Solidarity Reflected in the Use of Pronouns Portrayed in the Iraqi October Protests 2019 in Some Western Media

* Yaseen Mohammed Ridha Fathallah, (M.A Student),

* Asst. Prof. Nidaa Hussain Fahmi Al Khazraji (Ph.D), Department of English, College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Kerbala

Abstract

The paper focuses on how social phenomena and social actors are represented in discourse to identify and investigate how change occurs to promote hope, inspiration and solidarity. In addition, it aims to explore how feminism is portrayed in some Western media. The researcher adopts Wilson's (1990) strategic use of pronouns as a linguistic tool to analyse the data. Additionally, a qualitative approach is used in data analysis. In this regard, the researcher selects 10 articles from some Western media websites concerned with how feminism is portrayed during the 2019 Iraqi protests. The analysis provides an answer to the question; how is the discursive strategy of collective pronoun utilised in the texts to support the theme of solidarity? The analysis has shown that the writers convey images that create a sense of solidarity used by the protesters to position themselves as one group and as a part of the demonstrations using plural pronouns. In addition, the analysis has shown that the pronoun "we" has the greatest frequency and percentage, followed by the pronouns "us," "our," and finally the pronoun "all."

Keywords: collective pronouns, discursive strategies, feminist, Iraq protests, solidarity

Introduction

The 2019 Iraqi protests in October were not just a political revolution against government corruption and economic exploitation; they were also a social revolution that attacked the exploitative condition of women and girls. While the participation was remarkable, many conservative groups criticised the feminist march, claiming that women's participation in demonstrations was immoral and unethical. However, the participation of women in the demonstrations had a wide global resonance in the media due to the violence and persecution practised by the authorities and societal norms against them. Furthermore, the media has played an essential part in bringing the issue of feminism to public attention; as a result, it has taken a real stand against any type of marginalisation.

Many researchers have been interested in the representation and framing of feminism in media discourse in recent years. For example, Mendes (2009), and Al Maghlouth (2017), by employing framing analysis, produced important (non-corpus-

based) reference studies on the framing of feminists and feminism. Framing analysis is a method for investigating how meaning is created and how political and social leaders, as well as the news media, use it to influence the public (Allen, 2017). Nevertheless, this study considers feminism as a struggle for women. It is a theoretical dimension for examining and revising women's situations, resisting oppression, and demanding their rights (IbrarUllah, 2018). Hooks (2000) defined feminism as "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression." (p.8).

Review of Literature Feminism and Gendered Language

Since feminism is a multi-faceted term with various definitions, theories, and movements, it coexists in today's society in various forms. Therefore, it is hard to agree on a single definition of feminism. However, the scope of this study considers feminism as a struggle for social change, progress, and hope. Hooks (2000) defines feminism as "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression." (p.8). A "mainstream" feminist is "a person who believes in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes" (Adichie, 2014, p. 47). In other words, feminists strive to eliminate gender inequalities and promote emancipation (Mills & Mullany, 2011). In her introduction, Gamble (2006) gave a more detailed description of feminism: the concept of feminism is the fight against the belief that women cannot be treated similarly to men because they are women. This entails the reality that society will be built on gender inequality, with masculine ideas and attitudes taking priority. As a result, women are viewed as men's opponents, since they symbolise everything that males are unable to be. Feminism also aims to eliminate gender stereotypes, particularly of women (e.g., males are strong and powerful, while women are weak and defenceless), and to provide women with equal representation in all aspects of society. In other words, the feminist movement aspires to end patriarchy and build a world without it (Gamble, 2006).

Ropers-Huilman (2003) proposed the following three feminism principles:

- 1. Every aspect of the world benefits from the contributions of women.
- 2. Because they have been oppressed, women have been unable to reach their full potential, obtain prizes, or fully participate in society.
- 3. Feminist research should aim for more than just criticism; it should also work toward social reform.

The first principle states that women cannot be discriminated against because of their gender. They have the ability, intellect, and potential to make a difference in every corner of the globe. They cannot be confined to the confines of their own homes. As a result, the first principle expands the range of vocations and activities available to them while emphatically condemning and rejecting their subordination to housework. In the second point, the author claimed that women's lower achievement is due to fewer options available to them. They can be of equal service to the country and humanity if given the proper opportunities. The third principle encourages feminist activists to examine and combat women's oppression in addition to recognizing and categorizing it (Ropers-Huilman, 2003).

Feminists took language into account while criticising the man-made world, which is reflected in man-made language. According to Sunderland (2006), language was a crucial tool for resisting patriarchal gender philosophies at all stages of the feminist movement.

In brief, feminism is a quest for women's rights, an endeavour to highlight their strengths and accomplishments, and a strong and serious resistance to oppression and discrimination. Most significantly, the majority of these feminist philosophies utilise language to communicate their perspectives while also criticising language for expressing gender-biased identities. As a result, discourse is a crucial keyword for encompassing gender beliefs, and feminist activists cannot disregard it.

Iraq's Protest of 2019: Women of Social Change

The Iraqi protests of 2019 were a series of demonstrations, marches, sitins, and civil disobedience in Iraq. It began on October 1, 2019, a date selected by civil activists on social media to protest corruption, unemployment, and ineffective public services across Iraq's central and southern provinces. The protests soon turned violent, with calls to overthrow Iraq's government. Live bullets, expert shooters, hot water, hot pepper gas, and tear gas were used by the government, backed by Iranian-sponsored militias, against demonstrators, resulting in numerous deaths and injuries. The demonstrators demanded that the sectarian political system, which was imposed by the US following the US-led invasion in 2003 and has been characterised by sectarian divisions between Shias and Sunnis, as well as other sects, be abolished. The protests were the largest incident of civil unrest in Iraq since the invasion in 2003 (Foltyn, 2019).

Since October 2019, anti-government protests in Iraq have started a movement led by youth, notably young women, demanding an end to corruption, improved services, and job opportunities for all Iraqis. The increased visibility of women at protests during the so-called October revolution is notable, bringing to light a large wave of female participation and engagement. Women have been given a vital space and have made a mark on the movement, contributing strength in voice and numbers, supported by the men in their communities and invited to actively engage. As a result, Iraqi women have emerged as positive examples in the movement, occupying space in a society that has mostly failed to advocate for their issues (Gabriela, 2020).

While protests took place all around the world and attracted people of all genders, what happened in Iraq was extremely remarkable, especially for the Middle East. The movement brought about a "generational upheaval of patriarchal structures," according to political analyst Hafsa Halawa, which gave women exceptional space and visibility. Protesters, according to Halawa, were asking that the government meet the most pressing needs in their areas; while some villages requireed basic services, others were concerned about women's rights and political involvement. Furthermore, Halawa emphasised that male counterparts' support in welcoming women's engagement was a significant source of sustainment for their participation; also, she highlighted the differences in women's roles in protest movements across the Middle East. In addition to the reforms already outlined,

gender equality, representation, economic independence and employment, and safety from domestic violence were among the primary demands made by women (Gabriela, 2020).

As evidenced by the October Uprising's sheer scale and persistence, this generational difference is not restricted to the women's movement in Iraq. However, it has a significant impact on the emergence of a growing women's movement in the country, which is sorely needed. Furthermore, younger women who are involved in or leading areas of the protest movement benefit from the support and enabling environment provided by their male counterparts. Unlike previous generations, younger women have found it relatively easy to participate in civic life, which is a unique feature of the new generation of civic actors. Young men are actively debating with their female counterparts online the necessity of a feminist agenda and how male supporters' empowerment of women might shape women's active involvement. According to anecdotal evidence, some older men support their young daughters' involvement in activism and civil society. Moreover, young mothers have actively involved their young children, both girls and boys, in this social movement (Halawa, 2020).

These societal growth and development centres do not represent the majority of the population, and there is no general belief that women should and could participate equally in a variety of public and formal venues. To disregard the appeals for change and reform that do exist, both within society and within the protest movement, would be to dismiss what exists, however diminutive. While the women's movement as a whole must continue to deal with the considerable obstacles that society has erected in the way of women, of which there is no full list, it is critical that the chance to change and confront society's mindset not be missed (Halawa, 2020).

Iraqi women are a powerful symbol in the global campaign for gender equality. They have been shown to be powerful voices, bringing the priorities of their generation and gender to the forefront. Therefore, the chance to better serve the public interest by including more women in political life must be prioritized. This is an example that should be emulated globally, particularly for minority women—despite the barriers and conservative communities they may live in; opportunities must be created to achieve goals that are beneficial to the community and country as a whole (Gabriela, 2020). Therefore, the current study will shed light on feminism during the Iraqi protests of 2019 and its essential role in conveying a complete picture of Iraqi women during the protests and the societal change that this vital role produced.

Solidarity

The term "solidarity" is derived from the Roman law of obligations, "obligatio in solidum" (Bayertz, 1999, p. 3). Unlike in English, "obligation" refers to "a two-sided relationship that emerges on one end as a personal right to claim and on the other end as a duty to render performance (Zimmermann, 1990, p.1). However, the term "solidarity" has been employed outside of the Roman law of obligations

since the end of the eighteenth century. Stjern (2005, p. 1) credited French social philosophers such as Charles Fourier with being the first to introduce the term "solidarity" as a social idea in his 1822 book, "The Theory of Universal Unity." However, according to Wilde (2013), Pierre Leroux, who wrote a book called "Humanity" in 1840, was the first philosopher of solidarity. Solidarity has always been intimately associated with political notions such as socialism and leftist ideologies throughout history. As Prainsack and Buyx (2011) pointed out, the term "solidarity" is not only illusive and difficult to define, but it also incorporates a variety of interrelated meanings. Fourier (1822) defined solidarity as "sharing, unity, reciprocal attitudes and relations, association, and harmony" (as cited in Wilde, 2013, p. 20). Furthermore, solidarity is defined by some scholars as "a shared consciousness, experience, history, or identity," according to Scholz (2008, p.1). Salmela (2015) connected the origins of solidarity as a result of the power of "collective emotions" (p.2), which Collins (2004) referred to as emotional energy. According to Collins, this type of energy is lasting and leads to solidarity. In addition, solidarity is often associated with the word altruism, which denotes a shared set of ideas. In contemporary political theory, Bayertz (1999) proposed that solidarity is "a mutual attachment between individuals, encompassing two levels: a factual level of actual common ground between the individuals and a normative level of mutual obligations to aid each other" (p.3).

Scholz (2008) identified a number of features connected to the nature of solidarity to help us better comprehend it. Solidarity, first and foremost, serves as a bridge between individuals, communities, and groups. Solidarity, in other words, "may be identified by contrast or disagreement with a bigger or other social grouping." Furthermore, while solidarity identifies individuals, it also "emphasizes the bonds with others or interdependence." Second, solidarity is a type of unity. Third, solidarity entails "positive moral obligations and responsibilities." (Scholz, 2008, pp. 18-19). Furthermore, this concept has two meanings in the literature on solidarity, namely descriptive and normative. Solidarity in the descriptive sense refers to the context, which might be social or political. According to (Dobrzanski, 2005), the normative meaning of solidarity, on the other hand, "is utilised as a supposed and most commonly positively valued model of ties (bonds) between social entities."

Finally, one of the ways that solidarity can be expressed through language choices is through the strategic use of pronouns. According to Wilson (1990), pronouns are not only categorical but also a technique for indicating a person, number, or sex. The context as well as a range of social and personal circumstances influence the meanings of pronouns.

Methodology

The current paper employs a qualitative approach, which is defined as the "study of things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, and it usually employs observational evidence such as case studies, interviews, life stories, interactional, and visual texts" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.2).

Furthermore, the data collection method of the current study is internet-based. The researcher surfed the most well-known global and reliable agencies looking for data that tackled the role of women during the Iraqi protests of 2019. Among these agencies were France 24, the Independent, and the Daily Mail, among others. Moreover, the data of the present study has been purposefully selected. Purposeful sampling, according to Maxwell (1997), is a type of sampling in which certain settings, persons, or events are purposefully chosen for the essential information they can supply that cannot be obtained as effectively from other options.

Finally, the analysis of the study indicated the strategic use of collective alignment. The use of plural pronouns to create a discursively produced parallel connection between the producer of discourse and certain people or groups of people is referred to as the collective alignment strategy. Moreover, the strategic use of pronouns is one of the ways in which solidarity can be expressed through linguistic choices. Wilson (1990) claims that pronouns are not just categorical, and they are not just a technique to indicate a person, number, or sex. The context and a variety of social and personal factors influence the way that the meanings of pronouns are perceived. Pronouns, for example, can be employed as linguistic tools to create a sense of solidarity. This can be accomplished, for example, by employing pronouns to position oneself within or outside of a group. Additionally, pronouns can be utilised to implement a strategy of positive self and negative other representation.

Data Analysis

The current part discusses the solidarity technique of collective alignment, which is implemented by the use of plural pronouns. As mentioned earlier that the strategic use of pronouns is one of the ways in which solidarity can be expressed through linguistic choices.

Text One

In text two, the writer conveys many images of solidarity using the pronoun (we). Firstly, in the sentence, "We want a true homeland," Mariam (a 23year-old female protester) appears to use the plural pronoun (we) in order to direct attention towards her influential and effective role during the protests, as well as give the impression that she is a member of the protesters. Second, in the sentence "We were few, so we were not taken seriously," another female protester claims that the student strikes enhanced female participation in the protests. Thirdly, in the sentence "We are the future generation," Haneen, a 20-year-old protester, believes that all demonstrators have been witnessing the failure and corruption of the political system, and she adds that they are the generation of the future. Further, the writer presents the pronouns (our and all) in the sentences "Our future is unknown and our education suffers from a miserable reality," and "Women of all ages take part in different activities in the squares." The young girl uses the pronoun (our) to indicate that the miserable reality includes the fate of all people, and they are all members of this one group. In the second sentence, the writer conveys another image of solidarity using the pronoun (all), in which women as a group are cleaning, cooking, baking, and holding vigils to remember those who died in the violence that followed the demonstrations.

Text Two

In text three, the pronoun "we" is used four times. In the sentence, "We mobilized and escalated to cut the highway," a protester states that after the deadline passed with no reaction from the government, demonstrators called for a strike action. Furthermore, protesters barricaded highways from Baghdad to Basra, Iraq's southern port city. "We're not going to stop." Enough. We have had enough of everything. "We cannot be silent any longer," she continues. Moreover, the pronoun "us" is used four times in which a protester uses the pronoun "us" to show that all protesters are under the threat of the militia in the sentences "The Iranian forces are attacking us," and "What else does Iran and its parties want from us?", showing that these militias are affiliated with and supported by Iran. Finally, the pronoun "our" is used in the sentence "we are not going to go back to our houses," in which a woman states her refusal to leave until the demands are responded to by the government, and she uses the pronoun "our" to show that the demands of all protesters are the same and they share the same goals.

Text Three

Baan Jaafar (a female protester) says, "We will continue to defend our rights through demonstrations and participate in the decision to build a new Iraq after the demonstrations," which is a way whereby female protesters intend to accentuate the notion of solidarity by utilising the pronouns "we" and "our". Similarly, Nada Hassan, another protester, appears and says, "We came out today against those who accuse Iraqi female demonstrators in Tahrir Square," adding, "We tell them that even if you kill or threaten us, we will continue to support the demonstrators."

Text Four

In the fifth text, the writer conveys many images that include a spirit of solidarity, where the demonstrators express their opinions using plural pronouns, as in "We have plenty of artists in this country but nowhere can they express their art." "We are the generation of change-change for the better! ";" We are not here to attack the state. We want to bring joy and colour. "Our country really needed this," and "we're telling the world that the Iraqi people are alive and well." These statements indicate that the demonstrations of 2019 are not just a national revolution, but also rather an artistic revolution that sends messages of peace to the world despite all the difficulties and challenges facing these people.

Text Five

In the sentence "We want to take back our country," "we" and "our" are used by one of the young protesters, who claims that the demonstrators want to restore their homeland from the corrupt and that no one represents these demonstrations except the protesters themselves, which distinguishes these protests from others in Iraq's history. Thus, the demonstrators are primarily young students, unemployed people, or Iraqis unsatisfied with the country's services. They have not formally organized, and no single political group is in charge of the demonstrations. It is, in that sense, leaderless and relatively informal, consisting primarily of groups of friends, classmates, and neighbours.

Text Six

The pronoun "we" is used by a protester in the sentence "We came here prepared to die," showing that after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, they have not seen anything good. Moreover, in the sentence "They have stolen everything from us — they have stolen even our dreams," a university student protester reveals his desperation in Iraq because of governments that have brought nothing but corruption and injustice.

Text Seven

In text nine, the pronouns "we," "our," and "us" are used by protesters, as in the sentences "We will continue to defend our rights through demonstrations," "We came out today against those who accuse Iraqi females," and "We tell them that even if you kill or threaten us, we will continue to support the demonstrators." The writer states that despite some elderly women discouraging young women from participating in protests, claiming that their voices are "a flaw" and need to be silenced, men and youth supported women and have been chanting slogans like "Your Voice Is Not a Flaw; It's Revolution" and "You Are Revolution" in reaction to attempts to silence women. Moreover, among the hundreds of male activists killed, militias have kidnapped a few women. These militias have been launching baseless accusations against women activists, alleging promiscuity in protest sit-ins and tents. In particular, sexual defamation has dangerous consequences in conservative societies, especially for women and girls, who are literally at risk of "honor killings." What is more, those who are part of the revolution are unconcerned with traditions that they believe are misogynistic, and they openly challenge them.

Text Eight

The Independent spoke to Mohamed Fadhel, a civil activist and friend of a female protester, who said, "The kidnappings, tortures, and deaths that are intended to scare us will do nothing except increase our presence here until we finish with this failed and corrupt government." Moreover, Haneen Ghranem, an activist and protester, says, "We are all here threatened", "All the women who came out from the beginning, before and after the kidnapping of Saba are still here. All know they could face kidnapping. "Finally, Ghranem adds, "All the women here know that they could die at any moment."

Text Nine

"The politicians have villas, but we have nothing," says a woman protester. Moreover, "We want change," says a student protester. Similarly, as he retouches broken pavement paint near Tahrir, a 20-year-old building painter explains, "We want to make everything more beautiful." Furthermore, another protester says, "Those of us with white hair should also be here to support the youth."

Text Ten

A young female protester, Zainab Ahmad, says, "We want to protect women's role in the protests as we're just like the men." There are efforts to kick us out of Tahrir, but we'll only come back stronger". Further, "Some people were inciting against us a few days ago. "But we turned out today in large numbers to prove to those people that their efforts will end in failure," "she added. Moreover, protester Raya Assi states, "They want us to be a second Iran, but Iraqi women weren't born to let men dictate to them what to do. They have to accept us the way we are."

Results

The analysis of the data for the present study shows that writers convey images that create a sense of solidarity used by the protesters to position themselves as one group and as a part of the demonstrations using plural pronouns. Table 1 shows the number and percentage of each pronoun.

Table 1 *Analysis of Collective Pronouns*

Pronoun Type	Frequency	Percentage
We	24	52.17%
All	3	6.52%
Us	11	23.91%
Our	8	17.39%

The table above demonstrates that the pronoun "we" has the highest frequency and percentage, since it is utilised 24 times out of 46 collective pronouns, making it the most prevalent at 52.17%. Moreover, the pronoun "us" has the second highest frequency and percentage in which it is replicated 11 times, making 23.91%. Then, the pronoun "our" is repeated eight times, making 17.39%. Finally, the pronoun "all" has the lowest percentage, which is 6.52%.

Context and a range of social and personal factors affect the way in which we interpret the meaning of pronouns. As Wilson (1990) stated, the use of pronouns in discourse could be linked with an ideology. Thus, in this study, plural pronouns are employed to denote various group affiliations, to evoke a sense of collective responsibility, and to create an image of women who are highly involved and committed to their work.

The analysis showed that protesters used the pronoun "we" to signal positive relations among themselves as one group. Feminists, for example, utilised plural pronouns to refer to themselves and those protesters who were similar to them. Those protesters were frequently portrayed in a positive light. Thus, the feminists used collective pronouns to create a distinction between "them" and "us," where "us" represented feminists and "them" represented the ones against the protests. Thus, the

findings show that although pronouns can be used to include, they can also signify exclusion. What is more, this representation reflects the disagreement between the two sides. In addition to signalling positive relationships, protesters employed plural pronouns to convey an issue as a collective concern.

Conclusion

The analysis of this paper indicates the strategic use of collective alignment, by which collective pronouns are utilised to create a sense of solidarity. Using plural pronouns, writers create images that establish a sense of solidarity, which protesters utilise to position themselves as one group and as a part of the demonstrations. In addition, the analysis shows that the pronoun "we" has the greatest frequency and percentage, followed by the pronouns "us," "our," and finally the pronoun "all."

The analysis shows that the protesters employ collective pronouns to emphasise positive relationships among themselves as a group that plays a role in making a turning point and a major challenge to societal norms. Thus, this usage represents the ideology of marginalised groups. Feminists, for example, used plural pronouns to refer to themselves and other protesters who shared similar views. As a result, feminists employed collective pronouns to distinguish between "them" and "us," in which "us" represented feminists and "them" represented those opposed to the protests. Moreover, the 2019 protests enabled women to become leaders after women were the weakest part of a patriarchal society. Most women are now expressing themselves as a group that has its own status and has an effective and influential voice. These women use plural pronouns to claim, vote, express, and participate in all decisions that represent the entire community.

Bibliography

Adichie, C. N. (2014). We should all be feminists. London: Fourth Estate.

Al Maghlouth, S. (2017). A Critical discourse analysis of social change in women related posts on Saudi English-Language blogs posted between 2009 and 2012 {Doctoral thesis, Lancaster University}. https://doi.org/10.17635/lancaster/thesis/145

Allen, M. (2017). *Frame Analysis*. The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods.

Bayertz, K. (1999). Four uses of solidarity. In K. Bayertz (Ed.), *Solidarity* (pp. 3-28). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction ritual chains*. Princeton University Press. *Communication Monographs* 12(3-4): 145-203.

Denzin, N.K, & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. In N.K Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.1-18). USA: Sage publications.

Dobrzanski, D. (2005). The concept of solidarity and its properties. In T. Buksiński & D. Dobrzański (Eds.), *Eastern Europe and the challenges of*

Globalization (pp. 135–146). Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2018.1479880

Foltyn, S. (2019, October 27). 'They are worse than Saddam': Iraqis take to streets to topple regime: Nationalist protesters clash with security forces as the toll of dead and injured rises. The Guardian.

 $\underline{https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/27/iraq-protests-aim-topple-regime}$

Gabriela, B. (2020, October 1). *Iraq's nationwide mobilization is also a women's issue*. LinkedIn. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/iraqs-nationwide-mobilization-also-womens-issue-gabriela-billini

Gamble, S. (2006). *The Routledge companion to feminism and postfeminism*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.

Halawa, H. (2020). *Iraqi women in civil society*. American University of Iraq.

Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press. https://www.pacificu.edu/about/media/four-waves-feminism

IbrarUllah, Muhammad (2018). Linguistic Description of Gender: A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis of Elementary Level English Textbooks in KPK. {Unpublished master thesis}. National University of modern languages, Islamabad.

Maxwell, J. (1997). Designing a qualitative study. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), *Handbook of applied social research methods* (pp. 69-100). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mendes, K. (2009). Reporting the women's movement: A cross-national comparison of representations of second wave feminism and equal rights issues in the United Kingdom and United States daily press, 1968-1982 {Unpublished doctoral thesis, Cardiff University}. http://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/54494

Mills, S. & Mullany, M. (2011). Language gender and feminism: Theory, methodology and practice. Abingdon: Routledge.

Prainsack, B., & Buyx, A. (2011). *Solidarity: Reflections on an emerging concept in bioethics*. Retrieved in December 28, 2021 from http://nuffieldbioethics.org/wpcontent/uploads/2014/07/Solidarity_report_FINAL.pdf

Ropers-Huilman, B. (2003). *Gendered futures in higher education:* Critical perspectives for change. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Salmela, M. (2015). Collective emotions as 'the glue' of group solidarity. In A. Laitinen & A. B. Pessi (Eds.), *Solidarity: Theory and practice* (pp. 55-87). Lexington Books.

Scholz, S. (2008). *Political solidarity*. University Park, PA Pennsylvania State University Press.

Stjernø, S. (2005). *Solidarity in Europe: The history of an idea*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sunderland, J. (2006). Language and gender: An advanced resource book. Routledge.

Wilde, L. (2013). *Global solidarity*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Wilson, John. (1990). *Politically Speaking*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd. Zimmermann, R. (1990). *The law of obligations: Roman foundations of the civilian tradition*. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta & Co.

Appendix

Text One: Women in Iraq are rising from the ashes of war to join protestors calling for political change

https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/iraq-revolution-women-protests-iran-lebanon-a9186141.html

Text Two: 'We Are Not Going To Leave': Iraq's Protests Escalate https://www.npr.org/2020/01/22/798492825/we-are-not-going-to-leave-iraqs-protests-escalate

Text Three: Women and men stick together in Iraq after cleric al-Sadr criticizes protesters' 'immorality'

https://www.dw.com/en/women-and-men-stick-together-in-iraq-after-cleric-alsadr-criticizes-protesters-immorality/a-52372819

Text Four: Under Tahrir, young Iraqi artists paint revolutionary road https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-7665103/Under-Tahrir-young-Iraqi-artists-paint-revolutionary-road.html

Text Five: Iraqis hold largest anti-government protest yet

 $\underline{https://beta.dw.com/en/iraq-anti-government-protesters-hold-largest-rally-since-demonstrations-began/a-51087850}$

Text Six: 'They Have Stolen Everything From Us': Iraq's Anti-Government Protests Continue

 $\underline{https://www.npr.org/2019/11/05/776051741/they-have-stolen-everything-from-\underline{us-iraqs-anti-government-protests-continue}$

Text Seven: Women protesters in Iraq defy radical cleric, take to street https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-8001165/Women-protesters-Iraq-defy-radical-cleric-street.html

Text Eight: Women in Iraq defiantly take to the streets despite fears they 'could die at any moment'

https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/iraq-protests-women-streets-death-torture-revolution-tahir-square-a9213976.html

Text Nine: From Baghdad to Basra, the faces of Iraq's 'October Revolution'

 $\underline{https://www.france24.com/en/20191211-from-baghdad-to-basra-the-faces-of-iraq-s-october-revolution}$

Text Ten: Hundreds of Iraqi women defy cleric to protest authorities https://www.france24.com/en/20200213-hundreds-of-iraqi-women-defy-cleric-to-protest-authorities

الملخص

تركز الدراسة على كيفية تمثيل الظواهر الاجتماعية والفاعلين الاجتماعيين في الخطاب لتحديد والتحقيق في كيفية حدوث التغيير لتعزيز الأمل والإلهام والتضامن. فضلا عن ذلك ، تهدف إلى استكشاف كيفية تصوير النسوية في بعض وسائل الإعلام الغربية. يتبنى الباحث استخدام ويلسون (١٩٩٠) الاستراتيجي للضمائر كأداة لغوية لتحليل البيانات. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، يتم استخدام نهج نوعي في تحليل البيانات. وفي هذا الصدد ، اختار الباحث ١٢ مقالاً من بعض المواقع الإعلامية الغربية تعنى بكيفية تصوير النسوية خلال احتجاجات العراق الباحث ٢٠١٩. يقدم التحليل إجابة على السؤال ؛ كيف يتم استخدام الاستراتيجية الخطابية للضمير الجماعي في النصوص لدعم موضوع التضامن؟ أظهر التحليل أن الكتاب ينقلون صورًا تخلق إحساسًا بالتضامن يستخدمه المتظاهرون لتقديم أنفسهم كمجموعة واحدة وكجزء من المظاهرات باستخدام ضمائر الجمع. كذلك ، أظهر التحليل أن الضمير "نحن" ، و "لدينا" ، وأخيرًا الضمير "الكل".