



A Critical Pragma-discourse Study of Islamism in Iraqi Politics After 2003

Asst. Prof. Dr. Alaa Baji Jebur

University of Kufa-College of Education for Women-English Department

Email: alaab.alkhuzai@uokufa.edu.iq

Phone: 00964 7829338318

Abstract

Following the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, this paper takes a look at how some Iraqi politicians have employed the concept "Islamism" (Political Islam) in their political speeches. The paper seeks to address the public concerns, legitimize authority, and direct public opinion by examining how Iraqi political figures use the concept of Islamism in their discourse. It integrates Critical Pragmatics (CP) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Using this integrated approach, an examination is made to the public political speeches of prominent religious and political personalities in Iraq to see how they benefit from Islamism to further their own ideological agendas. The examination mostly centers on a handful of famous and notable political figures. Some of the speakers and topics covered here are Nouri al-Maliki, Moqtada al-Sadr, and Ammar al-Hakim. This analysis aims to reveal the ways in which those political figures' language is interwoven with the concept of Islamism. The study's goal is accomplished by applying the proposed dual technique to a collection of public statements made by those officials. Understanding how Islamism in language may mobilize the public and legitimize political decisions can be advanced by this approach.

Key words: *Islamism, Iraqi politics, Islamic political discourse, critical discourse analysis, critical pragmatics.*

دراسة الخطاب النقدي-التداولي للإسلام السياسي في السياسة العراقية بعد العام 2003

أ.م.د. علاء باجي جبر

جامعة الكوفة / كلية التربية للبنات / قسم اللغة الإنكليزية

Email: alaab.alkhuzai@uokufa.edu.iq

Phone: 00964 7829338318

المستخلص:

في أعقاب الغزو الأمريكي للعراق عام 2003، تلقي هذا البحث نظرة على كيفية استخدام بعض الساسة العراقيين لمفهوم "الإسلام السياسي" في خطاباتهم السياسية. يسعى البحث إلى معالجة المخاوف العامة، وإضفاء الشرعية على السلطة، وتوجيه الرأي العام من خلال فحص كيفية استخدام الشخصيات السياسية العراقية لمفهوم الإسلام السياسي في خطاباتهم. توظف هذه الدراسة دمج كلا من التداولية النقدية وتحليل الخطاب النقدي. باستخدام هذا المنهج المتكامل، حللت الخطابات السياسية العامة للشخصيات الدينية والسياسية البارزة في العراق لمعرفة كيف يستفيدون من الإسلام السياسي لتعزيز أجنداتهم الإيديولوجية الخاصة. يركز التحليل في الغالب على مجموعة من الشخصيات السياسية الشهيرة والبارزة. بعض المتحدثين والموضوعات التي تمت تغطيتها هنا هم نوري المالكي ومقتدى الصدر وعمار الحكيم. يهدف هذا التحليل إلى الكشف عن الطرق التي تتشابك بها لغة هذه الشخصيات السياسية مع مفهوم الإسلام السياسي. ويتحقق هدف الدراسة من



خلال تطبيق التقنية المزدوجة المقترحة على مجموعة من التصريحات العامة التي أدلى بها هؤلاء المسؤولون. ومن خلال هذا المنهج، يمكن تعزيز فهم الكيفية التي قد يعمل بها الإسلام السياسي لغويا على تعبئة الجمهور وإضفاء الشرعية على القرارات السياسية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإسلام السياسي، السياسة العراقية، الخطاب السياسي الإسلامي، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، التداولية النقدية.

1. Introduction

A new political order presided over by religiously connected groups emerged after Saddam Hussein's secular Ba'athist regime collapsed in 2003 due to the U.S. invasion of Iraq. As soon as the previous dictatorship fell, Islamism, which is defined as the integration of Islamic values into political life and government, seized control. This is not just happening in Iraq; it is a pattern all around the Middle East, as Islamist groups are becoming more powerful in politics (Esposito, 2014: 5).

To show their legitimacy and rule effectively in the post-invasion context, groupings like the Sadrist Movement (Moqtada al-Sadr) and the Dawa Party (Nouri al-Maliki) have used their religious credentials (Dodge, 2012: 27). The political rhetoric of these groups is based on Islamic principles. Many Iraqis, especially those who have just been disillusioned with foreign interference and decades of authoritarianism, will find this framing to their liking (Haddad, 2014: 72).

The objective of this paper is to examine the post-2003 political climate in Iraq and the language and tactics used by Islamic political leaders to resolve political difficulties. With this analysis, it is hoped that more can be learned about the ideological and pragmatic tactics used to spread the idea of Islamism and how discursively it is used. Accordingly, the primary goal of this paper is to scrutinize Islamism in the speeches and writings of Iraqi politicians after 2003. This goal is realized by the integration of CDA and CP.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The central problem of this study is to examine the ways in which Iraqi political leaders discursively employ Islamism to sustain and legitimize their authority in a post-war Iraqi society. Additionally, the study delves into the language frameworks that enable this process, as well as the wider socio-political consequences of religious discourse in government.

1.2 Research Questions

The questions of this paper are the following:



- In the post-2003 political context, how do Iraqi political leaders use Islamism to solidify their legitimacy?
- What linguistic features characterize the political rhetoric of Islamic leaders in Iraq?
- How can the integration of CDA and CP help in analyzing the use of religious language in political discourse?

In political contexts, where language does more than just expressing meaning; it also works as a tool of power, these considerations direct our investigation into the overlap between religious and political language (Mey, 2001: 56).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Islamism: A Brief Overview

Movements and ideologies that aim to incorporate Islamic principles into public governance and political life are known as political Islam or Islamism (Ayoob, 2009: 43). Scholars like Roy (2016) and Esposito (2014) stress that Islamism has a broad spectrum of political manifestations, from moderate reformist groups to more radical, militant organizations, despite the term's Western media association with extremism. Although its origins as a response to colonialism and Western influence in Muslim-majority states, political Islam has undergone substantial changes since its emergence in the early 20th century.

After the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq tore down the country's secular political structures, making way for religiously motivated political groups to emerge, political Islam rose to prominence within that setting. Iraqi politics after the invasion was dominated by the Shiite-rooted Dawa Party and the Sadrist Movement, which advocated a nationalist agenda that combined Islamic rule with secular goals (Jabar, 2015: 91).

The political branch of Islam is a practical solution to the social and political problems that countries with a Muslim majority have long encountered. In Iraq, it is a way to deal with problems with internal governance and a way to fight against foreign dominance (Mabon, 2016, p. 65). Legitimizing their power and connecting with the religious and cultural values of their constituents, leaders use Islamic vocabulary in political speech.

2.2 The Relation of Islamism to the Current Study

This study delves into the ways in which the rhetorical and pragmatic tactics of political Islam are exhibited in the public discourse of Iraqi political figures. We find that Islamic political language is modified to tackle particular problems with



government, such sectarianism, corruption, and national unity, by studying the speeches of prominent personalities like Moqtada al-Sadr and Nouri al-Maliki. This approach adds to the existing body of work on political Islam by delving into the practical applications of Islamic discourse in post-conflict societies (Esposito, 2014: 49).

2.3 The Relation of Islamism to CP and CDA

The Islamic political system is an ideal setting for CP and CDA to flourish. Islamic leaders in Iraq employ religious discourse to maneuver through intricate political situations; CP, which highlights the context-dependent use of language to accomplish communicative goals, is especially applicable to this situation (Mey, 2001: 78). Politicians, for example, may try to reinforce their legitimacy by framing their political agenda in religious terms that resonate with an Islamic-rooted populace. Not in contrast, CDA looks at how arguments help to keep existing power structures and ideologies in place. Using CDA, we can look at Islamism and how religious speech is used to maintain political power and influence public opinion. The significance of language in the transmission of political and social power is vital. According to Fairclough (2013: 13) this is particularly evident in Iraq, where Islamic authorities justify their political actions and establish their supremacy through the use of language.

Wodak (2015: 16) states that Iraqi political leaders utilize language to further their ideological and communicative goals. By integrating CP and CDA approaches, a comprehensive framework for studying this issue can be developed.

2.4. The Case of Iraqi Politics Regarding Islamism

Islamism has become very popular in Iraq since the 2003 US invasion, especially among Shiite political groups. After the secular Ba'athist rule fell, Shiite Islamist organizations that have been oppressed and marginalized are able to rise to prominence in Iraqi politics. Moqtada Al Sadr's Sadrist Movement and Nouri Al Maliki's Dawa Party were powerful political forces because they were able to capitalize on their shared religious beliefs (Jabar, 2015: 84).

In Iraq, the link between religion and politics is complex. Using Islamic discourse, politicians have tackled issues of sectarianism, national identity, and governance. Their ability to frame political issues via the lens of religion has helped them bring in popular support, which is especially noteworthy in a country where religion permeates every aspect of daily life. According to Haddad (2014: 101), Moqtada Al Sadr has successfully rallied his followers by casting his organization as a bulwark against sectarian strife and Western imperialism by making extensive use of Islamic symbols and vocabulary in his talks.



In addition to expressing religious beliefs, Islamic rhetoric in Iraqi politics is a tool for navigating the country's volatile political climate. Iraqi political leaders might use religious beliefs to legitimize their authority and project an image of defending Islam and the future of Iraq (Mabon, 2016: 89).

3. Theoretical Background: CP and CDA

3.1 CP

A field of research known as Critical Pragmatics (CP) is concerned with the investigation of the ideological and communicative functions of language in a variety of settings. According to Mey (2001: 12), the focus of CP is on language as a tool for social control or influence, whereas pragmatics examines language in context. CP is a social control and influence theory. This approach excels in the field of political discourse research, particularly when it comes to the study of leaders' presentations of ideas for a variety of objectives, including the establishment of credibility, the resolution of disagreements, and the acquisition of support. According to Islamism, the pragmatic use of language refers to the practice of employing Islamic discourse in a strategic manner in order to overcome socio-political challenges that are associated with governance. Many Iraqi politicians, such as Moqtada Al Sadr and Nouri Al Maliki, who are skilled at managing the complex mechanics of Iraqi politics, use Islamic discourse in order to win over supporters. Their capacity to make effective use of religious language places them in a position to serve as moral leaders within an Islamic society (Wodak, 2015: 22 for example).

3.2. CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a field of study that focuses on the ways in which language both embodies and reveals power hierarchies in society, as stated by researchers such as Fairclough (2013). One need not go any further than Islamism in order to have a deeper comprehension of the ways in which religious speech may influence public opinion and exercise power. The methods that are provided for examining the manner in which language either supports or undermines the dominant beliefs are also included. CDA goes beyond simple word analysis, because it takes into consideration the social and political environment in which words are originated and received (Fairclough, 2013: 29).

Islamic political leaders in Iraqi politics use language to legitimize and reproduce power relations in their respective countries. Other leaders may seek to deflect criticism by portraying political matters in an Islamic light in an effort to cling to



power (Van Dijk, 2006: 34). For example, some leaders may declare that their policies have received divine blessing in order to maintain their authority. In conjunction with one another, CDA and CP provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the dual functions that language plays in the transmission of ideas and the dynamics of power relationship.

3.3 Integrating CP and CDA

A comprehensive study of political discourse is made possible by the combination of CP and CDA. CDA offers the means to investigate how the specific communication objectives of political leaders are intertwined with wider power dynamics, whereas CP concentrates on those objectives. Understanding the function of Islamic political discourse in Iraq, where religious rhetoric serves as a means of both idea communication and the maintenance of political power, requires an integrated approach (Wodak, 2015: 37).

4. The Methodological Approach: Data Collection and Analysis

4.1 Methodology

Using a mixed-methods approach that incorporates CP and CDA, the political speeches and statements of significant Islamic individuals in Iraq are analyzed. The public remarks and speeches that were delivered by well-known individuals between the years 2003 and 2024 are included in the data set for the study. A number of individuals, like as Nouri Al Maliki, Moqtada Al Sadr, and Ammar Al Hakim, are included in this category. The dataset of the current study is retrieved from official transcripts, public media archives, and political websites.

4.2 Data Collection

This study's data set includes excerpts from public political speeches given by prominent Iraqi political figures from 2003 until 2024. This data is carefully selected based on how well it answers the research questions. Also taken into account as a selection criterion are the topics or political concerns addressed in those statements. Some examples of such political challenges include the formation of governments, sectarian battles, the emergence of ISIS, and elections.

5. Data Analysis: CP and CDA Analysis of Quotes

This section provides an in-depth analysis of significant quotations from well-known Iraqi political figures using CP and CDA. It describes the leaders' use of language to consolidate power and find common ground between secular politics and religious principles. Additionally, in order to achieve a thorough overview, a



contextual analysis is conducted before each quote using Hymes' SPEAKING paradigm.

a. Quote from Nouri Al Maliki (Speech from 2014)

Retrieved from the official transcript of al-Maliki's speech: Iraqi Government Archive.

"It is our sacred duty, in the name of Islam, to defend the unity of Iraq and protect our people from external threats."

Contextual Factors of the quote:

- **Setting:** Baghdad, 2014, during a national address broadcast on state television.
- **Participants:** Nouri al-Maliki, then Prime Minister, addressing the Iraqi nation.
- **Ends:** Mobilize public and military support.
- **Act Sequence:** Emphasizes religious justification.
- **Key:** Solemn and urgent.
- **Instrumentalities:** Television broadcast, online media.
- **Norms:** Justifies military action with Islamic principles.
- **Genre:** Political speech with religious appeals.

Analysis

For the purpose of legitimizing political activities, this statement portrays protecting Iraq as a "sacred duty" appealing to the religious sensibilities of the populace in the process. There is less room for disagreement when the word "sacred duty" assumes common religious beliefs. CDA shows that military action is described as politically and religiously unobjectionable when it is linked with Islamic responsibility, which minimizes criticism.

b. Quote from Moqtada Al Sadr (Speech from 2020)

Retrieved from the Sadrist Movement's social media page: Sadrist Movement Media.

"We must cleanse Iraq of corruption and foreign influence, as Islam commands us to build a pure and independent nation."

Contextual Factors of the quote:

- **Setting:** Najaf, Iraq, 2020, during a Sadrist Movement rally.
- **Participants:** Moqtada al-Sadr, leader of the Sadrist Movement.
- **Ends:** Rally against corruption and foreign influence.
- **Act Sequence:** Frames corruption as a moral impurity.



- **Key:** Emotional and militant.
- **Instrumentalities:** Public rally, live broadcast.
- **Norms:** Combating corruption as a religious duty.
- **Genre:** Political rally speech with revolutionary rhetoric.

Analysis

Al-Sadr's use of "cleansing" evokes religious imagery, framing political corruption as spiritual impurity. CDA highlights how al-Sadr's rhetoric delegitimizes political opponents by associating them with moral and religious failings, enhancing his own political legitimacy.

c. Quote from Ammar al-Hakim (Speech from 2016)

Retrieved from the political news conference report: Political Conference Report.

"True governance in Iraq can only be achieved when it is guided by the wisdom of Islamic jurisprudence and the will of the people."

Contextual Factors of the quote:

- **Setting:** Baghdad, 2016, political conference.
- **Participants:** Ammar al-Hakim, leader of the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq.
- **Ends:** Advocate for governance model integrating Islamic and democratic principles.
- **Act Sequence:** Emphasizes integration of religious and democratic values.
- **Key:** Diplomatic and inclusive.
- **Instrumentalities:** Formal conference, media coverage.
- **Norms:** Blend of Islamic principles with democratic values.
- **Genre:** Formal political speech.

Analysis

By stating that "Islamic jurisprudence and the will of the people" should govern, al-Hakim effectively combines religious power with democratic ideals. While presenting his model as a balanced approach to administration, CDA exposes how this language legitimizes the role of religious actors in politics.

d. Quote from Haider al-Abadi (Speech from 2017)

Retrieved from the official press conference transcript: Iraqi Government Press.

"Through unity and Islamic solidarity, we can overcome the threats facing our nation and secure a prosperous future for Iraq."



Contextual Factors of the quote:

- **Setting:** Baghdad, 2017, during a press conference celebrating military victories.
- **Participants:** Haider al-Abadi, then Prime Minister.
- **Ends:** Promote national unity and Islamic solidarity.
- **Act Sequence:** Frames military success as a result of unity and religious solidarity.
- **Key:** Inspirational and unifying.
- **Instrumentalities:** Press conference, media coverage.
- **Norms:** Unity and solidarity framed as religious imperatives.
- **Genre:** Victory speech.

Analysis

An examination of al-Abadi's call for "Islamic solidarity" reveals how he has used religious harmony to rally national support. By demonstrating how this framing serves to both honor military triumph and promote national unity—as a religious obligation—CDA helps to legitimize his leadership and strengthen national pride.

e. Quote from Hadi al-Amiri (Speech from 2018)

Retrieved from the rally speech transcript: Badr Organization Media.

"The struggle against extremism is a jihad for the preservation of our Islamic values and national identity."

Contextual Factors of the quote:

- **Setting:** Basra, 2018, during a political rally.
- **Participants:** Hadi al-Amiri, leader of the Badr Organization.
- **Ends:** Frame the fight against extremism as a religious and national duty.
- **Act Sequence:** Describes the struggle against extremism as a form of jihad.
- **Key:** Militant and resolute.
- **Instrumentalities:** Rally speech, media dissemination.
- **Norms:** Jihad as a religious duty to preserve values.
- **Genre:** Political rally speech.

Analysis

A critical examination reveals that al-Amiri's use of the term "jihad" is an attempt to cast political and military endeavors as having divine approval. According to CDA, he uses this language to establish his power by presenting the



fight against extremism as a legitimate cause—the preservation of Islamic principles and national identity.

f. Quote from Jalal Talabani (Speech from 2012)

Retrieved from the political summit address transcript: Political Summit Archive.

"We must ensure that our governance respects the principles of Islamic justice while also embracing democratic values."

Contextual Factors of the quote:

- **Setting:** Erbil, 2012, during a political summit.
- **Participants:** Jalal Talabani, then President of Iraq.
- **Ends:** Advocate for a governance model balancing Islamic and democratic principles.
- **Act Sequence:** Emphasizes the need for integrating Islamic justice with democratic values.
- **Key:** Balanced and conciliatory.
- **Instrumentalities:** Political summit, media outlets.
- **Norms:** Integration of Islamic justice with democratic governance.
- **Genre:** Political summit address.

Analysis

Talabani's demand for a government that upholds "Islamic justice" while "embracing democratic values" is an effort to bring together religious and democratic principles. CDA emphasizes how this speech is meant to portray a moderate and inclusive government, appealing to a variety of political and religious groups while he positions himself as a unifying figure.

5.1 Results and Discussion

The analysis of the quotes has revealed several key patterns in how Iraqi political leaders use religious discourse to frame their political agendas:

a. Religious Framing: Politicians often use religious terminology to justify their policies and programs. Words like "sacred duty," "cleanse," and "jihad" help to link secular goals with religious imperatives, which gives their policies more credibility and makes it harder for people to disagree (Mey, 2001: 57; Van Dijk, 2006: 41).

b. Legitimization of Authority: Leaders like al-Maliki and al-Sadr position their political agendas as necessary and righteous, appealing to shared religious values to consolidate support. They frame their policies as divinely sanctioned or in



alignment with Islamic values. This strategy aims to enhance their authority and diminish opposition (Fairclough, 2013: 48).

c. Integration of Values: Islamic and democratic leaders like Talabani and al-Hakim seek to portray their political agendas as inclusive and balanced, appealing to religious and secular constituencies (Mey, 2001: 61).

d. Mobilization and Unity: al-Abadi and al-Amiri's speeches have demonstrated how the rhetoric of unity and solidarity seeks to situate the national and military endeavors within a larger religious and national struggle. This framing, according to Van Dijk (2006), aims to rally public support and legitimize political actions as necessary for the preservation of national and religious values.

Overall, the integration of **CP** and **CDA** provides a comprehensive understanding of how language is used to shape political discourse in post-2003 Iraq. The use of religious rhetoric is a strategic tool for legitimizing political actions, consolidating authority, and mobilizing support in a complex socio-political landscape. The findings highlight the significant role of language in navigating and influencing political and religious dynamics in Iraq.

6. Conclusion

The results of this study have demonstrated that Iraqi political leaders in post 2003 Iraq have been using religious discourse as a means to legitimize their policies and practices. Leaders such as Nouri al-Maliki, Moqtada al-Sadr, and Ammar al-Hakim, have done in the past; they have depicted political decisions as divine imperatives, based on Islamic principles. This has helped them gain public support and reinforce their influence, particularly during times of crisis.

It is possible to discern how assumptions, words, and actions all contribute to the upkeep of power when we examine religious discourse through the perspective of CP. Assuming that their audience shares their values and opinions, leaders employ indirect communication strategies in order to avoid disagreements. By drawing a connection between opposition to these activities and hostility toward religious values, CDA provides further explanation on the ways in which these discourses maintain power regimes.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that religious discourse is utilized by political leaders in Iraq in order to navigate the complex political and sectarian atmosphere. In order to appeal to religious and political leanings and to combine popular support with government, they describe their political ambitions in terms of Islamic responsibility. This allows them to combine public support with



government participation. Consequently, this demonstrates that religious expression has a significant influence on the political climate in Iraq after 2003.

References:

- Abdul-Jabar, F. (2018). *The Shi'ite Movement in Iraq*. Saqi Books.
- Abu-Rabi', I. M. (2004). *Contemporary Arab Thought: Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History*. Pluto Press.
- Al-Khalil, S. (2004). *The Monument: Art, Vulgarly, and Responsibility in Iraq*. I.B. Tauris.
- Al-Qaradawi, Y. (2001). *Islam and Secularism in the Middle East*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers.
- Al-Rawi, A. (2012). *Media Practice in Iraq*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baram, A. (2014). *Saddam Husayn and Islam, 1968–2003: Ba'thi Iraq from Secularism to Faith*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. Routledge.
- Dodge, T. (2012). *Iraq: From War to a New Authoritarianism*. Routledge.
- Esposito, J. L. (1997). *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform?*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2014). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Gerges, F. A. (2013). *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*. Cambridge University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford University Press.
- Haddad, F. (2011). *Sectarianism in Iraq: Antagonistic Visions of Unity*. Oxford University Press.
- Hamid, S. (2016). *Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle Over Islam Is Reshaping the World*. St. Martin's Press.
- Harb, Z. (2011). *Channels of Resistance in Lebanon: Liberation Propaganda, Hezbollah and the Media*. I.B. Tauris.
- Ismael, T. Y., & Ismael, J. S. (2015). *Iraq in the Twenty-First Century: Regime Change and the Making of a Failed State*. Routledge.
- Lings, M. (2006). *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*. Islamic Texts Society.



- Lynch, M. (2006). *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today*. Columbia University Press.
- Mabon, S. (2016). *Saudi Arabia and Iran: Power and Rivalry in the Middle East*. I.B. Tauris.
- Mey, J. L. (2001). *Pragmatics: An Introduction* (2nd ed.). Blackwell.
- Nasr, S. V. R. (2007). *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Ramadan, T. (2009). *Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation*. Oxford University Press.
- Salam, A. (2020). *Islamism and Social Justice in the Arab World*. Springer.
- Tibi, B. (2012). *Islamism and Islam*. Yale University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). *Discourse and Manipulation*. *Discourse & Society*, 17(3), 359–383.
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2005). *Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremism in the West*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Wodak, R. (2015). *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*. SAGE Publications.
- Zeidel, R. (2011). *Iraq Between Occupations: Perspectives from 1920 to the Present*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zubaida, S. (2003). *Law and Power in the Islamic World*. I.B. Tauris.