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عدم الاستقرار السياسي في العراق بعد عام 2003 (عوامل التأثير وآليات الحلول)

Political Instability in Iraq after 2003 (Impact Factors and Mechanisms of Solutions)

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Abstract: The phenomenon of political instability is one of the important phenomena that most undeveloped countries experience, and developed countries have a set of experimental and development mechanisms to overcome this phenomenon. Therefore, most developed countries do not suffer from this phenomenon, which negatively affects all aspects of economic, social and cultural life.

After the 20th century, when the modern state was established, Iraq, an impoverished nation, has experienced this phenomena; nevertheless, after 2003, it has increased abnormally, and multiple internal and external factors stand behind the spread of this phenomenon. Attempts to eliminate it also require mechanisms at the national, regional and international levels.

The main task of this study is to discuss the phenomenon of political instability in Iraq since 2003 from the perspective of concepts, causes, and solution mechanisms.

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الخلاصة : إن ظاهرة عدم الاستقرار السياسي هي إحدى الظواهر الهامة التي تمر بها معظم الدول النامية، وإن الدول المتقدمة لديها مجموعة من آليات التجربة والتنمية لتجاوز هذه الظاهرة، لذلك لا تعاني معظم الدول المتقدمة، من هذه الظاهرة التي تؤثر سلباً على جميع جوانب الحياة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية.

لقد عانى العراق، وهو بلد غير متطور، من هذه الظاهرة منذ قيام الدولة الحديثة في 20 سنة من القرن الماضي، لكنه ازداد بشكل غير طبيعي منذ عام 2003، وتقف عوامل داخلية وخارجية متعددة وراء انتشار هذه الظاهرة. كما تتطلب محاولات القضاء عليها آليات على الصعيد الوطنية والإقليمية والدولية، وتتمثل المهمة الرئيسية لهذه الدراسة في مناقشة ظاهرة عدم الاستقرار السياسي في العراق منذ عام 2003 من منظور المفاهيم والأسباب وآليات الحل.

1. Introduction:

Political instability is a major phenomenon that most countries in the world face. While developed nations have managed to overcome it through a variety of strategies and experiences, the majority of developing nations continue to suffer from it, which has a detrimental impact on all facets of life—economic, social, and cultural⁽¹⁾.

Political Stability is a relative phenomenon that indicates a process of gradual and disciplined change within the Political Regime through its ability to manage conflicts and crises within society without the use of violence⁽²⁾. Additionally, processes at different internal, regional, and worldwide levels are needed for any attempt to eradicate it.

Following the USA invasion of Iraq in 2003, the country was subjected to a new political regime based on democratic and pluralistic principles. This was intended to bring about some form of political stability, but instead the country was periodically destroyed by the regime⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Jahangir Chawdhury, Political instability a major obstacle to economic growth in Bangladesh, 2016. p. 2.

⁽²⁾ Omar Farhan Hamad Aljubouri, Minorities and its role in Political Instability in Iraq after 2003, *Academics Press*, Iraq, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2019, p. 38.

⁽³⁾ Alsikoty Ghazi, The Chaos of the Iraqi Constitutional System and Failure of Government, *Insight Turkey* 24, no.4: 37 - 50. 10.25253/99.2022244.3, 2022, P. 38.

After the USA invaded Iraq in 2003, the occupying power assumed direct responsibility for governing the country instead of a national government, weakening the role and function of the state, making strengthening the legitimacy of the government through successful refinancing extremely difficult, as well as external factors that play a large role in causing divisions Intense Iraqi deficits and raises institutional imbalance⁽¹⁾.

The main goal of this research will be to discuss the phenomena of political instability in Iraq after 2003, both conceptually and in terms of the factors behind the mechanics of the solution.

We have two research issues. First, how does Iraq's political instability following 2003 relate to particular variables, such as internal and external factors? Second; what systems are required to create stability guidelines?

The purpose, significance, and argument of the study are summarized in the following; First, the researcher's desire to investigate the phenomenon of political instability in Iraq after a year 2003 as part of his general specialization in the Iraqi problem. Second, finding effective solutions to the phenomenon of political instability that emerged after the year 2003, which has now harmed the rest of life in Iraq. This report will put some ideas in the hands of the political decision maker, which will help him to choose the right solution to deal with this crisis after 2003.

The importance of this report comes from the fact that it deals with a very serious issue, which is the root of most of Iraq's problems since 2003, given that political stability is the foundation for stability in all other aspects of life. Its significance also lies in the timing of its achievement, which is illustrated by the critical historical moment in which it is now approaching Iraq, after being able to free its lands from terrorist groups, and its attempt to reach a new stage that will not succeed without reversing the political stability laws.

Argument for analysis there are many reasons for the rise of political instability in Iraq after 2003, we can divide it into internal reasons such as political, constitutional, economic, security, national identity crisis, and economic reasons.

⁽¹⁾ Hideki Matsunaga, *The Reconstruction of Iraq after 2003: Learning from Its Successes and Failures*. The World Bank, 2019, PP. 3-4.

External reasons can be broken into regional, and international. As for the solutions, they are of the same sort of purpose, i.e., finding effective solutions for each of them is the same thing.

1.1.Literature Review

Several studies have sought to highlight the determinants of Political Instability. The following essential factors often recur in the literature, level of democratization, natural resources, transparency of public policies, persistence of inequalities, etc. We organize the literature review around these essential points.

In general, Political Instability, several authors have shown, through theoretical and empirical studies, that democratic institutions play a very important role in the Political Stability. Indeed, Wittmann (1989)⁽¹⁾ predicts that, in democratic countries, markets are structured to minimize the discrepancies between private and social costs. By promoting civil liberties and political rights, democracy creates the right conditions for sustainable growth and sustainable development. A democratic Political Regime allows control over the rulers (the executive) to minimize their power through a reduction in corruption and dissuade them from pursuing ineffective or unpopular policies.

The bad governance introduces uncertainty for economic agents and increases Political Instability. According to Kew (2006)⁽²⁾ shows that bad governance of the political class can cause Political Instability and among the main sources of bad governance, there is non-respect for the fundamental basics of democracy and constitution.

The increase in income and opportunity inequality creates a threat to social instability. Alesina and Perotti (1996)⁽³⁾ conclude that the more unequal societies are, the greater the probability of having events of Political Instability. Finally, they assume that income inequality increases socio-political instability, depresses the level of domestic investment.

⁽¹⁾ Donald Wittmann, Why democracies produce efficient results. *Journal of Political economy*, 1989, 97.6: 1395-1424.

⁽²⁾ D. Kew, Nigeria in Sanja Tatic (ed) Countries at the crossroads, *Freedom House*, New York, 2006.

⁽³⁾ Alberto Alesina and Roberto Perotti, "Income distribution, political instability and investment", *European Economic Review*, vol.40, 1996, pp. 1203-1228.

Ghai (2005) also points out the effective role of the power-sharing mechanism in managing and containing ethnic diversity⁽¹⁾. Also, Mahdi (2002) included in his study on "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict Management and Settlement Strategies", which he supported with an applied study on South Africa in his book entitled "Ethnic Pluralism in South Africa". Some authors have argued that ethnically diverse societies have a greater likelihood of Political Instability and ethnic conflict, which can lead to civil war, not to mention that Political Instability caused by potential ethnic conflicts has a negative impact on investment and, indirectly, on growth⁽²⁾.

An economic crisis can generate protest movements and even revolutions. For example, North African countries, such as Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt, experienced popular revolts in 2011. However, despite changes in political regimes after these revolutions, these countries failed to achieve Political Stability in the following years, despite the overall economy positive indicators. Results highlighting a negative relationship between economic growth and Political Instability are confirmed by Cuzan et al. (1988), Booth (1991), Annett (2001) and Blomberg and Hess (2002)⁽³⁾. This result is explained by the fact that in case of dissatisfaction with the citizens, the latter demand a change of government, either by constitutional means or by violence of a political nature such as revolutions or coups of State⁽⁴⁾. The growing pace of ethnic, linguistic, and religious conflicts has aroused the interest of many social scientists. The most important studies that deal with the issue of managing multi-ethnicity, we find the following; Horowitz (2000)

(1) Yash Ghai, "Ethnic Conflicts and Power Sharing", *Adalah's Newsletter*, 2005, vol. 13, 1-4.

(2) Mohammed Ashour Mahdi, "*Ethnic pluralism: conflict management and settlement strategies*", Jordan, Scientific Center for Studies, 2002.

(3) Alfred G. Cuzán, Stephanie D. Moussalli, Charles M. Bundrick, Fiscal expansion and political instability in the Iberic-Latin region. *Public choice*, 1988, 225-238. John A. Booth, "*Socio-economic and political roots of national revolts in Central America*", *Latin American Research Review*, vol.26, 1991, pp. 33-73. Anthony Annett, "Social fractionalization, political instability, and the size of government", *IMF Working Paper*, vol.48, 2001, pp. 561-592 and S. Brock Blomberg and Gregory D. Hess, The temporal links between conflict and economic activity. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2002, 46.1: 74-90.

(4) Richard A. Posner, "Equality, wealth, and political stability", *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, vol.13, 1997, pp. 344-365. Juha Auvinen and E. Wayne Nafzinger, "The sources of humanitarian emergencies", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol.43, 1999, pp. 267-290 and Tanja Ellingsen, "Colourful community or ethnic witches' brew? Multiethnicity and domestic conflict during and after the Cold War", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol.44, 2000, pp. 228-249.

on ethnic divisions and their management mechanisms, he proposed how to establish a multi-ethnic democracy after the democratization of society by building compromise institutions based on certain foundations such as the Christian community, power sharing, and accreditation Electoral system, such as proportional representation⁽¹⁾.

As for political instability in Iraq, Kahtan (2018) in this study also focused on the political process in Iraq after 2003, because it poses various challenges that affect Political Stability, since the ruling political parties does not contribute to rebuilding stability and peace in the country. The political scene indicates to many crises and serious events related to various issues and may affect Political Stability⁽²⁾.

According to Sabe (2015) the research discussed that the defect in the political structure represented by the absence of effective institutions from which it destroyed by political corruption in Iraq since 2003 until now. Also, classifying parties and social components based on quotas and creating dividing lines between political parties. Which led to the creation of some crises, such as the crisis of participation in the political process and led in one way or another to violence and Political Instability. The researcher aims to explain the causes of the lack of security, which constituted a major influence on the level of Political Stability in the manner in which things have become evident from a clear deterioration in the field of security (multifaceted and aspects) in the form that has become one of the most important and complex problems that suffer from Iraqi society. In addition, corruption and poor governance are often present in developing countries with natural resources⁽³⁾.

Al-Subaihi (2018) indicates that Political Stability is one of the most important goals pursued by all human societies, due to its positive repercussions in all aspects of life. Iraq suffered for long periods from instability, beginning with the establishment of the Iraqi state in 1921. Despite its possession of natural and

⁽¹⁾ Donald L. Horowitz, *"Ethnic groups in conflict, updated edition with a new preface"*, University of California Press, Ltd. London England, 2000.

⁽²⁾ Hamsa Kahtan, Impact of Political Instability on the Reality of Iraqi Political Parties: A Study According to the Results of the 2018 Elections. *European Journal of Social Science Education and Research*, 2018, 5.2: 151-162.

⁽³⁾ Sudad Mawlud Sabe, "The problem of security and political stability in Iraq after 2003", *International and Strategic Studies*, University of Baghdad, (62), 2015, pp. 55-72.

human resources, but it did not invest in social stability and progress for various reasons. Also, stability is not only the result of military and security power. Rather, it is the result of multiple measures, including the enjoyment of legitimacy by the Political Regime, and to achieve it requires the concerted efforts of the Political Regime and members of society alike⁽¹⁾.

According to Al-Sarhan (2015), the policies Interest changed according to events that arise, which give a need to think in another area to be closely related to the growth and welfare of society. The voices of Iraq after 2003 began to resound, the need to expand people's choices to achieve acceptable levels of human development was necessarily necessary, particularly since Iraq began to re-establish a political and economic system in 2003 after political change. As is well-known, many of the manifestations of confusion and contradictions, and legislative framework, have played a role in this political and economic transformation in Iraq since 2003. There were several influences on the field, including global uncertainty, which impeded the patterns in human progress⁽²⁾.

Al-Ithawi (2018) study discussed the issue of political modernization and its relationship to Political Stability in Iraq after 2003, with all the external and internal interventions, which lasted for more than a decade, which is the period that witnessed important changes at all levels of society, social, political, economic and cultural. The author focused on the political level according to the objective limits of the study⁽³⁾.

Ibrahim (2018) discussed in his study “2003 Sonrası Irak’ta Siyasi İstikrarsızlık”, the reasons that led to Political Instability in Iraq after 2003. It had been found that there are multiple reasons, but in general, they divided into internal and external reasons. As for the internal reasons, it is represented in the way in which the process of changing the Iraqi Political Regime took place. As for the external reasons, it is represented by the passive interference of neighboring

⁽¹⁾ Ahmed Shukr Hammoud Al-Subaihi, “The phenomenon of political instability in Iraq after 2003: a study on the concept and causes”, *Tikrit Journal of Political Science*, (13), 2018, pp. 42-84.

⁽²⁾ Hussein Ahmed Al-Sarhan, “The Impact of Political Non-stability on the Indications of Human Development in Iraq following 2003”, Iraq: University of Karbala, *Center for Strategic Studies, Journal of Ahl Al - Bayt*, 1(18), 2015, pp. 16-44.

⁽³⁾ Wissam Hussein Al-Ithawi, “Modernization and stability in the political system after 2003”, Registration no. B. 33660, *The Arab Democratic Center for Strategic, Political and Economic Studies*. Berlin-Germany, Vol. 1, 2018.

countries in Iraqi affairs, and the international community was represented in the way the international community dealt with the Iraqi file, which was characterized by indifference⁽¹⁾.

As it can be conclude from the literature review above, that the reason of Political Instability can be the absence democratic Political Regime⁽²⁾, bad governance of the political class⁽³⁾, unequal societies⁽⁴⁾, and ethnically diverse societies⁽⁵⁾.

And for the Political Instability in Iraq, the reason can be the political process⁽⁶⁾, the political corruption⁽⁷⁾, absence of investing in social stability⁽⁸⁾, not reaching the acceptable levels of human development⁽⁹⁾, the external and internal interventions⁽¹⁰⁾, and the changing the Iraqi Political Regime Iraqi Political Regime and Iraqi affairs with neighboring countries⁽¹¹⁾.

Finally, the literature suggests that the absence of democracy can produce events of Political Instability like anti-government demonstrations, riots, and guerrillas. In the absence of transparent mechanisms for alternating power, autocratic regimes are more conducive to nepotism, mismanagement, and corruption. In addition, ethnic diversity can generate a high level of corruption. Thus, ethnic fragmentation leads to poor quality institutions, and Political Instability. However, the authors confirm that corruption and fragmentation have no significant direct impact on the level of economic growth; rather, they positively influence the level of Political Instability which in turn negatively affects economic growth.

As well as the external and internal interventions, and the changing Iraqi Political Regime and Iraqi relations with neighboring countries, the reasons that led to Political Instability in Iraq after 2003. It had been found that there are

(1) Saadi Ibrahim, "2003 Sonrası Irak'ta Siyasi İstikrarsızlık". *Bölgesel Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 2(1), 2018, pp. 40-60.

(2) Donald Wittmann, op. cit.

(3) D. Kew, op. cit.

(4) Alberto Alesina and Roberto Perotti, op. cit.

(5) Yash Ghai, op. cit and Mohammed Ashour Mahdi, Op. cit.

(6) Hamsa Kahtan, op. cit.

(7) Sudad Mawlud Sabe, op. cit.

(8) Ahmed Shukr Hammoud Al-Subaihi, op. cit.

(9) Hussein Ahmed Al-Sarhan, op. cit.

(10) Wissam Hussein Al-Ithaw, op. cit.

(11) Saadi Ibrahim, op. cit.

multiple reasons; they divided into internal and external reasons. As for the internal reasons, it is represented in the way in which the process of changing the Iraqi Political Regime took place. As for the external reasons, it is represented by the passive interference of neighboring countries in Iraqi affairs.

The results of these studies have benefited from the current study, as it was a starting point for the research topic, and the researcher has benefited a lot from these studies in interpreting the results of the current study. What distinguishes the current study from literatures review? Many literatures review interest on focusing on aspects of the phenomenon of political instability, while these studies rarely dealt with all aspects of the process, and this increases the importance of research. In the case of Iraq, we find that the political system and political leadership were affected by a collection of inputs stemming from the internal environment, and by another collection of outputs stemming from the external environment of Iraq.

This study an important stage of the life of the Iraqi society that lives in the phenomenon of political instability till this day, through this study we will try to find the appropriate solutions for this phenomenon that are the same kind of reasons, that is successful mechanisms for each of them.

1.2. Methodology

According to Beaud (1999)⁽¹⁾, “There is no thesis without an approach and without an organized approach, this approach is related and related to the field of research and subject matter”. In this study the following methodologies were adopted:

1. Qualitative Approach: we adopted this approach in accordance with the nature of our topic. One of its characteristics is his interest in the social phenomenon closely, and helps us to understand and explain the occurrence of social processes and to show how people lived through them?

The case study approach; is one of the qualitative research methods given the nature of the topic, this approach was used and its importance lies in the applied side, as it represents a tool for establishing a functional link between theory and practice, especially when dealing with understanding the phenomenon of political instability in Iraq after 2003, and trying to found the solve for this phenomenon. In

⁽¹⁾ Michel Beaud, *L'art de la thèse. Comment préparer et rédiger une thèse dedoctorat, de magister ou un mémoire de fin de licence.* Alger, Casbah Éditions, 1999, 27.

view of its Political Instability and its being a dialectical situation that every researcher calls to study.

Record keeping; it's also one of the qualitative research methods this method uses the reliable or authoritative files and records that already exist, just as we used important documents (official documents) such as Law of administration of the Iraqi state for the transitional period and the Iraqi constitutions approved by the Iraqi government.

2. System analysis approach for David Easton (input - output)

According to Easton (1957)⁽¹⁾, the Political Regime is influenced by its external and internal environments through a set of inputs and influenced by another set of outputs.

After 2003 the Political Regime and political leadership in Iraq have been affected by a set of inputs stemming from the internal environment, which is represented in the legitimacy of the Political Regime, the crisis of national identity, the distribution crisis and economic reasons, political participation, security reasons, regional reasons as well as external factors and international causes. However, the outputs that will result from these reasons will not be negative, but rather will contribute to achieving Political Stability, which is what we will conclude from it a positive feedback that will be reflected in the Political Regime in Iraq. I think this method is the better method for my study.

About the literature review and analysis, information obtained from books, academic journals, reports of governments and other public authorities, as well as Iraqi constitutions and international organizations. In literature review, we conclude that any qualitative method cannot be applied due to possible difficulties in obtaining the statistical figures for the study.

2. Factors of Political instability in Iraq after 2003

There are many internal and external factors that impact on the Political Stability in Iraq, especially after 2003 including:

2.1. Internal Factors

Legitimacy of the Political Regime: this idea is conceptually comparable to the Arab-Islamic heritage's notion of "Allegiance." Prior to 2003, Iraq's political legitimacy came from a single-party system that excluded minority participation and political pluralism. As stated in paragraph (b) of article 7 of the Iraqi State

⁽¹⁾ David Easton, An approach to the analysis of political systems. *World politics*, 9(3), 1957.

Administration Law, "Iraq is a multi-national country and the Arab people in an integral part of the Arab World"⁽¹⁾.

After 2003, the Iraqi Political Regime fell, and a new one built on multipartyism, nonviolent power struggles, and constitutional observance took its place.

Consequently, one of the most crucial aspects of political stability in each nation in the globe is legitimacy, which is defined as the approval of the populace and the ruler.

The crisis of national identity is one of the most pressing issues facing modern citizens and nations, particularly Iraq. It involves political stability, economic, social, and legal aspects as well as the diverse nature of the Iraqi people and the ruling class's failure to adapt in a way that ensures the security and stability of the nation. In addition, totalitarianism and overly centralization in the administration are major contributing factors to the lack of a cohesive national identity during the crisis' preoccupation period.⁽²⁾

Sub-identities find numerous reasons to support their expansion and increase their importance in favor of the decline and weakness of national identity; the permanent Constitution contains many articles that come into this sense. What happened after 2003 has encouraged division, rivalry, and the rise of sub-identities at the expense of national identity.⁽³⁾

In addition, paragraph (a) of the Iraqi Constitution of 2005 states that "Iraqi citizenship is the basis of his citizenship," as stated in Article (18).⁽⁴⁾ By virtue of the individual's enjoyment and exercise of his rights and public freedoms without violating the law, as well as his performance of the duties and obligations duly assigned to him in accordance with the Constitution and other applicable laws based on the legal system of the State, the individual enjoys the nationality of the state to which he belongs. National identity is a legal, political, and social link that

⁽¹⁾ Iraqi State Administration Law, 'The Transitional Stage in 2003', Supporting constitution Builders Globally, Iraq, 2003, p. 165. Available at: <http://constitutionnet.org/vl/item/lrq-qnwn-dr-ldwl-lrqy-llmrhl-lntqly-lm-2003>.

⁽²⁾ Adnan Qadir Arif Zangana, "National Identity in the Unified Iraqi State: An Historical Analytical Study of the Royal Constitution and Temporary Iraqi Constitutions", *Kirkuk University Journal*, 9 (2), 2014, 94-138, p. 94.

⁽³⁾ Iraqi Constitution (2005) 'The Constitution of Iraq of the Year 2005', constituteproject.org. Iraq. Available at: https://constituteproject.org/constitution/Iraq_2005?lang=en. P.3.

⁽⁴⁾ Iraqi State Administration Law, op. cit, p. 166.

exists between the individual and his state.⁽¹⁾ Weakness in the state's political and constitutional framework results from the national identity's weakness in the face of sub-identities and narrow affiliations. This, in turn, leads the citizen to believe that his homeland is not for all citizens but rather a battleground for those narrow affiliations to gain and reward them because, in his opinion, it is more potent and immune to national affiliation.⁽²⁾

The Crisis of Distribution and Economic Factors; the Political System There should be general rules and regulations in society that apply to all members without exception, regardless of their ethnic, religious, or regional affiliations. Positions in society should be filled on the basis of qualifications, competence, and merit rather than narrow considerations like kinship or personal relationships. Wisdom, philosophy, and its performance are the foundation, not the lack or increase of wealth.⁽³⁾

"Managing the natural wealth of Iraq, which belongs to all the people of the provinces in Iraq in consultation with the governments and administrations of these regions and provinces, the distribution of imports resulting from these wealth through the budget and equitable manner commensurate with the distribution of population throughout the country," is what Article 25 paragraph 5 of the Iraqi State Administration Law stipulated"⁽⁴⁾.

Additionally, Article (12) states that "Iraqis are equal before the law and in terms of their rights, regardless of their gender, opinions, beliefs, nationality, religion, sect, or origin"⁽⁵⁾.

One indication of stability in any nation in the world is a stable economy. The political power derives its aspects of power and harmony from the economy. They have been in this situation since 2003, but after that, they started the process of state contraction of economic liberalization, the shift to the market, and the pressures of globalization, which include rising external debt and the demand for industrial competitiveness, which weaken the State's ability and willingness to

(1) Adnan Qadir Arif Zangana, op. cit, p. 100.

(2) Hazem Majeed Ahmed Al-Douri, "National identity vs. sub-identity", Iraq, University of Babylon, *Faculty Education Journal for Educational and Human Sciences*. (14), 2013. P. 304.

(3) Abdul Salam Ibrahim Baghdadi, "*National unity and the problem of minorities in Africa*", 2nd ed. Beirut- Lebanon: doctoral theses, (Arab Unity Studies Center), 1993, p. 284. Available at: <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=pM5snQEACAAJ>.

(4) Iraqi State Administration Law, op. cit, p. 172.

(5) Op. cit, p. 167

allocate resources, and which are linked to high levels of conflict and even violence.⁽¹⁾

Political Participation: In many nations, the government is dominated by an authoritarian political system that forbids anyone from taking part in politics. Under various pretexts, one individual in a small group (the elite) controls the capabilities of the state. For example, the assertion that the nation's security is under attack from the outside, that the populace lacks the knowledge necessary to practice democracy, or that they are afraid of the chaos that is frequently connected to pluralism⁽²⁾.

"Since the state, every state kind of participation, and each participation was done to reach the benefit and good - it is supposed to goodness as the end of every action - it is clear that the good is the goal of all the highest goodness, at its highest level, is the goal of that supreme participation all else, or more correctly, includes the state or political institution," wrote Aristotle in the preface to his book.⁽³⁾

From a sociological perspective, political participation is defined as a process that allows an individual to participate in politics and help achieve social and economic development goals, with each citizen having the chance to help shape these goals and determine the most effective means and strategies⁽⁴⁾. Iraq changed from having a single party system prior to 2003 to having multiple parties following that year, and more ethnic groups are now involved in the country's political life.

Security Reasons: Weak governmental regimes are often characterized by political violence⁽⁵⁾. It is standard practice that those working in the political sector need a safe workplace; violence is not always a direct result of a nation's diverse population, but rather of the complex political and social circumstances that certain societies face during periods of political, social, and economic transition⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipschutz. "The myth of" ethnic conflict": politics, economics, and" cultural" violence", 1998, P.4.

⁽²⁾ Imam Abdul Fattah Imam, "Tyrant" 3 rd ed., Kuwait: World of Knowledge: A series of cultural books published by the National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature, 1994, 6-7.

⁽³⁾ Saadi Ibrahim, op. cit, P.44.

⁽⁴⁾ Op. cit, p. 44.

⁽⁵⁾ Timothy Besley & Torsten Persson, The logic of political violence. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 126(3), 2011, p. 2.

⁽⁶⁾ Talib Hussein Hafez, "Political violence in Iraq", Iraq: University of Baghdad, *Journal of International Studies/ published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies*. (41), 2009, P. 96.

This suggests a close relationship between the occurrence of political violence and political stability. One of the key elements supporting the notion of political stability is the lack of political violence. Regarding political violence, it causes political instability in the state, which calls for fostering communication to prevent violence and maintain political stability⁽¹⁾.

Thus, political stability has its prerequisites as well as political regimes that understand how to govern and advance the nation through participation, integration, and legitimacy.

2.2. External Factors

Regional Factors: The Political Regime is a product of the environment it surrounds and is surrounded by; any system that is incompatible with its surroundings is rejected by it, and it is the duty to modify both the environment and the system itself. There are three factors pertaining to Iraq that influence the significance of Iraq's role in the area⁽²⁾:

- The US's approach to imposing or achieving regional stability throughout the Middle East;
- The ability of the Iraqi political regime to reach consensus on the country's interests and priorities in the face of internal conflicts such as mistrust among political factions and external agendas aimed at achieving internal power and wealth monopolies.
- The powers enjoyed by federal governments are comparable to those of independent governments.

Some people believe that external factors are the root cause of political instability and that international interventions can be helpful in keeping with global developments. One such example is the way that some nations allow minorities living in another nation to threaten their political stability by using violence⁽³⁾. Regarding the numerous strategies employed by surrounding nations to obstruct the Iraqi experience, such as providing financial assistance to certain armed

⁽¹⁾ Omar Farhan Hamad Aljubouri, op. cit, p. 49.

⁽²⁾ Khader Abbas Atwan, "The future of Iraq's regional political role", Iraq: University of Baghdad, *Journal of International Studies / published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies*, (33), 2007, p.148.

⁽³⁾ Izzo Mohammed Abdulqader Naji, "The concept of political instability in the country", Iraq, *Journal of Al-Hewar Al-Mutamadin*, (2189), 2008, p. 3. Available at: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=124635&r=0>.

organizations and disseminating various intellectual contents through communication, which aided in the general process of instability, particularly political instability.

International Causes: According to one of Bremer's most well-known aides, the chief US civil administrator for Iraq, Paul Bremer, declared on Friday the dissolution of the Ministry of Information, the Iraqi armed forces, and other security institutions connected to the government of Saddam Hussein. armed when Saddam Hussein was in power. As "a first step in forming a national self-defense ability for a free Iraq," he continued, the coalition is putting plans into motion to create a new Iraqi army⁽¹⁾.

The US has failed to reformulate its successful constitutional experiment in Iraq and has instead committed itself to sectarian and ethnic division, which has resulted in the worst project in Iraqi political history: a political and democratic process that is stale, unsteady, and based solely on the electoral system, which is a process in which political rivalries predominate and regional actors play a significant role. These external factors have also contributed to the worsening of political instability in Iraq and increased the phenomenon within Iraqi society⁽²⁾. Based on this, one may argue that the external environment also played a role in Iraq's destabilization, primarily due to concerns about other nations' safety rather than the country's own reconciliation.

3. Mechanisms for achieving political stability in Iraq after 2003

Countries resort to several mechanisms to lay the foundations for Political Stability, among these mechanisms:

3.1. Internal Level

Power-Sharing: formation the party coalitions upon sect and nationalism which accompanied the Iraqi elections in 2005, made the Iraqi political dynamics conflict intersect with building process in Iraq which based on citizenship, which led the

⁽¹⁾ James Dobbins, "*Occupying Iraq: A history of the Coalition Provisional Authority*". Rand Corporation, 2009, p.57.

⁽²⁾ Ahmed Fadel Dawood, "Societal instability in post-2003 Iraq; an analytical study of societal challenges and future prospects", Iraq: Mustansiriyah University, *Political and International Journal*, (25), 2014, p. 196.

Iraqi society to the (political quotas), the principle proved its failure in building Iraqi citizenship⁽¹⁾.

Economic Mechanisms; the national forces desire to build a modern, effective and self-centered national production system, all of which collide with the constant hostility of the world's dominant capitalist forces, as in international policy.⁽²⁾

Security Mechanisms; some may insist that the regime in the past imposed this atmosphere on society in order to preserve its existence, but today it is different, the terrorist act and security instability created us militarism of another kind and for another reason, but the protection of the self on the one hand and the means of perpetuating the political conflict on the one hand, thus, the individual has sought to protect himself, and here lies the great problem, the absence of security and action terrorism has opened the way for militarization in openness and freedom and has reached the limit⁽³⁾. On this basis, security stability is necessary for Political Stability in any country in the world, including Iraq, especially after 2003.

3.2. External Level

Regional Mechanism, the mechanisms to be followed in this field are the following:

First: Dialogue with neighboring countries

After 2003 threats were focused on the Iraqi border with loss the State' sovereignty, which losing the borders its function in protecting the State security, and become a gateway to non-conventional threats and terrorism, as well as recruiting some neighboring countries to the geographical borders in the conflict with the Iraqi state⁽⁴⁾. Therefore, Iraq to protect itself due to its important strategic regional position, and keep its citizens away from the conflicted parties, it has only to declare neutrality.

Second: Political Reciprocity

According to Ibrahim, the policy of reciprocity is one of the successful and necessary policies of any country that wants to guarantee its rights as an effective

(1) Muntasser Hameed, State-building and Ethnic Pluralism in Iraq after 2003. *The Journal of Political Theory Political Philosophy and Sociology of Politics Politeia*, 2022, p. 113.

(2) Chung-in Moon, Market forces and security, *Global Economic Review*, 26:2, 1997, p. 28. DOI: [10.1080/12265089708422867](https://doi.org/10.1080/12265089708422867)

(3) Ali Abdul Aziz Al-Yasiri, *Intellectual Political Dimensions of Strategy, National Security in Iraq*, University of Baghdad, College of Political Science, 2009, pp. 37-38.

(4) Lawk Ghafuri, *Iraq: A land whose borders are breached by all*, 2020, Rudaw 29 June 2020, <https://www.rudaw.net/english/analysis/29062020>.

deterrent that prevents other countries from interfering in the affairs of the target state, which is a general international principle, but requires the ability of the state to do so. For example, Sudan cannot treat the US similarly⁽¹⁾.

However, as long as Iraq is surrounded by similar countries in circumstances and capabilities, Iraq should take similar response to the policies of its neighbors in the right time. Which represents strong deterrent to these countries to prompt some reconsideration.

International Mechanisms: the international mechanisms are important like other mechanisms because the world today has become integrated, and the Middle East has become a global attraction. These mechanisms include:

First: Strong International Ally:

The weak and unstable countries are often based on a strong international ally, which support it in dealing with internal and external problems. British policies and procedures have contributed to some of the most problematic features of Iraqi politics, the creation of a strong central government; and the participation of the army in repression and internal politics, these results can be attributed in part to Britain's establishment of a system of control rather than governance - a system in which maintaining stability was more important than promoting democracy⁽²⁾.

Second: Earn the International Community in Favor of Iraq

Iraq, as one of the Middle East countries that suffer from these projects, it is very important to seek to avoid the risks expected in the future, by forming a regional public opinion in the region to reject such schemes, as well as the alarm in the minds of Western countries that Iraq a stable security, is better than an unstable Iraq, being an arena for extremist groups, and will harm the interests of the West⁽³⁾.

So maintaining the unity is useful and necessary, and then Iraq to take the path of stability must from following a number of mechanisms, at the level of regional and international.

⁽¹⁾ Saadi Ibrahim, op. cit, pp. 52-53.

⁽²⁾ Michael Knights, *Operation Iraqi Freedom and the New Iraq: Insights and Forecasts*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2004, p. 16.

⁽³⁾ Hamzeh Hadad, *From Shock and Awe to Stability and Flaws: Iraq's Post-Invasion Journey*, Policy Brief, 2023, P. 2.

4. Conclusion

After 2003, Iraq experienced political instability. The phenomena's origins are internal, regional, and international, and the state has put in place particular processes and programs that can either remove the phenomenon entirely or significantly lower its danger.

A number of elements, such as the following, have an impact on a state of political stability like Iraq:

- Political stability refers to the existence of an orderly condition of affairs in any nation, as determined by previous preparation by the
- Political Regime. Political instability, on the other hand, denotes that events are unfolding in a manner that deviates from the Political Regime's plans; as a result, its benefits are not computed and frequently work against it.
- There are numerous internal factors, including political, constitutional, economic, and social ones, that contribute to the phenomena of political instability in Iraq after 2003. Foreign: both worldwide and regional. On the other hand, the internal causes provide the foundation, and without them, the external element would not have been able to meddle in domestic events in Iraq. As with the causes of instability, there are also a number of strategies that can be employed to establish the groundwork for political stability in Iraq. It was further separated into exterior and internal mechanics.
- The researcher concludes this essay with some recommendations for further work. Reform the Political Regime: It is imperative that the Iraqi political forces abandon the quota system of governance in the next phase and adopt the democratic method of holding elections based on merit, experience, and competence rather than on sub-identity.
- Reform the General Conditions of the Nation: The Iraqi government must develop public policies that lead to a comprehensive economic, social, security, and cultural reform, since the Political Regime's stability will inevitably benefit from the reform of its operating environment.
- Activating foreign policy; is not isolated from its regional environment, nor from the international environment, so Iraq must have a policy an effective external entity that can make the two environments benefit Iraq, or at least stop interfering in internal affairs.

الاستنتاج

ظاهرة عدم الاستقرار السياسي في العراق منذ عام 2003 ، أن أسبابها تتوزع داخليا وإقليميا ودوليا ، ويمكن أن تقضي على هذه الظاهرة أو على الأقل تقلل من خطورتها من خلال آليات وخطط معينة تضعها الدولة.

هناك العديد من العوامل التي أثرت على حالة الاستقرار السياسي في العراق.:

- للاستقرار السياسي معان كثيرة ، ووفقا للتخطيط المسبق من قبل النظام السياسي ، يرتبط بوجود حالة من الانضباط في جميع البلدان. على العكس من ذلك ، يشير عدم الاستقرار السياسي إلى أن الأمور تتعارض مع ما خطط له النظام السياسي ، لذا فإن عودته غير محسوبة ، وغالبا ما تتعارض معها.

- هناك أسباب كثيرة وراء ظاهرة عدم الاستقرار السياسي في العراق منذ عام 2003، وهي مقسمة إلى داخلية: سياسية، دستورية، اقتصادية واجتماعية. الخارجية: الإقليمية والدولية. لكن الأسباب الداخلية هي الأساس، وبدونها، لم تكن العوامل الخارجية لتتاح لها الفرصة للتدخل في الشؤون العراقية الداخلية. كما أن هناك آليات متعددة يمكن استخدامها لإرساء أسس الاستقرار السياسي في العراق، بما يتفق مع سبب عدم الاستقرار. كما تم تقسيمها إلى آليات داخلية وخارجية.

- وهناك بعض الاقتراحات التي يمكن للباحثين تقديمها في نهاية هذه المقالة للتحسين. من المهم أن تترك القوى السياسية العراقية للمرحلة القادمة قانون الحصص في إدارة البلاد وتتحرك نحو الانتخابات، دون اللجوء إلى الهويات الفرعية، نحو الأساليب المستخدمة في الدول الديمقراطية-الانتخابات على أساس القدرات والخبرة والجدارة.

- تحتاج الحكومة العراقية إلى وضع سياسات عامة تؤدي إلى إصلاحات اقتصادية واجتماعية وأمنية وثقافية شاملة، حيث أن الإصلاحات في البيئة التي يعمل فيها النظام السياسي سيكون لها حتما تأثير إيجابي على استقرار البلاد.

- تفعيل السياسة الخارجية، بما أن العراق ليس معزولا عن بيئته الإقليمية ولا عن بيئته الدولية، يجب أن يكون لديه سياسة كيان خارجي فعالة يمكن أن تجعل كلا البيئتين مفيدة للعراق أو على الأقل وقف التدخل في شؤونه الداخلية.

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