COUNTRY CONDITIONS IN IRAQ:
Declaration in Support of LGBT Iraqis in Immigration, Asylum, or Refugee Status Proceedings

Submitted by IGLHRC on June 30, 2014

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To Whom It May Concern:

This declaration seeks to provide a concise discussion and history of country conditions in Iraq for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and intersex (LGBTI) individuals and argues that LGBTI individuals as well as those perceived to be LGBTI are at heightened risk of grave harm and persecution. This risk has been elevated by an increase in violence and militia

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1 The International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC) is a civil society organization with consultative status at the United Nations. Since 1990 IGLHRC has been representing the concerns and human rights of people who experience discrimination based on their actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity, or expression. Our organization is headquartered in New York, and we have regional staff and field offices in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. IGLHRC has worked with Iraqi civil society and LGBT Iraqis since at least 2008.

2 USCIS describes the international standard for “well-founded fear of persecution” as a reasonable possibility of suffering future harm in the country of origin. Well-founded fear consists of both a subjective (genuine) and objective (factual basis) element, and fear itself breaks down into four criteria: possession of a protected characteristic (in this case being LGBTI or perceived to be LGBTI), awareness of this, and then the combined capability and inclination of the persecutor to act. A pattern or practice of persecution of individuals similar to the applicant, moreover, also solidifies a claim of well-founded fear of persecution, and in this case the applicant bears no burden to demonstrate that she would be singled out. These guidelines are based on the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act as well as U.S. case law. See Lesson Plan Overview: Asylum Officer Basic Training, USCIS, Asylum Eligibility Part II: Well-Founded Fear, at 1-10 (2009), http://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/USCIS/Humanitarian/Refugees%20%26%20Asylum/Asylum/AOBTC%20Lesson%20Plans/Well-Founded-Fear-31aug10.pdf.
activity in Iraq in the past month. Based on the documented pattern of violence against LGBTI Iraqis since 2004 and considering the return of religious militias, it would be reasonable to conclude that LGBTI Iraqis, generally, have a well-founded fear of persecution based on their sexual orientation or gender identity, practice, or expression.

While many social groups are at risk of violent attacks and persecution in Iraq, the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHR) encourages all government and inter-governmental officials to consider the especially precarious situation of LGBTI Iraqi asylum seekers and refugees, who, in addition to their fear of persecution, may lack family support or social networks, and who may face persecution anew in Iraq’s bordering countries.
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I. Note on Language, Imputed Group Membership, and Intersectionality

Although many reports, including this one, lead with the language of LGBTI, it is important to note that individuals who suffer persecution may be targeted based on their perceived as well as actual identity, sexuality, gender expression, or physical characteristics. The term “LGBTI” where it is used in this report, refers to people who self-identify as LGBTI, but for the purposes of refugee and asylum claims should also be understood to encompass those who are perceived as engaging in homosexual acts or those who do not conform to expectations of masculinity or femininity. The construction of identity (at the subjective level of each person), the perception of identity markers (by others in society), sexual acts, and a person’s physical sex are analytically distinct notions. The term “LGBTI,” if not deployed carefully, can flatten significant differences between these individuals and make invisible certain harms. For example, people may be targeted for violence on the basis of outward signals of non-conformity with norms of masculinity/femininity. Violence based on this non-conformity could sweep up lesbians, trans men and women, and gay men. Alternately, people could be targeted (by the law, for example) according to their particular sexual acts/practices (e.g., same sex sodomy).

Intersex persons are frequently grouped with LGBT people, but persecution based on a person’s intersex status may be of a different order. This Report does not discuss any intersex cases but includes the “I” for completeness and because many resources that address LGBT refugee issues also discuss adjudicatory hurdles particular to intersex people. This Report does not use the term “sexual minorities” because the term tends to prioritize the experience of those who are lesbian and gay and reduces visibility of those persecuted on the basis of gender performance. The term sexual minority presumes that people are persecuted because they are engaging in sexual acts, but again this flattens the gender performance aspect of the analysis. Bearing in mind all these subtleties, IGLHRC resorts to the term LGBTI for the sake of convenience and brevity in the remainder of this report to refer to actual as well as imputed membership in a particular persecuted “social group.”

The LGBTI “grouping” may intersect with other types of persecution or risk of harm. For example, LGBTI applicants may seek asylum or refugee status based on their HIV-positive status, which could be understood as a “marker” of homosexuality (HIV-positive status could lead to imputed homosexuality). Another example of intersecting

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persecution is where lesbians face severe harms that befall many women in addition to harms that are suffered particularly by members of the lesbian community. Similarly, transgender individuals may be even more visibly transgressing norms and therefore be subjected to heightened persecution. In sum, harm may vary in type and in degree across the LGBTI spectrum and may intersect with other vulnerabilities or group memberships. This report focuses on some well-documented and extreme harms that LGBTI applicants face in Iraq, including physical and sexual violence; execution by militias; and imprisonment. LGBTI applicants in Iraq may also face general harms particular to LGBTI people that are not detailed in this report, such as forced marriage; forced psychiatric treatment; long-term systematic discrimination; and threats of violence or of “outing” the applicant (blackmail).

II. Evidentiary Standards

Sexual orientation claims tend to rely heavily on the applicant’s own testimony to establish all the elements of the claim, and it is therefore critical for the interviewer in refugee or asylum proceedings to elicit all relevant testimony. This can be challenging. An applicant from Iraq could give testimony that appears unlikely or unreasonable, but this does not necessarily mean it is implausible that the events actually occurred. What is plausible based on an applicant’s experiences and based on the interviewer’s experiences may be different. For example, if an applicant is not familiar with the terms lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, gender non-conforming, gender identity, etc., it is not implausible that he or she is LGBTI. Applicants might only know local words that are slurs or may be unfamiliar with the application of LGBTI terms. Similarly, some applicants with LGBTI-related claims will not “look” or “behave” “LGBTI” and an interviewer cannot impose a culturally specific notion of

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4 For a resource that addresses the particularities and differences of a transgender person’s application see, Ellen A. Jenkins, Taking the Square Peg Out of the Round Hole: Addressing the Misclassification of Transgender Asylum Seekers, 40 Golden Gate U.L. Rev. (2009), available at http://digitalcommons.law.ggu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2008&context=ggulrev (last visited June 25, 2014) (discussing how the “sexual orientation” grouping has been erroneously applied in transgender cases and proposing strategies for overcoming adjudicatory issues).


6 Id. at 39

7 Id. at 40
how LGBTI people ought to behave or look. For example not all lesbian women will appear masculine and not all gay men will appear effeminate, although some lesbian and gay persons may fit these expectations.

Across cultures, signals about a person’s identity, sexual practices, or gender expression may vary, so a person may appear “obviously” gay in Iraqi society but not fit stereotypes formed in other countries about gay individuals. For example, the fact of being in a heterosexual marriage does not automatically disprove a claim of persecution based on membership in the LGBTI “group.” Interviewers should therefore focus on eliciting testimony about exactly why and on what basis the applicant fears harm. For more critical information about evidentiary standards, including consistency, detail, corroborating evidence (and how this differs for sexual orientation vs. transgender identity versus HIV-positive status), see U.S. Citizen and Immigration service’s officer training course Guidance for Adjudicating Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex (LGBTI) Refugee and Asylum Claims. This is a government document focused specifically on adjudication of LGBTI claims that can be cited for all the common sense arguments made in this paragraph. Immigration Equality also has a number of useful resources for adjudicators as well as applicants.

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8 Id. at 40

9 “If you practice this area of law, you should be familiar with pages 61-64 of this Guidance. Specifically, the Guidance lays out possible ‘changed circumstances’ exceptions where the applicant: has recently ‘come out’ as LGBT; is transgender and has recently taken medical steps in his or her transition which changes his or her outward appearance; or has been recently diagnosed with HIV. The Guidance also lays out some LGBTI-specific ‘extraordinary circumstances’ exceptions which may arise, including; severe medical problems relating to HIV; mental health issues including PTSD and mental health consequences of being subjected to psychiatric ‘treatment’ in the home country to ‘cure’ him or her of being LGBTI; severe family or community opposition or isolation, recognizing that many LGBTI people will not have the support of family or extended community upon arriving in the U.S.” See Victoria Neilson, Ground-breaking USCIS Guidance on LGBTI Asylum Claims, Immigration Daily, http://www.ilw.com/articles/2012,0314-neilson.shtm (last visited June 25, 2014).

III. The Use of Country Condition Reports

Although the primary source of evidence in any immigration case must be each applicant’s own testimony, and although that testimony alone can suffice to establish an applicant’s eligibility for asylum or refugee status under U.S. or international law, country condition evidence may corroborate an applicant’s claims. The purpose of this submission, therefore, is to synthesize existing evidence and research on country conditions in Iraq, referencing diverse sources that speak specifically to the country climate for LGBTI individuals. This report might be used 1) by visa applicants to the United States as an appendix to SIV or P2, 2) by asylum applicants or 3) by officials around the globe in immigration or administrative proceedings for LGBTI persons to supplement other country condition reports, which often lack information on persecution of LGBTI people.

The intention of this submission is to provide additional context and to fill in evidentiary gaps for individual cases. Documents like this one can help clarify why incidents of violence and discrimination against LGBTI individuals often are not recorded, and in particular what this reveals about the situation of LGBTI people in Iraq. For example, the UN refugee agency’s (UNHCR) public data on refugees is not disaggregated according to sexual orientation or gender expression, and official reports from Iraqi or other governments on the conditions for LGBTI people are sparse. It is necessary, therefore, to rely on reports from civil society organizations that document abuse and interview LGBTI individuals themselves.

It bears repeating, however, that country condition information is not, strictly speaking, necessary where an applicant has already provided specific, credible, and detailed testimony.\textsuperscript{11} Therefore this report should not be used to impose a higher evidentiary burden on any applicant, and any individual’s history may differ significantly from the generalized background information reported here.

IV. Exacerbated Sectarian Strife and the Return of the Religious Militias

On June 10th, 2014, international news sources started reporting that Sunni militants from the movement known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) had successfully taken over Mosul—Iraq’s second largest city and a regional capital—and had released 1400 prisoners from city jails.\textsuperscript{12} Soon after, reports stated that the

\textsuperscript{11} According to the REAL ID Act, potential asylees only need to corroborate “material facts which are central to [their] claim and easily subject to verification” n. 28 at 3, http://harvardimmigrationclinic.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/here.pdf

militants were moving south towards Baghdad, that the Iraqi army was plagued by desertions, and that confidence in Nuri al-Maliki and the Iraqi government was evaporating.13 By June 15th, the militants were tweeting and blogging photos claiming that they had been carrying out mass executions of Shiite and government-associated individuals, but the identity of the victims and the death toll could not be verified independently.14 By that time, the U.S. had begun removing staff from its Embassy, the first time it had done so since the U.S. invasion in 2003 (indicating that the violence could pose a threat even to those inside the so-called green zone).15 The U.N. also started pulling its staff around the same time.16

Reports from Mosul suggested that police officers and government workers might have been targeted for summary execution and that the ISIS militants issued pronouncements that strict Islamic law would be applied.17 The New York Times reported that the rise of ISIS was years in the making, dating back to ISIS’s founding in 2006.18 This same report states that the goal of the extremist group, which opposes modern conceptions of the nation-state, is to carve out a caliphate spanning Iraq, Syria, and the Levant.19 ISIS has reportedly allied itself with some secular Baathists and other tribal militias, which share a common enemy: Iraqi security forces and Shiites.20 The U.N. reported on June 24, 2014 that at least 1,075 people have been killed in Iraq so far this month, most of them civilians.21

17 Id.
18 Tim Arango et. al, Rebels’ Fast Strike in Iraq Was Years in the Making, The NY Times, June 14, 2014
19 Id.
20 Id.
Mokta al-Sadr, a Shia cleric who received theological training in Iran, led the Mahdi army in 2009 and 2012, when militia members were known to target LGBTI individuals for torture and murder. The Mahdi army has remobilized recently and is reported to have announced that it “would under no circumstances be under the control of the government.” This can be read as a challenge not only to the Shiite-controlled government but also to the country’s Shiite religious establishment, represented by Grand Ayatollah Sistani, who has also called for his followers to take up arms.

V. Iraqi Law

Even if consensual homosexual conduct is not technically a crime in Iraq, the country has a number of laws that encourage the harassment, arrest, and imprisonment of LGBTI individuals. For example, the 1951 civil code, article 1(2), explains that, in the absence of a specific textual basis for prosecuting civil wrongs, courts may resort to customs, and failing a strong custom, resort may be made to the most relevant principle of sharia law. Chapter five of the penal code provides the possibility of amnesty for violent criminals (for example, although the law doesn’t specify this, it could provide amnesty for violent crimes committed against LGBT persons) with “honorable motives” or in response to “serious provocation of a victim” (providing a mitigating excuse). A separate law passed by the Iraqi Parliament in 2008 makes amnesty (a formal pardon) impossible for persons convicted of crimes related to sodomy, along with convicts of rape, incest, kidnapping, and aggravated theft.

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22 Id.

23 See discussion supra Parts III and IV.


25 Id.

26 It’s important to note that the only circumstances in which sodomy is explicitly criminalized are those in which vaginal sexual intercourse are also criminalized, such as rape and sex with a relative. It doesn’t appear that sodomy is singled out in any way by Iraqi law; rather, the use of the term “sodomy” in the country’s legal codes seems to be an attempt at being inclusive.


28 Id.

29 See Id. Full text of the amnesty law in Arabic is available at http://www.iraq-lg-law.org/ar/content/%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%81%D9%88-%D8%B1%D9%82%D9%85-19-%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%86%D8%A9-2008-0.
VI. 2009: Campaign of Violence

Although reported murders of gay men and lesbians in Baghdad go back to 2004 and there have been sporadic reports of murders in the Western press since 2005, the first organized and documented campaign of violence started in 2009, during an atmosphere of moral panic that cut across sectarian lines. One extremist group described by The Observer would troll internet chat rooms and gay websites to locate its victims. A computer science graduate student and hardline Islamist who performed this task explained, “It is the easiest way to find those people who are destroying Islam and who want to dirty the reputation we took centuries to build up.”

One victim’s mother described how she found her son’s remains three days after he was kidnapped: “We found his body with signs of torture, his anus filled with glue and without his genitals… I will carry this image with me until my dying day.”

Although it was not always clear which groups were responsible for the murders, the Mahdi army—one of the most infamous militias connected with the killings—is known for its targeting of non-conforming and LGBTI people. Militia members reportedly invaded homes and kidnapped men suspected of being gay, ultimately taking them to Sadr City (a large Shia slum in Baghdad), torturing them, killing them, and dumping their bodies in the streets as a warning. The reported killings were most numerous in Baghdad but there were also attacks and acts of torture in Kirkuk, Najaf, and Basra. In some cases, torturers injected glue up the anuses of victims and induced diarrhea; an official from the UN assistance mission for Iraq told HRW in April 2009 that the dead “probably already numbered ‘in the hundreds.’” Human Rights Watch also reported “accounts of police complicity in abuse—ranging from harassing ‘effeminate’ men at

30 These reports are from the research and reporting of of Rasha Moumneh (middle east north Africa division of HRW) and Scott Long, based on 22 interviews with Iraqi men, 24 phone interviews/ email/chat. “They Want us Exterminated”: Murder, Torture, Sexual Orientation and Gender in Iraq. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Aug. 17, 2009, at 47, http://www.hrw.org/node/85049/section/2


32 Id.

33 “Sometimes their bodies are daubed with offensive terms such as “pervert”, or “puppy” which is a hate word for gay men in Iraq.” Anti-gay attacks on rise in Iraq, BBC, Aug. 17, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8204853.stm.


36 Id. at 2
checkpoints, to possible abduction and extrajudicial killing.”

In April 2009, IGLHRC sent a letter to Iraq’s minister of human rights, Wijdan Salim, asking that the Iraqi government take steps to protect LBGT people. The letter described the confirmed murders of six men whose bodies were found in the Sadr City neighborhood, an arson attack against a Sadr City coffee house that was popular among gay men and MSM, and mentioned other reports indicating dozens of extra-judicial murders across Iraq. Also in April that year, IGLHRC and Human Rights Watch jointly appealed to the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance.

VII. 2012: Violence Renewed

In 2012, human rights organizations started reporting a new wave of violence, though the killings seemed to target teenagers who dressed “brashly,” and this time the Iraqi government itself labeled the youth as enemies. The attacks seemed to be part of a broader effort of social cleansing, a wider sweep against non-conforming people. On February 13, 2012, Iraq’s Interior Ministry released a statement that condemned the “phenomenon of emo” as Satanic; the statement said that rebellious teenage fashions of dark clothes, skull-print T-shirts and nose rings are emblems of the devil. The condemnation of this so-called “emo” look, at times conflated homosexuality with this particular style of dress, which some Iraqis consider effeminate. These killings and the statements from government officials made clear that the Iraqi government was unable and unwilling to protect non gender-conforming persons, and may even have participated in their harassment through police detentions and mistreatment.

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39 Id.  
40 Iraq: Statement on Recent Murder and Violence, IGLHRC, April 8, 2009, https://iglhrc.org/content/iraq-statement-recent-murder-and-violence  
VIII. Today: Presumption Raised by Past Persecution

As a general rule in U.S. asylum jurisprudence and practice, once an applicant has established past persecution, an asylum officer must presume that the applicant’s fear of future persecution is well founded, and the burden shifts to the government to establish that the fear is no longer well founded (for example, because there has been a critical change in circumstances so that the applicant no longer has a well-founded fear, or because the applicant could relocate internally and it would be reasonable to do so).42

Even if the past persecution has not occurred against the individual applicant herself or himself, a pattern or practice of persecution of individuals similar to the applicant will also solidify a claim of well-founded fear of persecution, and in this case the applicant would not have to demonstrate that she or he has been singled out.

A fundamental change in conditions on the ground in Iraq has occurred, but not for the better: the government is even weaker than it was in 2009 and 2012 and the Mahdi Army networks of violence have been reactivated. Today we are seeing the resurgence of armed groups and a loss of confidence in the Iraqi state. A major breakdown in security can lead to moral panic, as it did in Iraq in 2009. At that time the government permitted violence against “deviants” to occur with impunity. Then in 2012, the Minister of the Interior made statements that contributed to the stigmatization of gender non-conforming youth. Current conditions in Iraq are similar or worse to the conditions that saw the targeted murder and torture of LGBTI individuals in the past. As a result, there should be a strong presumption that LGBTI Iraqis have a well-founded fear of persecution, and that any discrimination or violence they face mostly likely will be shrouded in impunity.

IX. Conclusion

In its 2009 guidelines for treatment of LGBTI asylum seekers from Iraq, UNHCR explains: “While homosexuality is not prohibited by Iraqi law, it is a strict taboo and considered to be against Islam. Since 2003, Iraq’s largely marginalized and vulnerable lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community has frequently been targeted for attacks in an environment of impunity.”43 Considering this statement


from the UNHCR and the foregoing evidence, IGLHRC concludes that the risk or likelihood that grave harm will be inflicted upon LGBTI individuals or persons perceived as LGBTI has increased dramatically in the past few weeks. We therefore urge each official worldwide charged with the protection of refugees to take the pattern of past persecution of LGBTI Iraqis as strong evidence that they are today in an extremely precarious situation.

Respectfully submitted,

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*While IGLHRC may not be able to comment on the particulars of an individual’s application, for Iraq country condition information, please contact mena@iglhrc.org.