









PROGRAMME

Kurdish Studies Conference

24-25 April 2023 | London School of Economics

Monday 24 April 2023

| 09.00-09.30 | Registration |
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| 09.30-11.00 | Panel 1A – Affective Politics of Kurdish Everyday Life, Political Mobilization, and Conflict in the Middle East Chair: Emrah Karakus, Brandeis University |
| | Kurdish Revolutionary Affect and Politics of Friendship in the 1990s Delal Aydin, University of Duisburg-Essen |
| | Feeling Debt: Affect and Intimacy in Kurdish Queer/Trans Worlds Emrah Karakus, Brandeis University |
| | Deployment of the "Berxwedan" (Resistance) Narrative: Experiences of Loss and Recovery in Rojava Thomas McGee, University of Melbourne |
| | Panel 1B – GCRF Hub Research: Gendered Migrations, Displacements and Masculinity in Kurdistan Chair: Janroj Yilmaz Keles, Middlesex University |
| | Gendered Return Mobilities to Conflicted Regions: The Kurdish Case Janroj Yilmaz Keles & Muslih Irwani, American University of Iraq - Baghdad |
| | Gendered Labour Migrations in KRI Eleonore Kofman, Middlesex University & Jiyar Aghapouri, American University of Kurdistan |
| | Prolonged Displacement and Gender in Diyarbakir Necla Acik, Middlesex University & Zeynep Benlisoy, Erasmus University of Rotterdam |
| | Masculinity and Violence Twana Hassan, American University of Iraq, Sulaimani |
| | Backlash against the Women's Rights Movement Choman Hardi, American University of Iraq, Sulaimani |

Panel 1C – Social-psychological Approaches to Studying the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict: The Role of Multiple Identities in Conflict, Peace and Reconciliation Chair: Arda Bilgen, LSE Middle East Centre

The Role of Turkish and Kurdish Identities, Allyship, and Conflict Narratives in Supporting Pro-Kurdish Policies Among Turks and Kurds Özden Melis Uluğ, University of Sussex

Village Guards as "In Between" in the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict: Re-Examining Identity and Position in Intergroup Conflict Yasemin Gülsüm Acar, University of Dundee

Reflecting on the Role of Kurdish, Muslim, and Turkiyeli Identities for Reconciliation and Peace

Gülseli Baysu, Queen's University Belfast

Dangerous knowledge and proxy-reasons: therapeutic attempts of a former PKK fighter

Nerina Weiss, Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Studies, Norway

Panel 1D - Kurds in Iran: Protests, Islam and Intersectionality

Chair: Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

The hashtag Mahsa_Amin or Zhina_Amini: A social media ethnography on the ontological relationship between Kurdish identity and Iranian Identity during the 2022 Iranian protests

Jiyar Aghapouri, American University of Kurdistan

The Muslim Peshmerga and the IRGC How the Iranian Islamist Regime Won and Lost Its Kurdish Allies

Siarhei Bohdan, Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies

Komala: a popular left-wing organisation Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

A comparative study of the response of the Islamic Republic of Iran to religious political groups in Iranian Kurdistan

Mehdi Dehnavi, Journalist & Researcher & Zarifeh Ahmadi, Researcher

Intersectionality and Multitasking: The struggle of Kurdish women in Iranian Kurdistan (Rojhelat)

Rahim Hajiagha, Jagiellonian University

11.00-11.30

Coffee break

11.30-13.00

Panel 2A – Kurdish Refugees in the Diaspora: Integration, Self-governance and Space

Chair: Fiona Adamson, SOAS

Toward a Multi-Scalar Understanding of Integration: Kurdish Refugees Between State, Diaspora and Geopolitics
Fiona Adamson & Veysi Dag, SOAS

Self-Governing from Below: Kurdish Refugees on the Margins of European Societies Veysi Dag, SOAS

Criminalisation, self-defence and special warfare lida Käyhkö, Royal Holloway, University of London

Inscriptions of Kurdish politics into spaces of exile and radical internationalist politics in Greece

Beja Protner, University of Cambridge

Panel 2B - Kurmanji and Zazaki Identity and Linguistics

Chair: Janroj Yilmaz Keles, Middlesex University

Speaking Kurdish: A space of one's own in language Alex Pillen, University College London

Bi-/multilingual Identity and Linguistic Behaviour of Kurdish Heritage Speakers Alex Bellem, Aga Khan University & Mehmet Yonat, Mardin Artuklu University

Linguistic Characteristics of the Zazaki Mutki Dialect Pinar Yildiz, Mardin Artuklu University

Panel 2C - The KRI in Regional and Global Context

Chair: Zeynep Kaya, University of Sheffield/LSE Middle East Centre

The Role of External Actors in the Making and Breaking of States Germany and the Consolidation of Statehood of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq between 1991 and 2020

Silvia Nicola, Free University of Berlin

China's Soft Power in Iraqi Kurdistan Sardar Aziz, University College Cork

Understanding the Relations between Israel and the Iraqi Kurds: Local Aspirations and Regional Commitment
Ismail Numan Telci, Sakarya University

"Selling" the Kurdish plight in Iraq to the U.S. of the 1980s and 90s: The messaging of the Kurdish National Congress of North America Lily Hindy, University of California, Los Angeles

Panel 2D – Urban Development, Heritage and Politics in Turkey

Chair: Veli Yadirgi, LSE Middle East Centre

Uproot, Detach and Pacify: On the Turkish state's infrastructural politics in northern Kurdistan

Kamuran Akin, Humboldt University of Berlin

Mastering the past, becoming a tourist: Heritage-making as a means of counterinsurgency in the post-conflict era
Ronay Bakan, Johns Hopkins University

Turkey's Military Urbanism and Neocolonial Architecture in Kurdish Cities Diren Taş, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

Resurrecting the Ruins: A Kurdish Haunting of Suriçi's Landscape Aalekh Dhaliwal, University of Cambridge

(Re)thinking Class Conflict for Kurdish Politics from Neoliberalizing Amed Esra Karadas Ekinci, Ankara University

13.00-14.00

14.00-15.30

Lunch

Panel 3A - Democracy, Citizenship, Justice and Education in Rojava

Chair: Robert Lowe, LSE Middle East Centre

Is the future of democracy hybrid? Lessons from Mexico and Kurdistan about how to reconcile direct and representative democracy
Hanifi Baris, University of Aberdeen

Reconfiguration of Citizenship Beyond State Boundaries

Atefeh Ramsari, Bielefeld Graduate School of History and Sociology

Rethinking Justice in Rojava Hasret Cetinkaya, LSE

Politics of education choice in North-East Syria Benoîte Martin, Ulster University

Panel 3B - Kurdish Women and Politics of Gender in the Diaspora

Chair: Eleonore Kofman, Middlesex University

Formative experiences of Kurdish women activists setting up small-scale activist projects in Kurdistan and the Diaspora
Wendelmoet Hamelink, University of Oslo

Transnational decolonial encounters: the Kurdish Women's Movement and Western feminism in Europe
Eleanora Gea Piccardi, University of Coimbra

Negotiating alternative social spaces - Kurdish gender roles within families and activism in diaspora

Hayal Hanoglu & Karol Kaczorowski, Cracow University of Economics

Kurdish women's ordinary life and trajectories of subjectivity, a case study in the triangle of Istanbul, Berlin and Paris
Dilan Salik

Panel 3C – Activism and Identification through Art, Ethnography and Music

Chair: Isabel Kaser, LSE Middle East Centre

Art As An Ethnographic Event: The Art Of Ismail Khayat Autumn Cockrell-Abdullah

Walking, Kurdish movies and crisis in collective identification Hemen Heidari, University of Amsterdam

Documenting the Lost Practices of Kurdish Felt and Felt-Making in the Foothills of the Zagros Mountains

Done Behalin British Museum

Renas Babakir, British Museum

What is the Role of Kurdish Music in the Transnational Space and the Post-National Discourse?

Mediha Inan, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Panel 3D - Canon and Decolonial Critique in Kurdish Studies

Chair: Spyros Sofos, LSE Middle East Centre

Reporting on Kurdistan. A critical examination of Western post-2014 fieldwork in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the Autonomous Administration of North-East Syria

Dastan Jasim, Friedrich Alexander University Erlangen - Nuremberg

Ethnicization and Sectarianization in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq Michiel Leezenberg, University of Amsterdam

The intellectual and prophecy in the colony and diasporas
Bilal Ata Aktas, École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS)

Imagined or Imaginary Kurdistan: What do we know about the political stance of Kurdish youth living in Kurdistan?

Baris Oktem

Ethical and Methodological Challenges of an Emergent Scholarship in Kurdish Studies

Mashuq Kurt, Royal Holloway University of London

| 15.30-16.00 | Break |
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| 16.00-17.00 | Keynote Lecture Martin van Bruinessen, University of Utrecht Chair: Zeynep Kaya, University of Sheffield / LSE Middle East Centre |
| 17.00-18.30 | Drinks Reception |

09.30-11.00

Panel 4A- Kurds in-between Multiple Political Spaces and Discourses

Chair: Matthew Whiting, University of York

Displaced Bodies: Syrians in Kurdistan and Kurds in Syria Yunus Abakay, University of Exeter

Three New Datasets on the Transformation of the Turkey-PKK Conflict since 1984

Amy Austin Holmes, George Washington University & Diween Hawezy

Sub-state diplomacy at work – The KRG and the Syrian conflict Tamas Dudlak, Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest

The Democratic Union Party (PYD) and People's Protection Units (YPG) in Turkish Official discourse

Azad Deewanee

Panel 4B- Ideology, Governance and Reconciliation in Conflict

Chair: Isabel Käser, University of Bern / LSE Middle East Centre

Governance without Territorial Control: The Experiences of the PKK in 1970s Turkey

Francis O'Connor & Joost Jongerden, Wageningen University

The Discourse of Death in PKK's Ideology: A Journey to Fathom Political Violence and Fascination for Death
Emdjed Kurdnidjad, European University Institute

Deliberation in the Contexts of Ethnic Conflict: Kurdish Peace Process Example

Musa Akgül, Lancaster University & Çiğdem Görgün Akgül, Ordu University

Panel 4C – The Question of Kurdistan, Colonialism and Historiography

Chair: Francis Owtram, University of Exeter

The Perceived Image of the Other: British in Kurdish Literary Discourse in Post-World War I and Post-2003

Karzan Kareem Ameen, Salahaddin University-Erbil

Kurdish nationalist historiography: narrative, identity and belonging Mohammed Kareem, Independent Researcher

The Question of Kurdistan: Integral Colonisation after Imperial Domination Naif Bezwan, University of Vienna

The Kurdish Quest for Independence since the First World War: The Struggle for Identity, Autonomy, and a Sovereign State
Francis Owtram, University of Exeter

Panel 4D - Constructions of Kurdishness at the Global Level

Chair: Spyros Sofos, LSE Middle East Centre

Reproduction Strategies among Stateless Migrants: the Syrian Kurds in Sweden

Nubin Ciziri, Uppsala University

International football through a Kurdish perspective: the local versus the global

Tiago Duarte Dias, Fluminese Federal University

Black Skins White Languages Artmaking by Kurdish Migrant Women Artists Özlem Belçim Galip, University of Oxford

Social construction of homeland and diasporic national identity among the Kurdish diaspora in the West With a particular focus on the youth Soheila Shahriari, École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS)

11.00-11.30 Coffee break

11.30–13.00 Panel 5A – Judiciary and Governance in the KRI

Chair: Ahmed Tabaqchali, LSE Middle East Centre

The Politics of Judiciary in Iraq: An Opportunity or a challenge for Post-Referendum Kurdistan

Majida Ismael, Liverpool John Moores University

The Impact of the Judiciary on Development and Democratisation in the KRI

Banaz Taha, City, University of London

The interrelationship between state building and good governance: the case of KRI

Dara Salam, SOAS

Management of religion and governance in Iraqi Kurdistan Kamaran Palani, Salahaddin University—Erbil

Panel 5B - Kurdish Women at the Centre of Political Life

Chair: Polly Withers, LSE Middle East Centre

Transformation of Gender Regimes Through Entrepreneurship Among Kurdish Women in Post ISIS Kurdistan Kaziwa Salih, Jagiellonian University

Kurdish Women in the KRI Surveying Gains and Setbacks Shilan Fuad Hussain, Middlesex University

The Kurdish Female Fighter as an exoticized neo-Orientalist trope Nazy Raouf

On the Everyday Life of Women in Illicit Economies of Iranian Kurdistan Peyman Zinati, University of Exeter

An ethnography on Gazete Sujin: Women-centered Journalism of Kurdish Women

Zubeyde Karagoz, Istanbul Bilgi University

Panel 5C - Kurdish Socioeconomics and Marginalization in Iran

Chair: Marouf Cabi, LSE Middle East Centre

Landscapes of il/legality: contraband mobility in the Kurdish mountains of the Iran-Iraq border

Moslem Ghomashlouyan, University of Bern

Have cross border activities been beneficial for Kurdish movements? Hemn Seyedi, University of Exeter

Kurds and Their Rights A Key to Iran's Socioeconomic Advancement Tahirih Danesh

The marginalization process of the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds from the core of Kurdish politics in Iran

Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University

The Kurdish Archives in Iran: significance and challenges Rafiqfuad Yarahmadi, Filmmaker

Panel 5D - Space and Institutions in Rojava

Chair: Zeynep Kaya, University of Sheffield / LSE Middle East Centre

Space, Place, Gender, Struggle: Sociospatial Pedagogy as Data Collection in Collaboration with the University of Rojava
Charlotte Grace

Women's Autonomous Spaces in Rojava Rethinking the Discourse of Gender Segregation

Sumana Singha, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Searching for Theoretical-methodological Approaches to the Study of Democratic Confederalism in Rojava

Erika Aguilar, National Autonomous University of Mexico

Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria/Rojava: State-like entity in the making or hybrid form of governance beyond the one-nation state? Katia Zagoritou, University of Peloponnese

Political Violence and Decolonial Construction Process: An analysis of the relationship between self-defense and the building of new institutions in Rojava

Pedro Campos & Marcial Suarez, Fluminense Federal University

13.00-14.00

Lunch

14.00-15.30

Panel 6A – Neoliberalism, Security and Social Movements in the KRI

Chair: Isabel Käser, University of Bern / LSE Middle East Centre

Neoliberalism in Iraqi Kurdistan: nationalism, dissent, and new forms of political engagement

Müjge Küçükkeleş, Global Partners Governance

Path Dependence from Proxy Agent to De Facto State A History of 'Strategic Exploitation' of the Kurds as a Context of the Iraqi Kurdistan Security Policy Piotr Sosnowski, University of Warsaw

Why Do Social Movements Not Arise? Civic Dis/engagement and Youth Migration in Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI)
Hewa Khedir, Birmingham and Solihull Mental Health Foundation Trust

Panel 6B - Transformations and Continuities in Kurdish Identity

Chair: Özden Melis Uluğ, University of Sussex

What do the Kurds want now? Spotlighting the Gap in Public and Private Perceptions in the Southeast and Istanbul
Aslam Kakar, Rutgers University- Newark

Prefiguring Post National Identities through Learning and knowledge making process: Insights from The Peoples' Democratic Congress (HDK), Turkey Birgul Kutan, University of Sussex

Songs and the Performance of Kurdish Identity

Ana Cristina Henriquez Marques, University of Kurdistan Hewlêr

Kurds of Central Anatolia as an Alternative Kurdishness Haci Cevik, University of Potsdam

Glocal securitization of the Kurdish identity and desecuritization of the Kurdish question in Turkey
Ibrahim Has

Panel 6C - Ottoman Kurdistan

Chair: Veli Yadirgi, LSE Middle East Centre

Road to Rebellion: A prehistory of Sheikh Ubeidullah Rebellion Sabri Ates, Southern Methodist University

The Sheikh Ubeydullah Debate and the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism Djene Rhys Bajalan, Missouri State University

Shaikh Mahmud and the Kurdish revolt Richard Wilding

Four-Legged Capitalism: Kurdistan's Economy in Nineteenth century Zozan Pehlivan, University of Minnesota Twin Cities

Panel 6D - Aspects of Yezidi and Soviet Kurdish Studies

Chair: William Park, King's College London

Soviet Kurdish Studies and Policies towards the Kurds: The Problem of Agents and Agency

Angelika Pobedonostseva-Kaya, Saint Petersburg State University

The new Elite within Yezidi Siberian Diaspora: Breaking of religious boundaries and new political conciousness
Henriette Raddatz, Free University of Berlin

The next step on the way to orthodoxy: the International Yezidi Theological Academy in Georgia and its activities

Artur Rodziewicz, University of Warsaw

15.30-16.00

Break

16.00-17.30

Panel 7A – Trans Aesthetics and Activism, Marriage and Women's Resistance

Chair: Necla Acik, Middlesex University

Towards Kurdish Trans Aesthetics: Art, Materiality, and Queer Politics Heja Aksünger, Mimar Sinan University

Kurdish Queer/Trans Interventions: Rethinking Queer Politics and Activism in Turkey

Rukan Atçeken, Istanbul University

Marriages and the politicization of Kurdish culture in Turkey in the context of the civil war

Derya Kiliç, Pantheon-Sorbonne University

Kurdish Women's Democratic Experiment in Rojava Mustafa Kemal Topal, Roskilde University

Panel 7B - Justice, Indigeneity and Displacement in Turkey

Chair: Arda Bilgen, LSE Middle East Centre

Transitional Justice Trajectories in Turkey's Kurdish Conflict Nisan Alici, Nottingham Trent University

Tribal Conflict Resolution Among Kurds of Turkey – the Current State, the Need, and the Future
Jan Byczkowski, Marmara University

The Radical Democracy Model of The Kurdish Political Movement in Turkey: Mesopotamian Indigeneity with Honeycomb Analogy Aynur Unal, Arden University

Entangled Atmospheres of Affect: The ambivalence of Displacement, Resettlement and the Kurdish Question in Hasankeyf, Turkey Cansu Sonmez, Gran Sasso Science Institute

Panel 7C - Liberation, Activism, and Memorialisation

Chair: Francis O'Connor, Wageningen University

The national liberation movement of the Kurds, the other of the international system

Sahar Bagheri, Sorbonne Paris Nord University

Imagining freedom beyond state-seeking: On Kurdish transformative mobilization

Rosa Burc, Scuola Normale Superiore

Multidirectional travel of the concept of "Genocide" in the Kurdish victimomémoriel grammar across time and space

Adnan Celik, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Germany

The applicability of small state theories on Iraqi and Syrian Kurdistan Máté Szalai, Ca' Foscari University

Unstable Climate in Unstable Land: Kurdish Activists Facing Ecological Catastrophe

Dobrosława Wiktor-Mach, Cracow University of Economics & Marcin Skupiński, University of Warsaw

17.30 Close of Conference