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King, Diane E. Kurdistan on the Global Stage: Kinship, Land, and Community in Iraq. New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2013.

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## King, Diane E. Kurdistan on the Global Stage: Kinship, Land, and Community in Iraq. New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2013.

A 9,000-year-old citadel, a United Nations World Heritage site, and one of the world's oldest human settlements adorns the center of Erbil, the capital city of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region. The citadel and its 9,000-year history informs the Kurdish nationalist project and drives primordial notions of Kurds as a historical people with a definite territorial affinity distinct from the Arabs, Turks and Persians. In 2014, the historic city of Erbil was designated as the "Tourism Capital of the Middle East." The designation related not as much to historicity and natural beauty of the mountains surrounding Erbil but the heralding of the Kurdistan Region as the "new Dubai" of the Middle East. This duality of historicity and modernity informs Diane E. King's anthropological study of Iraqi Kurdistan, an autonomous region according to federal Iraq's 2005 Constitution, prized as the most stable region inside Iraq and referred to as an "island of decency" in an otherwise turbulent, unstable and authoritarian Middle East.

The author, through her study of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, seeks to revive a now outof-fashion tradition in anthropology which invokes lineages and common descent as valid
explanations of a nation's behavior, and its ethical practices and moral codes. In terms of
lineages, the author is interested in patriliny and patrilineage relations that establish and
concretize the domination of men over women. In patrilineal societies such as Kurdistan, identity
is conferred through the "male" head of the family or tribe, while women are denigrated. In the
author's own words, "Much of what this book is concerned with could be called 'primordial'
symbols and social relations, which are now maintained, reformulated and questioned in
globalizing Kurdistan, forming something not local, not global, but glocal" (p. 15).

The "glocalised" Kurdistan Region with its primordial-globalization binary presents an interesting case study with the author asserting that "patriliny remains salient, even though some of its features are undergoing new scrutiny in light of new possibilities fostered by globalization" (p. 67). How does patriliny work and shape people's social connections (p. 74)? In terms of conferring identity, whether sectarian or ethnic, patriliny is the primary causative factor as it is through the male head of the family that identity is passed from generation to generation. Furthermore, the village setting is where patrilineal lineages originate, which drives the imagination of locals; however, the patrilineal memory is characterized by a "floating gap" (p. 95). The dividing line between one patrilineal lineage and another is "when a man who did something memorable is recognized by his patrilineal descendants as their founder" (p. 96).

Patriliny or patrilineal logic is evident in a wide variety of social relations, including sex and marriage, honor killing, female genital mutilation, borders and descent, conferring citizenship of the state or proclaiming an ethnic identity, selective use of Kurdish history, even refuge seeking. In all such matters, it is the men deciding while women are peripheral to such processes. The author does recognize though that women are not completely out of favor in patrilineal systems but can assert and dominate relations in the family. This is one of the few areas where anthropological studies and studies of gender could concentrate. The Islamic veil that *some* women use, for example, gives an impression to the Western audience of an unliberated, denigrated woman in the Islamic world. However, the same veiled woman paradoxically commands power in her domestic household in controlling the financial purse and

regulating her husband's income as well as making decisions relative to marriages of their offspring. Furthermore, patrilinealism as a social force not only denigrates women but also converts
them to the patrilineal logic where a man's world and identity is celebrated, protected and
transmitted on to future generations. The author mentions an episode of how refugees practice
patriliny in their new social settings in the United States by way of a personal account of a
custody battle over a girl from a Kurdish father and Hispanic mother on the West Coast. In the
example, the author invokes the "patriliny" argument that the girl was seen as completely
Kurdish by the family but ignores the fact that the individual agency invoking the argument to
the author was that of a woman: the grandmother!

The author's description of Kurdish society is completely first-class. The social mores, daily practices and beliefs on social issues and relations as well as the political intrigues, conspiracies and distrust that mar Kurdistan's politics is highlighted most aptly. In addition, modern transformations including how village life is being destroyed as a consequence of rural-urban migration is one of the key, fundamental challenges lying at the heart of Kurdish society. Not only is the rural-urban migration engendering new social values (women driving cars, working in offices, etc.) and transforming patriliny but it is also having a most dire impact on Kurdistan's economic viability as an agricultural economy and food producer. The emptying of villages and dependence on foreign imported goods and food items is having a dire consequence on the Kurdistan Region's frail financial situation in an environment of falling oil prices and the need to expend more resources in the war against ISIS.

The author's fieldwork has taken place mainly in the cities of Duhok and Zakho which are the northern part of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region (alongside Erbil) and are closer geographically as well as in terms of its political affiliation to Turkey as opposed to Slemani and Halabja, which are closer to Iran. Is this a problem in terms of analyzing the Kurdistan Region and patrilineal lineages and descent? In other words, are patrilineal lineages uniformly spread throughout the Iraqi Kurdistan Region or are they more feverishly practiced in Duhok and Erbil as opposed to Slemani? Slemani with its educated, middle class strata is the modern, developed part of Kurdistan which boasts an educated middle class including the intelligentsia. The Kurds of Slemani are considered by Kurds of Erbil and Duhok as closed and less receptive compared to the more traditional former who are welcoming and have an open heart. The author asserts that patrilineal lineages are equally relevant in urban settings, but the specificity of field research in Zakho and Duhok prevents an investigation whether the same phenomenon exists in Slemani, for example. Second, while patrilineal lineages might be a primordial characteristic, they do not endow social solidarity or socio-political cohesion within the Kurdish nation. A famous Kurdish saying goes "Kurds have no friends but the mountains," but in many ways, the Kurds are also their own worst enemies. The civil war of the 1990s between the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the recent conflict over the issue of extension of President Masoud Barzani's term in office, and the emergence of a third political party called Gorran means that primordial patrilineal lineages are contested and this contestation in contemporary times relates to the issue of sharing power and privileges in the context of the modern state. Third, the primordiality of patrilineal lineages and descent itself is open to contention as Walker Connor reminds us that it is not active, real kinship or blood ties but a subjective *self-belief* on the part of the practitioners that is the key element in analysis.

The present book is a highly interesting piece of literature on the political, sociological and economic currents of the Kurdistan Region and is strongly recommended for all researchers and students interested in the subject. Through her field trips, the author has done exceedingly well in presenting a very rich, deep and thick account of the Kurdish society of Iraq which deserves appreciation for its theoretical, methodological and analytic rigor and precision.

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