

“ALL OF US HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY AND HAVE TO DEFEND EACH OTHER”

Firuzeh Mahmoudi

• *By Renata Bahrapour*¹ •

Firuzeh Mahmoudi is a woman of Iranian origin, born in the United States. When she was a child she went to live in Iran with her mother and her sister. Her first contact with activism was at the time of the 1979 Islamic Revolution. She describes this as “a very formative” experience in her life. “My mother was a political activist at that time. I used to go to protests even though I was very young. I experienced the revolution and didn’t go to school for months [because they were shut down in the entire country]. I saw history unfold”, she says.

Some years later, because of the Iran-Iraq War (1980 - 1988) and the economic instability her country was facing, her father took Firuzeh and her sister back to the United States. Even so, the time that she lived in Iran was enough for her to gain a perception of a life based on activism.

Her involvement in promoting human rights began with environmental activism when she worked for the United Nations and several non-governmental organisations. Every now and then, Firuzeh would go to Iran to visit her mother, who had stayed there until 1993, and to meet up with colleagues who she exchanged information with. However, her activities really took off through a march in 2009.

In that year, large-scale protests contesting the recent presidential elections were happening across Iran. Firuzeh decided to organise a day for global solidarity with the Iranian people on 25 July 2009, “Global Day of Action”. This day led to protests in 110 towns and

cities, with the participation of seven Nobel prize winners, in coordination with the Irish band U2 that performed on that same day.

Following this event, Firuzeh made the transition from her work as an environment activist to starting United for Iran, which she describes as "a group of thirty or more former political prisoners, dissidents and human rights activists working to improve human rights conditions and civic freedom in Iran. The group supports movements from within Iran as directly as possible".

For over 13 years, United for Iran has been providing technological tools to help build a free democratic society, with the participation of activists all over the world, from different geographical and ethnic origins of Iran. A third of her team lives in countries that have borders with Iran. They work together in a wide network of data collection.

One of these tools is the "Iran Prison Atlas", a database on all the political prisoners in Iran, detailing which prison buildings they are in and providing information on who the most rigid judges in the country are. Firuzeh believes that transparent documentation of these cases makes it possible to hold people accountable for the systemic abuse carried out by the Islamic Republic of Iran and therefore to defend all the political prisoners identified on the platform.

"IranCubator" is a project to design applications for civic engagement which aim to safeguard the country's citizens and to sustain and facilitate the efforts of civil society in Iran, akin to hacking the political and social system imposed in the country.

"Gershad" is one of the most noteworthy applications. It was built to obstruct the *Gasht-e Ershad*, the morality police and is a tool that shows the location of officers on the basis of denouncements and information shared by the users themselves, principally women, to help each other to make diversions in order to avoid the security forces.

"Gershad" would certainly have been very useful for Firuzeh when at 16 years of age she was detained by the Iranian morality police for five hours in the city of Kerman, her mother's home town in the southeast of the country. She was held because her hair had been seen in public when she was rearranging her headscarf.²

This story is shared by many Iranian women, including Mahsa Amini, the young Iranian woman of Kurdish origin who died at 22 years of age in the custody of the same police force in September 2022.³ Since then, according to an estimate by the independent television station Iran International, over 18,000 people have been arrested in connection with the protests throughout Iran that followed Mahsa's death. In addition people have been sentenced to death and others have already been executed.⁴

When asked about what this organised movement of Iranian women is, Firuzeh answers without hesitation, classifying this phenomenon as "unprecedented [...] not only in Iran but

in the region, or even globally”. The absolute leadership of the women in this process and the incredible level of solidarity they are receiving is also drawing attention. She explains that in the past, minority groups like the Kurds would have been attacked but that now “anyone who has been persecuted, killed, wounded or arrested has countrywide support. People appear in public, smiling, showing their support and love and saying that they have not been forgotten and that they are going to remain on the streets”.

There is a clear message being given to Iran by the people of Iran. “I swear by the blood of my friends and my fellow citizens that I will stay until the end”, Firuzeh recites, echoing one of the chants being repeated by young people on the country’s streets. She believes the demands presented in the protests go beyond compulsory wearing of the *hijab*. This is about having religious freedom, freedom of expression, gender equality, bodily autonomy, food security, environmental protection, access to education, being able to live life as you wish and being part of society. “This is about really having basic rights”, she says.

Another issue that goes hand in hand with discussions on women, politics and religion is the non-secular nature of the Iranian state which will inevitably have to be addressed. The ideology that has been in place since the 1979 Islamic Revolution has seeped into the private and collective lives of the population, exercising control over bodies and minds and oppressing over half the country and this problem directly impacts on religious minorities. “Obviously religious minorities in Iran are persecuted and the bahá’is are persecuted more than any other group”, says Firuzeh.⁵

Despite challenges, she says that the transition to a secular state “is not about not having a religion”. It is instead a question of living in a society without a theocratic government, a society in which people have the option to choose to demonstrate what they believe in and the way they want to believe in it. “I think it is not only possible but defines something of an awareness of the desire of the people of Iran. How did we build this state? This is a matter of how we make the transition to that which people want [...] and of understanding what they are saying on the streets.”

These desires may seem fundamental but they are the very pillars that sustain the Islamic Republic, or even Iranian society as a whole. So, what needs to be done for change to take place at the roots of society? And furthermore, how should this process occur? Firuzeh’s response is simple: guaranteeing that all persecuted groups, ethnic and religious minorities, all women and those who have in any way been targeted by the system, must be included in this process. She says “all of us have a role to play and have to defend each other. [...] This is a movement without leaders which means we are all leaders”.

Firuzeh also believes there is a very fine line between hope and despair in this situation, principally for those who are imprisoned. For this reason, the work of United for Iran is based on the belief that it is the people who are in Iran who have to take the lead. However, support is needed to show the effort they are making and make their voices heard, in places

where it is safe, which is why civic engagement apps are being developed. An additional objective is to make it possible for all human rights groups, outside the country, to speak with wide international audiences.

Firuzeh’s activism encompasses a strong sense of unity and oneness. She sees that we are all connected and that the way each country acts affects all countries. For her this means recognition that her work is not a mere choice but is a privilege she carries with her and that she has a duty to contribute for the betterment of the world. “Being able to do this every day and night as much as I can, is a blessing [...] Not everyone has the luxury of being able to do what they want, with purpose in their lives, do they? [...] I feel that we should all pull together to reach this dream [...]. So, I’m not doing this as a favour to anyone but because this is the world I want to live in”.



Firuzeh Mahmoudi.
Source: Personal archive photo.

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Original in Portuguese. Translated by Jane do Carmo.

NOTES

1 • Renata Bahrapour is a lawyer and member of the office of external affairs of the Bahá’í community in Brazil. Bahrapour works on issues of human rights violations against Bahá’ís in Iran and other countries. She is also on the District Committee for Religious Diversity and is secretary-general of the Commission of Religious Freedom of the Brazilian Bar Association/DF.

2 • Leah Hunter, “The Woman Building Iran’s Civic Tech

Sector (From Across The World)”. *Forbes*, January 3, 2017, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/leahhunter/2017/01/03/the-woman-building-irans-civic-tech-sector-from-across-the-world/?sh=4bd9f46853c8>.

3 • Farnaz Fassihi, “In Iran, Woman’s Death After Arrest by the Morality Police Triggers Outrage.” *The New York Times*, September 16, 2022, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/world/middleeast/iran-woman-death.html>.

nytimes.com/2022/09/16/world/middleeast/iran-death-woman-protests.html; Patrick Wintour, "Mahsa Amini: dozens injured in Iran protests after death in custody." *The Guardian*, September 18, 2022, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/18/mahsa-amini-dozens-injured-in-iran-protests-after-death-in-custody>; David Gritten, "Mahsa Amini: Protests over woman's death claim more lives in Iran." *BBC*, September 2022, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-62986057>.

4 • "Iran: 26 people risk execution in relation to protests," Amnesty International, December 16, 2022, accessed on December 31, 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde13/6309/2022/en/>; "Iran Executes Two Prisoners Arrested in Ongoing Protests, Threatens More to Follow," *Death Penalty Information Center*, December 12, 2022, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/news/iran-executes-two-prisoners-arrested-in-ongoing-protests-threatens-more-to-follow>; "Iran To Try 10 Underage Protesters On Death Penalty Charges," *Iran International*, November 30, 2022, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://www.iranintl.com/en/202211303156>.

5 • "The Baha'i community is among the most severely persecuted religious minorities in Iran, according to

the experts. [...] The UN experts said this year has seen a marked increase in arrests of Baha'is, as well as targeting. By April, they had received reports that over 1,000 members were awaiting imprisonment, following their initial arrests and hearings" ("Rights experts urge Iran to end 'systematic persecution' of religious minorities," *UN News*, August 22, 2022, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/08/1125162>); "The despicable onslaught against the Baha'i religious minority is yet another manifestation of the Iranian authorities' decades long persecution of this peaceful community. Baha'is in Iran cannot feel safe in their homes or while exercising their faith because they are at risk of persecution," said Heba Morayef, Amnesty International's Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa" ("Iran: Stop ruthless attacks on persecuted Baha'i religious minority," *Amnesty International*, August 24, 2022, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/08/iran-stop-ruthless-attacks-on-persecuted-bahai-religious-minority>); Sara Baptista, "I cannot find the words to express how happy I am to be able to say that I am a Bahá'í." *Sur Journal* no. 29 (2019), accessed December 31, 2022, <https://sur.conectas.org/en/i-cannot-find-the-words-to-express-how-happy-i-am-to-be-able-to-say-that-i-am-a-bahai/>.



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“WE ARE OPENING NEW PATHS”

Miluska Luzquiños

- *The fight for the rights of trans people in Peru* •

By Sara Baptista

Fighting is an intrinsic part of Miluska Luzquiños’ life just because of who she is. As a trans woman, she faces a daily battle just to exist in a conservative and patriarchal country like Peru. To merely survive, however, is not enough, and she turned this experience into an ongoing struggle, working with other trans women to clear the way to a future of opportunity and hope.

Miluska is the national coordinator of Red LacTrans (Red Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Personas Trans, or the Latin-American and Caribbean Network of Trans People) in Peru and the founder of Casa Trans Zuleymi, which offers shelter to trans women who are immigrants, victims of violence, or who have no place to live. Miluska says that this work makes her happy and explains that “The defense of human rights allows me to meet more comrades, go out into the world, talk, and build.”¹

Miluska is someone who puts the collective before the individual. While modestly sharing the merits of her work, she tells Sur that it was her comrades who made her who she is today. “I did not do a single thing. They were always there to encourage me and I am very grateful to them”. Attorney and activist, Miluska sees herself as the result of the numerous trans women she has met along the way: “Miluska is the result of the exclusion of trans women from the human rights advocacy system”. She also responds to challenges as someone who is used to dealing with them quickly and efficiently in her daily life.

Being a pioneer was not part of her plan, and turning her private struggles into activism was not an obvious choice – in fact, it happened almost by chance. Miluska had never

considered activism as a career. When she finished law school, she thought that she would work at a court of justice or a notary office. One day, she was invited to a meeting of an LGBTQIA+ group that worked on issues related to HIV/Aids, which is when she realized that the limited participation of trans people led to a lack of awareness of their true needs. She then got involved in what she believed to be an isolated issue, but was surprised when she received funding and the mission to implement a countrywide project. This was how the Northern Peru Trans Women's Platform was created, currently known as Transorganização Feminista (Feminist Transorganization), which is where she works today.

In 2016, knowing that there was a large number of immigrant trans women in Lima with no support, she once again found an innovative way to solve the problem. Miluska created Casa Trans Zuleymi to offer shelter to these people. In these spaces (there are now four units in different parts of the country), which she refers to as "a place of hope", trans people who are immigrants, victims of violence or who have no place to live can go there to receive food, health counseling, and legal aid, or find a comfortable and safe place to stay. "We must demand our rights on a full stomach!", the activist exclaims.

Miluska has already won recognition for her work to defend trans people's human rights: she received a Franco-German Prize for Human Rights in 2019. However, in 2020, with the arrival of the pandemic, courage and agility were once again needed to put together a plan and work to meet the most urgent needs of the people she worked with. Through Red LacTrans, she managed to raise funds and deliver food to trans women all over the country. During this time, work was intense, and Miluska ended up coming down with the coronavirus before getting the vaccine. In addition to her direct actions, Miluska and her network produced a report and published a few articles about the specific situation of trans people in the context of the pandemic.²

One of the hardships that the network faced was that due to the lockdowns imposed by the pandemic, many trans women lost their regular access to drugs for the treatment of HIV, which affected their immunity. This led to a high number of deaths from Covid-19. When the vaccination effort began, trans people also had problems accessing the vaccine because they lacked ID cards.

Another aspect mentioned by the activist was the transition to the virtual world. She admits that she had neglected this means of communication until it suddenly became the only one that could be used, thus creating yet another obstacle. As structure for digital communication was still lacking, many people, particularly those in the jungle in the north of the country, were basically isolated and had more difficulties in accessing information and resources. "Covid taught us to work and coordinate as a community", she affirmed.

They now face another challenge: the political turmoil in Peru. Since early December 2022, the country has plunged into a massive crisis. Former president Pedro Castillo attempted to dissolve Congress and was removed from office. New general elections have been called for

July 2023 and protests have taken over the streets of major cities.

In a time of great instability in Peru, minority rights are threatened and the hope of progress is even more remote. Nowadays, in Peru, the life expectancy of a trans person is only 35 years.³ Furthermore, according to the Reniec (Registro Nacional de Identificación y Estado Civil, the Peruvian National Registry of Identification and Civil Status), 1% of the population of Peru is undocumented, and this percentage is higher among the trans population.⁴ The lack of ID makes it difficult for them to access rights, as in the case of the vaccine. Without vaccines, in addition to being more exposed to the virus, trans women were also prevented from accessing many places, as they did not have a vaccine passport.

The current situation is a source of concern for Miluska, who explains that economic, political, and social issues affect women more, especially trans women. “We are very worried that the Congress elected by our people continues to be filled with conservative, anti-gender representatives who oppose all advances on rights”, she states. An example of what is at stake right now for trans people in Peru is the gender identity draft bill, which Miluska helped formulate and has been moving through the Peruvian congress since 2016. The proposal provides for a judicial and non-pathological process for transsexuality and proposes that the rectification of names in official documents should be free of charge. Although some progress was made in 2021, when the Women and Family Commission in Congress passed the draft bill,⁵ it is not known when the discussion of the topic will resume.

Human rights organizations in the country are also facing challenges of their own. Because of the economic instability, these entities risk losing funding for their actions, which are now needed more than ever. Furthermore, the granting of protection measures for defenders and other activists is also being undermined. “Our comrades who go to demonstrations, go to Casa Trans and who sit in the office are the direct entourage of human rights defenders, so we are concerned with the lack of interest on the part of the state, the failure of the state to take protection measures”, Miluska explains while referring to the people she believes are at risk of suffering from the violence involved in the country’s current political situation.

When faced with the absence of the State, organizing as groups – and, more importantly, in networks – is fundamental. The combined strength of both activists and organizations is what guaranteed trans people’s access to food during the most critical moments of the Covid-19 pandemic. Networks such as Rede LacTrans, present in 23 countries, also mobilized to produce and disseminate reports such as “No Muero, Me Matan!”, which denounced the exclusion of trans women in Latin America and the Caribbean and informed the world of the situation in the country.

From her childhood in Lambayeque to the international recognition of her work, Miluska has witnessed countless losses and setbacks, both personal and collective: discrimination at university, where she was the first trans student, financial hardships, the challenges of life as a sex worker, family quarrels, threats and attacks as a human rights defender. None of that took

away her will to build a better future for herself and her comrades. With her grandmother’s love and the help of the numerous people who cross her path, Miluska keeps on going. In her own words, “This is Miluska’s starting point. I have suffered from violence, attempted robberies – they’ve even stolen some of our confidential documents. But I am very happy because I have met wonderful people who give their lives to promote human rights”.

Even though Miluska got into human rights activism almost by chance, her choice to continue in this field is a conscious one – and one that she reaffirms every day. Her greatest source of motivation is not the awards or national or international recognition, but rather the people who are with her along the way. “There are things that pay but that don’t involve money”, she says. Just the other day, she was approached by a young woman who told her that her work was inspiring and asked to take a picture with her. Miluska said she felt like a TikToker and concluded, “we are opening new paths”.



Miluska Luzquiños.
Source: Personal archive photo.

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Original in Portuguese.

Translated by Luis Misiara. Proofread by Karen Lang.

NOTES

1 • Daniel Contreras, “Miluska Luzquiños: ‘En la Casa Trans Zuleymi no hay ninguna abeja reina, todas somos obreras’”. Somos Periodismo, February 6, 2019, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://somosperiodismo.com/miluska-luzquinos-en-la-casa-trans-no-hay-ninguna-abeja-reina->

[todas-somos-obreras/](#).

2 • See, for instance: Miluska Luzquiños Tafur, “#BONOTRANS: ¿Cuándo fueron las cosas fáciles para las trans?”. Ella - Encuentro Latinoamericano de Feminismos, April 29, 2020, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://medium.com>.

com/especial-ella-en-cuarentena/bonotranscuándo-fueron-las-cosas-fáciles-para-las-trans-498fdc7e67a; "Memoria de Gestión: Trans Organización feminista por los derechos de las personas trans. 2018-2021" (internal document shared by the organization).

3 • "Situación de las personas trans en Perú", Red Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Personas Trans, 2021, accessed December 31, 2022, https://issuu.com/redlactrans/docs/peru_2021_-_informe_cedostalc_-_no_muero_me_matan/s/15569963.

4 • According to the National Plan *Perú Libre de Indocumentación 2017 - 2021*, there are no official statistics that show the current situation of undocumented trans people; the few statistics available are usually related to health issues, specifically HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs). A study by Universidad Cayetano Heredia 76 (2012:24) indicated that

the percentage of undocumented individuals within this population exceeds 13%. Although these data are only indicative, they show that the percentage of undocumented people in this group is much higher than the national average". "Perú Libre de Indocumentación Plan Nacional 2017 – 2021", Registro Nacional de Identificación y Estado Civil, March 29, 2021, accessed December 31, 2022, <https://www.gob.pe/institucion/reniec/informes-publicaciones/1779616-peru-libre-de-indocumentacion-plan-nacional-2017-2021>, p. 87.

5 • "La Ley de Identidad de Género de Perú avanza en Congreso tras 4 años parada", SWI, March 29, 2021, accessed December 31, 2022, https://www.swissinfo.ch/spa/perú-igtbiq_la-ley-de-identidad-de-género-de-perú-avanza-en-congreso-tras-4-años-parada/46489656#:~:text=La%20iniciativa%20legislativa%20garantiza%20que,hasta%20ahora%20les%20era%20negado.



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