

THURSDAY, JULY 25TH

**INTERNATIONAL
KURDISH STUDIES
CONFERENCE 2019**

9:00 AM - 5:00PM

Northeastern Illinois University

Alumni Hall-North SU 115

5500 N St. Louis Ave,

Chicago, IL, 60625

Open to the public



**NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR THE
HUMANITIES**



**Multilingual
Language
Center**



Welcome to the 2019 International Kurdish Studies Conference at Northeastern Illinois University

FOREWORD

Northeastern Illinois University's Multilingual Learning Center in collaboration with Zahra Institute has been awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) grant to develop a Kurdish Language and Culture Studies Program. It is a one-year project to develop three new courses and related curricular resources in Kurdish language and culture.

Kurdish language and culture programming at NEIU would contribute to an increase in inclusivity, cultural breadth and depth, global networking and an expansive cultural awareness. Because Kurds are transnational in the Middle East and that the Kurdish language has been in contact with many other languages such as Turkish, Persian, Zand dynasty, Pahlavi dialect, Arabic, Armenian, Keldanian, Circassian, and Georgian, the proposed project not only constitutes an innovation at NEIU, but also provides access to other cultures in the Middle East. This area of study would add programming that prepares our students for leadership, service and success in a diverse and multicultural global world, with academic support that values NEIU's urban and global mission. It would nurture an inclusive environment for teaching and learning and help students develop their individual worldview, acquire social and cultural awareness, and gain a broad knowledge of a variety of ethnic studies. Such a program would offer opportunities for curriculum, research and practice, and enable our graduates to be informed and responsible world citizens.

The Summer Institute in Kurdish Language and Culture activities culminate in Northeastern's International Kurdish Studies Research Conference, where students will engage with professionals and academics involved in Kurdish Studies at every level, expanding cultural competence while broadening their world view. This conference is presented in collaboration with the Zahra Institute.

International Kurdish Studies Conference

Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago
Zahra Institute

July 24-25, 2019

New Perspectives in Kurdish Studies

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

July 24, Wednesday

6:00-8:00pm **OPENING RECEPTION**

Venue: Angelina Pedroso Center for Diversity and Intercultural Affairs (B 159)

July 25, Thursday

Venue: Alumni Hall North

All sessions take place in Alumni Hall North (SU 115)

8:15-9:00: **Check-in and Refreshments**

9:00-9:30: **Welcoming Remarks**

Dr. Katrina Bell-Jordan, *Interim Dean, College of Arts and Science*

9:30-10:30 SESSION I: CONFLICT, POLITICS, IDENTITY

Chair: Jeanine Ntahirageza, Northeastern Illinois University

Matthew Cancian • Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Political Science
How Does Interethnic Victimization Shape Combatants' Stereotypes of and Behavior Towards the Ethnic Out-Group?

Aynur Unal • University of Leicester, School of Media Communication and Sociology
Self-Determination Claims of the Kurdish Political Movement within the Context of Indigeneity

Ekrem Karakoc • Binghamton University, Political Science
Kurdish Conflict and the 'Kurdish Street'

Mehmet Yildirimçakar • Bingol University, Turkey, Kurdish Language & Literature
Bi Perspektîfa "Hînweriya Lehengên Erênî" Tîpê Şoreşger ê Rûs di Romana Kurdê Rêwî ya Sehîdê Îbo de [The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary in Sehîdê Îbo's Kurdê Rêwî]

10:30-10:50 Q & A

10:50-11:00 Coffee Break

11:00-12:00 SESSION II: KURDISH LANGUAGE IN CONTEXT

Chair: Rachel Harrell-Bilici, Zahra Institute

Michael Chyet • Library of Congress, Washington, DC
A Bibliographic Introduction to Kurdology

Ibrahim Bor • Zahra Institute, Kurdish Studies
The Image of the Turk in Melayê Cizîrî and Ehmedê Xanî

Hewa Salam Khalid • Koya University, Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurdish Studies
The History of Teaching Kurdish as a Second Language

Ramazan Ergin • Independent Scholar, Turkey
A Collection of Kurdish Liturgical Texts in Hebrew, Assyrian, Arabic, and Cyrillic Scripts

12:00-12:20 Q & A

12:20-1:20 Lunch

1:30-2:00 ***Kurdish Art in America: A Conversation with Lukman Ahmad***

2:10-3:25 SESSION III: HISTORY, MEMORY, CULTURE

Chair: Ibrahim Demir, Zahra Institute

Midya Khudhur • Binghamton University, Comparative Literature
Collective Memory of Kurds in Diaspora

Jon Bullock • University of Chicago, Musicology
Representations of Kurdish Musical Practice in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Travelogues

Mahşuk Yamaç • Zaytuna College, Berkeley, Islamic Studies
Cultural Memory and Kurdish Madrasa Curriculum

Mehmet Mahsum Ozalp • Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University
Madrasa and Sufism in Turkey's Kurdistan (1923-2002)

Abdullah Kiran • Muş Alparslan University, Turkey, Political Science & IR

Zimanê Kurdî û Têgihnasiyêke Hevpar [The Kurdish Language and Collective Consciousness]

3:25-3:45 Q & A

3:45-4:00 Coffee Break

4:00-4:45 SESSION IV: NASHVILLE KURDS: NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Maria Volpe • John Jay College, CUNY, Sociology
Research Notes on the Nashville Kurdish Community

Dilman Yasin • Kurdish Professionals, Community Outreach Coordinator
Kurdish Identity in Nashville

Mucahit Bilici • John Jay College, CUNY, Sociology
Nashville Kurds as American Muslims

4:45-5:00 Q & A

5:00-5:20 Concluding Remarks

ABSTRACTS

International Kurdish Studies Conference
Northeastern Illinois University
Zahra Institute
July 24-25, 2019

CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

1. MATTHEW CANCIAN

Department of Political Science
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

How does inter-ethnic victimization shape combatants' stereotypes of and behavior towards the ethnic outgroup?

Previous research has focused on how victimization motivates civilians to become combatants, but its effects after mobilization are under-studied. 'Revenge seeking' predicts that victimized combatants should stereotype and mistreat perceived perpetrators; theories of posttraumatic growth predict that increased empathy in victims leads to humane behavior towards the outgroup, regardless of their stereotypes. Using an original survey of 2,301 Kurdish fighters (Peshmerga) we examine how past victimization by the Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein is linked to contemporary stereotyping and behavioral propensities. Victims possess essentializing stereotypes that they are unwilling to update. However, their increased belief that Sunni Arabs joined ISIS because they're scared indicates increased empathy. This empathy translates into victims being more likely to exhibit behavioral tendencies that are humanizing, including giving lifesaving medical aid and not supporting capital punishment of ISIS members.

2. AYNUR UNAL

School of Media, Communication and Sociology
University of Leicester

Self-Determination Claims of the Kurdish Political Movement within the Context of Indigeneity

This interdisciplinary study explores how indigenesness is expressed within the Kurdish political movement in Turkey. As noted by Trigger and Dalley, critical definitions argue for "a clear differentiation between indigeneity and either race or ethnicity, with a specific category of indigenous peoples deserving of distinctive rights and interests." That distinction has also been recognized under international law by granting the self-determination right for indigenous peoples in the United Nations in 2007 (United Nations 2017). Indeed, the claim of self-determination is a crucial aspect of indigenous rights movements. I aim to draw scholarly attention to

indigeneity discourse within Kurdishness, in particular, self-determination claim that is, in the Kurdish context. This has been developed in various concepts ranging from 'democratic united-independent Kurdistan' to 'democratic autonomy/democratic confederalism.' My study focuses on the Kurdish political movement in Turkey between 1978 and 2017 and looks at party programs and rules of the pro-Kurdish political parties in this period, the party statements of the latest two parties (Peace and Democracy Party-BDP and Peoples' Democracy Party –HDP) and twenty semi-structured interviews with deputies of HDP in 2018. I employ the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) as my methodological framework. This research, therefore, aims to contribute to the understanding of the indigeneness aspect of Kurds who have been widely seen as an ethnic minority or whose existence has been denied outright in the Middle East.

3. EKREM KARAKOC

Department of Political Science
Binghamton University (SUNY)

Kurdish Conflict and the 'Kurdish Street'

What do Kurds want? More than four decades have passed since the beginning of the civil conflict between the Turkish state and Kurdish insurgency, and yet we little know about the demands of ordinary Kurds. This chapter investigates and explores questions such as the cultural and political demands of ordinary Kurds and their views toward the PKK and Kurdish parties by analyzing nationally representative public opinion data that capture public preferences of Kurds in 2011 and 2015, respectively, before and after peace negotiations begun between the AKP government and the Kurdish movement. We find that the overwhelming majority of Kurds agree on cultural rights. They want an education in their mother tongue, to listen to sermons in Kurdish, to restore villages and town to their Kurdish names, and want to be served in Kurdish in hospitals, courts, and other public institutions. Demands for political equality is also high, half of the Kurds demanded a regional parliament and flag, the establishment of Kurdish as an official language, and political autonomy. The findings show that there is not much difference between secular and religious Kurds regarding their support for linguistic and cultural demands. The securitization of the Kurdish conflict has transformed non-politicized Kurds into politicized ones. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen how long the unofficial 'recognition with a stick policy' armed with the Turkish state apparatus will continue without a reformed political system that is responsive to the obvious cultural and political demands of Kurds.

4. MEHMET YILDIRIMCAKAR

Kurdish Language and Literature
Bingol University, Turkey

**Bi Perspektîfa “Hînweriya Lehengên Erênî” Tîpê Şoreşger ê Rûs di Romana
Kurdê Rêwî ya Sehîdê Îbo de [The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary in Sehîdê
Îbo’s Kurdê Rêwî]**

Romana kurdî ya êwra Kavkazê bi awayekî berbiçav ketiye bin karîgeriya realîzma sosyalîst û gelek xusûsiyetên wê di nav xwe de dihewîne. Di van romanên de, em rastî karîgeriya hînweriya lehengên erênî jî dihên ku ji hêla nivîskaran ve hatine îdealîzekirin. Tîpê şoreşger ê rûs jî yek ji van lehengên îdealîzekirî ye ku di nav kadroya şexsên van romanên de cihekî girîng digire. Ev tîpê şoreşger, di romanên de li hember pergala siyasî ya heyî têdikoşe, ji hêla nivîskar ve wekî pêşengê tevahiya gelên ku dixwazin di nav gel de hişmendiyeke girseyî pêk bînin dihê pêşkêşkirin. Ev tîp; pale, gundî û kesîbên ku di nav têkoşîna ked û sermiyanê de keda wan dihê xwarin karakterîze dikin.

Em dê di vê xebatê de ji xwe re wekî bingeh romana Sehîdê Îbo ya bi navê “Kurdê Rêwî” hilbijêrin, bikevin dû rêça tîpê şoreşger ê rûs û hewl bidin ku di bin sîwana ‘hînweriya lehengên erênî’ de taybetiyên wê yên sereke analîz bikin, xusûsiyetên vê tîpê şoreşger rêz bikin. Me di xebata xwe de heşt taybetiyên sereke yên vê tîpê destnîşankirin. Ev tîp kesekî şoreşger, zana, entelektûel, zarşîrîn, di derbarê ziman û çanda gelên herêma de xwedî agahî, arîkarê kurd û ermenan, pêşbîn, rênîşandêr, propagandîst, teşkîlker, model, bandorker û berhemdar e.

Hat dîtîn ku romana kurdî ya êwra Kavkazê ji hêla lehengan ve jî ketiye bin karîgeriya realîzma sosyalîst, lehengên erênî û nerênî hene, lehengên erênî bi her awayî hatine îdealîzekirin. Yek ji van lehengên erênî jî tîpê şoreşger ê rûs e ku di romana Kurdê Rêwî de bi awayeke berbiçav derdikeve pêşberî me.

5. MICHAEL CHYET
Library of Congress

A Bibliographic Introduction to Kurdology

In this presentation, I will discuss the most important resources, both printed and online, in the fields of Kurdish history and politics, the Kurdish language, Kurdish literature, Kurdish folklore, Kurdish music and dance, Kurdish art, and minorities in Kurdistan (Yezidis, Jews, Syriac Christians, particularly). As the Persian and Kurdish cataloguer at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., I am involved both in procuring and cataloguing these materials. I will provide handouts, giving those who attend a helpful list of bibliographic resources on the Kurds and Kurdistan.

6. MAHSUK YAMAC
Islamic Studies
Zaytuna College

Kurdish Language in the Medrese Curriculum

I will divide my presentation into two parts. In the first part I will illustrate a brief outline of the structure of the contemporary Kurdish traditional madrasa in terms of the curriculum and the rigorous and well-rounded training that is grounded in the classic Arabic language as well as the rational and Islamic sciences. In the second part I am going to attempt to highlight the role of the Kurdish language as a medium of instruction in Islamic education. I will focus on a set of the most important Kurdish textbooks in different sciences that have been situated in the madrasa's curriculum in order to show how they have played an important role in preservation of the Kurdish language and contributed to the Kurdish literature.

7. HEWA S. KHALID

Kurdish Studies

Koya University, Kurdistan, Iraq

The History of Teaching Kurdish as a Second Language

Second language teaching has been a trend in the world for decades. Mainly, it has both economical and linguistical sides. Countries like Britain, the US or Australia receive millions of dollars yearly because of English language teaching. While other languages such as; Spanish, German, Chinese and French are also competing. This would be because the power of the speakers of those languages, and their impacts of international economy, education, industry, tourism...etc. On the other side, there are languages that their speakers are not in power. One of the best examples of such languages is Kurdish. The number of Kurdish speakers as a native is not much less than the native speakers of Italian, Turkish, Persian or French. That is why the Kurds are always called the biggest nation without state. Similar with their political power, in terms of linguistical works, the comparison becomes very unrealistic as well. The first book of Kurdish grammar dates back to the sixteenth century, while the first Kurdish language course for non-Kurdish speakers was in Saint Petersburg in 1916. In the same era, the first Kurdish teaching book published in Istanbul. Basically, the history of teaching Kurdish is an interesting point, however, the current situation of teaching has real problems. Kurdish still have the basic linguistic issues; for example, the dual standardization and alphabet. Those issues have their roots, most of them are under political influence that would not be widely mentioned in this paper. The main questions of this paper are that what was the situation of Kurdish language teaching in history? To answer the question, we need to analyze the works of Kurdish language teaching throughout history. This would give us a knowledge to have deeper understanding of current situation of Kurdish language teaching.

8. RAMAZAN ERGIN

Independent Scholar, Turkey

Di Elîfbayên Qedîm De Dokumentên Bi Kurdî Hatine Nivîsandin [A Collection of Liturgical Texts in Hebrew, Assyrian, Arabic, and Cyrillic Scripts]

Bi gelemperi ezê di vê bernamêde bi elifbayên (alfabeth) cuda dokumentên ku bi Kurdî hatine nivîsandin eze peşkeşkim. Bi taybet elifbayê ku bi kilamê qedîm hatine nivîsandin û bi van elifba zimanê Kurdî çawa hatîne nivîsandin bi dokument û qeyd (deng girtin-video- destnivîs) bînim ziman. Wekî têtê zanîn ol u yeqînî, zimanê kilamê qedim u bi saya pexembereki bi zar û zimanê wan hatîye nivîsandin. Her qevm jiyana xwe yî rojane ji bi wê elifba kar tînin. Lê belê bi zimanên xwe ligor pêvîstîyên demê bi zimanên cuda bi elifba xwe dinivîsin. Di bernama xwede eze behsa olên li cihanê belavbune zimanê ol û mizhefa çava bune zimanê nimêj û teetê. Qevm u nesebên yeqîniya xwe bi wan ola anîne bi zimanê xwe. Jiboy esasê ola xwe li Kurdên hatine ser ola wan hînbikin bi elifba ola xwe Kurdî nivîsandine. Kurdên zirek bi elifaba olê dua u qerînê xwe qewl û qesîdeyan bi zimane xwe nivîsandine. Ez di xwebata u lekolina xwe liser xwe rastiye gihastim dokumenten bi elifbayên qudsê bi giştî Kurdi. Di wan dokumenta bi piranî ên ku bi kurdî nizanin xwendine u din av dokumenten min lekolinê u misyonerên bi pîten latini çend rupelên kewmare ku iro em bikar tinin li gel mine. Di bernamaminde ew dokumentên bi elifbayên quds û cuda hatiyê nivîsandin ligor gramerên nêz û dur ên ku li Mezopotamya şopa wan hene zimanzanyarî (Language-linguistik) û teoloji bête nixandin.

Yeşînîya yexwudayîde bi rezê;

Zimanê Tevrat û Zeburê bi pitên îbrî Kurdî nivîs (Moşê Xerîrî- Benjamîn ben Aqub)

Zimanê Aşurî qewlên Kurdê mesihi destnivîs (Lavîj heft variant -Qahfê Cimcimo- Ya îsayê Nuranî 13 qewlên ditir. Ew bernama min li sempzoyuma Midyate hatîye çapkirin)

Zimanê Êrebî Kurdi nivîs Kurden misliman (Melayê Cizîrî, Ahmedê Xanê, Feqîyê Teyra, Hesênê Batê uwh)

Bi Elifba Surrî Kurdi-Ezdikî (dokumentên orijinal u wergera min bi latînî Mizhefa Reş, Kitêba Cilva, bi tîpên Êrebî kurdî nivîs Qewlê Qewlbeja ên quds)

Bi Elifba Kirîlî- Ermenîkî-gregoryan (Ji 1876 heta 1928 bi kirîlî heft pirtuke hatine çapkirin). Bi Elifba Kirîlî- Bulgarkî.

9. MIDYA KHUDHUR

Comparative Literature

Binghamton University

Collective Memory of Kurds in Diaspora

The term “*Collective Memory*” was first used by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the second half of 19th century. The term primarily refers to the memories and knowledge that is shared among a group of people, basically ethnical groups, and transmitted through one generation to another. Collective memory plays an important rule to structure the identity of a nation in diaspora, especially for a stateless nation like Kurds, whose resistance for their own identity let them undergo a great share of wars and violence. In this

research paper I want to focus on the collective memory that is preserved and developed by Kurds in diaspora, I will rely on Laureen Guyot's *Locked in a Memory Ghetto: A Case of Study of a Kurdish Community in France*, published in 2011, and Vera Eccarius-Kely's article titled *The Imaginary Kurdish Museum*, published by Kurdish Studies website in 2015. Both scholar Guyot and Kely study the rule of Kurdish collective memory in diaspora, they could held an interview with a number of Kurds in diaspora (Germany, France, U.S.) questioning their description of their identity and cultural heritage. Unfortunately the results of the research show how Kurds have lagged behind the studies and the importance of the collective memory as an ethical identity; at the same both scholars did not give attention to the literary and cinematic productive work of Kurds in diaspora, and how that could even create a sense of cohesiveness for Kurds who live in the partitioned Kurdistan. My aim is to highlight the significance of the collective memory for an oppressed nation like Kurds by discussing the efficiency of the work that has been done so far to serve this purpose and highlighting the experience of other nations to create a successful collective memory.

10. JON BULLOCK
Musicology
University of Chicago

Representations of Kurdish Musical Practice in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Travelogues

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of travelers, political officers, and Orientalists produced travelogues, memoirs, or other scholarly works detailing their travels in the Kurdish regions. In this presentation, I highlight the importance of these sorts of historical documents as sources of information on various forms of Kurdish musical practice, focusing in particular on the works of Claudius James Rich (1836), Henry Rawlinson (1839), Major Noel (1920), and Cecil Edmonds (1957). After briefly comparing the types of information on musical practice each of these authors chose to include, I discuss the ways in which contemporary scholars might still use this information, despite its' authors historical inaccuracies and inherent biases. Perhaps most importantly, I argue that these and other similar works continue to provide a historic basis from which to begin documenting the ways in which musical practice in Kurdistan has shifted, consolidated, or been transformed in the nearly two centuries since these works were first published.

11. IBRAHIM BOR
Kurdish Studies
Zahra Institute

The Image of the Turk in Melayê Cizîrî and Ehmedê Xanî

The image of the Kurd in Turkish literature and popular culture is a relatively well-studied trope. In this presentation, conversely, I explore the representation of Turkish identity in the works of two masters of Kurdish literature, whose works are considered central to the formation of Kurdish cultural identity.

12. MEHMET MAHSUM OZALP
Union Theological Seminary
Columbia University

Medrese and Sufism in Turkey's Kurdistan (1923-2002)

Kurdish medreses have played and continue to play a major role in shaping religiosity among the Kurds of Turkey. In this presentation, I attempt to highlight the complex relationship between medreses, Sufism and state repression in Republican-era Turkey. I discuss the spiritual dimension of the power of Kurdish medreses in their resistance against the Kemalist state's laicist ideology between 1923 to 2002.

13. ABDULLAH KIRAN
Department of Political Science and International Relations
Mus Alparslan University, Turkey

Zimanê Kurdî û Têgihnasiyeke Hevpar [The Kurdish Language and Collective Consciousness]

Têgihnasiya hemdem bi şoreşa hunerwerî (sanayî) re lez û pêşveçûneke nedîtî bi dest xist. Şoreşa hunerwerî ya ku di warê berhênerî de pergalek da destpêkirin, ne tenê di qadên jiyana civakî, siyasî û rewşenbîrî de, herweha di warê ziman de jî guherînek bingehîn pêk anî. Cûreyê berhêneriya nû, bikaranîna peyv û têgihên nû pêwîst kir. Gel û milletên ku xwedî dewlet û dezgehên netewî bûn, li gor şert û mercên dema nû zimanên xwe nû kirin û bêyî ku bi derengî bikevin peyvên pêwîst, bi rê û rêgehên cihê li zimanê xwe zêde kirin. Belê gelên bêdewlet û bêdezgeh di vî warî de li paş man û hê bêtir ji siyaseten asîmîlasyonê re bûn armanc. Zimanê Kurdî, heta dema şoreşa hunerwerî jî di warê peyv û têgihan de ji zimanên gelên xwedî dewlet zêde paşve nemabû û Kurdî heta destpêka sedsala nozdehan jî, bi awayekî giştî bersîva hemû pêwîstiyên dida. Bi taybetî Kurmancî, ku ji sedsala 9-10an vir ve zimanekî nivîskî yê medresê bû, ne tenê zimanê Kurdan bû, herweha zimanê hindikaniyên Kurdistanê jî bû. Ermenî, Asûrî û Tirkên ku li ser axa Kurdan dijîn, bi zimanê Kurdî didan û distandin. Hingê zimanê çarşî û bazarê Kurdî bû. Belê piştî belavbûna dewleta Osmanî, li ser axa Kurdan avabûna dewletên hemdem û bi awayê siyasî parvebûna Kurdan, derba herî mezin li zimanê Kurdî xist. Demekê bi şûn de derbendiyên (qedexeyên) li ser ziman kirin ku Kurdî hêdî hêdî ji çarşî û bazarê vekişe sînorên nav malê. Îcar Kurdî pêşî ji çarşî û bazarê rabû, belê niha êdî di nav

maliyan de jî, her ku diçe nayê peyivîn. Li ber asteng û derbendiyên dadî, qelsî û lawaziyeke Kurdî jî, nebûna têginasiyek (termînolojî) hevpar e. Hebûna zaravên cihê rastiyeke zimanê Kurdî ye, belê gava ku Kurd li ser têghnasiyek hevpar li hev bikin, hingê ewê di riya zimanek hevpar û yekbûyî de pêşveçûneke girîng bi dest bixin û zimanê xwe derxin asteke bilind. Bi vê pêşkişiyê emê ji bo Kurdî, li ser pêwistiya têghnasiyeke hevpar rawestin.

14. MARIA VOLPE (John Jay College, CUNY), DILMAN YASIN (Kurdish Professionals Outreach Coordinator), MUCAHIT BILICI (John Jay College, CUNY)

Nashville Kurds: Notes from the Field

Nashville, Tennessee, has the largest concentration of Kurds in the United States. This panel brings together two sociologists who have conducted fieldwork among the Nashville Kurdish community and a community activist who works with the younger generation of Nashville Kurds to promote entrepreneurship and cultural connectedness. The presentation offer an overview of the Kurdish-American experience, with particular attention to intergenerational dynamics, the preservation of culture and language, and the role of religious identity in Kurds' interactions with the larger society.

Hosted by:



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