

التوقعات الناهضة للحركات الاحتجاجية

Rising Expectations For a protest movement

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الملخص

يهدف البحث إلى التعرف على التوقعات الناهضة. تكونت العينة من (١٦٦) ممن شاركوا في احتجاجات أكتوبر ٢٠١٩ بساحة التحرير في مدينة بغداد من كلا الجنسين. تراوحت أعمارهم بين (١٦-39) سنة بمتوسط (٢٦) سنة. صمم مقياس لهذا الغرض يلي جميع متطلبات القياس النفسي. تألف من (٢٠) فقرة، تقيس مفهوم التوقعات الناهضة لحركة الاحتجاج، وتم حساب الخصائص السيكمترية، ووصلت درجة الموثوقية لمعادلة ألفا (0.73). أظهرت نتائج البحث أن التوقعات المستقبلية الناهضة التي يحملها أفراد العينة إيجابية، كما بينت النتائج عدم وجود فرقاً ذي دلالة احصائية بين الذكور والاناث في التوقعات الناهضة، أي أن أفراد العينة ومن كلا الجنسين لا يختلفون بانفتاحهم نحو المستقبل لاعتقادهم بأنهم أمام مصير واحد مشترك.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التوقعات الناهضة، سلوك الاحتجاج، الحركات الاحتجاجية، الهوية الاجتماعية، الحرمان.

Abstract:

The research aims to know the rising expectations. The sample consisted of 166 who participated in the October 2019 protests in Tahrir Square in the city of Baghdad from both sides. Their ages ranged between (16-39) years, with an average cat age of one year. A scale designed for this purpose meets all requirements for psychometrics. It consists of 20 paragraphs, measures the concept of the rising expectations of the protest movement, the psychometric properties have been calculated, and the reliability degree of the alpha equation has reached (0.73). The results showed that the expected future expectations carried by the members of the sample are positive, and the results also showed the absence of a statistically significant difference between males and females in the emerging expectations, meaning that the sample members and both sexes do not differ by their openness towards the future because they believe that they are facing one common destiny.

Keywords: *rising expectations, protest action, protest movements, social identity, Deprivation.*

Introduction

Protecting all, from all forms of violence is a topical issue on both the national and international agendas, being developed and adopted by a set of international standards, policy documents, strategies, legislation and instruments that promote the protection against all forms of violence (Ali & Torkos, 2022). The protection of protesters must stem from those international conventions, and governments must provide an atmosphere for such protests.

The emergence of this new protest phenomenon was linked mainly to the youth who did not contemplate any previous ideologies other than their detailed experience of the era of political corruption and the disintegration of national identity and the increase in rates of deprivation and social oppression. It also investigated a profound jolt in the pillars of the political system, which is still confused between the denial of the deep political and social action of these protests, and the attempt to trample it through the means of intimidation and fabricating plot stories. At the same time, given the acute dialectical nature of the dynamics of this protest behavior, one can say in a reverse way that the sharp expression of the protesters about their collective national identity (we

want a homeland) is rather the rule that supports the injustice of deprivation (descending, taking my right), as the class interacts with patriotism in a dynamic manner driven by critical awareness and alienation The politician, the deterioration of perceived political legitimacy, loss of hope for the future, social heroism, and individual humiliation(Nadhmi, & Harith 2020).

Mansbridge 2001 reduces the psychological and ethical issue involved in protest behavior by inquiring: How do humans have the drive to give their lives up to one minute for the good of the groups they belong to? She adds that one of the answers includes saying that people do good for their group, but do good for themselves as well, but in return, another answer emerges that the principles and feelings that people carry towards their groups are what necessitates them to work for even in the absence of rewards, and may even reach It would cost them their lives (Mansbridge, 2001).

The behavior of the protest represents only one of the possibilities of reducing tension among those who are dissatisfied. In all cases, awareness of injustice is a necessary condition for protest to occur (Klandermans 1989). What drives the protesters is the opposing awareness, which may reach its maximum extent to see the dominant group (the corrupt political group) as the reason behind the injustices and reap the benefits from them. This awareness becomes the incubator of a group of ideas, beliefs and feelings that provide the individual with elements of cohesion, interpretation and unification with the members of his subordinate group, the moral condemnation of grievances and persuasion that the group has a common interest to end or reduce these grievances (Mansbridge, 2001).

The mass protest does not only raise awareness among its participants, but also those who sympathize with it. The suppression of the student protest movement in France in May 1968, for example, prompted many other social groups to protest against the government (Klandermans, 1997). To protest the perceived grievances, the Iraqi protest movements were launched since 2003, which were of a demanding nature and did not develop into a political vision. As for the Tishrin protest movement demanded the homeland, the main slogan chanted by the demonstrators is "We want a homeland." They expressed this by rejecting grievances and showing pride in their homeland, their collective identity, and their adherence to peaceful protest. Studies (Kawakami & Dion, 1993) found that stimulating social identity among individuals by confronting grievances makes them more attentive to the collective foundations of their deprivation, and the likelihood of their participation in collective activities to

confront those grievances increases (Kawakami & Dion ,1993), (Kawakami and Dion, 1995), The individuals 'sense of the low status of their groups and that they are deprived gives them the justification for participating in the protest, and this is what the McCawby 2002 study concluded from the existence of an interactive relationship between the variables of deprivation, identity, and protest of Palestinian university students in the occupied territories in 1948, as it was found that students engaged in protest political activities outperformed those who were inactive In the strength of their national identity and their awareness of collective relative deprivation (McCawby, 2002), the Park 1993 study concluded that the protest movement of left-wing South Korean students resulted from various factors, including historical social experiences that created social awareness and a common awareness of the reality of the student generation as well as the family upbringing and the effects of friends, teachers and the media (Park, 1993) in protest of the deteriorating economic conditions of the country and the spread of administrative corruption and unemployment. Protests erupted in October 2019 in Baghdad and the rest of the provinces in southern and central of Iraq, and the demands of the demonstrators reached the resignation of the government, the formation of an interim government, and early elections. The demonstrators also condemned the Iranian intervention in Iraq, and many of them burned the Iranian flag, and the Iranian consulates in Baghdad and Karbala were also burned and Najaf. On the other hand, the authoritarian repression forces faced these protests with great violence, and the death toll has reached more than 500 martyrs, among them are young people under the age of 20 years, and girls and elderly people older than 70 years. Thousands of protesters were injured (Wikipedia 2019).

The targeting of peaceful demonstrators is incompatible with human rights in expression. These crimes committed against the demonstrators do not take these collective crimes committed by the government and its repressive apparatuses and the parties and militias involved in the regime and supported by foreign countries in their place as a result of the manufacture of one man (Prime Minister) who himself works, There is no person with the ability to do these things by himself. Rather, the force, which includes the force to destroy and kill demonstrators, comes through controlling security systems in which a large number of people participate. Among these systems: political parties, militias supported by Iran, the police, the army, and repressive agencies such as the riot police, all of whom represent the instrument of repression, killing, and intimidation by the ruling authority and its corrupt symbols, which connects each of these units with a single stone force capable of implementing the following instructions From the top it is the complete obedience of all those

units in suppressing and killing the demonstrators, the obedience that links people to the regime of power and welds the work of these forces and units to the political purpose, This phenomenon can be attributed to the government's behavior in killing and repressing peaceful demonstrators. It can be confirmed that most of the murders committed by the Iraqi government during the October 2019 demonstrations were committed in the name of obedience, meaning blind obedience by the forces and security units charged with suppressing the demonstrations. The fragile structure of society threatens that all of these security units operate in the name of obedience and disobedience, even if authoritarian action is described as "evil" and according to what the security men consider, it is better to implement orders, preferring not to uproot the composition of the ruling authority, even if the actions they take are from killing, intimidating and kidnapping demonstrators. It is cruel and contrary to the human conscience. Perhaps the justification of those who do these actions see themselves as not responsible for the actions they do and that orders and obedience compel them to carry out these actions in a way that attributes everything to power, despite all this the protest movement continued as if it was a new start in political mobilization. The protesters have no stable structure, stable leadership, or membership requirements. They have no branches linked to central decision-making. This study is useful for us to shed light on a segment that managed to upset all the scales of the political system as well as their awareness and the way to evaluate them Juveniles and the extent of their abilities to move forward in their expectations of this movement. Consequently, the perception of the event gives great importance to the individual and the surrounding environment, as it affects the type of his beliefs and expectations to change the current and future conditions and doctors sans Frontiers work with teams made up of psychiatrists, specialists and psychologists, all these medical personnel had an important role in perpetuating the protest movement (Ali & Abdulhasan, 2020).

Definitions

In the current research, the emerging expectations are known: the group's level of desires increases as soon as there is an improvement in their living conditions such as the educational level, income and profession, or it is the expectations of the Iraqi individual about the quality of life that he believes is entitled to live from the provision of a fair social and economic system including health, education and education services and providing opportunities the work.

October protest movement: Protests erupted on October 1, 2019 in Baghdad and the rest of the southern provinces of Iraq to protest against the deteriorating economic conditions of the country and the spread of administrative corruption and unemployment. The demands of the demonstrators reached to topple the ruling regime, the resignation of the government, the formation of an interim government, and the holding of early elections (Wikipedia, the Iraqi protests). In the current research, the protest movement defines as a collective challenge presented by individuals of different ages who share common goals and collective identity and try to bring about a specific political change or resistance to a change in their society and interact with each other interactively and continuously by confronting the authorities or the influential elites or the corrupt ruling class.

Theoretical Background

Rising expectations: (Hornay ,1942) considered that positive or optimistic expectations are one of the six principles derived from its theory and the principle includes that the human being has the ability to change. Control so that the individual does not fall under the influence of feeling helpless. (Hornay ,1988). As for if, the evaluation of individuals to the sources and difficulties of life that lie on the shoulders of the individual to coexist with distress in his daily life and the resulting feeling of frustration and pessimism towards the future (Ali, Sheen & Farhan, 2020).

As for Yung's Analytical Theory (1875-1961): It sees that individuals continue to improve towards the future not only for the forward but for the upward and this is what he called the supreme investigation and this would make the individual coexist with the experiences of events and is expected to occur because the individual's view of the future and its psychological state is what determines His movements in achieving his self-existence (Sheltz, 1983). Yung distinguished the strong person by trying to develop, expand and change for the better, and this constitutes protecting people themselves from a threat that threatens them or raises their affairs in the social, economic and political aspects. So, according to Yung's view, what increases the individual's strength and makes him more able to change situations is by facing them through orientation towards the future, support, participation, cooperation, commitment and responsibility (Desuki 1969). And in the Expectancy theory (1980-1900) of Fromm, who was concerned with how human behavior originated and how it was directed, moved, sustained, and stopped, that is, That is, individuals increase their motivation and their level of performance increases when they

believe or find that the work they do is attractive and beneficial to them and others, which makes them feel that they are able to accomplish them and overcome their difficulties. Fromm stressed that awareness of the existing reality and the continuity of its progress helps to change the reality for the better (Fromm, 1989).

As for the theory of social identity, it is believed that the identities of individuals remain safe, as long as people realize that their conditions are unchangeable and that they are part of a fixed system of things. However, it faces the threat as soon as they start asking questions and doubts about these situations (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), and this means there are two factors that determine the type of attitudes and behaviours that can result from negative social identity, namely: Perceived Legitimacy of the existing social system. Perceived Stability of the Existing Social System (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These two factors represent the psychosocial version of what has come to be known today as the "Revolution of Rising Expectations". Whenever individual mobility is not possible or becomes unwanted, individuals resort to rejecting their negative situations more quickly if they realize that these conditions are "illegal". ", And" interchangeable "(unstable). Individuals who have difficulty leaving their group - psychologically or physically - may also resort to new assays that provide them with a better evaluation of their social identities by replacing the reference external group with another less prestigious group, especially if they perceive the "legitimacy" of existing conditions, their "stability", and impermeability of borders between their group and other groups. On the other hand, if the dominant groups (the government and the parties that control the regime) realize that their superiority is legitimate, it is likely that they will act in a highly hostile manner towards any attempt by the groups subject to changing the prevailing position between the groups (Brown, 2000) (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

The protest movement: historically, the concept of collective behavior has been associated with irrational collective violence or the behavior of raging crowds, whether in limited situations or during major political or social transformations. As for Miller and Dollard 1939 and their colleagues, they found that frustration leads to a kind of aggression that is being shifted towards relevant external groups, especially collective behaviors outside the prevailing social norms. Then a new trend emerged at the hands of Turner and Killian 1957 which are theories of "standards emerging within a completely different vision from previous ones that focused on the instinctive and pathological aspects of collective behavior, as it was viewed as a behavior governed by

standards like any other collective behavior. Individuals in the crowd do not have standards Clear to define their behavior and therefore they direct their attention to the behavior of the distinguished individuals in the crowd, they do not have clear criteria for determining their behavior and therefore they direct their attention to the chain of distinguished individuals in the crowd to draw from the standard, so pressure is generated within the group against non-compliance and the collective behavior emerges (Hogg and Vaughan 2002) Not because individuals lost their standards, but because new standards were created for individuals to share in that situation. In situations of confrontation between demonstrators and the police, for example, the criterion of self-defense may be generated to become a collective behavior by influencing the protesters of it (Houston et al. 1996). (Ceschwender, 1964) As for the theory of rising expectations, it is assumed that "when the group faces an improvement in the conditions of its life, it will also witness an increase in the level of its desires. Expectations rise faster than achievements? But they argue that the increased struggle of black Americans during the past decades is partly the result of the contradiction between expectations and accomplishments, However, when these expected gains have not realized that they felt blacks are deprived unjustly and then the tendency to struggle to improve their lives conditions (Abeles, 1976). Another theory that deals with group behavior is theories of "Group Consciousness Rising" that assume that individuals act in the interests of their groups as soon as they realize that their personal affair is related to the political affair. Some women's rights movements attracted women to join their ranks as soon as those women began to reinterpret their personal experiences, as they saw the discrimination practiced against them as not a function of their personal characteristics, but a function of being women only, and so the personal factor turned into a political factor with a historical background and vice versa, so we may feel the woman Mass relative deprivation as a result of her awareness of the discrimination experienced by women, but she does not feel the individual relative deprivation towards herself, which makes her reluctant to participate in collective protests as long as the matter is not related to her personally. But if the two deprivations come together, they will be more motivated to protest (Foster and Matheson 1995). As that today's complex, technology-driven world causes mental fatigue and associated loss of concentration and increased irritability. This may hinder the future expectations of the individual (Ali, 2020).

Procedures

The current research population consisted of young men and women involved in peaceful protests, a questionnaire answered by a sample of 166 protesters and both sexes, 90 males, 76 females aged 39-16 years with an average of 26 years, 62 of them fall within the 24-16 age group 34.37% and above and 52 fall within the age group 33-25 with a percentage of 32.31%. A scale has been prepared for this purpose that meets all the requirements of objective psychological measurement. It is composed of 20 paragraphs of the concept of rising expectations, and psychometric properties have been calculated for it, and its degree of reliability with the Alpha Crumpach equation reached 0.73 Table (1) illustrates this.

Table (1) : participants and procedure

Variables	N	%
Sample	166	
Gender		
Male	90	54.21
Female	76	45.78
Age		
16-24	62	37.34
25-33	52	31.32
> 34	52	31.32
Alpha Cronbach		0.73
		100

Table 2 below provides the results of the application of the Rising Expectations Scale, including values for central tendency scales, some scatter scales, and frequency distribution characteristics. These numerical data indicate that the sample has the property of representing the community in light of its distribution approaching the moderate distribution. Table (2) Results of applying the Rising of expectations scale to the sample.

Table (2) Results of applying the Rising of expectations scale

Statistics	
Mean	66.73
Std. Error of Mean	0.74
Median	66
Mode	69
Std. Deviation	9.58
Variance	91.83
Skewness	0.40
Std. Error of Skewness	0.18
Kurtosis	0.29
Std. Error of Kurtosis	0.37
Range	48
Minimum	46
Maximum	94

Results

After performing the statistical treatment of the research data by using SPSS the results, the arithmetic mean was 66.73 and the standard deviation was 9.58 on the scale of the rising expectations. The calculated T value was 9.05, the male mean was 67.08, the standard deviation was 9.33, the female average was 66.33, the standard deviation was 9.91, and the T value was 0.50. Table (3) illustrates this.

Table (3): Means, Standard deviations, T, F for the measured variable

Variables	M	SD	T	F
Rising Expectations	66.73	9.58	9.05	
Gender				
Male	67.08	9.33		
Female	66.33	9.91		0.50

Discussion

The results provided evidence indicating the positive expectations raised by the protesters demanding the improvement of their economic, health and educational conditions, and this can be seen from the youth protesters realizing their ability to make their future better, meaning that they are realizing their reality and generalizing their expectations on future events. Repression and corruption, therefore, their protest moves to change this reality. Class consciousness of the youth category has come to act as the social injustice incubating the national pride in search of a homeland on the one hand, and also emanating from the illusion of false religiosity and political Islamization on the other hand. The feelings of distress, tension and anger that they are underneath are rather the result of walking according to the beliefs and behaviors of the protest movements, so individuals are actively integrated in the movement in order to rid themselves of tensions and stand against the authority so that no deprivation occurs more than that which they suffer from, and this is what was indicated by the 1976 Abeles study in Both rising expectations and deprivation (i.e. an increase in the group's level of desires as soon as there is an improvement in their living conditions), mediates the relationship between social construction (such as educational level, income, occupation, and the militancy to achieve their rights (Abeles, 1976).

Positive rising expectations have prompted protest behavior to obtain gains, including the overthrow of the corrupt government in the short time since the protests began. The emerging expectations theory holds that the escalation of protests results in part from the contradiction between expectations and achievements, so that individuals have higher expectations for future social and economic gains. This result was consistent with the study (Ali, 2013), where Of the sample showed a positive belief and a sense of a high level of justice achieved in the future. The movement of the Iraqi street is getting more coherent because the rising expectations of the protesters towards the future cause them to continue to protest the moral results achieved by this movement, such as the cohesion of the members of the Iraqi society. Protest despite the use of violence and force felt by government forces. Cooperation between protesters not only raises and stimulates morale within them, but also creates high efficiency, doubles energy and ability, and strengthens determination and resistance. And that each of them has the ability to develop the preparations that society requires them and turn them into effective behavior It also happened in the development of young people for their protest behavior in the use of humor, irony and tactics and their participation in cultural activities such as painting on the walls. This finding is consistent with the conclusion of the 1993 Park study that the movement of protests among left Korean students

resulted from various factors, including shared historical social experiences that create social awareness and a common awareness of reality among the student generation, as well as the influences of friends and the media (Park 1993). Poverty, deprivation, unemployment, exclusion and enslavement rise to reproduce awareness of the idea of a comprehensive national identity as a social and saving power against the corruption of the satiated ruling class. Uniting members of the sample with a national social identity that transcends traditional sub-identities and achieves a share of feelings of pride and psychological security, amid the feelings of pride cracking that were spread by decades of tyranny, wars, poverty, occupation and political violence. The search of these youth deprived of this broad classification of self-led them to the "homeland" as the social identity shared by all the oppressed, with different degrees of their awareness or their sense of relative deprivation. The former eastern patriotism as a strategic strategy to protect their emotional security by facing the harmful results of their collective deprivation. It was also found that this bias resists the effects of relative deprivation on mental health over time and that it represents a compensatory reinforcement of the self (Schimet & Maes 2002).

The results also showed the absence of a statistically significant difference between males and females in the rising expectations, or the members of the sample about the fact that they do not differ by their openness towards the future, regardless of their gender, because they believe that they are facing one common fate and they can create their future with their will and their choice and exceed all that confuses their future expectations and the reason is due to This is because the rising expectations were based on cohesion and cooperation between both males and females in the perpetuation of the protest movement, as the strength enjoyed by the males and females in facing all the difficulties and crises that their protest movement went through was all dependent on the He looked upon themselves as a single group with the same goals, interests and positive expectations as to the success of their protest behavior and did not depend only on males or females only, but relied on them all as one group. Theories of "the rise of collective consciousness" see that individuals act in the interests of their groups as soon as they realize that their personal affair is related to political affairs. Some women's rights movements attracted women to join their ranks as soon as these women began to re-interpret their personal experiences, and so the personal factor turned into a political factor represented by the responsibility of the participation of women and girls in the protest movement, These women and girls are among the most important reasons for the success and integration of protest behavior. The appearance of the protest

depends on the individuals 'awareness (male and female) of the existence of injustice and their attribution of its causes, and on the rise in their collective effectiveness, i.e. their belief in the ability of their group to achieve their goals and expectations, and on their awareness of the legitimacy of their conditions and on the evidence and penalties that they expect to result from their protest behavior.

In contrast, high self-efficacy enhances personal achievement. The individual with a high level of self-efficacy is characterized by self-confidence and determination to reach the goal regardless of Facing obstacles and problems. When we expect efficiency. We have the necessary will increase the likelihood we do a certain behaviour, the more we believe the potential of increased Bamtlakena consensual behaviour in order to be able to solve the problem in the process, we were more than rush to convert these convictions also behaviour protest (Ali, Farhan & Al bahely, 2020).

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