

Anthropology of Kurdistan

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Introduction

Outside of the autonomous Kurdistan Region of northern Iraq, Kurdistan does not independently exist. In Iran it is a heavily policed province, whilst Turkey does not mark it on any official map. By contrast, for Kurdish nationalists Kurdistan is the imagined homeland of the Kurds, spanning southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, northeastern Syria and Western Iran. What does the claim of Turkey that Kurdistan is a non-place, or the underplaying by some Kurdish nationalists of Kurdistan's social and ethnic heterogeneity, in particular of the historical co-habitation of Armenians there, reveal about its anthropological study? Firstly, they indicate that the affirmation or denial of Kurdistan's existence is a political act, and thus that the historiography of Kurdistan is an ideological quagmire. Secondly they reveal that the production of knowledge (or non-knowledge) about Kurdistan is linked to the foundational practices of nation building and state formation in the Middle East after the First World War by the new regional states of Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. In the name of the Persian, Turkish and Arab nation each state has sought to control, assimilate, or annihilate different ethnic and religious minorities in the territory over which it exerts control. Accordingly, the anthropology of Kurdistan analyzes as one of its core themes the cultural revolutions spearheaded by these ethnic-states, as well as the responses to, and perceptual consequences of, those revolutions in the lives and practices of Kurdistan's inhabitants. Equally importantly, the extent to which the political practices of those states have been supported or supplanted by imperialistic powers demonstrates how globally coordinated policy regimes and Western military aid or intervention have further reconstructed social and political relations in Kurdistan. The emergence of the Kurdistan Region in federal Iraq is a case in point – there, after the US-led invasion of Baath Iraq in 2003, Kurdish political parties have developed as virtual state entities, and for the first time in the modern period there is now an internationally recognized Kurdistan. The newly self-declared autonomous Kurdish cantons in northern Syria exist in a much more uncertain zone, unrecognized by the Syrian and Turkish governments in the ongoing civil war. Together, these intertwined processes explain why the anthropology of Kurdistan has been heavily concerned with i. practices of state-formation, nationalism and the social ramifications of authoritarian modernism; ii. ethnic exclusion, forced deportation, and serial regional violence; iii. trauma, memory, and life story narratives; iv. arts production and activism, including in literature, film and music; v. religious identities; and vi. gender politics. Anthropological work has also expanded to examine the transnational activities of Kurdistan's diasporas abroad.

Journals

Befitting the fact that Kurdistan exists as much in the political imagination (both positively and negatively) as it does more recently as a political entity in a newly-federated Iraq, no academic journal focuses on a place named Kurdistan *per se*, unlike, for example, specializations directed to less controversial designations like Oceania, the Caribbean, or the Caucasus. Nevertheless, description and analysis of the history, social practices and political situation of Kurdistan's inhabitants can be found in a huge number of print sources, including discipline-specific, country-focused, and nationality-oriented journals. The major journals of the disciplines of Ottoman studies, anthropology, political science, genocide studies, religious studies, and ethnicity/migration studies regularly publish articles on Kurdistan appropriate to their specialization. Multi-disciplinary journals such as *Iranian Studies* and *New Perspectives on Turkey* more commonly print articles analyzing developments in the Iranian and Turkish provinces of Kurdistan respectively. A growing number of nationality-oriented journals publish material concerning the history, culture and political issues facing particular ethnic groups both in Kurdistan and their diasporas in the West, including *Kurdish Studies*, *International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, the *Journal of Armenian Studies*, *Turkish Studies* and *Nubihar Akademi*.

Iranian Studies publishes peer-reviewed articles examining Persian history, arts and society, including articles on Iranian Kurdistan and its religious and ethnic minorities.

New Perspectives on Turkey is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal that comes out twice a year, publishing original empirical and theoretical research focusing on the social history and political economy of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

Kurdish Studies began in 2013, aiming to revitalize and reorient research, scholarship and debates in the field of Kurdish studies in a multidisciplinary fashion. Peer-reviewed and international, it covers a wide range of topics including Kurdish history, politics, literature, and international relations.

International Journal of Kurdish Studies is a new journal based in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures in Dicle University, Diyarbakır. It publishes scientific articles on Kurdish language and history in Kurdish, Turkish and English.

Journal of Armenian Studies consists of scholarly and popular articles on Armenian history, religion, language, culture and related subjects, including research on the Armenian genocide.

Turkish Studies addresses matters regarding the modern era of the Turkish Republic, particularly in the fields of political science, international relations, history, economics, and sociology. It investigates developments in the 'southeast' of Turkey, the Turkish Republic's official title for Kurdistan.

Based in Istanbul, *Nubihar Akademi* is one of the only peer-reviewed academic journals in the field of Kurdology publishing in Kurdish. Articles appear in all dialects of Kurdish, using either the Kurdish-Arabic or Kurdish-Latin script (with some translated into English).

Historical Overview

Was there ever an identifiable region named Kurdistan, predominantly populated by an ethnic group called Kurds, about whom there might be sketched out a description of their particular social life, its origins, institutions, and historical changes? Most neutral historians agree that in a literal half-sense there was: *Kurdistan* was the name given to a new province in the expanded Ottoman administrative system in the early 16th century, today covering most of the Kurdish-majority areas of Turkey, Syria and Iraq, alongside a treaty consolidating Kurdish rulers' autonomy there (Sinclair 2003, Özoğlu 1996). Nevertheless, despite agreement about the name of the province, the anthropology of Kurdistan investigates as one of its basic themes bitterly contested perceptions of Kurdistan's past. Influential actors in the construction of its disputed historiography include regional nation states and their academic cadres, as well as politicians and political parties, poets, writers, journalists and intellectuals. Anthropologists and others have identified certain enduring ideological concerns that organize protagonists' selection of key events in Kurdistan's history and their interpretation, in particular the meaning of its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire and of the dissolution of those same Kurdish principalities in the 19th century (Hirschler 2001; Strohmeier 2003). Has Kurdistan always been subservient to outside empires or was it sometimes self-ruling? (Vali 1996; Bruinessen 1988) Were independent states founded there and what was the ethnicity of their ruling dynasties? Did Kurdistan demonstrate indigenous cultural production or were its artistic forms derivative? Were 19th century Kurdish rebellions against the extension of direct Ottoman control over Kurdistan nationalist, religious or tribal? (Klein 2007; Eppel 2008). And in its ethnic arithmetic what proportion of the population was Kurdish, Armenian, Assyrian, Arab, Turkish etc? (Köker 2005). In all analyses, one latent concern is the contemporary consequences of the perceived political dynamic. Finally, research has shown how beliefs about the past orient levels of trust between ethnic groups, with a correlation found between the blaming of ethnic out-groups for negative events in the past and poor relations between them in the present (Rydgren, Sofi and Hallsten 2016).

Sinclair, T. 2003. The Ottoman Arrangements for the Tribal Principalities of the Lake Van Region of the Sixteenth Century. *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9(1/2): 119-143. Concludes that the Kurdish principalities in Van region were exempted from Ottoman taxation surveys and military obligations, although notes the interference of the Ottoman authorities in hereditary successions.

Özoğlu, H. 1996. State-Tribe Relations: Kurdish Tribalism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 23(1): 5-22. Argues that Idris Bitlisi's linking of selected Kurdish principalities to Ottoman suzerainty was the determining factor in the formation of the powerful Kurdish tribal confederacies.

Hirschler, K. 2001. Defining the Nation: Kurdish Historiography in Turkey in the 1990s. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 37(3): 145-166. Analyzes debates amongst intellectuals published in Kurdish newspaper *Özgür Gündem* concerning the construction of Kurdish history in the pre-Islamic period.

Strohmeier, M. 2003. *Crucial Images in the Presentation of a Kurdish National Identity*. Leiden: Brill. Examines the themes of Kurdish nationalist historiography from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s, including interpretation of the Şeyh Ubeydullah revolt and the first Kurdish newspaper *Kurdistan*.

- Vali, A. 1996. Nationalism and Kurdish Historical Writing. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 14 (Spring): 23-51. Asserts that the Kurdish princes' partial historical autonomy obstructed their gaining of independence from Persian and Ottoman overlords, initiating clientistic ties with extra-local states that continue to this day.
- Bruinessen, van M. 1988. *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir*. Leiden: Brill. Interprets Evliya's description of his visit to Kurdistan in 1655 as showing that the autonomy of the hereditary Kurdish princely families was still 'quite considerable.'
- Köker O. 2005. *Armenians in Turkey One Hundred Years Ago*. Istanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık. Provides two sources for the population figures of Armenians in Kurdistan (Bitlis, Van, Diyarbakır, Erzurum) on the eve of their mass murder, one from the Ottoman census of 1914, the other from a certain Maghakia Ormanian in 1912.
- Klein, J. 2007. Kurdish Nationalists and Non-Nationalist Kurdistans: Rethinking Minority Nationalism and the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1909. *Nations and Nationalism*, 13(1): 135–153. Compares the minority nationalisms of Kurds in Istanbul with Kurds in Kurdistan in the first decade of the 20th century, arguing that despite their differences both continued to support the territorial integrity of the empire.
- Eppel, M. 2008. The Demise of the Kurdish Emirates: The Impact of Ottoman Reforms and International Relations on Kurdistan during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 44(2): 237-258. Investigates the variety of political actors responsible for the decline of the Kurdish principalities, presenting their elimination as a fateful event in the retardation of a Kurdish national movement.
- Rydgren J., Sofi D. and M. Hallsten. 2016. Beliefs about the Past and Trust: Evidence from Northern Iraq. *Working Papers Series*, Department of Sociology, University of Stockholm. Based on survey data collected from the cities of Erbil and Kirkuk in Iraqi Kurdistan, the research on interethnic group trust finds that collective beliefs about the past predispose individuals to enmity or amity towards members of other groups.

State-formation, Nationalism and Cultural Revolution in Kurdistan

With the collapse of both the Ottoman and Qajar Empires after W.W.1, the centers of power responsible for violent mastery (ideological and political) over Kurdistan became the new states of Turkey, Iran and Iraq. A huge literature has zeroed in on their formative years in an attempt to describe and diagnose their political programs. Orthodox political science accounts have often described their political trajectories as ‘secularization,’ ‘modernization,’ or ‘Westernization’ (Berkes 1964), anodyne words that do scant justice to their radical social engineering and systematically violent actions in Kurdistan. More recent re-assessments have coined different terms to characterize their activities and ideologies: Touraj and Zürcher (2004) describe the social project of both the Turkish and Iranian regimes as ‘authoritarian modernization’; Keyder (1987) draws attention to similarities between Turkish Kemalism and Italian fascism; while Sayyid (1997) argues that the work of Mustafa Kemal in Turkey and the discourse of Kemalism should be understood as generative of a new political paradigm for the wider Muslim world. How has anthropology and other disciplines diagnosed the common political practices of the three states that took control over Kurdistan? Research has identified how in each a misnamed policy of ‘secularism’ involved the co-opting and regulating of Islam by the state (Parla and Davison 2007), leading to a Turkish-Islam or Persian-Islam synthesis that discriminated against minority religious practices and groups, including of Muslims. Further, each of them propagated from above a Turkish, Persian or Arab nationalism that demanded the subordination, assimilation or obliteration of non-dominant ethnic others (Houston 2008). For example, Culcasi (2011) describes how pan-Arab nationalists imagined a supranational and unified ‘Arab Homeland’ that stretched from Iraq to Morocco, ignoring the reality of non-Arabs living in it and conducting Arabization campaigns against them in Iraqi and Syrian Kurdistan. Similarly, each regime sought to craft in citizens new embodied identities through campaigns and initiatives in the fields of culture and education, including compulsory schooling in Arabic for Iraqi Kurds (Simon 1997), and identical language purification campaigns in Turkey and Iran that sought to replace so-called ‘loan’ words with newly minted replacements (Lewis 1999; Kia 1998). One consequence of these campaigns was the creation of linguistic minorities in Kurdistan, as well as their exclusion from new monolingual institutions within national territories. In Iran the ‘one state, one language’ policy continues. Finally, the anthropology of Kurdistan has shown how these nation states and their militant nationalists first disaggregated and then claimed possession of what were trans-regional cultural-artistic traditions and skills that overlapped across ethnic and religious communities (Gough 2010). Here Cultural Revolution in Kurdistan took the form of the construction of national art repertoires.

Berkes, N. 1964. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. Montreal: McGill University Press. One of the most well known texts in English describing the Kemalist reforms, interpreting them as conforming to a long-term process of Western development enabling rational behavior and freedom from sacred rules.

Touraj, A and E. Zürcher, eds. 2004. *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*. London: I.B. Tauris. Collection of essays that makes a useful comparison between the personalities and policies of the post-war dictators in Turkey and Iran, Kemal Atatürk and Reza Shah Pahlavi respectively.

Keyder, Ç. 1987. *State and Class in Turkey*. London: Verso. Classic political-economy account of both the local and global class dynamics at work in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and in the development of the Turkish Republic.

Sayyid, Bobby. 1997. *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*. London: Zed Books. Extends the definition of Kemalism to include all the secularizing, modernizing and nationalizing states in the post-colonial Middle East, unified by their rejection of Islam as the 'master signifier' of political discourse.

Parla, Taha and Andrew Davison. 2004. *Corporatist Ideology in Kemalist Turkey: Progress or Order?* New York: Syracuse University Press. Demonstrates that the labelling of all non-theocratic political systems as 'secular' confuses the distinction between secularism and laicism, and that laicism in Turkey does not equate as the separation of state and religion.

Houston, Christopher. 2008. *Kurdistan: The Crafting of National Selves*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Compares and contrasts the political policies and practices of Kemalism in Iraq, Turkey and Iran.

Culcasi, K. 2011. Cartographies of Supranationalism: Creating and Silencing Territories in the "Arab Homeland". *Political Geography*, 30: 417-438. Studies the cartographic process whereby Arab identity and ownership was asserted over an extensive territory, promoting a hegemonic discourse that silenced non-Arabs living in the 'homeland.'

Simon, R. 1997. The Teaching of History in Iraq before the Rashid Ali Coup of 1941. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 22(1): 37-51. Analyzes the Iraqi education system between the wars, describing how monarchical Iraq denied the British mandate's guarantee of education in Kurdish for northern Iraq.

Lewis, Geoffrey. (1999) *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. According to Lewis, the catastrophe of the Turkish language revolution lies in the loss of Ottoman Turkish's natural development, so that something written in the 1940s is now unintelligible to present-day readers.

Kia, M. 1998. Persian Nationalism and the Campaign for Language Purification. *Middle Eastern Studies* 34(2): 9-36. Discusses the historical development of the Persianization campaign, and its overall impact upon the language.

Hough, C. 2010. Obscured Hybridity: The Kurdishness of Turkish Folk Music. *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology*, 15. Online. Notes how songs claimed to be Turkish by the Turkish Republic, yet claimed as Kurdish by Kurdish activists may also be re-heard as reflecting a multicultural and shared musical heritage in Kurdistan.

Ethnic Exclusion, Forced Deportation, and Serial Regional Violence

According to the historian Deringil (2003), over the course of the 19th century a newly centralized Ottoman bureaucracy initiated a colonial project to penetrate and civilize its eastern provinces. Combined with the political actions of other interested actors – Russian and European imperialists, Christian missionaries, local notables, Muslim migrants and refugees, and even peasants – the outcome was a transformation of local alliances in Kurdistan as well as a forging of new religious and national identities. The 1913 military coup by the Young Turks signaled not only the practical end of the Ottoman Empire and its ruling dynasty, but an intensification of their policy practices in both the western (Aegean) and eastern (Kurdistan) extremities of Ottoman territory, provinces that the Young Turks’ own census research had shown to be ethnically and religiously highly heterogeneous (Dündar 2014). Nevertheless, scholars remind us that developments in each cannot be quarantined off from events occurring in other parts of the empire (McCarthy 1996). The consequences of the Young Turks’ deportation and extermination policies have been of intense concern for the anthropology and history of Kurdistan. Schaller and Zimmerer (2008) describe how the Young Turks targeted not only Armenians in the eastern provinces but other ethnic groups there as well, including Assyrian and Chaldean Christians. According to Üngör (2011), tens of thousands of Kurds in 1916 were forcibly removed from Kurdistan, with Bulgarian, Albanian and Bosnian Muslims resettled in their place. Controversy rages as to whether the Young Turks’ organization of mass killings of Armenians constitutes genocide (Bloxham 2005; Gutman 2015), but few scholars deny their intent to produce a Sunni-Turkish homogenization of Anatolia and Kurdistan and a radical diminishment of the Armenian presence there. Keyder (2003) notes that in 1913, in the geographical area that is now Turkey, one out of five persons was a Christian. In just a decade, by the end of 1923, the proportion had declined to one in forty. The two biggest causes for this massive population loss were the Young Turks’ massacre of Armenians during the First World War (Weiss-Wendt and Üngör 2011), and the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923. More recent historical research has shown that the Kemalist state inherited and built on the initiatives of the Committee of Union and Progress (Zürcher 1984), with the Republicans continuing their policies of *Turkification*. With the virtual extermination by the CUP of Christians in Kurdistan, Kurds remained the largest non-Turkish population there, earmarked by the Kemalists for pacification and assimilation. Local resistance to that project has seen the declaration of emergency rule in Kurdistan for most of the last 90 years, prompting anthropological and other research distinguished by its analysis of the history of Kurdish revolts and of murderous state repression in response (Jongerden 2007); by its study of mass expulsions of a million Kurds from their villages for security reasons in the 1990s (Ayata and Yüксеver 2005); and by exploration of burgeoning Kurdish political resistance, including at the ideological (Vali 2003), military (White 2000) and municipal (Watts 2010) levels in Turkey. At the time of writing in 2016, in an unfortunate return to ‘normalcy’, 17 districts of 7 Kurdish cities were under 24 hours martial lockdown.

Deringil, S. 2003. “They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery”: The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45(2): 311-342. Discusses the colonial civilizing project of the late Ottoman Empire directed at its eastern peripheries, including the fateful establishment of a tribal corps of irregular cavalry (the *Hamidiya* regiments).

Dündar, F. 2014. Empire of Taxonomy: Ethnic and Religious Identities in the Ottoman Surveys and Censuses. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 51(1): 136-158. Investigates the changing categories of Ottoman censuses for classifying its population, including the updated ethnic statistics used by the Young Turks in the first decades of the 20th century to facilitate their deportation and forced settlement of different groups.

McCarthy, Justin. 1995. *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*. Princeton: The Darwin Press. Draws attention to earlier acts of ethnic cleansing and massacre of Ottoman Muslims in the Balkans and the Caucasus in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which expelled Muslims into the Ottoman Empire and shaped new political conflicts there.

Schaller, D. and J. Zimmerer. 2008. Late Ottoman Genocides: the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Young Turkish Population and Extermination Policies. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 10(1): 7-14. Places the deportation of Eastern Christians in 1915 in the wider context of the Young Turks' population and extermination policies towards ethnic minorities, which were also directed at Kurdish Muslims.

Üngör, Ü. 2011. *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Comprehensive study of Young Turk/Kemalist population policies in Eastern Anatolia, sketching out how a generation of traumatized Young Turk politicians carried out a violent project of societal transformation to secure the existence of a future Turkish nation-state.

Bloxham, Donald. 2005. *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Taking for granted the fact of the Young Turk's organized deportation and mass killings of Armenians from eastern Anatolia in order to create an ethnically homogenous nation, Bloxham turns to the players involved in the 'great game of genocide denial', in particularly the United States after W.W.2.

Gutman, D. 2015. Ottoman Historiography and the End of the Genocide Taboo: Writing the Armenian Genocide into Late-Ottoman History. *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 2(1): 167-183. Discusses the historical censorship in Ottoman Turkish Studies concerning research into the Armenian genocide, and reviews a number of new approaches to the event.

Keyder, Ç. 2003. "The Consequences of the Exchange of Populations for Turkey." In *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*. Edited by Renée. Hirschon, 39–52. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books. Argues that the exchange of the relatively well-educated and commercially skilled Greek population was the 'constituting act' of the new Turkish Republic, which engineered a relatively ethnically 'cleansed' population.

Weiss-Wendt, A. and Ü. Üngör. 2011. Collaboration in Genocide: The Ottoman Empire 1915–1916, the German-Occupied Baltic 1941–1944, and Rwanda 1994. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 25(3): 404-437. Authors note recent research that demonstrates the persecution led to the mass murder of about one million Armenians, and to the depopulation of some 2,900 Anatolian Armenian settlements (villages, towns, and neighbourhoods).

Zürcher, Erik. 1984. *The Unionist Factor*. Leiden: Brill. Reassesses the official Turkish historiography about Atatürk and his relationship to the CUP, dating the origins of Kemalist policy and ideology to the Unionist movement after their coup in 1913.

Jongerden, Joost. 2007. *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds: An Analysis of Spatial Politics, Modernity and War*. Leiden: Brill. Studies the re-inhabiting of villages or settlements by Kurds in the 2000s, placing the forced relocation policy of Turkish military strategists from the 1990s in the longer history of the Republic's deportation practices.

Ayata, B. and D. Yüksekler. 2005. A Belated Awakening: National and International Responses to the Internal Displacement of Kurds in Turkey. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 32: 5-42. Shows how the Turkish Government's belated response to the internal displacement of more than a million Kurds in the 1990s was made as part of Turkey's candidacy for the EU, oriented more to regulating displacement than solving the Kurdish issue.

Vali, Abbas, ed. 2003. *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*. California: Mazda Publishers. Volume that investigates and debates Kurdish nationalism from a number of perspectives, ideologically, historically, and in Kurdish literature.

White, Paul J. 2000. *Primitive Rebels or Revolutionary Modernizers? The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey*. London: Zed Books. Examines the emergence of both historic Kurdish nationalism and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) from a socio-economic developmental perspective, arguing that the capture of its leader (Abdullah Öcalan) in 1998 stalled its transition into a modern political force.

Watts, Nicole F. 2010. *Activists in Office: Kurdish Politics and Protest in Turkey*. Washington: Washington University Press. Fieldwork-based study that focuses on pro-Kurdish activists and political parties in Turkey that have sought to use electoral politics and the political institutions of the Republic to advocate for Kurdish rights and equality.

Ethnographic Work

Just as the writing of [Ottoman] history has been historicized, so ethnographic representation [of Kurdistan] has become an anthropological topic. In the main, this discussion has discerned how writers' interpretations of its social processes have been conditioned by theoretical paradigms, whose features in turn are indexed to political processes such as European colonialism or nationalism (Wolff 1999; Houston 2009). State-sponsored discourse on the Kurds indicates the doubly complex political dynamics that anthropological writing on Kurdistan reflects and expresses. The earliest Western ethnographic accounts of Kurdistan were informed by evolutionary and orientalist assumptions, being concerned to diagnose there the racial types of different tribal groups and their relative civilizational qualities (Sykes 1908; Minorsky 1927). A generation later Edmund Leach (1940) and then his student Fredrik Barth (1953) repudiated, as did the discipline in general, the racist search for evolutionary origins, producing in their place functionalist analyses of what Barth called the 'indigenous social organization' of Kurdish villages in southern Kurdistan – not, significantly, in northern Iraq where he was officially working. Unlike the historical works mentioned in *Historical Overview*, Leach and Barth's focus was not Kurdish society's relationship with external powers but its internal structural relations. Yet ironically, despite classical anthropology's critique of evolutionism, and the discipline's critique in turn of its classic functionalist writings in the 1970s, both evolutionist and functionalist ethnographies have proven to be of great interest to Kurds in the present. In the last two decades all of the texts mentioned above have been translated and re-issued by Kurdish publishers. Why? The answer relates to the common endeavor of Turkey, Iraq and Iran to nationalize Kurdistan's folklore and cultural history. In particular the intellectual cadres of the Young Turks and then of the Turkish nation-state produced works of anthropological knowledge about Kurdistan that have consistently denied Kurds' self-description of their ethnic difference (Yeğen 1996). Dündar (2001) describes how the Unionists commissioned anthropological and demographic research into ethnic and religious groups in Kurdistan, including of the Kurds, Armenians, Alevi (Kurdish and Turkish), and Turkmen, designed to facilitate their planned resettlement as part of the region's Turkification. Analysis of Kemalist anthropology written in the 1930s and 40s reveals its similar commitment to demonstrating the Turkish origins of Muslim minorities in Turkey, most ardently of the Kurds. This search explains why physical anthropology became its dominant theoretical mode, including extensive craniometrical surveys that 'proved' a common Turkish ancestor in Anatolia of Kurds (Toprak 2012). In response, Kurdish publishers have printed material that takes Kurdish particularity for granted. Similarly, one major purpose of the remarkable online project *Houshamadyan* is to preserve the memory of Armenian life in eastern Anatolia. More recent ethnographic texts on Kurdistan reveal another change in theoretical perspective. In them Kurdistan is no longer imagined as a separate and self-instituting indigenous society but as incorporated in wider social systems, first the Ottoman or Safavid empires and then into the authoritarian states and political economies of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria (i.e. Beşikçi 1969; Bruinessen 1992). The result is an anthropology that studies the formation of complex and subaltern provincial societies featuring local variants of trans-regional (national or global) social institutions and cultural practices. Nationalism, under-development, state patronage, electoral politics, capitalism and class-consciousness become important anthropological concerns.

Wolff, Patrick. 1999. *Settler Colonialism and the Formation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*. London: Cassell. Uses the term *synchronic relativism* to cover three national

variants of anthropology that became dominant by the 1930s, British structural-functionalism, French structuralism and American cultural relativism, connecting it to the broader colonial context.

Houston, C. 2009. An Anti-History of a Non-People: Kurds, Colonialism and Nationalism in the History of Anthropology. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, 15(1): 19-35. Argues that the role and development of a nationalist anthropology in Turkey complicates the post-colonial critique of synchronic-relativism (see Wolff above).

Sykes, M. 1908. The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, 38: 451-486. Study is comprised of a detailed map, a list of the name of Kurdish tribes and their distribution, and speculative comments about the moral, religious and racial characteristics of different tribes.

Minorsky, V. 1927. 'Kurdistan' and 'Kurds', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill. Along with a section on the history of the Kurds since the Arab conquest of Kurdistan, the entries are also concerned to solve the puzzle of the origin of the Kurds, who are said to be an amalgam of different 'ethnic or physical types.'

Leach, Edmund. 1940. *Social and Economic Organization of the Rewanduz Kurds*. London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co. Based on just five weeks of fieldwork (cut short because of war), Leach presents a brief functionalist account of village life in the Rewanduz district, intended to correct the distortions of travellers' accounts of time spent 'amongst the Kurds.'

Barth, Fredrik. 1953. *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan*. Oslo: Brodrene Jorgensen. A thorough account of rural Kurdish life near Suleimaniye, studying the variety of political organization and land tenure arrangements there, characterized respectively by the lineage headed by a tribal chief, and the feudal holding dominated by the landlord.

Yeğen, M. 1996. The Turkish State Discourse and the Exclusion of Kurdish Identity. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(2): 216-229. Study on the changing keywords of Turkish state talk about Kurds, unified for Yeğen by its categorical denial that Kurds constitute a separate ethnic element in Turkey.

Dündar, F. 2001. İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Araştırmaları [The Ethnic Research of the Committee of Union and Progress]. *Toplumsal Tarih*, 16: 43-50. Discusses the anthropological discourse on Kurds by Young Turk intellectuals, in particular that of Habil Adem (published under the pseudonym of Dr. Fritz), who proposed that Kurds, parasitic upon Arabs, Turks, and Iranians etc., have no separate language, history or culture/art of their own.

Toprak, Zafer. 2012. *Darwin'den Dersim'e: Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji [The Republic and Anthropology: From Darwin to Dersim]*. Istanbul: Doğan Kitap. Collection of essays that uncritically explores Atatürk's interest in physical or biological anthropology in the 1930s, intended to reinforce the Republic's aim of creating an ethnically and linguistically homogenous society.

Houshamadyan [<http://www.houshamadyan.org/en/home.html>] A research resource that seeks to reconstruct Ottoman Armenian town and village life, documenting 'all aspects of the history of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, including social history, the history of daily life, local microhistory, dialects, music, literature, material culture and so on.'

Beşikçi, İsmail. 1969. *Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni: Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Etnik Temeller [The Order of Eastern Anatolia: Social-Economic and Ethnic Foundations]*. Ankara: Yurt Kitap-Yayın. Study of the East's under-development as produced by Turkey's fundamental social structural dynamics, while also asserting the influence of ethnic discrimination as a partial factor in Ankara's politics. Earned the author a 13-year gaol sentence.

Bruinessen, van Martin. 1992. *Aga, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*. London: Zed Books. Seeks to discern whether transnational Kurdish social institutions (called primordial loyalties by the author) are of continuing relevance amongst rural and village Kurds, in the context of the pervasive influence of regional states over Kurdish society.

Trauma, Memory, and Life Story Narratives

Given the modern history of Kurdistan, with its waves of serial state violence, political rebellions, and Government projects of forced deportation, a core interest of much recent anthropological research has been in its inhabitants' experiences of trauma, the phenomenology of memory and emotions, and the recognition of violence as a mode of production of identity/subjectivity. Methodologically, interest in these topics has seen a turn towards the collecting and analyzing of individuals' oral histories, life stories and personal narratives: to accounts of Armenian survivors of the 1915 genocide (Miller and Miller 1993); of Kurds exiled from Kurdistan and sent to Thrace in the first decades of the Republic (Firat 1996); of Kurdish Jews and the stories of their painful departures from southern Kurdistan and Iraq in 1950/51 (Sabar 2009); of Alevi survivors of the Dersim uprising in Turkey in 1938 (Cem 1999); of deported or migrated Kurdish villagers in the 1990s and their lives in Istanbul (Çelik 2005); and of the grandchildren of Armenians who survived the killings by being adopted by Muslim families (Altınay and Çetin 2014). In the process of interviewing subjects authors have recognized the susceptibility of memory and experience to deformation and reconstruction, while in the perceptual modifications wrought on individuals by violence, anthropologists have witnessed subjects' forgetting of the unspeakable as well as their active absorption of traumatic experience to compose new selves. Other scholars have done fieldwork in Kurdistan itself, presenting a phenomenological description of its inhabitants' anguish and suffering there caused by both the systematic practice of state terror and of the counter terror of the PKK since the early 1990s (Aras 2014). The unearthing of repressed memories of trauma and violence has led to demands from victims or their descendants for recognition and/or reconciliation, and recent work has examined the politics of memory and commemoration in relation to events in Kurdistan from diverse perspectives (Ayata and Hakyemez 2013; Kaya 2015). As part of this process a number of civil society groups have published reports on online sites documenting various traumatising aspects of the dirty war pursued by the Turkish Military in their conflict with the PKK, including material on extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, and paramilitary organizations during the most intense years of the Kurdish conflict:

<http://failibelli.org/tum-davalar/>

http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak_tipi/publications/

<http://www.ihddiyarbakir.org/Map.aspx>

Information about the personal and collective damage caused by the war has been collated in more official accounts too, including in the report of the *Commission of Human Rights Investigation of the Turkish Parliament* (2013) that identified the number of dead lost in the war as 35,000.

Miller, Donald E. and Lorna T. Miller. 1993. *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Tells the story of the Armenian genocide in eastern Anatolia through the experience of survivors, organized around accounts of the social world that was destroyed, of the deportation marches, of the experiences of women and children, and of the orphanages.

Firat, A. Melik. 1996. *Firat Mahzun Akar [The Euphrates Flows with Grief]*. Istanbul: Avesta Yayınları. Presents biographical details and selected writings of the author, grandson of Şeyh Said, leader of the 1925 Kurdish rebellion against the Turkish Republic, who spent the first 12 years (1935-1947) of his life in a camp in Thrace, deported with his family under the state's Compulsory Settlement Law.

Sabar, Ariel. 2009. *My Father's Paradise: A Son's Search for his Family's Past*. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books. A biographical memoir of Kurdish Jew Yona Sabar who was born in Zakho in southern Kurdistan and forced to migrate to Israel in 1951, written by his son.

Cem, Munzur. 1999. *Tamkların Diliyle Dersim 38 [Dersim 38 in the Words of Witnesses]* Istanbul: Peri Yayınları. Book based on interviews with eye-witness survivors of the Dersim rebellion in Tunceli in 1938, which was mercilessly suppressed by the Turkish military.

Çelik, B. 2005. "I Miss My Village! Forced Kurdish Migrants in Istanbul and their Representation in Associations." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 32: 137–63. Discusses the lives of recent Kurdish women migrants to Istanbul, noting their problems with language, work and hostility from Turkish neighbours, as well as their emerging nationalist consciousness.

Altınay, Aysegül and Fethiye Çetin. 2014. *The Grandchildren: The Hidden Legacy of 'Lost' Armenians in Turkey*. London: Transaction Publishers. Presents the narratives of grandchildren of 25 Armenians who survived the genocide in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire by becoming Muslims, telling how they came to find out that their grandmothers or grandfathers were Armenian, and about the lives of their Islamized grandparents.

Aras, Ramazan. 2014. *The Formation of Kurdishness in Turkey: Political Violence, Fear and Pain*. London: Routledge. Based upon the life-stories and narratives of local Kurdish people, the chapters progress through an awful range of experiences – sexual violations and humiliation, disappearances and murders of family members by unknown assailants, surveillance and fear of spies, unspeakable torture and incarceration in detention centres.

Ayata, B. and S. Hakyemez. 2013. The AKP's Engagement with Turkey's Past Crimes: An Analysis of PM Erdogan's 'Dersim Apology.' *Dialectical Anthropology*, 37(1): 131-143. Argues that the PM's selective apology for past state crimes – in this case for the Dersim massacres in 1937 – is insincere, and best understood as a tool in the AKP's power struggle against Kemalist elites.

Kaya, D. 2015. Coming to Terms with the Past: Rewriting History through a Therapeutic Public Discourse in Turkey. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 47(4): 681-700. Article identifies a growing trend in Turkish political life of individuals and collectives mobilizing around questions of historical injustices and trauma, suppression of memory, the uncovering of truth, and issues of compensation, restitution and/or healing.

<http://failibelli.org/tum-davalar/> Blog on the extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, and paramilitary organisations during the Kurdish Conflict, produced under the auspices of TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation).

http://hakikatadalethafiza.org/en/kaynak_tipi/publications/ Website of the NGO Hafiza Merkezi (Memory Centre), with links to its reports published on extra-judicial killings and enforced disappearances in Kurdistan by Turkey's paramilitary organizations.

<http://www.ihddiyarbakir.org/Map.aspx>. Meticulously researched interactive online map made by the Human Rights Association Diyarbakir branch that identifies the sites and gives brief details of mass graves in the southeast of Turkey resulting from the Kurdish Conflict. It shows 348 mass graves and 4201 buried people.

'Violations of the Right to Life in Terror and Violence Acts', Report tabled in Turkish Parliament on 13th February, 2013, by *Commission of Human Rights Investigation of the Turkish Parliament*. The report breaks down the dead into categories, including into 'terrorists' (PKK fighters) and 'martyrs' (military personnel, state functionaries etc.). It also notes the killings of 2,872 people by 'unknown assailants', but refuses to name the State's Special Forces as the major perpetrators of such murders.

Arts Production and Activism in Literature, Film and Music

In keeping with the discipline's critique of its earlier cultural separatism, the anthropology of art too has become less interested in questions of indigenous aesthetics *per se*: in its place a number of other issues have emerged. Thus although there has been some valuable study of Kurdistan's unique material culture (O'Shea 1996), in the main contemporary study of arts production in Kurdistan focuses (overly?) on the politics of subaltern art-works, interpreted as responding to individual and collective experiences/memories of suffering including immigration, incarceration, violence and war. Scholars have also discerned how the arts production of minorities must be understood in relationship to the standardization of artistic genres and arts pedagogies by nation states (Öztürkmen 1996) – for example, Mignon (2014) identifies how in the case of republican Turkey its creation of a national literature excluded the contribution of non-Muslims to Turkish-language writing. Most broadly then, anthropological and other discipline's work on art in Kurdistan has been concerned to identify the wider social forces that have shaped development of its literature, cinema and music, both there and in its transnational spaces of migration and exile. For its literature, among the most significant of these has been the language politics of Iraq and Turkey respectively. A less strict monolingualist policy in Iraq allowed the development of a standard Kurdish and a rich Kurdish literature, based on the Sorani dialect of southern Kurdistan. By contrast, in Turkish Kurdistan the languages of Muslim minorities were legally proscribed, and Kurmanji Kurdish was depreciated as a debased dialect of Turkish. In this context, Scalbert-Yücel (2012) investigates the post 1980s emergence of Kurdish literature in Turkey, tracing out debates within Kurdish literary circles concerning the constitution of its canon, given its varieties of linguistic barriers, alphabets and languages – do the novels of a Kurd writing in Turkish about Kurdistan (such as Yaşar Kemal) count as Kurdish literature? The even more recent emergence of 'Kurdish cinema' has led to similar discussions regarding its critical norms, scope and substance (Koçer 2014), although both Yücel (2008) and Kennedy (2009) discuss the themes of Kurdish identity and social realism in the 1960s and 70s movies of filmmaker Yılmaz Güney. If a self-conscious Kurdish literature and cinema has flourished since the 1980s and 2000s respectively, according to Riegle (2014) the recording of Kurdistan's music has a much longer history, although its religious and popular music performances have experienced the same history of muting and censorship. Scholars have examined Kurds' response to such attempted silencing in the widespread illegal dissemination of a new genre of politicized folk songs in the 1970s and 80s, including by exiled musician Sivan Perwer (Aksoy 2006). In the 1990s and 2000s the lifting of the ban prohibiting the speaking of languages other than Turkish allowed an explosion of music from Kurdistan to resound in public aural space, both in new recordings and in live performance. Prominent companies include *KOM*, focusing on Kurdish music and *Kalan Müzik*, whose large discography has presented the riveting music of ethnic and religious minorities in Kurdistan, including of Armenians, Kurds, Alevi Bektashi, Yezidi and Zaza (to name a few). The recent revival in the institution of *dengbeji* (Kurdish bards) has also been of interest to anthropologists, as seen in the work of Hamelink & Barış (2014). Finally, above I say that scholars have 'overly' politicized arts analysis of Kurdistan to point out only that other significant dimensions of its production (there and in its diaspora) have been less well examined, in particular performance practices, arts-pedagogic formation, perceptual modifications, and embodied skills acquisition involved in the learning and practicing of art. Performers and artists themselves may feel the same way, as seen in Schafers' (2015) research with female *dengbejs*.

- O'Shea, M. 1996. "Kurdish Costume: Regional Diversity and Divergence." In *Kurdish Culture and Identity*. Edited by Philip Kreyenbroek and Christine Allison, 135-155. London: Zed Books. Explores both the continuing significance of Kurdish costume in Kurdistan as well as its changing fashion, with a focus on the Iranian Kurdish city of Sanandaj.
- Öztürkmen, A. 1994. The Role of the People's Houses in the Making of National Culture in Turkey. *New Perspective on Turkey*, 11: 159-181. Explores the role of the People's Houses in the early Republic in creating and disseminating the form and content of a national arts repertoire that is still influential today.
- Mignon, L. 2014. "Minor Literatures and their Challenge to 'National' Literature: The Turkish Case." In *Turkey and the Politics of National Identity: Social, Economic and Cultural Transformation*. Edited by Shane Brennan and Marc Herzog, 194-214. London: I.B. Tauris. Chapter explores how Turkish nationalist literary historiography has veiled the past, in particularly the contribution of non-Muslims (mainly Greek and Armenian Christians and Jews) to the development Ottoman-Turkish literature.
- Scalbert-Yücel, Clémence. 2012. Emergence and Equivocal Autonomization of a Kurdish Literary Field in Turkey. *Nationalities Papers*, 40(3): 357-372. Drawing on the field theory of Bourdieu, the article discusses authors' works in relation to both the minority sphere of Kurdish politics, and to that of nation states (including European) in which that politics develops.
- Koçer, S. 2014. Kurdish Cinema as a Transnational Discourse Genre: Cinematic Visibility, Cultural Resilience, and Political Agency. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 46(3): 473-488. Showing that the genre of 'Kurdish cinema' emerged first in the transnational space of the diaspora, Koçer argues that for participants films attain their visible 'Kurdishness' against a backdrop of Kurdish non-recognition in Turkish, Arabic and Persian film.
- Yücel, Müslüm. 2008. *Türk Sinemasında Kürtler [Kurds in Turkish Cinema]*. Istanbul: Agora Kitaplığı. Discusses the oeuvre of Yılmaz Güney, one of the most significant actors, scenarists and directors in Turkish cinema, identifying recurring socio-political themes in his work including blood feuds, banditry, orphaned children, class aggravation and exploitation, rural-urban migration, poverty and social transformation.
- Kennedy, M. 2009. "Bölünmüş Bir Halk Olarak Kürtler ve Yılmaz Güney Sineması" [Kurds as a Divided People and the Cinema of Yılmaz Güney] In *Kürt Sineması: Yurtsuzluk, Sınır ve Ölüm [Kurdish Cinema: Homelessness, Borders and Death]*. Edited by Müjde Arslan, 89-130. Istanbul: Agora Kitaplığı. Chapter focuses on the varied dimensions of Kurdish identity reflected in three of Güney's most important films, *Umut*, *Sürü* and *Yol*.
- Riegle, R. 2013. A Brief History of Kurdish Music Recordings in Turkey. *Hellenic Journal of Music, Education and Culture*, 4(2): 1-19. Traces the first recording of Kurdish music back to the early 1900s by German orientalist, the recording of 'Death Lament of the Kurdish Singer Abdal Ali', released on CD in 2001. Notes that by 2013, some 4,000 Kurdish albums have been available in Turkey, including many from Iran, Iraq, and Syria.
- Aksoy, O. 2006. The Politicization of Kurdish Folk Songs in the 1990s in Turkey. *Music and Anthropology*, No. 11 [http://www.umbc.edu/MA/index/number11/aksoy/ak_0.htm] Online article that discusses the emergence of a new genre of politicized Kurdish folk music in the 1990s and 2000s, and presents a small discography (title, company and date of release).
- Hamelink, W. and H. Barış. 2014. Dengbejs on Borderlands: Borders and the State as Seen through the Eyes of Kurdish Singer-Poets. *Kurdish Studies*, 2(1): 34-60. Article on the art of

Kurdish *dengbej* (singer-poets), analysing their songs as expressions of Kurdish experiences of home, borders and the state.

Schafers, M. 2015. Being Sick of Politics: The Production of Dengbeji as Kurdish Cultural Heritage in Contemporary Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 20: 1-21. Explores how in a context where the mere existence of Kurdishness has been inescapably politicized, some women minstrels desire a space for their art that acknowledges its Kurdish cultural heritage while diminishing its 'governmental' politics.

Religious Identities

In both Turkish and European languages there is a burgeoning literature on religious groups and identities in Kurdistan, much of it produced by intellectuals and/or activists of those groups themselves. Although in the recent past Kurdistan has seen the persecution and consequent out-migration of most of its Christian and all of its Jewish populations (Bruinessen 2000; Shohat 2015), anthropological research too analyzes the diversity and transformation of religious practice there. Indeed the editor of a recent book on religious minorities in Kurdistan asserts that the region is a ‘reservoir of religions’ (Omarkhali 2014). Despite that diversity, the large majority of Kurds in the region are Sunni Muslims of Shafi’i denomination, whose differences from non-Sunni Muslim minorities are capable of politicization, raising both social and conceptual issues for anthropological research. For example, a special edition of BJMES in 2010 published articles on Alevi and Yezidi in Kurdistan, demarcated under the title ‘Heterodox Movements in the Contemporary Islamic World.’ By contrast, Dressler’s (2010) paper in that collection problematized such a designation, arguing instead for what he called ‘inner-Islamic plurality.’ Seen as a litmus case for the anthropological study of religious identities in Kurdistan, the huge literature on the recent regeneration of Alevi cultural practices in Kurdistan and Turkey delineates political and sociological processes that apply in different ways to other religious traditions there too. Elsewhere Dressler (2013) identifies how the early Republic’s genealogical incorporation of Alevism into the imagined Turkish nation through its representation of it as carrier of pre-Islamic Turkish culture (i.e. shamanism) simultaneously ‘othered’ it in the perspective of Sunni orthodoxy, opening the door to experiences of discrimination and violence in unpropitious circumstances (Sinclair-Webb 2003). Other scholars have traced how the attempted assimilation of Alevi religious practices to Turkishness sparked a counter-history by Kurdish intellectuals, leading to the politicization of Zaza- and Kurmanji-speaking Alevi groups (Leezenberg 2003). Research on other religious minorities in Kurdistan has increased too over the last three decades, building upon the work of earlier orientalists on the doctrine, religious practices, oral genres, canonic texts/manuscripts, and origins of the Ahl-e Haqq in Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan (During 1998); on the Yezidi in Turkish and Iraqi Kurdistan (Allison 2014); and on the variety of Christian communities there (i.e. Assyrian, Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant), particularly in southern Kurdistan (Gransden 1947; Hunter 2014). Last but not least, anthropological research has explored the religious identity and experience of Sunni Muslims in Kurdistan too, both of the history and scope of Islamic institutions and learning (Ma’aryegi 1986), and of their relationship to Kurdish nationalism and political Islam (Houston 1999).

Bruinessen, van M. 2000. “The Christians of Eastern Turkey, the State and the Local Power Structure.” In *Mullas, Sufis and Heretics: The Role of Religion in Kurdish Society*. Edited by Martin van Bruinessen, 38-59. Istanbul: Isis Press. Chapter investigates forms of discrimination against Christians there.

Shohat, E. 2015. “The Question of Judeo-Arabic”, feature article. *Arab Studies Journal*, 23 (Fall 2015). Discusses the Arabic dialect of Iraqi Jews (including from Kurdistan), in the context of their marginalization in Israel after expulsion from Iraq in 1950.

Omarkhali, Khanna. 2014. “Introduction.” In *Religious Minorities in Kurdistan: Beyond the Mainstream*. Edited by Khanna Omarkhali, 7-28. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. Volume focuses less on the history of religious minorities in Kurdistan and more on recent developments affecting their social and religious lives.

Dressler, M. 2010. How to Conceptualize Inner-Islamic Plurality/Difference: ‘Heterodoxy’ and

- 'Syncretism' in the Writings of Mehmet F. Köprülü (1890–1966). *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 37(3): 241-260. Critical take on the work of influential Turkish historian Köprülü, for its essentializing of both Turkish culture and Islamic religion.
- Dressler, Markus. 2013. *Writing Religion: The Making of Turkish Alevi Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Analyzes why the widespread recreation of Alevi identity in Turkey since the late 1980s has for the most part remained within the parameters of a set of knowledge about Alevism that appeared historically in conjunction with discourses of Turkish nationalism and Islam.
- Sinclair-Webb, E. 2003. "Sectarian Violence, the Alevi Minority and the Left: Kahramanmaraş 1978." In *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*. Edited by Paul J. White and Joost Jongerden, 215-236. Leiden: Brill. Examines how in the context of a rising leftist movement in the 1970s, oppositional right-wing Turkish ultranationalists sought to achieve legitimacy through an appeal to Sunni Islamic orthodoxy, leading to sectarian killing of Alevi in Anatolia.
- Leezenberg, M. 2003. "Kurdish Alevis and the Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s." In *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*. Edited by Paul J. White and Joost Jongerden, 197-214. Leiden: Brill. Sketches out reasons for the sometimes tense relationship between Kurdish nationalists (in particular the PKK) and Alevi Kurds in the 1990s, particularly over debates concerning the Kurdishness or otherwise of the *Zaz̤a* language and its speakers.
- During, J. 1998. "A Critical Survey on Ahl-e Haqq Studies in Europe and Iran." In *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives*. Edited by Tord Olsson, Elisabeth Özdalga and Catharina Raudvere, 105-126. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions Vol. 8. Learned discussion of Ahl-e Haqqism that prioritizes its Sufi and Shia precedents against studies focusing on its non-Islamic aspects.
- Allison, C. 2014. "Living with Labels: New Identities and the Yezidis of Turkey." In *Turkey and the Politics of National Identity: Social, Economic and Cultural Transformation*. Edited by Shane Brennan Marc Herzog, 95-117. London: I.B. Tauris. Explores the contemporary performance of Yezidi identity, including the importance of memories of trauma and persecution in disputes over ethnicity and origin.
- Gransden, A. H. 1947. Chaldean Communities in Kurdistan. *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 34(1): 79-82. Presents a brief discussion of the history and beliefs of the Chaldean Church in Kurdistan, including their fleeing from Diyarbekir to Mosul in 1915.
- Hunter, P. 2014. "Coping in Kurdistan: The Christian Diaspora." In *Religious Minorities in Kurdistan: Beyond the Mainstream*. Edited by Khanna Omarkhali, 321-338. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. Discusses the situation of Christians who have fled to the autonomous Kurdish Region in northern Iraq from Baghdad and Mosul since 2003.
- Ma'aryegi, H. 1986. History of the Works of Our'anic Interpretation (Tafsir) in the Kurdish Language. *Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs Journal*, 7(1): 268-274. Presents a list of Koranic commentaries written in Kurdish over the last 150 years.
- Houston, Christopher. 2002. *Islam, Kurds and the Turkish Nation State*. Oxford: Berg. Analyzes tensions within Turkey's Islamist movement over the causes and solutions to the Kurdish problem, in particular between Turkish and Kurdish Muslims.

Gender

As shown above, Kemalism is best conceived as a trans-regional political practice characterizing the policies of the three major nation-states that assumed control over Kurdistan after W.W.I. Desiring to craft new skills in citizens and modifications in their perceptions of the world, in each of them women's progress became a key theme. In Iran, for example, scholars have researched Reza Shah's 'Women's Awakening' campaign initiated in 1936, which provided new opportunities for women's training including access to tertiary education, and coincided with their spectacular forced unveiling (Amin 1999). Yet typically, few scholars mention the Shah's banning of regional costumes in Iran at the same time. Similar reforms in Turkey have been well discussed, in particular law reform, the facilitation of women's participation in education and work (Toktaş and Cindoğlu 2006), and their enfranchisement in 1930 (in undemocratic elections). Critical accounts of these state-sponsored 'feminisms' have analyzed how the reforms were intended to emancipate women not for individual autonomy but for the good of the nation and the family, as seen in their yoking together women's education, national development and scientific home management (Navaro-Yashin 2000; Kashani-Sabet 2006). Further, Sirman (2004) has shown how the new laws entrenched a husband's legal dominance over his wife. In Kurdistan itself women's development was retarded by the Turkish, Persian and Arab states' suppressing of other emergent national groups: the conditional liberation offered to women through education did not extend to ethnic minorities there, unless they first became Turkish or Persian etc. Despite this, the dominant historiography of 'Kemalist feminism' presents women in Turkey as having been granted gender equality with men. When and where this equality is contravened, the guilty party is 'traditional culture' that has not been reformed. However a number of writers (i.e. Koğacıoğlu 2004) have examined how domestic violence, honor crimes, male domination and the subordination of women, supposedly especially prevalent in the 'southeast' because of its backwards tribal patriarchy and hierarchical kinship systems, equally articulate with modern state institutions, in particular the civil, family and penal legal codes, the *Diyanet*, and compulsory male military service. The emergence of the autonomous Kurdish Region and its reformation of Iraqi legal codes has sparked research into changing dimensions of women's lives, including into the complex relationship between creating a new authentic Kurdish identity and the necessary construction of gender roles and norms in that process (Al-Ali and Pratt 2011). Violence against women, in particular honour-based killings, has been a focus of both the new state and of researchers: King (2010) analyzes how in societies where belonging to a kinship group is reckoned agnatically, the collective's concern is for their patrilineal *sovereignty*. That is, sexual segregation, control of women's mobility and in extreme cases honour killings all censure the possibility of unauthorized reproduction, understood as violating the lineage's sovereignty. In this discussion gender relations have been properly expanded to include men and masculinity – King and Stone (2010) note how a particular style of masculinity is generated in societies that reckon kin through patrilineal descent, which place great stress on males' achievements, such as becoming wealthy, a leader or migrating to a new location. A rather different psychoanalytic take on the formation of male subjectivity is presented by Mirzeler (2000), who analyses the performance of songs and stories as the dramatic theatre of gender dynamics in Kurdistan.

- Amin, C. 1999. Propaganda and Rememberance: Gender, Education and ‘The Women’s Awakening’ of 1936. *Iranian Studies*, 32(3): 351-386. Discusses the major dimensions of the campaign, including its measures to hasten the sexual desegregation of cultural life.
- Toktaş, S. and D. Cindoğlu. 2006. Modernisation and Gender: a Study of Girls’ Technical Education in Turkey since 1927. *Women’s History Review*, 15(5): 737–749. Traces out the historical growth and development of ‘Girls Institutes’ from the 1930s to 1970s, schools teaching both domestic and selected vocational skills.
- Navaro-Yashin, Y. 2000. Evde Taylorizm: Cumhuriyet’in ilk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi [Taylorism in the Home: The Rationalization of Housework in the Early Republic]. *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 84: 51-74. Investigates the Kemalist campaigns in Turkey in the areas of maternal and child health, as well as in the science of household management.
- Kashani-Sabet, F. 2006. The Politics of Reproduction: Maternalism and Women’s Hygiene in Iran, 1896-1941. *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38(1): 1-29. Analyzes state initiatives to shape the experience of women in Kemalist Iran in the areas of pregnancy, mothering, hygiene, sexuality and nutrition.
- Sirman, N. 2004 “Kinship, Politics and Love: Honour in Post-Colonial Contexts – The Case of Turkey.” In *Violence in the Name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges*. Edited by Shahrzad Mojab and Nahla Abdo, 39-56. Istanbul: Bilgi University Press. Notes that the 1926 civil code, amended only in 2002, declared the husband the head of the household, that a woman could not take paid work without the permission of her husband, and that a man who raped an underage woman is set free if he agrees to marry her.
- Koğacıoğlu, D. 2004. The Tradition Effect: Framing Honour Crimes in Turkey. *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 15(2): 119-151. Shows how honor crimes stand at the intersection of multiple political and social dynamics, in contrast to reductive explanations that see women in the non-West as falling prey solely to traditional patriarchal structures.
- Al-Ali, N. and N. Pratt. 2011. Between Nationalism and Women’s Rights: The Kurdish Women’s Movement in Iraq. *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, 4(3): 337-353. Article focuses on social and political developments in the ‘new’ Iraq post 2003, examining the strategies, goals and activities of Iraqi-Kurdish women activists, particularly in debates over the relationship between feminism and nationalism.
- King, D. 2010. “The Personal is Patrilineal: Namus as Sovereignty.” In *Middle Eastern Belongings*. Edited by Diane E. King, 59-84. New York: Routledge. Makes a significant anthropological contribution to the understanding of both the sense of honour (*namus*) and of honour killings in the MENA region and beyond. Equally interestingly is its applying of this idea to statecraft.
- King, D. and L. Stone. 2010. Lineal Masculinity: Gendered Memory within Patriliney. *American Ethnologist*, 37(2): 323–336. Presents a model of gender generated by a particular mode of kin relations, namely patrilineal descent, suggesting that it applies to broad regions of the globe.
- Mirzeler M. K. 2000. The Formation of Male Identity and the Roots of Violence against Women: The Case of Kurdish Songs, Stories and Storytellers. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 20(2): 261-269. Using the work of psychologist Eric Fromm, Mirzeler examines the formation of Kurdish masculine identity as a process of becoming an authoritarian personality.

Kurdistan Diasporas

The continuing history of both forced and voluntary migration from Kurdistan has meant relocation of many of its inhabitants to countries around the globe, and the transformation and re-creation of their cultural practices and social relations there (Langer 2010). In the process many of those migrants, who over time have become citizens of host countries, also conceive of themselves as members of an ethnic or religious diaspora: it is both the active constitution of connection to Kurdistan, mapped or imagined, as well as the narrativization of its rending that creates a diaspora. These links may be activated after decades of separation: a recent article from the online newspaper *Arutz Sheva* reported the visit of Jewish Kurds to the country's autonomous Kurdish region for the first time since their deportation from Iraq seven decades ago. Further, scholars have noted how dense transnational relationships between minorities in the West and in Kurdistan itself facilitate a diasporic consciousness amongst subaltern groups there, who may imagine themselves to be exiles in their own land (King 2008). An extensive literature on Kurdistan's diasporic groups in Europe has examined the social activities and political activism of Kurdish, Alevi, and Armenian organizations, both locally (in Germany, Finland or France etc.) and in their struggle against the Turkish state (i.e. Baser 2011; Sökefeld 2008; Al-Rustom 2013; Ayata 2011). A related area of research has concentrated on the encounter, often antagonistic, between various diasporic communities in those countries, affected by memory of historical events in Kurdistan as well as by ongoing Turkish state policies there (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003). Perhaps most significantly, research has analyzed how the transnational mobilization of migrant associations by the Turkish state and government, described by Şenay (2012) as long-distance or trans-Kemalism and carried out by the Turkish state's consular institutions, the offices of the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyane*) and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, is equally influential in generating conflict between diaspora groups. One state strategy includes the creation of a Turkish political lobby as volunteer cultural attaches from amongst its 'Turks abroad', who become willing allies in the Republic's diaspora disintegration project aimed at both non-Muslim migrants from Kurdistan (Armenians, Assyrians and Greeks) as well as at Kurdish associations (Şenay 2013).

Langer, R. 2010. Yezidism between Scholarly Literature and Actual Practice: From 'Heterodox' Islam and 'Syncretism' to the Formation of a Transnational Yezidi 'Orthodoxy'. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 37(3): 393-403. Traces out historical claims over Yezidism's Islamic legitimacy, and discusses the reasons for the emergence in Europe and post-Soviet Armenia of a new modern Yezidi orthodoxy within a heterodox tradition.

Arutz Sheva. "Jewish Kurds hold groundbreaking Iraq commemoration. 11/30/2015. <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/204201#.Vq77ImR941g> Accessed 3/07/2016.

King, D. 2008. Back from the "Outside": Returnees and Diasporic Imagining in Iraqi Kurdistan. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 10(2): 208-222. Describes how locals in Iraqi Kurdistan develop a diasporic imaginary whereby they perceive and experience their social conditions in relation to the lives lived by their relatives (and others) 'outside.'

Baser, B. 2011. "Kurdish Diaspora Political Activism in Europe with a Particular Focus on Great Britain." *Diaspora Dialogues for Development and Peace Project*, Berlin: Berghof Peace Support, June 2011. Describes the political activism of the Kurdish diaspora in Europe oriented

towards the Kurdish question in Turkey, focusing on the reasons for the Kurdish influx into Europe and Kurdish diaspora engagements.

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