



Middle East Studies Association

REVIEW  
of  
MIDDLE  
EAST  
STUDIES

VOLUME 56 • NUMBER 1



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

## Editorial Office

**Editor** Heather Ferguson, *Claremont McKenna College*

**Managing Editor** Calista Boyd, *University of Tennessee, Knoxville*

**Student Research Assistant** ErisJames Elliot, *Claremont McKenna College*

## Associate Editors

Farha Ghannam *Swarthmore College*

Jörg Matthias Determann *Virginia Commonwealth University - Qatar*

Anastassia Botchkareva *New York University*

Guy Burak *New York University*

Louise Cainkar *Marquette University*

Bassam Yousif *Indiana State University*

Youssef Ben Ismail *Columbia University*

Lara Deeb *Scripps College*

Nadia Yaqub *University of North Carolina*

Mary Ann Fay *Morgan State University*

Laila Hussein Moustafa *University of Illinois*

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet *University of Pennsylvania*

Shira Robinson *George Washington University*

Terri DeYoung *University of Washington*

Ghenwa Hayek *University of Chicago*

David McDonald *Indiana University*

Kristin Fabbe *Harvard Business School*

Sultan Tepe *University of Illinois at Chicago*

## Executive Board Members

Guy Burak *New York University*

Laila Hussein Moustafa *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

William Ochsenswald *Virginia Tech (Emeritus)*

Submit book review requests to Heather Ferguson, *Review of Middle East Studies*, (romes@cmc.edu). Current and recent issues, tables of contents, notes, research and teaching, resources, and lists of recent conferences and books in Middle East studies are available on the MESA website: [www.mesana.org](http://www.mesana.org).

## Subscription information

The *Review of Middle East Studies* is published twice a year (June and December) by Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA.

All subscribers to the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* also receive access to the *Review of Middle East Studies*.

Annual subscription rates for the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Volume 53, 2021: Institutions print and electronic: US \$882.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico; UK £552.00 elsewhere. Institutions electronic only: US \$727.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico; UK £448.00 elsewhere. Institutions print only: US \$794.00 in the USA, Canada, and Mexico; UK £488.00 elsewhere. Prices include postage and insurance.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller, subscription agent or direct to the publisher: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA; or Cambridge University Press, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, England. Alternatively, orders may be placed online at [journals.cambridge.org/mes](http://journals.cambridge.org/mes).

For single issues of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, please contact: [subscriptions\\_newyork@cambridge.org](mailto:subscriptions_newyork@cambridge.org).

## Advertising

For information on ad sizes, rates, and deadlines for copy, please visit the journal homepage at [journals.cambridge.org/rms](http://journals.cambridge.org/rms) or contact [USAdSales@cambridge.org](mailto:USAdSales@cambridge.org).

**EISSN:** 2329-3225

© 2023, by the Middle East Studies Association. Distributed by Cambridge University Press.

The *Review of Middle East Studies* is a semiannual publication of the Middle East Studies Association. Views expressed in the Review are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the Association.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Policies, request forms and contacts are available at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/rightsAndPermissions>

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from Copyright Clearance Center <http://www.copyright.com>, email: [info@copyright.com](mailto:info@copyright.com).



TABLE OF  
**CONTENTS**

**FROM THE EDITOR**

HEATHER FERGUSON, CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE  
Letter from the Editor 1

**SPECIAL FOCUS: REVISITING LEGACIES OF ANFAL AND  
RECONSIDERING GENOCIDE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY:  
COLLECTIVE MEMORY, VICTIMHOOD, RESILIENCE, AND  
ENDURING TRAUMA**

IBRAHIM SADIQ, SORAN UNIVERSITY, BAHAR BASER, DURHAM UNIVERSITY,  
STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY AND STEPHEN MCLOUGHLIN, COVENTRY  
UNIVERSITY  
Revisiting Legacies of Anfal and Reconsidering Genocide in the  
Middle East Today: Collective Memory, Victimhood, Resilience,  
and Enduring Trauma 4

KAMAL AZIZ KETULY, UNIVERSITY OF DUHOK  
The Deportations and First Anfal of Faily Kurds in Iraq 9

NABAZ SAMAD AHMED, THE UNIVERSITY OF SULAIMANI  
Hannah Arendt, Ba<sup>ʿ</sup>thism, and *Anfal* 16

NAHWI SAEED, CHARMO UNIVERSITY  
The Past Explains the Present: Dealing with Anfal in the  
Kurdistan Region 29

IBRAHIM SADIQ AND MEDIA FATTAH, SORAN UNIVERSITY  
Gender Roles and Feminism: The Experience of Barzani Single  
Mothers 40

HAWRAMAN FARIQ KARIM, UNIVERSITY OF SULAIMANI AND BAHAR BASER, DURHAM UNIVERSITY, STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY	
Collective Memory in Post-Genocide Societies: Rethinking Enduring Trauma and Resilience in Halabja	56
SAID SHAMS, SORAN UNIVERSITY	
Cultural Racism and Ethnic Cleansing: The Islamic Republic of Iran and Minority Rights	73
MOHAMMAD SALIH MUSTAFA, TISHK INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY AND ABDULRAHMAN KARIM DARWESH, SORAN UNIVERSITY	
The Anti-Kurdish Thoughts of ISIS	88
HAWRE AHMED MOHAMMED, MASTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT ERLANGEN UNIVERSITY	
The Last Genocide against the Yazidi People	108

### **CURATOR'S CORNER**

KATARZYNA PUZON, LUDWIG MAXIMILIAN UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH	
“Goodbye Mshatta”: Connections and Disconnections on Berlin’s Museum Island	123
RITA ELIZABETH RISSER, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES UNIVERSITY	
The Arabesque of Script and Metaphor in Islamic Art	128

### **MIDDLE EAST STUDIES IN ACTION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH POSTERS**

VICTORIA HIGHTOWER, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH GEORGIA	
MESA’s Committee for Undergraduate Middle East Studies	141
MARY RUDOLPH, COLORADO COLLEGE	
Birding Beyond Borders: Middle Eastern Birdwatching Deconstructs Border Stereotypes and Builds Identity	142
ERIC WORKMAN, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH	
Russian Propaganda: A Case Study in Turkish Political Cartoons	145

### **BOOK REVIEWS**

HISHAM ALAOU AND ROBERT SPRINGBORG, EDS., <i>The Political Economy of Education in the Arab World</i> (HANY ZAYED)	148
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

RELLI SHECHTER, <i>The Rise of the Egyptian Middle Class: Socio-Economic Mobility and Public Discontent from Nasser to Sadat</i> (NANCY Y. REYNOLDS)	150
CAMELIA SULEIMAN, <i>The Politics of Arabic in Israel: A Sociolinguistic Analysis</i> (NIDA KIALI)	153
WALEED ZIAD, <i>Hidden Caliphate: Sufi Saints beyond the Oxus and Indus</i> (ALI GIBRAN SIDDIQUI)	155