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The Social Barriers of the Development of the Civil Society
in the Kurdistan Region- Iraq

Prepared

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BİLİMSEL ETİK BİLDİRİMİ

Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak hazırladığım [**The Social Barriers of the Development of the Civil Society in the Kurdistan Region- Iraq**] adlı çalışmanın öneri aşamasından sonuçlanmasına kadar geçen süreçte bilimsel etiğe ve akademik kurallara özenle uyduğumu, tez içindeki tüm bilgileri bilimsel ahlak ve gelenek çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, tez yazım kurallarına uygun olarak hazırladığım bu çalışmamda doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak yaptığım her alıntıya kaynak gösterdiğimi ve yararlandığım eserlerin kaynakçada gösterilenlerden oluştuğunu beyan ederim.

15 /06/ 2017

İmza

JUTYAR FATAH QADIR

THESIS ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

This thesis entitled “**The Social Barriers of the Development of the Civil Society in the Kurdistan Region- Iraq**” presented by Jutyar Fatah QADIR under the supervision of Dr. Maide GÖK in the Sociology department has been accepted as a Master Thesis according to the rules of Higher Education Intuition of Republic of Turkey on / 06 /2017 with unanimity of the member of jury.

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This thesis has been approved by the committee of the institute of science on
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ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Irak'ın Kürdistan bölgesinde sivil toplumun gelişiminin önündeki toplumsal engelleri tespit etmektir. Sivil toplum; hükümetlerin, politik partilerin, ırk ve dinsel ayrımların etkisi altında olmadan demokratik bir ortamda bir toplumun ortak hedefleri için birlikte çalışan gönüllülerden oluşan hükümet dışı organizasyonlardır. Sivil toplum kavramı Kürdistan bölgesinde oldukça yeni olduğundan, burada yeterince gelişmemiş ve kurumsallaşmamıştır. Bundan dolayı, bu konu hakkında çalışmak önem arz etmektedir. Bu çalışma için, nitel yöntemler arasında yer alan tarihsel metot ve derinlemesine görüşme tekniklerinden yararlanılmış ve akademisyenler, sivil toplum aktivistleri ve politikacılar arasından yer alan 15 katılımcı ile görüşme yapılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada sivil toplumun önündeki en önemli engeller arasında hoşgörüsüzlüğün ve şiddetin geldiği görülmüştür. Bununla birlikte, bölgede, sivil toplumun gelişimi karşısındaki diğer engeller arasında; bölgede farklı toplulukların yer alması, İslami politik ideolojilerin ve kabileciliğin yer aldığı tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca sivil toplum anlayışının Kürdistan'ta yeterince gelişmediği ve insanlar arasında bilinmediği görülmüştür. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmanın sivil toplumun önündeki engellerin tespit edilmesi ve ortadan kaldırılması için literatüre katkısı olacağı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sivil toplum, toplumsal engeller, Irak Kürdistan Bölgesi.

ABSTRACT

This research examines the major social barriers in the development of civil society in Kurdistan region of Iraq. These are social majors' barriers include, barriers example intolerance and violence, among others. In the civil society is Governments, political parties, non-governmental organizations of volunteers working together on common goals of a society in a democratic environment, without being under the influence of race and religious distinctions. Since the concept of civil society is fairly new in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, it has not been sufficiently developed and institutionalized here. Therefore, it is important to work on this issue. For this study, historical methods and in-depth interviewing techniques among survey methods were used and interviews were made with 15 participants among academicians, civil society activists and politicians.

In this study, it was seen that intolerance and violence came among the most important barriers in front of civil society. However, there are other barriers to the development of civil society in the (KRI); the involvement of different communities in the region, Islamic political ideologies, and tribalism. It is also seen that the concept of civil society has not developed sufficiently in Kurdistan region of Iraq and is not known among people. For this reason, it is thought that this study will contribute to the literacy contribution to the identification and removal of the obstacles in front of the civil society.

Keywords: Civil society, social barriers, Kurdistan region of Iraq.

Abbreviations

(KRI)	KURDISTAN REGION OF IRAQ
(KRG)	KURDISTAN REGION OF GOVERNMENT
(USA)	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
(N.D.P)	THE NATIONAL DEMOCRAT PARTY
(I.C.P)	THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY
(CSO)	CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS
(TV)	TELEVISION
(ISIS)	ISLAMIC STATE IRAQ AND SHAM
(PUK)	PATRIOT UNITED OF KURDISTAN
(PDK)	PATRIOT DEMOCRATIC OF KURDISTAN
(NGO)	NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

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INTRODUCTION

Due to the fact that it is a modern concept, it has rarely drawn attention in Kurdistan-Iraq and in the Kurdish language, and the few ones that have already discussed it, they mainly reflect their own views. For instance, most politicians have defined civil society as none separated part of the state. As for the economists, they define civil society as a none-profitable organization, and they commit it to the free market. This is one of the examples: the civil society us a collection of figures and groups that work according to a law that arranges the civil organized. The individuals of the civil societies have no differences or privileges in the state, because it is a free society and it makes no way for imposing any sort of relation to the people, and organizing process are performed by some social and political figures of the society. But that does not mean that the civil society must oppose the state or it must be totally independent of it. In fact, it means cooperating with the state, and the individual is neither absolutely independent nor absolutely belonging to the state (Zber, 2010 p24-25).

This study about civil society researcher chose it, because it is a new concept and an important to all society, if its practice, under the topic (The Social Barriers of the development of the civil society in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI)) divided into four parts, in the first part of title research methodology, in this study two methods used by the researcher first method historical method, because of this research deals with historical events of how the civil society was thought of in the Iraq and (KRI) and how it was mentioned or not mentioned there, then how it is reborn in the European states after Renaissance onwards. It also deals with sociology and the nature of the society in Iraq and Kurdistan region, and how civil society started there? This is why the main method of our work will be dealing with history, for most of the events are of the past.

After that survey method thus, a research that conducting the survey method sticks to reality and the data that is collected from documents, interviews and personal remarks.

After collecting them, the researcher starts arranging and analyzing the data till he\she is confident of what has been gathered so as to start putting his\her remarks and conclusion. So it will be similar to a small laboratory that lets no way for personal imagination and none subjective opinions and this is, in fact, what had made me resort to this scientific method.

Second part under title conceptual frame, in this part have a history of civil society Ancient Era, Greeks, until social capital, because some sociologist (Bourdieu, Putnam...) explain that civil society meant or equal to social capital, after that explanation how created civil society and what are structure civil society. Paid attention than what is the relationship between civil societies with the state, some lecture said could not be created civil society without the state, but it's not all, because we have some society without the state, but exactly civil society.

In the third part under the title of the historical frame, this part divided into two chapters in the first have a history of the civil society in the Iraq how started a civil society in the Iraq? We back to history of Iraq when crate Iraq country (1921) until now, after this chapter we has history civil society in the Kurdistan region such as a department of Iraq state, when civil society started or how growth and why civil society could not develop such the other society in the Iraq and Kurdistan region of Iraq.

Fourth part consisted findings researcher used the resource and interview, make an interview with twenty difference personality especially political, activists civil, writer, and lecturer of University.

1. CHAPTER I: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The Social Barriers of the Development of the Civil Society in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI)

1.1. Topic of The Research

The civil society increases the authority of the individual for they want them to have a direct participation in the process of decision making of their societies. In another definition, civil society means freedom of society and the participation of individuals in managing his\her public affairs. Another one, civil society is the one that its public affairs are managed by democratic organizations, organizations that believe in freedom of individuals and political competition such as having the rights to making themselves the political candidates for elections, and the existence of free elections by itself. They must believe in variation and the role of law and respecting human rights (Zbede, 2012, p67).

Topic the research it's a first step to go on in the research this topic under the title ((The Social Barriers of the development of the civil society in the Kurdistan region of Iraq (KRI)). The civil society one of the new concept in the sociology and a so important topic to researchers researching about it In fact it had effectively appeared for the first time during the 18th century and from that time on it started infiltrating to the scientific and sociological field and the excisions of various aspects. According to its characteristics, civil society is defined a number of separated and independent volunteering committees working in the state and the society to help, as much possible, in organizing. They connect the individuals to the public affairs and they care for satisfying their demands and needs (Nekfir, 2000, p17).

Antonio Gramsci recognizes civil society that both principles of (punish and duty) is not imposed, because the civil society may do without imposing any sort of punishments

and/or duties. In a word, they are deliberately done. But, of course, there are some variations due to the changes and challenges that come over the traditions of the societies (Gramsci, 2004, p70).

The cause behind this choice is that the concept of civil society is new to the region, and the academic community has hardly thought of making researches on this. In addition, there were more reasons that could be list as below:

- The civil society has an actual importance for civilization in general, and they may help moving a particular human society from stage to higher one.
- Although the civil society and civil capital have some ancient roots, actually they are new ideas and methods of working for modern civilization in general, and have received little discussions by scholars and researchers in comparison with other topics.
- The civil society has not yet achieved the status that is hoped for in the Kurdistan region on both of the two fields, the government and the people.
- Due to its being new, the civil society is overlapping with some other civil activities of the people. This because the society too lacks the proper roots in civilization and modernity.
- Till now, the region in general has no clear view about civil society, its concept, its importance, and its goals, because of civil society a new concept.

1.2. Importance of The Research

The importance of each research so important for every research, in the beginning, the researcher should gathering information crucial about the subject, and to outline the social problems, then to identifying the potential salvations, especially about the laws and the official procedures (Al-Hessen, 2005, p62). This research in precise has its own scientific and practical importance as below:

- It is reckoned as a new kind of academic and scientific research, for it is tackling a subject that very few people have taken in their consideration in the Iraq, which is how civil societies have evolved, worked, and spread in Kurdistan region, because there are very few researches who have focused on the role and achievements of some particular civil societies in developing the communities, and those were the ones that they dealt with, but what about the general movement of civil society how did it start, and what were the ups and downs so far?
- The research sheds light on some important facts about life in Kurdistan-Iraq in general and the way people interacted with a new concept of working, and in connecting the individuals to the society and to the civil society.
- The research keeps itself neutral with or against any group or faction that supported or opposed any civil society's and/or somehow had a friction with them in Kurdistan Region of Iraq.
- The research could be regarded as a kind of mechanism of how to identify the barriers have, or still facing, facing the civil societies and the process of civilizing the region in general, and also about how to solve and undermine those Barriers . It is undoubted that this research will help future researchers to carry out the important aims of the civil societies.

The Practical Importance of the Research:

Scientifically, the topic of this research is new, and even unprecedented to some extent, because of not having other researches done by the academic community of Kurdistan region of Iraq about the concept civil society and about the growth of this movement in this mentioned region. Of course there are many researches about civil society, but with regard to the direct concept itself and its relation with the civil societies in Kurdistan Region and how it helped to progress along with the barriers and so on, such kind of researches are either very rare or totally absent in the scene, even though that such researches are much required.

Practically, the importance of the research can be classified as below:

- Spreading a comprehensive understanding about this concept in the Kurdish society in general and the officials in particular about how the civilizing process and the growth of the civil society in Kurdistan Region-Iraq have been moving.
- The rate of practicing the civil society methods of working in Kurdistan Region on both phases, officially and publically, and to what extent both of them have had of negativity and/or positivity on the issue.
- The degree of willingness of the citizens of the region to turning the traditional ways of governing into practices closer to the ways and conducts of the civil societies.
- What these social barriers that did not let the society of the region turn its basic structure a one built upon civil societies?
- Showing kinds of violence inform of effective civil in the (KRG), and these causes to effective civil abandonment working of civil.
- The Kurdish traditions and culture there are affected on the civil society.
- Did the establishments of the civil societies helped transferring the Kurdish people from a natural society into a civilized and modern society?

1.3. Aims of The Research

Every academic research has a purpose, and at the end we have to concenter if the research has achieved its aims, and to what extent. The purpose of this research is to show some point as below:

- Clarify the nature of the Kurdish society and how the groups have dealt with the concept of the civil society since they, the civil societies, have taken their place in the Iraqi region of Kurdistan, and started infiltrating the population and absorbing more numbers of the affiliates and associates.
- Showing the cultural effects of the civil societies on the inhabitants and whether the people have had a negative or positive interaction with it.
- Identifying the social barriers facing the process of civilizing the society of Iraqi Kurdistan.
- The role of Kurdistan Regional - Iraq Government (KRG) and its regulations on the civil society.
- Highlighting the retaliations of the organizations of the civil society, and also if there were any kinds of social rejection to those organizations of civil society in this region.
- Showing the potentials of the civil society Institutions of Kurdistan region of Iraq and they do better to civiler.

1.4. Methods of The Research

Before we go into a research, we need to clarify its method of studying. Furthermore, the researcher cannot randomly choose a method. In fact it is the nature of the subject that may define the method. For instance, if the subject is history then we are obliged to deal with the historical method, and this fact applies for all other topics. So, for more clarifying our work, we hereby put some definitions as below:□

Scientific Method this one is for building a scientific structure of information that may be convincing to readers through the remarks and\or the examples or surveying. It focuses subjectivity and neutrality, and it should rely on ethical conclusions. Scientific

Methods have basic procedures to follow that always start with natural (normal) remarks in order to getting to a generalization that would turn into a kind of method (Samira, 2007, p162).

We can said that a scientific method is the way the researcher follows so as to accomplish his\her research, and can by using a method he\she can constitute a certain law for the research to the conclusion in the simplest and fastest way, of course with enough proofs that derided from reliable resources. Although some researchers give themselves the right of choosing their methods, others believe that this is not the proper way for scientific researching because the topic itself should define the method, otherwise the research might not reach any conclusion (Omer, 2011, p91).

1.4.1. Historical Methods

This research deals with historical events of how the civil society was thought of in ancient Greece and how it was mentioned or not mentioned there, then how it is reborn in the European states after Renaissance onwards. It also deals with sociology and the nature of the society in Iraq and (KRI), and how civil society started there? This is why the main method of our work will be dealing with history, for most of the events are of the past, and even if something is repeated in history, none of the historical events can be identical to one another, as Karl Marx says: history repeats itself once as tragedy and one time in sarcastic style. It does not mean that history is repeatable; in fact he means that there may be some similarities. Thus, each historical situation has a particular background and it requires a different research (Bokany, 2016, p66).

It is obvious that all social phenomenon is connected to the past of that society. This is why a researcher, who wants to study that phenomenon, has to go back to events, changes, and factors that are marking the start of this phenomenon.

The purpose behind using a historical method is to reconstructing the past through the available documents, diaries, scripts, and although those documents might not show all details of life at that period, a researcher must depend on them for they all what we got

from the past. Documents are the most important elements for researching history for they contain the facts about the past and there are no other significant things that may be relayed on, and in general, there are two main things for a researcher to work on, documents and archeological remnants (Mala Hessen, 2005, p552).

There is no fixed and unchangeable method of working on historical and sociological topics. However, in general view there is a prevailing system that was followed or used by historians, and historians are dealing with more than one aspect most of the time, and this requires more than one definition, and there is no single historical method to work on. This is why the researcher resorts to creating questions and tries to find answers for them (MN, 2016, p7). The resources are (documents, statements of famous and reliable figures, archives of the states, diaries, oral heritage, ancient paints and drawings, and some other clues). It is essential for the researcher to keep himself away from discussing irrelevant complications (Omer, 2011, p181).

The historical method and the concept of history are in direct relation. History is the sum of human's actions, but it is hard to be repeated in the same form, and the concept of history is different from history itself, because it is a kind of practicing scientific ways for describing and analyzing the events and concluding the results, and this is hard and can't be done but for people gifted with analytical imagination and comparison of the past to the current time. Means that he\she has to judge the past so as to foresee the future (Bokany, 2016, p82).

The historical method do not rely on practical or laboratorial tests because no one can go back to live in the past. Actually, the researcher relies on the resources close to that phenomenon to compare and conclude the factors of each event, and in this method, the researcher also should have the right sense and ability for noticing the details, and it is better for him\her to inspect the place where the event took place.

There are conditions to researching on history that Mr. Bokany has mentioned in his book, as below:

- The researcher must know the language of that nation that this historical event deals with in addition to at least one living language.

- He has to be comprehensive to the topic.
- He has to know about how to deal with historical documents and the ancient phrases.
- He has to be acquainted to recognizing the remnants of the historical scripts. Also to geography, economy, and to all sciences that are related to the topic (Bokany, 2016, p70).

The similarity between the historic method of researching and sociology method in one point that some phenomenon have to repeat themselves in one precise time and can't be separated from people's life. The researcher has to detect one particular phenomenon and go through history to see if its factor is repeating itself or not, and whether it has only one, or more than one factor? In sociology, using the historical method is to reach the laws and the principles of the social phenomenon that connect the past with the current time, and/or to identify the factors that lead us to our current situation till he\she gets to abstract the general laws that are connected to the behavior of human groups and the social systems. Generally, a researcher cannot discuss today's events without returning their backgrounds. This is, of course, means going back to the past, to history (Mala Hessen, 2005, p552).

Thus, it's stated that the historical method is one of the important methods that are being used by many researchers. Herby we conduct this one for our social research, because for scientifically clarifying the civil society as a new concept we will need to go back to the past that actually we have went back 2000 years ago, and this is why we have found ourselves resorting to the historical method. Although Iben Kahaloon was (14th century) was the first to use this method, on scientific aspect it has been used since the beginning of the 18th century especially by the English and the French. Now it is widely used. It puts the data on about a problem on qualitative and quantitative array pointing the factors out so as to reach the causes of each phenomenon. In addition, the historical method is a good way reciting the past.

1.4.2. Interview

This method is mostly used for researching in human science especially (education, sociology, psychology) and most widely used, and it includes all the researches that are done about phenomenon and events of the current time. That means it can include every phenomenon that shows up in the life of an individual, a group, and the entire society, and it even can relate and compare one phenomenon to the other one. This method is not limited to describing a situation, in fact it extends to (analyzing, verifying, comparing, and auditing) subjects. In additionally the most important point is that in addition studying the past and contemporary events, it can predict the future too (Bokany, 2016, p82).

The survey method uses sociology for gathering information and data, and it is the most new among the other methods of researching. Its importance lays in the fact that the researcher depends on the actual data and information that are available, and this comes from interviewing people and conducting some questionnaire along with formal information. It is important because the researcher is obliged to be disinterested, for he/she has no other choice but to stick to the data and scientific facts. Furthermore, this method may lead to concluding extra assumptions and laws for researching.

Most researchers conduct this method in sociology and politics and other subjective topics such as describing the components and also the duties of political parties and other organizations orbiting the political atmosphere, because while dealing with the available data, the researcher would have no way to resorting to his/her other than philosophy and/or imagination. He/she has nothing more than the data and the common ethical principles to take in account (Mala Hessen, 2005, p549-550).

The main aim in using this method is to pointing out the basic characteristics of any society regarding its geographical location, its economy, and its nature, and the survey has more concern with the geographical location of the society and, more often, the characteristics of that society. It is a good support for the researcher to conclude a comprehensive portrait for the sociological scene and to point out the barriers on the course to its progress (Omer, 2011, p159).

Thus, a research that conducting the survey method sticks to reality and the data that is collected from documents, interviews and personal remarks. After collecting them, the researcher starts arranging and analyzing the data till he\she is confident of what has been gathered so as to start putting his\her remarks and conclusion. So it will be similar to a small laboratory that lets no way for personal imagination and none subjective opinions and this is, in fact, what had made me resort to this scientific method.

I used interview like to face to face with sixteen difference participants in the (KRI) such as politics men, sociologist, teacher of the university and the civil activists I finished at the six months I started at the November 2016 until finally March 2017, after that I collected datas.

1.5. Main Questions

Today the civil societies are widely spread over the Region of Iraqi Kurdistan and they have become a tangible element working with of the political and public institutions. As we know, the development every society is due to how open they are for new to modernity. This is why we can say that the civilizing process is necessary and inevitable here. The new technologies and the wave of globalization made the Kurdish society endure considerable steps on this direction. Lots of civil societies were gradually found and the number of the affiliates rapidly grew higher and they, the organizations, became an important part of the daily cultural, political, and social life.

It is the importance of civil society and the civilizing process that stood behind choosing them as the topic of the research. But this research has faced obvious hampers of its own, for that civil society means having the mentality of coexistence and the acceptance of others' variations and undermining the mentality of sensitivity to differences, rejection of outsiders, and conduct of violence, the civil society is on opposite to all this and all kinds of discrimination according to the gender, race, class, and it backs individuality and opposes the oppression of people's wills. So, the civil society could not yet have the right, the practical, and the healthy roots inside the Kurdish society.

The regional government was found in 1992, but after a short time it was ensued by a civil war between the two major political parties in 1994 and lasted almost to year 2000. This war and the general rejection of others were the main blow to the civil society movement in the region. The tensed political atmosphere did not facilitate an uncensored political participation of the people, as unaffiliated individuals within the political process. There was a very little chance for individuals, to make contacts with the authorities, to make a request as a normal citizen and to get an answer from them. Many journalists and civil activists were assassinated at that time, and the terror still exists on physical and psychological aspects.

The Kurdistan region of Iraq has three laws dealing with the organizations of civil society issued by the regional parliament in different times. They are Law (1)¹; Law (15) and Law (18) all related to the civil society organizations. Furthermore, the regional government has established an official department dedicated to supporting and dealing with the organizations of civil society named (The Bureau of None Governmental Organizations). However, this bureau cannot do much support for having the appropriate civil organizations because it was directed by the regulations of the government and its activities were restricted by routine. There were some organizations that could not even have the freedom of making an independent decision because of that bureau. It means that even though there are a high number of civil society organizations and many of them were financially supported by the government of (KRI), the government's strategy couldn't deal with them in modern way. The governmental subsidies have become a problem to the progress and to the social comprehension to these organizations on what should they do and how? On another hand, the old fashion of a tribal, religious, and provincial mentality that is in control of the high officials of the government have found other kinds of barriers that lead to a failure in the civilizing process of the society. For instance, the region lacks a permanent constitution so that the people know what kind of government do they have?

For all researches, main question one of the best point for started research, because of this we have some main question, these questions have a special importance, before

¹ The law of the (civil society) Issued by the regional parliament of kurdistan_iraq, at the 2011.

starting to writing any research, we must be have some questions about my topic, and explain topic in the quotations, we have some questions about my topic (The Social Barriers of the development of the civil society in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq):

- What is civil society? Or how do you think about it?
- Are civil society important or no for (KRG-IRAQ)?
- What are social barriers in the Kurdish society inform of civil society? And which one hardest than other barriers?
- Can be civil society development at the Iraq state and (KRG) societies?
- What is difference between the age of (building Islamic party with before this time) status of the civil society?
- What are role institutions formal at the KRG to development civil society?
- Why civil society does not develop in the Iraq and (KRI)?

1.6. Literature Review

Erdis she is study (2006), (Civil Society and Peace Building). She explained how in the civil society building peace, civil society a web of human relationships made up of individual people, their networks, organizations, and institutions around which social and community life is built. It is dynamic, adaptive, at times nebulous, at times well structured, though much of it is informal. The only thing civil society is not is the formal structures of official political governance, particularly at national levels.

This research paper did it by the one of the student from abroad in Norway country, but otherwise is useful for me as a scholar and the same topic, although there is some deference, because of this situation is a little of academic researcher have it from my research area and did it that. That this research paper is closed to my working and there is some of the reason that can be useful to my way :

It is of available the same area as a Kurdish society and taking about the same topic like civil society, Otherwise is almost close of the concepts and we are talking the history of the civil society in the same society but there is not enough this research to be very

useful for me, because of the first thing this research paper did that in one of the Europe university, he or she in the sociology part and almost this research entrust of by the theory that my work is practically, so this research is separate our way is that dear guy his working or his researching on the building of the democracy in the Kurdish society by the civil helping or building the peace and live together from Kurdish society after that it can be the civil society.

Other way this researcher almost the political side trying to working on the communication between these of two concept that is; "civil society and building peace", but she was working as a political researcher so that it could not be useful for me, because I was took it the barriers in front of civil growing and I will talking about it, as my private way that is social extend, and so this dear guy almost tried to his researching as an explaining and explanation or show of two the main concept of research that is against my working, I will try to this researching dependable of data and knowledge practice .That is very useful for me in this researching it is close of our concepts and will be a good helper for those resource that I can knowing and on worked it will be useful and helping me to working better on the my researching.

GÖK she is study (2014), (Social Development and Social Capital unknown actors: Women NGOs analyzed Networks of NGO in Turkey). In this study, she was tried to analyze how women's NGOs contributed to social development and how they used social capital in this process. In this context, interviews were held with seventeen female administrators in different positions in non-governmental organizations. The study areas are Ankara, Elazığ, Trabzon and Çankırı. According to Fukuyama (2000), societies with more social capital have higher levels of trust, act with greater social responsibility, organize more voluntary associations with this consciousness, give more importance to cooperation and solidarity. At the same time, these qualities are effective in making social and economic development more successful. Because there is no doubt that the development initiatives that the society does not support and the collectivity cannot be reduced will fail. In a similar vein to Fukuyama views, social capital has been found to be crucial for the realization of social development in this work. Social capital

is an important tool that must exist before social development and maintains the development process. For women's organizations with limited capacities need access to political and economic networks and mobilize social resources to seek solutions to social and individual problems. It can be said that women's organizations that aim to change people's lives have contributed to social change as a consequence of the social capital they have produced in many dimensions.

When social capital production processes are examined by looking at the programs of women's organizations, participation rates, bridges and cooperation studies, it is seen that they participate in the production of social capital at different rates. In addition, the use of the human, economic, cultural and social capital of the administrators in the social capital production process is effective in this difference. One of the most striking features of the women's movement is that it is founded on volunteerism, fed by sacrifice, self-sacrifice and solidarity. In this context, it can be said that volunteerism, self-sacrifice, solidarity offer a new development model.

As Kaplan (1995, p.146) pointed out, women's awareness has created an unprecedented vision of the civilian scene. Women who see human needs above social and political needs and address their human lives through poverty and helplessness and put their personal interests in the background are making a difference in society. In this work to reveal the contribution of women to social development and social capital production through non-governmental organizations, women's labor has been tried to be made visible. It is seen that many people-centered service offered to disadvantaged groups in different areas are effective in changing the lives of the people they call unchangeable. Vocational education and entrepreneurship training provided the people who were provided with jobs to get rid of the poverty and those who did not have this education were able to obtain their economic independence by finding more domestic jobs to do. It is observed that people, who gain economic independence, communicate with other people through social participation and establish networks have started to realize themselves personally, gain self-confidence and self-respect. As Gitell (1999) pointed out, one of the most important intermediaries that engage and involve people in political and social systems is civil society organizations. The strength of democracy in a country

is related to the proliferation of local organizations and grassroots organizations in that country. Organizations are important places that bring people together under the same roof, promote the sharing of the same culture and values, support the formation of social group-specific identity and provide representation by this identity.

Stefano's study (2003): (Civil society and Civil Society Organizations in Indonesia). He explained the role of civil society in Indonesia, and this study is dealing with civil society and civil society organizations in Indonesia, this study like to my researcher a relativity, because he researched about Indonesia, but my research about (KRI) in this study the researcher tried to define the concept of "civil society" in Indonesian society as a new concept, and the history of this concept is taken into account, and the importance of civil society is identified for the Indonesian community. Besides, the main challenges and barriers that weakness the civil society independence is discussed in the Indonesian community case, in which most of them are centered in the political orientation, the independence and freedom of civil society organizations are discussed importantly for protecting civil society, and developing it for the Indonesian community case. The researcher has reach to a conclusion that the role of civil society organizations is very crucial for the Indonesia society, but till now the Indonesian community is not up to free and independent civil society organizations.

WCES's study (2010): (A model for the challenges of the new civil society). This study one of the most important researching about new model civil society, this study papered by four researchers in the Spiru Haret University, at the Bucharest city, interview method used in this research. He or she said in the introduction: Today social responsibility goes far beyond the "philanthropy" of the past; it is about the business contribution to sustainable development and about proactive solutions to societal and environmental challenges. Considering that the university is an important pillar of our society, its social dimension transcending space barriers and highlighting European unity should be properly acknowledged. It has always been and still is fostered by the Bologna Process and assumed by the signatories of the Magna Charta University in the attempt of

creating a European model of information transfer and knowledge exploration within the European Higher Education Area (to be achieved by 2010).

Nowadays university's function is rather to train for various vocations in order to have social relevance than simply issuing diplomas, to help students find their sense of direction and think beyond individual interest to societal interest. This study foxed on the social responsibility, they want explains what model civil society are new in the Globalizations age, especially in the education higher.

PER's study (2001): (What's the Civil in Civil Society?) Researchers show us what is civil society in the Italian and he was talked about Putnam and Italian society to civil society, it's good for me because I am use Putnam's idea for my tees, and I get knowledge about Italian society. Putnam's civil society is not the economic, social relations, and class-struggle-centered civil society of Marxist political economy. It is the idea that good government performance as well as economic development is a product of 'civic community', i.e. the networks of trust, reciprocity, and habits of co-operation that arise in the associational micro-spheres of civil society such as the soccer club, the Lion's club, or the choral society.

The notion that not only economic development but also such popular political culture is necessary for a political system to 'work' indeed that such a culture is part and parcel of a 'political development' that cannot be separated from economic-material developments - is not new. Indeed, Putnam clearly intended making democracy work as the civic culture of the 19 century. Behind the functionalist vocabulary and the potentially conservative assumptions of systemic harmony in the 'stable democracy' of almond and book, in fact an older tradition of thought may be discerned. The common good assumed in the civic culture, along with the civic capacities that helped sustain it, was flavored by the great tradition of eighteenth and nineteenth century American republicanism, although tempered by Madisonian pluralism. In this respect too, Putnam's work signaled continuity, the author making a great point of referring explicitly to what he calls civic republicanism. This tradition, he argued, contains a still

viable empirical argument which assigns an important role to the activity and dispositions of public spirited citizens, assumed to 'make democracy work'. This republican inspiration and its consequences is the theme of the present paper.

MGBA's study (2015): (Civil Society and Democratization in Nigeria). He is a focused on examining the historical struggles of popular civil society organizations in the movement for democratization in Nigeria. This in many ways is a prelude to its contemporary phase, which coincides with the era of the third wave of democracy. The central argument of this paper which is in congruence with historical studies is that past struggles that are linked to democratization are historical phenomena rooted in colonial/postcolonial unpopular policies of the Nigerian state. In doing this, the paper also attempted albeit in brief a theoretical examination of the literature on civil society-focusing on the liberal and Marxian schools of thought and the relevance of civil society to democratization discourses.

The Marxian perspective more generally reflects the approach and interpretation of civil society in Nigeria's history of democratization. Overall, the study underlined not only the significance of history in shaping knowledge and enhancing understanding of contemporary struggles/movement of popular forces in Nigeria's political development but also the consistency and resilience of civil society in constructing that history especially that of democratization.

Generally, with regard to civil society structure in Rwanda, the breadth and depth of citizen participation in non-partisan political action scored the highest. This is because of high levels of collective community action and charitable giving. On the other hand, resources and interrelations scored poorly. The reasons for this apparently low score in this particular sub dimension are that CSOs in Rwanda lack financial resources to support their effective functioning. It is also the case that communication and cooperation among Rwanda CSOs is insufficient.

Researchers in the conclusion about their tease said: He or she have argued from the above that civil society occupies a prominent place in global discourse(s) on the third wave of democratization as reflected in the contributions of the liberal and Marxian

schools of thought. The brief historical overview of popular struggle of civil society in Nigeria's democratization process undertaken in this paper not only rejects the claim of "resurgent" civil society, but also underscores the fact that the struggle is historical and linked in many ways to its contemporary version.

HE is study (2007): (Institutional barriers of the development of civil society in China). This study examines the major institutional barriers in the development of civil society in China. These major barriers include, among others, the dual approval system designed for the registration of civil organizations, the annual review of the regulations, and the reporting system. The author argues that these institutional barriers have created many dilemmas for civil organizations throughout the whole process of their development. The institutional barriers discussed affect the role civil organizations can play, the financial resources available to them, their access to skills and knowledge, their access to skilled and talented people, and their ability to gain the trust of society. The institutional requirements for civil society were designed with the aim of controlling and restricting civil organizations, with a view to maintaining the political regime and political stability.

During the last few decades, the number of civil organizations in China has increased dramatically. There are still a huge number of civil organizations which are not registered with the departments of civil affairs. Civil organizations also have a structural weaknesses caused by their small size, shortage of funds, low capacity, poor efficiency, and poor internal management. Both the achievements and weaknesses in the development of civil society are closely linked with the current institutional environment.

JURIDIQUE he is study (2011): (The State of Civil Society in Rwanda in National Development). He is explained the state of civil society a generally, with regard to civil society structure in Rwanda, the breadth and depth of citizen participation in non-partisan political action scored the highest. This is because of high levels of collective community action and charitable giving. On the other hand, resources and interrelations scored poorly. The reasons for this apparently low score in this particular

sub-dimension are that CSOs in Rwanda lack financial resources to support their effective functioning. It is also the case that communication and cooperation among Rwanda CSOs is insufficient. On the whole, the study concludes that within the external CSOs working environment, in the cultural, socio-economic and political contexts, relations between the state and Rwanda CSOs are relatively healthy, given that a high majority of respondents stated that they are not restricted in carrying out their activities. However, it may be pointed out that since the research questions were asked between May to August 2008, some views on this issue may have shifted. (CIVICUS) civil society Index analytical country reports for Rwanda CSOs need to build their advocacy and communication capacities so that they can establish permanent and fruitful dialogues with policy and decision-makers at all levels. The fact that the civil society Platform has been put in place may be indicative of the willingness of the state to hold dialogue through this new channel, alongside existing channels. However, relations between CSOs and the private sector are weak with perceptions of private sector being unsupportive of civil society.

As far as Rwandan CSO values are concerned, only the tolerance and transparency sub-dimensions score poorly relative to the rest. On the other hand, the other sub-dimensions are strongly scored as they indicate that Rwandan CSOs significantly promote positive social values. These include: non-violence, gender equality, poverty eradication and environmental protection. The reality that emerges from consultations is, however, more complex and nuanced, and the scores may reflect aspirations more than concrete achievements.

Rwandan civil society's impact on community living conditions is minimal. The study reveals some strength in this area only in the area of community capacity building while showing limited resources in terms of skills, finances and materials, and limited capacities in holding the state and corporations accountable. Nevertheless, Rwandan civil society plays a moderate role in public information activities and meeting societal needs.

Zhuravleva's study (2014): (Institutions of Civil Society in Space of Democratic Politics). This study considering democracy as a subordinate use and explain what is relationship between civil society and democracy, the authors note that under democracy requirements must be observed relative to the certain points, which form the civil society and which are interconnected. First, the determination of basic values of an organizing civil society M.Woltzer and A. Macintyre say that participants in different spheres of social life have the right to negotiate and determine voluntarily final destination of their joint work and cooperation. Second, what role and in relation to which the requirements of democracy play in the formation of civil society when the social world is filled with all sorts of hierarchies, the effect of which is to impose the values and methods of following them. M. Walzer and A.MacIntyre indicate some consensus in the various spheres of civil society, claiming at the same time, that universality of the lattes must not be violated. Their appeals to the consent of the people follow from the clues of democratic moral. Third, claims arising out of loyalty to democracy, relate to methods to achieve the democratization of civil society. Criticism of social-democratic traditions expresses some objections. It is necessary to turn to regulators of democratic processes that take place in different spheres of social life.

CY-ICER's study (2014) study: (The Role of Civil Society in Preventing Conflicts: Kazakhstan Experience). In this research explained civil society how can rolling in the preventing conflicted. One of the main conditions of preventing destructive political conflicts is a formation of mature civil society. In most developed countries establishing of power institutes and private sector preceded the formation of public sector, while in Kazakhstan, as well as in other post-soviet countries the development of these sectors are taken place at the same time. Thus the formation of institutes of civil society in Kazakhstan is still continued and has its specific features. As it is known, the stability in democratic society is based on the system of social partnership, which should harmonize the interests of different social groups. In Kazakhstan, it was created the system of social partnership, which also has its peculiarities. According to the authors despite the fact that the whole attribute of social partnership is obvious it's difficult to say that this system functions effectively. One of the elements of civil culture of

Kazakhstani society it is distrust to political parties. On the whole, Kazakhstani citizens do not see the parties as a linking mechanism between power and citizens. Thus, comparative rate of people's trust to state authorities and institutes of civil society demonstrates that first of all, people give credence to state authorities. Nevertheless, authors believe that under current conditions an increasing role of non-governmental organizations will be essential for further development of civil society.

There is no single point of view among Kazakhstani citizens on could parties resolve contemporary issues, influence on improvement of situation in the country. Political parties do not «carry» the tension in society. Conflicts arising between different political parties have a personal character. In other words, inter-party relations are additional tools of confrontation between different political powers, but do not perform the functions of institutionalizing of conflict interrelation and maintaining the balance of interests of different social groups in society. Non-governmental organizations (NGO) should play an important role in preventing conflicts. Today, there are 25 000 non-governmental organizations (2012 year) registered in Kazakhstan, most of which are located in Astana and Almaty. As some Kazakhstani researchers suppose we witness a unique phenomenon: unlike from developed countries where establishing of power institutes and private sector preceded the formation of public sector, in Kazakhstan, as well as in other post-soviet countries the development of these sectors is taken place at the same Time.

- Actually, there are premises for formation of third sector. NGO have been gaining a positive experience in work with citizens. Currently, in Kazakhstan non-governmental organizations of different directions function in Kazakhstan: they are ecological, children's and youth organizations, gender, organizations in the spheres of social defense, culture, art, science and education, human rights, health care, defense of disabled rights and others. The feature of Kazakhstani «third sector» is a marked predominance of non-governmental organizations of public directions, which is linked to the contemporary of social problems.
- Huge ecological problems were left for Kazakhstan as a heritage from military and economic activity of former Soviet Union, also, recently arising new man-triggered

threats led to the emergence and development of many different ecological NGO. The leading percentage of domestic NGO engage in issues of health care, culture, art, science and education.

- However, only several Kazakhstani non-governmental organizations aimed at educational programs in the sphere of conflict studies, culture of the peace and human rights. As the results of sociological researches testify, currently, the vast majority of Kazakhstan citizens do not perceive the results of the domestic NGO's activity in preventing of social conflicts. One must assume that it is linked to the fact that very few NGO engaged in given issues. Moreover, the very importance of preventing conflicts is not always perceived by the non-governmental organizations.

Rasheed he is study (2012): (The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Developing Youth Capabilities the most Important Outcomes). He is explained the role civil organizations in the Sulaimanyah city to developing youth capabilities, He is used social survey method, and his research community sulaymaniyah city. Youth organizations have a positive impact on developing the young's abilities which is reflected in their daily life. According to the questioned participants, youth organizations along with serving the young, serve the political parties equally. Principles and agenda of youth organizations in Kurdistan region is weak and obscure, because till now these organizations have been incapable of stripping themselves from the influence of political parties. They are still dependent and their connections to political parties are unknown.

Organizations programs are suitable for both genders and both benefit from them. Meanwhile, females have lesser participation in these programs due to Cultural barriers. Students have more benefited from the programs of these organizations and these organizations have also paid more attention to education by setting (opening) reinforcing courses of curriculum for students. These organizations have also had the greatest impact on raising social and political awareness of the young people. Social researcher has been ignored by youth organizations and only of the organizations have social researcher.

Ali's study (2012): (The Role of the Civil Society in Protecting Women Rights). He was explained in the civil society we get women rights. The researcher puts his conclusion, and it can be briefed as follows: Most of NGOs are dominated by the personnel who are generally weak in managing this task. They often relay on support by the influential political parties and divert the civil tasks of their organizations into politics, and they are not sincere to the proclaimed goals of their organizations. The researcher tried to discover the role of women in Sulaymanya city.

- Realizing the nature on those NGOs in Sulaymaniyah especially the one dealing with women issues. Realizing the extent of political interference in those NGOs and how much they were or were not independent. The resources of their funds. Realizing their skills and efficiency in lobbying for women rights. Realizing their role in reforming the official laws and regulations. Realizing the level of education and knowledge of those personnel working in those NGOs.

1.7. The Researching Community

Each kind of research has its own type of community as a target, and it is hard to researching alone without being in close relation with the place and people of that community, and this community consists of several people with special demographic, professional, and economical characteristics. So, we can pick some samples to identifying the common point. We can as well choose one geographical location or maybe an entire society of on country, Iraq for example (Al Hessen, 2012, p553).

Make researches in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region of Iraq has its own community and specialties, and hereby in this research the four governorates of Erbil, Sulaimanyah, Dehok, and Halabja will be the base field for taking samples, even though Halabja has not completed its features as a governorate, and in the general country of Iraq samples to understand the meaning of civil society according to its global concept, which is reached by international researchers, and then, our duty will be to comparing them with the situation of the civil society in the rest of Iraq.

In the date of the researched I have a met sixteen deference in the age and scientific certificate participant personality for example (two leaders of the politic party, two university teacher, two sociologists, two directors general in (KRG), six civil society and two differences). They are had a differences ages twenty seven years until sixty six years.

Demography participant: Under table demography of the participant's interview research, because we have differences sixteen participants, and used the interview for collected data's about civil society in the Iraq and (KRI). Under table show demography participants: (name, age, city, place work, occupation, and gender).

Table 1: Socio-Demographics of the Participants

Name	Age	City	Place Work	Occupation	Gender
ASS.P. Rebwar Siwaily	48	Erbil	Kurdish Academia	Sociologist	Male
Akram Mohemmed Jmo	51	Duhok	Council Of Ministers	President Department Civil Organizations	Male
Ali Bapeer	56	Erbil	Amir Of Islamic Komal	Politic Man (Islamic)	Male
Aram Mustafa	45	Erbil	Organizations Of Civil Society	Effective Civil Society	Male
Arsalan Mahmood	43	Ranyah	Organizations Of Civil Society	Effective Civil Society	Male
ASS.P. D. Salim Patros	65	Erbil	University	Teacher Of University	Male
D. Basma Mohammed	45	Sulaimanyah	University	Teacher Of University	Female
DR. Kawa Mahmood	59	Erbil	Secretary Of The Communist Party Of Kurdistan-Iraq	Politic Man (Secularism)	Male
Fazil Omer	39	Erbil	Council Of Ministers	General Director	Male
Hanaa' Ghalib	34	Baghdad	Organizations Of Civil Society	Effective Civil Society	Female
Hemeen Abdulqadir	35	Sulaimanyah	Society	Social Researcher	male

Hiwa Omer	35	Erbil	Organizations Of Civil Society	Effective Civil Society	Female
Emmad Rafaat Jamil	40	Erbil	Conservative Council	President Of The Turkmen List	Male
Qadir Hussein	49	Rania	Organizations Of Civil Society	Translator And Author	Male
Venna Kamal	32	Sulaimanyah	Organizations Of Civil Society	Effective Civil Society	Female

Above table show us demography participants we have difference participants for example in the level of education has two assistant professor, two P.H degree, seven high degree and five high school, it's not only for level educations have a difference city's (Baghdad Capital of Iraq, Erbil Capital of (KRI), Sulaimanyah, Dhok and Ranyah.

1.8. Limitations of research

All academic research's has a limit, in this limit have a date started research by the researcher this research started with supervisor (MAIDE GÖK) first step we are made at the 2016-2017, in this age we has so problem inform researcher especially civil society a new concept in the research community Erbil, Duhok, Sulaimanyah and Halbja (KRI), don't has system civil society and there participants we talk with twenty personality, but some participants don't has knowledge about civil society, after that in the language researcher don't has more references about topic only a little primary books and magazine. At the finally a big problem inform of researcher at researching time we has economic crisis we could not went to all cities and get to all knowledge about her plan.

2. CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL FRAME

2.1. Civil Society

A civil society is comprised of groups or organizations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside of the governmental and for-profit sectors. Organizations and institutions that make up civil society include labor unions, non-profit organizations, churches, and other service agencies that provide an important service to society but generally ask for very little in return.

The concept of every topic is very important, for analyzing or making a research without a clear understanding to the concept of each topic, and a concept itself has many phrases and definitions due to the way that various researchers understand that point especially in sociology. This is why the definitions of each concept, even the apparently most clear and simple ones, may change according to the phenomenon, because each concept is related to many variable elements such as time, location, and other factors. For instance the person who states that definition and the circumstances that he\she had reached that conclusion. Thus it is hard to adopt only one definition to each concept.

Concepts refer to several opinions with regard to a particular topic, and in sociology, the concepts have an important role because each research has many topics to discuss, but would finally focus on one precise point of analysis. So, in order that a reader gets a clear view about this research, we have to clarify it in a scientific style (Hessen&Husny, 1982, p73).

Due to the fact that civil society a modern concept, it has rarely drawn attention in Kurdistan-Iraq and in Kurdish language, and the few ones that have already discussed it, they mainly reflect their own views. For instance, most politicians have defined civil society as none separated part of the state. As for the economists, they define civil society as a none-profitable organization, and they commit it to the free market. This is one of the examples: the civil society us a collection of figures and groups that work according to a law that arranges the civil organized. The individuals of the civil Societies have no differences or privileges in the state, because it is a free society and it makes no

way for imposing any sort of relation among the people, and organizing process is performed by some social and political figures of the society, but that does not mean that the civil society must oppose the state or it must be totally independent from it. In fact it means cooperating with the state, and the individual is neither absolutely independent nor absolutely belonging to the state (Zber, 2010, p32).

civil society, in a matter of fact, has more than two centuries of age of emergence in developed countries, and for instance, now the private sector is competing with the state, and it is enhancing the life of the citizens by itself especially in points where the state cannot reach or perform, and we must remind ourselves that civil society in the first stage had started as response to the economical and other demands that the people had. This means that the civil society completes the roll of the state (Eberly, 1994, p5).

On another hand, a civil society means the existence of a number of none profitable and none governmental organizations working independently. The individuals of these organizations work on monitoring the performance of the government and support the people in conveying their thoughts to it, and not only the government, in fact they monitor the market and private sector as well so as to prevent any kind of manipulation of trade. This because the people of civil societies are usually more educated with higher degree of social awareness (Meyhen, 2006, p10).

Due to this, the civil society monitors even the markets and, basically, it comes to existence and it grows after having the system of free market. However, this doesn't mean that the two work away from the laws and the discipline imposed by the state, for all this cannot find itself accept under a public system that abide by the laws. An individual has the right of choice and can work in the market and etc. but this must be according to the laws. At the same time, the individual shouldn't be controlled by other individual. In a matter of fact, and due to the laws and the requirements of the market, all people would automatically follow the regulations that are found by a modern and state (Nezhad, 2001, p35).

The civil society is a number of independent volunteering organizations that work on filling the gaps between the state and the families in order to developing the individuals of the society, and while they, the civil societies, are working they must commit

themselves to common respecting, to acceptance, and to none violent actions. Syndicate, unions, political parties, social clubs and all other sorts of organizations are included in the civil society. Eventually, the civil society includes all none governmental organizations and the organizations that are not built upon family or clan relations and family heritages (Abdul-Jabbar, 2001, p9).

The civil society here is the one with full capacity of bridging over the distances that inevitably occur between authorities and the citizens, and of course it is voluntarily done and in favor of no single individual, but for the majority, and it is needless to mention that the civil societies must not be under the instructions of political parties. Instead, they have to act according to the laws only. The civil society is that center where educated persons are volunteer elected to organize some people's relations with other people, the state, other organizations, the market, and the value of these relations come from the fact that these are strongly based social relations, and no one can reach his\her goals without help or cooperation from others. Understanding this quest would pave the way for individuals to gather and cooperate in many aspects as such politics, economy, and these joint efforts would obviously boost their strength because civic committees may establish political committees at the end. The civil society may arrange or tame our desires; it also put limits to any effort for individuals trying to gain over the people as it happens in autocratic states when the interests and desires of few people are put above the majority. Thus, the civil society is required for eliminating dictatorship (Abdul-Jabbar, 2001, p10).

Civil society cannot cope with nepotism and tribal values. In fact it implemented and it lives by the democratic values that are built up on the concept of individuality and citizenship instead of kinship and blood relations, and in addition to having volunteers and none profitable activities of an open minded community. However, this should not take us so far that the civil society becomes separated or alienated from the state, and vice versa. Actually, the independence of civil society has to be limited (Zber,2010,p34). In other definitions, the civil society means a mechanism for bridging the hollow field between the state, on top, and the people in the down level. So the concept of civil society according to this reading is consisted of groups that are concerned with either

morals or business aspects even though each has its own characteristics, characteristics that defer them from one another and from the state.

In the human society there are two main points of view for civil society. In one of them, the civil society is a society where the law has the upper hand and it is built according to the social society. It is transparent and adhering the rights of people depending in this point on national sovereignty and on a fair distribution of responsibility and authority on the various parties and assemblies. The other group has the view that civil society evolves from the gap between the state and family. Accordingly, each nation has three classes. The state and the authorities stand on top; and the lower class where the family and the unorganized people are located below them. The upper class is tied to the state and lower one is named in a special way. But in other places there is a third class existing in the middle between those mentioned classes. It is neither the state nor the people. It is an independent class that constructs the majority of the nation and they find themselves establishing the organizations of the civil society in committees, political parties, syndicates and other kinds of organizations. In another word, the civil society includes all the organizations that are separated from the state and keeping their own orientations whatever the state's opinion or attitude is (Mohemedy&Hajy Zade, 2006, p520).

The civil society is significant mark for the political, social, and economical changes of the 18th century as a reaction to those closed systems of the medieval, and its evolvement resembled a declaration for replacement of the oppressive old systems and regimes. The civil society embraced slogans of equality and rights. Yet, it still requires analysis and clarifications for the large amount of changes, and meaning that it contained over the years and also because some bad consequences of capitalism these days (Zbede, 2012, p65). This means that civil society hasn't yet reached a final and unified definition for itself.

Jan Jack Rousseau thinks when a person is changed from the natural status into a civilized one he might lose some of his natural rights, but then he is going to become a person that creates his\her own laws, and will gain other rights and benefits. He won't be lazy and bad, but will join a society that goes by justice and intelligent that he will

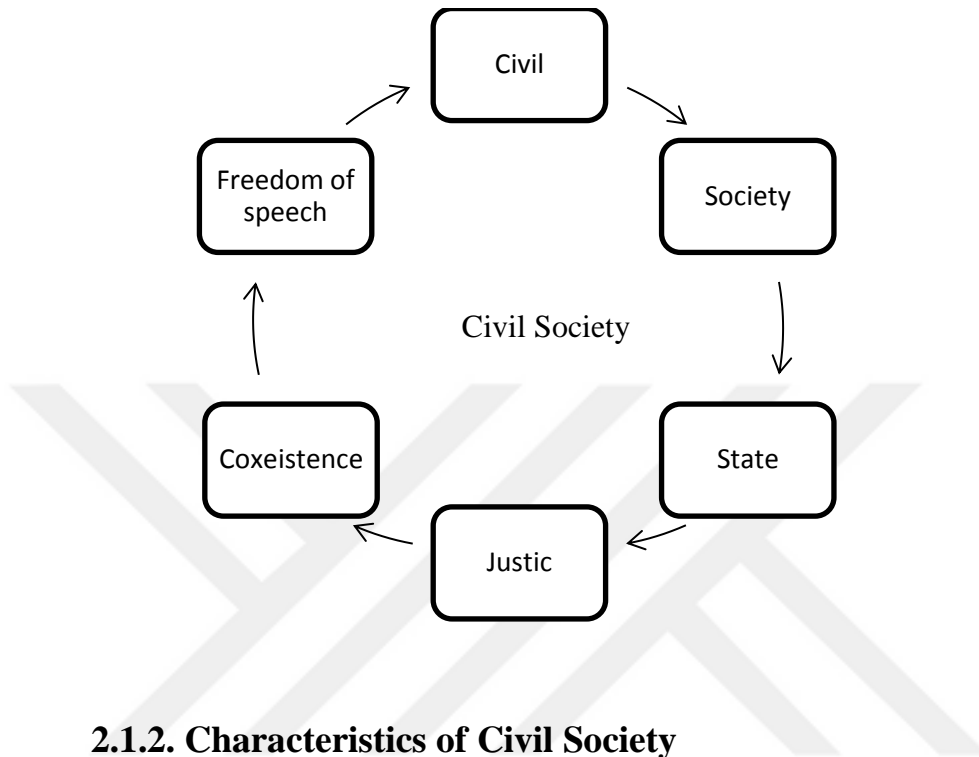
become wise and open, and Rousseau thinks that this is an important gain and concedes it a big and historic step (Rousseau, 2016, p34).

Hegel divides societies into two parts, civic and political, and according to him civic one has three stages:

- Requirements: this is about peoples necessary to their requirements.
- Justice: It is about protecting what they have gained at the previous stage. Protection of what they own through justice.
- Controlling (police): this situation evolves after the occurrence of small unexpected and painful incidents. These incidents will push them to seek a better protection from the police forces, and Hegel thinks that the civil society owes the state (Mohemedy&Hajy Zade, 2006, p522-525).

In a general overview it can be defined civil society as the situation of has none governmental groups of volunteer citizens working together and cooperating for a common goals in a democratic atmosphere without being influenced by the state of political parties and free from race and religious discrimination. Thereby the state comes under the demands of such people without the use of force and\or intimidation, because those kinds of societies are consisted of citizens abiding to a civic constitution. This means that the rights and duties of the state and the people are clarified, and for protecting the fiscal rights, both sides conduct the rules of a free market that is stipulated in the laws and the groups monitor its rightful implementation, and according to what is mentioned above we can have a chart for civil society.

Figure 1: Civil Society



2.1.2. Characteristics of Civil Society

Civil society was used only as an abstract concept to discern between natural and civilized societies after long interactions between the politicians and the educated elite. Now it has become a concept referring to a particular social factor embodied in those organizations and their staff members who have a large influence and income. Second; since the 19th century observed a big leap and most of the researcher's concenter it the actual start of civil Society (Gheliun, 2003, p19) ⁽²⁾.

As any other aspects of humans' life, civil society has its own characteristics that may define civil society, and at the mean time they may help identifying each community whether it has gone through development till it became a civil society or it staid as an ordinary one, for these characteristics may be turned into a practical indicator for the hampers and difficulties on the way of development and the progress of each

² Gheliun, Burhan (2003), civil society, Medenyet magazine, translated to kurdish language; Soran Jamal, Slemanyah p 19.

community. This is why we will observe various opinions about the characteristics of civil society.

- Granting the freedom of the will and the conscience of each individual in a way that the individuality, the differences and the specialty of that individual is recognized by all other individuals (in one condition that he\she should not harm other people).
- Choosing relations and common points on the base of common interest among such members that are aware of their roll and where the wishes and goals of the others.
- The basic means of working in a civil society is to exchange thoughts and having a real common sense in order to reaching the most proper and reasonable consensus. Means that the spirit of unilateralism must make way for the spirit of multilateralism, and abandoning private interest for the sake of public interest.
- The choices of the government must be conditional, limited and legislated. Means that the actions of the government must be monitored.
- Individuals should valuable for the society, and society itself should be valuable for the government. This mean that the civil society should respect the life, freedom and the rights of the individuals that civil society is basically found by them (Yasin Omer,2000,p12).

The points mentioned above are mainly for clarifying the characteristics of civil society with regard to individuals in a civilized society of a democratic and prosperous state. However, it is not enough to pointing out the characteristics of the individual inside a society. In fact, it is necessary to the relation between the individual and the state and its institutions, and the nature of that state as well that claims being a democratic one. Because whenever a society and a state claim they are democratic. The points mentioned above are mainly for clarifying the characteristics of civil society with regard to individuals in a civilized society of a democratic and prosperous state. However, it is not enough to pointing out the characteristics of the individual inside a society. In fact, it is necessary to the relation between the individual and the state and its institutions, and the nature of that state as well that claims being a democratic one. Because whenever a

society and a state claim they are democratic, we have these points that may verify this claim, as below:

- Banning interference in people's affairs, especially the financial ones.
- The state should be convinced that there has to be independent entities within the country, such as organizations and political parties so as put pressure on the government and participate in the political process.
- The state should believe in the roll of the law that it, the law, must have the upper hand.
- The state should allow individuals for criticizing it.
- The state should have a practical and theoretical readiness for facilitating an open, transparent, and free atmosphere for the people within its ideology and conscience.
- The state should prevent the emergence of a single dominant party, and should push towards having multi views.
- The state should allow the organizations conveying people critics for the state should grant priority to the public interest.
- The state should allow freedom of speech, independent media, and public awareness.
- The state should restrain itself from violence and from violating peoples' rights. Instead, it should believe in tolerance and acceptance (Nykfer, 2000, p15).

Civil society assures the participation of citizens in public affairs by expressing their beliefs, of course after considering the common interests of the majority, and thus, the officials are obliged to respond o peoples' demands. In another word, civil societies are none governmental organizations such as (groups, committees, guilds, syndicates, federations, unions). They are established by the people themselves as bridge between the people to the government is order to make the individual have a share in managing his\her country, and they have the below characteristics:

- They do not belong to governments (difference with state).
- They must not conduct violent methods.
- They voluntarily do unprofitable works.

- They have an auditory roll monitoring on the governments performance.
- In general, they adopt liberal beliefs (owner freedoms) (Sharp, 2013, p15).

In revision to the general and particular characteristics of the state, we can identify what civil society may work on, as follows:

- A democratic freedom of working for the civil groups to preserving people' rights.
- Supporting the civil none governmental groups for working without being dominated by the government.
- Harmonizing between the state and those groups for good of the public.

The outcome of this policy as a whole would be in peoples\ favor regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds. Further, we may also recite the characteristics civil society organizations as below:

- Building up the civil society institutions for reaching the goals
- Adapting the civil society with the daily circumstances, and the adaptation should be in three aspects: according to timing, whether for short or long terms, and according to generations.
- The tasks must be carried out by volunteers and not for financial or any kind of personal gains. Because the civil society must be none profitable.
- Spreading the spirit of equality amongst the members in general.
- Transparency of the financial resources and how the funds are spent. If the point mentioned above were the special characteristics of civil Society and its organizations, then the point below are going to be the general characteristic methods of working of civil Society and its organizations.
- The organizations of civil Society should always try discovering and unveiling the facts, in condition that the resources of information must be accurate and reliable.
- They should have in direct connection with the government in order to fulfill the demands of the people.
- They should have in direct connection with one another as well in order to preform effectively.

- They should abide by the rules retain sovereignty the law and the state.
- Usage of tact and cooperation among the organizations as a network in order to build up momentum for advocating human rights (Ibdan, Jasim,²end,p9)⁽³⁾.

As for the local civil societies, they should regard these two conditions at work: first, it's by paying greater attention to families, for they are the basic units of all communities, and they are the ones who provide human power. So, reaching them and teaching about the basic morals of this civil society would lead to the way of reaching the entire people. For instance, raising awareness against sexual violations and/or has statement, disintegrate of the family, illegitimate burns, and etc., these may culminate in disintegration of the whole society needless to mention that these activities would undoubtedly good for the publicity, of that local civil society. Second: tolerance and coexistence, which are basic elements for civil society and development of the people, and vice versa. This is why tolerant people with open minds are required inside civil Societies away from the mentality of revenge and selfish ego (Eberly, 1994, p415).

2.1.3. Components of Civil Society

Since the 20th century, the methods of civil society have succeeded in catching attention of lots of sociologists, researchers and activists especially after the experiments bad authority with their own and with other nations of the world, but what matters here is find out what are the components of civil society? What extend the components or factors exist in each society? Civil society is not simple task because the topic itself is complicated. Yet, we will try pointing out the basic elements and the most commonly known, hereby:

The concept of civil society is an opposite one to the natural societies such as the primitive and/or the patriarch ones and it didn't emerge except after the decay of the

³Ibdan, Jasim, second years, the roll of institutions civil society, research of law, Tkryt University.

feudal society, which had deep roots of mixture with religion and old traditions. The traditional societies had three classes, the men of the religious institution, the aristocrats and the nobilities. Underneath all of those lied the ordinary people that had no role in the scene. Eventually, any kind civil society had no roll at all. Secondly, the concept of the civil society had its first commence in the 19th century in shape of political movements that diverted its field of action from religious the opposition into a political one till gradually the modern style of politics was found. But contrary to the old fusion, this one put the people on top of the equation. Hegel concords, civil society as the thing that organized people's relations, and preserves their interests, and Marx makes an canalization according to the freedom of the individual and freedom of the society public, which he concedes to having a strong connection and neither of them can do without the knowing the limits of the freedom of the other part. But he thinks that at the end, the freedom of individuals will be finding in the freedom of the society itself (Xaliwn, 2003, p8)⁽⁴⁾.

There are three basics of civil society that Falih Abduljabbar concludes in his research, as below:

Free will is the most important principle because the relations in a civil society total differs from what exists in a state, a tribe, a clan, a family, etc. where kinship and blood relations have the upper hand. The same fact goes with the state where imposes its particular identity on the individuals alone with its laws. As for the civil society, the whole participation issue is done deliberately, either for achieving a particular goal, or to preserve a particular interest that they have already achieved. Organizing and group. Together working in the civil society means having many organizations and groups where people deliberately share the various tasks and implements the various rules that are agreed upon. That means people's participation in syndicates, clubs, organizations, etc., deliberately done in the frame those voluntary working and none profitable organizations.

⁴ Xaliwn, Bwrhan(2003) civil society, medenyet number 15,translaeted to Kurdish language; Sozan Jamal, Slemanyah.

The acceptance of the differences among one another's is an ethical matter. It means admitting that other people have the right of establishing their own organizations for their own aims and interests, and advocating their rights even if they differed from you and your beliefs. A civil society means an ethical commitment to equality, respect, tolerance, group work, cooperation and peaceful compaction (Abdul-Jabbar, 2001,p4-5). There are many definitions to civil society and many ways of reckoning, that made it controversial to the researchers. So, in addition to what mentioned above, there more basic elements in the civil society such as freedom. Freedom is one of the most important component elements. However, it due to how we understand what freedom means? Thus, we first have to define freedom itself (Macklin, 2006, p23).

If freedom is a basic component for civil society then the freedom of speech and freedom of thinking are the most important things along with the freedom of the individual demanding his\her rights from the community, but the freedom of is very important for civil society because it is a basic feature of freedom and we cannot separate the freedom of speech, expression, having beliefs, grouping and organizing all these from one another, and for Europeans, the freedom of speech and the freedom of spreading someone's beliefs are considered the basics of Human Rights. That means everyone has the right of expressing his\her thoughts in writing or speaking. In another word, it is part of democracy where the language of freedom prevails amid the people without being afraid of retaliations or punishment. These rights are protected by the laws of many developed countries, but not the under developed ones of the new states where the state itself bans freedom (Raswl, 2009, p6).

Civil society cannot be look upon neither as a kind of ideology, nor as a political system. We also cannot recon it as we understand a state or a religion for there can be a particular civil society within one state or religion. I think if we think it an ideology then we will face a bigger problem, because many times ideologies came on cross roads with people's wishes, regarding the fact the wishes of the people are numberless especially in modern times, and due to the fact that none of the ideologies can meet all demands and wishes. According to defines some basics principles for civil society, such as economic principles, political principles, ideological principles, and legal principles (Aldeej, 2005, p89).

Economic principle: mean achieving a considerable economic and social progress level away from interference of the government. Individual are allowed to fill the gaps of what the requirements of the people through personal inventions and new means. But if the individual's actions are refrained by the government, especially for inventing new ways for awaiting interest, fewer progress and invention can be seen. Thus, a free market is the best way to finding civil society, needless to mention the necessity of the government to monitor the sustaining free market.

Political principle: mean that the political course of the country should refrain itself from restricting the rights and provide a healthy atmosphere to the freedom of expression and other rights is the real reflection the existence of civil society for the state itself may have a positive or a negative roll on the progress of the society to being civilized, because the overall components of each state are the reflection of its way of life. So if the rights of people are protected, the state and the society will be move towards prosperity, and vice versa. Thus, having a vivid state is due to having a healthy civil society.

Ideological Principle: consisted of some common ideological values spread among the powerful social groups regardless civil society if they cope with state or anti this legal.

Legal Principle: mean the legal system of the state, and it is built on equality amides the citizens, regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds (Aldeej, 2005, p89).

Hobbs (1588-1679) is one of the famous English philosophers, and a pioneer of civil contract. He thought of human's life being ruined by conflicts and counter struggle. This is why he found necessary to have a state organizes public affairs and the state is a creation of intelligent society. In order that the society lives in peace, the state must have the upper hand for ruling because people mostly go in conflict with one another. He also thinks that the establishment of the state comes after a certain oath or elegance that puts and ends to those social conflicts, and the state is due to redistribute the rights upon the people while protecting their lives at theme time. Accordingly, individuals should reach this sort of common agreement amides themselves, and the state provides that sort of social contract, and it will define their rights and duties because people fear on another.

This means that Hobbs thought that the establishment of civil society and the state comes after reaching an agreement like a social alliance (Al Hessen, 2012, p90).

Although Hobbs seems a little pessimistic for civil society, he undoubtedly insists on have free market and allowing financial compaction, which a basic element for having a healthy civil society.

Hobbs had based his theory about the relation between people and government on the theoretical experiences. He had focused on the market methods of the 17th century, and then he reaches a conclusion that he names it the Jungle of conflict with regard to what was going on at that time when the various factions of the private sector tried manipulating the market or part of the market, and today this is what we call (political corruption) (Barwt, 2001, p20-25).

Hobbs concedes the market as an essential component for civil society under one condition that it should monitored so as not to allow manipulation, and we may totally agree with him, because all sorts of manipulation would undoubtedly have bad effect on civil society.

Civil society is the zone of freedom of expression and various beliefs that are ready for co-existence and dialogue. In another word, civil society is the society that believes in pluralism and its basics are built on:

- Humanity must be the real identity of the citizens.
- Having sensible principles.
- Having professionalism and experience.
- Commitment to the law.
- Respecting the differences (Sharp, 2013, p15).

Civil society mean have a variety of different ideologies, and allowing people to practice their differences while accepting their (religious, political, economic, and social) differences at the same time without censoring it, under one condition on not trespassing other's rights. The principles make it clear the civil society system can allow the freedom of individuals and the society at one time, and as more they core with each other, as

more the civil society and the community may gain progress. We can say that the main principles and conditions of stabling civil society are to having (the will and freedom, group working, acceptance of others, and dismissing all kinds of ethnic and religious extremism), because civil society longs for freedom and tolerance.

2.1.4. The State and Civil Society

Civil society and the state are connected and are never separated, and all developed states have civic their own suitable political and social systems. In a deeper meaning, civil society is a part of politics, and we can't understand civil society without understanding the modern states and their relations with the people. Thus, we cannot have a clear view on civil society in an authoritarian state or weak society that lacks the roll of law (Zbede, 2012, p10).

While civil society tries finding a roll, and the state needs enhancing and satisfying the people, a parallel and mutual connection is found due to these equations. The state first began as a contract between the people and the monarchs on the base that the nation's interest is the main aim and the people should have the priorities if concern. So, the social contract completes the natural rights that the people had, and this completion is done by providing the requirements. This means that the state is a result of that social contract, not a result of heritage rights or privileges given by God (Barwt, 2001, p45).

The emergence of the real civilization came after Renaissance and coincided with the emergence of the more European states after a long struggle against dualism, and it depended on the emergence of the new social classes that innovated a new kind of relation between the people and the state. Later, the new classes found new kinds of markets. They facilitated and widened export and imputing goods that made benefit to both sides. This is why it is hard for us to separate them. Even in historical researches, we cannot reckon one of them without the other (Zbede, 2012, p9).

This doesn't apply for all kinds of states, for there are the states that made power as their own way of remaining, and this cannot cope with meaning of civil society. As a French philosopher, Denis Diderot (1713—1784), who has an educational encyclopedia by

himself, he differentiates between the state and civil society by considering the state as to be established on force and self-imposition, while civil society comes from common agreement. The state, he thinks, is the source of power and despotism, and that they cannot remain without them. He also thinks that the laws are found by the state, and they are derived from authoritarian mentalities. As for civil society he thinks it's the source of satisfaction of the people and the head of the state must neither impose a law without consensus, nor he can violate those laws or people's rights. In addition, the authority can allege neither a hereditary nor god given rights. Instead, it must decide its authority from the people and according to a social contract. Both sorts of governing can be identified in the way the various governments practice their authority.(Barwt,2001,p45-46).

If revising his theory, we see that Diderot thinks that civil society is found in democratic states or other sorts of ruling that derived from the peoples, either by public selection, polling, or any other kind of multilateral agreement. He confines civil society to the liberty of individuals with the minimum restrictions and minimum privileges to the monarchs, and that the people must have a way of restraining the monarch from acting above the law to the extent of replacing him, by force if necessary, and the state must respect the civil society, and must have some establishments reporting on any kind of violation even if committed by its personnel. This is how should the state be as an opposite to the idea of being oppressive, and this is the duty of the educational establishments, the media, and the cultural institutions to perform (Aragon, 2001, p105).

The state should long for finding these conditions through its own channels, in order to modernize the society. It should allow variation in beliefs as well without censoring. Fukuyama, who calls this relation between the state and people (social capital), has four remarks on this, a below:

- The states now have a clear view on how to establish civil society, and many times the civil society is horizontally found by religions, traditions, and some other factors working out of the frame of the state.
- In some fields where the state is in control, such as education, they have a direct capability to bring up civil society. It is not a simple transferring of civil society for them, but they can put it in a legal and ethical frame for all fields. It is not solely

for the primary stage of education, but to higher education as well. For instance, for physicians it is not only to learn the profession, in fact they take another of opposing corruption.

- The state gives an indirect support to culminating civil society when it is protecting the public rights such as the right of ownership and public safety. For instance, in Cecily Italian, we may concenter the mafias as the protectors of property and the right of ownership. This because the state couldn't carry out this task. So, as weaker the state is, as weaker the civil society is. Fourth: the state takes those steps when it finds necessary to finding a civil society supportive to the growth of private sector, especially when the state feels that it cannot meet all demands (Fukuyama, 1999, p65-67).

Due to the essential relation between the states the civil society, the duty of the state is in the state must protect civil society from all kinds of potential threats, and this may be achieved by a special institution dedicated for this, but that doesn't mean the use of force against anyone that competes or opposes one of the civil societies. Instead, it is by raising public awareness inside those opponents. The state must be in constant challenge to the difficulties facing the growth of civil society, of course with patience and without violence. Protecting individuals from any sort of potential harm or injustice, and for this, the legal institution should adapt a special department dedicated for the affairs of the civil society. This department must be constitutional and total independent, so as to keep away from government's interference. At the finally the state should pave the way for the people establishing the organizations they need in conation that they should not violate the rules of the free market, because this is generally essential for civil society(Qeredaxi, 2009,p55-56).

As critical Hobbs was to the state, as important he conceded it for the whole process of civil society, for he thought that the state can manage people's life and it regulates the laws that organize people's life and prevent disturbing the society. However, he never held the state free of flaws, for it commit mistakes many times, and fails to offer full protection to all members of the community (Hobbes, 1967, p59-60).

The state it is the most important political establishments of the society, and never comparable to other entities for having this high authority and jurisdiction on people as individuals, the societies, and the organizations. The state is system that manages all public affairs, and all components of the society are responsive to its rules. It is a public legal system because it is the one that issues the laws and stipulates its details. In addition, it is the one that implement those laws. The state conducts its authority by an armed force, and at the same time it protects people by that force. It is the duty of the state to protect all the rights of the people and provide services.

The characteristics of the state are as below:

- The authority is in the hands of a minority of that nation, because it requires a small percentage, of course, to leading and managing the country.
- All states of the world have council of ministers directed by a prime minster. That means it is not lead by one person.
- All states have legitimate sovereignty on its regional land, and this legitimacy is derived from implementation of the laws that stipulates the jurisdiction of the officials upon the governmental employees, civilian or militants.
- The rule of law cannot be achieved by force only. In fact it requires a mutual comprehension and respect with the people because of the mutual interest between the people and the authorities of that state.

It is the duty of state to care for the property and wellbeing of all parts and sectors of nation without any kind of discrimination against any ethnicity or religious component because this might divide the country (Al Hessen, 2012, p244-245).

The form of authority is according the state itself whether it centralized or has other forms of ruling, and in general, there are two kinds of states centralized state and the mixed ones.

The united kinds of states or the unified ones are the simple ones. It has one kind of authority, and its population is ethnically unified. They are ruled by one constitution and laws in one geographical region, and although it has some social variations, the unified states are known by tier social and political consistency. They main point here is that the

laws and the authorities, both the legitimate and the executive authorities, cannot be divided and are separated from each other. As for the mixed, or the federal ones, means that there is a kind of unification among some separated parts. They differ from the simple ones by the way their components have agreed upon. That means there has to be a kind of alliance among the different parts so as to live together, and there is a kind of independence for each part of that state (Selam, 2005, p36)⁽⁵⁾.

Those two forms that were mentioned above are the main two kinds of states in general. However, within those two kinds we may also find lots of variations and specialties in each state, and each has its own kind of civil society. In the democratic systems, for instance, we may find the best sorts cooperation and coexistence between governments and civil societies because there is the felt of citizenship and freedom of choice prevailing among the people, which they commit to. The other sorts are the totalitarian governments and the dictatorships. There, we may find a friction and discontent between the people and the state because the state, usually, manipulates most of the channels in people's life. Thus, we may see big gaps between the civil society and the government if not saying a conflict and/or animosity (Aziz, 2004, p102).

Gramsci sees that the aim of having a state is to create civilization, and the aim of the state should be in a kind of modernization and organization of the society. In addition, it has to aim at enhancing the economic infrastructure and to create a modern physical man. Then there is issue of what kind of laws should be found and implemented? This has a direct connection with the civil society and how to replace the ideas of using force and social conflict with ideas of coexistence (Gramsci, 2004, p77).

Thus, we may conclude that the states with democratic systems are the most appropriate ones on base of having a healthy relation with the civil society. As more democratic the state is, the civil society is more rooted and spread amidst the population for having wider field of struggling to enhance the general situation and proving their status in the democratic system. Contrary to this, if dictatorship is prevailing in a state then the

⁵ - Selam,Abdulkerim(2005), kinds of states, medenyet magazine, Slemanyah, pp36-45.

activities and achievements of the civil society is weaker or even absent, because dictatorship may stifle the civic activities of the people.

2.2. Region of Iraqi Kurdistan

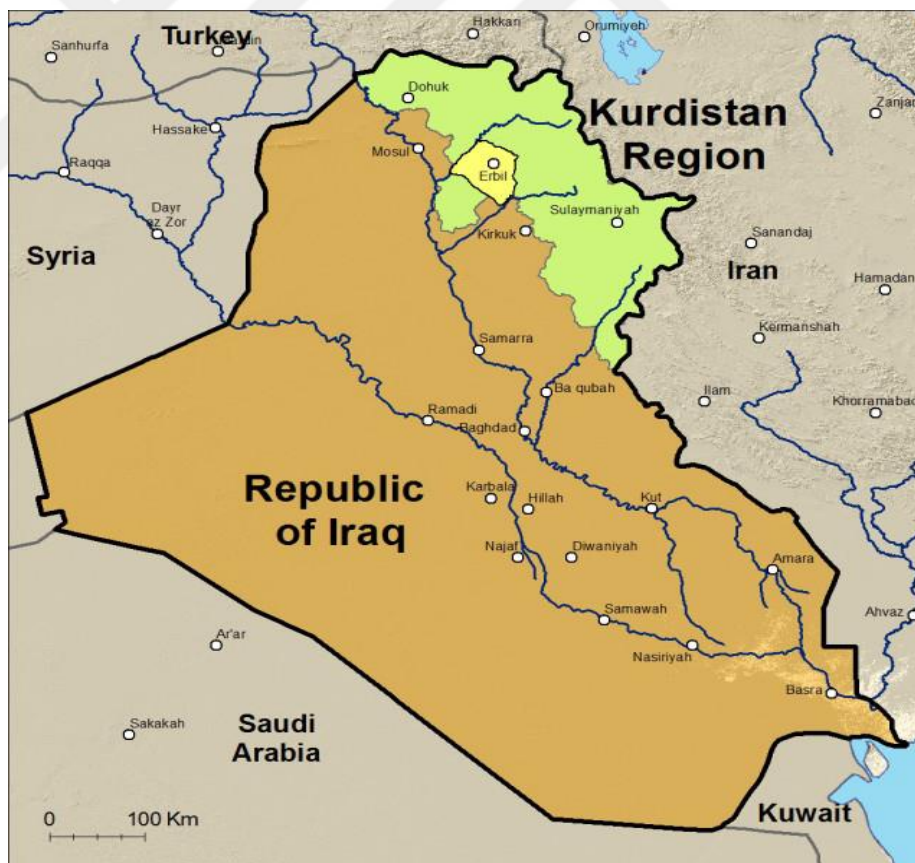
Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) we mean the areas that gained autonomy after the uprising of 1991 against the regime of Saddam Hussein. A local parliament and government was established there in 1992 and became semi-independent. The borders of that region are the same international Iraqi borders with Turkey to the north, Iran to the east, and a short distance of border with Syria. The boundaries with Iraq begin at a village called Faizulla Begi and extend to the outskirts of Kifri Town. From there it passes by the south-western parts of Erbil province then to the east and north of Musil, then it goes up to a point where the river Fish Khboor. The boundaries with the main parts of Iraq (that ones with the Arab majority) are not yet fixed. As for the east, the region has international borders with Syria. On the map, it is located between the northern longitudes (37, 22) and (32, 38), and between the eastern latitudes (46, 22) and (41, 47) (Xefwr, 2012, P19-20).

According to the formal surveying, the region has (5,200,000) population in four provinces (in Iraq they call them Governorates) and they are Erbil the capital, Sulaimanyah, Dehok, and lately the governorate of Halabja was newly found, they are spread over an area of 41,000 Km², which is only the areas that are formally under the control of Kurdistan's Regional Government (KRG). This because there are vast areas disputed by KRG and the federal government of Iraq. They are defined in the law number 140. However, the federal constitution recognizes KRG as legal authority of that region, and only those four provinces so far. Beside the Kurdish ethnicity, which is the majority of the population, there are other ethnic groups (Kildans, Assyrians, Turkmens, and Some Arabs). As for the religious chart, the majority of the population is the Suni Muslims with a minority of Shiites from the Kurds, Turkmens and Arabs. There are also Christians from many fathers but all of them are from the Kildo-Assyrian ethnicities. At

the, finally there are the Ezdian Kurds who have their own religion, and all those portions live peacefully together (gov.krd).

The Iraqi federal constitution allows Iraqi governorates to establish federal regions if the majority of the local votes for it, and the article (1) of law number (2) issued in 24th of June- 2009 talks about the Region of Kurdistan as below:

Iraqi Kurdistan is a geographic and historic entity consists of the governorates of Dehok, Sulaimanyah and Erbil, all with their current administrative borders. In addition to those governorates it contains the district of Akre, Shekhan, Sinjar, Tikef, Qereqoosh, Khanaqee, and Mendeli, alone with the sub districts of Zummar, Bashika, and Aski Kalak. The recognized administrative borders of these districts and sub districts are not the current ones, but the borders that existed before 1986.(KRI Constitution).



General Iraq map, white cooler (Erbil, Sulaimanyah, Duhok, Halbja) Kurdistan region of Iraq (geograficamente.wordpress.com).

3. CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAME

3.1. History of Civil Society Ancient Era, Greeks

Civil society existed in practice long before it was recognized as a sociopolitical term. We can trace it among the ancient Greeks especially with Plato and Aristotle that they clearly indicated this. For example, the Greek system of city states that was a wide form of civil society. On the other hand we have the ways of how the ancient nations co-existed, this too refer to the same fact and they all indicate that civil society. Was and still an actual practice. Thus civil society was a historical process which went through many stages of development that we need to know about them and the changes that came over them because in each stage civil society. Has had a particular title definition. For instance, the Romans used the Latin term (Societa Civilis) that was derived from the Greek methods of, and was more likely referring to the meaning of political society. It is possible to say that Latin literature has a big similarity to today's civil society and to the overall political practices, and many of the Greek and Roman thinkers had spoken about civil society concepts in general such as Aristotle and Cicero, which prove the belief that civil society goes back the era of Greek city states not mentioning a lot of other thinkers that stretch from the classic Greek era down to the Renaissance. It is the time when humans coexisted side by side peacefully and had high values and principles of justice (Yasin omer, 2000, p15-16)⁶.

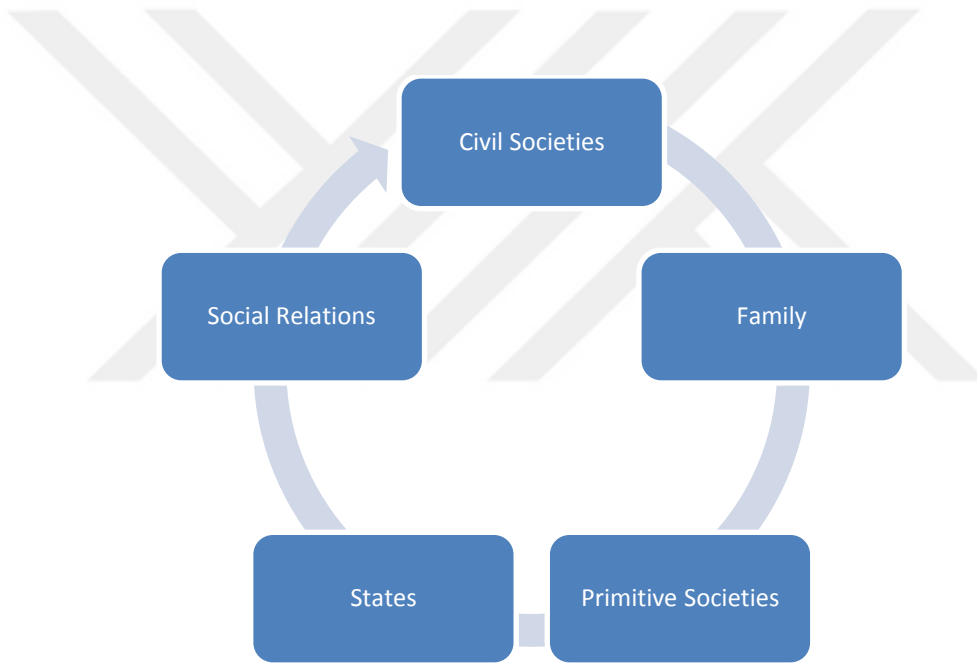
Historically, civil society has a long story to recite and first has to recognize five stages that had gone through, for as you know civil society has had different definitions and different term-ology over history. It also changed and developed along with the development of human thoughts:

At the beginning of its appearance, civil society meant the state in precise especially with Aristotle who regarded the family as the rudimentary unit. As for the ones that believed in social contract, they used phrases such as the natural. Someone like Adam Ferguson, civil society is the civilized one that alters the primitive society. This is

⁶ Yasin Omer (2000), Medenyet Magazine, published by medenyet Corporation, Slemanyah.

clarified in his book (An Essay on the History of civil Society - Adam Ferguson 1766). According to Hegel it meant the primitive forms of state, its meant civil society in Hegel idea meant state. According to Karl Marx it meant the materialistic and financial authority that prevails among the different classes. According to Antonio Gramsci it meant a portion of the infrastructure of the ideological authority or the alternative of the morals of the influential class. (Nekfir,2000, p13).

Figure 2: Stages of the Civil Society.⁷



3.2. Utopia of Plato Modern City (427-347B.C.)

Plato was the first to find a political theory, especially on how to live, how to co-exist, and how to contribute to the society, and this goes back to the way he lived and the nature of his life, especially the first 20 years of his life that Greece at that time suffered

⁷ After stages or steps history of civil society, explained classification of the five stages (Family, Primitive Societies, States, Social Relations, and Civil Societies). Its crated in the researcher idea with help of supervisor

from a big disturbance, and a social, financial, and political corruption had prevailed at that time because of that famous civil war that took place between the main two city states, Athens and Sparta. This war had pushed Plato to believe that there is no individual or a group of people that can live alone. People need to cooperate even if they have lots of differences. Plato believed that all components of the society should be identified and each should be dedicated to particular duty according to his\her skills. This is because he believed that each individual has special skills as well as his\her own personal beliefs. This is why each should take on a particular task in the society, and this is the first time when the concept of civil society appears in history where Plato identifies it as kind of required form of justice.

The theory of political justice of Plato is built upon activating the individuals of the society and he resembles the structure a city state to the structure of human body where each organ has its own role, and if one part is infected with a disease, this would reflect on the entire body. The same thing happens to the state and this is why, he thinks that responsibility should be divided on people and each individual has to fulfill his\her share according to their abilities. This way corruption could be confronted and the various components of the society can work together. This is Plato's theory according to (Ehrenberg, 2007, p32).

Scholars in general agree that Plato was the first to describe society in this way (and this, in fact, contains the rudimentary principles of modern civil society methods of work), and they depend of Plato's book (The Republic) to prove this opinion. There he used utopia as a term to describe his idea about the best way of establishing the perfect society and state. Although Plato did not use any kind of term referring directly to civil society, the ideas shown in his Utopia have lots of resemblance to modern civil society ideas for the Utopia is a place where justice had the upper hand. He says: there is no justice, it is only the State at the first hand and then it is the citizens that can find it. This is why we need to think about a general sort of justice. This means the state and the people are the only one that can achieve justice, and they both can be felt of in his Utopia. Those scholars who believe that Plato was the first in this field, they prove their approach by tow evidences. One is by showing that, in his Utopia; Plato clarifies the

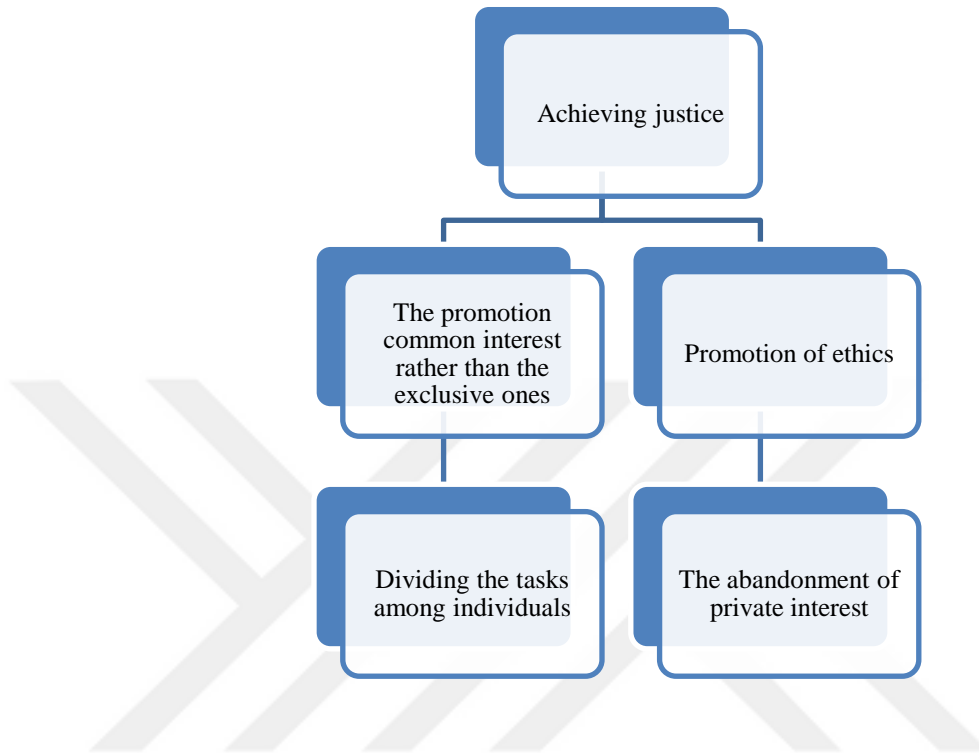
need of having a law on how to rule. The other evidence is that he believes in democracy in the Utopia. He emphasizes on the common interest must come before the interest of one individual, and in his book, *The Laws*) he highlights an idea that people may have the right of ownership but under one condition that wealth should not lead people to be divided upon classes (Mala Hessen, 2005, p17)⁽⁸⁾.

He thinks that ethics is fundamental for justice, and he thinks that people can't achieve justice without overlooking the private interest for the sake of the common interest of the entire society. Otherwise we would find prosperity available only to few people, and this would inevitably lead to conflict among the main two classes and might end up with the revolution of the poor class aiming on achieving prosperity for their own. Plato also created an indicator of how to identify the gap between classes, and it is identified when we find the number of poor people is much bigger than the rich ones to a degree that creates a threat on the life of the rich especially if the poor lack the basic need. The basic needs according to Plato are (food, security, and proper shelter). In general, he thinks that protecting the common interest of a society may guarantee justice and ethics (Ehrenberg, 2007, p35).

At last and not least, and as what was mentioned above, we can find the same beliefs of modern civil society in Plato's beliefs in these points: The abandonment of private interest, dividing the tasks among individuals, the promotion common interest rather than the exclusive ones, promotion of ethics, and achieving justice.

⁸ Mala Hessen (2005), *Civil Society with Several philosophies*, sociology Magazine, number2, Solidarity Organization, Slemanyah.pp8-20.

Figure 3: Modern City



3.3. Aristotle (382-322BC) “Political Society”

Aristotle uses the term political society as a literal replacement for civil society because it contains all the concepts and the terminology used now by the civil societies. For instance, he talks about having proper regulation in order to having a good rule. He also thinks that a good government is the one that people live happily and safely with it. In the same way he focuses on the basic needs for (arms for security, food, means of livelihood, a good economy to meet the requirements of the people, religious values for maintaining social ethics, and etc. so he thinks that we need all these elements together, and lacking one of them might affect the other ones, and in order to achieve democracy, all the must participate in the process of decision making. An addition, he thinks people should practice what they can, means that a farmer, for instance, must not practice legal issues. It is the same idea of putting the right person in the right place (Aristotle, 2012, p460-465).

As the one of the important philosophers of the classical era, Aristotle regards the family as the basic unit for city states. This is due to the idea that some individual form the family and several families may form a village or a bigger unit, which is a city. Thus, he thinks that any city resembles a state, and he differentiates between a village and a city thinking that a social unit becomes a city when these units are run by government. At this stage the society goes under many changes such the participation or interaction of the individual in the political affairs and his\her effort to progression, coexistence, and meeting the social requirements of that society. These facts, as he thinks, are the result of the self-rule that is implemented in the cities and is largely different for the simple self-support of a village that they barely think of development (Ehrenberg, 2007, p39).

Aristotle was a conservative and honest man, and his conservatism may be attributed to the successive defeats and resets the democratic values of Athens had gone through. He longed for altering all the prevailing ideas of his predecessors into a more peaceful ways of thinking. He never backed any sort of extremism and never advocated granting a very wide democracy as well to the people, because he thought that the social traditions are the main hamper on the way of enhancing the rules. He thought of leniency as a good way for solving the problems that are facing the citizens because he aimed at peace and means of coexistence in the first place, which hard to preserve without prevailing the laws. Laws were essential for ruling a state, for without laws nothing can be organized properly. The laws should divide duties upon people, and there is equality that all people should have in their rights and duties. Although he had an absolute belief in democracy, he always emphasized that the laws should arrange almost all affairs of the state (Will Durant, 2007, p160-170).

In order to call any society a political society Aristotle has two basic beliefs.

- Equality and cooperation among all members. After that the participation of citizens in the governing process. His book was written two hundred years ago. Thus we can't compare it modern books, but it still has many flaws especial when he backs the ruling class upon others, and also when he neither recognizes any rights for the slaves, nor he advocates their freedom anyhow.

Sometimes he differentiates between men and women leaving the upper hand to me for thinking that men do much more than women.

The differences between Aristotle and Plato in their ways of thinking may be found in the fact that Aristotle openly criticizes The Republic of Plato because Plato neither finds it necessary to have an armed force for protecting a state, nor he believed in enforcing anyone to do what must do. In addition, Aristotle believed in love and cooperation with no differences. These are the elements that Plato lacked in his Utopia, for Plato thought that all members of the society must act as brothers, while Aristotle refuted this concept. Aristotle was mono-gender and regarded the males only rather than both genders. For instance, he thought of women as slaves of men. They have to be confined themselves with domestic works and obey men (Will Durant, 2007, p168-171).

Aristotle has more critics to Plato; He thinks the Plato dedicates more authority to the lower classes. Contrary to this, Aristotle thinks that if the ruling and the influential classes are satisfied, this would reflect well on the entire society, and that their welfare is the welfare of the entire people (Aristotle, 2012, p468).

As much as flaws we find both book, the republic of Plato and politics of Aristotle, we must recognize that both are considered valuable achievements for humanity with regard to their time, timing and their circumstances. At that almost all human kind suffered from oppression and the lack of justice. Further, thousands of humans died of starvation and slavery without even being looked over. None the less, we are obliged to remember that both of them had made use of experiment of the civilizations that predated them such as Egypt and Mesopotamia.

3.4. Middle Age “Medieval”

Durkheim, John Lock, and Hegel think of an ordinary life and coexistence between people and the government regulated by the laws. The rise of civil society resembled a knife on the neck of the feudal societies especially in France because feudalism had become an abhorrent name comparing to the Renaissance, such as what we see with the ones before Montesquieu (1679- 1755) they described it as sort of backwardness.

Although Montesquieu was the head of one of the feudal establishments similar to a local parliament, Montesquieu named it central authorities. It had a kind of authority derived from being a social establishment of the feudal society contained a board of aristocratic assemblies. They were established by the people according to their inherited origins and locality mainly of agricultural communities. They resembled a proper connection between the monarch and the people because human rights were restricted according to the law. Although the laws themselves differed one from the other, and were remnants of feudal traditions and religious heritage, but they were different. For instance, the nobles were not allowed to involve in some particular trades or to affiliate in the guilds or craft unions. In the same way, farmers were not allowed to a full ownership (Barwt, 2001, p28-34).

Thus, we can say that the French Revolution was the real beginning for establishing civil societies after the rise of several famous thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu, Lock and René Descartes he found the bases for civil society. Formally and in general, civil society were first found during the Renaissance, because prior to this they resembled (Civil- Political) establishments that left clear marks on them for a long period of time, and due to the increase of people's demands, the society endured changes especially on what the concepts mean, and both political and civil concepts gained parallel progress at a time that was hard to discern between the two, for they had much similarity. But anyhow, it is due to the needs of the people (Seligman, 1992, p34).

3.5. Durkheim (1858- 1917) and Lock (1652-1704)

In the Durkheim's theories, we are faced this important question that (how can a person act as an individual and yet be more cohered to the society?) in another word (how can he be individual and connected to the society at the same time?) In his book (Division of Labor in Society) Durkheim clarified that whenever society grow more educated and more free, the society become more complicated, and parallel to these complications we find a growth in ethical values and a kind of perfectionism that put pressure on the rights and the dignity of humanity.

In the modern societies where we find governments are fully responsible for insuring all right for the citizens Durkheim thinks as more humane the society becomes, as farther it moves away from racism to the degree that racism would be banished, and this is a part of serving humanity though perfectionism. Durkheim considers the state as a kind of threat on the civil society because if the civil societies are week, this might pave the way for despotism and dictatorship. He raises awareness against the loosing balance and the growth the gap between the government and the people. The gap hereby can be bridged by the civil societies according to him, and he thinks that civil societies are the closest establishments to the people. This is why families have a smaller roll in comparison to the organization, for these civil societies are established by the people themselves (Giddens, 1987, p110-132).

Durkheim thinks that civil societies, as establishments representing the spirit of the people, must not be parted from governments. Durkheim classifies them according to their nature and according to how much simple or complicated they are (mechanical and organically communities). A simple community is the one that responsibilities are not distributed upon its members according to their skills and professions. Meanwhile in an organic community each member has his\her own task according to professions. In his book titled Division of Labor in Society Durkheim made clear that all communities changes from a mechanical one into an organic community. The mechanical ones are small communities that have less eternal struggle and lack professionalism. This is why we find one person doing many different kinds of work at the same time, and this keeps

the community on one motion and one rhythm. As for the wider communities where they create more complications, the tasks are according to each one's profession, and Durkheim insists on believing that the mechanical communities gradually change to organic ones, for as the population grows in numbers, we find more markets and more requirements, which makes more needs for more professions and more specialties in the various jobs. This is why when the mechanical community is changed into organic we a growth in professionalism (the growth in peoples' needs pave way for investment to meet the growing requirements (Hassan, 2012, p140-145).

Durkheim recognizes the need for ethics, but he thinks that ethics should not be looked at as a sort of art. Instead, he thinks that ethics should be felt of in peoples' manners. Means that ethics is not what we say only, it is rather what we do, and he thinks that ethics should be protected. Yet, he differentiates between ethics and the religious heritage that we should not mix between them. Instead, ethics should be part of the collective cosines marking ethics with the way we cooperate and undermine our differences in deeds not in words. Durkheim thinks that ethics may bond individuals to the community. But the modern communities lack these ethics. Durkheim pays big attention to ethics and collective cosines in his book.

A result of his respect to individuality and humanity, and that ethics may be found through them. This is why he thinks that people should preserve prosperity to individuals and must not keep human's life cornered in an old fashion society. Instead, we should deploy peoples' skills according to their capabilities. Durkheim emphasizes on relations and thinks that maintaining good relations may result in sustaining cooperation and common respect. He thinks that civilization is neither a secondary aim, nor an instant stage in human's history, and it is not an ordinary virtue that people knew about before. In fact he thinks that civilization is the main aim of humanity, and it would naturally occur after the growth in the population. This because people with social relations find all their relations gathered at a precise point. So if they couldn't passé this point they might stay there forever end keeping their normal way of life as it is, except if they work harder and reach a higher level of civilization.(Giddens,1995,p183).

As mentioned, a stable economy and an even distribute of fortune support the civil societies. Durkheim openly opposes both, class division and the right of heritage, he thinks that heritage confines wealth in the hands of a particular group and hampers the idea of an even distribution of wealth. He thinks that if people aim at an enhancement of the financial conditions of the poor then a redistribution of wealth is required or any other kind measures for keeping social balance, and he holds the state morally responsible for achieving this goal, but he demands it insuring a free market at the same time (Giddines, 1987, p150-155).

John Lock⁽⁹⁾ was an English philosopher. He used political and civic concepts to informing of natural life, but in this natural environment there were no formal political groups. People lived together and life took its ordinary course. John lock insists that when a human being is born he\she has lots of rights, and first one is the right of living, and that it is very important to protect this right especially from starvation, which is the most dangerous threat. This is why he thought that people are in constant struggle for livelihood and no one has the right of preventing people from this kind of struggle. Prior to the existence of states and governments, primitive humans had a common ownership for their lands and resources without struggle for private ownership. It was for survival most of the time. This is why he finds it necessary to impose restrictions on how human should deal with nature. First, that people should get only what they need. Secondly: to ban a kind of excessive exploitation of nature and natural resources, and finally, the use of nature must be kept for the common interest of the communities (Nezhad, 2001, p450).

Lock does not differentiate between a civil and a political society. Instead, he concedes both of them responsible for protecting humans' lives. He believed in saving or preventing humankind from violence, which is committed by the human himself, and humans have the right for self-defense. This is why he needs to affiliate into a particular society for common protection. He regards the division of the society into classes as a

⁹ John lock, an English philosopher, born in Warrington 29th August 1632. His father was a well-known Parliamentarians figure during the English civil war, which took place between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians. He paid much care to educating his son John, and this had an enormous effect on him (Lord King, 1830, 1). First he attended religious teachings, and then at the age of fifteen he was transferred into a regular school. Then in 1652 he went to the University of Oxford. He was known as the father of liberalism and found many followers amongst the American and Scottish dissidents. (biography.com). He died in October 28th 1704 (let.rug.nl).

threat to the entire civil community, and spent much time thinking of how to prevent this, concluding that being abided by the law is not enough, but people should deliberately care for the wellbeing of the society. He believed in social contract that individuals should concede some of their natural rights and private interests for others in order to protect the physical and financial welfare of the community, and this won't be possible without a social contract or common agreement between people and government. The ruler has no right to violating peoples' rights, and if it happened, then the people have the right of opposing such a ruler (Mala Hessen, 2005, p64-65). Lock has remarkable traces in advocating the concepts of the civil societies, he although civil society equal to political society in john lock idea, he hardly put differences between the civil society and political society, This is because of his predecessors had made the same, for him the tow concepts were very similar, if not literally with the same meaning (Lock, 1970, p81).

In revision to his beliefs, he reckons that the nature or primitive life was simple and had no complications, and people easily lived together. He put human's history in three major stages: First, the natural stage where relations were confined to the landowners and higher classes. Then, there is the social stage, and finally there is the stage of political or civil society, and in order to prevent violence and manipulation, he finds it necessary for any society to impose laws and to have a program to follow. Otherwise the society might face a serious conflict (Locke, 1970, p85-87).

Lock built his moral beliefs on the good principles of naturalism and liberalism that, in fact, he is the founder of liberalism. For him the state is the implementer of the wishes of the society. It is the conductor of those laws that were agreed upon by the people. Which means it is no more than an administrator, not a self-imposer, and these liberal beliefs might be the cause behind hearing him mixing between the concepts of the state and the society! He says: as long as a society defends freedom, equality, the right of ownership, and the right of living, it will be immune against crime and bad deeds. He thinks that society is based on its own good will's not on some orders that are imposed from heaven. The same idea applies to the state that governments and their civil societies are

totally mixed and cannot separate them., and they complete each other for the sake of the natural rights of human (Barwt, 2001,p28-31).

Lock says that a civil society is a place where a person feels a mental and physical security, and he emphasizes on the right of law making as an essential condition for establishing the society, a law that it is made by the people through their representatives, in a word, the Parliament. In a civil society no one is above the law no matter what kind of post he has, and the government is responsible of insuring this situation because, the government, are no more than implementers of the law. In addition, implementing laws alone would not be enough for shifting a human from his natural status into a citizen. In fact this step requires much of leniency, and the process must be done in peace and with the proper ethics of the civil society, till the stage when this human cannot act as he used to recklessly do, and starts abiding by the laws (Nezhad, 2001, p54).

At the time when Lock lived most states were oppressors, and I think this is why he dreamed of mixing the society with the state, especially for insuring the natural rights, and this fact is clearly reflected in his books and letters where he always talks about a deliberate alliance amongst the various groups, and he thinks that the change in peoples' manners and morals, and leaping humans from the natural Stage to thee civil Stage this would define the differences between a primitive and a civil society.

3.6. Hegel (1770- 1831)

Hegel was the man who appealed for finding a state ruled by a peaceful and morality of reconciliation, a situation where the state takes care of people's problems and preserves their rights especially during hard times. The invention of the state was a social movement; this is why it must preserve high ethics and he always called for restoring good ethics for he thought that people cannot coexist without ethics, and this is why we must keep the society peaceful and stabile (Al Hessen, 2012,p180). Hegel was influenced by other thinkers of England especially by Adam Smith. He defines civil society as a requirement of the system. He also sees the, it as a field for providing the basic requirements for individuals. It is a field that has two main elements, the family

and the state. In a word, the society is the one that provides the needs of the individual and the state is the one that protects the public interests. Hegel was highly influenced by the materialistic thinker of his era who focused on the financial aspects, and this had reflected on him defining the society as the provider of the requirements of the people, mental and material requirements (Hegel, 1984, p15).

Revising his ideas, we reach a point that he prefers to use the phrase (Sittlichkeit), the moral society, instead of using civil society. For as he says: in order to collectively have a stable life we need a kind of ethics that connects the individual to another, and all of them should follow the laws that were issued by a public institution. He absolutely denies the people from affiliating to units smaller than the entire society as one piece, a unit such as a tribe for instance that might grant him protection and some special rights (Hegel, 1942, p153-156).

As we see, his definition to the moral society is the same that we have now for the civil society, because when he hints at collective work and the roll of proper laws, this makes the same conclusion about civil society, and for clarifying what he means, Hegel speaks about the threats and how to protect that society by implementing a healthy and normal life style to the people and urging them for social ethics. In order to protect the civil society from the threats, a civil society must restrict itself to some rules; and none of the threats should be overlooked or neglected, because after that society is found, any negligence the any flaw might end up with harmful consequences of division and even extinction of its moral concepts, and in order to protect freedom and rights we must take the practical steps for preserving the general ethical values (Hegel, 1942, p160-164).

Hegel tried to innovate a new way for the people understanding common values, that the civil society is the chain that connects the individual to the state similar to a the family that its members have strong internal bonds, in the same way the families together may form bigger units, which is the civil society. The bonds between family members are built on their requirements, and the same fact goes with the civil society. This is why Hegel depended on land ownership and the characteristics of this ownership (Macklin, 2006, p114). Hegel didn't restrict the meaning of "benefit" to a pure materialist gain. In fact he highlighted many other kinds of interests and benefits, mental

and moral ones, such as achieving self-security, gaining knowledge and education, freedom of the individual, maintenance of public peace and security, and the moral gain that a public worker feels when accomplishing his\her achievement that raises the his social status. All of these are benefits (Hegel, 1942, p169-173).

The state differs from civil society according Hegel, and the civil society that has three institutions (organizations, groups and centers) can achieve the demands of its individuals from the government through formal petitions, and civil society is higher from private interests and cannot be controlled by the state. But in the same time civil society for Hegel is totally independent. This means that his idea about civil society is very close to a liberal state (Mala Hessen, 2005, p67-68).

Hegel is rather known as the finder of modern beliefs of the civil society that he thought civil society is the real achievement of the new world, and it was mentioned before, for Hegel the civil society is a collection of ethical values, and those values are put in three categories, for the family, for the community, and for the state. He thinks that civil society has three main basics: materialistic requirements, a prevailing justice, and the division the tasks according to professions. He thought of civil society as a kind of historical occurrence and it cannot be restricted only to freedom but it is the morality among the family, the community, the state, and the state hereby that advocate civil society must provide a system of a free marks that contains all syndicates, all classes, and all groups. Civil society is never to be manipulated by the state, for civil society doesn't emerge form nature, but it is a historic outcome of the changes that came over humanity. The existence of civil society, to considerable extend, is an achievement of human rights. What matters here is that civil society has the ability to cope with the social struggle.

3.7. Modern Age Theorists of the Social Capital

Civil society after this concept growth or changed by the sociologist and researchers idea, after all changes some sociologist said to this concept social capital such Putnam, Bourdieu, and Coleman.

Civil society is a practical occurrence that must spring out from people themselves. In 1830 when Tocqueville visited America, he saw that: Whether they know or not, Americans are participating in a civil process, and they need (civil society, because they think that this way they find their capacity and this is their condition to promote democracy. Although democracy didn't have that momentum at that time there, Americans have had their own civil establishments. Not only the trade unions, but they practiced this in thousands of other institutions such the spiritual, moral and ideological ones and this applies for all Americans, young and old, good and bad, because nothing is more important for them than affiliating to moral and/or ideological societies (Putnam, 1993, p65).

The term social capital has become very controversial now especially after the researches of Putnam, Bourdieu, and Coleman that each has his own definition. However, what matters here is find the common points among them especially in public affairs as Fukuyama identifies. Social capital may be simply defined as considerable entity, a collection of informal values or a common sense for a particular society, values that grant them cooperation and the spirit of group work. The social capital is a simpler form of civil society because it has the social basics (Fukuyama, 1997, p14-15). Fukuyama thinks that social capital emerges after the destruction of old political systems, and says due to the fact that there are bad deeds everywhere, we need laws to deter these bad deeds, and the legal forms of social capital are not less important than other requirements in the society. This is an important and reliable hypothesis, because a proper legal system may support the citizens achieving their aims. That because, as we know, the social capital is mainly concerned with the public interests with less regards to the private ones. Social capital is for the society and its interests as whole (Fukuyama, 1999, p30).

In 1993 Putnam, who was an American sociologist, published this book (*Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italian*). He emphasizes that in modern Italian there is a strong connection between democracy and social capital, and he thinks that the local associations in north Italy practice a better roll compared those in the southern parts. After long analyses, he attributes this to a fact he calls social capital, and this is the same meaning of the civil societies now, for he personally speaks about the similarity between the two when he says “Traditions in new Italian”.

Social capital means the quantity and quality of civic organizations in comparison with the population of each area. This is how we have clear idea about how active or sluggish that community is. After twenty years of researching Putnam concluded that prosperity of each and every community has a the-rest relation with its social capital regarding how active they are, because if they are active they may deploy the potentials of their individuals each in the right post for the right task, which results in a network of wide cooperation that creates more opportunities for them and pave an easier way for finding solution to every problem. Putnam recites a simple example to this, which is what we might call (the Egyptian lottery). It is not a virtual lottery; it is rather a kind of financial cooperation. A number of employees each put a side a defined amount of money from the monthly payment. Then they lost their names in box to see who would take this whole gathered money, and each month they do the same, and one member of the group takes the money. According to Putnam, this is a sort of civil society, and he says that the same thing is practiced in Italy but on wider scale (Abdul-Jabbar, 2001, p8-9).

This proves that the social capital for Putnam has the same meaning of civil society, for this simple of the Egyptian lottery has the same basic and rules of civil society. Some rules such the freedom of joining or abandoning the group, alone with equality and the balance between rights and duties, etc. There is the common trust as well; that each one of them knows that he is going to get his money back without having any sort of kinship between them. This is surely one of the basics for civil society. Putnam, as famous researcher in social capital field, made several definitions to it that maybe this one is better to show. He says: The concept of social capital is to having several organized social networks that are related to one another on multilateral interest, and this leads to

benefiting all the members of these networks, financially or morally (Putnam, 2002, p43).

For Putnam, the concept of social capital is the same of civil society, and could be felt of through the solidarity, common sense, and the cooperation that they both contain within their feeling of working. Putnam recited many examples that are conducted in Egypt and Italy. If a financial capital be considered as a materialistic aim, and if someone's capital is conceded as his fortune, thence the social capital may refer to the existence of connection between the social networks and the sources of financial interest, in addition to having a common trust among the groups (Putnam, 1995, p19).

Even if they are not one hundred percent matching, social capital and civil society cannot be separated, according to Putnam, for he openly speaks about the mutual affects between social capital and civil society, with regard that there are many governmental establishments, formally and informally. There is also the well-known problem (that proves this fact), the problem of "How to find the way or a mechanism to providing social capital?" This is same quest of "how to provide civil society?"

Although the organizations of both sides have similar principles, the development of human thinking put a line between the two. Yet, Putnam thinks that social capital has a strong relation with common trust and social relations. This means that for Putnam, social capital springs from the society itself, and this creates trust among the various social networks, and hereby we see that the unproved ideas show that social capital might have positive and negative affect on civil society through, for instance, the various financial and governmental channels, such as the financial institutions. They too have a kind of network. The social networks might lead to gathering or even dividing the society. So, the main problem here is how to find the conditions that a good, healthy, fruitful, and sustainable social capital can be created (Putnam, 1993, p19).

Bourdieu is a modern sociologist who made researches on social capital and considered it as an important concept for sociology. He sees no differences between social capital and civil society so as to find separated definition for them. In fact, he puts the entire subject in three kinds of capitals: economic, cultural, and social. Although these are

different capitals, they are deeply connected, and the quantity of each of these capitals may define the nature of each society. For instance, if the number of wealthy ones is high, then the society has many financial resources.

These three capitals can replace one another. This is why Bourdieu thinks that they play an important role in the society because personal capital let that person paly that he\she wants within the society, and then he\she may find the right field for it and let it grow. On the other hand, wherever the resource of a capital is from, at the end of the day it will belong to the person who owns it, and it is up to him\her to make use or to neglect it.(culturemagazine.org).

Bourdieu has different definition to social capital according to the timing and other circumstances, and we will try to clarify this variation, as below:

Bourdieu puts social capital in three parts as we mentioned, and they are financial capital, cultural capital, and social capital. The social capital is defined according to the nature of its benefits. Have for instance the cultural capital, which resembles a moral benefit such as being respectful in the scientific society. This would have a social reflection too, and Bourdieu don't believe that these earned capitals are heritable, for they require personal efforts.(culturemagazine.org).

All the existing and potential resources that have a sustainable and long lasting effect on the social networks, especially the formally recognized networks, and this cannot be the final definition, but a simple one. Or we may say it has an important role in doubling someone's capital in compare to other people, and the roll of the social capital is due to prosperity in the financial capitals. For instance, some gains benefit from working in a network. This obviously a result of the relation he\she has with that network, and this will increase his capital inside this network. This fact applies for the cultural aspect as well such as a teacher participates in scientific conference through his connection in this network. This is same thing (Bourdieu, 1983:p249).

For Pierre Bourdieu, the social capital is the social relations of the individual with the authorities in a matter of fact these relation are the actual network that supports the person according to the public welt.(Siwayli, 2013, p79). Bourdieu has other definition to social capital. He says: social capital is the sum of actual and potential resources.

They are connected according to nature of the social networks, and the benefit that goes to someone is because of him\her being a member in these groups. This is why we need to be connected, and welcomed, to more than one network and move swiftly among them and according to their criteria. In work, for instance, we need an absolute commitment (Bourdieu, 1993, p248).

Bourdieu defines Social Capital according to income and the source of the existing and potential income that may be earned from a social network due to someone's abilities to affiliate to it, and this affiliation will give a felt of security to the members, especially a moral security (Bourdieu, 1986, p247).

3.8. Coleman

Several publications were issued by Coleman in 1980s about social capital. There he adheres to a theory that is identified by the economists as the rational choice. He puts the subject under two categories: one according to economy, and the other according to sociology. He focuses on businesses and the income of each financial endeavor and connects many social phenomenon's, to the economics situations. As for the social capital, he defines it according to the affiliation of each individual to a particular network, formal or informal, and through his\her belief he\she can find the social support and other benefits. The network can provide support the ones that affiliate to them through their resources especially financial support. Social status: it is for benefiting. Benefit itself has an important value among the social networks, and it is rather for organizing and connecting people (Coleman, 1988, p95).

As Putnam did, Coleman pays much attention to the social networks and regards them important especially in education, for he thinks that when a child first goes to school, this is the beginning of long and wide relations with other children, and it will have a profound affect in the future, and he thinks that: social capital has an important value for the children. Because the education process has within it several field for networks that will subsequently open the doors for building personality for the children in the future

(Coleman, 198, p16). Coleman also thinks that social capital cannot be found randomly, it is rather found by rational manners that create trust, because it had been found from scientific resources at the beginning and it will cumulate social trust that may reflect on financial benefits at the right time, and to find social capital in general we need more harmony and interaction among the existing networks (Coleman, 1988, p190).

In a comparative revision to all three researchers, Putnam, Bourdieu, and Coleman, we find them all agreeing that Social capital has the same concept of civil society, and if civil society actively prevails in any state or community, all three think that we may reach the good conclusion as below

- Creating or strengthening relations between individuals, on a hand, and individual and the state on the other hand.
- Establishing many networks and none-profitable organizations which eventually serve the community, because these networks will employ many people, and regardless of the financial benefits, the education and the skills of these people will be enough to consider.
- Creating or strengthening common trust among the people and the networks, a situation that strengthens the coexistence and co-working.
- Participation in public life because of participation in these networks. This inevitably raises common sense, love, and compaction amongst the people.
- If we look at this benefit as a continuance chain, they may establish an inclusive belt or zone of spreading a peaceful spirit of coexistence and mutual acceptance.

Fukuyama such as a philosophy he had some citizen to the social capital, because he said: no one knows from where the social capital comes from, and it is mostly thought that the sources of social capital come from governments and the influential lobbies that they control people by these networks despite the stats? There are the major religions such as Islam, Christianity, Hindus, or the followers of the traditional beliefs such as Confucianism. They raise their generations and maintain their entities due to this. But their benefits are restricted to themselves (Fukuyama, 1999, p39-43).

In addition to what Fukuyama said, we can criticize this methodology of social capital that it allows people gathering in separated groups and political parties. This will end up against the basic principles of civil society because it will divide the community into separated parts especially for the religious barriers, a phenomenon that widely spread these days, and I think this stands behind the existence of the big terrorists groups that exploited freedom and co-existence for their anti-freedom and co-existence goals.



4. CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE IRAQ AND (KRI)

4.1. History of the Civil Society in Iraq

As one of the states of Middle East, Iraq has a sluggish progress in its civil society, and the history of the evolution of this concept is far from being clear. This is why we find ourselves obliged to go back to the early stages where that state was has been established, which is the end of the first world war in precise. If we consider the coronation of King Faisal I, August 1921, as the start of the civil society, this date is not accountable especially on political respect, because the coronation itself had not been done through an appropriate referendum, and/or general acceptance. A king should have been selected by Iraqi peoples and should have been an Iraqi person as well. This is why he and the project in general were boycotted by a large portion of the inhabitants of this new state, and to prove this, we see that both Kurds and the Turkmens objected to the process. The Turkmens argued that the Wilayet (the province) of Musil is part of the Turkish state and should be reattached to it. This is why they rejected the idea. As for the Kurds who were around 20% of total population that time, none of them participated in this.

This means since the first political steps of its establishment, Iraq as a state and its new monarch were both imposed upon the various peoples of Iraq and the project itself was not a civilized one, and this has led to an ethnic, religious, and social conflict among the components since the beginning, and no one managed to put an end to this bloody conflict up to date, for it is obvious that this state was badly fabricated by attaching different parts one to another (Zbede, 2012,16).

Soon the unrest and many conflicts appeared on the scene in the new state of Iraq, because nominating this Hijazi king on this part of world came after a deep disagreement between groups of Islamic clergies as traditional representatives of the people. One group argued that any assigned as king should be from Quraish, the ancient

tribe of Prophet Muhammad. The second group was more moderate. They thought it alright to have a Caliph or a king from somewhere other than Iraq as long as he is an Arab. This why the British authorities, who had Iraq under their control by that time, resorted to bring someone from outside so as to gain consent of both factions. This had resulted in establishing a parliamentary monarchal system that was based on political elements as follows: The Hashemite Dynasty (the family of King Faisal). The Iraqi high ranked officers who backed King Faisal. A class of wealthy people (landlords, merchants, aristocrats), and the people were taught on how to do elections. On discipline aspects, an army was found along with civil institutions such as education and health. So we see that a centralized state had grown wider and many new classes came to exist each with many places of meeting. This had marked a basic change in the nature of the society if being compared to the pre-monarchal stage (Abdul-Jabbar, 2001, p60).

After that we see that the labor movements gain momentum. The labors were becoming aware about their rights for better life and had established many movements and performed many demonstrations in several Iraqi cities to an extent that British Regency Authorities comply with their demands. This is why the Iraq Journal, that a formal journal, published a declaration article saying: it has been since so long time of the history of humanity that labors are considered the lowest caste of the society. But a fact must be understood that they are not less than any other people. This was an obvious beginning to activities towards finding a civil society in Iraq. Later in 1929, and due to the civil struggle of the laborers the state had been obliged to decree a law titled The law of groups that paved the way for establishing many parties, groups and organizations in Iraq along with many of journals and publications aiming at incorporating the various classes into the process of decision make (Mezher, 1986, p121-123).

In addition of the political problems and the imposition of a foreigner king on the country, Iraq had tribal problems, for the existence of numberless tribes and tribal chieftains all over its history. This was a big obstacle for finding a civilizing the ruling system among Iraqis. This problem has overshadowed all the ruling regimes and systems starting the monarchal, the republican junta till the end of the Baath ruling of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003. All these regimes had tried, more or less, to undermine or

eliminate that power that the tribal chieftains have over their people, but all in vain. In fact in many stages of the history of this state, the tribes and the tribal chieftains had been seriously considered in the official regulations and policies. Finally, and during the late period of the rein of Saddam Hussein, there were many tribes lose to him that had an authority higher than many of the institutions of the state (Trib, 2013, p34).

A fact that contradicts the existence of a civil state because this policy deprives the individual, who is not, backed by a tribe, from his her basic rights for equality, security, and dignity, and this situation has pushed the people to re-affiliating to their old natal and/or geographical tribes and stopped living as citizens and individuals, but no more as persons deployed by their social groups. It was either this or to leave the country once for all and seek asylum in a civilized country. This is unfortunately have taken place after Iraq had started going through important changes such as having a considerable middle class, even though that class was not of the best in the region. Accordingly, the changes of that period can be highlighted in these points:

- 1- The nomadic tribes have settled down and turned from their pastoral economy into agriculture, which made them agrarian tribes.
- 2- The chronic tension between the peasants and towns has notably disappeared, and the tribes stopped raiding the towns ever since. This because of establishing the Iraqi army with its land and air forces that have created a real deterring threat to any irresponsible violation of social peace.
- 3- The tribesmen, as other people, complied with the state laws that imposed the imperative military service on all citizens.
- 4- The conflicts among the various nomadic tribes on water and grazing lands have stopped, and the pastoral life style was replaced with an agrarian and sedentary life each on a defined area.
- 5- The uncontrollable cocky duel fights, that used to take place between measureless tribesmen whenever they met, this chronic phenomenon was efficiently deterred by holding the tribal chieftains responsible for keeping their tribesmen under control, and this was achieved by the new state though defining feudal property lands exclusively owned by each tribe's chieftain (AbdulJabbar, 2001, p68-69).

In general, establishing this proper structure for the new state of Iraq could be regarded as a strong and significant start for an environment that was very good for a civil society to thrive, a social environment that was stretched over all the main eras of the monarchy, the republican, and the Baath. This include the early stage of the Baathy era in precise, even though this era as a whole was one of the worse for Iraqis in general because the regime has no regard to any democratic or human rights' values. As for the rule of law, the law was considered only if it favored the interests of the ruling class.

In an over view, the nature of the political scene and feature of the ruling process of Iraq and how they reflected on the Iraqi civil society, this can be classified as shown in the following points.

We can say, thus, that the stabling of a monarchy state of Iraq in 1921 marked a strong commence for later finding the concept of civil society. Even if there were some groups or organizations before, they were mostly based on ethnic and religious affiliation for political goals, but not for serving social and humanitarian goals as happened after 1921 where we find many groups and social clubs being established for social and educational purposes. From 1921 up to 1930 was an important period for Iraq, and there was an active social movement going on by laborers, students and other classes. These movements had been neglected, even despised, till the revolution of 1920.

4.1.2. Monarchical Era (1921-1958)

In 1st July 1921, the Council of Minister of Iraq voted on the coronation of Faisal as king of the new state. The mottos of this new kingdom were (the constitution, democracy, and the role of law), and in order to adsorb the hidden political movements and put them in the stage, in 1922 (the Law of Political Parties) was issued by the state. Many political parties appeared soon after this. Thereby we find the Iraqi Party that was headed by Abdulrahman Al Naqeeb, the Upheaval Party (Al-Nahza) headed by the sheikh Muhammad Al Sadir, the Patriotic Party headed by sheikh Mehdi Al Khlis. These and other political parties and organizations were put under close surveillance and they had to abide by the strict rules and conditions of the state. The conditions were that they all had to recognize monarchy and the monarch as an overlord, and they had to abide by

the regulations and instructions of the Iraqi state. In spite of these restrictions, that stage in general was an important one for peoples of Iraq precisely for the social progressive changes that were occurring (Ahmed, 2003, p13-15)¹⁰.

In spite of the governmental tight restrictions, by 1930s a lot of ogress were found in Iraq that started in 1929. That year in precise witnessed the establishment many labor societies such as (organization of the porters, organization of the printers, organization of grocers, organization of the taxi drivers, organization of the barbers, organization of the tailors, organization of the advocates of national products), and at the beginning of next decade many other organizations were found mostly religious, artistic, and educational, and in 1930 a new press house was found by a joint effort between the society of lawyers and the society of the printers. In 1933 the organization of the agrarian merchants, and next year the organization of physicians were established. The establishment of all those unions and societies may indicate finding the base for a new civil society in the new state. Yet, the movement of the political parties suffered a slowing down, for they couldn't convey the demands and needs of the people to the government (Zbede, 2012, p19).

4.1.3. Republican Era (1958-1968)

This era is called The Junta because the army took over by a Coup de Tate and controlled the country, its political scene, and all its institutions. This had started by a military coup lead by two high ranked officers in July the 14th- 1958. The officers were General Abdulkareem Qasim and General Abdulslam Arif supported by an organized group of high officers that were called The Free Officers, and in collaboration with some political parties. They were the Iraqi Communist Party (I.C.P), the National Democrat Party (N.D.P), the Baath Party, and the Independence Party.

It was the first time that Iraqis could come on a constitution via a public referendum, which was called the temporal constitution, and according to this constitution, the

¹⁰ Ahmed, Ranj Jafeer (2003). Madenyet, number: 15, sulaimanyah, pp13-23.

organizations of the civil society could freely act. Some people prefer to call this major political change in Iraq as the revolution of July, other still calling it the coup of July. Whatever the name should be, the political change in July 1958 is undoubtedly a stage of considerable social change in Iraq. For instance, the new law of personal affairs (a law that arranged issues of the individuals' identity, ownership, marriage, divorce, inheritance) was issued, even though it had many flaws. What was more important than this it stipulated the freedom of ethnic and religious affiliation. However, that era was not so calm and stable, but it endured many violent clashes, bloody coups and counter coups that opposed the interests of civil society especially by the year 1968 up to 1970 (Ahmed, 2003, p18).

Following these social changes, and after the institutions of the state stood in firm capacity and authority, the changes exceeded the social aspects into political and even religious ones. For instance, the old tribal-religious affiliation and local identities that prevailed on the Iraqi people, kinship and nepotism, the Shiite and Sunni division, ghettos, provincialism, these social relations were replaced by new kinds. People affiliated to syndicates and organizations. This means that the Iraqi individual started finding his identity and interest in professions and in the organizations related to his\her profession. The economic changes too were big and effective. A merchant, for instance, started dealing with fellow merchant regardless of their sect, tribe or ethnicity. Co-working and collegueship was an important factor, for instance, when people worked together in one factory or company in the governmental or private sector. This how it was during the period prior to 1958 (from the beginning of 1940s up to 1958, and these economic and social changes had prevailed after 1958 with the new political atmosphere of the state (Abdul-Jabbar, 2001, p65).

The chronic sectarian struggle between Shiites- Sunnis was one of the main social unrest features of the history Iraq. The Sunnis had the upper hand since the beginning of establishing the new Iraqi state, for the Hashemite dynasty, the dynasty of king Faisal I, were Sunnis descending from Hijaz, the western province of in today's Sa'udia Arabia that contain the holly cities of Makka and Madina. This situation lasted from 1920 till the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. After this the Shiite Arabs took over the ruling

class due to them being the majority of the population, and this situation is still existing and creating real tension among the Sunni Arabs and other parts of Iraqi society, and this is why we this chronic conflict each day developing into new unpredictable shape. At the past, the Shiites thought of themselves as being oppressed by the Sunnis, a fact that lead to several violent clashes. For now, history is repeated but in the opposite direction, where we find the Sunnis feeling as the Shiites used to feel at the last century. It is needless to say that this is the most serious problem facing the civil society, and facing the civilization of Iraq in general.

4.1.4. Era of Baath (1968-2003) "All Iraqis are Baathist even if they have not officially signed in"

Saddam Hussein used to say at the beginning of that crucial era of the Iraqi state, which called the Era of Baath, or the Baathy Era, I reference to the Arab Baath Party (Baath means revival, pointing to the revival of the Arab ethnicity). This era may be looked at as the era of a coup against the principles of civil society. This because when the Baathis took over in 1968, then when Saddam Hussein officially became the president in 1979, this was the time of erasing the private differences and oppressing all ethnicities and endogenous cultures other than the one of the ruling class. In addition to all the formal institution of the state such as the army, education, health, etc, all political parties, social organizations even the social clubs were firmly controlled by the ruling party. This had cost a high price of bloodshed for reaching this point of power, and although all ethnicities paid the price in blood, the main sacrifices was paid by the Kurds that an estimated of 500,000 Kurdish people were killed during the several decades of that era. The Baathis had done whatever they wanted to do, and turned the country into a big prison, especially for the educated caste (Zbede, 2012, p23).

Saddam Hussein reiterated this motto that "All Iraqis are Baathist even if they have not officially signed in" which meant erasing all kinds of specialties, the specialties that are the basics for having a civil society. This because Baathis did not have any respect or believe in specialty or the right of having different idea, and many of them normally

thought that the none-Baathis are not Iraqis, or should not be considered as citizens. This why a mass immigration to the free countries of Europe have started taking place, and other people indulged into armed movements of opposition till 2003 when the USA lead coalition backed by the vast majority of Iraqi people toppled that regime. After this the new parliamentary era began. Elections, votes, political agendas became countable, and the new constitution, which was voted upon, has become the base for Iraqis to deal with. Ethnic and religious groups felt free to practice their beliefs and specialties. So the political atmosphere, apparently, was the best for finding new civil society in Iraq.

4.1.5. Iraq the Country of Coup and Violence

The history of the new Iraqi state shows us that it endured at least six military coups; many of them were violent ones, and in addition to this, there had been always some kind of mutinies and armed opposition movements in secret and/or in open. These facts have never let Iraq to live in a natural course to stand up on its feet for establishing a modern democracy. This because, in exception to the despotic rule of Saddam Hussein, each of its various governments of the last, approximately, 100 year had shortly lived, and they were mostly ended by violence, a military coup for instance. The era of Saddam is exceptional for he exerted ultimate force in ruling the people backed his clan who were put on top of authority in most power junctions of the state and the armed forces. This means there were no gaps or vacant spaces that might be used by anyone or any faction to coup or even to express resentment. Saddam Hussein had established a firm of secretive intelligence that could detect any movement. There was no space of freedom to anyone outside that little margin that he had deliberately left for the people move around, and another feature of his rule was the flagrant animosity to the basic principles of the civil society. He revived the old tribal traditions to the extent that many civic people resorted to changing their nick name and family name so as to secure their lives. This because some big tribes, naturally, had more influence than the small ones (Trib, 2013, p37).

With regard to the civil struggle, this goes back to the early stages of its establishment as state, and the struggle was mainly done by laborers and especially in the oil companies.

Those companies employed lots of workers and the struggle was made by them, first to gain and keep posts, and secondly to earn higher fees. Then in 1929 when the Law of groups was issued by the state and many societies were found, has been mentioned, and they started their struggle that was no less than the struggle of the political parties (Mala Bakhtyar, 1998, p12-18).

4.1.6. State of the Civil Society after Saddam in the Iraq

For further reckoning the nature of the civil society and civil movement in Iraq especially after the demise of Saddam Hussein's regime, we need to rely on further information directly from this field for there is very few written information with this regard. This is why we shall depend on interviews with those Iraqi people who had worked in this field.

Hanaa' Ghalib, a resident of Baghdad the capital, thinks that the obstacles that are hampering the civilization process in Iraq have historical backgrounds due to the multiple legal and political gaps within the Iraqi state:

The society of Iraq differs from most other societies of the Middle East for it was under British mandate for some time after its establishment and couldn't acquire independence for a long time. The constitution and the laws were found by the British and according to their will and interests. The head of the state (the king) was brought in by the British as well and was imposed on the people. Ironically, after some 80 years from that history have repeated itself and in 2003 we all witnessed a new constitution but found in the same old way by external interference. Thus, both constitutions are to be considered (imported) because this time it was the American who replace the British in writing the constitution. This means that Iraqis have never had their own constitution and real sovereignty, and this fact have so far complicated and prolonged the internal unrest that I think all the internal problems are brought from abroad. But bring the problems, of course, was facilitated by internal factions because none of the Iraqi factions tried to spread (social, political economical, etc.) awareness and education among Iraqis. The Iraqis parties and social factions, sects, etc. have always been going through internal struggle one against the other. The social awareness of a common citizen in every nation means to start progressing. Iraq couldn't stand against the foreigners who imposed these constitutions and laws on us because of its vanity and internal weakness. It is unfortunate that whoever came to this country came for its oil resources, not for enhancing the mentality and education of the people. Iraq and Iraqis have had a good progress toward civilization and toward finding a civil society. However, each step forward was followed by an increase of the efforts of the anti-civilization, and so, we as Iraqis so far couldn't turn ourselves into a healthy civilized society.(Hanaa' Ghalib , 34, civil activities, 2017).

I think she is true about civil society in the Iraq because, that Iraqis have never had their own constitution and real sovereignty; Iraq always had a civil war and doesn't have politic freedom.

Dr, Kawa Mahmood do not prefer to include all these demonstrations that are occurring Baghdad as part of the activities of the civil struggle, for they are handled by some people that have no civic mentality. He says:

"We can't describe all those demonstrations and activities that are done by Iraqis as part of activities of the civil society or to consider as a civilized movement. For instance, the Islamic parties now have the upper hand in Iraq, and they perform enormous demonstrations, sometimes advocating polygamy! So, can we name such an activity as part of a movement towards having a civil society? Of course not, for this is against the principle of gender balance and oppose civilizing the society of Iraq. We need to know the aim of these demonstrations, because many of them are absolutely not civilly oriented. Further, the civil struggle is not only by demonstrating and mass gatherings. In fact it is found through liberal organized movement and liberal parties that they and only they are the core of the civil society, and this is not we see on the ground in Iraq".(Kawa Mahmood, 59, the Secretary of the Communist Party, 2017).

If Iraq culture and politic don't change Iraq can not to be civil society, because all movements and demonstrations managed by the tribalism with religious men, there are always barriers infrom civil society, because in the Iraq society always have conflict between religious peoples specially between shia and sunni.

Qadir Hussein, an expert in the Iraqi society, thinks that the interference that was exerted by political and religious factions have had a bad reflection on civilizing and Modernizing Iraq, because most of their rivalries were violent ones.

"In light of what we see going on in Iraq, we can only define the society as a religious one, for religion has the largest effect on the majority of the people and their activities, and there is no other think affecting the people of Iraq as religion does. Social relations in Iraq are built on religious and sectarian bases, and it is the biggest motive with the biggest role on the social processes of the people. As for the prominent political and social figures, they cannot have a crucial role. This may attributed to the fact that Iraqi citizens are not quite acquainted to their civil rights. As for those demonstrations and mass gatherings that are so called (of civil society), they are mostly managed and motivated by religious agendas and because of the sectarian backgrounds of the majority of the people, and the purpose of it is to gain political status. Religion and the prevailing religious mentality in Iraq has become a serious obstacle on the course of democracy. For instance, after the coup of 1958, there were many important steps taken by the leader Abdulkarim Qasim for civilizing the Iraqi society. One of those was an effort to impose equality between men and women with regard to hereditary rights. As soon as the effort was reviled to the concerned factions, the religious figures not only rejected the idea. In fact they accused him of blasphemy, for they thought, and still thinking, that the law must not conflict with the Sharia'a (the Islamic Law Code) and no one has the right to tackle it. He tried his best to negotiate this topic with them, but all his efforts went in vain and the whole project failed.

That step intended by Abdulkarim Qasim was in much importance for pushing Iraq towards turning into a civil society. But because of the tribal – religious backgrounds of the people, none could be done. In addition to this example, the history of Iraq is filled with violence because most the rulers were oppressive dictators. This had stopped Iraqi individuals from having an open mind to hope for democracy and civilization. The political authorities have always preferred the tribal, sectarian, and provincial identities to control the relations of the society, because these relations were and are in favor of the governments. It will be easy to control the people by these ties. As for the civil society, it requires exactly the opposite of this. It requires transparency, democracy, and liberty. This is why the political authorities have never let the society to develop into a civil one, and the religious figures have always backed them in this (Qadir Hussein, 49, writer, 2017).

If we are read the history of Iraq, we come to this, at any stage in the history of Iraq, for the purpose of civilized Iraqi society, the community has faced in general problems and barriers multiple, which led to the slow civil in Iraq.

Hemeen Abdulqadir, a social researcher, thinks that Iraqi state hasn't yet got to be a civil society because there are lots of barratries, and its history is filled with rivalries and violence.

"Up to the date, the societies of the Middle East in general and Iraq in particular are mostly tribal. Tribalism is sense within all its institutions such as political parties, and official and private organizations, and kinship is the strongest relation among the people. The prove lies in the fact that in most elections we find sons and daughters of the tribal chieftains getting ahead of professional and academic and the technocrat people, which means that the voters themselves are not yet civilized. This is related to the fact that we are all not civilized yet. Although we appear to be civilized, many of us have academic degrees, and we use high technology, but we are still hearing of tribal rivalries and murders in the media that happen many times between two families or persons for silly causes. Iraq is a country suffered from ethnic conflict over thousands of years and had many times witnessed ethnic cleansing of some minorities or sects. This was done to the Kurds in Iraq though various campaigns and committed by all the regimes that ruled Iraq. Not only the Kurds, but against Turkmens and other ethnicities, and these actions have hampered the civilizing process and the general development of the country because it has created a conflict and a social cleavage among the main components of the country. The media also have played a destructive role by intensifying the ethnic rivalry and rejection of one another. The Peshmarga and the Iraqi forces, for instance, both are fighting against Terror now in Musil. However, next we might find them turning against each other because of the media that featuring the Iraqi forces (hashdy shaiby) as a demon to us, and the same is done to the Peshmarga in return. This is why the media is not and had not helped pacification and the civilization process in the country (Hemeen Abdulqadir, 35, social researcher, 2017).

An Iraqi human have an angry personality, this is anti-civil society, because of civil society mean tolerance and non-violence, before everything's we must be change to the Iraqi culture specially thinking about humanity.

Some of the political and social observers think the opposite that Iraq has scored considerable steps towards having a civil society, and they prove this by referring to the frequent demonstrations that are taking place in Baghdad. They indicate that there is a social struggle and efforts for promoting the civil society. I think if the Iraq goes to the new idea especially between deference citizen's example (Arab Shia, Arab Swna, Kurd, and Turkmen). Iraq can to be civil society.

"After liberating Iraq in 2003, the civil society movement went under significant changes especially the large increase in the number of the organizations of civil society that none had the opportunity existing under the former dictatorial Iraqi regimes. Although the Iraqi society had not got the chance of development before, the civil activities after 2003 grow very wide. For instance, all these demonstrations that are done, they are obliging the authorities to listen and to correspond to the demands of the people. The clearer example is seen when a journalist, male or female, is detained, people go to the streets in open protest. As we saw when Afrah Shawqi, the renounced woman journalist, was detained, the civil struggle of the people made the authorities release her in a short time. On the other hand, although some demonstrations raise up to million participants, we cannot say that all of them are civic and oriented to civil society aims, because we find many tendentious people infiltrating the crowds and committing sabotage actions. In this case it is only the citizens that are harmed. As we know, the demonstrations are performed for earning peoples' rights. But when sabotage is committed against private or public properties, it will create violent reaction from the police forces, and the damages are reflected on the citizens in both cases, and it is the citizen that will pay for the damage at the end, this because the government would not care much for some damages to a public property. In fact it is the citizens that would lose their credibility. So, the whole thing is due to the way that people understand civil struggle (Basma Mohammad, 46, university teacher, 2017).

There is have civil movements but the are a slow civil movement in Iraq, but it was not enough to make in the society to bee a civil society. This is due to the repressive effects inherited by the Ba'ath Party. it is the reason for the civil society as a phenomenon.

Arsalan Mahmood, a civil activist, thinks that the Iraqi peoples were forced to live together and they have failed so far in creating educated citizens and a civil society.

"Since the beginning of its days, the new Iraqi state was shaped by attaching some different areas with different components one to another and the process was accomplished by the use of force. So, subsequences of this kind of imposition of those enharmonic components together are still reflecting on the political atmosphere and the problems are still holding. Further, they did not help in having a civil society. Or the least thing to say is that the civil society is very weak and insignificant. On the other hand the Iraqi state has been going through internal and external conflicts since the beginning of its history. In addition to the ethnic conflicts, there is the chronic sectarian rivalry between the Shiites and Sunnis among the Arabs themselves who constitute the majority of this state. These revelries have never let the people to practice or even understand what does the civil struggle and civil rights mean? Anarchism may lead to a reaction that pushes people to seeking security at any cost, and this fact has prevented even the elite of the society from thinking about human rights

and civil struggle, not mentioning the commoners who are much farther from reckoning these concepts. The Iraqi society wasn't helping to have civil Awareness, for it was under the threat of sabotage and anarchism with every margin of freedom that was given to the people, of course because of the ethnic and sectarian rivalries. Instead, the society resorted to preferring more restrictions, and to have a culture more closed and blocked from one another. As for the laws and the formal institutions, they neglected these important points of granting rights to the people and/or to the civil society. The laws, in fact, were mostly dedicated to protecting the governments and the heads of those governments and the people surrounding them such as the tribal and religious leaders. This is obviously in opposing to the principles of civil society" (Assalan Mahmood, 43, civil activist, 2017).

Iraq society so weak goes civil society , because of this society divided into three parts south , middle and north in there have difference nations and religion such as (Arab Shia, Arab Sunna , Kurds , Turkmen , Kldanian and Ashury) , I think they are could not accept and intolerance , after that nobody owner absolute Iraq in my idea.

Qadir Hussein thinks that if the sectarian and political rivalries are solved, then the society in general could move ahead towards being civilized. This is because he thinks the religious sects have a bad influence on the people:

"Iraq now, after demising the former regime and facing today's crisis of Terror, has reached a crucial cross road. The terror crisis and other conflicts have so much increased. Yet, it is still not to be compared to the days of Baath era, because at that time it was Saddam Hussein alone without a tiny margin for anyone else. Now we have two strong elements for democracy, they are the freedom of establishing political parties, and elections. There were none of these at the days of Saddam Hussein. So now the political ground is much better for building democracy even though the society is characterized by religious and sectarian features. We need to remember that the history of Iraq is a bloody one starting from the ages of the ancient Sumerians up to date, there were religious and ethnic conflicts. So, each faction has always tried to eliminate the other ones, because each faction has found itself forced to live by the others, and the bloodiness of this history, of course, is attributed to lacking democracy. For instance, this intensified conflict between Shiites and Sunni Muslims has a long history stretching back to tens of centuries before now, and this is because of not having democratic culture on how to live together. Thus, they have been fighting each other ever since. But if democracy and civilization are promoted, the conflict will eventually subside and disappear because the conflict itself is fabricated".(Qadir Hussein,49, writer, 2017).

Democracy one of the so important characters in the civil society, but it's in the Iraq society doesn't develop.

Hanaa' Ghalib, an activist residing in Baghdad the capital and has many participations in the civil movement there, she pointed out that the demonstrations that are taking place now in Baghdad and other Iraqi cities, we can not classify all of them as activities of the civil society or contributing to it because, as she says:

"The current situation of today after the demise of Saddam's regime cannot be compared to the Baath era. Now is obviously much better and we have thousands of organizations, hundreds of media stations working openly. For some time this fact was a thing that we couldn't even dream of. However, this doesn't necessarily mean that the Iraqi civil society is completed, active, and the country is already civilized. Iraq still has the tribal and religious mentality as the most prevailing one. Tribes and religious factions have enormous amount of advocates, activists, and organizations, and the most important point; Iraqi humans are still not living as individuals, which is cause by a historical fear deep inside the minds of the people. Iraqis from all sects and ethnicities all have been exposed to oppression by the state. This is why the individual has to affiliate to some kind of social cluster, a sect or a tribe for self-protection. Now they have the religious faction as the best resort, and this is why the religious figures have the upper hand in the society, tribes also have a common value for the social status that it has. Many Tribes in Iraq represent the real law, authority and an economic resource. These characters of tribalism make the ordinary Iraqis feel proud of their tribes as a self-support and as a way for making their way through life. To prove what I say, the majority of these demonstrations done Al Tharir Square (the city center of Baghdad) are dominated by those religious elements. Most of them are performed after the Friday sermons and contain advocates of a particular Islamic clergy. Or we may see one tribe performing it together, expressing the demands of that tribe. Hence, it is not an actual civil struggle at all" (Hanaa' Ghalib, 34, civil activities, 2017).

In general, we may say: The Iraqi society, or the new Iraqi state have failed in turning itself into a modern and a civic society, because it could not put an end to the various conflicts from the last hundred years of its establishment up to date. Shiites and Sunnis are still fighting, and other ethnicities are rejecting the specialties of one another. In addition, the influential and the powerful ones capable of moving the people, they are not civic. But most of them, in fact, are religious figures, and what compounds the problem is that the majority of the society is with tribal mentality that hampers the civilizing process.

4.2. History and Features of Civil Society the (KRI)

Civilization has many definitions, and we are often faced with the problem of differentiating between the words (civilization and civic), linguistically and mentally. Further, sometimes they might have been mixed with the concept of (culture) for they all have close meaning (Wei, 2011, p1). The word (civic) is received for the Latin word (civicus), and the French one (civique) that became (civic) in New English and they all go back to the source (city). This word indicates a situation when some people are living together in defined piece of land, and are having healthy relations one to another. Along with these that were mentioned before, they must have an organized relation with the government and the rest of the population of the country. It also means caring for the promotion of the economical and the prosperity of the society, and to have a developed civic culture to the extent that an individual feels that this prosperity is secured, along with his/her life and livelihood, and, of course, this may not be achieved except by having the proper laws and regulations that can arrange peoples' life with one another at the same time that they laws, leave the personal freedoms of expression and belief of the individuals freedom (Zbede, 2010, p26).

Civilization is defined by Mr. Mala Bakhtyar as "Authority". But, as he thinks, this authority differs from the ordinary political authority as we know. It is rather the authority that is given to the people so that their potency is properly organized, properly directed or deployed, and properly distributed. It is to invest and utilize the rights of the people without letting the state violating their rights as individuals or as groups. The gap between the state and the people could be bridged by the civil society as happened in the developed countries of Europe after the 18th century when the rights of civil society were recognized. For us, we have the convention of civil societies that is freely working with the least interference from the institutions of the state. They are free in conducting the programs that they have, and this is a small sample for our civil society (Mala Bakhtyar, 2006, p207).

In this definition, civilization is defined by authority, which cannot be a sufficient definition. Civilization as concept is a new one in history. However, as a matter of an existing fact, it has deep and old roots in history of humanity especially in the civilized

nations. But it has had several ways of being defined and/or being thought of. This fact has deprived it from having one Sigel and clear definition. Civilization is: the sum of those achievements that took place inside one disciplined and organized city(s) or state(s). This concept may evolve into much more branches, all distinguishing human kind from other creatures. This includes the meanings of all achievements of the humans over thousands of years. The overall scene of this is called civilization (Yasin Omer, 2000, p16).

Hereby civilization is a moral achievement of humanity, because civilization is the product of actions, not the actions themselves. This is why it can only exist and felt of through the "sustainable and the reproductive achievements" that are done. Accordingly, I think the confusion lies in a point that if civilization is an achievement of the history humanity, then its meaning would inevitably change, because the achievements themselves would change, vary, and develop. So the concept itself will have parallel variations. Civilization, is being seen and defined over its history, and conveys the meaning of urbanization. For some time it meant even (to be a citizen). So, it meant various things with lots of definitions.

The meaning of this phrase (civilization) must include leniency and calmness of the manners conducted in daily life. The meaning of this phrase had developed in the 18th century via the humanitarian studies that were done at that time. In a book that is titled with (Old Society), Luis Morgan used this phrase in a chapter when he classifies the stage of the development of humans into three stages (the stage of savageness, the stage of barbarism, and the stage of civilization), and recently, it was used to indicate the entire history of humans. However, sociologists are more careful with these definitions, for they refer more like to the materialistic features and achievements of the industrial societies (Al Hessen, 2012, p552).

In addition to the variation in how to define, civilization differs from place to place. The western civilization, for instance, has its own defining practices and features. There is no one defining belief or one sort of thinking. In fact there lots and lots of beliefs, but they live and accept one another without trying to eliminating any of them. In fact, each commits to his/her beliefs but they all live and work together. They compete, that is for

sure, but none of the beliefs may erase or defeat the other ones. Hence, civilization is the existence a freedom that is organized by the laws, laws that are in harmony with the state and the freedom of the people. So a human, in the case, is living in a defined free society, free to express and to make comments and notifications on public matters. Equality is to be included as well among the spirit of civilization. For all these, at the end of the day, would comprise the achievements of the individuals and the society which the individuals live in. Civilization requires a place and a law that the human may live in and finally the entire society would healthily live together.

With regard to Iraq and the Kurdish Region of Iraq, there are no much to say about the evolution of civilization. Hence, we would depend on how the resources that discussed the principles of civilization in order to reach a vision about civilization in Iraq and the Kurdish Region of Iraq. This is due to the fact that the historian researches have not yet reached a consensus about the time of the beginning of its history, its civilization, and its civil society as well. However, if the beginning of principles and characteristics of civilization could be defined according to the beginning of political parties and social groups, then we have lots of official documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of both Iraq and France indicating that many political parties had started since the beginning of the 20th century, after first world war in particular. The first ones the Group of Kurdistan-1922, The Group of Progress-1926, The Group of Youth-1926, The Scientific Group 1926, and The Group of Youth-1930 (Najaty, 2007, p18).

In revising to the writings of the orientalist that had visited (KRI), in the 19th century, Kurds are shown to be willing for knowledge and education. However, if for political or other reasons, they sometimes ceased their education process. But that does not mean that they did not have the will for education and knowledge. On contrary, many books of the orientalist are clearly talking about how quick learners and how willing these people were for education, but the geographical rigidity of their country and their willingness to coping with this harsh environment and the long lasting confrontation with the foreign occupants of their regions had made them resort to military life styles. Mino Risky, Oscar man, Hamilton and others say that Kurds are naïve, and if they have the chance, they are quite capable to learn and to civilize them. Some of them had even learned the

languages of those orientalists, and had started writing about various topics. This means that the inhabitants of this country have the will for openness and for learning (Sndy, 2008, p19-20).

Some of the historians and researchers of civil society would like to signify the year 1898 as the beginning of Kurdish struggle for civil society because for it was the year of issuing the first journal in Kurdish language. Others think that the date coincides with the opening of first school for girl in Erbil, which was in 1927 when Miss. Shukryia Jiawook was the first female student attending school, and then she was the first to go to Teachers house (the institution that graduates teachers) in Baghdad. She graduated in 1936 with some other Kurdish girls from Sulaimanyah, and she became the first female teacher in Erbil city. The school was located inside the citadel of Erbil and had 25 girls and women from Kurds, Arabs and the Christian minorities, and some of them were living outside the main city, but finally, only six of them finished school (Teha Abdulla, 2014, p5)¹¹.

A school for females might considerably be a good start for civil society in (KRI), because attending school was not an easy thing to do, not for girls but for boys as well. Regular schools were scares, and most the male youngsters used to be sent to the traditional religious schools. As for attending the house of teachers in Baghdad, this fact indicates a young female being far away from home, from town, and from the entire region. Since that rudimentary step, women started demanding rights, even though it was not granted so soon on the other hand, some say that the region in general has a tribal society and the civil society organizations could not penetrate to the tribes and the traditions so far. The Kurdish society is not a really civic one. This is not said by those sociologists who put nearly impossible conditions for a real civil society that makes the entire states of world lacking a real one. In fact it said because the Kurdish society lacks the simplest basics of having civil Society, because it is obvious that tribalism cannot go alone with civil society (Qeredaxy, 2004, p80).

¹¹ Teha Abdulla, (2014), kurdistany new, number 6316, sulaimanyah.

Rebwar Siwaili is a well-known sociologist of the Kurdish Region of Iraq who has more than 40 books. He has a history of civil struggle and has been exposed to imprisonment and other sorts of oppression by the authorities, and some of his books were burnt as well. He thinks that the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan has got some features civilization since its early days, and he says;

"Civil Society has a long history in (KRI), and the principles have always existed, but it is the authorities that hampered its progress, we may say that we lacked that powerful faction that can support and organize it. In fact the authorities had either neglected or oppressed the civil society, especially the ideological factions. Kurdistan region was a multi religious country that contains Jews and even some Arab Muslim dissidents (they were named Al Khawarij) who couldn't live among other Muslims, all lived peacefully in Kurdistan region. This means the culture of acceptance has been in (KRI) since long time ago. The region has never been a threat to any religious minority and the civilization here managed to include all variations and differences. As for violence and fanaticism, they are cultures that were brought here from outside. History is the best proof that the Kurdish culture is a one that has always opposed these kinds of bounds and restrictions. Civil society has a deep historical root and it means that people should become citizens. According to modern philosophy, to have a civil society is to have the citizens and the state, and the relation between the two lies in the hand of the state especially the laws that are capable of defining rights and duties of each. The citizens have the right of self-expression about how to manage the public issues of the state. It means that it is a system built on respecting the rights and the liberties of the individuals. This would create a modern state free of monarchy and violence, and the public awareness of the people would eventually grow wider. Civil society must keep space for its opponents. Neither politics nor ideologies or religions can be the real representatives of the citizens. It is only the citizen himself that can represent him/herself. Politics, ideologies, and religions may only restrict human's freedom, but a definite freedom is, of course, an impossible thing and had never, and would never, exist. There is no religion that secures sexual freedom for individuals. Even political parties had never held themselves responsible for preserving the right of the ones that are biologically differing from the ordinary people (Rebwar Siwaili, 48, sociologist, 2016).

The characteristics of the civil society in the Kurdistan region of Iraq had a long history, but not properly organized, according to the civil development, made the identification of the history of civil society in the Kurdistan region of Iraq difficult.

On the 20th up to 22nd of July- 1999, the first seminar was held in Sulaimanyah high school. It was proclaimed in the commencing speech that this is the first organized action in (KRI) aiming at establishing civil society. The goal behind that seminar was to educate the people about how to build a civil society and light the region with its benefits. It also mentioned how Kurdistan region was oppressed and deprived from reaching civilization. The role of that seminar was in confronting conservativeness and old traditional ideas that oppose democracy. (Mala Bakhtyar, 2001, p161). After a period

and during 22nd-24th of September- 2016, in second conference of the (platform of Dabran) was held under the slogan "Religion for individual and Democracy for All". Thereby Mr. Mala Bakhtyar, the arranger of the conference, proclaimed that after 17 years of working on civil society, lots of changes have been achieved so far in (KRI) such as opening many cultural or educational cafeterias in various towns of the region. These places have become the meeting points for the educated people to work on civil society issues. In addition, he said, in cooperation with the Ministry of education and the Ministry of Higher Education, many changes have been done to the curriculums of the regular schools and colleges, and many none governmental organizations have been found till now that they are working now, and to many other achievements for gender balance and rebuilding the society (Dabran Conference, 2016).

Kawa Mahmood thinks that the history of civilization in Iraq of Kurdistan of region has had lots of up and downs according to its various stages. However, the people have managed live and to overcome the obstacles.

"Due to the historical progress, the society in Kurdistan-Iraq have witness this situation that the citizens could decide on organizing their lives and their daily tasks, and this kind of self-managing can be found in most countries of the world. Those who work on the theories of civil society call this situation (private society) which defer from civil society because it has a longer history of existence. On the other hand, civil society is an extent of (private society) but this only on building democracy and building the concept of citizenship, and this self-management has always been there in the society of Kurdistan region of Iraq because this society was part of the Islamic society in general, and the Islamic society was one kind of (private society). This fact can be particularly seen in trade where the merchants had arranged their business. The Awqaff (Islamic Endowments) in the Muslim communities is in fact a sort (private society) for it went on everywhere without any governmental interference, even though some religious clergies who, from time to time, had tried to interfere. Other than this, it went on by itself. So, this (private society) have existed in (KRI) since long time ago. First of all, the people in the villages cooperatively arranged their life by themselves. In agriculture, for instance, women and men worked together, and step by step, the (private society) developed into civil society. However, the civil society is larger and more complicated than (private society). For the works in the civil society are done in more organized way, for instance when an organization is established or a statement is freely released.

I (kawa) think we are struggling against the pressures that are exerted by the government. Although the government is not a conservative one, its policy does not contain all the necessary steps for finding a civil society. I give you an example, now we have all those organizations that are called (Organizations of Civil Society), I wonder on what do we exactly mean by giving them this name? It means that there is a trend that wants us to go out of the traditional conservativeness. But there is another trend that must be activated, and this should start with the constitution and how to make place for the civil society in the constitution? The current laws that are issued and implemented are products of a mixture between the will of the state and the religious factions. So, we must sort out whether Islam

will be the sole resource for futures' laws, or will they, the laws, going to be derived from other resources?

If your project is a civic one, then you should reach the final decision. When a decree or a law is indorsed in the parliament, you will need to decide whether human rights are preserved there? Or is it against human rights? You will need to submit the law proposition to committee of women to decide if it goes well with the rights of both genders. civil society requires hard work in all fields of the government, the organizations of civil society, parliament, the media, the justice system, and etc. The process of civilizing the society and the state is never to be stopped. Some of the sociologists and politicians think of this sociological issue away from its economical dimension. The meaning of Prosperity is not restricted to its materialistic and sociological aspects. Prosperity includes all aspects, including the financial one and the human being himself. On another hand, if we seek a good civil society, we should first seek a proper understanding on how to rule and govern. Before issuing any new laws we need spread awareness among the people about why this new law was issued? The parliament has a crucial role in the struggle for finding a civil society. There is the government as well, and don't a single ministry by itself, I mean the whole government and its ministries, should reflect the civil society aims".(Kawa Mahmood, 59, the Secretary of the Communist Party,2017).

In the history of the Kurdistan region we had a group of civil organizations, but this does not understand the meaning that civil society had its place in the region, but we find some characters of civil society, such as peaceful coexistence between all the different sects and religions that exist so far in the region.

Ali Bapeer, the Amir of the Islamic Komal of Iraqi Kurdistan, thinks that Islam is the right way for finding a civil society. He also thinks that the society is not civilized yet because the people are affiliated to secular political parties. However, secularism itself has failed in creating individuality:

"If civil society means how people had treated one another in a civilized manner, how they respected and accepted their differences (differences in opinion, religion, political orientation, ethnic and religious backgrounds) if this is what we mean by civil society, then we can never define the limits for the existence of this concept in the region of Kurdistan, because the social progress is a variable fact. The society naturally makes a steady but slow progress. This is why it is hard to define a date for the beginning of this process. We see many communities making a progress for some time, and then they suffer from a setback as you know. As for comparing Kurdistan region to the developed countries where individuality and citizenship are the main measuring tools for civil society, then the society in Kurdistan region is not a civic one. It is divided till now into two main zones of influence. The green zone of the PUK, and the yellow zone of KDP, and in both zones you have to affiliate with those parties.

The secular factions think that secularism is no more than this poor ruling experiment that they have been doing till now, and the ideology of secularism cannot produce more than they have managed to do. But secularism, in fact, is to deny that God is managing the people through the Prophets and the laws that he have sent to them. It is this point that I think it separates the secular parties from us, the Islamic ones. We differ even from the other religions (Christians, Jews, Buddhists, etc.) for they more like working on peoples' ethics. So, in general, the civil society is identified here by believing in secularism, in

someone's political affiliation, and these measures might be different from the measures of other nations, and each ethnic and religious group might have their own measures.

I (ali bapeer) think if people, any people, could understand Islam, then they would find it advocating for the most civilized society. The first proper ruling experiment in the history of human kind was started by Prophet Muhammad in Madina, which it was in a plural society. This indicates a civil society because Jews, Mislms and pagans were living together, and each of those groups was practicing their own beliefs, and the Muslims too were in two groups, The Muhajirin (the immigrants) and The Ansar (the supporters) each descending from a different families and different tribes. The Jews also were in several clans there at Madina (the Benu Nazeer clan, the Benu Quraiza clan, and the Benu Qainuqaa clan). It means three Jewish clans had lived in Madina, and the same fact applies for the others. Hence, we can say that although the society of Madina was a plural society with lots of differences, The Prophet managed to make them live together by righting a constitution that organized the bases for their relations with one another, and first of all, he gave priority to well securing the city. No one could harbor a felon or a criminal from that day on. As for Kurdistan region and since PUK and PDK have been in power, the region is so far from being described as civil one, for they offered nothing rather than a bad sample of being partisans. Even being a partisan has changed its ordinary meaning to them, for they have lots of affiliations to different family, clans, and groups within each party. There even some figures that are more influential than the parties and the government alone by himself. As you see, they have openly suspended the activities of the parliament, and the judicial system too is useless in Kurdistan region" (Ali Bapeer, 56, Amir of komal Islamic, 2017)

The absence of the constitution in the Kurdistan region is a significant barrier to civilize in the Kurdish community in the region, because of the authority in the region, however, secularists, which led to criticism of the ruling power, it's true for all characters in the society.

Aram Mustafa, a famous civil activist in (KRI), with more than 20 years in this field, thinks that the civil society organization couldn't yet achieve civilizing the people. He says:

1964-1965 there were eight civil organizations alone in Erbil, rather for professions. They were societies for goldsmiths, laborers, farmers, brick makers, etc. the worked on protecting the rights of their members and also in educating and raising awareness. But the tribal and religious big families of Erbil resented their activities. In the developed countries, the civil society activities are very notable and have a real effect on the ruling process. For instance, the internal elections in the political parties, that are intended to be wan, require support for the civil society. As for Kurdistan region of Iraq, the situation is different and we are still far from digesting the concept, and this is because the government fears civil society and civil struggle as kind of threat to their power, a fear that might not have any logical base. Not only the government, in fact all political parties have reservations against civil society. The secular ones or think it might change the prevailing system that is now in their favor. The Islamists think of civil society as to be opposing religious teachings, and sometimes think of it as kind of taboo. Civil society activists of Kurdistan region are living in an unhealthy environment, for the authorities are constantly opposing them, but as a matter of fact, the existence of civil society means, or proves, the existence of justice and liberty in a modern society. This annoys the officials and has pushed the influential parties to create lots poppet organizations in order to achieve their own political goals, not of a real civil society" (Aram Mustafa, 45, civil activist, 2017).

Politics Party and components in the Kurdish community in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, so far not organized clearly for the urbanization of Kurdish society.

Dr. Basma, university teacher and civil activist, she thinks that the (civil struggle) in Kurdistan region of Iraq is neither a healthy nor a civilized one because, she is thinks about society:

"The reality about the civil society of (KRI) is not good, because the people lack the basic principles for it and for civilization in general. Civil society must have the own financial resources. But as we know this is not happening here and most of them resort to seek support from the political parties to maintain their organizations. So, as we see now (2017) there are just a few organizations that are still active, and those are the politically supported ones. In fact, the political parties themselves had established lots of organizations and used to call them the NGOs. The same fact applies to the media. The Kurdistan Regional Government itself hasn't got an official institution for media, which is an obvious weakening point of this government. On the other hand, there are some famous media institutions that are supposedly independent. But in fact they have to be close to one side. All the syndicates are politicized and they work for particular political parties. As for the universities, they are structured as to be one of the regular governmental departments. A university in a developed country has its own funds and financial resources, and should have its own policy. But this does not exist here. The activities of civil society in Kurdistan region are very weak. When facing a situation that requires an attitude from the civil society, they might do an event but it never last as much as required. On contrary, they perform some short superficial activities and stop without reaching a result or making the government respond at the time. They also fail to gather many people. If one of them could gather, let's say hundred persons, next day you will see much less attendants or even none. This would eventually result in the government overlooking the whole thing".(Basma Mohammad, 46, university teacher,2017).

Rebwar Siwayli, the civil sociologist, takes the civil struggle in Iraqi Kurdistan back to the 20th century especially by the writer's societies of that time. Points out some giguers such as (Piramerd, Sajjadi, and Mangur) and thinks that those people were good examples for the will to having a civil society, as illustrated in their publications:

"Having a semi free media is not enough for proving that we have a civil society because the media, even in modern and democratic states might move, or to be moved, against the rights and the interests of the people. The media may also fall in the hands of the authorities, and in this case it will start distorting the facts. There are many states that its entire democracy consists of (the right to vote) that is all. After this the people would have no way to interfere anyhow in managing the state. This is achieved by the authorities through directing the media. In (KRI), there are two things that exist only as names. The first one is Secularism. The second one is civil society. Instead of listening to politicians, I think we should turn our attention to some people who were real civil society activists without hearing or knowing anything about this concept. Some people such as Piramerd (a famous poet) who had lived in the middle of the 20th century, if he is compared to the current time, his literature products have been demanding full freedom to women and gender equality, for example, and his main concern was to create a citizen, male or female. We have Mirza Mangur who was an actual civil struggler. His works may be looked at as a

replacement to religion. He was so much scientific in his thinking. Ala Aldin Sejjadi in his book (Rishta e Mrwari) is clearly looking for a base for new civil society, even though he never mentions such a thing".(Rebwar Siwayli, 48, sociologist, 2016).

According above, Kurdistan region could not yet to turn into a civil society. However, Salim Patros reiterates what Antony Gramsci had said about the changes of traditional societies, when he wrote:

"The old on is dead, and the new one is still not borne. But it is about to be borne". So, between those two stages, the death of the old society and the birth of the new one, there lies a delicate and difficult stage filled with social struggle. But at the end, it has no way except to progress. This is the reality about (KRI), which is going through this. We can say that now it suffering on a crucial cultural cross road. The old tradition are about to give way to the new ones, that is still not here, and the effects of stratification has not ended yet".(Salim patros,65, teacher of university ,2017)

Fazil Omar, general manager in the council of Ministers of KRG, thinks that KRG has been working on civilizing the society since the first of it being established in 1992. He proves this by referring to 1993 when the parliament issue law for civil organizations, saying:

"Civil society is not a house that we simply go and build it. The first signs of its existence are seen at the beginning of human's history, especially when the human started thinking of his new requirements, and then comprehended the need to coexist with others. From her on, the elementary principle of civil society starts to show up. Thus, we can say "The element of Co-existence in the society of (KRI) has been found since ancient times. As for social organizations, they have a relatively short, but considerable, age in the region. The school for girls as an example shows that there were some bases for finding civil society. But we must remember that the principles of civil society have many dimensions. For instance, economic, political, social, and other principles that they are all attributing to the process. However, in the Middle East it is the political one that is more counting. One of the basics for having a healthy tradition for power circulation is the acceptance of others, co-existence, promotion of democratic traditions and letting the people join and participate in the political process. We cannot say that we totally lack those principles in (KRI), for there were some elementary proving facts, and they are still holding. Work has been done for promoting it since Kurdistan Regional Government has been established and put on role. Educating the people and razing their awareness have been going by on many aspects such as justice and principles of democracy.

Yet, we need to classify the hampers and obstacles whether they are political or social obstacles. In 1992 with the beginning of the first parliamentarian round and the establishment of Kurdistan Regional Government, some new laws were indorsed in the parliament about (orgs and syndicates). The numbers of the laws were 17 and 18 for the year 1992, one of them was for political parties, and on for civil organizations. This proves that we have already recognized their necessity. Later when some time has passed, some adjustments were done to law-18 in 2001, and a new law was issued called, which was called (The Law of Civil Society) number 15 of year 2001. It gave so many rights to the "organizations of civil society" as it was named in the law. In 2011 another law was issued (Law number 1 for the year 2011). This was a very good one and has been praised by the international organizations and the surrounding states as an example to be followed, at the

states of Arab spring such Tunisia and Egypt for instance. Baghdad is also trying to find a similar regulation for its civil society organizations. So, we can say that we in (KRI), precise on the legal aspect, have a good base for promoting civil society. However, with regard to the political and social aspects we are still much behind.(Fazil Omar, 39, general manager, 2017)

If we mark the beginning of first civil organizations as a beginning of the civil society, then 1958 may be regarded as the start for civil work of many classes, even though it did not go smoothly and the activists had faced many obstacles. Yet, at the end they managed to accomplish many achievements. The organizations in Kurdistan region followed the other Iraqi organizations in motivating the people especially for the democratic rights. The revolution of July 1958 has had an important impact on promoting the democratic and social struggle in Iraq and (KRI). Unfortunately, this was followed by a setback with the Baath coup of 1963, and then there was the final step for the Baathis to taking over in Iraq, which put the entire thing on hold and diverted the civil society from its natural course into be controlled by the government (Mala bakhtyar, 1998, p23).

Accordingly, we can say that the emergence of civil society in Iraq and Kurdistan region has no clear features on when and how it began this because the historians too have not yet established a concrete fact with this regard. This problem is firstly referred to the definition of civil society by its own that it is a complicated concept and had varied over the different stages and location of history. Civil society is concept in ancient Greece, the (private society), in the Middle East, Civil and Political Societies in the west, civil society after the French Revolution, and the (Civil Capital) in the contemporary time. All these concepts and changes are related to our topic and have made it difficult to define a date for its birth, but we can anyhow remind ourselves of the significance of the fact that there was female student attended school in Erbil at the first quarter of the 29th century, and there was a journal issued exactly at the end of the 19th century. These incidents cannot be overlooked.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: BARRIERS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY IN KURDISTAN REGION- IRAQ

This chapter findings research after I made all interview with participants I (researcher) analyzed all knowledge's, and divided reasons inform of development civil society in the society of (KRI) like these lack of the knowledge about civil society definition of civil society according to participants explained in the table, violence how violence to be barrier of the develop civil society and what is meant violence in the research society, conscious of civilian and society culture civil society a new concept in the (KRI) it's meant don't have information all citizens and society culture don't help to be civil society, role of civil institutions (organizations) didn't to be absolute civil intuitions, until now intolerance and not accepting difference a big reason of the development civil society and till now ready ideology tribalism, at the finally politics Islam specially safalism explained how to been barriers in form of development civil society.

5.1. Definitions of Civil Society

In this chapter I tried showed the social barriers of the development of the civil society in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, participant in this research defended civil society according to her or his idea, but one of the problems some participants don't have knowledge about civil society only some participants could defined civil society, after this we explained in the under table the name defined civil society started to explain reason to cause non-develop civil society, there barriers (reason) below:

Table 2: Definition of Civil Society

Name of participant	Definition of civil society
Ali Bapeer	Civil society means how people had treated one another in a civilized manner, how they respected and accepted their differences
Kawa Mahmood	Civil Society is a building democracy and building the concept of citizenship.
Basma Mohamed	Civil society it's meant tolerance and accepting deference
Rebwar Siwaily	Civil Society Neither politics nor ideologies or religions can be the real representatives of the citizens. It is only the citizen himself that can represent him\herself. Politics, ideologies, and religions may only restrict human's freedom.
Fazil Omer	Civil society in general free, censorious and protects the lives of others. If this freedom infringed, only laws and regulations can prevent it and take legal action
Aram Mustafa	Energy in the society, its mean civil society like a power, this power support authority to come on and censorious to harm, and such as bridge between citizens with authority.
Qadir Huseen	Civil society means democracy, disjunction religion to the politics and freedom individual.
Emmad Refeet	Civil society is a making system in the institutions government, and keeps tolerance, active the law.
Venna Kamal	Civil society is a democracy and humanity culture.

5.2. Violence as Barrier to the Establishment of the Civil Society

As a world phenomenon, throughout the history violence has made human life problematic. Recently, this issue has encountered most of the societies in the twenty first century. There are several factors for the violence in terms of society, politically and nationality. The factors of persisting the violence are differed depend on the regions, time and place. However, we in Kurdistan region try to demonstrate types of violence in this region, because during this investigation, it was found that this issue is the main barrier to the development of the civil society. Civil society and the violence is pole against each other and they do not comply with each other. The issues of violence Kurdistan region, such as other parts of the world, also suffer from this issue in all its types. What is the violence? Or what is the source of violence?

Violence is one of the terms of sociology which has various definitions. Some defines the violence as the hurt or torture with either by action or speech. Violence is a part of the personality of the individuals in the daily intercourses. It also covers the educational, religious and political systems. Violence is not conducted or implemented randomly, there is previous planning. It starts the psychological and social aspect then it turns into the conduction of the violence, here the violence is the refusal of the others (Ahmed 2003, p131-132)¹². In terms of the meaning, violence the utilization of power for upset or torturing other individuals for the purpose injuring. It is also thought to be the utilization of the power for eliminating the other side. Generally, it can be stated that the unavailability of definite scientific definition for term violence could be owing to the lack of information about the source of the issue. This might be due to the ignorance or disregarding the issue. As violence is the prevalence of complicated phenomenon to the extent of torturing, social culture significantly affects the type of torturing creation of the violence because people decide on the approval and disapproval of the issue depending on their social values.

According to etiologist Konrad Lorenz (1903_1989) who has been granted the Nobel award in 1973 in the field of physiology and the hypothesis of Sigmund Freud and

¹² Ahmed, Ranj Jafer. (2003), Madenyet, number; 15, Sulaimanya, pp132-133.

(1856_1939) Thomas Hobbes, the source of violence is the human itself as human is an aggressive creature. This infers that originally human beings have instinct violence. Lorenz believes completely in the human aggression, he also believes that the violence instinct is naturally present inside the human beings. It develops with the human development. This phenomenon is ultimately conducted by human itself even it was conducted against human himself (Erick From, 2003, p118).

It can be inferred from the view point of the three scientists that the source of the violence is human self and it is present naturally from the birth. It can be stated that as the human is a social creature, sometimes it desired the coexistence. In addition it sometimes desired taking the control over the other people. This might make human to request more than its right which is the beginning of the violence. Those three scientists support that the violence is natural in human. Due to the widespread the phenomenon, its control is extremely complicated. However, the sources and causes of the violence can be minimized for minimizing the effects of violence in the society.

Violence has become a prevalence phenomenon in entire communities around the world; this made it an interested subject in the media. Currently, violence is common and well-known term. This term depicts several different pictures in human mind. It is rare to see media not publishing violence news. Since the violence has a strong status among the media in the current time, this has caused the violence to be broadly prevalent (Yokochoy 2004, p71).¹³

The violence in the Kurdish society in Kurdistan region of Iraq is attributed to the childhood and the family education. A walk on the streets of the cities in Kurdistan of Iraq, it can be seen that boys are mostly playing with gun toys and pistols. Toy shops mostly consist of gun toys and pistols. It is clearly seen that the best sellers are pistols gun toys. This might be a result of imitation of the older; In addition to the presence of the real guns and violence in the household. However, it has to be mentioned that in comparison to the other type of toys, military toys are cheap. Some foreign companies

¹³ Yokochoy, Mokotasawa (2004). Medenyat, number 15, translated: Star karim, sulaimanyah,p71.

might lose in their business of manufacturing these toys in order to destroy and distort the Kurdish society. To protect our society from these attacks, strong educational program is required for establishing generation for future (Abdulla, 2006, p100-102).

Children are basic structure and components of the society. However, in Kurdistan region of Iraq the first stage of the child education, prior going to the educational medium, is family and street education. In Kurdistan region of Iraq, the first collision and disclosure of children are violence tools (guns). Furthermore, the first step of building the personality of the individuals in the Kurdistan region of Iraq starts with violence. This causes the persistence of violation and imitation. On the other side the place and live style in Kurdistan region are an important factor of the violence and the main factor for maintaining the violence and resisting the development of the awareness. In Kurdistan region there are many places for the continuous of violence such as on street, at home, inside the buildings and educational holes. In general, location have significant role in the persistence of violence like narrow avenues, markets and educational holes (Siwaily, 2013, p200-201).

Apart from the above factors, the media have terrific role in spreading the idea of violence in the society. This is accomplished either by broadcasting movies on its screen or by broadcasting news about violence and wars that are full of killing and bloods. These ultimately produce violated individuals. In modern society, hitting is entirely refused in the process of education. Nevertheless, up to date hitting is predominance in the educational process in Kurdistan region or Iraq. The effect of this action is producing shy and dependent individuals who always think about revenge because they hold the anger of their childhood. This anger and revenge will consciously result in violation in the society, and ultimately construct unhealthy society (Abdulla, 2006, p123-126).

In Kurdistan region, activists and newspaper and TV reporters also encounter violence which affects negatively the development of the civil society in Kurdistan region of Iraq. According to the peace and freedom organization, only in 2016 two reporters were killed, nine were injured by ISIS and five threatened up to firing. In addition, eight reporters were arrested in 2016. Beside, twelve activists and reporters faced. Generally,

only in 2016 sixty eight reporter and forty two civil activists' encountered violation. In addition, several violation and constriction has been reported (Peace NGO, 2016, p11).

Violence has a long history in Kurdish society in Kurdistan region of Iraq. Another factor for the prevalence of violence and in Kurdistan region of Iraq is the interior war in Kurdistan region of Iraq which took place twenty one years ago. The war covers the whole region which led to splitting-up Kurdish society, family and individuals into two parts (PUK and PDK). Furthermore, the displacement, teasing and razzing each other between resident of different cities reached the violence to the highest. The violation in that period includes killing, slaughtering (between PUK and Ansar AL-Islam who slaughters many Peshmargas) and (sex and political violation) All of these resulted in producing a hatred and revenger individual because Kurdish individuals have seen all of these slaughters and murdering especially on the streets or in the suburbs in Erbil(Abdulla, 2006,p178).

Typically, the most encountered violation in the society activists (Pressmen) and civilians, particularly those who were active and prominent in the society. Venna Kamal, who is an activist in the civil society, think that violence has been conducted to ward activists in the civil society especially organizations, children and adults. She attributed this violation to the following:

The majority of the organizations are trustful with their aims, because they incline towards their personal benefit. This is why they could not truly support civilian rights. On the other hand, some of these organizations and institutions who are independent encounter violation, for example the activists who are active claim their rights face the most violence and threatening. In this regards many activist and reporters have threatened to death in order not to reveal some fact which are hidden by the authority and does not want these profiles to be uncovers for civilians. In contrast, limits and boundaries have been set up for activities and activists. They are not allowed to infringe these boundaries; otherwise they face variety of violence. As this frequently occurred in the past, violence have been committed again people regardless to the age. Children are the most susceptible to this violation, because parents would like to impose their tradition of them by force. Children always been warned orally (some of these terms are stop, do not do that and this is wrong) which is a type of violence. Moreover, the liberty or freedom differs from a location to another, as a consequent of social and political structure of the regions. In some areas of the region the civil activity are more common independent in comparison to the others. In another word, the sound of freedom is less in some regions compared to another however the boundary of the freedom is defined. If this was not the case, it was been able to resolve this issue during the twenty five years of governing even though from 2006 to 2013 the society has developed greatly. Nevertheless, during the two years, the process recessed because of the economic and political issues. All the mentioned solution were temporary and did not solve the problem entirely (Venna kamal,32, civil activist, 2017).

Ali Bapeer, the first person of an Islamic party in Kurdistan region of Iraq, thinks that violence is immensely existed in the region. He also expressed that the violation might extend to death, and the Islamic sharia is important for solving the violence problem:

God almighty say that (we have honored and respected human beings), the first thing in respecting human is live safety. In the Islamic sharia, seven aspects have to present in the society which are (the live, religion, dignity, home, mind, security and tranquility of every have to be safe). God almighty has set punishment for those who infringe or violate one of the above aspects, these punishment are either in this life or in the doomsday. In any society if these values were safe, this society is highly civilized and developed. The infringement to kill some, Muslim or non-Muslim, a farmer or religious person, and even if he was wine drinker, is prohibited by Islamic sharia. The punishment of stealing is not murdering. However, in Kurdistan region in the middle of the day people are killed without any proof of guiltiness, after murdering the case is distorted as well. I think if people do not have power and authority, they cannot murder others. Innocent people cannot kill people, these violation are committed by powerful parties.(Ali Bapeer,56, Amir of Islamic komal, 2017).

Aram Mustafa (Aramy lawan) is one of the activist in kurdistan region Erbil. He has been working as activists in the civil activity for a long time. As he stated, these violation against the activists are owing to the forms of activism which not includes in as civilian scope. This is because their style of claiming wrong and the response of the authority wrong as well, because the authority analyze these activities mistakenly:

The component of this society and other communities are varied. In the Kurdish society there were many activists who were persistence on their civil action, especially against political authority for improving the society. These determinations have resulted in many clashes between the activists and the authority. Consequently, activists have encountered many forms of violation such as intimidation, teasing or razzing, physical torture and murdering. Nonetheless, the most important aspect is sustainability on the path. Up to date, this white revolution is maintained without any violations. In Kurdistan region issue is misunderstanding between the first side (the claimants) and the opponent side (the authority) who misanalyse the issue. This indicates that freedom concept has many imprecisions in their achievements as a consequent of immaturity of the society in terms of consciousness. Until now, all component of (KRI) and Iraq's society are immature and unhealthy (Aram Mustafa, 45, civil activist, 2017).

In the Kurdistan region many activists who were persistence on their civil action, especially against political authority for improving the society, but its dont mean we have a civil soceity, bcause until now hav a conflect between civil activists with authority, for changing a system and society cultuer.

Hiwa Omer is one of the people who works in the NGO thinks forms of violence are varied especially the violence that committed against activists and NGOs. These violations extended from physical torturing to closing head quarter of the organization:

Activists in the society encounter types of aggression. Some organizations have been closed. Civilians are violated. For example we encountered threat at the time of preparing a report on yearly records of infringement against activists and pressmen (it is a report by the organization of freedom and peace that records all the infringements and aggression committed against activist and pressmen). In Kurdistan region of Iraq, The forces intervenes the working process of the organization. All of these are combined the aggression toward organization and activists. This conflict between conservatism forces and the forces of civil society are uninterrupted and have a long history in the primary communities.(Hiwa Omer, 35, civil activist, 2017).

The civil activist in the Kurdistan region of Iraq faced violence in various ways and violence in general, we find in the region and this against the characteristics and structures on which the civil society was built.

Hemn Abdulqader who is a social researcher believes that murdering is a historic action, when human came to the earth, they brought murdering to the planet earth. Up to the present day the killing and violation phenomenon have not terminated and will not terminate. However, in comparison to a civil democratic society, the rate of murdering and aggression is higher in non-democratic society. The majority of those facing violation are claiming for personal freedom:

In the society, there are always justifications for murdering. These justifications might be religious or social or legal. These made the killing phenomenon to be continued. In Kurdistan region, because the development of the society is unhealthy and unnatural, murdering is present in the Kurdish society. It is essential to acknowledge that there are no factors or tools for terminating this phenomenon (murdering) on this planet. The action or the process of murdering has been change over time. For example at the beginning human used crossbow, presently, there are atomic bombs which mean that murdering will not be ended. Nevertheless, the reasons or the motivations can be minimized. What is occurring in the Kurdistan region is associated with uncivil society, for instance, in developed society killing on dignity has been diminished for a while. Nevertheless, as Kurdistan region is a tribal society, these kinds of murdering still persist. The most murdered people here are those who are claiming for freedom for individuals (civilians) because the religion and politics do not like people claim for rights and freedoms. Activists in this society are facing dangers more than ordinary people.(Hemn Abdulqader,35, social researcher, 2017).

I think violence there are no factors or tools for terminating this phenomenon (murdering) on this planet. The action or the process of murdering has been change over

time. For example at the beginning human used crossbow, presently, there are atomic bombs which mean that murdering will not be ended, but its not cause to continuing violence, we can Reduce the reasons of violence in the kurdish society especialy by the changing the legal.

Dr. Basma, a university teacher, who has a research on violation, thinks that the society in the region is prepared ideologically. Consequently, it became an aggressive society. She stated that there are many religious and social barriers for educating the individuals and the society properly:

The society itself is an aggressive society; individuals have not been educated in terms of civil education. Therefore, currently we have intellectual issue, for instance, the amount that women oppose women is less compared the opposition of men to women. This is because the individuals in Kurdistan region are not educated intellectually and less conscious. The hindrances to properly educate individuals are religion and society. In terms of religion, I have a research on the religious and social aggression against women, there are violation against women in the religious texts, however there should have been worked on the comprehension of these texts accurately. The interpretation of religion, especially the interpretation of Islam is man supersite, there are several women's right are hidden by men. As result of incomprehension of these texts many women have been killed as an excuse for dignity. Nevertheless, these texts clearly illustrated that in such case four witnesses.(Basma Mohammad,46, university teacher, 2017).

The other problem of understanding the definition of concept civil society, it is a problem of citizens because the civil society is not to be culture.

Emmad Rafaat the president of Turkmen fraction the governorate council in Erbil province stated that the unawareness of civilian and their uncivil thinking is the main obstacle in the process of the civilization and development of the society:

The most important and powerful principle for civil society is the level of awareness. Both sectors (education and health) are unhealthy and uncivilized. As a result of this unhealthiness, aggressive people are produced. Generally, civil institutions in Kurdistan region have not developed yet. Example of this chaos in the press media has a significant effect on peoples live, because everyone can work in the press media, regardless to the profession and experience. We can declare that Kurdistan region is civilized society when the bases of the institution in the region are organized and systemized. To the present day, there are no true efforts for civilizing the society in Kurdistan region of Iraq. Even though the conflicts and clashes between the political parties have negatively affected the process of civilizing the society, the worst was the sectionalism between residents of different cities in the region. However, the promising factor is that there are no difference between the various components resident in Kurdistan region (such as Kurds, Turkmen and others). In another word, residents do not take into consideration the nationality in their daily intercourse.(Emmad Raafat, 40, president of Turkmen fraction in the governorate council in Erbil, 2017).

One of the best way to reduce violence and to be cajoling society decrease the conflicts and clashes between the political parties have negatively affected the process of civilizing the society.

Rebwar Siwaily a sociologist and university (teacher) lecturer think that the violence is historic phenomenon which cannot be terminated. The civil society does not have the capability to terminate the violence permanently. However, the civil society can be effective source for eliminating or reducing the violence:

From the history of ancient and new world, it was recognized that civilized society is not a guaranty for the eradication of the violence, because violence is a part of human psychology. The sources of aggression are varied; the ultimate type of violation is physical violation. The civil society can act as a filter for reducing the violation or eliminating the sources of the violation. This is achieved through the civil institutions (organization). The civil society, in this case, irrespective to any ideologies motivate human to avoid violence against each other. As the civil society develops dependence to awareness of its people, it cannot be regarded as a guaranty for eradicating the aggression.(Rebwar Siwaily, 48, sociologist, 2016).

A replay to the question, why are, up to date in Kurdistan region of Iraq, many activists and pressmen been killed? Fazil Omer, the general director in the ministerial council of Kurdistan region expresses:

Civil society in general free, censorious and protects the lives of others. If this freedom infringed, only laws and regulations can prevent it and take legal action. Murdering has no place in the glossary of the civil society. What happened in Kurdistan region, violating or murdering activists and pressmen are planned or committed by the Kurdistan region government. People who commit these crimes are cowards. Through the court, all of these issues can be resolved. On no account, aggression and murdering has no place in the civil society.(Fazil Omer, 39, the general director in the ministerial council, 2017).

I think violence is a one of the difference problem in the all societies, because this phenomenon had a long history, in the (KRI) society phenomenon violence according to the history a big problem, because of this conflict politics, religion, and nations, cause to continuing violence, but now changed for example at the history ago violence like to war, but now practice violence by non-foreign persons, in the civil society freedom of the speech one of the important structure civil society, but it's in the Kurdish society freedom speech under question!, because civil activist, journalism, and writer opposed or disagree about her or his ideas.

5.3. Conscious of Civilian and Society's Culture

All the human communities have their specific notions. These notions at the end produce a group of social habits and customs as usually known as culture: culture can be defined as a live approach for a group or individuals of the society, this represents the harvest of what these individuals learned this group or society. It included the live style, knowledge and ideas and its values. These behavior and styles are used in their intercourse and arts. In addition, these devices and tools in specific society are utilized in satisfying their needs and adapting with natural social environments and taking advantages of controlling it. Culture is not made by humans only, it is also comprises of ideological emission (Samira, 2007, p77).

Kurdistan Region- Iraq like any other society, it has its own culture which its civilians are primary characters in producing the culture of the society. Even though the components of society have some good and bad characteristics, we illustrate the influence of the civilians and the culture on the development of civil society. For example, election and participation of ordinary people in the ruling and authority, which one of basic traditions of the civil society, is unorganized and pell-mell in Kurdistan region. As election means electing the best person, parts and organization among the candidates, in Kurdistan region the election has not become new and go tradition, it is rather a complicated issue. The period between the first and the second parliament election was thirteen years. This extended to two years after the Sadams downfall. Consequently, a part from delaying the election, the people take the power on the first election felt that they don't have to step aside. People in charge thought that they have to be in charge forever. These are attributed to the fear from the results of the election and fail which is the opposite of civilization and civil society (Anwar, 2010, p15-17).

Kawa Mahmood, the Secretary of the Communist Party, the society and its people are obstacles in the path of civilizing the society. All the hindrances jointly worked on:

I think in our society, old and new are living together and also in conflict. In the (KRI) society traditional people want to confront new revolution and regeneration and civilization. One of the characteristics of our society is the presence of the conflict between those who want to develop the social relation by using several factors. Some of these factors are religion, traditions and habits. Sometimes, the authority for protecting his interest turns to these factors. The civil society comprises of a group of political parties or a

group of organizations and the society itself. The civil society is in the context of political parties and organization but also in context of family. For this kind of society, the authority has to have its plan and projects. Whether these projects inclined to produce a preservative and traditional society or think to create a civil society which required some condition and preparation. One of the principle preparations is that the government should have a program for civilization. When talking about project, it does not only cover one aspect. The project has to portrait in the constitution and the law to how alter the social relations and works in the society.(Kawa Mahmood, 59, the Secretary of the Communist Party,2017).

Society cannot be referred to as accessible simple composition, as Ali Bpeer think, civilians have the major portion in civilizing the society, because civilians are guilty for their unawareness:

There are a lot of people claim that people are immaculate, innocent and flawless, and the public is good. It is the brothers who in charge do bad deeds. I do think that the proclamation meaningless, because these in charge persons are from the abdominal of these people. In the era of Mohammad (peace is upon him) who behaves in accordance to the Sharia and people were intellectual and aware that the prophet does not commit a sin admittedly. However they knew that he might not be right everything. In the battle of Badr, the prophet positioned his army in a location, Abadul munzir said Oh prophet is this location is defined by Allah or this is a battle technique for confronting the enemy, he (the prophet) replied that it is a battle technique. In that time Abad said, and then this location is appropriate and illustrated clearly the reason. After that the prophet said you are right let us relocate our position.

I do believe that people are unintellectual or sometimes cowards (some people have come to me and told me that their part is bringing tracks voting cards which has voted illegally. Then I asked him how many were involved in this case, he replied more than 50 people. Those people are those who blame their parties during the famine time. I think when people looking corruption government and don't talk about because of famine, fear and deception, is a shame. These three factors are illustrated in Quran (pharaoh is a symbol of political frightening, Haman is a symbol of deception and Qaroon is a symbol famine) these three cases are continuously repeated in the human history. Therefore, people have to be aware and mentally conscious for avoiding such exploitation. As the authority is guilty, people also take some part of this guiltiness. Many in charge people have come to confess that they like me but they are afraid to declare it. I told them that they don't have to be afraid about their wages, because it is their right. If you are taking this wage as a result illegal action, this is Haram. However, if you are in a decent duty (for example teacher, Peashmarga and security), then this salary is your right and don't think that they have bought you.(Ali Bapeer, 56, Amir of Islamic komal, 2017).

An activist civil society Aram Mustafa thinks that a part from peoples unawareness, removing the other barriers in the path of improving people's awareness are also important:

To a certain extent, civilians in the Kurdistan region of Iraq are aware of their civilian right and civil society. However, the concern is the availability of obstacles in the process of understanding of the civilian right. Nevertheless, generally the people in (KRI) look at their rights and duties uncertainly. This is due to the weakness of people in acquiring their principle rights, with a lot of hindrances the enemies of society development. Individuals in Kurdish society before prominence of civil activity in the region, they believed totally in revenge. The widespread some civil activity and voluntary work has break all the social, political and religious barriers, specially reducing the fear from authority. However, its impact was not enough to revolte big changes. Thus, individuals rely on themselves for obtaining their rights through revenge which does not comply with the principle of the civil society (Aram Mustafa, 45, activist, 2017).

Emmad Raafat the president of Turkmen fraction in the governorate council in Erbil province thinks that the different component in terms of religion and nationality don't have any issues. Civilians in the Kurdistan region of Iraq live together without any problems for hundreds of years:

Until present time, we as Turkmen who have a long history with other nations such as Kurds, Armani and Assyrian did not have any conflicts. A part from this, religions also practice their rituals without difficulties. There have not been any fights between Christians and Muslims in Erbil city. Particularly, in terms of family, they lived as one society in peace. This peaceful coexistence is clearly seen in the government institutions. In general, we as different nations do not have any religious and national issues. In addition, we as Turkmen have problem with the government or the authority not with the other nations, because during the history of Kurdistan region nations strive for the development of the region.(Emmad Raafat, 40, president of the Turkmen fraction in the governorate council in Erbil province, 2017).

Venna Kamal, as an activist thinks that who work in the field of civil activity are negligent in their activities, they do not engage ordinary people a lot:

Yet Iraqi people in general and Kurdistan region in specific have not understood the term civil society, because the activists of this area could not send this message adequately to the people. In addition, people are also guilty for unwillingness to reach the high level of civilization. This indicates that both sides have shortages in this field. Yet, civilians have not educated properly to understand his rights. The people and organization working in this field has defects in going into the joints of the society and introduce the people to their rights. For example, these ample activities and conferences are held for elites not for ordinary people, because usually one type of people is participated in these activities, are the elites. The majority of activities are supposed to be held outside the cities and on the streets for the purpose of introducing the people to their rights. The tradition and habits do not have great effect on the process of civilization because no one has been forced to be attached one type of thinking. We are a society that believes in revenge, as we are a society live repeated history which is violation, war. In general, ordinary people in this region are calm and peaceful in comparison to the elites in the society. Ordinary people have higher forgiveness than politics, as the only work splitting the society. In this case religious and other minor compounds of the society are afraid, because they are minors and afraid of violation. However, this fear and not accepting each others have a short history in the Kurdish society. Before the nineteen eighties, the forgiveness and the coexistence were more prevalence in the society compared to the present time, I think is resulted from the

negative programming against the principle of Kurdish society (KRI). To prove this, the respect and mercy towards Arabs, even though Arabic political forces usually want to persecute and exploit this society. All in all, ordinary people in the (KRI) are not guilty.(Venna Kamal, 32, activist,2017).

Even though Qadir Hussein thought that Kurdish society has educated peaceful and ordinary individuals, taking an evidence of that the Kurdish family produced a peaceful live to the whole society, that citizen are not civil citizen:

Kurdish family, to a decent extend, could educate its individual. Although it is not free of violence, in comparison to other parts of Iraq they could produce calm and peaceful individuals. For example, after the uprising in 1991, tens of soldiers and their families were caught by Kurds; they were all safely transported to their cities in Iraq. In the internal war, as a worst stage in Kurdish history, even though the conflicts between the political parties reached that maximum, it did not go inside the family. Kurdish family did not involve in that war. Currently there a number of civil institutions, however, mostly represent themselves in the government institutions. Most of these organizations are working superficially and could not adapt with the development and broadcast it. This is their activities are superficial and not effective. Therefore, citizens, apart from some simple steps, they could not be a civil citizen. The principles of civilizing citizens are either preliminary or undeveloped. Simultaneously, the activities are uncivilized as well as the government institutions, thus civilians right are not given. To prove this, we can see from the Kurdistan election that those people who have tribal support win the election, not those who are democratic and progressivism. Generally, in Kurdistan region people's right are infringed because they are unintellectual and unconscious about their rights. Freedom is not produced until human are intellectual and conscious. Currently, in Iraq and Kurdistan region, there is no freedom expression.

When a thoughtful person try to express his idea s encounter many types of violation. The expression of ideas results in extreme punishment. Numerous writers and intellectuals have fled from Kurdistan region because their writing criticizes the authority or political religious leaders. Over-all, freedom expression are occurring in narrow range. For instance, the constitution of Iraq only allows 8 religions to conduct their rituals. However, we can see securities in front of all the religious sites (apart from Islam). In idea of religion majority, these minor religions are not required. This is the elimination of the social ideology; it means that despite the political freedom the other freedoms (social and religious) are also violated. The civil society can be seen from two sides. Firstly, from governments side, I think till know Kurdistan region is not civil society politically. From the other side, cultural side, we can state that Kurdistan region of Iraq is taking its initial steps towards civilizing the society. This is a consequent of the relationships in the society. Yet, the political and social relations are not civilized; however, they are based on blood, tribe and family. I do think that the Kurdish individual have not been a civil individual, because civil individuals have several characteristics that are not existed in our society such as educational, intellectual and civilization. If Kurdish individuals are civilized and intellectual, they have to have effective participation in the decision making. These civil characteristic are not seen in the Kurdish individuals, therefore they could not obtain their rights, and impose their opinion on the authority. This is can be seen that the behaviors of Kurdish individuals are not yet civil. Until now, the thinking of (KRI) people is regional and tribal which do not comply with civil society (Qadir Hussein, 49, writer, 2017).

The social researcher Hemn Abdulqadir states thinks that the long history of colonization and violation are an effect for un-intellectuality in Kurdistan region:

The citizens of Kurdistan region are generally are not kind which attribute to long history of aggression, either by direct attacks on Kurdistan region or the strong tribal relations. In a period of time, in Sulaimanyah the level of violence reached a stage fighting between suburbs and streets. It was also exceeded from that to the aversion between residents of different cities in the region, For instance Sulaimanyah hates Duhok and Duhok hates Erbil. In spite of the previous factor, the social relations, habits and traditions also have impact on the violation. These tradition and habits have divided people into some classes such as poor, rich shekh and mskeen. Up to date, this hatred is continued, for instance when Halabja become a province, Said sadq does not accept to be subordinated to Halabja province. This affiliation to city, tribe and political party has the biggest affect this hatred and rejecting others. Kurdish individual has been educated to do not accept people from outside of his tribe, city and political party. This does not comply with development of civilization.(Hemeen Abdulqader,35, social researcher,2017).

Dr. Basma declares the importance of social awareness as she thinks the majority of obstacles for women's civil activity:

Social obstacles have great impacts on the development civil society of the society. Many active women in the field of civil activity have quit because of these social barriers, especially attacking the personality of the woman. This is not right for the society, because women are neglected in the current cabinet; only one woman has ministerial post in this cabinet. In the base institution the proportion of women is high, however women do not have any roles in the center of decision making. According to the law, the percentage of women has to be higher than 30%. Therefore, women do not have any effects on the decision making process.(Basma Mohammad, 46, University teacher, 2017).

After read above I think Kurdish people in the (KRI) until now doesn't come on the civilized, because civilized don't to be culture, peoples natural not change to citizens and this society have a barriers in from of example law, education, politics Islam at the finally citizens didn't tried to be civilized, we are sure if the peoples don't try civil society don't come in the society like as automatically.

5.4. Role of Civil institutions and Economy

The civil society like others social and political institutions, civil society has special characteristics, and it's consists several institutions they are (NGOs, political parties, governmental institutions, media.) in this part the status of these civil institutions we are showed so as to understand their role in civilizing the society or to what extent they are obstacles in that process? Although, to reveal the obstacles to the peaceful struggle and civilizing the Kurdistan region of Iraq institutions? Life in Kurdish (KRG) society is only a human right not an absolute political right that could not consisted all the political dimensions. The Kurdish individual has the right to live not such us to act. The most important civil dimension is the economic, because it is the backbone of civil society. There should be the individual freedom in terms of economy so as individuals can actualize themselves. That helps in reduce problems of moral, corruption and economic inflation. It's a market economy, but In the KRG that notion has not developed yet and there are obstacles to individual economic growth. In the society there are many groups and NGOs who work in civilizing the society but these do not fulfill the task , the individuals should reach the point to determine the own interests and they should achieve their rights . The groups and NGOs should work in the service of that direction (Koyar, 2002, p91-92).¹⁴

During the conducting this research there was always a criticism on NGOs that they are not independent but most of them are affiliated to the political parties, Hiwa Omer who is a civil activist believes that all the civil organizations are political and the civil organizations have not been able to play their role:

“The Kurdistan regional government has taken some steps to transform society to civil society but the steps are not enough effective which they are issuing laws and establishing the non-governmental organizations. The problem in (KRI) is lack of a clear strategy that where is Kurdistan region-Iraq heading. It is not clear whether the society will be secular and democratic or it will be a turning point against civil society. The Kurdish society features show that it is an uncivil society. Kurdistan regional government has controlled all the societal aspects including economy that has created a strong government and a weak society. In terms of quantity there are many NGOs but when it comes to quality they are not that much effective and their activity scope is limited as political parties interfere in their affairs. In addition, people do not affiliate to political parties as they did before however

¹⁴ Koyar, Abdulla rauf. (2002), Medenyet, number 13-14, Sulaimanyah.

even the civil institutions have been politicized. Kurdish society is a tribal society, for example there is a clear gender imbalance in organizations as the tribal mentality still affects decision making process. Furthermore, the education system in KRG does not take account of civil society programs, it only has some curriculum programs for basic grades, but that is not enough to educate people with basics of civil society. The awareness process towards a civil society is a collective work and needs the efforts of all parties including Ministry of Endowment & Religious Affairs, ministry of higher education and scientific affairs. The educational system has not been able to qualify individuals with modern and civil minds. The education system has been producing people who cannot question and think critically; they are tribal oriented rather than being a modern individual. Speaking on the media impact on civil society, the media has divided on independent and political parties' media. Most of the independent media stations have stopped their broadcasting due to lack of financial support. The parties' media has worked on people's mentality to make them affiliate to the political parties. While they should have worked to civilize the society and make people modern.(Hiwa Omer,35, activist, 2017).

Kurdistan regional government has controlled including economy that has created a strong government and a weak society. We can say this plan dont help to groth civil society, bcause must be civil society have a strong society not strong goverment and weak society.

Aram Mustafa who is a civil activist believes that civil society can be seen as a strong societal institution but in (KRI) they are working under the direction of political parties. Also, government intervenes in civil society organizations by creating a department which supervises all NGOs:

“Kurdistan government has created a department for NGO affairs which is linked to ministerial council that was to register all the civil society organizations and control them in terms of financing. Before establishing that department, many organizations were granted with huge money while the people and organizations who claim as civil activists were not real activists and they wasted a huge amount of money. That made government to think about stopping all funding process. The KRG stopped all the funding process even the good civil organizations were affected by the central decisions. Through that policy the government shot the target and made the whole society being passive. In Kurdistan region of Iraq more than 3000 NGOs have formal permission but most of them are only names without actions because these organizations were made for personal interests rather than public good. They wanted to gain money through funding. Now in (KRI) only a number of organizations, are truly function which they may be around 100-150 organizations. Some of them are independent but most of them are linked to political parties and their members are members of political parties”. (Aram Mustafa, 45, activist, 2017).

Civil society as explained in the definitions that having free market and economy are the factors to build a civil society. In Kurdistan region, lack of independent economy is an obstacle to establish a strong civil society. According to Salim Patros who is a university lecturer; lack of free market and economy are the factors of not having civil society:

The development growth helps in creating groups and independent social organizations, these entities effectively participate in political process. In addition, economic development makes people to search for values. These values come together such as democracy, culture of political opposition, wisdom and toleration. When economic development happens, the middle class gets rich and that helps in balancing the societal conflicts as the middle class defends modernism and democracy. Then there will be laws to arrange peoples' life, through law enforcement people will be obliged to the democracy principles and their independent economy will be protected. Private sector is not developed in (KRI) and it can be considered as one of the vital pillars of civil society. In addition, the role of law is not that much effective to defend on civil society. There are still obstacles and intervention to the courts' affairs from political parties. The judges are mainly being appointed by political parties not on the bases of professional capacity. The judiciary authority is not fully independent as well, the dominant political parties has controlled this significant authority. On the other hand, the political parties have made a culture that harms the civil society. They encourage the tribal leaders to have impact on people and society through paying them and respecting them, and these tribal men are the main obstacles against any modern development, and that is all for political parties' interests as they can stay longer in power. (Salim Patros, 65, teacher of university, 2017).

As it is known, the civil organizations and especially the civil society organizations are strong bridges between people and authorities. The more there is a strong relationship between people and society the more there will be faster growth of civil society. For that purpose, the civil societies Organizations are the most effective tools. Its mean social capital approve, because we explained social capital is a social network and crating relationship between citizens with state or government.

Dr. Basma who is a university teacher believes that there is a weak relationship between people and government and that is an obstacle to build a civil society in Kurdistan region-Iraq and that is due to lack of coordination between people and civil organizations:

“There are two factors which they have caused a space between people and the civil organizations, the first one the lack of financial support for the organizations and that is due to the bad economic system. In developed countries in which the taxation system is well-managed, if a citizen supports an organization financially, the government will reduce his tax amount and that will be a good support for civil organizations. There are not such supports in Kurdish society and that is not because of the citizens but the society has not been prepared. If an organization asks for donations or any kind of financial support, peoples' response will not be remarkable, but if the same organization asks money to build a mosque people will have a great response to collect money. People do not cooperate to

build an orphanage house or any other organizational effort and that is related to the way those organizations work with because they have not been able to gain their people's trust. Civil organizations could not be able to make a good relationship with religious institutions such as mosques so that they can gain people's trust through those institutions. The Kurdish civil organizations are far from people like political parties therefore people do not trust them. (Basma Mohammad, 46, university teacher 2017).

Citizens in the Kurdistan region and Iraq until now don't support civil organizations, because they are think CSO doesn't to be bridge between citizens and government.

Lack of financial support has made many civil society organizations to depend on political parties:

“Some of the organizations are working for some officials only, their priority is to satisfy these officials not citizens and that is due to the fact that these organizations are affiliated to political parties. Even if there is an independent civil society organization, there will be obstacles and troubles. There will not be any kind of support to the organizations. There is the will to challenge independent civil society organizations, and that has pushed those organizations to depend on members' donation. This lack of support has deactivated these organizations; on the other hand the supported organizations by political parties have made the whole process confused . As a result people do not consider any organization as a free and independent civil society organization. Kurdish citizens do not have the culture of civil society and that is definitely due to a poor economic status. For example, a citizen does not have enough money to travel to other countries especially to the countries which they have a strong civil society that may help him to learn something but the chances to travel is poor while travelling is a good way of education. Besides, Kurdistan government has not spent enough money in education sector instead they put too much money in the market without proper preparations. Now, the biggest portion of the (KRI) money is in the hands of some officials and that is absolutely a destructive mistake.(Venna Kamal,32, activist, 2017).

In the Kurdistan region we have above three thousand civil organizations, but it's not meant active all (NGO)s, because some organizations supported by the government and peoples, its caused to Lack of financial support has made many civil society organizations to depend on political parties.

In the KRG most of the critics criticize the civil organizations as they are not independent, especially at the working:

“Civil society organizations have not been able to perform civil activities as they are politically affiliated. Most of the political parties have a tribal background therefore the organizations cannot speak out against human rights violations. The organizations are not independent and the KRG is still under the mentality of tribes and that is the core of the problem because government does not act as responsible to spread social awareness regarding the foundations of civil society (Qadir Hussein, 49, writer, 2017).

Akram Muhammad Jmo who is the head of department of Non-governmental organizations stated that there are 3180 registered organizations that have been permitted officially. He criticizes that:

“Civil society is linked with realistic philosophy, for example, before 2013 the work of civil society organizations was very good and multi-dimensional including (Education, Health, gender and environment). At that era there was too much money to spend for such activities but the status is different now because of the financial crisis and ISIS war. The organizations activities are fully related to the reality, there are less activities comparing to past. The organizations try to find grants and other financial supports form international organizations especially for helping refuges and IDPs. That is a great effort form civil society organizations for government as it helped to reduce the burden and difficulties which were caused by financial crisis. Kurdistan regional government permits anyone who wants to establish a civil society organization and that is considered as an attempt to civilize the society. There are still obstacles in the way of organizations’ activities. The organizations should be affiliated to political parties then they will get some financial support. Although none of the civil society organizations claim to be a part of the political parties but practically almost all the civil organizations are political parties’ oriented especially the dominant ones.(Akram Muhammad,51, President Department Civil Organizations 2017).

I think 3180 civil organizations not enough to the (KRI) society, because this society considered above five million citizens, in my idea for this society need at least five thousand civil organizations, because if have a big numbers NGO we have a big support for to be civil society.

Salim Patros a university lecturer believes that having a strong industry means having civil society, still there is not a strong industry in Kurdistan region:

“Industry is the soul of any civil society as it helps citizen to have their own economy and depend on themselves and eventually the society will depend on the individuals. Industry is a strong factor to grow the middle class of society including workers and employees. Through industry the relationship between and individual with his tribe can change to a relationship with society. The tribal relations should change to modern relations in society. In a modern society the individuals will be compensated by being modern and civil, the compensations consist of cooperation, professionalism and equality. The individuals will be free form tribes and families. By all means, a tribal society is different from a modern society because in the tribal society an individual is fully linked with his tribe in a way that he should obey to any tradition and custom. On the contrary, in a modern society the relationships are reformulated again and the individuals are aware of their rights and responsibilities. In a modern civil society people try to satisfy their needs through themselves and their societies by finding a job as in modern society the tribalism has been replaced by individualism. Talking about Kurdistan region, the government has not taken steps to industrialize the society instead it closed some factories in the cities of Erbil and Sulaimaniyah such as (Diary factory, cigarette, canning, and carpeting). That resulted in thousands of jobless workers. The KRG tried to import products from outside and the society became a consuming society rather than productive one. That led KRG to waste too much money, the oil revenue budget were mostly going to salaries and importing goods and products from outside.(Salim Patros, 65, Teacher Of University, 2017).

However, there is criticism on creating the department of non-governmental organizations, but that cannot be denied that the department was a great support for the civil organizations. Fazil Omer, who was the general director at the Kurdistan government, admits that there were mistakes and obstacles but overall the department was a great backing for the civil organizations. It took remarkable steps:

“When the department of civil organizations was established it was a hope that the idea behind it was to make a connection between the non-governmental organizations with governmental institutions and that was according to the article 1 of 2010. In terms of social awareness the Kurdish society is not well familiar with the culture of civil organizations. For example, if a civil society organization wants to have an activity in a neighborhood people’s reactions towards it will be poor while at the same neighborhood peoples’ reactions towards having a school or kindergarten will be high. People have not understood the civil society organizations and for that consequence there two people to be blamed one is the organizations and the other is society itself. The civil organizations should have to clarify the role of these organizations in making the connection between people and government. Now, there is a big change in the numbers of these civil organizations but due to lack of a deep strategy and trust they have not been able to play their role. People have not seen the impact of the civil organization therefore they do not trust them. The organizations perform most of their activities in hotel and restaurants not among people that has given them a bad image. The Kurdistan government allocated around \$13 million to help the non-governmental organization play their role but unfortunately due to the financial crisis the projects could not been implemented (Fazil Omer, 39, General Director,2017).

Dr.Kawa Mohammed who is the Secretary of the Communist Party of Kurdistan-Iraq believes that political parties and even government are the products of society:

“As long as the (KRI) social phase is transformational and everyone wants to renew his old relationships there is always an obstacle before the modern relations. We are in the transformation phase and there are some civil organizations but we cannot say that the modernization and civil society have been achieved, and there is always a conflict between the old traditions and modern principles. The civil society needs some back up a supports but above all of them is government. Political parties are a part of civil society and the whole social relationships affect the relationship among the political parties. The political parties have not come from another planet. On the other hand, government is a conflicting entity that there are always challenges in it. For example in Kurdistan region-Iraq there is a coalition government and when a minister proposes a reform or a project there is always someone in another party who stands against it because he thinks that the minister’s party will get benefit from it. In addition, the issue of democracy cannot be achieved through elections alone, it is a multi-dimensional process and it takes the economic and educational circumstances. The political parties in (KRI) have not determined on their identities yet, they only focus on obtaining more votes in elections no matter what direction they go through. For example, some political parties claim that they are pure modern and democratic while they depend on tribes during the elections to get more votes (Kawa Mahmood, 59, Secretary of the Communist Party of Kurdistan-Iraq, 2017).

“The problem of women’s organizations is the lack of financial support; therefore they have been obliged to be affiliated with political parties and that has affected their independence. The independent women organizations have been challenged too much however there are

not too many. Due to their division on political parties the organizations could not be able to play their roles. Media has played a bad role in creating conflicts between the religious men and women activists. For example, when it comes to women' affairs, the TV programs are dedicated to bring a religious man with a woman activist to make a debate on them and that will result in social conflicts. Talking about south and middle of Iraq the numbers of civil society organizations are higher than (KRI) that is because the population of there is higher and their societies are eager for modernism and democracy. The Iraqi people were under oppression and dictatorship for decades. After the Kurdish uprising in 1991, the centers, political parties, organizations and syndicates are increased. The numbers of the civil organizations are decreasing gradually because there is no financial support to the organizations without political interest. This decreasing of organizations has an advantages and it leads to professionalism and any organization specifies its activities to an issue because only those organizations will remain which can stand on their feet. (Basma Mohammed, 46, University teacher, 2017)

Fazil Omer believes that the department of non-governmental organizations is not responsible of the success and failure of the organizations. The organizations themselves do not have a clear strategy to their existence:

The number of civil society organizations is not a measure to check the modernism of a society. There are many countries which has too many organizations but their societies are not civil. Kurdistan region-Iraq has a legal atmosphere for civil organizations but the rights to have an organization should be managed. For example, government only registers the organizations not permitting them. The number of organizations does not necessarily mean a good level of modernism because some people asks to establish an organization but soon or late the organizations will disappear without any activity. The civil society in (KRI) has divided into three dimensions (Syndicates, groups, unions). These have a special law which is the article of 18, 1993. The NGOs have a special law which is law number 1, 2011. Centers, cultural groups have their own law which is law number 18, 1993 but they are being managed by local authorities. If an organization or center performs some activities that does not mean it is against the principles of civil society because there are many dimensions of a civil society. That can mean the collection of varieties of society under the umbrella of civil society. Sometimes, these organizations try to diminish the tribal mentality instead they work on strengthening the high values which are protected by their tribes.(Fazil Omer, 39, General Director,2017).

Ali Bapeer Amir of Islamic Komal, he is believe that constitution is the vital pillar to have a civil society and state. Islam from the beginning Migration(Hijra) to Medina tried to have constitution for managing people's life, but In Kurdistan region-Iraq there is no constitution yet:

“I (Ali Bpeer) believe that the foundation of any civil society is to have a constitution which the mother of laws. Constitutions are being written to manage the life of people, to set the roles and responsibilities of people towards state and vice-versa. It also decides on the state system whether it is democracy, dictatorship etc. the first work that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the last messenger did was the Medina Constitution with was consisting of 42 articles. Historians consider Medina constitution as the first written constitution. Kurdistan region-Iraq has not been able to write a constitution yet which means (KRI) does not have a strong foundation for (civil society, peace society, and modern society) or whatever you name it, there should be a society that people can live peacefully. People in (KRI) still have the fear of civil war due to the fact that political parties have armed people. If there is a constitution, everything will be institutionalized including security organizations and that ensures people. Now, (KRI) the security sector is completely controlled by the dominant political parties if someone works opposite to the political parties’ interests he will be punished. Even media in (KRI) is biased with political parties; they are being funded by political parties to make up their politics. Therefore, I have always said that civil societies should be independent form political parties; political parties interfere even in schools, universities and mosques”.(Ali Bapeer, 56, Amir of komal Islam, 2017)

In Kurdistan region of Iraq the researching focuses on the obvious phenomenon not the subjects that are components of society. Just because there are too many schools, civil organizations and universities the Kurdish society cannot be labeled as civil society. Some other people label the Kurdish society as a tribal society because there are tribal fights and conflicts over land or any other personal property. None of the judgments are absolute truth because Kurdish society is broader than that especially there should be researching on the beginnings of structuring Kurdish society (Qeredaxi. 2011, p30-33).

We can be said that, in (KRI) there political parties, civil society organizations, Media...etc. but these have not been civilized yet. The society itself is not civil yet. On the other hand, these civil organizations could not be able to be a bridge between the people and government and in sequence the citizen will be back up to the organizations. People’s trust is weak in the organizations as they have not protected and defended the peoples’ interests and that made the people to be skeptical in supporting the civil organizations. Finally, the civil society organizations cannot fund themselves and that affects their activities, as the result the process of civilizing the Kurdish society is not slow and weak.

5.5. Intolerance and Not Accepting The Differences

Civil society is one of the basic elements of the tolerance and coexistence of the differences which means the existence of the differences in the same society without any obligation on the individuals, on the condition of not violating the rights of others, but If we look at the Kurdish society we can see that tolerance has not become a comprehensive and valued social culture yet, and this undoubtedly has its special reasons like (political, economic and social) reasons. In the Kurdish society especially after (80) years, when the Kurdish writers and thinker effectively advert in the Kurdistan region, with this openness to the thoughts the concept of tolerance did not develop and it becomes a hindrance in front of the openness of thoughts of the thinkers in the region until killing and burning finally comes into the contest. Intolerance and non-coexistence in Kurdish community are of different kinds (political, social, and religious).

In other words rejecting the differences is not only of one type, but it is generally common in (KRI), and the phases of non-tolerance are also different like before establishing the Iraqi-Kurdistan regional government in 1992 and after establishing the government. When we take Abdul Khaliq and Muhamad Mahdi as examples to understand the concept of non- tolerance, it does not mean that they are the only victims who have been assassinated or killed due to having different views. Non-tolerance is one of the strongest obstacles in front of formation and developing civil society, in Iraqi Kurdistan there is still rejecting of the differences specially those writers and intellectuals who criticize the social and religious subjects, and there are a lot of instances of assassination of those who have spoken about and criticized their opposite and have been answered with bloodshed and killing, especially due to criticizing politics and religion for instance (Sorani Mama Hama, Sardasht Osman, Kawa Garmanyany , Widad Hussein (three of whom were journalists), Dr. Hoshyar Ismael who was an Islamic preacher).

Abdu Khaliq: The man who was killed because of writing a book!?' (15).

He becomes (Imam of Army) in the Iraqi army in 1956, then in 1963 he establishes the voice of Iraqi Kurdistan radio station because he was skillful in establishing radio stations. In the late of 1971 he travels to Czechoslovakia to study further about journalism and radio until he finally get diploma in this field of study. In 1975 he establishes the voice of people of Kurdistan radio.

Abdul khaliq had a shop in Erbil that was a meeting place for the intellectuals and politicians of the city and the shop was considered as (a civil establishment of its time). He writes a book in 1985 under the title of (woman in Kurdish society), but the observation office in Baghdad refuses to publish his book until he changed the title of the book to (humans in Kurdish society). Muhamad Ismael says; the book had yet to be published the Islamic preachers (Mula) stood against it without having read the book. Mula Ahmad Khanaqa: the mulas in (KRI) gave their Friday speeches against Abdul Khaliq and I was one of them to read the Friday speech against him, because he has said some incongruent things in the book, and the mulas even named him as an illiterate person. This disagreement, shortly after publishing the book of (woman in Kurdish Society) in 10/4/1985 led to the assassination of Abdul Khaliq at the Door step of his house by the Iraqi information office using a car (Black Crown, model 1979). Mumtaz Haidari says; if it were not for the threats of the mulas the Baath regime wouldn't have had any pretext to assassinate him because a Kurdish mula in Baghdad sends a letter to the information office in Erbil in which he says that Abdul Khaliq must be killed because he is against Islam (Rudaw, 2015) (16) .

¹⁵ Abdul Khaliq Maruf was born on January 1 .1935 in Kandenawa / Erbil the capital city of Kurdistan region of Iraq. He was born to a religious family. He could only study to finish five grade of primary school, he dropped out to study religion at his father request. as soon as he becomes student of religion he starts to express his unsatisfactory feelings and asks for reform in the religious study system in front of (Ismael Haqy) governor of Erbil at that time and the governor accepts his request. He travelled to Egypt on 2/4/1954 to study at Al Azher University, but on the pretext of not having a certificate his application was rejected and he returned back to Erbil. (Rovar, 2005, no17) Rovar (2005), No17, second edition, is an intellectual publication each edition is special to an inventor, is issued by sardam printing office once in three months, sulemanyah.

¹⁶ Kiling Abdul Khaliq was the cause of huge reactions, the great Kurdish poet Sherko bekas prizes this writer in his divan of poetry even greater than wasta Rajab , Sherko bekas in (Darbandy Papula) mentions Abdul Khaliq several times and says: Friends, I will come this evening too.

This event led to a grave beginning of non-coexistence. Abdul Khaliq is one of those who can be considered as one of the martyrs of the civil society struggle because he has no violence record at any stage of his life, as his friends said he had a shop in Erbil that can be considered as a civil establishment or club because the shop was the meeting avenue for the intellectuals and politicians of Erbil. The book of (Humans in Kurdish Society) was something unacceptable and strange for that time, because Abdul Khaliq talks about the differences between man and woman in Islam religion according to Verses and hadith. Although the Mulas stood against him but Abdul Khaliq invites them to have a debate, but the Mulas refused to attend.

We can say that the assassination of Abdul Khaliq was a lethal force that hit the groundwork of building civil society at the early stages in Kurdistan region because Abdul khaliq speaks about the gender differences seeks gender equality and he did not believe in gender differences and social inequality.

If Abdul Khaliq was an example of having different thoughts about religion and has been assassinated as unreligious man, but there was still coexistence at a different level and way at the early stages of the formation of the Kurdistan regional government. Said Mustafa was killed as a religious figure, not because he spoke against his religion and refused his religion but because of thinking differently about his religion though he didn't deny the religion. Said Mustafa as a religious figure has had his followers. In spite of being a Muslim, as his family have said, he was also assassinated by a group of political Islam, In other words, Said Mustafa was an Islamic Figure who was killed by the other Islamic Groups this relates to not accepting the conflicting views of the others.

In the Small teashop,

Reserve a seat for my poetry, don't give it to anyone.

If the risible turban of Khala Rajab came,

Tell him Sorry this seat is taken.

If the Cap of Ahay Mirza came hurriedly,

Tell him, this seat is taken.

If a dear and very tired guest should arrive from Erbil

If the contumacious book of Abdul Khaliq with Blood covered words

Which due to the pain of its traumas cannot stand?

(Rudaw 2015, Documentary, produced by hardy salami, the participants that I have taken advantage of their speeches are (HaShm Karim Abdu khaliq's niece, Mohsen dzaye politician, mumtaz Haidari an author, kaka mum botany abdulkhaliq's friend, Dr. Muhamad Ismael, Karim dasty) ,(time 24 minutes).

Abdul Khaliq except for the book of (humans in Kurdish society) is the author of four other scientific and literary books (Antina, 1977, Sending Device, 1979, in Arabic, the technician, 1980, Nali's divan and who is literary right, 1984) Abdul khaliq spoke Arabic, English, Persian very good, and had knowledge of Germany and Russian.

Said Mustafa or (Muhammad Mahdi)⁽¹⁷⁾ : one of the men who were killed due to having different thoughts. As his wife named Shadya tells; there was no other reason to kill him except for having conflicting view because his wife thinks that he was a quiet and tranquil man who did not create trouble for anyone. Said Mustafa was a religious man who always engaged in worshipping God. In 1988 he finally expresses his different thoughts through a book entitled (The Words of God), although he didn't convert to any other religion, but he pretended to be Muhammad Mahdi. He was engaged in political affairs in the (80)es and had a great role in the formation of an Islamic Party.

Shadya also says he later turned away from political affairs, Said Mustafa made some friends through working in political Islam. Hussein one of his followers says; owing to knowing that the party I was working in was not a good party I got away from it. Muhamady Mahdy was very good at parapsychology and Yoga. Nawzad and Mahmud as two of his followers think that before going to Erbil Said Mustafa had informed his followers that he would be killed in this trip to Erbil by another Islamic group similar to Mustafa's group. There was follower who prayed neither the usual prayers nor the Friday payer.

If this event was accomplished by either the Islamists or the political Islamists or any other party, it would mean refusing the differences. It is not important what the differences were, what is important is that the differences don't become problem, violating and distorting freedom and the differenced of others. Rebwar Siwaily says; Civilization and civil society should allow a room for their enemies and should not refuse them ideologically. Killing is

¹⁷ Said Mustafa was born in 1955 in a village near Sangasar that belongs to the Pshadr district in sulemanyah province, he was a skillful child; he could write and read before starting to study at school. His family was a religious one; therefor he became a prominent religious figure. When he finished high school he was enrolled in the college of law and economy, but due to political affairs and having a different religious viewpoint he could not finish college.in 1988 he announced that he was Muhammad Mahdi and pretended to be mahdy.in 1992 he was invited to hawler in which he and four of his follower were killed in an unknown accident. Said Mustafa had follower in other countries except Kurdistan. Except for the book that he believed to be the last book that was sent by god as was written on its cover. He has translated some books to Kurdish Sorani dialect like (diary Ainda w hemay nheniakan zindwbwnaway mrova).except for Kurdish he could speak Arabic and English very well (Twana Omar 2009, Honya Magazine, No 27, is social intellectual magazine, issued in slemanyah.

forbidden by all means in the civil society, and the enemies should reach solution through dialogue and understanding.(Rebwar Siwaily, 48, sociologist, 2016).

This type of conflict has an old history in the world. In the Kurdish society avenging was only due to a mistake or unacceptable behavior in a way that it did not only remain orally it became a written Kurdish proverb like (Retaliation is slow, but strong) which means the phenomenon of retaliation is never forgotten by the avenger, therefore, the spirit of tolerance and coexistence has been weakened in the community (Anwar, 2010, p58). In the Kurdistan region the principles of freedom and freedom of speech, as the rest of other developing societies, have not been embedded yet because there are many living examples to say that these principles have not been stabilized in (KRI). In a developed society the freedom of speech only relatively exists. Culture and Social traditions have been identified as an obstacle in front of the bad situation of the freedom of speech (Hersh Rasul, 2009, p229).

Our Society (Kurdistan region-Iraq) is generally a non-coexistent Society which reflected in (gender inequality and ideological, political differences and the differences in social levels and economy) that is a big problem in front of all the democratic processes in the society. As an evidence, the violence that exists in the society all sprung from the non-coexistence. If there were coexistence, there would not be gender inequality, violence and social layer to that extent. The ruling forces most of which are secular have excluded themselves from society and social institutions of the citizens because you would not see a secularist in religious centers while the majority of Kurdish society is religious. Sociability is normal in the developed countries, in the USA where most of the leaders are secularist, but they visit the religious center every Saturday and this is the inclusion of the authority to the normal citizens that is a totally civilized and modern phenomenon. As a result of exclusion the society has been divided into secularist and Islamist, and the gap between them has been filled by the Islamic agenda by the Islamists, finally the two layers of the society will conflict until violence occurs. A violent society has been formed because journalists and civil activists are killed due to expressing their different viewpoints, women face all the kinds of violence and death, Children are used during the election campaign which is the worst kind of violence that is carried out against children, all of these relate to the bad governing system and social traditions a part of which has been imported especially the religious and social violence. Non-coexistence is available in all the social and political process in (KRI). Except for what the Islamic forces carry out against the secular forces and vice versa, the different religions are the same, a Muslim does not accept a zardashti and vice versa. In general, I think Non-coexistence is the most effective obstacle in front of the opening and civilization process of the society.(Basma Muhammad, 46, teacher university, 2017).

The population of Kurdistan region have been living together without any national and religious violence, the political conflicts have never caused social problem among the different national and religious constituencies in the Kurdistan region. Fazil Omar who is general director in council of ministers confirmed that and said;

If we looked at the social history of Kurdistan region, we could see that before the beginning of opening of the Kurdistan region to the outside world, the Kurdish society was a tolerant and coexistent society which proves that many different religion and nations have lived in the region without having any serious conflict. In terms of politics it is different, for instance, there is marriage between the families of different nations and religion, therefore, when Kurdistan region opens to the outside world, the western and regional countries accept it, because there was coexistence and tolerance in (KRI). On the other hand, the culture of Kurdish society to an extent is closer to Arabic culture, this mixture of culture is something very good and possible in the civil community if it were not for the purpose of cleansing the culture of the each other, for example the coexistence between (Kurds And Turkmen), (Kurds and Arabs) promotes tolerance and coexistence. Politically it is another case, because in terms of history (KRI) is in the transitional phase now, but the problem is that the (KRI) region has prolonged this phase and was not able to pass it and enter the next phase. For this phase all of the constituencies and civil institutions are very complicated and have been mixed together, for example, Democracy is being talked about; in the meanwhile, people get punished to achieve democracy. The women rights are spoken about, but people are killed due to honor cases. Modernism and postmodernism is discussed while the outdated and anti-modernism culture is being implemented and this is very complicated and have made the burdens much heavier so as to pass to a new phase. For instance media instead of play a civil role and try to make the transitional easier and smoother, the media is seriously working on having more viewers using many excitement goals.(Fazil Omar, 39, General Director in KRG council of ministers,2017).

I think the above events sourced from the retaliatory spirit in the society because, as a result of failing to obtain the objects, humans usually make retaliation their working principle against their opponents. Retaliation and punishment are not only social phenomena, but they are martial, political and religious phenomena.

5.6. Tribalism and Clan Ideology

The clannish as the old concept and important in the sociology science they are talking about in general, so it has been the important source of social research, because of most of the new society it has the effective of the clannish view and keep going, and Kurdish society is one of them and is the beginning process, so there is still ready the same clannish view, so this have the clannish view will make the issue and problem in front of the (KRI) institution, so this research clannish in the result of the searching and what is the effectiveness of them? How is the life of the clannish in the Kurdistan region? How much of the barrier in front of the growing civil society.

Actually in the civil society breaking of the whole of gens principle, but in the middle east in general and Kurdish society specify not just breaking the gens system, so is working the system rife until 2004, still now the whole of the social institute, management and education are clannish and their supporting by the gens view, also this is true for the political party and also for the polity management. So they send the corrupt people and none provisional people, they used them to their benefit, because they control their mind and their weak ability. Many of the Kurdish political party are by the name saint and social directory, because they born as a gens and clannish (Qeredaxi, 2004, p82).

Sometimes tribes recognize that taking by the specify nickname, who living the specify border by their lexicon, tribe is the social common, include of the exclusive people who they are living on a piece of the land and they are owner of the political degree. Sometimes tribe divided by the different part, the people of the tribes are talking by the same language that is differing from other one (Al Hassan, 2012, p219).

The civil society is the cosmopolitan without care about of gens view, that means show the great one in front of others or cites, so Kurdish people in the Kurdistan region of Iraq who they are proud of their area, additionally many of the writers and political leaders are thinking like them, also they are proud of their area and their village, so that (making

selfishness and nationalism), this way allowed the fighting between people and district, finally they killed many of their people (Anwar, 2010, p154).

The tribes of Kurdistan region, they were sparse throughout of the history, this separate making the bad effected on the tribes and the society in general, that separated depend of the (KRI) topography, it means the place of the geographical area, like the weakness of the tribes community, that separated and weakness communication from the large one changed to the small one. Except that separated of the tribes effected on develop of economy and social, so in the finally the develop society changed to none natural develop (Qeredaxi, 2011, p140-143).

Civil society and the influence of tribe and mentality of the tribes is two things and vice versa and has a bad impact on the establishment of civil society, so Dr. Kawa Mahmoud Secretary of the Communist Party of Kurdistan region of Iraq has no doubt with the great tribes on the establishment of civil society and his view to this issue with tribes and the heads of non-tribal plants civil:

There is no doubt that the heritage and tribes are bastards, but those who motivate them, you can deal with the limits and the social impact and the lack of politicians or cannot deal with it when it increases in the time you go to the election thinks that the head of a clan so go and sit with him and give money and add to your list and form of the forms of the incentives of clans, while going to the election consider that they use religion as a bad way, for example carrying the book of the Koran and take pictures and published on television, so what is in the text, but at the time that says I do not with human rights and women's rights are two cases The first is easy and the second is tough ".(Kawa Mahmood, 59, the Secretary of the Communist Party,2017).

Dr. Basma, a university lecture, believes that the tribe and the clan are part of civil society, but on the condition that it does not affect negatively. However, the Kurdistan Region has a part of the civil society institutions, but because the thinking is more tribal:

tribal and the tribe are part of civil society, because the components of community deployment, but should not become the components of community activity, and now in Iraq work to organize a tribal law, and this is due to reconciliation group of people within the authority of Iraq, However, our society (Kurdistan Region - Iraq) is the owner of the media and the civil society organization, but until now our thinking after it is tribal thinking, it was necessary to be in this form, if we take the example we see so far ethics is linked to women and this means thinking then The clan is dominant.(Basma Mohammad,46, university teacher, 2017).

Although it has to do with the subject of geographical intolerance, that Himeen Abdulqadir social researcher, geographical and tribal intolerance is an important subject in sociology and such a strong barrier within the regional society that determines the foundation of civil society:

“In the Kurdistan Region, the geographical difficulty became a legacy, for example the Kurdish intellectuals in the Kurdistan Region (the area, tribe, clans), the heads of politicians, the same, the most part of the region and the tribe became a title, the other is visible from above to a society that is tilted and full of society. This phenomenon, in the sense of removing the community tribal mentality and (Bedouin) Badawi did not cross it, this annexes area, tribe and family more times become problems between man, because some citizens rejected you and your family, they are, and this ongoing conflict many problems facing society, They could not (2017) more political power had their social offices, and that these offices within the party became the role of law and the court sees and social problems, tribes and individuals treat them instead of a working court, because they cannot get out of the boundaries of the idea The tribal force is also many times the strength of the tribe is greater than the strength of the court and the government, because it has a strong and positive back to the continuation of the Tribal mentality, on the other hand many times the law and the state cannot keep the individual from harm and hunger, so he has to resort to something else outside the government and law, You see in Iraqi society at the Tribe, and this heritage of Iraq in a way related to the tribes and tribe, and transferred to the territory of (KRI) in a bad and severe ".(Himeen AbdulQadir, 35, social researcher,2017)

In Kurdish society clan and tribal have a strong power, this Power influence above everywhere in the society and political management, especially in the election time, because every party politics want collecting a more voice this cause counting clan ideologists.

Venna Kamal is an activist in civil society. The tribal authority and tribal mentality of citizens is generally due to those citizens who see the tribe as a powerful catalyst and strong supporter. On the other hand, there is an underlying and underlying reason: Or the tribe, which led to the emergence of the existence of tribal mentality, we wonder here why the political power to do this, there is one thing that shows us the answer, which is that political power considers that the clan is an effective force and movement, even their influence directly:

"This is due to the authority of politics towards society. This means that when the individual backs up to the tribe, which leads to the emergence of strength and pride, because he is afraid, this fear is not normal, so his real appearance is with the tribe, And the political authority also has concerns about the tribe, so as not to get out of their influence and the state of their rebellion, which results in the support of the authority of a tribe, we believe that the political mentality oriented towards continuity in power, in the main elections, to the large clans, leading to greater Of the votes valid for the power assessed, perhaps the reason The only one is that the majority of citizens under the influence of the head of the clan or tribe, on the other hand lies in the media, it did not perform its work correctly, but negative and non-civil.(Venna Kamal, 32,civil activist,2017).

Qadir Hussain believes that the tribal mentality and the clan's power do not allow the society to be civil or to go towards the civilian, because their influence and their power may go in the event of the coming of the city that supports the individual and not the clan. The clan leader has no place in society, another individual:

"The tribe and clan are always barriers against civil society and urbanization, and human development for the better, because they have great fears that, if the society becomes civil, means that citizens are subject to discrimination under the law if this leads to justice. For example, since the majority of social problems are resolved in the councils of chiefs, not by the legal authority, the majority of those crimes and problems that you get, are in the shelter of clan leaders, do not allow legal authority to be solved legally, and this shows that tribal chiefs and clans, do not want individuals to have awareness, basic barriers that do not demonstrate the characteristics of civil society in society".(Qadir Hussein,49, writer, 2017)

Rebwar Siwaily sociologist the existence of tribal mentality in general and tribal mentality in official power, a major barrier in the lack of strengthening civil society in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, because he believes that the concepts did not know correctly in society:

"Because of the tribal authority, it was not shining to establish civil society, because there is nothing apparent in the Kurdistan region, I see that the models do not dull civil society, but the authority in the Kurdistan region is a model of the threat of building the civil society. civil society, but it are a deterrent force against civil society, and do not accept that they have anything that goes beyond ideology. The biggest fear is to combine that force against civil society. This is a dam to civil society, not a catalyst for civil society. Time, bottom did not come The parties and organizations in the Kurdistan region of Iraq have shown that they are secular, but in fact, these parties did not understand the concept of secularism, because of the fact that secularism in the Kurdistan region is a conclusion to forces against humanity. Secularism has become a glamorous term, because secularism could not be a means of understanding the individual or the citizen through such means as media, education, and the role of the individual in society. They did not understand anything about secularism and showed themselves as secularists. A group of clans the tribes are considered to be very sophisticated. Otherwise, there is a religious punishment for those people who have abandoned the concepts of religion and belief. There is a secular punishment that crystallizes in the criticism of others. All the parties that appear as secular parties do not accept any criticism from the other. Had an impact on the composition of parties, not by the concept of secularism".(Rebwar Siwaily, 48, a sociologist, 2016).

Hiwa Omar, the role of institutions civil society in the Kurdistan region, sees another vision, which is: These steps are few but adds to the building of civil society, these steps are small, fragile and simple, because in general, relations showed the concept of tribe and blood:

"In the Kurdistan region of Iraq relatively, some features of civil society emerged, but in essence, we are linked to the tribal community, lagging behind, the production of the new generation is the impact of the old, blood-related and the tribe, consequently, these apparent features are not attributes of civil society in The basis, this is evidence that people belonging to civil society organizations, their relationship be on personal interests, because so far, the tribal mentality still dominates social relations, means that relations are still built on the feudal system.(Hiwa Omer, 35, civil activist, 2017).

We must know that the existence of the tribe and the sheikh is not only the basic features of the society of the Kurdistan Region / Iraq, but in many of the world state and with the developed state, the tribe is one of the social institutions with the establishment of the state, the city, social development and institutions. Not left in the developed cities (the national) filled place, but in the Kurdistan Region - Iraq because of the weakness of social development these institutions up to now have an impact and remain on the mentality (Qeredaxi, 2011, p144-147).

5.7. Islamic Politic “Salafizm”

Religion like other sides in Kurdistan Region of Iraq has a great role in all the activities of individuals or groups. The difference is that in the (KRI) there are more than one kind of religion and doctrine among Kurdish society, there are followers of many different doctrine and religion like Shia and Sunni in Islam, Christian, Yazidy, Zoroastrianism, Kakaiy and Haqa group. They are largely harmonious together, even there are clash among the religions and doctrine followers. In the draft of Kurdistan Region constitution eight religions are formally recognized and they have representatives in The Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs. Most of the problems that are done by the name of religion are committed by those who do not understand from the religious texts or they explained them according to their understanding or their desire.

This large number of religions and doctrines among Kurdish region of Iraq society gives the religions a role greater than its role as only the religion. Today religion performs more than one duty: for example there is a religion which is completely political and take its own political and ideological role, it is a part of a political organization and political party. It means that it is an organized religion. There is another kind of religion which is the religion of society, the religion of ordinary people, the religion of our parents and our relatives. This religion encourages the role of coordinating and helping each other, focus on the social relations. There is another type of religion which emphasizes the spiritual side. It works on Sufism and individuals. It is shown in literary texts. Some others are shown in religious methods or religious groups. It means that religion cannot be seen in only one aspect and only one way (Qanih, 2015, p237-238).

When a group claims to Islamize the society is very different from the Islam that becomes political. Because most of the definitions of religion said that it is the relations between human being and his own God. This is a personal relation and a natural right and no one can control it and God gives mind to the human being. The dangerous is that a problem comes every time and make the other problems secondary in the society, political Islam today is the biggest problem. The danger of political Islam is that it

considers only its ideas right and does not accept the other ideas. (They see Islam as a political idea and not as a heavenly religion). Even worse they do terror actions to control the society and reach the authority (Qadir, 2014, p48). There are a lot of different opinions about the start of coming of Islam, but we leave it for the historical researches. Because this is sociology research and analyze the events in a sociological point of view. But we discuss two important points that affected the (KRI) civilization in the start of coming of Islam.

- By the order of Khalifa Omer bn Khatb, all the leaders of the Arabic Islamic army to burn all the books and writings. This became the habits of all the following Khalifs of Islam after Omer bn Khatab. However during the Abbasians they decided to burn all the books that were written in languages other than Arabic because they thought that these writings are bad and they are against Islam.
- During the time of Khalifs the policy of Arabization appeared, as they decided to change all the writings at that time by Kurdish or Persians to Arabic. This made all the scientists and writers at that time left their ideas and serve only the civilization of Islamic Arabic world. For this reason, we have very little information about culture and civil activities of Kurdistan Region at that time as all the writings were been lost (Anwar, 2003,p69)¹⁸.

If it was the coming of Islam, it was the coming of the religion and not the coming of political Islam; however it was the main base for appearing the political Islamic groups in the Kurdistan Region, because appearing of Islamic political groups returned to the years of 1960s and 1970s in the last century. It came outside Iraq and at first they attempted to join the Famous religious families like the Family of (Mala Othman, Mala Ali, and Mala Sdiq). This type of facing the religious families and organizing them was delayed to the year 1987 and Islamic Movement of Iraqi Kurdistan was established. It was the first Islamic political party in Kurdistan Region, and they used mosque as their first headquarters. In general establishing the Islamic parties and groups returned to after

¹⁸ Anwar, Kaiwan azad,(2003), Medenyet, number:15, sulaimanyah,pp69.

the establishing of Kurdistan Regional Government, means after 1992, especially after the civil war between the two secular parties (PUK & PDK). The political and social problems that happened because of the civil war helped the Brotherhood to establish a new Islamic party which named (Islamic Union) and many other parties and groups were established after that (Habib & Amin, 2003, p74-75).

All the Islamic salafizm groups started very softly at first to spread their message especially in the aspects of educate themselves, till they have power and money, then they started to clarify their original message. For example, the Brotherhood group in Egypt, they started very calmly at first till in the end their leader Hassan Binna said that ((You brothers, whenever you can arrange three hundred armed groups, then ask me to lead you to the depth of the sea and to the height of the sky, and oblige the disobeyed persons and God helps me I will do that)) (Al-Saeed, 2004, p100).

The change of soft thinking in these groups which appeared like that at first is made by the change of their thinking and their power. Islamic groups in (KRI) have a problem. The problem is the difference in their speech and their action. They always speak by the name of scared, nation and society, and this let the Islamic groups be the owner of sacred and they do not let the differences appear. Because when the sacred speaks doesn't let the differences appear. This is very clear in the declaration of Islamic Union against the (Weran) magazine which published a poet. Islamic Union spoke on behalf of the sacred and nation in the declaration. This is a clear point that they do not accept the differences and other opinions even they always show themselves as a peaceful group (Qanih, 2015, p258).

The Islamic groups' work is very different from the time before the Uprising (before 1991). They grew very much and they have many groups. Some of them live in Europe under a secular system and when they come back to (KRI) they criticize freely and even sometimes they libel the followers of secular. The rough speed is existed in the mosques. The followers of different doctrines and religions can practice their believes, for example (Yazidiy, Kaky, Haqa, Jews, but the political Islam is an obstacle in front of the growth of democracy, civilization and globalization (Mala Bakhtyar, 2006, p244-

245). This fear is very clear among the other small religions, as they protect themselves and ask the political authority of Kurdistan Region to save them.

Most of the social and political writers agree that the Islamic groups have a great experience on the society of Kurdistan Region, as the most of the people of (KRI) are Muslims and it helps them to see the political and social problems better. The Islamic groups work for their political interests, as Adil Baxewan thinks that they neglect the religious texts for their interests. The Islamists in (KRI) neither ignorant nor simple, they have a great ability to manage the conflicts. The conflicts of the Islamic groups in (KRI) are not on practicing the texts of Quran or Sunna. If they have choice between the religious texts and their interests, they will choose their interests. For example killing a Muslim by another Muslim is forbidden according to the religious texts (There are many texts in Quran against killing falsehood) but whenever the conflicts become big and cross the interests these religious texts are neglected. As it was happened in the 3rd of August 2001 in Penjwin Area, the Leader of Islamic Komal has been shot and one armed person of them was killed and two armed persons of Islamic United and two civilians were injured as a result of the conflict between the Islamic Komal and Islamic Union (Baxewan, 2009, P51-55).

Whenever the Islamists failed in a way in their work, they rapidly enter the society in another gate. The Islamists are entering the society through the organizations. They settled many NGOs by the name of support and help the Muslims, and this is happened because of missing the state and a warm place for the Muslims. It is very clear during the civil war in Kurdistan Region that the Islamic NGOs had a great role in their social style because of the badness of non-Islamic, especially the tow big parties (PUK & KDP). Islamic NGOs could persuade thousands of people. This is an Islamic world phenomenon. In Saudi Arabia, it is under the name of (Relief Organization international Islamic), in Kuwait the organization (Foundation international Islamic charity) In Emirates (Human Appeal International) in Sudan (Islamic African Relief Agency), in Kurdistan Region especially by the bad conditions of the Region and the civil war many NGOs were established for political Islamic work (Baxewan, 2009, p107-108).

Characteristics of Salafism

Salafism as a religious group consider themselves as the main follower of the prophet of Islam and Quran. It is the subject of serious discussions in Kurdistan Region now by the socialists and politicians, because they think that the characteristics of Slafism are very dangerous as they only accept themselves and refuse others. Salafism is new in (KRI) and it has no base among this kind of popular Islam which takes the largest area in (KRI). A simple Muslim in Kurdistan region of Iraq is not Salafi. His thoughts and his actions are not according to Salafism. Salafism does not have any history in (KRI), because before the 1980s and coming of Salafism to Kurdistan Region, religion has only two shapes. The first one which was made by the effects of culture and it is called popular religion and the second one an organized religion which was made inside the religious schools and ways. These two kinds even have conflicts sometimes but they live and work together side by side most of the time (Qanih, 2015, p20-21).

The process of religious education should be changed so as to remove the religious extremism and it has no danger on society. This change should be done in the curriculum from the basic schools till the higher education. The curriculum which is studied now does not allow the individual to express himself and does not obtain the needs and goals of society. These curriculums especially history is the source to make troubles and conflicts among the different religions and doctrines, generally in the Islamic states. If the curriculums of religion and history are studied as there are now, certainly we cannot be a modern society because this is the dispersing the society (Argon, 2001, p107).

Salafism is the project to the religion to an insulting power. It insults to the mind and to the ability of human beings. It shortens all the problems to a group of simple religious commands and forbearances. Salafism is not only this fear and panic but it is against all the concepts of citizenship and civilization. It has the ability to create a terrorist group like ISIS. Not all the Salfists are ISIS but all the members of ISIS are Salafist (Qanih, 2015, p35). Salafism is considered as dangerous because many writers think that it is returning to a very old time from nowadays and it is an attempt to control the thinking of an individual, as Bakhtyar Ali said " This is returning to the very start time and it was

gone, the representatives of Islamic thought are trying to return the society back to the start, to a gone stage of the history. They want to carry out a fight that should be done at the beginning of twentieth century. (Bakhtyar Ali) Islamists or Islamic parties especially those participated in the political process. The Salafis are Islamic parties, but they do not participate in the political governmental actions especially in election. It is not clear for the future. The Islamic parties that participate in the process of election claim that those who do not vote for them are unbelievers and it is directly against Islam. As follows:

- Your orphan aid id stopped. (During the civil war Islamic groups helped some of orphan people).
- You will become very bad in this world and the rest. You will be friend of Satan.
- You will give the right to the authority of unbelievers and the infidels.
- The service never continues.
- You do not believe in the divine approach.
- You are waiting the economic condition be better.
- You will never reach the heaven of Allah as you voted to the infidelity (Anwar, 2010, p95).

Mariwan Wrya Qanih described the characters of Salafism in detail, we point to them briefly here:

Salafism is the closest and the most demagogic Islam. They are not only the slaves of the old and the past, but also consider those who are thinking like themselves their close friends and consider the others the unbelievers. Salafis consider all the other opinions outside their opinion as disobedient of Allah and even consider them as infidels. Salafism rejects all the other religions and named them as infidels. It is against the doctrines inside Islam and they thought that the concept of citizenship is only Salafism. The danger is that Salafism benefits from the results of democracy and use it to its goal. But they consider democracy as infidelity and being away from Islam. Salafism does not give any freedom to women and they only want to use women as a main mean to themselves. They think that all the other groups are bad and ugly except themselves (Qanih, 2015, p33-35).

So as to understand better from the effects of Political Islam in Kurdistan region as an obstacle in front of the process civilizing the society, we are based on the interviews we have got during our research. We want to understand that Islam is not only as theory but also as practice has effect on the society? Hiwa Omer, he is a civil activist, thinks that a great change had happened in practicing the religious decrees according to the ages before establishing the Islamic groups in Kurdistan Region. Before the coming of political Islam the national and social living together is simpler and more different:

In the last few years the religion is changed from the popular form to a political form. Religion is mixed with political conflicts. It affects the relations of people, because the religion is considered as the main base to make the relations, even the type of doctrine inside a religion is being considered. This role of religion is non-civilian because religion is used to control the individual freedom. Religion is used to stop the freedom of expression. The religious centers are controlled through some parties. These parties are reasons for publishing the terror opinions and closed ideas. The Islamic groups tried to harmonize themselves with civil society through making many NGOs. This is an obstacle in front of civilizing the society. These groups are obstacles in front of opening the society. This harmony is a kind of politics, especially as a result of the conflicts of the other powers. The obstacle that the political Islam had created is clear from the selection of writing and thinking under the name of dedication. Political Islam created borders so as to make people not thinking freely. Political Islam divided the human beings to two groups sacred and non-sacred and this is very clear in the family education. It wanted to create a person who treats with others according to the religion not according to humanity. They controlled religion to remove the differences. Before coming the political Islam people lived peacefully together in (KRI), but after that and controlling the mosques by the political Islamists and dividing the religious persons by the political parties (Islamic and secular), this living together changed to a kind of violence and sometimes to a religious conflict. It was tried to remove other religions. In 1980s women in Erbil made a demonstration and they said (Freedom, niqab and aba got up) by the support of leftists to save the society from the religious and social limitations. There were a lot of objections against classism and racism.(Hiwa Omer, 35 civil activist, 2017)

Concerning the formation of Islamic groups in Kurdistan Region, Rebwar Siwaily ,a socialist, thinks that the year 1980 is the start point to differentiate the time of Islam as a relation between an individual and God, because he thinks:

"Before 1980 religion did its duty, but after that date and especially after formation of Islamic Parties, the religion changed from principles to decrees, from a self-relation between the individual and God to a social totalitarian relation. This happened because these groups treat with crowd. Many time these relations between individual and God changed to infidelity. For example individuals were free to wear what kind of clothes they wanted, but after that date all the religious explanations were done again according to their interests. For example all those who work in the Islamic parties, they have no place and left the parties, like (Abdul Rahaman Sdiq , Mawlana, Shamal Mufty) because the

Islamic parties are against the civil society. It is proved that they are against the freedom of individuals and they are danger to the respect of the freedom of individuals, because they used religion to control the society and crowd of people, and this job has no place inside the civil society. (Rebwar Siwaily, 48, a sociologist, 2016).

Basma Muhammad, university lecture, the big space between the authority and people is the reason to form the political Islamic groups, especially during the civil war and after the Uprising. Islamists divided the society into two groups, Muslims and infidels, and this is against the principles of civil society:

“The history of Islamists returned to the time beyond the Uprising of people in (KRI) on 5th March 1991 against the authority of Baath regime. This is because of the economic crisis faced Iraq after the Uprising of people of Kurdistan Region. People's economic condition was very bad at that time and the Islamic groups got money from other different countries. They wanted to attract passion of people to their side. The Islamic groups were supported by many states. The most important reason is the bad economic condition of the society. Another reason is the fault of the secular parties which were far away from people. This being away led to the division of society in to two parts (Muslims and seculars) and is continuing now. For example in Sulaimanyah city there are different flats for Muslims and for the seculars. This returns to the policy of Islamists, because they recognize seculars as infidel and themselves as Muslims. They claim that they face Allah and the seculars are unbelievers. This is a big problem for civilizing the society. On the other side the seculars use the concept of (secular) in a wrong meaning, because they do not understand it. Fighting religion is considered as education and culture in Kurdistan region and this is wrong. Fighting the ideologies is a mistake whether it is done by the Islamists or seculars. Religion can be used as an obstacle in front of the growth of society as the religion is an obstacle in front of the freedom of individuals. According to the religion human being must have a responsible person and should obey him every time. This is against the principle of civil society. Religion is used in the purpose of politics in the region, and this is misuse of the religion. (Basma Muhammad, 46, university teacher, 2017)

Qadir Hussien considered the Islamic powers as an obstacle in front of the process of educating the society and open-minding the people. Because:

"As a result of non-growing the civil-mind in society and the bad treatment of secular parties, as they are only secular by name and not by content and they are parties of a family and a tribe, a bid gap was made. The Islamic parties were established in this gap. The Islamic parties are obstacles in front of the growth of civil society. As we look at the internal system of Islamic parties, it is the same the internal system of secular parties and they are about how to solve the social problems. Islamists are coming back to the religious texts which are not suitable with the mind-opening of civil society. They control the human beings to the non-cultural. They base on the mentality of tribe. As these social compositions are the simplest to work on and to be controlled.(Qader Hussien, 49, writer, 2017)

Kawa Mahmood, Secretary General of The communist Party of Kurdistan-Iraq, has a fear of Islamizing the society and the state by the Islamic groups under the name of civilization and put their projects in the civil activities:

“The project of the Islamic group’s works on two sides, the first one is called Islamizing the society and the second one is called Islamizing the state. Without declaration, the Islamic groups work practically for this project and they try to do and publish the things which are suitable with the project of Islamism through some establishments in the frame of civil work. The establishments like organization, association, unions. The attempt of Islamizing the society starts in creating a constitution and they want to make Islam as the only source to create a constitution. If we look at Iraq all the problems are about Islamizing the society and the sectarian conflict and among the Islamists themselves. There is a conflict between the civil and Islamic groups as the Islamic groups want to impose what they want on the society. The non-Islamic communities faced a lot of attacks for example the Yazidis and Christians. A demonstration was arranged by an Islamic group which in it they attacked the shops in Erbil and in Zakho. The minorities in (KRI) are in anxiety, because there is no understanding about citizenship.

We should try to make this understanding because it is a part of the work of civil society. Citizenship is on the bases of civilization. How should we try to create a citizenship does not base on the religion, doctrine and local identities. We do not have balance between the local identity and national identity in (KRI), the previous one is dominant the other. So there is a problem of identity in (KRI) which is not only political, it is also exists in the society. For example, in some restaurants , they do not use the Yazidi workers because they think that their dishes are haram and people do not buy the foods like yogurt made by Yazidis, this is exists in the society. Meanwhile we are talking about how to recognize the Yazidis' disaster as genocide internationally. We should work inside the society and we should understand the concept of citizenship which is that we should treat with other minorities not on the bases of number but on the bases of free expressions and free religion.(Kawa Mahmood, 59, Secretary General of The communist Party of Kurdistan-Iraq, 2017)

Fazil Omer, general directorate in the council of ministers, thinks that the religion and politics should be separated, the religion should do its duty and politics does its duty:

“In the civil society the religion is a personal issue and practicing religion is allowed as a relation between human and his God. The purposes of political Islam is clear however they show themselves as democracy and civil, but it is not true. They appear as obstacles in front of the growth of civil society. In the civil society the politics is for politics, religion is for religion and education is for education. But in (KRI), it is the mixture and the religion is used for politics. Separate the religion from the state is not an abuse towards the religion, so they should be separated. (Fazil Omer, 39, general directorate in the council of ministers, 2017)

Aram Mustafa has the fear from the Islamic groups to change the relation of religion which in the relation between god and human. This fear caught not only the unbelievers but also the educated cultural persons and writers:

“The Islamic groups suit themselves with the civil society in terms of form only, especially through establishing many NGOs for their political parties. These NGOs are connected to the directorate of NGOs, but they work for the purpose of their political parties. This is only for the purpose that the Islamic groups tell to people that they believe in a civil modern society, and this is true for the secular parties also. So it cannot be established the real bases of civil society in Kurdish community. Changing the duty of religion from human and his God to the relation between human and human has a great effect on the process of

civilizing and opening the society. The relation between human and his god are changed to a fear. This fear not only affects the simple people but also has an effect on the writers and educated persons. To prove that, fear can be seen in the writings of many writers, because they cannot express to people what are in their minds. This is because of the religious and social obstacles face them at the end. This confrontation was happened many times in the past towards those writers who want to introduce the new and modern concepts. Political Islam tried to make the concepts of civil society ugly and they did it. (Aram Mustafa, 45, civil activist, 2017)

Emad Rafaat, the head of the Turkmen bloc in the province of Erbil, considered political Islam as a great danger on the society and the process of civilizing, because the violent political Islam never wants the society go towards the education and open-minded:

“Kurdistan region has not opened towards the progress of the world because of the violent Islamic idea. Islamic violence has a great role to close the society and the thought of people in the Region. They always try to stay the society on the underdevelopment which goes back to thousands years ago. Most of the social problems are because of the violent Islamic groups. These groups are living on the old closed and violent thought and they do not open towards the globalization.(Emad Rafaat, 40, the head of the Turkmen fraction in the province of Erbil, 2017)

Hemn Adulqader, social researcher, thinks that the minorities (small religions) always face violence and suppression. They always ask to protect their religious places so as to be protected from the attack of the majority religions, and a religious state cannot be civil:

In General, the minority is oppressed, because the minority has no power, for example Yazidi is faced to suppression along the history, so the minority religions in (KRI) have problem with the religion of majority which is Islam. They fear from attack. There is no religious state which is civil, because the religious identity makes a problem for the citizens in the religious state. This identity does not accept the minority in the society, means that the religious identity for the state refuses the living together. The religious state never can be civil especially the religion contains jihad and fighting. In the other side the Sunni doctrine is a violent doctrine and most of the terrorist groups came from the Sunni doctrine. It came from the bas explanation for the religious texts; however there is violence in the texts. The minority religions always ask for the protection, as they face the attack of violent groups.(Hemn Adulqader, 35, social researcher, 2017)

Vena Kamal, an activist woman in civil society thinks that there are many good persons in the Islamic groups, but it does not mean that the Islamists are not obstacle in front of the process of civilizing the society, because they (Islamic groups) do not want anyone thinks differently outside their program:

“The Islamic groups have many political mistakes because they want to change the structure of society and take over the thought of people. This does not mean that there are no appropriate persons among the Islamic groups. There are advanced capable persons among the Islamists, but their program of working is not suitable with the civil society

because the person cannot think outside their specific program. As they did in Halabja before the process of freedom of Iraq and they committed many disasters and practiced a very bad authority. Their policy was changed and enters people's houses only through religion; even they changed the religious ceremonies, because the religion that was existed before them was more beautiful from the fashion and working cooperatively in the society by the two genders (female and male). Most of the people in the region are Muslims and they want to do politics through religion so as to attract them to their side.(Vena Kamal, 32, civil activist, 2017).

Concerning the answer to this question whether the Islamists were obstacle in front of civilizing the society in Kurdistan region community, Ali Bapeer, Amir of Islamic Group refused that the Islamic groups are obstacles in front of this process, because he thought that the Islamic groups do not have power and economy in Kurdistan region-Iraq:

"Who has the money in Kurdistan Region? Who closed the parliament and stop the law? Who sells oil? Who established the government? Who has the justice and security power? Islamists are not obstacles in front of the process of civilizing the society in Kurdistan region, because they do not have any power. Even the Islamists could not protect themselves from killing their staff and burning their headquarters. The Islamic groups have not got their rights in the economy and authority of this region. Thus it cannot be said that the Islamic groups are obstacles in front of this process, and it is a big charge and has no bases. Islamists are as innocent as the wolves from the blood of Joseph's shirt from being obstacles.(Ali Bapeer, 56 , Amir of Islamic Komal, 2017).

Understanding wrongly in religion is a problem to all the communities in the world. Most of the religious men reject that killing is not the solution. But sometimes a person use killing and slaughtering towards those who criticize the religion as their emotion to it. Different opinion which is the basic column to the civil society is not accepted and many time writing a post or a comment in the social sites leads to killing and violence. (On 18 September 2016 in one of the cities in Kurdistan Region, a Salafi attacked another young person (named Sh. H.), because this young person criticize Salafism in his account in facebook. The salafi wanted to kill the young person but he could not do that as a lot of people gathered. Then he threatened him and said I kill you and I get the paradise for myself, and he insisted to kill him (Radionawa).

Many different terrorist actions were happened during thirteen years in Kurdistan Region. Twenty five terror actions were done form 2010 as the explosion of TNT and suicide. Most of them were done against the secular groups and persons. At the end the Islamic groups were accused by doing it, or the terrorist Islamic groups declared that they have done it through an announcement. The suicide caused most of the victims was

that one happened on 1st of February 2004, in the two headquarters of (PUK) and (KDP) in Erbil. It caused one hundred martyrs and hundreds of wounded. The group of (Jund u alislam) slaughtered forty two Peshmarga and deformed their bodies. Two hundred and fifty three civilians and governmental persons were killed and more than 300 persons were wounded in all the suicide explosions (Qadir, 2014, p56).

In general the religion is accepted in the society without any fear for any citizenship to practice the bases of his religion. The only condition is that this practice will not be a fear to any other person who does not have the same religious thinking. If this is happened, it will be dangers to the growth of civilian society. I think most of the religious texts do not have any problem with this kind of living together, but analyzing the texts and practicing them especially in political aspects create big problems. As it saw seen in the last years, many groups by did terror actions by the name of religion even their own texts do not allow them.

Conclusion

In the every study or research academic have conclusions, because conclusions so important to researcher we have such as all researcher conclusions or explained:

Civil society is a new concept and dates back to 18th century. It specifically appeared at the French Revolution. But like ideal city of Plato, Political Society of Aristotle, moral of Hegel and the social capital at the finally citizens society. The concept of civil society possesses a recent history in Iraq in general and in (KRI) in particular. Thus the appearance / occurrence of the basis of a civil society have been retarded in (KRI). The legislation of this subject goes back to the first NGO law-making in 1993 in Iraqi- Kurdistan Parliament. Although KRG has supported the improvement of the bases and the characters of civil society, its growth has been slow and simple.

The present status of (KRI) is temporary between new and old era. As a result, the growth of the base and the concept of civil society have been slow, due to newness of civil society concept. Civilization has not become to a culture among people in (KRI) and in Iraq in general up to this time, because of this real meaning of civil society has not been understood well in the society and limitations of developing civil society have been considered multidimensional such as economic, social and political limitations. The most crucial political and economic ones are having no organized freedom, being passive of formal and informal institutions, having no civil constitution for the Region, and keeping no gender equality in (KRI) as no females possess their own specific investment.

civil institutions like media, organizations, political parties, etc. has not become a strong causation for developing civil society in (KRI), because no preparation has been made for real understanding of civil society, and at the same time, there are some limitations for civil movements and activities. Although (KRI) can constitute its own specific law for civil activities and organize civil institutions after having its own government and parliament, it could not be completely active in execution. As a result, working on the improvement of the society in order to be civilized become imperceptible and not be regarded as a formal planning of education, economic and

political. Political status of Iraqi government, especially existence of political and religious conflicts, caused Iraq remained at a basic level of being a civil society.

There are many social limitations but the most important ones include not accepting each other, governing tribal rules, geographical intolerance, ideological and physical violence due to possessing different ideology. Besides, there has been no civil understanding of social and political co-living. After that Political Islam is a principal obstacle as religion has lost its basic role which is the connection between human as like an individual, and God. But this connection has changed to social political connection. Therefore, political Islam makes trouble for presenting any new thing to the society such as helping the citizens become open-minded. The relation between human and his god are changed to a fear. This fear not only affects the simple people but also has an effect on the writers and educated persons, To prove that, fear can be seen in the writings of many writers, because they cannot express to people what are in their minds, because of Islamic politics used religion to hers aims.

Iraqi people in general and Kurdistan region peoples have not understood the term civil society, because the activists of this area could not send this message adequately to the people. In addition, people are also guilty for unwillingness to reach the high level of civilization. This indicates that both sides have shortages in this field. Kurdistan region-Iraq has a legal atmosphere for civil organizations but the rights to have an organization should be managed. For example, government only registers the organizations not permitting them. The number of organizations does not necessarily mean a good level of modernism because some people asks to establish an organization but soon or late the organizations will disappear without any activity.

Iraq and (KRI) people in the until now doesn't come on the civilized, because civilized don't to be culture, peoples natural not change to citizens and this society have a barriers in from of example law, education, politics Islam at the finally citizens didn't tried to be civilized, we are sure if the peoples don't try civil society don't come in the society like as automatically. Generally, in Kurdistan region people's right are infringed because they are unintellectual and unconscious about their rights. Freedom is not produced until human are intellectual and conscious. Currently, in Iraq and

Kurdistan region, there is no freedom expression. After conclusions I think if Iraq and (KRI) want to be civil society they are must be to including under recommendations in the politic, education, economical system in my idea:

- If Iraq culture and politic don't change Iraq can not to be civil society, because all movements and demonstrations managed by the tribalism with Religious men, there are always barriers inform civil society, because in the Iraq society always have conflict between Religious peoples specially between Shia and suna, we must be changing the peoples think about live together.
- I think we must be changing this system Kurdistan regional government has controlled all the societal aspects including economy that has created a strong government and a weak society, to strong society and helper government, not strong government to controlling the society.
- Democracy one of the so important characters in the civil society, but it's in the Iraq society doesn't develop, if Iraq and (KRI) want to be civil society must be practicing democracy such as absolute not only on the paper.
- the education system in KRG does not take account of civil society programs, it only has some curriculum programs for basic grades, but that is not enough to educate people with basics of civil society, if its change or evolve, if educate system change to better and including culture (tolerance, accepting the differences, and cooperation), after that we can into civil society.

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