



RESEARCH ARTICLE

A Geopolitical Analysis of Indicators of Democratic Transformation in Iraq (Indicator of the Supremacy of Democratic Political Culture as a Model)*

Zahra Mousa Umran^{1*}, Lateef Kamil Klioy²^{1,2}Geography Department, Faculty of Education for Humanities, Al-Muthanna University, Iraq

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: May 22, 2024	<p>Political culture is defined as a set of prevailing knowledge, trends, and opinions in matters of governance, politics, authority, the state, belonging, loyalty, participation, and legitimacy. It is a system of beliefs, symbols, and values that define the way a particular society sees the appropriate role of government, the controls that govern this role, and the relationship between the governed and the ruler. Political culture is part of Public culture consists of the culture of the political elite, and the culture of women, workers, and youth. It is the true system of the political process, thanks to which the people and authority are subject to the determinants of the existing political system. Many forces and factors influence the formation of the political culture in Iraqi society. The political culture in Iraq before 2003 suffered from the process of great curtailment followed by the previous Iraqi political regime. It worked to instill a culture of loyalty and submission to the regime's policy, in addition to its use of coercive methods for the purpose of suppressing any An attempt to introduce political ideas or practices aimed at sharing power, which resulted in the consolidation of a culture of loyalty and submission to the political system and non-opposition to it. However, after April 9, 2003, the nature of the political system changed from a totalitarian system to a democratic system, and from a one-party system to a multi-party system. Here, the Iraqi citizen found a wide space to exercise political freedoms and rights, and it provided an opportunity for the development of a culture of political participation instead of a culture of submission. There are also several influences that affect the formation of political culture in Iraq, including tribal influence and ideological influence (religious, political, national, and socialist).</p>
Accepted: Jul 5, 2024	
Keywords	
Political culture	
Tribe	
Religious ideology	
National ideology	
*Corresponding Author: ar_armat1967@yahoo.com	

INTRODUCTION

Political culture is defined as a set of prevailing knowledge, trends and opinions in matters of governance, politics, authority, the state, belonging, loyalty, participation and legitimacy. It is a system of beliefs, symbols and values that define the way a particular society sees the appropriate role of government and the controls that govern this role and the relationship between the governed and the ruler. Political culture is part of General knowledge.

It is not possible to define a specific political culture for Iraqi society, or for the ruling political class, mostly because of the diverse societal cultural accumulations resulting from the succession of political stages in Iraq since the founding of the modern state of Iraq. As a result of these political data, many cultures appeared in Iraqi society, because the regimes The Iraqi government was formed

on the basis of a ruling class and another ruling class, meaning a domineering and arrogant ruling minority, and a majority that suffers oppression and is ruled. Therefore, each of these classes has its own culture. The Sunni class has its political culture with certain characteristics because it was the ruling authority in Iraq before and after the state was established. Modern Iraqi culture differs from the culture of the Shiite class in Iraqi society, which was characterized by the role of opposition to the ruling regimes as a result of the deliberate exclusion and marginalization to which the Shiite class was subjected for a period of many decades. Therefore, the Shiite class formed its own political culture according to these backgrounds and data. It is not possible to determine A certain political culture for Iraqi society, or for the ruling political class, mostly due to the various societal cultural accumulations resulting from the succession of political stages in Iraq since the founding of the modern state of Iraq. As a result of these political data, many cultures appeared in Iraqi society, because the Iraqi government systems were formed based on The basis of a ruling class and another ruling class, meaning an authoritarian and arrogant ruling minority, and a majority that suffers oppression and is ruled, so each of these classes has its own culture. The Sunni class has its political culture with certain characteristics because it was the ruling authority in Iraq before and after the modern Iraqi state was established, which is In this way, it differs from the culture of the Shiite class in Iraqi society, which was characterized by the role of opposition to the ruling regimes as a result of the deliberate exclusion and marginalization to which the Shiite class was subjected for a long period of decades. Therefore, the Shiite class formed its own political culture according to those backgrounds and data.

As for the Kurdish political culture, it is completely different from the Sunni and Shiite cultures, despite its participation with the Shiite political culture in the provisions to which they were subjected, such as exclusion, marginalization, and killing. However, the Kurdish geopolitical and tribal specificity and its relations with the West remain very different from the Shiite and Sunni classes, but there are characteristics. Common among these three social components, including belonging to the homeland, inclusive social customs that cross sectarian affiliations, in addition to the great mixing between them. There are also several influences that affect the formation of political culture in Iraq, including tribal influence and ideological influence (religious, political, national, and socialist).

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The main research problem is (What is the geopolitical analysis of the indicators of democratic transformation in Iraq?).

Research hypothesis:

Based on the main problem above, the researchers propose a principled solution through the following theory:

(There are many internal and external factors that affect the political culture of the state, in addition to the presence of some forces that have a great influence on the formation of that culture in Iraqi society).

Objective limits of the research: This research falls within the research field of the specialty of political geography, which is concerned with studying all kinds of phenomena that have an impact on the structure of the state's political system and the performance of its internal and external behavior towards the democratic transformation in the state.

Research structure: The research was divided into an introduction and two main requirements. The first requirement dealt with the tribal influence on the formation of political culture in Iraq, while the second requirement explained the influence of ideology on the formation of political culture in Iraq, as well as a list of footnotes and sources.

THE FIRST REQUIREMENT: TRIBAL INFLUENCE ON THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL CULTURE IN IRAQ

The tribe is considered one of the oldest social formations in Iraq, and it has a great influence on social and political life, and it had a major role in directing political life, as the tribal role continued to dominate reality and political life in Iraq for a long time, since the central alphabetical political entities arose in agricultural times. Up to the industrial age and the emergence of nation-states, the tribe continued to change and develop continuously, influencing and being affected by the intellectual, economic, political, and even topographical environment surrounding it (1). Therefore, Iraqi society is one of the societies of a tribal nature, whose social and political role was reflected in Iraq, especially in the Ottoman era, when all human and material resources were under the authority of the sheikhs, which gave the tribes independence and self-sufficiency away from the authority of the center (2).

There are several reasons why the tribe played a major role in influencing social and political life in Iraq, which are (3):

First: The emergence of tribal alliances in Iraq during the period of Ottoman rule due to the weakness of the main features of their rule.

Secondly - the widespread saturation of the tribal spirit in Iraqi society due to tribal mixing, overlap, and intellectual mixing between the Iraqi tribes and the tribes in the Arabian Peninsula, because Iraq was an open gateway from the western side of the Arabian Peninsula, and this reality was reflected in the emergence of a political presence for the tribes that continued as it was until the twentieth century. The militant role of the tribes was consolidated when they confronted the British occupation, and they also played a major role in forming national rule in Iraq in 1921 after the Twentieth Revolution against the British occupation led by the Iraqi tribes.

During the royal era, the role of the tribe in political life was represented by the relationship between the ruling class and the tribal sheikhs, the most important of which was the economic interest, which included the sheikhs obtaining vast lands, and another political interest, through which the sheikhs obtained political positions and parliamentary seats, in exchange for an attempt to give legitimacy to the rule through the tribes' support for the regime. Politically, as for the role of tribes and their influence in Iraqi political life during the Republican era, it seems that the tribal tide increased in the nineties of the last century in Iraq during the economic conditions and the imposition of a siege on it, when the political regime at that time resorted to the support of the tribes in controlling the movement of society and the loss of security and protection. For the regime, this is what led to the greatly consolidation of the role of the tribes. They became an institutional framework that had the final say on some issues, to the point that political and social behavior began to depend on relatives instead of relying on those with ability and experience. Thus, the tribe became present in every political behavior in Iraqi society and occupied the main position in the heart of events and matters, away from marginalization (4).

As for the role of the tribe in political life in Iraq after 2003, despite the weakness and erosion of the tribal system in the modern era, many of the customs, values and traditions remained as part of popular culture, as the totalitarian dictatorial regime exploited them intelligently for the sake of stabilizing its rule, and not for the sake of... Supporting Iraq and its stability, on the basis that the tribal system is an important foundation on which the strong rule of government is built (5).

After the Iraqi political system changed on April 9, 2003, there appeared the process of establishing tribal and tribal offices and councils, the number of which reached (45) councils throughout Iraq at the beginning of the American occupation, which reflected the strength of the role of tribes and clans in the course of events, and on the other hand There appear to be cases of weakness and division resulting from the fragmentation of many clans and tribes into houses competing for the sheikhdom

and the leadership of the tribe by those who do not have an actual base. These circumstances increase the benefit of the occupation forces if they do not use them to their advantage by weakening the centers of opposition forces and forming centers that are alternatives. linked to it and supportive of it, but the legacy of struggle related to the national liberation interests of the Iraqi tribes and clans has awakened again to stand against new attempts. Tribal existence does not depend on a mere sense of solidarity, but rather is the result of the interaction between social, economic and political factors, that is, it is a cultural-cognitive entity with its own identity. The private, morals that every individual seeks (6).

Tribal political thought in Iraq after 2003 was characterized by the following characteristics (7):

1. The tendency and obedience of the Iraqi tribes to the religious authority to a large extent, and this became clear when they supported the orders of the authority in the events after 2003, due to the position that the religious authority enjoys in their social, cultural and political lives.
2. The tribes distribute their sectarian loyalty to national and sectarian groups, due to their belief in their participation in the democratic political process.
3. Tribal sheikhs at this stage are very loyal to the state and the government on the basis of their own interests, and to provide strength to its members vis-à-vis other tribes.
4. Migration from the countryside to the city helped to form the political mind of the tribe. This migration contributed to the change in the tribes' cultures as a result of their proximity to the media, in addition to their participation in political work in the past and present, which made the tribal leaders and their sons more aware, mature, cultured, and understanding of internal, international, and regional conflicts.
5. The tribal culture began to suffer from political duality due to the impact that the authoritarian legacy left on the political culture. Totalitarian rule had a clear impact on the tribal cultures, forming a culture that leaned toward the strong ruler or president. With the emergence of the democratic system in this period, the tribesmen participated in the decision-making process. The political government, so we see the tribal culture as a dual culture, tending to peace, and tending to a strong leader and central authority.
6. Before obtaining electoral support, the parties turned towards the tribes, which led to the division of the tribes in their political loyalty, which was divided first on sectarian and national components, then divided partisanly on the basis of the interests of both parties and not on the basis of ideology.

THE SECOND REQUIREMENT: THE INFLUENCE OF IDEOLOGY ON THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL CULTURE IN IRAQ

Ideology is defined as the outcome of the process of forming the general intellectual system that explains the individual, society, and nature, to determine a specific practical and intellectual position for those who follow this system, which contributes to linking and integrating ideas in various intellectual, moral, philosophical, and political fields (8). Political ideas can form a type of social cohesion that provides social groups and society with a set of beliefs and values that work to unify them. Political ideologies have been linked to certain social classes, such as the association of liberalism with the middle class, conservative ideology with the land-owning aristocracy, and aristocracy with the working class. They reflect experiences and interests. Ideas related to a specific class then help to enhance the feeling of solidarity and belonging, and this indicates the success of ideological ideas in linking different classes and groups within society (9). According to the above, ideology is one of the tools of control over the political system, and it is also one of the tools of opposition to the political system.

As for the Iraqi level, Iraq witnessed various types of ideologies. During the period of the Ottoman Caliphate that ruled Iraq, it adopted religious ideology as a basis for rule until the founding of the modern Iraqi state in 1921, after which nationalism began to dominate political life. Nationalist, religious, and socialist ideologies had a role in forming... Political thought in Iraq is as follows:

First: Religious ideology

This ideology had a clear impact on the formation of the political culture in Iraq. Every group has a culture, and every culture has a system of values that determines the behavior followed by members of society. Values have more than a single source of origin, but religion adds to the values strength and sanctity and emphasizes the respect and submission of individuals to them. Religion works on social security and peace within a single society (10).

Secondly: National ideology

It is the belief that confirms that the nation is the central principle of political organization, so it is based on two assumptions: the first is that human beings are naturally divided into distinct nations, and secondly, that the nation is the only legitimate unit of political rule, so political nationalism worked to make the borders of the nation coincide with the borders of the state, and here it happens. Congruence between national affiliation and citizenship within the state, but nationalism is a complex phenomenon that is highly diverse, as there are no distinct political and ethnic cultural forms to nationalism, but rather it is broad and sometimes contradictory (11).

In establishing the modern Iraqi state, the beginnings of the speeches of the rulers of the royal era in Iraq focused on the word nationalism, but they did not clarify what they meant by nationalism, whether it was Iraqi nationalism or Arab nationalism. But the ambiguity disappeared when the honorable officers and the royal family showed a clear inclination towards Arab nationalism, as the idea of (comprehensive Arab unity) was adopted as the ideology that established the modern Iraqi nation state (12).

Third: Socialist ideology

Just as the monarchy in Iraq adopted nationalist ideological foundations in the political structure, the Republican era in Iraq had the characteristics of its ideology in the midst of a struggle between strongly competing ideologies, namely the leftist ideologies (nationalist, communist, and socialist ideology) and during the following time periods (13):

- 1- The era of Abdul Karim Qasim (1958 - 1963)
- 2- The era of the first dissolved Baath regime (1963 - 1964)
- 3- The rule of Abdul Salam Arif and his brother Abdul Rahman Arif (1964 - 1968)
- 4- The era of rule of the second dissolved Baath Party (1968 - 2003)

The political culture during the era of Baath rule emphasized the monoculture that the political system imposed on the state and society through a number of institutions such as the army, the popular forces, the Cubs and Vanguards, trade unions, peasant associations, the National Union of Iraqi Students and others, as well as military, party and security institutions, which affected These institutions negatively affect the political culture of the family and individuals in Iraqi society (14).

The bottom line: We note that many internal and external factors affect the political culture of the state, in addition to the presence of some forces with a great influence on the formation of that culture in Iraqi society, which suffered from neglect and great curtailment before 2003 by the previous Iraqi political regime, as its policy was The general goal is to instill a culture of loyalty and submission to the regime's policy and not to oppose it, using coercive methods, in order to end any attempt or practice of politics aimed at sharing power, but after the fall of the regime on April 9, 2003 and the

change in the nature of the political system from a one-party system to a pluralistic system Partisanship, so this became a starting point for the Iraqi citizen because it created ample space for exercising political freedoms and rights, with opportunities for the development of a culture of political participation instead of a culture of submission. However, due to the presence of some other influences whose influence is still effective on the Iraqi citizen, such as tribal influence and ideological influence, it led to Placing obstacles to the implementation of the culture of free, democratic political participation, obstructing the course of its development in Iraq, and keeping it in a state of confusion governed by some of the factors and forces that contributed to the spread of the subaltern culture.

REFERENCES

- (1) Hashem Muhammad Al-Mashhadani, *Fanaticism in the Light of Islam: A Descriptive and Analytical Study*, Dar Al-Thaqafa for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Doha, 2002, p. 212.
- (2) Faleh Abdul Jabbar, *The New Book of the State and the Two Luthans*, translated by: Translation Team, Al-Jamal Publications, Baghdad - Beirut, 2017, p. 207.
- (3) Nizar Tawfiq Al-Hasso, *The Struggle for Power in Royal Iraq: An Analytical Study in Political Administration*, without a publishing title, Baghdad, 1984, p. 45.
- (4) Fadel Hussein, *the fall of the Monarchy in Iraq*, Arab Horizons Library, Baghdad, 1986, pp. 11-13.
- (5) Abeer Abdul Hussein Muhammad Jassim, *The role of the tribe in political life in Iraq after 2003*, unpublished master's thesis, University of Baghdad, College of Political Science, 2015, p. 93.
- (6) Firas Abdul Karim Muhammad Ali, *Democratic Transition in Iraq after April 9, 2003*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Baghdad, College of Political Sciences 2011, p. 288.
- (7) Montaser Majeed Hamid, *Democratic Transformation and the Structure of Contemporary Iraqi Society*, unpublished master's thesis, University of Baghdad, College of Political Science, 2005, pp. 183-185.
- (8) Android, *an Introduction to Political Ideologies*, translated by: Muhammad Saffar, Egyptian General Book Authority, Cairo, 2012, p. 12.
- (9) Sadiq Al-Aswad, *Political Sociology, Its Foundations and Dimensions*, Mosul University Press, 1986, p. 250.
- (10) Same source, p. 250.
- (11) Salah Abdel Razzaq, *the Religious Authority in Iraq*, Al-Maaref Forum, Beirut, 2010, pp. 54-55.
- (12) Android, previous source, p. 177.
- (13) Ahmed Ghaleb Ashlah, *the Iraqi National Identity: A Study in Forms of Construction and Continuity*, Iraq Center for Studies, 2018, p. 108.
- (14) Muhammad Sadiq Al-Hashemi, *The Political Culture of the Iraqi People and Its Most Notable Transformations*, Al-Saqi Applied - Beirut, Iraq Center for Studies, 2013, p. 232.