# Social Change: The case of patriotism in contemporary Iraq: A Socio-political perspective.

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## Abstract

The aim of this study is to hypothesise the causes of social change in relation to the disintegration of patriotism in post-war Iraq. Historical, socio-political methods based on oral literature, observation and a semi-structured interview has been used to collect data. Iraq's population has been forced to unite into tribal, religious and ethnic fractions, rather than uniting under the umbrella of a nation/state. Abuse of political power has helped divide society into differing social categories. The large scale of corruption, alongside the lack of safety, security and protection makes the country a repulsive rather than an attractive force in uniting its citizens. In order to face the waves of marred social change, the Iraqi people should take into a consideration three socio-cultural aspects: improvement of education; ideal-type figures and the position of women; these components are the key to overcoming the current anarchy.

## 1. Introduction

Social change is ubiquitous, whether it be visible or invisible, slow progressing or instantaneous; it is the nature of life. Change is the sustainer of the earth, yet simultaneously the phantom ghost that frightens man. Everything changes, both in our lives and all that is around us, it is a necessity, regardless of consequence. Society progresses, ecosystems evolve, intentional or not, good or bad, our everyday interactions, inventions, discoveries and diffusion which, force an inevitability of development on all things (Sztompka 1998). Ralf Dahrendorf (1959a:162) reported that "*every element in a society renders a contribution to its disintegration and change...every society displays at every point dissensus and conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous*".

Like Karl Marx, Dahrendorf reflected a view of the conflict paradigm, whereas many other scholars interpreted social change in accordance to the structural-functionalism, conflict, phenomenology or symbolism theory. No matter the theoretical approach one best feels aligned to, the conclusion remains that life cannot exist without change. Natural change, through daily interaction follows the progressive path that is acclimatising and well tolerated (Strasser & Randall 1981). It is indeed sudden change that reverberates chaos. Change that transfers social structures from stable and coherent, to then a complete metamorphosis into another normless structure; this can cause fear, distrust and harm. Human beings are creatures of habit, whether it be positive or destructive practises. A prime example of destructive social change occurred in Iraq, following the 2003 strong-armed invasion. The chaos that ensued led the way for the underground mobs to gain power within local areas. Looting and vandalism became commonplace in hospitals, schools, farms, factories, banks, museums and government offices, extending into every corner of structure and power. The state of Iraq regressed to a state reminiscent of a lawless stone age. Patriotism was no longer an intelligible word, fractions formed with birth right loyalties, religious doctrine was misconstrued, and political gangsters implemented change. However, the fundamental change used to be viewed in relation to industrialization, urbanization and natural disaster, new approaches of social change no longer connected to industrialisation and urbanization; the rapid improvement in advanced technology bring about what Dürrschmidt and Tylor (2007:140) describe as a "*risk society*" who create metamorphoses that "break the purity rule". Accordingly, the human race is a victim of rapidly transforming, where the magnitude of change "*does not come about because of the introduction of a new technology, but occurs when a series of technical innovations, cultural shifts and changes in social organization interact*" (Hamilton 2002:112). The complexity of social change may fairly

colour developed societies in a systematic, intentional and to some degree under controlled way (Sztompka 1998). Iraq's society has emerged from destructive wars, invasions, civil war and corruption, with a unilateral economy (revenue generating economy). In this sense, social change takes different avenues that can only be described as arbitrary or in Sztompka's words "*piecemeal changes*" (p. 6), that jeopardises the stability of the whole society. Within this context the standard definitions of social changes in the textbook of sociology may not applicable in modern ill-formed Iraq, in terms of established economic, socio-cultural and political organisations.

## 2. The Paper Objectives

The objective of this paper is to shed light on the degradation of patriotism in Iraq's turmoil that has covertly happened in modern history. It is commonplace that man cannot survive alone nor can he live in a vacuum. They have to maintain their feelings of existence, thinking and acting through small or large aggregations within real time and space. Loyalty to the state or to the nation in modern political terms may have started within the hypothetical borders of families or villages, before the widespread concept of citizenship that went on to devour the entire nation.

## 3. Methodology

This paper will try to explore the feelings of patriotism in order to reinforce value systems, that appreciate the concept of devotion to a nation among the new generation of Iraqis. Citizens have had unimaginable experiences in the last few decades within nationalist governments, resulting in a fundamental loss of faith in morality with regards to the government and of the system within the nation. This in turn reflects on the diminished value of patriotism. The researchers will adopt the historical method of data collection, beside the socio-anthropological methods based on the oral literature, observation and semi-structured interviews.

## 4. Socio-political background

The society of Iraq prior to the eve of the invasion was in a state of turmoil after thirteen years of harsh sanctions imposed by the international community. This forced the overwhelming majority of the population to live below the poverty line, which in turn forced the vast majority to eat fodder and sell their homes, farms, furniture and for some, even the clothes on their back. Some people had nothing left, selling organs and their bodies to survive. All that unfolded was the tyrannical regime attempting to keep the sovereignty of a country intact with the aid of the secret police and the Baath party members (Salinger and Laurent 1991, Alwan 2014).

Sanctions did not affect the elite or the top officials of the regime, however; it penetrated undiscriminatingly deep into families, neighbours, and entire communities of all other social classes. An intelligent report once noted: A father was embarrassed when asked by his son for a new school shirt, which he could not afford to buy, he was forced to sell his most

valuable books in order to secure the price of the shirt. Another sold his two daughters (human trade) to feed his remaining five children. Imagine a father not being able to provide pencils for his children; as pencils according to the sanction imposers, can be used to make weapons, therefore the import of pencils was forbidden. Consequentially, thousands of children left school prematurely looking for work, to help their families survive.

Neighbours and relatives who once helped and cared for each other out of kindness became fearful of one another, as they may report them to the underground 'secret' police for financial or social gains. Friendships and kindness were no longer something that ran through communities, who have now become connected only through geography rather than community. The value system cracked, the society as a whole became as Durkheim (1951) described it "normless". The government under these circumstances were only capable of enforcing law and order during daylight hours. At night, no jurisdiction can realistically be enforced. This in turn led to anarchy which was not safe for anyone but those partaking in the acts of corruption and immorality.

The fear and hunger continuum within the siege coerced thousands of people to flee the country and scatter all over the world, in addition, a sizeable number of people were displaced within the country itself. Coerced displacement and immigration are not merely a social phenomenon that takes place as a result of uncertainty, it is serious socio-political, demographical and cultural problem. It is a devastating and divisive act for individuals who are often tied to areas through generations of family and assets that both are lost in turn. The magnitude of this phenomenon has been estimated to be as great as 4 million immigrants or refugees during the period 1980-2000 (Lischer 2008). It has effects on the whole social context; children were the most vulnerable group to be threatened. Under these circumstances and for the first time, after forty years of submission and silence, a slogan against the regime appeared on the wall of the cities reading "thousands of Americans rather than one Tikrity" (the tribe of the president) "Mr president soon you will face your fate". This was the voice of the people prior to the 2003 invasion. It showed how the harsh and brutal treatment of people can lead to the complete loss of any patriotism and affection to one's own land. Some European countries (pre-industrial revolution), who had a semi-feudal system, had to some degree, similar problems and its institution of perseverance "*were on the point of collapse*". This paved the way for progress and reform (Mayer 1989: 47) although the case was fundamentally different in the nature of the socio-political system, but war and hunger brought about misery for all.

## 5. Patriotism, Nationalism and Identity

The word Patriotism was built upon the legacy of ancient Greek and Roman Sources; the Greek word "*Pate*r" means "*father*" it is a religious sentiment used to indicate loyalty to a parent. From the base of the word "*pater*" the word patriot emerged to mean "*the fellow countryman*". Similarly, the word "*terra Patria*" means "*the father land*" or "country". The father land or the land of every man religiously signified the soil of the ancestors remains but more importantly their souls (Bar-Tal 1993, Viroli 1995). The recent view of patriotism in the literature of political sociology and political science is not far from the Greek legacy.

According to The Oxford Dictionary (1913) patriotism is a "*devotion to and vigorous support for one's country*". It is the feeling of attachment and devotion to one's homeland and sense of belonging to a certain group of people sharing the same socio-cultural values. It is closely related to "nationalism". Although both terms are used interchangeably, but in socio-political literature they sound different, at least in the evaluative tone, where "patriotism" is used in positive sense, while "nationalism" is used in a negative sense. The people of one's nation are inclined to see themselves as patriots, and they reverse the term nationalist to others (Poole 2007). Nationalism is a term defined by Heywood (2007:143) as "*the belief that the nation is the central principle of the political organization*"., while the term "patriotism" over centuries, is used to invoke the devotion and love to the political institution that maintains freedom and prosperity to the whole nation (Viroli 1995). Alasdair (1984) indicated that the Americans have two sets of beliefs about patriotism (before the September 11), the first view is a "virtue", the second looks at it as "vice". The attitude has been dramatically changed after the September attack, the people suddenly turned from passive patriotism to the sentiment of "*national pride,*" in Nussbaum's (2010:155) words. However, the attitude of people can be changed from right to left in minutes, especially at a time of crisis, natural disasters and wars. People are inclined to always take the side of their own country. In this context Alasdair (1984:3) stated:

*In the great war of 1914-18 Max Weber claimed that imperial Germany should be supported because it was the cause of Kultur, while Emil Durkheim claimed with equal vehemence that France should be supported because it was cause of civilisation. And here and now there are those American politicians who claim that the United States deserve our allegiants because it champions the goods of freedom against the evils of communism.*

The bias attitude of the people does not change the reality that patriotism is internalized and probably changed into nationalism whenever applicable, thus the use of both terms depends upon the socio-political situation. By all means, patriotism may be embodied as Giddens (1989:303) said in "*a set of symbols and beliefs providing the sense of being a part of a*

*single political community*". Nevertheless, Patriotism in the first instance is a psychological rather than socio-political or anthropological concept. Psychological, because people can express their feelings toward the place, the people and the state, they can distinguish themselves as a human group from other aggregations, they realize themselves as 'we' against 'them' (Mead 1934, Broom et al 1981, Giddens 1989).

It is a 'human' environment rather than physical; a physical environment on its own cannot stimulate the existence of feelings, it is the socio-cultural environment that stimulates the desire to survive, to act and interact as well as carry on cultural symbols that play a fundamental role in guiding human groups toward their shared traditions. The place everyone belongs to probably stimulates the emotion of loyalty, love and sacrifice (Hofstede 2001). This imaginary relation with a place can be called "patriotism". The question is how far can one attribute loyalty to the place in terms of passport, identity card or border manifestations?

If patriotism is viewed as an identity, which is so in the literature of political sociology, then it provides us with clear answer about who we are. It appears like the colour of our skin, spirit in our body, as an Arabic proverb says "I am not inside my homeland, but my homeland is inside of me". Over thirty years of living in England, and people still ask me "where do you come from?" if I say I am from the City of Hull in England, they would say yes, I know, but I mean originally. It is the skin colour, the accent, the body language, the food preference, the habit of eating and drinking, and perhaps personality, that is deemed fundamentally different. Identity as defined by Woodward (2004: 8) is *"a link between the personal and the social"*. Within the same context patriotism may be embodied in many national symbols, the flag, the anthem, the national football team, the passport and many other symbols that states to which nation or country the person belongs (Woodward 2004).

Although, the state and nation are a modern concept, as we shall see, used to identify aggregations with one origin or probably where multi-racial people co-existed alongside one another for a long period of time in the same area of land. Race purity and blue blood superiority proved its nonsense. Culture's variety and overlapping cultural components may eliminate racist ideas and pave the way to break traditional borders in order to establish a global culture for all of mankind with attempts to eliminate society's lack of variety, replacing it with a superior dominant culture (Dürrschmidt and Tylor 2007). Nevertheless, patriotism is a divisively powerful cultural component that will never be totally left behind.

## 6. State as a Modern Phenomenon

The contemporary states in their political and geographical shapes were an outcome of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Before colonialism, countries and nations were stateless. The concept of state for the greater part of societies had no application (Bilton et al 1990); people can move freely from one place to another without restriction. No identity card or passport had existed or was even needed to travel, to live or to permanently settle. J. J. Rousseau the philosopher of the well-known work "social contract" born in Geneva 1712, was thirty when he moved to Venice in Italy, after approximately a year he left to France on the border with Italy. Five years later he settled in Paris, when he was 42 he returned to Geneva. At the age of 62 he settled and died in Paris. French people knew him as a French Citizen, the people of Geneva knew him as a Swiss citizen, even the people of Venice claim he was an Italian citizen. Al-bukhari* (810-870) born in what is today known as "Uzbekistan", spent most of his life travelling; from Bokhara to Nishapur, to Basra, Baghdad, Mecca, Medina, Kufa, Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, and many other places. He died in his place of birth, with no identity card,

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*Al-Bukhari, the first Muslim scholar collected the prophet Mohammed speech over sixteen years of travelling all over the Islamic world. Wikipedia

passport or checkpoint. Thus, states used to be no more than an aggregation of people, bound together, orderly, predictable and institutionalized, (Beattie 1985). In terms of order, social relation has been maintained through some degree of compulsion, necessary in order to keep human relations coherent and systematically organized aside from people's origin, race or belief.

Concerning the ancient empires who flourished in the fertile areas several thousands of years ago, where rulers of one part succeeded in conquering other parts, these empires often disintegrated and each part within the territory of these large empires had its own rules, surviving in the form of small kingdoms or tribes Giddens (1989).

The rules of each human aggregation within the territories of ancient empires differ from one social unit to another and hardly assimilate into larger society as a whole.

G. Hofstede (1991) emphasised that the idea of a "Nation" or "state" in which the entire world is divided, and in which everyone presumably is to belong, is a recent phenomenon. He stated:

*The nation system was only introduced worldwide in the mid- twentieth century. It followed the colonial system which had developed during the preceding three centuries. In this colonial period, the technologically advanced countries of Western Europe divided among themselves virtually all the territories of the globe which were not held by another strong*

*political power. The borders between the ex-colonial nations still reflect the colonial legacy. P.11-12*

Accordingly, the concept of "state" alongside "nation" is only an invention of colonial powers, who tried to segment the old stateless world in order to rule. According to the principle of "divide and rule" which in turn encourages the idea of patriotism in terms of identity, existence and relationships.

The concept of "nation" in socio-political literature cannot be equated to societies. Nation, as we have seen is a deceiving concept created by powerful societies to control less powerful societies. Those influential "states" who make up borders, checkpoints, passports and identity cards were responsible for the disputes and armed conflicts all over the world. In Hofstede's (1991:12) term '*the border between the ex-colonial nations still reflect the colonial legacy*'. However, there are many scholars warning that the emphasis on patriotic symbols as pride is on one hand dangerous whilst on the other undermines "some of the worthy goals that patriotism sets out to serve" (Nussbaum 2010:155). If the emotion of national pride associated with the sense of shared national identity was treated as something of value, it may help to maintain the people's psychological wellbeing. Conversely, an overemphasis may cultivate aggressive behaviour toward one another. The concept, however, is a double-edged sword. On the one side, it could serve the unity of people against an outside threat (O'Leary 2000), an example being the unity of American people during and after the September 11th attacks, where nationalism and patriotic feelings soured to the unprecedented levels. On the other hand, it could cause an apathy or even subordination, much like the Iraqi populous, who chose to take the side of the invaders despite the destruction and crimes they committed; it is an unusual phenomenon that the indigenous population would welcome foreign forces. Even in the most traditional of cultures, local people usually are united in their resistance, if they can't resist by force, they call out for a miracle or the help of a higher power, boycott or at least passively resist the invaders (Alneamy 2015).

In recent research, there were serious attempts of some intellectuals to think beyond the nation (Appadurai 1993). This attempted to show patriotism or national identity to be viewed with a full sense of awareness of the cultural system rather than the old sort of loyalty to the state, using boundaries and checkpoints. People according to Stub (1997) should move from blind to critical loyalty, bright idea against the narrow loyalty produced by Barry (2010:106) who gave a comprehensive and utopian image of loyalty. Barry (2010:106) stated:

*The demands of cosmopolitanism would, I suggest, be best satisfied in a world in which rich people wherever they live would be taxed for the benefit of poor people wherever they lived.*

He suggested that to obtain this, we may need to develop a global system of equality and justice, and that probably goes against human nature, as humans are incapable of avoiding a conflict of interests, equal distribution of natural resources and wealth.

These ambitious and optimistic viewpoints will never see the light of day, nor are they applicable in reality. The gap in development between countries and nations can't easily be bridged with regards to human greed, a sense of superiority and paradoxes in term of the value system and cultural heritage.

## 7. One world or many worlds

In 1942* a young gypsy woman was found dead a few miles from her camp with injuries along her head and face, she looked as though she had been abducted and tortured prior to her death. As she was only a gypsy, the police did not

investigate the murder further, a stark contrast to similar cases, most likely due to travellers having no identity card. Soon after, the woman was forgotten, and

the gypsy camp disappeared, as the community moved. This story appears normal and as though there is nothing to raise an eyebrow at, this event presumably happens almost daily somewhere in the world. However, unusually, the night before her death she was dancing and singing with other gypsy girls at

a wedding (this is the main job of gypsies in southern Iraq). She was the main singer and sung angelically, often original songs, instantly making up a song on the spot, she sang:

'*Wake up Ghazi (The recently dead king of Iraq)*
*Soger and girga and Sikh (English Solders, with troops from India and Pakistan)*
*Interred our country*

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*An old man from southern Iraq reported this story.

*They do not look like us'*

The reporter who was only a teenager at the time said: "the words almost stabbed

our hearts, she provoked us to resist and defend our land, despite her

not belonging to any land or place. She didn't even have recognition from any official authorities as a citizen." Can we call this patriotism? This case may appear to almost be a part of a play, but it is an unfortunate reality. Patriotism

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is a loyalty to the place you are born; the place you had your childhood; the place

you learn the first letter of the alphabet of your mother tongue and the place you hear the first tone of your mother's voice to quiet you to sleep. It is a matter of

identity that one may not be consciously aware of, as Kath Woodward (2004) said. Giddens (1989) asserted that we learn at a very early stage how we behave toward our place of birth and how to show loyalty to people of the same ethnic group. Solidarity will appear as one pertinent characteristic of social life, it can be shown when Durkheim (1933: 130) said *"the collective conscience completely envelopes our whole conscience and coincides in all points with it. Personality or individuality "vanishes' here"* (Schneider 1976:58).

It is not political socialization that makes you a good or bad citizen, nor fixed or inherited patterns, it is a conformity within the socio-cultural environment, with all its contradictions; satisfaction vs deprivation, utopian vs positivism (Banton 1970). Some animals developed unique characteristics to adapt to certain environmental niches. Some have gone further, to make their location a definite territory, aggressively defending other local species against foreign creatures. On the other hand, it is argued humans have no inherited territorial-centred behaviour as Conrad (1967:158) wrote:

*'human territoriality, then is far more than a blind and instinctive devotion to a section of the world. Man has the potential to be and to feel at home whenever he is. Our loyalty to a particular area is highly complex, learned attachment—much more than a homing pigeon's instinct. Just because you feel at home in Capistrano does not mean that you and the swallows have the same reasons.'*

Accordingly, it is so easy to assume that man is different to other creatures in terms of place and loyalty, as man is able to adjust much easier. Man has loyal sensitivity toward a place and people of the same cultural characteristics, only when they feel secure, settled, respected and free.

In relation to nationalism and nationality K. W. Deutsch (1979:128) reported that to deal with this concept in terms of "society" which is defined by R. Linton (1945:79) to *"refer to a group of people who have learned to work together"*. K.W Deutsch asked whether 'work together' was a sufficient definition to explain the feeling of belonging. 'Work together' alone does not create "society". In other words, 'work together' does not necessarily make a state or nation, it could be a collaboration between two or more societies or nations; but the concept of society should be separated

from other societies by a marked drop, by a set of cultural configurations. If we look closely at cultural configuration, we will find a set of visible and invisible values that distinguish aggregations of people, as a society, or nation, from one another. One of the lessons of political sociology, anthropology and history is that the human race is both one and many, biologically, mentally all the same, but they are fundamentally different in terms of motivation belief, and customs (Broom et al 1981). In relation to patriotism, identity and nationalism, culture unconsciously inculcates the essential principles of love and devotion to one's homeland, and determined is the related rational or irrational action, it is as Giddens (1989) claimed that culture '*has to be studied in terms of its own meaning and values…. To avoid ethnocentrism, which judging other cultures by comparison, with one's own*". The deduction is that the cultural diversity entails socio-political variety, and accordingly any political system makes up any sentiment of loyalty certainly derived from the cultural values and norms.

## 8. The interview procedures and its outcomes

By interviewing 50 men and women in the domain of the teaching profession (32 men and 18 women, 10 professors, 30 professors' assistants and 10 lecturers, all of them teach within the College of Art, at the University of Baghdad), The sample selection was taken from this author's university, to formulate ideas into why patriotism in Iraq is on the decline. The semi-structured interview conducted by the researcher in person for the period 1st of April to 1st of May 2017. The selection criteria were that all members of staff within the college of art would participate. Of the 168 members, 50 respondents were obtained. As such, any conclusions drawn from the responses present an element of selection bias. This would need to be addressed in the future by having a larger sample size as well as asking people of differing socio-economic backgrounds. In addition, the selection of participants would need to be divided throughout Iraq rather than being limited to the capital city of Baghdad. The interview outcomes were not extraordinary, but, to some degree, it revealed the way in which a sizeable number of Iraqi citizens express their opinion in real life.

The interview outcomes can be categorized as follows:

In relation to the question "*why Iraqi people among others have no real sentiment of patriotism***?**" The correspondents' responses fell under the following categories:

## 8.1 The poor example set by politicians:

'Our homeland is our mother, except in Iraq it looks more like an evil step mother', one male interviewee claimed, where the politicians conduct themselves in abusive and corrupt ways; they only look after themselves, their families and relatives, other people have no right for decent jobs, income, or services. When it comes to war, for instance, they send their children abroad for leisure and joy whilst our children are sent to die. A female correspondent said "everywhere in the world, people have rights and

a sense of duty except in Iraq where we only have a sense of duty". The politicians, as another female informant claimed, 'kill the spirit of identity, nationality and patriotism inside us', the majority have no sense of loyalty to the country, most of them have dual nationality and their loyalty, their money and their assets followed them to the country their families now reside in.

Most of the politicians work for their own sake to gain as much as possible, as their existence is temporary, after a while they go to join their families abroad with all that they have gained. In these cases, they have set an abusive example for others. People follow their poor example, which helps inflate their ego, they look after themselves whilst the rest perish. As such, they create an individual-centred system instead of collective or societal-centred tradition, which leads to overriding the public interests. Patriotism, in this example, is incomprehensible to the vast majority of the populous.

## 8.2 The nature of socio-cultural system

Throughout the socialization process, with the first nip of milk, with the first letter of the alphabet of the child's mother tongue, and onward, people learn to work for and defend their own family, relatives and tribes. They do not learn to defend the whole nation; not in school, not in a mosque and not at work do they learn to love others and fight for their rights, which reflects as one male informant claimed, 'the misunderstanding of the principle of citizenship'. The family at an early stage unconsciously deliver the indication that the state represents another doctrine, party or tribe; in Ramadan, for instance, some people start fasting with the government and break their fast with them, others start one or two days later, as they said it's the government feast, not ours.

Essentially, people have learnt quite early on that they have to live for their own and not share with others. As another male informant stated, regarding school curricula, "children learn verbally the concept of citizenship and patriotism, but never learn that practically through examples, thus, as soon as they leave school they forgot what they had learn". The socio-cultural system itself defected, not the individual teacher or the politician. Within this socio-cultural climate, patriotism seems to be vague concept in real life.

### 8.3 The suspicious relationship between the government and the people

'Patriotism and citizenship are a feeling, not enrolment; citizenship is a system of give and take and any misfire in this equation could make cracks in the relationship between the people and their homeland' one male correspondent said. Indeed, the government plays an essential role through its multiple channels to reinforce loyalty to the nation or the state or push its

people away. One female correspondent claimed that 'the Iraqi government has done nothing to reinforce loyalty to the country'. Due to the wide gap between the people and the government, the people sway away and look to the government, as an informant said, '*as an enemy'* and that may explain why people rushed to steal, vandalize and loot the government assets and institutions when its infrastructure was weakened.

Political socialization always gives a priority to the leader(s)'; they are above the law; the justice system is created for the other citizens. Another female informant said 'if the government asked me to love my country, they should offer a job, security, housing, health, education and freedom, all of these are not available, they only demand love and loyalty to the leaders otherwise you may be sent six feet under by their secret police or more recently by their 'Militia'.

Before the American invasion in 2003, Iraqi people used to have a state with a dictator and established institutions, after that, the state (the government) became flimsy puppets, dangerous as it divided into fractions, multiple dictators, each one forming an independent state with an army of mercenaries. Under these circumstances, patriotism disappeared and was replaced by loyalty to fractions, in this sense one male informant said 'give me security and freedom anywhere in the world and that will be my homeland'.

Among the interviewees one female said 'it might be easy to find shelter, but not that easy to replace it with a place you can call home'. This interviewee was aware of the importance of a homeland and expressed her patriotism in spite of the government' acts and behaviour.

For the question "*is the state different than the ruler or the government***?**" the informants' reactions were categorized under two headings:

## 8.4 The state owned by government:

The vast majority of the informants (85% of both male and female) indicated that the state is owned by government, one female teacher said "over centuries governments come and go but none of them work for the people, they all work for themselves, their relatives or their tribes". The people who experience a wide gap with their rulers may transfer their hatred to the state, for example, they keep their houses clean and tidy, but the streets, public parks, gardens, schools and hospitals are filthy and full of litter, which may in part be explained by the fact that they consider these public facilities do not belong to them. Professor Q. Salih (2018: 10) in his book "the corruption in Iraq 2006-2018", documented the magnitude of the corruption after the collapse of the regime in 2003, focusing on the looting of the state institution. Professor Salih stated: "*I was a witness of the looting. The looting started on the 8th of April, 2003, one day before the collapse of Baghdad with a few professional criminals at the banks, the radio and tv stations, the national museum, ministry of culture, internal ministry, and the five-star hotel Almansor-melia. The next day thousands of*

*people thrust to plunder these and other institutions*". Some people stole the motorway crash barrier, electric wires and water supply equipment and sold it for a fraction of its true cost to neighbouring countries. This occurred because the people had no overwhelming loyalty to their country and they did not feel that they own their country as one informant claimed "they use the country as an inherited property and we work as slaves for them, not for the country" another said "we lay on a pond of oil but we get nothing" a third informant said "we are like camels carrying gold who have eaten thorns". The informants did recognise the differences between the state and the ruler or the regime, but they found nothing encouraging in the distinction.

## 8.5 The state is for all

15% of respondents understood that the state is the country, and that the country could provide a place which sustains them and their future generations. One correspondent said "I understand that the emotions and singing of the national anthem or waving of the flag is a symbol of patriotism, and this is not related to the leader or the government". Another claimed "I am aware that some short-sighted people use the uneven balance between rights and duties as an excuse to express their feelings of outrage toward the state or the country" a third said "sometimes I am frustrated and feel sick at the behaviour of some politicians, but they will not outlive this country"

The opinions of this part of the sample reflect their awareness of the differences between the state and the government, and it is evident that they understand that the devotion and love of one's country is a matter of identity rather than short utility.

## 8.5 The government or the state

When asked if they agreed with the statement '*if the government is corrupt, this does not reflect on the country as a whole***"** the vast majority agreed, but 8% indicated that when the ruler is ruthless the country becomes hell, and as one correspondent claimed "no one likes to live in hell" another said "I only live once, the place which cannot guarantee justice, equality and freedom isn't for me"

## 8.6 Cultural performance

The respondents divided equally, when asked if they agree with the statement "*The ruler, the government and the members of parliament are part of the society or the culture*". Half the sample admitted that they are part of the society and any one could do the same because the traditional culture encourages an unfair system, the other half strongly objected indicating that the ruler and the government are puppets. One correspondent

claimed "they are often used as tools in executing super power foreign policy", another said "they are the worst part of our culture".

The deduction of these responses is that the people, even the highly educated do not have a clear idea about patriotism, some connected it to their own personal interests, some linked it to the whole socio-cultural system, and only a few people realize that the devotion and love of the country is not the government or the ruler or even waving a flag, it is part of the socio-political and cultural socialization.

## 9. Discussion

The research revealed that the concept of patriotism is not a mask one can wear on some occasions and take it off for others, it would be rooted deeply inside the personality, it is like all cultural aspects that "internalized" and unconsciously appeared in an individual's and group's behaviour.

Political socialization plays an essential role in reinforcing patriotism or otherwise. In this case, the problem is related mainly to the performance of the political figures who encourage the way in which the followers act and react. The political system in Iraq before the American invasion was brutal, harsh and bloody, but established, and although patriotism had its functionality in terms of slogans, people could appreciate that they had a home one could die for. During the Iran- Iraq war 1980-1988, millions of Iraqis scarified their lives defending the country. However, political socialization was not as well developed, the growing hatred toward the regime made loyalty to the homeland artificial; a pretence to show up and avoid the outrage of fellow comrades. This uneven relationship between the regime and the people resulted in a retreat in the sense of loyalty and accordingly hundreds of thousands of people either fled to the side of the enemy or left the country to the west as a refugee, this loosely resembles the immigration pattern observed during the collapse of the USSR. Oushakine (2009) described the situation of Russian people after the collapse of the USSR empire, where people who used to have nonmonetary support for generations, found themselves facing the unknown in a state of misery, not only were they disappointed but frustrated and 25% of the "Barnaul" major industrial city population subsequently left the city. He stated:

*Many Russian people are finding that what binds them together is loss and despair. The patriotism of despair…. Graphically described in spray paint by a graffiti artist in Barnaul "we have no motherland".*

This is similar to the situation in Iraq during the late 1990's, where the nonmonetary support was reduced to a minimum and the government lost a grip on the people, who in turn started whispering and using graffiti art to express their feelings of despair and directing their anger toward political socialization.

However, political socialization itself derived its components from traditional culture, which has never encouraged people to act and behave as

civilized members of society. The people learnt hypocrisy and gave their loyalty to the tribal, religious, sectarian and racial fractions or to who was in power, and sometimes to who was paying more. In this context, we shall admit that the harsh sanctions that were imposed by the international community during the nineties of the last century, where the people deprived of their human needs, severely affecting the social value system. Under ruthless circumstances (deprivation, starvation and humiliation), human attitudes and behaviour would change from left to right and vice versa, "changes not only in behaviour", as Bettelheim (1986:14) said, "but deeply in personality".

Beside many other factors, a political system can only be blamed as an executive body of the mechanism of power, justice and law. Unfortunately, Iraqi people who have waited a long time to have fairness, freedom and peaceful power exchanges have instead fragmented into multipowered zones forming states inside the state.

Under the dictatorship regime the country was sealed; no satellite dishes, no mobile phones, no internet and tv was programmed by the state to cover mainly presidential activities, thus the people did not know what was happening outside of what was reported by state television. The economy was quasi self-contained and all the media was either pro-government or owned by the government.

With this climate, serious attempts have been made to change the value of patriotism, which were culturally learned through early life, toward more universal values of "new world order". With the encouragement of the most powerful machines of the communicative system, it has to some degree, succeeded in changing many aspects of our habitual behaviour to a riskier degree. Exactly as described by U. Beck (2012:46) who claimed that:
*The objective community of a global risk comes into being. Behind the variety of interests, the reality of risk threatens and grows, knowing no social or national differences any more. Behind the walls of indifferences, danger runs wild.*

Iraqi culture remains traditional and the changes came as a reflex to this era of besiegement. The first world nations progress, on the contrary, developed through the level of significant complex organizations which as Gabriel (1981: 276) claimed, the modern society is an organizational one which can be "distinguished from pre-modern societies". The problem of the Iraqi society and culture is the incapability to produce affective organizations in both economy and religion. Lack of organizational society leads the people to misuse everything including religion which is presumably the last solid line of defence, as Haralambos et al (1991:397) stated:

*Religion has been seen as a means of strengthening and reinforcing social norms and values. In doing so it contributes to order and stability in society. Religious ceremonies have been seen as a means of uniting a social group and so producing social solidarity.*

Unfortunately, religion was shaped by sectarianism, ritualistically practised, and traditions which have combined with religion resulting in conflict rather than true creed. The machine of power creeping toward society's defences, creating forged religions, ISIS* being a prime example. ISIS and many other fundamental groups

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*ISIS: Islamic state in Iraq and Syria (terrorist group)

who probably in their own way, regard religion as a sacred body of principles, refuse to accept the idea of personal issue or individual choice. Or as Heywood (2007:286) put it:

*to treat religion only as personal or spiritual matter is to invite evil and corruption to stalk the public domain, hence the spread of permissiveness, materialism, corruption, greed, crime and immorality. The fundamentalist solution is simple: the world must be made anew, existing structures must be replaced with a comprehensive system founded on religious principles and embracing law, politics, society, culture and the economy.*

However, Iraqi people in many ways are aiding their cause, whereby many young people join fundamental groups for their interest; money, position or status. On the other hand, the ordinary people overriding the fundamentalist attitudes superficially, either to avoid harm or to gain safety and peace of mind, or possibly some sort of hypocritical behaviour. In that case, the true religion no longer exists since the behaviour of the Iraqi people is mostly ritualistic, artificial and stuck in dogged tradition. Religious values prohibit lying, yet people still lie; prohibition of hypocrisy yet it is commonplace; criminalize corruption, stealing and killing but people still do it with no sign of remorse or conscience. True religion asks us to love each other, help each other and live in peace with one another. True religion encourages a healthy and clean environment, but they act and behave inconsistently.

If any society, culture or state were to survive the waves of change, they would need to work hard to keep a society united behind its own cultural values. In order to bring back the patriotic values, the effort has to be laid on three salient components; education from point zero, ideal-type figures or role models, and the position of women. Education does more than provide people with knowledge, skills, training and a qualification; it helps to 'fit an individual in' to the society, (North 1980, Haralambos 1991), Unfortunately, the education system in Iraq, along with the ideal-type figures and position of women has been deliberately ruined. First ruined by

the tyrannical regimes, the indulgent government of invaders and the corrupt leaders that followed. With an unstable and manifested curriculum consisting of idle teachers and plagiaristic behaviour of students in schools, it produces a generation of unqualified students and teachers that began populating universities and official roles. Universities deliver out of date knowledge, this, with the poor teaching system and interference of the high rank officials in the input and output of the universities reduce its quality and eliminate its international ranking standard.

Teachers, judges, doctors and other professions as role models, are dragged to act and behave out of order through: bribes, favours, greed and egotism. Women are still treated as a commodity and, at best, as second-class citizens; deprived sentimentally and kept in a cell until she has bared her children and lost her teeth. All that was created at the hand of man has led to a transfigured society, that cannot withstand the wave of change without complete collapse.

## 10. Conclusion

Social change in relation to Patriotism within Iraq, can be understood in accordance with the field outcomes as follows:

- Since the independence of Iraq as a state in 1921, with territory and identity, Iraq was an aggregation of tribes with cultural configuration closely related to its surrounding socio-cultural societies (miss Bell 1920). Yet 100 years after Miss Bell's comment, it still clings to the tribal system which is described as the pre-state social system.

- Beside the tribal aggregations, the country divided into religious and ethnic fractions, these fractions competed, disputed and conflicted rather than integrated, which forced people to unite under their factions rather than under the umbrella of the nation or state.

- Loyalty to the tribes and religious factions was the main reason behind the weak relationship between the citizens and their homeland.

- Use and abuse of political power divided the society into first class citizens (the politicians) against second, third or fourth-class citizens who felt the subordination and alienation from their homeland.

- The old-fashioned bureaucracy made the official system appear tedious, prejudicial and demeaning.

- As a result, millions of Iraqi people were displaced, forced to leave or voluntarily immigrated, with no sign of remorse.

- The arbitrary policy in dealing with the competencies, the large scale of corruption, the lack of safety, security and protection makes the country a repulsive rather than an attractive force.

- The deep-rooted cultural values may have penetrated people's genetics, carrying them to new places, but the cultural heritage does not mean loyalty

to the place or state, loyalty is a flexible concept, people may change their loyalty according to their interests and their feelings toward new places and cultures.

- All these factors reduced the feeling of patriotism in Iraq to indifference.

Back to the gypsy woman, who sung a patriotic song and was rewarded with the loss of her life, many similar people have lost their lives or their futures because of their loyalty to their homeland. The problem is the political system; as the military coups worked against these cultural values, politicians squeezed Iraqi freedoms and connected loyalty to the regime instead of the state which created what G Orwell (1948) called the state of "big brother", which "*led to a policy of fear, everybody watching everybody, nobody being safe and no one out of the reach of secret comrades' reports*" (Alneamy 2017: 56). The culture's configuration pushed in the opposite direction. Fundamentally, culture in contradiction with politics may result in metamorphic outcomes.

The question is; Iraqi people have top quality scholars, revered doctors, engineers, and scientists, but as "Pablo Casals" asked: why has their loyalty and love stopped at the border?

At the first opportunity they fled their country, and few returned. One might suggest every human looks for better quality of life when they are situated in a poor sociocultural environment, but Iraq is a rich country, in terms of natural and human resources. Nevertheless, the majority of the citizens who left, failed to show any signs of solidarity, coordination and unity. Human beings usually always take the easiest path; complain, whisper and eventually escape. Is this part of our international 'personality' in times of distress and hardship, or just a moment that will eventually be forgotten in history for the Iraqis? It is hard to answer this question in a time of anarchy.

**التغيير الاجتماعي: حالة الوطنية في العراق المعاصر: منظور اجتماعي ـ سياسي.**

فجر علوان

المستخلص

الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو فرض فرضية أسباب التغيير الاجتماعي فيما يتعلق بتفكك الوطنية في عراق ما بعد الحرب. تم استخدام الأساليب التاريخية والاجتماعية والسياسية القائمة على الأدب الشفوي والملاحظة والمقابلة شبه المنظمة لجمع البيانات. لقد أجبر سكان العراق على الاتحاد في انقسامات قبلية ودينية وعرقية ، بدلاً من الاتحاد تحت مظلة دولة / أمة. ساعد إساءة استخدام السلطة السياسية في تقسيم المجتمع إلى فئات اجتماعية مختلفة. اتساع نطاق الفساد وانعدام الأمن والأمان والحماية يجعل من البلاد قوة بغيضة وليست قوة جذابة في توحيد مواطنيها. لمواجهة موجات التغيير الاجتماعي الشابت ، يجب على الشعب العراقي أن يأخذ في الاعتبار ثلاثة جوانب اجتماعية وثقافية: تحسين التعليم ؛ الشخصيات المثالية ومكانة المرأة ؛ هذه المكونات هي المفتاح للتغلب على الفوضى الحالية.

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