KURDISH RESEARCH NETWORK

3RD INTERNATIONAL KURDISH STUDIES CONFERENCE

Shifting Dynamics of the Kurdistan Question in a Changing Middle East

Middlesex University | London, UK
25th - 26th June 2019
Over 35 million Kurds live under the national jurisdictions of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria where the Kurdish identity, culture, linguistic rights, homeland and own political representation are contested and contained in most cases by the force of arms. Consequently, the combination of authoritarian state ideologies, the systematic and recurrent use of state violence in these countries has led to the rise of Kurdish opposition. In turn, the ruling states have further used the Kurdish resistance as a pretext to reinforce draconian policies of negation, assimilation and elimination of Kurdish national aspirations.

The 20th century has marked the most repressive state policies against the Kurdish quest for self-determination. At the turn of the 21st century, however, various political developments suggest a shift for the Kurds. The regime change in Iraq in 2003, the ongoing civil war in Syria and the emergence of ISIS were among the watershed events that have not only changed the balance of power in the Middle East but also the perception and position of the Kurds in the global political system.

The establishment of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Kurdistan-Iraq, the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria and the rise of pro-Kurdish political parties in Kurdistan-Turkey have given rise to the political visibility of the Kurds in international politics. The old borders and boundaries that separated the Kurds are becoming increasingly ineffective. These crucial developments have deepened the sovereignty crisis of the oppressive regional states. Simultaneously with this emerging new political geography and visibility of the Kurds, the number of scholarly studies on the “Kurdish Question” and “Kurdistan Question” has rapidly increased in recent years. The “Kurdistan Question” is growing into an international political issue that needs a global response to find a peaceful settlement in the region.

Keynote Speaker

Prof Abbas Vali, Emeritus Professor of Sociology
The Conference Organising Committee

Dr Janroj Yilmaz Keles, Middlesex University
Dr Naif Bezwan, University of Innsbruck, Austria, and UCL
Prof Joshua Castellino, Middlesex University and Minority Rights Group International
Ibrahim Dogus, Centre for Kurdish Progress
Ass.Prof Mehmet Ali Dikerdem, Middlesex University
Dr Tunc Aybak, Middlesex University
Dr Edel Huges, Middlesex University
Prof. Dr Abdurrahman Gülveyaz Nagasaki University
Dr Arzu Yilmaz
Dr Selim Temo, Associate professor
Dr Umut Erel, Open University
Dr Necla Acik, University of Manchester
Dr Kamal Soleimani, El Colegio de México (COLMEX), Mexico
Dr Mohammed Shareef, Independent Scholar & Political Analyst, UK
Dr Sinem Arslan, University Essex
Cristiana Rose, Middlesex University

This conference is organised by the Department of Politics and Law, Law School, Middlesex University, Kurdish Research Network, Minority Rights Group International and Centre for Kurdish Progress.
The venue of the conference

Middlesex University, Hendon Campus, The Burroughs, London (UK), NW4 4AX, Hendon Town Hall, Committee Room 1, 2 and 3
Conference Fee
Registration fee: £ 100
Discount fee for students (postgraduate and doctoral): £ 50
All delegates will be expected to make and pay for their own travel and accommodation arrangements.

REGISTRATION
You can register for the conference by filling out the form in our registration website until 15 June 2019 at https://www.onlinestore.mdx.ac.uk/conferences-and-events/faculty-of-professional-and-social-sciences/conference-law/international-kurdish-studies-conference

Contact: For more information, please contact Dr Janroj Yilmaz Keles at J.Keles@mdx.ac.uk and Dr Naif Bezwan at nbezwam@gmail.com. Alternatively at Kurdishstudies@mdx.ac.uk

Hotel
Please find all the information about the hotels near Middlesex University (attached). Middlesex University’s hotel supplier is the Holiday Inn Brent Cross. You can call the Holiday Inn Brent Cross and state that you are a guest of Middlesex University. You will pay only £94.00 including breakfast, parking and Wi-Fi. However, if you book your room online at the Holiday Inn Brent Cross, they will charge 130.95

Communication among presenters
All presenters are encouraged to communicate via KURDISHSTUDIES@JISCMAIL.AC.UK before, during and after the conference. You can subscribe to the KURDISHSTUDIES list at https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?SUBED1=KURDISHSTUDIES&A=1
CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Please note that the programme may be subject to change

25 June 2019

8:30-9:00 - Registration/ Coffee

Room 1 - 9:00 -9:30 – Welcome

Dr Janroj Yilmaz Keles, Middlesex University, Dr Naif Bezwan, University of Innsbruck, Austria, and UCL, Ass. Prof Mehmet Ali Dikerdem, Dr Tunc Aybak and Dr Edel Hughes, Middlesex University, on behalf of the conference organising committee

Prof Joshua Castellino, Middlesex University and Executive Director of Minority Rights Group International

Mr Karwan Jamal Tahir, Kurdistan Regional Government High Representative to the UK

Mr Osman Baydemir, Kurdish politician, lawyer and human rights defender, former Mayor of Diyarbakir and MP of HDP

Mr Ibrahim Dogus, Major of Lambeth and Director of Centre for Kurdish Progress

Room 1 - 9:45 – 10:30 – Plenary session

Prof Abbas Vali, Emeritus Professor of Sociology

Chair: Prof Joshua Castellino, Middlesex University

10:30 - 12:30 - Parallel sessions

Room 1- Self-determination and Kurdish Statehood

Panel chair: Naif Bezwan, University of Innsbruck, Austria, and UCL

• The State We’re In: Post-Colonial Sequestration and the Kurdish Quest for Independence in Comparative Perspective
  Francis Owtram, University of Exeter

• Self-Determination Claim of Kurdish Political Movement within the Context of Indigeneity
  Aynur Unal, University of Leicester, UK

• The impracticality of Self-determination for minorities under international law – a case study of the Kurds
  Lare S. Ismail, Queen Mary University of London, UK
Sectarianism, Self-determination, and the Kurdish quest for statehood  
Shilan Fuad Hussain Independent Scholar Ph.D University of Urbino (2014)

Room 2 - Gender, Resistance and Liberation  
Panel chair: Necla Acik, Manchester University (Gender Panel Organiser)

- Gendered State Violence and Women’s Empowerment in Kurdistan: From Victims to Agents of Political Change  
  Ozlem Goner, University of New York, USA
- A struggle within a struggle: the history of the Kurdistan Women’s Liberation Movement  
  Isabel Käser, SOAS, University of London, UK
- From Zin to Zilan: The redefinition of gender and love in the PKK, and how the great love myth became a national heroine  
  Mustafa K. Topal, Roskilde Universitet, Denmark

Room 3 - Diaspora, Identity and Justice  
Chair: Mehmet Ali Dikerdem, Middlesex University

- Change and Continuity: Spatiotemporal dynamics of migrant ‘faith’ Alevism  
  Hayal Hanoglu, University of Kent, UK
- Being Kurdish in Denmark: a constant construction  
  Tiago Duarte Dias, Fluminense Federal University, Brazil

12:30 - 13:00 - Lunch Break

1:00 – 2:30 – Parallel sessions

Room 1 - The Kurdish national movements in the Middle East  
Panel chair: Tunc Aybak, Middlesex University

- The implications of the transformations in the Kurdish society on the political arena, and political forces of the Kurdish national movement  
  Prof. Michael Eppel, University of Haifa, Israel
- The Kurdish Issue and South Caucasus: Politics and Perceptions  
  Mushegh Ghahriyan, National Academy of Science, Republic of Armenia
- From Mahabad 1946 to Afrin 2018  
  Sait Keskin, University of Exeter, UK

Room 2 – State violence and genocide  
Chair: Helen Hawthorne, Middlesex University

- The victimization of the Kurds of Southern Kurdistan: A psycho-political perspective
Azad Qazaz, KU Leuven / Belgium
- The Cost of Belonging: Economic Impact of Genocide on Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Iraq
  *Farhad Al-Kake, Lebanese French University- Erbil, Kurdistan*
- Hannah Arendt, Ba’athism and Anfal
  *Nabaz Samad Ahmed, The University of Sulaimani, Kurdistan*
- The state character of Turkey
  *Halis Yildirim, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Germany*

Room 3 - Intra-Kurdish migration and “borders”

Chair: Kamran Martin, Sussex University
- Re-territorialization of Kurdistan via Migration
  *Dr Arzu Yilmaz, Turkey*
- Kurds among Kurds. An ethnography of a camp refugee.
  *Charlotte Watelet, EHESS / CETOBAC, France*
- Kurdish Inner Borders at a Crossroad: Rojava- Başır Border
  *Dr Bayar Mustafa Sevdeen, The American University of Kurdistan, Kurdistan*

Round table discussion
Kurdistan in Global Politics

Break 2:30 -2:45

2:45 – 4:15 – Parallel sessions

Room 1 Challenges and Prospects of the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq
Chair: Abdurrahman Guelbeyaz, Nagasaki University
- The (de)securitization of the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq in the post-1991 political context.
  *Juan Carlos Castillo Quiñones, Autonomous National University of Mexico, Mexico*
- Struggle for Constitutional Power between Baghdad and Erbil: Federal Supreme Court Perspective on Baghdad -Erbil Disputes
  *Majida Ismael, University of Liverpool, UK*
- Grievance, Protest and Social Capital: Examining the Years of Deconstruction in Transition to/ from Democracy in Kurdistan Region-Iraq (2009-2018)
  *Hewa Haji Khedir, University of Winchester, UK*
- Post-IS challenges and their impact on brain drain in the province of Halabja
  *Silvia Nicola, the University of Halabja and the Felsberg Institute, Kurdistan/Germany*

Room 2–Gendered and political struggle in Kurdistan
Panel chair: Umut Erel, Open University
The New Approach to Self-Determination and the Rights of Women and Minorities in the Social Contract of Rojava
Ebad Rouhi, Assistant Professor of Public International Law Head of the Bureau of International Affairs, IAU Sanandaj Branch, Kurdistan, Iran

Gender in the Framework of Sustainable Development Goal 4 in Kurdistan Region-Iraq
Dashty Ismil Jamil, Bashdar Sarbaz, Mawlud, Muayad Salah Mohamad, Lebanese French University, Kurdistan

Gendered Field of the Clashes in Kurdistan
Melike Demir, Independent researcher, UK

Room 3 - Kurdish Diaspora, the struggle for recognition and transnational political activism
Panel chair: Stephen Syrett, Middlesex University

- The Kurdish Diaspora in Canada: A Study of Political Activism and The Uses of The Kurdish Language
  Esengul Tasdemir, The School of Sociological and Anthropological Studies, University of Ottawa, Canada

- The Kurdish diaspora in France: from invisibility to refugee status since the 1980s
  Rondeau Coline, University of Angers (TEMOS CNRS FRE 2015) | University of Liège (CEDEM), France/Belgium

- Refugee camps as ‘a sense of place’: Kurdish women’s everyday life practices and agencies
  Orkide Izci, University of Padua | Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich Section of Sociology (FISPPA) | Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Germany/Italy

Break 4:15 - 4:30

4:30 – 6:00 – Parallel sessions

Room 2 - Human Right and Justice
Panel chair: Edel Hughes, Middlesex University

- The Turkish Presidential System: Exit from or Recipe for State Crisis?
  Naif Bezwan, University of Klagenfurt, Austria, and UCL, UK

- Three Decades of Seeking Justice for the Disappeared in Turkey
  Melinda Negrón-Gonzales, University of New Hampshire, USA

- Infringing the Sovereign Power of the Electorate: The European Court of Human Rights Awakens to Political Persecution and a Denial of Free Elections in Turkey
  Darren Dinsmore, Co-Founder and Co-Director Mesopotamia Observatory of Justice
The Kurdish Question: The Influence of the EU Accession Process on Kurdish Rights in Turkey
Nawroos Shibli, University of Waterloo, Canada

Room 3 - Radical Democracy, Democratic Confederalism and the Kurdish question
Panel chair: Janroj Yilmaz Keles, Middlesex University
- Rojava: a non-state or a 'not yet' state?
  Jamie McCollum Doctoral researcher, Queen’s University Belfast, UK
- Kurdish nationalism and gender equality: the emergence of a ‘new man' in Rojava?
  Kaveh Ghobadi, PhD in Kurdish Studies, University of Exeter, UK

Room 3 - Book Launch

Prof Abbas Vali’s new book will be launched at the conference
26 June 2019

9:00 - 10:30 - Parallel sessions

Room 1 - Theoretical Approaches to the Kurdish Question
Panel chair: Peter Hough, Middlesex University

- The Kurdish Solution: A Different Approach
  *Sardar Aziz, Senior Adviser Kurdistan Parliament/Kurdistan*

- Kurdish nationalism in Iraq: a critical realist approach
  *Thanos Trappelides Lancaster University, UK*

- Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey: a constructivist realistic perspective in the process of building a nation.
  *Irfan Güler, University of Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain*

- Global Movement for (Radical) Democracy: The PKK and the New Internationalism
  *Yasin Sunca, Bielefeld University and Ghent University*
  *Tobias Reinhardt, Scuola Normale Superiore – Istituto di Scienze Umane e Sociali (SNS), Italy*

Room 2 – Gender and LGBT in the Homeland and Diaspora
Panel chair: Lisa Overton, Middlesex University

- Intimate Control: Identity, Difference, and Queer Sexualities in Kurdish Turkey
  *Emrah Karakuş, School of Anthropology University of Arizona, USA*

- The Narrative of Lesbian Gays and Bisexual (LGB) in Iran and the Chronic Closet
  *Kameel Ahmady, UK/Iran*

Room 3- Media and Language Education in Contemporary Kurdistan
Panel chair:

- A shift from Arabic to English: A new trend in using loanwords in Kurdish media translation
  *Dr Sabir Hasan Rasul, University of Human Development, Kurdistan*

- Professional Role Orientations of Journalists: Kurdistan Region of Iraq as a case study
  *Dr Shwan Adam Aivas, Sulaimani Polytechnic University, Kurdistan*

- Development of the Newspaper Industry and the Role of Different Social Powers in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (2014-2018): a highly innovative method design for addressing the media market in a non-transparent media environment.
  *Jiyan Faris, University of Antwerp, Belgium*

Break - 10:30 – 10:40
Room 1 - The Kurds and the International Community
Panel chair: Arzu Yılmaz, Turkey
- Analyzing the Place of the Kurds in USA Strategy After the Emergence of ISIS in Iraq and Syria.
  Mohammad Taher Bidar, Shahid Beheshti University of Tehran
- The United States Foreign Policy Towards the Kurdistan Region of Iraq after the September 25, 2017 Referendum
  Ghazi Ghareeb Zorab, Sulaimani Polytechnic University, Kurdistan
- The Geopolitical and Geostrategic Significance of Oil in KRG-Turkish Relations and Future of Kurdistan Region in Iraq
  Yadgar Abdulah Ali, Koya University, Kurdistan

Room 2 - Political Economy and Conflict
Panel chair: Melvyn Evans, Middlesex University
- Diaspora, Identity and Entrepreneurship
  Janroj Keles and Stephen Syrett, Middlesex University
- The Impact of Political Conflict on Entrepreneurship in Kurdistan
  Haval Dhia Kadhem Sorameri & Rejin Zandi, Jönköping International Business School, Sweden
- An Outlook to Economic Geography of Kurdistan and Kurdish Question
  Ramazan Tunç, Economic analyst, Dicle University, Turkey
- Investigation of the Socio-Economic Dimensions of the Forced Migration (2015-2016) in the Sur (Diyarbakır) District Center
  Dr Sedat Benek-Mazlum Örme, Dr Mazlum ÖRMEK, Harran University Social Sciences Institute, Şanlıurfa

Room 3 - Nation Building, Language, Literature and Architecture
Panel chair: Hassan Ghazi, Broadcaster, Belgium
- Kurdish nation-building through children textbooks
  Ofra Bengio, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University
- Kurdish Place-identity: Challenge between Heritage and Globalisation
  Dr. Avar Almukhtar, Brookes University Oxford, UK
- Kurdish Women in Literature: A History of Violence, Displacement and Migration
  Lolav M. Hassan Alhamid, University of Duhok and University of Kent

Break: Lunch 12-1:00
Room 1 - Living under Permanent Risk: Exclusion, Discrimination and Genocide of Ezidi Community
Panel chair: Leyla Ferman, Germany
- Non-state actors and genocide: The case of Yazidis
  Ayse Kurul, Queen Mary University of London, UK
- The post-genocide situation of Yezidi women
  Golala Kamangar, University of Oslo, Norway
- The perspective on the Reconstructing the Cultural, language and Heritage in post-war in the case of Yazidi community
  Sardar Fage Mohammed Ghaidan, Director Office of the Vice President Kurdistan Region, Kurdistan
- Yazidi community, Past, Now and Future (documentary film)
  Abdulsamad Qadir Hussien Ahmed, University of Sulaimani, Kurdistan

Room 2 - The Frontiers of the Ruling States over Kurdistan: The Kurdish Trade and transborder Relations
Panel chair: Sinem Aslan and Cemal Ozkahraman (session organizers)
- Transborder Ethnic Kin and the Dynamics of Peace Processes: Insights from the Kurdish Conflict
  Sinem Arslan, University of Essex, UK
- Cross-border’ trade: understanding the socio-economical and political context of Kurds in Syria
  Cemal Ozkahraman, University of Cambridge, UK
- The path to Kurdish Statehood: the impact of the Kurdish Regional Government on the possibility of a future Kurdish State.
  Bamo Nouri, City University London, UK
- The impact of international politics on the Kurdish question in Iraq and Syria
  Ibraheem Ahmad Salh, Political Consultant of Kurdistan Region’s Vice President, Kurdistan

Room 3
Hegemony, Assimilation, Linguistic Policy and Education
Panel chair: Ofra Bengio, Tel Aviv University
- Linguistic Policy, Hegemony, Assimilation and Education
  Deborah Duman, University of Bath
- Ethnic Fractionalization, Conflict and Educational Development in Turkey
  Cem Oyvat, University of Greenwich, UK
  Hasan Tekg{"u}c, Kadir Has University, Turkey
- Kurdish language and its place in Kurdish and Turkish political discourses
Between State and Community: Memurluk, the ‘Middle Class’, and Kurdish Civil Society in North Kurdistan
Patrick C. Lewis, University of Chicago, USA

2:30- 2:40 Break

2:40 – 16:00 – Parallel sessions

Room 1 - Securitization and Identity politics in Iran
Panel chair: Muhammed Shareef, Independent Scholar & Political Analyst, UK
- Can Non–Persians Speak? The Sovereign’s Narration of “Iranian Identity”
  Kamal Soleimani,
- Securitization of Environmental Activism in Iranian Kurdistan
  Allan Hassaniyan, University of Exeter
- Widening Students’ Participation in Learning in Higher Education: A Case Study of Civil Engineering BSc Programme in an Iranian University in Kurdistan
  Kourosh Kouchakpour, University of Sunderland
- The Kurds and Iranian Islamic Revolution (Recasting the 1979 Revolution(s) of Iran from a Kurdish Perspective)
  Hemn Seyedi, University of St Andrews, UK

Room 2 - Territorial Politics, Identity and Construction of Kurdishness
Panel chair: Kamal Soleimani
- Territorial Identity, the Essence of the Kurdish Question in Iraq
  Sherko Kirmanj, University of Sharjah, UAE
- The Question of Kurdishness: Comprehension of Political Identity Construction
  Seevan Saeed, Shaanxi Normal University, China
- The Case Of Zaza Identity Construction Process In Turkey
  Mithat Ishakoglu, University of Exeter

Room 3 - Kurdish cultural production and Resistance
Panel chair: Neelam Raina, Middlesex University, UK
- Art and postcolonial perspective in Kurdish space: the political aesthetic of micro-culture
  Engin Sustam, University Paris 8/CETOBAC, EHESS, France
- Kurdish Cinema: the unintended consequences of Kurdish Films from North and East Kurdistan
  Mojgan Etemad, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK
- The power of An Enemy of the people in the Kurdish Society & Theatre a cross history.
Room 4- Dynamics of Peace and Conflict and Reconciliation
Panel chair: Francis Owtram, University of Exeter
- Re-channelling the Conflict: A Study on Perceptions and Attitudes about Peace and Justice among Conflict-affected Communities in Ninawa-Iraq
  Muslih Irwani, Public Policy Institute (PPI) Founding Director Public Policy Institute (PPI), Kurdistan
- Levels of Population Growth between Kurds and Arabs in Kirkuk City
  Mohammed Hussein Shwany, Salahadin University –Kurdistan
- Democracy in the Middle East: Is it working? What model should be implemented?
  Parwez Zabihi, Kurdistan

Break 4:00 –4:10

4:10- 6:00 Parallel Sessions

Room 1 Turkey’s Kurdish Question and Kurdish political movement in Turkey
Panel chair: Omer Tekdemir, Leicester University, UK
- From “there is no conflict” to “there is no resolution” Unpacking the logics of Kurdish Conflict in Turkey
  Recep Onursal, University of Kent, UK
- The Rise and Fall of the AKP government’s policy of transforming the Turkish-Kurdish conflict
  Ufuk Sahin, Freie Universitaet Berlin, Germany
- The dialectical relation between different concepts of violence exercised by the state and the PKK in Turkey
  Neslihan Yaklav, EHESS and CNRS, France

Room 2- The State of the Kurdish studies and emerging Kurdish Diaspora in Japan
Panel chair: Anastasia Christou, Middlesex University (TBC)
- Representation of Kurdish Asylum Seekers in Japanese Media
  Vakkas Colak, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan
- Identity Formation and Political Mobilization among Kurdish Diaspora in Japan
  Sohrab Ahmadian, University of Tsukuba, Japan
- Japan-KRG relations: Challenges, and Outlooks in the Changing World
  Mahmoud Sheikh Hussein, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan
- Kurdish Activism Among the Kurmanji Speaking Kurds in Iran: The Case Study of Margavar Rural District in the Border of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey
Mostafa Khalili, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and Graduate School of Global Studies, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan

Room 3 - History, Art, Conflict and Reconciliation: The case of Kirkuk
Panel chair: Muslih Irwani, Public Policy Institute, Kurdistan

- Kirkuk’s Tribal Groups and The Ottoman Policy
  Rasoul Muhammed Rasoul, Soran University, Kurdistan
- Kirkuk from the Conflict zone to thriving one
  Sangar Rasul, Catholic University -Erbil /STANDARD Media and Research Institute, Kurdistan
- The Question of Kirkuk and the Role of External Actors
  Nahwi Saeed, Charmu University, Kurdistan

Conference Concluding remark

7:00pm

Seminar at the British Parliament

Shifting Dynamics of the Kurdistan Question in a Changing Middle East