

National Identity



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About Door Organization :

Door organization is a civil society organization licensed in Turkey since mid-2018, working with the Syrian community structures in order to reach its vision of a decent society, which is capable of overcoming its challenges, by investing its resources creatively

Therefore, Door organization works within community development programs and economic empowerment, on building the community strength to effectively organize and assemble its resources through capacity building projects, self-sufficiency projects, and .microfinance

Door is motivated by its belief in community work and the importance of building strong relationships between the Syrian people parts, in addition to adopting the dialogue and advocacy principle in promoting community cohesion. Door has worked on a number of projects which seek to increase community cohesion, activate dialogue and distribute roles among the various segments of Syrian society. In addition to building the community events capacities, enhancing their self-sufficiency opportunities and enhancing their .ability to launch initiatives using their local resources



About the Youth of Change Foundation :

Youth of Change is a voluntary community-based organization established in northern Syria in late 2015. The organization works to enhance the role of community initiatives and volunteer work, to reach their vision of an empowered and effective society capable of making a change and contributing to decision-making. Therefore, Youth for Change worked through its community committees - spread in Idlib, western and northern countryside of Aleppo, and parts of Hama countryside-, to launch many community initiatives which serve the Syrian community and increase its strength to face the harsh conditions created by bombardment and displacement.

The Foundation consists of: 27 community development committees in addition to 7 specialized teams: the training team, the research team, the campaigns and advocacy team, the women team, the self-sufficiency projects team, the forcibly displaced team, and the media team. The Foundation has launched many campaigns, initiatives and trainings in the fields of education, community cohesion, psychological support, safety and security, and public interest services.





Work team

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List of graphs

Graph 1: Identity components

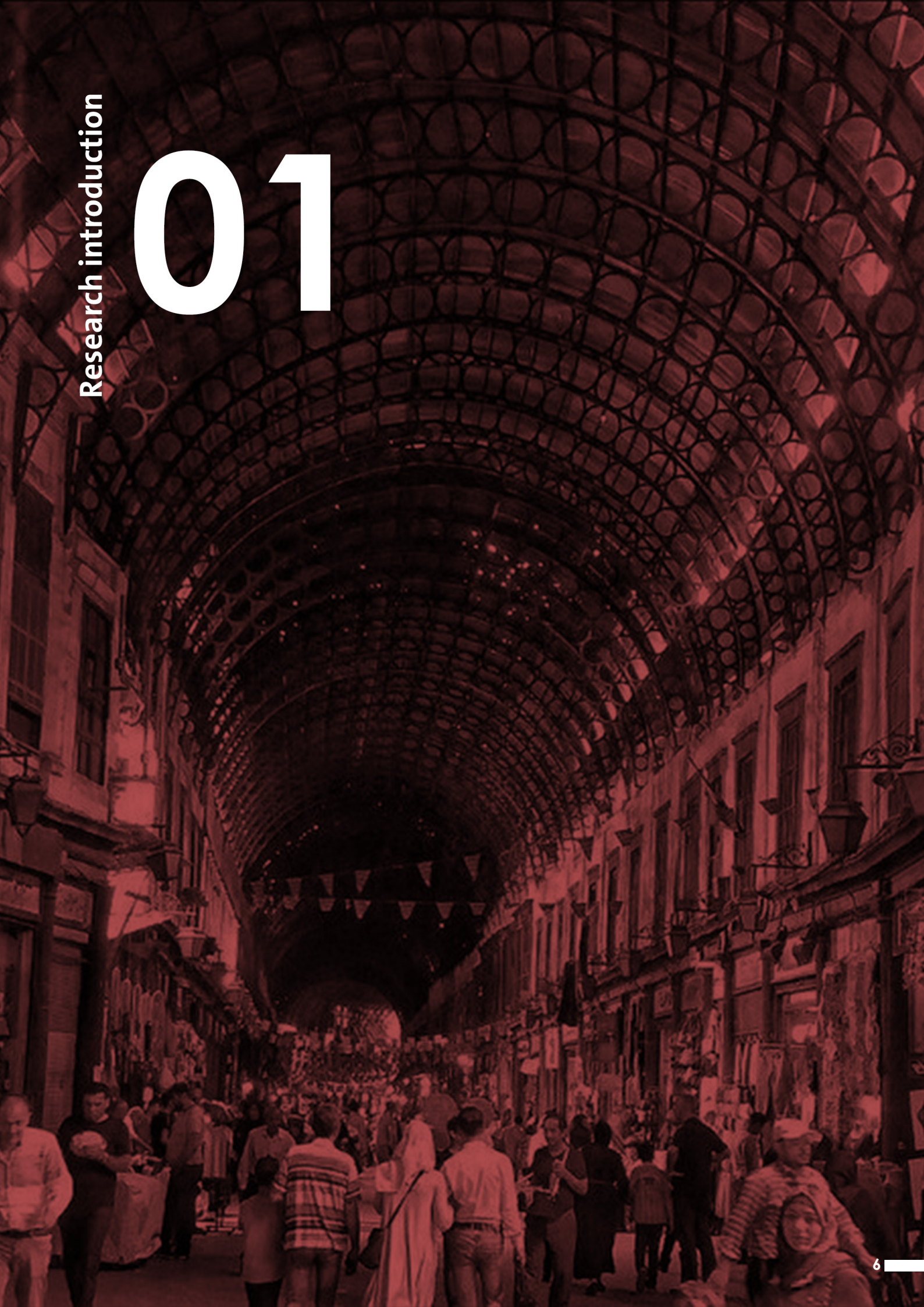
Graph 2: Identity accumulation

Graph 3: Conflicting identities



Research introduction

01



Countries are distinguished from each other by characteristics such as language, flag and land, as each country contains a set of features that distinguish its identity and form the bonds that unify its people. "Syria is one of the countries that is distinguished by its ethnic, cultural, religious and civilizational diversity, which has been gathered -on its geographical space and throughout its history- many civilizations (Such as Syriac, Assyrian, Chaldean, and Aramaic in addition to Arabic, Kurdish, Turkmen) and other civilizations and races, in addition to a great religious diversity. However, these affiliations did not have enough opportunity to grow during the last century, starting with independence from the French to the stages of the coups, and then taking The Baath and the Assad family over the Syrian regime, which worked on reducing the coexistence between the various components of Syria, which led to the weakness in national identity concept Syria, and low harmony levels of the various identities. The war in Syria in addition to the loss of unified Syrian national identity led Syrians to differentiate among themselves and resort to different affiliations, including the sub-national affiliations, regional affiliations or transnational affiliations. This was reinforced by projects that expanded Syria's geographical, in addition to many countries intervention which increased the divisions severity, so it was necessary to work on understanding the Syrian identity with its various complex components, and it was important to work on understanding the affiliations, feelings, values and principles that people resort to in their definition of their personal and national identity.

John Joseph says in his book Language and Identity: "It is appropriate to recall the idea that group identities, especially national and ethnic identities, are a double-edged sword. On the one hand, they perform a positive role by giving people a sense of who they are, and a sense of belonging to a group, and in case of the absence of this role, one can have a sense of isolation that may have disastrous consequences. On the other hand this affiliation is always built through the expressing difference from others, and this exclusion can easily turn into a desire for racial discrimination and hatred. It is at least crucial for us to understand these destructive nature aspects of identity in the same way that we understand its positive aspects, because we cannot contribute to important acts of struggle against hatred, ethnicity, nationalism, prejudice and injustice, but without sacrificing at the same time those useful elements of identity that are essential to lives prosperity of individuals and societies.

Being aware of these factors that may cause society disintegration is extremely important, as ignoring this cultural and psychological diversity due to political practices that do not achieve justice for all people of the same nation may lead to political dimension tyranny. Feeling that they are " Sub-countries," or citizens who are deprived of power, sense of glory, or state affiliation, some groups may form their unions or organizations to fight for their own interests. The question is what should be done to treat their grievances or protect them from the onslaught of injustice. Such groups may choose the path to leave their country and seek refuge in a friendly country, as did the Kazakh Germans who moved to Germany after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

They may also fight for "self-government", or maybe feel content with having their own institutions to govern at the local and regional levels, such in the case of Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland. It is also possible for these groups to integrate and merge with the majority on better terms, as we may see in the case of the French people in the British-dominated provinces in Canada. The last option is for these groups to accept permanent marginalization without any reaction, like the Persians in India. While Maalouf attributes the identity struggle to a political and societal dimension, or as he called it Tribal at the same time, "In a country like Lebanon, the prominent religious sects have always fought and quarreled in order to preserve their positions and their share of power." He stated that a person's identity is not a series of independent affiliations, and it is not a "patch" but a drawing on a Taut fabric, and it is enough for a single affiliation to be violated in order for a person to act angry with his whole being.



This study aims to build a better perception of national identity concept in the Syrian context from Syrians viewpoint

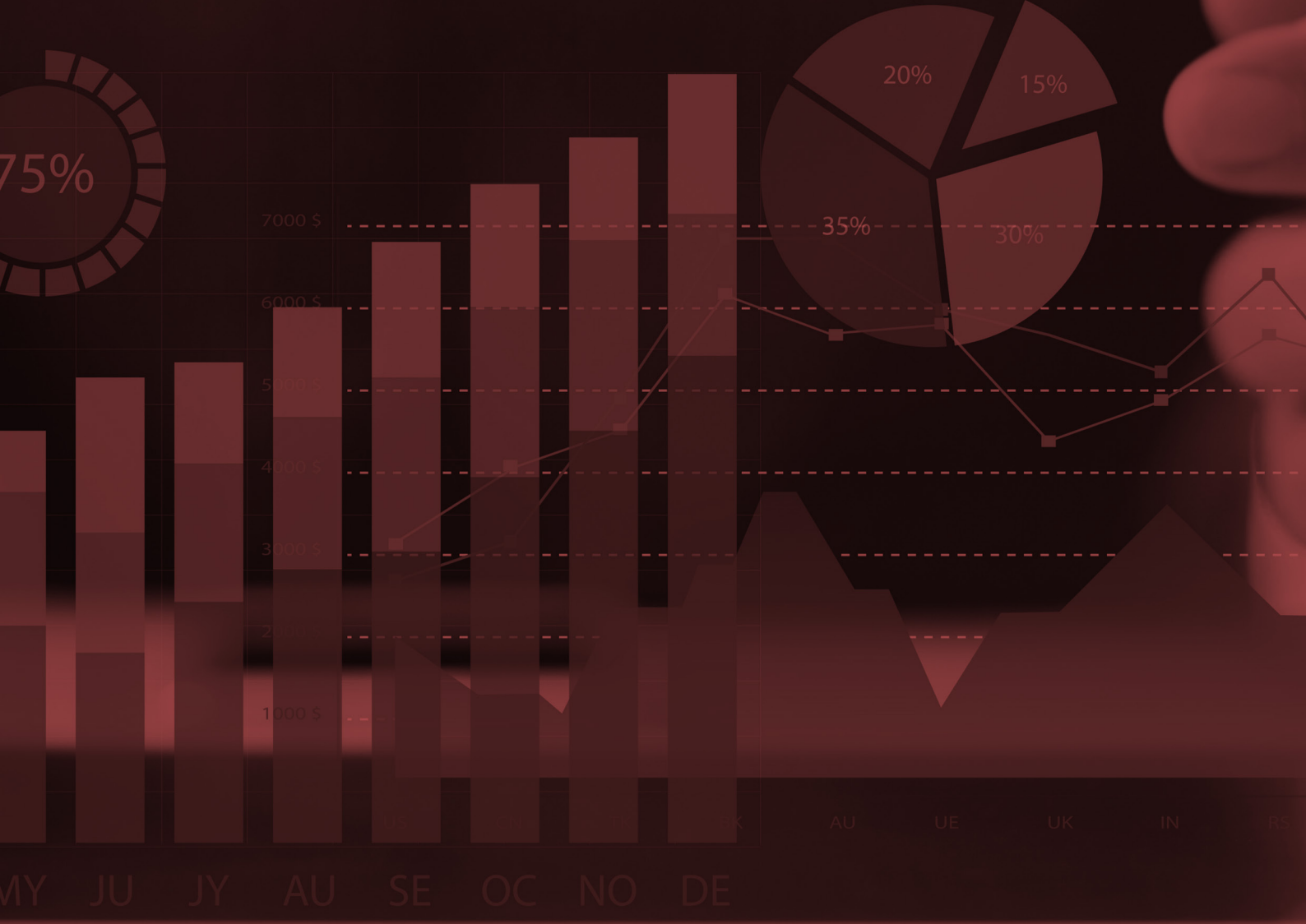
and to identify the factors that affect the Syrians national identity. The research seeks to build a broader understanding of the following four matters:

- 1) identity meaning (identity components) affiliations, values, feelings.
- 2) Connection to identity (past, present, future).
- 3) Identity building and disintegration (loss, disintegration, and reinforcement factors).
- 4) Identity, conflict and solidarity (what motivate you to intervene in resolving a conflict, and what we use in resolving the conflict).

To achieve the research aim, the work team collected data related to patriotic identity dimensions, including language, religion, local culture and history of Syria. This data will be used to build the patriotic identity guide in the research areas, and to determine the factors affecting this indicator.

Given that the patriotic identity expresses an individual's belonging to a nation or community, the results of this study are extremely important in determining how Syrians define their identity, and how they understand the elements that constitute the patriotic identity of Syrians.

02



The research indicators were developed by the Research and Opinion Polls Department of the DOOR Beyond War organization, and the questionnaire was validated by the team collecting an experimental random sample of 50 questionnaires. Then, a random sample was surveyed in 82 areas distributed in northwestern and northeastern Syria, including displacement camps. The study was applied to 827 individuals of the population, 59% males, 41% females, as well as 39% of the displaced 61%.

During the data collection process for this research, the team followed the instructions issued by the World Health Organization and the White Helmets guidelines for preventive measures. During the field work, the research team was equipped with Personal Protective Equipment (PPE).

Data quality

To ensure data high quality and randomization of the survey, we used the best data collection and quality control software and tools.

Data analysis

The analysis team cleaned up the data, coded it, and ensured that the information was correct while preserving its confidentiality. SPSS statistical packages were used to analyze the quantitative data.



Research Problem

03



With the arrival of the Baath Party to power in Syria, Hafez al-Assad quickly took control of the regime in Syria through a military coup. Arab nationalism became the official ideological identity of the country, supported by the Assad regime along with socialism and freedom controlled by Assad and its security offices. The Assad regime and its party have worked to kill the spirit of the Syrian patriotic identity, linking it to Arab nationalism, upholding Arabism and fighting other Syrian nationalities, especially the Kurd. In addition to consolidating regional divisions, stirring up sectarian tendencies in Syria, constantly intimidating minorities and presenting himself as a guardian of the patriotic identity and the protector of minorities.

With the outbreak of the revolution in Syria in 2011, which led the Syrians to return to their patriotic Syrian identity and reject the difference and division established by Assad and his regime, the Asadian suppression of the civil revolutionary movement and the promotion of Assad and his media that the revolution is sectarian and regional, or that it is an ethnic nationalism, as he faced it with the most severe forms of violence. : From the arrest of peaceful activists, killing demonstrators and invading cities, the peaceful movement turned into a military movement, especially with the increase in army defections, the refusal of orders by a large number of officers and soldiers, and with the high rate of violence and siege and then forced displacement, and the phenomenon of migration to flee death or in search of education

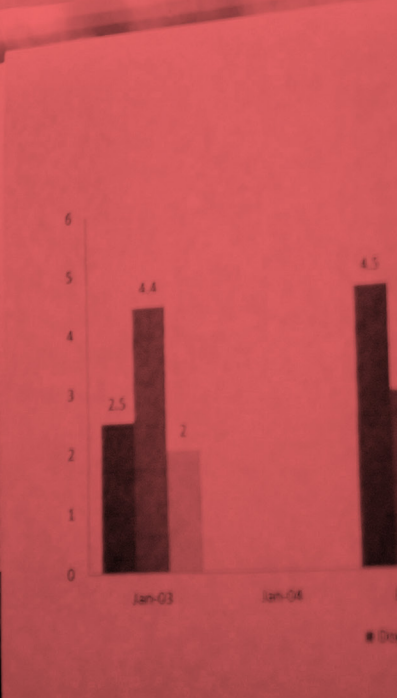
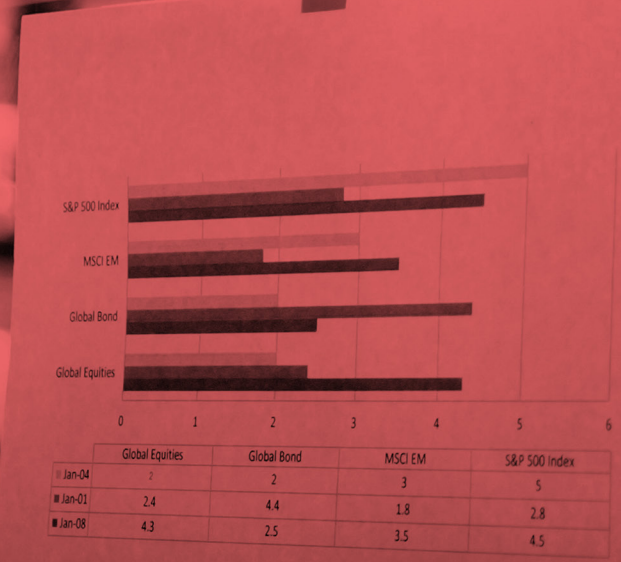
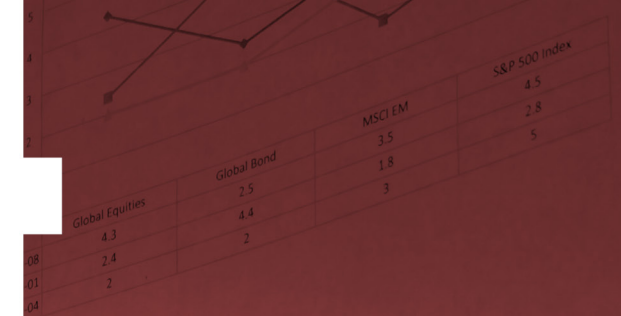
and work opportunities, preventing the loss of the generation, preserving life and the future, and preventing the waste of young energies.

The various manifestations of the war have led to an increase in the rift between the Syrian components on sectarian, regional and national foundations, especially with the support of Assad from Russia and Iran, the process of forced displacement and demographic change in several areas of Syria. The regional countries intervention in Syria, turned to increased severity in the rift in Kurdish-Arab relations on the level of the Syrian identity, and as a result of all the above, the Syrian identity suffers from a great loss and chaos. None of the Syrian components have been involved in any discussion of the problem of the patriotic identity and no party has been established that works to activate the Syrian patriotic identity.



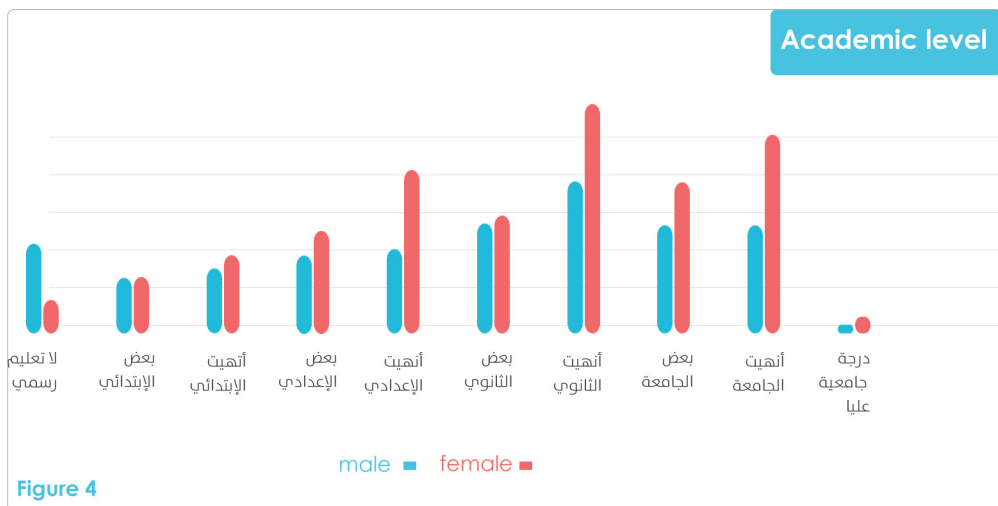
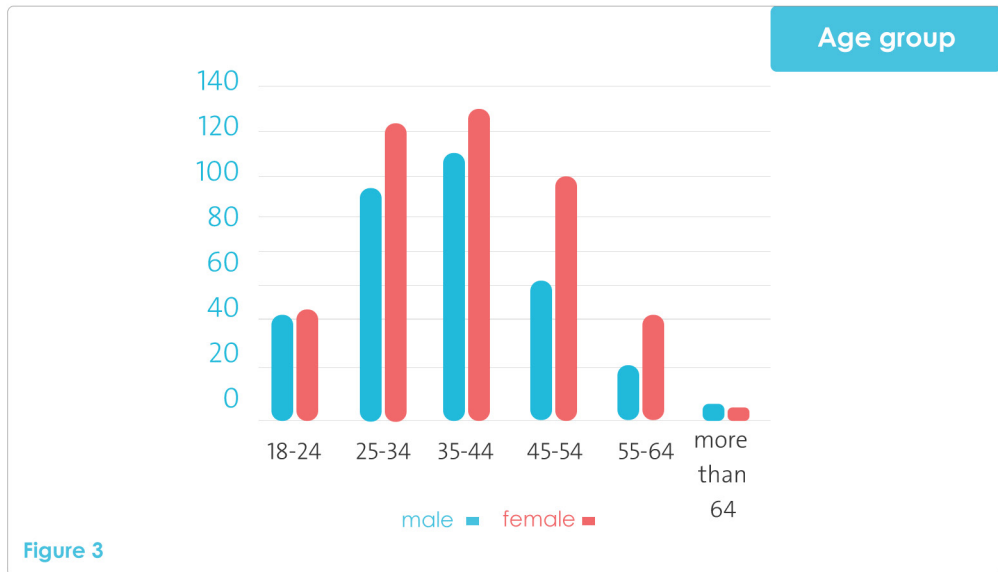
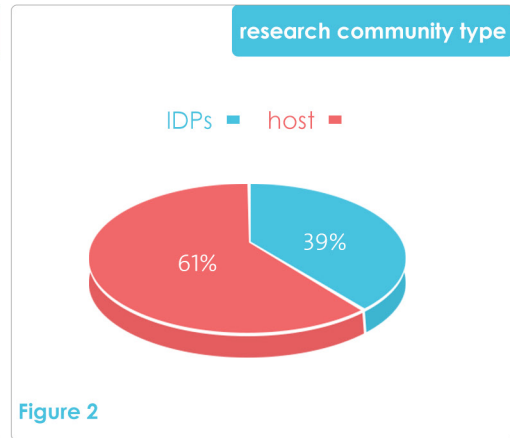
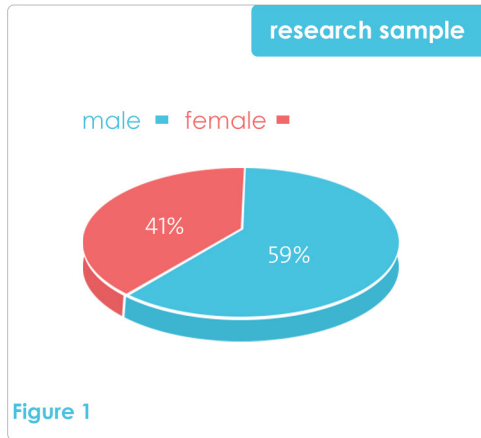
The research sample

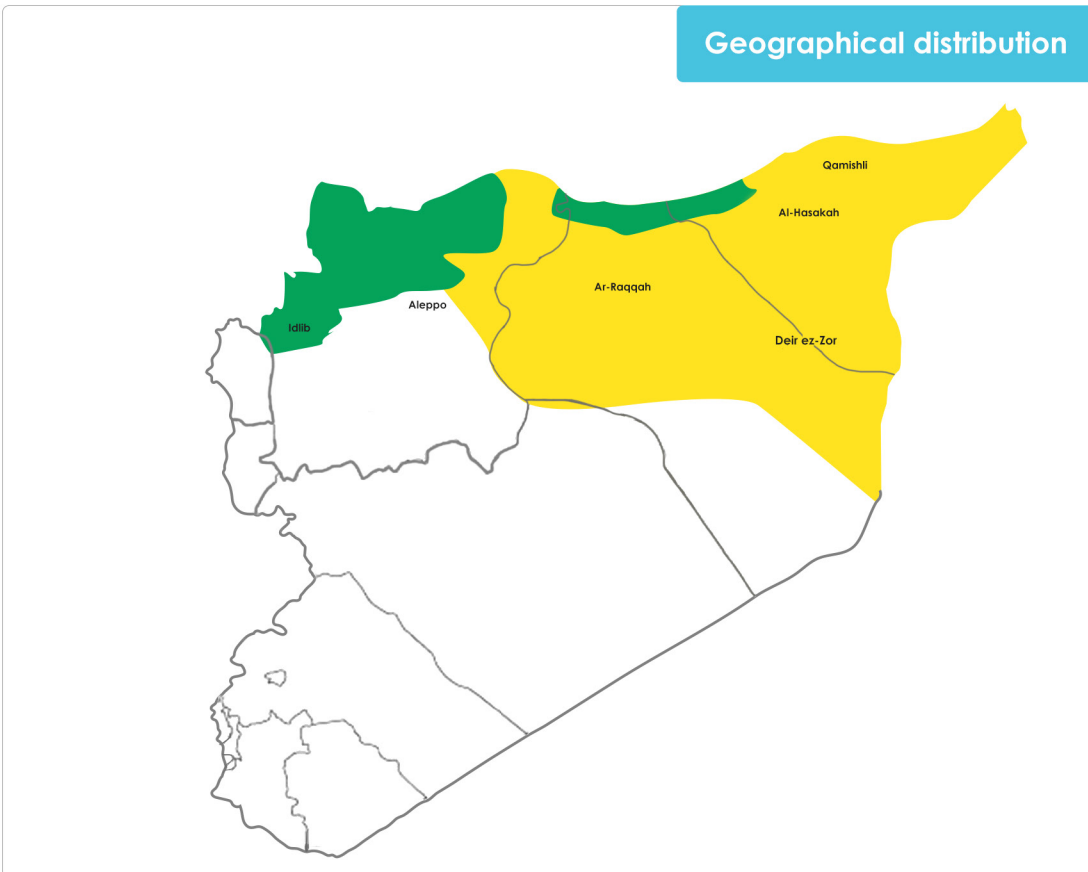
04



The research sample

The research sample was 770 people in 4 main governorates (Idlib - Aleppo - Raqqa - Hasakah - Deir Ezzor), the percentage of women 41% of the sample, and men 59%, the percentage of displaced persons was 39% and the percentage of hosts was 61%, the majority of participants were in between 25-44 category, as shown in Figure 3, and most of them hold a secondary, university, and intermediate school degree, as shown in Figure 4.





05

The concept of
pariotic identity



Identity definitions varied among those who viewed it as many affiliations that cannot be separated from one another, or as a leading identity based on a specific affiliation. Some defined it as a set of psychological and social accumulations and overlaps, and some distinguished between the individual identity or the collective identity, as well as between What is acquired in identity and what is innate.

It is possible to start from the definition of identity as a set of characteristics that characterize the individual, but it is not possible to view the individual identity without looking at others. This is about how the individual's identity is formed through his interaction with others and through his interaction with the society identity. When a value or belief collides at the individual level and at the societal level, the individual will have an inner discussion to decide whether these values and beliefs need revision. so, the identity is the result of a dialogue between the individual and the community in another sense, the identity is described or known as existence or belonging. It consists of two basic pillars, the identifier and the identified, meaning the individual is defined as "I" or "the self", and society is defined as "the other" where the identity of a person is defined through its difference from the other, and here is an affirmation that identity is the result of An interaction between the individual and society.

Whereas Amin Maalouf viewed identity as all affiliations that differ in importance, but none of them is completely lacks importance, namely "the personality founding elements, or the genes of the soul if the expression is correct," he stressed that the same assortment cannot be found in two different people. This is precisely what constitutes each individual's special value, as well as the patriotic identity in each group are the characteristics that distinguish them, translate the spirit of belonging among their children, and is important in improving nations, their progress and prosperity, without them the groups lose all their existence meanings and stability. These traits express an entity in which individuals who are harmonious and similar are fused with the influence of these features and characteristics that unite them, and on the basis of this patriotic feeling, each individual takes his sense of belonging and identity, and feels he is not just nobody but rather is a part of a large group of individuals and have the same goals and components, in addition to his belonging to a culture that is composed of a set of symbols, standards and images.

Door sees identity as the interaction of three main components that together constitute individual and groups identity. On top of these components comes the affiliations that multiply and diversify and grow over time, refer to all affiliations, whether geographical, ethnic, religious or professional within circles of affiliations, and these circles intersect with each other, and increase their influence on a person's identity based on the other two components, Values and emotions, so the value system affects the individuals and groups affiliations. The affiliations of some may be formed on the basis of specific values, and the person is driven to belong to a religious, ethnic or geographic group based on the sharing of specific values. Likewise, the individual's attachment to a certain affiliation may increase as a result of various emotions, whether fear or feeling threatened Or, the feeling of pride and loyalty.

The interaction of these three elements is what makes some focus on specific basic affiliations, while another person tends to look at affiliations in different ways from one stage of time to another.

5 The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology, Bryan S. Turner (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2006), p. 277

6 Hüsamettin İnaç, Feyzullah Ünal, The Construction of National Identity in Modern Times: Theoretical Perspective, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Vol. 3 No. 11; June 2013, p223.

امين معلوف، الهويات القاتلة، ترجمة نهلة بيضون، بيروت، دار الفارابي، 2015، ص 21.
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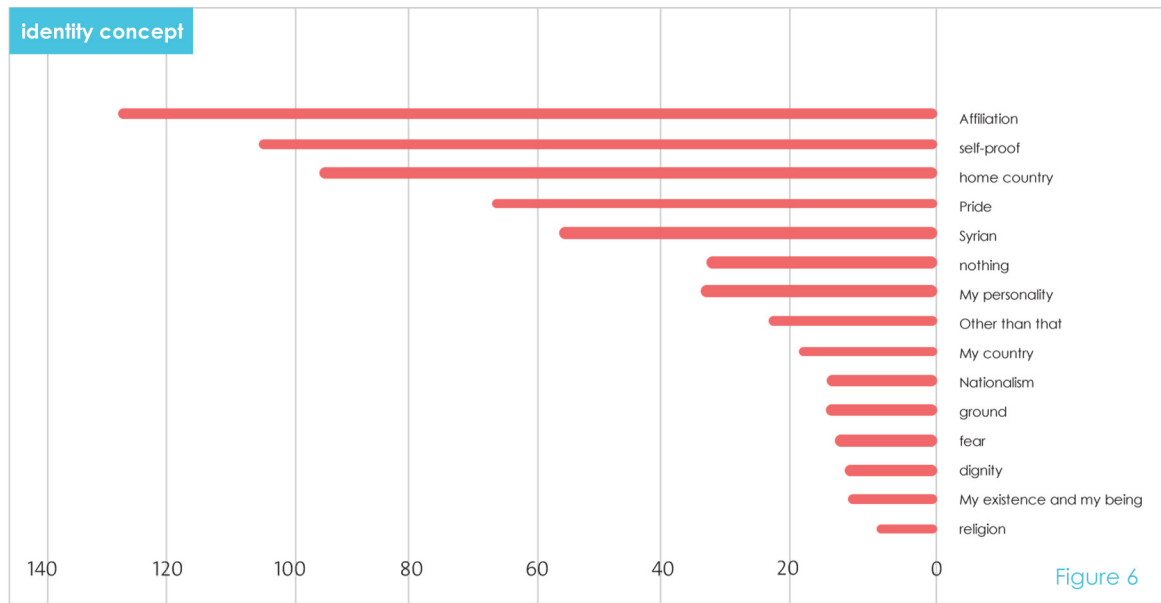
It should be noted that the interaction of each of the values and emotions drives interests in individual, which in turn work to form affiliations and thus build and shape identity. Identity is the root of interests, so no party carries interests in isolation from the social context, on the contrary, they define their interests based on their definition of the situations and attitudes around them. As motives are what indicate the degree of human participation in a social process, and he finds himself acting upon it, and accordingly, he systematically provides the appropriate energy to perform a task or respond to a situation. Sometimes the situations are unprecedented in our experience, in these cases we need to construct meanings for these situations and thus we build our interests by analogy or invent them again, but often situations are routine and we assign meaning to them based on an institutional definition in the form of roles, for example, when we say that a university professor is interested in teaching, research or going on vacation, we say this to focus on the role of his "identity" as a university professor, and thus the required behaviours are determined based on this identity and interests. We can simply say that individuals' interests shape their attitudes and ultimately shape their desire to belong to a group or country influenced by their definition and understanding of each of the values, emotions and meanings that individuals develop with each other to form a collective understanding called collective identity.

And since the definition and identity concept, as we have noted, it is understandable that many writers disagreed on it, so the research started by asking the participants about the first word that comes to their minds when they hear the word identity and their answers were when asking a question: What is the first word / feeling that comes to your mind when you hear / think of the word identity? As shown in Figure 6.

The answer of 133 respondents was that the first word is "belonging", while the second highest answer was 110 participants that identity is a proof of identity, while 100 people linked identity with the homeland. Whereas 72 people expressed identity by linking it with feelings, and feeling was "pride" and some linked it to "fear" and "dignity."

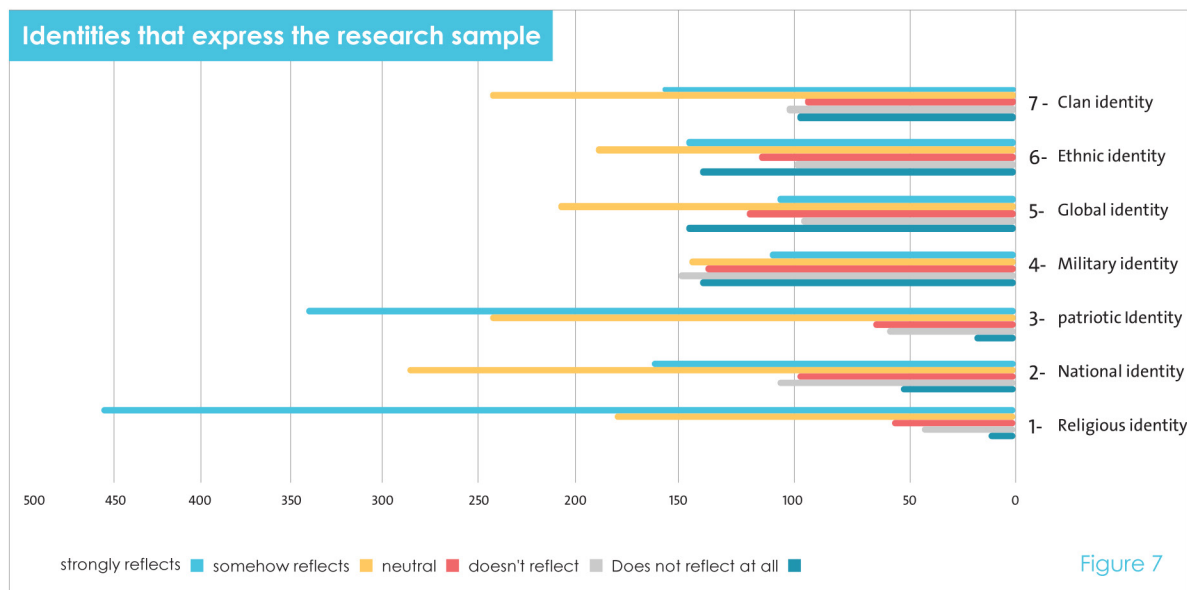
We notice that the majority of the participants linked identity to place, geography, nationality and nationality, or it was linked to feelings such as pride or fear or to values such as dignity.

We notice that the majority of the participants linked identity to place, geography, nationality and nationality, or it was linked to feelings such as pride or fear or to values such as dignity.



The patriotic identity in our Arab countries is still a matter of research, especially since our Arab countries were born from the womb of colonial projects, and from the folds of a pan-Arab discourse. The issue of identity that has passed about a century since the region was formed still carries features that some see as contradictory and others see it combined with the Arab,

Islamic and Christian values they represent that express the face of the region. In Arab Spring era we witnessed a state of "weakness" in patriotic identities, and the emergence of other regional and sectarian And religious as an alternative to it, and it even took sides of the fighting between people of the same country, and perhaps the Syrian case expressed what I witnessed from past years, which is the best expression of what is happening in our region in terms of weak identity. When respondents in our research were asked about the identities that they express, most of the answers were that the religious identity is the one that expresses them and the national identity is after it. The following figure shows the answers of the respondents.



As we mentioned earlier, identity is made up of a group of different affiliations, and as Dr. Mukhtar al-Shanqeeti mentioned, identities in ancient times were characterized by great stability, and they did not undergo a fundamental change except with a profound cultural change such as: the emergence of religions and the birth of empires, but the speed era in which we are living has produced the phenomenon of identity shifting and making identity transformation easier and faster than before. Identity cannot be understood, as well as well managed, except by placing it in a specific context of time and place, and a clear understanding of its relationship to other overlapping and intersecting identities.

- **Overlapping Identity**
- **Identity Intersection**

Overlapping Identity: a theoretical temporal concept. This is because it is based on an arrangement of identities according to their precedence in time, not according to their priority for the person or society.

As for the Identity Intersection: it is a spatial concept, and Intersection is a product of accumulation. It is also the subject of conflict and conflict management, and Intersection out leads to the preponderance of one identity over another in the individual or group. The Arab identity, for example: prevails among the Arab nationalist, while the Islamic identity predominates among the Islamist with a global tendency, and the national identity among the recalcitrant nationalist. When the study participants were asked about the overlapping of their identities to find out how religious or national identities compete with each other and their relationship with the patriotic identity, the study showed that there is an inability to separate the Syrian identity from the national or religious identity, and there was a large percentage of illogical answers. The participants expressed their opinion that the Syrian identity is separated

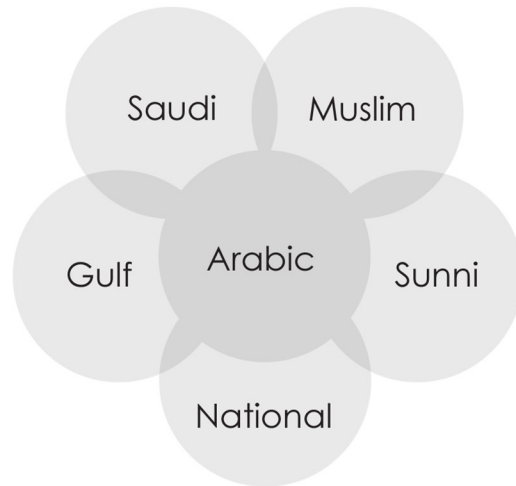


The concept of patriotic identity

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The concept of patriotic identity

from the religious identity and the national identity, but he returned to the answer that he believed that the Syrian identity is part of the national or religious identity and vice versa, and by looking at the answers of the participants who were able to distinguish between the components of the identity without Helping the researcher, the results were as follows:



39% of the respondents said that the Syrian identity is separate from the religious identity, while 30% told us that the Syrian identity is not separate from the religious identity, and 31% preferred neutrality in answering this question, as shown in Figure 8.

Among those who answered that the Syrian identity is not separate from the religious identity, 63% of them believe that the Syrian identity is part of the religious identity, while 38% think the opposite is that the religious identity is part of the Syrian identity, and those who chose neutrality found 46 % Of them believe that the religious identity is part of the Syrian identity, and 16% that the Syrian identity is part of the religious identity, and 38% of the respondents maintained neutrality

the link between patriotic identity and religious identity

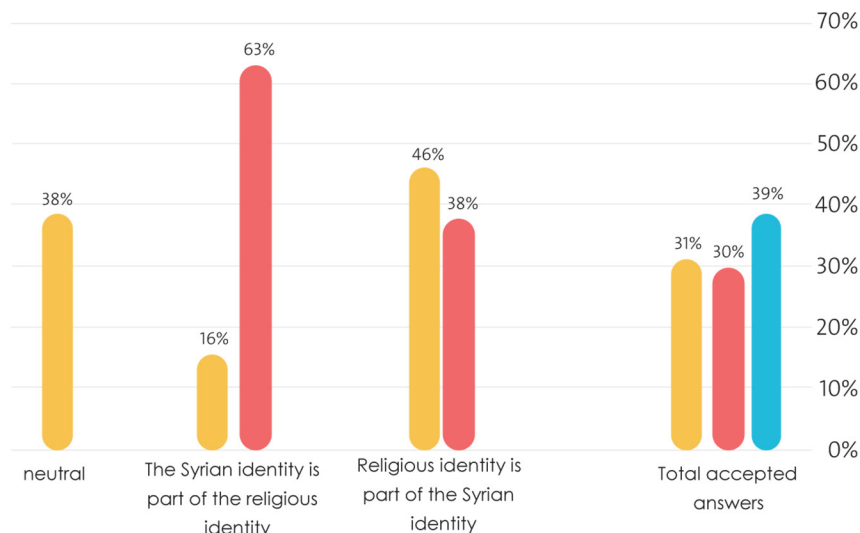
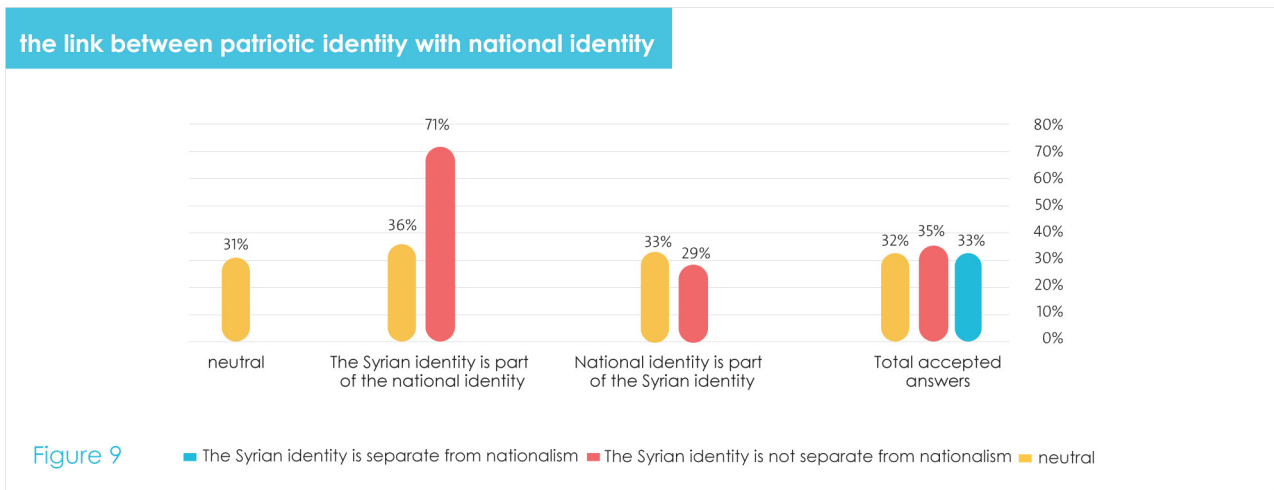


Figure 8 neutral The Syrian identity is not separate from the religious The Syrian identity is separate from the religious

As for the respondents' opinions about the relationship between the national identity and the (Syrian) patriotic identity, 33% of the respondents said that the Syrian identity is separate from the national identity, while 35% of the answers were that the Syrian identity is not separate from the national identity, and 32% of the answers it was neutral.

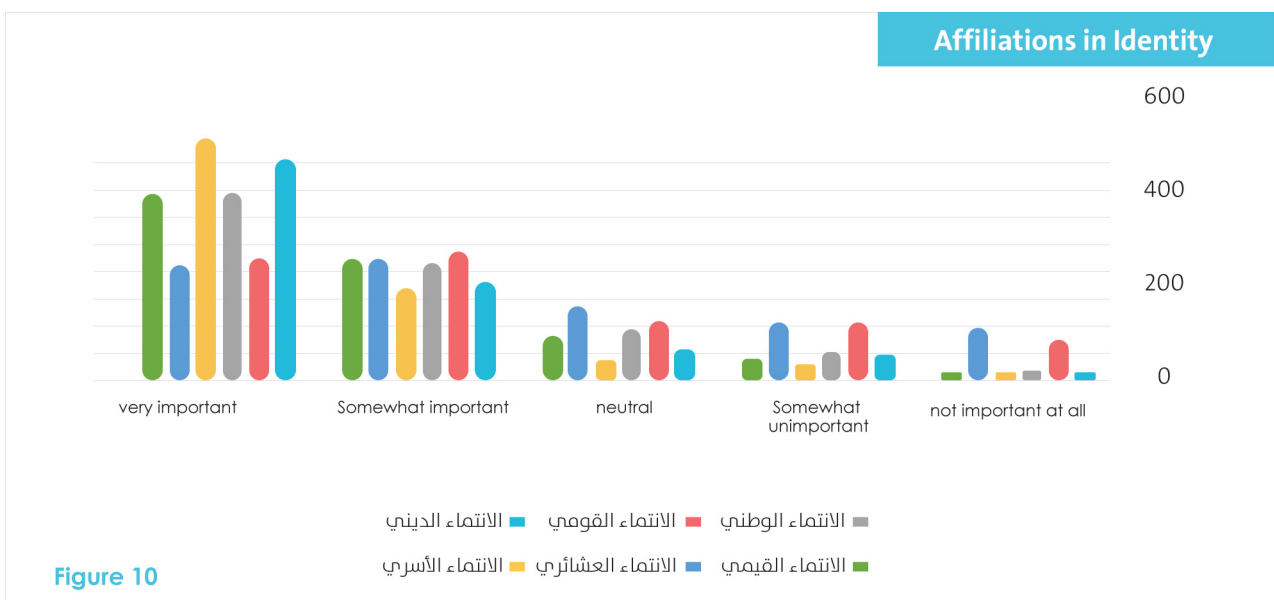
71% of them answered that the Syrian identity and the national identity are inseparable, as they believe that the Syrian identity is part of the national identity, while 29% of them believe that the national identity is part of the Syrian identity, and the answers regarding neutrality were equal, as 31% were neutral, and 36% express that the Syrian identity is part of the national identity, and 33% express that the national identity is part of the Syrian identity, as shown in Figure 9.



It can be noted from the previous that the Syrian identity was in most of the answers a part of the religious or national identity and not the other way around, meaning that the majority of the participants view the religious or national identity as a larger component of the patriotic identity, and this form may explain the Overlapping Identity, and many trends and behaviours that happened in Syria, during the past ten years, there has been a trend of Syrians' tendencies to local or transnational affiliations and loyalties.

The study showed that the affiliations of the research participants fall in order of importance in the following order:

Family affiliations come in first place in terms of importance, and then religious affiliation comes in second place, while patriotic affiliation and values are ranked third equally in terms of importance, **as in the following figure No. 10.**





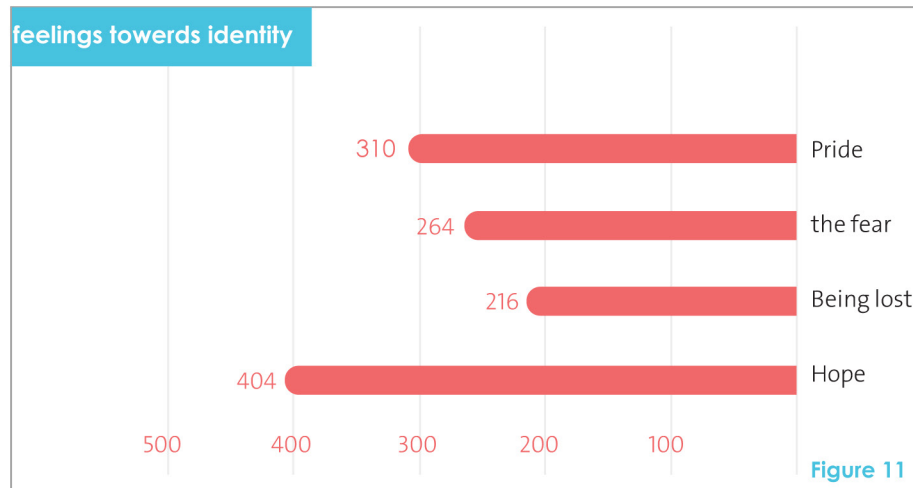
06

Emotions and patriotic identity

Despite the general understanding of emotions as feelings and physical senses, which are really elements of emotions, emotions are best known by linking them to experiences and participation, Social conditions, expressive communication and people's intentions are considered crucial to emotional experience emergence and quality, and thus: emotions can be seen as highlighting values, interests, and meanings in social life., Emotions: have a link in action, rational and irrational expectations, and many important emotions, not short or fleeting, but rather continuous and permanent.

There is a misunderstanding when we think that the important emotions that we express are Consciously perceived, however, experiences have shown that many emotions that are essential in our social processes occur below the threshold of consciousness, for example: Thomas J. Schiff has shown that many attitudes of social harmony (group thinking attitudes) can be explained in terms of feelings of shyness that a person does not realize consciously. so when talking about emotions, this must be linked to the consequences that result from these emotions from the actions that follows, such as loyalty to identity and its affiliations, Or, defending it or being closed-minded.

Amin Maalouf mentioned in his book The Killer Identities, "Thus when people feel that they are threatened in their beliefs, it seems that religious affiliation is what reduces their entire identity, but if their mother tongue and their immediate group were threatened, they would fight violently against their religious brothers In the same way, feeling sympathy with people of one religion, language, or race may push the brotherhood to solidarity and unity.



Affiliations cannot be separated from emotions, nor identity from emotions. Even those who do not know how to define their identity, or who define their identity as a global identity or an indefinite identity, have set out either from a feeling of loss, or a feeling of openness and absolute freedom.

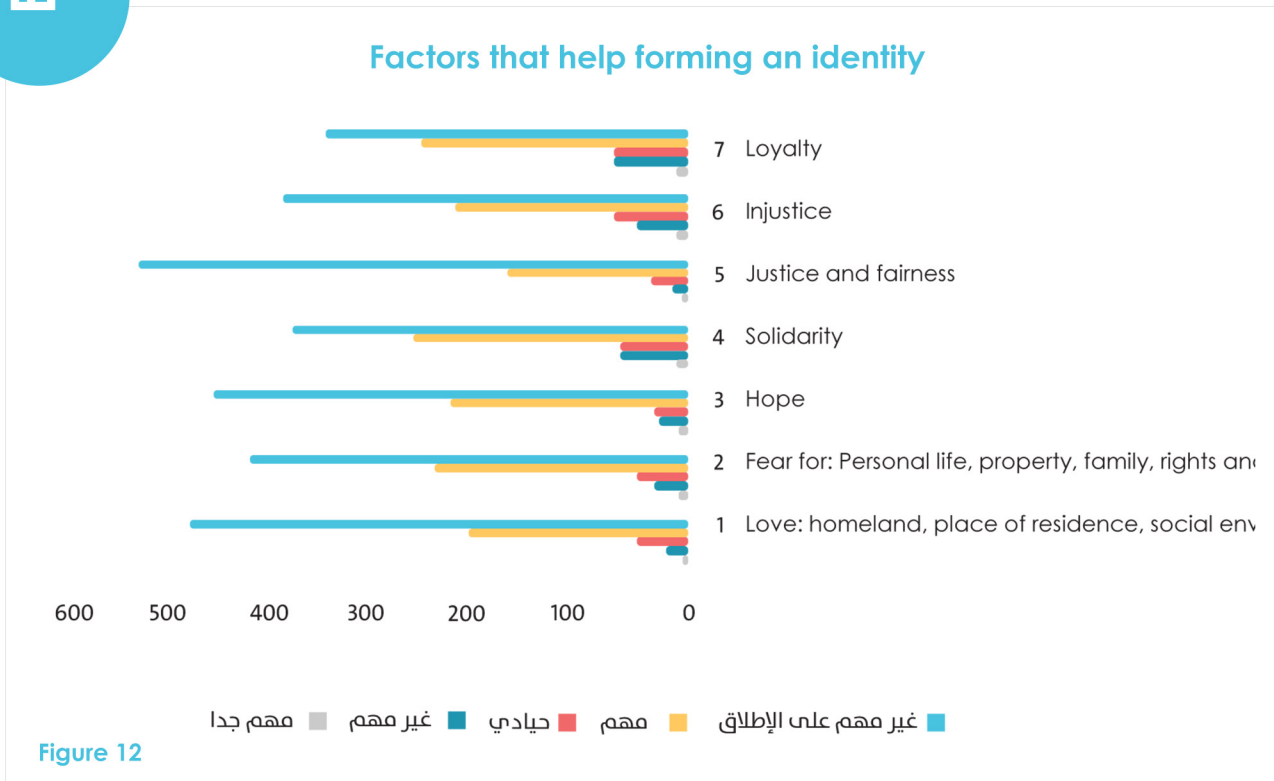
When participants were asked directly about the feelings about their feelings when thinking about identity in the future, most of the answers were that they feel hope, as the following figure indicated their answer, and then their feeling of pride, while fear and loss were in the third and fourth order.

Emotions are considered to be of a high degree of importance, as they are often responsible for individuals and groups behaviour, and they may be a reason for some closure on affiliations when they have fears, or it may push to cling to some personality traits such as a feeling of pride or hope.

Emotions have been ignored in the theories of international relations that are exposed to the patriotic identity by viewing states as rational actors who make decisions based on specific patriotic interests within boundaries determined by the physical structures. As for the realistic theories: only one emotion is considered legitimate and rational, which is fear. Moreover, rational fear has been linked to physical threats and the pursuit of physical security. Sometimes fear is linked to some additional emotion, such as shame, anxiety, sympathy, anger, and feelings of humiliation, and so the prevailing approaches tend to portray emotions as irrational, yet it has been argued convincingly that the distinction between rationality and emotion is indefensible, as rational action requires Presence of emotion: Doers have to empathize to make rational decisions. "Emotions help us understand ourselves, our situation in relation to others, and the world around us," says Blaker and Hutchison.

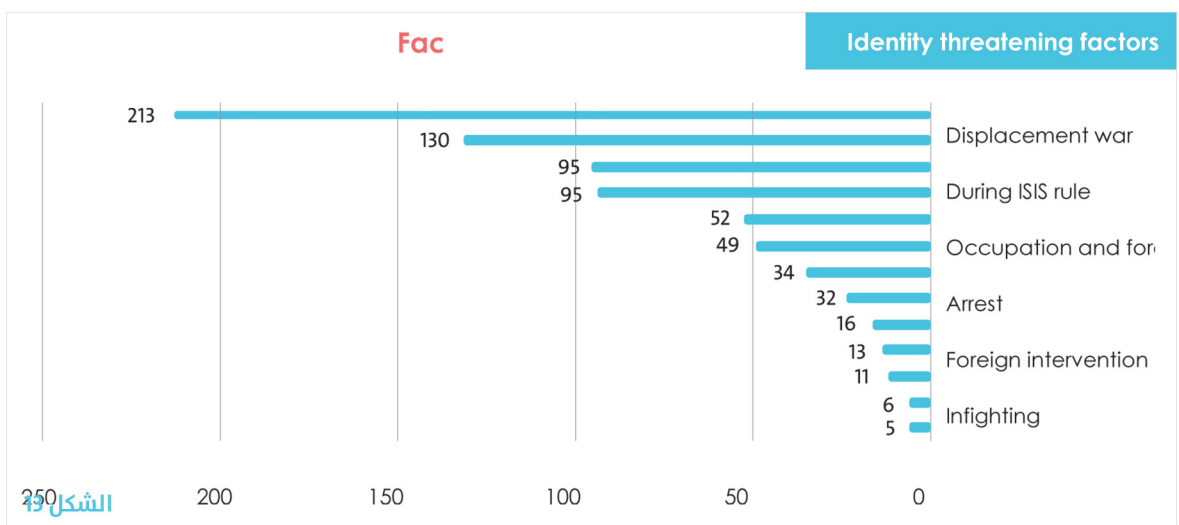
Thus identity is built through the formation of an emotional loyalty that makes us feel as if we belong.

When asking people about the feelings that help them determine their identity and affiliations, their answers ranged by choosing several factors, and the following figure illustrates the answers Figure No. 12



The link between emotion and identity is particularly evident in debates about nationalism and patriotism (see Mercer 2010). Some scholars argue that nationalism involves feelings that transcend "malicious", which may lead to hatred of the other, while patriotism is "well" or "healthy" and linked to the love of Nation (Gries, Zhang, Crowson, Cai 2011; Kosterman & Fischbach 1989). Others argue that strong love and pride in one's country are not necessarily benign because it is more of a motivation for self-sacrifice than hatred of others, and thus a primary reason people are willing to go to war (cf. Anderson 1983: 7; Billig 1995: 55-59). In addition, love or pride in one's country implies comparison, and thus often implies feelings of contempt towards the other in both cases: it is clear that emotions form the basis of national and patriotic identities. In the struggle of identities, the majority recognize themselves by belonging to the most vulnerable to attack, so we identify with it exactly, whether they adopt it overtly or covertly. Be it color, religion, language, or class, to sweep over the entire identity, for those who share it, they feel solidarity, so they gather and become alarmed, excite each other, and attack their confrontation. The assertion of identity becomes an act of courage and liberation

When asked about situations they went through which made them feel there is a threat on their identity, displacement was the biggest threat, and then war. The following figure shows the answers.



الشكل 19

16* Linus Hagström & Karl Gustafsson (2015) Japan and identity change: why it matters in International Relations, The Pacific Review, 28:1, 1-22, DOI: 10.1080/09512748.2014.969298

*17 الهويات المجروحة والمواطنة - منى فياض - الحرة 30 سبتمبر 2018

07

Value and patriotic identity



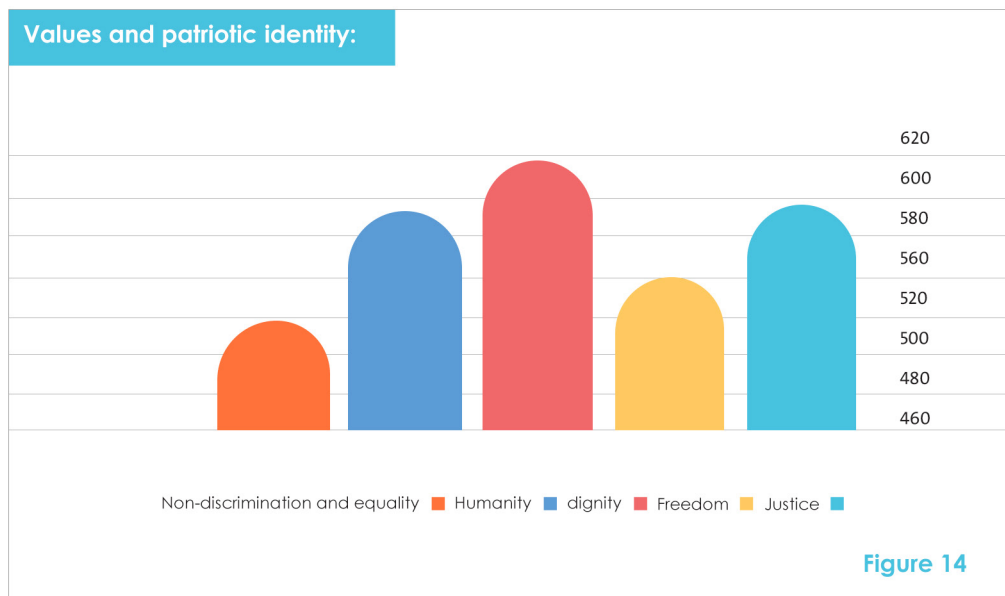
Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology defines values as referring to moral principles or other judgments of value. The term is used by sociologists in many different ways:

First, it is discussed at the cognitive and methodological level, as in Max Weber's concept of relevance to value.

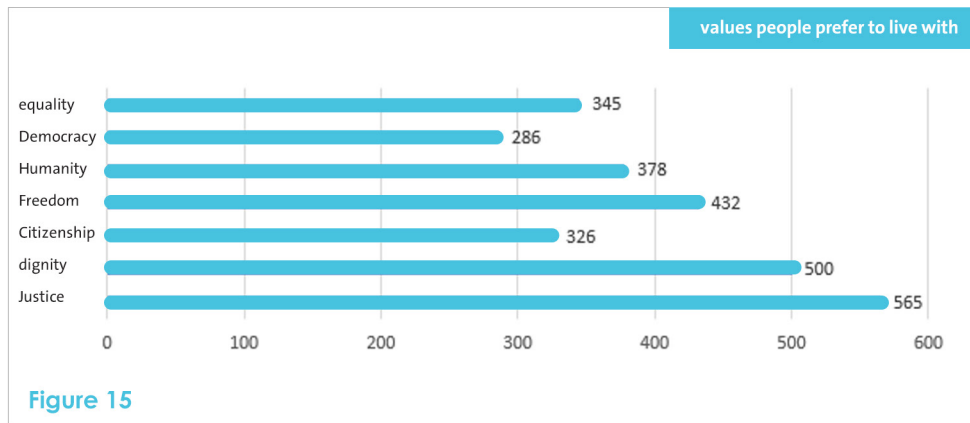
Second, there is another issue of ethics and the good life that relates to discussions about values neutrality.

Third, sociology is concerned with identifying and analysing the values that people carry in epochs, states, societies, subcultures, or specific areas of life. Values are seen as deep or intense obligations embedded in the actions we take, and they may contradict the positions that are believed to be views and opinions that are more superficial and weak, so that, we can view the values as criteria that rule our real actions even if they differ on the surface from the positions we express. It is used powerfully to judge when to act, or it is used to distinguish between countries, cultures and societies. Several educational and social research confirms that values have a pivotal role in directly affecting the belonging and identity of the individual to society. This was indicated by the social scientist Tylor, who believes that: The starting point for strengthening the patriotic identity begins with values cultivation due to their effect on young people's behaviour. He also views social, religious and ethical values as the basis with which to expand the personality of the individual, implanting values in the hearts of young people is one of the most important supporting factors to enhance the sense of belonging to the country.

The results of this study indicated that the most important values are dignity and then justice. The following figure, No. 14, illustrates the most important values that help define affiliations.a



The participants expressed their opinion that the values of justice, dignity and freedom are the values that should be ruling and which achieves a better future in Syria and people can live under. **The following figure, No. 15, expresses the respondents' answers.**



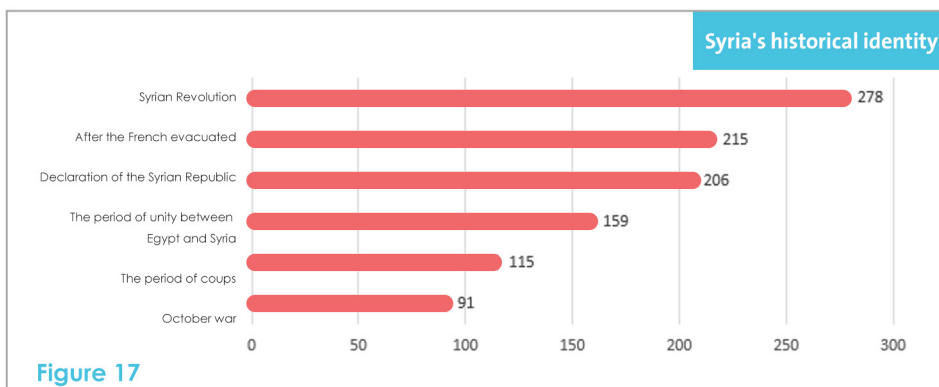
It is well known that Syria, within its internationally recognized geographical space, was formed as a result of colonial divisions according to the Sykes / Picot Agreement of 1916, as Syria, with its current borders, went to the French colonialist, therefore France tried from the beginning to establish a new Syrian identity on the ruins of the Ottoman identity that was adopted in defining it on the religious factor, i.e. the collective Islamic identity without canceling the sub-identities, whether they were national, religious or sectarian. An Arab would not be ashamed of his Arab affiliation in the Ottoman state, the Kurdish, the Christian, the Shiite, and the Alawi, plus there was a certain area of tolerance and shared loyalty to the state practiced between these The components in an acceptable manner until the beginning of the twentieth century coinciding with the intensification of the Turkish nationalism against other national components. The French tried to start taking into account the Syrian societal components as a whole and establishing the federal state of Syria, by dividing it into several regions in compliance with that, but soon abandoned them as a result of the shallow French experience with applications the federal model, as well as many components of Syrian society resistance to this Partitioning; Therefore, it applied its governance model, that is, the central state, relying on the majority of the Arab Sunnis to administer government and drafting an almost cloned constitution from the French constitution. Syria became independent in 1946, and the Syrian political scene was assumed by civil bourgeois forces represented by the National Bloc and the People's Party, and the two parties tried to establish a national, democratic, pluralistic state, but time did not help them until a series of military coups began three years after independence (1949-1954).

In the post-independence phase, Hafez al-Assad quickly took control of Syria through a military coup, the Baath Party's political face, and the identity that Hafez al-Assad adopted is the Arab national identity, which has become the official ideology of the state since the coup in 1963, and this identity was reinforced by "socialism". In addition, there happened the emergence of sectarian identities among Syrians, to whom it became clear that the state is an entity that cannot be trusted, Rather, the state / regime is the biggest beneficiary of the absence of a Syrian patriotism that is a substitute for sectarian and regional identities. Many identities have been crystallized, which made the Syrian patriotic identity more important than the rest of the identities, still, Syrian patriotism did not constitute a collective affiliation capable of resisting other identities.

The Kurdish national identity emerged and was in an inconsistent direction, in many cases contradictory to the strength of the "Syrian national" revolution against tyranny.

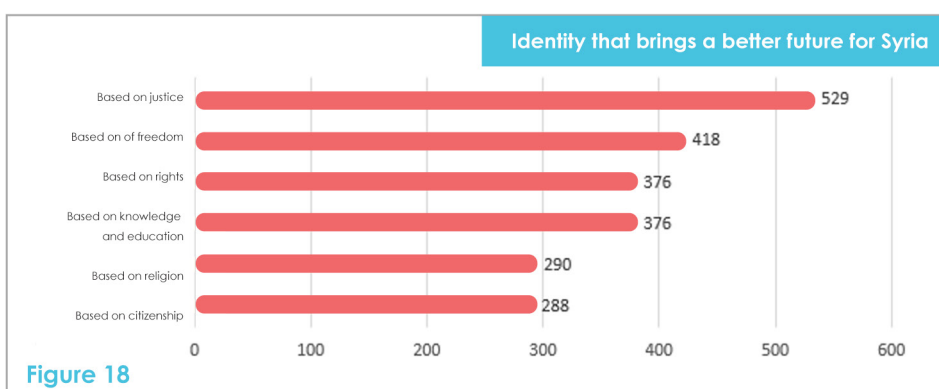
²¹ الهوية الوطنية السورية في مرحلة ما قبل الثورة منذ الاستقلال - فؤاد عليكو - يكتيب ميديا 2019-
²² الهوية الوطنية والدولة في سوريا ما بعد الثورة- مركز درمون -رشيد صالح 2020-
²³ الهوية السورية هوية مضادة -راتب شعبو- مالون سوري-2018- بتصرف.

This history of the Syrian identity journey prompted us to ask the participants about their understanding of the identity and the moment or situations that provoked them to think about their identity for the first time. The following question was asked to the study participants:



When did they think that Syria had a clear identity given its history, the answer was, That the Syrian uprising has historically formed a clear identity for Syria, and the following figure, No. 17, illustrates the participants' answers.

The respondents believe that thinking about the future of Syria when asked about the form of identity, in their opinion, will attain a better future for Syria? That the state based on justice is the best option for them, and the following figure, No. 18, clarifies their answers



They also believe that the Islamic system of government, and then the republic, is the system that will bring about a better future for them and Syria. The following figure, No. 19, shows the responses of the participants in the research areas

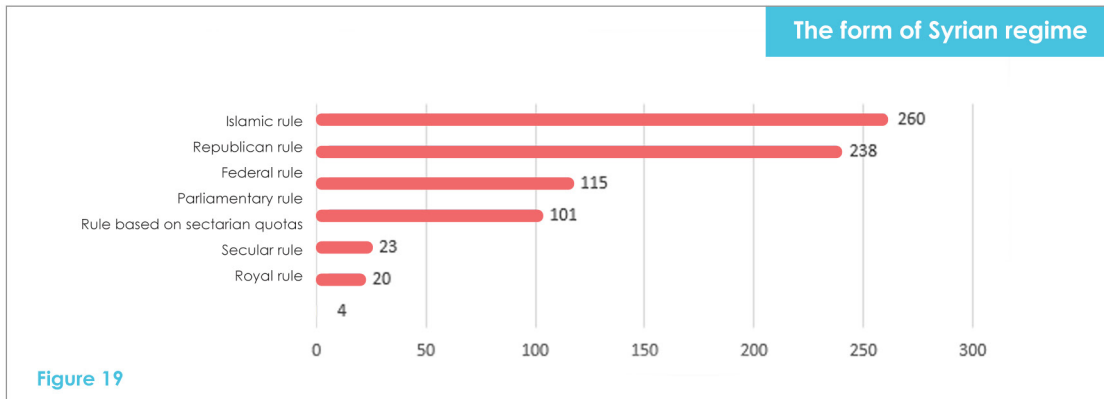


Figure 19

The participants indicated that there must be some things that contribute to the Syrians living under the shadow of one identity in peace and they stressed the need for justice and accountability and the existence of real peace. The following figure No. 20 illustrates their answers..

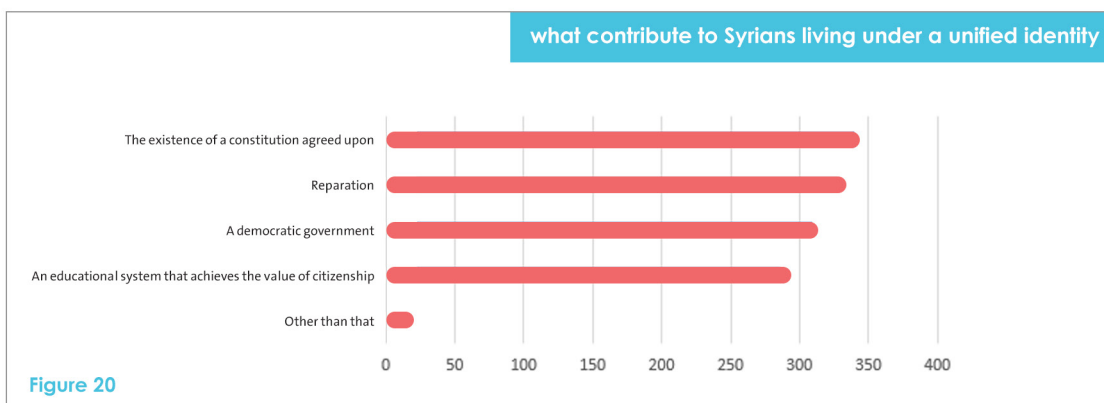


Figure 20

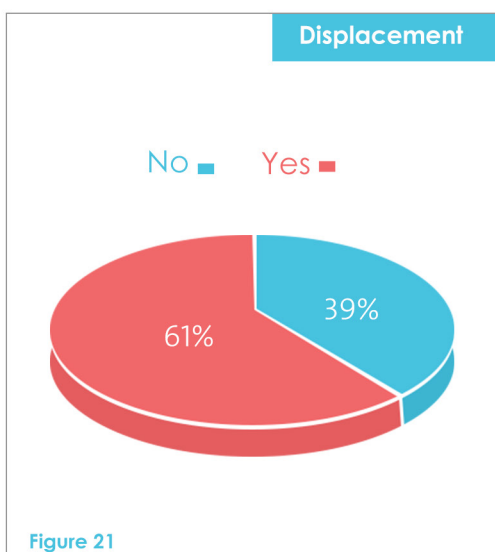
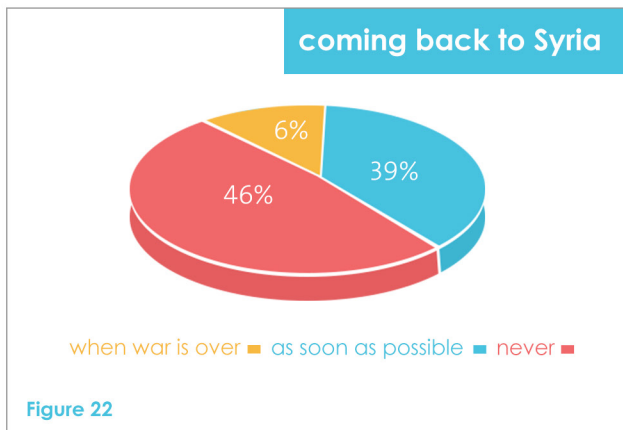


Figure 21

Syrians went out to the streets for the sake of freedom and democracy and to eliminate injustice, oppression, the intelligence state and oppressive tyranny, through peaceful and civilized demonstrations, but the regime faced these demonstrations with repression and arbitrary arrest and also by using lethal and internationally prohibited weapons against unarmed civilians, which forced people to flee death.

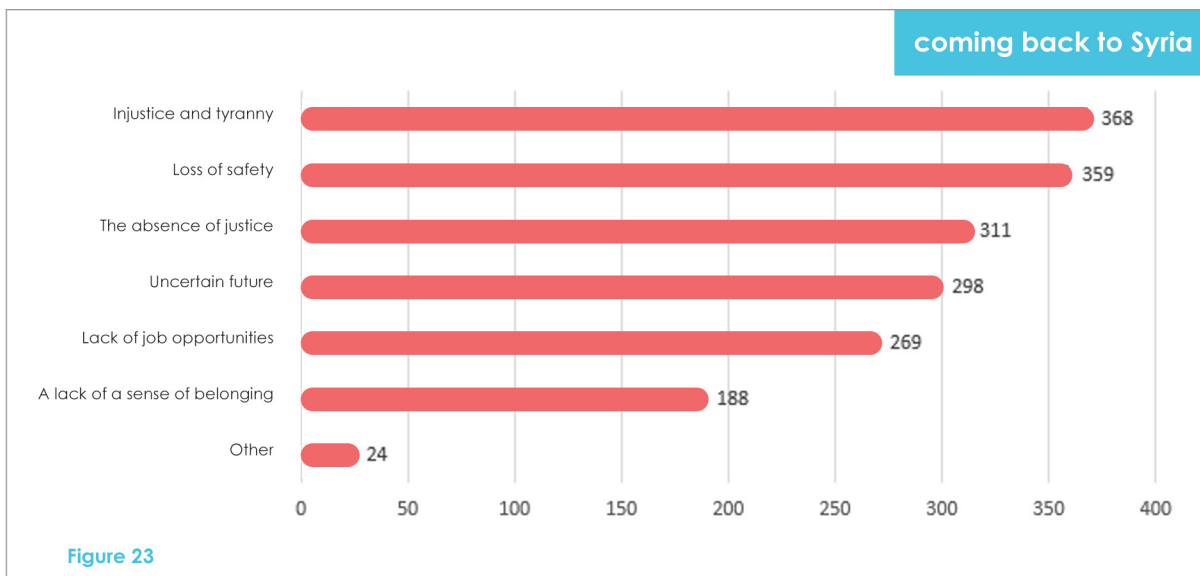
61% of the participants in this study said that they had been forced to flee because of the war, and 39% said that they did not have to do so, as shown in the following figure No. 21.



46% of the participants who have been subjected to forced displacement answered that they will return to their homes as soon as possible if given the opportunity and when the reasons that led to their displacement are gone. While 39% expressed that they will not return unless the war is completely over, 6% said that they will never return, while 19% abstain from answering, **as in the following figure No. 22**

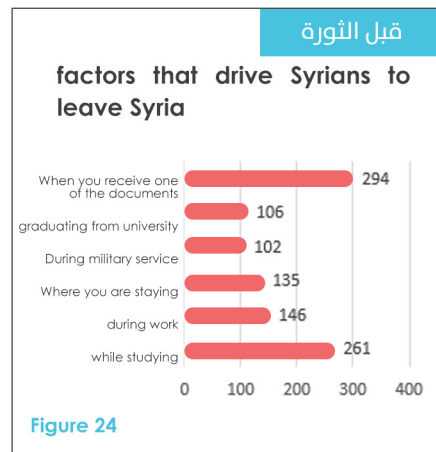
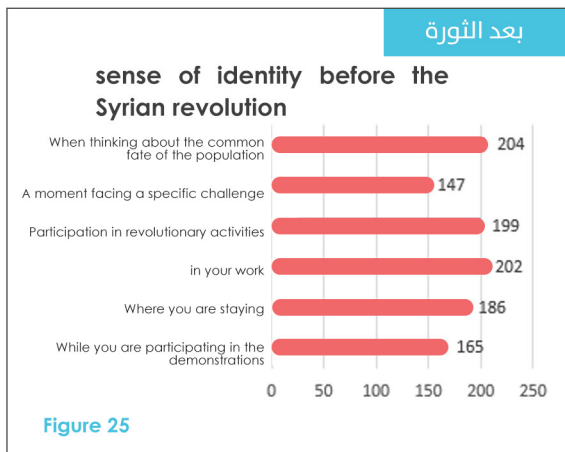
The results show that stopping the bombing and displacement operations is not sufficient for the Syrians to return to their original areas without a permanent solution that brings them safety and stability. In the second place is the security situation and the absence of justice, and the answer of a large number of participants was that the uncertainty of the future and the lack of job opportunities are what pushed them to emigrate.

We also note that people's sense of loss and uncertainty in the future in addition to the loss of security and the absence of justice values are among the factors affecting the formation of identity and also affecting the Syrians' desire to return to their homes, **as in the following figure No. 23.**

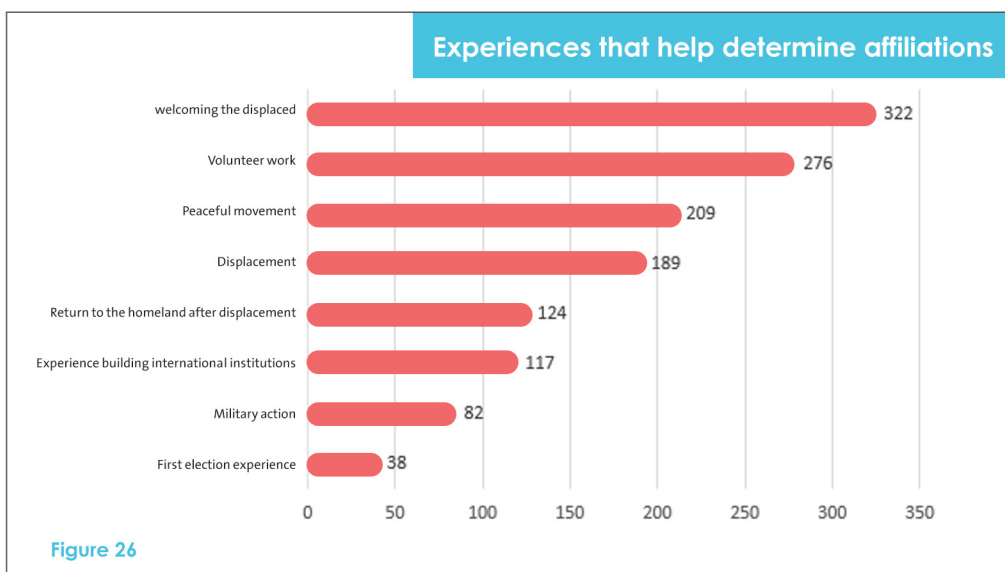


It was discussed in identity definition and its components that it grows and changes over time, and is formed through a process of dialogue between the self and the other, and it also grows as a result of a collective action between groups that have common interests. We also talked about the emotions and the values that accompany it, and we mentioned that most of these emotions are especially in the collective context, it is below the threshold of consciousness, but on the other hand we mentioned that there are emotions, whether positive or negative, appear strongly in specific situations, such as a feeling of threat or fear or a feeling of pride and loyalty. In addition to that we talked about being aware of these attitudes and agreement on the meanings of these situations between self and other, or between groups, it is what constitutes the individuals attitudes, the experiences that shapes their way of thinking, and forms their attitudes and orientations, the more these experiences touch the individuals values and emotions, the identity becomes more vivid and more clear to the individual.

In this study, the participants were asked about situations in which they felt fully aware of their identity for the first time, whether before the revolution or after it. The following two figures 24-25 express the participants' answers.



The experiences that a person goes through during his lifetime contribute to his identity formation, and the participants express that welcoming IDPs is one of the most important experiences that made them sense their identity, and they considered that volunteer work is an important factor in making a person sense his identity. The following figure, No. 26, shows the participants' answers about their experiences that make them sense their patriotic identity



Identity is formed based on changes related to the passage of time, mainly related to time and space, and it is related to two concepts that may appear as contradictory "continuity" and "change" but on the contrary they are complementary. Continuity in its relationship with The "other" is meaningless without transformation, so it is not enough to look at the identity historical components that are given at birth without looking at the changes that occur to the identity within the historical context. Thus, social and cultural identities can be classified into two categories, as "granted" and "acquired" identities.

Such a (family, ethnic group, society, nation and civilization) are "granted" identities, created within the process of socialization, and they are exclusive due to their innate nature, while identities that are Selected by individual's free will are "acquired" identities.

Nevertheless, the dynamism of identity, its continuity and its collective characteristic reduces the authority to acquire a new identity, an example of this is the individuals' ability to transform within the context of their societies, and here we can talk about the voluntary factor and human intervention even in granted identities to some extent, for example the patriotic identity as a "granted" identity that is not a natural and spontaneous identifier that appeared at a certain period in history. On the contrary, the intervention of the modern state constitutes the construction of the patriotic identity, as Massimo Daziglio claims: "We founded Italy and now the time has come. Time to create Italians, collective identities, such as: popularly known, family, tribe, ethnic group, society, country, homeland, nation, gender, class, and civilization are formed within the process of formation. **Social identities are divided into three categories:**

The first: category is the global identity, which are some characteristics that distinguish human beings from non-human beings and that are shared by everyone without any discrimination.

The second: It is the identity of the group that shares the identity with some people. The third is the individual identity which is distinct and unique features of the individual.

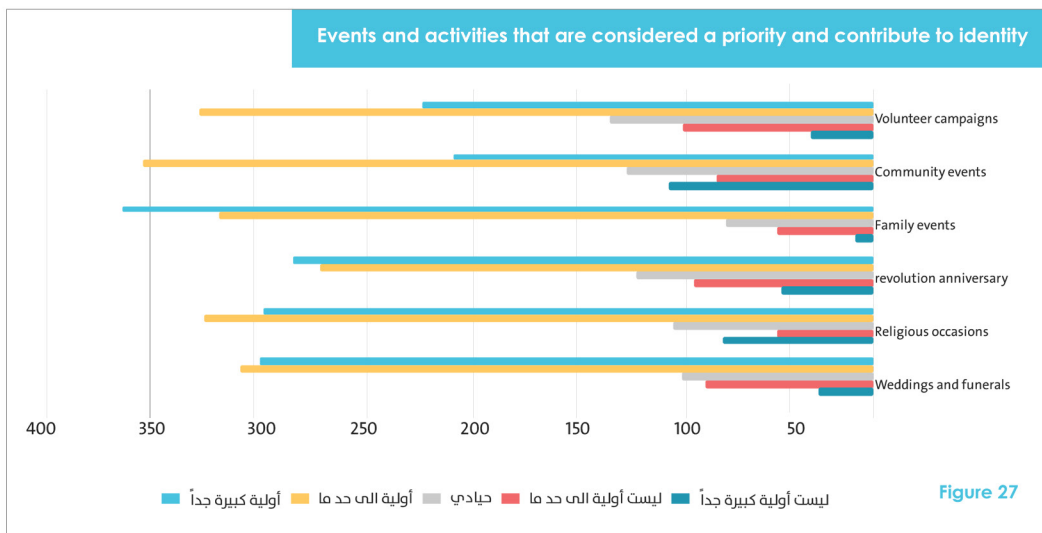
As we mentioned previously, identity is not formed in isolation from the social context. Therefore, the presence of social events in any society is of great significance and importance, as Social events confirm the identity of society and strengthen relations between its members, as well as renew society vitality.

24* Hüsamettin İnaç, Feyzullah Ünal, The Construction of National Identity in Modern Times: Theoretical Perspective, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Vol. 3 No. 11; June 2013, P224.

25* Ibid. P225

26 * Hüsamettin İnaç, Feyzullah Ünal, The Construction of National Identity in Modern Times: Theoretical Perspective, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Vol. 3 No. 11; June 2013. P224.

Social events are an opportunity for the individual to interact with other community members. when the participants are asked about the events that contribute to the formation of their identity, the answers were that family events are a major priority in their lives, and the following figure 27 shows the answers of the participants in detail.

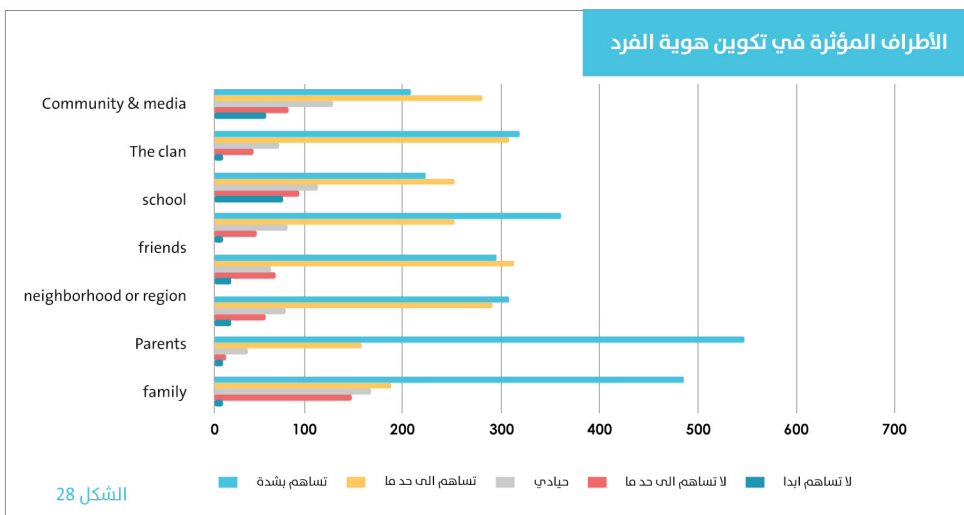


The researchers believe that the process of identity formation differs from individual to individual, from society to society and from culture to culture, so a coherent identity will not be formed except as a result of a consensual interaction of the individual with his past, family roots and childhood experiences in various fields on the one hand, and between him and his future aspirations within the opportunities available on the other hand, the realistic limits to his personal aspirations. The search for identity is a healthy process through which the individual is exposed to different behavioral and moral models, in order to ultimately commit to a set of values and concepts that adapt to his personal history and provide him with a suitable



*27 "البحث عن الهوية"، ورشة الموارد العربية، أطلع عليه بتاريخ 3-11-2016، بتصرف

The answers in this research clarify that parents and the family have the largest role in contributing to the formation of an individual's identity, as shown in the following figure No. 28.



The participants pointed out many factors that help in strengthening the identity at the present time (the Syrian revolution – cause unity and the common destiny Civil society voluntary activity). Several factors reinforce the opinion of the participants in the future, and the following figures 29-30 illustrate the answers of the participants

Now

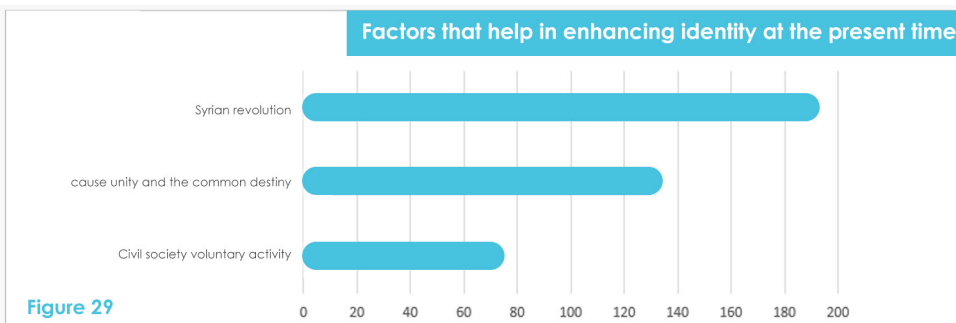


Figure 29

Factors that help reinforce identity in the future

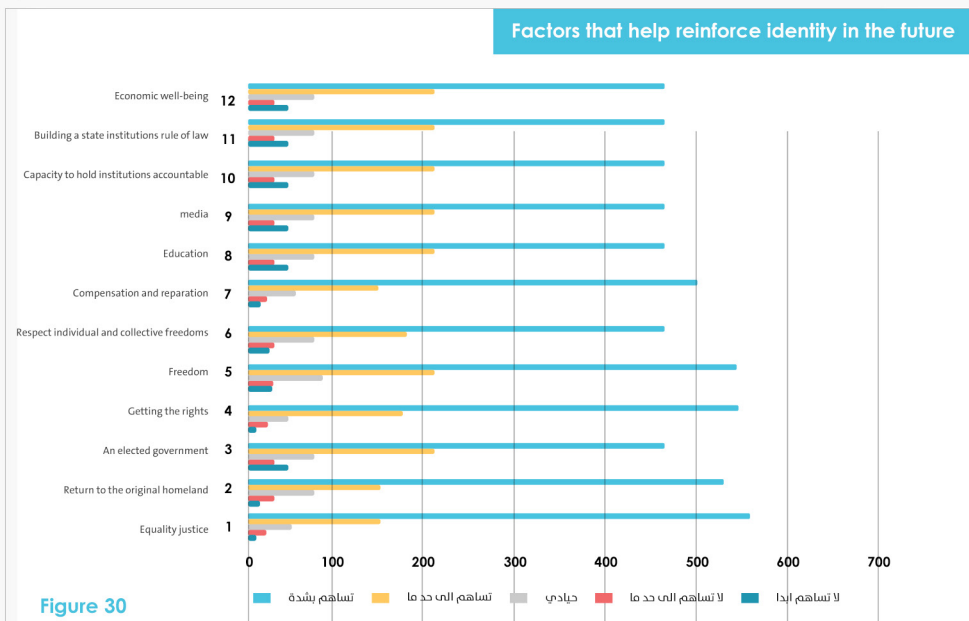
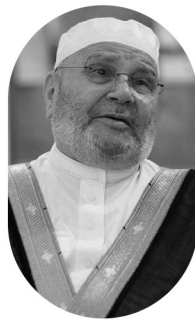


Figure 30

In many civil wars, the loss of many leaders and role models, whether as a result of killing, arrest, or even displacement, creates a large emptiness that needs to be filled through the presence of national symbols that preserve the components of cultural, social, religious and patriotic identity. These conflicts often lead to social ties disintegration, the social and patriotic identity loss, and different stereotypes rulings and classifications prevalence.

Social identity generally refers to an individual's perception of himself based on his presence within a group on the basis of race, gender or ethnicity, and the social identity provides an individual with a set of rules that govern his behavior within the group, such a social identity can explain the groups behavioral differences. stereotyping is considered an important aspect of an individual's social identity; The physical, mental and psychological characteristics attributed to a particular social group fall automatically on the members of this group, that is, once a group of characteristics is used to describe a social group, these characteristics affect the behavior of the people associated with the group. And above, the negative stereotype associated with the social group of the individual can generate negative perceptions about The self, which leads people to perform worse than their abilities might suggest, this is known as stereotype threat. Role models may affect social identity, improve confidence and inspire young people to achieve goals, they also may reduce discrimination and provide a cost-effective tool to support integration



Role models preserve cultural, religious, social and militant symbols, they also preserve values and principles they represent for individuals, and they preserve the motivations. Throughout history, role models have constituted an effective element even in the formation of patriotic identities of states and systems of rule that spanned across borders and over time.

In order to know the important role models, a question was asked to the participants to determine their political, religious and revolutionary identities. The participants said that Dr. Riad Hijab is their political model, and 54 of the participants said that the martyr Abdul Qadir Al-Saleh is their military role model, while 138 of the participants considered their fathers to be their role model.



1992-2019

دور الجهات الرسمية وغير الرسمية في تعزيز الهوية



Many formal and informal actors are concerned with working to enhance and preserve the patriotic identity and reinforce its components, enhance the sense of belonging to the homeland, and contribute to the formation of a system of social and moral values associated with people's life in the past, present, and future. This can be achieved by strengthening the basic concepts of belonging and patriotic identity. People expressed their opinion about the role of the following bodies in strengthening the patriotic identity, and the greater influence of universities and schools. The following figure, 31 shows the participants' answers.

The Role of Official and Unofficial Entities in Promoting Identity

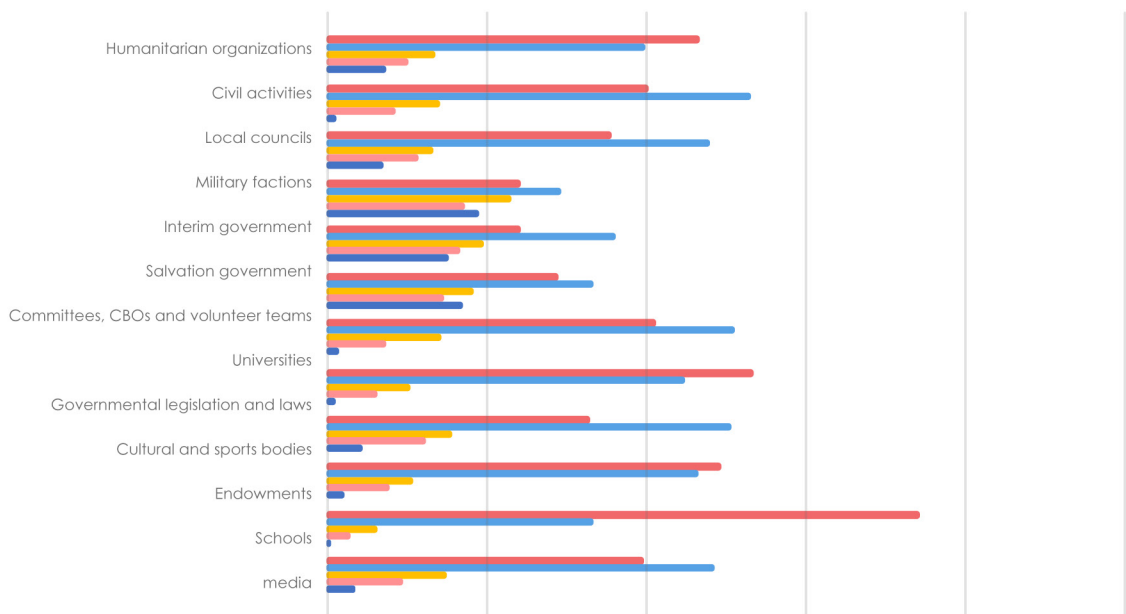


Figure 31

مهم بشكل كبير مهم إلى حد ما حيادي غير مهم إلى حد ما غير مهم إطلاقاً

There are criteria that differentiate between civil war and war between states, the conflict must be internal, the civil war is a crisis of local social relations, and when the enemy is internal, the division is particularly painful. Finally, the reconciliation would be a greater challenge since armies cannot simply withdraw beyond borders. Wars are considered the cause of traumas that lead to changes in identity, especially if the following conditions are present:

First: The events occurred in a rapid and sudden manner, as the civil war broke out in Finland, only two months after independence declaration.

Second: The existence of changes that touch the essence of society. The victors in Finland war interpreted their civil war in national terms, as a "liberation war" against contaminated left forces, because of their relations with the Soviet Union, on the other hand the left interpreted the war from a social perspective as a defense of Social Democrats gains which followed the October Revolution.

Third: The third aspect is the origin of conflict, as if one side claims that the conflict is supported by external forces, such as the white Finns claim that the forces of the socialist opposition are contaminated because of their relationship with Bolshevik Russia, and that the Reds have lost their motherland.

Fourth: The occurrence of unexpected and shocking psychological dimension events, such as large numbers of victims as a result of arrests, massacres and battles.

Speaking of the Syrian revolution, we may notice the availability of four factors:

First: The peaceful movement confrontation with violence and arrest was sudden and rapid during the first months of 2011, followed by the emergence of some radical groups based on religious and ethnic lines, and the gradual acceleration of arming operations.

second: The protesters' call was towards justice, dignity and freedom. However, this speech was countered by the regime's claim that it is protecting minorities in Syria and standing in the face of global conspiracies against the resistance.

Third: Forces intervened early on alongside the Syrian regime, such as militias from Lebanon, Iran and Iraq, and then Russia clearly stood by the Syrian regime, while a large number of international powers intervened with all parties in different regions of Syria.

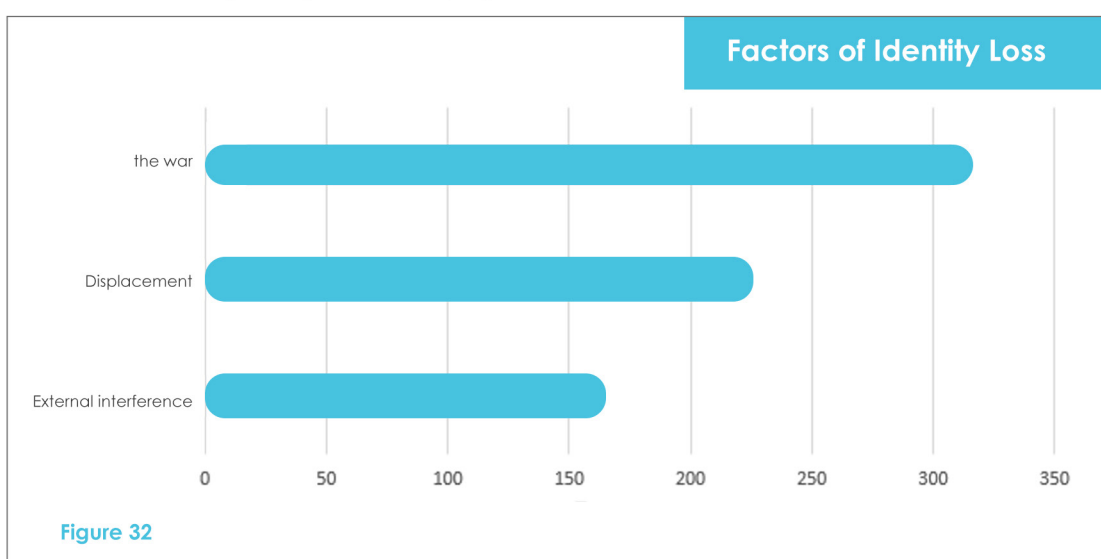
Finally: The first days witnessed cases of arrest and torture in Syrian regime prisons, followed by the use of various types of weapons and numerous massacres, in addition to the large displacement operations during many years of the conflict.

^{29*} قامت منظمة دور باستخدام مصطلح حرب أهلية في هذا السياق للتركيز على الاستقطاب المجتمعي، في حين تحرك منظمة دور أهمية التركيز سياسيا على تسمية "الثورة السورية" للتأكيد على الحراك الشعبي ضد استبداد السلطة.

^{*30} BILL KISSANE, On the shock of civil war: cultural trauma and national identity in Finland and Ireland, The author(s) 2019, Nations and Nationalism © ASEN/John Wiley & Sons Ltd 2019, Nations and Nationalism 26 (1), 2020, 22-43

^{*31} ILL KISSANE, On the shock of civil war: cultural trauma and national identity in Finland and Ireland, The author(s) 2019, Nations and Nationalism © ASEN/John Wiley & Sons Ltd 2019, Nations and Nationalism 26 (1), 2020, 22-43

The list of factors that lead to the loss of the patriotic identity may be long, but the war, forced displacement and external interference taking place in Syria are the most important factors that contribute to identity loss, which were expressed by the study participants. The following figure, No. 32, shows the participants' answers when asked about the three most important factors contributing to identity loss, as respondents indicated that there are other important factors such as poverty and unemployment.



A lot has been said about the extreme propensity humans have for altruism and other forms of cooperation with fellow human beings, for example the ability of 300 or more strangers to sit quietly in a plane for a journey across the oceans is full of children crying, the snoring, and the small seat size, Marvel. While in the animal kingdom if three hundred chimpanzees were locked in the same way in a metal chamber for 8 hours that they would tear each other apart, this tendency for social positivity is not sufficiently explained by the mechanisms traditionally used to explain cooperation in non-human species, i.e., universal fit and reciprocity. For example, humans in contemporary industrial societies often cooperate with unrelated strangers. However, other studies talking about human relationships and the influence of identity and interests among groups of people indicate the importance of observing the "threats balance" rather than the "balance of power" as a determinant of relations between states, as they consider the threat to be socially structured. In a more general view, without making assumptions about the structure of identity and interests, the structure or content of chaos cannot be predicted.

Every person has a set of identities related to his roles in a group of institutions, as a brother or son, teacher or citizen. Likewise, the state has multiple identities, such as a sovereign, or a leader in the free world, and other definitions.

The commitment to one of these identities or the omission of one of them varies, but each of these identities is an inherited social definition, based on how these states collectively view themselves and others and how they build relationships structure in the social world.

An institution is a relatively stable set or "structure" of identities and interests, and such structures are often codified in formal rules and standards, and these structures gain their strength due to social knowledge they form with other institutions in the work environment. Institutions are basically knowledge entities that do not exist in isolation from other actors and their ideas about the mechanisms of action in the global environment. This does not mean that institutions are subjective or unreal, but institutions are treated as entities that have a presence above the individuals in them, yet they are still forced to work within the conditions of actors in the environment. The identity and this collective state of institutions do not exist in isolation from each other, they are formed mutually; So institutions can be competitive or collaborative.

^{32*} Paul E. Smaldino, Social identity and cooperation in cultural evolution, Behavioural Processes Volume 161, April 2019, Pages 108-116.;

^{33*} Paul E. Smaldino, Social identity and cooperation in cultural evolution, Behavioural Processes Volume 161, April 2019, Pages 108-116.;

^{34*} Alexander Wendt, Anarchy is what state make of it, the social construction of power politics, The MIT Press, International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992), pp. 391-425

^{35*} Alexander Wendt, Anarchy is what state make of it, the social construction of power politics, The MIT Press, International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring, 1992), pp. 391-425

Since state borders do not align with ethnic group boundaries, and many ethnic groups exist in more than one country, state repression or violations against ethnic groups are likely to elicit reactions from ethnic origin, and when they have political influence in states Other, disputes between states at the governmental level are more likely.

Some studies have found that the common bonds between groups as well as the differences between them lead in the same way to conflicts occurrence or contribute to managing conflicts. Diplomacy is an aspect of interstate relations as well as an aspect of states' conflicts. This depends on the state's policy about differences, and this study indicates how states conduct bargaining processes between different identities to maintain cohesion in light of the patriotic identity.

There are many forms and motives of solidarity, as solidarity may be by word or deed, and it may be both, and motives stem from affiliation, national, religious and ethnic aspects, and in most cases solidarity is a patriotic, national, or religious duty. The drive to support the oppressed and stand with the truth is the largest and after it the religious motive.

Figure 33 shows the participants' answers to this question.

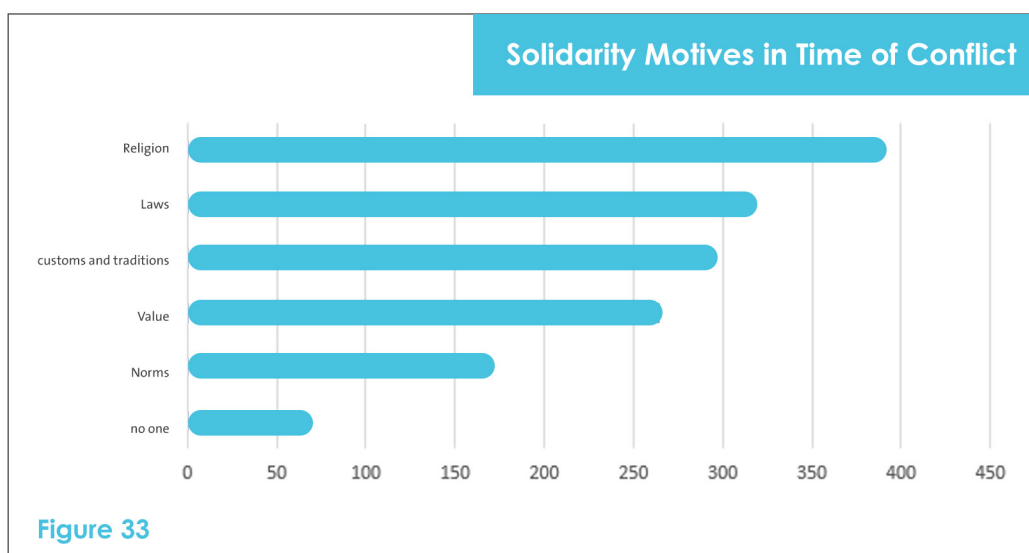


Figure 33

36* Erik Gartzke, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Identity and Conflict: Ties that Bind and Differences that Divide, European Journal of International Relations · May 2005, P.11.

37* Erik Gartzke, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Identity and Conflict: Ties that Bind and Differences that Divide, European Journal of International Relations · May 2005, P.31-34.

The mechanisms and sources of conflict resolution differ from one society to another according to the prevailing customs and traditions and the different cultures and identities they express, and when the participants in this research were asked about the sources which they resort to solve their conflicts, religion is the major source that people resort to, followed by laws.

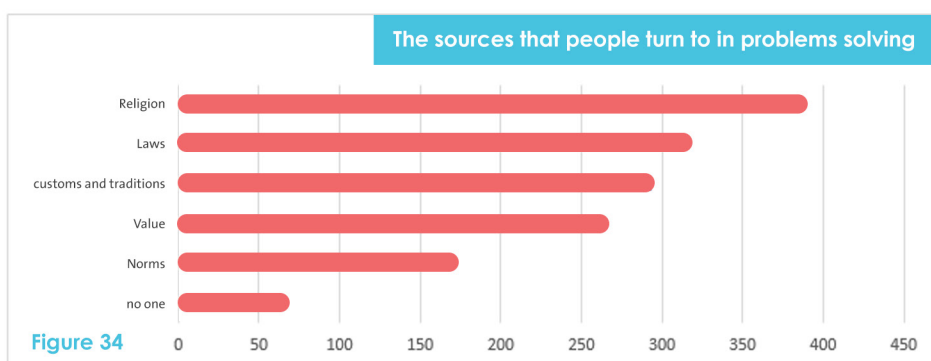


Figure 34

When a person feels danger, he naturally seeks a refuge or protection that prevents him from being subjected to injustice and abuse. The participants indicated that if they are exposed to danger, they resort to the judiciary to solve their problems, mainly to men of religion

The following figure, 35, shows their answers

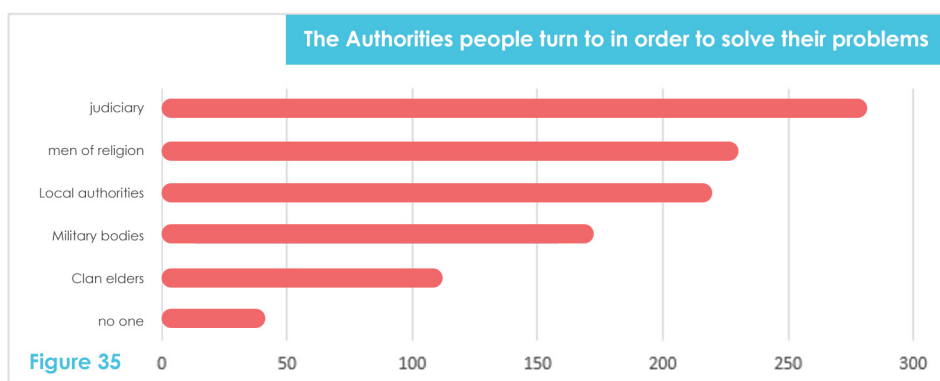


Figure 35



Recommendations

1. Supporting local initiatives and empowering community committees and civil society organizations that took the initiative during the past years, with the absence of official authorities role in the process of strengthening the patriotic identity and providing the facilities and needs.
2. Support and empower CBOs that work to mobilize and empower the local community in order to rely on its own resources according to a participatory approach.
3. Assessing local communities experience that witnessed regional and sectarian tensions, and gradually working to rebuild the local social cohesion.
4. Working to limit the growth of regional / local tendencies by strengthening community cohesion among society members from different regions and regional, national and sectarian orientations.
5. Activating and enabling the women effective participation in the operations of maintaining security and peace, in implementation of the United Nations resolution (Resolution 1325), especially in areas experiencing a crisis of identity and belonging.
6. Activating and enabling the real participation of youth in maintaining security and building peace operations, in implementation of the United Nations Resolution No. (Resolution 2250) on "Youth, Peace and Security".
7. Work to establish national negotiation centres in regions and governorates that suffer from an identity crisis, which in turn work to enhance the national identity and belonging and encourage discussion according to national foundations.
8. Spread awareness among the local population about the patriotic identity and the importance of belonging.
9. Working to empower the role of the media in strengthening the patriotic identity among Syrians and enabling societal cohesion.



تم الاعتماد على هذه المراجع أثناء عملية تصميم الاستبيان ووضع منهجية البحث:

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