

An Economic – Structural Evaluation of the Accommodation of Nomads (Case Study: Baranjegan Nomads of Ghaenat in South Khorasan, Iran)

Ali Monazzam Esmailpoor^{1*}, Elyas Chehraz²

¹*PhD in Geography and Rural Planning; Assistant Professor of Geography Department at Payam-e Noor University, Tehran, Iran*

²*MA in Geography and Rural Planning; Instructor at Payam-e Noor University, Tehran, Iran*

*Corresponding author's E-mail: monazzam.ali.1350@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: The preparation of land and the development of a country require special attention to all urban, rural and nomadic habitats. Accordingly, Iran's nomadic community holds a significant status due to its deprivation and hardship. Therefore, the issue of settlement of the nomads has always been a major concern. This policy was prevalent in the Pahlavi era with a political bias and continued until the Fourth Development Plan of the country (2005-2009) with an outlook for sustainable development. This resulted in the formation of various villages or self-established centers the ignorance of which can give rise to the waste of finance and separation from spatial order of land. As one of the centers for the Iranian nomads, the province of South Khorasan accommodates different tribes and ethnic groups who have been settled down. The Bahlooli Tribe of Baranjegan area is one of the most genuine migrating tribe in this region and was the first to have been settled in South Khorasan. These people had a nomadic life just before 1993, but later due to the flood of 1993, their houses were totally destroyed and some of the nomads chose to lead a semi-nomadic life and some others totally settled, leading to the formation of the new village of Baranjegan. This research aims to evaluate the scheme of habitation of nomads (mainly on the economic-structural basis) in the Baranjegan region of Qaenaat city in South Khorasan. The study is a field research which includes observations and interviews with the nomads. The study also follows a library method making use of the articles and documents and the results of the statements made by the natives of the areas and observations of their living conditions and the obstacles and challenges that they had faced.

Keywords: Economic Development, Bahlooli Tribe, Baranjegan, Nomadic Community, Settlement of Nomads, South Khorasan

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INTRODUCTION

The settlement of nomads is not a pleasing phenomenon. This has been prevalent for a long time. In different eras it has had different realizations due to the economic and political status of the time. In the past, the most important reason for the settlement of the nomads was to keep peace and security in the borderlines of the country. (Bakhshandeh Nosrat, 2004).

The first scheme for the settlement (known as "Takht-e ghapoo kardan") of the nomads in Iran occurred during the reign of Reza King for moving the Torkmans. Nowadays, the settlement scheme is executed for different reasons such as limitations on natural resources, government's policies and political considerations for the security of the borders, the development of the cultures of co-habitation, the increase in facilities for the nomads, the willingness of the nomads for co-habitation and finally the nomads' social, cultural, and economic characteristics (Papeli Yazdi, 1992).

All of these above-mentioned factors have had a significant contribution to the formation of the settlements of the nomads. In 1966, however, with the nationalization of land, the phenomenon of the settlement of the nomads was accelerated. Among such factors, the policy of the government and the political considerations as well as the

willingness of the nomads for co-habitation became more significant.

It is necessary to mention that the settlement of the nomads should be commensurate with the economic and social conditions of the tribes and more specifically on their own desire, because the settlement of the nomads means changing their lifestyle from migration to dwelling in one place and hence this may result in changes in the ways of making a living. After settlement, most of the nomads turn to agriculture and this requires training for proper farming.

The province of South Khorasan holds different tribes and ethnic groups who have been moved to this area. The Bahlooli Tribe is considered as one of the most genuine migrating group in this region and was the first to have been accommodated in South Khorasan. This tribe migrates and their houses are located in Baranjegan, where they inhabit in winter. This place was destroyed by the 1993 flood. After this, the new village of Baranjegan was formed in the area. Furthermore, some migratory villagers were moved from the border areas to this place for security reasons and these people along with the people of the Bahlooli tribe established the Baranjegan village. The outstanding features lie in the variety in ethnicity and lifestyles of the villagers. Another feature is the facilities which were established in this area to partly

help fulfil some of the requirements of the nomads and the villagers.

With respect to the points mentioned, there is one question:

To what extent did the settlement scheme of the nomads and the formation of the village of Baranjegan manage to satisfy the settled people? In other words, to what extent could this scheme account for the needs of the people of the village socially, economically and culturally?

The answer to this question can be sought in a thorough and all-encompassing investigation into the settlement scheme of the nomads and familiarity with the characteristics of the nomads and migrant settlers in Baranjegan.

Statement of the problem

With the development of capitalism into the third world countries such as Iran, and since this system emerged from an urban community, there was little room for the economic, social and cultural structures of the rural and nomadic communities to become adapted to this modern system. As a third form of human's social life besides the urban and rural lifestyles, the nomadic life began to fade away from most traditional communities (Shateri, 2012).

Iran is one of the fewest countries in the world that has had its nomadic communities rapidly develop socially. These developments are so tangible and outstanding that they made the country's experts and decision makers cast doubts about whether to preserve or eradicate such a lifestyle in Iran. In terms of nomadic population growth, there has been a sharp decline, and with regard to positive and constructive developments in the composition of age, gender, literacy and economy of the nomads, it has greatly drawn the attention of all the experts and the people in charge. The nomads' economic and social conditions in the recent years have shown a surge in migration and unplanned settlements which have given rise to many economic and social anomalies in nomads' life (Lotfipoor, 2003). It is for a decade since the controlled plans for the settlement of the nomads have started to stop the nomads' migration in order to concentrate them in fixed habitats so that their living conditions would be improved (Habibian, 2007). However, the inefficiency of their present system of making a living makes it necessary to devise practical strategies and suitable settlement models with focus on economic studies. Therefore, the settlement of the nomads with and without planning has resulted in some economic and social changes which attracted more attention.

Significance of the study

The self-settlement of the nomads has increased under the prevailing political and economic conditions especially in the period of political pressure which imposes some limitations on the rangeland due to the nationalization of rangelands. In these times, the nomads began to inhabit certain areas without any prior planning and without the supervision of the organizations in charge and only by resorting to the local and personal information. These settlements have left some environmental, social and economic effects. In addition, they have also inflicted the nomads in such fields as

literacy, type of activity, access to hygienic facilities, and employment. Attention to the changes in such issues in the life of the nomads before and after settlement can mark the significance and necessity of research in general and the study of the area of this case study in particular. The investigation into the positive and negative impacts of the settlement can detect the strengths and weaknesses and help in future planning.

Review of literature

In the field of nomadic communities and especially the subject of the present research study, there are many studies. Afshari Naderi conducted a study on the Bahamani tribe which indicates a better nutrition condition of Koochero in comparison with that of the settled nomads. In addition, mortality in children among the settled nomads outnumbers that in the Koochero tribe (Afshari Naderi, 1968). In 2008, Soltani made an investigation into the economic status of the settled nomads of Bakkan Eghlid plain. The results indicate that after settlement, the share of agriculture increased and the number of activities shows more variety. Anna Moradnezhad et al. (2008) conducted a detailed study on the forty years of changes in life of the nomads of Iran. Furthermore, they carried out another research (2010), paying attention to this issue demographically and found out that the nomads are losing economic and social status due to the policy of settlement of Reza King, the nationalization of rangelands, the conversion of farming areas into rangelands and so on.

In 1991, Bakhshandeh Nosrat focused on sustaining nomadic life in the country and defended this policy with reasoning. Moreover, in 2000, by reviewing the economy and production of the nomads of Khorasan, Dehghanian and Kohansal cast an economic look at the impacts of the nomadic community. In addition, in 2012, they made an exploration into the social and economic effects of self-settlement of the nomads in the region of Dahez, Izeh, Khoozestan Province. In 2007, Zia and Tavakoli studied the settlement of the nomads and the destruction of rangelands in the province of Chaharmahal Bakhtiari and in 2007, Abdollahi examined the settlement of nomads and the development of social life in the province of Ilam. In 2008, Moeeni paid attention to the issue of housing and the formation of housing in the nomadic newly established villages as well as the problems of settlement.

Following the studies conducted on the Randili nomads of Kenya during the drought of 1992, the number of settled children who faced malnutrition was three times more than that of the nomadic and migrant children (Larsen, 2003). Another research in the Sudan showed that people were less interested in working on the farm because the income predicted in the program for the plantation of cotton was much less than the income they would get in raising animals in their nomadic lifestyle. In the 1960s, in order to provide better services to the nomads and develop their community, the Sudanese government decided to settle them, but this plan failed (Khogali, 2001). Other foreign researchers who worked on the issue of nomads and the characteristics of the nomadic livestock are Dinocci and Fre (2003), Wanyama and Njoro (2000), and Junaid (2001).

Scope of the study

The city of Qaenat is located in the north of South Khorasan. On the north, it borders Khavaf and Gonabad in Razavi Khorasan Province; on the west it adjoins Sarayan; on the south it neighbors Birjand and on the east it lies along the 130 kilometer borderline with Afghanistan.

The village of Baranjegan is located in South Khorasan Province and is part of the city of Zirkooch of Qaenat. It is the most eastern point of the city and stands second to the village of Shahrokh which makes 4% of the population. The city of Zirkooch consists of three villages named Shaskooch, Zirkooch, and Potergaan the last of which is the biggest with 3421 msq. The village of Potergaan has a longitude of 60 degrees and 30-56 minutes east and latitude of 33 degrees and 10-33 minutes north. It is located in the east of Zirkooch along the borderline. The village of Baranjegan with a population of 2000 is considered as one of the oldest settlement centers of nomads in South Khorasan. This village is only 175 kilometers away from Qaenat Center.

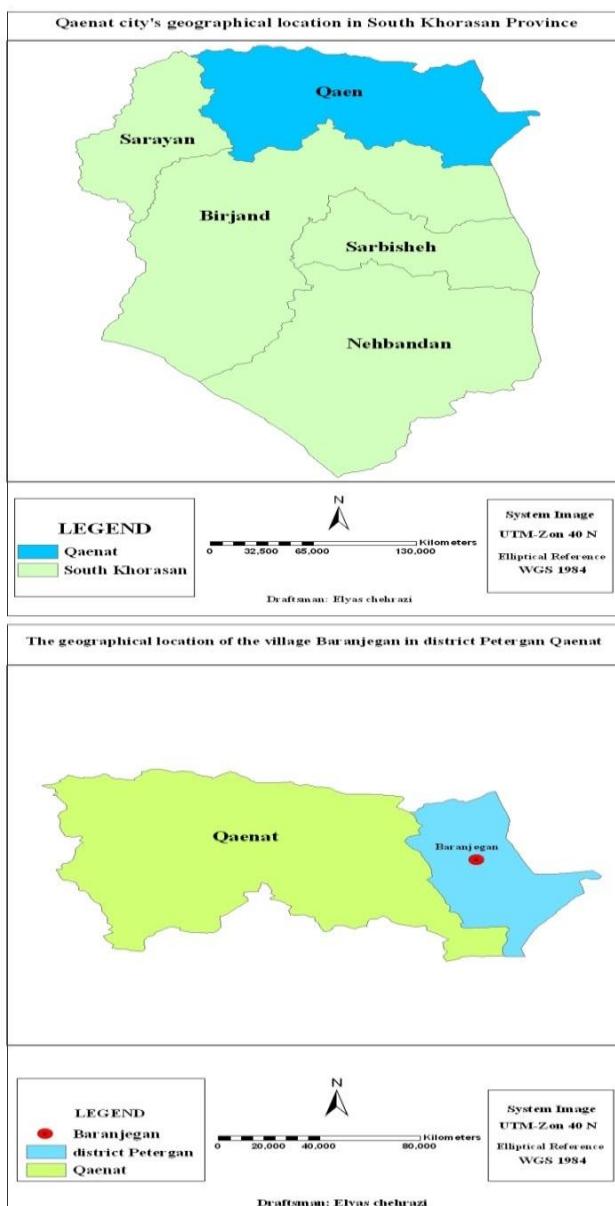


Figure 1. Geographical location Baranjegan village in South Khorasan Province

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The present research has a practical aim and a descriptive-analytical nature. For the collection of the data, two methods were employed. The first one was the documentary method in which different books, dissertations and articles were consulted. And the second method followed a field study which included interviews with the nomads, and a close observation of the life conditions of the nomads (scientific visit).

The result of the latter method revealed the problems and obstacles as well as the challenges which the nomads faced. In the library method, different documents and information were obtained from a variety of organizations such as Jihad-e Keshavarzi (i.e. Agriculture organization), the bureau for the nomads in South Khorasan, and Housing foundation. It should be noted that in the interview method, both the rural and the nomadic people were interviewed.

Theoretical background

In principle, population is categorized in three groups: citizens, villagers, and moving people (including nomads and herders) (Papeli Yazdi, 1992). Since the beginning of Industrial Revolution (1750), technology gradually encompassed the society in all aspects of social, economic, and political aspects and with the development and spread of factories, replacement of production centers and the lifestyles began to happen. So urbanization dominated the nomadic life in developed countries (Moshiri, 2008).

With a delay of 100 years, these changes have gradually affected the third world countries among which Iran was no exception. Since 1900, machines have found their way into the economic and social arena and brought about fundamental developments (Tayyebi, 1997).

The ancient nomadic community of Iran had a systematic social framework which did not completely corresponded with the standard social systems known in typology in terms of economic, cultural and political perspectives in that the ideal form of the system could be spotted in the tribal system which distinguished itself from other standard systems.

In spite of the experts' agreement on nomadism taking place before or after settlement, there is a relative agreement that in Iran the nomadic life and rural and urban communities had existed side by side for a long time.

This co-existence brought with it many peaceful and sometimes resentful interactions. The heads of the nomadic tribes were effective in toppling the pre-modernist governments of Iran. Some researchers took the nomadic communities and the tribal systems accountable for the obstacles to the formation of modern society and government (Abdollahi, 2007).

In the modern era, and especially in the early 20th century, with the establishment of the central modern government of Pahlavi and the repression of the tribal heads, it became part of the initiative of the government to force the nomads to settle in villages and cities. This policy failed due to several reasons such as the inappropriateness of the historical conditions and the mandatory nature of settlement. In the era of the second

Pahlavi, in the 1960s, the same policy was followed, intensified by the modification scheme of land. The deterioration of the tribal system and changes in its structure and performance were brought about by the execution of renovation plans during the 60 years of the reign of Pahlavi dynasty and then followed by the outbreak of the Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the augmentation of the influence of the government, the execution of national economic, cultural and social developments and the changes in the international status and the expansion of globalization and finally the introduction of modern concepts such as financial transactions and educational efforts into the nomadic community.

The tribal system faced a structural chaos and anomaly on a large scale with the removal of traditional elements such as the power of the tribal heads, sheriffs and village heads from the political structure of tribes, followed by changes in the system of classes as well as the disappearance of economic, political and cultural structures (i.e. wealth, power, and respect).

These issues led to the destruction of rangelands due to excessive grazing, high cost in manual grass feeding, non-economical nature of traditional husbandry, and seasonal and forced migration for the compensation of low income. Furthermore, changes in beliefs, attitudes and values made the young people face a dilemma and anomaly on a small scale.

Changes in the conditions of the local, national and global environments and the changes happening in the social and structural levels of the society, individuality, mentality, and personality of the nomads gave rise to changes in their performance patterns.

These events were so vast that led not only to a multitude of problems in productivity, sustainability, and survival of the tribal system on small, medium and large scales, but they also caused the tribal system to collapse and merge into the national system.

The negative consequences of the improper situation of the nomadic community now turn out to have such different forms as ambiguity in the game rules, dilemma, repression, tiredness and boredom caused by continuous migration, dissatisfaction with the status quo, and strong desire for settlement in order to access modern educational, hygienic, and welfare facilities. Besides, unplanned settlement inflicted by desperation, and homelessness among the nomads is more evident than ever (Shafiqi, 1991). Unlike the past, the Iranian nomads are now not against settlement; rather, they ask for it. Today, such settlement is not politically or mandatorily orientated. This is a voluntary and planned program intended for the improvement of the nomads' life.

The abovementioned development shows that in the current conditions of Iran and the world, nomadism has lost its potential, so any attempt to restore and preserve it means inflicting continuous backwardness and material and spiritual cost on people especially women and children deprived of freedom and civil rights. Therefore, the development of the nomadic life, according to the multiple indices established for balanced and sustainable development, relies upon voluntary and planned settlement and changes in the tribal system and merging into the national system (Abdollahi, 1998).

Settlement scheme for the baranjegan nomads

This plan was conducted based on the studies carried out by the consulting experts in the areas which had the natural capacities and potentials desired by the nomads. The plan included such measures to preserve, improve or develop their life. It predicted such activities as organizing the settlement of the nomads in this region, providing fuel to everyone, executing rangelands programs, and management. Supporting the volunteer nomads involves settlement in the self-established centers and main centers. It has been attempted to enhance the indices for social, economic and cultural welfare of the nomads in this area by means of the measures taken in giving variety to employment of the settled volunteer nomads, and providing water resources, facilities for the production, education and training activities like farming, horticulture, bee farming, and fishery, (Headquarters for Nomadic affairs, 1997).

The village of Baranjegan has the following facilities: a bank, a mosque which is not in proportion to the population size, health center, partially finished religious hangouts, primary and secondary schools, and a carpet weaving workshop which is being built by the relief committee.

The running water is salty which has caused half the population to suffer from kidney and other problems. Dusty and stormy days which make every eager teacher or manager frightened to go to their workplace. The people are kind, honest and friendly, which gives energy to stay in this village. Many of the people are busy with their farms and animals. There are over 400 students with 210 in primary school and 80 in secondary school. The others study at high school. It should be pointed out that although the village has about 100 high school students, there is no high school in this village. Another point of interest is that this village is made up of three groups of people from the villages of Kaboodeh, and Yazdan and the original people of Baranjegan.

Considering the facts related to the study area, most of the organizations are involved in this village are busy with physical development like building houses, constructing rural roads, providing drinking water through water tanks, supplying electricity and developing pedestrian areas. Most of the current facilities of Baranjegan have become available as the result of the settlement scheme and the formation of the new village. The following presents a brief description of each of the facility in this village:

The infrastructure

The infrastructure facilities are one of the factors that can keep the population of the village in place. Therefore, the study of the rural infrastructure facilities is considered as the most important index for rural development. A major number of facilities of a village are installed based on physical planning.

The roads and transportation

One of the basic human needs for development and connection with the outside world is communication means. The village of Baranjegan is geographically remote and so far from big centers. It is 180 kilometres off the center of South Khorasan and very far from paved

roads, too. All this is the result of its geographical location and lack of communication facilities. Most of the roads are dirt roads, which are unsuitable and are mostly used by animals.

Electricity and running water

After the formation of the village and settlement of the people, electric power was provided, which helped expand communication through radio and TV. In this village, there is no running water and unfortunately, the drinking water is drawn from the well which is not purified and so it is rich in salt and lime.

The economic status

The rural economy is one hot issue in villages. Generally, in the study of villages, the economic issues and the ways of earning money is a hard problem and this is because of the variety in making a living, various economic indices and vagueness in the contributing share of each type of income to the total amount a household earns.

Besides, women and their share in rural economy is unknown and invisible. Therefore, the study of rural economy is very hard (Hosseini Abri, 2004). What is clear is that the fundamental factor in the income of a rural household in Iran is husbandry and farming. In this regard, there are also some major economic issues which will be discussed below.

Husbandry

The most important activity of the nomads of Baranjegan is raising livestock, which is mainly focused on dairy projects. Among the Baranjegan nomads, husbandry is in various forms:

Unmoving husbandry

In this type of raising animals, some households keep several small animals along with their farming practice. Generally, in the system of unmoving husbandry the villages are self-sufficient and can meet the home needs.

Moving husbandry

This is the most common method of husbandry among the nomads of the area. Here different types of dairy are produced with the help of the household head. This type is based on the movement of the livestock from rangeland to rangeland.

Farming

As one of the most important sectors of the economy of a country, farming plays a significant role in the development of a sustainable economy. Attention to this sector can not only promote self-sufficiency in the production and export of food to meet the requirements of population growth, but it can also reduce the migration of villagers and settled nomads into cities (Chehrazi, 2002).

The second source of income for the rural families lies in farming. After husbandry, farming is very common among the Baranjegan people, who have a very traditional style and practice farming just for their own personal needs, mostly working on land which belongs to them. The most important crops here are wheat, oat, beetroot,

hay and some fruits such as pomegranates, pistachios, and grapes.

Challenge for husbandry

With respect to raising cattle, the people of Baranjegan face some challenges:

- Unsuitable vegetation, and rangelands for the livestock
- Excessive grazing leading to reduction in the amount of production in rangelands
- Combination of traditional cattle and lack of modification for the elimination of less productive cattle
- Lack of farming facilities for the collection of milk and shopping centers
- Lack of veterinary facility
- High price of feed and shortage of feed in cold seasons

Challenge for Farming

The farmers also have some problems:

- Land in pieces makes the use of technological agricultural devices hard
- Shortage of water resources and lack of authorities to take responsibility to deal with the issue
- Poor quality of soil in the study area: salty and less fertile
- Improper method of irrigation due to lack of training
- Lack of compatibility between the farming crops and climatic condition of the area
- The movement of quicksand leading to destruction of the crop and reduction in fertility of the soil

Challenge for Economy

- Low level of income and so widespread poverty among the villagers and the nomads
- Lack of basic facilities for new employment
- Low level of infrastructure
- Geographical remoteness and long distance from the most influential centers of innovation and production
- Self-sufficiency of the economy and production of most people to meet their own personal needs regardless of the water and soil resources and their quality
- Lack of state and private investment in creating new opportunities for production

Industry of the village

The rural industries are one of the most significant parameters for the process of decision making in rural development. It is considered as an essential condition for national progress. Accordingly, awareness of rural productivity and efficiency level can play a significant role in enhancing productivity especially in the situation in which the country is faced with limitation in production. This knowledge can also contribute to planning, policy-making, and strategic performance for the development of rural industry. Generally, the analysis and evaluation of the productivity of the rural industry and comparing it with other types of industry can pave the way for competitive measures toward a relative priority in rural industry (Asgari, 2005).

The village of Baranjegan lacks any kind of conversion industry. Before settlement, the villagers produced farming tools, black tents, rugs, felt carpets and so on which were mostly used at home without any role in bringing income for the family. After settlement, the rate of industrial production decreased. The reason for the inattention of the villagers and the nomads to handicrafts can be summarized as follows:

- Unsuitable economic conditions both for the locals and the nomads
- Geographical remoteness and long distance from the markets and bad roads
- Lack of credit and investment on the part of the government as the most important factor to take care of the improvement of villages
- Unawareness of and inattention to the potentials available in the region

Services

The jobs that people are mostly involved include running small shops, transporting passengers, and working for building construction. These are either their permanent jobs or the jobs that they temporarily take when they are off from farming or cattle raising practice.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research focused on the (economic and structural) assessment of the settlement scheme for the nomads of Baranjegan village from the city of Qaenat in South Khorasan. The study reveals that two different types of making a living converge in the Baranjegan settlement. The geographical position and the formation of the village were mainly due to political and security reasons, which places the villagers into two different categories:

1. The Bahlooli nomads, who are the natives of this area, were forced to move to this place because their original living place had been destroyed.
2. The residents of Yazdan and Kaboodeh villages, who lived on the borderline, were moved to the new village of Baranjegan for security reasons.

This research study indicates that in finding places for settlement, the governmental and political features are the most significant factors and that the action of decision making and centralized planning followed a top-down procedure and so the residents themselves had no role in their settlement choice, and were forced to live in the new area. The study also represents the fact that the rural residents were more satisfied than the nomadic residents and this is because the migrant villagers had already experienced this lifestyle and so were more able to adapt to the new situation. Their only dissatisfaction was that they had to change the type of crop they used to grow in their previous settlement. In the past, the people of Yazdan Village grew saffron and had a good income, but their forced migration to Baranjegan village forced them to change their crop and this meant reduction in their income.

Another problem that they face is the shortage of water resources. Except for the dispute over the Yazdan rangeland, which the guards claim to possess, the dissatisfaction of the rural residents is more than that of

the migrant nomads. The research shows that most of the nomads are not happy with the settlement scheme and only a few are satisfied for the following reasons:

1. The development of some welfare facilities and infrastructure such as running water, electricity and telephone lines.

2. The hygiene of the houses and their safety

The Bahlooli nomads were dissatisfied for the following reasons:

1. The small-sized houses and the incompatibility of the houses with the characteristics of their migratory lifestyle

2. Improper drinking water

3. Lack of cooperation on the part of the nomads in building activities in the village

All in all, the Baranjegan village was established on the government's force without taking into account the requirement of the rural and nomadic people. It was carried out merely to conduct the government's policies, which is probably the main reason of its failure and so the resultant dissatisfaction of the people.

Generally speaking, in any project, the amount of people's cooperation is a key factor for success. The more people are involved, the more successful the project will be. The only strength of this project was a collection of facilities and infrastructure introduced into the village. In other words, it was structurally successful, but could not perform a significant role in creating a good economy for the nomads. This proves that this area was not a geographically successful position for settlement to meet the economic and social needs of the people. However, if the execution of the project had included the views and needs of the people, it would have definitely had better results. Unfortunately, this weakness can be traced back in the centralized and closed system of planning which imposes plans upon villages without first learning about the conditions and characteristic of the villagers.

CONCLUSION

The settlement of the people of the study village where once nomads lived and now they call themselves villagers, may have several consequences such as the migration of young people and reduction in raising livestock and growing crops. The following gives some suggestions to rectify these drawbacks:

1. The method of cultivation should be modified and more use should be made of productive crops which are more compatible with the climatic conditions besides needing less water and soil. For example, colza should replace beetroot to save more water resources.

2. The rangeland should be surrounded by such plants as tamarisk to fix soil in place and prevent quicksand that reduces fertility of the soil. This can help the easy flow of water and add to the beauty of the place, too.

3. The identification of different types of handicraft and attempts to revive them through teaching and marketing in order to provide opportunities for the employment of the villagers especially the young women. This can be achieved through such organizations as relief committee, Jihad-e Keshavarzi (i.e. agriculture organization), and the rural cooperation organization.

4. Providing different farming facilities to encourage people especially the young to work on farms.

5. Providing different types of loans to the nomads for raising livestock, farming and repairing or building houses.

6. The purification of drinking water which is absolutely a vital issue for the villagers.

7. The development of educational, welfare, and infrastructure facilities so that they can meet the villagers' needs.

8. Identification of the possible potentials of the village and employing them for creating job opportunities and making new income for the people

9. Governmental investment and attracting public participation in the development of the area.

10. The use of cooperation and assistance of the villagers and nomads to be involved in building and economic activities.

It should be mentioned that the suggestions above can be realized when the required capital is available and the settled villagers and nomads are actively involved. The participation of the settled nomads requires suitable teaching and training. Teaching should be conducted step by step considering the economic, cultural, political and ethnic characteristics of the nomads.

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