

## PROGRAMME

## Kurdish Studies Conference

24-25 April 2023 | London School of Economics

Monday 24 April 2023

09.00–09.30	Registration
09.30–11.00	<p><b>Panel 1A – Affective Politics of Kurdish Everyday Life, Political Mobilization, and Conflict in the Middle East</b>  Chair: Emrah Karakus, Brandeis University</p> <p><i>Kurdish Revolutionary Affect and Politics of Friendship in the 1990s</i>  Delal Aydin, University of Duisburg-Essen</p> <p>Feeling Debt: Affect and Intimacy in Kurdish Queer/Trans Worlds  Emrah Karakus, Brandeis University</p> <p><i>Deployment of the “Berxwedan” (Resistance) Narrative: Experiences of Loss and Recovery in Rojava</i>  Thomas McGee, University of Melbourne</p>
	<p><b>Panel 1B – GCRF Hub Research: Gendered Migrations, Displacements and Masculinity in Kurdistan</b>  Chair: Janroj Yilmaz Keles, Middlesex University</p> <p><i>Gendered Return Mobilities to Conflicted Regions: The Kurdish Case</i>  Janroj Yilmaz Keles, Middlesex University &amp; Muslih Irwani, American University of Iraq - Baghdad</p> <p><i>Gendered Labour Migrations in KRI</i>  Eleonore Kofman, Middlesex University &amp; Jiyar Aghapouri, American University of Kurdistan</p> <p><i>Prolonged Displacement and Gender in Diyarbakir</i>  Necla Acik, Middlesex University</p> <p><i>Masculinity and Violence</i>  Twana Hassan, American University of Iraq, Sulaimani</p> <p><i>Backlash against the Women’s Rights Movement</i>  Choman Hardi, American University of Iraq, Sulaimani</p>
	<p><b>Panel 1C – Social-psychological Approaches to Studying the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict: The Role of Multiple Identities in Conflict, Peace and Reconciliation</b>  Chair: Arda Bilgen, LSE Middle East Centre</p> <p><i>The Role of Turkish and Kurdish Identities, Allyship, and Conflict Narratives in Supporting Pro-Kurdish Policies Among Turks and Kurds</i>  Özden Melis Uluğ, University of Sussex</p> <p><i>Village Guards as “In Between” in the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict: Re-Examining Identity and Position in Intergroup Conflict</i>  Yasemin Gülsüm Acar, University of Dundee</p> <p><i>Reflecting on the Role of Kurdish, Muslim, and Turkiyeli Identities for Reconciliation and Peace</i>  Gülseli Baysu, Queen’s University Belfast</p> <p><i>Dangerous knowledge and proxy-reasons: therapeutic attempts of a former PKK fighter</i>  Nerina Weiss, Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Studies, Norway</p>

**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

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**11.00–11.30 Coffee break**

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**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*

Iida 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

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**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

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**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

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*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

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**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

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**11.00–11.30** **Lunch**

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**14.00–15.30** **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*  
Atefah 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

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**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*  
Halay Hanoglu & Karol Kaczorowski, Cracow University of Economics

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

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**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*  
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

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**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

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**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

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**17.00–18.30** **Drinks Reception**

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09.30–11.00	<b>Panel 4A– Kurds in-between Multiple Political Spaces and Discourses</b> Chair: Matthew Whiting, University of York
	<i>Displaced Bodies: Syrians in Kurdistan and Kurds in Syria</i> Yunus Abakay, University of Exeter
	<i>Three New Datasets on the Transformation of the Turkey-PKK Conflict since 1984</i> Amy Austin Holmes, George Washington University & Diween Hawezy
	<i>Sub-state diplomacy at work – The KRG and the Syrian conflict</i> Tamas Dudlak, Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest
	<i>The Democratic Union Party (PYD) and People's Protection Units (YPG) in Turkish Official discourse</i> Azad Deewanee

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<b>Panel 4B– Ideology, Governance and Reconciliation in Conflict</b> Chair: Isabel Käser, University of Bern / LSE Middle East Centre
<i>Governance without Territorial Control: The Experiences of the PKK in 1970s Turkey</i> Francis O'Connor & Joost Jongerden, Wageningen University
<i>The Discourse of Death in PKK's Ideology: A Journey to Fathom Political Violence and Fascination for Death</i> Emdjad Kurdnidjad, European University Institute
<i>Deliberation in the Contexts of Ethnic Conflict: Kurdish Peace Process Example</i> Musa Akgül, Lancaster University & Çiğdem Görgün Akgül, Ordu University

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<b>Panel 4C– The Question of Kurdistan, Colonialism and Historiography</b> Chair: Francis Owtram, University of Exeter
<i>The Perceived Image of the Other: British in Kurdish Literary Discourse in Post-World War I and Post-2003</i> Karzan Kareem Ameen, Salahaddin University- Erbil
<i>Kurdish nationalist historiography: narrative, identity and belonging</i> Mohammed Kareem, Independent Researcher
<i>The Question of Kurdistan: Integral Colonisation after Imperial Domination</i> Naif Bezwani, University of Vienna
<i>The Kurdish Quest for Independence since the First World War: The Struggle for Identity, Autonomy, and a Sovereign State</i> Francis Owtram, University of Exeter

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<b>Panel 4D– Constructions of Kurdishness at the Global Level</b> Chair: Spyros Sofos, LSE Middle East Centre
<i>Reproduction Strategies among Stateless Migrants: the Syrian Kurds in Sweden</i> Nubin Ciziri, Uppsala University
<i>International football through a Kurdish perspective: the local versus the global</i> Tiago Duarte Dias, Fluminense Federal University
<i>Black Skins White Languages Artdmaking by Kurdish Migrant Women Artists</i> Özlem Belçim Galip, University of Oxford

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*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)

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**11.00–11.30** **Coffee break**

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**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

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**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

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**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 Seyed, University of Exeter

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

*The marginalization process of the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds from the core of Kurdish politics in Iran*  
Mostafa Khalili, Kyoto University

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**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 Confederatism 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

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**13.00–14.00** **Lunch**

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**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

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**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

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

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**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

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**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 consciousness*  
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

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**15.30–16.00** **Break**

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**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 Kılıç, Pantheon-Sorbonne University

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

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**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

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*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

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**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 victim-mémoriel 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

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17.30

**Close of Conference**

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