The fragile state and the politics of social disintegration, A field study of the hegemony of the sect in Iraq since April 2003

By

Prof. Dr. Ali Jawad Witwit
College of Arts, Al-Qadisiyah University –Iraq
Corresponding Author'Email: halaali@uowasit.edu.iq

Assist. Lect. Hala Ali Abbas
College of Arts, Al-Qadisiyah University –Iraq
Email: halaali@uowasit.edu.iq

Abstract

The current research represents an attempt to find out the issue of the state's strength and weakness, which is reflected positively and negatively on the lives of individuals and groups and on the life and welfare of society, as well as on its position among neighboring countries and the world. The reality of the fragility and weakness of the Iraqi state leaves undesirable negative consequences in the daily lives of individuals, but the results become catastrophic when their impact becomes clear at the regional and international levels.

The current research sought to answer a main question
What is the relationship of state fragility with dismantling policies in Iraq? The main question raised several secondary questions, the most important of which are: What is meant by a fragile state? What is meant by the concept of (state) originally? What is meant by dismantling policies? And who puts it when the state is often responsible for setting policies? And why does the sect (as a traditional affiliation) seem active in the political scene after April 2003, which is supposed to be a modernist scene based on democracy? And what does all this have to do with the hegemony of the sect? How does the sect contribute to the dismantling of society? How is the community united?

The current research is a descriptive and analytical research, in which the social survey method was used by relying on a questionnaire that was distributed to a deliberate sample consisting of (**411**) professors of Wasit University in the city of Kut.

The most important concepts: **the fragile state - the politics of social disintegration**.

The First Topic
General framework for research
First: The search elements

1-Research problem

The issue of (state fragility) is a problematic issue in the reality of the modern Iraqi state following the US-British occupation of Iraq on the ninth of April 2003, and the changes it highlighted at the level of community cohesion and unity. - The state appears, after more than nineteen years to overthrow the dictatorial regime and change it through occupation, to a large extent fragile and weak, unable to provide basic services to its members, just as it is incapable of imposing its sovereignty on its lands, and it is incapable of curbing the separatist tendencies that it shows. Various Iraqi groups

As a result of political quotas (sectarian, ethnic, and even religious) procedures that led to the weakness of the state administration on the one hand, and due to ethnic and sectarian strife, which led to the creation of closed sectarian and ethnic cantons, instead of a united society. And because the state's fragility and weakness seemed familiar, the question has become necessary about the relationship of this issue with other factors related to it, so the main question of the current research is as follows:

What is meant by the fragility of the state in Iraq

However, what follows from asking the main question is an attempt to raise theoretical determinants that the two researchers will adopt to answer it.

2) Research Importance

The research has its national importance due to the importance of the phenomenon it deals with at the national and regional levels. The reality of the fragility of the Iraqi state leaves its negative, undesirable consequences in the daily lives of individuals, as these results are evident in the reality of the entire Iraqi society, but the results become catastrophic when their impact becomes clear at the regional and international levels. In addition, the research has its scientific importance, which stems from the lack of studies and researches in the field of state fragility and weakness and the possibilities of its disintegration, so the current research is an addition to the library of the Department of Sociology in this issue.

3) Research objectives

The research objectives were the following:

1.   1-Clarify the nature of the fragile state and its most prominent features in accordance with international standards and indicators.
2.   2-The consequences of the fragility of the Iraqi state on society.
3.   3- The relationship between the state's fragility and the policies of social dissociation in Iraq.

Second: Defining the basic concepts of research
1) The Fragile States

The (state) idiomatically means a type of political organization that guarantees its security and the security of its citizens against any kind of internal and external dangers. The state usually has an armed force and a number of institutions of deterrence and coercion, and there is no state without a high degree of harmony and social organization (1). The state is the political form of societies and the authority that regulates social relations, formulates and implements laws, and is based on a kind of agreement, consensus, or specific relations between the ruler and the ruled. It has two pillars: the land, the people, sovereignty and international recognition (2). But when the state is unable to fulfill a set of its obligations or all of these obligations, it is described by certain descriptions (a weak - failed - helpless - fragile state), a fragile state is one that suffers from structural failures in the functional structure and is unable to abide by its responsibilities towards its people and faces weakness in legitimacy and the rule of law. It is an open space for internal and external conflicts and tensions. and control over its lands, which leads to the collapse of its regimes, the dismantling of its society and its division under denominational, ethnic and sectarian names, and it is unable to create harmony and consistency among the components of its people, and the fragile state cannot achieve security and societal peace, because it suffers from disturbances and contradictions in some of its political, economic and social institutions or all of those institutions. It usually falters in providing services to its residents, and is also characterized by widespread poverty, unemployment, administrative corruption, and a tendency to violence and conflict among its members.

2)Dissociation Society

As for dismantling, it means the society's exposure to a sharp and rapid social change that leads to the collapse of the value system in society and the spread of corruption, poverty, unemployment, crime and disruption of security, which poses major threats to its safety and security, and it means societal disintegration to everything that affects the social system from defects and shortcomings in the performance of its tasks and basic functions that work to achieve stability and continuity.(3)

It also means the inefficiency of the social system and its failure to define the roles of individuals and their interrelated positions in a way that leads to satisfactorily achieving their goal. The disintegration represents an imbalance or deficiency between the units that make up the society that prevents the realization of its functions to ensure its continuity and survival (4).

As for the policies of societal disintegration, they mean trends, laws, decisions, and practices carried out by the state and its institutions. Those laws and decisions are unable to create agreement and harmony among all components of society, and even contribute to its divisions and disintegration of racial, ethnic and sectarian groups.

The second topic
Sociological determinants of state fragility...and its repercussions in Iraq
First: Criteria and indicators of a fragile state

Despite the challenges that researchers faced when identifying fragile states, they created measures and analytical tools that depend on quantitative and qualitative approaches to measure the fragility and failure of states (5), and among the most important measures and main indicators for judging state failure and fragility are:

1- Human Development Index (HDI)

It is one of the indicators that the United Nations is working to use in the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program, to monitor development performance, including the decline in poverty rates. And it works to classify countries through their development index on a balance whose value varies between (zero), which expresses the lowest level of development, and (the integral one), which is considered the highest level of development through proximity to three main components: (the life expectancy of the individual: at birth and the knowledge that It is measured by the average literacy rate of individuals, the rate of enrollment in educational stages, and the level of income, which is measured by the average real income of the individual. Taking into account the disparities in the purchasing power of currencies, the share of the other components expressing (health, education and standard of living) in calculating the total indicator is one third, whereby countries are classified through this indicator into four groups:

1.   -The group of countries with low human development.
2.   The group of countries with medium human development.
3.   -The group of countries with high human development.
4.   The group of countries with very high human development (6).

All countries of the world seek to develop and improve the human element through improving human development indicators represented by education, health and income, and increasing the choices before humanity, because human development works to expand the options for individuals and expand their opportunities in all areas of education, medical care, work and income. The more attention paid to these indicators, in turn, it will reflect on the levels of production and the progress of countries. We note that Iraq achieved remarkable

progress in the areas of human development in the eighties and nineties, but soon its human development indicators declined due to wars, years of economic blockade, tensions and conflicts that befell it (7).

Iraq occupies low and lagging ranks among the neighboring countries until it reached (0.528) in 1996 and ranked 127 among the countries in the world, after it was ranked (54) in 1990, and in 2003 the American occupation of Iraq began to lead to the destruction of infrastructure, sabotage and looting. State institutions, which encouraged the occupation, and this was reflected in the decline in all indicators of economic and social development, as well as the decline in human development, which reflected his suffering on the Iraqi person and his failure to join the ranks of the advanced neighboring countries in the field of human development. On this basis, Iraq was excluded from the development indicators in the United Nations programs and reports due to the lack of accurate data for all the human development that Iraq achieves, despite the fact that Iraq is the only country among all countries in the world that has great human and oil wealth, It lies in the lowest group among Countries with medium human development (8).

2- World Bank Scale

It means the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and it is one of the five institutions that make up the World Bank Group. It was established in (1946) following the (Proton Woods) agreements and its headquarters is in Washington, where the first task of the Bank is to secure loans to the economies of Europe that were Shattered in the fifties and sixties of the last century, after that, the Bank's attention turned to Africa, Asia and Latin America, providing guarantees, loans, investment advice, and managing political risks for middle-income countries that want to develop and modernize. The members of the World Bank have reached more than (180) countries.

The World Bank is working on issuing reports to assess low-income countries, which were under the title (Low-income countries under pressure), followed by the latest work to classify countries and include them under the title (Evaluation of State Policy and Institutions). This list includes at the forefront of the least performing countries.

The World Bank relies on the classification of countries in the list of assessing state policy and institutions on the basis of countries' performance in all economic, political and social fields. The World Bank's lists are among the most important assessments that are widely relied upon in identifying and classifying fragile states. The World Bank publishes its reports on its website, in which it shows the assessment of countries or the so-called (global indicators of governance) (9), And that these lists show the evaluation of the performance of governance in it, and it includes more than 200 countries for the period from (1996-2015) based on the (security dimension) only in this evaluation, which works on several indicators, including:

1.   -Political stability and the absence of violence
2.   -The question of governance and the effectiveness of governance
3.   -Organization quality
4.   -Control of corruption
5.   Rule of law

Each indicator gives a result of the judgment with an evaluation from (2.5) to (2.5) + and that the positive value indicates the best performance, unlike the negative value, which represents the weaker performance, and the higher the ratio indicates the good performance of the state and its security stability.

The evaluation divided countries into six categories through this percentage, which is the category of countries with the weakest performance, and their percentage ranges from (0-10%), followed by the category of countries whose percentage ranges between (10-25%) and they are better performers than the previous countries in terms of The evaluation, then the category of countries with a percentage (25-50%), as well as the category of countries with a percentage of (50-57%) and a category (57-90%) and finally the best performing countries listed by the evaluation are those that range between (90-100%) (10)

3-Global Peace Index (GPI)

This index was developed by researchers at the Institute of Economics and Peace, which is an independent and impartial body for a particular party or country. Its headquarters are in Sydney, Australia, and it has several branches in European countries.

The focus of this institute is related to the need to adapt to the data and requirements of the rapid change of global peace indicators (GPI). Indicators of world peace depend on degrees of peace, societal cohesion, economic prosperity on the ground, and social, economic and political conditions, all of which contribute to creating a state of peace and security.

The importance of the Global Peace Index is related to the essential indicators that it identifies. The scale includes approximately (99.7%) of the world's population, which is a very high percentage. It also uses (23) indicators from various sources in the fields of life, and includes other indicators that enjoy confidence. And credibility through which he focuses on the state of peace, among which we mention (safety), (community security), (the extent of the continuity of conflicts in the internal and external environments) and (military intervention). It is an indicator that measures stability in (163) countries around the world, and Iraq ranked (160) out of (163) countries, which is a very low rank in the index of civil peace. Syria ranked last, that is, rank (19) out of (20) countries in the vicinity of the Middle East (11). –

4-Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Index

This index is followed by an international and governmental organization that includes a group of (34) member states, which was established in 1948 in order to distribute US aid to rehabilitate the economies of Europe. This organization succeeded in achieving its goals in order to restore Europe to its health after it was torn apart by the Second World War. Since 2005, the OECD has been monitoring development progress and resource flows in fragile state contexts to report on development cooperation and DAC members.

This indicator drew the attention of DAC members to specific contexts, characteristics and trends. It is intended as a reference to help DAC members design better policies for a better life in line with the mission of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. DAC members help adjust the terms of their participation in fragile contexts compared to non-fragile contexts.

The Economic Cooperation Organization report began to identify indicators and measures of fragility since 2005 to monitor aid provided to a list of countries that are considered the most fragile, based on lists issued by the World Bank Group, the African Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the Fund for Peace. Where the organization published a report in 2015 presenting a comprehensive concept of the situation of fragility and reflecting the title of the organization, where it was called (the countries of fragility) meaning countries with fragility or countries that are exposed to fragility (12). The report set a new framework for monitoring the dimensions that determine the inducements of fragility after 2015. These inducements give a new view of fragility, namely:

Justice: It represents strengthening the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensuring equality for all.

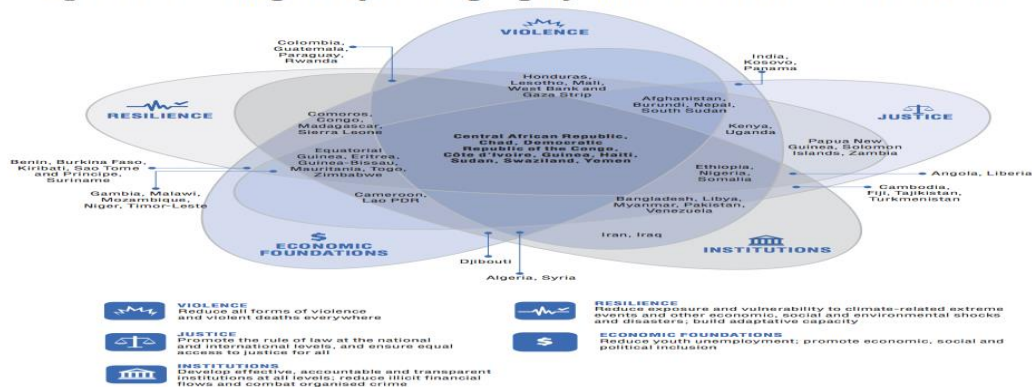*Violence:* It means the reduction of all kinds of violence.

Institutions: They represent the establishment of effective and transparent institutions that are accountable and reduce illicit financial flows.

Economic foundations*:* They represent reducing unemployment and promoting social, economic and political integration.

Flexibility: It means reducing extreme phenomena, shocks, social, economic and environmental disasters, and building adaptation and endurance in the face of all crises and disasters.

These inducements analyze and detect various types of vulnerability, as they confirm that the countries that suffer from weakness in all five drivers of fragility are countries that are included in the lists of already existing fragile states. The Organization for Economic Cooperation for Development (OECD) identified the areas of fragility in countries that suffer from collapse and weakness. According to the 2015 report, Iraq was suffering from fragility and weakness, especially in two main inducements out of the five inducements identified by the organization. The Iraqi state was within the framework of the first fifty states that suffer from fragility in two aspects (violence and weak state institutions).

Figure 1.1. **Venn diagram representing fragility clusters across states and economies**

The figure *below shows the OECD's assessment of fragile states among the five drivers of fragile states.*

The figure shows that there is a group of countries suffering from fragility within the influence of the five drivers referred to by the organization, which are (violence, justice, economic foundations and resilience) and include (Central Africa, Congo, Chad, Guinea, Sudan, Haiti, Yemen, Swaziland), as well as There are countries that suffer from four drivers of fragility, such as violence, justice, institutions and flexibility according to form, which are (Ethiopia, Somalia and Nigeria), and also (Nepal, Afghanistan, South Sudan and Burundi) suffer from fragility in violence, justice, economic foundations and institutions, and (Eritrea, Guinea, and Zimbabwe) suffer from fragility., Togo) from fragility in flexibility, justice, economic foundations and institutions.

But there are countries that suffer from three drivers of fragility, such as violence, resilience, and economic foundations, which are (Lesotho, Honduras, Mali, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip), and (Uganda, Kenya) suffer from violence, resilience and justice, as well

as (Bangladesh, Myanmar, Venezuela, Libya). From fragility in justice, violence and institutions, while the state (India, Panama, Kosovo) suffered from the influence of two main drivers of fragility, namely justice and violence, and the state (Solomon Islands, Zambia, New Ghana) from flexibility and justice. The state (Cambodia, Turkmenistan, Fiji, Tajikistan) was affected by fragility in institutions and justice, and the state (Colombia, Paraguay, Rwanda, Guatemala) suffered from fragility in violence and flexibility, and each state (Iraq, Iran) was affected by fragility in two main drivers: institutions and violence.

The OECD Fragility Framework 2020 covers (57) countries within fragile contexts, compared to (58) in the State of Fragility Report 2018 and (56) in the State of Fragility Report 2016. These contexts represent 23% of the world's population today. The number of fragile contexts and their diverse characteristics reflect the fact that fragility is multidimensional and complex since 2016. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development defined fragility as (a combination of exposure to risks and insufficient adaptive capacity of state, system and societies to manage, absorb and mitigate these risks. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in its 2020 report depicts the framework of fragility, risks and resilience of each country in five dimensions (economic, environmental, political, security and societal). The figure below illustrates this.
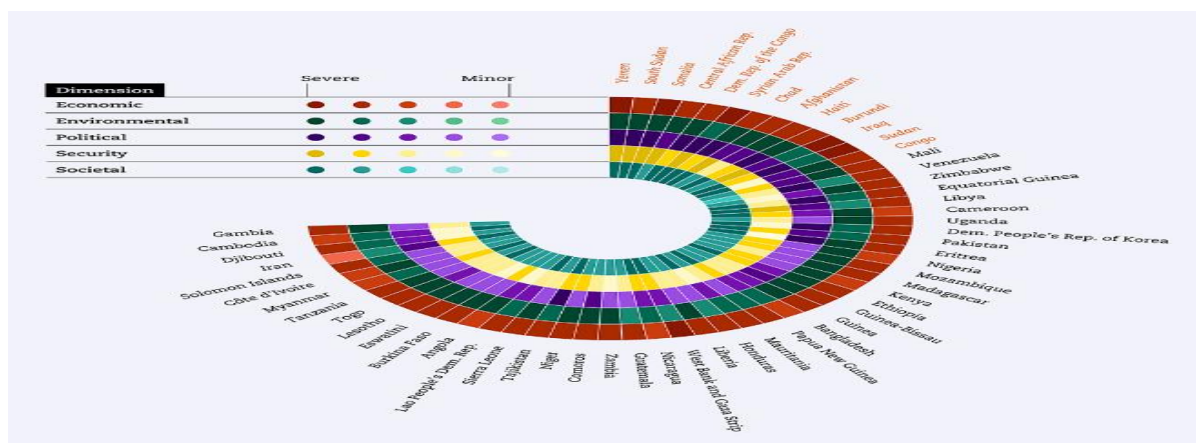
The figure above shows the 57 countries' fragile contexts, which are displayed counterclockwise according to increasing levels of overall fragility. The severity of fragility is indicated within each of the five dimensions identified by the organization, where the severity of fragility increases in the country whose rate of deception increases in each of the specified dimensions and is measured through the pooling approach.

We conclude from the foregoing that these indicators provide a detailed and clear picture of the imbalance and fragility that the state suffers from and works to determine the form and pattern of failure in it in terms of existing governance, human development, political and security stability, internal and external factors and conditions, and the basic rules on which the state is built.

That is why Iraq is considered one of the fragile states and has occupied high ranks of failure and fragility since the establishment of the Governing Council in it on the basis of ethnic, sectarian, religious and national division, especially after the American occupation and its negative repercussions on all state institutions and entities, the lack of stability and security, and the inability of institutions to provide services to their citizens. Where the concept of failure and fragility of the state is synonymous with chaos and social disintegration, It is a danger that threatens its citizens and neighboring countries, especially in light of this disintegration and

failure.

Second: Theoretical determinants of state fragility in Iraq
Based on the criteria and indicators that were presented in the first part to determine the extent of state fragility and its failure, the researcher extracted theoretical determinants of state fragility:

security level
        The failure of the state to extend its control over its entire territory (they are subject to disintegration and collapse).

 -Lack of control over the borders and not controlling them.
-The state shall be a safe haven for the elements of international terrorism.
-Lack of security stability and exposure to crises.
  -Weak law enforcement and widespread violence, which threatens society in general and vulnerable groups in particular.

Social level
1.   The massive movement of displaced people, refugees and displaced persons.
2.   -Religious and ethnic divisions and the resulting reprisals.
3.   Migration of competencies, minds and certificate holders.
4.   -Demographic pressures.
5.   -The inability to meet the aspirations of the citizens.

economic level
1.   -Unbalanced economic development (uneven)
2.   -The gradual deterioration of public services.
3.   -The spread of poverty, unemployment and economic decline.
4.   -Inflation and income decline.
5.   -Inability to adapt to social, economic and environmental shocks and disasters.

Political level

1.   -Loss or weakness of the legitimacy of the state.
2.   -The widespread violation of human rights.
3.   There are armed wings that appear as a state within a state.
4.   -The rise of ethnically and partisan divided elites.
5.   -Foreign interference.

        There is no doubt that the factors that lead to the fragility of states differ in their precise details from one country to another.Each fragile state represents a unique case in its fragility(15), and therefore, it is often not useful to commit to determining fragility on fixed standard measures or indicators, as doing so will result in a loss of the nuances of fragility in some cases, as it completely obscures other fragile situations. Working to investigate the details that made the Iraqi state descend into a state of extreme fragility must lead us to unique factors that pertain only to the Iraqi case without any other case.

Third: The consequences and repercussions of state fragility in Iraq

1- The security aspect
        The fragility of the security aspect in Iraq represents a fundamental challenge to the political, social and economic processes, because violence and killing in Iraq have political,

economic and social reasons. That is, what drives conflict and armed violence in the state are political factors linked to the distribution of wealth and power among the Iraqi forces of different affiliations (16). After the coalition forces entered the land of Iraq in 2003, acts of violence and indiscriminate killing began to increase and take wide ranges, in addition to the emergence of the phenomenon of terrorism that worked to tear the Iraqi country in the various components, as terrorist bombings and killings continued in Iraq for many years, and even reached great numbers and statistics. The number of civilian and military deaths who were victims of terrorism increases according to the political changes in the country, especially during the years (2003-2014) (17). Many indicators and measures indicate that the deterioration of security in Iraq has had a significant impact on attracting investment and building the state, according to the composite index of country risks (18).

Iraq ranked fifth and last among (18) Arab countries, where its rating in 2004 reached (40.8) and the situation did not change in 2007, as Iraq continued to achieve the same rank. As a result, the decline and deterioration of the Iraqi economy in general, and the reluctance of companies to invest in Iraq, because the deterioration of security is something that is likely to happen in Iraq. As Iraq was among the very high-risk countries in 2003 and 2004, then the index's score decreased so that Iraq was among the high-risk countries in 2005-2014. This indicator indicates that Iraq represents a state of instability and weak security, especially in its political and economic environment, (19).

2-The Social Aspect

The state in Iraq has suffered major structural transformations, followed by dire consequences for society and the state as a result of the US invasion and occupation in 2003, which affected all social, political and economic aspects. On the social level, dire results appeared that made the state in a state of complete collapse, including:

1.   -The massive movements of displaced people, refugees and displaced persons.
2.   -Religious and ethnic divisions and the resulting reprisals.
3.   Migration of competencies, minds and certificate holders.

3-The economic aspect

For decades, the economy in Iraq has suffered a state of deterioration and multiple crises due to the circumstances that have affected it and the policies and directions of the successive political regimes. Iraq has witnessed many wars and sanctions that overthrew the foundations of the state and cast a shadow over the entire economic life and imposed complete isolation of Iraq from its regional and international surroundings and contributed to increasing imbalances in the economy and deepening its crises. The most important of these crises and challenges are:

1.   -Unbalanced economic development
2.   -Gradual deterioration of public services
3.   -Poverty, unemployment and economic decline
4.   -Inflation and low income
5.   -Inability to adapt to social, economic and environmental shocks and disasters.

4-The political Aspect
Loss or weakness of the legitimacy of the state

Legitimacy is one of the most important issues on which the stability of political systems depends, because it represents the rope that binds the people to their rulers, and it is one of the most important requirements for political stability in the state (20)

It represents the natural course compatible with the existence of the state and is associated with the duty of submission and obedience, but it is absent from the political system in Iraq and the citizen does not seek its influence or presence in its relationship with political institutions, and that the illusory legitimacy of the forces parallel to the state worked to obscure the legitimacy of the political system that is based on elections.

For this reason, parallel forces in Iraq struggle over the legitimacy of the state, whose arms dominate the political system, and that the democratic system in Iraq is a distorted system that lacks legitimacy and has become an unguarded system due to the weakness and absence of the legitimacy of political institutions in favor of illusory titles promoted by sectarian and national components and leaders.

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As a result, the political system in Iraq has become governed and managed by family, sectarian and political ligarches, and not by the will and acceptance of the people (21).

The United Nations reports also documented a series of violations of international humanitarian laws and grave violations of human rights that were committed on a large scale by the Islamic State in Iraq. These violations were systematic and widespread. These violations included kidnapping and killing of civilians, rape, slavery, trafficking in women and children, forced recruitment of children, destruction of all places of cultural and religious significance, looting, deprivation of basic freedoms and other crimes. As well as individuals and various religious components, including Shabaks, Turkmen, Christians,Yazidis, Kaka'is, Sabeans, Faili Kurds, Arab Shiites and others, were targeted by ISIS.

The most prominent and important challenge facing the Iraqi state, which is closely related to the security, political and economic entitlements, is to rein in the armed groups in the state, as some of them compete and challenge others.The state in Iraq is burdened by the presence of several different paramilitary units, and this is due to the weakness of the state, the government and the regular army in it, as the Iraqi army was dismantled and then rebuilt after the US occupation in 2003 as part of the process of removing the legacy of the dictatorial regime, However, it had to be rebuilt after it collapsed in the face of the ISIS attack in 2014.

The Third topic
Policies of societal disintegration in Iraq
First: Ethnicity and Language
Transforming ethnic and religious pluralism into a political division has a very high social cost represented in the collapse of the concept of national unity within a single society.

It represents a serious and major loss that affects the constitutional justification for the existence of a unified state (22), and that the ethnic dimension (ethnic or linguistic) has a significant impact on the formation of tensions, wars, conflicts and divisions, because civil wars begin with sharp ethnic polarization within every crisis society.This allows the mobilization of resources and the mobilization of ranks on ethnic (ethnic or linguistic) bases, away from the unity of the national class, which is supposed to transcend all other considerations (23).

Ethnic conflicts and conflicts emerge into social existence when ethnic groups (whatever racial, linguistic or national) feel disadvantaged and oppressed and are exposed to collective harm represented by social inequality and deprivation of the standard of material life enjoyed by other groups or denied participation in the devolution of power or marginalized and treated in ways Make them accused.

Thus, the Iraq of the modern state has been an arena for (Arab / Kurdish) conflict since the fifties of the last century. The political conflict calms down a little, but it soon escalates to reach armed conflicts that Iraq fought at least three times during the republican era only (24). Ethnic conflicts and disputes pose a threat to national unity and its supreme interests and to the job performance of all state institutions, and the escalation of conflicts between marginalized ethnic groups and political elites impedes state-building processes and development paths for this fragile state (25).

Second: the domination of the sect and the dismantling of society

After the establishment of the political system in Iraq in 2003 on sectarian bases, starting with the transitional governing councils, systems and institutions, the political process has become sectarian in the center and south, because all political parties and movements and the government are sectarian, so each party works to represent one of the two sects, so citizens feel that the state and its government do not It represents them all, and this has made the state lose its legitimacy and its political system. This sectarianism has caused many problems, including (political, economic, social, security and cultural), foremost of which was the state's failure to build a state of citizenship, and its failure to establish peaceful coexistence among all components of society, since sectarianism affects all requirements for living and prevent its achievement in successful ways (26).

The dominance of sectarianism over the political entity produces problems that affect the entity of the state and threaten the unity of its social fabric. Sectarianism is almost the main problem in Iraq, although it is not officially declared, and the government works to declare equality between citizens and emphasizes the law, citizenship, democracy, freedom and peaceful coexistence, but the political reality Sectarianism and citizenship are government slogans (27).

One of the most prominent manifestations of sectarianism in the political system of Iraq was its reliance on the application of (the principle of sectarian quotas and consensual democracy), so the political system was established after 2003 on the principle of sectarianism established by the interim coalition authorities, which established the institutions of governance and the distribution of powers in Iraq on an ethnic and sectarian basis, where the Council included (25) members were divided as follows: (13) members representing the (Shiite) component, (5) members representing the (Sunni) component, (5) members representing the (Kurdish) component, and (1) representing the Turkmen component, and (1) represents the Christian component (28).

As the occupation dissolved all the institutions of the former political system, dismissed the security forces and the Iraqi army, and deliberately established a new political system, and made the Transitional Governing Council the executive tool for imposing sectarianism as a tool for governance and dismantling the Iraqi state, and the members of the Council were also selected according to their sectarian identity and political behavior instead of national identity (29). The American policy views the Iraqi state as a state divided by conflicting components and social minorities. There is no peaceful coexistence between them. The most prominent of these components (Shiites, Sunnis, Kurds) dealt with the Iraqi state according to this

intellectual vision, so they contributed to the establishment of political sectarianism in Iraq to build a political sectarian system consistent with this vision (30).

On the basis of this, the Iraqi government was established on a sectarian basis, represented by sectarian quotas. The ministries, institutions and government positions were distributed according to the criteria of sectarian affiliations, so that each sect became a position based on its population size, instead of distributing them on the basis of experience and professional competence. The sectarian quota system at the political and administrative level became one of the characteristics and advantages of the Iraqi state after 2003, and the continuation of this system threatens all attempts that work to build the state according to national and professional foundations. Therefore, the state that is built on the principle of sectarianism in which corruption and nepotism are widespread will disintegrate and collapse because political sectarianism weakens social cohesion (31), and the policies followed by the government have only led to more divisions and collapses.

The Fourth topic
The type of research, the method, the fields of research and its sample
First: the type and method of research
The current research is descriptive research as it is the most appropriate to study this phenomenon. Descriptive research is the first step to achieve a correct understanding of social reality. The use of the method is one of the basic things to reach the scientific truth. The research method is often chosen according to the research topic and its objectives. The method is the method followed by the researcher in researching the phenomenon or the problem of the subject of the research (32) through an organized set of general principles and rules, through which he reaches accurate results that reveal the essence of the facts and then contribute to solving the research problem (33) The researcher uses a method or more to achieve the purpose that he seeks through his research. Since the current research is one of the analytical descriptive studies that depend on the interpretation and analysis of the results, the social survey method was used as a basic method in it to access information and facts related to the subject of the research.

Second: Research areas and sample
Research areas are among the main and important topics as they provide the researcher and studies with information and facts that were not mentioned in the theoretical aspect. It is known that for each topic and study there are three main areas:

1-The human field: This field means the people or individuals who are being researched and studied, and it has been identified with academics and professors of the faculties of Wasit University who have master's and doctoral degrees.

2-Spatial field: It means the geographical location in which the research is being conducted. The location of the research was determined at Wasit University in the center of Kut city.

3-Time field: It means the time limit or the time period in which the data is collected from the sample. The time domain of the research in its field aspect extended from (1/4/2022) to (1/6/2022).

As for the research sample, it is that part of the original community on which the research is selected according to scientific bases.

Therefore, the researcher chose the academic community at Wasit University in the city of Kut as a community for her research, which numbered (411) respondents, and then chose the sample in an intentional manner, represented by four faculties of Wasit University.

Third: Data collection tool and statistical means

To achieve the objectives of the research and answer the questions, the questionnaire form was used as a tool for collecting data related to the topic

The questionnaire is a list consisting of a number of questions directed by the researcher to the members of the sample (respondents), and it is one of the means of scientific research that is widely used to obtain data and information related to people's conditions, tendencies, trends, motives and beliefs. The most important statistical methods that were used in the research are (percentage, mean, standard deviation, Spearman correlation coefficient, and Pearson correlation coefficient).

Fifth topic
The results and their discussions
First: the results of the basic data of the respondents and their discussions

Table (1). *It shows the distribution of sample units by gender and age groups*

Type Categories	Male		Female		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
25-29	32	7.7%	11	2.6%	43	10.4%
30-34	45	10.9%	20	4.8%	65	15.8%
35-39	50	12.1%	26	6.4%	76	18.5%
40-44	60	14.6%	14	3.4%	75	18%
45-49	35	8.5%	9	2.1%	44	10.7%
50-54	45	10.9%	10	2.4 %	55	13.4%
55-59	31	7.5 %	6	1.4 %	37	9%
60-and above	12	2.9 %	5	1.2 %	17	4.2%
Total	310	75.7 %	101	24.3%	411	100%

Arithmetic mean = (34,88) and standard deviation = (8,11)(

The variable (gender) is one of the important variables that affect the feelings, thoughts and attitudes of the respondents and their answers to the questions in the questionnaire. The thoughts and attitudes of men differ from those of women, so we can see the clear disparity between the proportion of males and females in the current research sample, there is a clear decline In this percentage, so the data in the table above showed that the number of the research sample of males was (75.7%) and their number was (310), compared to the percentage of females (24.3%) and their number was (101). The age group also has a major role in determining the respondents' answers to the questions of the questionnaire, so the research sample was divided into (8) categories with a rate of (5) years for each category, and the table above shows the age distribution of the members of the research sample, which consists of (411) respondents. Where the age group (40-44) occupied the highest rank with (60) respondents (14.6%), followed by the age group (35-39 years) with (50) respondents and a rate of (12.1%), and then came the age group (30-34 years old with (45) respondents and a rate of (10.9%), then came the age group (50-54) years with (44) respondents and a rate of (10.8%), and the age group (55-59) was It obtained a percentage of (7.5%) with (31) respondents, while the age group (45-49) obtained a percentage of (8.5%) with (35) respondents, then the percentage of those whose ages fell within the age group reached (25). -29 (7.7%) with a rate of (32) respondents, and the age group (60- and above) ranked last, with a percentage of (2.9) (12) respondents. The arithmetic mean for the age groups was (34,88), and the standard

deviation was (8,11).

Second: The results of the data of the research phenomenon and its discussions

Table (2) *shows the respondents' answers about describing the Iraqi state as fragile*

frequency	The percentage	The Answer
21.9	90	Due to the large number of external interference in the affairs of the state
20.5	84	due to the weak application of the mechanisms of law
17.7	73	to high poverty indicators
12.1	50	Corruption rates are on the rise
7.5	31	Because it does not preserve its security and the security of its citizens
5.6	23	Because it does not guarantee its citizens a decent life
5.3	22	It does not provide adequate public services to its citizens
4.8	20	to the increase in the movement of displaced persons, from or within the state
4.3	18	Because it does not provide an efficient infrastructure
411	100%	The Total

The results of the data received on describing the Iraqi state as fragile indicate that the vast majority of respondents' answers indicated that the most factors affecting the fragility and weakness of the state in Iraq is the large number of external interference in its affairs, reaching a rate of (21.9%), followed by the choice of weak law enforcement. in it by (20.5%), followed by an increase in poverty indicators by (17.7%), then came the indicator of an increase in corruption rates by (12.1), followed by the rest of the options at lower rate>

Table (3) *shows the respondents' answers about the unbalanced state policies, which are a basis for the dismantling of society*

frequency	Percentage	The Answers
158	38.5	Yes, by promoting the principle of sectarianism among members of society
151	36.7	Yes, through the spread of corruption and the loss of citizens' trust in the ruling elites
47	11.4	Yes, for the dominance of subsidiary loyalties at the expense of the unified national loyalty
33	8	Yes, due to the absence of the phenomenon of justice and the spread of social, religious and sectarian discrimination
15	3.7	Yes, by adopting the clan as a reference to control individuals
7	1.7	No, the state has worked hard to unite the divided society in Iraq
411	100%	The Total

The data contained in the table indicated that the vast majority of the sample members answered (yes), that the policies followed by the state are based on the disintegration of society because it is based on strengthening the principle of sectarianism among the members of society, and their percentage reached (38.5%), while the choice was made (Yes). Through the spread of corruption and the loss of citizens' trust in the ruling elites, a percentage of (36.9%), and the choice (yes), for the dominance of subsidiary loyalties at the expense of the unified national loyalty, played a role in the dismantling of society at a rate of (11.4%), followed by the choice of (yes) due to the absence of a phenomenon Justice and the spread of the phenomenon of social, religious and sectarian discrimination played a role in dismantling society with a percentage of (85), and finally the choice of (no) got a very small percentage of (1.75).

Table (5) *shows the respondents' answers to the most important social dissociation policies*

Frequency	The ordinal sequences	The Answers
91	1	Weakness and collapse of the rule of law
87	2	Adopting ethnic and sectarian affiliation to occupy senior positions in the state
69	3	Political conflicts on racial, religious or sectarian grounds
46	4	Strengthening clan and religious powers in return for efficiency
36	5	Constitutional articles that are unfair to all components of society
34	6	The racist practices of state institutions
26	7	Unbalanced Economic Development
22	8	Illegal practices of some members of the security services

The respondents' answers about the most important policies of societal disintegration in Iraq indicated the weakness and collapse of the rule of law, where this choice ranked first and highest among the respondents' answers, then the selection of the illegal practices of some members of the security services ranked last among the respondents' answers, and the above table shows that.

Table (6) *shows the respondents' answers about the relationship between the policies followed by the state and the hegemony of the sect*

Frequency	Percentage	The Answers
188	45.7	Legislation of laws that contributed to increasing the sectarian division among the components of society
127	30.9	Increasing sectarian and ethnic exclusion of some social components in Iraq
72	17.5	Presenting failed sectarian and ethnic models to run the country
24	5.9	External interference in the internal affairs of the country, which tends to favor one sect at the expense of another
411	100%	The Total

The data in the above table shows about the relationship between the policies pursued by the state and the hegemony of the sect respondents answered at a rate of (45.7%) that the policies of state laws contributed to increasing the sectarian division among the components of society, while choosing to increase sectarian and ethnic exclusion of some social components in Iraq by (30.9%), followed by the choice to present failed sectarian and ethnic models. To administer the country and choose external intervention in the internal affairs of the country, which tends to favor one sect at the expense of another at a rate of (17.5%) and (5.9%), and the above table shows this.

Third: Recommendations

1. Achieving full state sovereignty through establishing balanced relations with neighboring countries based on the principle of joint cooperation, mutual respect, and the adoption of dialogue and negotiation to solve outstanding problems.
2. Strengthening the sovereignty of the state and the law among all components of society, regardless of their sectarian, religious and national differences, working to achieve national foundations and rejecting all sectarian and subsidiary loyalties.
3. Promoting and disseminating a culture of dialogue and tolerance among all components of Iraqi society and not producing and disseminating media content that works to stir up discord among individuals.
4. Proceeding in the path of political, institutional and security reforms and standing seriously in the face of the challenges faced by those reforms to set limits to the security imbalances that Iraq is witnessing by restructuring the building of the military and security forces on new foundations that move away from racism and sectarianism to establish security and safety and to eliminate all sources of terrorism and its incubators to achieve stability in the country In both internal and external levels.

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