<u>Conference Abstracts</u>

Table of Contents

Atmaca, Metin - Freiburg University

Centralizing the Periphery of the Empire: Tanzimat and the case of Baban Emirate

The borders between the Ottomans and Iran, during the two decades from 1828 until 1847, became a field for the imperial powers to challenge each other and to show off their muscle. Beside these two powers, came along Russia and the British Empire in this border region. While the conflict continued between the Ottomans and Iran the Babans, a Kurdish emirate centered in Sulaimaniya, also struggled to keep their political and territorial autonomy from the Ottomans. While both states, Iran and the Ottomans, tried to deal with the internal and international conflicts-the territories of the Baban emirate was one of the major of these-they also aimed at the borders and the borderland people in between. The outcome of this aim was Tanzimat or reforms. The Ottomans declared Tanzimat in 1839 and started to put it into practice, which brought the border regions further under the realm of the central power. Once the new regulations were introduced and centralization policies were imposed on the Kurdish notables, their emirates started to be scratched off the ground of Kurdistan one by one, from 1834 until 1847. Alongside Soran, Botan, and Hakkari emirates, the Babans were also crushed in this struggle of centralization. The Baban Beys were the last Kurdish notables who were defeated and expelled from the power few years after the Bedirxan of Botan was taken away from his emirate. In the end the Tanzimat project was successful to transform the life of the society, and more specifically the notables, in Kurdistan. In this paper, Tanzimat and its arrival to the region, more specifically to the Baban territories will be discussed. While discussing the general implementation and the consequences of the project of the forced centralization in the Empire, I will compare these consequences with the ones in the Kurdish regions and try to find an answer to what it meant for the Kurds and other people in Kurdistan.

***

Bajalan, Djene Rhys - St. Antony's College, University of Oxford
The Kurdish münevver and the 'Young Turk' Revolution of 1908: The Apogee of 'Kurdish Ottomanism'

The 'Young Turk' Revolution of 1908 is seen by many academics and historians as a major turning point in Ottoman history. The revolt saw the overthrow of the despotic regime of Abdulhamid II (r. 1876-1909) and the restoration of constitutional and parliamentary rule to the Ottoman Empire after an interregnum over of thirty years. Since the Ottoman Empire was home to the largest proportion of the Middle East's Kurdish population, 1908 is also a noteworthy date in Kurdish history. It heralded the formation of the first significant Kurdish organisation, the Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ("The Society for Kurdish Mutual-Aid and Progress - SKMP") and also marked the apogee of an ideological trend which I describe as 'Kurdish Ottomanism'.

In the decades prior to the 1908 Revolution, Kurdishness came to be mobilised in novel ways. For instance, in the pronouncements of Sheikh Ubeydullah, who led a Kurdish revolt in the 1880s, and the poetry of Haji Qadri Koyi, the idiom of the Kurds as a 'nation' was utilised to make 'quasi-nationalist' claims for the formation of a Kurdish national entity. However, this was not the only context in which the Kurdish identity was politicised. The nineteenth century also saw the birth of a new class of Ottoman-Kurdish intellectuals and professionals ("münevver"), educated at the imperial centre and familiar with western languages and 'enlightenment' ideals. Some members of this group also used the idiom of Kurdishness to make political claims. However, these claims were not combined with demands for a Kurdish nation-state. Instead the Kurdish community was imagined as an element ("unsur") of the Ottoman 'nation', while the 'Kurdish question' was seen as one of education, economic development and leadership. I argue that this form of Kurdish identity politics is best understood as a specific Kurdish form of Ottomanism as opposed to Kurdish 'proto-nationalism'. While Kurdish intellectuals were obviously aware of the 'nationalist principle', separation from the Ottoman polity did not, on the whole, appeal to them. The empire was not a 'prison house of nations' as it has often been portrayed. At least for the Kurds, it provided a political and institutional opportunity structure in which they could aspire to advance.

Hence, when opposing the autocracy of Abdulhamid II, Kurdish intellectuals participated in the constitutionalist movement (known in the west as the 'Young Turks'). Moreover, when the autocracy was finally overthrown, many educated Kurds greeted this development with joy. It is within this context that the SKMP was formed, a function of not just a rising Kurdish 'self-awareness' but also as an expression of the

Ottoman patriotism of many Kurds. 1908-1909 marked the highpoint of 'Kurdish Ottomanism'. Many believed that the new constitutionalist order would be the salvation of the Kurds. Subsequent political developments led to increasing pessimism about and alienation from the Ottoman regime and by 1918 Kurdish nationalism would have a significant following amongst the Kurdish elites. However, the initial positive reaction of educated Kurds to the 1908 Revolution should lead us to question the idea that rise ethnic consciousness can be equated with the rise of 'nationalist separatism'. Moreover, an examination of the Kurdish reaction to the 1908 Revolution should lead us to scrutinise the response of Kurds to revolutions in later historical eras -1958 Iraq, 1960 Turkey 1979 Iran etc. - revolutions which many Kurds, at least initially, welcomed.

***

Bayir, Derya - Istanbul Bar Association
Representations of the 'Kurds' by the Turkish Judiciary

Although the tensions around Kurdish ethnic identity throughout the history of the Turkish Republic, and the extent of human rights violations against Kurds, are well documented, little research exists about the role played by the Turkish judiciary in relation to the legal position, demands, and identity of the Kurds. An analysis of the role of the judiciary is demanded especially given its position as one of the guardians of the foundational values of the Turkish state. This article analyzes how Turkey's judiciary has navigated the demands of Kurdish people, how it has represented Kurds, and to what extent it has accommodated their alterity in its jurisprudence.

***

Bezwan, Naif – King's College London
Mapping the AKP Policy towards Kurdish Identity and Representation

The advent of the Justice and Development Party of Turkey (AKP) to power in 2002 has given rise to the prospect of a democratic and political settlement of the Kurdistan conflict in Turkey. The AKP itself nurtured the hopes in this respect by declaring itself committed to a new approach, called 'Kurdish opening', towards the Kurdish issue. Nonetheless, AKP has never in earnest attempted to translate its 'openings' into an upon-agreed, normative-democratic transition from military-based coercive policies to a new rapprochement with Kurdish cultural and political rights and demands. The Kurdish parties, on the other hand, did not succeed in providing a common vision and programme for a democratic solution, and thereby in securing and sustaining the intra-Kurdish and international support. Given the fact that two other major sovereign players involved in the Kurdistan conflict, namely Iran and Syria, are currently challenged by both a fierce power struggle at home and a great deal of international isolation, that makes all the more important to concentrate on the role of Turkey and its ruling party.

This paper therefore will examine the unfolding parameters of domestic and foreign policy of the AKP towards Kurds and Kurdistan both at home and at regional level. In doing so, a particular attention will be placed on the question of whether, and to what extent, the AKP in its dealings differs from the conventional Turkish state policies – which has been essentially based on the *negation* of cultural and political rights of Kurds, their enforced *assimilation* into the 'Turkish national body', and the *elimination* of the Kurdish movements. Finally, the paper will consider the present and possible outcomes of AKP's policies and the possibilities for a democratic and non-violent treatment of Kurdish quest for a self-governance.

***

Birot, Sabir - University of Leeds
Translation and Ideology: a Study of the Kurdish Media

This paper explores the role of ideology in the Kurdish media from a translation studies perspective. It attempts to broadly classify the key media players in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and identify the ideological role of each orientation reflected in translating journalistic texts. To achieve this, the paper analyses a set of columns, articles and news reports translated and published in the Kurdish media. The paper provides a thorough study of the translated texts, and an analysis of how far ideology has played any role in translating these texts and how it is reflected at textual macro level as well as micro-level. The study ultimately aims to shed light on the current status of translation activities in the Kurdish media in terms of impartiality from a translation studies perspective. This is intended to help identify and rectify any unhealthy features in the translation work of the Kurdish media. The analysis is carried out on a set of newspaper articles and news reports, originally written in English and translated and published by different Kurdish media players.

<p align="center">***</p>

Brizic, Katharina - Austrian Academy of Sciences
Kurdish in Vienna: Change as the only Continuity

The research project to be presented here has in its very focus social inequality, however examined from a linguistic point of view. The area of interest is the schooling system (on the example of Austrian schools) and thus the acquisition of literacy in a school language (on the example of German) by children with familial roots in Turkey and former Yugoslavia.

The crucial points that gave rise to this investigation originated from recurring and controversially discussed but not yet fully answered questions such as: how and why are, on the one hand, school success and failure in European educational systems that strongly linked to specific "ethnic" groups, and how comes that success and failure are reproduced from generation to generation in such a robust manner? And how and why do, on the other hand, some pupils nevertheless succeed? What are the resources activated here?

By means of psycho- and sociolinguistic as well as interdisciplinary methods, the investigation aims at reconstructing in as much detail as possible the schooling careers

of 180 children. The analysis involves the individual as well as the institutional level, the latter representing a tough mechanism of continuity and change: institutions such as school classes and (immigrant) communities prove to be powerful motors, transforming societal macro conditions into individual and collective patterns of failure or success.

Already our first analyses (to be finalised in summer 2012) have shown how specific these mechanisms work in the case of the Kurdish diaspora. This is especially true in regard to any processes in the realm of language, be it the parents' language transmission, be it the teachers' evaluation patterns of children's acquisition processes, which under these conditions can turn into outstandingly demanding enterprises. The project's outcome is intended to not only feed a theoretical model but to equally serve for dealing with some of the most demanding questions of everyday school reality.

<div align="center">***</div>

Buffon, Veronica - University of Exeter
A gender perspective on traditional healing practices and biomedicine: changes and continuities in Diyarbakır province

Traditional healers and their knowledge have been systematically excluded by Turkey since the process of modernisation of the national health care system started.

Interviews and ethnographic work conducted with Kurdish women in the province of Diyarbakır show that both patients and healers who respectively demand and perform traditional healing practices are facing changes in relation to economic, social and historical transformations. The national discourse about biomedicine and modernisation is strong also in this south-eastern area, where identity and political issues are perceived in a fervid manner in women's everyday life.

In this paper I analyse the differences between Kurdish women healers settled in the urban space and in the villages around Diyarbakır, providing in addition to this an analysis of how their habits intersect with the biomedical based Turkish health care system. Practising traditional healing without having a biomedical way to express concepts regarding the meanings of health and illness exposes these women (and men) to numerous prejudices not only in the biomedical domain but also within the very Kurdish community and its own narratives on health. While this happens especially in the urban space, where Turkish language is widely used in comparison to villages, an overall tendency to hide the use of these traditional practices can also be noted. On the contrary, in the villages, where the linguistic barriers are less intense, this phenomenon is less common.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Chamanara, Behrooz - George August Göttingen University
An Investigation and understanding to the Kurdish genre Shānāma and its religious implications

This paper tries to achieve an executive determination of Kurdish Shānāma and its religious implications according to various manuscripts and oral narrations. The epic poems which we known as Kurdish Shānāma are rooted in myth and included the primitive believes and the viewpoints of Zāgros settlers belong the earlier ages of human life up to yet. The difference of mythical foundations between West and East Iran appointed author to survey in the ideas and worldviews of Kurdish Shānāma. This surveying leads to achieve a conceptual classification. The structure of Kurdish literary language and the poems meter are the other point that mentioned there and writer tries to determine and explain them as "Gurāni style". Moreover one section devoted to the Oral literature and creating process of booklets and handwritings, also that argument leads to speaking about narration and aspects of narrators' performance. The main conclusion of this paper is that the Kurdish Shānāma is an original and independent text in Gurāni literary style and its seclusion from the discourse of Iranian official literature progress causes to accept some metamorphosis. Moreover, it has been influenced by Iranian-Islamic religious schools.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Demir, Ipek - University of Leicester
Constructing a Diasporic Battlespace in London: the Case of Kurds from Turkey

My paper will focus on the Kurdish diaspora's ethno-national battles. Much work on the Kurdish diaspora has been carried out in relation to Kurds on the continent and has focused on Kurds' antagonistic relationship with Turkey, examining Kurds' desire for the recognition of their ethnic identity and struggle, and the associated anti-Turkey mobilization and activities. Whilst acknowledging these dual aspects of the Kurdish ethnic identity, belonging and battling, I will unsettle the prioritization and sole focus on 'battling' by presenting detailed ethnographic data and analysis on the various ways in which Kurds in London interact with, and relate to 'home'. The paper will also offer theoretical conceptualizations, especially what I call 'contingencies of belonging and battling' and the construction of the 'diasporic battlespace'.

<div align="center">***</div>

Dulz, Irene - European Technology & Training Centre, Erbil
The Yezidis' Struggle for Participation in Iraqi Kurdistan

This paper intends to assess whether and in which fields the Yezidi minority living in Iraq is benefiting from and participating in progress and improvements taking place in the Kurdistan Region since the fall of the Saddam Regime or whether and where they are missing out on chances and facing limitations. The paper will not deal with aspects of Yezidism and the religious practices of Yezidis.

First, I will provide an understanding of the geographic expansion of areas inhabited by Yezidis in Iraq which have gradually come under the control of the Kurdish security forces and administration since 2003. The incorporation of territories inhabited by the Yezidi minority into the Kurdistan Region has led to a safer situation and subsequently more prosperous environment. The paper argues that the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) is co-opting the Yezidis into the Kurdish sphere of influence rather than giving them the opportunity to find their own voice or independence as members of a minority within the Region. The overall aim is to expand the Kurdish controlled areas in Iraq. The Yezidis are not blind to this situation and trying to make the best of it. Finally, the paper will suggest, give explanations and provide recent examples as to why the Yezidis might be better off incorporated into the Kurdistan Region than into Central Iraq. This will be done by highlighting and compairing recent developments that have an impact on the Yezidi community such as access to education (primary, secondary and higher education), employment opportunities including the traditional service sector, new public sector jobs and as a result of the current construction boom, the establishment of Yezidi cultural centres, and other infrastructure and economical investments being made in areas inhabited by Yezidis.

<div align="center">***</div>

Dundar, Fuat - Institut Français d'Etudes, Anatoliennes
How to Measure Ethnic and Civic Nationalism: The Kurdish Case

Today, the Kurds in Iraq, Turkey and Armenia demand to be counted separately in the national censuses. While an ethnic census has become est sine qua non of Kurdish politics in Iraq, as the pro-Kurdish party's demand of an ethnic census was realized as a result of strong public pressure. In contrast, the demand of Yazidis in Armenia to be counted as Kurds on the census was overturned.

The populations who constitute the majority and who hold the power in the said countries have been rejecting these demands. Politicians mainly argue that these demands are 'racist' and the States in which Kurds live do not put distinctions among the populations according to their ethnic origin. On the other hand, a significant number of scholars (and technocrats) also are against these demands. They argue that identity is a fluid concept and cannot be counted with clear-cut categorizations.

This paper will firstly examine the possible ways of measuring identity, i.e. through the questions in the census ('nationality' and/or 'mother tongue'), public survey, calculation from population registers, calculation from votes and so on. Which method could reflect the 'reality'? Why results of an ethnic census can differ from the results of an election? I will argue here that the main reason of differentiation is that one measures ethnic nationalism, while the other measure civic nationalism. Secondly, the paper will examine the reason why Kurdish nationalist movements claim ethnic census in different countries. While discussing the role of demographic data in the nationalist claim, the paper will make comparisons with other nationalist arguments (i.e. history, violence, maladministration, civilization etc.). Thirdly, the paper will examine what will be the political and social consequence of an ethnic census in the above-mentioned countries.

***

Erdem, Ismail - University of London
Understanding the changing institutional contexts and the endogenous dynamics of the nation-building process in Iraqi Kurdistan

This paper traces the basic characteristics of the nation-building process in Iraqi Kurdistan from an institutional perspective. It shows how Kurdish (domestic) dynamics have functioned as agents of institutional change and, specifically the role played by major Kurdish political parties in transforming local political, economic and cultural institutions into the foundational national structures of the Kurdistan Region. It also examines how Kurdistan Region's political institutions evolved in interaction with other regional actors and within the context of federalization of Iraq's political system.

Based on an analysis of the interaction between the Kurdish (Iraqi) parties and other regional political actors, it argues that the consolidation of Kurdish political institutions in Iraqi Kurdistan have not only multiplied the creation of national institutions in cultural and educational sectors, but also provided those institutions with sufficient autonomous public space and legitimacy to enable Iraqi Kurdistan to act in the regional arena. The overall

argument is that the changing status of the Kurdistan Region and the continuous evolution of Kurdish (domestic) forces have turned into mutually reinforcing and interdependent processes which, since the 1990s, have stimulated the further institutionalisation of nation-building processes by paving the ways for the establishment of a new generation of civil society and democratic political institutions in Iraqi Kurdistan.

***

Flader, Ulrike - University of Manchester
Everyday Resistance Practices among the Kurdish Population in Turkey

In the analysis of resistance of the Kurds in Turkey, the literature tends to focus on either the organized struggle of the PKK or legal party politics. However, beyond these two lies the field of non-organised everyday practices of the population. In contrast to party politics, collective protest or armed struggle, these so-called micro-practices, or "weapons of the weak" as James C. Scott calls them, are often neglected as they do not aim at a public goal, are often hidden and covert, lack formal organization, leaders and slogans.

Without overestimating or herofying these minor practices, it is however the aim of my research to show their importance in the struggle against the various policies of assimilation of the Turkish state, which have ranged from banning Kurdish languages, disciplinary practices in schools, in the military and in prisons to forced migration, re-settlement and the strategic impoverishment of the population. Especially if we analyse the policies of assimilation, in a Foucaudian sense, as a means to produce a "normalized" subject, a loyal citizen, we have to acknowledge the importance of strategies of the population to deny this subjectivity, to refuse this normalization and subordination on the micro-level. Stories, myths, jokes, using cultural symbols and various kinds of minor acts of disobedience are ways in which the normalization is questioned, subverted and undermined.

My research project aims at showing the connection between the effects of the policies of assimilation in everyday life and the various practices of resistance against these policies. It will not only reveal different practices of the people living in different regions of Turkey, but also focus on the changes over time. My paper is based on the outcomes from my ethnographic fieldwork in 2011/2012.

***

Galip, Ozlem – University of Exeter
Minority Literature: Towards Counter-Hegemonic Discourse

Kurds living in Turkish Kurdistan who are Turkish citizens not considered as minority according to the Constitution. Since the foundation of Turkish Republic, denial of the existence of Kurds as separate nation has been strengthened and Kurds have been subsumed under that of being Turkish. However, it is not accurate to define Kurds as minority, also Kurds do not accept to be defined as minority. It is precisely in this paper that Kurds are not considered as national minority; however, it is considered that the literature produced by Kurdish authors employ the characteristic of minority literature. The explicit intention of this paper is to emphasize the common characteristics of Kurdish novelistic discourse with minority literature in relation to some selected Kurdish novels written both in Turkish Kurdistan and its diaspora. In this context, through textual and contextual analysis, I will mainly argue that Kurdish novelistic discourse turns into extra-textual manifestation that directly pertains to the minority's collective identity, which is again implemented through establishing and developing a textual resistance against the hegemonic majority. In the parallel of this view, I will also make the following arguments:

- Kurdish novelists use Kurdish language as the basis for expressing their literary articulations and maintaining their distinctive national features through novelistic discourse as anti-hegemonic resistance.
- Kurdish authors attempt to maintain their identity as collective as a way of surviving within the hegemonic culture.
- The centrality of political issues in the lives of all Kurds causes the political themes to become central constituent of Kurdish novelistic discourse.
- The preservation of culture and folklore are considered as means to counter the danger that Kurds will be assimilated under the hegemony of majority. In this respect, Kurdish cultural elements i.e. myths, folklore, traditions are also intensive which not only strengthen the Kurdish collective identity but also weaken the power of dominant culture.

<div align="center">***</div>

Ghaderi, Farangis - University of Exeter
The Emergence of modern Kurdish Poetry: a discursive analysis

Twentieth century brought not only massive political changes to Kurds, but also transformed Kurdish poetic discourse; In early Twentieth century, the interplay of

social, political, and literary discourses and their interactions changed the sign system and "regimes of truths," which in turn impacted the literary discourse, and gave birth to a new mode of poetry, called Modern. Modern poets abandoned Aruz, Arabic strict scansion, practiced for centuries, and applied Hija, a familiar local meter. Hija was accompanied by new literary content, as well as simpler language, as a result of new discursive formations, and together they put modern poetry in conflict with Classic poetry. Modern poetry was started with poets like Rehmî Hekarî, Qedrî Can, Goran, and Şêx Nurî, interestingly at different times and places, but it was not an immediate success, as the majority of the poets were reluctant to accept and practice the change in form.

This paper aims to contextualize the emergence of modern Kurdish poetry and explore the involved discursive formations and the mechanism of their impact on constructing the modern poetic discourse. Since, Kurdistan was divided after First World War the modern poetic enterprises of each part will be studied in the context of its relevant nation-state, as well as the national schema. The paper also tries to find whether Qedrî Can, Hekarî and Goran were aware of each other's initiatives and the extent of their impact on each other, if any. It will explain why none of these poets were as successful as Goran in inspiring the future generation.

***

Ghazi, Hassan – Independent Researcher
Kurdistan Mission

Between 1911-1936 missionaries attached to "Lutheran Orient Mission Society" were active in the town of Savuojbulx(Present Mahabad) and its environs ,in Mukryan region of Iranian Kurdistan. At the Lutheran Orient-Mission Conference, held at Berwyn, 111, September 6-8, 1910, there were present pastors from six different Lutherans synods. From papers read and addresses made, it appeared clear that the religious, social and political conditions in Mohammedan lands are such now that a large door is opened for Lutheran missionary work in those countries. Special interest centered on Kurdistan. The 4,000,000 of inhabitants appear to be the most neglected in the Mohammedan world today. Much earlier American Presbyterian society was stationed in Urmia, not far from Savoujbulax and one of the persons active there, namely L.O. Fossum had come into contact with Kurds, and was one of the adamant adherents of starting a mission work among Mukri Kurds.

In the paper I am not concerned much with the evangelical and religious activities of the missionaries, but I will take up their works in promoting literacy, school, social and medical services. Some of the missionaries contributed to the promotion of

Kurdish language, and having schools in Kurdish was one of the reasons that the Iranian authorities closed the mission. I believe the two newsletters published by the society " The Kurdistan Missionary" and " The Lutheran Orient Mission" are very important sources for unearthing parts of the unknown history in Mukiryan region in Iranian Kurdistan. I have translated and published most of the items related to the "Kurdistan Mission" into Sorani Kurdish, and at the same time have produced a documentary on "Kurdistan Mission" for an educational American TV outlet, Scola.

<p align="center">***</p>

Gunes, Cengiz - Open University
Explaining Kurdish Nationalist Mobilisation in Turkey: Hegemony, Myth and Violence

This paper focuses on the nationalist mobilisation of the Kurds in Turkey by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK in Kurdish acronyms). It highlights the PKK's organisational growth and political practices during the 1980s and 1990s to show the primary forms that Kurdish political activism took in the period. By drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory and the theoretical concepts of 'hegemony' and 'myth', it then provides an examination of the contestation over Kurdish identity that numerous groups took part in and the PKK's subsequent hegemony over the Kurdish national movement from 1980s onwards. Specifically, it examines the ideological and political debates over strategy and the representation of Kurdish identity in political discourse. By drawing on the concepts of 'myth' and 'exemplarity', it then analyses the PKK's contemporary myth of resistance, which was constructed around the resistance practices of its leading members in the Diyarbakir Military Prison during the early 1980s, and was deployed extensively to represent its struggle in political discourse and through art and music. The paper will argue that such an analysis is essential to understand the factors that have enhanced the PKK's appeal and enquire into why and how it managed to successfully mobilise a significant number of the Kurds in Turkey.

<p align="center">***</p>

Gurses, Mehmet - Florida Atlantic University
Ethnic Kin: An Obstacle or Opportunity for Peace?

The destruction of civil war creates an environment that is not conducive to the rise of democratic institutions and culture. Nonetheless, the majority of civil wars that occurred in the post-WW II era resulted in an improvement in the level of democracy.

The growing literature on civil war and democratization, emphasizing war and country characteristics, has mainly focused on domestic level factors that seek to answer the puzzle of post-civil-war democratization. A key finding in this literature is that inconclusive and costly civil wars that end in a negotiated settlement improve the prospects for postwar democratization.

Existing studies have, by and large, left out another important aspect of ethnic civil wars, the transnational aspect of ethnic groups fighting for greater political and civil liberties. While acknowledging complexities involved in ethnic armed conflicts, this study argues that ethnic conflict can serve as a tool to democratize. With a focus on the protracted Kurdish conflict in Turkey, this study presents evidence for the positive effect of ethnic kin across an international border on improving relations between an ethnic minority engaged an armed conflict and the state.

<center>***</center>

Hassan, Saman - University of Exeter
A Historical Perspective on Kurdish Women's Poetry

This paper is about the development history of Kurdish women's poetry in the four divided parts of Kurdistan. Generally, it traces the early history when the first Kurdish woman poet emerges in the nineteenth century up until the last decade of the twentieth century. It also tackles the general social, cultural, and political conditions of women in Kurdish society and the obstacles women writers in general and poets in particular face in that society. The paper will similarly indicate the significant contribution of early Kurdish women poets to the development of Kurdish literature and the impact they have had on their successors. It will explicitly explain the literary and social environment from which such women poets could cultivate their poetry and the challenges they had been facing from the male-dominated society.

Meanwhile, another central issue to be covered by this paper will be certain periods of inactivity when no poetry has literally been produced at all by Kurdish women poets for a variety of reasons, such as the unstable political and social state of Kurdistan and the frequent attacks which had been made by various forces and countries on the Kurds. Moreover, the local factor, which could rightly be defined as the suppressive power of patriarchy, also contributes very negatively to such inertial bouts. The vulnerable, yet optimistic, re-emergence of Kurdish women's poetry after such unproductive times will be one more aspect of this paper. Consequently, the paper will be a general overview of the most important stages in the history of Kurdish women's

poetry, highlighting the twists and turns of this type of poetry and the place it has arguably occupied in the dominantly male Kurdish literature.

<div align="center">***</div>

Hassan, Zheger – University of Western Ontario
Using and Abusing History: The Case of Halabja

The gassing of Halabja represents a significant moment in Kurdish history. Saddam Huessein's Anfal Campaigns included eight separate military offensives, took place over a period of eight months, and resulted in as many as 100,000 deaths, some place the figure well over 150, 000 victims (Middle East Watch 1993). Middle East Watch, the authoritative source on the Anfal Campaigns, notes that over 4,000 villages were destroyed, the most memorable of which was the 16 March 1988 attack on the town of Halabja. In an effort to regain the town of Halabja from Kurdish forces, al-Majid and the Iraqi army used chemical weapons to destroy civilian and military morale.

Despite its historical significance, Halabja has received little attention from the academic community. Aside form Joost Hiltermann (2007) and Michael Kelly (2008), there is very little information regarding the gassing of Halabja. This event represents a critical juncture in the Kurdish struggle for self-determination and it is often employed as a symbol of Kurdish nationalism and suffering. As such, it is important to account for Halabja's symbolism for Kurdish nationalism. To this end, this paper asks two related questions: first, how do symbols colour the way in which a group of people understand historical events? Second, do symbols have practical implications for nationalist movements? My preliminary findings suggest that symbols often influence and shape the cultural, historical, and political elements of nationalist movements. Moreover, I argue that the images from Halabja constitute a 'visualizable emblem' that has condensed the Kurdish nationalist movement into a single image.

<div align="center">***</div>

Keles, Janroj - London Metropolitan University
Mediated homeland politics and transnational ethnic audiences: The case of Kurdish and Turkish migrants

This paper examines the linkages between nationalism, media and migration and the role of the transnational media in articulating and mobilizing different political and identity positions for migrants. It explores the complex linkages between Kurdish and Turkish transnational ethnic media and migrant communities. It is based on 74 in-depth

interviews and 6 focus groups with Kurdish and Turkish migrants of diverse age, gender, political affiliation, occupation and length of migration in London, Berlin and Stockholm. Drawing upon the concepts of "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) and "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995), it seeks to understand how migrants make sense of the media representations of the ethno-national conflict in homeland between the Turkish state and the Kurds and how both Kurdish and Turkish position themselves in relation to these media texts. The paper explores how the media impact differentially on migrants' views and ethnic identities in the three European countries.

This paper argues that transnational media speak on behalf of the nation to the nation, even if the members of these imagined national communities live in different places, connecting people across different geographical spaces and thus building transnational imagined communities. They create a sense of belonging to a meaningful imagined community defined as "our" nation. The mediated Turkish-Kurdish ethno-national conflict has contributed to this transnational imagined community. The analysis of interviews found that the mediated conflict has hardened ethnic-based divisions and differentiation between Kurdish and Turkish migrants in Europe. Transnational media have contributed to deterritorialization, differentiation and division among migrants and created transnational imagined political communities across the nation state borders.

<div align="center">***</div>

King, Diane - University of Kentucky
Interrogating Politicking in the Kurdistan Region

The Kurdistan Region of Iraq is abuzz with politicking. Previously a separatist region governed by authorities not fully recognized by the central state government in Baghdad, Kurdistan is now an "official" region within the Iraqi state. It has held elections since 1992 and has many of the features of a democracy. It also has many of the features of an oligarchy, since two patrilineal families and their networks dominate its politics. Its government has excellent relations with most Western countries, and has, in recent decades, been highly dependent on the United States and Britain for security and advocacy on the international stage. In this paper, I explore and interrogate politicking in Iraqi Kurdistan as well as between representatives of the Region and the world, particularly the West.

Political jockeying in Kurdistan has long taken place between prospective or actual patrons and clients. Everyone, even a very powerful person, is a client of

someone. Many politicians belong to notable patrilineages, whose members have operated as leaders and patrons in political realms ranging from the tribe to region to state (colonial, independent, or occupied). Patrons must have something before they can give it away to others to gain their loyalty, so they busily cultivate their own patrons higher up the ladder within the region and state, and abroad. In some ways the structures of patriliny and patron-client networks seem as vibrant as ever, but to what degree are they being challenged by calls for a new order in the age of the "Arab Spring?" Dissatisfaction with them seems to be growing, most notably expressed in the Silemani protests of 2011. This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in homes, institutions and public spaces in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq during ten stints between 1995 and 2010.

<div align="center">***</div>

Kumarappan, Leena - London Metropolitan University
Visual sociology and Diaspora: Visualising an invisible diasporic 'community's everyday life

The use of visual materials for contemporary social and cultural, sociological research has become an exciting research approach for those seeking to move beyond data as text and we too have been challenged by this in our recent research in trying to understand the importance of work, community, identity and belonging, which can often be difficult to verbalise for researchers and studied group. This paper based on a 3 year ESRC funded research project on 'Influences of identity, community and social networks on ethnic minority representation at work' (EMRAW) will focus on an experiment on the use of participant generated visual photographic methods in a study of notions of identity, community and belonging among Kurdish migrant workers, their socio-political, socio-economical and diasporic spaces, and work experiences in the London labour market.

We will also highlight the issues and problems we faced in incorporating the visual within a traditional interview approach with workers and the type of material we were able to gather from working with Kurdish research participants (first generation Kurdish local photograph group) who were given a free hand to provide us with data that they created and thought was relevant to them. The paper explores theoretical justifications that influenced our approach in our first attempt at participatory photography. It will look at the use of images constructed by research participants and how these were used in focus group situations to explore how or whether individual

meanings of work, identity, community and belonging have resonance in the wider Kurdish community.

<p align="center">***</p>

Lalik, Krzysztof - Jagiellonian University, Poland

Development of Educational Policy of Authorities of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

During the last decade, along with the political and economical transformation, the Kurdistan Region in Iraq has faced a new challenge - to rebuild and reform its whole education system. The reform of the system had to be taken mostly because of a few reasons: to make up years of neglects and catch up with more development countries, to meet requirements of federal law e.g. Constitution of Iraq and to adapt educational system – primary, secondary and especially higher education – for modern economical practice. The reform had been introduced and implemented mainly both by the Ministries of Education and Higher Education consulting with rectors of individual universities in Kurdistan Region. According to Article 3, First, of the Constitution of Iraq all Iraqis have the right to educate their children in their mother tongue and it should be guaranteed in government and private educational institutions. It means that at the basic educational level Assyrians, Armenians and Turkmens in Iraqi Kurdistan should have the right to learn in their mother tongue.

The aim of the paper is to examine the level of main changes accomplished in recent years by Kurdish government and academic authorities in the education system, especially in fields such as modernization of the universities, both public and private, being receptive to international scientific cooperation, as well as multicultural education i.e. education for ethnic and linguistic minorities in the Kurdistan Region.

<p align="center">***</p>

Leezenberg, Michiel - University of Amsterdam

The end of heterodoxy? Political and realignments of the Shabak and the Kakais in post-Saddam Iraq

Small ethnic minorities like the Shabak and the Kakais have long been claimed as unambiguously Kurdish by Kurdish nationalists. Located along the fringes of Iraqi Kurdistan, religiously long associated with the Ghulât (heterodox shi'ite groups), and speaking varieties of Hawrami or Gorani, these groups have long been the object, and

repeatedly the target, of rival nationalist claims. Up until the 1990s, debates raged as to whether these people were really Kurds, Arabs, or Turkomans; many members of these groups in fact being multilingual, it was generally easy to make such rival nationalist cases.

In the wake of the 2003 war, however, and especially in the wake of increasing attacks by radical Sunni groups against religious minorities during the following years, a rearticulation of these groups' identities can be witnessed: increasingly, these groups start expressing their identities in religious rather than ethnolinguistic terms; at the same time, they emphasize the religious orthodoxy of their views, in aligning themselves with relatively well-established religious groups like the Twelver Shi'ites or the Bektashi order. In my presentation, I will trace these realignments, and conclude with some more general remarks on the variability and/or permanence of ethnoreligious fault lines.

<div align="center">***</div>

Lowe, Robert - Middle East Centre, London School of Economics
The turmoil in Syria and uncertain change for the Kurds

After long decades of stagnation, the popular eruption in Syria in 2011 marks a highly significant moment. The unrest appears likely to continue well into 2012 and, whatever the outcome, it is clear that dramatic change is happening in Syria. This change may have profound implications for the Kurdish community in Syria. The Kurds themselves are notable actors in the struggle and will have an important say in the future shape of Syria. In the last 90 years, Kurds in Syria have experienced less change than those in other countries, but they are the most directly affected by the Arab Spring. After eight months of unrest, the uprising has thrown up a number of difficult questions for Kurds: what involvement should they have; how can they work with the other parties in the Syrian opposition; how can they work better among themselves, how do they assert specifically Kurdish demands for language, culture, education, and equal opportunities; how do they make their voices heard abroad; what might the future hold in a Syria governed by Sunni Islamist interests; what are the dangers posed by civil war and the collapse of the rule of law; what approach should they take towards Turkey and its involvement.

This paper will seek to explore these questions and offer analysis of the impact of the uprising on the Kurds in Syria. While major changes are clearly underway in Syria, it is possible that Kurdish social, political and cultural conditions will change less than positively than Kurds would like.

<div align="center">***</div>

Matras, Yaron & Salih Akin - The University of Manchester & University of Rouen
A survey of the Kurdish dialect continuum

In this paper, we would like to discuss the first results of an ongoing research program on the continuum of the Kurdish dialects which are usually divided into two main groups – Kurmanji / Bahdini, and Sorani. The two varieties are generally mutually comprehensible and form a dialect continuum, but little is known about the transition between them. The aims of the research are documenting the dialect continuum between Kurmanji/Bahdini and Sorani in the region stretching between Cizre (Botan) in southeastern Turkey and Khanaqin in northeastern Iraq; mapping major isoglosses and exploring variation among the dialects in relation to the existing standard form of Sorani and the emerging literary version of Kurmanji.

The method of data collection is based on a questionnaire and samples of free speech. We are carrying out recordings with recent emigrant Kurds in England and France. The procedure consists of reading the questionnaire entries to the speakers, all of whom are bilingual, in their preferred contact language (Arabic, Turkish, French, English) in order to avoid structural bias, and elicit a natural translation into their native dialect of Kurdish. The procedure is recorded using a digital recorder. The recordings are conducting by fieldwork assistants. The linguistic data will be transcribed, pre-tagged and imported into on online database system for the archiving and documentation of data on Kurdish.

<div align="center">***</div>

Mignon, Laurent - The Oriental Institute, University of Oxford
Redefining Literary History: The Challenge of Kurdish Multilingualism

In the concluding remarks of his ground-breaking essay on the reading habits in 19th century Istanbul, Johann Strauss maintained that the traditional focus on the Arabic, Persian and Turkish traditions in comparative studies of 20th century Middle Eastern literatures was justifiable because the ethnic and linguistic composition of the Near East had profoundly changed and multilingualism no longer existed. However he argued that this "Orientalist"

perspective was not tenable for the study of the 19th century, as influential literary publications in minority languages had to be taken into consideration.[1]

In this paper I will argue that multilingualism still is a reality that should not be ignored by scholars of 20th and 21st century Middle Eastern literatures, Kurdish literature being a case in point. Literary and critical works by Yaşar Kemal , Buland al-Haydari and Salim Barakat , to name but a few of the most prominent literati of Kurdish descent, did not only shape the evolution of Turkish and Arabic literatures. Their works in Turkish and Arabic arguably influenced the development of modern Kurmanji and Sorani literatures too. Similarly, in recent years, young Kurdish poets writing in Turkish have developed a hybrid poetry creating inter-textual links with both Turkish and Kurdish literary traditions.

By focusing on the situation in Turkey, this paper will explore the extent to which the recognition of Kurdish literature as a multilingual phenomenon challenges not only national but also linguistic boundaries and thus opens up opportunities for a redefinition of "national" literary histories beyond nationalist geographic and linguistic paradigms.

[1] Johann Strauss, `Who Read What In The Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Century)?`, *Middle Eastern Literature* 6:1 (2003), p. 65.

***

Mlodoch, Karin - Centre for Modern Oriental Studies, Berlin
'Thinking outside our own pain' – Women Anfal survivors from the Germyan area, Kurdistan-Iraq, in exchange with German memorial sites on the victims of the Nazi-regime and the Holocaust

Since 2008 a group of women Anfal survivors in Sumud - today renamed Rizgari - in the Germyan area in Kurdistan-Iraq, has engaged in the Anfal social and memorial forum project. Their goal is the construction of a self-designed and self-administered memorial site to represent women Anfal survivors' specific experiences during and after Anfal, to validate both their suffering and their strengths and to serve them as a place for commemorating their missing relatives and of symbolic closure. In meetings with local artists and architects they transform their memories into concepts for the design of the memorial, exhibitions and statues. With this initiative they transcend their socially constructed role of waiting and mourning women, engage in the public debate on the memorialization of Anfal and challenge the dominant Kurdish national discourse on Anfal, largely depicting them as passive victims.

Within the project, women Anfal survivors have visited various memorial sites for the victims of the Nazi-regime and the Holocaust in Germany and are in continuous exchange with German artists, architect and memorial projects. Based on their own experience of extreme violence they empathically relate to the victims of the Nazi-regime and get inspiration for their project in terms of design and participative commemorative practices.

The paper deals with translocal knowledge circulation and memorialization with regard to Anfal and the Holocaust metaphor. It explores the expectations, dynamics and achievements in this exchange of German memory practices with Anfal survivors and specifically its impact on women Anfal survivors' activities and engagement in the project and the public debate. It also points at the inherent risks of for example conveying a simplified idea of the decades lasting ambivalent and conflictive memory debate on the Holocaust and the Nazi-regime in Germany as a 'success story' or blurring the differences between memorialization in the German perpetrator society and in the victims communities.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Omarkhali, Khanna - Georg-August University Göttingen, Germany
Current Changes in the Yezidi System of Transmission of Religious Knowledge in the Light of Political Developments

The Yezidi system of transmission of religious knowledge is currently undergoing changes in response to the technical advances and increasing circulation of religious written literature. Writing and media culture have come to play a role in the daily life of Yezidis both in their homeland and in Diaspora, and this shows an increasing influence on the Yezidi oral tradition. Yezidism is going through a new stage in its development, namely transition to a written tradition.

This crucial change in the tradition leads to significant changes in the status of authority in the Yezidi society. The role of spiritual master (hosta) in the training of reciters of religious hymns (qewlbej) was a key one. However, we are now witnessing an artificial renaissance of the tradition, where young Yezidis learn the texts from printed collections and the authority of the spiritual master is replaced by that of printed works. The main difference between the oral and written traditions lies in the mode of transmission. In the Yezidi society of today, there are different ways of transmission of religious texts; verbatim transmission taught by a preceptor, which now coexists

with the use of written texts, CD recordings, Internet, and TV broadcastings for memorizing the sacred texts.

The paper investigates the current changes of the system of transmission of the Yezidi religious knowledge, and the influence of the writing and media culture - which is in part informed by political considerations - on the Yezidi oral tradition. Developments in the different home countries of Yezidis will be compared, and the question will be raised, to what extent they are influenced by the political climate in the respective countries.

***

Ergin Opengin
Lacito CNRS, Paris 3 – Bamberg University
Dialectal variation in Kurmanji: isoglosses in phonology and morphosyntax

The issue of "dialect(s)" as used in Kurdish linguistics is complex. What is implied by the term, be in its native or external usages, is usually a higher-level distinction between more or less established dialect groups (such as Kurmanji, Sorani, etc.). Nevertheless, a comparative study of isoglosses and regular correspondances between these higher-level Kurdish dialects is yet to be undertaken. The preoccupation in higher-level dialectology has in turn overshadowed the study of "dialect"s in proper sense of the term, i.e. a regional variety of a (usually standard) linguistic code, especially in the context of Kurmanji. MacKenzie (1961) has contributed substantially to the study of Sorani dialects while Kamandar-Fattah (2000) is a minute treatment of the variation in Southern Kurdish. No such systematic investigation has been carried out on Kurmanji dialects in Turkey. Main dialect zones and principal isoglosses are yet to be defined for Kurmanji. It is the aim of the current study to contribute to the study of Kurmanji dialects in Turkish Kurdistan by providing some preliminary insights into the principal distinctive dialectal features. To this end, dialectal material from three pre-defined dialect zones is investigated. These zones are, on east-west continuum, Hekarî, Mêrdîn-Batman and Meresh-Adiyaman. The data analyzed here comes from natural connected speech recordings and ellicitations with native speakers of the dialects. For each of the dialect zones, first main phonological distinctions in comparison to standard Kurmanji are set apart, then grammatical sketches of respective dialects are drawn by pointing out the particularities of the dialectal morphosyntax. A comparison of formal and functional variation, in the end, provides a list of phonological and grammatical isoglosses and thus an overall understanding of main dialect zones. Finally, a wordlist of 150 elements, Swadesh-Jakarta list supported by a subset of culture-specific lexicon, applied to 6 localities of Kurmanji speech zone, shows (1) regular sound correspondances between dialects, (2) extend of lexical variation in Kurmanji (cognates vs different entries), (3) respective dialectal distances and dialect clusters. The wordlist

thus complements the findings of grammatical sketches in previous sections. Despite the restricted coverage, the study provides a useful set of heuristics for more comprehensive further research.

<center>***</center>

Ozkahraman, Cemal - University of Exeter
"Social Development" of Southeastern Anatolia Project: A Significant Element in Turkish Security?

This paper examines the Southeast Anatolia Project's (GAP) 'social development' in the underdeveloped Kurdish region in southeast Turkey. The conceptualization of the GAP developmentalization project was intended to create socio-economic integration between Kurds and Turks, and it was thought that this would end Kurdish poverty, which would be seen as a long-term solution to the Kurdish question. This paper argues that the GAP social development project has been created to keep the rise of Kurdish national development under control, which Turkey has perceived as a threat to its sovereignty.

The social development project of GAP is examined on the basis of three interrelated axes. Firstly, the GAP social development project has emerged in the era of post-Cold War securitization, which has widened the traditional concept of security issues outside the military domain. Instead of taking physical actions, the state offers its aid in the form of a development project. Thus, GAP social development should be perceived in this contextual framework. Secondly, the GAP social development project is placed within the discourse of world development, which materialized in the aftermath of the Second World War. Since then, the concept of social development has become a world hegemonizing discourse through which sovereign states attempt to control their populations. Therefore, GAP social development will be analyzed in this light. Thirdly, the social development of the GAP project is situated within the discourse of Dependency theory framework, which emerged after the Second World War, when industrialized countries employed a novel strategy of ensuring the continued dependency of underdeveloped countries through their socio-economic developmentalization.

In this study, I suggest that the social development of GAP is a goal of Turkish policymakers, intended as a means of appearing to deal with the Kurdish question while

simultaneously obstructing Kurdish national development and positioning itself as a hydro-hegemonic state in the region.

<center>***</center>

Rezaee, Parvaneh & Sue-San Ghahremani Ghajar - Al-Zahra University
Kurdish the Language of Grandparents Stories, Losing its Place to English and Persian, Languages of Young Generation

Iran is a multicultural society, which makes it multilingual as well. In the western cities, people speak mainly Kurdish as their mother tongue, while Persian is used as the official language. This study is carried out in Islam Abad, a small city where young girls are not only replacing Kurdish with Persian, but also they are showing a strong desire to learn English in a way that they enjoy the use of a variety of English words in Persian. Similar to how Persian is the language of education, job and communication for national affairs among the people of Islam Abad, presently; English is taking on a similar status in international affairs and is becoming very stylish.

This raises interesting issues with regard to the values the Iranian Kurds of Islam Abad are giving to Persian and English at the expense of losing the language their grandparents told stories in. Where English is known as the advanced, superior and rich language of science and international communication, people of Islam Abad are showing the same interest in English and Persian and likewise counting their Kurdish as inferior, useless and as a poor language. As some scholars like Pennycook state that the place of the English language around the world has mainly been determined by a historical background of colonialism and imperialism. These scholars declare that certain discourses are associated with the English language and also this can be happened for other languages throughout the world. One of these main discourses is the colonial dichotomy of self and other. In this study twenty young female multilingual Kurd-English language learners and 15 of their parents show how this route is taking their Kurdish of Islam Abad to extinction and is giving its place to Persian which is also losing its value among its speakers to the third language - English.

<center>***</center>

Romano, David - Missouri State University
The Iraqi Kurdish view on federalism: Iraq's last best hope for democracy

The purpose of federalism and decentralization in most multi-ethnic societies revolves around keeping the state together via institutionalized means of power sharing between

the most relevant communities. Iraq's 2005 Constitution severely limited the amount of power concentrated in Baghdad. This gave Iraqis, so divided along sectarian lines, their best chance at democracy. Only by having enough autonomy in their own region could Iraqi Kurds resign themselves to never leading the government in Baghdad. Reducing the "all or nothing" struggle for power in the center left all Iraqis the room for the kind of shared governance required for democracy to have a chance of succeeding in Iraq.

Although they initially opposed Kurdish demands for a very decentralized form of federalism, Sunni Arabs have now begun to realize that the system offers them some relief from a Shiite controlled center in Baghdad. Several Sunni leaders are now calling for the formation of a region of their own.

If a now fully sovereign Iraq is to have a chance at stability and democracy, Iraqis will have to hang on to decentralization like the lifeline that it is.

<div align="center">***</div>

Rashidirostami, Mahroo - University of Exeter

State Monolingualism and the Linguistic Displacement of Kurdish Writers: a postcolonial study of Ali-Ashraf Darvishian's autobiographical novel Salhaye Abri (Cloudy Years)

This article will focus on how nationalist language planning affected the development of Kurdish language and whether postcolonial theory can be applied to the reading of literary works produced by Kurdish writers in the dominant languages of their countries. According to postcolonial criticism, although writers of the marginalized societies may have to use dominant languages to represent their conditions in their works, there are various literary strategies that they use to differentiate themselves from the mainstream culture and assert their own identities. These strategies, which include breaking the grammar rules and defying the standard usage of language, have been used extensively by Ali-Ashraf Darvishian, the Kurdish-Iranian writer, in his autobiographical novel Salhaye Abri (Cloudy Years).

Using the postcolonial critiques of the writers of The Empire Writes Back, I will argue that Salhaye Abri is an example of appropriation of Persian by a Kurd whose own language has been marginalized in Iran. Although Darvishian who is a Kurd is considered a great Persian writer, the stylistic analysis of his novel shows its conformity to the idea of a hybrid cross-cultural text that implicitly reverses the language hierarchies by undermining the norms of the language in which it is written. Using textual strategies to make his written Persian text fit his spoken Kurdish narratives has enabled Darvishian to produce a culturally distinct idiom that announces itself as

different while being "Persian".

<center>***</center>

Rasool, Izaddin - Bangor University
Female Suicide in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Female suicide is considered to be a serious problem in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). The suicide rate is recognized to be at a comparatively high level but the reasons for it are not well understood. The paper is based on recent original data collected on the phenomenon of female committed and attempted suicide in the KRI in three cities: Erbil (Hawler), Dohuk and Sulaymaniyah, between June and September 2010. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with victims of attempted suicide. It was found that self-burning is the most common method for young females aged 16-35 years old. The youngest person in the sample was 14 and the oldest was 35 years old.   This paper aims to interpret the social and cultural factors that influence the rate of female suicide and attempted suicide in the KRI. My PhD research is based on three types of data collection: a research questionnaire; research interviews with members of key social groups; and media sources. The paper will focus primarily on the results of research with four groups who are involved in different ways with female suicide. Qualitative information and interpretation was gained through semi structured interviews with: journalists; officials of the Directorate for monitoring violence against women (DMVAW); coroners; and clerics. Results were analyzed and compared according to a number of emerging thematic questions. The paper will argue that social factors are the main drivers for female suicide attempters and committers in the KRI.

<center>***</center>

Saeid, Moslih A. - Vienna University
Language Change and the Process of Lexicon Borrowing in Kurdish

All living languages undergo change over a period of time, often so slow and gradually that the speakers are not aware of the changes until long period has passed. Changes take place in all areas of language: in pronunciation, in syntax, and in lexicon. The area of lexicon change is the most visible one and could be observed. One of the main reasons behind lexicon change in Kurdish is borrowing words from other languages. The new words, which come into Kurdish via process of borrowing, will be assimilated. The process of language change occurs when different languages come to contact with each

another.

The process borrowing is a natural phenomenon, which occurs due to external and internal factors. Borrowing in Kurdish is essentially a social phenomenon; social factors like: religion, politics, Identity, and prestige play a considerable role in this process, but it is mistake to consider them to be the only factors that let the speakers of Kurdish language to borrow words from other languages. It's worthwhile saying that both elements of time and place also are influential on the process of lexicon borrowing in Kurdish. In some periods of the history of the Kurdish language words were borrowed from neighboring languages into Kurdish under certain circumstances, and in other periods Kurdish linguists tried to liberate the Kurdish language from foreign influence by replacing borrowed words by native Kurdish words. By doing this, Kurdish linguists don't deal with all borrowed words in the same way; they think that European borrowed words seem to match the phonological system of Kurdish better than Arabic borrowed words. The target of this paper is to show how external factors influence Kurdish speakers and cause change of the language.

<center>***</center>

Savelsberg, Eva - European Centre for Kurdish Studies, Berlin
Elect your mukhtar! Arguments for a shift in promoting democratic change trough knowledge circulation – the example of the Syrian-Kurdish youth movement

In mid-March, most experts on Syria were surprised when the so called 'Arab spring' reached Syria. However, even now, nine months later, it is still unclear if the revolution will succeed or not. Currently, most Western governments believe that the Syrian regime will have to step down. Discussions on how to pressure the Baath regime to do this have concentrated on technical questions, for example if – and which – sanctions should be imposed and if – and what kind of – military intervention might support the Syrian people. Few, if any, thoughts are dedicated to the questions how to concretely support the stakeholders of the revolution – mainly locally based youth-groups.

A major problem of these youth groups is how to include more people in the protests. In the Kurdish regions – and not only there – participation is still limited. Apparently, fear of repression is an important factor - however, it is not the only – and maybe not even the most significant one. Interviews with activists show that even the organizers of the protests lack concrete ideas about what they are fighting for. They mention abstract ideas as 'democracy' and 'human rights' – but without being able to link them to concrete demands. Obviously, it is difficult to mobilize others if it is not

clear how a successful revolution will positively affect people's every-day lives. This is especially an obstacle as government representatives argue that either chaos or Islamism will come to power once the regime is overthrown. Therefore, in order to support pro-democracy activists in Syria, it is necessary to support its stakeholders by empowering them to define concrete political goals and to develop respective activities.

Instead of demanding a federalist system or a liberal constitution – matters they will not have a say in – activists should concentrate on local affairs. Local requests can be phrased as requests for reform to be implemented by the old regime – but also as a request directed towards the political opposition. By suggesting concrete reforms on the local level, activists can more easily win supporters because people understand why they take the streets.

This paper will argue for a shift in supporting democratic change trough translocal knowledge circulation: Instead of financing isolated micro-projects to empower women, youth or other 'vulnerable' groups, it is necessary to promote local initiatives working to create democratic, participatory structures on the local level.

<div align="center">***</div>

Schmidinger, Thomas - University of Vienna
Knowledge circulation through academic exchange

Kurdish students who studied in universities of Western and Eastern Europe played an important role in translocal knowledge circulation all over the 20th century. Especially since the 1960s an increasing number of students from all parts of Kurdistan studied in Austria, France, Britain, both, the Federal republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet-Union and the United States. This helped to introduce European academic and political concepts and discussions to Kurdish intellectuals and to establish modern academic institutions in Kurdistan. Universities were established in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, Iraq and Iran, but all of them were part of their national education systems. Kurdish was not the language of instruction and these institutions did only provide very limited space for intellectual debates.

With the establishment of a Kurdish Para-state in Iraq in 1991 and its enlargement in 2003 Kurds took over the existing universities in Kurdistan-Iraq and established new universities. Not only Kurdish graduates of Western universities, but also some Western scholars came to teach predominantly at the newly established universities using English as a language of education as the University of Kurdistan in Erbil and the American University in Iraq based in Sulaimaniya.

This paper deals with the shift of translocal knowledge circulation from a one-way street of Kurdish students studying in Western universities to the establishment of academic exchange through universities, think tanks and other intellectual activities in Kurdistan. Thus, it explores the chances and limits of contemporary knowledge circulation through academic exchange.

***

Sheyholislami, Jaffer- Carleton University, Canada
Kurdish in Iran: A case of restricted and controlled tolerance

It has been claimed that the 1979 revolution in Iran transformed the country in many respects. This paper aims to examine the extent to which the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) has deviated, if at all, from the "linguicidel" policies of the Pahlavi dynasty towards non-Persian languages in Iran. The article finds, in both the monarchical and IRI regimes, a policy of (a) treating multilingualism as a threat to the country's territorial integrity and national unity, (b) restricting the use of non-Persian languages, and (3) promoting the supremacy of Persian as a venue for unifying the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous body politic. While the continuity in the language policy of the two regimes is prominent, differences will be noted especially in the changing geolinguistic context of the region where Kurdish has achieved the status of an official language in Iraq (since 2005) and has enjoyed some level of tolerance in the "linguicidel" Turkish state (since 1991). New communication technologies as well as cross-border social and linguistic networking among the Kurds throughout Kurdistan and the world have changed the language environment but not the official policy of "one-nation=one-language." Persianization of non-Persian peoples continues to be the building block of the Islamic regime's language policy.

***

Şimşek Yazgül – Potsdam Universität
Evidence for the category "word" in Kurdish writings of Kurdish-Turkish-German trilingual children in Germany

Prior studies on the linguistic strategies of multilingual children growing up within the migrant community in Germany are mostly concerned with the language development of Turkish-German bilinguals. Analysis of the linguistic strategies those children use in spoken discourse confirm that the knowledge of both source languages allows the creation of new forms, using structures of both languages in combination. Current

investigations on the writing skills of the same group of Turkish-German bilinguals in their first language Turkish, acquired either simultaneously or after literacy acquisition in German (Pfaff 2009, Schroeder 2007), reveal similar unique strategies and transfer of morphological and phonological rules in the process of writing.

Similar findings are considered to be also valid for Kurdish-Turkish-German trilingual children. While in both languages, German and Turkish, the graphemic word is defined as a unit separated by blank spaces (Furhop 2008: 193), the phonological, syntactical and morphological words differ considerably between Turkish, German and Kurdish. Acquisition of the graphemic word in the process of the acquisition of orthographies relies on different linguistic domains: German for instance follows primarily morphological and syntactic patterns, while Turkish bases the graphemic word mainly on phonological properties (Kabak & Vogel 2001).

Given these differences between German and Turkish, the presentation will follow up on the assumption that the writings in Kurdish (from children at the age of between 8 and 14 years), could be considered as outcomes the analysis of the "word", emerging as a conflict between the different strategies of the three languages and their orthographical systems those languages base their graphemic word on.

<center>***</center>

Strakes, Jason - Ilia State University, Georgia
Beyond the Arab-Kurd Dichotomy: Interactive State–Building Strategies in the Republic of Iraq 1970-present

The waning of the sectarian "civil war" of 2006-2007 and the subsequent revival of tensions between the Shi'a Arab-dominant government of Iraq and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has turned the attention of the withdrawing U.S. forces to a more traditional aspect of modern Iraqi politics. However, rather than being representative of a revived late 20th century ethnic conflict, this issue would perhaps be better understood as a simultaneous and contradictory process of state formation that has unfolded during the near decade since the Coalition invasion. Yet relatively little attention has been given to comparing the internal institutional and policy paths followed by successive Iraqi Arab regimes and the Kurdish parastate, and particularly how these have interacted with one another in the post-Ba'ath period.

The friction created by these mutual trajectories has intensified with two recent developments: the virtual retraction of the federalism project and the pursuit of increased centralization by the al-Maliki administration since 2008, and the June 2009

ratification of the revised KRG draft constitution by the Kurdistan Parliament-Iraq, which seeks to incorporate additional territories into the de jure jurisdiction of the Kurdish ruling parties. Conventional assessments have typically portrayed this issue in terms of a literal Arab-Kurd confrontation, with potential for military engagement between Iraqi Army (IA) and Peshmerga forces. The primary purpose of this monograph is therefore to address the lack of a systematic study in the subfield of Middle East international relations which effectively integrates the analysis of Iraq in the post-Saddam Hussein era and the political evolution of Iraqi Kurdistan.

In contrast with the common emphasis of the military, policymakers and analysts on the security implications of "Arab-Kurd tensions" as the U.S. occupation draws to a close, this study conceptualizes the problem as a clash of two competing conceptions of Iraqi statehood, and examines the relative strategies that have been pursued by Baghdad and Kurdish political elites since the formal establishment of an autonomous region in the northern provinces in 1970. In addition, it seeks to synthesize the existing body of scholarship on both post-2003 Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan in order to generate more concrete conclusions about this relationship. Most importantly, it pursues a comparative approach that recognizes Arab-Kurd relations as an interactive process, the outcome of which will have a fundamental impact on how a newly sovereign Iraqi state—and a representative Kurdish polity—will evolve in the post-occupation era.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Tas, Latif- School of Law, Queen Mary, University of London
Kurdish Customary Law in Practise

Kurds in the UK, after three decades of living in their new home, have progressed from being a 'victim diaspora' into becoming more organised, and capable of meeting the diverse needs of their community. Most UK-based Kurds refuse to use the official legal system to settle their disputes, at least initially. Instead, they prefer to resolve their disputes within the community, and for this purpose they have created their own customary justice system consisting of the Kurdish Peace Committee (KPC). This more organised system is a first for the Kurds themselves, and is involved in the settlement of cases as diverse as family disputes to minor criminal cases.

Kinship, transnational marriages, frequent visits 'back home', and cheap telecommunications have helped Kurds to maintain strong links with Kurdish communities still living in Turkey. As a consequence of these ties, even simple disputes

do not remain in the region where they took place initially. Instead, they can affect other extended family members living in the Kurdish region, the cities of Turkey, and in Europe. Revenge for a disagreement in London, for example, can be taken elsewhere. Such conflicts cannot be resolved by either British or Turkish state courts alone, and it is for this reason that the Kurdish Peace Committee is involved in the settlement of such transnational cases.

Through the use of case studies, which illustrate a set of complex and interesting life stories, this paper will explain how the Kurdish Peace Committee in London operates in an increasingly transnational environment.

<center>***</center>

Tasdemir, Salima - University of Exeter
Kurdish Women's Political Activism in Turkey: Feminization of pro-Kurdish Party Politics?

From feminist perspectives politics and representative democracy are male dominated. Political institutions are masculine. When women's participation and women's representation in politics and political institutions are examined from this point of view, it is revealed that women in Turkey do not have equal opportunities to participate in politics and they are not equally represented in political institutions. However, in contrast to the general picture of women's political involvement and political representation in Turkey, which is quite bleak and low, the Kurdish women's involvement and representation in pro-Kurdish politics have been considerably increasing and promising.

Thus, this study aims to examine the Kurdish women's political participation within the pro-Kurdish political parties in Turkey since 1990s. I mainly focus on the current pro-Kurdish political party (BDP- Peace and Democracy Party) and its female members such as MPs, mayors and members of the party's women councils. It is observed both descriptive and substantive representation of Kurdish women have significantly grown especially after 2000s. In comparison to the mainstream political parties and regarding the under-representation of women in Turkey's politics in general, the pro-Kurdish party and its female activists have made a significant difference in terms of increasing representation of women in politics both in terms of numbers and interests as well as implementing gender friendly policies such as quotas and co-presidency. Furthermore, based on my empirical research conducted with female political activists and analysis made towards the party's ideology, policies and

organization, I argue that there is a strong tendency of feminization of pro-Kurdish party politics. In this regard, I attempt to find answers to two essential questions. These are; why the pro-Kurdish party politics has been feminizing and how it has been feminizing since 2000s?

<div align="center">***</div>

Tejel, Jordi - Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva
Advice from the Past: the KSSE and the "Kurdish revolution", 1961-1974

It is generally assumed that it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that the Kurds, and particularly Kurds of Turkey, succeeded in establishing a transnational web of organizations and individuals dedicated to the promotion of Kurdish rights. As Nicole Watts has pointed out, Kurdish rights were being pursued not only in Turkey itself but also in corridors, offices, and assembly rooms in Europe. More importantly, linked by ideas, institutions, technology, and travel, Kurdish activists had constructed a transnational advocacy community legitimated by the internationally codified discourse of universal human rights.

My paper aims to observe another period (1961-1974) wherein Iraqi Kurds, albeit not exclusively, were also able to establish a transnational web of organizations and individuals dedicated to the promotion of Kurdish rights. It will focus on the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (KSSE) which played a dramatic role in widening the collaboration of pro-Kurdish activists with state actors, international organizations (e.g. International Union of Students), Kurdish parties, media, and European academic. As a result, the "Kurdish revolution" –led by Mustafa Barzani and legitimated by the internationally codified discourse of decolonization and self-determination– gained a worldwide attention and provided for the basis of a stronger transnational advocacy community later on.

Drawing from a wide range of sources (e.g. diplomatic and NGOs records, KSSE's publications), the paper underlines that paradoxically, although Kurds in Europe were few in numbers and that technological and travel facilities were "rudimentary," the transnational web of relations the pro-Kurdish activists established in the 1960s was extremely diversified allowing the latter, for example, to trespass the ideological borders that the Cold War seemed to impose over international relations. Finally, it will discuss while observing the

above-mentioned case study whether the so-called "Arab Spring" will offer new political opportunities to the Kurds or not.

<div align="center">***</div>

Yildirim, Kadri - Mardin Artuklu University
Kurdish Studies at Higher Education Level in Turkey: Challenges and Opportunities

Kurdish Question has been discussed since establishment of modern Turkish Republic in 1923 as one of the most important problem by politicians, militaries and intellectuals. Kurdish Studies, which is a natural result of these discussions, has expanded or limited during 88 years history of republican era depending on domestic or foreign dynamics. Kurdish studies has found the chance using at higher education level for the first time in Turkey's modern history and gained legal guarantee in 2010. However, Kurdish Studies has different reactions from various parts of Kurds in Turkey. Some Kurds believe that this step taken by state a positive start, while others considering that this is just a make-up at the EU negotiation process.

Kurdish Studies also has different reactions from Turkish nationalist. They believe that this initiative is the first step for an independent Kurdish State. In this study, the current situation of Kurdish studies, opportunities facing at higher education level and challenges will be evaluated in details. In addition, the title of how different political structures see Kurdish studies at higher education level will be examined. Finally, the difficulties faced in the field of Kurdish studies at higher education level in Turkey and the future of Kurdish studies in Literature, Language, and Folklore fields are the other topics that will be discussed in this study.

<div align="center">***</div>

Yildirim, Umut - Sabanci University
The Noble Savage Overthrown: Limits of Municipal Multiculturalism

Around 2006, the activities of the municipalities in the South-Eastern city of Diyarbakir in contemporary Turkey were evolving at unprecedented speed. Municipal web-pages, bulletins, projects, and press declarations, included, without fail, statements about the necessity of recognising the multicultural heritage of the city. Campaigns for the pressing of Turkish government for the recognition of the Kurdish language in education and public media such as newspapers, television, and radio were abundant. The

formation of choirs, dance companies, and working groups for the promotion of Kurdish folklore, music, and handcrafts went hand in hand with the preparation of programmes to encourage the representation of people of Kurdish origin in politics and education. Kurdish women were invited to be active members of the work force. Such vitality blossomed against the obstacles enforced by the Turkish state such as random bureaucratic investigations, arbitrary arrests, and blocked funding. Against the grim background of incessant political terror and silencing, the municipal perspective formulated an intriguing vision for peace by adopting multiculturalism as a prescriptive term, which described municipal policy.

In this paper, I critically reconsider and quarrel with the fantasy of a harmonious multi-ethnic coexistence, and thus, peace, as reverberated by municipal policy by shifting the lens to the claims of a Kurdish subject, who asks for accountability from the municipalities by asserting the bodily costs of the war into politics, thus marking a classed and affective split within radicalism.

<center>***</center>

Yılmaz, Arzu - Ankara University/Duhok University
"Brakuji xılas bu": An Analysis on KDP-PKK Relations

In last two decades, the KDP and PKK have been the two main powers that dominate the Kurdish Political Movement. The relation between those two parties has mostly indicated a conflict because of some well-known reasons, such as: ideological differences, political interests and other countries' involvement in Kurdish Question like Turkey and USA. However, since 2003, regarding the emergence of Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), the nature of that relation has shifted to a kind of disguised cooperation. Although non of the two parties give voice to that end, as KRG President Mesud Barzani has regurgitated for several times, the end of "brakuji" is enough at least to claim that the relation between the KDP and PKK has a potential of cooperation.

This paper will discuss the potential and property of the mentioned cooperation by focusing on concrete cases in Iraqi Kurdistan. First of all, I would like to underline that KDP will be considered in this paper as the main actor that determines KRG's policy towards PKK. Depending on the interior political developments, KDP members have been practically ruling the critical official positions in KRG. Thus, it would be fair to count KRG policies as a reflection of KDP attitudes. How can we follow up the clues of KDP - PKK relation? PKK's presence in Iraqi Kurdistan is visible in three cases: Qandil, Maxmur and Democratic Solution Party; or in other words, the PKK is present in Iraqi

Kurdistan as guerillas, as civilians and as political party. Without any question, KRG - Turkey and KRG - USA relations have been the main determinants of the relation between the KDP and PKK. However, irrespective of the official statements, a focus on those cases indicates that since 2003, the KDP – PKK has been experiencing cooperation as regards to the sake of Kurdistan.

This paper will argue the forms of KDP - PKK cooperation depending on the field research conducted in KRG.

<center>***</center>