Trends of employees toward value of freedom and its relationship to their participation in the independence referendum of Kurdistan Region of Iraq

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Abstract:

This study investigates the orientation to the value of freedom of employees at the University of Zakho following the 2017 referendum in the Kurdish Region of Iraq (KRI). The results show that the sample tested afford a high value to freedom. There were significant differences for the freedom value according to age, the older respondents indicating that they valued freedom more highly than younger respondents. Freedom was valued less highly among employees with a lower economic status. Finally, personal freedom was ranked much more highly than social freedom. We conclude that it was probably the negative experiences that employees have had with Iraqi sovereignty that drives them to value freedom so highly. It is reasonable to suppose that these experiences ensured their overwhelming participation in the referendum and support for independence.

Keywords: Kurdistan Region of Iraq, referendum, value, freedom orientation, employee.

Introduction:

The 2017 referendum in Başur, the territory of the south of Kurdistan politically designated as the Kurdish Region of Iraq (KRI), was organized to express the idea of freedom. This article addresses the question of what freedom means to people in the KRI. After years of oppression and division, how do Kurds in the KRI approach freedom as a value?

The term "political economy" is often used to describe the economic basis of a political entity. In research into the developing political economy of self-government in the KRI and the process of state formation in the period after 1991, it is important also to distinguish the changing nature of Kurdish society in the context of what is actually a process of proto-state formation under the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). It is thus that this article examines how freedom guides and orientates people. Roughly, the term "freedom" is taken to mean the right to do or say what a person wants without anyone stopping them, or a state of not being a prisoner or slave



(Hornby, 2003: 512), while a "referendum" is the direct election for approval or rejection of a project or proposal (Toloui, 1390: 543).

For many decades, especially after the Severs agreement, the Kurdish nation had suffered from the occupation of Kurdistan, including in what became the north of Iraq (Mohammad, 2015: 429-446.). After various political developments from the 1990s, however, the Iraqi-Kurdistan people entered into a new political and legal situation that stimulated and motivated them to claim their rights to self-government. Especially after the revolution in the spring of 1991, there was a new opportunity to establish an autonomous region and become known internationally (Botany &Yusef, 2014: 107) or even establish an independent state that would protect them from genocides, which had occurred over many decades. Then, with the collapse of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship in 2003, many values changed, enabling the introduction of, among others, a new election system, new constitution, and different international relations (Jalaeipour et al., 2018:581-651). In the KRI, as in Kurdistan more widely and further to the transition to democracy, the right to autonomy, enabling the freedom of political activities, the mass media, and suchlike, became a Kurdish desire. The democratic way forward toward this goal was deemed to be a referendum, eventually held on September 25, 2017, in which 93% of the 74% of eligible participants who voted expressed their preference for an "independent Kurdistan."

It is in the wake of that referendum that this research investigates attitudes to freedom among employees at the University of Zakho in the Zakho District of the Dohuk Governorate of the KRG. This university is selected by way of a case study, as an institution that has a wide social impact, providing for thousands of students every year and home to the studies and research undertaken and disseminated by a sizable university staff.

Problem statement:

After 2005 many problems occurred between the central government and KRG. These problems can be summarized as related to the budget, oil, refugees, the constitution (especially Article 140), and the economy (especially border income). Coming on the back of the history of crimes committed by Iraqi authorities, including the Anfal mascaras and Halabche's chemical bombardment, this prompted the KRG to organize a referendum for independence. The move was generally rejected by the international community, which President Barzani regarded as an opposition to peace, democracy, and freedom, and, ultimately, as against the rights of nations to self-determination (MacDiarmid, 2017, quoted in Xebat, 2017: 21). Just as Quebec's referendum had led to an outbreak of anxiety among the people (Flett et al., 1999: 143), so too, this occurred in the KRG, particularly in the context of the high-level psychological disorders among people displaced because of the barbaric and terrorist behaviors of Islamic State (IS) (Ali, 2015: 35).



Literature review:

The concept of freedom is often discussed. In Kurdish ancient religion, for example, Zoroastrianism emphasized the freedom of the human and his movement in his prayer with God (Fisser& Powers, 2004: 235). Nietzsche famously proclaimed this and the value of freedom, in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, describing how the human being can regain his inner strength and find the source of true moral value, and indeed, of all human value (Hakim, 2006: 474).

In the USA in the twentieth century, Abraham Maslow (1968: 24) emphasized the importance of motives in life but believed that fear of the environment and its misuse becomes a factor in the loss of human freedom, making some people frustrated and pessimistic. According to Carl Rogers, when someone has his experiences and beliefs confirmed and is open-minded to them, he accepts himself better, and in absolute power and freedom moves toward self-actualization (Jolley, and Mitchell, 1996: 60).

More recently, Philip Pettit (2001: 6) has considered a free person to be one who is free in his work, job, and himself and also has an adjusted and balanced personality. This means that freedom has deep relations with responsibility, adjustment, and possession. Thomas Pink (2007: 2) has considered freedom in respect of working, finding this to be related to the free and primarily will of persons. Gary L. Neilson et al. found that the healthiest organizations are "resilient," and this indicated the freedom of employee responsibilities, actions, and decisions in an organization as serving its strategy and interests (Murno, 2008: 223).

Western culture tries strongly to educate people on the basis of individualism, independence, and freedom (Thirumurthy, 2008: 70), such that Huntington (2009: 226) asserted that freedom as an economic and universal value has a Western character. The relationship of freedom with thought does mean that this, free thinking, may be enabled even though one is not actually able change anything in one's life (Ruggiero, 2004: 27). Nevertheless, along with rights and welfare, freedom is among the various values and beliefs that have now become widespread social norms (Ilyin et al., 2007: 247). In new liberalism, freedom has been confirmed, as well as individual benefits, as crucial to a society's developmental elements and needs (Ritzer, 2007: 47). Beyond this even, as Lubomir (2008) explains, the most important values of the post-modern period are those of individualism and absolute freedom as the meaning of life (Shklyarova&Shklyarova, 2001: 110).

Education has a particular role in the nurturing of freedom. It plays an important role in the establishment and construction of personality and development of a free, capable, and talented citizenry, for self-fulfillment, inspiration, generosity, and goodness (Slastenin&Chizhakova, 2003: 136). In fact, according to Nelson et al. (2007: 11), gaining democracy without education is impossible. For B. L. Vylfosn, it was important to take into consideration the problem of defects in the readiness for freedom in educational centers, especially in the context of the humanistic and democratic acts of authorities, the freedom of personality, civic responsibilities, and need for citizens



to be patriotic, as well as understanding other nations' values (Danilock,, 2008: 114). Somewhat against this, Vigotesky not only considered the gaining of high levels in educational aims about freedom to be impossible but believed that education limits human freedom (Slastenin&Chizhakova, 2003: 159).

In recent research in the KRG, Nasraddin Mohammad (2011) included freedom among 1A values in a study of 252 students from the universities of Sallahaddin and Duhok. This work used the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS), developed in 1973. Employing a scale for the measurement of value orientation, the RVS consists of 36 values divided into two kinds of values lists: terminal and instrumental values. The students ranked the values according to importance. Results showed the value of freedom in first place overall, indicating the sense of freedom and wishing to be free as being very strong (Mohammad, 2011: 49).

A recent study by Zahid Sami Mohammed (2018) aimed to analyze and provide an understanding of the development of the concept of freedom, with a clear emphasis on two main stages of human development, namely, childhood and adolescence. This was a comprehensive study of 2,246 primary, secondary, and university students conducted in the city of Zakho, grouping the students into four age categories (8, 12, 16, and 20 years old). Initially, a sub-sample of 542 students was selected for conducting psychometric analysis, the results from which being verified and matched against the final sample of 1704 students. Based on the psychometric analysis, the questionnaire consisted of 48 items. The results of the study showed an understanding and positive evaluation of the concept of freedom, which increased by age group.

The present research aims to analyze and provide an understanding of the development of the value of freedom among employees of the University of Zakho, particularly regarding independence. The value and concept of freedom occupies a very important place in Kurdish studies, but few investigations have been conducted in the field. There is a need for more clarity regarding the meaning of the concept of freedom, which is influenced by all sorts of factors in a sensitive and complex regional context. This study constitutes the first time, to our knowledge, that the topic has been investigated since the Kurdistan independence referendum. The findings can therefore provide insights into the effects of the referendum, especially at the institutional level of the university and for the case of Zakho.

Methodology:

This research aimed to address the following questions:

- 1. To what extent do university employees' view freedom as a positive or negative thing?
- 2. Are there significant differences in university employees' views of freedom according to personal, social, and demographic variables?

More specifically, the research objectives were



- To learn the extent (existence and level of frequency) of the freedom value orientation among university employees in the context of the referendum for independence.
- 2. To learn the differences between employee orientations to freedom, especially between those who participated in the 2017 referendum and those who did not.

The study focused on employees at the University of Zakho and was implemented in the 2017–18 academic year. It was undertaken on a randomly selected sample of 134 male and female employees, some 34% of all (394) University of Zakho employees. The term "employee" refers to all people employed by the university (academic, administrative, manual, etc.).

The research used a questionnaire prepared by Zahid Sami Mohammad containing 44 items, in two subscales (for personal freedom and social freedom), with 30 subgroups. Each subgroup comprised a type of freedom. The weighting for each response was No=1, Not sure=2, and Yes=3, where these represented the participant's (dis)agreement with (or uncertainty about) the freedom as presented. Of the 44 items, 25 (10 personal freedom, 15 social freedom) were rated reversibly because they were asked negatively. The questionnaire also included requests for demographic information as well as the political, economic, and social questions.

In order to attain validity, a trial questionnaire was presented to expert faculty members at the university specializing in judicial, managerial, educational and psychological sciences. Some 80% of them agreed with the questionnaire's content and items, and upon their feedback and comments, the questionnaire was redesigned to its end form. After the questionnaire revision, a pilot study was conducted with 15 students to measure the dependent variables. The value of Cronbach's Alpha (Pearson's correlation coefficient) for the dependent variable was very high (0.906), which was thus acceptable for research data collection. After gaining administration approval of the research protocol including the questionnaire, the researchers distributed the questionnaire to employees. A total of 234 questionnaires were distributed, gathered, and checked.

Several quantitative methods were used to analyze the data, including descriptive statistics (percentages), frequency, and a one-way ANOVA to test significant differences in the questionnaire and some of the variables, as well as a t-test for one sample and two independent samples to test the significance of gender, marriage, and participation in the referendum. The data was analyzed to drive results focusing on the questionnaire items and aspects, along with its scientific, social, and demographic variables. As indicated (above), a total of 134 correctly answered questionnaires were incorporated in the study analysis, a response rate of 34%.

Analysis of the quantitative data was made in two parts: a descriptive analysis and hypotheses tests. The first part focused on answers to the items and the second on aspects in their totally. The final psychometric characteristics (44 items) were derived by analyzing the viability of the answers provided and confirmation of this using various methods, such as reiterating the questions and examining inconsisten-



cies. Upon the verification of the main sample, a number of statistical analyses were performed on the results of the individual samples of gender and demographic data by age group using the SPSS program.

The meaning of or rationale for each of the 30 freedoms (subgroups), is given below (Edwards & Michael, 2004). This is a translation of the listing of explanations that was given to participants to clarify the ideas and help them to give their responses. Essentially, they were indicating whether or not they agreed with the propositions as stated.

Freedom of marriage

Men and women of full age have the right to marry and found a family, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion. They are entitled to equal rights to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

Freedom of communication

Freedom of the press or freedom of the media is the principle that communication and expression through various media, including printed and electronic media, especially published materials, should be considered a right to be exercised freely.

Violation against residence

It is not permissible to use violence against another citizen or resident due of race, nationality, or religion.

Freedom of mankind's greatness

To be free collectively means to live among free people and to be free by virtue of that freedom. Man cannot become a rational being, possessing a rational will, and consequently achieve individual freedom apart from society and without its aid.

Freedom of life

The right to life is a moral principle based on the belief that a human being has the right to <u>live</u> and, in particular, should not be <u>killed</u> by another entity including government. The concept of a right to life arises in debates on issues of capital punishment, <u>war</u>, abortion, euthanasia, police brutality, justifiable homicide, animal welfare, and public healthcare. People may disagree on which specific areas and under which conditions this principle applies.

Freedom of participation

Participation rights are inextricably linked to other human rights, such as the rights to peaceful assembly and association, freedom of expression and opinion, and education and information. Obstacles to equal political and public participation exist in many contexts.

The right of similarity

Equality before the law, also known as equality under the law, equality in the eyes of the law, legal equality, and legal egalitarianism, is the principle that each independent being must be treated equally by the law (principle of <u>isonomy</u>) and that all are subject to the same laws of justice.



Freedom of education

Freedom of education is the right for parents to have their children educated in accordance with their religious and other views, allowing groups to be able to educate children without being impeded by the state.

Freedom of security

Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person, which prohibits arbitrary arrest and detention. No-one should be deprived of their liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.

Freedom of residence

Freedom of movement, mobility rights, or the right to travel, is a <u>human rights</u> concept encompassing the right of individuals to travel from place to place within the <u>territory</u> of a <u>country</u> and to leave the country and return to it. This right includes not only visiting places but also changing the place where the individual resides or works.

Freedom of clothing

Wearing clothes – or more accurately, choosing which clothes to wear – is, for many people, an important part of self-expression as confirmed under Article 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR). Persons with serious disabilities may not be dressed inappropriately, denying their desired expression.

Right of ownership

Ownership rights concern real property. The ownership of real property entails the rights to possession and disposition or transference of the property to someone else by selling, gifting, or inheritance.

The right of fixation of official vacations

Every person or employee has the freedom to determine their free time and vacations.

Principles of mutual respect

We are to be responsible and respectful in all of our communications. We work to keep our campus and its natural environment a beautiful and welcoming place and to leave it in a better state than we found it. We endeavor to inflict no harm on one another, by word or deed.

Freedom to divulge information

This means that any person can pass on information that is legally permitted.

Freedom to use power

This refers to the use of power without coercion or any damage to others.

Freedom of economy

Economic freedom, or economic liberty, is the ability of people of a society to take economic actions as embodied in the rule of law, property rights and freedom of contract, and characterized by external and internal openness of the markets, the protection of property rights and freedom of economic initiative.



Freedom of name changing

Name change generally refers to the legal act by which a person can adopt a new name, different from their name at birth, marriage, or adoption.

Unlimited use of freedom

This means that your freedom is not limited by random interventions.

Freedom of social values

Individuals have the right to participate in activities that are deeply social in character, involving socially created languages and the use of community resources.

Freedom of settlement

People have the freedom to settle and live where they want.

Freedom of work

People have a human right to work, or engage in productive employment, and may not be prevented from doing so.

Freedom of religion

<u>This</u> is a principle that supports the freedom of an individual or community, in public or private, to manifest religion or belief in teaching, practice, <u>worship</u>, and observance without government influence or intervention. It also includes the freedom to change one's religion or belief.

Political freedom

Political freedom is freedom from oppression or coercion, the absence of disabling conditions for an individual and the fulfillment of enabling conditions, or the absence of life conditions of compulsion, e.g. economic compulsion, in a society.

Freedom of expression

According to the universal declaration of human rights, freedom of expression is the right of every individual to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Freedom of procreation

Reproductive rights are legal rights and *freedoms* relating to reproduction and reproduction.

Freedom of transmission

The freedom of transmission means that every person and group can make his or her ideals manifest and can develop and realize them within the legal frameworks.

Freedom of other nations

Freedom in the world is a yearly survey and report by the US-based non-governmental organization (NGO) Freedom House, which measures the degree of civil liberties and political rights in every nation and significant related and disputed territories around the world.



Freedom of the press and media

Freedom of the press and of the media is the principle that communication and expression through various media, including printed and electronic media, especially published materials, should be considered a right to be exercised freely. Such freedom implies the absence of interference from an overreaching state; its preservation may be sought through constitutional or other legal protections.

Freedom of civil association

Freedom of association is the right to come together with other individuals to collectively express, promote, pursue and/or defend common interests. The declaration on fundamental principles and rights at work by the International Labour Organization also ensures these rights.

Results:

Descriptive analysis

The ranking of freedom value orientation among the university employees according to the means and subgroups of freedoms are presented in Table 1. Three levels of orientation toward the value of freedom are distinguished. Summarizing, the freedom orientation of the university employees was determined as toward life, marriage, residence, similarity (equality), participation, education, and security rather than toward social, religious, work, media, and political values.

Table 1.Means and levels of freedoms

Types of freedom	Mean	Level
Freedom of marriage	2.851	Higher level of freedom
Freedom of communication	2.836	
Violation against residence	2.813	
Freedom of mankind's greatness	2.784	
Freedom of life	2.754	
Freedom of participation	2.728	
Right of similarity	2.672	
Freedom of education	2.672	
Freedom of security	2.668	
Freedom of residence	2.627	Median level of freedom
Freedom of clothing	2.619	
Right of ownership	2.608	
Right of fixation of official vacations	2.582	
Principles of mutual respect	2.552	
Freedom to divulge information	2.485	
Freedom to use power	2.455	
Freedom of economy	2.392	
Freedom of name changing	2.362	



Unlimited use of freedom	2.336	
Freedom of social values	2.328	
Freedom of settlement	2.299	
Freedom of work	2.273	E
Freedom of religion	2.269	ower level of freedom
Political freedom	2.246	f fre
Freedom of expression	2.235	<u> </u>
Freedom of procreation	2.119	<u> e</u>
Freedom of transmission	2.097	wer
Freedom of other nations	1.993	P
Freedom of the press and media	1.94	
Freedom of civil association	1.784	

The results of the deviation and t-test results for the whole sample indicate a statistical significance in the freedom value orientation among the university employees in general. This means that the question in the problem statement receives a positive response. As might be expected, different employees had different orientations to the value of freedom overall.

The t-test results according to *referendum participation* showed no significant differences between the freedom value orientation of the 120 sample employees who participated in the referendum and of the 14 who did not. Broadly, these two groups of people have both been brought up in the same culture, so they look at social values, concepts, and norms from a similar viewpoint.

The results for the variables of *gender and social situation (marriage)* involvedstranded deviation of the value of freedoms and one-sample t-test analysis, and mean and standard deviations of the value of freedoms and independent samples test analysis for the sample. These showed no significant differences. Thus, gender and social situation (marriage) were not important factors in people's orientation to freedom.

For the *age group* variable, the analyses performed were mean and standard deviations of the value of freedoms and independent samples test, Levene's test, for between and within groups, Scheffe's test (multiple comparisons and harmonic mean sample). The results showed significant differences for the freedom value according to age, with the older employees ranking more highly than other age groups. In other words, the older respondents indicated that they valued freedom more highly than younger respondents.

For the *economic status* variable, analyses were performed to gain the mean and stranded deviations of the value of freedom and independent samples test analysis and an ANOVA test. The results here indicated significant differences for the freedom value orientation according to economic status. Then, further analysis (Scheffe's



test, multiple comparisons) revealed first, that the difference between employees with high or median economic status was not significant, but those between high and lower level status employees and between median and lower status employees showed a significant difference. Thus, people with a lower economic status indicated that they valued freedom less highly than others.

Analysis for the subscales of *personal and social freedom* revealed significant differences of freedom value orientation. Personal freedom was valued much more highly than was social freedom.

Summaries for the results of all these further analyses are presented below (the T1 results are those presented above [as Table 1]; here, T2–T3 refer to the analyses for the Yes/No question on referendum participation, T4–T5 to gender, T6–T7-T8-T9-T10 to age group, T11–T12 to economic situation, and T14–T15 to the personal and social freedom subscales).

Tabel 2.Results of Analyses

T2<u>One-sample test test</u> value=88 M=107.470; SD=7.348 T=30.672 df=133 sig=000 MD=19.470, Lower=18.214, upper=20.725.

T3<u>Independent samples test</u>Yes(120) Lower= -2.549 Upper= 5.673, No(14) Lower= -3.586 Upper= 6.709.

T4<u>T-test for equality of means</u> F66 M68 Std 6.778 and 7.908- SS= M71 UM63 Std 7.349 and 7.371.

T5 Lower= -2.162+-2.157 Upper= 2.877+2.872 SS; Lower= -1.54252+-1.543 Upper=3.496+3.497.

T6<u>Age groups</u> A35 B53 C34 D12 A = min. 88, max. 120; B = min. 86, max. 118; C = min. 96, max. 122; D = min. 100, max. 126.

T7 Test of homogeneity of variances Levene's test: .622, df1 3, df2 130, sig. .602.

T8 Between groups: 501.834, 3, 167.278, 3.256, .024; within groups: 6679.546, 130, 51.381.

T9<u>Multiple comparisons (Scheffe)</u> 20–25= 26–30 –2.113, 1.561, .609 –6.535 2.309; 31–35= –4.205, 1.726, .120–9.094, .683, 36+ –6.333, 2.397, .078–13.125, .458; (26–30=20–252.113, 1.561, .609 –2.309, 6.535; 31–35= –2.092, 1.575, .624–6.553,2, .368; 36+ –4.220, 2.291, .339 –10.710, 2.270).

<u>T10</u>Scheffea,b Age group 20–25 26–30 31–35 36+ Sig.N 35, 53, 34, 12; Subset for alpha=0.05, 1, 2, 105.000, 107.113, 107.113, 109.205, 109.205, 111.333, .236, .233.

T11<u>Economic situation</u>: Good level, median level, lower level = Min. 93.00, 88.00, 86.00, Max. 122.00, 109.00, 126.00.

T12 <u>ANOVA</u>: Between groups = 589.843, 2,294.922, 5.861, .004; within groups = 6591.538, 131, 50.317; total = 7181.381, 133.



T13<u>Multiple comparisons (Scheffe)</u>Good level, median –1.965, 1.315, .331–5.223, 1.293 lower -7.215, 2.882, .04, .079,14.35- median level, good 1.965, 1.315, .331–1.293, 5.223; lower, 9.181, 2.793, .006, 2.265, 16.09

T14<u>One-sample statistics</u>Kind of freedom; N, mean, std. deviation, std. error mean = Personal freedom: 134, 66.723, 4.876, .421; Social freedom: 134, 40.746, 3.566, .308.

T15<u>Test value</u> (Personal freedom=54; social freedom=34); freedom subscale: t, df sig. (2-tailed), mean difference, 95% confidence interval, lower/upper=personal freedom, 30.204, 133.000, 12.723, 11.890, 13.557; social freedom 21.899, 133.000, 6.746, 6.136, 7.355.

Discussion:

The aim of this study has been to consider the freedom orientation of employees at the University of Zakho in the wake of the KRI referendum introduced by the KRG regarding independence (the establishment of an independent state, i.e., outside of Iraq). In consideration of the first question, on the university employees' view of the freedom value regarding independence as positive or negative, the results of the study show that the sample gave a high value to freedom.

Path analysis indicated that economic and cultural experience has a direct impact on the orientation toward the value of freedom in general, and, more specifically, on personal and social freedoms. In other words, the older respondents indicated that they valued freedom more highly than younger respondents. The difference between employees whose economic status was high or median was not significant, but between high and lower level status employees and between median and lower status employees, there was a significant difference. In other words, lower level economic status employees of the university valued freedom less highly than did the median and higher level employees. There were significant differences shown in the freedom value orientation for the personal freedom and social freedom subscales. This showed that personal freedom was valued much more highly than was social freedom.

Overall, it appears that the negative experiences that employees have had with Iraqi sovereignty drives them to value freedom very highly. It is reasonable to suppose that these experiences ensured their overwhelming participation in the referendum and support for independence. This would account for the higher levels of importance overall afforded to freedom by the older participants and for the relatively higher level of overall support for personal freedom indicated by the predominantly younger sample.

The second question looked for significant differences in university employee views of freedom as a value according to their personal, social, and demographic variables. This was found to be statistically significant in general, meaning that the study sample displayed a positive and high respect and understanding of the value of freedom in society generally and approved of both personal and social freedoms.



The most understanding and highest orientation toward freedom among the sample of the study was observed for the freedoms of marriage, communication, residence, mankind's greatness, life, participation, similarity, education, and security. Again, this kind of perspective may reflect the fact that for more than nine decades of the establishment of Iraq state, Kurds have suffered from many kinds of oppression, injustice, and cruelty by successive Iraq security organizations, personnel, and soldiers. The hundreds of thousands displaced, tortured, killed by chemical weapons, all over Kurdistan and Iraq, including young *peshmergas*, innocent children and women, and even elders represent a litany of savage and barbarous behaviors against Kurds that have driven them to have a special viewpoint of orientation toward the value of freedom.

Low levels were afforded to the freedoms of social values, settlement, work, religion, political freedom, expression, procreation, transmission, other nations, press and media, and civil association. This would seem to indicate a loss of trust in social values. The history of Kurdistan's colonization and the recent rise of IS has probably had a negative effect on the value orientation of employees in this regard. Thus, it seems that we can conclude that historical experiences play an important role here.

There are also issues with unreliable religious and political participation and values, which returns to the negative impact of Iraq's Baath regime, when people living in the area had no right to express their will to freedom and demand their natural rights. Under pressure and the effects of many kinds of treacheries, including those of the international community, the respondents are still doubtful about other nations and religions, and also of some other kinds of freedom, like procreation, transmission, the press and media and civil association. This indicates the personal freedom emphasis, in which respondents had little enthusiasm for social activities.

Also, the recent economic crisis and sanctions applied by the central government of Bagdad in response to the referendum may have had negative effects on peoples in general and employees in partially, making them pay attention to material subjects more than to others. It is also possible that this reflects internal politics, distrust, the fractured internal politics and the main party rivalries in the KRG. In fact, internal KRG problems could have been a reason for a reduced turnout in the referendum; however, the very high turnout suggests that this was largely ignored. Thus, again, the high level of orientation to freedom in the KRI is very high due to bad past experience.

Conclusion:

Freedom is highly valued in the KRI according to the responses to this study conducted among employees at Zakho University. In part, at least, this appears to be a result of the decades of suffering and political oppression experienced by the Kurdish population there. Thus older people in particular are particularly attuned to this value, while more generally and among younger people, it is personal rather than social freedoms that are emphasized.



Going forward, the results of the study indicate the need to further develop understanding of the concept of freedom and the benefits of observing it in social and personal life. This is especially so at a time of interaction with other nations and religions, and particularly in the Kurdistan region, where many people from different nations and religions live. Progress in this area could be accomplished by programs and seminars in the mass media and civil NGO and institutions. Such a program and its seminars should be addressed to a wide range of people (educators, students, politicians, etc.), with the aim of changing attitudes to other nations and religions and those with different opinions, as well as to improve social relationships and reduce the sense of threat and prejudice toward one another. This program should be aimed at in order to increase the level of responsibility toward humanity and human rights, and, above all, the value of freedom.

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ئاراستهیا فهرمانبهران بهرامبهر بهایی ئازادیی و پهیوهندییا وی دکهل پشکداری د ریفراندوّما سهربخوّییا ههریّما کوردستانا عبّراقیّ

يۆختە:

قەكۆلىن بزاقى دكەت ئاراستەيا فەرمانبەرىن زانكۆيا زاخۆ پشتى ريفراندۇما دەقەرا كوردى ل عيراقى لسالا ٢٠١٧ بەرامبەر بهايى ئازاديى قەكۆليىت. ئەنجامان نىشاندا سەمپلى قەكۆليىنى بهايەك مەزن ددەنە بهايى ئازاديىن. جۆداھيەك واتادار دناقبەرا بهادان ب ئازاديى ھەبى لدويڤ كۆراوى ژيى بەرسقدەران. بەرسقدەرىن ژيى وان مەزنىتر پىرتىر ژ ئەوين كەنجىر بهايى دايە بهايى ئازاديىن. ھەروەسا ئەو بەرسقدەرىن ئاستى ئابووريى وان نزمىر ئاستى بهادان ب بهايى ئازاديىن كەسۆكى و ئاستى بەلدەر ئاستى ئازاديىن كەسۆكى و ئاستى بەلدان ب بهايى ئازاديىن كەسۆكى و ئاستى ئازاديىن كەسۆكى و ئادەرىن ئاستى ئازاديىن كەسۆكى و ئادەرى ئاستى ئازاديىن كەسۆكى و ئادەن ۋىلادىن كورۇد ئاستى ئازاديىن كەسۆكى ياكۆ ئازاديىن دۇرىدى بالدىن كورۇد ئاستى ئازادىيىن كەرەرونا ئەرىنى ياكۆ ئەرمانىدىن دورەرەن ئەزموونا ئەرىنى ئازادىيى. ئازادىيى ئازادىيى ئازادىيى ئازادىيى ئازادىيى ئازادىيى ئازادىيى ئەڭ جۆرە ئەزموونە ھند كارتىكىرنى ئىسەر وان بىكەت وەسا بىر ردى پشكداريى د ريفراندۆمىدا بىكەن و پىشتەقانىيى ئى سەربخۆيى بىكەن.

پەيقىن سەرەكى: ھەرىما كوردستانا عىراقى، ريفراندۆم، بها، ئاراستەيا ئازادىي، فەرمانبەر.



اتجاهات الموظفين نحو قيمة الحرية و علاقته بمشاركتهم في استفتاء الاستقلال فياقليم كوردستان العراق

الملخص:

يهدف البحث الحالي إلى التعرف على اتجاهات موظفي جامعة زاخو نحو قيمة الحرية بعد استفتاء المنطقة الكوردية في العراق في سنة ٢٠١٧. وقد بينت نتائج البحث أن أفراد العينة أعطوا قيمة عالية للحرية.

و كانت هناك فروق ذات دلالة احصائية لدى عينة البحث نحو قيمة الحرية حسب متغير العمر، حيث أن المستجيبين الأكبر عمراً أعطوا قيمة عالية للحرية بالمقارنة مع المستجيبين الأصغر عمراً.

كما و بينت النتائج أن موظفي ذوي الوضع الاقتصادي المنخفض حصلوا على قيمة منخفضة لمفهوم الحربة.

كما و بينت النتائج أن رتبة الحريات الشخصية أعلى من الحريات الاجتماعية و يرجع الباحثين هذا إلى التجارب السلبية لدى الموظفين من سلطة الحكومة المركزية حيث دفعهم أن يعطوا هذه القيمة العالية للحرية، و من المنطقى بحكم هذه التجارب فقد أزدادت حماستهم في المشاركة في الاستفتاء و دعمهم للاستقلال.

الكلمات الدالة: إقليم كوردستان العراق، إستفتاء، القيمة، التوجه نحو الحرية، الموظفين.

