The Political Role of Minority Women in Iraq After 2003

Proof: FalahKhalafAl-Zuhairi&Hiyam Ali AbdulHadi

hiyam_ali54@yahoo.com

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College of Political Science/Mustansiriya University

Department of Political Systems and Public Policies

Summary

Today's world is characterized by rapid transformations in societies and in relations between individuals as well as between states. In such circumstances, the position occupied by women and the role they should play in this developed world must be reconsidered. It has become self-evident that the progress of societies is measured to the degree of advancement of women in the fields of economic, social, cultural and political life, and equality of women with men has become a reality in some societies, as there is no type of oppression against women. The governments of these countries are preparing the necessary requirements to put into practice the principles contained in their constitutions regarding women. However, eliminating the remnants of the past needs more efforts to create conditions that allow women to fully benefit from these rights. In many other countries, governments have adopted the principle of equality in a purely formal way, as they do not take the necessary steps to ensure the application of these principles.

Minority women in Iraq suffer from absence and weakness in explaining their role in light of the confusion and political chaos, as the political system in Iraq after 2003 has faced many problems that have largely cast a shadow on the role of Iraqi women in general and minority women in particular, and despite that the Iraqi constitution has obligated the political system and political forces to guarantee the rights of women in general with regard to political, economic and social rights, still there are many obstacles that prevent the exercise of a strong and effective role for minorities and their women in particular, as the absence of desire, political will, partisanship and excessive fanaticism,sectarianism by the political forces has made it difficult to find a space and a place for minority women to participate in various activities in the political system in the political, economic and social aspects.

Key words: Iraqi women, change after 2003, the social reality of women, the political role of Iraqi women, minority women, the political role of minority women, the Iraqi constitution.

Introduction:

Women in Iraq have lived in a state of decline that contributed greatly to their absence as a human element representing half of society. During the era of the former regime, Iraqi women suffered from the repercussions of the state of war with Iran and its effects on important elements in society, the foremost of which is the family, as the eight-year war left a lot of social problems and was the gate that paved the way for the state of disintegration that the Iraqi society has been experiencing since then. The continuous wars have brought new manifestations to the Iraqi society, most notably illiteracy and the rule of religious and tribal

concepts and going to the point of extremism by adhering to it. Women were at the top of the list of oppression and violence practiced by the community, The reality of minority women is not much different from the reality of women in Iraq, as everyone is subject to one social and political value system, but by virtue of the belonging of minority women to these small groups in society, they have suffered greatly because of the persecution, forced displacement and extermination campaigns that affected the minority community. From this point of view, the problems and sufferings of minority women have multiplied because of their religious, ethnic or national affiliation and because of their social gender, which is subject to discrimination, social limitations imposed by the male environment within society.

Research problem:
The problem of the research is based on a fundamental question and a number of sub-questions. The main question is based on: (What is the political role of minority women in Iraq after the year 2003 AD?)

Research Hypothesis:
The research hypothesis is based on: (Minority women do not play a major role in political life after 2003).

Research Methods:
According to the research requirements, the researcher used the historical method to study the social and political nature of Iraqi women after the year 2003, as well as the analytical method in order to study the political role of minority women in Iraq after the year 2003.

Research structure:
The study is divided according to the requirements of the topic into two sections, and in each topic there were two demands, in addition to the introduction and conclusion. : Minority women in Iraq after 2003, divided into two demands: the first: the social reality of minority women, and the second: the political reality of minority women.

The first topic
The reality of Iraqi women after 2003
The first requirement: the social reality of Iraqi women:
The waves of modernity that suddenly arrived in Iraq after the change had a role in the events of vibrations in the individual reality and the social entity of the family and society, for example, the father may live within the family, adhering to heritage, holding fast to customs and traditions, while the son lives in the struggles of modernity, and here begins the debate between generations and between values [1]. In spite of the structural developments that changed the course of human life during the twentieth century, Iraqi women still suffer from problems in the areas of participation and decision-making, especially as they are governed by backward social relations, authoritarian patriarchal systems, and well-established

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)1(Ihsan Al-Amin: Identity Crisis and Future Challenges, Dar Al-Hadi for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut - Lebanon, 2001, p. 23.

traditional social norms and traditions [2], but the Iraqi woman hadher social status gradually changing, so she started entering schools and learning and entering the field of employment and work outside the home. This great change that Dr. (Ali Al-Wardi) talked about was not accompanied by a change in the values and traditions that belong to women and that the nature of change does not occur at a single pace, such as rapid change in professions, means of education, culture and change, the slowness in customs, traditions, beliefs and values, and this creates contradiction and social dissonance [3], the status of women after the change, andshe retreated and the violations directed against her multiplied, in addition to what she was suffering from. The violations of shameful killing, kidnapping, rape, and banning her from studying and working because of the difficult security conditions that the country is going through have increased, as well as religious and political repression and the control of her appearance and her clothes that brought her back, which poses a real dangerto the status of women and their natural rights and freedoms [4].Therefore, the issues of change and modernization in our society can only succeed if the social relations between women and men are reformulated and the rules of equality between them are established. Women and the society's view of them, the awareness of women here represents a factor of modernity in society and their social status is an indicator of the cultural level of society [5], and although Iraqi legislation and laws do not discriminate between women and men in various fields, whether they hold leadership positions or higher positions in the power ladder, the Socio-cultural factors are still major determinants of these roles [6], as a result of the socio-tribal structure, tribal culture and its patriarchal heritage in Iraqi society. Social (male) blackmail, which turned into psychological-doctrinal taboos and ideological in the collective (cultural and psychological) unconscious of women, which made them not ready to break free from them, but began to deal with them as moral and ideological / religious postulates, while women's thinking of breaking these restrictions does not happen except with difficulty and in relatively few social cases compared to the number of women in the composition of Iraqi society which is close to 49% of the total population [7].

Dr. (Ali Al-Wardi) mentions in his book (The Personality of the Iraqi Individual) that the Iraqi family lives in a state of fragmentation. The man's world is completely separate from the woman's world. That is why you find the Iraqi house has become a self-contained world with its own values and rules, and this undoubtedly helps the growth of bisexuality. In the

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)2(Ihsan Al-Amin: Identity Crisis and Future Challenges, Dar Al-Hadi for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut - Lebanon, 2001, p. 23.

)3(Sami Mahdi Saleh Al-Azzawi: The Family Status of Iraqi Women and Its Reflections on Participation in the Political Process, Childhood and Motherhood Research Center, University of Diyala, 2009, p. 5.

)4(Alia Bayazid and others: The Reality of Women in Post-Change Iraq, Al-Hiwar Al-Modden, 1st Edition, 2008, Baghdad, pp. 77-78.

)5(Ihsan Muhammad Al-Hassan: Encyclopedia of Sociology, Arab House of Encyclopedias, Egypt, 1999, p. 668.

)6(HozanIyad Abdul-Hadi: The Role of Men in Empowering Women Leadership - A Social Field Study for University Education Institutions in the City of Baghdad, Master's Thesis, University of Baghdad, College of Education for Girls, Baghdad, 2015, p. 54.

)7(Sami Al-Badri and others: Ethnic freedom of women: prospects and obstacles, Al-Hiwar Al-Modden, Baghdad, 2008, 1, p. 200.

personality of the man and the woman together, as each of them may be affected by the values of the opposite sex consciously or unconsciously in addition to the values of his own sex, and thus two contradictory systems of values arise due to the severe separation between the world of men and the world of women, but they are governed by the authority of the man[8], and the world. Max Weber considered (Patriarchy) as one of the basic forms in which one person exercises power within the family or clan as a unit based on tradition and that the patriarchal society seems like a male fiefdom [9], and at the level of Iraq it has become difficult to separate rural values from civilized values.

The cities entered after 2003, so urbanization no longer had clear features, as (Trift) cities and values mixed with each other, and the family in the city does not differ radically from the Iraqi family in the countryside in terms of values, but the only difference is in the way of life and living. The successor to the family after his death, as well as the guardian of the mother and sisters, and the bearer of the family name[10], that is why the girl is considered a heavy burden to be placed on the family, which means adding a new member to her, as she will not build the house and will not fight the enemies. The female gender is oppression for her or is the first form of oppression and low value for women, as the girl is seen as a sex and a body and not as a person or an active human being, and this means that the value of femininity is low in contrast to the value of masculinity (masculinity) that characterizes a man, and this value is only its legitimacy was derived primarily from the nature of society, its culture and traditions, and the patriarchal system that prevails, which decided its position on the conflict between the two poles of human existence (male and female) in favor of masculinity[11].

Other social factors that contributed to the formation of negative stereotypes about women is the crack in institutions and its inability to perform its function, which led to the emergence of traditional forces (pre-state power such as the clan and religion) as an alternative that can achieve some gratifications for the individual, and its emergence as an active and dominant force resulted in the dominance of tribal values and standards that center around the clan's honor associated with chastity and the woman being a symbol of the honor of the group, that supports the value of honor, which led to the multiplicity of means of protecting her and the diversity of methods of prevention in front of her, accompanied by the emergence of negative stereotypes that put her in the category of questionable behavior.

These images play an important role in determining the size of the ban imposed on women [12], The concept of honor differs between men and women. For a man, it is attributed to masculinity, meaning that honor for him is related to personality characteristics such as being brave and chivalrous, and masculinity includes having a good reputation, whether within or

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)8(Al-Wardi: The Personality of the Iraqi Individual, Laila House for Publishing and Distribution, London, 2001, 2nd Edition, p. 59.

)9(TaherHasso Mir: The Role of Kurdish Women in Political Participation, Dar Aras for Printing and Publishing, Erbil, 2006, 1st Edition, pp. 126-127.

)10(Frantz Fanon, The Psychology of a Revolution, translated by ZerfanKarkout, Printing House, Beirut, 1970, p. 91.

)11(Zahra Abbas Hadi Al-Barzanji: Masculinity and Femininity in Iraqi Culture - An anthropological study in the city of Baghdad, PhD thesis, University of Baghdad, 2014, p. 109.

)12(AsmaaJamil: The social and self-image of women in Iraqi society - a field study in the city of Baghdad, doctoral thesis, Friday of Baghdad - College of Arts., p. 232.

outside his local community. As for the concept of honor for women, it is related to the concept of chastity. That is, its connection with the physical meaning, here the concept of virginity emerges, i.e. the girl must remain a virgin or virgin until she gets married[13]. (Lutfia Al-Dulaimi) found that many creative women are still captives to the hidden stereotype presented about them by the patriarchal society, and their writings reflect their inexperience with the concept of freedom, and they chose to accept their traditional position as the sacrificing mother's role by declaring her grief and dedicating her submission to the masculine outlook, which deepens the inferior view of her with her recognition and negative attitudes in the field of her reactions with a male reference without trying to establish axes of contradiction and change[14]. Within a study of a deliberate sample of young women Iraqi women about the problems they suffer from, it turns out that about 29% of their problems are interference in their lives and their personal and social relationships, and these pressures have increased at the present time due to the general conditions in which the society rejected her, especially the lack of social security, which led to an increase in these pressures faced by the young woman, based on the family's conservatism and her lack of comfort in exercising her freedom. Compared to 16% of the problems represented in preventing them from continuing their studies, 11% of them being forced to marry, and the same being forced to have children when they were not ready for that. The data showed that more than 45% of the respondents had fully or partially succumbed to these problems[15].

Studies for the year 2018 showed that the percentage of women at the age group (15-49) who got married before the age of fifteen represents (5.7%), and the percentage increases in rural areas (6.3%) compared to urban areas (5.4%), while the percentage of women in this age group reached (20-49) of those who got married before reaching the age of eighteen represent (24.8%), and the percentage increases in the countryside to (26.8%) compared to (24.0%) in urban areas. With regard to education, the net enrollment rate in primary education reached (91.6%) at the level of Iraq and that the percentage of girls is low in the countryside to about (86.7%) compared to urban (92.2%). We note a decrease in the percentage of rural women in the rest of education levels compared to women in urban areas.

The second requirement: the political reality of Iraqi women:
 Socialization plays a role in the strength or weakness of women's political participation, as the social legacies that are transmitted from one generation to another affect the formation of society's vision of the position of women in political life. Several factors also play a prominent role in hindering women from performing their role in politics, such as illiteracy and the absence of education programs, political and male opinions about women's participation in politics, as many women have the ability and desire to participate in politics, but the opposition of their husband, brother or family in general prevents them from engaging

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)13(Alia Shoukry and others, Women and society and the viewpoint of sociology, Alexandria University Knowledge House, 1998, p. 252.
)14(Naziha Al-Dulaimi, BushraBerto, ZakiaKhalifa: The Role of Women in Our Contemporary World, Al-Tariq Al-Jadid Publications, Baghdad, 1958, i 1, p. 17.
)15(Nahida Abdel Karim: The Problems of the Iraqi Young Woman (A Field Study): The Torahs of Young Iraqi Female Employees and Their Suggestions for Resolving them, Journal of Social Studies - House of Wisdom, p. 19, p. 18.

in political life, in addition to the security threat factor that constitutes a major obstacle to political participation for fear of being targeted[16].

Likewise, women are affected by the nature of the political system and are subject to it and are shaped according to it. The participation of women in public life before 2003 is one thing and what follows is something else entirely determined by the nature of the political system. The Iraqi Constitution of (2005), which came after the stage of political change, affirmed the right of Iraqi women in elections and voting in public referendums as, as the constitution guarantees her right to freedom of expression guaranteed by the state, she has the right to express her political will and freedom of expression expressed her partisan ideas during the election period and to express her political opinion without conditions or restrictions. Article (14) of the constitution states: Iraqis are equal before the law without discrimination based on gender, race, nationality, origin, color, religion, sect or belief Or opinion, economic status, or social status[17], while Article (15) of the Iraqi constitution states that every individual has the right to life, security and freedom, and these rights may not be deprived or restricted except in accordance with the law, and based on a decision issued by a competent judicial authority[18]The same applies to the provisions of Article (16) of the Iraqi Constitution, which says that equal opportunities are guaranteed to all Iraqis[19], and Article (20) stipulates: (Citizens, men and women, have the right to participate in public affairs and enjoy political rights, including the right to vote, elect and be nominated) In light of the democratic transition, the status of Iraqi women has changed relatively, especially with regard to their political rights. This was reflected in a set of gains. Three women participated in the Governing Council out of 25 political figures. Women held six ministerial portfolios out of 36 ministerial portfolios in the transitional government, but they did not. Women occupy any of the four top political positions, so women represented 11% in the Council of Ministers and 32% in the National Assembly[20], and with regard to women's issues, there was no infrastructure concerned with women's affairs except the Ministry of State for Women's Affairs as a direct result of the political change, so it established National mechanisms and bodies aware of women's affairs, but it was an experience of limited impact, especially since women's issues are secondary to the political system, despite the fact that the Ministry at the time received financial and technical support from the international community[21], after a year 2003 There were clear trends towards involving women in the political and electoral

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)16(De Jure and De Facto The status of women in Iraq: An Assessment of Iraq, International Legal Standards, ILDP, p:13.

)17(Article (14) of the Iraqi constitution in force for the year 2005.

)18(Article (15) of the Iraqi constitution in force for the year 2005. For more details, see: Dr. Ban Hikmat Abdul Karim, Legal Protection for Internally Displaced Persons Crimes of Forced Displacement in Iraq, Journal of Legal Studies, House of Wisdom, Baghdad, No. 32, 2012, p. 74.

)19(Article (16) of the Iraqi constitution in force for the year 2005. For more, see: Alia Abboud Salem, CEDAW Agreement and its suitability to Iraqi legislation, Baghdad, I 1, 2014, p. 34.

)20(MasoudDayer: The Parliamentary Performance of Arab Women Representatives, The Arab Future Magazine, Beirut, p. 321, November 2005, p. 86.

)21(The reality of gender in the ministries and state institutions in Iraq: a report issued by the Ministry of Planning, Department of Human Development Statistics, 2018, p. 6.

process due to the importance of their role in building the modern state and gaining international acceptance. Despite these trends, women's participation is still limited by the societal traditions and norms that dominate society, as social and gender values and patterns influence in determining Women's access to senior positions outside the contexts set for them in advance, and this matter is not only related to the social system, but also to the orientation of the political system in general, as gender standards must be taken into account when jobs and positions are distributed, and according to the statistics of the Iraqi Ministry of Planning for the year 2018 that the two ministries of oil The Ministry of Interior has the highest number of men compared to the number of women, while the number of women employed in the Ministries of Education and Higher Education increases, and this is evidence of the stereotyping that surrounds the role of women[22],All factual inductions and all observations and field observations in all areas of life and their social, political, economic, cultural and administrative activities indicate a clear indication that the reality of women's participation in decision-making positions is still secondary and comes after men, and that the decision-makers in different positions and in all sectors of society are men. As for women, they come after them or with their support, directly or indirectly, despite the social changes, cultural transformations and civilized revolutions that society has undergone. Reality and experiences indicate that women do not reach positions of politically influential decision-making, at the level of parliament, local councils or executive positions. The Supreme Court has limited and rare political effectiveness, despite its numerical presence, especially in the House of Representatives and some ministries, due to the application of the quota system, pursuant to Article (49), Paragraph IV of the current Iraqi Constitution of 2005, which stipulates that: of the number of members of the House of Representatives[23], but there are many negatives that accompanied the parliamentary experience of women, the first of which is Their affiliation with parties that gave them these seats, which causes them to fear for these seats, which motivates them to obey the orders and directives of the heads of parties and political blocs[24]. Making the participation of parliamentarians in political issues entrusted to the leaders of the blocs or their representatives,specifically the major blocs. Therefore, women were severely excluded from participating in the political process, just as they were subjected to systematic exclusion when following up on the circumstances surrounding the distribution of women representatives in the council committees) (Also, the list system that was adopted This led to a decrease in the percentage of women. When the number of winning lists in the elections increases, it leads to a decline in the representation of women [25]. The number of women decreased from (87) women in (2005 AD) to (78) women in 2008 AD. Likewise, women are absent or absent from political dialogue and formation negotiations The government, despite the fact that the constitution guarantees the partnership between women and men in political

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)22(The reality of gender in the ministries and state institutions in Iraq: a report issued by the Ministry of Planning, Department of Human Development Statistics, 2018, p. 6.

)23(Article (49/4) of the Iraqi constitution in force for the year 2005.

)24(Bushra Al-Zwaini and IstabraqFadel Al-Shammari: Women's Political Participation in Iraq after 2003 (Reality and Evaluation), Al-Mustansiriya Center for Arab and Duchleya Studies, 2015, p. 22.

)25(Nahla Al-Nadawi: The Parliamentary Performance of Iraqi Women, Iraqi Women Network, Al-Tabbaa Press, Baghdad, 2010, p. 65

life[26], and in a study conducted by (IlhamMakki) 2010 on the political culture of Iraqi parliamentarians, it showed a The references that control the performance of women parliamentarians, and it came to the fore in the political blocs, being the first reference that controls the performance of women parliamentarians[27],Therefore, there have been calls to reconsider and evaluate the quota system on the basis that it is a means of enabling access to the parliament seat and that the performance criterion is the defining limit and not the number of women who have reached parliament, because their access is guaranteed by a quota for women. Is it reasonable to evaluate women's political participation by the number of women parliamentarians? While there are many issues that require women to address, and there are even many social and economic files that have shown the harm of women, we did not find a single parliamentary voice that adopted and demanded them[28], and although all parties are obligated to apply a women's quota to their elected representatives (25% of their representatives) the elected and 30% in the Kurdistan region), only a few of them seek to reproduce this quota within their party structures, whether through an applied base or a desired goal, and this applies to the level of members and leadership alike. No party mentioned that achieving gender parity is a goal He aspires to[29], the Kurdistan region in 2019 recorded a qualitative leap in the accession of women to senior leadership positions in the government, as she received the position of the speaker of the region's parliament and deputy speaker of parliament, and women got three ministerial positions, but at the federal level the presence of women is completely non-existent on The length of governmental cycles that Iraq has witnessed in assuming influential positions in political decision-making, such as the leadership of ministries such as defense, interior and foreign affairs[30], and the data of the career data bank in the Central Statistical Organization indicated that the number of women in The private sector, which includes senior positions in ministries, authorities and provincial council bureaus, reached (65) women compared to the number of men in those degrees, which amounted to (610) men, and this reflects the gender gap and the need to achieve equal opportunities when distributing these positions to ensure wider participation of women[31], and in 2020, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) and the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) issued a report indicating that Iraq ranked 70th globally in terms of women's representation in

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)26(Rajaa Muhammad Qasim: Empowering Women to Make Decisions - A field study in the city of Baghdad, PhD thesis, University of Baghdad - College of Arts, Department of Sociology, 2012, p. 244.

)27(ElhamMakkiHammadi: The Political Culture of Iraqi Women Parliamentarians - An Anthropological Study, Master's Thesis, University of Baghdad, College of Arts, Department of Sociology, Baghdad, 2010, p. 169.

)28(Nour Muhammad Abdul Majeed: The Role of Women in Arab Parliaments, A Comparative Study between Iraq and Egypt, Master's Thesis, Al-Mustansiriya University, College of Political Science/Department of Political Systems and Public Policies, 2018, p. 130.

)29(Political exclusion in Iraqi political parties: How women, components, and minorities seek to change politics, a report issued by the NDI, 2020, p.9.

)30(Bushra Al-Zwaini and IstabraqFadel Al-Shammari: Women's Political Participation in Iraq after 2003 (Reality and Evaluation), a previously mentioned source, p. 24.

)31(Sustainable development towards better empowerment: a previously mentioned source, p. 18.

parliament, occupying 84 seats out of 329 in the Parliament, i.e. 5.25%, while the percentage of women's participation in the Council of Ministers was 5.4%, i.e. one woman out of 22 ministers[32].

The second topic
Minority women in Iraq after 2003
The first requirement: the social reality of minority women:

Many members of minorities had fears and anxiety about their fate and future, especially after the US occupation of Iraq and the rise in the tone of hatred, exclusion, and sectarian and sectarian tendencies, especially on the part of some political groups that claimed that they spoke in the name of the majority or that they represented or expressed them, in an attempt to impose sectarian and ethnic division into a fait accompli The wave of sectarian and ethnic upheaval that was characterized by blasphemy, sin and attempts to dominate a religious or sectarian pattern over others[33], and members of minorities are exposed to social marginalization for several reasons, including their race, religion, national origin, historical association with the country or their language, or because of perceptions that consider them foreign or Raiders (there are perceptions that the Shabak are the remnants of the Safavid invaders) and there are other ideas that consider Christians to be the remnants of the Crusaders (the Crusades), and the Turkmens (from the remnants of the Ottoman occupier)[34]. The perceptions in forming an exclusionary ideology and exposing the minority to violence are less resourceful in confronting it, and there is a set of stereotypes that represent fixed ideological templates that stimulate behavior It is specific to minorities and social exclusion, leading to political exclusion, and the end result is extermination, as happened with the Yazidis in Sinjar. The danger of such an image and its reproduction seems to make violence socially acceptable, and it can be practiced on a large scale [35], therefore there is a need to correct the stereotyped and distorted image of minorities. Ignorance of the internal other and the persistence of stereotypes and distortion of the other is still used in post-2003 Iraq to target minorities, violate their rights and deprive their humanity, or to measure their identity with an external affiliation criterion charged with the hostility of collective memory, such as the continuation of the view The stereotype that classified the Baha'i faith as a political movement and then considered it part of a conspiracy (Zionism or Freemasonry) to break up the majority Islam or describe the Faili Kurds as subordination to Iran and question their Iraqiness despite all the decades of persecution that have passed due to the conflict with Iran, and the demands of the Shabak to prove their external origin to be recognized As a group, despite the passage of more than five centuries of their settlement in Iraq[36], the reality of

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)32(Most comprehensive report to date on women's participation in political life in Iraq: challenges and ways of overcome them, ESCWA& UNAMI& Iraq foundation, 2020, p: 2
)33(Abdul-Hussein Shaaban and others: Religious and Ethnic Minorities, Al-Mesbar Center for Studies and Research, 2015, 2, 2nd Edition, pp. 59-60.
)34(SaadSalloum: One Hundred Delusions of Minorities in Iraq, Masarat Foundation for Development and Media Culture, Beirut, 2015, p. 45
)35(SaadSalloum: Violence against Minorities in Iraq, Minority Rights Library, Beirut, 2017, p. 43.
)36(SaadSalloum: Unity in Diversity - Pluralism and Enhancing Citizenship incubating Cultural Diversity in Iraq, Masarat Foundation, Baghdad, 2015, p. 198.

minority women can be traced at the religious-social level, as the Sabean-Mandaeans view marriage as a sacred ritual of life, as marriage for them was a religious obligation, and they are not free to do so. The Mandaean religion absolutely forbids celibacy for men, and celibacy is forbidden for women, even if the purpose is asceticism and worship, and marriage outside the scope of the Mandaean sect is considered a reward. It is a departure from religion[37], and women have a privileged position among the Mandaeans, as they were allowed to assume priestly positions, so gender did not stand in the way of the inauguration of women as priests, and there are, on the theoretical level, no obstacles to the priestess reaching the highest priestly ranks among the Mandaeans[38], religion Mandaean, according to the opinion of its religious leadership, emphasizes equality between women and men, and the head of the Mandaean sect (Star Jabbar Al-Helou) stresses that the presence of women in the Mandaean religion is clear and her position is high in terms of honor, which makes the ratio of the son to his mother and not his father. The person's name is mentioned and then the name of his mother, The Mandaean researchers mention that women have the right to occupy religious positions of the highest rank, and the Mandaean woman has the right to perform all religious rituals and practices just like the clergyman[39], while the Shabak women have a high legal value in the Shabak, in addition to being the backbone of the house, they are the support, helper and mastermind of life Shabak, and the Shabak woman shares work with her husband and children, as she helps the husband in farming, grazing, as well as raising children, so it has the importance that makes it distinct in this society, and in view of the traditional traditions strict conditions that encapsulate Shabak life, women have not closed themselves off as in rural communities in southern and central Iraq. Shabak women attend gatherings and discussions that concern the family and divorce rarely occurs in the network society, as well as issues of honor and shame washing, as well as being peaceful, their lives are dominated by The practical nature as they are preoccupied with agricultural and animal production, as well as the Shabak girl gets married at a young age due to the Shabby man's need to expand the numbers of his family to control his agricultural and animal husbandry work[40],As for the Baha'is, they made the liberation of women and their equality with men one of their main slogans, as one of the social principles to which Bahá'u'lláhattaches great importance is that women should be considered equal to men, enjoying rights and privileges equal to those enjoyed by men, and that the greatest means to liberate Women are education and general education, for everyone created God created them in his image, there is no difference between them[41], and in the same context, the recognition of the unity of the human race is a basic principle for Baha'is, and they relied on it in the belief in the principle

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)37(Ahmed Abdel Moneim Al-Adawi: Sabians from the advent of Islam until the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, a vision for publication and distribution, Cairo, 2012, 1, p. 202.

)38(Lady Ethel EstefanaDror, translated by: NaimBadawi: SabeanMandaeans, Beirut, 2005, 225.

)39(SaadSalloum: Forgotten Voices - Minority Women in Iraq, a previously mentioned source, p. 34.

)40(ZuhairKazemAbboud: Shabak in Iraq, The Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, 2008, 2nd Edition, p. 95.

)41(Ahmed WalidSiraj al-Din: The Baha'i Faith and the New World Order The unity of religions and the Baha'i world government, Juma Al Majid Center for Heritage and Culture, Dubai, 1994, vol. 2, pp. 284-285.

of equality and justice among all types of human beings, including equality between women and men. They believe that the moral and psychological climate without which world peace will not develop will not be stabilized except when women welcome them to all fields of human activity as a full partner to men. She has the right to own money and real estate and dispose of it in matters of buying and selling, and she has the right to enter the labor market with all her freedom. Lakhm, meaning the goddess of flowers[42], minority women face difficulties related to the prohibition of inter-caste marriage, which makes women's options limited, as long as this prohibition finds a religious basis for it. The internal law prohibits inter-caste marriage on the other hand, and deprives women of inheritance in the Yezidi religion, and the Yezidis exaggerate the dowries of women to the extent that many women are deprived of marriage opportunities, and the high level of spinsterhood in the Yezidi society, and depriving women of inheritance in the Yezidi religion is due to the nature of the Yezidi society patriarchal, rather than being related to religious traditions[43],The Kaka'i faith is also based on pure worship, solitude and concealment, so it contributes to the isolation of the Kaka'i woman. External relations are specific with members of other groups and this makes the mixing of Kaka'i women fenced off with limits and difficulties in communication and openness to the other, and similar to the traditions of the Yazidi religion, the Kakai emphasizes the internal marriage between The man and the woman who belong to the same group and the same spiritual rank, and intermarriage between the Kaka'i groups has generated two problems: The first is clear within the Kaka'i family, as hundreds of Kaka'i girls are spinsters over the age of forty, and if we try to examine the negative effects of that, we will find that every Kakai family exists in it. A spinster girl if there is no more. The second problem is marriage between relatives, which leads to the accumulation of genetic traits and diseases. At the same time, women have an important religious and social position in the Kakai (Yarsanian) community, as there is no discrimination in rights and duties between the sexes, such as inheritance. And the Kaka'i religion forbids polygamy "because it considers marriage a divine, spiritual bond, and this bond is not nullified except by death or in the event of a death." Fornication is the reason why polygamy is not allowed even if the wife does not bear children"[44], according to Christian beliefs, man is free and he is a son of God, as the Lord Jesus Christ says, "It is not what goes into a person that defiles a person, but what comes out of him." And also in another place he says "The letter He is killed, but the soul is revived!" So, there is no discrimination between women and men in the Christian religion, and both are equal, but life in a diverse society with an Islamic majority imposes on Christian women in one way or another coexistence with some of the traditions imposed by society, neither religion nor Christian traditions, and man is the son of the environment that As a result, we find that Christian women are committed to the general traditions of society regardless of religion, which is the case of other minority women. Allowing her to do some work that may be restricted to men only. A Christian woman does not have the right to be a

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)42(Shafi` al-MahiAjmad: Zoroaster and the Zoroastrian religion, Annals of Arts and Social Sciences, Kuwait, 2001, p. 84.

)43(SaadSalloum: Forgotten Voices - Minority Women in Iraq, Masarat Foundation for Cultural and Media Development, Beirut, 2017, pp. 22-23.

)44(Marginalized in Iraq and persecuted in Iran.. Who are the Kaka'i, Bahzani Net, on the Internet and information, accessed on (1/10/2022), available at the following link: https://www.bahzani.net.

(priest), meaning that she performs the mass prayer, because this service is limited to men, but the Christian religion does not prohibit women from any kind of other work, but rather for a society that does that[45] · At the level of reality experienced by minority women, the social environment in which minority women grow up and its cultural determinants are obstacles that prevent girls from obtaining adequate education or deprive them completely of this right, including cultural practices, early marriage, entrenched patriarchal structures and gender roles that limit their access to education. An example of women's freedom of movement, at a time when social and cultural traditions prevent women from completing their education due to patriarchy and the nature of the prevailing culture that gives priority to boys' education, and reduces the role and status of women in the home and family space, and that these cultural barriers that exclude women from achieve their right to education and lead to diminishing opportunities for minority women to participate in economic, political, social and cultural life[46],Minority women bear heavy burdens, especially as the situation was particularly difficult for them because they bear additional burdens due to the pressures of compound discrimination against them as women first and minorities second. This discrimination is based on the prevailing patriarchal culture, and it is often justified on religious grounds and in many cases permitted by the state through its policies and enshrined in its legislation. Their rights, and the gender roles entrenched in society may leave them in a state of extreme weakness, especially with regard to their right to own land or real estate or their right to inherit and other rights[47], that minority women do not enjoy the rights and freedoms stipulated in the framework of the state, as we find that Minority women increasingly suffer from acts of violence, and it takes different forms and patterns, and one of the first forms of this violence is forcing them to deny their religious or ethnic identity. Or expressing themselves in a personal context with regard to their psychological and behavioral privacy and expressing themselves through wearing their own clothes or some behaviors that distinguish them as a minority with their own social or religious behavior [48],There are members of non-Muslim religious minorities to whom the personal status of Muslims applies due to the lack of jurisprudence in personal status issues. Sometimes some members of religious minorities apply Islamic law in their personal status issues voluntarily and voluntarily, especially in inheritance issues, to obtain an added share for males in exchange for females. Sectarian divisions within Islam between Sunnis and Shiites have an impact on marriage between those belonging to the two sects, and may lead in many cases to divorce, especially in the minority groups that split sectarian, such as the Shabak, who are mostly Shiites and some of them are Sunnis, as well as the Turkmen who are divided into Sunnis, Shiites and a minority of Christians Catholics, and these divisions affect mixed marriages between members of the minority and leave women in front of a monogamous choice, which

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)45(The researcher's interview with WissamMarzinaKhader, Congregation of the Brothers of Jesus the Redeemer - Baghdida Church, in Baghdad on December 22, 2021.

)46(SaadSalloum: Forgotten Voices - Minority Women in Iraq, a previously mentioned source, pp. 9-10.

)47(AsmaaJamil Rashid: The Social and Psychological Conditions of Minority Women in Iraq (A Field Study), Journal of Educational and Psychological Research, Baghdad, 2016, p. 33, p. 32.

)48(A group of researchers: Iraqi women's issues after 2003 in light of transformations and challenges, House of Books and Documents, Baghdad, 2015, 358.

puts an obstacle in front of multiple options, and Islam, like other religions, continues to emphasize equality between men and women in many aspects, but there is discrimination in other aspects that emphasize the lack of Equality and the superiority and priority of the position of men over women is enshrined in patriarchal jurisprudential interpretations[49],In sum, the reality of minority women as "women" is inseparable from the reality of minorities in general and the systematic violence they have been subjected to, forced displacement, killing and extermination. Her widowhood and then impoverishment, and the violence against minorities caused insecurity and feelings of fear, which was reflected on minority women as an inevitable result of the bitter reality in which they found themselves. Those belonging to this category because of the religious authority of violence that dealt with the different other on the basis that it is an enemy (religious / historical) and considered that punishing it represents a legitimate issue and a legitimate duty, and the ideology of religious extremism provided some justifications for attacking the religious minority in general and women who belong to this category in general. In particular, attacks against non-Muslim women are justified on the basis of fundamentalist beliefs that raping a non-Muslim woman is a legitimate "purifying" act[50], in 201 4 The organization (ISIS) occupied Nineveh and other governorates, and the policy wheel in the field of women's protection stopped, despite the fact that minority women were subjected to the most terrible attack in its history, and the women faced with captivity, enslavement and mass rape should have become a greater incentive to protect minority women as they are The group most exposed to violations, as the (Institute of International Law and Human Rights), (International Minority Rights Group), (No Islam Without Justice) and other organizations with the support of the international community have published several reports that include violations committed against minorities by the elements of (ISIS) and indicate that Many of those who have been raped and sexually assaulted are women whose age is not much less than 18 years, and reports indicate that there are girls as young as 12 and 13 years old who were forced to marry ISIS militants, while others were sexually assaulted by ISIS militants[51],There are large numbers of displaced women and people suffering from health problems and complex psychological conditions, especially among women and children, who are the vast majority of the displaced, as displaced women constitute more than half of the displaced population, i.e. 51%, as a study revealed that 37% of the age groups of displaced women Their ages range from (1-15 years), followed by 34% between (25-59 years), followed by 21% between (15-24 years), while it is noticed that the percentage of women in the 60s is low, as they constituted 8%, knowing that the average age in Iraq It is remarkable that elderly women have preferred to stay in conflict areas, and displaced women have suffered from deprivation of education, study and even work, and have lived unemployment and homelessness, and the available

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)49(MennaYoukhnaYaqo and Dilshad Hamid: Legal protection of minority women from persecution (a comparative study between the Iraqi constitution and international instruments), Journal of the College of Law for Legal and Political Sciences, Salah al-Din University, Erbil, 2016, p. 2.

)50(AsmaaJamil Rashid: The Social and Psychological Conditions of Minority Women in Iraq (A Field Study), a previously mentioned source, p. 275.

)51(The Institute for International Law and Human Rights and Other International Organizations, A Report Between a Hammer and an Anvil: Iraq's Minorities since the Fall of Mosul, Washington, 2015, p. 17.

information indicates that a large number of women in Mosul have been raped and killed by the ISIS gangs, the majority of whom are minority women[52], On August 3, 2014, the terrorist ISIS fighters attacked the Sinjar area, pushing tens of thousands of Yazidis to flee for their lives. The Islam and kidnapping women and then selling them and subjecting them to the yoke of slavery and sending them to the organization's camps for recruitment and indoctrination, and in the strategy of ISIS behind the attack on Sinjar, Yazidi women were taken as captives (prisoners of war), and a document issued by the United Nations on November 14, 2014 confirmed the violations Against Women that "during the attack on Sinjar in northern Iraq in early August 2014, ISIS kidnapped hundreds of Yazidi women and girls and took the kidnapped women to Syria and sold them as "spoils of war" in markets across Raqqa. These women and girls are considered "the rightful king." They are imprisoned in homes and sexual slavery [53], the crimes of sexual assault come at the forefront of the heinous crimes of ISIS against minority women. in slave markets[54], Many minority women who escaped from ISIS and migrated to the Kurdistan region of Iraq lack adequate health and psychological services, and despite the provision of some services to women who became pregnant during the period of their families from members affiliated with the organization, safe and legal abortion services are not available, as Iraqi law allows abortion Only in the case of medical necessity, but this does not apply to cases of rape, which made minority women face a crisis with their societies that refuse to accept their children within society, forcing women to abandon their children and return them to their societies, but some of them could not do without their children and decided to escape, which made them They face very poor social and economic conditions[55], and there are thousands of minority women who were forced by the difficult living conditions of their families to leave school and marry at an early age, and many of them were forced to engage later in any available jobs that would enable them to earn some money, and that leaving school and early marriage In the minority community, it existed, but it multiplied after displacement as a result of poverty and fear of the future, after the violations committed by ISIS against girls who were exiled and raped. b and torture, and the problems of minority women do not stop when they drop out of school as a result of poverty after displacement or kidnapping and torture at the hands of ISIS, and their tragedies do not end after their liberation from ISIS. Liberation [56], and minority women

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)52(Nahla Al-Nadawi: The situation of Iraqi women in ISIS-controlled areas, Democratic Middle East website, on January 20, 2017.

)53(United Nations Document, Rule of Terror, Life under the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant in Syria, Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic, New York, November 14, 2014, p. 14.

)54(HassoHurmi and others: Shingal City of the Sun, Jamal Erfan Cultural Foundation for Publishing and Distribution, 2015, p. 177. Also, a Yazidi survivor testifying to the United Nations sees a report on the Bahzani Net website, on the Internet and information, accessed on (12/26/2021), available at the following link: https://www.bahzani.net.

)55(The World Human Rights Report 2016, Human rights watch, on the Internet and information, accessed on (18-12-2021), available at the following link: https://www.hrw.org

)56(Displacement exacerbates social problems for Sinjar women and raises rates of early marriage, divorce and suicide, a report on the Bahzani Net website, 2021, on the Internet and information, accessed on (20/12/2021) available at the following link: https://www.bahzani.net

kidnapped by ISIS were rejected by their societies after the liberation, especially the Turkmen women, because of the nature of the Turkmen clan society, which considered these women a disgrace to the Turkmen society, and in return the state did not develop any alternative plans to receive, house and follow up the cases of surviving women Which complicates the matter for these women and exposes them to risks up to the level of murder [57].

The second requirement: the political reality of minority women:
The constitution is one of the recognized principles in democratic systems and represents the supreme legal document in the state by virtue of the fact that it includes the legal bases that determine the form of the state and the system of government in it, in terms of regulating the powers of the public authority in it and determining the rights and freedoms of individuals, as well as regulating the issue of individual rights and freedoms, whether They were personal, political, social and economic rights. In order to respect these rights and freedoms, they must be stipulated in the core of constitutions [58], the text on the rights granted to minorities in the core of the Constitution is an important protection for minorities, because the Constitution determines and regulates the authority in the state so that the Governmental bodies that derive their existence from the constitution adhere to what the constitution stipulates. On the contrary, these authorities or bodies will lose their legitimacy and existence[59], with regard to the provisions of the Iraqi constitution for the year 2005 in force, the legislator was keen in it to include the constitutional texts that would provide protection for minorities, as we find Article (3) stipulates that "Iraq is a country of nationalities, religions and sects...", and this text is supposed to provide constitutional protection for religious and national minorities, and Then, the enactment of any law that contradicts this text is considered an unconstitutional law. As for Article (4) of the applicable constitution, it came to provide constitutional protection for linguistic minorities, when it indicated that "... the Iraqis guarantee the education of their children in the mother tongue, such as Turkmen, Syriac and Armenian in the Governmental educational institutions..." As for the fifth paragraph of the same article, it indicated that every region or governorate may adopt any other local language[60], and the Iraqi legislator was not satisfied with that, but rather reiterated in the effective constitution that the principle is equality and non-discrimination between members of the Iraqi people When it states that Iraqis are equal before the law without discrimination on grounds of sex, race, nationality, origin, colour, religion, sect, belief, opinion, or social and economic status[61],While the constitution stressed that Iraqis are free to abide by their personal status according to their religion, sects, beliefs or choices, and everyone has freedom of thought, conscience and belief[62], and the constitution included the religious rights of all religions and sects as it stipulated that "this constitution guarantees the preservation of the religious

)57(Fayhaa al-Bayati fi al-Mashhad, BBC, on the internet and information, accessed 15/3/2022, available at the link: https://youtu.be/-c8dsmqXkJ8.

)58(TharwatBadawi: Systems for Politics, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, Cairo, 1964, vol. 1, 1964, p. 33.

)59(Hussein Othman Muhammad Othman: Political Systems and Constitutional Law, Al-Dar Al-Jami`ah, 1988, p. 178.

)60(See the third and fourth articles of the Iraqi constitution in force.

)61(Article (14) of the Iraqi constitution.

)62(See Article (42) and Article (125) of the Iraqi constitution in force.

identity of the majority of the people." The Iraqi government also guarantees the full religious rights of all individuals to the freedom of belief and religious practice of Christians, Yazidis, and SabeanMandaeans[63], and despite the important guarantees provided by the Constitution with regard to human rights, Article Two / First of the Constitution does not allow the enactment of any law that contradicts the principles of Islam And its provisions have prejudiced the rights of minorities and blew up all the texts and laws that allow them to exercise their rights. Therefore, the legislator had to take into consideration the religious diversity in Iraq, which results in the diversity of practices, rituals, beliefs and ideas that may not be consistent with Islam, and the second article / second has been neglected The rest of the minorities, and their official recognition and rights in Iraq, stated that the role of the post-2003 Iraqi political system was not at the required level and was not consistent. With the extent of the suffering faced by minorities in general and their women in particular, as successive governments after 2003 deliberately excluded minority issues from their government programs and dealt with them on the basis that they were secondary issues, or even less than secondary, the governments did not take into account the issues of the disputed areas such as Kirkuk and Sinjar and its impact on the social security of minority residents in those areas, weakening their affiliation with the state and developing the separatist spirit, and the review of government programs from 2006 to 2020, no mention of minorities was mentioned, despite the fact that the issue of national identity constitutes a continuous political and social concern. The Iraqi people are one of the pillars of this state. And its components did not happen except with the establishment of this state and its inclusion of multiple national, ethnic, religious and sectarian groups, which makes the Iraqi society a diverse one. The majority is a problem in itself, but the main problem lies in the nature and form of the political system based on the dedication of loyalty T and subsidiary affiliations at the expense of citizenship and participation [64]In spite of the constitutional and legal rules that provide a framework for protecting the rights of minorities, the political system fails to recognize the actual and explicit rights of minorities, which has caused political differences to coincide with national, ethnic, religious and cultural differences[65].

Conclusion:

From the foregoing, the Iraqi political system is built on balanced legal and institutional foundations, but it has not reached the stage of integration so far and requires redoubled efforts and real political will to bring about changes that will reflect positively on the reality of minorities in general in Iraq. The main problem lies in the political will to invest Institutional structures and the application of legal rules to grant others their rights in their various political, economic and social forms, despite the deteriorating reality experienced by minority women socially, whether at the level of the minority itself or at the level of society

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)63(See Article Two/Second of the Iraqi Constitution.

)64(Yassin Muhammad Hassan and Abdul-Jabbar Issa: Dealing with minorities in the context of diversity management (a comparative study between Iraq and India), Political and International Journal, Al-Mustansiriya University - College of Political Science, Iraq, 2012, p. 20, p. 12-13.

)65(Yassin Muhammad Hassan and Abdul-Jabbar Issa: Dealing with minorities in the context of diversity management (a comparative study between Iraq and India), Political and International Journal, Al-Mustansiriya University - College of Political Science, Iraq, 2012, p. 20, pp. 16-17.

that marginalizes this group of women in addition to the crimes they were subjected to after ISIS entered the country. At the political level, the major parties monopolize the political arena, but many minority women were able to break social and political barriers and went through the political work with all its complexities, and despite the simplicity of this experiment, it was an important experience that demonstrated the ability of these women to penetrate the political process and raise their voices to defend Their rights and shed light on a class of society that is neglected and marginalized at all levels.

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