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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN IRAQ AFTER 2003: CHARACTERISTICS, SOCIAL BASES AND SAMPLES

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ABSTRACT

Sociologists who studied social movements (e.g., Tilly, 2005) regard social movements a prominent sign of the vitality of societies and their endeavour to accept and enact social change. This study is an attempt to explore the important social bases of social movements that appeared in Iraq after 2003. These movements invested in the fundamental changes that happened in Iraqi society after 2003, because they found a space of freedom to work in public and demand the goals that the participants shared and supported. What must be mentioned here is the dominance of an idea among Iraqi scholars and sociologists that the social movements are the protest movements which demand reforms. Other movements are only social deviations from the norms, traditions and basic cultural principles of the society which may cause ideological changes as the case with the general social perception of democracy. To achieve the purpose of this study, the researchers utilised social survey to collect data from a representative sample of the target community. The results show that there are several bases on which the social movements were established and developed. These bases include the deficiency of social construction institutions, the absence of social justice, the ambitions of marginalised groups and the multiple group identities that emerged in Iraq after 2003.

INTRODUCTION

The process of classifying social movements in sociological research is subject to the variety of their shape and aims. Some social movements endeavor to make political, economic, cultural or religious changes. Those that aim to change a political regime or change those who manage the social life in a society have been classified as political movements. They also include movements that demand changes in laws and constitutions or the cancellation

of politicians' privileges, stand against the authority's oppression, or call for the abandonment of a political regime based on sectarian and regional division. The economic movements attempt to change the local economic system. The cultural ones seek to change conservative values supported by the stability pervasive in a society during a particular time, and to reproduce new values consistent with the development of civilization around the world. Cultural movements may also attempt to adopt their own values and beliefs that aim to change the bases of social construction in order to construct a new minor culture. Some movements can be classified into religious movements since they attempt to make a change in the belief system of individuals and groups. These are also called expressive movements. The movements that seek changes at the level of social life of individuals and groups are called social movements. The demands of these movements are not limited to the needs of groups, but they touch the reality of the social life of the whole society. They attempt to prove a new identity as they practice a social action to gain a social recognition of them.

Research problem

The frequency of emergence and the widespread of different social movements in Iraq after 2003 have received researchers' interest in sociology and social service field. Researchers attempt to identify the factors that may lead to the emergence of these social movements and their germane relationship with the nature of life in Iraqi conservative society. The Iraqi citizen is also interested in these social movements because they represent the benefits of certain social groups accused of following the Western model or the general interests of all members of the society, in addition to their significant role in influencing the political situation in the country. Although there are many studies that examined Iraqi social movements, most of these studies focus on protest movements and they neglect other forms of social movements. The study of these forms may require a specific scientific scrutiny based on recent theories and approaches in sociology applied in some developed societies.

This study is an attempt to study the social movements in Iraq after 2003 through examining their characteristics, classifications and the social bases that have led to their appearance. It also sheds light on samples of social movements that emerged after the political, social and economic changes in Iraqi society after the collapse of the political regime in 2003 through a scientific scrutiny of their characteristics, aims, conditions and classifications.

Significance

The significance of studying the bases of social movements in Iraq after 2003 can be attributed to two main aspects. The first is objective represented in the scientific interest in these movements in social sciences, as well as the social interest in them as they represent the benefits of a certain social group. The second is subjective related to the assumption that these movements represent the beginning of a new era of social awareness at the political and cultural levels. These movements also reveal patterns of solidarity among members of

social groups that endeavour to gain rights that social institutions have failed to provide for Iraqi society.

Aims

The aims of this study can be summarised in the following points:
1.   Identifying the social bases that contributed to the emergence of movements in Iraq after the beginning of the democratic era in 2003.
2.   Identifying the role of movements in activating group action among individuals in order to achieve the social and group benefits.
3.   exploring the important effects of movements related to social, political, economic, religious and cultural construction of Iraqi society.
4.   Identifying the factors that caused the emergence of Iraqi social movements after 2003, as well as their types according to some scientific classifications.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Bases

Social bases are the influential elements in a society that are directed to achieve its goals and provide its needs such as maintaining solidarity among its members, and protecting its heritage, values and cultural identity. These elements consist of social forces that constitute the social system and represent the needs of a society, the problems that the society endeavours to solve, and the goals that it wants to achieve (Tamam and Fowad, 2016). Thus, the social bases can be defined as the forces related to various materialistic and moral needs of a society that can influence the construction of solutions to its problems and the fulfillment of its goals.

Social Movements

Social movements refer to the way in which members of a social group organise their collective action and work together to achieve a predefined goal (Moore, 2010). In philosophy, the concept of 'social movements' is divided into norm movements and value movements (Zeyada, 1986). The norm movements are the ones that aim to activate or change a law or found a new standard that may sometimes attract support from authority. Value movements represent the collective action that aims to maintain, change or update certain values, in other words, to construct them in new forms. Marxian encyclopedia defines social movements as the independent movements characterised by awareness and formed to achieve specific goals away from personal benefits; the word 'movements' indicates that they are unstable, while the word 'social' indicates that they are informal and emanate from the society (Arafat, 2017). The social movement deals with a group of challenges that the society experiences, it faces the arrangement of authority and the distribution of wealth by people with shared interests, and it continuously solidarizes and interacts with elites, oppositionists and authorities (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). The social movement is a developed version of protests that were pervasive before the establishment of modern state and they are inseparable and have

dynamic relationship (Johnston, 2018). Many scholars and researchers who define the concept of social movements believe that it does not only mean social actions and protests that people may do for a certain matter, but it is also a special, linked, historical and developed formation of interaction and political practice (Tilly, 2005).

Principles for Establishing Social Movements

Tilly (2005) identifies the following principles that he claims as necessary for establishing a social movement and fulfilling its goals and demands.

1.   Campaign is an organized public effort to impose social demands on an authority.
2.   Repertoire is the possibility to establish coordination between political actions (e.g., establishing organizations; starting coalitions; holding public meetings; organising demonstrations, protests and massive protests; or distributing flyers and pamphlets).
3.   Public display is the work that the participants carry out to demonstrate the general characteristics of the social movement and form its minor identify. It depends on four elements: worthiness, unity, numbers and the commitment of the participants towards themselves and other participants.

Characteristics of Social Movements

The concept of social movements is used to refer to many meanings such as pathways and social constructions. Social movements may vary as they are formed for public goals, work to achieve these goals, and attempt to make the community participate in their actions. Thus, we can determine the beginning of a movement by the emergence of public action and social gathering. The social gathering is characterized by a rapidly formed ideological connection which is the most important condition to prove the existence of a social movement. The ideological connection is an important source for the emergence of new pressure groups in all social institutions such as political, economic, educational, religious and familial institutions (Khalil, 1984). This description also includes the public movement which is a general public organization aims to fulfill the goals of all or most members of a society; therefore, it is a collective action done by a group of people to face what causes their misery (Bedawi, 1989). In sociology, the social movements are defined as the collective action carried out by a group of people in order to achieve a change or a reform in the society, nevertheless they may differ according to the importance of their issues (Ghaith, 2005).

The concept of social movements was introduced earlier in Germany in mid nineteenth century by Lorenz von Stein in his work, *the social movement*, which was published in 1850. This work is dedicated to discussing the tenets and theories of some ideologies including the communist movements in France (or Communes). The problems in the political system, according to Touraine (as cited in Ferreol, 2011), contribute directly to the emergence of social movements in economically developed societies. Identity is also a central element in the emergence of movements (McDonald, 2017). Tilly

(2005), a well-known figure in the study of social movements, defines a social movement as a general organization formed by groups of people who have various goals that they want to achieve, and includes people from various social groups, e.g., students, women and workers, who may share a common ideology. It is an organized force, according to Tilly, that attempts to change anything that may disturb people's life and targets often politicians as they are the group that has caused people's sufferance. Social movements often sustain conflicts with organizations that stand against their goals, views and ambitions; therefore, these conflicts can be very dangerous, but the movements may win and become more organized and take an institutional form (Giddens, 2001).

Conditions for Social Movements

The existence of social movements is linked to several conditions. The following are the most important conditions as discussed by Sufian (2019):

1.   It is a collective phenomenon based on a group of beliefs and collective actions which are transformed by participants into a general visible and audible behaviour; therefore, it is a group behaviour rather than an individual one.
2.   It features an awareness of the social dimensions of its demands as it is not only based on the feeling of dissatisfaction but it is also able to make individuals and groups realize the issues that should be changed in all fields.
3.   The social movements initially support demands that people agree on such as reforming or changing laws and changing a specific system. Thus, they represent an attempt to change social reality not to make chaos and this is a central point in the process of social conflict.
4.   The movements' idea of change surpasses all other ideas despite of the existence of minor demands by certain groups; therefore, the demands are not firm.

Classification of Social Movements

The social movements are classified into many categories according to the approach of their scientific study and the criteria used for their classification. Sufian (2019) points out that social movements can be classified into the following categories based on the generality or specification of their work as well as the aims for which they were established.

•   General social movements that are characterized by their influence on people's values which can lead to a collective effort to make a cultural change that can achieve a certain social goal, such as labour movements, women movements, student movements, world peace movements, and anti-nuclear weapons movements.
•   Limited or directed social movements that are formed to achieve specific goals.
•   Expressive social movements that do not attempt to make any change in the political or economic system. They are the movements that target the

belief and religious system of its participants because they seek recognition and acceptance as the case with religious movements.

Aberle (1966, as cited in Alomer, 2010) proposes another classification of social movements that include the following categories:

• Transformational movements which aim to make a social transformation in the society, e.g., extremist religious movements and revolutionary movements. They are usually established in unsettled situations of oppression and subdual; therefore, they have long-term goals that they contend to achieve. These goals may become a rooted ideology that people endeavour to achieve in different ways including violence.

• Reformatory protest movements which represent all movements that aim to make reforms in current policies, such as obtaining woman rights and claiming justice for minorities.

• Liberation movements which adopt goals related to people's life in all the society. They aim to eliminate oppression especially that related to corruption pervasive in the society.

• Correction movements that aim to influence and change individual's behaviour, such as helping them quit smoking or stop consuming alcohol and drugs.

• Renaissance movements which demand the revival of the cultural heritage of the society through changing the value system and the institutional construction of old organizations and institutions to face the external modern changes from the world.

• Revolutionary movements which work in the opposite direction of the reformatory movements. They aim to make comprehensive and rooted change in all aspects of life and to adopt a comprehensive modern system. Examples of this category include French revolution, American revolution, Egyptian revolution and Iraqi October revolution.

Social Bases for Movements

Theorists adopting functional approach focus on structural circumstances in social systems that lead to the emergence of social movements. They deal with these circumstances as concepts in sociology such as structural tension, societal unbalance, the absence of cultural integration, etc. These circumstances represent a disconnect in cultural interaction; therefore, theorists are interested in any aspect that may maintain interaction between social groups in the society. They explain the emergence of movements as an attempt to resume interaction by gaining recognition of the value system that represents the movement's demands through which the movement starts, develops, changes and exists (Zygmunt, 1972). The social bases are the foundations on which the society is based. They influence the society and lead some people to move in groups in order to get what they want and reach cultural, social and economic development. Often, these influences consist of social forces of cultural heritage, values, needs, problems and goals which constitute the social system of the society (Temam and Fuwad, 2016).

Cultural Heritage

The importance of cultural heritage is attributed to its role as a message from the past and a way to future at the same time (Human Rights Council, 2016). It is also attributed, according to Human Rights Council, to its human dimension, especially it is linked to people and their identities. It is a source that makes identity identification and development of individuals and groups possible. People tend to pass their cultural heritage to next generations. The cultural heritage is not limited to tangible things such as monuments, but also includes intangible things such as norms, traditions, religion, language and style of speaking (Human Rights Council, 2016).

Social Values

Social values, according to Hofstede (2001), are a group of general beliefs that distinguish the right from the wrong and determine preference of things. In sociology, the values are the individual's willingness to establish social relations with others based on respect and reciprocal support. Thus, they are an element of social construction in any society. Values are closely linked to society just like two pages of the same sheet. If values are removed from any society, it will lose its humanity. In general, the values are regarded as a reference that controls individuals' behaviour in the society; therefore, they are important determiners of behaviour. They contribute directly to the construction of personality and knowledge (Aqla, 2009). In addition, the values represent a group of organized symbols of social interaction. Words such as honesty, sincerity and trueness form certain symbols and values and direct social behaviour. Mustafa (2011) categorizes values into three types. The first type includes symbols that all members of the society agree on and punish those who breach them. The second includes the values that result from a change in norms, traditions and customs. The third type represents the increase of social importance of values and their rootage in human ego and conscience.

Needs

Needs (biological, social, inherited or invented) create impetus towards innovation. Some of these needs are embedded in the urgent need for new values (determiners and monitors of social behaviour) that might be rejected by the society in order to protect traditions and heritage from Western influence. The excessive suppression of any change may restrain the social and individual potentials for innovation. This is what scholars call the death of society because life means growth and change, including the value system, which enhance individuals' feelings of their importance in building their countries (Alghalibi, 2013). For example, the failure in social construction of Iraqi society played an important role in the accumulation of failure of the value system in representing the social systems and new values such as democracy. In particular, it failed in the process of determining and controlling the collective and individual behaviour and then the social behaviour. A large portion of Iraqi society suffers poverty, deprivation and misery as the country lacks adequate educational and health services. This has

caused a lot of pressure on families (the most influential primary groups in individual behaviour) to cover the deficiency in these services. Other social issues include the absence of social justice in many important social issues such as employment which is based on favouritism, the financial and managerial corruption, unemployment, abstinent policies and the increase of taxes. All these issues had a negative impact on poor and middle-class people. The laws are still unable to produce formal values which activate social control and that has created class discrimination

Problems

Social problems result from the circumstances that influence people's life and make them feel dissatisfaction. These problems are difficult to be solved by individuals or groups; therefore, individuals work together to find suitable solutions (Alomer, 2010). Haimes (cited in Alomer, 2010) proposes four social problems related directly to the emergence of social movements:

A.   Social catastrophes that represent a stage of deficiency for social institutions that are unable to deal with the negative impact of problems that prevent them from doing their tasks. It is an institutional and union failure in finding suitable solutions as the case in Iraqi society. The collapse in the functions of social construction in Iraq caused by the invading troops has led to various negative phenomena such as sectarianism, crime, unemployment, drugs, etc. which contributed in the activation of various social movements at different levels.
B.   The pressure of social problems can cause general social anxiety for individuals and groups if these problems continue to grow. This can make people feel the lack of safety and hope, and uncertainty about the future. They may attempt to prove themselves and their ability to overcome the social problems and force the political institution to make reforms or commit violence against the social movements.
C.   The lack of public and individual satisfaction that result often from deficiency in making short-term solutions can increase public anger. People do not get their desires and develop anxiety that appears in their behaviour and kills any chance of innovation.
D.   The lack of collective work as a permitted alternative in the society and the multitude of movements and the differences in their aims and forms as well as the paucity of social achievements.

SAMPLES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN IRAQ AFTER 2003

Emo in Iraq (A Sample of Cultural Movements)

Cultural movement can be defined as an attempt to make changes in ideology and faith related to cultural aspects of social structure. Cultural movement is one of the modern schools specialised in art, literature and ideology. This type of movements includes many specializations such as art, philosophy, and science, and it may differ according to time and place. Culture is the connection between what people believe in (values and beliefs) and behaviours. It can influence individuals' behaviour; therefore, western

civilization attempts to establish media campaigns to target the cultural aspects in a certain society (Almudarsi, 2019).

Emo in English is derivative from the word 'Emotional' which means sentimental. It is defined as a term that refers to a young person who likes music, wears black clothes and is often sad and nervous (Cambridge dictionary, 2021). The idea to include this movement in social movements is based on the criteria for social movements (campaign, repertoire, and public display) proposed by Tilly (2005). Emo is youth movement often calling for personal freedom, using beauty to show feelings, listening to music and moving away from traditional orientation of the society. It appeared in Iraq in a form of separate groups that used social media for deployment in many Iraqi provinces, especially in Baghdad. They used some Western signs as symbols for their identity and made use of the absence of laws that ban joining them to grow and spread their ideas among youths who are most vulnerable to cultural change and this is why we call them cultural movements.

This movement has received many social reactions that were fearful of its impact on the young generation and the possibility of transforming it from minor culture to a general social culture if authorities do not treat it. It has been regarded as a problem and some people have exaggerated the fear of its cultural consequences on the traditional culture of Iraqi society. It has been regarded as a threat because it is exotic in the general cultural context.

THi-Qar is one of Iraqi provinces where Emo groups appeared. Many myths and stories have been exchanged in Thi-Qar about these groups which appeared mainly in the province centre. The appearance of Emo members, especially their hear cut and black clothes, are clear indicators of their belonging to emo groups in Thi-Qar. Also, they wear necklaces with pictures of members of the group, and they are having permanent or temporary tattoos on different parts of their bodies. They often make these signs visible in order to show their identity and belonging to the group. They often meet secretly at nighttime because of their fear of the community's reaction and their endeavor to protect themselves of murder-threats. The coffee shops that stay open late at night, the night clubs and the leisure places provide a suitable environment for them to practice their cultural activities. Most members of these groups are talented; therefore, they have succeeded in some activities such as music and casting movies on some websites and that helped them to establish a social basis for their group.

Those teenagers (the members of Emo groups) faced extermination and social isolation as they were viewed as a stigma. They faced killing in horrid ways such as shattering the head and throwing them the river after tightening a big stone to their legs. Also, many rumours were released against them such as worshipping the devil, worshipping the fire or vampires. These rumours were an effective weapon to exterminate these teenagers and stigmatise them. The security services participated in supporting the counter movement and forced the emo groups to transform into sleeping cells as they haven't given up their culture which costed them too much. The security reports indicate that the lifestyle of these teenagers is still ambiguous. The Emo movement provides a

clear example of cultural changes that movement members may experience through the discourse they use in gatherings and deploying music culture to start a conflict with the traditional culture (Alhiti, 2018).

October Movement 2019 (A Sample of Social Movements)

This movement started in October 2019 and it was different from previous movements in Iraq in terms of participants, slogans, timing and organization. It started at the beginning of winter and that indicates that its social bases are different from problems such as interruption of electricity supply. It produced new slogans such as "I want home" and "I want my right" (Alhmud, 2019). These demands started on the first of October 2019 and therefore it is now known as October movement. It started with simple demands represented in employment, social justice, and ending corruption. The stages or standards of social movements can be identified in the October movement and this may make this movement different from previous ones. The organization of the movement was based on efforts of ordinary people who had demands and wanted to impose them on the authority. This stage can be labelled as a campaign stage. The second stage included the actions of unions, student strikes, sit-ins, protests, demonstrations and media statements which occurred in the protest areas in different provinces. This stage can be identified as a repertoire stage. The third stage was the public display stage represented in producing various statements and slogans, and maintaining participation numbers, protest timing and unity between the participants against the authority. This stage also showed the protesters' endeavour to reject riots done by some participants or members of some political parties trying to deform the reputation of the movement.

Previous Studies

Alhiti (2018) conducted a study to examine the social movements that emerged in Iraq after 2003. Iraq has been ruled by many political parties after the collapse of the dictatorial regime in 2003. The new era has also witnessed negligence of public services because of the policies of successive governments formed by the political parties. The social movements that emerged in this era attempted to get citizens' rights back. Alhiti claims that the clash between the social movements and governments may lead to several legitimate questions, including:

•   Is the emergence of social movements part of external plan to destroy Iraq?
•   Have these movements emerged as a natural result of democratic development in Iraq, especially in ways for demanding people's rights?
The study has shown that the social and political conflicts that appeared in Iraq after the change of the political regime represent an important evolution in the history of the country and it is still difficult to understand and identify the nature and problems of this evolution.

Another study conducted by Alhalfi (2017) aims to examine the political role and bases of the social movements in Iraq. It attempts to examine the

characteristics, manifestations and goals of social movements and their role in social, political and economic reform by extirpating corruption, demanding public services and maintaining national identity. The results of the study show that the political, social and economic crises had led to the emergence of social movements in Iraq after 2003. The social movements played an important role in increasing awareness of the legitimacy and significance of their goals. The goals of Iraqi social movements focus on the needs related directly to people's life.

METHODOLOGY
This study has adopted a quantitative approach to achieve its purpose and examine the research phenomenon under investigation. The researchers used social survey method to collect the necessary data for the purpose of the study. This method is one of the reliable scientific research methods widely used in sociological research. It means collecting regular scientific data that reflects the needs and circumstances of the society in order to set certain programs that can contribute in social reform (Abdulbasit, 1971). The researchers used random sampling for recruiting participants from a known target community. After consulting experts in sociology and statistics, this type of sampling was found most suitable because it would help the researchers study a part of the community or a group of people and it would provide an adequate representation of the social and demographic characteristics of the target community.

The researchers used a questionnaire to collect the data from the participants. The questionnaire was in a paper form and consisted of questions that the participants were asked to answer. The questionnaire is usually based on questions that aim to identify the participants' opinions and it is usually delivered to the participants directly in face-to-face meetings or indirectly in the mail (Alomer, 2010). The researchers in the current study adopted two ways for contacting the participants. The first was a direct contact in which the researchers reached the participants in person and gave them the questionnaire. The second was an indirect contact in which the researchers asked several research assistants to deliver the questionnaire to the participants.

The questionnaire consists of two main parts: the primary data and the data related to the examined phenomenon. The second part focuses on a number of aspects (cultural heritage, social values, social problems and social needs). The survey was conducted in the following stages:

Preparation stage: in this stage the researchers coined the survey questions necessary for achieving the purpose of the study. They depended on the study hypotheses in deciding the questions. At the end of this stage, the questionnaire was sent to 16 experts in the field to judge its validity. The experts' responses showed that the validity of the questionnaire was at a high rate of 95.25%.

Finalising the questionnaire stage: in this stage, the final questions for both the primary data and the examined phenomenon were decided. The researchers

aimed to maintain the accuracy and objectivity in finalising the questions. At the end of this stage, the questionnaire was tested with a pilot group of 385 participants.

Distribution stage: the researchers started the fieldwork for distributing the questionnaire on the recruited participants from the target community in Thi-Qar province. A number of research assistants were asked to take part in this process.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Most Organised Movement in Iraq After 2003

October movement 2019 is more organised than previous movements in Iraq according to the responses of 226 participants (59% of the total number of participants). The data analysis also shows that 49% of the respondents who support October movement attribute the well-organisation of the movement to its participants' awareness of the necessity of organising their work to avoid the mistakes of previous movements. The participants in this movement had awareness of the necessity of avoiding the mistakes of previous movements which had caused the end of these movements and their failure in achieving their goals. This finding may contradict with the results of Alhashimi's (2019) study, which is the only study the researchers are aware of examining October movement. Alhashimi claims that October movement is spontaneous and not well-organised. He thinks that the movement is a spontaneous protest against the problematic situation in Iraq. However, the findings of this study are based on hypothetical perspectives rather than data collected in a fieldwork from a sample representing the target population.

The well-organisation of October movement can be attributed to the existence of management committees in all protest areas in Iraq, especially in Thi-Qar province. It can also be explained according to the resource mobilization theory as the management committees were organizing the collective actions in the protests and demonstrations, and on social media. They were trying to define the reasons for the collective action and its goals in order to gain people's sympathy and support and increase participation in the movement. They also organized timing of protests and other actions and fund raising to support the movement. Maintaining participation, gaining financial support, and organizing cultural, moral and informational activities have enhanced the organization and continuity of October movement.

The Deficiency of The Social Construction Institutions

The responses of 327 participants (85% of the total number of the participants) show that the deficiency of the social construction institutions played an important role in the emergence of social movements in Iraq after 2003. This result indicates a positive correlation between the deficiency of social construction institutions and the emergence of social movements after 2003. This result aligns with the findings of previous studies, namely Alhalfi (2017), Alhiti (2018) and Bujabut (2019). It can be explained in terms of the pervasive

belief that all social movements except the political ones are deviations from the customs, traditions, beliefs and social values; therefore, they are brutally oppressed. This belief is also supported by many sociologists who insist that the social movements are the protest movements only. The deprivation theory also supports these results as it claims that deprivation is an important trigger for social movements. The deprivation in Iraqi context is represented in the deficiency of social construction institutions and their inability to do their duties that aim to reduce deprivation in Iraqi society.

The Absence of Social Justice

The absence of social justice was a great motive for the emergence of social movements after 2003 according to 344 participants (89% of the total number of participants). This result shows that there is a positive correlation between the absence of justice and the emergence of social movements in Iraq after 2003. This result also aligns with the findings of previous studies, especially those by Alhiti (2018), Widyan (2020), Ahalfi (2017) and Alhashimi (2019). The absence of social justice has a negative impact of people's life and their living. Thus, people feel resentment when they see the unfair distribution of wealth by which certain groups of people receive more than others. This has led to deprivation and caused the need for a collective action.

The Ambitions of Some Marginalised Groups

The exclusion and marginalisation of important social groups played an important role in the emergence of social movements in Iraq after 2003 according to 313 participants (81% of all participants). This indicates a positive correlation between the growth of the ambitions of the marginalised groups and the emergence of social movements in Iraq after 2003. The social marginalisation is an important motive for the growth of dissatisfaction and the need for contention to make social change (Alhiti, 2018; Alhalfi, 2017). It also maintains the continuity of social movements (Alhiti, 2018). The deprivation at both the individual level and social level can explain the emergence and growth of social movements in Iraq after 2003. The laws that have been legislated after 2003 have boosted deprivation in Iraqi society. These laws have granted great benefits to certain groups such as Rafha group, political prisoners and politicians, while individuals who do not belong to these groups suffer poverty and lack of support from the government. This has stimulated a feeling of deprivation a mong the majority of Iraqi population. At the social level, most of the movements that were established in the western provinces of Iraq were triggered by social deprivation. Many people living in these provinces worked with the previous regime; therefore, they were liable to the laws of eradication, accountability and justice legislated in Iraq after 2003. Thus, they lost their jobs and privileges and that was why they formed movements to demand their rights.

Multiple Group Identities

The multitude of group identities at the expense of national identity also played a role in the emergence of social movements in Iraq after 2003

according to 291 participants (76%). There is a positive correlation between the group identities and the formation social movements in Iraq after 2003. This finding aligns with the findings from previous studies such as Rahi (2019) and Alhiti (2018). The sectarian conflict in Iraq after 2003 may explain the increase in group identifies which have led to the emergence of social movements. This phenomenon can also be explained in the light of social conflict theory.

CONCLUSION

The difficult social circumstances and the lack of justice in distributing national wealth and income were the prominent social factors that had led to the emergence of reformatory social movements in Iraqi society. The stagnation of social structure and its rejection of social changes had also an important role in the emergence of cultural and religious movements in Iraq. Furthermore, the social trends in Iraqi society were affected directly by the Arab spring. The nonviolence of protests and reformatory movements indicates an important development of Iraqi youth's awareness. The religious and cultural movements faced social consequences of a conspiracy theory that attempted to protect the social stagnation in Iraqi society. The use of unjustified excessive violence against all types of social movements was a clear evidence of the weakness of the democratic practice of the political and security authority in Iraq.

The social movement is a normal phenomenon that should be accepted by politicians who should acknowledge that the real authority is the authority of people. Politicians need to carry on their responsibilities in serving people and avoiding social and sectarian discrimination. In order to maintain the solidarity of the social structure of Iraqi society, the political regime needs to legislate some laws and take some actions. There is a need for activating the work of social construction institutions in order to close the gap in the cultural value system and prevent the emergence of bad behaviours that companied many social movements. The demands of the participants in social movements have to be taken into consideration and fulfilled if they align with the constitutional rights of protesters. The negotiation on these demands have to transparent and agreements should be announced to public and not be organised with a number of activists in closed rooms.

The emergence of many social movements in Iraq after 2003 still needs more scientific research from anthropological and sociological perspectives. The social and ideological bases on which these movements are established and developed need more scientific scrutiny. More studies using qualitative and quantitative research methods can highlight important aspects of these movements and the change in social structure of Iraqi society after 2003 that may have led to the need for the formation of social movements.

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