

مجلة

كلية التراث الجامعة

مجلة علمية محكمة

متعددة التخصصات نصف سنوية

العدد التاسع والثلاثون

معاً نصنع المستقبل

عدد خاص بوقائع المؤتمر العلمي السنوي السادس عشر (الدولي الخامس)

18 نيسان 2024

ISSN 2074-5621

رئيس هيئة التحرير

أ.د. جعفر جابر جواد

1988

مدير التحرير

أ.م. د. حيدر محمود سلمان

رقم الايداع في دار الكتب والوثائق 719 لسنة 2011

مجلة كلية التراث الجامعة معترف بها من قبل وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي بكتابها المرقم
(ب 3059/4) والمؤرخ في (2014/ 4/7)

The Challenge of Displacement and the Internal Migration and its Impact on Federalisation in Iraq

Farah Shakir

University Of Kent

Introduction

This article is part of the federal literature that examines the revival of the federalism and new federal models' formation and operation and their theoretical implication on classic federal theory. This type of literature aims to update the classic federal theory in the sections of origin of the federal states and the re-assessment of the prerequisites for successful operation. To do so the new federal models rose after 1990 are the focal point. This article focuses on Iraq, and provides an in-depth examination on one of its federalisation's challenges. The operation of the Iraqi federation has been very complicated due to constitutional and institutional deficiencies. However, the federalisation of Iraq is further complicated by a different category of challenges: "the operational challenges". The internal displacement and forced migration is one of the operational challenges that Iraqi federation is confronting, which this article seeks to examine its implications on federalisation in the light of the Iraqi federal experiment. Examining this challenge will contribute to the analytical reappraisal of the classic conditions of success and failure in federal experiments. This implies that this challenge would add to refine our understanding on the "pathologies" within the new federal models and the prospect of adopting the federal example of governing in other countries.

This articles explain that development of the federal process is critically linked to trust building process of the Iraqi citizens in the local and federal governments no in militia or tribal forces. Trust is the essential component to more effective relationship among Iraqis and their authorities.

Displacement is one of many challenges for the Iraqi federal government, as well as the local governments. It has triggered a change in the demographic structure of Iraq. It also adds indirectly to the problem of the slow and complicated operation of the Iraqi federal political process. However, the federal process complications also contribute to the displacement problem because of weak institutional performance and the failure to bring cohesiveness and inclusiveness to the Iraqi society. Given that, the internal displacement crisis is both the product and the cause of the complicated operation of the Iraqi federation. In this paper, I will explain one of the consequence of displacement which is distrust and link it to federal theory. I will argue that through the application of a citizen engagement programme, there would be an opportunity to form the moral base of the Iraqi federation which would increase the federal government's accountability in dealing with this problem, and subsequently in dealing with the return process, which directly influences federalization and promotes it. Citizen engagement strategies would assist the Iraqi federal government and the local governments to focus on how to deal with internally displaced people as a part of nurturing operative federal principles which

would enforce a democratic federal culture, stabilise the federal process and reduce the possibility of an eruption of violence.

Methodology

The methodology of this paper is based on quantitative and qualitative approaches. The source of data is a survey organised by the University of Kent in the UK and the Youth Development Institution in Iraq in 2015 about displacement in Iraq, and I will utilise some the data that I believe is linked to the moral side of the displacement problem and particularly to the distrust problem among the internally displaced people. Moreover, to prove my argument about the impact of displacement on federalisation in Iraq, I will use the existing institutional, cultural and federal theoretical literature to produce an analytical explanation.

Displacement, the Distrust Problem and the Survey Data

Before investigating the displacement survey data, it is essential to start with a simple definition of the key words in this paper (displaced people, trust and federal) and a theoretical explanation of the causes of the distrust problem in order to understand its origin in Iraq. Displacement is added to the distrust problem but it is not the only cause of it.

Internally displaced people means “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border” (Kälin, 2008, p.2). Trust as a moral value means “a firm belief in the reliability, truth, or ability of someone or something, have a faith or confidence” (English Oxford living dictionaries). According to Newton, trust has a constellation of synonyms—mutuality, empathy, reciprocity, civility, respect, solidarity, empathy, toleration, and fraternity (Newton, 2001, p.203) The word federal, the Latin word *foedus*, means treaty or covenant, and its cognate faith and trust (Davis, 1978, p.3). The federal idea or the federal spirit is closely linked to trust. Federalism, according to Carl Friedrich, is a process, an evolving pattern of changing relationships rather than a static pattern or fixed constitutional structure regulated by firm rules (Friedrich, 1968, p.173). This process is called federalisation.

Newton and Norris argued that there are three main theories or approaches that explain the distrust problem and the lack of confidence: social-psychological theory, social-cultural theory and the theory of governmental institutional performance (Newton and Norris, 1999, P.5).

Social and psychological theory tends to focus on individual characteristics in explaining why some people are trustors and others are cynics. Early life experience would shape individuals’ personalities. Some people are more cooperative and willing to help and optimistic about life, while others are defensive, anxious about others and pessimistic (Newton and Norris, 1999, p.5-6) The social-cultural theory argues that individuals’ life experiences and situations, whether they are positive or negative, would influence the level of confidence and trust that they hold. If life experience is good - a good education, good - job, cooperation with others, voluntary participation in society’s affairs – this creates and builds confidence, trust and cooperation. This would increase social integration among the people of the society (Newton and Norris, 1999, p.6-7). Moreover, cultural theory argues that the values learned by undemocratic regimes will continue for a generation after the collapse of the old regime. These values will prevent

the evolution of political trust in the new democratic institutions in the short term (W Mishler, R Rose – 2001, p.3).

The theory of institutional performance focuses on the performance of governmental institutions as a key in explaining citizens' lack of confidence and trust in governments. This theory does not consider trust and confidence as a part of individuals' characteristics or a result of social - cultural life experience. The recent research by Mishler and Rose about the origins of political trust in post-communist states support the idea that political trust is developed by the performance of governmental institutions (W Mishler, R Rose – 2001, p.1). They also explain that political trust in transitional democracies is generally low because of the different political and economic problems that these states might confront but they might generate political trust in the short term if they succeed in providing economic growth and containing corruption (W Mishler, R Rose – 2001, p.3). Institutional performance has an impact on public policy because if there is a low level of confidence in governmental institutions, then the governments and the political leaders can lower public expectation by, for example, promising people less, or by improving institutions' performance (Newton and Norris, 1999, P,7). Moreover, this theory suggests that governmental performance affects every citizen despite their personal characteristics and social-cultural experiences, however not every citizen is equally affected. Newton stressed that there is a weak relationship between the social and political and we can predict virtually nothing about a person's trust in other people from their trust in government; these are different forms of trust that are largely independent of each other (Newton, 2001, p.203). To explain this, Newton and Norris argue that there is an indirect relationship between social trust and governmental performance. If the social trust helps to build social capital then social capital in turn helps to strengthen political institutions which could improve governmental performance which inspires people's confidence, and the opposite is also true (Newton and Norris, 1999, p.7-8).

According to the survey data, internally displaced Iraqi people show a very low level of trust towards their local neighbourhood and governorates. In fact, the circle of trust is very narrow and limited. If we have a look at question 1 of the survey, we would be able to recognise this narrow circle of trust. Displaced people mainly trust their own families, 71%. This narrow circle of trust depends mainly on who offered help to deal with daily hardship as a displaced person. Members of an individual's own family and extended family are the main support for the displaced people, followed by members of close villages or neighbourhood. Governmental authorities provided the least support, about 58%. This could be one of the reasons for the low level of engagement and participation among displaced people in political affairs and the governmental elections of 2014.

For non-displaced people, the problem of distrust is caused by other reasons, as question 4 proves. Non-displaced people believe, and this could be driven by life experience, that displaced people are threatening their economic position because displaced people make it less likely for them to find a job, about 63% of the interviewees. The other reason is the state of insecurity that they feel in living in the same areas with displaced people, about 64%. Again, this explains what people are experiencing. The accidents that have happened in the host areas created the fear that displaced people could be supporters of ISIS. In fact, this happened in one of the camps near the city of Mosul where a few families, whose sons were fighting with ISIS, were collecting information about the camp and sending it to them (Al-Iraqi Satellite Channel,

January 2017). Another explanation could be psychological. When the non-displaced people witness the daily hardship of displaced people and their suffering, they would involuntarily feel unsafe and insecure because they might also face the same situation and be forced to leave their areas to find a safe place to live in whether in other parts of Iraq, about 60%, or outside Iraq, about 63% (questions 5&6).

From these findings, it is clear that there are two levels to the problem of distrust in Iraq: horizontal distrust, which is social distrust which fits with social-cultural theory, and vertical distrust, which is political distrust or lack of confidence, which fits with the governmental institutional performance theory. The origin of social trust, according to Newton, is not associated with voluntary participation in civil society activities, explained by traditional social theory or with economic, political and social sets (Newton, 2001, p.202&204). In the context of the Iraqi situation, social distrust is not the outcome of civil society organisations' failure in developing activities that generate trust nor the results of bad jobs and low income. However, Iraqi social distrust is the outcome of life experience and a brutal conflict that has led to losses in lives and basic requirements for living, and created competition among displaced and the non-displaced people. Moreover, social distrust in Iraq is fuelled by political conflict among the politicians. Consequently, social distrust narrows the displaced and non-displaced people's circle of trusted people within their community and in the areas where they live. This has a negative effect on social integration and cooperation among the diverse Iraqi groups and further weakens Iraqi national identity in favour of sectarian, religious and ethnic identities. This might increase the chance of another eruption of violence among the Iraqis. Political distrust, is when people do not trust their political authorities and political leaders either, local or national and have no confidence in political institutions, refusing participation and involvement (Newton, 2002. P.205). The reasons behind this are related to the operation of the governmental institutions and the outcomes of the political process. In Iraq, the performance of the federal and local government is not effective due a number of problems that I will explain later in this paper. The Iraqis in general are not satisfied with the quality of the services that the government provides. Moreover, the crisis of the Iraqi political leadership is another reason for weak federal and local institutional performance. Political trust obtains only through the effective operation of the political institutions and the politicians. For example, James Madison highlighted that the aim of every political constitution was to obtain for rulers the common good of the society; and in the next place, to take the most effective precautions for keeping them virtuous whilst they continue to hold public trust (Madison, The Federalist Papers, 1788). Moreover, Wheare highlights the importance of leadership in generating the desire for union to form a federation (Wheare, 1963, p.30)

Both the social and political trust are necessary elements for the stability of Iraqi society and the stability of the federal democratic political process and promoting democracy. While the importance of social trust lies in its connection with social integration. Political trust is a necessary condition for democracy and the stability of the state.

What Impact Does the Displacement Problem have on Federalisation in Iraq?

When Burgess investigated the problems of Bosnia and Herzegovina federation, he highlighted the problem of refugees and internally displaced people and the slow process of returning them to their original houses as one of the informal institutional problems and failures that BiH was confronting (Burgess, 2012, p.304). However, when he investigated the Iraqi federation's

formal and informal institutional problems and failures, he did not highlight this problem despite its existence since 2005 (Burgess, 2012, P.312-313). This could be explained by the fact that at the time that Burgess wrote his book, ISIS had not invaded the western parts of Iraq and therefore the displacement problem was not as intensive as it is now. Given that, we can argue, from a comparative perspective, that the displacement problem in Iraq is part of the informal institutional problems and failure.

Before explaining the impact of the displacement problem on the federal process in Iraq, it is important to highlight that the federal process and the federal system are in crisis because of different problems. Some of these problems are related to the origin and formation of the new federal models that appeared after 1990 and Iraq is the last among them. Others relate to the design of the federal system, the absence of federal democratic culture and the crisis in the political leadership. All these problems negatively impacted on institutional performance and the social integration among the groups in Iraq. I will briefly explain these problems in order to understand how displacement has added to the complications of federatization.

The new federal models like Bosnia, Ethiopia and Iraq are different from the classic federal models in their origins and formation. The origin and formation of the Iraqi federation are characterised by two novel factors - the role of the international community and the need for democracy - that did not exist in the classical federal models. The formation of the Iraqi federation was a bargain between Iraqi politicians and the Americans (Shakir, 2017). Therefore, it is not completely a “forced together” federation, as Nancey Bermeo argued, and it is not completely a “holding together” federation as Stepan argued (Stepan, 2005, p.256-257). The origins of the Iraqi federation combined both approaches. This new approach did not generate trust and the consent of Iraqis but highlighted the illegitimacy of the federal process because of the role of the Americans and reliance on their support to solve the political crises mainly during the constitution drafting in 2005. Consequently, federal political change has happened from above. The Iraqi federation lacks a federal base, or a moral base, because Iraqi society lacks the federal values and federal principles that are necessary to develop a federal political culture. These values and principles are crucial for the operation of the federations and their continuity. In 2006 Burgess briefly listed federal values as: mutual respect, recognition, dignity, consent, trust and reciprocity (Burgess, 2006, p.282). However, in 2012 he elaborated on there to include: human dignity, equality, liberty, justice, empathy, toleration, recognition and respect, as well as the federal principles such as autonomy, partnership, self-determination, comity, loyalty, unity in diversity (Burgess, 2012, p.22). For him, these federal values and principles are the building blocks of a political community which is a federal polity.

Furthermore, officially, the preamble of the 2005 Constitution states that Iraq is a federal state. However, practically and after nearly 12 years since the formation of the federation, Iraq is still not a fully federal state. This is because of the unfinished constitutional and institutional structures (Burgess, 2012 & Shakir, 2017). The necessary elements for the formation of a federation are a written constitution, bicameral legislatures, constitutional courts, two levels of government and separation of powers. Some of these institutions have not been formed yet. Moreover, the design of the Iraqi federal system, with a hybrid presidential – parliamentary system and very decentralised, has negatively affected institutional performance which undermines social integration and people’s political confidence in the federal process. The federal government is weak, there are too many competencies for the regions, and there has

been a failure to develop national consensus among the political groups. This makes federalisation very slow and complicated.

The transition from authoritarian rule to federal democratic rule and the state of insecurity and sectarian conflict have added to the problems of the federal institutions and further complicated their performance in Iraq. The legacies of the authoritarian rule and the problems that accompanied the transition to the federal democratic rule are challenges for both the people and the government. These challenges would have a less negative impact if there were effective leadership. Most of the Iraqi leaders were part of the Iraqi opposition with all its problems and differences and they have only now started to adhere to federal democratic cultural practices. Moreover, the approach of including all the leaders of the different groups has not resulted in channelling their differences towards enhancing the rule of law and the rule of governmental institutions.

With the displacement problem, federalisation is further destabilised and for other reasons. **First**, displacement has added to the security challenges the Iraqi federation is confronting. Sarah Lischer argued that “the displacement crisis is both an effect and a cause of Iraq’s violence because the sectarian violence that produces displacement would result in sectarian polarization” (Lischer, 2008,104). Sectarian polarization would further strengthen sectarian identity and weaken Iraqi national identity and national integration. The displaced people in Iraq have become vulnerable to political manipulation and militarization by extremists and militia (Lischer, 2008, p.96). This further complicates the security situation for the federal government. Furthermore, militia and terrorist groups use the needs of the displaced people to compel them to join the militia and provide support for it. 66.4% of the survey sample confirmed that militia **offered to help in dealing with daily hardships, while 61.8% confirmed that political parties offered to help.** Some of the displaced people might accept this considering weak governmental support and their poor living conditions. As we explained earlier, the areas that host the displaced people face insecurity and tension as prices increase, along with unemployment and access to basic services decreases. This further deepens the distrust problem.

Second, the displacement problem weakens the accountability and responsiveness of the federation for two reasons. First, it creates an additional burden on the weak governmental federal and local institutions. These institutions are struggling to function because of corruption, a lack of resources and the security challenges. Moreover, these institutions are affected by the political struggle among the Iraqi politicians. Displacement has been exploited by some politicians to further complicate the operation of the federal system and to block any efforts to strengthen the federal government because it is always seen as strengthening one political group and one sect of the Iraqi population over the other groups. The Iraqi political leaders with an ethnic and sectarian agenda are using the displaced people to exert pressure on the Iraqi federal government to achieve their interests. Moreover, those leaders, who are affiliated to different political parties within one community, have also used the displacement problem to further criticise the federal government and to confirm its inability to stabilise Iraq and maintain the social fabric of Iraqi society. In return, some of the displaced people have accepted the agenda of these leaders and follow an extreme path to change their situation. In other words, displacement becomes a way to consolidate political control (Ferris, 2007, p.6). Politicians reflect distrust back at their communities to mobilise them for the purpose of

controlling authority. This adds to social fragmentation and social distrust which negatively impacts on social integration and the stability of the society and of the state. In fact, an increase in demonstrations demanding reform is a clear indication of this.

Second, with weak institutional performance, political distrust and disloyalty are further increased among the Iraqis in general. According to institutional theory, trust is the consequence of the effective operation of political institutions (W Mishler, R Rose – 2001, p.1). The political distrust among the displaced and non-displaced Iraqi people gives them the right to question the consent that they have given to the federal government in elections. Through representative democracy, people give their consent to elected local and national politicians and to the whole political process in return for satisfying their needs and demands. When the political system fails to sustain consent and loyalty, the legitimacy of the system is in question because what is legitimate is the needs of the people and not the system and its structures.

The lack of trust, lack of consent and the weak legitimacy of the political system could create two options for the Iraqi people, as well as the federal government. The Iraqis might decide to change the political situation by overthrowing the whole federal democratic process. This would increase the state of instability and conflict mainly in light of the absence of a strong political opposition able to lead the diverse groups in the society and the political process. Or, it might push the current government towards more centralisation to maintain its authority and its long hand over the population. Centralisation, in any federation, is a threat to federal values as Burgess explained (Burgess, p.282, 2006). However, Burgess does not deny that this threat can be a source of success in respect of longevity, government stability and the territorial integrity of the federation, and a source of failure in terms of maintaining local autonomy and political accommodation. In the Iraqi case, centralisation of power would generate more political conflicts among the different political groups to hold power which will directly impact on society.

Furthermore, the displacement crisis undermines the practices and participation in the federal process. By refusing to participate and engage in what we can call the rules of the game - the political system - the displaced people, as well as every Iraqi citizen, are missing the chance to learn the new political values and beliefs that will add up to development of a new political federal democratic culture. By participating, the displaced and non-displaced would produce and reproduce an attitude about the political system of Iraq which would expand their abilities to act. More importantly, the displaced people are mainly from the Sunni community and by refusing to participate in political affairs they are undermining the representation of their community in the federal governmental institutions. It was, in fact, a failure of Iraqi political process when the Sunni community decided to boycott the 2005 election for the transitional government. In any future federal or governorate council elections, and in the areas where displaced people are settled with other different religious, sectarian and ethnic groups, this might cause a problem. The relationship among the different groups might get tense because refusing to participate in elections can be understood as an action against the political process, which despite its weaknesses, has led to power - sharing among the Iraqis rather than having one group in power.

Third, by adding to the insecurity challenge, weak institutional performance and political distrust, displacement is depriving the Iraqi federation of the formation of the key federal

principles of effective operation. Loyalty, faith and trust underpin moral obligations in a federal society. These federal principles are bound up with the federal values and constitutional partnership to form the core of the federal state (Burgess, 2012, p.25-26). The absence of these federal principles would suggest the elimination of other federal values and principles from the core of the Iraqi federal state. So rather than hoping that the Iraqi federal process would assist in structuring the building blocks - the federal values and principles - of the federal society in order to sustain the federation and nurture the federal political culture, practically it is hindering it.

Fourth, the internal displacement in Iraq is a consequence of the sectarian violence after 2005 and then the ISIS attack on mainly Sunni governorates. This contributes, because of the political conflict in Iraq and the weak federal government, to sectarian polarization and social distrust. The displacement hinders the development of cohesive society in Iraq. Both displaced and non-displaced people are feeling unsafe towards each other because of competition over economic resources and insecurity problems associated with the displaced people. This social distrust would further fragment social integration. Consequently, the displacement crisis prevents the nurturing of the federal values of human dignity, recognition, respect, empathy and accommodation.

How to Ease the Effects of Displacement on Federalization?

To ease the social and political impacts of displacement in Iraq and in order to restore social integration and sustain the federal democratic process, a citizens engagement programme would be worth applying. Why this programme? According to Gaventa and Barrett, this programme is based on normative beliefs. Moreover, citizen engagement has significant impacts on the construction of citizenship, the strengthening of practices of participation, the strengthening of responsive and accountable states and the development of the inclusive and cohesive societies (Gaventa, J & Barrett Gregory, 2010, p-3& p.11). My argument is that a citizen engagement approach, on one hand, would nurture the moral base of the Iraqi federation- the federal values and principles- which would provide the federation with an opportunity to sustain and operate more effectively. The moral base would instigate a change and this time a change from below by developing the federal values and principles among the Iraqi people that are crucial to strengthening social integration and reduce the chances of violence. On the other hand, citizen engagement strategies will contribute to improving the performance of the federal government institutions and the accountability of the Iraqi federal government.

By working on the construction of citizenship, citizen engagement would empower the self-identity of the citizens and broaden their awareness of their rights and responsibility which would contribute to enhancing their confidence in themselves (Gaventa, J & Barrett Gregory, 2010, p-27-30). If we examine these three outcomes, what lies at their very core, is human dignity, equality, liberty, empathy, recognition, justice and respect, which are all part of Burgess federal values. Every citizen is a human first and he or she is entitled to moral consideration. We cannot make citizens aware of their rights and responsibility and knowledgeable of the political rules of the game without showing them respect and recognition as human beings first. And we cannot make them confident, if we are not going to show them empathy and demonstrate that they are all equal and able to express themselves despite their differences. This is justice and recognition. By developing citizens' awareness and confidence,

we are also making them more active so they can participate in political and social practices to maintain their rights and liberties. This will force the local and federal governmental institutions to work effectively to sustain these rights and liberties and if they succeed they will earn citizens' trust and loyalty. In the light of this, developing a sense of citizenship among Iraqis, would in fact contribute to the construction of a moral base that the Iraqi federation lacks. Furthermore, it will enhance social integration among the diverse groups of the Iraqi population and reduce the chance of conflict.

By strengthening practices and participation, a citizen engagement programme contributes to the development of citizens' skills to act and deepen their networks and alliances (Gaventa, J & Barrett Gregory, 2010, p-33-34). Such a strategy would enable Iraqi citizens to challenge local and federal politicians and institutions if they impose governmental policies that eliminate citizens' preferences and enable Iraqis to check up on them. Moreover, it would increase the practices that would enable Iraqi citizens to check progress in reconstruction projects. This would compel local and federal politicians and institutions to perform according to citizens' needs and desires which would stabilise the society. Strengthening citizens' ability to act would reflect positively on enhancing citizens' confidence and expanding their awareness and experiences, which again would help to reconstruct the moral base of the Iraqi federation. Moreover, deepening Iraqi citizens' networks and alliances would mean more chances of cooperation among the diverse groups of the population which again promotes social integration.

The other strategy of citizen engagement is building responsive states which include three pathways: increasing service delivery, securing and creating citizens' rights and enhancing governmental institutions accountability (Gaventa, J & Barrett Gregory, 2010, p-35-41). If local and federal governmental institutions' and behind them the Iraqi politicians would ensure service delivery and secure citizens' rights and liberties, then they would ensure citizens' loyalty, faith and trust, the operative principles of the federation (Burgess, 2012, p.25). In return, Iraqi citizens would feel that they have been respected and recognised by their representatives and their needs have been accommodated. Again, this would contribute to the creation of federal values, the moral base. As a consequence, the operation of these institution would be more effective and the whole federal process would be more accountable and stable. The last impact of citizen engagement is the creation of inclusive and cohesive societies (Gaventa, J & Barrett Gregory, 2010, p.44). Throughout the work on building citizenship, practices and participation and state responsiveness, the outcome would be a more inclusive society. In an inclusive society, all the different groups in the Iraqi population would have the chance to develop a sense of belonging to the society and state. Accordingly, Iraqi national identity would be enhanced alongside all other sectarian, religious and ethnic identities. To reach this level would mean that the values of empathy, recognition, respect, partnership, loyalty and unity in diversity, the moral base of federation, are constructed.

If the different strategies of citizen engagement were implemented in Iraq, then there would be a better chance for the federal values and principles to be nurtured. This could be a new condition of success for the Iraqi federation. This would help in raising a new generation of Iraqis, federal Iraqis.

Conclusion

Displacement has added to the challenges of the Iraqi federation by further exposing its weak moral base. At a time when it is hoped that the federal process would assist in developing federal values and principles, however, the political conflict, weak governmental performance, previous undemocratic political experience and the security challenge, displacement and the slow return process, all have complicated their nurturing of these values and principles.

With a citizen engagement approach, there could be a possibility to construct federal values and principles because its strategies underpin normative principles. Classic federal theory approaches to obtain citizens' loyalty, faith and trust is completely different. For example, Ronald Watts argued that to win the confidence and trust of citizens in their federal governments two criteria must be achieved: representative in the federal government institutions of the diverse groups in the federation, and effectiveness in federal government decision - making (Watts, 2008, p135). However, these criteria cannot fit completely into the Iraqi federation, or into the other new federal models. This is because of the different origins and formation among the classic and new federal models, as explained at the beginning of this paper. In the classic models, the federal values and principles and the democratic culture formed the basis of these federations and contributed to the effectiveness of their federal governments. This was enhanced by an effective role of their political leadership. Moreover, in Iraq, although proportional representation in the federal governmental institutions ensured the diversity of the Iraqi population, it further deepened sectarian and ethnic differences and weakened the social integration. This is mainly because the role of the Iraqi political leadership and their contest for authority has a negative impact on the effectiveness of the federal government in making decisions. Consequently, Iraqi citizens' loyalty, faith and trust will not obtain through achieving these two conditions. Nurturing better and active citizens is a condition to tackle every problem within Iraqi society.

Question 1 How did the post-2003 displacement change your view of others?

	less	same	more	total	Percentage weight
1.people trust their families as before	122	201	190	513	71.1%
2. people trust their close neighbourhood/village	180	199	134	513	38.2%
3. people trust members from their own governorates	269	207	37	513	31%
4.I do not trust anybody	227	240	46	513	32.9%

Question 2¹. Who offered you help in dealing with daily hardships as a displaced person?

	Total	NR	DK	Percentage weight	No helped 1	Somewhat helped 2	Helped a lot 3
members of your close family	129	11	8	%86.1	10	26	74
members of your extended family	129	13	10	%78.8	13	42	52
members of your village/neighborhood	129	14	9	%71.1	23	46	37
organizations of displaced persons	129	7	10	%70.5	26	47	39
government authorities	129	14	25	%58.5	42	28	20
international organizations	129	22	17	%61.1	41	23	26
-local NGOs	129	7	18	%68.6	29	40	35
political party (which one??)	129	14	20	%61.8	37	35	23
representatives of your ethnic or religious group	129	9	14	%65.4	36	38	32
. - militia groups	129	8	15	%66.4	33	41	32

QUESTION 3. While in displacement, did you vote in 2014 parliamentary elections?

	people	%
1—I travelled to vote in my pre-displacement place of residence	23	4.5
2—I voted here in my current place of residence but for the governorate of my pre-displacement home	66	12.9
3—I voted here in my current place of residence for my current governorate	121	23.6
4—Other (please specify) ²	49	9.5

1. In this question, the survey sample is 129, %25.

² People did not specify anything, they just chose this option



5- I did not vote in elections	141	27.4
6-NR	113	22.0
Total	513	100

QUESTION 4.How would you evaluate the following statements?

	%	Total	NR		Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	disagree	Strongly disagree
			%		5	4	3	2	1
1. Displaced people should receive more financial support from the government	57.3%	441	6	26	49	139	42	75	109
2. The presence of displaced people in our area makes it less likely for me to find a job	63.7%	441	5	24	38	164	91	86	38
3. Displaced people make me insecure	64.0%	441	5	23	51	171	83	37	76
4. Displaced people should be located in other areas of Iraq or abroad	52.9%	441	10	42	32	78	102	89	97

Question 5

	%	Total	NR		DK		Very impossible	Somewhat impossible	Somewhat possible	Very possible
			%		%		1	2	3	4
How likely it is for you to migrate within Iraq in the next 3 years?	60.1%	441	2	12	11	49	112	106	58	104

Question 6

	%	Total	NR		DK		Very impossible	Somewhat impossible	Somewhat possible	Very possible
			%		%		1	2	3	4
How likely it is for you to migrate outside Iraq	63.6%	441	3	15	15	67	114	69	43	133



n the next 3 years									
-----------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Question 7

	%	Total	NR		Strongly disagree	Some what disagree	Not sure	Some what agree	Strongly agree
			%		1	2	3	4	5
Would you agree with the following statement: "After everything that happened, I think we can live together with all Iraqi religious and ethnic groups, but the trust is lost"	78.4 %	441	13	56	12	30	70	137	136

*special thanks for the british council for funding the questionaaire

References

1. Mishler, William and Richard Rose, "What are the Origins of Political Trust? Testing Institutional and Cultural Theories in Post-Communist Societies", Comparative **political** studies, 34.1 (2001):30-62.
2. Burgess, Michael (2012), In Search for the Federal Spirit: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspective in Comparative Federation (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
3. Burgess, Michael (2006), Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice (London and New York: Routledge)
4. Ferris, Elizabeth G. Security, displacement and Iraq: A deadly combination. Brookings Institution, 2007.
5. Friedrich, Carl J. (1968), Trends to Federalism in Theory and Practice (New York: Frederick a. Praeger)
6. Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. 2008. "Security and Displacement in Iraq." International Security, Vol.33, No. 2 pp. 95-119.
7. Newton, Kenneth, and Pippa Norris. "Confidence in public institutions." Disaffected democracies. What's troubling the trilateral countries (2000).
Kenneth Newton, Trust, Social Capital, Civil Society, and Democracy, International Political Science Review (2001), Vol 22, No. 2, 201–214



8. Goventa, John and Gregory Barrett, So What Difference Does it Make? Mapping the Outcomes of Citizen Engagement, 2010, Institute of Development Studies, Working paper 347, University of Sussex.
9. Al-Iraqi Satellite Channel, January, 2017
10. Kalin, Walter. "Guiding principles on internal displacement." Stud. Transnat'l Legal Pol'y 38 (2008): 1.
11. Madison, James, 1788. The Federalist Papers, available at: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1404/1404-h/1404-h.htm>
12. English Oxford Living Dictionaries, available at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>
13. Shakir, Farah, The Iraqi Federation: Origin, Operation and Significance, (London and New York, Routledge), 2017
14. S.R. Daivs, (1978) The federal Principle: A Journey Through Time in Quest of a Meaning, (London: University of California Press)
15. Watts, Ronald L. (2008), Compering Federal Systems (Monteral and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press), 3 rd edition.
16. Wheare, Kenneth C. (1963), The Federal Government (London: Oxford University Press), 3rd edition.