differences between the nationality of the respondents and their vision about the application of the federal system in the Kurdistan region

This hypothesis indicated that there are statistically significant differences between the nationality of the respondents and their vision of the application of the federal system in the Kurdistan region. The chi-square value was (69.88) with a confidence level of (0.007). So, there are statistically significant differences between the nationality of the

Respondents and their vision about the application of the federal system In the Kurdistan region.

The fourth hypothesis; There are statistically significant differences between the living situation of the respondents and the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the citizens of the region under the application of the federal system

The results of this hypothesis showed that there are statistically significant differences between the living situation of the respondents and the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the citizens of the region in light of the application of the federal system. The value of chi was (66.9) with a confidence level of (0.00). So, there are statistically significant differences between the living situation of the respondents and the improvement of social and economic conditions For the citizens of the region under the application of the federal system,

that is, the alternative hypothesis is accepted and the null hypothesis is rejected.

Recommendations

Through the results and statistical data of the present study in its theoretical and field aspects, it was possible to give and present a set of recommendations that help the concerned authorities to advance the federal system as follows:

1   Civil society organizations should (hold seminars and conferences to shed light on the term federalism and define its correct concept, which is union, not division by opening workshops and training courses for young people to demonstrate the social and political implications of federalism.
2   The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research should encourage postgraduate students to choose topics related to federalism and explain its implications to bring about fundamental changes to the curricula and lectures of faculties regarding federalism and include them within the basic curricula through holding conferences, seminars and scientific discussions for scientific research institutions and universities To demonstrate the importance of this system to maintain the prosperity and stability of Iraq).
3   The Ministry of Education should allocate a curriculum book for primary and secondary school students and include defining the concept of federalism and its basic principles.
4   Full implementation of constitution and making the necessary amendments to it.
5   Finding a common understanding and working to organize the relationship between the central government of Baghdad and the regional government in order to solve the internal and external problems that occur and threaten the unity of Iraq and the safety of its citizens.
6   The regional government should strengthen community partnership and national reconciliation to preserve national unity and consolidate democracy in order to reduce negative social repercussions of federalism that may effect the citizens of the region.

Suggestions

1   Conducting more studies and research on federalism, its social and political repercussions, its direct and indirect effects, and its future.
2   Intensifying qualitative studies and research in the field of sociology to explore the depths of the federal government experience and its repercussions, whether positive or negative.
3   Preparing scientific reports and surveys on the security and economic repercussions, as well as social and political repercussions of federal ruling in Iraq.

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