The Religious speech and the Political transformation in Iraq

[1] Dr. Falah Jaber Jassim

Abstract

*Talking about the religious speech and political transformation in Iraqi society leads us to the emergence of the contemporary political state in Iraq in 1921 with the blessing of the United Kingdom of Britain, since that date, the Iraqi political scene has witnessed a clear impact by religious speech. The political events that the Iraqi scene has witnessed have had a major role in changing their patterns, as it is noticed that the events of the great revolution that happened in Iraq in 1920 as a result of the positions of the religious establishment, whether Shiite or Sunni, that the twentieth revolution had emerged with the "Fatwas" of religious authorities in Karbala and Najaf al-Ashraf, as well as the position of Sunni religious authorities which supported the position of Shiite authorities toward this revolution.After that, the opinions of religious scientific "Hawzas" with their various sides of life had followed toward political events in Iraq.The political events have continued after that, as the "Ba'ath Party" assumed the power in Iraq. In this period, the religious establishment was subjected to some form of persecution and abuse, especially the Shiite religious establishment through pursuing a repressive policies, imprisonment, executions and displacement of many religious figures in Iraq, including the execution of the martyr Mr. Muhammad Baqir Al-Sadr, as well as the execution of many scientists from the Hawzian scientific houses in Najaf, Karbala and other governorates of Iraq.As for after the invasion of Kuwait, the religious establishment, especially the religious Hawza in Najaf, insisted on the illegitimacy of the occupation of a brother country that enjoyed independence and sovereignty. Moreover, its opinion on the events of the popular uprising (which is called Sha'aban revelution). After 9/4/2003, the day that has witnessed the collapse of the mightiest authority in the Middle East and the occupation forces entering Iraq, the religious establishment had taken a new path that represented by the leadership of the Iraqi religious legislator in the absence of the authority of the law and took it upon itself the preserving of the territorial integrity of Iraq and the preservation of lives, public and private properties, after the emergence of the signs of power in Iraq after a year of occupation was appeared, the speech of the religious establishment was taken in fission. That there was a speech based on the foundations of the spirit of social solidarity, spreading the culture of tolerance and peaceful coexistence between the members of the society with the respecting the other and rejecting the conflict that based on sectarian, religious or nationalistic grounds, while the other direction of religious speech which was built on the basis of sectarian and religious incitement, that is why the Iraqi scene since 2004 to the present day has witnessed an armed conflicts that based on sectarian and religious foundations that left tens of thousands of victims and wasted many natural resources, so we note that the religious speech in Iraq has played a fundamental and active role on the political scene in Iraq, this active role has brought about many changes at the level of the political arena and through the changes that have occurred throughout the contemporary political history in Iraq.This study (**The religious speech and political transformation in Iraq**) has come on two sides, the first was the theoretical side, which contained three topics, the first topic contained identifying concepts, terms and basic elements of the research, while the second topic dealt with the religious speech and its implications on the political reality, meanwhile the third topic has dealt with the religious speech and spreading a culture of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. As for the second side, it contained the fourth topic as it dealt with the research methodology, research tools, research fields and the research sample. The fifth topic contained the analysis of tables and data, results, suggestions, recommendations and resources.*

Keywords: Religious speech, Political transformation in Iraq

Introduction The daily speeches have repercussions on human behavior, as the type of behavior will be according to its responses to the type of daily speeches which are directed for the man, so if the daily speeches seek to build a human society through constructive ideas, values and principles that protect them, then their repercussions will be

[1]College of Arts, Department of Sociology, Al-Qadisiyah University-Iraq

positive, On the contrary, if the daily speeches came up with negative thoughts, it would lead to the spread of destructive cultures within society.

Many institutions play an active role in the process of socializing a person, as the religious institution is one of the informal institutions that plays an active role in bringing up the individual because of its effective influence in his life, then the religious speech is one of the basic identities of the religious institution, which gives this institution a picture, whether it was positive or negative, therefore, most religious institutions worked for different religions, whether they were heavenly or placed, due to the great interest in their religious speech, what is meant by religious speech is not only the speech that addressed through the pulpits and sermons, rather, what is meant is all the strategies and methods which were used by these religious institutions to deal with the members of society and in all fields. However, what is observed in all religions has been the division and dichotomy and the emergence of sects and doctrines, which were differed in the application of the principles of religions that belong to it, rather, the division and dichotomy have occurred within the same sect or doctrine, so the moderate, extremist and hard-line was appeared.

In Iraq, which is one of the heterogeneous societies, which contains many religions and sects, as the religious speech has played an active role in the attitudes of members of society towards political action, since the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1921 the religious establishment in Iraq has played a role in the attitudes of the people of society in political action, that it is noticed at that time that the Shiite religious establishment did not encourage its followers to engage in political work under foreign guardianship, unlike other religious institutions, as the role of religious institutions has continued between a supporter and a rejecter of political work in Iraq from that time until 1/3/2003, as Iraq had witnessed the change of the most dictatorial regime after invasion Iraq under the pretext of liberation, that the change that Iraq witnessed in 2003 was met with rejection and support by the components of society, therefore, the positions of the religious establishment in Iraq differed from the political process between those who supported it and entered it and between those who rejected and boycotted it, so it was noted that the disparity in entering the political process with all its forms has taken different forms between the wide, medium and non-turnout agreement, in addition, the religious speech has affected, in a way, the tendencies of some groups of society to stand in the face of the political process under the pretext of resisting the occupier, as this has led to the formation of armed groups which based on sectarian lines that practiced various types of terrorism against innocent members of society and from different religions and sects, therefore, the study of the impact of religious speech on society is one of the topics that has taken a wide area of interest by the researchers and specialists in the humanities.

The first topic: Defining concepts, terminology and the main elements of study
First: The Religious Speech
Linguistically the speech defines: as a source of an addressee who addresses a speech and address, which means the conversation between two.

Al-Asfahani said: Speeches for addressing and addressing revisionism in speech, including the speech, by vocalizing the second letter, which is related to the sermon. It is said from the sermon, the speaker, the sermon is for the great matter from which the speech is frequent. The Almighty said: He said What is your matter O, Sameri?" (Taha: 95).Also His almighty saying: What is you matter You Messengers. (Al-Hajar: 57) And the Almighty said: he separated the speech[1] (Dhariyat: 31): What is separated by the matter from the speech.[2]

The meaning of the speech today has become more comprehensive, as it has become every talk which is directed by its owner to others, whether orally or in writing.

As for it is being a religious speech due to its association with religion, as the "religion" in the language is as a reward, that the day of religion is the day of recompense, it also comes in the sense of obedience, when it is said religious for him in Arabic means I obeyed him. [3]

As a term, religious speech defines that every speech addressed to people in the name of Islam, whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims to introduce them to the Islamic religion, as here the various forms of this speech vary between a speech from a platform, a lecture, a discussion, a purposeful drama, a play or holding religious conferences ……etc which are forms of the religious speech[4].

Second: the political transformation
It refers to the overall transformations that political structures in a society are subjected to, so that power and influence are redistributed within the state itself or several countries, as well as the transition from non- democratic authoritarian into a democratic one[5].

Third: The Iraqi society
Iraqi society was defined as a set of complex and thorny patterns of behavioral practices which are regulated by the moral and value rules and controls that are recognized by all, which came as a result of their validity and effectiveness

in walking the affairs of the society and preserving its existence and achieving its near and far goals[6]. There is another definition of the Iraqi society that states: that it is a regional grouping of the Iraqis through which they were associated with the status of Iraqi civilization with its material and non-materialistic parts. This association has made them believe in one's values, common interests and higher goals, knowing that the values, interests and goals that the Iraqis believe were made them united and coherent. [7]

The study's main Elements

The problem of study

Since the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1921 to the present day, Iraqi society has gone through many problems and in all fields, whether social, economic, political and security, as many factors have played in that, the most prominent of these factors was the religious factor, as the religious establishment had played a fundamental role in the orientations of Iraqi society, especially the political one, that the position of the religious establishment has differed from time to time toward the political reality, as when we mention the religious establishment here, we do not mean one side over another, but rather all the effective religious institutions in Iraqi society.

The religious establishment has become very effective after 1/9/2003 after the largest dictatorial regime in the Middle East was overthrown by the US-led international coalition forces under the pretext of liberating Iraq from the clutches of this regime, so the religious institutions differed at that time in dealing with the political situation between supporters and rejecters, which led to the occurrence of many problems in society, the most important and most significant of which is the phenomenon of terrorism that has invaded the Iraqi society since the beginning of 2004, this has led to the spreading of conflict in all its forms, whether it was religious, political or sectarian, but the most intense was the sectarian conflict, as it intensified after the bombing of the shrines of imams "Al-Askariyain" in Samarra, as the terrorist operations that cost Iraq a lot of human and material resources continually, the situation continued until ISIS took the control of most of the western provinces and other provinces, so ISIS was behind the inflammatory religious speech.

As for the other religious speech which it created a kind of political stability in most of the central and southern governorates, which was characterized as a speech calling for peaceful coexistence and spreading the a culture of coexistence with the other, in addition to that it was characterized by tolerance.

The Importance of study

The research on the topic of religious speech and its repercussions on political reality is one of the topics that has taken a large part of political and social sciences, the religious speech has played an active role in influencing the political reality in Iraq, especially since the formation of the modern Iraqi state in 1921, so the difference in the position of religious institutions on the political process at the time between refusing and supporting has been largely reflected in the course of social, economic and political life of the components of Iraqi society which is affiliated with those institutions, this role of these religious institutions has continued to this day. After 2003, Iraq had witnessed an active role for the religious establishment, which had a clear reflection on the political process in Iraq, so the importance of the research comes from the importance of the topic it deals with.

The aims of study

Each research has goals that it seeks to achieve, that the main goal of the research (to identify the role of religious speech in the political process in Iraq)

The second topic: The Religious speech and the political reality in Iraq

The religious establishment has played an active role on the political scene in modern Iraq. Since the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1921, with the external blessing of the United Kingdom of Britain, the political scene has witnessed a clear interference by the religious establishment at the level of the Shiite and Sunni religious establishments in determining the political path of Iraqi society, that Shiite religious establishment has played a great role by prohibiting the participation of its followers by entering the political process, whether at the level of forming political parties or participating in any political action, while the Sunni religious establishment took the opposite position, which led to the domination of the Sunni component on the political process, as after the American occupation of Iraq in 2003, the positions of the religious establishments of the two main components in Iraq has changed. The Shiite religious establishment has employed all its capabilities for the succession of the political process by urging its followers to enter the political process and participate the actively of the elections, as well as its position in drafting the constitution of Iraq.

The situation that Iraq has witnessed after the American forces have entered the ruins and the collapse of all state institutions, has necessitated the religious establishment to have an active role because of its authority in Iraqi society[8].

The religious establishment, especially Shi'a, has adopted the principle of openness to other components in Iraq, therefore most Shiite political parties and currents have been politically opened to political and minority parties and currents, whether Sunni or Christian, so the religious establishment in all its branches has worked on political stability

in Iraq after the fall of the most powerful regime by the US occupation forces in 2003, as it fought all kinds of tendencies that tried to destabilize Iraq, especially the political stability in which the factors of political change affected, so the religious establishment emphasized the stability of the political reality by working to hold elections, also working to have a formal and permanent constitution for the Republic of Iraq. [9]

The position of the religious institutions on the political corruption for what of the impact which it has on the destruction of the society, so good power is one of the main factors for the stability, permanence and success of society, while the corrupt authority leads to the dissolution of society and its disintegration.[10]

As for the position of the religious establishment regarding the financial and administrative corruption, it was very clear through the "fatwas" those were issued from most of the religious authorities regarding the prohibition of financial and administrative corruption (it is forbidden for employees to fail to perform their duties under their employment contracts that are legally applicable to them, it is also forbidden for them to bypass the official laws and decisions that must be patronized accordingly, that what the employee takes for the auditor's money or otherwise contrary to the law is forbidden by law, as well as the wasting of public money and its acquisition therein is forbidden and requires security) [11].

The religious institutions and their various walks of life in Iraq have played effective roles in the political process after the political change in Iraq in 2003, as they had a fundamental role in the success of the political process despite the difficulties that the political process witnessed, also it played a major role in ensuring that Iraqi society enjoys a kind of political stability.

The third topic: The religious speech, a culture of tolerance and peaceful coexistence

Today, Iraq faces many challenges that directly affected the social constructions, which they caused many social problems. One of the problems that has emerged today is the prevalence of sectarian affiliation with the absence of the spirit of citizenship, although this phenomenon is not a result of today, as the Iraqi society has witnessed a weak national loyalty and weak national spirit as a result of the policies that were pursued by most of the governments that followed in ruling Iraq, but their scope was expanded after the fall of the previous regime and it was intensified, which was become one of the widespread and public phenomena[12].

In light of the sub-affiliations, the absence of national loyalty with the spread of sectarian, religious and spatial belonging, today Iraq faces a difficulty in building a strong institutional state, as the system based on sectarian, ethnic, racial, tribal and regional bases which leads to the result of the absence of a spirit of loyalty to the homeland and citizenship.

So the Iraqi society today needs to consolidate the principle of citizenship and loyalty to the homeland without sub-affiliations. Hence, members of the Iraqi society must go towards spreading the culture of tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

Since the process of change in Iraq in 2003, the religious establishment and its various groups have moved to spread the spirit of citizenship and loyalty to the homeland, moreover, through its speeches, the religious establishment has urged members of society to spread the tolerance, acceptance of others and peaceful coexistence, as Iraq has witnessed, since the founding of the modern Iraqi state in 1921, to a number of events that contributed to the development of the spirit of sub-loyalties, the main reason behind this, is the wrong policies that were followed by most of the governments that followed in ruling Iraq, as most of these governments dealt with members of society on the basis of sectarian, ethnic, tribal and other discrimination, which greatly affected the national identity of the Iraqi individual, but after 2003, the Baathist regime had changed due to the external interference, after that in the Iraqi society, many sub-loyalties has based on sectarian, ethnic, or religious foundations have appeared in which many factors have contributed to their creation, whether external or internal, but the position of some national religious institutions that have enlisted all their capabilities and speeches in order to unify the national rank and work to spread a culture of loyalty to the homeland, spreading the spirit of tolerance and acceptance has led to the peaceful coexistence of members of the Iraqi society.

The meetings that were held by the supreme authority of the Shiite community in Iraq and the world are only evidence of spreading the spirit of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. During his meeting with a group of Sunnis, he said to them (The Sunnis are not our brothers but ourselves), also for his meeting with the head of the Chaldean sect in Iraq and the patriarchal scholar Mar Louis Raphael Saco I (you are a part of and we are part of you, as well as you are in our heart and we are aware of what is happening to the components of Iraq), as his meeting the doctrine of the Yazidi community, his Eminence addressed them (the Yezidis are a trust in our necks). Moreover, the people of the center and the south have received in their governorates and places of population many families which were displaced from

Mosul and from various components of Iraqi society, in addition to the displaced people from the governorates of Anbar, Salah al-Din and Diyala, when their areas came under ISIS control. [13]

The fourth topic: The study methodology
The study methodologies
This topic represents the beginning of the field side of the study, as the two researchers used the following method:
Social Survey Method: which is a study of the existing social conditions in a specific geographical area, as the social survey method is classified in terms of the human domain into two types: the comprehensive social survey of all the items of the community of the study and the social survey in a sample manner.[13]
Second: The study's domains.
The Time domain: By this we mean the time limit or the time it took for the researcher to prepare the requirements of the entire research and determine the time from 08/21/2018 to 1/2/2019.
The human domain: It was determined by a group of members of the Diwaniyah Governorate community, from the age of 18 years and older, from a various social and professional groups, their number as 325, who were randomly selected.
The Spatial domain: It was determined by the status of Diwaniyah Governorate.
Third: Designing the statistical sample
The design of the statistical sample requires several steps that the researcher must follow to obtain a sample that is genuinely representative of the studied society. These steps include the sample size, testing its validity, its concentration in a specific geographical area and choosing its type.

Since the study is depended on (individuals), the researchers have used a law in through which the sample size can be calculated from an unknown statistical community, meaning that we do not know the number of individuals that make up that community[14].

$$(A) \text{ Sample size } (N1) = \frac{Z^2}{X^2{}_m} P(1-P)$$

Sample size (N1) = 385 terms.
 (B) We then will correct the sample size by using the sample size correction equation as follows:

$$\text{The Sample size} = \frac{N1}{1 + \frac{N1-1}{N}}$$

The Sample size=324,8 term
We round the fraction to the nearest whole number, which becomes:
Sample size = 325 singles.

The fifth topic: The analysis of tables and data
The first axis: general data
 Table (1) which specialized for the type of research sample individuals

Type	Repetition	Percentage	Accounted Ca^2	Tabular Ca^2	Degree of freedom	Trust degree
Male	167	%51	0,24	3.84	1	%95
Female	158	%49				
The Total						

It is noticed in Table (1) concerning with gender and by finding the value of Ca^2, there are no significant differences between the numbers of respondents in terms of gender, as it found the calculated value of Ca^2 (0.24) which is lesser

than the value of tabular Ca^2 about (3.48) and with a degree of freedom (1), as the researcher has endeavored that the differences between the respondents in terms of sex be zero, so that there is a real representation of the members of the study community in the study sample.

Table (2) for academic achievement, for the individuals in the study sample

The academic achievement is one of the main variables in any research or study, as this variable directly affects the answers of the respondents, that the researchers sought to make the distribution of the sample on the basis of academic achievement closely, therefore, it is noted that the significant differences between the members of the

Academic achievement	Repetition	Percentage	Accounted Ca2	Tabular Ca2	
Primary	67	20,6%	1.06	9.49	
Intermediate	59	18,1%			
Preparatory	66	20,3%			
Collage	70	21,5%			
Higher studies	63	19,3%			
The Total	325	100%			

research sample do not exist, as we see that the calculated value of Ca^2 (1.06) which is lesser than the value of tabular Ca^2 (9.49) with a degree of freedom (4).

Table (3) for the monthly income (in thousands) for the families of the research sample

Monthly Income	petition	centage	counted Ca^2	bular Ca^2	greed
499-250	5	1.8	1	5	
749-500		3			
999-750		8.4			
-1000000and more		6.6			
Total	5				

The difference in the levels of monthly income is due to many factors, the most important of which is the difference in the economic level between members of society, as well as the difference in the professional level, so they found that there are significant differences between the level of monthly income for members of the research sample, as it was noted that the accounted Ca^2 value is (52.1) which is lesser than the tabular Ca^2 value (7.85) at the degree of freedom (3).

Table (4) which is related to the profession of members of the research sample

Profession	Repetition	Percentage	Accounted Ca^2	Tabular Ca^2	Freedom Degree	Trust Degree
Free Jobs	87	%26.7	1,43	7,85	3	%95
Unemployed	85	%26.1				
Employed	80	%24.6				
University student	73	%22.4				
Total	325					

It is noted through the above table for the profession of the members of the research sample that there are no significant differences between the numbers of respondents in terms of profession, as the accounted value of Ca^2 (1,43) which is lesser than the value of tabular Ca^2 (7.85) at the degree of freedom (3).

The second axis: religious speech and the spread of a culture of hatred

Item	Yes	Some how	No	Expected repetition	Expected weight	Arrangement
Religious speech has a role in	123	77	125	648	%66.4	4

fueling hatred among members of society					
Religion was used to spread a culture of hate	179	97	49	780	%80	1
Using religious speech to achieve the interests of extremist religious groups	143	77	105	688	%70.5	3
Employing the Religious speech by external forces	107	101	117	640	%65.6	5
Religious speech is used to break up society	153	108	64	739	75.7%	2

Through the table on the axis of religious speech and the spread of a culture of hatred, we note the answers of the respondents, which were arranged according to their importance and in the following manner:

First: Religion was exploited in spreading a culture of hatred: All heavenly and placed religions carry principles which are calling for the spread of love culture, tolerance, and solidarity among members of society, however, the difference that appeared in the application of the principles of religion by its followers led to the emergence of sects and doctrines that employed the principles of religion according to their factional interests, so this led to the exploitation of these principles to spread hatred, especially by extremist groups. This item ranked first and with an expected weight (80%).

Second: Employing religious speech to dismantle society: One of the high characteristics of every religion is working to spread the culture of social cohesion and the unity of society, through mechanisms that contribute to this cohesion, such as social solidarity and spreading the spirit of cooperation among its members, however, the presence of militant groups who attempted to spread the culture of hatred has contributed to a situation of social disintegration among members of society. The item has ranked second with an expected weight (75.7%)

Third: The exploitation of religious speech to achieve the interests of extremist groups: Recently, especially at the end of the twentieth century, a number of extremist groups has appeared in the Islamic community, which used religion as a cover to achieve their group and collective interests, that the West and some countries that wanted to tarnish the image of Islam have worked to support these groups, so these groups tended to exploit extremist religious speech to achieve many of their interests. This item ranked third with an expected weight (70.5%)

Fourth: The role of religious speech in inciting hatred among members of society: Religion has found that peoples can lead lives based on love, harmony and peaceful coexistence, but the dichotomy and the difference that has emerged between the followers of religions in the human community, including the Islamic community, including the Iraqi community, has led to the emergence of different religious groups and denominations ranging from moderate to extremists, as many extremist groups, through their religious speech, sought to spread hatred among members of society. The item is ranked fourth with an expected weight (66.4%).

Fifth: Employing religious speech from external forces: External interference played an effective role in all areas of Iraqi society's life, as the image of the external interference was clear after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, therefore, we note that many religious groups have greater loyalty and affiliation with the outside. The item is ranked fifth with an expected weight (65.5%).

The third axis: The Religious speech and the political reality

The Item	Yes	Somehow	No	Expected repetition	Expected weight	Arrangement
The role of religious speech in fueling political conflict	167	106	52	765	%78.4	1
The role of religious speech in imposing extremist political ideologies	149	92	84	715	%73.3	4
Religious speech is used to achieve political interests	153	108	64	739	%75.7	2
The role of religious speech in supporting the so-called political consensus	139	113	73	716	%73.4	3

The role of religious speech in protecting the corrupt politicians	111	94	120	641	%65.7	6
The role of religious speech in political stability in Iraq	107	98	120	637	%65.3	7
Religious speech contributed to support the phenomenon of political quotas	118	127	80	688	%71.6	5

From the table on the axis of religious speech and political reality in Iraq, we note the respondents' answers, which is arranged according to their importance and in the following manner:

First – The Religious speech has played a role in fueling the political conflict: One of the events that occurred in Iraq after the overthrow of the Ba'ath regime at the hands of the American occupation forces is the fueling of a political conflict between the political parties and currents, as the religious speech has an active role in this regard, especially by extremist currents. The item has ranked first and with an expected weight (78.4%).

Second - employing the religious speech to achieve political interests: Most of the political components and parties in Iraq after 2003 have played on the tendency of religion to exploit it in order to achieve their goals, so they adopted ideas that appear religious in nature, but its hidden goal was to win the direction of the Iraqi community towards it in order to reach the power and achieve political interests, as the item ranked second with an expected weight (74.7%).

Third - religious speech is playing in support of the so-called political consensus. From the remnants of the political process in Iraq after 2003, the so-called political consensus of the country's administration, as the religious speech has played a role in consolidating this policy and standing with all the trends that appeared against this principle, this item is ranked third with an expected weight (73.4%).

Fourth – The Religious speech played in imposing extremist political ideologies. Extremist religious parties have played a fundamental role in the political scene in Iraq, as these parties and political components had an active presence, whether in the House of Representatives or in the governments that followed the rule of Iraq after the fall of the Baathist regime in 2003, that the religious institutions had an active role in the existence of these parties and their entry into the political process. The item is ranked fourth with an expected weight (73.3%).

Fifth: The Religious speech which contributed to support the political quotas: The United States of America played a fundamental role in consolidating the principle of political quotas, through the distribution of state administration among the components of the Iraqi society on sectarian and ethnic grounds, as the religious institutions have worked to support and consolidate this principle, this item is ranked fifth with an expected weight (71.6%).

Sixth: The Religious speech contributed to the protection of political corrupt: corruption has spread in all its forms in Iraq after 2003 which it has advanced ranks among the countries where the corruption is widespread, especially the political corruption, that many factors have played on the growth of corruption, including of supporting the spoilers by religious movements and currents. The item ranked sixth with an expected weight (65.7%).

7- The Religious speech contributed to the political stability in Iraq: Many religious institutions have worked to stabilize the political situation in Iraq after 2003 and by supporting the political process which is based on building a state of institutions, the item ranked last with an expected weight (65.3%).

The fourth axis: The Religious speech and the principle of the peaceful coexistence

The Item	Yes	Some how	No	Expected repetition	Expected weight	Arrangement
Religious speech has a role in spreading the principle of tolerance	52	49	224	478	%49.02	5
Religious speech has a role in spreading peaceful coexistence	86	53	186	550	%56.41	3
Religious speech calls for accepting the other	69	78	178	541	%55.4	4
Religious speech has a role in spreading the principle of social solidarity	103	46	176	577	%59,17	2
Religious speech united society towards countering terrorism	97	69	159	588	%60.30	1

First - The religious speech has united the society towards confronting terrorism: one of the phenomena that the Iraqi scene witnessed after 2003 is the spread of terrorism, which does not mean that Iraqi society was not suffering from it,

rather, Iraq witnessed the highest degree of terrorism in previous years by the ruling authorities at that time (state terrorism), however, the manifestations of the terrorism were more visible after the American occupation through the terrorist operations that terrorist groups have practiced against members of society, which killed tens of thousands of the innocent people, as the religious speech, particularly by some active religious institutions in society, has worked to unite the ranks of society to confront the terrorist groups. The item ranked first with an expected weight (60.3%).

Second – The Religious speech has a role in spreading the principle of social solidarity: the principle of social solidarity is one of the basic principles and important in preserving the social construction of society, as all religions have prioritized the publication of this principle because of its fundamental and effective role in preserving the human society. The item is ranked second (59.17%).

Third – The Religious speech has a role in spreading peaceful coexistence: All human societies are tending to bring peace and peaceful coexistence among their members, as this comes by following structures which are based on sound foundations by the effective institutions in these societies, at the forefront of active institutions in society comes the religious establishment, because of its effective influence on the behavior of members of society, the item is ranked third with an expected weight (56,41%).

Fourth – The Religious speech calls for the acceptance of the other: that most human societies are societies with a heterogeneous demographic composition, as you rarely find a human society that is characterized by demographic homogeneity, that population heterogeneity, whether on ethnic, religious or sectarian grounds, which creates many social problems, including the lack of acceptance of the other, the absence of some kind of peaceful coexistence, also the abundance of conflicts which is based on sectarian, ethnic or religious bases, the item is ranked fourth with an expected weight (55.4%).

Fifth – The Religious speech has a role in spreading the principle of tolerance: One of the foundations upon which a person relies in his daily life is the social interaction between him and the others, as this interaction must be based on sound foundations for the social life to continue in the human society, that social tolerance is one of the basic principles that most human societies have attached to it, The religion has given the social tolerance a fundamental role in the spread of peace and well-being among members of society, so the religious speech was directed towards encouraging members of society to divulge the principle of social tolerance among them, the item is ranked fifth with an expected weight (49,02), as we notice that the expected weight rates of the fourth axis is weak, the reason behind this is that most of the sample's respondents were their answers to the variable (no) so this gives the impression that the sample members that the religious speech has an ineffective role in spreading the principle of peaceful coexistence.

The Results
The research has reached a number of results, through the field side, they are summarized as follows:
First: In the second and special axis on the role of religious speech in spreading a culture of hate among members of society, the item (exploiting the advantage of religion to spread a culture of hate) is ranked first.
Second: In the third and special axis on religious speech and political reality, the item (the role of religious speech in fueling political conflict) is ranked first
Third: In the fourth and special axis on religious speech and peaceful coexistence, the item (uniting the religious speech which is combined to confront the terrorism) is ranked first
Fourth: It is noticeable, and through the answers of the research sample on the fourth axis which are related to religious speech and peaceful coexistence, that most of the sample members who formed a high percentage of their response to religious speech were among the factors that led to the absence of peaceful coexistence in society.

The Recommendation
First: The Shiite and Sunni establishments
Working to establish mechanisms that contribute in limiting the spread of extremist religious speech, by setting mechanisms that limit the trends of some extremist religious currents which work to fuel and spread a culture of hatred among members of the society.
Second: The Ministry of Communications
Working to monitor the channels which are affiliated with the parties (unofficial media), especially the channels affiliated with some religious movements and Islamic parties of a strict nature that work to fuel religious and political conflicts, working to place them under the table of laws that criminalize such actions.
Third: The parliaments
Expedite the enactment of laws that contribute to providing healthy social climates, as well as laws criminalizing inflammatory religious speeches.
Fourth: The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Urging its formations, especially universities, institutes and scientific research centers, to conduct seminars and conferences that are dealing with the phenomenon of terrorism and other social phenomena which are related to terrorism, especially studies and research that address the role of parties and religious currents in the political process.

The Margins

[1] **The Holy Quran**

[2] **Abu al-Fadl Jamal al-Din Ibn Makram (Ibn Manzur), Lisan Al-Arab, vol. 5. i, Beirut, Dar Sader, 2003.**

[3] **Ibn Manzur, Lisan Al-Arab 12/69, Article (Religion).**

[4] **Al-Sharif Habila, Religious Discourse and the Problematic Concept, https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/11493.**

[5] **Ismail Sabry and Mohamed Mahmoud Rabie, Political Science Group, Kuwait, Kuwait University, 1994, p. 47**

[6] **Dr. Ahmed Ezzat Abdel-Karim, Arab Society, Beirut, Arab Renaissance House, 1980, p. 100.**

[7] **Clive,j,Iraq changing society ,new York west point press,1998,p23.**

[8] **Hamdan Ramadan Muhammad. The role of the mosque in achieving political integration in contemporary Iraqi society (an analytical study from a social perspective) Journal of Islamic Sciences, No. 13, Mosul, Volume VII. 2013, p. 13.**

[9] **Marina Speronfa, Constitutionalism in Iraq Pages from the history of constitutional and political development in Iraq, translated by Faleh Al-Hamirani, 1st Floor, Adnan Library for Printing and Publishing, Baghdad, 2012**

[10] **Mohammed Abdul Jabbar, the future of democracy in Iraq**

[11] **Hamed Al-Khaffaf, Texts issued by Mr. Al-Sistani, 6th floor, Beirut, Dar Al-Arab Al-Arabi, 2015, p. 167**

[12] **Osama Zafer Kabbara, Corruption in the Land and Islam's Attitude towards it, Beirut, Arab Renaissance House, 2009,**

[13] **Hamed Al-Khaffaf, previous source, p. 156**

[14] **Dr. Muhammad Mahdi Al-Qassas, Principles of Social Statistics, Mansourah, Egypt, 2007,225.**