CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN COMMUNAL PASTORAL LANDS:
A CASE STUDY IN MILAN IN NORTH-WEST REGION OF IRAN

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ABSTRACT

CONFLICT DYNAMICS IN COMMUNAL PASTORAL LANDS:
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Sociologically, conflict is "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources". Land, as a most valuable asset and a source of wealth and power, a basis for livelihood, a subject for geopolitical purposes, a matter of territorial importance, and a substance for cultural identity, is introduced as a subject of conflict in communal pastoral lands of Milan's nomadic tribe in North-west part of Iran. Three actors are recognized in the field that have conflict over the lands; State, nomads, and peasants. The main objectives of research is to understand the historical transition of property rights on pastoral lands, the source and dynamics of social conflict among the actors, and social consequences of conflict in the society. In order to pursue this objective, theories of conflict including of Coser (1956), Dahrendorf (1959), and Glukman (1955) and for legitimation –in relation to State's role, -theories of Beetham (1991) and Habermas (1976) are adopted. Applying Qualitative method, deep semi-structured interviews are conducted and followings are resulted; there is a chaos in pastoral lands property rights. State as the sole power in control and management of pastures has no legitimacy among the two other actors. Conflicts are around economic, historical, political incentives, but differentiated meaning systems also is the source of conflict and inconsistencies among the actors. Conflict with other actors have no cohesive consequence in the nomadic tribe of Milan but has led to a condition of severe irresponsibility against the nature (pasture) and community as well.

Keywords: Milan Tribe, Land Property Rights, Sources of Conflict, Conflict Dynamics

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL PASTORAL TOPRAKLARDA CATISMA DINAMIKLERI: IRAN'IN KUZEY BATI BOLGESINDE MILAN'DA BIR VAKA CALISMASI

HOSEINPOUR, BAGHER

Doktora, Sosyoloji Bolumu

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Sosyolojik açıdan, çatışma, kit durum, güç ve kaynaklar için yapılan iddialar ve değerler üzerine verilen mücadeledir. Dünya üzerinde bulunan en kıymetli varlık olarak; zenginlik ve servet göstergesi, geçim kaynağı, geçim yolu, jeopolitik amaçlar için önemli bir nesne ve kültürel kimlik için bir kaynak olan toprak, İran'ın Kuzeybatı kısmında bulunan Milano'daki göçebe kabilesine ait toplumsal pastoral topraklarda çatışma konusu haline getirilmektedir. Alanda, toprak konusunda ihtilafa düşmüş olan üç aktör muteber olmuştur; Devlet, göçebeler ve köylüler. Araştırmanın temel hedefleri, mülkiyet haklarının tarihsel geçişleri, aktörler arasında toplumsal çatışmanın kaynakları ve dinamikleri ve toplumdaki çatışmanın toplumsal sonuçları etrafında yoğunlaşmıştır. Çatışma analizi ile ilgili olarak Coser (1956), Dahrendorf (1959) ve Glükman (1955) ve Devlet meşrulaştırması ile ilgili olarak da Beetham (1991) ve Habermas'ın (1976) çatışma teorileri benimsenmiştir. Nitel yöntem uygulayarak, yarı yapılandırılmış detaylı görüşmeler sonucunda aşağıdaki sonuçlar elde edilmiştir; Pastoral\kırsal toprak hakları konusunda tam bir kaos hakim. Meraların kontrol ve yönetiminde tek güç olarak, devlet diğer iki aktör arasında meşruiyet taşımamaktadır. Çatışmalar ekonomik, tarihi ve siyasi teşviklerden kaynaklanmıştır, ancak farklılaşmış anlam sistemleri de aktörler arasındaki uyuşmazlık ve tutarsızlıkların kaynağıdır. Diğer aktörlerle olan çatışma, Milano'daki göçebe kabilede tutturgan bir sonuca sahip değildir, ancak aynı zamanda da tabiata (mera) ve de topluma karşı ciddi bir sorumsuzluk durumu doğurmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milan Kabilesi, Toprak Mülkiyet Hakları, Çatışmanın Kaynakları, Çatışmanın Dinamikleri

This thesis work is dedicated to my wife, Maryam, and my honeis; Parya and Darya
who have been a constant source of support and encouragement
during the challenges of graduate.

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ELTR	Evolutionary Theory of Land Rights
HEP	Human Exemptionalism Paradigm
PMP	Pasture Management Plan
NEP	New Ecological Paradigm
NAO	Nomadic Affairs Organization
NRO	Natural Resources Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Iran with its unique geography is most suitable for migratory Nomadic form of subsistence, and has been a country of nomads throughout its history. Power and political influence of nomadic tribes in Iranian political arena was so great that from the 11th to 19th centuries, "with the exception of *Safavids* (1501-1722) who themselves were not nomadic but whose access to power was aided by nomadic tribes, all dynasties [eleven out of total twelve dynasties] had nomadic tribal origins" (Moghadam 1996, 20). Even "several of Iran's royal houses, including the *Saljuqid*, *IL-Khan*, *Timurid*, *Safavid*, *Zand*, and *Qajar*, were carried to the throne by tribal power" (Issawi 1971, 4).

Central governments, were not happy at all about sharing their power with tribal authorities, however, contemporary states were not powerful enough to control and restrict their influence on socio-political context of Iran until the reign of Reza Shah (1925-1941). He was the first in Iran's history whose first priority was to weaken the large tribal power of the confederations. For establishment of a highly centralized power and making of a modern Iran, it was crucial for him to diminish those local powers so, he began to destruct political structure of tribal confederations.

"For the newly empowered Iranian nationalists [also], the suppression of the tribes was an indispensable element of their larger project: the construction of a modern, centralized state, with a culturally homogeneous population" (Cronin 2007, 16). Therefore, Reza Shah's perspective and successes against tribal opposition was welcomed by nationalist elite and celebrated and "interpreted as confirmation of their views of tribal power as hostile to modernity, archaic, and outmoded, and of Reza Shah as the deliverer of Iran's national salvation" (Cronin 2007, 2).

One of the most prominent of tribal leaders in late 19th and early 20th centuries was *Eghbal-ol-Saltaneh Makuei* who was famous as *Sardar-e Maku* (1863-1923). He was the governor of the North-West region of Iran. And Milan as one of the Kurdish tribes whose origins located in Turkey, was under the ruling of *Sardar* at the time. Sardar whose wealth and power was so remarkable, poisoned by Reza Shah in Tabriz in 1923. After Sardar, his lands divided among his sub-leaders from Milan and other tribes, each one established his own district and autonomy.

Milan tribe in Iranian part1, had about 10-12 clans called '*Teyfe*'. Each Teyfe captured some large pieces from Sardar's lands and the ownership of lands then, shifted to sub-leaders (heads of clans) than of individual nomads until the Land Reforms of 1960s that all pastoral lands titled as national heritages. After nationalization of lands, some individual nomads got right to utilize the pastures for grazing their animals, but still heads of clans had more portions from the lands, because the basic criterion for distribution of pastures was the number of animals one had at the time. Since, leaders had more animals so, they received more lands and consequently, more power through the nationalization of land reform Program.

Afterwards, in 1979, revolutionary state captured the pastures of *Arbabs* (Chiefs of tribes) at all, demolished the Arbabian[2] system entirely, and leased the lands to individual nomads. Arbabs lost their pastures through the revolution and small stakeholders got official permissions to utilize them. On the other side, peasants (especially in the Chaldiran region that is the site of Milan's Summery pastures) also grabbed at the pastures in the absence of Arbabs, but peasants had no grazing licenses

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[1] Origin and the most part of Milan tribe was in Turkey, but there was some clans of the tribe in north-west part of Iran. These clans were quite independent from each other and each one had its own leader but as Sardar was the governor of the region, they were under his rulership.

[2] A unique form of Landlordism observed in Iran's history which is differed from that of western form. In Iran's Arbabian system a person called Arbab had lots of villages and huge size of lands and animals. Landless peasants or nomads were working in his lands or grazing his animals in exchange to receive of a portion from product. They had nothing except of their working forces. These poor people were called Raeiat.

and therefore no official permission to utilize the pastures and this caused many problems between Milanian nomads and peasants in the field

In Arbabian era, Arbab was an unchallenged authority in relation to pastoral lands and the only source of legislative, executive, and juridical powers. In the case of any deviance Arbab was the sole person who decided about the issue. Therefore, management of pastoral lands was so concentrated and integrated system, but after the Islamic revolution, state replaced itself instead of previous Arbabs, tried to manage pastoral lands and to control the people (nomads and peasants) who were utilizing the pastures. Therefore, a complex form of interaction appeared among the actors. Because in previous system, lands had specific owners (the Arbabs), but after decaying of Arbabian system, the ownership of pastoral lands titled as national but utilization of those lands demonstrated a situation of ambiguity.

According to official administrative, so many tensions occurred between Milanians and peasants around the pastoral lands during the recent decades. Apparently, existence of tensions among the actors of pastoral lands has pushed the region into a condition of severe problems; number of complaints in the courts has reached to very high levels, none of the sides (nomads or peasants) participate in the projects that state introduced in the field. All engaged sides (state, nomads, and peasants) dissatisfied with the current situations and accuse the other sides for the issue. Degradation of pastures increased to incredible rates[3], and economic livelihood of nomads grown worse.Sociologically, existence of conflict is an indication of differentiated interests and may bring out both positive and negative results. While conflicts are the main source and impellent of social changes so, for a system to be sustainable it is important to control

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[3] Degradation in the Chaldiran region is too severe. According to local administrative, 170,000 hectares of pastures are the host of huge sizes of herds (more than 400,000 animals and 28,000 nomads) from neighboring cities and has caused to loss of vegetation of pastures and due to this, some reports have received from landslides. Because the lack of vegetation, flood appears in every raining and destroys the farms in plains (Mehrnews n.d.). Degradation of pastures is a crucial issue in the whole country. According to official reports, Iran has the first rank in soil erosion in the world, the second in desertification, and the sixth in deforestation. It has lost 90 percent of its bio-diversity and 70 percent of its forests during the last 40 years. According to estimates, Iran loses two-five billion squares of its soil annually and sinks down by two millimeters per year because of the soil erosion (Borbor n.d.).

and manage conflicts for resolving or reducing their unwanted outcomes and to lead to the future changes. Hence, it was important for us to understand the conflicts in the region and to examine the sources of discontent or animosity among the actors, to identify the phases of evolving relationships between adversaries, and to study the very nature, causes, and dynamics of the conflicts. This work studies Milan as one of the most notable nomadic tribes of the West-Azerbaijan of Iran who have migrated between summery and wintery pastures for long times. However, the main objectives in studying Milan are organized around the following initiating questions:

- What are the historical transitions and current situation of land property rights in the field of study?
- What are the sources and dynamics of social conflict (political, economic, social, Emotional, and differentiated meaning systems) among the main actors of pastoral lands?
- How intense is the conflict, what is its direction, and what consequences does it have in the society?

For probing the above mentioned questions, we will take a political position in social anthropology and consider the two major branch of theories: Conflict theories and Legitimation theories. Reviewing the main theories of conflict and legitimation, we will lean on Dahrendorf's (1959) and Coser's (1956) theories in sociology, Glukman's (1955) theory of conflict in anthropology, and Beetham's (1991) legitimation theory and Habermass's theory of Legitimation Crisis.

For Dahrendorf authority has attached to positions. Higher positions are expected to control the lowers. Their domination is more likely because of the expectations of the subordinates are attached to the positions too. For him, interests are also attached to positions. The positions that are linked to more strategic interests are dominant and always seek to maintain the status quo while those who are in subordinate positions seek the change and here we confront with a condition of conflict among two interest groups.

Conflict for Coser and Gluckman has too many negative and positive functions. Conflict can occur inside a group or among the groups. Internal conflict "serves to release pent-

up hostilities, create norms regulating conflict, and develop clear lines of authority and jurisdiction (especially around the issues that conflict develops)" (Allan 2007, 213) and among the groups conflicts in one set of relationships over a wider range of society or through a longer period of time, leads to the reestablishment of social cohesion (Gluckman 1955, 2).

For Beetham, the key to understanding the Legitimacy of a power relationship lies in three dimensions;

- The extent that power conforms to established rules.
- The extent that rules can be justified by reference to beliefs shared by both dominant and subordinate, and
- The extent there is evidence of consent by the subordinate to the particular power relation (Beetham 1991, 16).

Habermas in his theory of legitimation crisis, tries to find out if there are fundamental crisis in Modern Liberal democratic welfare states or not. He believes that legitimacy deficit is the most significant threat to the welfare states. States in contemporary capitalist countries are undergoing a crisis of legitimacy according to Habermas. They may lose loyalty of their people and be deprived from their support. In his argument, four possible crises may emerge in capitalist systems due to functional disturbances in any of economic, politico-administrative, and socio-cultural sub-systems. In this study although the argument is not about the welfare state in general, to understand the crisis in Iranian State's legitimacy with respect to transition of property rights on pastoral lands, we decided to employ Habermas's concept of legitimacy.

Considering the mixed theoretical framework that is employed, and in order to explain dynamics of conflict in communally held pastoral lands of Milan tribe, some propositions are analyzed regarding; (a) Transitional phases of property rights in pastoral lands through the history of contemporary Iran. (b) Sources of conflict. (c) Legitimation of State among indigenous stakeholders (nomads and peasants) and, (d) Consequences of conflict in society and particularly on social cohesion of the tribe. The method which is

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employed for examining the propositions is qualitative research with semi-structured in-depth interviews.

This thesis is organized in 10 chapters (including the introduction); chapter two, tries to show the reader very important details around Iran's geo-political background in relation to pastoral lands. The events that are discussed in this chapter have significant imprints on the current problematic situation of conflict around the communally held pastures and help us to understand the issue more effectively. In chapter three theoretical framework is discussed. This chapter states some introductory topics around the notion of conflict and the relevant concepts in order to enter into the theoretical debates. The chapter continues with theories around the concepts of land property rights, legitimation, and social conflict. In chapter four, methodological considerations of research are defined. The topics such as reviewing of previous researches in Iran and the world to find out the existing state of the subject, plan of research, method and tools, sampling are discussed.

Next five chapters are containing the results of our inquiry: in chapter five the case of Milan is introduced. Chapter six, discusses the concept of chaos. It tries to show that in case of Milan, transitional paths are different with that of a Western pattern. In our case the path has ended in chaos rather than bringing private ownership as in the case of the West. Chapter seven, has developed in detail around the sources of conflict among the main actors: State, Nomads, and Peasants. Chapter eight, tries to display the legitimacy of the State as the sole regulatory power in pastoral lands. Chapter nine, discusses the concept of social cohesion and its relation to conflict. It is assumed in the literature that conflict with outer groups may enhance inner cohesion of the nomadic groups. However this chapter argues that this is not always valid as in the case of Milan. And finally, chapter eleven is about the major conclusions of the thesis research.

CHAPTER 2

GEO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Land issue in Iran as well as other countries has historically been linked to its agrarian context, but with its own specificities. As we will see, Iran's topological and ecological characteristics have had unique impressions on its historical experiences and socio-political construction along its history.

Inadequacy of agricultural lands, prevented formation of an efficient peasantry system leading to centralized powerful governments and capitalistic form of production rather, abundance of rangelands produced a condition most suitable for generating a huge and yet, unique kind of nomadism. In Iranian historical context, the one who had domination over land resources could exercise his own will over the others too. Therefore, an eternal conflict has been existed among the nomads and States over control of land resources.

Nomadism or tribalism itself is out of the scope of our study, but while communal land issues in Iranian context has intensively knitted to its nomadic-tribal community, then any study which ignored nomadic-tribal dimension would be imperfect. Henceforth, our attempt at this section is to organize discussions around; (1) Geography of Iran and its imprints in formation of nomadism. (2) Introducing the Iranian nomadism and its characteristics (3) discussing the State-tribe/nomad relationship as two opposite powers. (4) Formation of nation-State and weakening of confederacies through detribalization policies and land reforms of 1960s, and (5) continuing the land-oriented issues after Islamic Revolution of 1979

2.1. Geography: Vital Importance of Pastoral Lands in Iran

Iran with a total area of 1,648,195 km^2 located in an arid and semi-arid zone of the earth. In its southern half subtropical and in northern part the temperate climate with a huge desert area at the middle is the main geological feature of Iran (Badripour 2006).

Amount of rainfall is radically different between the northern and the southern half, so that its range varies from less than 50mm in hyper-arid areas up to 2000mm per annual in Caspian Sea's costal region. The area indexed by white color in the figure (1) matches with two prominent mountainous chains; the one from north-west extended towards the east called *Alborz* chains and the other has extended in the north-west and west parts called *Zagros* chains (see figure 2). These areas are totally mountainous lands with lots of high hills. Plain lands which are suitable for agricultural purposes are really scarce goods in Iran's territory. As Badripour States, of total land area, 54.6%[4] are range lands [located in mountainous regions], 7.5% are forests, 20.6% desert, and the rest (17.3%) have capacity for cultivation (Badripour 2006).
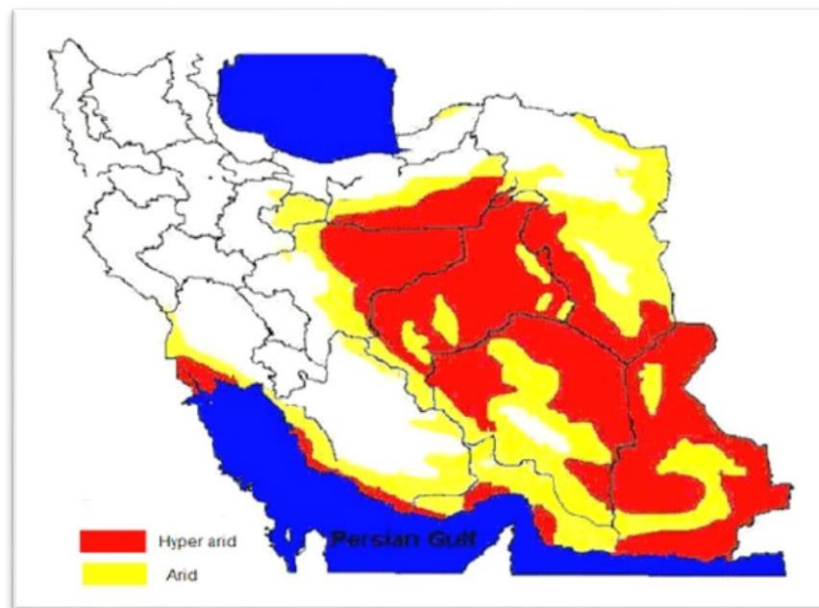
Figure 1. Iran's aridity map

(Badripour 2006)

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[4] According to estimations 47 percent of earth's land surface is rangeland, about 80 percent of which is at least moderately degraded (Childs, et al. 1990, 1).
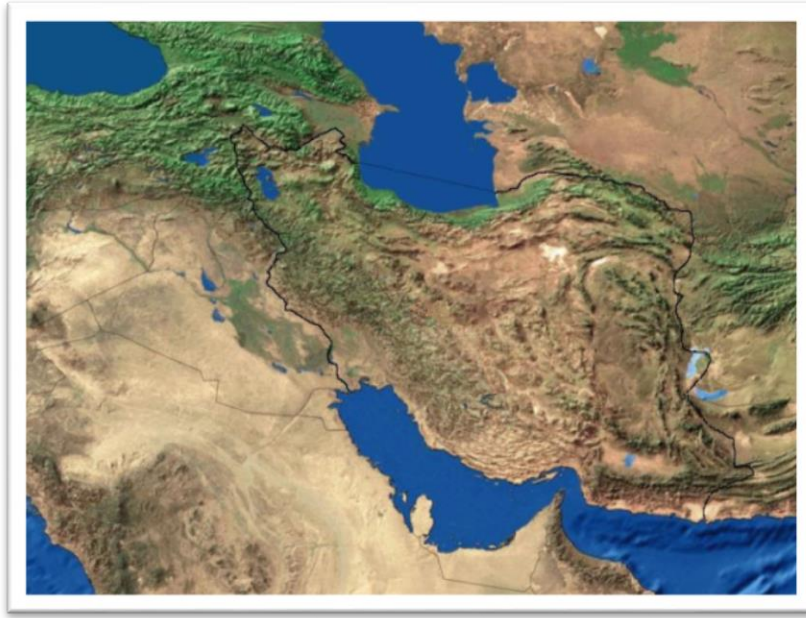
Figure 2. Iran's topological map

(Badripour 2006)

The geography of a country molds its history and society, and in Iran the influence of the geographical factors has been strong. There is first of all, the huge size of the land; even within its present reduced frontiers Iran covers 1,645,000 square kilometers (628,000 square miles), an area larger than that of Italy, France, Switzerland, Western Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Denmark, Great Britain, and Ireland in combined. Second, there is its mountainous nature; … mountain chains with many high peaks...

The imprint of these forces on Iran's economic, social, and political structure has been clear. The huge size of the territory and its ruggedness have prevented the emergence of a high degree of centralization and the political and economic fabric of Iran has generally been more loosely knit than that of, say, Egypt, Iraq, or even Turkey. The absence of large, smooth-flowing rivers has also worked in this direction. On the one hand, Iran has lacked the splendid means of internal communications provided by the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, Indus, and Ganges. And on the other, the scarcity of large-scale irrigation has greatly reduced the force of one of the main factors making for centralization in the neighboring lands and producing what Wittfogel calls 'hydraulic societies' with strong governments, large standing armies, and vast and complex bureaucracies… Aridity of the climate makes agriculture impossible over most of the country… it also created a huge breeding ground for nomadism, since there are vast areas where livestock raising constitutes the most economical –or even the only possible –use of the soil (Issawi 1971, 1-2).

And this is the most reason for establishment of unique and yet great nomadic confederations in Iranian society (Keddie 2006, 2, Tapper 2011, 8).

2.2. Development of Tribal Nomadism

'Nomadism' as a way of life in arid and semi-arid zones is an adaptive strategy of human with his natural environment. It is connected with permanent and more or less regular migrations of people between different locations, but with definite routes and destinations. In general and loose usage, three forms of nomadism can be distinguished: nomadic hunters and gatherers, pastoral nomads, and non-sedentary people whose economic activities focus on tinkering and trading. Sometimes gypsies may be considered as nomads too. In some case refugees or fishing communities are also subjects of nomadic people (Carr-Hill, et al. 2005).

In the narrow meaning (as in anthropological and sociological texts), nomad has its specific definition entirely corresponded to pasture. As Frederik Barth argued, utilization of pastoral lands may results several forms of pastoral adaption: sedentary form of residence, or transhumance, or long-term nomadism. Sedentary residence is possible when a community has sufficient resources of fodder for collect and store to maintain the animals through the period when no pastures are available. In the time pastures are available, of course they take the herds into pastures around the village.

'Transhumance' as the other form permits people and herds normally resident in one type of ecologic area. As they cannot store any sufficient fodder for the time of shortage, thus, the herds invade in adjacent area temporarily during its period of productivity. At this form, seasonal pastures can be utilized, while the herds are withdrawn and return to their home areas when the season is ended.

Effective utilization of the pasture resources … therefore always depended on the third type of pastoral adaptation: that of long-range nomadism. This pattern involves seasonal migrations of the whole human and animal population over long distances in an alternation between the two main types of seasonal pastures: mountain pastures in the summer, and lowland pastures in the winter and early spring. The complimentary of these two kinds of pastures is thus the determining factor in this kind of nomadism; on the journey between the two extremes, the herds find pasture by following the advancing spring into areas of higher and higher altitudes, while on the return journey in the autumn they depend mainly on the stubble of the harvested fields. The distances covered in the course of such a yearly cycle may vary from 100 to 1000 miles and the migrations involve

numerous moves and relatively short marches, implying continuous or predominant tent-dwelling for the nomads (Barth 1960).

Garthwaite states that sedentary agriculturalists were able to adapt to their environment by ploughing the lands, bringing water into the farms, sowing and weeding and everything needed for cultivation, but pastoralists maintained a symbiotic relationship with environment. Nomads did nothing or little to change or improve their environment. Instead, they made changes in themselves; if pastures were poor they move to other pastures, if flocks were thirsty, they guided them towards the water resources, if weather was warm they take the flocks to temperate highland areas (Garthwaite 2009, 26).

Our information about the origins of Nomadism in Iran as a kind of subsistence comes from archeological and ethnographical investigations. According to discoveries, in Iran, Central Zagros Mountains are the first area in which nomadism has been appeared. Gilbert argues that "despite much progress in understanding the development of Zagros pastoralism, impressive gaps remains in our knowledge of its organizations, degree of autonomy, subsistence activities, and economic relations with cultivating groups" (Gilbert 1983). What we know is general information about the early form of pastoralism in the West Central Zagros Mountains; transformation of a village-based herding system in the Neolithic period into a full-fledged nomadic pastoralism by the Late Chalcolithic period is obvious. Division of labor may be the main reason behind the development of nomadism in Iran. Accordingly, the initial development of pastoralism in the Central Zagros Mountains was an adaptive strategy to a highland environment with limited and dispersed resources in order to supplement a primarily agricultural village-based economy but, with expansion of the agricultural regime, the distance to be traveled to pastures by herders became greater, and as a consequence, the organization of labor involved in herding had to be modified to meet the more complex task of moving sizable herds over larger areas (Abdi 2003).

There is, as it stated, very scarce written evidence that documents nomadism since the Safavid period in which massive translocation and resettlement of tribes has been documented (Perry 1975, Tapper 1979) Most reliable resources are almost available from the mid-19th century onward, when travelers, anthropologists and especially political

agents from Western countries came to Iran and recorded data from pastoral nomadic life (Iranica n.d.).

Anyhow, in 19th century, the overall situation of country was characterized by widespread tribal nomadic groups with military and political power and large territories which by no means under the control of State rulers as central governments (Iranica n.d.).

Before debating the State-tribe/nomad power relationships, it would be useful to make some clarifications about the concepts of 'Tribe', 'Nomadic Tribe' and 'Confederation'. Generally in Middle East and especially in Iran the concept of 'Tribe' differs from that of other countries. The word 'Tribe' itself is one of the controversially used concepts on which there is no interdisciplinary common understanding. In so many cases tribe is considered equal to 'Primitive' community. Most of the people in pre-colonial were tribe in the sense of primitive societies in this perspective.

Pritchard defines the tribe as a largest community which settles the disputes among its members down inside the community. They can be combining against other communities of the same kind and against foreigners. In a tribe there is a sense of unity and legal norms that are acknowledged within the members. "A tribe is divided into territorial segments which regard themselves as separate communities. We refer to the divisions of a tribe as primary, secondary, and tertiary tribal sections... a tertiary section is divided into villages and villages into domestic groups" (Evans-Pritchard 1940, 278-281).

Tapper believes that these larger groups to which Pritchard referred to are 'confederacies' and locates 'tribes' at a lower level of political structure. 'Tribes' commonly (but still by no means always) combine territorial and political unity under a chief with an ideology of common descent (Tapper 1997, 7).

> A tribe [for Hay and Rondot] is a community or a federation of communities which exists for the protection of its members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and standards of life. Some tribes have no organized chieftains, some have many. The large tribes are divided into sections…. According to Rondot the tribe is a small world, inward-looking; an organism of defense; a traditional and conservative institution; a community which, with regard to groups that do not have the same character, has feeling of its superiority. A chieftain, he continues, acquires authority by his deeds only, for in the essentially

defensive institution that the tribe is, the principal activity is warfare (Bruinessen 1992, 63-4).

Bruinessen criticizes Hay and Rondot for ignoring the role of kinship in the concept of tribe. He believes that Hay and Rondot saw a tribe just as a political organization (Bruinessen 1992, 64).

'Nomads' (all three forms) are essentially economic presences and are not tribes but as Tapper stated, they can constitute a tribe by developing a unity consisted of different groups of nomads or none-nomads.

In a scale larger than tribe, we have confederations. They are not as much integrated as tribes. Their boundaries –in sense of identity and territory –also are not as clear as tribes. But, political color in confederacies is more prevail than tribes.

'Confederacies', as groups of tribes are more politicized because they "united primarily in relation to the State or extra-local forces, from coalitions or clusters of tribes, more ephemeral unions for the pursuit of specific local rivalries, perhaps within a confederacy and probably without central leadership" (Tapper 2011, 9).

Lois Beck in a same word believes that,

> Nomadic pastoralists… organized themselves as members of tribes and the confederacy for the defense of natural, economic, and social resources; the expansion of territory and power; and the right of migratory passage. In this organization, they followed existing patterns and improvised as circumstances changed (Beck 1991, 7).

Garthwaite links the formation of confederacies to the intensity of a danger threatening them and says;

> In tribal areas not under the control of an organized State, or when no State structure exists, confederations form only in response to an external stimulus –typically, a need for common defense or an opportunity for expansion or conquest. The confederation's strength is proportional to the strength of the stimulus, and the confederation does not long outlast the existence of the stimulus… In tribal areas under the control of an organized State –the imposed control of a bureaucracy and army with a supporting ideology –the State itself is the 'external' stimulus. Tribes form confederations to defend and expand interests vis-a-vis the State (Garthwaite 2009, 315).

Therefore, pastoral nomads in Iran by controlling the pastoral land resources attained economic wealth and power. Obviously, defend of pastoral lands as the source of economic wealth required a kind of political power; unification –in the form of nomadic tribes –then, was the best strategy through which they could protect themselves and their properties by their own capabilities rather than leaning on State or other powers.

The largest nomadic tribes that are still pursuing their subsistence consist of Kurds (*Jalali, Milan* and …), Lurs (*Bakhtiari, Mamasani,* and …), Turks (*Qashqa'is, Shahsevans, Afshars,* and *Turkmans*), Arab (*Khamsey*), and Baluch. Their distribution across the country is shown in the figure below;
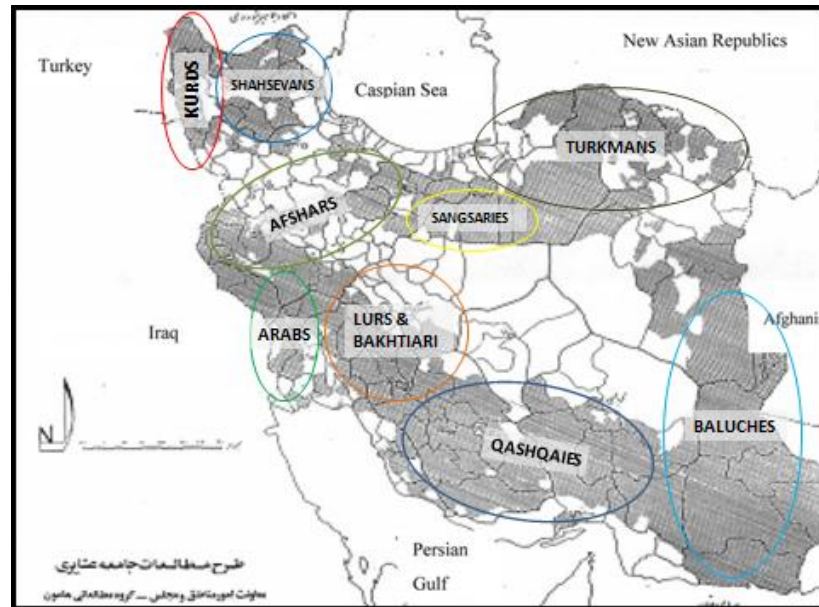
Figure 3. Distribution of the largest nomadic tribes in Iran
(Manjusha 2009)

2.3. Modernization and State-Tribe Disputes

As discussed earlier, Iran's ecology led to establishment of nomadism in its most parts with that of economic, political and territorial power and autonomy. Their dominancy in Iranian political sphere was clear at least since the 11th century up to the first decades of

the century and this, created a pre-modern situation in which effective central government was difficult and rarely attained (Keddie 2006, 318). Tribes in Iranian context, "have never, in historical times, been isolated groups of 'primitives', remote from contact with States or their agents, but rather tribes and States have created and maintained each other as a single system, though one of inherent instability (Tapper 2011,4).

Nomadic tribes were alternative to States. States had developed division of labour and full-time warriors and officials, but tribes emerged as a reaction to their natural and political environment. Gellner argues that;

> Pastoral and rural self-administration, partial or complete, with many nuances and intermediate forms and oscillations, but presupposing an economic and cultural interdependence with non-tribal units, notably towns, and often brought into being as a reaction to non-tribal political forces, notably the State (Gellner 2011, 445).

Governments' control over tribal groups was too weak especially in frontier areas. Distance from capital for most tribal groups was an advantage through which they could protect their autonomy and power and keep themselves far from the States' interferences. "In most tribal areas, the period from the 1860s to the 1920s was one of 'anarchy', known as *Khankhani* or *Ashrarlikh*" (Tapper 2011, 26). Only central parts of the country were efficiently ruling by governments. Governments were unable in truly collect of taxes and revenues from tribal groups especially in frontiers. Trade paths were mostly threatening by brigands or tribesmen. Peasants in so many parts were forced to leave their lands or give some portion of their crops to tribes.

Nomadic tribes in sense of size shaped considerable number of Iran's population so that they could easily impose pressure over States if could unified themselves. "On the basis of several estimates… [Total] population [of Iran] seems definitely to have increased from perhaps 5 or 6 million in 1800 to about 10 million by 1914… [but the] proportion of nomads fell from perhaps a half to about a quarter of the total population" (Issawi 1971, 20). Later on, in the late 1960s the nomads were estimated to comprise 10-15 percent of the country's total population, that was about 2-4 million people (Fazel 1973, 141).

From the political-demographic point of view, and considering the importance of soldier item for an army in ancient or even modern era and its role in strengthening a government, it was so hard for Iranian States to recruitment from tribal communities. States usually were unable to employ their huge potentials in favor of national interests unless they themselves feel the necessity of unification and movement –with State alliance or not –against hazardous situations.

States' interests in tribal nomadic areas in spite of political and demographical dimensions were partly by their desire to economic surplus generated in rangelands. Those fertile lands and their resources were not accessible for central States in general. So many studies have referred to high economic potentials of nomadic areas. Lois Beck for instance, points out to ecological settings that contributed to socio-economic stratification and the emergence and maintenance of a wealthy ruling class in Qashqai tribe (Beck 1991, 292). Or in the case of Sheikh Khaz-al (governor of Mohammareh and head of Mohaisen tribe in southwestern Iran) who, during the 1910s by discovering of oil, began to trade of oil with Britain (Papoli Yazdi 2013) without informing the central State of the time.

Development of markets and institutions of government in nineteenth and twentieth centuries were accompanied by general tendency for tribal networks and nomadism to disintegrate.

> Changes in the traditional Iranian system and the structure of the State began with Reza Shah [1925-41] and were continued by Muhammad Reza Shah [1941-79]. These included a centralization of power and authority, the emergence of the nation-State, and an expanded role for the State, calling for economic and social progress... The new nation-State [Reza Shah] of Iran need not share authority and power; it had its own army and bureaucracy, and enforced policies that integrated Iranians into the national economy and promoted an Iranian identity through education and new national symbols (Garthwaite 2009, 326).

Reza Shah tried to eradicate the tribal problem. In his attempt to bring central control and modernization, he found tribal autonomy, militancy, and backwardness an anachronism and pursued a policy of detribalization. Nomadism was considered the main contributor to tribal militancy. From about 1903, de-nomadization and forced sedentarization became an important policy. A network of gendarmerie posts in rural

areas was established to prevent seasonal migration. The nomads were ordered to settle either on land that was considered to belong to their tribes, or any other given land (Black-Michaud 1982, 84-5).

During 1921-5, when Reza Shah was minister of war, a series of campaigns he managed to defeat and largely disarm the major groups: the Shahsevans, the Bakhtiaries, the Qashqai-es, the Turkmens, the Khamseh-ies, and the Kurds. His policies in most areas, brought an abrupt end to banditry and armed inter-tribal hostilities, and established an unprecedented degree of security and government control, maintained by strong garrisons of troops and later the gendarmerie as a rural police force (Tapper 2011, 26).

When Reza Shah, became the king of Iran, found the tribalism a big barrier in the way of making modern Iran. So, in a revolutionary step he decided to destroy the tribal system altogether. By the policy so called *Takht-e Kapou*,[5] nomadic tribes forced to stop their migration, build houses, cultivate their pastures, and submit to the same rural system of administration as other villages (Tapper 2011, 28). Nomads unlike to rural people, were not familiar with cultivation and farming. In addition, their pastoral lands were also unsuitable for agricultural purposes, because have located in mountain slopes and plugging or irrigating of them was generally hard or impossible. Hence, their subsistence got worse and they suffered from malnutrition, starvation, and sickness (Lambton 1953).

Although Reza Shah's policies continued in 1930s too and succeeded considerably to reduce the power and autonomy of tribal populations but they did not solve the tribal problem at all. Because of its negative impacts on production, forced sedentarization failed as a policy and tribalism re-emerged even before his abdication in 1941.

After Reza Shah's abdication, the former nomads in all regions took advantage of the weakened authority of local detachments of gendarmes, became more autonomous, and some returned to a nomadic way of life. Migration was once again allowed. Many tribal khans returned to their tribes, and the government returned their original lands. The government, being unable to provide local law and order, showed flexibility in allowing

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[5] This is a Turkish word (idiom) and is used in Persian too which means stopping an action.

tribal leaders to impose order. Although by the 1950s the government was once again able to re-establish its control in the tribal areas, many tribal leaders, too, had been able to re-establish all or part of their original power. In some areas the gendarmeries were virtually excluded, public order was entrusted to the tribal leaders, and government had reverted to a policy of divide and rule.

In the 1950s, the majority of tribal population was settled or semi-settled combined agricultural and pastoral producers. With few exceptions, seasonal migration was only marginally practiced, and only a small percentage of population undertook the task of moving the flocks from summer to winter quarters (Moghadam 1996, 40-1).

In 1962, Mohammad Reza Shah implemented a series of land reforms in Iran's agrarian context so called White Revolution. The reform developed in three stages and lasted in 1972. Its main objectives as Lambton stated, were;

> (a) An increase in production to provide foodstuffs and raw materials for industry, (b) A rise in production per head of the peasant population in order to improve their conditions of life by self-help and co-operation, and (c) A stabilization of food prices by increased production and marketing. This stage was to come into operation on the completion of the second stage in March 1967. While the first and second stages were mainly concerned with tenurial and social changes, the purpose of the third stage was to achieve a full exploitation of the agricultural resources of the country (Lambton 1969, 354).

Land reforms as it was evident, introduced to adapt Iran's traditional agrarian structure with modern economy. If it was successful or not and the amount it achieved to its aims is matter of question by most of scholarships, but here we want not to enter in details and discussing the land reform itself. Merely the part, through which pastures and forests declared as national resources, affects our discussion.

'Nationalization' of pastures in 1963 was indeed a deathblow for tribal nomadism system in Iran.

> Traditional collective pastoral rights were replaced by private deeds distributed by the government, usually for 15 years. Nomads who had received fertile pastures enlarged their flocks and made more profit, while those who had obtained ecologically fragile or economically poor grazing areas had to exploit their pastures beyond sustainability (Iranica n.d.).

Often the very existence of 'tribes' and even 'nomads' was officially denied. In a generally depressed agricultural sector, which suffered heavily from discrimination in the increasingly centralized and industrializing State, pastoralism suffered most of all. Capitalist penetration, rapid inflation, and government measures such as … the strict control of prices, especially of meat, ruined the economy of nomad tribes people by the later 1960 and 1970s (Tapper 2011, 29).

In 1960s and 1970s, nomadic tribes in spite of restrictions in migration and loose of political power, yet had preserved their social structures. Arbabs were ruling their sub-tribes and still had lots of pastures and animals. Individual nomads had also rights to benefit from the pastures through the formal permissions issued from the administrative. Arbabs were almost absent in nomadic areas and were living in city centers, but could efficiently regulate the pastures due to profound relationships with State administrative and ancestral backgrounds.

By victory of Islamic Revolution in 1979 and regarding the clear 'anti-Colonization' and 'anti-Arbab' slogans among the Islamic Revolutionists, Arbabs were immediately dismissed all throughout the revolutionary actions and their pastures seized by nomadic individuals. Symbolically, collapse of Arbabi system perceived synonym to the collapse of Shah's dictatorship and nomads also were considered as part of the revolutionary movement by the time.

Therefore, as Tapper stated, nomadic tribes no longer perceived as anti-State powers after the Revolution (Tapper 1979, 196-203). Ayat-ollah Khomeini entitled the nomadic groups as 'Treasures of Revolution' (Digard and Karimi 1987). The remarkable change in structure of nomadic tribes was that, Islamic Revolution eliminated the political dimension of nomadic tribes completely (by eradicating the last chains of tribal chieftaincies; Arbabs) and treated them just as pastoral nomads.

Now, they were merely economic associations whose subsistence was on the basis of pastoral lands. By dismissing of Arbabi system, State filled their absence by introducing

some governmental institutions such as Natural Resources Organization (NRO)6, Nomadic Affairs Organization (NAO)[7], Nomadic and Rural Cooperatives, and a kind of local council called *Shura*. These institutions were responsible for preserving of pastures and forests and at the same time economic needs of pastoral nomadic people.

a) Before Detribalization Policies:
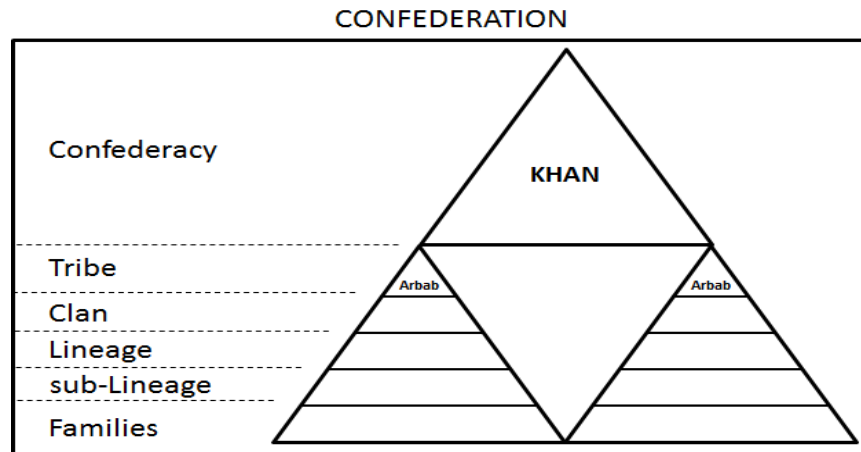
Figure 4. Structure of a confederation before detribalization policies

b) After Detribalization and the Land Reforms of 1960s
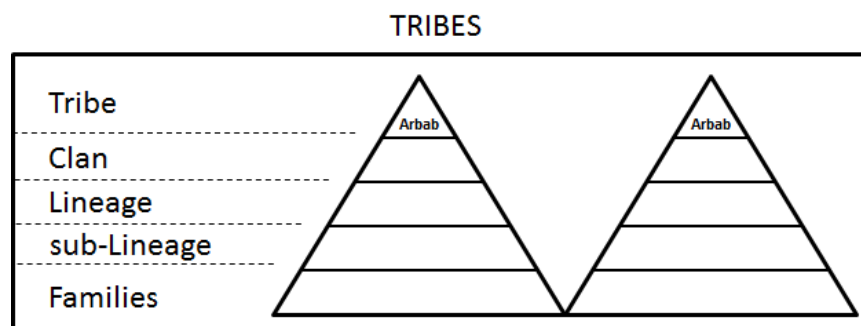
Figure 5. Structure of a tribes after detribalization policies

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[6] This organization established by Land Reform of 1960s with the aim of preserving pastures and forests and national resources.

[7] This organization established by Islamic Revolution in order to protect Nomadic groups

c) After the *Islamic Revolution* of 1979

CLANS
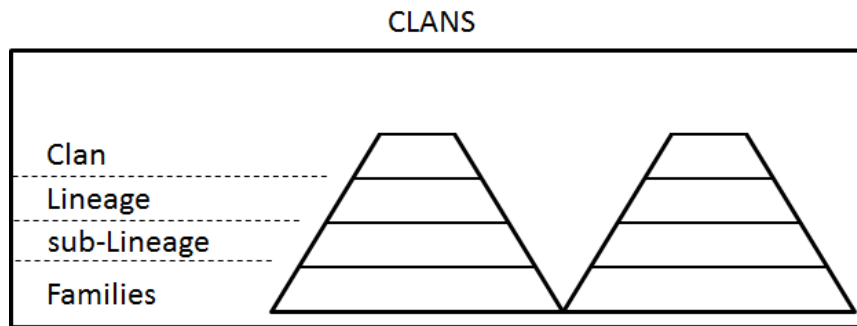
Figure 6. Structure of a tribes after Islamic Revolution of 1979

Before the Islamic Revolution, Arbab was the only authority who regulated the pastoral lands. His autonomy was even more ahead of detribalization policies of Reza Shah and land reforms of 1960s. On those times, explicit forms of conflicts were running between States and nomadic tribes which we discussed in previous pages, but at the same time, an unapparent conflict also practicing inside the tribes, between Arbabs and *Raeiats* (powerless peasant or tribal members/servants). As Lambton argued, since, a customary system of exploitation had been set up in Arbab-Raeiat relationships, the rule of tribal leaders often tended to be highly oppressive (Lambton 1991, 158), but the conditions were not suitable for manifestation of conflicts until the Islamic Revolution through which all those suppressed desires and compressed conflicts exploded in the form of revolutionary actions: invasions to Arbabs and their land properties.

Islamic Revolution disrupted the procedure pursued by *Pahlavi's* dynasty (reign of Reza Shah and Mohammad Reza Shah) and henceforth, pastoral nomadism experienced a certain revival and Individual nomads got permissions to utilize pastoral lands in the form of shared-utilizing. In 1984, a national project conducted by the aim of evaluation and estimation of capacity of pastures and leasing the grazing licenses on the basis of capacities. Accordingly, pastoral nomads had to observe their licenses in relation to pasture and not to take more than their permissions.

Until 1984 no one could talk about settlement of pastoral nomads in Iran, because he/she was sentenced to companionship with Reza Shah's tribal policies. In 1994 for the first time after the Islamic Revolution and after several academic controversies, settlement of pastoral nomads regarded through the Second Development Plan of the country (Iranian Sociological Organization). The plan (and all next plans) insisted that settlements ought to be quite voluntarily in the allocated sites established by State or in their own villages. The main objective of settlement projects was improvement of quality of life in nomadic communities.

Besides, particular supportive programs also defined for migrating nomads. Those who rejected the settlement programs and decided to keep continue the migration, were supported by Islamic States too; renovation of tribal roads (in some cases), offering medical and educational services in summery pastures, making waterholes for animals and etc., were some of those supports.

The bulk of literature confirmed approximate failure of settlement projects and resurgence of migration by nomads and increase of pressures over pastoral lands after settlement (Shateri and Hajipour 2012, Abdollahi 2007, Tavakoli and Zia 2007, Mahdavi, Rezaei and Ghadiri 2007, Rezvani and Derikvand 2006) Additionally, the almost evaluations also presented a condition of severe degradation rate due to overloading of the pastures by stakeholders (Esmaili Verdanjani 2003, Shahraki and Barani 2012, Moein-oddin 1993).

Now, in spite of State's variety of supportive programs, symptoms of dissatisfaction and conflict are quite apparent; Lack of participation in State-wised projects by two other actors, practical insists by stakeholders on their rights in pastoral lands, huge amount of complaints among the actors in official authorities, increase in the size of flocks in spite of official restrictive rules, increase of fines directed towards the other actors by State, and so many other forms of problematic issues, are all indicating of conflictive relationships among the main actors of pastoral lands.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

At this chapter we will offer a general scheme around the concept of nature in social sciences, human-nature relationships, its problematic aspects, and land property rights and its transition through the history. In the next part some theoretical perspectives around the notion of conflict from Dahrendorf, Coser, and Gluckman and etc. will be discussed. Finally, some debates will consider around legitimation theory consisted of perspectives from Weber, Sethi, Beetham, and Habermas.

3.1. Natural Resources from Sociological Perspective and the Issue of Land Property Rights

For many years nature was considered as an 'out there' fact for social scientists. Ecological analyses were the main scientific tools for understanding the natural world and social scientists consider the nature –if had any look – as a field providing materials for industries and development. "It is only recently, and spurred on by self-evident environmental crises, that social theorists have given serious attention to environmental and ecological issues" (Dickens 1992, 6).

By emerging catastrophic consequences of industrialization in natural world and environmental movements in developed countries, sociologists and political scientists tried to theoretically formulate the new conditions in the frame of nature-society relationships. However, their primary emphasis was on "the fundamental causes of environmental crises in Western industrialized society and the failure of modern institutions to adequately deal with these environmental crises" (Mol 2010).

Diamond in his glorious book named Collapse, unlike to most historians who concentrated on buildup dimension of human kind, focused on the collapse side of societies and cultures. He listed 12 environmental problems from which eight have historically contributed for collapsing of past societies and four (energy, the

photosynthetic ceiling, toxic chemicals, atmosphere changes) are serious only recently. These problems are;

1. Destroying natural habitats (or converting them into human-made habitats)
2. Overconsumption of wild foods (instead of producing food and protein in the form of domestic livestock)
3. Loss of significant fraction of wild species, populations, and genetic diversity
4. Soil erosion (it's rate is 10-40 times the rates of soil formation and 500-10,000 times of soil erosion in forested lands)
5. Natural energy sources problems
6. Water shortages
7. Photosynthetic problems (world's terrestrial photosynthetic capacity is limited and since 1986 most of its capacity has consumed by humans and lefts nothing for plant growing)
8. Chemical problems
9. Introducing new species on native species
10. Producing harmful and toxic gases and atmosphere changes
11. Population growth
12. Increased per-capita impact of people (Diamond 2006, 486-496).

Burch considering the human-nature relationships distinguished social theories into two major opposite groups; at one side, it is assumed that humans are unique species due to their capacity for culture and human societies are seen as being shaped by socio-cultural forces. At the other side, the assumption is that humans are only one species among many in the biosphere and therefore, explanations of social structure and behavior must then be based, at least in part, on biological, ecological, or natural environmental forces. These poles of the continuum are referred to as, respectively, the Human Exemptionalism Paradigm (HEP) and the New Ecological Paradigm (NEP) (Buttel and Humphrey 2002, 47).

The classical social sciences have more or less supported the notion that human due to his ability of thinking, is exempt from the natural limits. Human according to them is able to develop new sources and exploit the nature in his own favor and overcome the natural limitations.

For Marxist and conflict theories not the scarcity of resources, but unequal distribution of resources is the main source of conflicts. According to dependency theorists also,

industrialized countries exploit the peripheries (under developed countries) for their natural resources (Baran 1957, Chirot and Hall 1982, Dos Santos 1971).

In the last half-century several theoretical schools have arose which give more importance to the natural environment as a salient factor in social development. Shiva describes the belief that technology reduces human dependence on natural resources as a myth that overlooks the "long and indirect chain of resource utilization which leaves invisible the real material resource demands of the industrial processes" (Shiva 1991, 13). The New Ecological approach which gives more importance to the natural environment as a salient factor in social development, argues that there are limits to growth and that human societies cannot rely on institutional and market adaptations to overcome these limits. Human ecologists were among the first to formally State a theory (the POET model), which includes the environment as a key variable, which interacts with social organization, demographics and technology. Environmental sociologists, along with various individual political scientists, economists, geographers and others, have, since the 1960's, stressed the importance of nature and society interactions. Specifically, they have posited that the deterioration of natural systems, like water, air and soil, could have negative effects on social, political, and ecological security. (Dunlap and Catton 1979).

T. F. Homer-Dixon claims that natural resource scarcity can cause conflicts due to its social effects. His conclusion, based on more than a decade of research on environmental causes of acute conflict, is that natural resource scarcity can cause conflict indirectly through its negative social consequences. The negative consequences of natural resource scarcity may include human migration and expulsion, receptivity to insurgency, decreased economic productivity, and a weakened State. Such effects increase the likelihood of 1) simple-scarcity conflicts, where resources such as freshwater, land, or fish become so exhausted that the sheer lack of these resources causes groups to dispute the remaining shares, 2) group-identity conflicts, due to the large-scale movements of populations brought about by environmental change, and 3) relative-deprivation conflicts, which may occur as the ability of less developed groups to grow is diminished

by environmental problems. In the global context of capital accumulation, such limits on development may cause discontent on the part of those relatively deprived. This discontent could potentially cause conflicts (Homer-Dixon 1994).

Within Environmental Sociology, Schnaiberg and Gould have posited a conflict oriented theoretical approach that specifies why groups may dispute natural resource issues. According to Schnaiberg and Gould, the levels and types of ecological damage inflicted by the nations of the world guarantees that nations will come into conflict with one another over solutions to global environmental problems. Similarly, the wide variation among nations in terms of the distribution of benefits received from ecosystem withdrawals and additions will also necessitate conflict in the international arena (Schnaiberg and Gould 1994, 234).

> The basis to Catton and Dunlap's argument is that all these assumptions are 'fundamentally un-ecological'. But such views are now being challenged by changing experiences and conditions of social and natural life…. [they] suggest human being would certainly be regarded as having special characteristics but they would be linked to other species with which they are competing for food, space, water and so forth. Again, humans would still have seen as influenced by social or cultural forces and relations but they also be envisaged as affected by the biophysical environment; pollution, changing climate and so on (Dickens 1992).

An important part of environment, the land, has received the most attention in human society. It is a fact that land is the most versatile source of energy, wealth and power for human being and thus, of bloody wars through the history. In economics,

> Land as a factor of production is of immense importance. As has already been pointed out, everything that we use can be traced ultimately to land. Land may be rightly called the original source of all material wealth. The economic prosperity of a country is closely linked with the richness of her natural resources (Seth n.d.).

The way land has used is deeply restrictive to the place and time. Accordingly, the Evolutionary Theory of Land Rights (ETLR), and conventional Law and Economics theories sketched out the pattern of changes in land utility rights through the history of Western countries. It argues that open access lands which was pre-historical form of land use (lack of ownership), has transformed to the communal ownership and then to

private in its transitional procedure. So, Privatization is the upper level of lands property rights in its evolutionary progress and is necessary for promoting development pace.

Inability of communal land ownership in promoting socio-economic development in third world countries was starting point of the ETLR, Law and economics theories. The central theme of these theories is that under the joint impact of increasing population pressure and market integration, land rights spontaneously evolve towards rising individualization and that this evolution eventually leads rights holders to press for the creation of duly formalized private property rights (Platteau 1996).

Although they were able to explain the evolutionary path of land property rights and important role of private land titling in promoting the course of development in Western context, but most evidences show that it has shortcomings in explanation of property rights transition in developing and third world countries. In spite of high rates of population growth and scarcity in land access, common property rights did not lead to privatization and boosting of development in Third World rural sector.

Fitzpatrick criticizes this approach. For him, this optimistic assessment fails to explain development of 'Open Access' in many third world property systems. Rising resource values as he believes, are more likely to lead to open access than private property when the institutional environment is characterized by competing legal and norm-based systems. He states that;

> Outside of more developed economies, this optimistic picture does not appear to be matched by reality. Despite rapidly increasing populations and resource values, many Third World property systems remain plagued by widespread legal uncertainty, resource conflicts, and environmental degradation… In many contexts, relatively viable resource-governance regimes have reverted to open access notwithstanding conditions favorable to the creation of property rights (Fitzpatrick 2006).

…open access regime arises because those holding State property rights rely on the coercive authority of State agencies, but the weakness or illegitimacy of these agencies makes them unable to exclude local claimants. For their part, local claimants often disregard the rules and institutions of formal law, relying instead on their own normative order or coalition of interests, particularly when the State is weak or oppressive (ibid).

3.2. Theoretical and Conceptual Approaches about Conflict

3.2.1. Conflict: Origins, Developments, and Some Theories

Conflict in its broad concept is an innate feature of any biological system. When Charles Darwin (1809-1882) introduced his theory of The Origins of Species, indicated the competition or conflict in general as the most vital characteristic of any biological system which functions for survival of the fittest and extinction of the weak and therefore, the evolution of species (Darwin 1909). In fact, the idea of conflict is not appointed to Darwin's theory rather, it can be traced more back in primitive religions in the forms of 'God' and 'Evil' or Good and Bad and in antique philosophers such as Heraclitus (535-475 BC.: concept of the World of Paradoxes) or later on in Hegel (1770-1831: concept of Dialectic) and pioneers of social thought such as Spencer (1820-1903), Sumner (1840-1910), and Ward (1841-1913).

Afterwards, the ideas of conflict applied in urban studies by American thinkers of Chicago School during the 1920s and 1930s. Robert E. Park (1864-1944), Ernest W. Burgess (1886-1966) and Louis Wirth (1897-1952) etc., were some of major founders of the school. They used ecological models and concepts such as; human ecology, diversity, abundance, competition, struggle for survive … in their analyzing of urban issues and tried to observe human behaviour in its natural form.

> The resulting ecological models, then, emerged from actively examining the parallels between natural and social systems. In an attempt to understand why development and use varied over the city, land, culture and population were viewed as an inseparable whole. Burgess was one of the main proponents of this geographically based exploration and gradually developed a theory of ever expanding, or maturing, concentric circles of land use within the city.
>
> Other researchers struggled on a more micro-level with why certain areas of the city attracted specific populations and exhibited particular patterns of use. The rationale for this being confounded in the balance of geography, land value, population and culture. They also explored the notion of an ecological niche, or 'natural area.' Wirth describes the concept simply as 'each area in the city being suited for someone function better than any other.'
>
> For Chicago School researchers, these natural areas rarely existed in isolation; instead, the areas were constantly in symbiotic or competitive relation with each other. Certain 'invasions' into a stable community, such as a new technology, policy

or people group, would have drastically different effects in different natural areas (Lutters and Ackerman 1996).

Most recently the biologist E. O. Wilson (1975) sought to learn and apply lessons from the animal world to human evolution and behaviour. He asserted that 'aggression is genetic in the sense … that its components have proved to have a high degree of heritability and are therefore subject to evolution'. It is this instinctual and evolutionary perspective that also influenced the work of ethnologist Konrad Lorenz (1966), focusing on the behavioral study of aggression in animals where conflict is seen as part of the process of natural selection –the survival of the fittest –in strengthening the gene pool and the ability of individuals and groups to survive (Gorman 2011, 22).

Applying the biological imagination in social sciences was criticized in so many of scholarships. It is very instrumental interpretation if we extrapolate human behaviour from animal world. This approach lacks essential features of human societies and its complexities. In addition, it is "criticized for its political and ideological positions in terms of serving the cause of genetic manipulation and social control through such programs as eugenics, population control, racial and gender categorization of inferiority, and other justifications for discrimination" (Gorman 2011, 23).

More specifically the concept of conflict has analyzed by Conflict Theory approaches. Theoreticians of conflict unlike to Functionalists, who emphasize on integration in social system, concern on the role of coercion and power in creation of inequalities in social system. "They generally see power as the central feature of society, rather than thinking of society as held together by collective agreement concerning a cohesive set of cultural standards, as functionalists do" (Allan 2007, 213).

According to conflict theories, as power initially derives from scarce resources such as material means of production, capital, Socio-political status, and so on, and as these resources have distributed unequally, therefore power has an unequal distribution too.

Inequality exists because those in control of a disproportionate share of society's resources actively defend their advantages. The mass are not bound to society by their shared values, but by coercion at the hands of those in power. This perspective emphasizes social control, not consensus and conformity. Groups and individuals advance their own interests, struggling over control of societal resources. Those with the most resources exercise power over others with inequality and power struggles result (sociology.about n.d.).

Resources –material or immaterial –resulting to power are not plenty distributed. Due to their attraction and scarcity, many try to grab them. Therefore, "A shortage [in terms of economics] occurs when the quantity demanded is greater than the quantity supplied" (Heyne, Boettke and Prychtiko 2005, 109). Here the value of things comes to forth so that, the amount of scarcity as the central criteria indicates the amount of the value things have. This is true in general sense but in social relationships there is a difference in the concept of value with that of economics; Georg Simmel in his glorious work The Philosophy of Money, explores the ways objects get value. "Value, for Simmel, is never an inherent property of objects, but is a judgment made about them by subjects" (Appadurai 1986, 3). Distance between objects and subjects are in fact the source of value. It means that the closer the objects are the lesser the values they have and vice versa.

Anyhow, what is important is that people are always in competition (positively or negatively) to acquire valuable things and resources such as money, awards, recognition, prestige, status, mates, goods, resources, territory and so on, in order to get more social power. This is an inherent character of all behaviors which arise from the scarcity of means to achieve given ends.

They insist that societies can be better understood if we realize that different groups have different interests and the relationship among them are usually involved in power and unequal distribution of power resources (Robert 2009, 42). In fact, interests lie in the core of many conflicts or may be all of them if we approach the social world by the lens of Exchange Theory through which every human action has characteristic of exchange of interests. People pursue the power for enabling themselves satisfying more interests. So, power becomes the best means that increases feasibility of needs or interests' satisfaction and this is why most of the conflict theories choose the power as their starting point.

According to Dahrendorf, the distribution of power is the crucial determinant of social structure. In a same manner to Weber, he defines the power as 'the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite

resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests'. In this view the essence of power is the control of sanctions, which enables the powerful to give order and preserve his power. On the opposite side, the powerless does not satisfy with this situation, therefore, conflicts with the powerful to pursuit of power (Wallace and Wolf 1986, 114).

Dahrendorf believes that;

> Authority is attached to positions. Those who occupy positions of authority are expected to control subordinates; this is, they dominate because of the expectations of those who surround them, not because of their own psychological characteristics. Like authority, these expectations are attached to positions, not people. Authority is not a generalized social phenomenon; those who are subject to control, as well as permissible spheres of control, are specified in society. Finally, because authority is legitimate, sanctions can be brought to bear against those who do not comply (Ritzer 2003, 98).

Here, Dahrendorf disregards the idea of Weber who introduced 'Charismatic' features as a source of power or domination by insisting on structural nature of power. Positions not persons for Dahrendorf are resources of authority and power. Therefore, a person may occupy a position of authority in one structure (family, organization, work place, or…) while be subordinated in another structure.

Interests are also attached to social positions according to Dahrendorf. Occupying a position means achieving to its related interests. Hence, the positions that are linked to more strategic interests are dominant and always seek to maintain the status quo while those who are in subordinate positions seek the change and here we confront with a condition of conflict among two interest groups.

Conflict is not as much negative as it appears. It sometimes result positive outcomes for social system at all, or one or either engaged sides. Coser claims that conflict has both positive and negative consequences for society. In 'The Functions of Social Conflict' he argues that "Conflict within a group …may help to establish unity or to re-establish unity and cohesion where it has been threatened by hostile and antagonistic feelings among the members" (Coser 1956, 151-57).

Conflict can occur inside a group or among the groups. In any mode, consequences of conflict are different.

> For internal conflict, the question of functionality hinges on the conflict being less violent and more frequent, not threatening the basic assumptions of the group at large, and the group having low international network density. Under these conditions, internal conflict will produce the following functional consequences: conflict will serve to release pent-up hostilities, create norms regulating conflict, and develop clear lines of authority and jurisdiction –especially around the issues that conflict develops (Allan 2007, 213).

Gluckman also believes that conflict among tribal groups has integrative consequences. He, in 'The Peace in the Feud' using an African tribe, the *Nuer* as illustration, asks; how men quarrel in terms of certain of their customary allegiances but are restrained from violence through other conflicting allegiances which are also enjoined on them by custom. The result is that, conflicts in one set of relationships over a wider range of society or through a longer period of time, lead to the reestablishment of social cohesion (Gluckman 1955, 2).

3.2.2. Social Conflict: Concept and Sources

3.2.2.1. The Notion and Nature of Social Conflict

There are many perspectives on conflict. In general use it can be interpreted as a State of "serious disagreement or argument, typically a protracted one" (Oxford n.d.), [a situation in which] "two or more different things cannot easily exist together" [or] "where someone cannot make fair decisions because they are influenced by something" [or even more intensified,] "fighting between groups or countries" (Cambridge n.d.). Sociologically, conflict is the struggle for agency or power in society. Social conflict or group conflict occurs when two or more actors oppose each other in social interaction, reciprocally exerting social power in an effort to attain scarce or incompatible goals and prevent the opponent from attaining them. It is a social relationship wherein the action is oriented intentionally for carrying out the actor's own will against the resistance of other party or parties.

Competition for scarce rewards or resources has usually regarded in definitions. Boulding defined the conflict as a "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources" (Jeong 2008, 5). Some believe that differentiated perceptions can cause conflict among people and groups.

> Since conflict is entitled in diverse types of social interactions, its concept have been applied to a variety of situations. The potential for conflict exist where opposing interests, values, or needs tinge our relationships with others. The latent conditions of conflict eventually translate into multiple forms of enmity in the visible issues (Ibid).

Burton distinguishes between two terms of 'conflict' and 'dispute'. According to him, conflict is interpreted in the context of a serious nature of challenges to the existing norms, relationships, and rules of decision making while 'dispute' applies to management issues and the control of discontent relating to the implementation of specific policies. In so doing, it may respond to the unfairness of authoritative decisions without questioning the legitimacy of decision making rooted in dominant values and established institutional procedures. Polite disagreement, quarrel, litigation, and war differ in terms of the intensity and scope of activities (Burton and Dukes 1990, unknown).

Logically, making distinguish between the terms 'conflict' and 'dispute' seems to be not necessary because, we need to have a general concept referring to a series of behaviors arising from contradictory situations. By this justification, it would be useful to conceptualize the term 'conflict' consisted of a wide variety of forms or levels between two poles of a continuum; 'soft mental disagreements' in one pole and 'bloody wars' on the other pole. Hence, 'dispute' can be considered as one of the levels of conflict it's intensity is higher than soft mental disagreement but lower than war. Paul Conn also confirms that,

> The use of the term conflict with reference to political systems often brings to mind physical violence, coercion, rioting, and other forms of destructive or negative behaviour. It implies a collision: a battle between individuals or groups with different standards, norms, or goals. Yet conflict may be violent or nonviolent. Arguments, disagreements, and elections all can be considered forms of conflict even though there may not be violence associated with them (Conn 1971).

We may think that conflict revolve around the incompatibility of goals or activities, or arises from competition over resources, but frequently what is at the stake is the relationship itself and how the relationship is to be defined. In this case, it is difficult to characterize the conflict as incompatibility or competition –what seems to be at stake are the rules that define how people are to act toward one another (Lulofs and Cahn 2000, 4).

3.2.2.2. Conflict: Inherent or Not?

Many believe that conflict has coexisted with us from the beginning of human history. Whenever we develop or form relationship with others, we enter into a situation where choices and decisions have to be made. The fact is that we may expose to conflict because, our decisions or choices are not always calm and assured, or agreed. Recognizing the conflict or the propensity for conflict as part of the makeup of human beings originally has articulated by classic thinkers such as Machiavelli (1469-1527) in his best known work, The Prince (1513) while he introduced the basics by which a king would be able to protect his power and domination and also in Thomas Hobbes' (1588-1679) in Leviathan (1651). Hobbes in his own terms argued that;

So that in the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel. First, competition; secondly, diffidence; thirdly, glory. The first make the men invade for gain; the second, for safety; and the third, for reputation. The first use violence, to make themselves ⎪masters of other men's persons, wives, children, and cattle; the second, to defend them; the third, for trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, and any other sign of undervalue, either direct in their persons or by reflection in their kindred, their friends, their nation, their profession, or their name (Hobbes 1999, 109).

From sociologists, most theoreticians of conflict school including Coser, Simmel, Dahrendorf, and Mills also recognized the conflict as an eternal part of social behaviour through which individuals, groups or nations, conflict over scarce resources, power, status or any other desired ends.

Contrarily, there are some others who believe that conflict is not substantial for societies. It is social and can be undermined through social mechanisms too. Marx, who was the founder of Social Conflict Theory himself, believed that human nature has been manipulated by 'despotism of capital' in human history and escalated in the capitalist

system. He anticipated and worshiped an era in which human beings are not alienated any more, a classless society with lack of private ownership and therefore, lack of inequality and conflict.

Generally, the Frankfurt School Critical Theory also believes that conflict is a phenomenal feature of modern social world. They believe and seek 'human emancipation' from the circumstances of domination and oppression.

Given the importance of both circles, what is clear is that conflict has a prolonged history, may be from the beginning of life or later, and has functioned as a most important dynamism even more influential than of conformity patterns consisted of cooperation and consensus in social changes.

3.2.2.3. Sources of Social Conflict

Equilibrium between population size and capacity of food production is a determinant factor in conflict analysis in Malthusian idea.

> Traditional Malthusian theory suggests that −due to population growth− human consumption needs will eventually exceed the availability of natural resources (particularly food), causing a myriad of negative social outcomes like war, disease, and famine. Violence and war, from the Malthusian perspective, are 'positive checks' that serve to re-establish the equilibrium that is disrupted by scarcity caused by population growth. According to Price, Malthus's theoretical Statement is, simply, that population expands to the limits imposed on it by subsistence. The inevitable results, however, when society reaches those limits are poverty and disaster. The traditional Malthusian perspective has been heavily criticized, however, for neglecting the role of technological innovation and other factors in increasing the carrying capacity of the world (Green 2005).

Generally, in classical economic theories it is insisted that value of goods goes up as they become scarcer. At this case incentive for their exploitation also increases because, the potential for profit is much more and therefore, competition gets intensified around the goods that are scarce.

There is a definite relationship between scarcity and conflict in most of classical sociological theories and the bulk of literature. It is conceived that conflicts are usually appear around the sources such as interests, esteem, power, etc., which are scarce in

society. Scarcity of resources creates multiple impacts on conflicts and can increase the chances that a nonviolent conflict become violent or re-activate violence in a previously resolved conflict (Gendron and Hoffman 2009).

> Similar to conflicts involving resource scarcity, 'grievances', i.e. the deprivation of basic needs, can be the cause. In addition, 'greed', i.e. opportunistic and selfish appropriation of sources, can trigger conflict. Le Billon (2008) calls the grievance mechanism 'resource conflicts': conflicts arising due to control of a resource by one group that excludes others or destroys the resources they depend on it for a living. He calls the greed mechanism 'conflict resources' because some resources motivate civilians, soldiers, and State officials to enrich themselves" (Mildner, Wodni and Lauster 2011).

Collier and Hoeffler argue that most rebellions appear to be linked to the capture of resources. They show that some countries return to conflict repeatedly because, conflict generates grievance and grievance generates further conflict and hence, more resources obtained (Collier and Hoeffler 2000).

Perceptions of interacting parties around the facts and happenings is important in determining the probability of conflict. Hostile reactions will not occur if a situation is not perceived as involving competition, domination, or provocation. In the contrary a situation might not actually evolve competition, domination, or provocation, but engaged sides may falsely perceive the condition as problematic and evolve in a conflict. It must be stated that conflict does not necessarily occur when the participants in a situation perceive competition, domination, or provocation. For instance, it is possible for people to realize that they are in competition without hostility being evoked –this sometimes occurs in sporting events when the participants take seriously the notion of good sportsmanship. Also, a student may openly accept the domination of a professor because he wants to learn from him (Nye 1973, 88-89).

A type of perception that contributes to conflict-promoting interactions is suggested by the social-psychological concept of relative deprivation. "Conflict occurs when there is a perceived blocking of important goals, needs or interests of one person or group by another person or group. When this occurs, people tend to respond with the intention to remove the block in order to satisfy the need." (Vecchi 2011).

Our perceptions are highly affected by socio-cultural environment we live in so, as *Edwards* indicated too, cultural values have specific effects on the perceptions we have from each other and situations (Edwards 1941).

Provocations can be sources of conflict too. "In provocation, there is intentional or unintentional harm to other persons or groups. Harm might take the form of insult, deception, thievery, physical injury, etc." (Nye 1973, 83-84). Provocation itself might be result of or trigger through many ways. Ethnic or gender inequalities, economic needs, political demands can all function as sources of provocation and thereafter, of conflict.

3.3. Debate on the Concept of Legitimacy of State

There is a very growing interest in the concept of 'Legitimacy' among the different disciplines and this multi-dimensionality produced an understanding around it. Legitimacy in general sense is defined as

> A state of appropriateness ascribed to an actor, object, system, structure, process, or action resulting from its integration with institutionalized norms, values, and beliefs. It is a multilevel concept which may refer to individuals, groups, organizations, nation-States, and world systems. At its core, legitimacy involves a sense of appropriateness that is accorded to an entity. That is, a legitimate entity is one that we view as suited to its social environment and, as a result, deserving of support by other entities in the environment. (Ritzer 2007).

In more brief words, it is "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman 1995).

Legitimacy studies are generally divided into two branches; in macro level, power studies discuss around the institutional dimensions of legitimacy. At this level, known as Institutional Legitimacy Theory, the question is; how organizational structures as a whole (capitalism for example, or government) have gained acceptance from society at large. Within this tradition, legitimacy and institutionalization which both empower organizations by making them seem natural and meaningful, are virtually synonymous. One level down from institutional level is Organizational Level (sometimes referred to

as Strategic Legitimacy Theory). Underlying organizational legitimacy is a process, legitimation, by which an organization seeks approval (or avoidance of sanction) from group in society (Tilling n.d.).

Organizational legitimacy for the first time in sociology was introduced by Max Weber's seminal works around the notion of 'Power' and 'Domination' (Suchman 1995). 'Domination' for Weber is the most general synonym of the power. "Domination… in the quite general sense of power, i.e., of the possibility of imposing one's own will upon the behavior of other persons, can emerge in the most diverse forms." (Whimster 2007).

Weber defines two kinds of domination: domination by virtue of 'Constellation of Interests' (in particular: by virtue of a position of monopoly) and domination by virtue of 'Authority', that is power to command and duty to obey (Popova 2003). The exclusive possession of an economic resource for instance, places its holder in a position of domination over all those who need that resource (Whimster 2007, 227). Here, domination is by virtue of 'Constellation of Interests', but when one's will imposes upon the others through Traditional or Charismatic or Rational-Legal orders, then we confront with the second form of domination; Authority.

Weber argues that,

> For society or a social structure to work, people have to believe in it. Legitimation refers to the process by which power is not only institutionalized but more importantly is given moral grounding… Weber argues that all oppressive structures, and, in fact, all uses of power, must exist within a legitimated order.
>
> A legitimated order creates a unified worldview and is based on a complex mixture of two kinds of legitimations: subjective (internalized ethical and religious norms) and objective (having the possibility of enforced sanctions from the social group [conventions] or an organizational staff [law]). Weber indicates that subjective legitimacy assumed in the presence of the objective. Underlying both subjective and objective legitimacy are three different kinds of belief systems or authority (Charismatic, Traditional, and Rational-legal) (Allan 2007, 48).

Sethi, considering the important role of legitimacy for an organization, developed it into the field of organizational communication and defined the concept of 'Legitimacy Gap' as expectancy gap indicating a discrepancy between an organization's actions and

society's expectations of this organization. Legitimacy gaps can threaten an organization's image and reputation, and ultimately its existence as a legitimate member of the business community and society (Langer 2008, 2687). Legitimacy Gap Theory explains the ways by which an organization or company or any other market-oriented institution can realize expectations –grounded in social norms and values –of the society who receives their services in order to adapt itself with those expectation. "organizations that are not able to honor these norms and values and adapt to new expectations from society at large or from specific stakeholder groups are at risk of losing their 'license to operate' (Trust of Public) ".(Ibid)

David Beetham criticizes the Weberian definition of legitimacy arguing that; …it misrepresents the relationship between legitimacy and people's beliefs. A given power relationship is not legitimate because people believe in its legitimacy, but because it can be justified in terms of their beliefs. This may seem a fine distinction, but it is a fundamental one. When we seek to assess the legitimacy of a regime, a political system, or some other power relations, one thing we are doing is assessing how far it can be justified in terms of people's beliefs, how far it conforms to their values or standards, how far it satisfies the normative expectations they have of it. We are making an assessment of the degree of congruence, or lack of it, between a given system of power and the beliefs, values and expectations that provide its justification. We are not making a report on people's belief in its legitimacy. Beetham believes that the Weberian definition proposes a misleading research strategy among the social scientists who try to find out legitimacy of a power relations leaning on the people's beliefs on its existence or absence (Beetham 1991, 11-13).

According to Beetham, the key to understanding the legitimacy of a power relationship lies in three dimensions;

- The extent that power conforms to established rules.
- The extent that rules can be justified by reference to beliefs shared by both dominant and subordinate, and

- The extent there is evidence of consent by the subordinate to the particular power relation. (ibid: 16)

Legitimacy is not a relationship spread evenly and uniformly between the States on the one hand and the masses on the other. It will vary in both kind and intensity over time and its social location. One form of legitimacy will characterize the State's relations with one group or section of its subjects, another form and intensity, with others. But legitimacy is likely to be most clearly articulated not in the relations between States and subjects at all, but within the overall system or institutions of government. It will play more part in justifying the activity of governing than it will in that of being governed (Barker 1990, 196).

Habermas also has debates on legitimacy in his political sociology. The central question for Habermas in his work on legitimation is to find out if there are fundamental crisis in Modern Liberal democratic welfare States or not. He believes that legitimacy deficit is the most threat to these welfare States. States in contemporary capitalist countries are undergoing a crisis of legitimacy according to Habermas. They may lose loyalty of their people and be deprived from their support. In his argument and as it presented in figure (7), four possible crises may emerge in capitalist systems due to functional disturbances in any of economic, politico-administrative, and socio-cultural sub-systems.

Table 1. Four possible crisis in capitalist systems according to Habermas

Point of Origin	System Crisis	Identity Crisis
Economic system	Economic Crisis	--------------------
Political system	Rationality Crisis	Legitimation Crisis
Socio-Cultural system	--------------------	Motivation Crisis

(Habermas 1975, 45)

The economic sub-system produces goods and services for profit. Capital in late capitalist societies, depends for its support and maintenance on a large State apparatus (the political administrative sub-system) that must provide 'steering performances': State must 'steer' the economy in such a way as to provide favorable conditions for economic growth. While State is excluded from private sector so, is dependent for its revenues on taxes that are levied on the private economy. On the other side, State must maintain popular assent and mass loyalty. In order to do this, it must use its fiscal revenues to provide social, educational, and welfare services and to support the ideology (the technocratic consciousness and the like) that legitimate the whole system (Pussey 1987, 94-95). In the following figure the relationships among three sub-systems are illustrated.
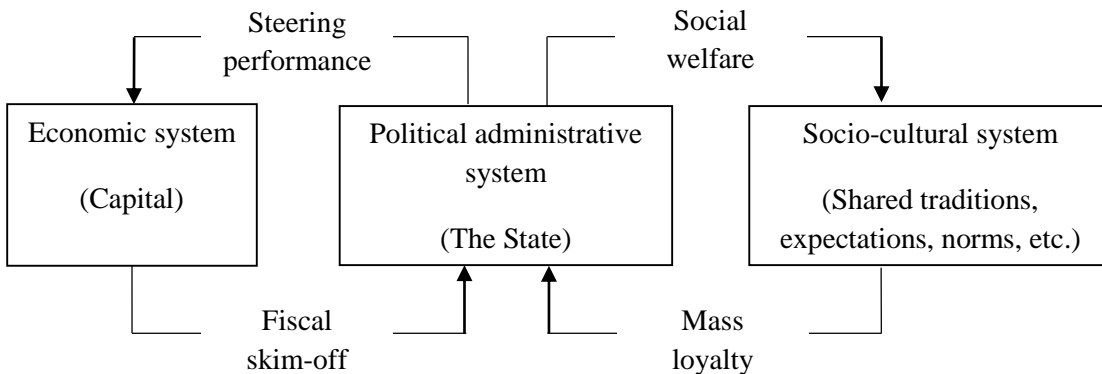
Figure 7. Systems model with three sub-systems according to Habermas
[Habermas's model cited in: (Pussey 1987, 94)]

Political system requires an input of mass loyalty that is as diffuse as possible. The output consists in sovereignly executed administrative decisions. Output crisis have the form of a rationality crisis in which the administrative system does not succeed in reconciling and fulfilling the imperatives received from the economic system. Input crisis have the form of a legitimation crisis; the legitimizing system does not succeed in maintaining the requisite level of mass loyalty while the steering imperatives taken over from the economic system are carried through. The legitimation crisis is directly an identity crisis. It does not proceed by way of endangering system integration, but results from the fact that the fulfillment of governmental planning tasks places in question the structure of the depoliticized public realm and, thereby, the formally democratic securing of the private

autonomous disposition of the means of production… A legitimation deficit means that it is not possible by administrative means to maintain or establish effective normative structures to the extent required (Habermas 1975, 46-47).

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, we will try to discuss on methodological considerations of our work so, the chapter will start with research question and its significance. The current situation of the issue in Iran's scholarships and around the world will present here to provide a sense from the issue's importance and epidemic characteristic. The chapter will continue then with describing the field of study to introduce the region in detail. In plan of study our concern will be on organization of methodological procedures of the research. In order to produce similar understandings around the main concepts of the research, we will try to define them at all in next part. Assumptions, objectives and propositions will offer in later part and then the discussion will exhaustively be organized around data collection. This chapter will finally be ended by pointing out at limitations of the research.

4.1. The Research Question and its Significance

Communal Land question concerning diversity of systems and contexts is a very complex field. Management of these lands or 'Common Pool Resources' in terms of Ostrom (1990), is one of the most crucial and problematic issues confronting with communities in local and States in national levels. As it mentioned before and as we will have in future chapters, pastoral lands in Iran have been the sites for role playing of prominent actors –States and nomadic tribes –during its course of history. They have been always a source of wealth and power for both tribes and States and so, a source of conflict between them, and as well among the local communities. As the result of conflict, these communally held lands have confronted with severe degradation and environmental destruction during the last fifty years and the bulk of Iran's literature has pursued the pastoral lands issue from the perspective of degradation exactly. In almost of them has explored and introduced the factors that cause damage to the pastures such

as; plugging, over utilization, grazing for long term, lack of desire to participation, nationalization of lands, to grub up bushes, poverty, and natural factors. (Moein-oddin 1993, Rahimi 2001, Esmaili Verdanjani 2003, Sharifi-nia and Mahdavi H. 2012, Shahraki and Barani 2012). Very few references in Iranian scholarship can be found regarding to the subject of conflict in pastoral lands. Those of which who have pointed to social conflict also have nothing about it more than a mere reference as a cause among the many for degradation. In the following we will review the issue in Iranian context and then try to look at the issue in other countries in order to find out the existing stands of the subject.

Ansari and colleagues in their article State that while there was an equilibrium between nature and human needs, there was no problem in nature and no sign of degradation, but during the last century and especially last decades, with growing the number of population, pressure over the nature has increased too. They show that 20 factors are engaged in destruction of pastures one of which is conflict among the stakeholders. According to their findings, most other factors also are human originated items (Ansari and Seiyed Akhlaghi 2009).

Consulting engineers of Royan in their study list the important causes of destruction as the followings; nationalization of lands, weakness in control of lands, over utilization of lands, disruption of tribal and nomadic structures, conflict between nomads and peasants, and unfamiliarity of stakeholders with land use principals (Consulting Engineers of Royan 1994).

Shaterian in their work on Pijik nomadic tribe try to find out the reasons for tribal quarrels among the Pijiks. Employing a quantitative method with a 270 members of sample, they realized that chastity and honor, divide into insiders and outsiders, resource scarcity, socialization, social interaction, and weakness of external deterrence have significant relationships with tribal quarrels, but relative deprivation and social control show no significances for answering a question regarding the reasons of group quarrels in some small communities (Shaterian 2015).

Communal Land question is a worldwide phenomenon. In most parts of Africa, South-east Asia and Middle Eastern countries, and some parts of South America, land use management and conflict resolution in communally held lands are the most problematic issues. However, there are some succeeded examples especially among Asian countries…

According to empirical literature, issue of land in some areas has historical origins in their colonial experiences. Colonial and post-colonial governmental/State interventions in local communities have undermined local institutions that were managing the resources in a manner which has proved as inefficient (Meinzen-Dick and Knox 1999). In New Guinea for instance, under the Australian colonial administration, after the World War II, many socio-economic developments especially in indigenous agricultural parts happened. Later on, after colonization period, improvements in agricultural productivity and efficient utilization of the country's land resources were identified by the World Bank so that major changes in land administration and legislation implemented in the country. Accordingly, a dozen of disputes and fights emerged between the tribal groups claiming the traditional lands and State administrative (Trebilock 1984). Provoked by colonial States, from the beginning of colonial rule, in Zimbabwe and across the continent we can see vital conflicts over land resources. "Competition over land intensified in the late twentieth century, leading to rising land values, increasing commercialized patterns of land acquisition, concentration of land holdings, prolonged litigation and, … sometimes to assault and even murder" (Berry 2002). Marginalization of indigenous people and dispossession of them from their ancestral common lands and resources have been indispensable consequence of colonization in almost the countries experienced it (Perera 2009).

Following the World War II, and the pressures by international organizations such as the UN and the World Bank, basic reforms specifically in agricultural infrastructures of Third World countries introduced as the urgent requisite of development. Thereof, land reforms implemented in most parts of the third world through which traditionally defined rights and locally or tribally management systems in communal resource replaced with new western patterns of ownership and management systems.

Simbolon in Cambodia shows that States and judiciary systems in spite of many progresses and developments are still far from the complete recognizing of indigenous people's claims over their communal resources. Cambodia's system has performed statewide legislative changes in promoting private ownership rights while it is quite inadequate and even opposite to that of common ownership rights (Simbolon 2009). Cambodia's indigenous people in different parts of the country at a series of provincial consultations convened in 2004, strongly have supported communal land titling that respected individual user rights under collective land ownership (McAndrew and Oeur 2009). In Malaysia, Perera indicates that, "how State policies in recent decade have tended to distort or undermine the principles of indigenous social organization and traditional land tenure, which would have provided a stable base for new laws and regulations" (Perera (b) 2009). In the case of Eastern DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo), penetration of market-based systems into customarily defined land tenure systems resulted conflicts between indigenous claimants and local political powers. "The trajectory of control over land is towards commercial transactions, which means that a land market, rather than local chief, may become the most significant way through which land is distributed." State in the DRC approaches the land tenure as laissez-faire in which customary rights have neglected and the chance for elites of certain communities in acquiring the land through market transactions is significantly higher than other groups. These policies resulted to increase of inequality in landholdings, an exacerbation of the agrarian crisis, and socio-political tensions (Huggins 2010). In the case of Nigeria, land administration and control was the exclusive preserve of the family head or communal head/chief that normally held such land in trust for members of the family and communities. However, upon the introduction of 'Land Use Act and Nationalization of Lands in Rural and Urban Areas', disputes relating to land occurred. Land Use Act has brought with it greater confusion and complexities in Nigerian land context. The main effect of Act was uncertainty, insecurity, and conflict in landowner-tenant relationships (Onakoya 2014).

Competition over land utilizations as is declared by some literatures has been intensified due to population growth and degradation of resources. In Ethiopia, demographic

pressures over land resources and their low capacity to feed them adequately, from one side and poor management of communal resources have bear land disputes in the country. Flintan and Cullis, recognizing the changes Ethiopia now faces, show that, pastoral leaders, local government and other stakeholders in Ethiopia have accepted the importance in finding a more comprehensive approach to land use planning policy and practice that takes into account the interests, positions and needs of all rangeland users in pastoral areas. Authors believe that implementing a Participatory Rangeland Management would much useful in conflict resolution and environment preserving (Flintan and Cullis 2010).

Globalization, as a "worldwide diffusion of practices, expansion of relations across continents, organization of social life on a global scale, and growth of a shared global consciousness" (Ritzer 2005, 330) has definitely had impacts on national and local communities. In relation to land issues in underdeveloped countries, we can trace the global impacts in two opposite aspects; States in these countries as to most scholarship, implemented basic transformations in their administrative and legislative structures along with Western perspective in the form of late-capitalist economic and political systems, privatization, division of labor, etc. Acting in conjunction with multinational corporations, national governments –as in the case studies in of Austronesian people, … –often have dismissed indigenous people's claims to collective ownership of traditional clan or village land and have legislated to reclassify such lands as State-owned or private property. These changes lead them into a condition of conflict between indigenous people and modern nation-States (Reuter 2006). While these resources have traditionally been managed collectively or communally, rather than individually, therefor any plan for privatization of them would be so costly and somehow impossible. At the same time, leaving them entirely ungoverned (or open access) then they would be subject to depletion (Kameri-Mbote 2005, Ngaido 1999) as of what has happened in the reality. Then, failure of State ownership and statutory legislations to achieve better resource management in communal land resources, and the expansion of relationships and diffusion of collective movements and environmental interests across the world countries, fostered the globalization's second opposite impact on the land issue;

reclaiming over ancestral lands but in the form of modern participatory patterns. Barbara Dix Grimes in her research on Indonesian island, Buru, John P. McAndrew in a work on Cambodian tribes,…. presented documents indicating localities' inclination towards the communally management of their land resources (Grimes 2006, McAndrew and Oeur 2009). Sarpong-Anane indicates the role of global frameworks in refreshing of conflicts in African countries. He shows that the global frameworks for conflict resolution and peace building that rest on neo-liberal political and economic models, not only fail in conflict resolution, but also open up new dimensions for conflicts in a number of ways; disrupting local events, providing new resources for competition, and threatening deeply held values or symbols (Sarpong-Anane 2014).

Regarding all the studies mentioned above and widespread significance of the communal lands issue in Iran and the worldwide, my research question has focused on the relationship among State, nomads and peasants around the property rights of communal pastoral. Each one theses three groups have their own interests in pastoral lands and according to facts, their relationship is conflictive.

Sociologically, existence of conflict is an indication of differentiated interests and may bring out both positive and negative results. While conflicts are the main source and impellent of social changes so, for a system to be sustainable it is important to control and manage of conflicts for resolving or reducing their unwanted outcomes and to lead the future changes. At this sense, it was important for us to realize the evolutionary path of property rights in region, understand the conflicts in the field and to examine the sources of discontent or animosity among the actors, to identify the phases of evolving relationships between adversaries, and to study the very nature, causes, and dynamics of the conflicts. However, the main objectives in studying Milan are organized around the following initiating questions:

- What are the historical transitions and current situation of land property rights in the field of study?

- What are the resources and dynamics of social conflict (political, economic, social, Emotional, and differentiated meaning systems) among the main actors of pastoral lands?
- How intense is the conflict, what is its direction, and what consequences does it have in the community?

4.2. Describing the Field

West Azerbaijan is located in North-West side of Iran (see figure 8) is in neighboring with Iraq, Turkey, and Azerbaijan. Ethnically, population of the province is a combination of Azeries (as majority), Kurds, Christians, Zoroastrians, and Armenians. Prevailing ethnic groups in south parts are Kurdish people, but in north part, they are minorities. All the ethnic groups are able to speak Turkish language (Azeri accent) because, majority of people are Turks. The province in almost is a mountainous area with plenty of high peaks and wide range lands in slops. According to census 2008, there are 13 nomadic tribes in the province who are migrating between summery and wintery lands. Their distribution across the province has shown in the figure (9) which is adopted from Nomadic Affairs Organization's (NAO) formal documents. As it indicates, all border lands of the province are the locus for livestock in the form of nomadism or semi-nomadism (trans-humans). Each color in the figure points to the territory of a nomadic tribal group.
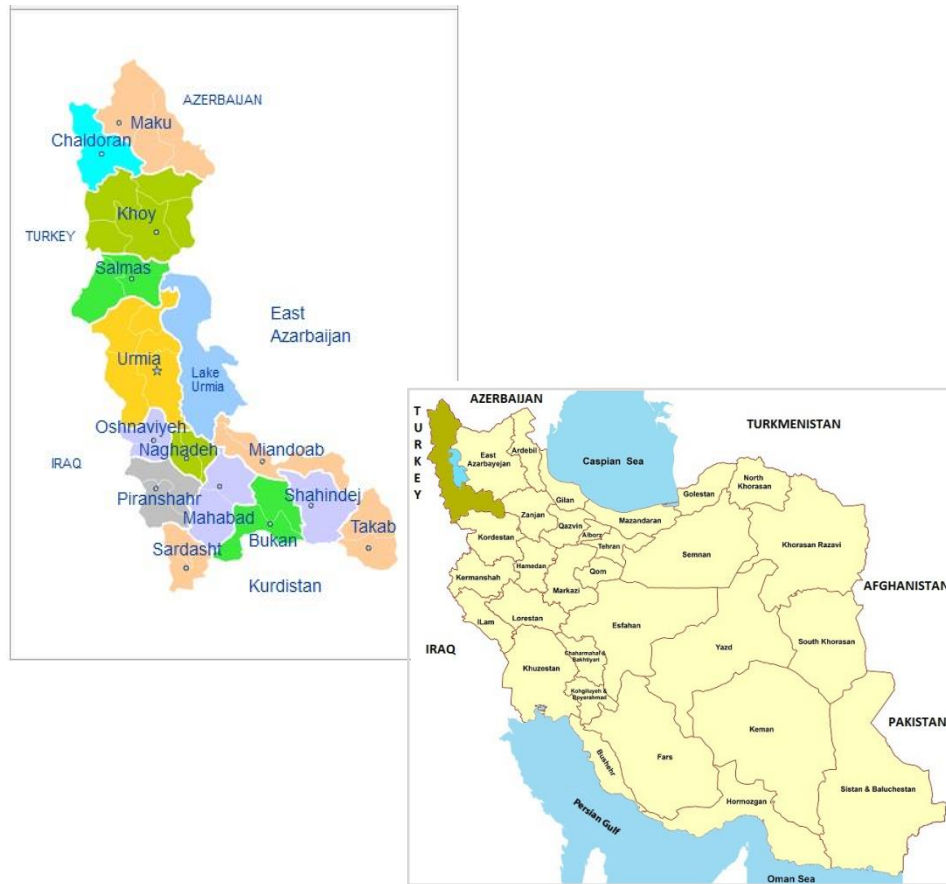
Figure 8. Location of West Azerbaijan in Iran
(Google5, n.d.) & (Google6, n.d.)

Northern part of the West Azerbaijan is the main nomadic region of the province. According to the 2008 census, the majority of nomadic groups of the province –around 41% -are in this area (in three counties), 28% in central (in two counties) and 31% in southern parts (in nine counties).
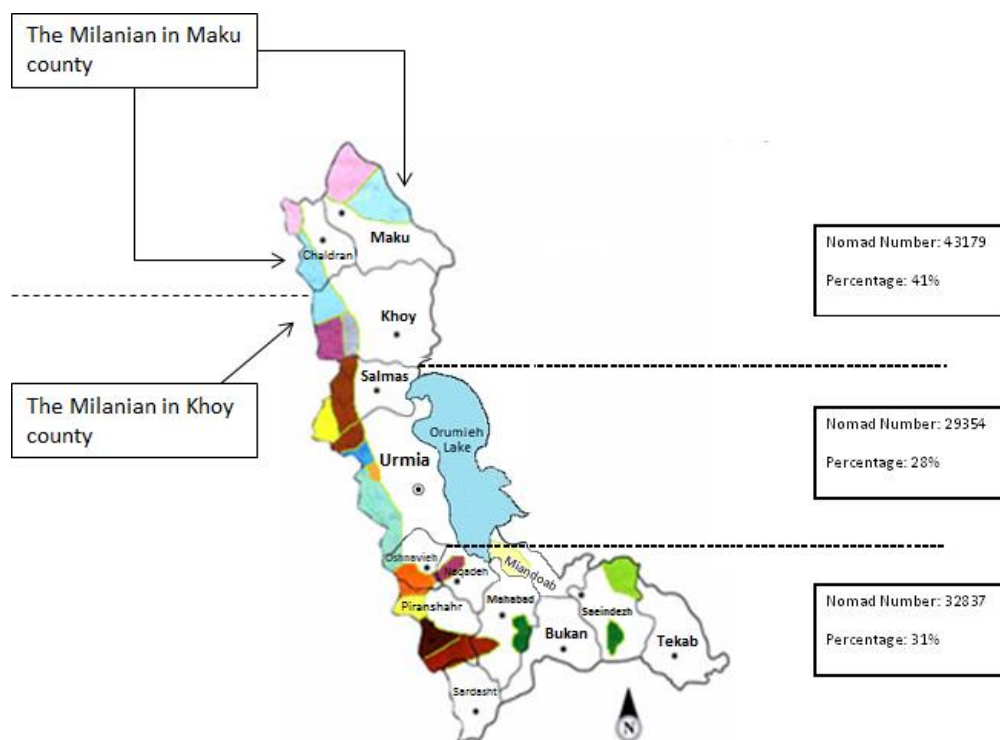
Figure 9. Distribution of nomadic tribes in West Azerbaijan Province by 2008

Original map is derived from: (NAO n.d.*)*

Among the nomadic tribes of the province, Milan is the second one in sense of size which is resided in three counties consisted of, Makou, Chaldran and Khoy. The groups who are in Khoy district, in almost are sedentary or city dwellers, but some parts are still pursuing transhumance form of subsistence. Their migration is mostly internal, means that both wintery and summery pastures located inside the county, while in the case of those groups who are in Maku and Chaldran regions, it is somehow different. In Chaldran their summery pastures and in Maku their wintery pastures are located. Thus, their territory extended in two counties and our focus will be on this group.

The reason for choosing this part of Milanian people as the field of inquiry derives from three logics:

(1) Their rangelands especially in summery area, encounters with an extreme utilizing and degradation and is one of the most problematic areas according to Natural Resources Organization (NRO).

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(2) They are one of the largest nomadic tribes in the province who still do livestock in the form of trans-humans.

(3) Some groups from their nomadic tribe settled down in an area called Shiblou plain in order to decrease the process of degradation in pastoral lands, but it failed.

Yet, I had one more reason in mind for choosing Milan tribe; my background in relation to them which goes back to 1995, when I was doing my M.A. thesis among them. On those times a settlement project had been introduced by the NAO in the field in which I took part as a co-researcher. The project helped me develop my understanding around the nomadic tribes of the region and became a starting point for my later researches and a return in the current one specifically.

4.3. Plan of Study

As was already mentioned this work has started with following initiating questions:

- What are the historical transitions and current situation of land property rights in the field of study?

- What are the resources and dynamics of social conflict (political, economic, social, Emotional, and differentiated meaning systems) among the main actors of pastoral lands?

- How intense is the conflict, what is its direction, and what consequences does it have in the community?

Using an empirical case of study, the nomadic tribe of Milan, we try to organize our inquiry in four different, but complementary perspectives:

1. In order to find out the current situation of property rights in communal lands of Milan tribe, we have to go beyond the present time and do investigate in history of the tribe. In Iranian context, not only Milan, but also other nomadic tribes have influenced by some general events in national scale through their historical experiences. Therefore, understanding of current stage of the issue in Milan case,

needs to perceive its historical trajectory and the events that have left imprints on the issue. Hence, our work will discuss the land (pastures) and property rights through the following three steps:

(a) Discussion around the land and property rights issue in contemporary history of Iran. This part will help us understanding the events in history of Iran that have affected the communal land issue and inter-actor relationships.

(b) Introducing the case of Milan, its origins and history, structure and social features, and their economic life in general.

(c) And more specifically, focusing on the current condition of property rights in the field. At this part the main objective is to realize the way stakeholders utilize their communal lands and to find if there is a definite utility system for regulation of pasture or not.

Finally, by completing these three steps it will be possible to comprehend transitional paths of property rights in Milanian case and make a comparative discussion with the pattern of conventional law and economics theory and Fitzpatrick's idea.

2. Nature and source of conflict is the other problematic in this research. The main actors of pastoral lands (State, nomadic tribe of Milan, and peasants) experience conflict among themselves. Each one of these actors pursue their own methods, perspectives, meaning systems, interests, aims, and strategies in relation to pastoral lands. According to our theoretical framework, confronting of these differentiated worlds may be of fundamental sources of conflict among the actors. Hence, it is necessary to do investigate separately about their point of views to find out the exact position of each actor in relation to the issue.

Additionally, it is important to State that in any contradictory situation, engaged sides live some problematic issues and undoubtedly, each side applies specific

means and strategies to gain resolution[8]. But while they use different meaning systems then, their attempts in gaining resolution may breaks down and simple contradiction gets worse and leads to escalation of conflict.

Accordingly, it would be more useful to organize our discussion in this part on the basis of problem resolution procedure. It means, to develop the discussions in a procedure including;

(a) the way they define the problems:

- What problems do they recognize?
- What dimensions do they consider for the problems?
- What priorities the problems have? and,
- How intense are the problems?

(b) the way they define the roots of problems:

- Where do they find the roots of problems?
- Who is responsible for their problems? and
- Which conditions do mobilize the conflicts among them?

(c) the way they define the resolutions for the problems:

- Which plans or strategies do they develop for resolving their problems?
- Do they need others for supports?
- What kind of supports do they need?

But as we have three actors in conflict so, we will separately discuss them and then a comprehensive debate will offer around three actors in interpretation part.

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[8] The strategies they use for resolution of problem is deeply depends on the way they approach the problem including; the way they define the problem, the way they trace causes of problem, and the way they define the resolutions.

3. From the previous chapters we had that State replaced itself with the Arbabs in pastoral lands and tried to regulate these lands. While any control and regulation out to be leaned for success on a completely legitimized power therefore, employing the Legitimation Crisis theory of Habermas and legitimation theory of Beetham, legitimation of State is matter of question and will be considered at the next stance. Accordingly, legitimation of State will examine in three levels consisted of; (a) Rules level, (b) Justifications level, and (c) Actions level.

4. In sociology and anthropological theories conflict with out-groups enhances internal cohesion of a group. "Conflicts in one set of relationships over a wider range of society or through a longer period of time, lead to the reestablishment of social cohesion" (Coser 1956, Gluckman 1955). Keeping in mind the mentioned relationship between conflict and cohesion, we will try to do investigate in this about in Milan tribe. So, the main issue at this part is to discover if conflict with peasants has bring for nomads more cohesion or not.

4.4. Definitions of Concepts

It is important in any research to establish similar understandings around the main variables and concepts of the work. It is important because helps developing the inquiry far from any ambiguity and provides a sphere in which following the concepts is possible for every one without any divergence in perceptions. In following sub-parts, some of the most frequent, and at the same time central concepts of the research have defined;

4.4.1. Social Conflict

Conflict in general is confrontation of powers and can take so many forms. My concern here is social conflict that is the struggle for agency or power in society. Social conflict or group conflict occurs when two or more actors oppose each other in social interaction, reciprocally exerting social power in an effort to attain scarce or incompatible goals and prevent the opponent from attaining them. At this work conflict among the actors has concentrated around the pastoral lands as scarce resources in the region. Their conflict is

generally in the forms of disobedience, irresponsibility, trespass, feud, law breaking, and litigation.

4.4.2. Source of Conflict

Source of conflict is something from which conflict comes out or something that causes conflict among individuals, groups, parties, races, classes, actors etc. At this work we mean the sources that cause conflict among the main actors of pastoral lands consisted of; State, nomadic tribes, and Small holding peasants.

4.4.3. Legitimation

Applying Beetham's perspective, legitimation has defined in this work as a process through which Natural Resources Organization (NRO) –as an organization that is responsible for management of natural resources –comes to be accepted and obeyed as an appropriate power in management of pastoral lands at least in three dimensions;

- The extent that power conforms to established rules.
- The extent that rules can be justified by reference to beliefs shared by both dominant and subordinate, and
- The extent there is evidence of consent by the subordinate to the particular power relation (here we mean participation of subordinate in management of pastures).

4.4.4. Group Cohesion

We refer to the concept of group cohesion as a force(s) that binds a group together (Ritzer 2005, 504).

4.4.5. Land Property Rights

It means that, "one does not own property, i.e., land, per se, but rather rights to and over that property. This bundle of rights usually includes (within the limits of the law) the right to its use, the right to exclude others from its use and the right to offer its use to others. Although these rights are exclusive, they are not absolute" (Montaner-Larson 2002).

4.4.6. Meaning Systems

By meaning system we refer to a perceptional framework on which people (actors here) organize their understandings and behaviours. This framework is strongly affected by

previous experiences, positions in social stratification, social roles, group, class, or even individual interests, and so many other items. According to meaning system, each one of actors may have different understandings from reality and act in different manners accordingly.

4.4.7. Open Access/Chaos

These two phrases have used too close to each other in this research; by open access means the lack of any specific right for utilizing of pastures or to exclude some from them. In a close sense, chaos also has the same meaning; in chaos there are specific rights for utilizing or excluding the people from the pastures, but no one obeys the rights.

4.4.8. Range Lands/Grazing Lands/Pastoral Lands

Rangelands are natural districts which are suitable for raising livestock. This is true in simple sense, but by considering the similarly use of the concepts Grazing and Pastoral lands in different texts, it would be much difficult to introduce an acute definition of the word. Indeed, due to differently use of the concepts and in so many cases amatory use of them, it is hard to draw a clear cut among the mentioned concepts.

According to FAO's definition, rangeland is a land, major use of which is grazing by livestock and big game animals and on which the natural potential and natural vegetation of plants is dominated by native grasses, grass-like plants, forbs, and shrubs. Some rangelands have been or may be seeded to introduced or domesticated plant species (FAO n.d.). Here we see a much overlap between the concepts of grazing land with that of rangeland.

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) also defines Rangelands as those lands on which the native vegetation (climax or natural potential plant community) is predominantly grasses, grass-like plants, forbs, or shrubs suitable for grazing or browsing use (EPA n.d.).

In some texts, the term grazing lands has a similar meaning with that of rangelands. In glossary of terms and concepts related to environment, FAO defines it to that portion of the public domain which has been set aside, in view of the suitability of its topography and vegetation, for raising of livestock (Peenra n.d.).

Again, the term Pastoral land has been defined by EPA as a land that is primarily used for the production of adapted, domesticated forage plants for livestock. While in Wikipedia we read that a pasture is land used for grazing. Pasture lands in the narrow sense are enclosed tracts of farmland, grazed by domesticated livestock, such as horses, cattle, sheep or swine. The vegetation of tended pasture, forage, consists mainly of grasses, with an interspersion of legumes and other forbs (non-grass herbaceous plants). Pasture is typically grazed throughout the summer, in contrast to meadow which is used for grazing only after being mown to make hay for winter fodder. Pasture in a wider sense additionally includes rangelands, other unenclosed pastoral system, and land types used by wild animals for grazing or browsing (Wikipedia n.d.).

In spite of blurred sphere around these three concepts among unskilled, of course they are clear for experts of environmental discipline. We, in our research, without being confused by rhetoric dimensions of the concepts, will generally consider them under the term, Rangelands, as those natural lands that are used communally for livestock and grazing purposes by stakeholders. At these lands, no one allowed cultivating them, but it is possible to use fertilizers or make water resources for animals or some other activities for lands improvement by their utilizers.

4.4.9. Pastoral Nomadism
Pastoral nomadism has perceived as being based on the following main characteristics:

> (1) Pastoralism is the predominant form of economic activity; cultivation is either absent altogether or plays a very insignificant role. In the latter case it is small scale, occasional, and opportunistic. (2) Pastoralism has an extensive character connected with the maintenance of grazing or browsing herds all year round on natural pastures, without stables and without laying in fodder for livestock. (3) The pastoralist economy requires mobility within the boundaries of specific grazing territories, or else between such territories. (4) All, or at least the majority of the population, participates in these periodic migrations. (5) The traditional pastoralist economy was aimed at the requirements of subsistence. It was never profit oriented in a modern capitalist sense, although it was often considerably exchange-oriented. (6) Social organization of pastoral nomads is based on kinship, and, in the case of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes and the near and Middle East, also on various segmentary systems and genealogies, whether real or spurious. (7) Pastoral nomadism implies certain cultural characteristics connected with its mobile way of life, sociopolitical peculiarities, and some other factors (Khazanov 2009, 119).

4.5. Assumptions, Objectives, and Propositions

4.5.1. Assumptions
(a) It is assumed that there are three main actors consisted of State, nomadic tribes, and small holding peasants in the context of communally used pastoral lands.

(b) It is assumed that there is a social conflict among the main actors in relation to communally used pastoral lands.

4.5.2. Objectives
Our main purpose was to find out:

- The current situation of land property
- The resources and mechanisms of social conflict (Political, Economic, Social, Emotional, and Differentiated Meaning Systems)
- The Intensity of social conflict, its orientation and distribution among the main actors and its communal consequences

4.5.3. Propositions
(1) Land reforms of 1960s resulted deep structural changes in Iran's agrarian context one of which was nationalization of pastoral lands and elimination of tribal lords from leadership of tribes and ownership of pastures. State, after the land reforms developed its own authority into the pastoral lands, because these lands considered as national resources. Now, after several decades, in the absence of tribal lords and due to resource limitations of State in control and management of the pastures, it must be a condition of chaos in pastoral lands in the sense of land utilizing.

(2) There are many sources for conflict. Daniel Katz distinguishes three main sources; economic conflict (compete over scarce resources), value conflict, and power conflict (Katz 1965). Bernard Mayer also categorized resources of conflict in; communications, emotions, values, structure, history, human needs, interests, identity-based needs, and desires for expression (Mayer 2000).

In a divestiture form, let's extract our second proposition from the axioms below:

a. Regarding the wide expansion of degradation of pastures (generally because of over utilization of them) and pasture-oriented complaints in the field so, individual reasons (emotions or provocations such as revenge, moralities, defaming, etc.) would not be able to explain such an expanded phenomenon (conflict). We need more general reasons for the issue.

b. The distribution of pasture-oriented complaints –in the official authorities –presents a pattern like this: Kurd vs. Kurd (inter-tribal or inside-tribal), Kurd vs. non-Kurd (nomadic tribe member vs. sedentary peasant), and Kurd vs. State (is few cases there are official complaints from nomadic tribes members in the courts against the Natural Resources Organization). So, ethnic, value or identity-based needs also would not be able to explain the issue.

c. Apparently, pasture-oriented complaints and conflicts are not organized actions in the field. Disputes occur everywhere and between every group who is engaged in pasture issue. (Not between a specific group with clear political aims against State or other groups). Therefore; Economic[9], differentiated meaning systems[10], historical[11], and structural[12] factors seem to be the main sources of conflicts in the pastoral lands.

(3) If State –considering to its resource limitations –has not enough ability to implement efficient programs in pastoral lands thus, it might lead the State to lose its legitimacy in regulating of pastoral lands in the sight of nomadic community.

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[9] The source can be economic because, the value of a good pasture and accordingly, the competition and conflict around it must be increased, due to a decade drought in the region.

[10] The source can be based on differentiated meaning systems because, the risk of misunderstanding among the actors must be increased for lack of any positive communication system among actors.

[11] The source can be historical because, since the land reform of 1962 onward, in spite of serious settlement programs, they still insist to keep their pastures and not to cease their migratory life.

[12] And the source can be structural because, the actors are not homogenous totalities; in socio-economic sense, State is highly centralized and depended on privatization of markets and means of production. Sedentary groups are peasants with special production structures and finally, the Nomadic tribes, are animal husbandries with their own specificities.

(4) Conflict contrary to the claims of most previous thinkers, is not a totally negative phenomenon in human societies. It can function in both integrating and disintegrating paths for the sides who are engaged in conflict. Conflict with out-groups has impacts on the structure of in-groups. Conflicts in one set of relationships, over a wider range of society or through a longer period of time, lead to the reestablishment of social cohesion (Coser 1956, 34, Gluckman 1955, 2, Tapper 1997, 135, Beck 2011, 295)

Therefore, due to existence of conflict among the actors over pastoral lands, it seems that their (Nomadic tribes) group cohesion has been increased.

Here, it must be noted that in any conflictive situation, political (in general sense) interests are at least at the background of the field. People, groups, or countries conflict with each other around scarce resources. In terms of Simmel, the value of things is directly related to level of their accessibility; the more scarce a thing, the high its value. Then, those who have more access to scarce resources, have in fact more power and chances in society and this is obviously a political reality. Regarding the scarcity of land in Iran there has been always a conflict around it and historical facts are also confirmed it. Therefore, a political spirit has always been dominated the field and state-nomad relationships. Accordingly, without being limited in a proposition or hypothesis, political perspective will be the background of all analyses in this research.

4.6. Data Collection

4.6.1. Sampling
There are so many strategies for sampling in qualitative research methodology. Choosing a proper strategy certainly increases the reliability of data and the information upon it. A good sample should be accurate, adequate, with no or minimum of bias, reliable, and representative of the society. Undoubtedly, proportionality of a sampling strategy highly depends on its topic and the socio-cultural characteristics of a society in which inquiry conducts.

As it mentioned before, the main actors of pastoral lands were nomadic tribal groups, peasantry groups, and State. Thus, we were confronting with three social groups quite different from each other. Nomadic tribes were too segmented communities with clear ties and borders among themselves. Yet, their segmentations did not prevent their totality, so that, they seemed like an integrated image for outsiders.

Peasants were more homogeneous and not segmented as much as the nomadic tribes. Their condition of life, opportunities, and threats were highly spatial in character. It means that peasants of a same geographical district were almost living common conditions. Nevertheless, they had their own specificities, stratifications and segmentations, but less than nomadic tribal groups.

The third actor, State, quite contrary, was a highly bureaucratic, formal, organized, territorial, and dominant institution which governing the whole society through the judiciary, executive, and legislature means. Thus, the strategy of sampling should be different for each group:

For sampling in nomadic tribes it was better to use 'Maximum Variation Sampling'. By this way, it would be possible to have representatives from different tribal segments in our inquiries. Sampling unit of our study was head of family. The reason was that the issue of communal pastoral lands is a matter of importance for whole family and head of family is the only one who is eligible to decide on. From the previous experiences and through a pre-test which done in the field, we realized that men were heads of families among the nomads and peasants.

Peasantry groups were more homogenous as we mentioned. Peasants around the summery pastoral lands were sedentary communities and usually did agriculture and animal husbandry beside it. None of them had official right to utilize the pastures around because, State considered them as peasants. Pastures belonged to nomadic tribes whose main subsistence was upon the livestock. While they all were not engaged in conflict with nomadic tribes so, we used 'Typical Case Sampling' through which only those who had conflict with nomadic tribes had chance to be chosen in our sample.

In relation to State, the best strategy was the 'Critical Case Sampling'. Indeed, State policies in administrative sectors were not matter of familiarity for all of staffs. Just few of them might be aware of the policies and even more fewer had responsibilities in this relation. Therefore, choosing the cases that were important because of their position and of the information they hold was our plan for choosing the samples. A note here is that, two administrative were directly responsible of nomadic tribes and pastoral land: Natural Resources Organization (NRO) and Nomadic Affairs Organization (NAO). Since, local branches of these two organizations were in the 'front line' therefore, we selected them as the basis in which we did our samplings.

In figure (10) we have showed distribution of sample villages in the region. In wintery part (right side of the map), nomadic tribal sample villages are indicated by some colored symbols. Each symbol according to the index of the map points to the exact location of the sample village and its tribal affinity.
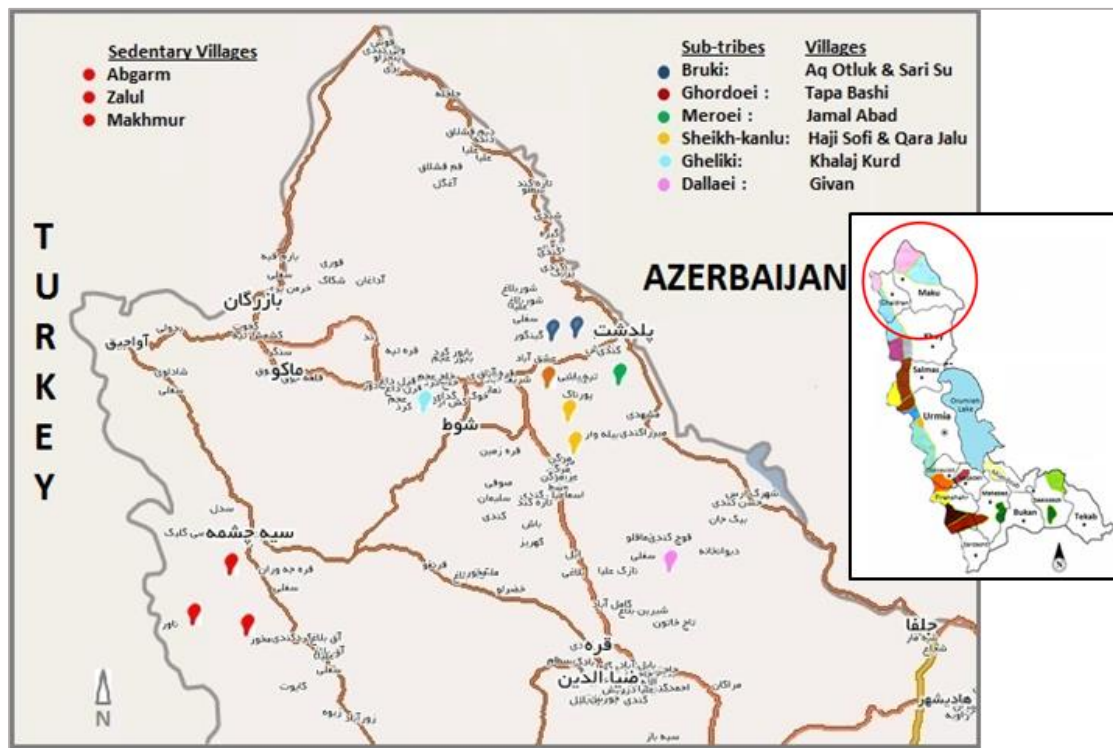
Figure 10. Distribution of the sample villages with respect to their tribal affinities in the region

In order to attain the 'Maximum Variation', we tried to cover whole Milanian wintery territory (blue area at the top-right corner) and at the same time, to produce a sample which represented the totality of tribe. Therefore, we got spread across the region (in eight nomadic tribal villages) and interviewed with nomads from six sub-tribes as the followings;

1. *Bruki Milan*
2. *Ghordoei Milan*
3. *Meroei Milan*
4. *Sheikh-kanlou Milan*
5. *Gheliki Milan*
6. *Dallaei Milan*

The figure (10) in its left side (blue area at the top-left corner) shows Milanian summery territory. Three villages from this section, whose names were frequently declared by nomadic tribal interviewees as problematic villages, were chosen. These villages were;

3. *Abgarm*
4. *Zalul*
5. *Makhmur*

Our focus in each village was on the people who had contradictory relationships with nomadic tribal groups.

4.6.2. Participants in Interviews
As we mentioned before, we have three main actors in the field. The following tables (2, 3, and 4) contain the number of interviewees and their general characteristics.

As we explained in sampling part, all interviewees were male so, we did not record the sexuality of interviewees in the tables. Table (2) belongs to nomadic people. The column of 'Village' in this table refers to the villages of wintery pastures in which they live and the column of 'Tribal Affinity' shows the tribe that interviewee is belong to. Number of villages were 10 from approximately 6 tribal sub-groups.

Table 2. Nomadic interviewees and their general characteristics

ROW	NAME	AGE	VILLAGE	TRIBAL AFFINITY
1	Soleiman	71	Givan	Dallaei Milan
2	Hasan	41	Karam abad	Dallaei Milan
3	Majid	59	Abdol-ali Kandi	Dallaei Milan
4	Khosro	67	Gharajalou	Sheikh-kanlou Milan
5	Behnam	40	Haji Soufi	Sheikh-kanlou Milan
6	Hosein	64	Haji Soufi	Sheikh-kanlou Milan
7	Hosein	50	Sari su	Bruki Milan
8	Khalil	76	Sari su	Bruki Milan
9	Khalis	55	Aq otluq	Bruki Milan
10	Naser	51	Aq otluq	Bruki Milan
11	Jafar	73	Khalaj-e kurd	Gholiki Milan
12	Saeed	42	Khalaj-e kurd	Gholiki Milan
13	Mozafar	53	Khalaj-e kurd	Gholiki Milan
14	Shamo	47	Jamal abad	Meroei Milan
15	Abbas	56	Jamal abad	Meroei Milan
16	Faris	62	Jamal abad	Meroei Milan
17	Hosein	35	Tapa bashi	Ghordoei Milan
18	Hamid	65	Tapa bashi	Ghordoei Milan
19	Ayyub	44	Tapa bashi	Ghordoei Milan

Table 3. Peasant interviewees and their general characteristics

ROW	NAME	AGE	VILLAGE
1	Hasan R.	58	Abgarm
2	Omer	46	Abgarm
3	Saleh	41	Abgarm
4	Hasan	45	Zalul
5	Aziz	38	Zalul
6	Salam	49	Zalul
7	Ghotb-addin	36	Makhmur
8	Mahir	60	Makhmur
9	Ghadir	35	Makhmur
10	Hasan	42	Makhmur

Table 4. Administrative interviewees and their general characteristics

ROW	NAME	ORGANIZATION	POSITION
1	SH.	NRO	CHIEF
2	M.	NRO	EXPERT
3	A.	NRO	EXPERT
4	GH.	NAO	CHIEF
5	H.	NAO	EXPERT

Peasant interviewees are shown in table (3). These people were living in villages around summary pastures of Milan tribe. Some of these people were peasants but some others had nomadic origins and they were from Milanian nomads. According to State, since they have settled down from many years ago so, this kind of nomads has considered as

peasants too. Therefore, the column of 'Village' in this table refers to the villages in summary lands and belongs to peasants.

Table (4) relates to administrative interviewees. While we had two main organizations that were directly responsible for pastoral lands and nomads so, we chose our interviewees from these two organizations.

4.6.3. Techniques, Methods, and Tools of Research
In the following parts we will introduce the techniques, methods, and tools of the research. By techniques the way of encounter with community and the way of our entrance will discussed. Then after, method(s) of research and proper tools for gathering data and finally analyzing of data will be explained.

4.6.3.1. Techniques of Research
4.6.3.1.1. How to Enter Into the Community
After choosing the field of inquiry and like to what Rossman and Rallis ((Rossman and Rallis 1998)) argued, I faced with some crucial questions by entering in community;

- How to introduce myself to participants?
- What information I need to know?
- What position or role I must take in the site?
- What relationships will be established?
- And what promises will be made?

Thus, how to get in was the matter of question. It may seems a very simple stage in conducting an inquiry in humanities but, quite contrary, entering the field is an important yet a very difficult stage in the course. Although I had familiarity with them through my previous researches, but it was not adequate I thought. Since entering into a community especially a tribal one always confronts with doubt and resistance, so existence of a native concomitant would be useful, therefore, I decided to ask someone from them who was an educated person (Master degree) and living in city to assist me in the field. His presence was useful from several aspects; first of all, he was an educated person and was aware of academic research. So, he could smooth my way into community by removing their anxiety and result trust among them. Secondly, he was familiar with tribal members

and even had kinship relationships with them. This was an advantageous point that could help me to choose appropriate samples. Thirdly, he was familiar with distribution of tribe and its clusters in the field and even the routes. This helped me finding out the required samples without being lost in the area and wasting time and energy.

Along with these preparations, I still had to decide on the way I should introduce myself to the community. Due to suspicious atmosphere in State-nomad relationships in their historical trajectory and according to my own experiences, it was so hard to efficiently get in by governmental identity[13], however, I decided to use my studentship identity and introduce myself as a PhD student independent from any governmental affinity. At this condition, there was no need to worry about their unpleasant attitude towards administrative or make any promise to facilitate communications and encourage them to participate in interviews. My previous experiences show that they welcome if find you honest one.

4.6.3.1.2. A Phase before Entering
Few months prior to start the field works, plenty of factor and variables I had in mind. The issue of land was a multidisciplinary one subjected to economics, sociology, anthropology, law, political sciences and international relationships. Then, the conflict over land had many dimensions and disciplinary overlaps. Although I had restricted the scope of study onto specific sociological aspects of the conflicts, but still I had some blurred spots in the image. For example, I had no an exact idea about the number of actors in pastoral lands.

According to historical data, nomadic tribes and State were the active sides in relation to pastoral lands. After detribalization policies and the Land Reforms of 1960s, so many migratory nomadic tribes settled in villages and directed a kind of semi-nomadic form of livelihood in combination of agricultural activities. Their intermediate pastures (by midways between wintery and summery pastures) which were used to as passageways

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[13] Physically entering into community of course was not matter of problem because they were very kind and hospitable people. The problematic was entering into a sphere in which attaining true information became possible.

cultivated by rural people. Thereafter, peasants and sedentary nomads also joined to the circle of pastoral lands actors.

After Islamic Revolution, a local council (Shura) also introduced in villages as a reference in their everyday issues. These councils in rural areas were efficiently functioning but I had no information about the way they were working in nomadic communities. And I had no idea if it could be an actor in relation to pastoral land issues or not.

Role of the previous Arbabs or their sons also was a matter of question. I did not know if they still lived there or not and if they still benefited some power or not.

About the margins of conflicts also I had not a clear understanding. Were there any conflicts between Milanian and other nomadic groups such as Jalali tribe or not? How much was the intensity of degradation in pastures? Were there any racial or ethnic conflicts in the regions? Were there any gender dimensions in relation to land conflicts? And so on.

As it has recommended by methodological literatures, I decided to make some trips into the field with my company before the starting of field works and even prior to last formulation of the propositions. The trips did in two separate weeks through which we observed their pastures in wintery and summery territories and realized the terrible degradations over there, we spoke with different groups (e.g. women and young) in order to find out a general scheme about the issue. Those trips were so useful in illumination of the frame of work and especially helped me in formulation of propositions of the study.

4.6.3.2. Methods and Tools

Qualitative research have become increasingly important mode of inquiry for the social sciences. Qualitative research is a broad approach to the study of social phenomena. People generally hesitate to show their real feelings, emotions, values and ideas if they find themselves under an experiment. They care about their footprints in experimental conditions and prefer not to leave any risky document. At these cases it is not possible to probe in privacies or profound beliefs through questionnaires or quantitative methods.

While conflict as the core of our research is a risky concept enough, therefore, engaged sides will be in the fear of each other especially if State become one of the sides. In such a condition, using qualitative method would be much more fruitless, instead, qualitative inquiry would be much beneficiary in our investigation.

Beside the justifications done above yet, there is another reason for employing qualitative method in our inquiry. As the work is prepared to be done in a traditional community and as these communities are generally illiterate so, conducting an inquiry with paper and pencil and questionnaire would be much stranger for them and their fear accordingly. Therefore, the best way for us was to employ qualitative method and 'in-depth' 'semi-structured' interview.

Following the defining primary methodological arrangements, it is necessary at the next step developing a practical scheme for research procedures. Kvale indicated that, because of the lack of standard techniques or rules for qualitative research interviews, advance preparation would be important by consideration on standard choices of methods during six different stages of an interview investigation (Kvale 1996). Accordingly, our strategy will be to organize the interviews considering the following instructions.

4.6.3.2.1. Thematizing
This is the first process whereby we clarify the purpose of the interview and determine what we want to find out. The first basic question is whether we are using the interview for program planning. The main theme we are to focus on, is the concept of conflict and its dynamics in the field of study. Which resources through which dynamics escalate the conflict among the actors will be matter of questions for us and the purpose of research at all, but is too general and must be specified into subtopics. So, we can categorize it into following subtopics;

- Historical Backgrounds of Conflict_ in this part we will outline the main historical events such as emergence of nation-State in 1900s and centralization of power, Detribalization policies, Land Reforms of 1960s, and Islamic Revolution of 1979 as the main factors that have influenced the current situation

of the issue. Beside of this general background, Milan' history also will be considered.

- Socio-economic and Political Sources of Conflict_ here we are to find out the sources that are rooted in social and economic positions and interests. So many items such as property rights, economic interests, legitimacy of State, regulatory role of State, social characteristics of actors, etc., will be considered at this part.

- Structural Sources of Conflict_ some sources of conflict may defined and imposed on the field through the structural organizations. For example; their position in power relations, their nature (State with its official features, nomads with their unique form of livelihood, and small holding peasants with their own characteristics), etc.

- Legal Sources of Conflict_ here the purpose is to find the sources that are hidden inside the legal order but do escalate the conflict among the actors.

- Policies and Conflict_ again there may exists some policies that causes intensification of conflicts. At this part we will try to find them out.

- Differentiated Meaning Systems_ each one of actors have their own perspectives and perception from the reality. In fact they have their own meaning systems on which develop their perceptions and organize their behaviors. This part will try to explain how their differentiated meaning systems affect the conflict among them.

- Consequences of Conflict in Community_ the last theme is cohesion. At this part it will be examined if cohesion of tribe has increased due to existence of conflict with other actors or not.

4.6.3.2.2. Designing

After we determined what want to know, we must design a way to find it out. A key part of this process is designing an interview guide. An interview guide is a list of questions and probing follow-ups that guide us through the interview. As we prepare this guide, we should anticipate and organize the issues we plan to explore. However, if the discussion warrants it, we must be willing to transition or change directions during the interview. The interview guide helps us to stay on track; helps insure that important

issues/topics are addressed; provides a framework and sequence for the questions; and helps maintain some consistency across interviews with different respondents.

There are three basic parts of the interview guide: Face-sheet, Actual Questions, and Post-Interview Comment Sheet;

- Face-Sheet will use to record factual information such as time, date, and place of the interview. Also, any special conditions or circumstances that may affect the interview will be recorded. Demographic information about the interviewee will be noted on the face-sheet as well.
- Actual Interview Questions, probing questions or Statements, and anticipated follow-up questions comprise the second part of the interview guide. Typically, a column alongside the questions will be used for observations made during questioning.
- Post-Interview Comment Sheet, is the final part of the interview guide provides a place to write notes after the interview. It will be consisted of our feelings, interpretations, and other comments during the interview.

4.6.3.2.3. Interviewing

Usually the actual interview consists of three main parts. The first part involves introducing and the way researcher represents him/herself to informant. It is critical to establish a good rapport with the respondent. We will generally inform the informants about our purpose of research and randomly selecting of respondents. Also we will try to put the respondent at ease. Our main responsibility is to listen and observe as we guide the respondent through a conversation until all of the important issues on the interview guide are explored. This, of course, is one of the most difficult aspects of the in-depth interviewing process. However, there are some strategies that we will use to improve the quality of the in-depth interview experience. These strategies are consisting of:

• Active listening_ our attempt will be to listen and rephrase to what is said, to insure that we completely understand the meaning the respondent intends.

• Patience_ we also will try not being in hurry or rushing during the interview with respondents and will allow them to speak freely, but along with guiding the conversation to cover important issues.

• Flexibility_ Our attempt will be also acting in flexible manner and being open to probable slight deviations from the topic, which may require rearranging/reordering the questions or coming up with new questions. If the respondent(s) deviates too far from the topic, then we carefully will return him or her to the topic at hand.

4.6.4. Data Analyzing
4.6.4.1. Transcribing
Transcribing involves creating a written text of the interviews. This step involves bringing together all of the information-gathering approaches into one written form. Thus, we will write out each question and its related response from the interview using our original notes (informants' answers) and side notes including observations, feelings and reflections. These side note will be highlighted inside the text so that, easily can be distinguishable from the rest of the text.

4.6.4.2. Analyzing
This important step involves determining the meaning in the information gathered in relation to the purpose of the study. In qualitative researches despite of quantitative, there is no reference to numbers and statistical accountings. Instead, we will study the important information and look for themes, commonalities, and patterns to try to make sense of the information.

4.6.4.3. Verifying
Verifying involves checking the credibility and validity of the information gathered. A method called Triangulation is used as a means for checking the balances. There is different types of triangulation, but here we will basically use the one simple way through which we will have a colleague read the transcripts to see if she he/she came away with the same overall meaning or not. If the informant, the colleague, and we (as researcher) interpret the question in a same manner, therefore that question will be valid enough; otherwise, we'll have to make some corrections. We, in order to catch acceptable

validity, will do this through a Pre-test interview with some informants (here two persons for this purpose is enough).

4.7. Limitations of Research

With no exception, every research has its own limitations. Our work also had some in this relation one of which and a prominent one was the issue of trust. Unfortunately, there was a sense of distrust among the nomadic tribes of the region against aliens –especially administrative and it was the biggest obstacle for my entering into the field. The most reason for their resist goes back to previous experiences they had from community-administrative (State) interactions. Failure in fulfillment of promises led the administrative into a condition of discredit among nomadic tribes of the region. Accordingly, it was hard for me to enter into the community by a formal or governmental identity so, I decide to use a quite null identity for passing the obstacle; I introduced myself as a student without any administrative affiliations. At this case I welcomed by them and they tried to help me as they can.

I felt that there was still a gap between me and the community through the pre-queries I had done in the field. They were behaving me very carefully (as a foreigner) and this was another dimension of my problem for entering into the community and catching true data. I realized that I could resolve the problem if a member from their tribe accompanied me along the whole inquiries therefore, I ask for assist from a person who was an educated one and a member of Milan. His presence was a password and helped me to be accepted by community too easily.

Lack of research background around Milan tribe was another limitation I confronted with. The more I looked for, the less I found. Except for one book about the tribe and its structure, there was nothing more in Persian literature. As the tribe of Milan was originally from Turkey, so I looked for history of tribe in Turkish scholarships and succeeded to find some documents in Turkish about earlier history of the tribe.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE OF MILAN

5.1. History of Milan

5.1.1. Myths and Origins

As the second tribe in the sense of size in the West Azerbaijan, Milan has a big black hole in its early record in Persian scholarship and even oral history of indigenous Milanian people. No one from existing generation of Milan whom which we did inquiry, was aware of the tribe's ancient origins and its historical trajectories. They just knew that so many Milanian people are still living in eastern parts of the Turkey. In Persian literature also, the sole information exceeds no more than few lines which belongs to Kalantari who says: "It is believed that, while this tribe was founded by a person whose name was Mili, so, it nominated as Milan. Some others believe that Mel is a notion refers to a mountain" (Kalantari 1966). Or, Eskandari-nia who states; Milan and Zilan were two brothers each one had his own Teyfe. Zilan had a grandson from his elder son was named "Jalal" and had two other boys by the names of Heidar and Brou. After Zilan passed away, Jalal, Heidar, and Brou were separated and each one established a Teyfe for himself orderly called Jalali, Heidaranlou, and Brouki (Eskandari-nia 1987, 51).

Accordingly, as to the literature and fieldworks we done, Milan –or Milli in Turkish literature –was once a well-developed tribal confederacy in Ottoman Empire whose territory, power and wealth was proverbial among all, therefore, we tried to trace them back in Turkish historical context.

Sykes, whose precious work in identification of Kurdish tribes of Ottoman Empire was contemporary to Milli confederacy, talks about it as in following expression:

Milan is the original mother tribe of the great Milli confederation in North Mesopotamia. Milli, has a curious and peculiar mystery attached to it, which innumerable cross-examinations on my part of every kind of Kurd has failed to elucidate to my own satisfaction. Some people merely say that the Milli were a powerful tribe who were broken up by the Turks in the 18th century (Sykes 1908).

In a story by Ahmedi-khani named *Mem-o-Zin*, *Kurmanji*[14] kurds had three divisions: *Boti*, *Mehmedi*, and *Silivi*. The third one (Silivi) also had two sub-groups called; *Mil* and *Zil* (were brothers) or *Mili* and *Zili*. Mili groups were living inErzurum, Bitlis, Van, and Dersim cities in Turkey and some border lands near to Iran (Gokalp 1992, 28-30).

There is a point to Milan-Zialn category in Ibrahim Pasha's[15] own words, too:

years and years ago the Kurds were divided into two branches, Milan and Zilan; there were 1,200 tribes of Milan, but God was displeased with them and they were scattered in all directions, some vanished, others remained; such as remained respect me as the head of Milan (Sykes 1908).

McDowall referring to an appositional dichotomy exist in Kurdish society, recognizes the Mil-Zil often based on an imagined conflict harking back to imagined origins two or more millennia ago, between two ancient groups, called Zilan and Milan (McDowall 2004, 17)

According to Sykes, and based on Ibrahim Pasha's arguments, Milan is a very ancient tribe whose history goes back prior to Islam. Milan tradition is that they are children of Shem and most probably had been Christians or Yezidis on that time. Hence, they are

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[14] It is the language of most Kurds of Turkey while in between Iranian Kurds, Sorani is current (M. V. Bruinessen 2000).

[15] Ibrahim Pasha was the most prominent leader of the Milli, one of the biggest Kurdish tribes of the Ottuman era.

originated from Arabia and been settled in the Dersim zone in Sultan Selim[16] era (Sykes 1908).

> When Sultan Selim conquered West Kurdistan, his Vizier saw that Kurds wandered up and down the Dersim slopes, and that the land was crowded with nomads, the Vizier ordered such as wish to cultivate, to build houses, and such as wished to remain in tents, to go south; some built houses, learned Turkish and veiled their women, others fled to the Dersim fastnesses, and others went south, among the latter the chief family of whom Ibrahim Pasha is now the head (ibid).

Identically, Faith Unal ascribes residence of the Milli tribe in the area, to Sultan Selim's reigning, but clarifies beside that it was Iranian interruptions in the border lands that provoked him (Sultan Selim) to reside the Milli at eastern parts of the Turkey in order to prevent Iranians interventions (Unal n.d.). This inference seems more reliable according to political relationships existed between the Ottomans and the new Safavid rulers in Iran. They were both from powerful Turkish dynasties who expanding the territorial limits of their empires. The battle of Chaldiran and its aftermath played a key role in region's history and structure. Before the battle, it was evident for Kurdish rulers that their fate would connect to either side: the Ottomans or the Safavids. The Mirs (Kurdish Aghas or leaders) who initially were in Safavid Shah Ismail alliance but then had been arrested by him, arranged to escape to the Ottoman Empire. They succeeded and were joined by others in their way. Through the mediation of Idris-i Bitlisi, a notable Kurd in service of Sultan Selim I, the Kurdish chieftains united in assistance to the Ottomans on the condition that in the return from the battle, their autonomy and territory as of what they had in the past would be granted. As so, their loyalty to Sultan Selim was the most reason for residence and development of Kurdish, especially the Milli tribes in the east parts of Turkey in the Ottomans era (Klein 2011, 54).

5.1.2. Earlier Leaders

Kelesh Abdi Agha, born in the beginning of 18th century, probably had been the first master of the Milli tribe as it is stated. He could get Ahmad's –governor of Baqdad –trust

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[16] He, the Ottoman Empire by 1512-1520, was the most powerful sovereign whose territory was the largest among the Islamic world. He formally recognized as Caliphate of Muslims by the last heir of the Abbasid Caliphate (Kinross 1977, 549).

and found a well position in Baqdad government which then helped him to achieve the tribe's leadership (Gokalp 1992, 32).

Chieftaincy of the tribe after Kelesh Abdi Agha's death, delivered to his son, Teymur Bey. He, in his first year of leadership entitled as *Mir-i-Miran* (≈lord of the lords), one of the highest titles in Ottomans era, but then after in 1789, he sentenced to death for some revolts he flamed. He lost all his responsibilities and titles and was prosecuted by Ottomans troops. Teymur resisted against them but when he realized his definite failure, escaped to Baqdad and was protected there by Abdolqadir Guilani. Teymur Bey excused by Baqdad's governor through mediation of Abdolqadir Guilani and came back to his tribe's leadership again. In a short time, Ayyub Agha –son of Teymur –got enough authority to lead the tribe and reorganized its members while his father could not prevent his leadership. Teymur had another son named Mahmud Agha. Teymur tried to replace Mahmud Agha with himself, but disappointed and hereupon was banished by his son, Teymor, to a small village beside the Firat River up to his death (Unal n.d.)

According to documents, Ayyub Agha had more than 40-50 thousands of horsemen and could be able to control so many other tribes of the East Anatoly region. He was so ambitious and plundered so much lands so that was familiar to golden stirrups. Hereat, he developed disgust for himself among people and consequently, in 1834 he dismissed from leadership through the reforms and arrested by Faris Pasha in the region.

Thereafter, Ayyub died in 1837 and 'Mahmud' succeeded his brother. Mahmud's leadership was so short and got end by his death in a quarrel with Kiki tribe. Soon after, 'Mahmud Agha II' came to leadership of the tribe and settled in Urfa region. The Milli tribe under the leadership of Mahmud Agha II welcomed by the Ottoman ruler because, the people who vacuumed from the Milli tribe were impelled to join Arabic barbarian tribes of Sammar and Anaze. Soon after, Mahmud Agha II who was capable in sense of ethics and management, succeeded in unifying the Milli tribal groups. He left the Urfa and replaced in Viranshehir and made a castle for himself. After sometime, due to quarrels with Tay and Shammar tribes and chaos in the region and disobey from the government, Mahmud Agha II was arrested by Omer Pasha, Governor of Diyarbakir and his son, 'Ibrahim Pasha' was replaced him.

5.1.3. The Period of Ibrahim Pasha

He used Hamidiye Cavalry and government resources to expand his own agenda. The Milli tribe was certainly a less populous tribe than of its adversaries, but it is evident that the Milli was the most important Hamidiye tribe in the region through which Ibrahim pasha could build a significance following. The feuds of the Milli against their rivals generally over pastoral lands continued for subsequent years.

Figure 11. Ibrahim Pasha: leader of Milli tribe in Turkey until 1908

(Ekinci n.d.)

Ibrahim Pasha continued his expansion by attracting new clients, some of whom were volunteer groups intending attach themselves to a powerful resource and some others were those who feared from intimidations of Ibrahim Pasha for paying tribute or being plundered. In 1905 his position was stronger than ever before and he did this by enhancing the relationships with outer powers, especially Britain, while ignoring the local and national authority. However, a coalition formed against Ibrahim Pasha by a

group of notables in Diyarbakir whose interests were threatened by him and mounted in 1907. Imperial troops were sent to enforce him to depart for Aleppo, but Ibrahim Pasha once again could gain the graces of the Sultan by demonstrating his loyalty through sending his Hamidiye regiments to the Hijaz, to protect Baghdad railway.

After the constitution was announced in 1908, government decided to conduct a campaign against Ibrahim Pasha, leader of the Milli tribe and Hamidiye commander, who had grown into one of the most powerful figures in Kurdistan and who oversaw what some called a 'little empire (Klein 2011, 97-101).

…however, the government continued to send expeditions to forcibly seize all of the Milli's sheep and other animals, on the pretext that the late pasha owed a huge debt to the government. The government also rearrested the sons of Ibrahim Pasha, and continued to detain the late pasha's wife at Mardin. Deprived of its leaders, its wealth, and particularly its government support, the power the Milli held just months before was now gone (ibid, 104).

5.1.4. Milan in Iran
Milan –in Iranian part – was governing at the level of clans. Every clan had (and still has) its own leadership but we rarely found a person who was familiar with his tribe's leader because, the large part of the tribal population and their ancestral leaders had lived in Turkey. Milan, far from its ancestry line, although was genealogically stemmed from the Milli tribe of Turkey, but its political history impressed by Iranian socio-political features. So, among the Iranian large tribes and confederacies, Milan has had a marginal role so that its fate has generally molded in the body of Kurdish tribes of Iran at all.

At the time when the Milli tribe was so powerful in Turkey, in north-west region of Iran –Maku zone –, Morteza Gholi Khan Sardar who's title was Eqbal-al Saltaneh (1863-1923) the son of Teymur Pasha Khan Sardar, grandson of Ali Khan Sardar, great grandson of Hossein Khan (Sardar and Governor of South Azerbaijan Iran) and great great grandson of Ahmad Sultan was governing the region including of Turks and Kurdish tribes.

Figure 12. Eqbal-al Saltaneh: the leader of north-west region of Iran –Maku zone

(Bayat n.d.)

As a modern thinking man Sardar intended to develop and correct the places he governed and their system. Examples of this would be the building of a new school (named Eqbal) using a Russian schooling system in 1917 that would teach it's students Russian and French as well as Farsi.

Maku was completely independent from Tehran and to this Sardar would have very strong relations with Russia, Turkey and its neighboring States. Of high intelligence and speaking numerous languages his diplomacy was second to none, spending much of his time throughout Kafkas Russia and Europe. His dress was very handsome as like the Lords of England, Austria and Germany (Bayat n.d.).

Kurdish tribes at least in contemporary Iran, unlike to other Iranian nomadic tribes and large and powerful confederacies have almost been influenced and provoked by foreign forces against central governments. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as it was the case in Turkey too, Kurdish tribes of the region and Iran were supporting by Ottoman Empire in order to strengthen the foundations of Empire against the Russian and Iranian sovereignties. Hence, it was important for Ottoman to integrate the Kurdistan of Iran and increase of Ottoman's presence in the region. So many cases have cited in the history of Iran-Ottoman relationships through which Ottoman side provoked Iranian Kurdish tribes,

> For example, bands of Hamidieh that crossed into Iran to help Khan of Maku (Sardar), a loyalist at the time, were taken into custody upon return in to the Ottoman side. It was even reported that the CUP17 sent a group of Silahsor, or men at arms, to help the Iranian constitutionalists18 overthrow the Shah19. Headed by the CUP strongman Enver Pasha's uncle Halil, thirty members of the group crossed into Iran, where Halil met with leaders of the Jalali, Haydaran, Takori, Milan, Shemski, and Hazeran tribes to convinces them to join the pro-constitutionalist side (Ates 2015, 263).

Or,

> In a private meeting with the Ottoman consoul, Mushir-I Divan, one of the most important notables of Sinne, observed that the region had between four hundred thousand and five hundred thousand Sunni inhabitants with close geographic and sectarian ties to the Ottomans and argued that a majority of its Ulama, a'yan, and tujjar wanted to be included in the Ottoman Empire... However, he warned that some were becoming pro-Russian (Ibid, 270).

This kind of relationships prolonged until the end of Qajar dynasty in Iran. When Reza Shah came to power, broke the integrity of tribal communities down by different policies.

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[17] The Committee of Union Progress (CUP) (Turkish: Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) began as a secret society established as the "Committee of Ottoman Union" (Turkish: Ittihad-I Osmani Cemiyeti) in Istanbul in February 6, 1889.

[18] The Constitutional Revolution of Iran took place between 1905-1907 in Tabriz and led to establishment of parliament during the Qajar kingdom dynasty.

[19] Iran's King at the time

At the time of WWI the Russian's were watching Sardar very closely worried that with his power, influence and modernized thinking he would side relations with the Ottoman's. Therefore, in 1923 as Sardar's wealth and influence rose, Reza Shah who was the commander of Iranian army at the time, knowing of Sardar's extended power and riches (at the time Sardar was the second richest man in Iran after Zel al Soltan) sent Sar-Lashgar Amir Abdollah Khan Tahmasebi (a senior military commander) to get close to Sardar and finally befriend him. After initially making a good friendship Tahmasebi convinced and tricked Sardar to go to Tehran on the Shah's request. Travelling through Tabriz, Tahmasebi arrested Sardar and imprisoned him. It is said that whilst in prison Sardar had suffered a heart attack and died, although this version is not clear as many believe he was poisoned (Bayat n.d.).

In duration of these policies and after demise of Sardar, some groups of Milan –like to other tribes– were forcefully expelled by Reza Shah to other parts of the country –mostly to Khorasan province– and therefore their integrity, political power and activities diminished but socio-economic functions keep continued up to the present day.

5.2. Social Structure of Milan

5.2.1. Mal
Family is the most sensible and integrated unit among tribes and even agrarians that is a plane for all economic activities. A family includes husband, wife, single children and sometimes grandfather, grandmother, uncle or aunt. It sometimes happens a man has other wives. At this case, those are also members of the family too (M. V. Bruinessen 1992, 66).

Mal (Family) in Milan's tribal structure is also the first and smallest socio-economic segment. In the past, extended family was the popular form of Mals and still is the prevailed form, but nuclear form is also going to develop especially among young couples. In so many cases we found some members, usually boys aged more than 17-18, were far from the Mals. They were almost in city centers especially in autumn and winter

with the aim of short time laboring and came back by beginning of animal and agricultural activities in the spring.

In Milanian Mals endogamy is popular. They tend not to marry out of the tribe at all. Most of the couples had kinship relationships before the marriage. Hardly one can find a Mal in which couples are from different tribes or relatives in law in terms of anthropology. This tendency is different among elders and young in the sense of range and type. For elders, the circle for choosing a mate was too narrow while for young its range extended up to tribal boundaries and sometimes even out of tribe. In some cases I heard that young had no hesitance for getting married from non-Kurdish people, even out of the district or city centers, but they had limitations in their Mal; Bringing a bride with a different cultural background would be so problematic inside a Milanian extended or even nuclear mal. My own fieldwork co-researcher, Jafar, was a single man from Sheikh-kanlou sub-tribe of Milan. We were mostly together speaking about different aspects of Milanian people. He, in one of our dialogues about marriage patterns among Milanian people, told me his own history about a girl whom with was in love during the study in university. He told me that everything was ok with girl and her family, but the only barrier in front of us was his family. He informed me about the harsh cultural peculiarities in his family and relatives. He was well aware of certain problems after his marry with his love; problems in her dress, speaking and communication, living under a roof in company with his father and mother and brothers and sisters, compromising with primitive facilities in his home, and so many other eventualities. He even informed that in the case of living with her in city, communication with his relatives would be problematic issue too. Because, it is not possible for a nomadic person to break off from his relatives. It mostly happens that one's cousins, uncles, or even friends come to his home and want to rest there for days. This situation for an urban-gowned girl is unacceptable. These were the reasons, he decided to forget her and find one from his own tribe whom which there is so many cultural similarities.

Everything in a Mal is common. No one works for him/herself and no one has right to be idle even children. Mal is the sole base for economic activities (e.g. animal husbandry, farming, carpet or rug weaving, etc.) and there is no other economic institution to perform

this duty. A Mal is indeed a little factory in which all members are working hard and no excuse accepted even for education or pregnancy. So many children I saw were fully illiterate or had left the schools especially among the poor Mals just due to their role in economy of Mal. During the interviews I found that situation among rich families somehow is different. They were capable to hire workers and have close connections with city centers and therefore let their children to educate in schools or higher levels. Therefore, employing of children in economic activities was not a matter of cultural characteristic, but a necessity resulted from poverty.

The children, who were working in carpet weaving, were almost daughters and most of them, especially those who were old-timer, had physical problems such as weak eyed, curvature in backbones, and shorting. Of course, except of Khoy district, carpet weaving has ceased in Milanian tribe, because, there are no fair demands for their carpets in new markets and about the rugs also, no one intends to use them anymore.

Consumption, like production, had common character; whatever prepared for the subsistence of a Mal (food and other necessities of life) ought to be consumed communally. Ownership was extremely concentrated so that men were the only owners of the property a Mal had. Man (Father) was on the top position of Mal and while a Mal was the sole base for economic activities so, head of a Mal (father) undoubtedly possesses a high degree of power and authority in relation to Mal's management.

High socio-economic status of men in Milanian Mals has customarily defined in their traditions. Patriarchy has been always a dominant system among tribal communities through which males found superiority over females in all aspects of society. This system was predominant in Milan whereby men order their wives what to do or what not to do. Apparently, male superiority in Milan institutionalizes from the childhood. Mothers in dividing the food, among their children, set apart more portions for boys in comparison to daughters. During my interviews, I never saw a daughter came to the room we, MEN were talking, but boys, matured or immature, were allowed. Division of labor also was sex-based through which daughters ought to help their mothers in homework, milking, weaving, and bringing water from spring while boys had nothing to do inside the home but out they were working on farms or grazing the animals in pastures.

Milanian women were almost hidden from our sights during the interviews. This was not so much because of our outsider-ness position or their religious belief as it is the usual case among Shia followers in Turkish tribes and communities, but because of the character of our meetings (masculinity issues). In their community, women had not permission to take part in male-character issues such as conflicts, farms, pastures, relationships, serious managements and so on. In my previous researches among Turkish rural people, women also were absence from our eyes, but their absence had completely religious reasons through which communication of a woman with a stranger man was strongly restricted. Rigidity of line between man and woman is not so much clear among Sunni people.

One of the days during our interviews in Milan, there was a wedding ceremony in the village too. After finishing the interview, they invited us to take part in the ceremony at the evening and we accepted with pleasure. As we reached there, guests consisted of young men and women were enjoying from the party. Women were dancing in group form (Jalman) while dressed in lovely colorful costumes and wore no scarf in general. They welcomed us in their ceremony warmly and no one from men or women got upset for our presence in the party. This kind of experience never happens in a rural or tribal community whose people believe in Shia. Therefore, absence of women in serious conversations was completely because of their low status in a patriarchal social system through which Milanian men never allowed them to take part in decision making and management of Mals.

According to census 2008, the total Milanian size in West Azerbaijan province was about 14,995 that organized in 2,594 families (Statistical Center of Iran). The figure (13) illustrates distribution of Milanian families across the province. Data in the figure are based on the census 2008.
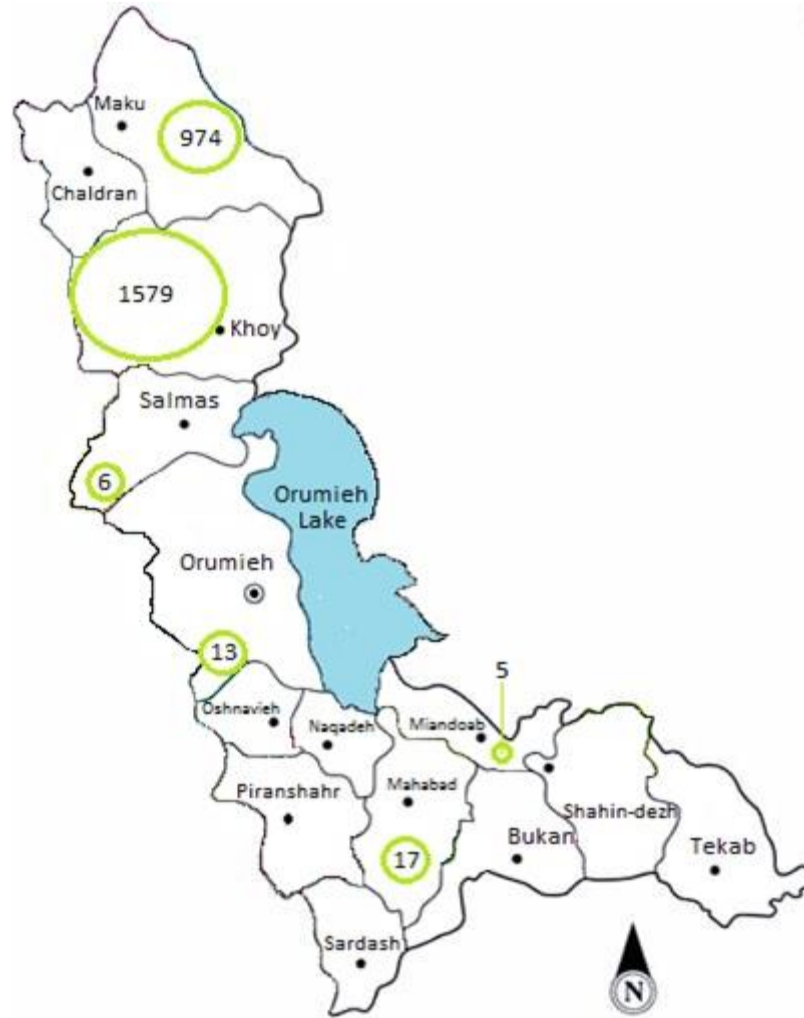
Figure 13. Distribution of Milanian households across West Azerbaijan

As it shows, north part of the province is the main locus of this nomadic tribal group. The locations indexed in the map are their wintery (Qishlaq) territories and their pattern of distribution will change of course in the summer, when they migrate to summery pastures (Yaylaq).

5.2.2. Ova/Oba

At the beginning of Yaylaq period some families come together in Qishlaq, mix their herds, and collectively start their migration towards the pastures. These groups called *Ova* or *Oba*. In the past, when pastures were dividing between nomadic groups, some Mals who had close relationships formed a group (ova) for themselves and registered a

piece from the main pasture for their own group. So, members of an Ova were fixed but could be all from a same village, or different tribal villages.

During Yaylq period, every Ova settles down in a particular location in the main tribal pasture and starts grazing its herd in a systematic manner in definite parts of the pasture. In spite of common grazing, animals of each 'Mal' are quite separable from others through the signs that are meaningful for them.

A person on the top of an Ova, called *Sar-Ova* or *Oba-bashi* is who has more animals in general. "Management and division of labor in Ova, organizing of migration, division of pasture for grazing, communication with other Ova(s) or tribal categories and administrative, accepting of guests, and hiring of ranchers are main responsibilities of a Sar-Ova" (Eskandari-nia 1987, 30). As we see, Ova is indeed a kind of corporative organization in order to managing of pastures and herds and has no any kinship or lineage character among Milanian nomadic groups and therefore, it does not consider as a rank or position in tribe's hierarchical structure.

5.2.3. Bav or Tireh
Bav in Kurdish language means Father and in Milan's tribal structure as well as all other Kurdish tribes refers to a category by which families tie together through a common ancestor. Bav refers to a forefather who had salient characteristics and important role in development of a lineage group. Therefore, unlike to ova which is a system for organizing the economic activities (management of herds and pastures), people under the name of a Bav have close kinship relations and generally try to keep their purity by endogamy. Bavs at this sense are pillars of Teyfe and Eshira in Milan.

5.2.4. Teyfe
Unlike to its lower layers, *Teyfe* in Milan tribe is a socio-political unit consisted of different Baves. This is a common structure among all nomadic tribes in West Azerbaijan by which a nomad distinguishes or introduces him/herself (Eskandari-nia 1987, 32). A Teyfe has a specific territory with at least two distinct regions for summer and winter settlements for both households and herds. On the top of a Teyfe, there is a head its position is congenital and in almost belongs to elder sons. While members of a

Teyfe are well aware of their lineage and know that are separated from a common ancestor, so they call each other as cousins.

Around the divisions of Milanian tribe there are different Statements; 'Kalantari' distinguishes two main streams for Milan tribe: Milan and Khalkani. Milan has five sub-divisions consisted of *Mam-Kanlou*, *Dud-Kanlou, Mandule-Kanlou, Sheikh-Kanlou* and *Sarmanlou. Khalkani* has also two sub divisions: *Dallaei* and *Khalkani*. Again, *Khalkani* finds six branches: *Kechelanlou, Geli-Kanlou, Amoee, Meroei, Ghordoei* and *Khazuei* (Kalantari, 1966). According to our inquiries, Milan has divided into 12 sub-divisions that is shown in the figure (14):
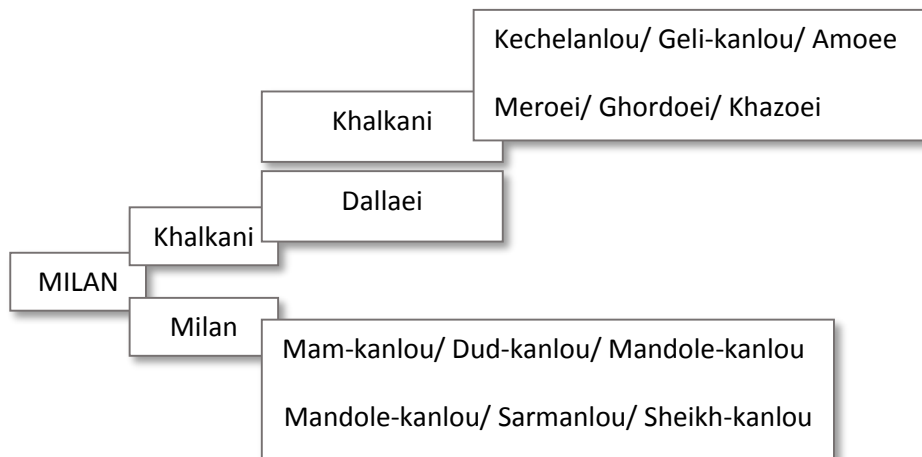
Figure 14. Divisions and sub-tribes of Milan tribe

Similarly, Eskandari-nia numbers 12 sub-divisions for Milan tribe with an exception: *Shatoei* instead of Sarmanlou (Eskandari-nia 1987, 259).

A formal document prepared by the NAO of Chaldiran city counts Milanian divisions about nine included of; Sheikh-Kanlou, Dallaei, Ghordoei, Meroei, Brouki, Geli-Kanlou, Gholiki, Kechelanlou and Amoei. But, there is nothing in detail about their hierarchies in their document.

5.2.5. Eshira

Eshira is the last and the largest layer of a Milanian nomadic tribe that is combined of some structured groups called Teyfe. In the figure (15) we have tried to illustrate social structure of Milan. As it shows, Eshira is equal to tribe and is on the top of the structure. It is combined from few Tayfes. Each Tayfe is consisted of few Bavs and each Bave is consisted of few Mals.
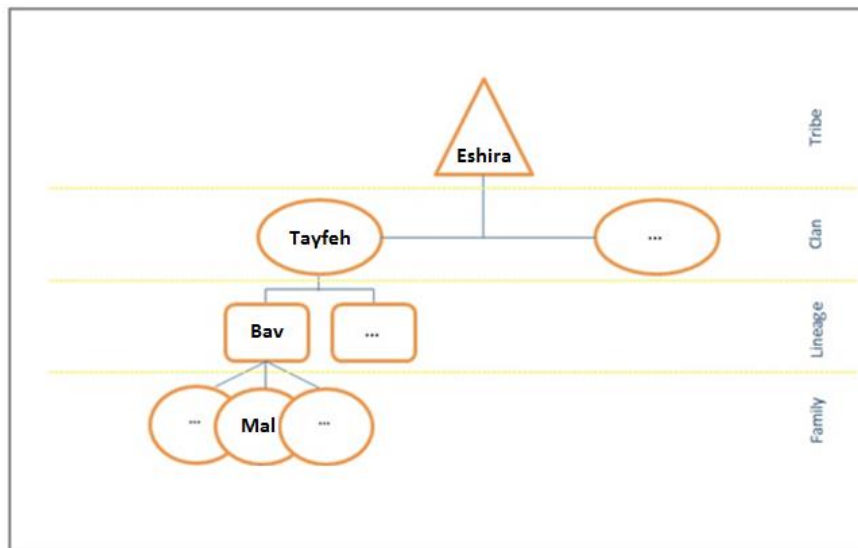
Figure 15. Social structure of Milan

This structure is somehow common among Kurdish tribes. As Bruinessen (1992) also stated, a Kurdish tribe is a socio-political and generally regional unit on a kinship base –real or imaginary –with an internal specific structure. Each tribe is divided into some Sub-tribes and so on to smaller units such as Clan and Lineage (Bruinessen 1992 in: Younesi, 2005: 66).

5.3. Economic Structure of Milan

Everyday life is what a person daily does, feels, and thinks. Much of everyday life is automatic in that it is driven by current environmental features as mediated by automatic meaning systems processing of those features, and without any mediation by conscious choice. Life span in spite of its complexity in urban areas, is a routine which its reputation lengths as long as a day. In other words, it is a repeating experience of every day. If we take a look at an urban dweller's normal life, except for special events will find a repeating daily course which mostly makes it boring. Additionally, people in urban areas are similar to atoms each one has his/her own experience so that in well-developed cities the smallest unit of society are individuals. But, in tribal communities extraction of individual from the family is not possible because an individual has been defined to the system through the family. In the life span also, their experiences' circle is wider and extends to the whole size of a year. Life is in harmony with nature and thereof everyday life in tribal communities lasts as long as a full year. Life of a tribal family transforms concordant with changes in the nature. They have to adapt themselves with requisites arise from natural environment. Hence any discussion on everyday life in tribal community ought to be in family level. In addition, circulation of life in tribal community is not in daily mode.

Accordingly, we have sketched a Milanian family's economic life through a year in the figure (16). We start by 21th of March, the first day of New Year; Norouz. At the beginning of spring simultaneously with revival of nature, tribal groups also start their activities. Those nomads who have farm lands, are two times busier than those who have not. The farming for them is a supplementary activity for husbandry. By this way it is possible to produce forage. So, the crops they cultivate are consisted of Alfalfa, Barley, wheat, and sometimes corn or sunflower.
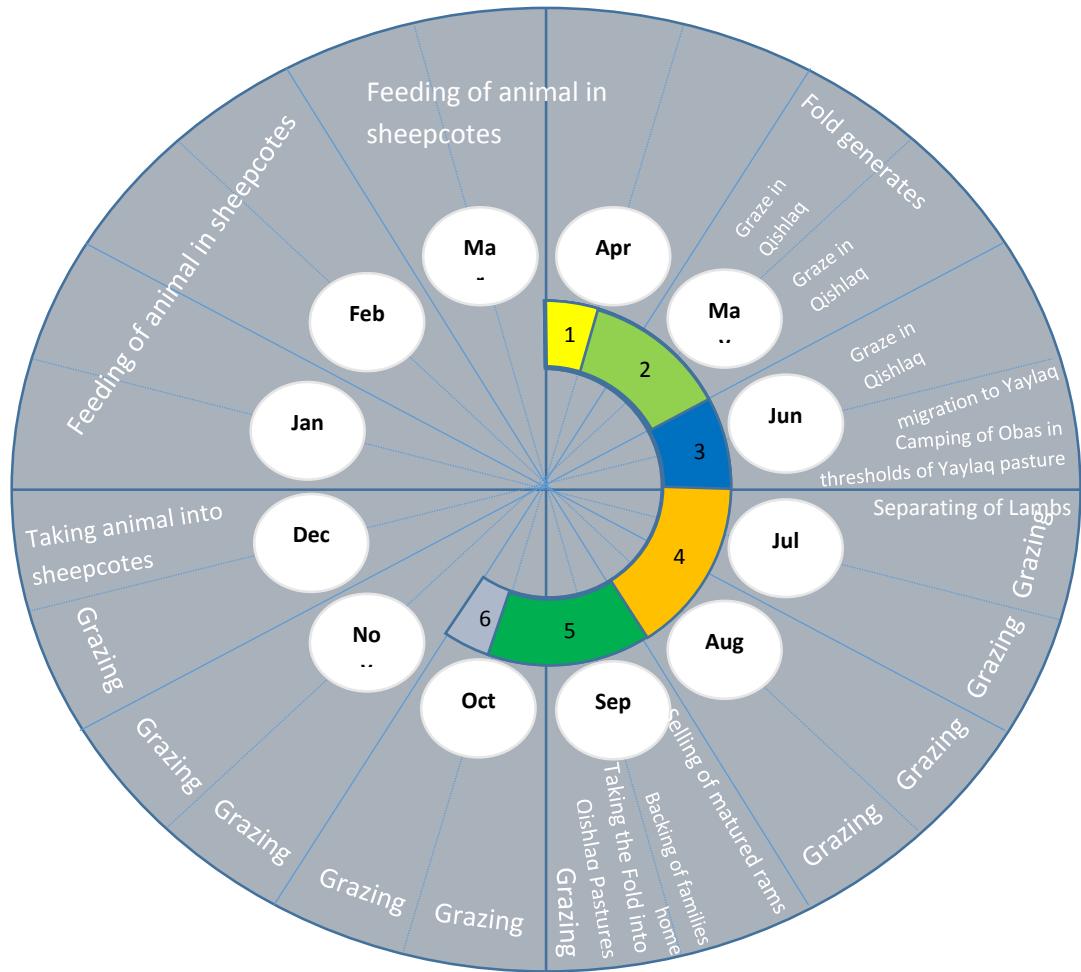
Figure 16. Economic Life in Milan through a Year

They generally in 15 days do culture their lands (See the area numbered 1 in the figure). These lands are not pastoral lands, but in few cases we observed some who had no animal, did farm in pastoral lands. The crops cultivated at this time, usually would harvest in July or August (Area number 4). Sometimes tribes do cultivate two times a year. At this case their first cultivation done in second half of October (Area number 6), will harvest in last days of April up to end of May (Area number 2) and the second time will immediately start after harvesting in June (Area number 3) and will harvest in September up to half of October (Area number 5). According to experts, cropping two times a year without using soil fertilizers will absolutely degrade the quality of soil and even quantity and quality of crops. According to our investigations they seldom consider

to these details and just concentrate on overusing of their lands in order to cover animal husbandry costs, but the main business for a tribal family is animal husbandry;

Shamo, 47, Nomad:

> … We sleep when animal sleeps, wake up when it wakes up, we move with it and stay when it stays. When it bears a child, as like as our own child we take care of it… we have never rest… we have nothing except of animal.

By end of April, animals extract from sheepcote. The pastures almost around the village called Qishlaq pastures are the lands use for their grazing. April and June is the time fold generates so that one can see lots of tiny lambs jumping around. These lambs are carefully feeding for joining to fold (in female cases) or to be sold (in male cases) at end of Yaylaq period (beginning of September).

According to obligatory rules of the NRO, in almost from 15th of June it is possible to migrate to pastoral lands and stay there about 2-3 months. Tribes who are wishfully waiting for such a day, without any delay move on towards the pastures.

The migration pattern among Milanian tribes had been traditionally a very systematic and harmonious with nature.

Faris, 62, nomad:

> …On that time it took one month to reach Yaylqs from here. We went there step by step. There were intermediate pastures and definite tribal roads. In backing also the same method was using. Therefore neither animals nor pastures got tired. …but now in one day we reach there by trucks or 3-4 days on foot. There is no tribal road. All lands are cultivated and we have to use roads.

Chief decided the exact migration time. His decision was based on pasture's quality and weather's situation. Intermediate pastures also were belonging to tribes and they used them as stations for rest and refresh. But now, unlike to its traditional form, the migration is done by trucks or some times on feet but in short none stop period.

Hosein, 50, nomad:

In the past times we had tribal roads. Those roads belonged to us and no one could object us. Those roads were all dusty roads. We had not to use these tarmac roads. Tarmac injures the hooves of our animals. Many animals die by car accidents in tarmac roads. If we try the other paths, peasants invade us. We don't know what to do…

As in quotations submitted, migration by trucks is a troublous requisite there is no way except of acceptance.

In a week they arrive to the pasture. Every Ova/Oba knows where to settle down. According to agreements, thresholds of the pastures are the best strategic places enable them to protect the land from encroaching of others. So, each Ova/Oba does camp on special frontier part of the pasture.

Shamo, 47, nomad;

By camping in border parts of pasture, nobody can enter into the land. It also helps us to graze well. Because, every group starts grazing its animals from peripheries towards the center and by this way division of pasture and its utilization is better.

The immediate action after camping is segregation of lambs from the fold. This is necessary for tribes in order to produce dairies for sale. If lambs stay in the fold, they will drink their mothers' milk and left nothing to produce for dairy. Butter, Cream, Cheese and Yogurt are the main dairies they produce.

The number of days and number of animals that are permitted to stay in pastures depends on the quality of a pasture. The NRO is the only authority who offers permission letter to tribal groups. According to interviews, the average number of animal per hectare is ½. In other words for each sheep one needs to have one hectare.

The NRO, (M.):

Previously the qualities of pastures were very good. On that time we let them to take two sheep in one hectare, but they didn't obey the rules and overloaded the pastures by their animals and destroyed the lands. Now our pastures are too weak and must be quarantined in fact, but on the other hand we have to offer them to be utilized by nomads. Now the option we have is reduce of permission to ½ of an animal per hectare…

By considering of these limitations, Milanian tribes usually are permitted to stay in Yaylaq pastures 2-3 months. Therefore beginning weeks of September is the time they ought to evacuate the pastures, but before leaving there they decide to sell the well matured male lambs (bucks/rams). Some brokers come to Yaylaq and buy all of bucks on the table. According to Milanians, situation has defined so that the main benefits transfer to brokers' accounts.

Aziz, 38, peasant:

> … In Turkey they sometimes add Zam to all variety of goods equally. But here it is not so. For example the price of forage increases while the price of red meat decreases or stays fix. This is not good because by these activities, one group becomes richer and the other group becomes poorer... I sold my animals 6400 Tomans [Iranian currency] for each kilogram while the person who bought them from me, sold them 12000 Tomas for each kilogram. I take care of animal and tolerate with its problems along the year while the benefits goes to broker's packet…

When I asked them why they themselves don't take their animals in order to sell directly in bazar, they answered me that

Mozafar, 53, nomad:

> …it is not possible for us to sell them quickly. For selling them one by one, we have to wait long time. It needs a shelter to keep and feed them and a place for us to stay. We don't have any option except of offering them at whole to brokers.

After selling of animals, it is the time to back home. Family members all back their homes but one from each family or sometime just a rancher takes the Ova/Oba's animals to Qishlaq pastures. They have special shelters or fences over there to preserve animals. These pastures are almost weak in quality in compare to Yaylq pastures so, they sometimes have to feed them by forage as supplementary for grazing.

Family gets busy with home routines and besides with agriculture if has any farm land and animal stays in Qishlaq pasture up to snow fall in almost around end of November

or first half of December. By snowing, animal takes back into sheepcote and rest there for about four months (near to half of April) and at this time circulation of Milanian economic life wheels one full adventurous year.

According to what we observed, Milanian tribes practice transhumance form of nomadism through which livestock do migrate between summary pastures in mountains and wintery pastures in lower altitudes but family stays in the site of their settled area usually in a village.

CHAPTER 6

COMMUNAL PASTORAL LANDS, PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND CHAOS

In spite of dispersion in socio-political sphere of Iran prior to Reza Shah's period, management in pastoral lands was quite consolidated. Pastoral lands were properties of the Arbabs and a source of wealth and power for them and landless people, called Raeiat, were fully at their services. Identically, pastoral lands were islands of autonomous powers in which the Arbabs were sole resources of power. Therefore, Arbab was an entity that legislature, executive and Judiciary forms of power had been objectified in his position; He was the only authority who was enacting the rules, executing them through his armed horsemen, and attending trials for violators.

As it was evident through the literature and the interviews as well, in the Arbabian era, a systematic management was exercising –by the Arbabs –in nomadic tribal communities and their pertained lands. Although the tribe was the communal utilizer of a specific pasture at all, however, its ownership and management was private and the sole factor for improvement of pastoral lands. According to interviewees who were able to remind days of old, quality of pastures were at their most ends at those times.

Although quality of lands were considerably good, but an implicit tension or conflict existed between two opposite layers; the Arbabs as owners of lands and the Raeiats as peasants or landless mass. The Arbabs were tyrannous people as indicated frequently by interviewees. They were punishing the Raeiats violently for mistakes. Ownership of lands and animals was their right and the Raeiats have to work for them. In one of the cases even, an interviewee showed his disgust by explaining a dirty action through which one of the Arbabs obliged his Raeiats to offer him their brides at their first night of marriage. Therefore, cruelty was the main character of the Arbabian system so that no one from interviewees was in wish to experience it once again. Yet, some interviewees were in the fear of their (the Arbabs) return if State withdraws from the issue of pastoral lands.

Jafar, 73, nomad:

…[before the Land Reforms] it was Arbabs periods [Landlordism]. In Khalej [name of a tribal village] entire the farms were my father's (he was a landlord) and Raeiat [nomadic peasants] did agriculture for him so that at the end of each year, gave him 0ne fifth of total crops. In animal husbandry also all animals were belong to Arbab and Raeiat only play the role of rancher for him. They could buy few animals just by permission of my dad… Pastures were very rich so that after migrating back some parts of them leaved untouched for the people lived around. But without his permission no one dared to get close to his pastures. My dad was always regulating farms and pastures while leaning a pillow on back, stretching his legs and spending cheerful occasions with his wife at home. You know, pastures were good in quality, because they were simply in one hand. But now, hands are too many. Every person keeps his own way.
…After the Land Reform all farm lands in khalaj were seized for worthless prices and divided among Raeiat… , but pastures were seized for gratis. Natural Resources Organization possessed all of them and then offered grazing permissions to the Raeiat.
…pastures got worse after Arbab's period. Lots of struggles occurred at the beginnings but step by step –especially after Islamic Revolution –subsided.
…my pasture is the best in the region after Haji Khan [name of a pasture]. I am head of the PMP[20] for our pasture. I have problems with my partners. They hardly listen to me. State must order them to show obedience but whenever I complain from their disobedience to the NRO, they do nothing.

Saeed, 42, nomad:

…at the present time 'Dog is Unable to Recognize its Owner[21]'. State says one thing, I say another, and you say the other. No one knows what to do. We all are puzzled. But once there was a person called Arbab who was able to say the last word. His order was indispensable. At the moment, from suckling to adult is animal husbandry man.

After the land reforms of 1960s, individual nomads got permission for utility of pastoral lands. Although the reforms introduced some specific rights for nomads in pastures, but the power relations was not changed in reality. The fact was that the majority of lands

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[20] Pasture Management Plan (PMP) is a project designed for protection of pastures from destruction. According to this project every Ova/Oba must introduce a representative in order to sign a 30 years contract with the NRO and acceptance of all responsibilities related to the pasture. By this project State wants to motivate tribes to take care of pastures as their own properties.
[21] This is a proverb refers to a condition of chaos

were still in the ownership of Arbabs. They had wealth and power in State whereas peasants or nomads were impotent masses had no choice other than obeying their wills.

The land oriented power relations stayed unchanged until the Islamic Revolution of 1979 when the political order collapsed and dominant groups lost their whole power and wealth in favor of lower layers. These changes followed in nomadic societies by capturing of Arbabs' lands by individual nomads.

Hasan, 41, nomad:

> These lands were once belonged to Sardar but after his death, every small Arbab seized his lands. These lands were not for Arbabs indeed, but they captured them by force and this was the reason they lost their lands by Revolution. If it was not the Revolution, we could not get any pasture. God bless Imam. He was the person who helped us acquiring lands.

Khalil, 76, nomad:

> Our lands have leased us by Land Reforms, but no one could utilize them in fear of Arbabs on those times. They were oppressing us but after Revolution they escaped and left the lands to us.

Hosein, 64, nomad:

> In the period of 'Shah', Haj Hosein Sheikh-kanlou's father was our Arbab and a good man at the time. Although his sons or grandsons are not in the power at the moment but we still do respect them because of their father's character. In other tribes Arbabs were mostly very brutal. They were owners of lands entire the region. Each one had lots of villages and pastures. Nomads were working for them as Raeiats. They could eat something if Arbabs offered any. No one could touch their pastures unless they let them. When we were migrating to pastures, were allowed to have only few animals. The rest were belong to Arbab. In those times 100 times as the present, pastures were able to feed animals. They wouldn't finished as much as we grazed them.
> After Arbabs, no one cared about the pastures. Every one became an Arbab for himself. Every person took two animals and raised claim over the pastures. People were afraid of Arbabs in those times but now they don't even of State.

The message in Hosein's words was that, private property right was the best managing system for pastoral lands as it was the evident in the past. He complained from the current

situations in which each family has right to utilize the pastures. He believed that the fear element is required to obey in pastoral lands.

The communally use of pastures has always been a matter of problem for tribal families, pastures, and as well State. Therefore, in 1984, State offered separate grazing permission documents for each one of tribal families through which they got a formal right to enjoy from specific pastures. By this way a pasture's utilizing right divided among some families in the form of share-utilizing system. Now, they had a 'common pool resource' but have not any approved traditional or legal framework efficiently regulating their behaviors.

Then after, some experts criticized the State policies in relation to pastoral lands for ignoring the important role of private property right. Consequently, PMP was implemented to enhance quality of pastures. The main purpose of the project was encouragement of stakeholders to preserve their lands through creation of a sense of private property right among them.

As we described before, by PMP, some families are sharing a pasture, but one from them is responsible for the land. He has to enhance the land quality by introducing a true managing system through cooperation of his share-utilizers. In the case of need for investment in the pasture (for example making some structures as water pool for drinking by animals, top-dressing, seed, …) this is the head of PMP who is responsible to implement either by groups' resources or getting loan from bank system, or even his own packet. Bank system and all other administrative just know him as responsible person. Therefore, in the case of getting loan he must give a guarantee for the loan, or in the case of any problem, he is the responsible one.

Khosro, 67, nomad:

> …no one obeys. I myself have a PMP. I got it four years ago. I have to do everything; pursuing the works in administrative, going to Forest Protection office [means the NRO], going to court in the case of problem. It doesn't work so. State lets the rabbit to run and then dispatches the dog to hound it. Pasture ought to be in one's hand [means individual ownership]. On that case one knows what to do.

The course was in wrong way because, from one side they had private animals and private rights for grazing the pastures while form the other side they have a land in common as ranch. Thus, they confront with a contradictory situation in which they were unaware that the pasture is their own or not. In the case of PMP for instance; If only one person is responsible (like a private system) so, why others share in benefits like partner? If they are real partners so, why they have not any responsibility? If the head is their boss (in the role of landlord, but without ownership!) so, why he has no authority and power to force them obey? Consequently, there is a contradictory situation in which one lives a quandary about whether he has private property right in the pastures or common.

As we see, after Islamic Revolution, in the lack of previous order and the absence of Arbabs, every nomad found himself free in utilizing the pasture. At this time, there was no any force obliging them to obey any definite rule. As every individual nomad had permission to use the lands so, no one could force the other how to utilize the pastures. At the situations like this, a chaos appeared in the pastoral lands; Previous order dismissed and nothing replaced instead. This era was indication of a huge amount of conflicts among the stakeholders of pastoral lands according to the NRO;

A. (from the NRO):

> … Before the revolution, Arbab was regulating the pastoral lands. Every Arbab had his own territory and armies. Therefore, no one could invade the others' territory. Inside a tribe also everything was for Arbab, so there was nothing to conflict on among the nomads. But after revolution Arbabs left the lands to nomads and they scuffled with each other for the lands. At this era we are really in trouble. Every day we see complains among the stakeholders.

According to conventional law and economics theory, land ownership in Western countries represents a transition from 'lack of ownership' to 'communal' and then 'private ownership'. The pattern differs in Third World countries according to Fitzpatrick. In these countries weakness or illegitimacy of State agencies that hold land property rights make them unable to exclude local claimants. The claimants who often disregard the formal rules and laws and rely on their own normative orders and interests, push the situations onto a condition of open access in pastoral lands. Therefore in Third

World the path is from 'Lack of ownership' to 'Communal' and then to 'Chaos' according to Fitzpatrick. As it is shown in figure (17), the data gathered in this research revealed that the path introduced by the ELTR School and conventional law and economics theory does not adapt in our case of study.

Law, Economics and the ELTR:	Chaos	→	Communal	→	Private
Research Findings:	Private	→	Communal	→	Chaos
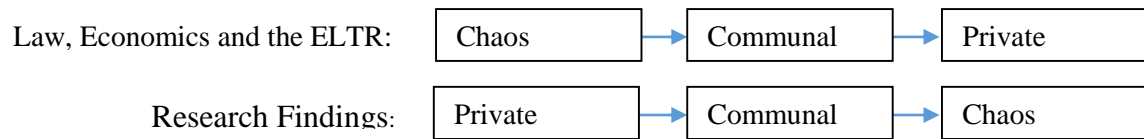
Figure 17. Transitional stages of land property rights

The case in contemporary Iran and in this research is most similar to that of Fitzpatrick's findings. Accordingly, property rights over pastoral lands and their utilization apparently have developed from private ownership (in the Arbabian era) to a communal system. However this leads to an open access system which in line with our proposition about 'Chaos in Pastures', creates an ambiguity around the property rights among the stakeholders.

CHAPTER 7

COMMUNAL PASTORAL LANDS AND INTER-ACTOR CONFLICTS

This chapter has organized in three separate parts: in the first part State that is responsible for preserving the pastures and as the sole legal authority in control and management of pastures will be discussed. Second part belongs to nomadic groups of Milan tribe. They are eligible people who can take their animals into pastoral lands and utilized them according to the rules that State introduces them. And finally, peasants as the third group who are resided in some villages around the pastoral lands and utilize them while it is prohibited. In order to reach an integrated outcome, the chapter will ended then with an interpretation part to combine and comprise the debates of previous parts.

7.1. State

Since the Land Reforms of 1960s, State as an ultra-power in nomadic areas substituted for Arbabs and achieved the authority in the field totally. For management of the field it was necessary to establish a sort of formal structures –organizations and institutions –so, the NRO (immediately by the Land Reforms) and the NAO (after the Islamic Revolution) established in order to pursue State policies in relation to pastoral lands and tribal groups as the main beneficiaries of those lands. Therefore, these two organizations set up as the foremost parts of State in confronting nomads and peasants and as well the pastoral lands. At this part we will try to discuss policies and orientations of these two organizations as representatives of State in relation to pastoral lands and their confronting with nomads and peasants at this about.

Sh. (from the NRO):

The biggest problem we have here is destruction of pastures… Let me say you an example. In 1997 a prediction did on Makou dam and its life expectancy. The length of prediction was 20 years. It estimated that after 20 years, 500,000 m3 soils will reside in the back of dam. After 10 years (In 2007) experts studied the volume of soil residuals of the dam. They wondered that there were 2,000,000 m3 soils in the back of dam. It was four times more than estimations in middle of the estimation period. This shows that destruction of pastures and soils are really horrible.

M. (from the NRO):

Amount of destruction in our pastures is really critical. Although we have drop in rainfall rates in recent decade, but the main reason for destruction is human factor. We have so many problems with stakeholders in pastoral lands. Every person have bought few animals and launched them to graze in pastures.

As in quotation above, the environmental destruction is a major problem for the NRO. The respondent via a documentary instance wants to show the intense degree of environmental crisis in pastoral lands and its impacts over other infra-structures such as dams.

The NAO from quite different perspective cares not about the nature, but nomadic tribal community in general. In this relation The NAO administrative believes in almost that settlement of migratory nomads is their most prominent disturbance. But settlement is quite voluntarily and there is no obligation.

Gh. (from the NAO):

Migration causes many problems for nomads and also for us. Now in modern era, migratory life is meaningless. We try to settle them in some proper sites and giving them agricultural lands in order to cease their migration. But the problem is that preparing agricultural lands is not easy enough. While, the only option for changing of their subsistence is to lead them towards agriculture therefore we need to offer them watery lands and finding or preparing watery lands is too hard.

H. (from the NAO):

…the problem is that these people [nomadic tribes] don't have any other opportunity except of animal husbandry. Most of them have few animals or even nothing. They

have to rely on pastures. On the other hand, we are responsible for settling them, but how? There is no agricultural land to offering them.

Settlement is problematic of course as they indicated, but offering of supportive services is also problematic.

H. (from the NAO):

…Settlement of nomads is our foremost problem. While they are migrating, it is very hard to offer them services. For example, how they can take their children into schools? How they can get access to health centers in the case they are far kilometers away from city centers and main roads? These kinds of problems are all because of migration. In some cases we requested from educational organizations to conduct some formal courses for nomads' children in tents during the migration period and they accept too, but what about the rest? Some Yaylaqs are so high that no one can offer there any services.

In Milanian case West Azerbaijan's Nomadic Affaires Organization applied a settlement project for the first time. The project had two main objectives; enhancement of tribal life through their settlement and releasing the pastures from pressures. The project did in the field and some groups from Sheikh-Kanlou and Dallaei benefited from its advantages. According to evaluation studies, the project achieved its objectives in relation to enhancement of life standards, but never succeeded in relation to pastoral dimensions. Although they acquired some pieces of farm lands against canceling of grazing permission, but did not cease animal husbandry and kept taking of animals into pastures illegally. As we asked the NAO about the issue, they reject any responsibility in relation to pastures.

Gh. (from the NAO):

…this is not related to us. The NRO ought to control them. We just help the nomads to settle down. The rest is with the NRO. Indeed we sometimes make them structures such as drinking fountains for their animals or constructing roads in Yaylaq pastures and this can be useful in pastures protection but generally, preserving the natural resources is their duty.

Animal husbandry –in traditional form –is the main reason for destruction of pastures according to the NRO. Weak economic structures of the region, leads the most people

towards the pastures. Nomadic tribes and animal husbandries are guilty too. Because their behaviors impose serious damages into pastoral lands:

M. (from the NRO):

[Destruction of pastures]… by animal husbandmen is the most important issue. 90% of our peasants are animal husbandmen. In "Chaldiran" city also the main occupation is animal husbandry and agriculture. It is not a city, but a big village. Most of the city dwellers have animals which keep them in some folds at the margins of the city or rural areas and graze them in these pastures. So, pressure over pastures is too high.

A. (from the NRO):

Nomads don't obey the rules. Our rules are in favor of them, but they don't know. Our work is handling the quarrels among them every day. We have minimum two or three complaints per day. Every family has 200-300 animals. All of them take their animals into pasture. By this invasion of course pastures destroyed.

The NRO at the core of conflict encounters with huge amounts of quarrels and complaints every day. This is the reason that they determinedly direct accusation towards two other actors as the sources of problems in the pastures and community.

Gh. (from the NAO):

The region is really deprived. There is no job, no recruitment, and no transit. For doing agriculture we need enough water. The region suffers from water shortage. In 'Shiblou' plain we offered them some piece of lands, brought them water from 'Aras' river. But now, it is not possible to extract more water from the river. In addition, land is scarce too…

H. (from the NAO):

State is responsible for destruction of pastures. How does possible to keep the nomads far from the pastures while they have no choice other than pastures?

The NRO in forefront line of the State deals with conservation and improvement of forests and pastures and the plan they have in relation to the problematic in pastoral areas also is in their professional framework. The main characteristic of professionals is their

partial perspective and accordingly, the main problem with their solutions is that they are not able to realize the facts as they are.

Firing of tribes and husbandries from pastures is a golden dream for the NRO but they have to accept them in pastoral lands upon to obligatory orders have issued from their top governors;

A. (from the NRO):

> I know the nomads well and even the solutions. But the solutions are so big and troublous that when we offer them to upper administrative positions, they reject it. They accept my solutions but never apply it. Indeed they don't want to put themselves in challenge.

According to the NRO it is impossible to control all the pastures. Incompatibility of organizational resources with the size of activity arena prevents the pastures to be controlled efficiently.

Sh. (from the NRO):

> We have also organizational problems. Our structures are too weak. In "Chaldran" township we have 158,000 hectares pastoral lands from which 70,000 hectares belong to migratory nomads and 88,000 hectares are for nomads or peasants who live in villages and do not migrate anywhere. Now, how a small organization like this can control a vast geographical area? We don't have enough staff for our duties. So it is clear that we face with shortcomings.

The only way to overcome pastures' problems is therefore reduce the number of migratory stakeholders by settling them down. Capacity of pastures is not capable of feeding current amount of animals so, some ought to be discarded from the area, but who? No one accepts to be eliminated at all; therefore, we can at least reduce their grazing permission sizes the NRO says.

Besides, due to insufficiency of administrative resources for control of pastures, they try heavy fines for those who do wrong. They believe that by directing heavy fines, they will be in fear and number of guilty people will fall to lower levels.

Sh. (from the NRO):

> We have 2,560 nomadic households who migrate to this region. 2,000 households are extra. They must be settled down in Poldasht or Baron districts by offering them farm lands. If State offer them lands, so we can cancel their grazing permission. At this case the pressure over pastures will reduce so much.

M. (from the NRO):

> …no that is not possible, because they have permission documents. Instead of omitting the households, we omit from their animals so that; we reduce their grazing permissions to lower amounts.
>
> …We not only have surplus animals than of capacity, but also have surplus husbandmen too. The second problem is more serious than the first. But we cannot do anything in relation to second issue.

A basic problem with communally held pastures is their management. For the NRO it would be affirmative if a plan could be designed through which only one person makes decision about a piece of pasture. The PMP is their desired project at the moment in relation to pasture management. They think that the PMP provides a kind of private property right over the pastoral lands through which nomadic stakeholders get enough motivations for development of their own lands.

Sh. (from the NRO):

> Pasture must be in one's hand. With group utilization it is not possible to improve the pastures' qualities. Most of the nomads ought to be settled down. But we have problems with their corporation on this issue (settlement). In addition, they must improve their lands' quality by applying fertilizers, and cooperate with each other to preserve some parts of pastures for better growth in next years. By this way the capacity of pastures will increase.
>
> …the PMP ought to be applied with just one utilizer not a group of people. On that case we know who is responsible and how to behave with criminal activities in the pastures. At the moment we don't have enough facilities and forces to control all of utilizers.

For Nomadic Affaires Organization voluntary settlement is the best plan for resolution of the problems. They try to find proper sites almost in wintery territories that are communally accepted by tribes. Albeit, preparing of these sites is not easy enough,

because moreover to local agreement there must be adequate farm lands and water resources too.

State policies in relation to nomadic tribes discussed in earlier chapters. As we mentioned, the main policy was detribalization of Iranian society that is started by Reza Shah's historical policy called 'Takht-e Kapou', through which nomadic tribal groups scattered or settled by obligatory means.

The policy was clear; implementing extreme changes in Iranian traditional context and making a modern society adapted to the Western pattern; Increase in urban population and expanding a middle class with highly organized bureaucratic structure alongside an emphasize on industrialization and service sector. The agrarian policies were also underlying the same changes. Mechanization of production in agricultural sector and dispatching the surplus labour force and population to industrial sector and urban centers was the main object. Before 1979 Revolution, there were 63000 rural points across the country. Aim of the Shah's policies was to keep just 10% of population in rural areas and the rest had to be absorbed in urban sector (industrial and service). Accordingly, nomads had to settle down in urban areas to serve to urban sectors including industry and service sectors.

After the revolution, we saw a shift towards the poor people especially in rural areas. Since, revolution owed itself to the lower strata of the society so, poverty reduction became the main carrier for the policy makers. Even 'Ayatollah Khomeini' (1902-89) considered the nomads the most oppressed part of the Iranian feudal society and called them 'treasures of the revolution' (Digard and Karimi 1987). They turned the attention from urban to rural areas and many new institutions in relation to rural industries, rural infrastructures, rural housing, and nomadic affairs established in order to dispel their problems. At the new era, in spite of Shah's regime, stabilization of rural population became the main purpose so that the pace of rural-urban migration got slow. Before the revolution, no village with less than 100 inhabitants was received services, but after revolution, even the villages with 20 populations, received variety of services such as electric power, tarmac roads, drinking water, and etc.

According to a formal enactment of Iranian ministerial cabinet on 2005 (Administrative Laws for Organizing of Country's Nomads: 2005), voluntary settlement of migratory tribes in one side and offering supportive services for the groups who reject settlement on the other side, were two strategic priorities for the State and therefore, preserving the nomadic form of livelihood was and still is an strategic aim of State in Iran. But beside the mentioned policies, there is another logic and reason for preserving migratory form of nomadic life; for State it is very important to keep some people in the frontier parts of the country. Their existence in border lands will help the security of borders to be heightened.

On the other hand, Natural Resources Organization, established by the Land Reforms of 1960s with the aim of protecting natural resources (i.e. forests and rangelands), was and is responsible for pastoral lands and works to save them from destruction.

Figure 18. Some services offered by State in summery pastures for nomads

(Resources[22])

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[22] Resources of the figures in order to top left, top right, bottom left, bottom right are: ((Google 1 n.d.) (Google 2 n.d.) (Google 3 n.d.) (Google 4 n.d.)),

Poverty reduction is definitely an important object for every development policy, but here in relation to pastoral lands and considering the problematic relationships among nomadic tribes and sedentary groups over land utilization, and high degree of degradation with a sharp increasing tendency, facilitation of migration between summery and wintery pastures will help continuity and even worsening of current situation.

The problematic and of course contradictory point is that; supporting the continuity of nomadic life in its traditional and migratory form means the increase in size of animal number and more demands for pastures. While simultaneously, the NRO strictly insists that the present size of animal herds in the pastures is extremely out of range (more than their capacities) and encounters with those who had extra animals or utilize the pastures out of their permission. Therefore, how these two categories can set alongside, is matter of question. Undoubtedly their functions are paradoxical so that, any development in one side, necessarily results decline or regression in the other side.

7.2. Nomads

The main actors in pastoral lands undoubtedly are nomadic tribal groups. Milanian tribes who have resided in Poldasht region, in almost migrate to Chaldiran region pastures to utilize them every year. In so many cases it happens that families from Milanian tribe who are permanently living in city centers such as Maku, Poldasht, Khoy, etc., even take some animals to summery pastures during the grazing seasons. By the following quotations we discuss on problematic issues they have or perceive in relation to pastures and with two other actors.

Khalis, 55, nomad:

> If we be a day far from the pastures, they [peasants] will immediately enter into our lands so, we have to hire a watchdog for our pastures… and this imposes us extra costs.

Father of Khalis:

…they [pastures] were very good. In Yaylaq and Qishlaq the pastures were adequate for our animals. We had very fat animals. But now, they are hungry. We cannot feed them well.

…In the past at the end of spring's second month, we were starting migration to the pastures. On those times, we had definite tribal roads and intermediate stations. Our migration was lasting around 2-3 months. We were moving very slowly and along the migration were grazing the tribal road lands. We had some intermediate pastures in which we were staying for one month or even more. Consequently, not only our animals did not get tired, but also they were very fresh and full. In addition, there was enough time for Yaylaq pastures in cold mountains to growth well and not to get damage. Because when we were arriving there, it was summer's second month and the grasses had been matured well and ready to spread their seeds for generation. But now there is no path. Everywhere has been cultivated by peasants and we have to move just through the roads. No one is to tell peasants why they cultivated the roads and how nomads can pass onto their pastures. So we have to take animals by trucks to the pastures. By trucks some of animals get injure and sometimes even die. No one is responsible. Some nomads, who try to move the folds in the roads, are in danger of clashing with cars passing the roads. How we must go there? By plane?! Where are our ancient tribal roads? If we slightly slip to a land (that was once our path), they quickly complain against us and State fines us.

Now we migrate to Yaylaqs one month early than those times and arrive there in 2-3 days. We arrive there while the grasses in Yaylaq are not powerful enough [because they are very young and offshoot] and we destroy them by grazing. The number of animals are also too much. Therefore, pastures' degradation is evident…and this is our story.

Faris, 62, nomad:

…On that time it took one month to reach Yaylqs from here. We went there step by step. There were intermediate pastures and definite tribal roads. In backing also the same method was using. Therefore neither animals nor pastures got tired.

…but now in one day we reach there by trucks or 3-4 days on foot. There is no tribal road. All lands are cultivated and we have to use roads.

Hosein, 50, nomad:

In the past times we had tribal roads. Those roads belonged to us and no one could object us. Those roads were all dusty roads. We had not to use these tarmac roads. Tarmac injures the hooves of our animals. Many animals die by car accidents in tarmac roads. If we try the other paths, peasants invade us. We don't know what to do…

Khosro, 67, nomad:

> Our lands are not adequate for animals. Once they were very rich so that they wouldn't finish as much as you grazed them, but now animals are hungry. The number of animals is too high indeed because, every person has bought few sheep and considers himself as livestock now.

Migration routes (tribal roads) were customarily defined as the roads through which tribal groups were moving their animals towards the summery pastures and vice versa. And there were one or more intermediate pastures for short term rehabilitation along the routes too. According to Milanian tribes those routes have diminished today. Because peasants who live alongside of the mentioned routes have cultivated and attached them into their own farm lands and this has put Milanian immigrants into serious problems in transportation of animals.

Degradation of pastures is the other important problem as they stated. But the point is that their complaining is not for nature itself, but for animals' starvation indeed. They have so many costs such as hiring watchdogs, paying trucks for transporting of animals, losing of some animals inside the trucks, losing of some other animals while they are migrating by feet etc., that are all arise from others (State or peasants) interventions according to nomads.

Another point is that they are satisfied with grazing permissions issued at 1984. On that time quality of pastures were remarkably better than now, thereupon capacity of permissions were also larger than of today. But now, permission capacities are not adequate. With no exception, all of migratory nomadic tribesmen have animals exceeded than of their permission documents. 'Ayyub' for instance, has 450 animals. His grazing permission in 1984 was for 180 animals and his latest permission has issued only for 20 animals. He insists on the contractions of 1984 and believes that those contractions were more just than of what they have now. Now a question arises here; why he insists on the 1984's contractions while is fully aware of degradation crisis in pastoral lands and decreasing of their real grazing capacity? This is because of punishments. Distance between 20 and 450 is too much and in the case of any penalty will be so heavy, but distance between 180 and 450 is smaller and the eventual penalties could be tolerable.

In almost tribes it is believed that imposing of limitation on pastures' utilization by State is questionable. Majority of peasants around summery pastures are originally from Milan tribe. Before the Land Reforms they were under sovereignty of land lords, however after the reform on 1984, estates of lords leaved for tribal groups and they got grazing permission for pastures. On that time some families were living in summery territory and some others in wintery territory. Pastures in wintery territory were low in quality in comparison to summery pastures due to climate differentiations, therefore tribal families in wintery territories after grazing of wintery pastures, immediately migrated to summery pastures. But families in summery pastures did not feel any need to bother themselves for utilizing of wintery pastures and therefore stopped migration and settled down over there.

This practice was pursuing until the time after Islamic Revolution State for preventing of pastures from destruction, decided to leave the pasture only to migratory tribes. Therefore, permission of Milanian families in wintery territories for grazing of pastoral lands extended while the others in summery parts lost their rights. From that time onward, there has been a contradiction among Milanian groups in this relation.

Peasants due to their lost rights in relation to ranches still have claim over those lands but as they are not authorized to utilize them overtly, so they use them while nomads are far away. Thus, protection of summary pastures is difficult for nomads. Due to remoteness of summery pastures from their villages in wintery pastures, control of them is too much hard. While it is not possible to be simultaneously in both sites so, they have to hire watchdog for some seasons and locate them in summery pastures and this imposes them unnecessary heavy costs and in some cases does not works efficiently, because peasants offer them (watchdogs) bribes not to informing them while they utilize the pastures.

Behnam, 40, nomad:

> …if you ask the truth, peasants always bother us. 'Makhmour', 'Sidir', "Khan", 'Yousufs', all of them. For example at the moment we are not there in yaylaq, they are busy with grazing of our lands. Therefore we have to hire a watchdog, but watchdog also takes bribe and let them to utilize our pastures.

State is the main guilty for the problems according to Milanian nomadic tribes. From different dimensions they attack on State's policies in pastoral lands. The regulations developed by State are not fair according to them; the villages located in the Chaldran region are all considered as peasants or sedentary tribes that their main subsistence is agriculture so, the pastures of the region belongs to migratory nomads whose wintery territories located in Maku (Poldasht area) county. Peasants of Chaldran region have not allowed taking their animals into the nomadic tribes' pastures legally but can graze the lands around the villages from last week of April up to the end of October (6 months). But grazing period for migratory tribes starts in middle part of June and lasts in 15th of September (3 months). Therefore the permission that peasants have, is more extended than of tribes. At this situation their animals can be out for 6 months and hence, they have chance to enter into the pastures of nomadic tribes before they come and after they leave. According to interviews all of the peasants who care animal, enter into the pastures of nomadic tribes furtively by beginning of April (even sooner than their legal time table for starting grazing of their own lands around the villages) and stay there until the June (the time nomadic tribes start their migration towards the summery pastures). By this time, they start to use their own pastures around the village up to end of September (the time nomadic tribes have to leave the pastures. After their leaving, peasants enter their pastures immediately and graze them until the winter. What happens here is that, plants be grazed immediately by vegetative period and before pollination. However, pastures confront with heavy damage and distinction and this damage transmits to nomadic tribal economic life too.

Abbas, 56, nomad, describes the condition in the following Statements:

> …after our backing to Qishlaq, it is not possible for us to hire watchdog again (because of its costs), so, we leave the pastures for them (peasants) and they easily utilize it!! They have more than 3000 animals… The main fault is with the NRO. Those villages around our pastures are seasonal, not permanent. Their dwellers are from our own nomads (Dallaei Milan). As they have some ruined houses as village there, the NRO considers them as peasants and let them to graze animals in the pastures around of village 45 days before our migration starts and let them to keep their animals there up to 45 days after our backing. What happens here is that they have lots of time to graze our lands before us and after us. This is not justice. They

are nomads like us, but the way NRO treats is oppressive. The only difference is that they were once in the very past times, permanent dwellers of those villages in Yaylq areas and were agriculturing, but later they changed their manner of life and did animal husbandry and migrated between Qishlaq and Yaylq. Many of villages over there are like this. When we do complain to the NRO, they say; "they are peasants and have right to stay at their homes any time they wish, while you are migratory nomads.

Another problematic issue with State's policies, relates to capacity of grazing permission. In all cases it is insisted that with the current permissions continuity of livelihood is impossible. In 1984, the NRO issued grazing permissions based on the capacity estimations done in pastoral lands. On that time, quality of pastures was better than now, so, the permissions also issued with higher capacities. But considering the high rates of degradation, capacity estimations repeated in 2011-2012 in West Azerbaijan according which, capacity of grazing permissions reduced to lower levels and this raised many discontents among the nomadic tribes.

Moreover, they blame the State because of its refusal to the new requests for grazing permission. Many newly established families need to make subsistence for themselves through animal husbandry, but State prevents issuing any new grazing license.

Naser, 51, nomad, accuses the State while implying;

> …look, you have educated in city and can find a job very easy, but my child could not educate in the past and is an illiterate and unemployed one… there are families for example who have matured boys while, none of them has grazing permission. So many people are among us who have no permission for grazing indeed and have not any other job too.

Ayyub, 44, nomad, also condemns the NRO:

> …last year some managers came from Urmieh and estimated the capacity of our pastures. Before their coming, we had permitted for 1800 animals (1 for each hectare). But after their estimation, they told us not to take more than 800 animals to that pasture. According to them each two hectares of our pasture is adequate for just one animal. This is too low. Two hectares for one animal is too much. It is better to let us doing according to previous permission have been issued in 1984. Once I went to Mr. … (Top manager of Natural Resources Organization in West Azerbaijan) and said him the issue and our satisfaction with 1984 permissions. I told

him that by reducing my permission to 20 animals, in fact he fired me from the yaylaq. It is impossible to continue animal husbandry by this amount I said him…, but he recommend me to do animal husbandry in industrial form!!!

Faris, 62, noamd:

Every year, State takes us some money as grazing permission. But nothing offers. Just knows how to fine us for different reasons. [Interviewee got anger and continued]: there is no one to hear and help us. No one wants to remedy our pains.

Nomadic tribes generally believe that settlement is the best solution but conditional to delivering adequate farm lands. Most of them had no or small pieces of farm lands and had to rely on pastures, but those who had lots of farm lands even were persisting on their pastoral land rights. Their herds were even more than others, because they could cultivate and produce more fodder for their animals. Actually, their serious agreement with conditional settlement is a subterfuge to obtain more lands.

Our data shows that those who have settled before and acquired farm lands (in Shiblou plain), still continue their migration to pastoral lands, but in a hidden way; albeit their grazing licenses have been canceled, they buy some animals in the beginning of migration period and take them into the leased pastures and after the ending of migration period, sell them all.

Hamid, 65, nomad:

…the best way is to file away this form of animal husbandry and removing the migratory life. They must help us to establish husbandry in industrial form or other jobs opportunities such as farm lands or any other options.

[Question: As you know, State recommends this solution and has offered 5 hectares for each family in Shiblou plain for some nomadic families too, but most of them don't leave animal husbandry yet. Why?]

…we have addicted to this kind of life, but if State executes it forcefully, it can be done.

Behnam, 40, nomad:

> The capacity of grazing permission we have is just 450 animals for entire the pasture while we are four families who communally use the pasture. How 450 animals can be sufficient for four families? At this situation we give our extra animals in trust to a leaseholder during the Yaylaq period (three months). Of course the leaseholder ought to have grazing permission. But how he feeds and where he grazes our animals is not our business. At the end of contract we get back all the animals perfectly and pay him around 30,000 Toman for each pair of sheep (ewe and its lamb).

The other solution by nomads is the increase of capacity of grazing licenses. They think that, State by reducing the grazing capacities, opened the way for violation. Nomadic people are fully relied on animal husbandry. Since there is no any other opportunity in the area and the current licenses are not adequate, therefore, they decide to pass the limitations and take extra animals than their formal permissions.

Ayyub, 44, nomad:

> …if State didn't reduce our grazing permissions to such a low limitation, no one take extra animal there. How 20 animals can be adequate for a family? We must hire a watchdog, hire rancher, and so many other costs. By 20 animals it is not possible to endure the costs.

Faris, 62, nomad:

> …State must strictly prevent peasants from cultivating the paths. In pastures also it must control them well [means not to allow them to use pastures]. The NRO never comes to pasture until someone report them a fault. In addition, State must settle the most of nomads down and just let some big animal husbandries to migrate there. How can we consider a nomad as an animal husbandman while he only has 10 animals? When he comes to Yayleq, he has 10 animals, 3 dogs, 5 children... and his dogs and children are all yowling. State must omit them from pastures and lead them to other works.

Most of nomads who have large flock sizes (more than 100 animals) believe that, State must cancel the licenses of those who have small flocks. They see the small husbandmen as problematic factors in pastoral lands. These groups [small husbandmen] are careless about the pastures and easily enter to everyone's land. But larger flocks holders, they say, are more responsible against pastures and hardly do fault. The reason is that, they

have lots of things to loose in comparison to small flocks holders in the case of any penalty.

[Question: Haji Khosro was very anger with Makhmour peasants –your neighbor in Yaylq –and had litigations against them. You are also dis-satisfied with Makhmour peasants. What is the matter?]

Hamid, 65, nomad:

> The Makhmourians in the past had lots of pastures around their village. Haji Khosro, didn't have any pasture. So, State took some pieces from their lands and shifted to Haji Khosro. From that time very heavy quarrels started between them. One time many people from us invaded to Makhmour village in favor of Haji Khosro and their entire village engaged with us. When they used weapons, we got back. It was very bad quarrel. Fortunately gendarmerie came and mediated. From that time on, we – especially Haji Khosro –have problems with them.

State is formally responsible for preserving the pastoral lands and it frequently insisted by nomadic peoples too. They believe that State must protect their rights over the pastures legally and practically. The facts show that State (the NRO) intervenes in the case of receiving any report betoken of a fault. In the past,

After increasing the mulct or *Diyeh*[23] law, they stopped the quarrels and contended to report them to administrative. But how they could aware of fault was matter of question. Since it was not possible for them to keep guard in the pastures all the time, therefore, they invent a new way for the issue: hiring a watchdog. Stakeholders of a pasture communally hired a watchdog for the times out of migration period (two or three months prior to migration). The watchdog is responsible to keep guard there and report the faults immediately.

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[23] This is a specific Islamic punitory law.

7.3. Peasants

Summery pastures are all located in mountainous areas and the villages around pastoral lands generally have no or very small agricultural flat lands. The gradient lands are not capable of irrigation and just in soft slopes it is possible to do dry cultivation. Therefore, the peasants living there have inclinations towards using of pastoral lands with the aim of animal grazing. Meanwhile, pastures ironically belong not to them but to migratory tribes. They (nomadic tribes) are those who have property rights to utilize summery pastures at all. Consequently, inhabitants of the villages confront with problems in relation to utilizing pastures and thereof their subsistence. The following quotations are related to this group of people's main challenges in relation to pastoral lands, nomads, and State.

Omer, 46, Peasant:

> At this situation, animal husbandry doesn't meet our needs even if you had 1000 animals, because the lack of pasture, it was not benefited us. State must support us establishing industrial animal husbandries. Now margarine is 80,000 Tomans. [Refers to high inflation rate at the time] State must accounts animals feeding and their meat too. How can we feed our animals? In Turkey they sometimes add 'Zam' to all variety of goods equally. But here it is not so. For example the prices of forage increases while the price of red meat decreases or stays fix. This is not good because by these activities, one group becomes richer and the other group becomes poorer... I sold my animals 6400 Tomans for each kilogram while the person who bought them from me, sold them 12000 Tomas for each kilogram. I take care of animal and tolerate with its problems along the year while the benefits transfer to broker's packet… If this situation continues, in near future all of us will migrate to cities. When against a huge amount of troubles and problems, we cannot obtain even a simple worker income, so there is no reason to keep staying here. We can work as simple worker in cities with less trouble. From 2012 up to now a number about 700 households have been migrated to cities. After 5 years I promise you this region (Chaldiran) will lose all of its inhabitants. Then who will produce meat?

Mahir, 60, Peasant:

> …I have born in this village and now I am 71. This village was once belonged to Haji Jafar Sheikh-Kanlou Milan24. He was the Sheikh-Kanlou Teyfe's Arbab with

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[24] A Milanian Landlord before the Land Reforms in 1962

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so many villages and pastures. After land reform, he left us the village and the pastures, but after Islamic Revolution we lost the lands… State captured our pastures and offered them to migratory nomads (Haji Khosro and his three brothers[25]). In Shah's period we had lots of pastures. After land reforms, State gave us documents for those lands but then, Islamic Revolution got them back in 1985 and transferred to others (Haji Khosro and his brothers). Now, we don't have any land and have to leave the village…

In interviews with peasants, many details have declared around the problems that they have in their subsistence. They complain from inflation and the pressure imposes on their life clearly. According to peasants animal husbandry is a disadvantageous activity today because there is no pasture to feed them. Some have claims over pastures and believe that they were once belong to them, but now have transferred to migratory tribes.

The other problematic is that inflation is not equally loads on all variety of goods. Some prices extremely raise (e.g. forage price according to them) while some others keep fix (red meat for example). According to them, producing of red meat could be profitable if there was no need to pay any money for forage. But as the pastures belong to migratory tribes and the lands around the villages are insufficient for feeding of animals, so they need to buy complementary forages from the markets and it causes the animal husbandry to become a disadvantageous one. They warn if intolerable situation continue, the region will be offloaded from the population in near future.

In Statement below, interviewee directs accusation towards the people's behavior by indicating of two items as destructing factors in the pastures; gathering of edible plants and grazing of pastures before maturity of plants. This is true and one of the NRO's aims in imposing of limitation for grazing is targeted towards preventing of this kind of destructions. But if we concentrate more in the text, will find out that the main reason has lied in State's policies according to interviewee. Indeed gathering of edible plants and grazing of pastures ahead of time are themselves reactions to policies that State practices in the region. If there were adequate job opportunities or smuggling was not

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[25] Sons of Haji Jafar Sheikh-Kanlou Milan

prohibited so strictly, people had better subsistence and pastures were safe than now he implies.

Hasan R., 58, Peasant:

> …this [Degradation of pastures] is because of people's behavior. God says, if you love each other, I will love you too. But unfortunately people are jealous. Previously we were smuggling gasoil to Turkey but State cut it by strict control of the borders. Some jealous people informed others and State captured them. Now, what people do is that they go to pastures in order to gather wild edible grasses and selling them. Because these grasses are taken before their maturity, so they cannot reproduce themselves and decrease in number happens every year. Animals also do the same. Before maturity of grasses, grazing of them in pastures causes their destruction.

Peasants also believe that tribal groups are the other, but the main factor in demolition of the pastures. Migratory tribes bring not only their own, but also others' animals into the pastures according to them.

Nomadic tribes have legal right in pastoral lands, but all of our peasant interviewees had complained of nomadic tribes for destroying the pastures. The question was that, if pastures belonged to nomadic tribes so, why did the peasants worry for demolition of pastures?

Salam, 49, Peasant:

> …we are here in cold winters and in any other bad condition, but nomads come here in the best of the time [Yaylaq period: Spring]. They bring their animals from very distance to our neighboring lands while these lands are forbidden for us. They not only bring their own animals, but also bring others' animals too. If you have 50 animals, so bring 50. If you have 100, so bring just 100. Why you do so? This behaviors cause the pastures got destruction.

As we see, peasants consider a latent right for themselves in pastoral lands and therefore, their anxiety arises from this point.

There is an important implication in their Statements too: State is the guilty for offering them (tribes) pastures while they live far from the region and denies peasants while they live in the region and this is an unjust behavior according to them.

States in third world and developing countries are hubs that all sectors have linked to them. They have extremely centralized structures so that there is no room for non-governmental administrative in general. Hence, procedure of decision making, planning, and execution of programs in these countries are in Top-down form and people as receivers of services are so passive.

In Iranian historical context also a same characteristic is evident; for lower layers (public) of society, no one else than State is capable of solving problems. They are historically accustomed to be managed by central governments. Here the plans peasants offer for problem resolution indicate presence of this perspective among them.

According to most of peasant interviewees, without intervening of State monitoring of pastures is impossible. They believe that nomadic tribes overload the pastures and responsible for degradation of lands. So, they expect State directly to control and watchdog the pastures especially in the time pastoral plants are not matured enough.

Hasan R., 58, Peasant:

> State must control the pastures. It must employs or hires some people for watchdogging in pastures during two first months of spring and prevents the people who come to pick wild edible grasses or grazing their animals there. State tells me and helps me if I decide to implant pastoral grasses in our pastures or spread fertilizers in them, but why it doesn't continue its duty in controlling and preserving the pastures?

Hasan R., 58, Peasant:

> …as pasture is needed, animal is needed to. Everything must be exist but in balance. They [nomads] must not to bring so many animals. State must prevent them.

One solution according to them can be payment of a kind of salary for each household during the seasons pastures need to be in quarantine. By this way, animal husbandries at least for a short time will not be in need of grazing their animals in the pastures until the pastoral grasses get matured well.

Aziz, 38, Peasant:

…One way is that they must implant new grasses in their pastures to revive them. But no one do this unfortunately. State also can help them by money in order to keeping them in Qishlaq up to the time grasses become well matured and then let them enter to pastures. By this way, grasses have enough time to grow and reproduce themselves.

…State has offered some of them 5-6 hectares farm watery lands on the condition of canceling their grazing permissions. Their lands are very good and twice a year they cultivating them. But what they do is that, they send their animals with those who have grazing permissions and do farm on lands!! State must control them not to come to pastures. As I told you, we are always here in deprivation without grazing permission while they have lots of lands and animals and grazing permission. If they don't come here, we both (we and them) will be in ease.

Lack of job opportunities in the district is the main reason for destructing of the pastures. Preparing adequate job opportunities can reduce the pressures from the pastures. They are not so much inclined to animal husbandry if they can find any other job opportunity indeed.

Ghotb-addin, 36, Peasant:

…all of them are from poverty. If there were good job opportunities here or for example a "Border Market" around, we never intended towards the animal husbandry.

Some of interviewees were so angry with State and extremely dissatisfied with the conditions. They suggested that the best way is removing the question instead of answering it in such a way (means inefficient way).

Ghadir, 35, Peasant:

…the only way is that, State is better to bombard the region by chemical bombs. There is a famous proverb says; 'Unless one doesn't die, the other one will not be alive.' By this way we die, but others' lives get better.

All peasants asserted that State is responsible for the issues in relation to pastures. In fact, all options (offering job, opening up the borders for smuggling, sacrifice people in favor of pastures or vice versa) are in the side of State and there is nothing to do with peasants. If State sits around and does nothing, pastures will be destruct absolutely.

Hasan, 45, peasant:

> When smuggling was possible, our economic life was good too, but now it is too bad. Recently some from administrative came to the region and gave us some promises about providing limited facilities in relation to borders and trading, but they are lying. They just want to keep us in borders. Once (in Khomeini's period) State was giving us margarine, sugar, rice, tea and many other necessities for free. But then they cut everything. We have really problems. In winters the roads get closed even for a month… Now State has four options; creation of job opportunities (border market for example), or opening of borders, or ignoring the people, or ignoring the pastures.

Hasan, 42, Peasant:

> …State must support us in establishing industrial animal husbandries… State must accounts animals feeding and their meat too. How can we feed our animals? In Turkey they sometimes add Zam to all variety of goods equally. But here it is not so. For example the prices of forage increases while the price of red meat decreases or stays fix. This is not good because by these activities, one group becomes richer and the other group becomes poorer

Our perceptions are highly depended on the position we have in social organization. Where we belong to and where we have stood on, determines our opinions and perceptions. Apparently, the way we look at reality affects our behaviours. At this sense, conflicts over management and control of range lands are not simply material through which different actors look just for their economic interests. Conflicts between actors are additionally based on differentiated meaning systems factors. As our study revealed, a diverse and yet, incompatible collection of understandings exist among the actors of pastoral lands. Hence, for explanation of conflicts over communal range lands, we must go beyond the material incompatibilities and extract contradictory knowledge, understandings, and priorities that involved sides have on the matter (Pankhurst 2003, 78, Adams, et al. 2003).

Accordingly, our data revealed a diverse collection of understandings among the actors. They have different perspectives on the issue of land and different perceptions from reality. Problems interpret discrepantly by actors in all three stages of conflict confrontation

Beside the material and differentiated meaning systems factors, historical barriers and structural orders can trigger conflicts among the groups.

Land as the subject of conflict among the main actors of pastoral lands potentially comprises a variety of values which we discussed before. In the case of our study, the motive(s) for actors to conflict over pastoral lands was matter of question. Pastures could be valuable for their economic values, or cultural (identity), political and territorial dimensions or even a combination of these values.

7.4. Interpretation

Our study revealed that pastures had variety of meanings and values for actors: for State, pastures had political, environmental and economic[26] importance while for peasants they merely had economic and for nomadic groups, economic, cultural (identity), and territorial were prime impetuses. Therefore, in spite of differentiation of incentives, economic source was the common item for which actors were in conflict. This is not to say that in the lack of any common incentive conflict will not appear. A field such as the pastures here, can be an arena for conflict based on differentiation of incentives too. As we saw and will debate on, each one of actors tried to grab on pastoral lands in favor of their own interests: the interests that were sometimes upon common incentives and sometimes uncommon.

Economic incentive was the most common ant yet the central factor to establish a conflict among the actors. Pastoral lands were important for actors for their high economic capacities. While this capacity is limited so, any increase in one's portion will be at the expense of others'. Therefore, limitation of pastures concomitant with a greed desire for utilization of these lands by nomads and peasants in one side and State's interventions for protecting of pastures on the other side, in line with our proposition about the

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[26] Environmental degradation of pastures contains so many dimensions. Degradation in pastoral lands results huge damages on nature, wild world, people, and physical structures and imposes huge economic costs for society and State.

economic source of conflict, have directed the situation into a condition of severe conflict.

Problem solving process has generally three stages: At the level of 'problem definition', degradation of pastures was the evident problem for State in the field but besides, supporting the nomadic groups also was on the table. Therefore, the main challenge for State was the way that it could preserve the pastures but not at the expense of nomadic people. For nomadic groups, legal restrictions in their accessibility to pastures, encroachments of peasants on their lands, destruction of tribal roads because of plugging by peasants, inefficiency of State management in pastures, inadequacy of grazing licenses, and lack of job opportunities were the most important issues. For peasants also, the same problems as of nomadic people were at the issue. They suffered from landlessness and seriously pursuing the ways enable them accessing (legally or illegally) to the pastoral lands.

As it is evident, problems of actors were quite contradictive:

- **State** was confronted with the challenge of land degradation,
- **Nomads** were confronted with restrictions in utilization of lands and lack of efficient control and management in them, and encroachments of peasants and,
- **Peasants** were confronted with the challenge of land shortage and inaccessibility to pastoral lands.

As it is obvious, each one of actors' prosperity requires the failure of two other's objectives, because they are quite inconsistence: success of State in controlling of degradation rate needed to reduce of animal size and firing so many stakeholders from pastures while nomads could attain their ends through a secured and convenient ways; security for them meant to intercept the peasants from pastures and by convenience they referred to a condition in which they could easily migrate to the pastures without any interferences. For third actor (peasants) also success required to gain legal property rights over pastoral lands.

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Additionally, there are divergent opinions at the level of problem analyzing in the field. Actors recognized the source of problems differently: over-utilization of pastures by men engaged in animal husbandry (especially by nomadic groups) was fundamental factor resulted in degradation of pastures according to State while for nomads it was State that produced problems for them. Loos management of State administrative predisposed the peasants to encroach the pastoral lands. For nomads, administrative rules also were not realistic and just and produced a variety of problems for them. In a same manner, peasants also directed accusation towards the State's rules in relation to land distribution and source of problem.

Furthermore, at the level of problem resolution, there are heterogeneous methods among the actors. State pursued a way in which arbitrary settlement of migratory nomads had a crucial importance but besides, it followed a way to restrict utilization of pastures and enjoyed from the advantage of heavy fines too. In addition, some other solutions also propounded by State such as transformation of traditional form of animal husbandry into industrial system, or offering farm lands and water resources for them in order to shift their subsistence towards the agriculture. The fact is that, at the moment regarding the shortages in farm lands and water resources and lack of infrastructures suitable for industrialization form of animal husbandry, feasibility of these solutions is matter of question too and a reason for nomads and peasants to pursue their own methods.

Solutions for nomadic groups are somehow different. They believed that farming is good and complementary to animal husbandry if it (farm land) was offered by State, but animal husbandry also is needed. The best way was to fire the small animal holders from the pastures and leading them into other forms of economic activities and supporting the rest by an efficient governmental regulation and control in the pastures. However, this idea mainly belongs to the families whose flock sizes were larger, but small animal husbandry men also were not oppose to the idea if proper opportunities were existed for them.

In the case of peasants, solution was concentrated around redistribution of lands. They had land claims in the pastures and objected the leasing of pastures in their peripheries to the people who were hundred kilometers far from the region. According to them, the

only solution was firing the nomadic migratory groups from the pastures through the settlement projects and offering the pastoral lands to the local dwellers of the region.

Based on the data we presented, it is evident that the main actors of pastoral lands have incompatible understandings and perceptions of reality. Their ideas and opinions were so biased towards the group interests in the field. They observed the facts so that ensured their own interests in the field. At this sense and in line with our proposition about the meaning systems, the conflict over pastoral lands in part has roots in differentiated meaning systems of the actors.

Besides the material (economic) and differentiated meaning systems factors, historical events or obstacles may create or intensify conflicts among the groups. The literature review and interviews done at this study indicated impressions of a series of historical events on the current situation of conflict among the actors in pastoral lands.

As we had in previous chapters, Land Reforms of 1960s and Islamic Revolution of 1979 dispossessed the land lords (Arbabs) of their properties. In the case of nomadic tribes, distribution of lands either through legislative reforms or illegally seizing by individual nomads was not a just act. So many nomads completely failed to receive pieces of lands and some received only small pieces while, some others acquired larger shares by the reforms of 1960s. After Islamic Revolution also grazing licenses were not just according to interviewees. Some families permitted for larger flocks while some others for smaller sizes. At the current time, objection by almost peasants and so many of nomadic cases (orally and practically in the form of disobedience from property right rules) to those historical legislations is quite evident.

The other issue arises from an attentive/legislative gap around tribal roads. In the past, migratory nomads had their own mediatory roads between summery and wintery pastures. By sedentarization of nomads during the process of detribalization and the aftermath events, migration disrupted for some times and tribal roads no more used by nomadic groups. Although, the land reforms of 1960s leased some shares in pastures to individual nomads, but had nothing in relation to tribal roads. The Islamic Revolution of 1979 also ignored the issue and even the scholarship neglected to negotiate around the

tribal roads. Hence, peasants benefited from legal/ meaning systems gap around the issue and embarked to cultivate the mentioned roads and attached them into their personal properties. Today, as a result of those historical events, none of the nomads can pass from antecedent routes and has to endure unnecessary costs and problems in his migration. Therefore, in concordance with our proposition about historical roots of the conflict, nomads live conflicts with peasants for their migration roads and with State for negligence of the issue.

CHAPTER 8

COMMUNAL PASTORAL LANDS, STATE, AND LEGITIMACY CRISIS

As it mentioned, Beetham and Habermas's perspectives adopted as the framework for study of legitimation in our study; Beetham's opinion was used for measuring of State's legitimation in relation to management of pastoral lands and Habermas's notion of legitimacy crisis for analyzing of State's legitimacy in the field. For Beetham, the key for understanding the legitimacy of a power relationship lies in three levels;

Rules Level: It conforms to established rule: power can be said to be legitimate in the first instance if it is acquired and exercised in accordance with established rules. These rules may be unwritten, as informal conventions, or they may be formalized in legal codes or judgments.

Justifications Level: The rules can be justified by reference to beliefs shared by both dominant and subordinate: legal validity is insufficient to secure legitimacy, since the rules through which power is acquired and exercised themselves stand in need of justification. To be justified, power has to be derived from a valid source of authority; the rules must provide that those who come to hold power have the qualities appropriate to its exercise; and the structure of power must be seen to serve a recognizably general interest, rather than simply the interests of the powerful. These justifications in turn depend upon beliefs current in a given society about what is the rightful source of authority; about what qualities are appropriate to the exercise of power and how individuals come to possess them; and some conception of a common interest, reciprocal benefit, or societal need that the system of power satisfies.

Actions Level: There is evidence of consent by the subordinate to the particular power relation: it involves demonstrable expression of consent on the part of the subordinate to the particular power relation in which they are involved, through actions which provide

evidence of consent. (Such as agreements with a superior, swearing allegiance, or taking part in an election or…) (Beetham 1991, 15-18).

Therefore, at the first stance (Rules Level), existence of specific kind of rules with the aim of regulating inter-actor and actor-nature relationships, their universality, and their legally exercising in accordance with established rules were matter of questions for us.

At the second level (Justification Level), we had to examine two items: (a) validity of the source of power (State) and (b) validity of the rules. So, the followings were some key questions at this level:

What do people think about the State? Do they agree with State's dominancy in pastoral lands? Does State deserve for management of pastoral lands? How much just are the rules relating to pastures? Does State exercise the rules in a just manner?

And at the last stage (Action Level), it was crucial for us to see if people participate in management of lands or not and how they obey the land rules.

8.1. Legitimation of State in Rules Level

Prior to land reforms of 1960s, lack of any written rule was evident but, the Arbab was representing the rules introduced by himself in the field. These rules were quite obligatory so that any deviance from them was unacceptable and accompanied by punishment. After the land reforms, and especially after the Islamic Revolution, State replaced itself with old Arbabs. With the aim of regulation in the field, and following the State approval on "Nationalization Law of Pastoral Lands" in 1962, "The Law on the Protection and Exploitation of Forests and Meadows" approved in 1967 in 68 chapters and 49 notes dealing with the issues related to pastoral lands utilization. Therefore, the law implemented in the field in order to regulate the land-stakeholder relationships and to preserve the pastures as national heritages of the country and as it mentioned before, an organization, the NRO, got responsibility for executing the newly defined rules.   .

From the time onward, that law was and still is the source of reference with few supplementary notes in the officials. After the Islamic Revolution, another organization, the NAO, established with the aim of supporting nomads as the main stakeholders in the pastures. The NAO quite different from the NRO, has its own rules and definitions in the field. Obviously, the field of pastoral lands has never been empty of rules and regulations. All the time there's been some rules originated form the old Arbabs or newly replaced State, regulating the lands and the nomadic community. But as we had from previous chapters, State as a dominant actor and the sole power responsible for regulating of pastures has its own interests in the field and so, the rules introduced by State were in some cases in contrast with that of the two other actors. Therefore, the first level –the rules level –is indication of illegitimacy of State (the NRO) in pastoral lands.

8.2. Legitimation of State in Justification Level

Is State valid enough to exercise the power over the community or not? And how much valid are rules? These two general questions were matter of importance for us at this level. With no exception, all interviewees believed that State ought to be at the center in order to regulate the pastoral lands. They believe that in the absence of Arbabs, State is the only choice for management in the pastures.

Hosein, 64, nomad:

> Before the Revolution, haji Jafar was our Arbab. All the people were obeying him. If he ordered to die, one must die and if he ordered to live, one became alive… At those times pastures were so good. No one could encroach to others' lands for fear of the Arbab.

Shamo, 47, nomad:

> People would eat each other if the State was absence…

Hasan R., 58, Peasant:

> … If every person condescends to State, we won't have chaos. Problem is because the lack of obedience. Without State individuals will consider their own benefits. Can a household be imagined without father or head? Of course no.

Belief in State in most cases is not because of the official right State has in the field, but is due to the role it can play at the moment. Most of nomads believe in State as a mediatory power in the field. They think that in the absence of State, previous Arbabs may raise claim over their lands again or their problems with peasants may increase. So, they want the State to protect their own rights. In the peasants' side, believe in State is not as much as the nomads. They object to State for its unjust rules and think it advocates from nomadic groups. If it was not the State, they would not let the nomads to come to the region.

Hosein, 35, nomad:

> …in the lack of State, previous Arbabs will claim their lands again and this is not good. We need State to be in the middle. Without State, animal husbandry will decay entirely. The Yurd for which we have permission belonged to Ali Khan (Son of Arbab). Because his lands were too much, State took some parts from him and offered us. He was very nervous. If State sits back, he will claim his lands very soon.

Hasan:

> State makes the nomads impudent. Who can accept that the people who had no right in a region, can easily utilize its lands? Nomads come here 200 kilometers far from here. Here is our lands, but State has offered them grazing permission while prevent us entering our own pastures.

Despite the belief in State to engage in pastures issue and to regulate related problems among the nomads and peasants, they find the rules executed in the field, unjust. Both groups –nomads and peasants –have problems with the rules in the field. For peasants, rules are in favor of nomads while for nomads, rules are against them and in most cases are in favor of peasants.

Salam, 49, peasant:

> …we are here in cold winters and in any other bad condition, but nomads come here in the best of the time [Yaylaq period: Spring]. They bring their animals from very distance to our neighboring lands while these lands are forbidden for us.

Saleh, 41, peasant:

These lands out to be leased to us, because here is our home, but what State does is that permits to nomads to graze our pastures. This causes so many problems for us and even for migratory nomads who come here from distance…

Abbas, 56, noamd:

… The main fault is with the NRO. Those villages around our pastures are seasonal, not permanent. Their dwellers are from our own nomads (Dallaei Milan). As they have some ruined houses as village there, the NRO considers them as peasants and let them to graze animals in the pastures around of village 45 days before our migration starts and let them to keep their animals there up to 45 days after our backing. What happens here is that they have lots of time to graze our lands before us and after us. This is not justice… They are nomads like us, but the way NRO treats is oppressive. The only difference is that they were once in the very past times, permanent dwellers of those villages in Yaylq areas and were cultivating, but later they changed their manner of life and did animal husbandry and migrated between Qishlaq and Yaylq. Many of villages over there are like this. When we do complain to the NRO, they say; "they are peasants and have right to stay at their homes any time they wish, while you are migratory nomads.

Faris, 62, nomad:

Every year, State takes us some money as grazing permission. But nothing offers. Just knows how to fine us for different reasons. [Interviewee got anger and continued]: there is no one to hear and help us. No one wants to remedy our pains.

A. (from the NRO):

Nomads don't obey the rules. Our rules are in favor of them, but they don't know. Our work is handling the quarrels among them every day. We have minimum two or three complaints per day. Every family has 200-300 animals. All of them take their animals into pasture. By this invasion of course pastures destroyed.

As it is shown in the quotations above, State experiences a critical condition in relation to regulatory rules in pastoral lands. Indigenous actors were questioning State's rules and thereof, its legitimacy in the level of justification.

8.3. Legitimation of State in Actions Level

Consent of subordinate to the rules and the State demonstrates itself through participation in projects and programs introduce by State. According to almost of administrative respondents, there is no sign of participation among the nomadic groups and peasants in relation to pastoral lands. They never come together around the land issue and try to pursue their personal intentions.

Sh. (from the NRO):

> No one considers the rules. Every person does what comes to his mind. We are in challenge with them all the time. When we talk to them, they say us; 'yes you are right.' But as we step a way, they pursue their own desires.

M. (from the NRO):

> …If they would participate, we didn't have such a tragedy…

Two other actors also were complaining from the lack of responsibility and lack of participation among themselves. Mostly the people who had more animals, complained from lack of participation among the others. It is a fact that large animal husbandries were more responsible than of those small husbandries.

Jafar, 73, nomad:

> …my pasture is the best in the region after Haji Khan [name of a pasture]. I am head of the PMP for our pasture. I have problems with my partners. They hardly listen to me. State must order them to show obedience but whenever I complain from their disobedience to the NRO, they do nothing.

Soleiman, 71, nomad:

> …most of these people call themselves as animal husbandry men while this is not true. It is not possible to be an animal husbandry man with few 3-4 animals. They do this because of pastures. They hire so many animals from the people outside the region and bring them into the pastures. This is illegal and if State be aware, will capture their animals all…They even not consider us, because pastures belong to nomads not the peasants.

According to the data, we found that in the level of rules there is a cohesive complex of laws and rules in relation to pastoral lands in almost have defined since the land reforms of 1960s. The NRO as a branch of State responsible for management of pastoral lands is itself one of the most prominent sources of law-making in the field of pastoral lands and an executory power in the field. So, at the level of rules, the NRO is a power conformed to its own rules, but there are some rules unwritten at the level of community that State (the NRO and …) has ignored them. In the chapter seven there were so many quotations that pointing to insufficiency of State's rules in the pastures. They believed that those rules did not meet the indigenous people's needs at the moment. At this point, the rules of community were in contrast with that have introduced by State.

At the level of justification also State has had legitimacy for management of pastoral lands. Nomadic tribes and peasants were both accepting the presence of State in the field as a mediatory authority to regulate the pastures. In spite of a legitimate power (State) in the field, indigenous actors (nomads and peasants) disobeyed the rules and participate in control and management of pastoral lands. They disobey the rules, neither the formal nor the informal. Disability of State to adapt the rules in the field, have led two other actors transgressing the rules.

Consequently, our data is a confirmation of Habermas's idea about legitimacy crisis. Due to inability of State (the NRO) in keeping its promises, it has lost loyalty of Milanians and the peasants in the region. By loyalty we mean a quality which manifest itself in the forms of obedience, participation, responsibility, order, and so on. In terms of Habermas, and in line with our proposition, legitimacy deficit has occurred in the region because the weak efficiency of State in management of pastures and failure of State in providing socio-economic services for the people.

CHAPTER 9

COMMUNAL PASTORAL LANDS AND LOOS OF COHESION

As it assumed previously, it seems the conflict among the actors enhances internal cohesiveness in each one of groups or actors. According to most scholarships, internal cohesion gets increase in a situation of external threat in a group. In the pastures we studied on, tensions between nomads and peasants was evident enough. But besides, there was a hidden contradiction between the State in one side and two other actors on the other side. So, the actors of the field are in conflict at all.

From the very past, there had been a naked political conflict between States and nomads which we discussed on through the previous chapters. But after Reza Shah's reign and especially by the Land Reforms of 1960s, the main objective was to destroy nomadic tribes' political power by deprival of tribal leaders' land privileges and thereby, diminishing of tribe's role in Iran's political arena. Their policies were successful to some extent, because the Arbabs lost their lands and structure of their tribes collapsed. But soon after, another form of contradiction emerged in the field; contradiction around the pastures for their economic values. In the absence of the Arbabs, peasants grabbed at the pastures for their economic advantageous. Individual nomads also invade to the pastures to seize more lands and contacted with peasants in the field. State also on the other side, tried to protect the lands from being destruction and therefore, confronted with two other actors. Conflict among the State, nomads, and peasants had economic nature apparently, but in a true sense, it was a contradictory interaction with political purposes because, the more access to economic resources, the more power in socio-political relations.

According to data, nomadic tribes in the past were responding the encroachers by physical reactions mostly in the form of quarrels. In any quarrel, even if it was quite personal, all groups were unified against the contrary side and would not wait for administrative or gendarmerie to intervene.

Jafar, 73, nomad:

Sincerity was too much on those times. We all were relatives. We all gathered around in the case of any harm for someone from the tribe. Unlike the present time, people were considering each other's problems… but now it is difficult. No one cares about the others' problems.

Khosro, 67, nomad:

In the Arbabian era, 'No One (refers to peasants and other tribes) Could Say You Have Eyebrow above Your Eyes'27. Because in the case of any problem, whole the tribe was in your support. 'A Tree Stands on its Roots'. A man without relatives is similar to a tree without the roots.

Hosein, 35, nomad:

…I have heard from my father about so many bloody group struggles among the tribes or between tribes and peasants. You know, it is nomads' character to assist each other against strangers. Couple of years ago, one of us had a problem with the court. Many from our tribe gathered and went court to assist him. Or times ago, a nomad of us found a serious problem with some peasants in Makhmour. Many of us assist him and a clash happened among us and peasants so that gendarmerie intervened…But, nowadays people – especially the young –are nerveless… no one puts himself into risk because of others. "If we were we28" none of peasants could enter into our pastures.

In the past, the most reason for their personal reactions was laid in incapability of States in management of pastoral lands so that, stakeholders had to protect their own rights in person without benefiting from formal authorities. But after the Islamic Revolution, the Mulct law prevented the people to react in person and hence, nomads could not respond to encroachers as easily as the past.

Majid, 59, nomad:

… Now, if one beats a person so that he gets hurt, the court will punish him so heavily. So, people don't quarrel physically for fear of punishments.

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[27] This is a proverb uses for indicating that no one is able to interference into your affairs.

[28] A proverb refers to the character of unity

Abbas, 56, nomad:

> Once, no one from peasants could enter into our lands. Because they were in fear of us. But now, they well know that we can't prevent them by physical reactions (refers to the Mulct law). In addition, they know that State doesn't decisively deal with offenders in pastoral lands. Therefore, they easily use our lands and we could do nothing.

Inability of nomads for physically reactions, has weakened their feeling of unity against the foreign threats. They knew that it is not possible to protect their rights or show their anger in formerly used crude ways. They have to inform deviants to official administrative and were not allowed to respond the issue in person. But, according to nomadic tribes, State's management is inefficient. Their rules are unjust in many cases. In just cases also, bribery and favoritism prevent them to be practiced truly. Therefore, these conditions have led them to show no action against the encroachers, to show no unity against them, and to pursue their individual intentions and desires. Our proposition was that; "Due to existence of conflict among the actors over pastoral lands, it seems that their (Nomadic tribes) group cohesion has been increased." At this case we realized that external threat did not lead to increase of their internal cohesion against the foreign threats, and instead, enhanced their individual purposes and caused their responsibility against the group and its solidarity to be diminished.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

Sociologically, conflict is the struggle for power in society. It occurs when two or more actors oppose each other in social interaction, reciprocally exerting social power in an effort to attain scarce or incompatible goals and prevent the opponent from attaining them. Competition for scarce rewards or resources has usually regarded in definitions. As a comprehensive one, Boulding defined the conflict as a "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources" (Jeong 2008, 5).

Land has introduced at this work as a most valuable asset and a source of wealth and power, a basis for livelihood, a subject for geopolitical purposes, a matter of territorial importance, and a substance for cultural identity. From this point of view so, it is a subject for conflict in societies too.

With this importance in mind, we have argued that Iran with its unique geography quite suitable for migratory form of subsistence, has been a site for emergence of very large and powerful tribal-nomadic confederacies during its history. Those confederacies benefited from the advantage of land ownership to increase their wealth, power, and political influence in Iran's political arena and were active and yet prominent players. Through the previous chapters we saw that so many dynasties had nomadic origins and several royal houses in Iran were carries to the throne by tribal power and support.

In Iran similar to most other parts of the world and simultaneously with some countries in the region, the process of Modernization started from beginnings of 20th century. Some nationalists and elites –particularly those who educated in western countries –as internal and Western policy makers as external factors, were forcing the country to make deep transformations in its traditional structures. For making a modern Iran it was necessary to reconstruct the culture, army, administrative, educational system, economic structures,

and so many in others parts. But, Iran's traditional culture, religious rules, conservatives, and tribal structure were the main obstacles in this process.

When Reza Shah came to power with the foreign assists, his responsibility was then to remove those obstacles. But his own will was also to establish a central powerful State so, at his first step endeavored to destroy political structure of nomadic confederacies. Reza Shah's successes against tribal opposition were welcomed by nationalist elite and celebrated and "interpreted as confirmation of their views of tribal power as hostile to modernity, archaic, and outmoded, and of Reza Shah as the deliverer of Iran's national salvation" (Cronin 2007, 2).

Through the White Revolution in 1960s a sort of land reforms introduced in Iran's agrarian and tribal context. Although the policy was apparently for economic purposes and defined to improve land distributions and introduce of new technologies and methods of production in agrarian context, but the background of reforms was to develop the political central authority of State. By re-distribution of lands –either pastoral or agricultural, -Arbabs lost some parts of their lands and thereof their wealth and power. In Reza Shah's period big Khans of confederacies had been cut off but Arbabs on the head of clans were still in the power. Therefore, the aim of land reforms was indeed weakening of Arbabs and strengthening of State. Although the land reforms, succeeded to remove the Arbabs' threat against the State, but they still were dominant authorities in agrarian-tribal context and managing the field efficient but cruelly.

By victory of Islamic Revolution in 1979, residuals of Arbabian system diminished at all. Nomads invaded to pastoral lands and forcefully seized the lands which were belonged to Arbabs. For revolutionists and nomads, the fall of Arbabs was symbolically similar to fall of the Shah's authority. Therefore, revolutionary State considered the nomads as deprived people who deserved to be protected. On the other side and in spite of legal documents for ownership or property rights over pastoral lands, Arbabs had lost their lands totally and could do nothing to get them back. The most characteristic of this era was revival of nomadism; every nomad prepared some animals and directed them into pastoral lands without any fear from previous Arbabs or any other authority. Number of animals in pastures increased sharply and at the same time variety of claims appeared

in relation to pastures. Now, nomads with no leaders on top of their tribal structures fell into chaos and pastures faced with over utilization and high pressure.

Although revolution put an end on modernization process of Iran due to its Westernization nature, but continued centralization tendencies because, protection of revolution from internal and external threats needed to a very powerful and highly centralized system of control and management. Thus, revolutionary State re-defined tribal nomadism by eliminating its tribal character and particularly leadership structure and hence, its political dimension. Separation of political and economic dimensions of tribal nomads and removing the political nature brought up many significant consequences; in private ownerships, there are clear limits and boundaries among the assets, means of production, fields of activities and etc., but quite on contrary, in a communally used pasture –and other resources –those boundaries are not clear. Stakeholders have no definition (rules) in hand about their rights, limits, and boundaries. In the case of existence of any definition also, there is no guarantee for respecting or protecting of them. Therefore, there was a need to an authority in the field in order to define and protect the rights and the pastures as well. In the absence of these authorities, no one needed to obey the others who were at the same positions as they were so, chaos and conflict as Fitzpatrick also stated, appeared among stakeholders and claimants in the field. For protecting of pastures, nomads were seriously requesting the State to play its role and manage the field. Because pasture for them was not mere a piece of land but rather a subject of identity, territory, and the sole source of subsistence.

State, whose aim was to centralize every structure, tried to manage and control the field. Some organizations established in this route and many promises did for improvement the quality of life, management of conflicts and protection of pastures. But, limitations of State and so many other factors caused the State no to keep its promises in pastoral lands. As Habermas's theory of legitimation crisis, inability of State in conflict resolution and keeping of other promises, led it to lose its legitimacy among the stakeholders. Obviously, people would not obey from an illegitimate power and participate in decisions and projects that implemented by it. At this moment the conflict intensified among

stakeholders and even developed into State-nomad and State-peasant relations too and simultaneously resulted an environmental tragedy in pastoral lands.

Centralization of State still had another consequence in community and pastoral lands. As it was common in previously times, -before the Islamic revolution, -nomads could able to cohesively unify against external threats of their lands. But after Islamic revolution with a highly centralized power and State, nomads who were now disabled people in protection of their own lands, could do nothing in the case of any encroachment except for delivering the issue to State to deal with. While State was itself unsuccessful in conflict resolution so, instead of being integrated against encroachers, nomads became homophonous with offensive groups and tightened the belt in destruction of their own assets (pastures) by over utilization of them. Irresponsibility here against the pastures which their subsistence is totally depends on may seems an illegal behavior, but in a condition of severe chaos in which one's asset (pasture here) is on table, it is under the encroachment of others, and there is no way to protect it, the owner of that asset will of course compel to consume it as much as it is possible.

At the end it must be stated that, highly centralized States in confrontation with indigenous people and traditional structures (such as the case of this study), attempted to evacuate their power and inject it into their own structures. They wanted to be strength enough in order to well managing of the field, but evacuation of power not in this case, but in any other case too –is and –was not possible. In terms of Foucault, nomads and peasants have always benefited from a definite level of power. The fact is that if their power was recognized officially, they would absolutely participate in their own fate and could able to manage the filed efficiently. At this case indigenous people's power could employ in direction with States' intentions and national interests as it was the case in Iran's very old historical times. But while their power was not recognized by States especially in contemporary era, therefore they have used it against States in the forms of disobedience, disaffiliation, irresponsibility, and any other probable way. Thus, centralization in our case of study resulted in intensification of conflicts and developing of it and thereof, an environmental tragedy.

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APPENDICES

A- INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

BULK OF MAIN GUIDLINES

Demographics

Age/ Married status/ Role in family/ Number of households (size of family)/ Name of the village/ Name and location of neighboring villages in Wintery and Summery pastures

Tribal Characteristics

History of Milan and its origins/ tribal segmentations/ Number and name of Clans or sub-sections of Milan/ tribal affiliation of interviewee/ tribal characteristics of neighboring villages in Wintery and Summery pastures

Subsistence and Economic Life

Main Subsistence of village/ Interviewee's farm lands; size, products, and cropping system/ Number and type of animals and feeding system during a year/ size and type of pastures/ Migration and its details: how, when, why, whom, and what/

Relationships

Relationship with neighbors, individuals and groups in Wintery and Summery pastures/ system of decision making/ in what cases members of group are agreement and what case have not agreement?/coalitions and oppositions; in what cases members of group (clan or sub-clan or ...) get unified (cohesion of group)? In what case are they fragmented? Why? / Existence of land-oriented problems (if any,); qualities, sources, and reasons/

Historical Facts

Comparison and evaluation of three periods from the aspect of land issue: 1. Before the Land Reforms, 2. Between the Land Reforms and Islamic Revolution and, 3. After Islamic Revolution/ Who was Arbab? What was his role in community? What was his position in community? What was his role in pasture? What impacts did he has in pasture? What happened to them? Does it possible to revival Arbabian system again?

Meaning Systems

What is a pasture? What does it mean for you? Whom the pastures belong to? What problems do you have in relation to pastures? What is (are) the reason(s) for these problems? What is (are) the solution(s)?

Who is a peasant? What does a peasant mean for you? What problems do you have with peasants? What is (are) the source(s) of problems? How can it be resolved?

Who is a nomad? What does a nomad mean for you? What problems do you have with nomads? What is (are) the source(s) of problems? How can it be resolved?

What do you think about State? What is its role in relation to pastoral lands? How much important is its role? How does it perform its role? Is it efficient or not? If not, what is the reason? How are the pastoral rules? Are they just? Are they work? Do people obey the State in relation to pastures? If no/yes, so why?

B- TURKISH SUMMARY

Göçebe geçim tarzına en uygun coğrafyaya sahip olan İran, tarihi boyunca göçebe bir ülke olmuştur. Göçebe kabilelerin İran'ın siyasi arenadaki gücü ve siyasi etkisi o kadar büyüktü ki, 11. yüzyıldan 19. yüzyıla kadar "kendilerini göç etmeyen ama iktidara erişimleri göçmen kabileler tarafından desteklenen Safeviler (1501-1722) hariç, bütün Hanedanların [toplam on iki hanedandan on biri] kökleri göçebe kabilelere dayanmaktaydı " (Moghadam 1996, 20). Hatta "Salucuk, İL-Han, Timürid, Safevi, Zand ve Kaçar da dahil olmak üzere İran'ın kraliyet hanedanlarının birçoğu kabile iktidarıyla tahta taşınmıştır" (Issawi 1971, 4).

Merkezi hükümetler, kabile yetkilileri tarafından iktidar gücünün paylaşılmasından hiç memnun değildi, ancak çağdaş devletler Reza Şah dönemine kadar (1925-1941) kabilelerin İran'ın sosyo-politik bağlam üzerindeki etkilerini kontrol edecek ya da sınırlayacak kadar güçlü değildi. İran tarihinde ilk önceliği büyük kabile birliklerinin güçlerini zayıflatmak olan ilk Şah oldu. Yüksek merkezi bir güç oluşturmak ve modern bir İran yaratmak için, bu yerel güçleri azaltması onun için çok önemliydi, bu yüzden o da konfederasyonların siyasal yapısını yok etmeye başladı.

"Gücü elinde tutan yeni yetkili İranlı milliyetçilere göre kabilenin bastırılması, daha geniş ve büyük bir projenin vazgeçilmez bir unsuruydu: kültürel bakımdan homojen bir nüfusa sahip modern, merkezi bir devletin inşası" (Cronin 2007, 16). Bu yüzden, Rıza Şah'ın bakış açısı ve kabile muhalifine karşı elde ettiği başarılar milliyetçi elit kesim tarafından memnuniyetle karşılandı ve kutladı ve de "kabileyle ilgili görüşlerinin çağdaşlığa, arkaik ve mümteşe düşman görüşlerinin onaylanması ve Rıza Şah'ın İran'ın ulusal kurtuluşunun kurtarıcısı olarak yorumlanmıştır" (Cronin 2007, 2).

19. yüzyılın sonu ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında kabile liderlerinin en tanınmışlarından biri, Sardar-e Makü (1863-1923) olarak bilinen Eghbal-ol-Saltaneh Makuei idi ve İran'ın Kuzey Batı bölgesinin valisi idi. Kökenleri Türkiye'de bulunan Kürt aşiretlerinden biri

olan Milanın yönetimi de o dönemde Sardar'ın egemenliğine girdi. Serveti ve gücü aşırı dikkat çekici olan Sardar, 1923'de Tebriz'de Reza Şah tarafından zehirlendi. Sardar'ın topraklarının Milan ve diğer kabilelerdeki alt liderleri arasında bölünmesinden sonra, her biri kendi bölgesini ve özerkliğini kurdu.

İran kesimindeki Milan kabilesi, 'Teyfe' adı verilen yaklaşık 10-12 klana sahipti. Her bir Teyfe, 1960'li yılların Kara Reformlarına kadar tüm pastoral topraklara ulusal miras olarak sayılana kadar, Sardar'ın topraklarından bir kaç büyük parça ele geçirdi ve o dönemlerde toprakların mülkiyeti bireysel göçebelerden ziyade alt liderlere (klan başkanları) kaydı. Toprakların ulusallaştırılmasından sonra, bireysel göçebelerden bazıları hayvanlarını otlatmak için meralardan yararlanma hakkına sahiptiler, ancak yine de klanların başkanları topraklardan daha fazla hisseye sahipti, çünkü otlakların dağıtımı için temel kriter, o zamanlar kişinin sahip olduğu hayvanların sayısıydı. Liderlerin daha fazla hayvanı olduğu için, daha çok toprak aldılar ve dolayısıyla toprakların ulusallaştırılması yoluyla daha fazla güç elde etti.

1979'daki İslam Devrimi'nden sonra devrimci devlet, Arbab otlaklarının tamamını ele geçirdi, Arbab sistemi tamamen yıktı ve arazilerini tek tek göçebelere kiraladı. Alt liderler (Arbablar) devrim yoluyla otlaklarının tamamını kaybettiler ve küçük çapta hissedarlar bu toprakları kullanmak için resmi izinler aldı. Öte yandan, köylüler (özellikle de Milan'ın Yazlık mera alanlarından olan Chaldrian bölgesinde) de Arbabs yokluğunda otlakları ellerinde tutmaya çalıştılar ancak köylüler otlatma izinlerine sahip değildiler ve dolayısıyla otlakları kullanmak için resmi izinleri yoktu ve bu da Milan göçebeleri ile köylüler arasında bu alanda birçok soruna neden oldu.

Resmi idari yönetime göre, son yıllarda pastoral topraklar konusunda Milanlar ve köylüler arasında çok fazla gerilim yaşandı. Anlaşılan, pastoral topraklar aktörleri arasında meydana gelen gerginliklerin varlığı bölgeyi ciddi derecede sorunlu bir yer haline getirdi; Mahkemelerdeki şikayetlerin sayısı çok yüksek seviyelere ulaştı ve devletin sahada uygulamaya koymaya çalıştığı projelere hiçbir taraf (göçebe ya da köylü) katılmadı. İlgili bütün taraflar (devlet, göçebeler ve köylüler) mevcut durumdan memnun değildiler ve konuyla ilgili olarak diğer tarafı suçluyorlardı. Otlakların bozulması

inanılmaz oranlara yükseldi ve göçebelerin ekonomik geçim kaynakları daha da kötüleşti ve beraberinde gelen diğer ciddi sonuçlar...

Sistemlerin ve bağlamların çeşitliliği ile ilgili Ortak Toprak sorunu çok karmaşık bir alandır. Ostrom (1990) açısından bu toprakların ya da 'Ortak Havuz Kaynaklarının' yönetimi, devletin ya da eyaletteki toplulukların ulusal düzeyde karşılaştığı en önemli ve sorunlu konulardan biridir. Daha önce de değindiğimiz gibi, gelecek bölümlerde de bahsedeceğimiz gibi, İran'daki pastoral topraklar, Iran tarihin gidişatını belirleyen devlet ve göçebe kabilelerin önde gelen aktörlerinin rol oynadığı yerler olmuştur. Her zaman hem kabileler hem de eyaletler için zenginlik ve güç kaynağı ve bu nedenle, aralarında bir çatışma kaynağı ve aynı zamanda yerel topluluklar arasında bir kaynak olmuştur.

Çatışma sonucunda, bu topluluklar tarafından el konulan topraklar son elli yılda ciddi bozulma ve çevresel yıkımla karşı karşıya kalmış ve İran edebiyatının büyük kısmı, bozulma açısından pastoral topraklar sorununu takip etmiştir. Bunların neredeyse tamamı araştırılmış ve meralara hasar veren faktörleri şöyle ortaya koymuştur: Tıkama, Aşırı kullanma, Uzun vadede otlatma, katılım arzusunun olmaması, arazilerin kamulaştırılması, çalıların kazılarak sökülmesi, yoksulluk ve doğal faktörler (Sharifi-nia and Mahdavi H. 2012, Shahraki and Barani 2012, Esmaili Verdanjani 2003, Rahimi 2001, Moein-oddin 1993). Pastoral topraklarda meydana gelen çatışmalar konusu ile ilgili olarak İran ilminde çok az referans bulunmaktadır. Toplumsal çatışmaya işaret edenler ise sadece pek çok bozulma nedenlerinden biri ile ilgili olarak sadece tek bir referanstan başka diyecek bir şeyi yok. Aşağıda, konuyu İran bağlamında inceleyeceğiz ve konunun mevcut çıkmazlarını bulmak için meseleye diğer ülkelerde bakmaya çalışacağız.

Ansari ve arkadaşları (2009) makalelerinde, doğa ve insan ihtiyaçları arasında bir denge olduğu halde doğada bir sorun olmadığını ve herhangi bir bozulma izinin bulunmadığını belirtmiş ancak geçen yüzyıl ve özellikle son on yılda nüfus sayısının artmasıyla, Doğa üzerindeki baskı da artmıştır. Otlakların tahrip edilmesinde 20 faktörün rol aldığını ve bunlardan birinin de hissedarlar arasında ortaya çıkan çatışmaların olduğunu göstermektedir. Bulgularına göre, diğer faktörlerin çoğu yine insan kaynaklı ürünlerdir.

Royan'ın danışman mühendisleri (1994) çalışmalarında, yıkımın önemli nedenlerini aşağıdaki gibi listeliyor; Arazilerin kamulaştırılması, arazilerin kontrolünde güçsüzlük, arazilerin aşırı kullanımı, aşiret ve göçebe yapıların bozulması, göçebe ve köylüler arasındaki çatışmalar ve hissedarların arazi kullanım ilkelerine yabancı olması (Consulting Engineers of Royan 1994).

Shaterian ve arkadaşları, Pijik göçebe kabilesi üzerine yaptıkları çalışmalarında, Pijikler arasındaki kabile kavgalılarının nedenlerini bulmaya çalışmışlardır. 270 üyeli bir örnekleme sahip niceliksel bir yöntem kullanarak, içtekiler ve dıştakiler olarak ikiye ayrılan iffet ve onur, kaynak kıtlığı, sosyalleşme, toplumsal etkileşim ve dış caydırıcılık zayıflığının kabile kavgalarıyla önemli ilişkilere sahip olduğunu fark ettiler; ancak nispi yoksunluk ve sosyal kontrol (Shaterian 2015)

Ortak Arazi sorunu dünya çapında bir olgudur. Afrika'nın büyük bölümünde, Güneydoğu Asya ve Orta Doğu ülkelerinde ve Güney Amerika'nın bazı bölgelerinde, toplumsal olarak korunan topraklarda arazi kullanımı yönetimi ve çatışma çözümü en sorunlu konulardır. Ancak, özellikle Asya ülkeleri arasında başarılı örnekleri de bulunmaktadır.

Deneysel literatüre göre, bazı alanlarda arazi sorunu sömürge deneyimlerinde tarihsel kökene sahiptir. Yerel topluluklarda varlığını sürdüren sömürge sonrası ve sömürge sonrası hükümet / devlet müdahaleleri, kaynakları yöneten yerel kurumların verimsiz olduğu kanıtlanan kılan rolünü baltalamıştır (Ruth Meinzen-Dick). Örneğin Yeni Gine'de, Avustralya sömürge yönetimi altında, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra, özellikle yerli tarım bölgelerinde birçok sosyo-ekonomik gelişme yaşandı. Daha sonra, sömürgeleştirme döneminden sonra, tarımsal üretkenlikteki meydana gelen gelişmeler ve ülkenin toprak kaynaklarının verimli kullanılması, Dünya Bankası tarafından belirlenmiş ve böylece ülkede arazi yönetimi ve mevzuatında önemli değişiklikler yapılmıştır.Bu doğrultuda, geleneksel toprakları ve devlet idaresi üzerinde hak talebinde bulunan kabile grupları arasında bir düzine anlaşmazlık ve kavga ortaya çıktı (Trebilock, 1984). Sömürge yönetiminin başlangıcından itibaren Zimbabwe'de ve kıta boyunca sömürge devletlerin tahrik edildiğinde, arazi kaynakları üzerinde hayatı çatışmalar görebiliriz. "Yirminci yüzyılın sonlarında arazi rekabeti yoğunlaşmış ve bu da toprak değerlerinin artmasına, ticari arazi edinimi modellerinin çoğalmasına, toprak

varlıklarının yoğunlaşmasına, uzun süren davalara ve Zimbabwe'deki son çatışmalarda bazen saldırı ve cinayete dahi yol açmıştır" (Berry , 2002). Yerli halkın marjinalleştirilmesi ve atalarının yaygın arazilerinden ve kaynaklarından yoksun bırakılmaları neredeyse tüm dünyada sömürgeleştirmenin vazgeçilmez bir sonucu olmuştur (perera, 2009).II. Dünya Savaşının ardından ve BM ve Dünya Bankası gibi uluslararası örgütlerin baskılarından sonra, özellikle Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinin tarım altyapılarındaki temel reformlar, kalkınmanın acil şartları olarak tanıtılmıştır. Bunun üzerine, geleneksel olarak tanımlanmış hakların ve ortak kaynaktaki yerel veya kabile yönetim sistemlerininin yerini yeni batılı modellerin ve yönetim sistemlerinin aldığı üçüncü dünya ülkelerinin çoğunda toprak reformları uygulanmıştır.

Kamboçya'daki Simbolon, pek çok ilerlemeye ve gelişime rağmen devletlerin ve yargı sistemlerinin yerli halkın kendi toplumsal kaynakları üzerinde yaptıkları iddiaların tamamen fark edilmesinden uzak olduğunu göstermektedir. Kamboçya sistemi, ortak mülkiyet haklarına kıyasla çok daha yetersiz ve hatta tam tersi olmasına rağmen özel mülkiyet haklarının geliştirilmesinde devlet genelinde yasal değişiklikler yapmıştır (Simbolon, 2009). 2004'te toplanan bir dizi il istişaresinde Kamboçyalı yerli halk, ülkenin farklı bölgelerinde, toplu arazi mülkiyeti altında bireysel kullanıcı haklarını koruyan ve içeren toplumsal toprakları desteklemiştir (McAndrew, 2009).Malezya'da Perera, "şu anda modern Malezya'nın kurucu bir parçası olan Sarawak'taki bir dizi hükümet, Sarawak'taki önemli yerli bir topluluk olan İbvan'ı son 150 yılda kademeli olarak yoksullaştırdığını ve modernizasyon ve toprak gelişimi adına atalarından kalan yerlerinden uzaklaştırdığını' belirtmektedir. "Toprak üzerindeki kontrol gidişatı, ticari işlemlere yöneliktir, bu da yerel bir şeften ziyade, bir toprak pazarının, arazinin dağıtılabileceği en önemli yol haline gelebileceği anlamına gelir". DRÇ'deki devlet, alışılagelmiş hakların ihmal edildiği ve belli toplulukların ya da seçkinlerin pazar işlemleriyle araziyi kazanma şansının diğer gruplara kıyasla çok daha önemli derecede yüksek olduğu, arazi kullanım hakkını serbest bırakma sistemini benimsemektedir. Bu politikalar, toprak sahipliği konusunda eşitsizliklere ve tarım krizinin alevlenmesine ya da kötü bir hal almasına ve sosyo-politik gerilimin artmasına neden olmuştur (Huggins, 2010). Nijerya vakasında, arazi idaresi ve kontrolü, aile ve topluluk üyeleri için normalde

böyle bir araziyi güvence altına alan aile başkanının veya ortak başkan / şefin münhasır koruması altındaydı. Bununla birlikte, 'Arazi Kullanımı Yasası ve Arazilerin Kırsal ve Kentsel Alanlarda Kamulaştırılmasında" başlığı uyarınca, araziyle ilgili uyuşmazlıklar meydana geldi. Arazi Kullanım Yasası, Nijerya toprakları bağlamında daha büyük karışıklıklar ve karmaşıklıklar getirdi. Yasanın temel etkisi belirsizlik, güvensizlik ve toprak sahibi-kiracı ilişkilerinde çatışmaydı (Onakoya, 2014).Son on yıldaki devlet politikaları, yeni yasa ve yönetmelikler için istikrarlı bir temel oluşturacak olan yerli sosyal organizasyon ve geleneksel toprak mülkiyeti ilkelerini bozmaya veya zayıflatma eğilimindeydi "(Perera, 2009). Doğu DRC (Demokratik Kongo Cumhuriyeti) davasında, pazara dayalı sistemlerin geleneksel olarak tanımlanmış arazi kiralama sistemlerine girişi, yerli talep sahipleri ve yerel siyasi güçler arasındaki çatışmalara neden oldu.

Nüfus artışı ve kaynakların bozulması nedeniyle bazı literatürlerde açıklandığı üzere arazi kullanımları üzerindeki rekabet yoğunlaşmıştır. Etiyopya'da, arazi kaynakları üzerindeki demografik baskılar ve onları yeterince besleme kapasitesinin düşük olması, toplumsal kaynakların zayıf yönetimi ülkede arazi anlaşmazlıklarına neden oluyor. Etiyopya'nın karşı karşıya kaldığı değişikliklerin farkında olan Flintan ve Cullis, pastoral liderlerin, yerel yönetimlerin ve Etiyopya'daki diğer paydaşların, pastoral alanlarda hayvan otlatma alanlarına sahip olan kişilerin ihtiyaçları, ilgileri ya da konum ve koşulları da dikkate alan arazi kullanım planlaması ya da uygulamasına yönelik daha kapsamlı bir yaklaşımın önemini bulmuşlardır. Flintan ve Cullis, Katılımcı Bir Mera Yönetiminin uygulanmasının çatışma çözümü ve çevre korunmasında çok yararlı olacağına inanmaktadırlar (Flintan ve Cullis, 2010).

"Uygulamaların dünya çapında yaygınlaştırılması, kıtalar arasındaki ilişkilerin yaygınlaştırılması, küresel ölçekte toplumsal yaşama yönelik örgütlenme ve ortak bir küresel bilincin büyümesi" olarak küreselleşme, ulusal ve yerel topluluklar üzerinde kesinlikle etkide bulunmuştur (Ritzer, 2005: 330). Az gelişmiş ülkelerde karşımıza çıkan toprak\arazi sorunlarıyla ilgili olarak, küresel etkileri iki zıt yönüyle izleyebiliriz; Bu ülkelerde çoğu bilim adamı, geç kapitalist ekonomik ve siyasal sistemler, özelleştirme, işbölümleri vb. biçimindeki Batı'nın perspektifiyle birlikte idari ve yaşama yapılarında temel değişim ve dönüşümler uygulamıştır. Avusturyalı halkın davaları gibi çok uluslu

şirketlerle birlikte hareket eden ulusal devletler - özellikle de yerli halkın geleneksel klan veya köy topraklarının kolektif sahiplenme iddialarını reddetmişler ve devlet mülkleri veya özel mülkler gibi bu toprakları yeniden sınıflandırmak için yasal düzenlemeler yapmışlardır. Bu değişiklikler onları yerli insanlarla modern ulus-devletler arasında çatışma şartlarına sürüklüyor (Reuter, 2006).

Bu kaynaklar geleneksel olarak münferit olarak değil, topluca veya toplumsal olarak yönetilmiş olmakla birlikte, bu nedenle bunların özelleştirilmesine yönelik herhangi bir planlama çok pahalıya mal olur ve bir şekilde imkansız olur. Aynı zamanda onları tamamen devredilmemiş halde bırakmak (ya da açık erişim) gerçekte de olduğu gibi tükenmelerine sebep olmak demekti (Nelson and Sandbrook, 2009: 8; Kameri-Mbote, 2005; Ngaido, 1999). O halde, devlet mülkiyetinin ve yasal düzenlemelerin ortak arazi kaynaklarında daha iyi kaynak yönetimi sağlamadaki başarısızlığı ve küresel hareketlerin ve çevresel çıkarların dünya çapındaki ülkelerde ilişkilerinin yaygınlaşması, küreselleşmenin toprakla ilgili ikinci ters etkisini teşvik etmiş; modern katılımcı kalıplar şeklinde Atalardan kalma topraklar üzerinde yeniden hak talep etmeye mahal vermiştir.Endonezya adasında yapmış olduğu araştırmada, Barbara Dix Grimes; Kamboçya kabileleri üzerine bir çalışmada yaptığı araştırmada Buru, John P. McAndrew.... Arazi kaynaklarının toplu olarak yönetilmesine yönelik yerelleşmenin eğilimini gösteren belgeleri sunmuştur (Grimes, 2006; McAndrew, 2009). Sarpong-Anane, Afrika ülkelerinde çatışmaların canlandırılmasında küresel çerçevelerin rolünü belirtmektedir. Çatışmaya çözüm arayan küresel çerçevelerin ve Neo-liberal politik ve ekonomik modellere dayanan barışın inşasının sadece çatışmanın çözümünde başarısız olmadığını aynı zamanda çeşitli şekillerde yeni çatışmalar yarattıklarını ve böylece yerel olayların bozulması, rekabette yeni kaynaklar sağlandığını ve derin değerlerin veya sembollerin tehdidi altında kaldıklarını (Sarpong-Anane, 2014) göstermektedir.

Yukarıda bahsedilen tüm araştırmalar ve İran'ın dünya çapında önemi bulunan ortak araziler sorununun yaygın önemi ile ilgili araştırma sorusu ile ilgili olarak, benim araştırma sorum; devlet, göçebeler ve köylüler arasındaki ortak pastoral mülkiyet hakları arasındaki ilişki üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Her bir soru üç grubun pastoral topraklarda

kendi çıkarları olduğunu ve gerçeklere göre, ilişkilerinin çelişkili olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

Sosyolojik olarak, çatışma varlığı, farklı çıkarların bir göstergesidir ve hem olumlu hem de olumsuz sonuçları ortaya çıkarabilir. Çatışmalar, toplumsal değişimlerin ana kaynağı olup değişimleri harekete geçirmekle birlikte, bir sistemin sürdürülebilir olması için çatışmaların istenmeyen sonuçlarını gidermek veya azaltmak için kontrol etmek ve yönetmek ve gelecekteki değişiklikleri yönetmek çok önemlidir. Bu anlamda, bölgedeki çatışmaları anlamak ve aktörler arasındaki hoşnutsuzluk veya düşmanlık kaynaklarını incelemek, düşmanlar arasındaki ilişkilerin gelişen evrelerini tanımlamak meydana gelen bu çatışmaların özünü, doğasını, tabiatını ve dinamiklerini incelemek önemli idi. Bu çalışma, yazlık-kışlık meralarda uzun zamanlardır sürekli olarak göç eden Batı-Azerbaycan'ın en önemli göçebe kavimlerinden biri olan Milan'ı inceler. Bununla birlikte, Milan'ı incelemenin ardından bulunan ana hedefleri aşağıdaki tetikleyici sorular etrafında düzenlenmiştir:

- Çalışma alanındaki arazi mülkiyet haklarının tarihsel geçişleri ve mevcut durumu nelerdir?
- Pastoral topraklardaki ana aktörler arasında toplumsal çatışmanın (siyasi, ekonomik, sosyal, duygusal ve farklılaşmış anlam sistemleri) kaynakları ve dinamikleri nelerdir?
- Çatışmanın şiddeti, yönü nedir ve toplulukta ne gibi sonuçlar doğurur?

Yukarıda bahsedilen soruları saptamak için, sosyal antropolojide siyasi bir konum alacağız ve teorilerin iki ana kolunu ele alacağız: Çatışma teorileri ve Meşruiyet teorileri. Çatışma ve meşruiyet temel teorilerini gözden geçirerek, sosyolojide Dahrendorf'un (1959) ve Coser'in (1956) teorilerine, Glükman'ın (1955) antropolojide çatışma teorisine ve Beetham'ın (1991) meşruiyet teorisine ve Habermass'un meşruiyet krizi teorisine bakacağız.

Dahrendorf için yetki pozisyonlara bağlandı. Daha yüksek pozisyonların düşükleri kontrol etmesi bekleniyor. Astlarının beklentileri nedeniyle hakimiyeti daha olasıdır, bu nedenle bu beklentiler de pozisyonlara bağlıdır. Ona göre, çıkarlar da pozisyonlara

bağlıdır. Daha stratejik menfaatlerle bağlantılı olan pozisyonlar baskındır ve her zaman statükoyu korumaya çalışırlarken, ikincil pozisyonlarda olanlar değişim aramaya başlar ve burada iki çıkar grubu arasında bir çatışma durumuyla karşı karşıya kalırız.

Coser ve Gluckman'a göre, çatışma çok fazla negatif ve pozitif işlevlere sahiptir. Çatışma, bir grup içinde veya gruplar arasında oluşabilir. İç çatışma "bastırılmış düşmanlıkları serbest bırakmaya, çatışmayı düzenleyen normları yaratmaya ve (özellikle de çatışmanın geliştiği sorunların etrafında) açık bir otorite ve karar çizgisi geliştirmeye hizmet eder" (Allan, 2007: 213) ve gruplar arasında bir grup daha geniş bir toplum yelpazesindeki ilişkiler ya da daha uzun bir süre boyunca ilişkiler, toplumsal bütünleşmeye yol açar "(Gluckman, 1955: 2).

Beetham'a göre, bir güç ilişkisinin Meşruiyetini anlama anahtarı üç boyuta sahiptir;

• Gücün belirlenen kurallara uygun olma boyutu,

• Hem egemen hem de ast tarafından paylaşılan inançlara atıfta bulunarak kuralların gerekçeye dayandırılma boyutu,

• Ast tarafından belirli güç ilişkilerine rıza gösterme\onay kanıtının kapsamı (Beetham, 1991: 16)

Habermas, *Meşruiyet Krizi* teorisinde, Modern Liberal demokratik refah devletlerinde köklü bir krizin var olup olmadığını araştırmaya çalışır. O, meşruiyet açığının bu refah devletleri için en tehdit olduğuna inanıyor. Çağdaş kapitalist ülkelerdeki devletler, Habermas'a göre meşruiyet krizi geçiriyorlar. Halklarına sadakatlerini kaybedebilir ve desteklerinden mahrum kalabilirler. Argümanında, kapitalist sistemlerde ekonomik, siyasi-idari ve sosyo-kültürel alt sistemlerin herhangi birindeki işlev bozukluklarından dolayı olası dört kriz ortaya çıkabilir.

Kullanılan karışık teorik çerçeveyi göz önüne alarak ve Milan kabilesinin mülkiyeti halka ait olan pastoral topraklarda meydana gelen çatışmaların dinamiklerini açıklamak için, mera haklarının geçiş safhalarının mera alanlarında gözlemlenmesine, mera alanında bir kaosun hüküm sürüp sürmediğine, çatışma kaynaklarının incelenmesi, araziyi düzenleyebilmek için sahada iyi meşrulaşmış bir iktidarın varlığı ve özellikle

kabilenin birleşmesinde topluluktaki çatışmaların sonuçları ile ilgili olarak bazı varsayımlar yapılmıştır. Önermeleri incelemek için kullanılan yöntem, yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme ile nitel araştırma şeklindedir.

Tarihsel bulgulara göre, İran'ın Milan kabilesi asıl olarak Türkiye ve hatta Irak'tan daha öteden gelmektedir. Milan - ya da Türk edebiyatında 'Milli' - bir zamanlar toprakları, gücü ve serveti herkes tarafından dillere destan olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda iyi gelişmiş bir kabile konfederasyonu idi. Apaçıktır ki Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, ülkeyi İran istilâlarından korumak için İran sınırlarına yakın olan Türkiye'nin doğusundaki Kürt aşiretlerini, özellikle Milli kabilesini desteklemiş ve yerleşke vermiştir. Fakat İran açısından, Milan'daki bazı grupların İran'ın topraklarına nasıl ve ne zaman göç ettiklerini ve ülkenin kuzey-batı bölgelerinde ne zaman ve nasıl yerleştiklerini bilmiyoruz. Milan'in sosyal yapısı dört alt katmandan oluşur:

Milan'ın aşiret yapısındaki *Mal*, ilk ve en küçük sosyo-ekonomik bölgedir. Geçmişte geniş aileler Malların popüler olmuş seklidir ve hâlâ hakim olan şekildir, ancak nükleer form da özellikle genç çiftler arasında gelişecektir. Milanlı Mallarda, endogami popülerdir.

OVA / OBA bir kaç Mal'dan oluşuyordu. Yaylaq döneminin başında bazı Mallar Qishlaq'ta bir araya gelir, sürülerini karıştırırlar ve toplu olarak çayırlara doğru göç etmeye başlarlar. Bu gruplar 'Ova' veya 'Oba' olarak adlandırılır. Geçmişte, göçebe gruplar arasında otlaklar ayrıldığında, yakın ilişkileri olan bazı Mallar kendileri için bir grup oluşturdu ve kendi grubunda ana mera ile ilgili bir parça tescilledi. Dolayısıyla, bir 'Oba'ya ait olan üyeler sabitti ancak hepsi aynı bir köyden ya da farklı kabile köylerinden gelen kişiler olabilirler.

Yaylq döneminde her 'Oba', ana kabile merasında belirli bir yere yerleşti ve otlak alanlarının belli kısımlarında sistematik bir biçimde sürüsünü otlatmaya başladı. Ortak otlatma sistemine rağmen, her 'Mal'ın hayvanları, kendileri için anlamlı olan işaretler yoluyla diğerlerinden oldukça ayrılabilirdi.

"*Sar-Oba*" veya "*Oba-bashi*" olarak adlandırılan bir 'Oba'nın' basında olan kişi genel olarak daha fazla hayvana sahip olan kişidir. "Oba'daki yönetim ve işbölümü, göçün

düzenlenmesi, mera otlatma için bölünme, diğer Oba (lar) veya kabile kategorileri ile iletişim ve idari yönetim, misafir kabulü ve çiftlik sahiplerinin istihdamı" Sar- Oba'nın temel sorumluluklarıdır (Eskandarı-nia, 1987; 30). Görüldüğü gibi, 'Oba', otlak ve sürüleri yönetmek için gerçekten bir tür kurumsal organizasyondur ve Milanlı göçebe grupları arasında herhangi bir akrabalık ya da soy karakteri yoktur ve bu nedenle kabilenin hiyerarşik yapısında bir konum ya da kademe ve ya rütbe olarak düşünülmemektedir.

Kürt dilinde *BAV*, 'baba' anlamına gelir ve Milan'ın kabile yapısında olduğu kadar diğer bütün Kürt aşiretleri, Mal'ın ortak bir atadan geçerek birbirlerine bağlandığı bir kategoriyi ifade eder. "Bav", bir soy grubunun gelişmesinde göze çarpan özellikleri ve önemli rolü olan bir Ata ya da Ceddi ifade eder. Bu nedenle, ekonomik faaliyetleri organize etmek (sürü ve mera yönetimi) için bir sistem olan 'Ova''nin tersine, 'Bav' adı altında insanlar yakın akrabalık ilişkisine sahiptir ve genellikle endogami yoluyla kendi saflıklarını korumaya çalışırlar. Bu anlamda 'Bav'lar, Milano'daki 'Teyfe' ve 'Eshira'nın payandalarıdır.

TEYFE bir kaç Bav'ın bir araya gelmesiyle oluşur ve alt katmanlarının aksine sosyo-politik birimdir. Bu, Batı Azerbaycan'daki tüm göçebe kabileler arasında ortak bir yapı olup, göçebeler bu sayede kendilerini ayırt eder veya tanıtır (Eskandarı-nia, 1987; 32). Bir Teyfe, hem hane halkı hem de sürüler için yaz ve kış yerleşim yerleri için en az iki ayrı bölgeye sahip belirli bir bölgeye sahiptir. Bir Teyfe'in başında, konumu doğuştan var olan bir lider vardır ve neredeyse büyük oğullara aittir. Bir Teyfe'in üyeleri soylarının farkındadırlar ve ortak bir atadan ayrıldıklarını bilirler, bu nedenle birbirlerini kuzenler olarak çağırırlar.

ESHİRA, Teyfe olarak adlandırılan bazı yapılandırılmış grupların birleşimi olan Milan göçebe kabilesinin en son ve en büyük katmanıdır. Bu yapı, Kürt aşiretleri arasında bir şekilde yaygındır. Bruinessen'in (1992) belirttiği gibi, bir Kurt kabilesi gerçek veya hayali bir akrabalık temelinde sosyo-politik ve genellikle bölgesel bir birimdir -dahili özel bir yapıya sahiptir. Her kabile bazı alt-kabilelere bölünür ve böylece Klan ve Nesep gibi daha küçük birliklere ayrılır (Bruinessen in: Younesi, 2005: 66).

Milan kabileleri, geçimlerini tamamen çiftlik hayvanlarıyla sağlarlar, aile fertlerinden bazıları dağlarda otlak ve mera alanlarına ve alt yüksekliklerde bulunan kışlık çayırlar arasında göç edip dururken, geri kalanı genellikle bir köy olan halihazırda bulunan yerleşim alanlarında kalır. Bu nedenle, pastoral topraklar onlar için en belirgin varlıklardır.

Pastoral topraklardan yararlanma, tarih boyunca farklı dönüşümler yaşamıştır. Bu dönüşümleri analiz etmek için konuyu teorik bir perspektifle tartışmaya çalıştık, hukuk ve ekonomi teorisi ve Fitzpatrick'in bu konudaki fikirlerini dikkate aldık. İnsanoğlunun toprağı işleme ve kullanması zamana göre değişim göstermiştir. Hukuk ve ekonomi teorisi'na göre, Batı ülkelerinde arazi mülkiyeti, "mülkiyet eksikliği" den "toplumsal" ve daha sonra "özel mülkiyet" e geçiş anlamına gelir. Elde ettiğimiz veriler, hukuk ve ekonomi teorisi tarafından tanıtılan yolun bizim çalışma durumumuza uyum sağlamadığını ortaya koymuştur. Çağdaş İran'da ve bu araştırmada hakim olan durum en çok Fitzpatrick'in bulgularına benzemektedir. Buna göre, pastoral topraklar üzerindeki mülkiyet hakları ve kullanımları görünüşe göre özel mülkiyetten (Arbabıstan'da) ortak bir sisteme dönüşmüştür. Bununla birlikte, bu açık erişim sistemine yol açmaktadır ki bu sistem "otlaklardaki kaos" önermemiz doğrultusunda paydaşlar arasında mülkiyet hakları konusunda belirsizlik yaratır.

Araştırmamız, meranın tüm aktörler için aynı anlam ve değere sahip olmadığını ortaya koymuştur: devlet için mera, çevresel öneme sahıpken, köylüler için ekonomikti ve göçebe gruplar için ekonomik, kültürel (kimlik) ve bölgesel temel eğilimlerdi. Çevresel bozulmanın kendisi çok boyutlar içermektedir. Pastoral topraklardaki bozulma, doğada, vahşi dünyada, insanlarda ve fiziki yapılarda büyük hasarlara neden olur ve toplum ve devlet için de aşırı ekonomik maliyetler getirir. Bu nedenle, teşviklerin farklılığına rağmen, aktörlerin çatıştığı ortak nokta ekonomik kaynaktı.

Diğer boyutlarda (özellikle kültürel ve siyasi) çelişkili iddialar olmadığından, aktörler diğer taraflar tarafından herhangi bir tehdit hissetmemiştir ve bu nedenle sonuç olarak bu boyutlardan kaynaklanan herhangi bir çatışma söz konusu değildir. Örneğin, mera arazisi göçebe kabileler için kültürel bir değere sahipti, ancak diğer iki aktör için de önemli olmadığı halde, bu göçebe ilişkilerinde bir tehdit mevcut değildi ve kültürel nedenlerden

ötürü diğerleriyle rekabet etmeye veya tartışmaya gerek bulunmamaktaydı. Bu anlamda, kültürel değer göçebe gruplar için büyük bir ağırlık olabilir, ancak bu, aktörler arasında bir çatışma kaynağı olamaz. Bir kaynak -örneğin, bu davada ekonomik kaynak- bunu farklı gruplar ya da kişiler arasında elde etmek için ortak bir irade varsa çatışmacı olabilir.

Problem çözme süreci genellikle, daha önce de tartıştığımız üç aşamaya sahiptir. Problem tanımı aşamasında, otlakların bozulması, devlet alanındaki en büyük problemdi ve bunun yanı sıra göçebe grupları desteklemek de masada idi. Bu nedenle, devlet için en büyük zorluk, otlakları göçebe insanlar pahasına olmadan koruma yoluydu. Göçebe insanlar için, mera erişimlerine yasal kısıtlamalar, köylülerin mera alanlarına girmeleri, köylülere müdahale ederek aşiret yollarının imhası, otlaklarda devlet yönetiminin verimsizliği, otlatma izinlerinin yetersizliği ve iş olanakları eksikliği en önemlilerdi sorunlardı. Köylüler için de göçebe insanlarrin yaşadığı sorunlar geçerliydi. Topraksızlıktan acı çektiler ve onları (yasal veya yasadışı olarak) pastoral topraklara erişme yollarını ciddi şekilde takip ettiler. Bölgenin yoksun bırakılması onları geçim anlamında çok fazla dayattı.

Açıkça görüleceği üzere aktör sorunları oldukça çelişkilidir:

• Devlet, göçebeleri ve köylülerin aşırı kullanımı yüzünden arazi bozulması zorluğuyla karşı karşıya;

• Göçebeler, mera kullanımında kısıtlamalar ve pastoral topraklarda etkili kontrol ve yönetim eksikliği ile karşı karşıya kalmaktadır,

• Köylüler arazi yetersizliği ve pastoral topraklara erişilememe sorunuyla karşı karşıyadır.

Mevcut durumlarda, aktörlerden her birinin refahı, diğer ikisinin hedeflerinin başarısızlığını gerektirir, çünkü bunlar tamamen tutarsızdır: bozulma oranını kontrol altına almada devletin sağladığı başarı, hayvanların sayısını azaltmak ve göçebeler yetiştirebilmek için topraklara açık ve güvenli ulaşım nedeniyle ortaya çıkan pek çok fırsatçıyı otlaklardan kovmak zorundadır; Onlar için güvenlik, mera kullanma oranına

herhangi bir kapasite kısıtlaması olmaksızın köylülerin mera kullanımı ve açık erişimin kesilmesini sağlamaktır. Üçüncü aktör için başarı, pastoral topraklarda yasal haklar kazanmayı gerektirir.

Ayrıca, bu alanda problem analiz seviyesinde farklı görüşler bulunmaktadır. Aktörler sorun (lar)ın kaynaklarını farklı şekilde tanılamaktadır; Hayvancılıkla uğraşan insanlar tarafından (özellikle göçebe gruplar tarafından) otlakların aşırı kullanılması, devlete göre otlakların bozulmasına neden olan temel faktördür ancak göçebe insanlar açısından da onlar için sorun oluşturan devlettir. Devlet yönetiminin zayıf idaresi, köylülerin göçebelerin topraklarını talan etmesini uygun hale getiriyor. İdari kurallar da gerçekçi ve adil değil ve sadece göçebeler için çeşitli sorunlar üretmektedir. Aynı şekilde, köylüler de toprak dağılımı ve sorun kaynağı ile ilgili olarak devletin kurallarına yönelik suçlamalar yönlendirmektedir.

Ayrıca, problem çözme seviyesinde, aktörler arasında heterojen yöntemler bulunmaktadır. Devlet, göçebelerin keyfi ya da rasgele yerleşiminin önemini vurgulamakta ve uygulamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, mera kullanımını kısıtlamak için bir yol izlemektedir ve ağır para cezalarından da yararlanmaktadır. Ek olarak, sorunu çözülmesi için hayvancılığın geleneksel biçiminin endüstriyel sisteme dönüştürülmesi veya geçimlerini tarıma kaydırmak için çiftlik arazileri ve şu kaynakları sunması gibi başka çözümler de devlet tarafından öne sürülmüştür. Gerçek şudur ki, tarım arazilerindeki ve şu kaynaklarında ve hayvancılık sayesinde geçimlerini sağlama zor durumda iken hayvancılığı sanayileştirmek için uygun altyapıların eksikliği mevcutken, bu tür çözümlerin uygulanabilirliği tartışma konusudur

Göçebe gruplar için önerilen çözümler ise bir şekilde farklıdır. Çiftlik arazisinin, devlet teklif ederse hayvancılık için iyi ve tamamlayıcı olduğuna, ancak hayvancılığa da ihtiyaç duyulduğuna inanıyorlar. En iyi yol, mera alanındaki küçük hayvan sahiplerini kovmak ve onları diğer ekonomik faaliyet biçimlerine yönlendirmek ve geri kalanı otlaklarda etkin bir hükümet düzenlemesi ve kontrolü ile desteklemektir. Ancak, bu fikir çoğunlukla sürü büyüklükleri daha büyük olan insanlara aittir, ama küçük hayvancılıkla geçinen insanlar da geçim biçimini değiştirmeleri için uygun fırsatlar olup olmadığını düşünmeye karşı değildirler.

Köylüler söz konusu olduğunda çözüm, arazilerin\toprakların yeniden dağıtılması etrafında yoğunlaşmıştır. Otlaklar üzerinde hak iddialarına sahipler ve çevrelerindeki otlakların bölgeden yüz kilometre uzaktaki insanlara kiralanmasına itiraz ediyorlar. Onlara göre, tek çözüm göçebe insan gruplarını yerleşim projeleri vasıtasıyla otlaklardan kovmak ve arazilerini bölgenin yerel sakinlerine sunmaktır.

Sunduğumuz verilere dayanarak, pastoral topraklardaki ana aktörlerin uyuşmayan anlaşmalara ve gerçeklik algılarına sahip oldukları açıktır. Onların fikirleri ve görüşleri alandaki grup / sınıf çıkarlarına karşı çok önyargılıdır. Gerçekleri gözlemliyorlar, böylece kendi alanlarındaki çıkarlarını güvence altına alıyorlar. Bu bağlamda, pastoral topraklar üzerindeki çatışmalar kısmen aktörlerin farklı anlam sistemleri içinde kökleri vardır.

Maddi (ekonomik) ve farklılaşmış anlam sistemleri faktörlerinin yanı sıra, tarihsel olaylar veya engeller gruplar arasındaki çatışmaları yaratabilir veya şiddetlendirebilir. Bu çalışmada yapılan literatür taraması ve görüşmeler, pastoral topraklardaki aktörler arasındaki mevcut çatışma durumuyla ilgili bir dizi tarihsel olay izlenimini göstermiştir.

Daha önceki bölümlerde olduğu gibi, 1960'lı yıllarında meydana gelen Arazi Reformları ve 1979 İslam Devrimi, mülk sahiplerinin mal varlıklarını (Arbab'ları) elinden almıştı. Göçebe kabileler açısından, ya yasama reformları yoluyla ya da bireysel göçebeler tarafından yasadışı yollardan ele geçirilerek toprakların dağıtımı adil bir eylem değildi. Pek çok göçebe herhangi bir toprak parçası alamadı ve bazıları sadece küçük parçalar aldı, bazıları ise 1960'ların reformlarıyla daha fazla hisseyi satın aldı. İslam devriminden sonra otlatma izinleri de sadece görüşülen kişilere göre değildi. Bazı aileler daha büyük sürülere izin verirken bazıları daha küçük boyutlar için izin almıştır. Günümüzde, göçmen durumları sebebiyle (sözlü ve pratik olarak mülkiyet haklarının kurallarına uymama şeklinde) neredeyse bütün köylüler ve çoğu tarafından bu tarihi mevzuatlara karşı yaptıkları itirazlar açıktır.

Diğer bir mesele ise, aşiret yollarının etrafındaki özenli / yasal bir boşluktan kaynaklanıyor. Geçmişte, göçebe insanların yazlık ve kışlık ot meraları arasında kendi aracı yolları vardı. Asimile etme surecinde, göçebelerin yerleşik hayata geçirilmesi ve

sonrasında meydana gelen olaylarda, göç bir süre bozuldu ve aşiret yolları artık göçebe gruplar tarafından kullanılmadı. Her ne kadar 1960'lı yıllarında meydana gelen toprak reformları, mera alanları konusunda bazı payları belirli bir süreliğine göçebelere devrederken, kabile yollarıyla ilgili hiçbir şey belirtmedi. 1979 İslam Devrimi de konuyu göz ardı etti ve hatta alim kabile yolları etrafında müzakere yapmayı ihmal etti. Dolayısıyla köylüler bu sorun çevresindeki hukuksal / anlamsal sistemler arasındaki boşluktan yararlandılar ve sözü edilen toprakları yetiştirmeye başladılar ve sözü edilen toprakları kendi kişisel mülklerine bağladılar. Bugün, bu tarihsel olayların bir sonucu olarak, göçebeler rivayet edilen bu yollardan hiç birinden geçemez ve göç etmeleri durumunda gereksiz maliyet ve problemlere katlanmak zorundadır. Bahsedilen yollar etrafında kabile yollarının ele geçirilmesi nedeniyle köylülerle ve sorunun ihmali nedeniyle de devletle çatışmalar yaşıyorlar.

Her yapıyı merkezileştirmeyi amaçlayan Devlet, alanı yönetmeye ve kontrol etmeye çalıştı. Yaşam kalitesini, çatışmaların yönetimini ve çayırların korunmasını iyileştirmek için bu doğruda bazı kuruluşlar kuruldu ve vaatler verildi. Ancak devletin koyduğu sınırlamaları ve diğer pek çok faktör, devletin pastoral topraklardaki vaatlerini tutmamasına neden oldu. Habermas'ın meşruiyet krizi teorisine göre, devletin çatışmaların çözülmesinde ve diğer sözlerini ya da vaatlerini yerine getirmesinde başarısız olması paydaşlar arasındaki meşruiyetini kaybetmesine sebep oldu. Açıkça görülüyor ki, insanlar gayri meşru bir güce itaat edip onun uyguladığı karar ve projelere katılmadılar. Bu aşamada, çatışma paydaşlar arasında şiddetlendi ve hatta devlet-göçebe ve devlet-köylü ilişkilerine dönüştü ve aynı zamanda pastoral topraklarda çevresel bir trajediye neden oldu.

Biz, devletin pastoral topraklardaki çatışmaları kontrol edemediği ve yönetemediği sonucuna vardık. Fakat aynı zamanda, yasal kurallar, göçebelerin eskiden olduğu gibi harici bir tehdide karşı tepki verdikleri daha önceden kullanılan ilkel yöntemler tarafından topraklardaki haklarını koruyabilmelerini engellemektedir. Dolayısıyla, dış tehdit ile iç grup birliği arasında pozitif bir ilişki olduğunu söyleyen çatışma kuramlarının aksine, çatışma çözülmesinde devletin başarısızlığı ve göçebelerin dış tehditler karşısında yetersiz kalması, göçebeler arasında birlik ve yerli bağlılık hissini

zayıflatmıştır. Bu durumda, gaspçılara karşı birlik olmak yerine, göçebe gruplar saldırgan gruplar ile homofonik olmuş ve topraklarını aşırı kullanarak kemerlerini sıkmışlar ve kendi mülklerini (mera) imha etmişlerdir. Burada geçimlerinin tamamen bağlı olduğu çayırlara karşı mevcut olan sorumsuzluk yasalara aykırı bir davranış gibi görünmektedir, ancak bir mal varlığının (burada mera) masada olduğu, başkalarının tecavüzü altında olduğu ve hiç bir şekilde bunları korumanın mümkün olmadığı şiddetli bir kargaşa ya da kaos durumunda, onu korumak için o varlığın sahibi elbette bunu mümkün olduğunca tüketmek zorunda kalacaktır.

C- CURRICULUM VITAE

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Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
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2011- Present	Agricultural Research Center	Head of Department
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FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Fluent Persian, Fluent English, Medium Turkish

PAPERS IN JOURNALS

Ghiamirad, A., Moharamzadeh, M., Hoseinpour, B., *Investigation of Marketing Methods for Developing of Sport Fields in Iran*, "Movement", University of Tehran: 2007

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MEMBERSHIPS

Member of *Iranian Sociological Association,* Since; 1995

RESEARCHES

<u>Hoseinpour, B.</u>, *How to Settle The Migrant Nomads? A Survey on Nomads of Shiblou in West Azerbaijan Province*, M.A. Thesis, College of Litrature and Humanities, Isfahan University: 1995

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Ahmadi, A. & … <u>Hoseinpour,B.</u>, *Management: An Effective Factor in Destruction or Improvement of Pastutres*, Maku, Iran: 1995

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Ghaemi, T. & … <u>Hoseinpour,B.</u>, *Evaluation of Lending Agricultural Lands to Migrant Tribes in Shiblou Field and its Effects in the Pastures*, West Azarbaijan, Iran: 2004

Asheri, A. & … <u>Hoseinpour, B.</u>, *Identification of Investment Priorities Among Different Ecotoristic Regions in Orumieh*, Iran: 2008

HOBBIES

Martial Arts, Chess, Movies, Travel

D- TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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YAZARIN

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TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Conflict Dynamics in Communal Pastoral Lands:
A Case Study in Milan in North-West Region of Iran

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ▨

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ▨

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: