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## IRAQI WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE POPULAR MOVEMENT, A FIELD STUDY

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### ABSTRACT

The slow growing of political awareness of Iraqi women since long past, accumulated to burst (like a Vulcan) in October 2021. Women participated in the popular movement that took place in different regions of Iraq after 2003, and their participation in the 2015 demonstrations was the widest, but it remained limited, In terms of size, the proportion of women participating in the protests did not exceed 14%. 1 (this is a small part of who would go out and couldn't because of known situations). The participation of women in the Tishreen (October) movement acquired a new character and became one of the prominent signs in these protests, to the extent that this participation was considered an indication of a real revolution in Iraq. Women's participation was distinguished in its form, size, and the influential role of women in it. In terms of size, the proportion of women participating in the protests exceeded 45% 2 of the number of participants, according to some estimates, adding great momentum to the movement. This participation was not limited to specific age groups, as women of all ages interacted with the movement led by the youth, and the participation was not limited to women associated with unions, parties or civil organizations, but included housewives in their traditional folk clothes, female employees independent of any organization and University & schools students responded to the movement without being moved or organized by a political or non-political party. This paper is an attempt to analyze some aspects related to the participation of women in the protest movement launched on the 25th of October, to reveal the nature of the participating women and their demographic and ideological characteristics, and to determine their perspective on the reasons behind their engagement in the protest action and the way they view the importance of their role, and the role The family in shaping the choice of protest and

identifying the real motives for their decision to participate. This analysis considers women's experiences and perspectives to reveal their overlooked knowledge, and to broaden the field of view and angles of view of the protests by incorporating women's perspectives in them. The analysis followed a qualitative research method that focuses on understanding and delving into the phenomena rather than explaining them. It tries to provoke discussion about small details in which many may not find important data that can be built upon in understanding the protest movement. However, such details can provide answers to larger and more general questions, and they represent a necessary documentation of critical moments in Iraq's history that can be re-read. And starting from there, building; more important analytics in the future. This analysis was based on more than 25 interviews conducted with women participating in the protests in the city of Baghdad exclusively. And five discussion sessions with women's groups who were present in Tahrir Square (liberation Square) in advance, without the researcher's participation in feeding information to them. Most of the interviews were conducted from October 28 to November 2015, but they continued throughout the protests, according to the requirements of the analysis. Generational differences have been taken into account whenever the differences are clear between the generation of young women and the generation of mothers, but the analysis does not include or cover ethnic, sectarian, regional and class intersections.

## INTRODUCTION

### **Participants in the protests/describe their social backgrounds and intellectual references**

#### **Groups and Individuals**

Women were positioned within the protest space on an individual basis or in small groups basis that varied according to regional, age, regional and even professional affiliation. Some of them are linked to either leftist tides, or currents of political Islam (supporters of Al- SSader current), and some of them were formed from independents and are not linked to a biased, organizational or union party.

The popular women, housewives in the fifties and sixties (ages) of life, formed a small group, some of them linking friendship or neighborhood, and some of them joined the group after the protests. There are no specific roles or tasks for this group in the protest space, but their presence as a bloc, their chanting and the gathering of demonstrators around their chants gives continuity (to the revolution) which inflames the enthusiasm of the demonstrators, as they put it. Through their involvement in the movement, a new awareness was formed among uneducated women of the need for women to have a presence, presence and position in the protests calling for a change in the political system, which was expressed by one of them, "We are here to prove a position and to prove our existence."

Female employees in the public sector and school teachers played an important role in shaping the scene of protests in Iraq. Although working women were unable to respond to the continuous calls for strikes and civil disobedience,<sup>3</sup> because of what Dr. Faris Nazmi called their slavery to the salaries offered by the state in a racketeering framework, which contributed to the radicalization a culture of submissive politics for decades.<sup>4</sup> However, their participation was

clear through collecting donations to support the demonstrations, vigils and sit-ins in departments and institutions. After the official working hours, a large number of them went to the demonstration squares, and gathered in the form of groups carrying Iraqi flags.

Other groups were formed of popular women in their traditional clothes who had transcended the stage of youth, and all of them had politicized family references who owed allegiance to the Sadr Current. These groups participate in all the demonstrations that the movement calls for. However, it is difficult to say that a group of popular women who are housewives and low education constitute a feminist organization affiliated with the movement or represent part of its organizational structure, which this group absolutely denies. Sadr Current women participated in the first wave of the Tishreen protests, and then resumed their participation in the second wave, which started on October 25, 2019. Their conversations expressed a deep awareness of the political crisis that Iraq is going through, and the importance of demonstrating as the only way to get rid of injustice and the corruption of the political system, and the source of this awareness, according to them, is the teachings of Mr. Although, according to their opinion, their response to the movement is a result of their convictions in its goals, which they set by changing the political class, restoring the usurped national decision, and eliminating corruption. However, there is a difference in their perspective on the causes of the political crisis, adopting the current viewpoint and concepts. They consider that the battle of (the Mujahideen), that is, the demonstrators, seeks to liquidate Iraq from what they called the ominous triad of England, America and Israel.

Despite the role of this category of participants in shaping the scene of the popular movement, their contribution remained governed by their ideological loyalty and employed to serve it, and the group clearly expressed that they are under the command of (the leader) and dedicate their efforts to serving the interests of the current.

"If the leader says, 'Go out', we will go out, and if they say no, we will not go out."

In the scene there is also a gathering of civilian women over the age of forty, most of the Communist Party and the Iraqi Women's League, and a gathering of civilian women that was formed after the 2015 protests. As for the younger group who belong to these organizations, they joined a youth gathering from the left.

The women of this category offers logistic support for the protesters, through changing the supporters donations into living materials (foods, medics, ) as required in the tents of protesters, the organizing women was limited to the communist party women and the Iraqi Women's League, in addition to some women from The Iraqi women Net, which does not represent important Number of women in all Iraq.

University and Institute female students, who made up the largest percentage of women's participation, responded to the calls led by the students, which

considered the students' strike and their participation in the demonstrations would be a decisive factor in achieving the goals. Many of them separated from their student groups and joined other groups inside the sit-in yards within medical detachments or cleaning and logistical support teams.

Among the groups of women that were positioned under the Liberation Monument and in the National Park, there are individual women carrying donation bags or Iraqi flags, who went on their own and without company to participate in the protests.

These women's blocs did not merge and did not form a single front, and each group remained working alone and resisting its integration into a larger women's alliance and rejecting the participation of supporters of the Sadr Current who, along with civil women (communists, members of the Women's League, and feminist activists), form a women's bloc who has participated together in the protests since 2011 despite the differences in Ideology among them, refuses to have a front. The popular movement in Baghdad did not witness the building of alliances for women's organizations despite the importance of uniting all participating parties to crystallize a feminist movement and raise feminist demands, and young activists did not engage with women's organizations.

It is difficult to be certain that the feminist momentum witnessed by the protest squares in the capital was the result of the educational awareness campaigns that were initiated automatically by the women's associations and formations of various Titles<sup>5</sup>. There are no clear indicators that reflect the ability of women's organizations that were formed in Iraq after 2003 in the field of mobilization and organization and in providing human frameworks, and mobilizing women of all segments to engage in their activities and ranks. On the other hand, the interviews conducted with the women participating in the protest squares in Baghdad confirmed that the women rushed on their own and took the decision to protest without the presence of an organization that organized them or inviting them to get involved.

### **\*\* Family participation and the role of the family in shaping the choice of protest<sup>6</sup>**

It can be said that most of the participants in the October movement are part of a network of family relations involved in the protest action, and most of them are wives, mothers, or sisters of demonstrators present in the protest squares. And that the participation of family members and men gave a strong impetus to make them supportive and supportive of the family nature of women's participation, which comes in support of the narratives that require the woman to stand next to her brother, husband and father for the sake of the homeland, but it also may indicate that the protesting behavior of women is subject to the decisions of the males surrounding her and expresses her identification and adoption of their values and their ideological and categorical orientations, In the sense that their protest behavior is subject to male domination.

The participants in this study deny that the decision to engage in the protest action is governed by the presence of their children in the protest arenas or influenced by their participation. For men and confirm that they went out for rescuing the homeland.

"We have been participating in the demonstrations for five years, and we do not go out for the sake of our children, but for the sake of the homeland. The love of the homeland is part of faith, as the martyr al-Sadr says." Women from the Sadr Movement'.

Umm Sarah, one of the participants in the study, denies that the involvement of children in the protests played a role in pushing women to participate in the popular movement, but she goes back and acknowledges that the presence of her three children in the protest square had an impact, at a rate set by 60%, in pushing her to participate.

"My son told me that the demonstrations will succeed this time and will lead to a change in the situation in Iraq. The mother's voice inside me was preventing him from participating and trying to dissuade him from his decision to engage for fear of him, but in the end he convinced me."

The interviews revealed that women are not always motivated in their decision to protest against the males of the family, but it is possible that the mother in particular may be the instigator of the protest.

One of the women of the Sadrist current said, confirming her denial that her participation was affected by the participation of her children, "I am the one who invites them to go out to demonstrate, and I am the one who incites them to participate."

\*\*\* The relationship between family participation and women's decision to protest does not always go in one direction, meaning that the involvement of women does not necessarily mean that the family's presence in the protests is followed by the presence of women.

It is clear that among the interviewed, they contributed significantly to shaping the protest option for many participants in the popular movement. And through its role as responsible for social upbringing, developing the culture of protest among its members, male or female, And by encouraging and welcoming the men of the family, which facilitated the woman and enabled her to overcome one of the most important obstacles that stood in the way of her participation in public affairs, which is the power to prevent and restrict the movement of women.

The familial nature of the demonstrations added a new variable with regard to women's participation. The presence of family members in the protest squares has freed women from their traditional obligations of cooking, cleaning and managing household affairs, which consume them psychologically, physically and mentally, giving them, perhaps, for the first time, a space of time to participate in public affairs.

All of these reasons do not contradict the reality of women's awareness of the importance of change and its requirements. Women participated in the protests because they were convinced of the goals and demands of the youth-led movement. It is difficult to judge or distinguish whether women, at the start of the November strong wind, adopted and identified with male values in the ideological and factional family,

However, it is certain, and through reading the data of the events on the ground, that there are individual transformations that accompanied the involvement in the protest behavior of women and contributed to their awareness of the new representations. With their values, she took an independent approach, sometimes in conflict with her children and husband. This conclusion can be reinforced by the following example:

The well-dressed engineer, In the assistant teacher, Nada Kadhim, in the Najaf Competencies Authority, did not withdraw from the sit-in when the leader of the Sadr movement, Muqtada al-Sadr, decided to withdraw his supporters on 1-2-2020, although her son, who has participated in the squares since 1-10, is a supporter of this movement. She appeared in an interview published on social media, crying her deceived son, as she said, for his contribution to raising the sit-in tents, and regretted that her son had been involved in weakening and failing the revolution.

### **The Participation of Women "from their point view of women".**

#### **Causes and Importance:**

In one aspect, the feminist momentum expresses the woman's need to put an end to the policies that have humiliated and subjugated her and weakened her ability to protect her security and the security of her family, she the 1st beneficiary in changing the political and social system to more Just System. Over a period of decades starting from the first Gulf War in the eighties of the last century, and the subsequent economic sanctions in the nineties of the last century, with all its psychological, economic and social repercussions on women as they are the main responsible for managing and managing family affairs, followed by the civil war and the loss of loved ones because of their sectarian identity after the year 2003 .

These events prompted women to search for any opportunity that could make a change in this reality and reduce the suffering resulting from it, the same reasons that explain the wide turnout at the election boxes since the first elections that took place in 2005, as the desire was to end the dire conditions in terms of deteriorating conditions regarding corrupt quality of Services, and the lack of security is the main motive for pushing women to the polling stations, according to the interviews conducted with female voters7.

Thus, from their point of view, women's exit to the demonstration arenas is a form of resistance and rejection of the structural violence that women have suffered as a result of wars, economic sanctions, sectarian fighting, and the

corruption that permeates all aspects of life. However, despite the fact that women are the first victims and stakeholders in change, until their contribution to the protests in Iraq since 2010 was limited, what happened and the effects of resistance in all its forms on women. What distinguished the October protests and explains their involvement in them?

The reasons given by women to explain their lack of involvement in the previous protests that Iraq witnessed since 2010, lead them to conclude an important but not decisive factor behind their participation in the current movement, which is the certainty of change.

### **The probability of change, a Set of Indicators.**

One of the first of these indicators is what the youth showed of heroism, ability to resist, and determination to continue. The enthusiasm and persistence of youth in these protests gave women the impression of the seriousness and verifiability of the movement's goals, and the possibility of it leading to regime change. A video of a young man holding the Iraqi flag and heading to the riot police, not interested in the gunfire and shells that are heading towards him. Another is selling his taxi as his only source of work so that he can set up a tent to ensure that the protesters' needs of food and bedding are met, which are necessary to sustain the protests.

Another indicator on which women believe in the seriousness of this movement and its ability to bring about the required change, is the series of resignations announced by prominent politicians in the government and parliament as a result of popular pressure, which were victories that gave momentum and strength to any revolutionary action.

The third indicator is the nature of the general goals called for by the protesters, which stem from the radical change of the foundations on which the political system is based, namely, amending the constitution, a new electoral law, early elections, holding the corrupt political class accountable, and other non-requested goals that presented new perceptions that push for a complete review of the system; Politics and everything related to it.

Umm Ali, who was over sixty years old in her traditional dress, her husband and son died for reasons she did not mention, so she went to live in Turkey, and upon hearing about the outbreak of demonstrations in October, she returned to Iraq to participate in the demonstrations.

Umm Ali says

"I left Iraq because of this corrupt class and I promised to participate in getting them out of the political process, and from Iraq we will not back down and we will work to make these demonstrations a success and reach the goal."

The fourth indicator: It was not limited to a partisan group, a social segment, or a specific geographic area, but all civil society groups participated in it and in several governorates of Iraq. This broad and public participation gave hope for the success of these demonstrations and their ability to make the required

change, which prompted women to participate in them, believing that their participation would constitute an important support for the steadfastness of the demonstrators and give a necessary push to the demonstrations.

The other and important indicator through which the participants in the study explained the reasons for their involvement in the October protests, is what I call (the spontaneity of the demonstrations). The protests were not provoked or called by political parties. In the sense that it was launched spontaneously and did not invite any party or party or current, and that it is closer to what is known as social movements, led by unorganized and non-ideological groups that do not belong to a political current or party, and they suddenly agreed to express their anger without leadership, organization or coordination. And its weak point at the same time.

The presence of leadership for women means, from their point of view, that it will not lead to the realization of the demands for which they came out.

One of the civil activists, known for her participation in the protests:

"The previous demonstrations were led by blocs and personalities with known tendencies and did not lead to tangible results and they did not find a solution to Iraq's problems, but now there are good indications looming on the horizon." One of the interesting points of view begins in its analysis of the reasons for women's participation (from the guilt complex), as women, especially from the older generation (mothers), recognize their responsibility to choose this political class and vote on the constitution, when they participated in the elections and voted for blocs that worked to take into account their interests at the expense of the interests of The people, and their participation in the protests, is motivated by the desire to correct and remedy the mistake they made in electing this corrupt class.

"Our children paid the price for a mistake we parents made when we voted for the constitution and elected this political class. I don't want my children to pay the price for our mistakes."

### **The importance of women's participation from the point of view of women**

Women realize the importance of their participation in these protests, and the role this participation plays in supporting the demonstrators and giving them the ability to withstand and sustain and thus ensure the continuation of the momentum of the demonstrations. This importance comes from "from the point of view of women" from the ability that women's presence in the arenas of confrontation possesses to strengthen the resolve of the demonstrators on the one hand and to motivate those males who did not participate and push them to engage in the protest action.

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These perceptions are based on the popular heritage and the role of women in wars within the tribal culture. The Arab tribes that inhabited southern Iraq used to support their fighters by sending women with them to strengthen their resolve if they wanted to achieve victories. In this context, researcher Saadoun Mohsen Dhamad refers to the warring tribes' keenness to accompany the armies with a beautiful girl from the people and the dearest daughter of the tribe (the Sheikh's daughter) to carry out the function of inciting the warriors to fight, and the presence of this woman from his point of view exerts pressure that men cannot resist even when they face death, as she is mentioned Those who are defeated and those who are ignorant need to return to the fight to support their comrades and so that their women are not humiliated at the hands of the enemies. Often the presence of women leads to the victory of the defeated because of their desperation. The tribal man is not ready to face the contempt of the women of the tribe with the presence of a witness (which is the woman) who conveys to the women's forums who is the hero in battles and who is he slackened.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the importance of the role that women played in the protest space by providing logistical support, such as cooking, cleaning and treating the injured, the importance of women's participation from the point of view of women is concentrated in the moral support provided by their presence, and presence in the protest space,<sup>9</sup> and such an understanding was more evident among the popular women Those who are over the age of forty and who represent the folklore that is still active in their subconscious, which affirms that "the greatest reward for a warrior is for women to receive him with joy and admiration for his victories."<sup>10</sup>

Women supporters of the Sadr movement believe that what gives women's participation more importance is that jihad was not imposed on women. Therefore, her going out in a matter that she is not obligated to, and her voluntarily engaging in the protest action has a profound effect in strengthening the resolve of men and mobilizing them and pushing their endeavors up.<sup>11</sup>

As for the young women who have had a higher level of education than the generation of mothers, their answers and views reflect the idea of equality and the importance of women having an active role in the process of change. Such participation does not reflect a state of gender equality, but rather it can give the impression that all groups and segments of society participate in shaping a landscape. Demonstrations and building a path of transformation, and such broad participation can achieve change.

"Everyone must unite and share our participation together in achieving change" The women in the women organizations adds a feminine dimension, and their views express the necessity that the scene of female demonstrators should not be masculine, and that the protest squares should not be limited to men. Enas, who works in the Tammuz organization, says:

"Protest arenas should not be limited to males. Women should be a key partner and have a role in the protest behavior in Iraq and be a tool for change."

The motives that triggered the decision to participate:

The October protests had special features in which women found encouraging factors for their involvement in the protest action, but they do not reflect the real motive that launched their decision to participate and do not explain their strong momentum in these protests. There is a motive shared by all participating women, with all their generational, cultural, ideological and even regional differences, directing their behavior towards participation and giving it the impetus and impetus, which is to protect the demonstrators and preserve the peacefulness of the demonstrations. It started 1/10, which resulted in 151 deaths and 5,494 wounded.

The moment of killing the demonstrators represented a watershed moment in the path of the transition to the protest action among women, as the relationship of women with death represents the opposite. At the time when women create life, death comes to rob them of it, and dealing with death takes on a broader (deeper) dimension within the framework of Iraqi culture. "The area of safety that women lose by death their loved ones, are many times greater than what a man loses for the same reason. Therefore, women lead the rites of grief and practice it in a deep way. They are the only ones who are able to express the enormity of the losses that death causes and what it does with the gift of life that comes out of her.<sup>12</sup>

The answers of all the women who were interviewed, of all categories, agreed that those who fell at the hands of the security forces in the October uprising were the main reason that guided their decision to participate in the demonstrations.

The fierce repression that confronted the demonstrations in the first wave and the large numbers of dead and the methods of targeting them confirmed the young women working in civil society organizations NGO and reinforced their convictions of the state's incursion in human rights violations

Enas, who works in the Tammuz Organization, says, "These scenes made me sad and hurt a lot, the fall of the demonstrators and their death without any sin they committed. These scenes assured me that the martyrs and people's lives have no value to the government, which kills them in cold blood."

The women's statements varied in describing their decision to participate, and their perspectives and expressions varied to describe the importance of the value of the demonstrators' lives, which they realize more than others because they are the ones who create this life.

Some opinions were launched from considering women in particular the primary stakeholder in the field of preventing violence that may affect their children participating in the protests.

While other participants considered the decision of their participation to put an end to the state of helplessness they felt the moment the demonstrators fell in the first wave.

Nourhan, a university student who knows nothing about protest behavior, says, describing the reasons for her participation, "The people who died on 10/1/2019, we couldn't see our brothers die with smoke bombs stuck in their heads, so we decided to get out."

Others considered their decision to participate as a form of revenge for those who fell at the hands of the repressive forces

Rights activist Vian Sheikh Ali, who has lost her enthusiasm participate in the popular movement since 2015 to, says:

"What prompted me to return to the demonstration was the repression and killing of the demonstrators on 1/10/2019, so I went to the protest squares to hold accountable, those responsible for killing the demonstrators and to take revenge in the legal sense of those who killed them. Today between us and the government is not demands, but the blood of the martyrs."

While Ru'a of the 30-year-old demonstrator (communist party) describe the decision to engage in the protests as equitable participation with the youth in facing the same fate, and that killing should not remain limited to males only.

Fear for the lives of young people and the attempt to protect them as the motive that launched the women's decision in the protests, was included in the slogans that women carried and in all the means of expression they adopted. Which shows the extent of sympathy with the death of young people and, an attempt to stop or reduce it by engaging in the act of protest. It also confirms the woman's

yearning for peace and her opposition to violence and killing because she is the most capable of appreciating the value of life that came out of her womb.

One of the demonstrators described her participation in a reportage published by one of the newspapers, "We stand as a shield for revolutionaries, for truth, for peace and for humanity."

One of the participants photo published by the Vice website shows a young girl holding a sign that reads: "I came fort the blood of our sons. The country wants the blood of its children. It is enough that you do not kill our children. We want a homeland without blood.

Another banner carried by a university professor participating in a women's march in Tahrir Square calls on women to go out with their children and go out on their behalf and to ransom them with her spirit.

There is a belief that prevails among women that their presence among the demonstrators will inevitably ensure the peacefulness of the demonstrations and prevent the demonstrators from being killed. Women built their perceptions about women's ability to protect demonstrators and maintain peaceful demonstrations based on two sources. The first is the protection system provided by traditional (tribal) culture for women, which prevents men from targeting the weak (including women) and motivates them to call for his support, and the second source is women's experiences in protecting males The family during the sectarian violence that Iraq witnessed from 2005 to 2007, when the woman took over all the tasks that required leaving the house on behalf of the man in order to avoid killing on the basis of identity.

A group of female employees of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs said, "We went out to the protest squares to prevent the killing of men, and women previously played this role during the sectarian violence in 2007."

The presence of the female component from the point of view of women will prevent the security forces from using excessive violence against demonstrators. Violence against women can lead to agitation of public opinion on the one hand, and will lead to inciting local communities, whose traditional culture does not allow women to be harmed and does not tolerate the perpetrators, that may limit the ability of the security man, who Belongs to this culture, to shoot the demonstrators, because of the possibility that women may be among the dead. This common understanding is adopted by women of all their variations. According to one of the activists, the importance of the female presence in maintaining the peacefulness of the demonstrations is not determined only by preventing the security men from attacking the demonstrators and protecting the demonstrators from their fire, but also includes protecting the demonstrators from themselves. There is no escape from violence, which makes him more committed to peace, in order to preserve the women who are with him.

However, the experiences of the women who participated in the October uprising, which began on 10/1/2019, reflect different perceptions that contradict the perceptions of women's ability to protect demonstrators and protect their

peace. Convictions were born among those who participated in the first wave that the presence of women in the protests could not protect the demonstrators, according to what their experience proved to them.

## CONCLUSION

On the first of November of 2019, thousands of angry youths took to the streets of Baghdad to protest against corruption, unemployment and the deteriorating service reality. The protests were met with force and repression, and protesters were subjected to killings during which the security forces used live ammunition and projectiles that were thrown directly at the heads and bodies of the demonstrators, and they were targeted by sniping operations. The killing scenes that spread on social media aroused great anger that quickly turned from space A to protest arenas in the second wave that was launched on November 25.

Women did not have a clear presence in the first demonstration, but the qualitative participation in which the media focused on women trying to provide support to the demonstrators has raised a great awareness of the necessity of participation. She became the seller of paper tissues, whose video was broadcast on satellite channels, distributing her livelihood to the demonstrators, and the woman who wraps vegetables by cutting the bread and distributing them to the protesters, asking them not to back down. And the girl who disguises herself as young men and hides her gender identity to be able to participate in this movement. Distinctive signs in the October gift.

Women rushed with remarkable numbers to get involved in the second wave that was launched on October 25, so that their wide participation constituted one of the distinguishing signs in the October movement, which differed greatly from the previous participation in its form and size, the role of women in it. Women did not go out to the protest space as a result of social and political marginalization, nor as a reaction to the patriarchal system that restricted their freedom. The desire to change the political system towards a more just system was not the main motive for their involvement, but rather the desire to preserve the lives of young people and protect the peaceful demonstrations was the motive and engine, the main point of this participation.

The numerous dialogues conducted with the participants lead to the conclusion that the October uprising and the accompanying killings were the decisive factor in prompting these large numbers of women of all ages to participate, so that their enhancement in the squares is an attempt to protect the lives of the demonstrators and avenge their killing.

Many factors helped encouraging women to participate, the most important of which is the certainty of success and change, and what this change represents for Iraqi women who have been exhausted by wars, economic sanctions and sectarian violence. The women relied on a number of indicators represented by the enthusiasm and steadfastness of the demonstrators, the absence of leaders and the victories they achieved.

## REFERENCES

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Manar Al Zubaidi

Since the start of the protests, calls have emerged calling for employees in all sectors of the state to stop working for 10 days that could be enough to bring down the government after all state facilities stopped.

Fares Nazmi

The women in this group believe that the protests called by the current and the leaders of the civil movement in Iraq since 2010, one of the most important fruits of which is this active feminist participation,

Asmaa Jamil (Association Forms)

Asmaa Jamil Rashid: The Iraqi woman after three years of change. The New Culture Magazine

Saadoun Mohsen Damad: pg. 122

The reason for this focus may be that the interviews were conducted in the early days of the protests, when the process of dividing roles within the protest space was not yet clear.

previous source

From the point of view of the Sadr movement, it is a kind of jihad. They believe that Iraq is occupied by the ominous trinity of America,

England and Israel, and that these demonstrations came to liberate Iraq, so they are a kind of jihad.

Saa'doun Mohsen Dhamad: pp. 104.105