

DOI: 10.7596/taksad.v5i4.581

The Investigation of Identity Crisis in Newly Established Cities of Iraq: A Research on Qaedin and Khawarij

Shokrollah Khakrand^{1*}

Abstract

The uneven development of Islam after the death of Prophet Muhammad has caused the lack of provision of identity backgrounds for Bedouin majority of Muslims and those of companions who exited the range of Islamic community turned to acquisition of other nations' identities. This issue has led to many identity crises in Islamic community. These identity disorders have passed a 25-year process at the era of the three caliphs until they reached the crisis level. The peak of these crises started with the killing of Usman and during the reign of the fourth caliph, Ali, was more revealed. Numerous conflicts with other unauthentic Islamic tendencies, blending with the course of identities, the lack of development of critical thinking and recorded identities, and identity gap were of the most important crises that Ali's reign was faced with. The result of these heterogeneities was the emergence of two dominating groups of Mozabzab (hesitant)-Qaedin (leaders), and Extremist-Khawarij in cities of Kufa. Using the psychological analysis of historical context, in this study, it is tried to answer the questions that: the collective identity crises was the result of what factors? Each group of this society was faced with what kind of crisis? Sheldon Stryker's theory of identity crisis and Erik Erikson's theory of growth and identity are used to answer to these questions.

Keyword: Khawarij, Kufa, identity crisis, conquests, uneven development, crisis in Iraq.

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of History, Shiraz University, Shiraz, Iran; Corresponding Author Email: Khakrand66@yahoo.com

Introduction

Islam religion emerged in a society where the urbanization texture was very weak or nearly did not exist. This weakness of urbanization caused the lack of civilization and supervisory framework. In these conditions, tribe and tribal identity was the basis of self- awareness of individuals in their relations with others. In this procedure of sociability, individuals acquired a recorded identity. The prominent qualities of this identity were fanaticism and zeal. In this tribal view, anyone who opposes any of the tribesmen is considered as its enemy and he should only be answered by aggressive and prejudiced reactions. The prophet of Islam in the era of Mecca and Medina did a lot of effort to rebuild this prejudiced view in a new form and gradually eliminated it. Creation of fraternity bond, introducing a good prejudice in supporting law, rigor and creation of structural constraints were among the works that he has done for establishing a civilized identity—individual-based and law-based identity. This was made possible until the year 8 AH in the semi-closed environment of Medina and its result was the upbringing of some companions—Sahaba—who have accepted an identity based on Islamic laws. However, with the conquer of Mecca and the entering of Quraysh tribe and the Bedouins of Arab peninsula, this quarantine atmosphere was destroyed and in demographic terms, prejudiced tribal identity took the majority for its own although the power was in hands of Sahaba. After the death of Muhammad, tribal identity emerged in the form of apostasy. The pretentious Islam, which was clear in the articulation of verses of Quran (Hejrat 14), was subordination to tribe's Sheikh and no self-awareness was established for tribesmen to acquire identity. Heavy losses that were inflicted on the Islamic society by Raddah caused the inclusion of Jihad against the Sassanids and Byzantines in the agenda of the first three caliphs for freedom from their divergence force. Although this Jihad destroyed the divergence of tribes; however, it was necessary that some of the trained companions to be sent to those war zones for surveillance. This issue caused the creation of conflicting changes in newly established military cities in Iraq such as Kufa and Basra. In these cities, the conquering Arabs were in contact with defeated nations and a new generation of Iranian mothers and Arab fathers were created. As the limiting structures of Medina government were not so tangible in these areas, the conquerors had the opportunity to acquire the identities of the defeated rich cultures. This happened mostly to the Sahaba. The hardships of Medina turned into the welfare of Kufa. The way of utilization of this welfare was acquisition of non-Islamic identities. Those Bedouins who entered these lands with pretentious Islam, stood against these new identities by tribal prejudice and by entering to crises of the late reign of Usman, they

showed serious reactions. The peak of these social crises was during the reign of the fourth caliph, Ali, which identity conflicts of people prevented him from confronting the Syrians and Muawiyah. In this study, it is tried to analyze the identity crises of the groups residing in newly-established cities of Iraq by investigating the history after Muhammad. In order to present a more accurate analysis, the investigator has tried to use Stryker's theory to analyze the social identity crisis in this area and also analyze the identity crises of each existing sect in these cities by theoretical framework of Erik Erikson.

Theoretical framework

Erikson's theory

Erikson believed that the growth process was affected by something that he named as "epigenetic principle of maturation". In Erikson's theory, the growth or maturation of a human includes a series of personal conflicts. The possibilities of these conflicts at birth are present as innate preparations. These preparations, in different levels, become important when our environment requires specific adaptabilities. Any confrontation with our environment is called crisis. This crisis demands changes in viewpoint and requires us to concentrate our instinctive energy according to the needs of every cycle of life.

Each growth stage has its own crisis or turning point which requires some changes in our behavior and personality. We answer to this crisis by one of the following two methods: maladaptive method (negative) and adaptive method (positive). Personality can continue its natural growth and acquire the required power for confronting other crises only if we have overcome every conflict. If conflicts linger to be unsolved, our adaptability to further problems will be less probable. Erikson believed that ego should combine maladaptive and adaptive confronting methods (Schultz and Schultz, 2005: 223).

From the viewpoint of Erikson, the fifth stage of growth or maturation is the coherence of identity against the role of confusion. In this stage, those who cannot obtain a consistent identity, who experience identity-crisis, reveal the confusion of role. It seems that they don't know who they are, where they belong, or where they want to go. It is possible that they get far from the normal course of life. Erikson points out to the vigorous potential effect of peer groups on identity growth in teenage period. He reminded that excessive connection with groups and prejudiced gangs or involuntary assimilation into pop culture icons can restrict the growing ego. The fundamental power that should be formed during teenage period is loyalty

which results from its consistent identity. Loyalty includes intimacy, honesty, and fealty in our relation with others.

Unbalanced growth of ego includes only one adaptive and maladaptive viewpoint which Erikson calls this situation “maldevelopment”. When there is only one positive and adaptive tendency in ego, this condition is called incompatibility state. However, if only one negative viewpoint exists, this condition is called malignancy state. Incompatibilities can lead to neuroses and malignancies can lead to psychosis (Schultz and Schultz, 2005: 227).

There are 5 types of mental-social states in the stage of identity coherence. Identity gap and identity record are the second and the third types of these five models. Identity gap describes individuals that are experiencing identity crisis. Their job and ideological commitments are vague. They have unstable viewpoints towards authorities or they disobey and they need others’ guidance. Their behavior extends from indecision to being active and creative. They also tend to dreaming and enjoy behaving childishly.

Identity record describes individuals that have not experienced identity crisis; however, they have decisively committed themselves to an ideology. However, these commitments are mostly determined for them by parents (society) and they are not the result of their own decision makings. These individuals are inflexible and authoritarian and problems in coping with changes (Schultz and Schultz, 2005: 230).

Stryker theory

Sheldon Stryker’s theory is selected for investigating the relation of these identities. In fact, Stryker’s theory is the central identity theory and shows the origin of individuals and then in the next stage it shows their relation with other individuals in the field of social structure. On the other hand, Stryker’s theory proposes the possibility that if the structural limitations reduce, the propensity of individuals toward attracting multiple identities increases and individuals acquire prominent multiple identities. Therefore, in the present study, Stryker’s theory is utilized and the relation between individuals identity is investigated.

Stryker, in his theories of “identity salience hierarchy” and “emotion identity theory”, has investigated the human behavior in performing identity roles in the field of “symbolic social action”. Emphasizing on the position of actors, he actually makes a connection between social structure and individuals and then he returns this path (Stryker, 1999: 23, Desrochers et al., 2004: 61; Ritters, 1384: 308).

Stryker believes that many of our behavioral actions are determinable in specific social structure and individuals are almost aware of role and identity expectations in their conditions; however, as they start their interactions, the form and content of their interactions can change and does not align with expectations of structural condition. The amounts of these changes depend on the type of social structure; however, they limit the individuals' interaction structure. Finally, the connection that Stryker has made between individuals and structure leads to the superiority of structure over individuals as he believes that individuals comprehend and identify themselves as objects concerning their conditions in social structure (Turner, 2003: 369).

Stryker believes that identities are part of ego and in fact, they are internalized self-awareness that are attached and associated with conditions that individuals inside the social structure choose. Therefore, according to his belief, identities are connections between ego and structure as he believes identities are roles that individuals play according to their situations in social structure. These structural and situational plays have hierarchical salience in the view of Stryker. This prominence of identities causes the identity that is placed higher in this hierarchy to be more used in comparison to the identity that is placed in a lower position. He also believes that if the structural limitations are low, individuals can acquire multiple identities for themselves; however, if a structure enforces many limitations over actors, type, and probable prominence of identities becomes more predictable and usually individuals choose a prominent identity for themselves.

In order to conceptualize the relations among identity and social structure, Stryker uses the concept of commitment. He defines commitment as follows: the degree that an individual defines his relation with others on the basis of a special kind of identity. The greater the dependency on specific kind of identity, the more committed an individual will be to his identity and this specific identity will be placed in higher position in the hierarchy of salience. Meanwhile, he believes that the higher the self-confidence of an individual, the higher his commitment to a specific type of identity; in return, excessive commitment to an identity results in the increase of confidence in an individual. In this way, Stryker believes that the identity of individuals will be evaluated in relations with others. Actually, the more the net of connections with others who have a specific type of identity increases, the equally that specific identity will become prominent; on the contrary, if the relation of an individual and his connection network with others do not have a specific identity and have other specific identity, accordingly the prominence of specific identity of an individual decreases. In fact, at

this time, structural limitations decrease or become vague and as a result, individuals select other identities for themselves and their commitment to the specific identity decreases (Stryker and Burke, 2000: 286, Owens and Stryker, 2001: 2; Desrochers and Andreassi and Thompson, 2004: 34- 29; Stets and Burke, 2003: 135).

Identity in Arabian Peninsula

Saudi Arabia's climatic and natural features and characteristics, economic poverty of this land, and harshness of the nature of peninsula were the basis of a great part of personal and social characteristics and the main basis of social structure, tribal system, and values of this land. As the basis of the texture of society, and human and social interactions of Hijaz were formed by those main foundations of Bedouin system; therefore, it is not necessary to separate two Bedouin and urbanized societies in the study of Hijaz for its social structure and traditions. In the pre-Islamic period and before the emergence of Islam, the basis of Arab's social links in Hijaz and other regions of Saudi Arabia were tribe. Regardless the accuracy and authenticity of each divisions of Arab society, it is revealed that titles such as "Shoab" and "Jazam", although introduced to be bigger than tribe, have lower importance in the system of pre-Islamic society. Accordingly, it can be said that the most important unit of identity in Arabian Peninsula was tribe. It should be noted that what was true, noted, manifestation of prejudice and social action and mental orientation of pre-Islamic Arabs, was tribe. The basis of sensitivity, glory, and pride of the pre-Islamic poets were their own tribes, not the cities that tribes were derived from. In Islamic period and from the era of the second caliph, the dwellers of cities underwent verbal categorization due to social or political interests. Tribe, in the society of pre-Islamic Arabs, not only was counted as the foundation of survival of all personal and social links of Arabs, but also it shaped all their components of character and intellectual manifestations. In tribal society of pre-Islamic period, like all tribal societies and even more severe than them, originality was always on tribe not the individual associated with it. In the mind of pre-Islamic Arab, tribe had a reality beyond individuals and by relying to this reality and without counting it as only a credential issue, it had a decisive and certain administration over individual's integrity including his life, thought, and family members. In other words, in the tribal system of the pre-Islamic period, individuality of a person is impossible in the generality of tribe. An individual associated to a tribe, not only did not acquire an independent identity and a will separate from the will governing the clan, but also, given such knowledge, he was incapable of manifestation and realization of his individuality and benefitting from "ego"; because, as the boundary of tribal bond were broken, the space

and territory of another tribe began. Therefore, an individual who had reached self-awareness and personality independency could not find a space for individual existence, formation of his “ego” and independent identity, free from the constraint of the “we” of tribe.

Structure and system based on tribe or tribal life content or format, not only cast shadow on economic life and livelihood of an individual, but also raised the personality of an associated individual so that in choosing spouse, determining the living location, behavior and conduct, desires and actions, movement and lodgment, war and peace, love and hatred, and briefly in all individual, social, emotional actions and reactions, he is convicted of the sentence of tribal values.

The Sovereignty of the will of tribe over the will, emotions and feelings of individuals does not mean that in the tribal system an individual sacrificed his very personal existing will, emotions and feelings to the will and demand of tribe; in fact, this means that in the format of tribal life, individual will did not exist to observe any reactions against its negligence. Also, in this society, whether due to dominating and controlling norms and culture or closure of individual and cultural interactions, knowledge of criterions, values, and other desires was not created in order for a movement, though slight and few, to take place for another choice and breaking the existing fence. The degree of transformation of individuality of pre- Islamic Arab in the wholeness or integrity of tribe, or the transformation of “ego” to “we”, was not equal in all legal, military, traditional, and religious aspects. In the legal and penal aspects; an individual associated to tribe, had a totally impersonal interpretation of the issue of assault and offense. Therefore, when an individual from his tribe were assaulted or probably killed, he considered this as assault to himself and all the member of clan and according to this interpretation, he considered all of the members of the murderer’s tribe as murderers and decided *Qisas* (retaliation, revenge) sentence for all of them. The deep bond of pre-Islamic Arab with tribe can be observed in the intensity of their numerous prejudices towards territory of tribe, allies, religion, and tradition. In the history of Arab life, sometimes the intensity of individual’s prejudice towards tribe became so high that in urgent times he was ready to kill his own tribesmen but do not let his tribesmen to be killed by people from other tribes (Zargari Nejad, 1384: 159 and 160).

Research Findings

Social crisis backgrounds in the era of the first three Caliphs

The establishment of Islamic government based on Islamic rules in Medina lead to the creation of an orderly civilization in this city. The attempts of prophet of Islam for executing laws caused the organization of affairs and getting far from the lawless environment of desert and Bedouin. The requirements for meeting organization and order were the numerous structural limitations that were applied to Muslims. In this condition that Islamic law was enforced mostly through government and people paid the highest attention for performing them, the background for establishment of Islamic centered identity was prepared among Ansar and Immigrants. Although sometimes this original identity faced challenges from Bedouin new Muslims; however, the power of Islamic government with Medina as its center, the possibility reducing the effect of social structure decreased greatly. Two of the most effective factors in concentration of identity were the prophet's charisma and management. Therefore, as he passed away, the limitations that social structure enforced on Bedouin identity of newly Muslims decreased.

With the ruling of a person from the common Arab (Abu Bakr) who gained the power by overcoming and defeating, other tribes considered entitled for ruling. The dispute over the nomination of the Caliphate in Saqifah proved the truth of this idea to them. Arabs hated power intensely unless it originated from religion (Alayeli, 1371: 2/57-58) and the only case after the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) was Ali (PUH) and Alayeli claims that: "If government was assigned to families of the prophet (PBUH) from the beginning, such disputes would not have occurred and apostasy movement would not come into being." (Alayeli, 1371: 2/59).

What occurred after the death of prophet (PBUH) in the field of conquests was figuratively according to the movements of the prophet; however, the governing spirit and motivation was different and sometimes against it. From the ending of the two years and a few month reign of Abu Bakr, the foreign conquests were proposed for getting rid of problems, conflicts, and hostilities by moving them from inside to outside. Undoubtedly, the first simple scheme that comes into the mind of a leader of a society for overcoming the entangled problems is "War" (Adibi Sadeh, 1379: 94).

The first Caliph, after suppression of apostates, led Muslims to conquests. Factors such as invitation to primitive Jihad, and development of Islam and reduction of tensions and domestic political oppositions and leading tribes to foreign enemies instead of domestic conflicts and acquisition of spoils and new economic resources can be of other reasons for conquests. The spirit of prophet's Sahaba, especially the youths who didn't see the pre-

Islamic period, were full of invitation and Jihad enthusiasm. Their motivation was religious epic and trust in divine victory (Nusrat); however, the marginal propensity of many hungry Arabs who were in the search of a new “Luxurious Life” stopped them from their dynamicity (Zarin Koob, 1363: 278). Many believe that one of the reasons was the pressure of high population in barren Arabian Peninsula (Lewis, 1381: 65).

Ibn Abi Al-Hadid emphasized on the inclination of Muslims towards plunder in the living period of the prophet (PBUH); it was after the death of prophet Muhammad (PBUH) that Islam found its place in their hearts and became dear and this was while Iran and Rome were conquered and spoils and properties found their ways from everywhere to Medina and incomes increased greatly... and as they found religion as a mean of achieving this world, they curtsied to the honor of religion and the prophet (PBUH).... Then he stated, if those victories, conquests, and triumphs, which were ordained by God, did not exist, after the death of prophet Muhammad, the religion of Islam would extinct and only its name would have remained in the history (Ibn Abi Al- Hadid, 1996: 222-220/10).

Abu Bakr did not let any apostate tribe take part in the conquests. Hence, they were considerably under surveillance by the limiting social structure. At that time an individual saw and defined ego among the companions (Sahaba) of the prophet. Nevertheless, the majority of Muslims group were comprised of “newly Muslims” of Quraysh, Arabs, and also “Munafiqin” (hypocrites), (considering the issue of identity, meaning those who did not experience the new Islamic identity or did not accept it), and took part in these conquests with the motivation of acquiring spoils. This time, against the pre-Islamic history, the issue of spoil was not the belongings of a tribe (camel, herd, and so on), rather it was the treasuries of great governments with lasting civilization and the wealth of cities and so on. They had familial movements and after conquest they resided there and after a short period, their Bedouin aggressiveness, temporarily, turned into “civilization mollification”. All in all, during these wars, they began to trade. However, spoils were of great importance (during conquests) (Jaberi, 1384: 285-286).

Abu Bakr did not get any help from apostates until his death; however, Umar utilized them (Tabari, 1362: 1827/5). During this period, Umar was not afraid of the sedition from anyone such as Quraysh as he knew this family and their strengths and weaknesses. The power of Quraysh was not due to their military technics, but for their presence in large and small affairs and religious priority. Their other resource of power was their trade market which was the

result of their residency in Mecca and having home security which all was made possible by cleverness, foresight, ambition, and resourcefulness of this tribe. The abundance of wealth due to extensive trade (before Islam), taught them greed, avarice, management, and skill in capitalism and political tests and contacts with different races and traveling to remote locations taught them how to face problems and how to come out of troubles unharmed or overcome them. The product of this process was Quraysh's extensive ambition and greed. These issues led to this tribe's indifference to rules and regulations and cajoling public opinions and national sanctities and permit any actions for their benefits and extensive deceit to the extent that Arabs considered these indifferent people as a threat. The highest value that the elders of Quraysh regarded for religion was that religion is a mean to an end not the end itself, a mean for acquiring wealth and power and no more than that (Madlung, 1377: 83- 84). Umar kept the elders of Quraysh as captives in Medina and did not let them out of the city. He said that Quraysh wants to expend the property of the God for itself and deprive people of it. Until the son of Al Khattab is alive this will not be permitted. I stand beside the Hor valley and I hold the throat of Quraysh so that they do not fall into fire (Tabari, 1362: 2290/6). Umar preserved the social limitation for Quraysh and stated clearly that the goal of his action is their belief; however, he behaved differently about other tribes. He sent them to the war against Iran and Rome as he needed their military power; but, in order to prevent getting far from Islamic culture in other lands, he forced them to learn Quran and according to his orders, anyone who was not successful in learning Quran was hit by sticks to the extent that one of them died under this punishment (Zeidan, Bit: 318)

Usman inherited the conditions that started in the second half of Umar's caliphate. After the conquest of Iran and parts of eastern Rome the religious epic alongside social passion and excitement were on the wane. The excessive wealth and numerous captives that they had from different and powerful cultures and civilizations suddenly entered the extensive and Bedouin society of Saudi Arabia and it immersed everything into itself. Although the effects of such extensive and sudden entrance emerged later during Usman caliphate; however, the second half of Umar's caliphate was not safe from its consequences. He was murdered at the best time of his power. If his caliphate has lingered more, his influence and power would have decreased due to the sudden occurrences. Umar left his power in conditions that were very different from when he first took it. At that time, there was an extensive society with closed eyes and the foreign threats had left no place for competition and opposition; however, at the time of his death, there was no such society and no such threats. Muslims had acquired wealth

and power and also had turned into a great empire and were at the stage of experiencing a new world. Muslim scholars, who were majorly from Quraysh, were more affected by these changes than others.

The explosion of wealth in Medina and in the hands of certain population, create new ethics and culture and for the first time in Medina, manifestation of the rich entertainments such as dove play, shooting, overnight drunkenness and fun beside castles and luxurious homes emerged (Tabari, 1362: 6/2291). This behavior, which was imitated from other nations, rapidly emerged in new cities such as Kufa and Basra (Tabari, 1362: 6/ 2292).

Anyhow, conquest operations during the caliphate of Umar, created a new tribal condition that its distinction was gathering tribes in camps (cities in war) as independent however, in contact and permanent communication with each other complexes. This issue, from one hand, triggered certain tensions in public talks and on the other hand, caused the conflicts among public and total tensions. The departure of Arab tribes for conquests changed the “juridical” conditions governing the relations of Quraysh and Arab in the era of Abu Bakr. With the increase of Bani Umayya’s influence (as the leaders of Quraysh and therefore, harmful leaders) at the late Uthman era, and also the increase of the wealth of great statesmen (especially Qurays), we will realize that how rebellions at “tribal” level in other cities during Uthman era meant the rebellion of “Arabs” against “Quraysh”. Kufa, Basra, and Egypt, except Syria, were counted as camps that they felt they were under Quraysh domination (Jaberi, 1384: 259).

Tribal nation is always more efficient in battle and expansion; however, it is incapable of taking the responsibility and control of a social life unless with long and fundamental education which if not possible, it returns to the previous conditions. These conquests, with regard to withdrawal of the prophet (PBUH) and Ali’s companions, and other’s obsession to politics and war not only took the opportunity for religious education, but also it sustained the aggressive and desert spirit. Islam turned into a governmental religion from an advertising religion (Abd Al-Maqsoud, 1361: 395/6). With the death of the prophet (PBUH) and the lack of a charismatic leader, the grounds for the advent of pre-Islamic attributes, which Islam were seeking their change, was prepared.

Until the late era of Uthman, the acceptance of the customs of other non-Islamic societies emerged extensively among the Muslims in newly established cities. This issue is due to expansions without religious considerations. Rapid expansion without creation of a solid

religious identity for the members of this identity caused their acquisition of other conquered nations' identities while they were away from central structure of the government. The economic, social and cultural changes brought insecurity and anxiety for some groups of the society. The occurrence of some rebellions, especially in the era of Ali (PUH) and Mu'awiya's caliphates, should have been due to some general characteristics of the situation such as Khawarij who were people from Bedouin tribes.

Of the factors that moved people to a new culture and identity and gradually made a distance from the previous identity were the natural progressions, innate wisdom, greed of elders, youth expectations, sudden wealth, the weak force, revealing of women, and the mixing of religions inside the new religious culture (Alayeli, 1371: 147- 148). Meanwhile, social gaps in the form of tribalism, nationalism (Shaoubia and so on), and new parties (Umayyad and so on) emerged.

Many of the sermons and aphorisms of Nahjolbalagha in the reproach of the materialism, fanaticism, and shortsightedness were somehow an indirect description of this period. Of the most important economic changes was in the era of caliphates at which they called the "treasury of Muslims" as "the wealth of god" so that they can use it as they wanted (Delshad Tehrani, 1379: 46). This condition has occurred to some of Arab societies in newly established cities. However, not all the people of these societies had such approaches. Besides, some of Bedouin Arabs, relying on tribal prejudice with an Islamic appearance, were unsatisfied of the conditions during the era of Uthman.

The pressure of government and power were always irritating for the Bedouin tribes. During the era of Umar, it was not possible to avoid this pressure; however, at the era of Uthman, with the economic injustice and the increase of tribal prejudice (Qurays against other tribes), the condition for getting away from the centralization of the power was made possible. These people showed reactions that later emerged in the form of Khawarij. Khawarij was the manifestation of the most extremist type of tribal independence which refused the acceptance of any power that did not rely on free and constantly alterable agreement (Lewis, 1381: 69 and 72). From Watt's point of view, the social thought of Khawarij was very close to the thoughts of Arabs before Islam (Watt, 1370: 36). Therefore, the advent of Khawarij can be considered as one of the most salient products of uneven development of Caliphates' era.

On the other hand, also another reaction can be seen. At the time of changes of conditions and insecurity and crisis, in order to find a way out, individuals look upon the experience from

their past which is more fundamental and pleasing than others. Under the influence of pressure and coerce of the new life that they were forced into, they needed a strong and secure haven. Deep and likely unconscious motivations led them to seek security (Watt, 1370: 22-23).

Islamic identity was seriously influenced by foreign cultures and neighboring nations due to the conquests and the break of cultural walls. This was highly due to superficial and incomplete understanding of Quran that were intensified by prohibition of writing Hadith (narrative) recognition impairments of Islamic identity. Also, this issue led to the gradual formation of mixed, uneven, and disordered culture after the conquests. Ummat (nation) – meaning an integrated and coordinated society that its members in one way, have movements toward evolution and they develop under the guidance of Imam- gradually turned into a society of tribes and uneven races with conflicting sub-cultures and lacking a unifying leadership.

Conflicts of identity at the time of the fourth Caliph

When Ali came to power, his followers can be divided into three different identity groups. First are those who accepted Ali's guardianship and accompanied him in all stages. Second are those who accompanied him to confront "Sham (Levant)" tribe and the third groups are those who accompanied Ali to return to ideal period of Umar's era. Among those groups, the fourth Caliph did not have any problems with the first group. His problem was with the second and third group, which by the battle of Siffin, conflicts of identity critically appeared in the ranks of followers.

Tribal identity is the main identity for all the people; however, the type of identity acceptance is different for each of them. The first group can be known in the stage of getting identity, according to the doctrinal and behavioral performance and stability and commitment to the caliph. The second group can be place in the stage of the interruption of identity because of the doubt and insecurity in opinion and behavior, and the third (last) group can be place in the stage called "record of identity", because of prejudicial behavior and not accepting any reasoning in the situations facing Imam Ali.

Each and every member of these identity groups has the most mental and behavioral support of the tribe members because of being in a tribal texture. Thus, the stability of the type of the identity acceptance is enumerated as their main characteristics. In special situations such as

the Nahrawan Khawarij, the second and the third group stood against the first group; however, after the reasoning of Imam Ali, the second group separated from the third group and moved to Kufa. Despite direct negotiations and Imam Ali's reasoning (argumentations), the third group insisted on the battle. Collecting the three identities in one place is possible until the time that no foreign crisis could be able to destroy the unity of identity. Placing Qurans on the top of spears during the end of the battle of Seffin was an important challenge for each one of the three identities. The first group was stable according to their commitment to their commander. The second group forced their ruler to accept the arbitration because of their doubt toward their ruler. In this way, the prejudice of the third group accompanied them and thus Ali Ibn Abi-Talib and his committed followers could not stand against them or create the unity of identity. Although the defeat of arbitration and the unfolding of the accuracy of Imam Ali's prediction about Abu-Musa was a great failure for the second group and the superiority of Sham tribe bothered them a lot; however, having doubt in Ali was a block to begin a war against Muawiyah again. Ali's tactic for making common aspects between them and the committed group was patience so that they themselves become aware of the fact that confronting Muawiyah and Sham tribe was a necessity of their existence. This tactic was accountable by showing the ravage of Muawiyah in Islamic lands but was not suitable for the radical behavior of the third group. Prejudice, simplicity, and aggressive behavior were among the main identity characteristics of the third group. In their opinion, arbitration (umpire) was a deception that was imposed to them by "Sham" tribe and so it had to be confronted in the most serious reaction. Ali's patience was not acceptable to them in this confrontation. This patience had almost a lawful aspect because according to the contract which the second and third groups forced Ali to accept, they had to avoid any battles for one year. Now, their behavioral prejudice forced them to depart for a battle and on the other hand, they themselves had accepted that time as a truce. The solution to this conflict was to use the projection and relocation defense mechanism. The manifestation of projection was in accusing Ali. When Ali explained that this coercion was from their side, they started repenting and considering Ali as a pagan² and departed for Harura. The massacre on their way to Basra and Kufa was a sort of using the relocation mechanism. These people failed in their fight against Muawiyah who had deceived them and they also failed in forcing Ali to have a battle against Muawiyah; thus, they tended to the aggressive behavior unconsciously which was emphasized in their Bedouin identity. Ali compromised with them for a while; however,

² As he did not consider arbitration as a sin and in Khawarij's view those who do not repent of the major sin are pagans.

with the increase of their aggression, he departed for Harura. This 12,000-men group did not have the same identities; therefore, by Ali's speeches, 8,000 of them left the Khawarij army and they also did not join Ali. The behavior of these people obviously shows the ambiguity of their ideological commitment. Imam Ali and his agent Abdullah Ibn Abbas, failed to satisfy the remaining 4,000 people despite all their reasoning with them. The inflexibility and autocracy are obvious. These people were strongly committed to their readings of religion and they did not listen to any contrary speeches relating to this issue. In this situation, the one and only way was absolutely military option. Their serious defeat in Nahrawan battle destroyed the dynamism of the third group in Basra and Kufa; however, the assassination of Qurra and Zuhad of Khawarij during this battle increased the second group's doubt towards Ali. Therefore, when Ali came back from Nahrawan battle, the second group still avoided accompanying him against "Sham" tribe until Ali was assassinated by Ibn Muljam Muradi, on member of Khawarij.

Result

The lack of sociability in a law-based system caused a range of Muslims to rely on the appearance of Islam and defined ego and Islam with their recorded identity resulted from the Bedouin spirit. Wherever these people could not staff the religious and political issues in their extensive lexicon, they started to show extremist reactions and created a serious delimitation between themselves and the opposing party. The conclusion of the identity delimitation was commination and as a result the assassination of the opposing party. These people created a new identity after the death of the prophet of Islam to the time that Ali came to power in a gradual process which was based on Islamic appearance and prejudiced tribal identity. This identity was obviously recorded identity. Some people have been seen next to these people who maybe are the Sahaba (companion)'s children. This group is in such a doubt and ambiguity that don't know where the boundary lies between them and others. In this lack of the correct delimitation, the tendency to battle against Muawiyah and making peace with him and even joining Khawarij is observed. These people, avoided war by actuating Ashath Ibn Qeis and by Ali's speeches, gave up cooperating with the Khawarij. This group's identity gap prevented Ali from achieving his goals even more than Muawiyah's sabotage. The confusion of these people and not obeying the orders of the fourth Caliph finally led to the superiority of Sham tribe over them, which after that, by the time of the assassination of Ziad Ibn Abih, the self-consciousness and identity gaining situations were provided for them in a costly price. These several identity crises were almost due to the lack of limitative action, structure that

after the death of the prophet was extensively neglected. This issue caused two common mental diseases of taking identity from other cultures and lack of religious attitude. The integrity of the tribal texture caused the identity seeking of the individuals to be according to the procedure of a tribal society and when the fourth caliph intended to finish the unfinished work of the prophet of Islam in developing Islamic identity, he faced severe reactions from the opposing identities of these cities.

References

Abdulmaqsud, Abdul Fattah (1983). Imam Ali (PBUH), Translated by Mohammad Mahdi Ja'fari, Tehran: Enteshar Stock Company.

Adibi sadeh, Mahdi (2001). Sociology of War, Tehran: Samt.

Alaaely, Abdullah (1993). The Best Goal in Highest Soul, translated by Mohammad Mahdi Ja'fari, Tehran: Ministry of Islamic Culture and Guidance.

Delshad Tehrani, Mostafa (2001). Government of Sun, Tehran: Darya.

Holy Qur'an.

Ibn Abi Alhadid (1995). Illustration of Nahj-ul-Balagha, Research by Muhammad Abulfazl Ibrahim, Cairo: Dar-ul-Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiya.

Jaberi, Muhammad Abed (2006). Political Wisdom in Islam, Translated by Abdorreza Savari, Tehran: Gaame-Now.

Lewis, Bernard (2003), Middle-East, Translated by Hassan Kamshad, Tehran: Ney.

Madelung, Wilfred (1999), The Succession to Muhammad (PBUH), Translated by Ahmad Namaee - Javad Qasemi - Mohammad Javad Mahdavi and Heydar Reza Zabet, Mashhad: Astan Quds Razavi.

Desrochers, Stephan and Andreassi, Jeanine K., and Thompson, Cynthia A. (2004). Identity Theory, organization management journal, vol. 1 no.1, pp. 61-69

Owens, Timothy J. and Stryker, Sheldon (2001). The Future of Self-Esteem: An Introduction Extending Self-Esteem Theory and Research, Sociological and Psychological Currents, Eds. by Timothy J. Owens and Sheldon Stryker and Norman Goodman Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ritzer, George (2006). Contemporary Sociological Theories, Translated by Mohsen Salasi, Tehran: Elmi.

Schultz, Daunt P. and Sydney Ellen Schultz (2005). Theories of Personality. New York: Wadsworth.

Stets, Jan E. and Burke, Peter J. (2003). A Sociological Approach to Self and Identity, In Handbook of Self and Identity, Eds Mark R. Leary and June Price Tangney, New York: Guilford Press

Stryker, Sheldon and Burke, Peter J. (2000). The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory, Social Psychology Quarterly, Vol. 63, No. 4, Special Millennium Issue on the State of Sociological Social Psychology, pp. 284-297

Stryker, Sheldon (1999). Exploring the Relevance of Social Cognition for the Relationship of Self and Society: Linking the Cognitive Perspective and Identity Theory, The Self–Society Dynamic Cognition, Emotion and Action, Edited by Judith A. Howard and Peter L. Callero, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tabari, Muhammad bin Jurayr (1984). History of Islam - Vol II - Prophets and Patriarchs, Translated by Abolqasem Payandeh, Tehran: Asatir.

Turner, J. (2003). The Structure of Sociological Theory. New York: Wadsworth.

Watt, W. Montgomery (1987). Islamic Philosophy and Theology an extended survey, Edinburg: Edinburg university press.

Zargari Nezhad, GhloM Hosein (2006). Analytical History of Early Islam, Tehran: Samt.

Zarrinkoob, Abdolhossein et al. (1985). History of Iran from Islam to Saljuqi's Era Research of University of Cambridge, Tehran: Amir Kabir.

Zaydan, Jurji (1906). History of Islamic Civilization, Beyrut: Daar-assadir.