

الإقصاء الهيكلي والهشاشة المركبة: تداعيات غياب الوثائق المدنية على النازحات في موصل ما بعد النزاع

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Structural Exclusion and Composite Vulnerability: The Ramifications of Missing Civil Documentation for Internally Displaced Women in Post-Conflict Mosul

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المخلص

لقد جلبت مرحلة ما بعد تنظيم داعش أزمات معيشية حادة واجهت النازحين داخلياً والعائدين على حد سواء، لا سيما مع انتقالهم من المخيمات التي كانت تُدار رسمياً إلى عشوائيات ومواقع غير نظامية داخل المدن. تبحث هذه الدراسة في مسألة ما يُعرف بـ "اللانظامية القانونية" أو "اللا مرئية القانونية" الناجمة عن افتقار النازحين والعائدين إلى الوثائق المدنية والرسمية. وقد أُجري البحث الميداني لهذه الدراسة في مدينة الموصل خلال الفترة الممتدة بين تشرين الثاني/نوفمبر 2025 ونيسان/أبريل 2026، حيث اعتمدت الدراسة على نموذج بحثي تجريبي فريد ثنائي المجموعات (Dual-Cohort)، شمل 44 مقابلة معمقة مع مخرين رئيسيين (Key Informants). ومن خلال منشور "الهشاشة التقاطعية" لكيمبرلي كرينشو، ومفهوم "الإنسان



المستباح / الحياة المجردة" (Homo Sacer / Bare Life) في ظل "حالة الاستثناء" لجورجيو أغامبين، تقصت الورقة البحثية جملة من العقبات الممنهجة التي تفرضها بنية تحتية المؤسسات الحكومية، كما تُقدّم إحصاءات تُشير إلى أن 100% من المشاركين الذين أُجريت معهم المقابلات مُنعوا من الوصول إلى الموارد الحضرية من قِبل جهات رسمية مُخوّلة في المحافظات؛ وأن 60% منهم فُرضت عليهم رسوم سمسرة باهظة من قِبل وسطاء غير رسميين مقابل خدمات كانت مجانية في الأصل؛ وأن 85.7% منهم تعرّضوا لمضايقات مُختلفة من قِبل موظفين في مكاتب حكومية وقوات أمنية. وتُشكّل الأسر التي تعيلها نساء نسبة كبيرة من النازحين داخلياً، ويحوّل غياب الوثائق هويتهم القانونية إلى سلعة تُباع وتُشتري. يُؤدّي هذا إلى خلق سوق مُربحة، تدفع النازحين والعائدين إلى اقتصاد خفيّ حيث يُصبحون عُرضة لأنواع مُختلفة من الاستغلال الشديد، بما في ذلك دعارة الأطفال، والاتجار بالبشر لأغراض جنسية، والزواج المؤقت الذي يُعقد بشكل غير رسمي وبالتالي غير مُسجّل. ونتيجة لذلك، يواجه الأطفال المولودون من هذه العلاقات خطر انعدام الجنسية العابر للأجيال؛ إذ حُرّم 57.1% من الأطفال في المجموعة (ب) المشمولة بالدراسة من حق الوصول إلى الرعاية الصحية والتعليم لافتقارهم إلى الوثائق الثبوتية.

تطرح الدراسة نموذجاً مبتكراً ومتعدد القطاعات للحماية، يتألف من ثلاثة مستويات: (1) الحماية بين الأقران ورفع مستوى الوعي داخل المجتمعات؛ (2) الحماية الفردية عبر دعم "النقد مقابل الإيجار" والمساعدة القانونية؛ (3) الحماية المؤسسية من خلال تشكيل فرق توثيق متنقلة تقودها النساء، وإنشاء مساحات آمنة وخاضعة للتدقيق والرقابة، يمكن من خلالها إعادة ربط المواطنين المهمشين "المجردين من الأوراق الرسمية" بالبنى المؤسسية للدولة التي تكفل تقديم الحقوق على أسس رسمية وقانونية.

Abstract

Life after ISIS has brought severe survival crises for internally displaced people (IDPs) and returnees as they have moved from formally managed camps to informal sites within cities. This study explores the issue of so called "legal invisibility" caused by the IDPs' and returnees' lack of civil and formal documents. The empirical research for this study was conducted between November 2025 and April 2026 in the city of Mosul. The study was based on a unique dual-cohort empirical research model, comprising 44 in-depth Key Informant Interviews. Through the prism of Kimberlé Crenshaw's work on intersectional vulnerability and Giorgio Agamben's Homo Sacer (Bare Life) within a State of Exception, the paper investigates a number of systematic obstacles imposed by a





mechanistic and frequently rigged government institutions on IDPs and returnees seeking protection by the state. It further provides statistics that indicate that 100% of interviewed participants had been denied access to urban resources by formally authorized governorate gatekeepers; 60% were charged exorbitant brokerage fees by informal intermediaries for services that were formally free; and 85.7% were subjected to a variety of harassment by employees of governmental offices as well as security forces. A large share of IDPs are female-headed households, and the lack of documents turns their legal identity into a commodity that can be purchased for a price. This creates a lucrative market, driving IDPs and returnees into a shadow economy where they are at risk of a variety of severe exploitation, including child prostitution, sex trafficking and temporary marriages that are conducted on an informal basis and are therefore unregistered. The children born of such relationships are, in turn, at risk of intergenerational statelessness, with 57.1% of children in the study's Cohort B being denied access to health care and education on the basis of lacking documentation. The research proposes a novel multi-sector protection model comprising (1) peer protection and awareness raising within communities; (2) individual protection through the means of cash-for-rent and legal assistance; and (3) institutional protection through the setting up of female-led mobile documentation teams and audited, safe spaces in which marginalized, formally "paperless" citizens can be re-connected with the state's institutional structures that deliver rights on a formal basis.

II. Introduction: Post-Conflict Geographies and Camp-to-Settlement Realities

The displacement in post-conflict cities, such as Mosul, is one of the most complex structural challenges that are facing Governorate of Nineveh today. Years of armed conflicts have left many families without homes, especially the families of female headed households, without surviving adult male guardians. These families were residing in humanitarian camps under some kind of supervision, such as Al-Jada'a camp (now known as AlAmal Center for Rehabilitation), and were receiving assistance through camps' structures and also through direct referral to NGOs that are implementing humanitarian aid programs in Mosul. However, as time passed, these families were forced to or voluntarily left the camps and begun to live in informal urban settlements within the city of Mosul, in the margins of the city and in the poorest neighborhoods (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (United Nations Iraq, 2022).



Women and children are forced out of the camps by the forced or voluntary closure of these centers and go to live in run-down abandoned or over-crowded settlements on the outskirts of the city, such as Al-Intisar, Tal Al-Rumman, Al-Shuhada, Rajm Hadid, Meshherfa and Harmat, with completely no referral mechanisms, few protection programs in place and few monitoring from government or humanitarian actors. The journey from the camp to the informal settlement brings the families from a highly confined but relatively monitored and supported environment to a lawless environment where the structures and shelters are totally exposed with very limited basic humanitarian assistance in place. This transition is brought about by combination of push and pull factors which include among others, exhaustion of humanitarian assistance, destruction of citizens' ID documents and continued stigma and discrimination against certain region or group of people based on perceived affiliation (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2021, p. 4).

Crucially, "Civil document" is the prerequisite upon which all other civil, social, and economic rights in Iraq are predicated. Without official documentation such as national ID cards, unified identification documents, civil status records, or birth certificates IDPs and returnee households face absolute legal exclusion. Lack of civil documents restricts freedom of movement; women risks arbitrary arrest or invasive, aggressive interrogation at checkpoints manned by authorities, leading them virtually trapped in their immediate peripheral neighborhoods. Furthermore, such documentation vacuum impedes access to public healthcare, basic education, legal aid, and municipal social benefits, converting a simple administrative omission into a status of complete vulnerability to various forms of exploitation (Norwegian Refugee Council [NRC], 2019).

Rather than focusing on a set of disconnected set of issues related to the challenges faced by women in Iraq today, this paper investigates the relationship between two different field monitoring exercises, the first conducted in Mosul in November 2025 to expose temporary marriage exploitations of girls and young women and the second in April 2026, examining the mountain of bureaucratic documentation that prevents women returnees from Northeast Syria (based in Al-Hol refugee camp) from returning to their homes. By combining these two field exercises, this paper offers a singular, academic examination into the interconnected web of largely socio-legal mechanisms that allow to be commodified those women and girls left behind by ongoing conflict and those who





have fled in search of refuge and security in other parts of the country. Specifically, it examines the interlocking administrative, extortion-based and security-driven obstacles faced by the women studied here, that together function as an engine driving human trafficking and commercial sex exploitation of this very vulnerable population, in instances of ‘forced survival’ through labor or unregistered temporary marriage (Salloum, 2019, pp. 48–52).

III. Theoretical Framework: Bare Life, Intersectional Stigma, and Legal Invisibility

This paper explores the structural circumstances that lead to the victimization of displaced women in Mosul. To achieve this objective, the study draws on two fundamental analytical frameworks. First, Intersectional Vulnerability as conceptualized by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989). Secondly, ‘Bare Life’ or Homo Sacer as defined by Giorgio Agamben (1998) within a State of Exception.

First, Agamben describes “bare life” or “Homo Sacer” as a human being stripped of all juridical-civil status. The undocumented IDP or returnee woman in Mosul is the contemporary manifestation of Homo Sacer as she is subject to violence by those in power without any recourse to justice. She is a woman without a national identity ID card, civil status proper documents. In the state perspective she is invisible and therefore not entitled to any protection while at the same time she is highly visible as a security threat. In order to cross the street or enter a government building she has to pass the security checks. The civil registry office as well as the security clearances are two spaces of exception where the constitutional rights of all citizens are suspended as soon as there is a suspicion of affiliation. This is not an accidental failure of the administration but rather a politically produced state of legal non-existence that forces individuals to live outside of the law in order to secure their basic needs of survival (Agamben, 1998). Structures of security clearances have created parallel justice systems that operate outside of the law to determine whether or not an individual is allowed to access and entitle services, (UNAMI/OHCHR, 2020). In this sense, the state of exception is institutionalized on the municipal level.

The legal non-existence of these women further intersects with extreme poverty, gender, and post-conflict stigma. Crenshaw’s (1989) analysis of intersectionality can be used here to show that displacement is not a

homogeneous category and that these women are particularly vulnerable because of three intersecting vectors.

1. The absence of an adult male guardian or “wali” from the families of female headed households who lost their relatives during the conflict.
2. IPDs Families from particular places in Iraq or those who have been returned from Syrian displacement are also subject to collective administrative punishment by local gatekeepers (Mukhtars) and security forces. Administrative “roadblocks” are systematically registered by security personnel claiming that members or affiliates of the so-called ISIS have returned to their neighborhoods. These roadblocks are often maintained despite court-ordered returns and require further security clearance from authorities. Human Rights Watch has documented how security clearance procedures have been transformed into a tool of collective punishment (Human Rights Watch, 2018).
3. Illiteracy, lack of employment opportunities and secondary inflation in urban areas of Mosul, such as purchasing daily food as opposed to paying usurious rent for shelter (IOM Iraq, 2024).

Intersection of the three above- highlighted factors further increases vulnerability of displaced women. Bodies of women and young girls are thus being commercially exploited by the post-conflict state’s bureaucracy. In order to deal with displaced communities, the state’s apparatus has created absolute administrative blockage. Instead of trying to find normal channels to register and clear through security, these displaced people are channeled through the shadow economy of brokers and intermediaries who exploit their extreme economic conditions and lack of documentation. As IDPs transfer from camps to informal settlements, the neglect by the state is thus transferred into exploitation. The early or unregistered marriages of this group of displaced women are thus transformed into a structural tool of human trafficking, where structural violence of the state is masked and naturalized within traditional and religious frameworks under the guise of religiously legitimate contracts.

IV. Methodology: Qualitative Phenomenology, Expert Instrument Validation, and Ethical Research Design

This paper is based on original qualitative monitoring in post-conflict urban areas of Mosul. The qualitative phenomenological research approach investigates the deeper-layered legal, systemic and social





micro- circumstances that IDPs and returnees experience. In contrast to many quantitative indicators that measure on the surface level and provide an impression of clinical facts and figures, this research is based on human stories of suffering of structural violence, corruption and gender-based exploitation as experienced by returnees and IDPs (Danish Refugee Council [DRC] & International Rescue Committee [IRC], 2021).

Research Design and Cohort Delineation:

To conduct field work within the framework of a dual-cohort monitoring approach, the research has been organized around two distinct time frames taking place in the highly securitized informal settlements in Mosul city. These settlements are spread across both eastern and western Mosul and include a number of neighborhoods including: Al-Intisar, Tal Al-Rumman, Al-Shuhada, Rajm Hadid, Mesherfa and Harmat.

1. The first phase of field work aimed at identifying the social systems of sexual exploitation and trafficking of displaced women in temporary unregistered marriages. Nine qualitative, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with female heads of households (all of whom have adolescent daughters who subjected to trafficking) from eastern and western informal settlements of the city (six from Al-Intisar, a neighborhood in eastern Mosul, and three from of Rajm Hadid, Tal Al-Rumman, and Al-Shuhada neighborhoods in western Mosul). Furthermore, two qualitative in-depth KII (Key Informant Interviews) were conducted with two female community protectors who are in touch with and protect vulnerable displaced families.

2. The second research phase investigated the interfaces of mechanical legal civil paper shortages with gender-based administrative extortion. This study drew on 35 qualitative in-depth KII's conducted with IPDs and returnee women aged 20-55 years, living in the eastern and western peripheries of informal settlements in Mosul. Furthermore, a review of local protection case management logs were anonymously and securely reviewed in order to chart patterns and repetitions of denial of protection over time.

Instrument Validation and Qualitative Validity:

In order to design a high construct validity and ensure that the interview schedules and field questionnaires were culturally sensitive as well as legally sound, the interview schedules and the questionnaires were presented to a number of senior academics as well as to legal experts who are active in the area of human rights in Iraq, specifically in post-conflict socio-legal systems in Nineveh. The feedback from this validating audit

not only enabled researcher to fine-tune sensitive questions regarding sexual coercion as well as bribery; it also enabled to check whether the used legal terms were up to date with the current administrative situation in Nineveh. Finally, researcher ensure that the instruments used did not trigger secondary trauma. The feedback from the experts furthermore enhanced the reliability and robustness of the field instruments used.

Ethical Limitations and Informed Consent Protocols:

Because the topics of sexual exploitation, extortion and perceptions of affiliation with the so-called 'ISIS' movement are extremely sensitive and are taking place in active post-conflict environments, the researcher was placed in extreme risk of physical harm. Consequently, the researcher has had to develop specific protocols to protect the security and psychological well-being of the cohorts and their families. These protocols have been aligned with the international standards for the documentation of sexual violence in humanitarian crises (World Health Organization, 2007, p. 12). This means that there is robust participant protection and immediate access to psychological first aid where required. Prior informed genuine consent was gained from all participants. Due to the cohorts' illiteracy and extreme fear of subsequent administrative retributions, this was verbal consent which has been documented securely by research witnesses.

We ensured that all participants had full information about this study including rights to their data and right to stop an interview at any time. To protect participants qualitative interviews were conducted one to one in safe spaces. Participants were assured of their anonymity and all identifying information including names of participants and their family members, streets and buildings where they live were removed and replaced with pseudonyms (e.g. Sarah, Manal, Nahla). Additionally individuals who are likely to be able to identify participants including governorate, mukhtars, court staff and police were kept at a distance and never in the same room as participants in order to protect them from local administration, intimidation or even physical attack. The most vulnerable groups of participants were interviewed by a female member of the research team, a qualified, trauma informed, active horizontal listener and trained psychological first aid worker, using a semi-structured interview schedule.

Socio-Spatial and Temporal Research Limitations:

The study findings requires to be read within several critical limits of this research.



1. The research was conducted within a very limited timeframe. Due to fluctuating security conditions and strict curfews at checkpoints, fieldwork could only be conducted within narrow, secure daylight hours. As a result, the research lacked the opportunity for prolonged, long-term ethnographic research and was constrained by the sample size that could be investigated within the timeframe.

2. The extreme amount of stigma as well as threat of honor-based violence temporary marriages receive has led to extreme levels of fear amongst victims. Many potential participants within reach were unwilling to participate and relied on community intermediaries who supported their respective households.

V. Analysis & Discussion: The Sex-Trafficking Economy and the Mechanical Bureaucracy of Exclusion

Rather than being two separate protection issues , that of the lack of identity documents and the increase of forced temporary marriages the two are two sides of the same coin and in effect form a single gendered survival economy that is being enforced on the populations of cities such as Mosul through a series of mechanical administrative blockades that are resulting in a myriad of serious and systematic human rights violations.

Theme A: Local Gatekeepers, Security Vetting, and the Production of Invisibility

The primary administrative obstacle to legal civil documentation are security clearances managed by security forces entry points and administered by local gatekeepers, including mukhtars and low-ranking security officials. These individuals may deny woman and their children essential documents on the basis of unfounded allegations of association with ISIS made against the, as the sole head of household.

100% of 35 women interviewed from Cohort B reported to be completely blocked by relevant directorates, mukhtars, court staff and security officials from accessing state legal services. This administration blockage involves verbal abuse, documents being ripped up and destroyed and even detention threats by those in power to do so (Field Monitoring Surveys, Cohort B, Mosul, April 2026). As reported by Human Rights Watch, such practices involve refusing legal services to women on the basis of sex (Human Rights Watch, 2018, para. 3).

Even after completing the formal legal steps to obtain a court-cleared document of non-affiliation, such documents can be overruled by

securitizing actors at the local level. For example, Manal (35, Western Mosul), was able to obtain a court-cleared document of non-affiliation for her and her children after her husband went missing. However, the neighborhood mukhtar and Mayor offices staff then denied her the formal document of non-affiliation for her shelter, claiming that her husband was affiliated with ISIS, a claim that Manal believes is baseless. Nahla (42), was also subject to attempts by the mukhtar to extort the legal title to her rented house in exchange for clearance of her husband's affiliation with ISIS. Nahla highlighted that the mukhtar fabricated the affiliation in order to get money from her, claiming that her husband was affiliated with ISIS, when Mukhtar realized that she and her family had once received some food aid from UNDP during the period of severe deprivation in 2015.

Theme B: The Predatory Brokerage Market and Administrative Extortion

Formal channels for displaced women have been systematically closed by gatekeepers, thus women depend on unofficial intermediaries or informal brokers to try and obtain required documents.

Operating a predatory brokerage market women are charged exorbitant unofficial fees by these intermediaries to obtain necessary documentation for travel. Out of 35 participants interviewed 21 women from Cohort B reported being compelled to pay these unofficial broker fees for documentation. The women report being intimidated into payment of these fees on the basis that their attempts to obtain necessary documentation directly from government offices will result in their arrest and possible interrogation. 30 women reported being subjected to humiliating and threatening behavior on visits to government offices for documentation purposes. Displaced women and their families are becoming deeply indebted in order to pay fees and to be able to use these intermediaries to obtain essential documents (Field Monitoring Surveys, Cohort B, Mosul, April 2026).

This results highlight that legal identity becoming a luxury commodity: a basic state obligation is privatized and weaponized, trapping impoverished displaced households in cycles of predatory debt and ensuring they remain permanently undocumented, which further guarantees their continued vulnerability to exploitation. This reliance on unregulated, predatory brokers is severely exacerbated by structural



bottlenecks within the Iraqi domestic justice framework, where the Supreme Judicial Council mandates that only specialize judges hold the sole authority to register claims and authorize official victim referrals, cutting off immediate, unhindered access to legal remedies for undocumented women (U.S. Department of State, 2025).

Theme C: Unregistered Temporary Marriage as a Form of Human Trafficking

The lack of civil documents for displacement people of informal settlements and the extreme economic exposure of their residences create the conditions for the unregistered temporary marriages system. The system of unregistered temporary marriages is operated by an organized network of middlemen that roam from governorate to governorate. They operate in the black market of sexual exploitation in secondary urban settlements where there is no state protection.

These middlemen operate from the Kurdistan Region and southern Iraq and coordinate with their contacts from all over Mosul. They search for extremely poor displaced female-headed households with underage, transport the girls across all security checkpoints to cities such as Erbil. The girls are transported without ID papers or a male guardian and cross official checkpoints. This shows that, there must be some institutional complicity with these human traffickers or they must be paying bribes to officials at these checkpoints.

These unregistered temporary marriages are arranged and then conducted by Imams using verbal religious contracts that completely circumvent all of Iraq's official courts. The family of the women or girl are paid a sum of around \$200 to \$3,000 for what can be anything from a few weeks of marriage to a year or more of marriage.

Even in Islamic law at least from Sunni's perspective, temporary contracts are considered null and void as they lack a permanent structure. While these contractual structures are commonly used as a guise to promote child prostitution and human trafficking. As mentioned earlier, the agreement is often conducted by a local Imam and paid for by families of the women involved in the marriage that can last from a few weeks up to a year, with sums paid out to families ranging from \$200 to \$3,000 (Eltahawy, 2015, p. 84). This form of contractual trade continue to flourish within the national framework of the Iraqi penal code, as the internal country's laws on human trafficking, such as the implementation

of the Anti-Human Trafficking Law No. 28 of 2012, is ineffective towards localized, and religiously sanctioned contracts which are processed to legitimize commercial sexual exploitation (Republic of Iraq, 2012).

The arrangements are organized as temporary contracts without any obligations on the part of the 'husband' after a set period of time. Thus, no legal claim to alimony, divorce, or a dowry can be processed by the women. In cases where pregnancy does occur, the children are born illegally with their parents unrecognized as their legal parents. This state of affairs lead to intergenerational statelessness, and with the 57.1% of children in Cohort B already lacking access to health services and basic education (UNICEF Iraq, 2022), another generation of children in Mosul will be denied these rights.

Once displaced women and girls are sucked into the system, escape routes essentially vanish; the violence doesn't stop, it just mutates. Families find themselves trapped in a vise between the immediate exploitation of unregistered temporary marriages and the broader, faceless bureaucratic violence of the post-conflict set-up. Ultimately, a woman's freedom has to be bartered for through the very mechanism of the temporary union itself (Key Informant Interviews, Mosul, November 2025). This dynamic perversely turns human trafficking into a basic means of survival.

VI. Structural Findings and an Actionable Multi-Sectoral Protection Framework

The study empirical synthesis of primary data collected in the field , establishes a connection between legal invisibility and human trafficking as two symptoms of post-conflict institutions failure of (Salloum, 2019, p. 45; UNHCR, 2022, p. 5). To dismantle the gendered market of human trafficking, interventions are required to move beyond isolationist approaches and instead adopt an integrated, multi-sector approach to protection through a model that engages at the individual, community, and national institutions. This approach is congruent with the parameters of international transition and sustainability frameworks that aim at the progressive resolution of displacement by rebuild human security through State-led structures and by reestablishing civil status structures (IOM, 2020).

1. Community-Level Direct Actions:





- Launching long-term campaign of targeted awareness raising amongst families as to the full legal, medical and psychological impact of unregistered style temporary marriages . Work with local religious and tribal leaders deemed to be ‘moderate’ to reject short term unregistered marriage contracts.
- Support women to establish their own protection and process civil registry groups and hold regular meetings in order to conduct local security monitoring and reduce social isolation. These groups would act as an early warning system for families who may be approached by external networks who traffic young girls for commercial sex.
- Establish income-generating projects such as embroidery cooperatives, small enterprises providing cleaning services or cooking, etc. for female heads of households to break the extreme poverty that drives parents to sell their daughters for their survival.

2. Individual-Level Advocacy:

- Deliver specialized, trauma informed psychosocial counseling to temporary Marriage survivors and survivors of administrative sexual extortion. Work with affected women to increase self respect helping reintegrate her back into society and combating her isolation.
- Granting Rental cash protection to secure rental payments for secondary homes preventing possible evictions. The grants are combined with direct legal assistance during the respective cases process of obtaining civil documents as well after the cases completion.

3. Institutional and Legal Action:

- Establish independent human rights monitoring mechanisms by Forming specialized, independent regulatory commission jointly under the High Commission for Human Rights, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MoLSA), Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Interior (MoI) to monitor civil registry directorates and courts in Mosul, checking local abuses of power.
- Deploying female-led help desks at governorates administrative offices as dedicated mobile service points to enable women and girls to access and sort out documentation issues without having to go to government offices and risk being exposed to intimidation, extortion or gender-based harassment by security officials or staff in government offices. These type of institutionalized decentralized approach of mobile documentation

teams has been proved to safely linked the undocumented populations to the state's formal system of rights by bypassing security gatekeepers (UN Security Council, 2021).

- Influence the Iraqi Parliament to increase the penalty for crimes outlined in the Anti-Human Trafficking Law No. 28 of 2012, and significantly increase the penalty for brokers, intermediaries and imams that are found to be colluding with them (Al-Ali, 2018).

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