Tribes and The State in The Post-Armed Areas of Ramadi And Fallujah: Socio-Anthropological Study

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Abstract: *The study deals with the topic of the participation of tribesmen in the state institutions in the societies of Ramadi - and Fallujah at the present time. The aim of the research is to reveal the clan's political role and understanding the political role of the state in the present time, and its impact on the Anbarian community, represented by Ramadi and Fallujah in the post-armed conflict stage. Shedding the light on the representation of the parliamentarians of the tribesmen. The research also depends on the socio-anthropological methodology expected, which is not specific, and the research relied on the means of information collecting. The most prominent of which were:*

Observing with participation, interview, records, and informants. As for the expected sample, it is an intention sample of (100) individuals to obtain basic information and data that cannot be obtained by other means. As for the expected results of the research, the tribal community in Anbar has a role in filling positions for the state. There is an agreement among the various clans that, it is the basis on which the local government in the province is built for the clans, and it has an important role in charting the future of the province in a distinct manner and these are the leaders of the provincial councils and parliament. Finally, one of the expected results is that the tribe today has a role in changing political alliances on the Iraqi scene, especially in Anbar Governorate during the elections.

Key words*: (Tribes - The State - Armed Conflicts - Ramadi - Fallujah)*

I.   INTRODUCTION

The study of tribes in Ramadi and Fallujah regions is an important topic in the current era because of its very important social and political implications, especially as a growing force in the Iraqi social and political arena after 2003. The period that the Iraqi society went through at that time is one of the most worrisome and transformative periods, as the collapse of the Iraqi state after 2003 led to tremendous changes in the life of the Anbarian community, in it, society moved to a state of chaos, unrest, and conflict between the various political forces for power, and the clan appeared again. Because of the weak state power.

1.1 The Problem of Study

The current study focuses on the issue of clans and the state is one of the important topics in this era, especially after the clans emerged and imposed themselves on the political, and social reality. The reasons for the presence of the clan in this scene are due to the strength of the clan system, in light of this situation which witnessed many changes in the political and

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social reality in society, these challenges and difficulties have greatly affected the conservative society represented by Ramadi and Fallujah due to the weakness of the state in the community of the province , the emergence of the clan as a power after the return from displacement is represented by the sheikhdom system and its influence in political decision-making in the governorate, and certainly the role that the tribal system plays in the political system and the role of clans in political decision-making.

1.2 The Importance of Study:

The importance of the research comes due to the lack of archaeological and social studies on the tribes and the state after the armed conflicts in the Ramadi and Fallujah communities at the present time, in order to provide a descriptive material about the Anbar Governorate community being a tribal society, and with the absence of previous anthropological social studies on this topic .This goal is consistent with a general goal. This study seeks to provide first theoretical knowledge about the clans and the state at this current stage, secondly it does not only seek to provide a descriptive material about the phenomenon but also shows the analysis and interpretation of field data This research seeks to provide first theoretical knowledge about the clans and the state at this current stage. Secondly, it does not only seek to provide a descriptive material about the phenomenon but also shows the analysis and interpretation of field data by referring to the theoretical frameworks for the study related to it and to increase the applied knowledge of a phenomenon that has occupied society and those responsible for it At the present time the problem can be summarized here in the assimilation about the nature of the relationship between the state and the tribes as prevailing systems in Anbarian society at the present time.

1.3 The Aims of Study:

The current study aims at:

1- Understanding the political role of tribes in the Anbar Province community.

2- Understand the role of clans in social control and the expression that occurred in the Sheikh's authority.

3- Exposing the nature of the relationship between tribes and the state with a political system in the Anbar Province community at the present time and the effect of this relationship on the life of the Anbarian community today.

1.4 The basic concepts of Study:

1- Clans

It is known as one of the forms of kinship system and it is a spatial unit as well as it is an extension of the family, characterized by a specific kinship sequence with a special housing system (Dr. Jaber, p. 67). The clans are the largest political unit, it bears the name and surname of a grandfather of the past several centuries, and it consists of a group of tribrs. (Robert Redfield) defined the primitive tribe as the closed human (Mand $ Baum, 1956)Procedural definition of clans: a local group, or group of individuals, who have ties of kinship, feel belonging to the same lineage, live in solidarity, have influential interactions among them, and try to keep their solidarity and unity in various ways in order to continue and survive.

2- Country

It is considered as political systems in society or in the structure of politics, especially government institutions, this term appeared in the sixteenth century as a result of the writer (Machiavelli) in his book (The Prince) (Benton, 1973) (Hollande) sees the state as a specific region inhabited by a group of individuals who are subject to the authority of the majority or the authority of a particular sect (Kamel, 2001)"The state is an organization or organization that has coercive power that enforces and protects the law and order of the group," says Maciver. (Dr. Al-Shargabi, Qaid Ahmad Numan, 1990, p. 17).

3- **Armed conflicts**: The scientist Bovindov defined it as that war in which the members of one society are fighting among themselves, while the scientist Martins sees it as civil wars, which are wars between members of one state. And that the scientist Calvo thought the same by saying: that they are conflicts between citizens within the same state (Salah Al-Din Amer,

20004).Fatel defined it by saying: This form is in one country when there is a party that does not obey and is not subject to supervision, and someone finds himself strong in order to be at the top, and thus the nation splits on itself, and is divided into two opposing parts, each of whom turns to arms, then this is the civil war (Awasharia,2001)

1.5 The Procedures of Study

The state: a political, legal, economic and social entity in its own right/self-standing, based on official institutions in accordance with laws and regulations within an agreed constitution, and also based on a social contract by defining the duties and rights between the president and the subordinate.

Procedural definition: Armed conflicts are conflicts of interests that can only be resolved by bloodshed and in the form of war between members of one society.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR THE STUDY:

2.1 Some general anthropological insights and theoretical orientation of study

The emergence of the anthropological trend is considered at the beginning of the twentieth century, which was called the trend of modern anthropologists, as this century witnessed the birth of functional constructivism, which studied social construction as the whole that consists of parts of the general framework that comprises moral, political, economic, social, and other social systems. Perhaps the most prominent pioneers of this trend are (Radcliffe Brown), (Malinonsky), (Evans Pritchard) and others. And thanks to the people of this trend in laying the scientific foundations for the study of social construction and its various forms, especially the kinship arrangement that is based on information and facts derived from field studies which based on scientific and methodological foundations, interested by anthropologists in small primitive societies. They also found that the opinions of the people of the classical anthropological evolutionary trend are limited to the family and kinship during the progressive developmental stages and that the thing that controls the kinship and familial system is the different social, economic and environmental conditions from one society to another. And supporters of this trend in their field studies have directed a constructive trend, and they extremely rejected that the human community in its early stages have gone through a sexual pornographic stage and its lack of social laws, controlling the behavior of individuals. Among the most important criticisms made by the owners/people of this trend to the old evolutionary trend ((the classic)) .Their studies were not based on real certainty evidence about the development of the family and kinship, and the information on which their theories were based was a speculative guess of their ideas that were not based on the facts of social reality, just as that trend was not neutral in his outlook for this development. He believed that it was the European component that led the process of evolution (Abu Zayd, 1967).It occupies the evolutionary paradigm in this field, and it should be mentioned in this context that the sociologist (Wester Mark) rejected existing evolutionary theories of speculative assumptions during the nineteenth century.

2.2 The ecological of the tribal system in Anbar Governorate

The relationship between social construction and the environment surrounding society is what is called Human Ecology, which is derived from the Latin word (Okologie), which means the house, place or shelter and the word, doesn't refer to only housing in the home or shelter, but rather extends to the people residing in it and includes all their daily activities ,that they practice for the sake of their life's continuity (kuper, Adam & Kuper Jassica 1985, p. 218-219)

1- Population:

The Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation confirmed that the population of Al-Anbar Governorate for the current year ! 2013reached to more than one million and 600 thousand people, according to the statistics of the Ministry of Trade, which is based on the ration card.

2- Administrative division:

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Anbar Governorate is divided into eight districts, which are Ramadi, Fallujah, Hit, Anah, Haditha, Qa'im, Al-Rutba and Habbaniyah. These districts include administrative units called districts, which are the Eastern Husaybah and are affiliated with Habbaniyah district, Karma, Al-Amriya and Saqlawiyah District, which is affiliated to the Fallujah District, and Kubaisah district, which is affiliated with Hit District and then Browne, which is affiliated with the Haditha then comes to the district of Rawah, which is affiliated with the district of Annah, then Al-Ubaidi is affiliated with the district of Al-Qa'im, then it comes to Al-Waleed and Al-Nakhaib, which are affiliated to Al-Rutba.

3.Tribal participation in the elections

3.1 Anbaric clans and political participation:

The participation of the Anbar clans in the parliamentary elections is for the representatives of the province that were stripped in (2018), which included collective participation starting from the stage of preparation to the announcement of its results and the tribal orientation towards specific candidates. Therefore, there were political changes witnessed in the map of the province after the parliamentary elections, after the former governor of Anbar won the parliamentary elections, Mr. (Muhammad Al-Halbousi). Then choosing a new governor for Anbar, who is Mr. (Ali Farhan Al-Dulaimi), As the tribes have proven their orientation in the elections towards the bloc in which Al-Halbousi, the Anbar bloc, represents our identity, and this shows the impact and the large evidence that the tribes play in the elections, given their large size in the governorate, which represents more than (97%) in the governorate, here is a question that comes to mind is why the tribes remained in this power by attending in the Al-Anbari square. Here is a question that comes to mind is why the clans remained in this power by attending in the Al-Anbari square. We will list a group of factors that have converged and a set of reasons to maintain the clan power that can be developed and are as follows:

3.1.1 The tribes played a prominent role in the struggle with ISIS, especially after ISIS took control of large areas of the governorate, leaving more than three districts under the control of the tribes, namely (Khalidiya , Amiriyat ,Al-Fallujah and Haditha , and ISIS was unable to enter. During the liberation period, the tribes were able to form a clan nucleus and enter the security services, the police, and the clan crowd to liberate large parts of the province.

3.1.2 The economic changes did not affect the tribal values, because all the tribesmen participated in government activities or in the military field, and the tribal values remained prevalent.

3.2 Tribes and participation in the parliamentary elections:

Since political participation in general elections was considered one of the most important manifestations of political and social modernization, and one of the most important means and mechanisms for the peaceful transfer of power and influence in political decision-making, through constitutional institutions, political parties have demonstrated the ability to attract decathlon leaders and present them as candidates in the general parliamentary elections, political and social interference appeared in influencing political decision-making (Daggar,2004).

3.3 Social transformation

It is known that human societies are constantly exposed to a process of change and continuous development in various fields, and that change is related to the quality and nature of internal and external factors and vibration some of them like social construction and its values.

Throughout an extrapolation of the Anbaric social reality of Ramadi and Fallujah, we find that there are positive changes, albeit with a slow movement, that individuals have acquired new social values, such as dealing with democracy and political pluralism and participating in elections in terms of nomination and voting, Awareness of the public interest, public ownership, and the emergence of social awareness that reflects the values of solidarity and complementarity such as defending

democracy, and working for public and private interests through, especially through non-governmental organizations (environmental protection, consumer protection, defense of human rights, charities, local associations, etc.) (Dunyer, 1995)

3.4 The changes that occurred to the clan structure after returning from displacement

Tribal leadership:

It is noticed that most of the tribal leaders and their sons have combined the sources of power - economic strength, tribal belonging, and the official position in the state, which made the tribesmen to be more subject and implementation to the authority of the sheikhs. Therefore, the state considers them a balance element with the local state authorities appointed by the center - the governor - as general manager of the directorate, so the state seeks to elaborate, support some tribal leaders .And, making political roles for them, as evidenced by the revival of the leadership, and the sheikhdom in Anbar, and its emergence as a parallel force to the government. The power of the government depends on the extent to which the institutional role is achieved and the state structures are properly built, and the nature of the political system in the country, and if the situation remains as it is, the clan will continue to play an important role; Because the individual ruler is overburdened in supporting the clan and sensing its role and importance whenever the opportunity is conducive to achieving any goals. Anbari citizen resorts to his clan due to the absence of his government, and the corruption of its institutions and clinging to the norms of the clan and adhering to them, because of the weak laws of the state and procrastination in their implementation (Al-Dhahiri, 2004)the future of the clan appears through its victory and participation in political life, and its management of political conflict with the state; because the clan cannot isolate itself from the current developments in society. Even if the quality of education and openness to modern concepts improves, otherwise, this will not necessarily lead to the extinction and limitation of the clan's role, and its future will be linked to the extent of its contribution to building the state.

A distribution map of some of Al- Dulaim and coexisting tribes

Table No. (1) Shows the geographical distribution of Al-Dulaim and their coexistence tribes in Al-Anbar Governorate.

Tribe's Name	Their regions
Al-Fahad Tribe	In the Sufiya and Al-Hamidiyah regions, and in the center of Ramadi, some of them live in Fallujah
Albu Nomer Tribe	It lives near Heet district, west of Ramadi, on the Euphrates River and some of its vicinity
Albu Assaf Tribe	It lives in Ramadi, Fallujah, and Heet
Albu Jasim Tribe	It lives in Ramadi, Fallujah, and Heet
Albu Dhiab Tribe	It lives in Ramadi, the island and Heet
Albu Khalifa Tribe	It lives in the Khalidiya district, in Habbaniyah district, and in Fallujah
Albu Merhi Tribe	It lives in Ramadi , Fallujah and Habbaniyah

Albu Risha Tribe	It lives in Ramadi, Al-Jazeera region and in Al-Garma in the Fallujah district
Al-Karabila Tribe	It lives in Husaybah ,Al-Jazeera ,Ramadi ,Fallujah and Abu Ghraib
Albu Clip Tribe	It lives in Al- Shamiya area, near Heet, in Heet, and the Jubba area, in the city of Ramadi
Albu Ubaid Tribe	It lives in Al-Jazeera in the city of Ramadi and some of its vicinity

Reference: Throughout the researcher's work, relying on some data obtained during the interview with the genealogist, (Mr. Yassin Jabbar Matar), in the city of Khalidiya. Note that there have been many changes in the structure of clans, so that some of its thighs are divided into clans of its own due to the large expansion, and increasing population and the encouragement of the government in the emergence of clans after returning from displacement, which made many of the people who head families seeking to expand their thighs into clans. And this phenomenon is starting to appear in many clans' thighs.

3.5 The relationship between clans and the government:

There is an inverse relationship between the power of government and the power of the clan. In the Iraqi society, the clan was characterized by the prevalence of collective action through the principle of (everyone for everyone) the individual defends the group (the clan); Because a person is protected by it, Also, the establishment of the absolute loyalty to the clan as well as the existence of sympathy between the clans themselves when there is a common risk or challenge. As the weakness of the state leads to the emergence of the power of the clan or the group of clans as the driving forces and control of society, which confirms the existence of the inverse relationship and the collective mental rule between the state and the clans, embodying sympathy between the clans in resisting extremist terrorist organizations in all its forms, especially the resistance of ISIS by the tribes, As resistance to the tribesmen appeared throughout the conflict areas in the governorate, and the role of the them has appeared. Dr. Ali Al-Wardi describes the twentieth revolution as an expression of a collective tribal act that could not have appeared suddenly but is certainly an expression of the feelings of belonging that set the stage for this act (Mustafa, 2006) Clan affiliation is affiliation with the clan that includes a group of families living with each other, and belonging as a human nature is innate between a group of people who are close and defined in time and place in relations that make them feel their unity. Clan affiliation is affiliation with the clan that includes a group of families living with each other. Affiliation as an innate human phenomenon between a group of people who are close and definite in time and place by relations that make them feel unique heir differentiation gives them rights, as mentioned in the Larousse dictionary (encyclopedic, affiliation is a member of a group and is synonymous with lineage) (LAROUSSE, 2001)

The network of clan relations may secure the individual with a job or position. The economic role is also evident in cases of payment of blood money, or the gift or support of people in need from the clan members. This work includes within this job , a clear exchange process emerges between the individual and the tribal network to which the individual belongs, just as the individual get benefit from the material support provided by the clan in a particular situation. On the other hand, it can provide support to the clan even when he does not make a mistake, as is the case in cases of gifting. Paying blood money, as the individual becomes not only responsible for his actions, but he is also responsible for the actions of other members of his clan (Al-Hourani, 2012). Among the factors that helped the state's weakness in certain periods, its presence was always within the city walls, giving an opportunity for the clan to emerge in areas outside the control of the state, especially in desert and rural areas, which made the clan an alternative institution to fill the state vacuum, where the clan secured and provided protection for its members, through the imposition of security and social solidarity, especially since the clan knows its

environment better that the state (Al-Alawi, p. 65) .This situation made the clan a source of security, social solidarity, and conflict resolution through the customary methods that exist in society. However, in the recent period, especially after the return from displacement, the security institutions, represented by the presence of checkpoints, were found in the streets of the main research area, which contributed to the stability process. Through the fieldwork, an intentional sample was taken and I must refer to the sample as to why it was intentional and was not probabilistic or random, due to the fact that the researcher dealt with many important figures in the study community such as clan elders, informants and others, It has been observed that the sample has about twice the percentage of males than the female, due to the fact that the research community does not allow females to mix with others, because it is a tribal society, in addition to the nature of the study that requires the number of males to be more since a man is familiar with the culture of the clan and its branches, and the sample was taken To obtain additional data and information that the researcher was not able to obtain directly from the research area, this will be shown in Table No. 2 in Chapter 4 in presenting and discussing the results.

III.   METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES:

The methodological procedures are among the basic steps by which the phenomenon is studied, in an organized and coordinated manner, in order to reach scientific and objective results. The methodology of the current research has been represented in the following:

4.1 Study Methodology:

The descriptive approach and the functional constructivist approach have been employed in studying the structure of the clan and its political role in the Anbar governorate represented by Ramadi and Fallujah cities at the present time. Also, the study used in some cases the historical method to know the traditional tribal structure in the region as well as the relationship with its political role, in addition to the main curriculum, which is an sociology of anthropology, which is the integrated sciences approach used by social sciences in its studies, this approach, especially in the fields of sociology and anthropology, Which combines survey and description in sociology, and in anthropology, it is that the structural approach, functional and cognitive, and field studies (field) that aim to analyze cultures and study societies through the vision and idea of this approach.

4.2 Fields of study

4.2.1 The human field: The human domain is determined by the location of the rural and urban clans in Anbar Governorate, and some of them are studied according to the anthropological method (some of the Fallujah and Ramadi clans).

4.2.2The geographical field: Anbar governorate was defined, especially the areas that represent the population density in which these clans are located, especially in Fallujah district, the city of Ramadi, and some other areas as a geographical area.

4.2.3 Study tools:

A- It is the anthropological method that was used during the period of residence in the study area, and moving in its scope, collecting a lot of information, then categorizing and arranging it, after that presenting it in a systematic way.

The Interview: The interview was relied on during the study steps, especially with some news experts with long experience in tribal affairs. Dozens of interviews were conducted during the research period on Anbar distribution.

B- The study sample: During the field work, an intentional sample was withdrawn, and I must refer to the sample as to the reason why it was intentional and not probable or random, due to the fact that the researcher dealt with many important figures in the research community, such as tribal sheikhs, informants, and others, and it was observed in the sample, the percentage of males was twice more that of females It was observed that in the sample, the percentage of males was more than twice that of females, due to the fact that the research community does not allow females to mix with others since , it is

a tribal society. As well as the nature of the research requires that the number of males to be more familiar with the culture of the clan and its branches, the sample was taken to obtain additional data and information that the researcher was unable to obtain directly from the research area.

C. Survey questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed consisting of two axes, the first of which relates to personal data ,and the second regarding the clan and the government as an additional tool to obtain facts that could not be obtained from other means.

IV. PRESENTING AND DISCUSSING THE RESULTS:

5.1 Type

Table (2): It shows the distribution of the respondents according to type

Type	Number	percentage%
Male	76	76%
Female	24	24%
Total	100	100%

It is clear in Table (2) that the distribution of the sample that was interviewed in order to obtain additional information on the subject of the research amounted to (100) individuals, distributed among (76) males at a rate of (76%) and (24) female and at a rate of (24%).

Almost all people in the study community are from one social class, so there are no class differences between them, which is a simple labor group with limited income, except for those with financial influence, and they are distinguished from others because they have common cultural characteristics and table (3) It shows the extent of the clan's presence in the research community after returning from displacement.

Table No. (3)

It shows the extent of the clan's presence in the research community after returning from displacement

Data	Male	Female	Number	Percentage%
Yes	56	15	71	71%
No	21	8	29	29%
Total	77	23	100	100%

It is clear in Table No. (3) that there is an increased presence of the clan in the study community after returning from displacement, due to the loss of security, and the clan has become the safe haven for its members, as the number of those who see its presence has reached (71) and by (71%), while the number of those who see no attendance for her in this way (29%).

Table No. (4)

It explains the reasons why the clan has a clear presence in the research community

The Reasons	Male	hierarchy	female	hierarchy	number	Percentage%
Absence of the rule of law	44	1	25	1	69	69%
Return to the clan to protect themselves	42	2	24	2	66	66%

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They see the clan elders' ambition to take a political role	32	3	13	3	45	45%
that they are a political force	26	4	11	4	37	37%

It was clear from the table (4) that most of the respondents see the most prominent reasons for the emergence of the clan as a visible force in the research community is the absence of the rule of law, as they numbered (69) with percentage(69%), while the number of those who see its appearance was due to returning to it to protect themselves (66%),with percentage (66%), and the number of those who see its presence was due to the ambition of the tribal elders to obtain a political role, as they numbered (45) with (45%) as percentage, while the number of those who see it due to the clan's members feeling that they should be a political active power (37%) with (37%) as percentage.

Table (5)

It shows how important the clan is in charting political alliances during elections.

Data	Male	Female	Number	Percentage%
Yes	48	19	67	%67
No	29	4	33	%33
Total	100	23	77	%77

It is clear from Table (5) that most of the respondents see a great importance for the clan in the research community to draw tribal political alliances to participate in the elections, whose number reached (67) and with percentage (67%), while the number of those who did believe in this , reached to (33) and with percentage (33%).

Table No. (6) Shows the voting for the clan or parties, as shown in the table. It shows the preference of voting for a clan or for political parties.

Data	Male	Female	Number	Percentage%
Tribe	54	18	72	72%
Political parties	21	7	28	28%
Total	75	25	100	100%

It is clear from Table (6) that most of the respondents vote for the clan, as their number reached (72) and with percentage (72%), while the number of those voting for political parties reached (28) with (28%), and this shows the role the clan plays and the extent of its influence on its members in under current conditions.

Table No. (7) data reveals the strongest reasons that make the clan a prominent phenomenon in the political scene, as shown in the table.

Table No. (7)

It shows the strongest reasons why the clan is a prominent phenomenon in the political scene

The reasons	Male	Hierarchy	Female	Hierarchy	Number	Percentage%
To find a place for it in the political scene	71	1	24	1	95	95%

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To achieve the interests of the clan	70	2	22	2	92	92%
In response to terrorism and extremism	69	3	22	3	91	91%
A sense of pride	58	4	18	4	76	76%

It was clear from the hierarchical table (7) that most of the answers came according to a hierarchy in the strength of the answers to the reasons, as it ranked first, to find a place for it in the political scene, as they reached (95) with (95%) as percentage.

Then came the realization of the clan's interests (92%), with a rate of (92%), and then the response to terrorism and extremism (91) with a percentage of (91%), and then because of the feeling of pride (76) and with a rate of (76%).

V. RESULTS:

Based on what mentioned above, the study reached the following results:

1. The clan represented in its anthropological concept, and its inner life was marked by democracy in terms of the form of power, and the most prominent collective values from the highest character to the simplest individual in it as a political, economic and cultural entity which is freestanding and self-sufficient.

2. Although the tribal system remains in most areas of the Anbarian community and is proud of its loyalty to its lineage, but under political conditions and economic changes, the political systems were able to take advantage of some of its members support its pillars, but it has often been a source of danger to it.

3. It became clear from the field, events and conflicts that there is real concern about the democratic practice and the upcoming elections due to the tyranny of tribal allegiances over the public interest.

4. The state in the Anbarian community took a new form in organizing the society, and this partisan or ideological trend began to penetrate into the social tribal structure, and in that there is a new development made many of the tribe's sons sided with this or that party as a result of the emergence of one of their relatives in it.

5. It became clear from the field study that the Anbari personality still has a lot of social duplication, as we find this character at times driven by tribalism and at other times driven by urbanism represented by politics and politicians, which someone found himself dealing with.

5.2.1 Recommendations:

1. The necessity of understanding the political role of the tribes in the current stage and the political roles they can play in the elections and others, that is, they must be directed in the interest of society and not the other way around.

2. The necessity of fighting administrative corruption in state institutions and establishing justice among its citizens on the basis of the Iraqi identity. In order that those who lose their rights do not violate the state and its law, while, they try to seek refuge with their clans.

5.2.2 Suggestions

1. Conduct social and anthropological research on the political role of the clan in other regions of Iraq and compare it to the role of the state with the aim of making a comparison between the results of current research and other research.

2. Supporting research and encouraging researchers to continue scientific communication, especially research related to the reality of culture and personality in tribal societies and the changes that occurred in it after returning from displacement.

3. The necessity of conducting lectures through social access channels on the status of the clan and the state in Anbaric society, especially with those interested in this regard, to determine their political, economic and social impacts.

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