

**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**

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

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14:00 – 15:30

**Panel 1A – Iranian Kurdistan: Historical Contexts**

Room 2.08, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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**Panel 1D – Literature and Language in Kurdish Worlds**

Sumeet Valrani Lecture Theatre, 1<sup>st</sup> 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

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**15:30 – 16:00****Coffee Break**

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

Room 2.08, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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*'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 – 20<sup>th</sup> Century Kurdish International Encounters**

Sumeet Valrani Lecture Theatre, 1<sup>st</sup> 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

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## DAY TWO

THURSDAY 12 JUNE 2025

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

Room 2.04, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Room 2.08, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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\*

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**Panel 3C – Interrogating Language and Comedy**

Room 2.10, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 1<sup>st</sup> 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

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**10:30 – 11:00****Coffee Break**

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

Room 2.04, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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#### **Panel 4D – Diyarbakır: Urbanisation, Identity and Counterinsurgency**

Room 1.10, 1<sup>st</sup> 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, 1<sup>st</sup> 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

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**12:30 – 13:30**

**Lunch**

**13:30 – 15:00**

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#### **Panel 5A – Kurdish International Relations**

Room 2.04, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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**Panel 5B – Media Representation, Pop Poetry and Identity**

Room 2.08, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 1<sup>st</sup> 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\*

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

Sumeet Valrani Lecture Theatre, 1<sup>st</sup> 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

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**15:00 – 15:30 Break**

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

Room 2.04, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Marshall Building

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

Facilitator: Zeynep Kaya, University of Sheffield

**Decolonising Kurdish Studies**

Room 2.08, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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**17:00 – 18:30 Drinks reception**

Ground Floor, Marshall Building

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**DAY THREE****FRIDAY 13 JUNE 2025****09:00 – 10:30****Panel 6A – Socioeconomics and Oral History in Rojhelat**Room 2.04, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 Relations**Room 2.08, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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

Room 2.10, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 1<sup>st</sup> 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\*

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**10:30 – 11:00****Coffee Break**

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

Room 2.04, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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*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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 & Sangar Y. Salih, Salahaddin University-Erbil

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**12:30 – 13:30**

**Lunch**

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**13:30 – 15:30**

**[All The Mountains Give](#)**

Room 2.04, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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**

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