

PROGRAMME
Kurdish Studies Conference
11-13 June 2025
LSE

Conference exhibitions running from Wednesday 11 – Thursday 12 June

VISUALISING RESISTANCE: Daughters of the Sun, Kurdish Female Fighters from Rojhelat
Dr Allan Hassaniyan and Photographer Keiwan Fatehi

The exhibition showcases a diverse collection of photographs and personal testimonies from various generations of Kurdish female Peshmerga fighters associated with different political parties of Eastern Kurdistan (Rojhelat) dating back to 1979.

Women, Art, and Memory: Portraits of Kurdish Resistance
Vian Hussein

This set of three mixed-media paintings reimagines the presence of Kurdish women throughout history. Drawing from cultural memory, embroidery, and traditional motifs, Vian brings to life the strength, beauty, and defiance of women like Hapsa Khan and others who shaped Kurdish heritage but were silenced in dominant narratives.

* Online Presentation

Catering will be served on the ground floor of the Marshall Building

DAY ONE

WEDNESDAY 11 JUNE 2025

10:00	Registration and Coffee Ground Floor, Marshall Building
11:30 – 13:00	Welcome and Keynote Lecture Sheikh Zayed Lecture Theatre, Lower Ground Floor, Cheng Kin Ku Building <i>The Kurdish Issue in the Middle East's New Turning Point</i> Professor Hamit Bozarslan, L'Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) Chair: Zeynep Kaya, University of Sheffield
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch

14:00 – 15:30

Panel 1A – Iranian Kurdistan: Historical Contexts

Room 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

*Legacies of Sheikh Ubaydullah and Simko: Intergenerational
Reverberations of Conflict in Iranian Kurdistan (1880–1979)*
Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University

*The Politics of Persianisation in Pahlavi Iran: A Study of Kurdish Cultural
Discrimination*
Giulia Navab Daneshmand, University of Hamburg

*The Kurds and Mossadegh in Iran: Political Development in Kurdistan in
1951-1953*
Hemn Seyed, University of Exeter

*Modern Historiography and the Emergence of Kurdish National History-
Writing in the Twentieth Century*
Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

Panel 1B – Activism and Belonging in the Kurdish Diaspora

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Haci Cevik, Humboldt University

*Digital Kurdistan: Reimagining Nationhood and Community in the Virtual
Age through Kurdish Generation Z Refugees*
Bariş Öktem, Royal Holloway, University of London

*From Socialist Movement to Nationalist Movement: Focusing on the
Discourse on Kurdish Identity in Kurdish Publications in Europe*
Miki Nose, Institute of Developing Economies, JETRO

*'You're just helping your parents': Experiences of Language Brokering
within Kurdish Families in Turkey and the UK*
Kate Ferguson, Heriot-Watt University

Panel 1C – The Anfal Genocide, Identity and Insurgency

LSE Lecture Theatre, Ground Floor, Centre Building

Chair: Kamaran Palani, LSE Middle East Centre

*Statelessness and Reparations for Genocide in Transitional Justice: A
Case Study of the Anfal Genocide*
Matin Brifkani, University of Stockholm

*Domestic Hierarchies and the Quest for International Recognition of the
Anfal Genocide*
Hawar Rafaat Star, Charmo University

*From Armed Groups to Archivists: Introducing the Kurdish Martyr
Obituaries Dataset (KMOD), 2001-2024*
Alex Creamer

Panel 1D – Literature and Language in Kurdish Worlds

Sumeet Valrani Lecture Theatre, 1st Floor, Centre Building

Chair: Yunus Abakay, University of Exeter

Journalistic Translations in Hawar: Their Part in the Development of Kurdish Language and Literature

Dibar Çelik

Language Act: Theorising Pragmatics of Kurdish Language

Yunus Abakay, University of Exeter

Zazakî in the Digital Age: Bridging Education and Technology to Save an Endangered Language

Mahîr Dogan, University of Bamberg

15:30 – 16:00 Coffee Break

16:00 – 17:30 Panel 2A – Memory and Preservation

Room 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Arda Bilgen, LSE Middle East Centre

Reason to Believe: The Role of Myths in the Memory of Land and Society in Kurdistan

Rojda Tuğrul, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna

Memory as a Resource to Deal with Uncertainty: The Effects of Encampment on Syrian Kurdish Refugees in Iraqi Kurdistan
Charlotte Watelet, Labex TEPSIS (EHESS)

Archiving in Kurdistan: Lessons from the KCAC Archive

Mohammed Fatih, Kurdistan Center for Arts and Culture

Panel 2B – The Women's Movement and Emancipatory Organisation among Kurds in Syria

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Hasret Cetinkaya, Manchester Metropolitan University

Justice, Rights-politics, and the Coloniality of Knowledge Production: Critical Lessons from Rojava and the Jineolojî Movement towards Liberating Life

Hasret Cetinkaya, Manchester Metropolitan University

The Women's Institution in Rojava: Unmuted Women? A Case Study of the Women's House (Mala Jin)

Yushan Huang, EHESS

'Walking on this land now gives us strength': The Ecological Dimension of the Kurdish Women's Movement in the Rojava Revolution

Letícia Gimenez, São Paulo State University

Women's Everyday Experiences of Political and Social Upheaval in Post-Conflict Northern Syria

Mustafa Kemal Topal, Roskilde University

'Networked Leninism': Rojava as Effective Organisational Model in the Decade of 'Missing Revolutions'

Matt Broomfield, University of Sussex

Panel 2C – Reassessing the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey

LSE Lecture Theatre, Ground Floor, Centre Building

Chair: Yaprak Gürsoy, LSE

Beyond Politics and Forgiveness: A Bottom-Up Approach to Reconciliation in the Kurdish Conflict

Güneş Daşlı, Loughborough University

Restorative Justice and the Kurdish Conflict: Preparing for Peace in Turkey

Dadlez Sabak, Friedrich Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg

Concealed Violence: Forced Disappearances and Extrajudicial Killings in South Eastern Turkey amid Development Initiatives Post-2016 Military Operations

Eugenio Grosso

Panel 2D – 20th Century Kurdish International Encounters

Sumeet Valrani Lecture Theatre, 1st Floor, Centre Building

Chair: Veli Yadirgi

Fraught Fascinations: The Politics of Stereotypes in British Women Travellers' Encounters with the Kurds (1890-1940)

Himan Heidari, University of Roehampton

Britain, Iraq, and the Politics of Genocide: The 1963 Ba'ath Government Campaign against the Kurds

Hawraman Ali, University of Manchester

What did Lausanne offer the Kurds?

Derya Bayir, University of Copenhagen

International Dimensions of the Kurdish Question: Strategic Adaptations and Evolving Activism in the 1980s and 1990s

Kubra Sagir, EHESS

DAY TWO

THURSDAY 12 JUNE 2025

09:00 – 10:30 **Panel 3A – Knowledge Production and Reflexivity within Kurdish Gender Studies**

Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Necla Açıık, Middlesex University

Kurdish Gender Studies Network: Reflections on Building an Epistemic Community

Necla Açıık, Middlesex University

Prisons as Decolonial Sites of Resistance and Knowledge Production in Kurdish Gender Studies

Berivan Kutlay Sarikaya, University of Toronto*

Temporal Ripples: Queer Time and the Kurdish Struggle for Liberation

Emrah Karakuş, LSE

Kurdish Women's Knowledge beyond Borders: Decolonial Perspectives and the Quest for Legitimacy

Dilan Bozgan, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina

Decolonial Education and Knowledge Production: Challenges and Opportunities in Global Feminist Pedagogies

Münevver Azizoğlu-Bazan, University of Bremen

Panel 3B – International Engagement with Kurdish Questions in the mid-20th Century

Room 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Francis Owtram, University of Exeter

The Comintern and the Kurdish Question, 1919-1939: A Radical Tragedy

Angelika Pobedonostseva, Saint Petersburg State University*

The Complex Interplay between the Soviet Union and Kurdish Movements in Syria and Iraq during the Pan-Arab Apogee (1950s-1960s)

Mauro Primavera, University of Padua

International Alliances of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan during the Cold War

Siarhei Bohdan, University of Regensburg*

Panel 3C – Interrogating Language and Comedy

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University

Turkish State Actors' Attitude towards the Kurdish Language during the 1930s and 40s

Yuksel Gonul, University of Roehampton

The Invention of a Language: Popular Media and Kurmancî Print Efforts in the 1990s

Rojda Yavuz

The Rise of Kurdish Stand-up and its Impact on Kurdish Language in Turkey

Zübeyde Karagöz, Istanbul Bilgi University

The Limits of Laughter: Making the Coloniser Laugh and Kurdish Identity in Turkish Stand-Up Comedy

Hacı Cevik, Humboldt University and Berhudan Şamar

Panel 3D – Political Thought and Ethnic Performativity in Turkey

Room 1.10, 1st Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Mashuq Kurt, Royal Holloway, University of London

The Kurds and Left-Wing Thought in Turkey, 1961 – 1971: Political Representation and the 'Order' of Society

Marc Sinan Winrow, LSE

The Sacralisation of Politics in Turkey: Remaking Kurdishness in the Face of Abdullah Öcalan

Esra Elmas

Women in the Political Thought of Abdullah Öcalan: Gender Idealism or Political Strategy?

Hannah Evrengün and Mariwan Kanie, University of Amsterdam

Ethnic Performativity of the Shaykbesi Kurds in a Turkish-Majority Town

Reyhan Özşahin, University of Tübingen

10:30 – 11:00**Coffee Break**

**11:00 – 12:30 Panel 4A – Unpacking the Realities of NES Self-Administration:
Loss, Resistance and Survival**

Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Thomas McGee, University of Melbourne

North and East Syria's Self-Administration under Trump: Past and Future

Mohammed Ibrahim

Eliminating the Native in Afrin: Turkey's Settler Colonial Agenda in Rojava

Zozan Yasar, University of Edinburgh

Representing Rojava's Women in Art

Vian Hussein

SDF Governance in Northern Syria: the 'Kadro' Figure as Backbone

Thomas McGee, University of Melbourne

Panel 4B – Approaches to Kurdish Cultural Production

Room 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Polly Withers, LSE Middle East Centre

The Vocalisation of Kurmanji Long Song (Dengbêjî)

Nicholas Hobbs

A Kurdish Poetics of Violence in Three Acts

Hevin Karakurt, Stanford University

Kurdish Futurism? Possibilities of Envisioning Future(s) through Kurdish Cinema

Nilgün Yelpaze, Philipps University of Marburg

Panel 4C – Governance in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Ari Mamshae, University of Oslo

The Interplay between Transport Planning, Urban Heritage, and its Impact on Heritage Values of Buildings and Assets in Historic City Centres

Niyan Ibrahim, UCL

Human Trafficking in KRI: Challenges, Impacts, and Pathways to Justice

Isabella Lombardi, University of Edinburgh and Amanj Ali Qadir Aljmur, Salahaddin University-Erbil

Territorial Patronage and the Appointment of Top Civil Servants

Ari Mamshae, University of Oslo

Panel 4D – Diyarbakır: Urbanisation, Identity and Counterinsurgency

Room 1.10, 1st Floor, Marshall Building
Chair: Arda Bilgen, LSE Middle East Centre

“There are orchards around Diyarbakır”: Retracing Kurdish Forced Urbanisation in the 1980s and 90s

Jiyan Andiç, Boğaziçi University and Francesco Pasta, Politecnico di Milano

The Politics of Changing Place Names in Kurdistan, Turkey, The Case of Diyarbakir Province: Identity, Space, and Political Strategies

Mazlum Capan, Aix-Marseille University

“Risky Areas” of Diyarbakır: Dissemination of Counterinsurgency in Urban Restructuring

Arjin Taş, University of Vienna

Panel 4E – Positionality, Statelessness and Identity in Kurdish Studies

Sumeet Valrani Lecture Theatre, 1st Floor, Centre Building
Chair: Özden Melis Uluğ, University of Sussex

Who am I? Insider/Outsider Positionalities and the Importance of Self-Reflexivity as a Research Practice in Kurdish Studies

Rawina Trautmann, European University Viadrina

Rethinking Turkish Researcher Identity in Conflict Studies from the Perspectives of Kurdish Participants

Özden Melis Uluğ, University of Sussex

Composite Statelessness and Migrating Racisms: A Translocal Analysis of Cumulative Violence in the Lives of Kurds

Rosa Burc, DeZIM Institute

12:30 – 13:30**Lunch**

13:30 – 15:00**Panel 5A – Kurdish International Relations**

Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building
Chair: Richard Barltrop, LSE Middle East Centre

The Barzani Legacy: Shaping Lebanese Politics through Kurdish Influence

Sara Scampini*

Kurdistan Region-GCC Relations: Evaluating the Impact of the Iran-Saudi Arabia Competition

Zubir Ahmed, Salahaddin University-Erbil

To What Extent has the Kurdish Regional Government’s Relationship with Israel Influenced the Region’s Aim of Achieving Independence from Iraq?

Taylor Pearson, SOAS

Panel 5B – Media Representation, Pop Poetry and Identity

Room 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Polly Withers, LSE Middle East Centre

*The German Media Coverage of the Jina Uprising in Iran and
Rojhilatê Kurdistanê – A Mixed-Methods Approach*

Bahar Çati, Humboldt University

*Silent Voices: Nationalism and the Marginalisation of Kurdish Identity
in Türkiye's Social Media*

Busra Tasdemir, York University, Canada

*Bahdinani Pop Poetry: Constructing Kurdish Identity and Contesting
the Arab Other*

Yaser Ali, University of Dohuk

Panel 5C – Historical Accounts from Kurdistan

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

Abdāl Khān's Translation Programme in Seventeenth-Century Bidlīs

Sacha Alsancakli, University of Münster

*Citation, Redeployment, Reanimation: The Defeat of the Mount Ararat
Uprising Retold by its Descendants*

Susan Benson-Sokmen, York University, Canada

*Tracing the Genealogy of an Uprising in its Centennial year: Sheikh
Said and his Ancestors in the Naqshbandi-Khalidi Tradition*

Merve Fırat, Middle East Technical University

**Panel 5D – Kurdish Feminist and Queer Approaches to Resistance
and Survival**

Room 1.10, 1st Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Emrah Karakuş, LSE

*Revisiting State Violence through Perpetrators' Lenses: A Feminist
Embodied and Everyday Analysis*

Devran Öcal, Bern University

*The Innocence as a Denial Mechanism: Commonalities and
Divergences in Kurdish and Queer Childhood Politics in Turkey*

Dilan Yılmaz, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*

*From "Femina Grata" to "Femina Sacra": Shifting Approaches to
Kurdish Women in Feminist Academic Discourse*

Şilan Tank*

*Between Industry and Festival: A Feminist Imagination of Kurdish
Cinema*

Bahar Şimşek Day*

Panel 5E – The Peshmerga and the Barzinji in the KRI

Sumeet Valrani Lecture Theatre, 1st Floor, Centre Building

Chair: James Hewitt, University of St Andrews

*The Peshmerga of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq - Party Militia,
Constitutional Force or Hybrid Security Actor? Security Sector Reform
in a Fragile Federal State*

Francis Owtram and Gareth Stansfield, University of Exeter

*Utilising a Social-Ecological Framework to Understand Peshmerga
Involvement and Loyalty*

James Hewitt, University of St Andrews

*The Role of Armed Forces Collaboration in the Consolidation of
Statehood: Bundeswehr - Peshmerga Relations*

Silvia Nicola, Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social
Sciences

*Charisma in Transition: The Barzinji in the Religious Landscape of
Iraqi Kurdistan*

Camilla Insom, Sapienza University

15:00 – 15:30 Break

15:30 – 17:00 Conference Roundtables**How To Get Published**

Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Panel: Sophie Rudland, I.B. Tauris; Abdurraouf Oueslati, Brill;

Facilitator: Zeynep Kaya, University of Sheffield

Decolonising Kurdish Studies

Room 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Panel: Mashuq Kurt, Royal Holloway, University of London; Sara

Kermanian, University of Sussex; Hakan Sandal-Wilson, LSE;

Dastan Jasim, German Institute for Global and Area Studies

Facilitator: Veli Yadirgi

Kurdish Gender Studies Network

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

*A collaborative meeting to connect, contribute, and co-shape the
future of the network*

Facilitators: Necla Açıık, Middlesex University; Dilan Bozgan,

Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina; Hasret Çetinkaya,

Manchester Metropolitan University; Emrah Karakuş, LSE

17:00 – 18:30 Drinks reception

Ground Floor, Marshall Building

DAY THREE**FRIDAY 13 JUNE 2025****09:00 – 10:30****Panel 6A – Socioeconomics and Oral History in Rojhelat**Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University

The Impact of the Landlord-Peasant System on the Socioeconomic Structures of Rural Kurdistan in Iran

Senour Ahmadi, University of Foggia and Serveh Ahmadi

Oral History of Kurdistan: Litigating Mothers

Soma Negahdari Nia, Mehdi Dehnavi and Fariba Mohammadi

Life of Halabja Refugees in Iranian Camps: Women's Oral History Narratives

Zamdar Ahmed Rasool, Koya University

Panel 6B – Turbulent KRI-Iraq RelationsRoom 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Majida Ismael, Liverpool John Moores University

The Functionality of the Judicial System of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Rebwar Salih, University of Halabja

Constitutional Federalism at a Crossroads: Iraq's Federal Supreme Court as an Obstacle

Majida Ismael, Liverpool John Moores University

The Continuing Time Bomb of Kirkuk

Saad Jawad

A Tale of Two De-Ba'thifications in Iraq: Evidence from Erbil and Baghdad

Ruiheng Li, Peking University

Panel 6C – North and East Syria: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Robert Lowe, LSE Middle East Centre

Comparative Study of the Religious Policies of the Kurdistan Regional Government and the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria

Katia Zagoritou, University of the Peloponnese

Democratisation through Kurdish Decentralisation? A Critical Comparison of the 2005 Iraqi Constitution and the 2023 Rojava Social Contract

Dastan Jasim, German Institute for Global and Area Studies

Earning, Allocating, Providing: The Syrian Democratic Council's Rebel Financing and Rebel Governance

Andrea Novellis, University of Naples "L'Orientale"

The West's Double Standard Foreign Policies towards the Kurds with a Particular Focus on Rojava

Soheila Shahriari, EHESS*

Panel 6D – Kurdish Gender Struggles

Room 1.10, 1st Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Hakan Sandal-Wilson, LSE

Women against the State: Jineolojî and its Affinities with Latin American Feminisms

Beatriz de Tullio, UNICAMP

Battling the 'Patriarchal Trifecta': Women in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and their Battle for Self-Agency

Shilan Fuad Hussain, Institute of Domestic Violence, Religion & Migration

Masculinity on the Border: Kurdish Cinema of Turkey

Nimet Gatar, EHESS*

Rethinking Kurdish Viewing Practices, Queering Methodology: The films of Ali Kemal Çınar

Kaan Akın*

10:30 – 11:00**Coffee Break**

11:00 – 12:30**Panel 7A – Violence, Fugitivity and Survival**

Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Irene Selwaness, LSE Middle East Centre

Words, Pills and Silence(s): (Re)constructing Subjectivities in the Field of Mental Health in a Reality Riven by Violence

Gülstan Zeren, University of Aix-Marseille

Divas, Terrorists, and Witches, among other Misnomers in Sur District, Diyarbakır

Meryem Uzumcu, Rutgers University

Join Life Hevall!: Communal Care and Political Ward as an Intimate Public Space

Mete Ulutaş, Penn State University*

Panel 7B – Kurdistan Jews: History, Present and Heritage

Room 2.08, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Thomas Schmidinger, University of Kurdistan Hewlêr

Jews of Kurdistan: History, Culture, Integration and Homeland

Weysi Dag, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The Kurdish-Jewish Community of Zakho: Life, Immigration, and Integration

Baruch Shimoni, Bar-Ilan University

Cultural (Non-)Preservation of the Jewish Heritage in Kurdistan

Thomas Schmidinger, University of Kurdistan Hewlêr

Panel 7C – Politics of Contestation in the KRI

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Kamaran Palani, LSE Middle East Centre

Transformations of Iraqi Kurdistan Peripheral Populations: From Conservative Muslim Brotherhood Voters to Abstentionist Salafists
Armin Messager, École Pratique des Hautes Études - PSL

Trends in Press Freedom Violations in Iraq's Kurdistan Region
Winthrop Rodgers

Subjective Experiences of Forced Returnees: Identity, Belonging, and Reintegration in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Abdul Samih Gubari, Eötvös Loránd University & Sangar Y. Salih, Salahaddin University-Erbil

12:30 – 13:30

Lunch

13:30 – 15:30

[All The Mountains Give](#)

Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Film screening and Q&A with Director, Arash Rakhsha & Producer Kate Bolger

Discussant: Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

Moderator: Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University

Close of conference
