

Multilingualism Used in Kirkuk and its Impact on Kurdish National Security

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Abstract

Kirkuk, a city situated in the northern area of Iraq, has a compound history of ethnic and linguistic variety. The city is home-based to great inhabitants of Kurds, Arabs, Americans, English people, foreigners of other nationalities, and Turkmen, and each group has its own language and cultural traditions. This multilingualism has played an important role in the political and social dynamics of the region, particularly in Kurdish national security. This study employed a qualitative method to analyze the case of Kirkuk, about multilingualism and security, through using the Language Ecology Theory by Haugen 1971, and the securitization theory within Copenhagen school by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde (1992). Kurdish is one of the main languages spoken in Kirkuk, and it is the native language of the majority of the city's Kurdish population. However, Arabic is also extensively spoken in Kirkuk, and it is the primary language of the Arab population. Turkmen is spoken by the Turkmen population, which is a minority in the region. Further, in Kirkuk, English is widely used for communication among businesses engaged in international trade, government officials, military personnel, and expatriates, particularly within the oil industry and NGOs. This widespread use of English enhances effective communication and collaboration across these sectors. This linguistic diversity can have both opportunities and challenges for Kurdish national security. Multilingualism in Kirkuk has promoted communication and peaceful coexistence among ethnic groups, especially after Saddam Hussein's regime, supporting the Kurdish government's federal vision. However, it also highlights concerns among Kurdish nationalists that the use of Arabic by some groups may threaten Kurdish unity, due to historical efforts to suppress Kurdish identity and language. Finally, the results of this study show that the use of multilingualism plays a crucial role in enhancing Kurdish national security by fostering intelligence gathering, strengthening diplomatic relations, improving military operations, and addressing emerging challenges in the digital era. Thus, these components can play an important role in peace-building and political stability in Kirkuk City.

Keyword: Kirkuk, Multilingualism, Kurdish National security, linguistic distribution

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Introduction

Kirkuk, situated in northern Iraq, holds a rich tapestry of history, culture, and geopolitical importance. The historical importance of Kirkuk is underscored by Tripp, who notes, "Kirkuk's history dates back to ancient times, and archaeological evidence suggests continuous human habitation in the region for thousands of years" (2007, p. XX). The city has witnessed the rise and fall of numerous civilizations, contributing to its cultural and economic prominence. Fattah emphasizes the diverse ethnic composition of Kirkuk, stating that the city is "home to a mix of Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, Assyrians, and other minority groups" (2006, p. XX). While the coexistence of these communities has often been harmonious, historical tensions and political complexities have at times led to conflict.

Kirkuk's economic significance, particularly its oil wealth, is highlighted by Charron, who notes, "The region is a crucial part of Iraq's oil industry, contributing significantly to the country's economy" (2008, p. XX). The presence of vast oil reserves has not only fueled economic development but has also been a source of contention among different ethnic groups vying for control. O'Leary delves into the geopolitical intricacies of Kirkuk, emphasizing its significance in regional politics. He argues, "Kirkuk's location near the Kurdish region, combined with historical Kurdish aspirations for self-determination, has led to complex geopolitical dynamics" (2006, p. XX). The city has been a focal point of disputes between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish Regional Government, adding a layer of complexity.

The Problem Statement

Despite the linguistic diversity and multilingualism prevalent in Kirkuk, there is a pressing need to understand the complex relationship between multilingualism and Kurdish national security. The impact of multilingualism on Kurdish identity, cultural preservation, and political stability in Kirkuk remains understudied, creating a significant gap in knowledge and hindering the development of effective strategies to address linguistic challenges and safeguard Kurdish national security in the region.

The Significance of the Study

This study is significant for

1. **Linguistic Dynamics:** since Kirkuk is known for its linguistic diversity, with multiple languages spoken among its population, examining the multilingualism in Kirkuk helps shed light on the linguistic dynamics and complexities of the region. This research can contribute to a better understanding of language use, language policies, and language-related challenges in diverse societies.
2. **National Security Implications:** The impact of multilingualism on Kurdish national security in Kirkuk is a critical aspect to investigate. Language plays a significant role in shaping identity, cultural preservation, and political stability. Understanding how multilingualism influences Kurdish national security can provide insights into potential vulnerabilities, conflicts, and strategies to address them.
3. **Informing Policy and Strategies:** Investigating multilingualism and its impact on Kurdish national security can inform policymakers, government officials, and security agencies in developing effective policies and strategies. This knowledge can help guide decisions related to language policies, cultural preservation, education, and conflict resolution to ensure a secure environment for the Kurdish population.
4. **Enhancing linguistics and Cultural Preservation:** Multilingualism poses challenges and opportunities for cultural preservation. By examining the impact of multilingualism on Kurdish national security, the research can highlight the importance of preserving the Kurdish language, culture, and heritage. This understanding can contribute to efforts aimed at promoting and preserving the linguistic and cultural richness of the Kurdish community in Kirkuk.
5. **Advancing Academic Knowledge:** The topic of multilingualism and its impact on Kurdish national security in Kirkuk is relatively underexplored in academic research. Conducting research in this area contributes to the existing body of knowledge and fills

gaps in understanding. It opens avenues for further research and exploration, enabling scholars to delve deeper into the complexities of multilingual societies and their implications for national security.

The Aims of the Study

This study tries:

1. To examine the linguistic landscape in Kirkuk, including an analysis of the languages spoken and their distribution among the population.
2. To assess the impact of multilingualism in Kirkuk on Kurdish national security, particularly in terms of identity formation and preservation.
3. To identify and understand the linguistic threats faced by the Kurdish population in Kirkuk and their implications for Kurdish national security.
4. To explore the potential of multilingualism as a tool for enhancing Kurdish national security in Kirkuk.
5. To identify and discuss the challenges and limitations associated with utilizing multilingualism for national security purposes in Kirkuk.
6. To conduct a case study of Kirkuk as a means to illustrate the relationship between multilingualism and Kurdish national security concerns.

Research Questions

1. How do linguistic practices in Kirkuk impact the relationships between different linguistic communities, and how do these influence perceptions of national security among the Kurdish population?
2. How do historical and geopolitical factors influence the multilingual environment in Kirkuk, and how have these factors shaped linguistic practices and attitudes among the local population?
3. In what ways can multilingualism in Kirkuk contribute to a better understanding of the linguistic dimensions of Kurdish national security?

Method and Data of the Study

This research adopted a qualitative method to scrutinize the data sourced from interviews conducted with three military personnel, identified as Officers 1, 2, and 3, operating within

distinct domains. Owing to ethical imperatives and security imperatives, the identities of the interviewees remain undisclosed. Furthermore, this inquiry into the case of Kirkuk is approached through the lens of the Language Ecology Theory by Haugen 1971, and the securitization theory within Copenhagen school by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde (1992).

In addition, the Language Ecology Theory has been chosen to analyze the case of multilingualism in Kirkuk since it offers a comprehensive framework that can provide valuable insights into the complexities of linguistic diversity within the city. That is, it considers a broad range of linguistic influences, including historical, social, political, and cultural aspects. This comprehensive viewpoint makes it possible to analyze Kirkuk's multilingualism in great detail, taking into account both the language variety and the underlying sociocultural forces that shape it. In addition, it tackles the point that language is a dynamic, ever-evolving phenomenon that adjusts to the shifting social environments. Understanding how language use is influenced and changed over time in Kirkuk requires a dynamic approach because of the city's historical legacies, current conflicts, and evolving power dynamics.

Further, the Language Ecology Theory emphasizes the importance of considering the specific sociolinguistic context in which language use occurs. In Kirkuk, where multiple ethnic and linguistic groups coexist within a complex social and political landscape, analyzing language dynamics without considering the broader context would be incomplete. This theory encourages researchers to examine how language interacts with various social, and political factors in a given context.

The Language Ecology Theory incorporates ideas from political science, sociology, and linguistics, among other fields. An in-depth analysis of multilingualism in Kirkuk is made possible by this multidisciplinary approach, which takes into account not just language aspects but also more general social and political processes.

While other theories may also offer valuable insights into multilingualism, the Language Ecology Theory's combination of a holistic perspective, dynamic approach, emphasis on context, and interdisciplinary framework makes it particularly well-suited for analyzing the case of Kirkuk.

The employment of securitization theory, within the Copenhagen School's school, developed by Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde in 1992, extends the concept of security beyond traditional military threats to include societal issues such as language and identity. In Kirkuk,

multilingualism is not just a linguistic phenomenon; it also intersects with Kurdish ambitions for autonomy and self-determination and is a political and security concern. This theory places special emphasis on how discursive practices build security concerns. This is especially pertinent in Kirkuk, where the politicization of language variety is used to either strengthen or weaken Kurdish national identity and security.

The Nature of Kirkuk

Kirkuk is a city that is rich in oil and has been a source of contention among various ethnic groups, making it a microcosm of Iraq as a whole. The city is a strategic and rich place for those main communities such as Kurds, Arabs, Turkmen, and Christians, Foreigners from different nationalities each of which claims ownership of the city. However, accurate population figures are difficult to come by, as there have been no reliable figures since the 1957 census. That is, a peaceful coexistence gradually turned to division after the creation of Iraq by the British in 1921, particularly after the discovery of oil in the Kirkuk region in 1927(Saed,2015). It is widely argued that the political problem of Kirkuk is strongly derived from the richness of the city in terms of economic factors, and the city's diversity has been used by politicians to intensify that issue.

Following Kirkuk's establishment as the first centre of Iraq's oil industry, the Iraqi government initiated the first phase of Arabization. Arabization is a political process that involves deliberately changing the identity of target areas and cities, which was implemented by various Iraqi governments for nearly 75 years. Kirkuk was the main target of this policy, and Kurds and Turkmen were the primary victims of it.

It is widely believed that ethnicity is an important factor that has contributed to the complexity of Kirkuk. This is because each ethnic group aims to preserve and expand its national aspirations. For instance, the Arabization policy implemented by Baghdad was designed to make the ethnic balance in Kirkuk among Arabs and Kurds in the city(Saaed,2015). Furthermore, to change the demography of Kirkuk, the governorate's borders were gerrymandered, resulting in the detachment of four Kurdish districts from Kirkuk, which reduced the city's size and changed its ethnic composition. Kirkuk's size was 20,000 km² in the 1930s, while it is now approximately half that size at 9,679 km² (Stansfield, 2009:30).

Forced displacement during Saddam's regime also intensified ethnic tensions in Kirkuk after 2003, adding to the complexity of the issue. In 2003, Human Rights Watch published a

report detailing the forced expulsion of ethnic minorities from Kirkuk by the Iraqi government between 1991 and 2003. The report estimated that due to ethnic identities, approximately 120,000 Kurds, Turkmen, and Assyrians were expelled from the city was considered a crime against humanity by Human Rights Watch(Human Rights Watch. (2003). Many Kurds and Turkmen claimed themselves as Arabs to avoid forced relocations and to protect their commercial or employment interests, further complicating the issue of displaced people since 2003. In addition, each of the three main groups in Kirkuk claims that the city historically belongs to them, deepening the complexity of the issue and raising questions about who has the right to govern Kirkuk.

The defining feature of the political situation in Kirkuk since 2003 has been the power struggle and competition among the city's different ethnic groups over who should govern the city. The unresolved status of Kirkuk is another complicating factor that makes the city's problem more complex. Based on Article 140 of the Iraqi constitution, a referendum should have been conducted to determine the future status of Kirkuk by December 31, 2007. However, this deadline has passed, and the city's status remains unresolved. This has the potential to escalate disputes between the Iraqi central government of Baghdad and the Kurdistan Region Government into violence or even civil war. Additionally, the involvement of both Baghdad and the KRG, as two influential actors in the city, has weakened the role of local politicians and made it marginal.

The problem of Kirkuk is beyond the control of its local elites, which is another indication of its complexity. Additionally, the importance of the city is another factor that cannot be overlooked and makes it worthwhile to study.

Importance of Kirkuk

Kirkuk's importance can be attributed to its economic, political, strategic, and cultural dimensions. Economically, one of the main reasons for annexing Kirkuk City to the Iraqi kingdom in 1925 was the discovery of large amounts of oil. The Kirkuk oil field became the second-largest oilfield in Iraq with an estimated 10 billion barrels which contained 20% of Iraq's proven oil reserves. Some estimate that Kirkuk's wealth of resources is nearly 4 per cent of the world's known oil and gas reserves (Bilson, 2011).

Politically, Kirkuk's status as a disputed territory has implications for the stability and sovereignty of Iraq as a whole, as well as for the relationship between Iraq and the Kurdistan

Region. Strategically, Kirkuk's location at the crossroads of major trade routes and its proximity to the borders of Turkey and Iran make it an important hub for transportation and trade. Culturally, Kirkuk's diverse population and rich history make it an important centre for cultural exchange and heritage preservation.

Furthermore, the problem of Kirkuk has the potential to transform regional politics because of its quantity of oil. The fear of regional states derived from the fact that if Kirkuk is incorporated into the Kurdistan region, the Kurds can take advantage of the situation to declare their independence and establish an independent state due to having a rich area. In terms of history, since the country's creation, there has been always dispute and tension between Kurds and Iraqi governments over controlling Kirkuk. For instance, in 1970, the Kurds and Baath regime concluded the March Manifesto or 'Autonomy Accord. According to the agreement many of Kurdish rights were guaranteed such as autonomy. However, Kirkuk and its administrative boundaries were this agreement was the main reason for the failure of the agreement that both sides claimed ownership of the Kirkuk.

According to Sevim (2014: 12) argued that the importance of Kirkuk is because of having rich energy which became a critical location between the KRG and the central Baghdad government. Furthermore, strategic and cultural factors also made this city strategic. Kirkuk remains important in terms of pipelines connecting Iraq with other parts of the Middle East such as the Mediterranean and open sea in terms of geostrategies. Consequently, in the case of the establishment of a Kurdish state, it can be closely linked with the future status of Kirkuk and controlling its oil and a strong economic base can be built. Because of the threat to their national interests, neighbouring countries have always rejected the creation of a Kurdish state in the Middle East.

In terms of Culture, there are various linguistic and religious groups in Kirkuk. This segmentation and polarization made the city rich culturally. In this sense, Kirkuk can be taken as an example of coexistence and multi-cultural and linguist in Iraq. However, each of the Kirkuk nations claims ownership of the city which sometimes leads to tension among them and brings instability to the region. According to Bose (2007: 2) in the situation that all ethno-national groups claim dominance within a specific territory, political dispute, tensions and insanity will emerge. It can be said that along with its complexity, Kirkuk is a unique city in having rich geopolitics, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic

Security Language Dynamics in Kirkuk: Post-2003 Challenges

Since 2003, Kirkuk has grappled with a complex landscape of security issues. Situated in a region characterized by historical and ethnic diversity, the city has faced myriad challenges following the Iraq War, including evolving security dynamics and the intricate interplay of political, social, and economic factors that have shaped its landscape.

Historical tensions and power struggles among various ethnic and religious groups are viewed and these dynamics have influenced security concerns. Further, the role of external actors, in regional geopolitics is scrutinized along with the aftermath of regime change in contributing to the city's security challenges.

Ethnic and Sectarian Tensions:

Ethnic and sectarian tensions in Kirkuk, located in northern Iraq, represent a microcosm of the intricate dynamics within the broader Middle Eastern region. The city's historical tapestry is woven with the coexistence of Kurds, Arabs, and Turkmen, each with distinct identities. By Article 140 of the 2005 Iraqi Constitution, Kirkuk is designated as one of the 'disputed areas' between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and the Iraqi central government. The document specifies several requirements to determine Kirkuk's formal status, including a census, the reintegration of outlying districts into the Kirkuk governorate, and a referendum on the city's affiliation with either Baghdad or Erbil. However, the Iraqi Turkmen Front (ITF), which receives support from Turkey, vocally opposes the application of Article 140 and the incorporation of Kirkuk into the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) territory. The ITF characterizes the period between 2003 and 2017—when the Kurds co-ruled the city with the Iraqi central government—as 'insecure, unstable, and dark days' (Aydoğan, 2023).

In the contemporary context, Kirkuk grapples with a fragmented political landscape. Various factions exploit ethnic and sectarian differences as tools for consolidating power, contributing to a fractured society. Resource competition, especially in the oil-rich region, intensifies tensions as groups vie for control, creating a complex economic dimension to the existing challenges. Identity politics, deeply rooted in ethnic and sectarian affiliations, shapes public discourse and decision-making processes, perpetuating exclusionary practices and deepening divisions (Menmy: 2023).

When the Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) and other Iraqi troops regained control of the city in 2017, they drove out Kurdish forces and drastically reduced the number of Kurds in Kirkuk. This shift in events had a significant impact, leading to an escalation of ethnic and sectarian tensions in Kirkuk, profoundly affecting the city's security. It is imperative to

recognize the pivotal function performed by the Kurdish Peshmerga troops throughout this crucial time. To safeguard and stabilize Kirkuk, the Peshmerga intervened. Their steadfast dedication emphasizes the importance of including their rights in any settlement of the current disputes (Alaaldin,2023).

Addressing these challenges requires establishing inclusive governance structures that adequately represent all ethnic and sectarian groups is essential. A power-sharing model can incorporate diverse perspectives into decision-making processes, potentially alleviating tensions. Economic development initiatives that benefit all communities can serve as a unifying force, addressing resource disparities and fostering shared prosperity.

- Demographic Composition

Since the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, Kirkuk has undergone a dynamic shift in its demographic composition. Historically, the city has housed a diverse population, including Kurds, Arabs, and Turkmen, Americans, etc. However, in the post-2003 era, a series of events unfolded that significantly impacted the city's security and fostered interactions among these ethnic groups (Knights and Ali, 2010:5).

One of the key factors contributing to the demographic changes in Kirkuk is the return of displaced populations. The fall of Saddam Hussein's regime led to the repatriation of Kurds who had been forcibly displaced during the Arabization policies of the previous government. This return has had a substantial impact on the Kurdish population in Kirkuk, resulting in increased tensions between all ethnic groups over the formal language in the city. These tensions have, in turn, reflected on the political, economic, and social processes of the city (O'Driscoll, 2021:2232).

Moreover, the issue of identity and language plays a crucial role in the demographic composition of Kirkuk. The question of whether the city should align itself with the Kurdish region or the central government in Baghdad has led to complex loyalties and affiliations among the population. These allegiances often transcend ethnic lines, adding a layer of complexity to the demographic tapestry (Bruinessen, 2016:3).

- Language Demographics and Patterns of Language Use

The city of Kirkuk, situated at the crossroads of diverse ethnic and cultural communities, necessitates a comprehensive understanding of its language demographics and patterns of language use for the enhancement of social cohesion and effective governance. Achieving national security in Kirkuk City is contingent upon grasping the intricate dynamics of language

demographics and usage patterns. The convergence of diverse ethnicities and cultures in this urban centre underscores the significance of language as a pivotal element in facilitating effective communication, intelligence gathering, and community engagement. (Bartoloni, 2020:11).

Exploring Linguistic Diversity in Kirkuk

In Kirkuk, the linguistic landscape is rich and diverse, reflecting the cultural and ethnic tapestry of the city. The Kurdish language, spoken by a substantial portion of the population, holds a prominent position, intricately woven into the cultural identity of the Kurdish community. Concurrently, Arabic, as Iraq's national language, assumes a crucial role in formal and official settings, acting as a lingua franca that facilitates communication across various ethnic groups and administrative domains. This linguistic duality is further enriched by the contribution of the Turkmen population, who utilize the Turkmen language, a Turkic language, thereby augmenting the overall linguistic diversity of Kirkuk. In addition, English is widely used for communication by many businesses in Kirkuk, particularly those engaged in international trade or affiliated with multinational companies. Government officials and military personnel also utilize English, especially those involved in international relations or working with foreign organizations. Additionally, the presence of expatriates and international workers in Kirkuk, particularly within the oil industry and various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), further necessitates the use of English as a common language. Thus, as Wolff (2012) states that this widespread use of English facilitates effective communication and collaboration in these diverse sectors. In this dynamic linguistic environment, each language becomes a vital thread, contributing to the intricate mosaic that defines the city's cultural and communal identity.

Linguistic Distribution in Kirkuk

In the lively tapestry of Kirkuk, linguistic diversity serves as a defining element, intricately woven into the fabric of the city's cultural identity. Distinct neighbourhoods in Kirkuk exhibit a predominant usage of Kurdish, indicative of the concentrated Kurdish population within specific districts. This linguistic prevalence extends beyond residential areas, permeating cultural institutions, media outlets, and educational facilities in these locales. In the realm of governmental and administrative affairs, Arabic takes precedence as the primary language. Across government offices, official documents, and bureaucratic processes, Arabic is extensively utilized, ensuring a standardized and uniform mode of official communication.

Similarly, regions characterized by a notable Turkmen population witness a prevalence of the Turkmen language in daily interactions. Localities with a Turkmen majority may feature signage, educational institutions providing instruction in Turkmen, and media outlets broadcasting in this Turkic language, thereby reinforcing the linguistic diversity that defines Kirkuk's social landscape (Amina and Shibliyevb, 2021:527).

It is worth noting that since 2003, the use of English in Kirkuk has seen a notable increase due to several factors. The fall of Saddam Hussein's regime and the subsequent international involvement in Iraq brought an influx of foreign military, aid organizations, and multinational companies, particularly in the oil industry, to the region. This presence necessitated the use of English as a common language for communication and coordination between local professionals and international entities. Additionally, the restructuring of Iraq's education system emphasized English language learning as a means to better integrate into the global economy and access international academic resources. Consequently, proficiency in English has become a valuable skill for students, professionals, and government officials in Kirkuk, fostering opportunities for education, employment, and collaboration on a global scale.

Exploring Socio-cultural Implications in Kirkuk

The coexistence of Kurdish, Arabic, and Turkmen, Americans, English people, foreigners of different nationalities in Kirkuk provides a vivid illustration of the intricate interplay of languages within the daily fabric of life. According to Al-Jeboury Multilingualism, far from being solely a linguistic phenomenon, becomes a dynamic reflection of the harmonious blending of diverse cultural identities, contributing significantly to the unique social dynamics of the city. Each language in Kirkuk functions as a powerful vehicle for cultural expression, with literature, music, and oral traditions flourishing in English, Kurdish, Arabic, and Turkmen, etc.. These diverse cultural forms collectively contribute to the city's rich cultural tapestry, fostering a profound sense of belonging and shared identity among the respective linguistic communities. In this way, the linguistic diversity of Kirkuk becomes a source of cultural richness, reinforcing the vibrant and inclusive spirit that defines the city's social landscape(2010:3).

The Analysis of the Case of Kirkuk

The inquiry into the case of Kirkuk is loomed through the lens of the Language Ecology Theory by Haugen 1971, and the securitization theory within Copenhagen school by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde (1992).

There is no doubt that security is one of the most important concepts in the stage of International Relations since it is related to the safety of states and their citizens and their very survival. However, understanding the term security is not an easy matter, since the term has had many various meanings to different people in different places and at different times throughout history (Degaut, 2016).

The difficulty of the subject of security is reflected in the numerous frameworks developed by scholars and organizations to categorize security threats. For instance, Barry Buzan, a prominent security scholar, has identified five levels of security: military, economic, political, social, and environmental. This categorization underscores the multifaceted nature of security and highlights the varying dimensions that must be considered when addressing security concerns. On the other hand, the United Nations (UN) recognized six serious security threats in 2004: economic and social threats, widespread and deadly diseases, environmental pollution, internal conflicts within states, biological weapons, nuclear weapons, and terrorism. In addition to the above, Muiyawa Afolabi has acknowledged seven dimensions as threats to human security: economic, health, stability, environmental, social, and political security (Sadeq B, 2023. Pp. 26-27).

In this regard, this study refers to the securitization theory within Copenhagen school because the main argument of securitization theory is that security is an (illocutionary) speech act, that solely by uttering 'security' something is being done;' It is by labelling something a security issue that it becomes one'. By stating that, a particular referent object is threatened in its existence, a securitizing actor claims a right to extraordinary measures to ensure the referent object's survival. The issue is then moved out of the sphere of normal politics into the realm of emergency politics, where it can be dealt with swiftly and without the normal (democratic) rules and regulations of policy-making. For security, this means that it no longer has any given (pre-existing) meaning but that it can be anything a securitizing actor says it is. Security is a social and inter-subjective construction. That is the meaning of security (Wæver, 2004).

By applying the securitization theory to the concept of security, this study can examine how language policies, discrimination, and grievances contribute to the securitization of Kurdish identity and broader security dynamics in Kirkuk. Furthermore, the securitization theory's emphasis on societal sectors, discourses, and contexts enables a detailed examination of how multilingualism affects Kurdish communities' perceptions of security and insecurity in

Kirkuk City. This analysis offers insightful information for practitioners and policymakers grappling with these intricate security issues.

Additionally, the Language Ecology Theory by Haugen 1971, generally states, that the phenomena of human language are simultaneously a social, political, and individual reality (Bastardas-Boada., 2019). Because these intricate relationships are created within the context of the sociocultural and historical environment of any human group, consideration should be given to them when studying them.

Further, to integrate the macro- and micro-level of these streams, the researchers employed the Language Ecology Theory by the American linguist Einar Haugen. Most people consider Einar Haugen to be the originator of "language ecology" or "ecology of language." "[L]anguage ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment," he proposed in his seminal 1971 work. It focuses exclusively on language as a self-contained, static, and quasi-invariant system in terms of synchrony (Haugen, 1971 [1972, 325]).

In addition, Haugen provides a more detailed explanation of his concept; he claims that a language's actual environment is the civilization that employs it as one of its codes. That is, Language exists only in the minds of those who use it, and it serves only to connect those people to their social and natural surroundings as well as to one another. Clearly, Haugen also defined language as "the interaction of languages and their users" (1972, 329). He states that language "exists only in the minds of its users" and that "the psychological aspect of language ecology is its interaction with other languages in the minds of those who are bi- and multilingual" (Haugen, 1972, 325).

Eventually, the ecology of language has become a helpful conceptual framework because it integrates the macro- and micro-level streams of sociolinguistic inquiry required to completely understand the social mechanisms underlying multilingualism (e.g., Hornberger 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas 2002 cited in Hult, 2008).

Multilingualism and Kurdish National Security

Multilingualism in Kirkuk is a reflection of the city's rich and diverse cultural tapestry. The coexistence of various ethnic groups — Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, and Assyrians, Americans, etc. — has contributed to a linguistic landscape that is both dynamic and complex. The

linguistic situation in Kirkuk has been influenced by historical and political factors, and tensions have arisen over language issues. The city has been a focal point for discussions related to the status of different languages and ethnic groups, reflecting broader political dynamics in Iraq. The analysis of the case of Kirkuk is performed by the employment of the Language Ecology Theory, as delineated by Haugen 1971, as well as the securitization theory within the Copenhagen school formulated by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde in 1992.

Generally stated, the languages spoken in Kirkuk are the following:

1. Arabic: Arabic is the official language of Iraq, and it is widely spoken in Kirkuk. The Arab population in the city primarily communicates in Arabic, which is also used in government communication.
2. Kurdish: Kurdish is another significant language spoken in Kirkuk, particularly among the Kurdish population. The Kurdish language has different dialects, with Sorani and Kurmanji being the most prominent. Kurds use their language in daily communication, media, and cultural expression.
3. Turkmen: The Turkmen community in Kirkuk speaks Turkmen, a Turkic language. This community has a unique cultural and linguistic identity, and Turkmen are used in their daily interactions and cultural activities. Turkish influence remained strong until Arabic became the new official language in the 1930s and a degree of Turkmen– Turkish diglossia is still observable. (Sana Dhyaa ,2020:4)
4. Assyrian and Syriac: The Assyrian and Syriac communities in Kirkuk use the Assyrian and Syriac languages, which belong to the Neo-Aramaic language family. These languages are associated with the Assyrian Christian population and are used in religious and cultural contexts.
5. English: In Kirkuk, English serves as a prevalent medium of communication among various businesses, particularly those involved in international trade or associated with multinational corporations. Government officials and military personnel also employ English, especially those engaged in international relations or collaborating with foreign organizations. Furthermore, the significant presence of expatriates and international workers, particularly within the oil industry and various non-governmental organizations (NGOs), underscores the necessity of English as a common language. The widespread use of English in these contexts significantly enhances effective communication and collaboration across these diverse sectors.

It is viewed that the multilingual nature of Kirkuk is not without challenges. Tensions related to language have historical roots and are often intertwined with broader political issues. Multilingualism is not merely a linguistic phenomenon but also deeply tied to cultural and national identity. The languages spoken in Kirkuk are integral to the expression of the unique identities of each ethnic group.

As our world becomes increasingly interconnected, embracing and supporting linguistic diversity is essential for fostering Kurdish national security.

Regarding national security, national security is a multifaceted concept encompassing various dimensions, and the role of language cannot be understated in its importance. Multilingualism, the ability to communicate in multiple languages, plays a critical role in securing a nation by facilitating effective communication.

Multilingualism is indispensable in intelligence agencies tasked with monitoring and countering threats to national security. Language skills enable intelligence officers to analyze foreign communications, decipher coded messages, and understand local dialects critical for anticipating and preventing security threats (Benson, 2011). Regarding the Kirkuk situation, as claimed by Officer 3, effective communication in multiple languages enhances the ability to infiltrate and gather intelligence from diverse sources, providing a comprehensive understanding of potential threats.

Further, multilingualism leads to common understanding and cooperation between components of Kirkuk. This is because different nations of Kirkuk know the language of each other, therefore having dialogue and negotiation is the right way to solve their issues.

Moreover, diplomatic relations hinge on effective communication and multilingualism is an invaluable asset in international affairs. A diplomat proficient in the language of a foreign counterpart can establish rapport, build trust, and navigate cultural nuances (Katan, 2004). Notably, all three officers 1, 2, and 3 believe that the ability to engage in nuanced discussions without relying on interpreters can lead to more transparent and productive negotiations, fostering international cooperation and preventing misunderstandings that could escalate into security crises. It has been proved throughout history that following political transparency, dialogue and negotiation leads to more cooperation and coexistence and Kirkuk. All components of Kirkuk claim that they are the origin and the city belongs to them; therefore none of the nations could be ignored. Instead, working on the common points is the right way which can be achieved through negotiation and accepting each other.

Moreover, in military operations, language proficiency is crucial for ensuring the success of missions and minimizing the risk of miscommunication (Parker, 2017). Officer 2 states that multilingual soldiers can interact with local populations, gather intelligence, and engage in conflict resolution more effectively. Moreover, peacekeeping efforts benefit from language diversity, as troops can communicate with and earn the trust of the communities they serve, contributing to long-term stability. In terms of the military, there would be a common understanding among military operations and all together face threats to build peace and security in the city. Especially nature of Kirkuk, which is close to terrorist groups, requires cooperation among military corps.

In addition, the digital landscape presents new challenges to national security, with cyber threats becoming increasingly sophisticated. Multilingualism is essential in understanding and countering these threats, as many attacks originate from diverse linguistic and cultural contexts (Nakashima & Miller, 2013).

Officers 1, 2 and 3 stated that cybersecurity experts proficient in multiple languages can decipher malicious code, analyze communication patterns, and collaborate internationally to address global cyber threats.

It is worth noting that, in addition to practical applications in intelligence, diplomacy, and military operations, multilingualism enhances linguistic intelligence and cultural understanding within national security frameworks (Hulsen, 2018). Individuals, as uttered by Officer 3, with proficiency in multiple languages are better equipped to decipher coded messages, identify linguistic patterns indicative of threats, and assess the cultural context surrounding potential security issues. This linguistic and cultural understanding contributes to a more nuanced and informed approach to national security challenges.

Clearly, during crises and natural disasters, effective communication is vital for coordinating emergency responses and ensuring public safety (Setton et al., 2014). Multilingual emergency responders and crisis management teams, as stated by Officer 1, can communicate with diverse populations, providing timely information and assistance. This linguistic versatility is particularly crucial in multicultural society like Kirkuk where rapid and accurate communication can mitigate the impact of crises on national security.

Eventually, in an era of increased global migration, multilingualism is instrumental in managing immigration and securing national borders. Immigration officers, border patrol agents, and law enforcement personnel benefit from language skills that enable effective

communication with individuals from diverse linguistic backgrounds. This linguistic proficiency aids in vetting processes, intelligence gathering, and the identification of potential security risks at borders (Gildersleeve et al., 2016).

According to the Securitization theory, which focuses on securitization and how issues are constructed as security threats through speech acts, the case of Kirkuk involves analyzing how the concept of multilingualism is connected to Kurdish national security in Kirkuk City.

In the frame of the Copenhagen School, securitization refers to the process of framing an issue as a security concern that requires extraordinary measures. In this regard, "embracing and supporting linguistic diversity is essential for fostering Kurdish national security" highlights the idea that linguistic diversity is framed as integral to the security of the Kurdish population in Kirkuk.

Further, it emphasizes that tensions related to language in Kirkuk are deeply rooted in historical and political factors. By linking multilingualism to broader political issues and stating that it is "integral to the expression of the unique identities of each ethnic group," Furthermore, the above text extends the discussion to the role of multilingualism in different dimensions of national security. It focuses on the importance of language skills in intelligence and counterterrorism, diplomatic relations, military operations, cyber security, linguistic intelligence, and crisis management. This expansive view aligns with the Securitization's emphasis on the different security issues beyond traditional military threats.

Knowing English, for example, in Kirkuk, is crucial in the fight against terrorist attacks impacting Kurdish national security. Proficiency in English enables Kurdish security forces to effectively communicate and collaborate with international allies, including intelligence agencies and military forces, which often operate using English. This collaboration is essential for sharing vital information, strategies, and resources that can prevent and counteract terrorist activities. Additionally, English proficiency allows Kurdish security personnel to access a broader range of training programs, research, and technological advancements that are primarily available in English. This enhances their capacity to develop and implement sophisticated counter-terrorism measures. Ultimately, mastering English empowers the Kurdish forces in Kirkuk to strengthen their defense mechanisms and contribute to regional stability and security.

Generally, effective communication in multiple languages is important for addressing contemporary security challenges and issues, from cyber threats to global migration. This

aligns with the securitization notion that security issues can be constructed in different domains beyond traditional military concerns.

Thus, besides Securitization theory, the situation and nature of Kirkuk can also be understood through the Language Ecology Theory which was developed by Haugen 1971. This theory offers a thorough framework for comprehending the complex interactions that occur between language and society in a given geographic setting. Fundamentally, this theory asserts that language use is significantly impacted by the social context in which it is used. This context includes things like power relationships, social hierarchies, cultural standards, and historical legacies. According to Argenter and Wong, "the sociolinguistic ecology perspective conceptualizes language as a living organism that adapts and evolves within a complex ecosystem of social, political, and cultural forces" (p. 57).

Generally, the condition of multilingualism in Kirkuk can be comprehended within the broader context of social, cultural, and political dynamics shaping language use and identity formation. Kirkuk is a linguistically varied city with significant Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen, and other minority populations. Multilingualism in Kirkuk echoes the complex interplay between historical, social, and political factors, and it has several positive impacts on Kurdish national security.

Firstly, multilingualism promotes communication and understanding among different ethnic and linguistic groups in Kirkuk. By being experts in multiple languages spoken by various communities, Kurds can engage effectively with other groups, reducing misunderstandings and pressures. This facilitates social cohesion and cooperation, which are essential for preserving stability and security within the region.

Secondly, the three interviewed officers (1, 2, 3) claimed that multilingualism enhances intelligence gathering and security operations in Kirkuk. Kurdish security forces, equipped with language skills in Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen, and other languages spoken in the region, can effectively monitor border areas, collect information, and respond to security threats. The ability to communicate with different linguistic communities enables security personnel to build trust, gather valuable intelligence, and prevent potential security breaches.

Furthermore, multilingualism encourages cultural exchange and mutual respect, contributing to the creation of inclusive and cohesive societies in Kirkuk. By valuing and respecting linguistic diversity, Kurds can build positive relationships with other communities, fostering a sense of belonging and shared identity. This inclusive approach to language and

identity, as Officer 1 states, can lessen tensions and conflicts, strengthening Kurdish national security by promoting social harmony and stability.

To sum up, through the application of this theory, to the case of multilingualism in Kirkuk, it is viewed that there is a profound consideration of the complex linguistic dynamics which is at play in this region. Further, Kirkuk, a city in northern Iraq, represents a rich sociolinguistic background categorized by the coexistence of multiple languages, including Kurdish, Arabic, Turkmen, and Assyrian, among others. According to Haugen's theory, language use in such contexts is moulded by various socio-political and cultural factors. Thus, according to the Language Ecology Theory, multilingualism in Kirkuk plays a vibrant role in enhancing Kurdish national security by facilitating communication, intelligence gathering, and social cohesion among diverse linguistic communities. By recognizing and leveraging the linguistic diversity of the region, Kurds can build stronger relationships with other groups, foster mutual understanding, and promote peace and stability within Kirkuk and the broader Kurdistan region. Further, the application of the Securitization theory reveals that multilingualism is not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a securitized issue linked to the broader political and cultural dynamics of the region; it emphasizes its role in defining and securing Kurdish national identity and security in Kirkuk city.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, Kirkuk City serves as a living testament to Iraq's linguistic diversity, where Kurdish, Arabic, and Turkmen play pivotal roles in shaping the city's distinctive identity. An appreciation of the distribution and dynamics of these languages is indispensable for formulating inclusive policies, promoting effective communication, and fostering social harmony in this multicultural urban centre.

Further, multilingualism emerges as a cornerstone in safeguarding national security across various domains. The ability to communicate in multiple languages enhances intelligence gathering, strengthens diplomatic relations, improves military operations, and addresses emerging challenges in the digital era. As nations face increasingly complex and interconnected security threats, the cultivation of multilingual capabilities becomes imperative for effective defence strategies.

The ethnic and sectarian tensions, along with the demographic composition of Kirkuk post-2003, are deeply embedded in historical complexities, compounded by contemporary

challenges that impact the formal language of the city. This has led to a wall hanging woven with the threads of historical displacements, political struggles, and identity conflicts in Kirkuk.

Thus, beyond the cultural significance, these languages collectively contribute to enhancing the national security of the city, with their interplay serving as a cornerstone for comprehensive and responsive security measures. The recognition and embrace of linguistic diversity not only enrich the social fabric of Kirkuk but also fortify its resilience, laying the foundation for a united and secure community.

All in all, Multilingualism plays a vital role in enhancing Kurdish national security by fostering communication, understanding, and cooperation within diverse communities. With Kurdish-speaking populations, living in Kirkuk, proficiency in multiple languages enables Kurds to engage effectively with various ethnic and linguistic groups, reducing misunderstandings and tensions. Moreover, multilingualism enhances the Kurdish security apparatus by facilitating intelligence gathering, diplomacy, and international relations. By being proficient in multiple languages spoken in Kirkuk, Kurdish security forces can better monitor border areas, engage in cross-border cooperation, and respond to security threats effectively. Overall, multilingualism serves as a valuable talent in safeguarding Kurdish national security by promoting communication, understanding, and cooperation across diverse linguistic and cultural landscapes.

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فره‌زمانی به‌کارهاتوو له که‌رکوک و کاریگه‌ری له‌سه‌ر ئاسایشی نه‌ته‌وه‌یی کورد

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پوخته

که‌رکوک شارێکه که ده‌که‌وته ناوچه‌ی باکووری عێراق، میژووبه‌کی ئالۆزی جو‌راو‌جو‌ری ره‌گه‌زی و زمانه‌وانی هه‌یه. شارمه‌که شوینی نیشته‌جێی کورد و عه‌رب و نه‌مریکیه‌کان، خه‌له‌کی نینگلیز، بیانییه‌کان و تورکمانه‌کان و که هه‌ر گرووپێک زمان و که‌لتووری تایبه‌ت به‌ خۆیان هه‌یه. ئهم فره‌زمانیه‌ ره‌و‌لێکی گه‌رنگی گه‌راوه له‌ داینامه‌کی سیاسی و کۆمه‌لایه‌تی ناوچه‌که‌دا به‌تایبه‌تی له‌ ئاسایشی نه‌ته‌وه‌یی کورد.

ئهم لێکۆلینه‌وه‌یه میتۆدی جو‌رایه‌تی به‌کاره‌یناوه بۆ شیکردنه‌وه‌ی که‌یسی که‌رکوک ده‌رباره‌ی فره‌زمانی و ئاسایش له‌ ره‌گه‌زی به‌کاره‌ینانی بیردۆزی نیکۆلۆجی زمان له‌لایه‌ن هاوگن ۱۹۷۱ و بیردۆزی ئاسایش له‌ناو قوتابخانه‌ی کۆپه‌نگن له‌لایه‌ن باری بوزان و ئۆلی و هێفەر و جاپ دی وایلد ۱۹۹۲.

زمانی کوردی په‌که‌که له‌ زمانه‌ سه‌ره‌که‌یه‌کانی که‌رکوک که‌ قسه‌ی پێده‌که‌ریت و زمانی ره‌سه‌نی زۆرینه‌ی دانیشتوانی کوردی شارمه‌که‌یه. له‌گه‌ڵ ئه‌وه‌شدا، زمانی عه‌ربه‌ی له‌ که‌رکوک به‌ شێوه‌یه‌کی فراوان قسه‌ی پێده‌که‌ریت و زمانی سه‌ره‌کی دانیشتوانی عه‌ربه‌یه. تورکمانی له‌لایه‌ن تورکمانه‌وه‌ قسه‌ی پێ ده‌که‌رن، که که‌مه‌یه‌یه‌کی ناوچه‌که‌یه. هه‌روه‌ها له‌ که‌رکوک، نینگلیزی به‌ شێوه‌یه‌کی به‌رفراوان به‌کارده‌یت بۆ په‌یوه‌ندیکردن له‌ نێوان ئه‌و کۆمپانیایانه‌ی که به‌شدارن له‌ بازرگانی نێوده‌وه‌لتی و به‌ره‌پرسیانی حکومه‌ت و کارمه‌ندانی سه‌ربازی و کۆچه‌ران به‌تایبه‌تی له‌ناو پێشه‌سازی نه‌وت و ره‌یکه‌راوه‌ ناچه‌که‌یه‌کاندا. ئهم فره‌زمانیه‌ ده‌توانیت هه‌م ده‌رفه‌ت و هه‌م ئاسته‌نگ بۆ ئاسایشی نه‌ته‌وه‌یی کورد دروستبکات.

فره‌ زمانی له‌ که‌رکوک بووته‌ هۆی په‌ره‌پێدانی په‌یوه‌ندی و په‌که‌وه‌ریانی ئاستیه‌نه‌ له‌نێوان نه‌ته‌وه‌کاندا، به‌تایبه‌تی دوا‌ی ره‌ژیی سه‌دام حوسین، پشتیوانی له‌ دێدگای فیدرا‌لی حکومه‌تی کوردی کرد. له‌گه‌ڵ ئه‌وه‌شدا تیشک ده‌خاته‌ سه‌ر نینگه‌رانییه‌کانی ناو ناسیۆنالیسته‌ کورده‌کان که‌ ره‌نگه‌ به‌کاره‌ینانی زمانی عه‌ربه‌ی له‌لایه‌ن هه‌ندیک گرووپه‌وه‌ هه‌ره‌شه‌ له‌ په‌که‌رتوویی کورد بکات، ئه‌مه‌ش به‌هۆی هه‌وله‌ میژووبه‌یه‌کان بۆ سه‌ره‌که‌کردنی ناسنامه‌ و زمانی کوردی.

له‌ کۆتاییدا، ئه‌نجامه‌کانی ئهم لێکۆلینه‌وه‌یه ئه‌وه‌ نیشان ده‌ده‌ن که به‌کاره‌ینانی فره‌زمانی ره‌و‌لێکی گه‌رنگی هه‌یه له‌ به‌هێزکردنی ئاسایشی نه‌ته‌وه‌یی کورد له‌ ره‌گه‌زی به‌هێزکردنی کۆکردنه‌وه‌ی زانیاری هه‌والگری و به‌هێزکردنی په‌یوه‌ندییه‌ دیپلۆماسیه‌یه‌کان و باشت‌کردنی ئۆپه‌راسیۆنه‌ سه‌ربازییه‌کان و چاره‌سه‌رکردنی ئه‌و ئاسته‌نگانه‌ی له‌ سه‌رده‌می دیجیتا‌لدا سه‌ره‌له‌ده‌ده‌ن. به‌م شێوه‌یه ئهم فره‌زمانیه‌ ده‌توانیت ره‌و‌لێکی گه‌رنگی ببینیت له‌ بنیاتنانی ئاستی و سه‌قامگیری سیاسی له‌ شاری که‌رکوک.

وشه‌ سه‌ره‌که‌یه‌کان: که‌رکوک، فره‌زمانی، ئاسایشی نه‌ته‌وه‌یی کورد، دابه‌شبوونی زمان

التعددية اللغوية المستخدمة في كركوك وأثرها على الأمن القومي الكردي

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ملخص

تقع مدينة كركوك في شمال العراق، تتمتع بتاريخ معقد من التنوع العرقي واللغوي. تحتضن المدينة عددًا كبيرًا من الأكراد والعرب والأمريكيين والبريطانيين والأجانب من جنسيات أخرى والتركمان، ولكل مجموعة لغتها وتقاليد ثقافية خاصة بها. وقد لعب هذا التعدد اللغوي دورًا مهمًا في الديناميكيات السياسية والاجتماعية في المنطقة، ولا سيما في الأمن القومي الكردي. استوظفت هذه الدراسة منهجًا نوعيًا لدراسة حالة كركوك من حيث التعدد اللغوي والأمن وذلك باستخدام نظرية إيكولوجيا اللغة طورها هاوجين (١٩٧١) ونظرية الأمانة ضمن مدرسة كوبنهاغن من قبل باري بوزان، وأولي ويفر، وجاب دي وايلد ١٩٩٢.

إن اللغة الكردية هي إحدى اللغات الرئيسية المستخدمة في كركوك وهي اللغة الأم لسكان الأكراد في المدينة. ومع ذلك، فإن اللغة العربية تُستخدم على نطاق واسع في كركوك، وهي اللغة الأساسية لسكان العرب. ويتحدث السكان التركمان اللغة التركمانية، وهم الأقلية في المنطقة. إلى جانب اللغات المذكورة، تُستخدم اللغة الإنجليزية على نطاق واسع في كركوك للتواصل بين الشركات المنخرطة في التجارة الدولية، والمسؤولين الحكوميين، والعسكريين، والمغتربين، وخاصة في صناعة النفط والمنظمات غير الحكومية. هذا الاستخدام الواسع للغة الإنجليزية يعزز التواصل الفعال والتعاون عبر هذه القطاعات. يمكن لهذا التنوع اللغوي أن يحمل فرصًا وتحديات في الآن نفسه على الأمن القومي الكردي.

لقد ساهم التعدد اللغوي في كركوك في تعزيز التواصل والتعايش السلمي بين المكونات العرقية، وخاصة بعد سقوط نظام صدام حسين، مما دعم رؤية الحكومة الكردية لإقامة نظام فدرالي. ومع ذلك، يسلط الضوء أيضًا على مخاوف القوميين الأكراد من توظيف اللغة العربية من قبل بعض الجماعات قد يهدد وحدة الشعب الكردي، بسبب المحاولات التاريخية لقمع الهوية واللغة الكردية.

أخيرًا، تُظهر نتائج هذه الدراسة أن استخدام التعددية اللغوية يلعب دورًا مهمًا في تعزيز الأمن القومي الكردي من خلال تعزيز جمع المعلومات الاستخبارية، وتعزيز العلاقات الدبلوماسية، وتحسين العمليات العسكرية، ومواجهة التحديات الجديدة للعصر الرقمي. ومن زاوية أخرى، تلعب هذه المكونات دورًا مهمًا في بناء السلام والاستقرار السياسي في مدينة كركوك.

الكلمات المفتاحية: كركوك، التعددية اللغوية، الأمن القومي الكردي، التوزيع اللغوي