

A Study of Cultural Changes Among the Qashqai Tribes in Iran

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Abstract

This paper investigates the effect of external factors and migration in the cultural change of the Qashqa'i neighbourhoods in Iranian cities. The Qashqa'i are a nomadic group of Turkish-speaking people in the south-central part of the country, and have a different language and culture from other Persian-speaking Iranians. The Qashqai Population is around one million, and 100,000 of this total still have a nomadic lifestyle (Nomad Organization, 2002).

The Qashqa' i cultural change is a cause for concern in several regards. First and most critical, the urban Qashqa' i may lose their culture. Second, the Qashqa' i people played a key role in the history of southern Iran which involved vital contributions to national autonomy.

Since census data do not track city-ward nomad migrants, survey questionnaires with systematic sampling were used to gather data. SAS¹ procedures were then used to analyse and explain cultural change of the Qashqa'i Neighbourhoods in the urban areas.

Keywords: Nomad, Culture, Qashqai, Integration acculturation, assimilation.

Introduction

There are many ways to view cultural change, and most researchers have been involved in the quest to understand the dynamics of this change. However, the underlying factors affecting cultural change vary among different societies. Beck (1981) states that government sponsored change in Iran from the 1950's to the 1970's had a great impact on the Qashqa' i lifestyle. Land reform, pasture nationalization, the dismantling of the socio-political organization, and education of nomads were main factors which played a central role in this regard (Gharakhlou, 2001). Bates & Plog (1991) state that handicraft is another way to study the culture of a society.

The main purpose of this article is to address the processes of cultural change among the Qashqa'i regarding their migratory behaviour. The main elements of traditional Qashqa'i culture, are explained first. Then, the neighbourhoods of the Qashqa' i migrants are described to show how their intensified traditional culture practices have shaped separate geographical places in urban areas. In addition, the socio- cultural variables of the survey questionnaire are discussed to contrast changes in the Qashqa'i culture between place of origin and destination. Following this, we look at some common factors among the Qashqa' i such as language, clothing, music, food, hobbies, and carpet design to compare nomadic and urban Qashqa'i. Finally, with regard to a general profile of Qashqa'i cultural change, some anthropological concepts such as segregation, acculturation, integration, and assimilation are outlined as a means to evaluate the current state of Qashqa'i culture.

Factors Affecting the QashQa'i Cultural Change

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¹ - Statistical Analysis System

When we speak of a 'cultured' individual, we tend to mean someone with refined tastes in music and arts, a highly educated, well-read person who knows and appreciates the 'best' attributes of his or her society. However, culture refers not only to the music, literature, and arts of a society, but also to all other social features of its way of life: prevailing modes of dress, routine living habits, food preferences, the architecture of houses and public buildings, the layout of fields and farms, division of labour, modes of production, and systems of education, government, and law (de Blij, 1993). Thus, culture is an all encompassing term that identifies not only the 'tangible' lifestyles of a people, but also the prevailing values and beliefs (de Blij, 1993).

Taking this point of view, Qashqa'i nomads have adapted their lifestyles from the purely 'nomadic', to some mixture of nomadism and sedentarism. Traditionally, they were organized into flexible local groups based on ties of kinship, marriage, political alliance and geographic situation. Qashqa'i identity focuses on political leaders and group allegiance, and, on cultural, linguistic, and territorial criteria. From the 1950's to the 1970's, the Qashqa'i were faced with several external factors that led to the adaptation of the dominant Persian culture. The factors precipitating this adaptation included: outlawing traditional forms of Qashqa'i leadership; the implementation of the land use policy in nomadic regions; and the development of 'institutionalized' education among the Qashqa'i (the Tent School Programme).

With respect to the socio-political organization of the Qashqa'i, their leadership were subsumed by a national military power in 1954 (Beck, 1986). Before that time, the Qashqa'i people had their own leaders solved their disputes over land allocation, migration regulation, inter alia. In order to obey the new Persian speaking leaders, the Qashqa'i had to adjust their traditional migration patterns and their socio-political organization to the new situation. Also, they had to use Persian to express themselves and their problems. They had to pay Persian literates to write their complaints and demands before sending them to the central government authorities. They had to buy vehicles to visit cities to discuss unexpected problems such as the scheduling of fall or spring migration regulations with the new leaders. All these factors put them in direct contact with the Persian culture, and helped initiate significant cultural change (Shafaqhi, 2005, P. 106).

The implementation of land use policies, including land reform, was another important factor shaping cultural change. Lambton (1966) states that the effects of land reform were drastic for the Qashqa'i. There was no provision in the Land Reform Law, or its many amendments, for seasonal use of pasture land by nomads. Only individuals who had permanent occupancy of land were considered qualified for land distribution programmes (Lambton, 1966). Qashqa'i nomads lacked year-round, regular occupancy of specific units of land and hence could not claim land under the new laws. Therefore, some Qashqa'i lost their land and changed their way of life by migrating to urban areas. Persian and Qashqa'i villagers were encouraged to engage in the widespread cultivation of land at the expense of maintaining grazing lands in Qashqa'i areas. Previously uncultivated land, outside the range of existing village water supplies that belonged to the Qashqa'i nomads, were donated to individuals offering to practice sedentary cropping. New farmers were assisted through grants of equipment, chemical fertilizers, and motor pumps. The most fertile areas for both grazing and crops passed from pastoral to agricultural use, and therefore many Qashqa'i were forced to change their way of life to adjust to the new political, economic and social realities.

The effects of land reform were combined with other detrimental policies revolving around the Forest and Range Nationalization Law of 1963. According to this law, all natural rangelands except for those surrounding villages now belonged to the government. Lands nationalized included desert and mountainous areas, in addition to actual forests and rangelands, and all uncultivated lands lying outside the service areas of village water supplies

(Lambton, 1966). These comprised 76 % of Iran's total land area. Included in the nationalization programme were almost all of the Qashqa'i pastures. The government also began to collect taxes on herd animals sold to state-run slaughter houses on the grounds that grazing had been 'free' on state land (Beck, 1986). Thus, pasture nationalization represented another pressure on the Qashqa'i to change their traditional way of life.

In short, the traditional Qashqa'i mode of production, their social systems and associated cultural values and beliefs were fundamentally altered through the initiation of land reform. Qashqa'i nomads were now required by law to obtain land rights through government channels rather than through traditional tribal rights and customs (Beck, 1986). A diversification of economic activity, particularly in non-pastoral pursuits, resulted from lack of pasture land. The Qashqa'i had to adapt their social and economic base to the new situation, and they had to accept various forms of the dominant Persian culture owing to greater interaction and reliance upon Persian people and administrators.

Another important development affecting the Qashqa'i between 1954 and 1979 was the creation of a tribal education programme (the Tent School Programme). This programme was part of the government's effort to integrate the Qashqa'i into a rapidly 'modernizing' Iran. In August 1953 some Qashqa'i were chosen by Mohammad Bahmanbegi (Director of Nomadic Educational Programme) to receive teacher training in Shiraz, and in January 1954, seventy-three tent schools were opened among the Qashqa'i (Beck, 1986). In 1957, a Tribal Teacher Training School was established in Shiraz. Each year numerous students were trained, new schools were opened, and the number of educated youths increased dramatically. As a result of Bahmanbegi's efforts, white or orange canvas tent schools became a distinctive feature of the Qashqa'i landscape beside their black tents (Beck, 1986). Balunanbegi's initial plans for education concerned only the Qashqa'i, but he gradually added other non-Qashqa'i nomadic people to his programme. By 1979, his schools and teachers served most major tribal groups in Iran. A Tribal High School was established in Shiraz in 1967, and eventually grew into two large campuses with over one thousand students. Bahmanbegi also established a Tribal Carpet Weaving School, a Tribal Technical School, and training programmes for midwives and paramedics (Beck, 1986). All these institutions pulled younger Qashqa'i to Shiraz city and made them more familiar with urban culture (Nasr, 2005, P.17).

The education offered in the tent schools represented the standard curriculum found in all Iranian government schools. The late Shah's government required all students in Iran to read and write exclusively in Persian, a national policy aimed at 'Persianizing' and assimilating Iran's multi-lingual and multi-cultural populations (Beck, 1986). The national education programme stressed Persian culture and civilization to the neglect of contributions made by non-Persians. History texts magnified the exploits of Persian Shahs and ignored the impact of Iran's minorities on Iranian history. These culturally imperialistic policies were intended to reduce the importance of non-Persian influences (Beck, 1986). Teachers in Qashqa'i schools were required to teach in Persian despite the fact that they and their students were Turkish-speakers. The books used in tent schools were those used throughout Iran, and included pictures of urban and rural Persian families performing activities typically found in Persian Iran. Policy-makers believed that in the future, the Qashqa'i and other tribal peoples in Iran would assimilate into a 'modern' life and that this education programme would facilitate the transition process (Beck, 1986).

The following section deals with Qashqa'i migrants, and their particular cultural challenges at their place of destination.

Qashqa'i Neighbourhoods in the Cities of Destination

Cultural or ethnic minorities have often formed self-sufficient communities within urban areas (Hunt & Walker, 1974). To survive in cities, the Qashqa'i migrants have often intensified traditional cultural practices or segregated themselves to form spatially restricted territories. Figure .1 shows the spatial focus and extent of geographical dispersion of Qashqa'i neighbourhoods inside two destination cities (Shiraz and Shahreza). Qashqa' i migrants in the other cities of destination show similar tendencies.

Shiraz, is located in the center of the Qashqa' i regions and has attracted many Qashqa' i migrants. The major Qashqa'i neighbourhoods in this city as indicated on Figure .1 are the following:

1. **Akbarabad** (located in northeast Shiraz)
2. **Bulvardi** (located in north Shiraz)
3. **Bezein** (located in northwest Shiraz)
4. **Hossainabad** (located in west Shiraz)
5. **Kushan** (located in west Shiraz)
6. **Ahmadabad** (located in southwest Shiraz)
7. **Shakhalichupan** (located in south Shiraz)
8. **Katesves** (located in south east Shiraz)
9. **Kaftarak** (located in east Shiraz)
10. **Sa'adi** (located in east Shiraz)

All of these neighbourhoods are located in spatially, economically, and infrastructurally marginal areas of Shiraz. Also, all the Qashqa'i tribes have mixed together to protect themselves in these areas. Some of these neighbourhoods lack basic services such as piped water, fuel, and public infrastructure such as schools, and public transport.

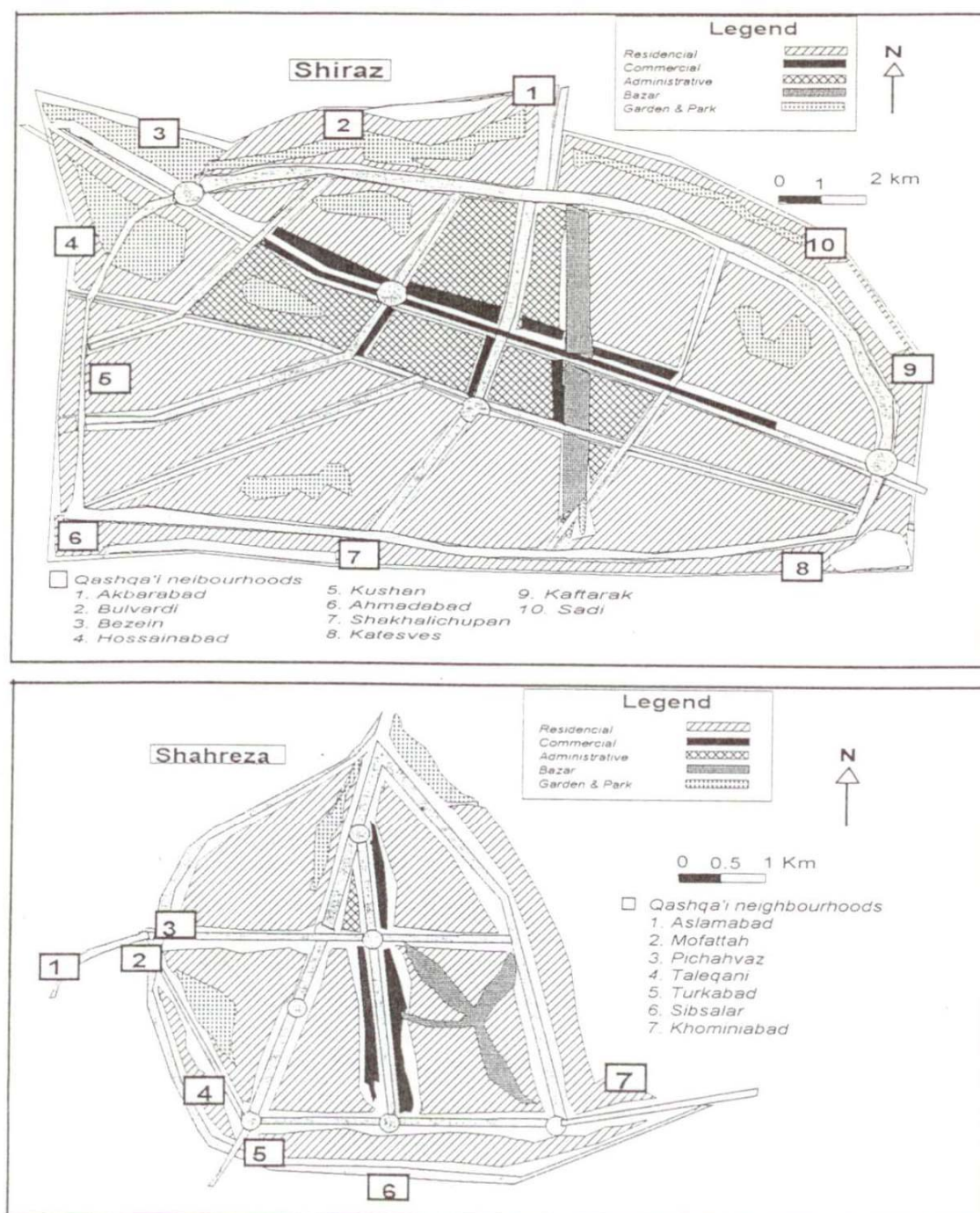
Shahreza is located in Esfahan province close to summer quarters of the Qashqa'i. The Qashqa'i neighbourhoods in Shahreza city are populated mostly by Dareshuri tribes. neighbourhoods are as follows:

1. **Aslamabad** (located in northwest Shahreza)
2. **Mofattah** (located in northwest Shahreza)
3. **Pichahvaz** (located in northwest Shahreza)
4. **Taleqani** (located in west Shahreza)
5. **Turkabad** (located in southwest Shahreza)
6. **Sibsalar** (located in south Shahreza)
7. **Khominiabad** (located in east Shahreza)

All of these neighbourhoods are located in the city's periphery and are low income areas. Many of these neighbourhoods also have major difficulties in providing basic services for the inhabitants.

One interesting difference between Shiraz and Shahreza is the spatial form of the Qashqa'i neighbourhoods. Those in Shiraz are ring-shaped around the city with mixed populations of the Qashqa'i tribes. This city is situated in the centre of traditional Qashqa' i regions which suggests that the Qashqa'i are more comfortable in locating at various points around the periphery. In other words, any point on the periphery offers them the same access to their traditional place of origin. However, in Shahreza, the Qashqa'i neighbourhoods are located only in the western and southern parts of the city, and comprise mainly Dareshuri people whose summer quarters are situated to the west and south of the city. Therefore, the tribal inhabitants of these neighbourhoods have tried to choose places close to their places of origin.

Figure 1: Distribution of the Qashqa'i Neighbourhoods in Two Destination Cities



Source : Adapted from the Ministry of Information & Tourism, Iran (1978)

There are several reasons for the Qashqa'i to 'cluster' within their specific cities of destination. The following explanations are based on personal interviews that were conducted with Qashqa'i migrants. As has been previously stated, the Qashqa'i are the only Turkish-speaking people in southern Iran, and their unique language is the main factor thing that ties them together in the cities of destination. Almost 30 % of the Qashqa'i migrants do not know Farsi upon their arrival in urban areas. Therefore, they prefer to live with their relatives in the cities of destination so as to use their own language.

As Figure 1 shows, almost all of the Qashqa'i neighbourhoods, regardless of the specific city of destination, are located in urban peripheral areas. Apart from proximity to traditional pastures, land prices for housing are lower in peripheral areas of the cities than in other areas. As distance from the centre of Iranian cities increases, urban services decrease and thus, results in lower prices for land. Most Qashqa'i migrants can neither rent nor buy houses inside the city. Therefore, they are obliged to buy very poor land in marginal 'outer' areas upon which to build their own simple houses. A few Qashqa'i people also believe that factors such as being far from higher crime areas in city centres, supporting their relatives in the case of marriage or death, and maintaining 'old ways' are also reasons for living in clustered neighbourhoods at the place of destination. It appears that economic and cultural factors both play an important role in separating Qashqa'i neighbourhoods from Persian neighbourhoods.

Qashqa'i carpets represent another facet of the unique culture of this nomadic people. Western researchers call Qashqa'i carpets 'woven gardens'. Qashqa'i women have created some beautiful and varied types of carpets. Qali (rug), Glim, and Jajim are some of the famous carpets among the Qashqa'i people. The pattern and design of each Qali or Glim tells a cultural story about the history of the Qashqa'i people. For example, the pattern of a lion shows the bravery of the Qashqa'i, while gazelles (a small graceful and wild animal resembling a deer) and flowers show the beauty of their nature. Qashqa'i carpet-weavers traditionally used organic dyes in making their carpets. These kinds of natural colours give more stability and freshness to the carpets, and are different from synthetic dyes that are more commonly used today. The design of Qashqa'i carpets is inspired by Nature and the lives and values of their people. For example, there are some differences between Qashqa'i carpets and Persian carpets. Qashqa'i carpets have a type of two or four legged creature similar to a wild goat in their carpet design whereas Persian carpets do not. Also, some varieties of designs like diamonds with a star are included in Qashqa'i carpet patterns but are not evident in Persian carpets. Finally, peacocks are unique to Qashqa'i carpets.

The patterns of Qashqa'i carpets have changed among migrant groups at the place of destination. Given that carpet materials are expensive and supplied mainly by Persian dealers, the Qashqa'i are forced to adopt more 'Persian' designs. In addition, because the physical location of Qashqa'i carpet-makers have changed, new symbols and criteria are used to characterize their new environment.

It should be pointed out that although Qashqa'i migrants live in their own neighbourhoods and practice their own culture in the cities of destination, there is some evidence that their culture is changing gradually. For example, Qashqa'i students attend the same guidance schools, high schools, colleges, and universities as Persian students. Therefore, in the case of language, clothing, music, and behaviour, Qashqa'i teenagers are affected by Persian speaking students. They listen to Persian music, they wear modern Persian-style clothing, and some of the youths even ignore their nomadic ancestry and feel proud to be 'Persian'. In addition, some families who reside in Qashqa'i neighbourhoods travel to the centre of the city every day for shopping, work, and other services. We also noticed some conflicts between youths and their parents for following Persian manners in the cities of destination. Some Qashqa' young men even contradict their parents' ideas about marriage and tradition

and choose to marry Persian girls. Therefore, it is difficult for migrants not be culturally influenced in some manner.

The next section deals with the processes of cultural change and the differences in rates of change depending on location and other factors differentiating nomadic and urban Qashqa'i.

Factors Relating to Socio-Cultural Behaviour at Places of Origin and Destination

In this study, we included the same factors (language, clothing, music, food, and factors relating to hobbies) in our surveys of the places of origin and destination. The aim was to consider processes of cultural change among Qashqa'i migrants. Although the official language in Iran is Farsi, the Qashqa'i prefer to speak their mother tongue, Turkish. Language factors consist of total numbers of languages spoken, languages spoken at home, at work, and at school.

Table 1 shows the language abilities among the Qashqa'i at their places of origin and destination. Language is of central importance in cultural change. To differentiate Qashqa'i language use between places of origin and destination, the Chi-Square test is used to identify these two populations. As this table shows, the value of Chi-Square for language spoken at home is high (14.2) and its associated probability is very low (0.000) and significant. According to Table 1 almost 97 % of the Qashqa' i speak only Turkish at home at the place of origin, while this propensity is reduced to 91% at the place of destination (urban areas). Some Qashqa'i cannot speak Farsi when they migrate to urban areas. Once 'settled' in urban areas, only a small percentage of the Qashqa'i have had the same problem at the place of destination. Spoken language data reveal that Qashqa'i migrants at the cities of destination are six times more fluent in Farsi than are new urban migrants. Again, looking at both languages spoken at home, 2 % of Qashqa'i speak both Turkish and Farsi at the place of origin, while this tendency is increased to 5 % at the place of destination.

Table 1 confirms that the language spoken at work with a high value of Chi-Square (276.8) and a significant probability (0.000) influences the Qashqa'i cultural change at the place of destination. Of the Qashqa' i people at work, 64 % speak Turkish when living at the place of origin, while this tendency is reduced to 17 % at the place of destination. Almost 50 % of the Qashqa'i speak Farsi at work in urban areas, while this requirement is reduced to only 8 % at the place of origin.

The languages spoken at school also show the same direction of change in favour of Persian. In summary, these data from the place of destination show that Qashqa' i migrants have had to learn Farsi for their education, communication, and employment. This has Lead to a cultural transforation and gradual' Persianization' of the migrants.

Table.1: Languages Spoken at place of Origin and Destination

Languages Spoken	Places	Turkish %	Farsi %	Both %	Total Number	Chi-Square (X²)
At home	Origin	97.3	0.5	2.3	400	14.2
	Destination	91.7	3.3	5.0	600	(0.000)
At work	Origin	64.5	8.5	27.0	400	276.8
	Destination	16.8	49.3	33.8	600	(0.000)
At school	Origin	3.0	67.1	8.0	312	174.7
	Destination	4.7	69.5	25.8	600	(0.000)

Clothing, music, and food are three other factors associated with socio-cultural behaviour which distinguish Qashqa'i and Persian populations. Qashqa'i clothing is an important visible factor which differentiates them from other Persian communities. Women's clothes in particular are quite different from Persian women's clothes. Qashqa'i women wear multi-coloured long skirts and long shirts, while Persian women dress in a similar style to western women. Table 2 shows the statistics relating to clothing, music, and food among the Qashqa' i at the places of origin and destination. The value of Chi-Square for clothing is quite high (69.6) and its related probability is also significant (0.000). Based on this table, 82 % of the Qashqa' i women wear Turkish clothing at the place of origin, while this rate is lower (56 %) at the place of destination. Of the Qashqa'i, almost 38 % wear both Persian and Turkish clothing at the place of destination, while only 15 % of the Qashqa'i use both types of clothing at the place of origin.

Table.2: Clothing, Music, and Food among the Qashqa'i

Socio-cultural Factors	Places	Turkish %	Farsi %	Both %	Total Number	Chi-Square (X^2)
Clothing	Origin	82.0	2.5	15.5	400	69.6
	Destination	56.7	5.2	38.2	600	(0.000)
Music	Origin	86.3	1.8	12.0	400	16.3
	Destination	76.0	2.2	21.8	600	(0.000)
Food	Origin	26.0	5.5	68.5	400	16.3
	Destination	21.8	1.5	76.7	600	(0.000)

Music among the Qashqa'i is very important and it is different from Persian music. Qashqa'i music and songs are associated with their harsh way of life, are poignant, and have slow and fast rhythms compared to Persian music which has mainly fast rhythms and fewer life-style themes. Table 2 shows that the Chi-Square value (16.3) for music and its associated probability (0.000) are very high and significant. Of the Qashqa'i, 86 % listen to the Turkish music at the place of origin, while this trend decreased to 76 % at the place of destination. Again, 12 % of the Qashqa'i listen to both Turkish and Persian music at the place of origin, while this propensity increased to 22 % at the place of destination.

The Qashqa'i cook a kind of fresh, flat, and thin bread everyday (*Ukheh*), and use a great deal of dairy products in their everyday meals, while Persians have access to a variety of foods and cook differently. Although Qashqa'i foods are similar to Persian foods, there are slight differences in the types of foods prepared and consumed. Generally speaking, the direction of cultural change in urban Qashqa'i is towards 'Persianization'

Factors relating to leisure time or hobbies include listening to the radio, watching television, visiting relatives, sports, hunting, and hiking. Table .3 shows how participation in hobbies such as radio listening change between the places of origin and destination. The value of Chi-Square for radio is high (20.2) and its connected probability (0.000) is very significant. In the place of origin, Qashqa'i tend to prefer the radio to television because it is handy and easy to carry during traditional migration periods. As this table displays 57 % of Qashqa'i listen to the radio at the place of origin, while this tendency reduces to 43 % at the place of destination.

Table .3 also shows the effect of television on the socio-cultural change as a hobby factor. The value of Chi-Square (16.2) and its associated probability (0.000) confirm that television highly differentiates the Qashqa' culture at both places of origin and destination. The numbers of people who watch television increased from 34 % at the place of origin to 47 % at the place of destination.

Following the socio-cultural rates, our data show a decreased tendency (11 %) for urban Qashqa'i to visit their relatives as a form of 'leisure'. Sport, hunting, and hiking also show some variation in participation rates. All these data indicate that daily behaviour, and thus cultural practice, is slowly changing when comparing place of destination to place of origin.

Table.3: Factors Relating to Hobbies at Places of Origin and Destination

Hobbies	Places	No %	Yes %	Total Number	Chi-Square (X^2)
Radio	Origin	42.5	57.5	400	20.2
	Destination	57.0	43.0	600	(0.000)
TV	Origin	65.5	34.5	400	16.2
	Destination	52.7	47.3	600	(0.000)
Visiting relatives	Origin	12.5	87.5	400	18.8
	Destination	23.5	76.5	600	(0.000)
Sport	Origin	83.8	16.3	400	8.0
	Destination	89.8	10.2	600	(0.005)
Hunting	Origin	83.0	17.0	400	2.09
	Destination	86.3	13.7	600	(0.148)
Hiking	Origin	73.3	26.8	400	47.2
	Destination	89.9	10.2	600	(0.000)

A 'General Profile' of Qashqa'i Cultural Change (Conclusion)

The Qashqa'i were traditionally organized into flexible local groups based on ties of language, kinship, marriage, political alliance, group allegiance, and geographic situation. During and after the 1950's, various changes affected the Qashqa'i and they have been forced to adapt their lifestyles from purely 'nomadic' behaviour to some mixture of nomadism and sedentarism. The alteration of socio-political organizations, the implementation of new land use policy, and the development of formal education programmes among the nomads led to increased migration rates among the Qashqa' to urban areas (Gharakhlou, 2005, P.34).

In the urban centres, the Qashqa' i migrants often intensified traditional cultural practices, and segregated themselves by building 'nomadic neighbourhoods' on the periphery of cities. Economic and cultural factors were of central importance in the creation of Qashqa'i neighbourhoods in the cities of destination. Socio-cultural practices such as language, clothing, music, and hobbies among urban Qashqa'i have changed relative to Qashqa'i at the place of origin.

To generalize from our study, and to locate and compare processes of cultural change within a wider context, a brief definition of the ethnic integration process is given here. This discussion follows four main headings that are appropriate to our purposes: segregation, acculturation, integration, and assimilation (Hunt & Walker, 1974).

Hunt and Walker (1974) state that a segregated society is one in which contact between various groups is restricted by law, by custom, or by both. Whether cultural or biological, the group differences are permanent in nature and determine the individuals' social role. The segregated society has to agree with the regulations of the dominant group. The individuals have few rights apart from their ethnic group and so the ethnic groups are unequal. Members of the minority group are allowed to engage only in the type of activities which are seen as useful by the dominant group.

The process of acculturation includes the adoption of the values, attitudes, ways of behaviour, and speech from a host society by migrants into that society. In this process, the ethnic group gradually loses its separate cultural identity and slowly accepts the culture of the larger host community. Acculturation is a slow process of change for immigrant individuals and groups. Even after fashions of dress, food, and customary behaviour have been substantially altered in the new environment, the mother tongue continues to be practiced among minorities (Fellmann et al., 1995).

Integration is defined as a situation where all members of the society, regardless their citizenship or ethnic association, are free to participate in **all** forms of social interaction. The integrated 'whole' may allow for some degree of cultural diversity, such as toleration of religious differences. However, its basic function refuses any social obligation which maintains ethnic separation (Hunt & Walker, 1947).

Assimilation is similar to integration and includes cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. In cultural assimilation, members of the 'guest' group become acculturated to the cultural patterns of the 'host' society. An example of this would be in changing patterns of religious worship. Cultural assimilation threatens ethnic identity, but does not destroy it. For example, some individuals may have forgotten their ancestral culture but still respect those who wish to maintain it. Structural assimilation involves interaction at the primary group level between members of the 'host' society and those of the 'guest' group, such as face-to-face relationships in clubs, organizations, and institutions of the 'host' society. In whole, assimilation is the basis of an integrated society, but it is often incomplete and may not move at a pace equal to structural and cultural change (Hunt & Walker, 1974).

Referring again to processes of cultural change among the Qashqa'i, migrants have had to change their traditional cultural practices at the place of destination. Our study shows that the Qashqa'i who migrated many years ago to urban areas are interested in their culture because most of them live in the separated neighbourhoods. However, in some cases, their children have lost their mother tongue, and some Turkish words are being replaced with Farsi. Qashqa'i children attend the same educational institutions as Persian students. Contrary to their parent's ideas, some young Qashqa'i men marry Persian women. Others enjoy Persian music, food, clothing, and hobbies more than 'traditional' leisure activities. Also the pattern of the Qashqa'i carpets has slowly changed among migrants as would be expected given their changed circumstances (Gharakhlou, 2005, P.34).

Placing these results in the context of more general processes of cultural change, the pattern of Qashqa'i cultural adaptation does not correspond with 'segregation' because the migrants are not restricted by either law and/or religion in their new urban environments. Their culture is not 'integrated' because they are still concerned with their ethnic affiliations. They are not 'assimilated' because assimilation is the basis of an integrated society. Indeed, the rate of Qashqa'i cultural change is slow and people are hardly aware that it is occurring. Therefore, explanations based on 'acculturation' seem to best describe the situation of the Qashqa'i.

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