

PROGRAMME
Kurdish Studies Conference
11-13 June 2025
LSE

* Online Presentation

Catering for lunches and coffee breaks will be delivered to the 2nd Floor of the Marshall Building only.

DAY ONE

WEDNESDAY 11 JUNE 2025

10:00	Registration and Coffee 2 nd 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, 2 nd Floor, Marshall Building Chair: Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre <i>Legacies of Sheikh Ubaydullah and Simko: Intergenerational Reverberations of Conflict in Iranian Kurdistan (1880–1979)</i> Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University <i>The Politics of Persianisation in Pahlavi Iran: A Study of Kurdish Cultural Discrimination</i> Giulia Navab Daneshmand, University of Hamburg <i>The Kurds and Mossadegh in Iran: Political Development in Kurdistan in 1951-1953</i> Hemn Seyedi, University of Exeter <i>The Historical Contexts of the Hegemonising Kurdish Nationalism Discourse in Iranian Kurdistan</i> Loghman HamehMorad, University College Dublin and Jamal Khosravi, Payam-e Noor University <i>Modern Historiography and the Emergence of Kurdish National History-Writing in the Twentieth Century</i> Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

Panel 1B – Activism and Belonging in the Kurdish Diaspora

Room 2.10, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Chair: Hacı 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 Universitat 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 StudiesRoom 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 CenturyRoom 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

Haci 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 Shaykbesiene 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

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 Diyarbakir: 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

Media Representation of Women in the Kurdish Media

Hazhan Khalid Ahmed, Kurdistan Technical Institute

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 Firat, 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 Coffee 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;
Martin van Bruinessen, Utrecht University
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
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**

Great Hall, 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

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 PolicyRoom 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: Jineoloji 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

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

Gülistan 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 Messenger, 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

12:30 – 13:30**Lunch**

13:30 – 15:30**[All The Mountains Give](#)**

Room 2.04, 2nd Floor, Marshall Building

Film Screening and Conversation with Director, Arash Rakhsha

Moderator: Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University

Discussant: Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

Close of conference
