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Klaner, kvinders forhold og æresdrab i Irak.

Nedenstående notat er udarbejdet med henblik på at belyse forhold vedrørende klaner, kvinders forhold og æresdrab i Irak.

Notatet er udarbejdet på grundlag af oplysninger fra Faleh Abd al-Jabbar, *Die Renaissance der Stämme: Tribalismus im Irak* i Irak: Diktatur und Sanktionen i INAMO. Berichte und Analysen zu Politik und Gesellschaft des Nahen und Mittleren Ostens, Heft Nr. 21, Frühjahr 2000, 6. Jg samt oplysninger fra Legal Assistant Akif Atli, UNHCR Branch Office, Ankara, på 6 th. Country of Origin Information Seminar, Wien 13. november 2000. Som bilag er vedhæftet Map 27. Tribes and Tribal Confederacies s. 75 i Mehrdad R. Izady: *The Kurds - a Concise Handbook*, samt Table 1: Kurdish Tribes and Tribal Confederacies s. 78-85 i samme.

Klaner

De forskellige klaner i Irak adskiller sig væsentligt for så vidt angår indflydelse, størrelse og rigdom. Nogle klaner besidder jord, mens andre driver firmaer, kontrollerer enheder af hæren, myndigheder eller partier. Klanerne kan såvel samarbejde med det irakiske styre som være i opposition til det. Klanerne konkurrerer indbyrdes, bekæmper hinanden eller indgår i forbund med hinanden. Konflikter mellem medlemmer af forskellige klaner falder tilbage på klanerne ligesom konflikter mellem klaner har betydning for forholdet mellem medlemmer af disse klaner. Klaner kan befinde sig i langvarige lavintensive konflikter med hinanden, men kan også indgå overenskomster, der sikrer fredelig sameksistens.



Klan og stat

Forholdet mellem den irakiske stat og klanerne fungerer ikke altid gnidningsløst, idet klannormer og irakisk lovgivning kan komme i konflikt. Ansatte hos irakiske myndigheder, der ikke samtidigt kommer fra en indflydelsesrig klan, har ofte problemer. Det forekommer således, at klaner klager over myndighedsansatte der ene og alene har administreret gældende lov. Det kan endog ske, at klaner truer disse personer med blodhævn.

Irakiske myndigheder har reageret ved den 29. marts 1997 at udstede et dekret, hvoraf det fremgår, at der vil blive idømt en fængselstraf på mindst tre år, såfremt der med baggrund i klantilhørsforhold gøres krav gældende i forhold til personer under udøvelsen af deres myndighed. Irakiske statslige medier erklærede, at denne beslutning havde været nødvendig på baggrund negative følger af misforståelser af klaners rolle i forhold til statsmagten.

Jo svagere statsmagten er, jo stærkere står klanerne. Den irakiske statsmagt og således også Saddam Hussein har gennem tiden forfulgt forskellige strategier i forholdet til klanerne, fra forsøg på at begrænse deres magt til samarbejde og alliancer. Klanernes indflydelse er stærkere på landet end i byerne, men klanstrukturerne har også i provinsbyerne og i storbykvarterer vist sig levedygtige nok til at kunne reaktiveres. En gruppe af klaner i Bagdad skulle således have underskrevet en overenskomst vedrørende udbetaling af blodpenge i det tilfælde klanmedlemmer påføres skade eller dør. Ifølge det oplyste skulle Daraji, Ka'abi, Miahhi og Ubudi-klanerne have underskrevet overenskomsten. Med det stadigt tiltagende sammenbrud af det irakiske statsapparat vender flere og flere sig mod indflydelsesrige klaner for at sikre sig deres interesser. De indtægter klaner hermed har opnået har vist sig at være en vigtig indtægtskilde.

Den irakiske stat har også forstået at udnytte klanernes indbyrdes stridigheder. Allerede siden de tidlige 60'ere benyttede den irakiske stat sig af de kurdiske Herki-, Zibari- og Surchiklaner i kampen mod kurdiske oprørere.



Legal Assistant Akif Atli, UNHCR Branch Office, Ankara, forklarede følgende om klaner, kvinders forhold og æresdrab i Irak på 6 th. Country of Origin Information Seminar, Wien 13. november 2000.

Klaner er en kilde til alvorlig bekymring, idet områdets sociale organisering er meget feudal. Folk identificerer sig med deres klan (eksempelvis Al-Tikriti klanen). Har en person eksempelvis konflikter med Al-Tikriti-klanen, Barzani-klanen eller med overhovedet for den klan, der dominerer IMIK er vedkommende i risiko, siden disse klaner besidder en stor magt.

Kvinders forhold og æresdrab.

Kvinder er en del af en social struktur. Hvis de forlader strukturen, anses det som umoralsk, og de bliver straffet. Forseelser mod den sociale struktur kan eksempelvis være utroskab eller at indgå ægteskab uden tilladelse.

Æresdrab straffes ikke fuldt ud (- full punishment, - custodial punishment), men med omkring 6 måneders fængsel. Efter Iran-Irak krigen vendte soldaterne hjem og i nogle tilfælde, hvor den hjemvendte fandt ud af, at hustruen havde været utro, slog han hende ihjel. Der blev fra irakisk myndighedsside udstedt et dekret, der nedsatte straffen for disse forbrydelser.

Bortset fra love, der direkte strider mod KDP og PUKs mål om større kurdisk autonomi, følges den irakiske straffelov og civillovgivning i det kurdisk kontrollerede Nordirak. Der er etableret Personal Status Courts.

Æresdrab er et problem i Nordirak. KDP suspenderede den bestemmelse, der giver strafnedsættelse i forbindelse med æresdrab. Suspenderingen er dog formuleret på en måde, der gør, at den vanskeligt kan håndhæves ("law that is not implementable"). Kvinder, der dræber deres døtre, får dog fuld straf.

Æresdrabene har også historiske årsager. I forbindelse med Anfal-kampagnen blev mange kurdiske mænd dræbt, mens kvinder og børn blev anbragt i genbopættelseslejre nær byer. Mange kvinder og børn levede i disse lejre nær byerne i mange år og blev gradvist urbaniserede og antog by-normer. Der skete en stigning i sociale problemer, der affødte en stigning i antallet af æresdrab. Det kunne ske i



tilfælde, hvor kvinder giftede sig mod klanens ønsker eller udenfor klanen eller i det tilfælde, kvinder blev gravide som følge af udenomsægteskabelige forhold.

KDP er en koalition af klaner med Barzani-klanen som den dominerende.

KDPs leder Barzani har forklaret, at når landsbyerne, der blev ødelagt i Anfal-kampagnen, er genopbygget, vil folk flytte tilbage. Den sociale orden vil blive genoprettet, og problemet vil være løst.

I de KDP- og PUK-kontrollerede områder er der anslået 50.000 til 55.000 internt fordrevne i hvert område. Mange er fordrevet fra Arbil til det PUK-kontrollerede områder og ligeledes fra Sulaymaniyah til det KDP-kontrollerede område. Er man kendt som tilknyttet enten KDP eller PUK og lever i områder kontrolleret af den rivaliserende organisation, risikerer man at blive fordrevet eller miste sociale goder eller ejendom. Kun få familier er vendt tilbage, og dette er sket på egen hånd.

I starten gav de mange internt fordrevne ikke så store problemer, idet man var fra samme stamme, kultur og delte en fælles fortid, men efterhånden som der blev flere og flere, opstod der problemer.

Det er mere normalt med kvinder i politik i PUK-området/Sulaymaniyah (f.eks. i WCP) end det er med kvinder i politik i KDP-området.


Claus Gade Sørensen



Bilag:

Map 27. Tribes and Tribal Confederacies s. 75 i Mehrdad R. Izady: *The Kurds - a Concise Handbook*.

Table 1: Kurdish Tribes and Tribal Confederacies s. 78-85 i Mehrdad R. Izady: *The Kurds - a Concise Handbook*.

TABLE 1: Kurdish Tribes and Tribal Confederacies

Tribes are listed from east to west. With some minor exceptions, only the tribal confederacies and important non-confederated tribes are given. All members of each confederacy are listed below it in alphabetical order. Remarks in parentheses include alternative tribal names, location, language, religion, etc. To these one must also add the Hamkâw Kurds of the Bukhara and Fergana regions (Uzbekistan), for whose tribal affiliations I could find nothing. Kurds deported since 1925 are not included here, regardless of whether or not they have maintained their tribal affiliation in their new homes.

1. Khurâsâni Enclave

A. NORTHERN KHURÂSÂN

(All tribes are North Kurmânji speaking Sunnis with some admixture of Shi'ites, unless otherwise indicated.)

Zafrânlu (or Za'farânlu, Chemishgezék) Confederacy (covers the eastern two-thirds of the enclave, in both Iran and Turkmenistan)

Amârlu (very large)

Amirân

Bakrân (or Bichrân)

Bâchvan (or Bâchyân)

Bâdelân (or Bâhâdurân)

Barivan (or Brikân, the old Bahârvand? Laki-speaking Yârsâns)

Buraka'i (related to the Buraka'is of Eastern Kurdistan. South Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)

Gawliyân (very large)

Hizolân (or Izoli)

Hazoan (or Hamzakân; related to the ancient Hazabân/Hadhabân)

Hevadân (N. Kurmânji-speaking, Yezidi)

Izân

Jalâli

Kaykân

Kowâ (or Qovânlu, Kâviyânlu, Kowand)

Kukhban (or Kukhbaniklu, Kuhâniklu)

Millân (Milli)

Muzhdakân

Paluvulân

Pahlavân (Fayli?)

Pâlukân

Qarachurlu (or Qarachul)

Qarmân (Qahramânlu)

Qâchkân

Rashvan (or Rashwand)

Rutakân

Sharân

Shaykhkân

Shâmlu (Bichrânlu)

Silseporân

Sivakân (or Siverek. Dimili-speaking, Alevi)

Sufiyân

Topkân (very large)

Verân

Zaydân

Shâdlu (Shadâd) Confederacy (covers the southwestern quarter of the enclave)

Âlân

Bughân

Dirqân

Garivân

Gurdân

Inrân

Jâbân (or Jâpâ. Possible connection with the great Jâfs)

Juyân

Kâghân

Mitrân

Qilichân

Qrabâshlu

Quprân (Kuprân)

Non-Confederated Tribes

Lak (Abivard to Chahchaha. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)

Qarachurlu (covers the smaller, northwestern sections of the enclave, and some smaller pockets in the west)

Zand (Abivard to Chahchaha. Laki speaking, Yârsâns)

B. QOHISTAN-BIRJAND REGION

Bohluli (Qâ'in to Tâybât.

Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)

Manâvand (Manâvand-Khosh Âwa heights, NE of Birjand. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)

Rushnavand (Rashawand.

Tabas Masinâ district.

Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)

Topkânlu (Kâshmar and

Bakrân Kuh south of

Birjand. N. Kurmânji-

speaking, Sunnis)

2. Alburz Mountains

A. MÂZANDARÂN REGION

Khâjavand Confederacy

(in Nur, Kajur, Klârdasht and Pul. Laki speaking, Yârsâns)

Dilfân

Kâkavand (Kâkâvand)

Lak

Sultânqulikhâni

Non-Confederated Tribes

(N. Kurmânji-speaking Sunnis, unless otherwise indicated)

Elikâni (Damâvand and Lâr regions. Dimili-speaking, Alevi)

Belikân (Gachsar-Kanduwân heights. Dimili-speaking, Alevi)

Grili (Grayli; on the Nekâ river. S. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)

Gulbâdi (between Behshahr and Bandar Gaz. S. Kurmânji-speaking Sunnis)

Larijâni (in heights around Larijân)

Masha'i (near Bandar Gaz)

Navâ'i (near Amul)

Nekâ (on the Nekâ river)

Nuri (around town of Nur)

Umrânlu (in Galugâh district)

B. GILÂN REGION

Amârlu Confederacy

(Daylaman, Siyâhkal, to Shâhrud valley. They believe they are an offshoot of the great Bâbân confederacy. N.

Kurmânji speaking Sunnis)

Bahâ Davallu

Bayshân

Devalu (Davallu)

Shâmlu (Shâmkân)

Shâqulân (Shâhkânlu)

Stâjlu (Istâjlu)

Non-Confederated Tribes

Bajalân (Gurâni-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Bohtu'i (Bohtâni. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)
 Chigini (north of Shâhrud rivers. S. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)
 Chemishgezek (Dimili-speaking, Alevîs)
 Jalilvand (or Jalâlavand. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Kalhur (Gurâni-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Kâkâvand (Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Kirmâni (S. Kurmânji-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Mâfi (related to the Mâfis of Kirmânshâh. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns and Shi'ites)
 Qiyâsvand (made of Komâsi and Silâkhar branches. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Rashvand (Rashvand. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)
 Waliyâri (S. Kurmânji-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Yamini (S. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)

C. ZANJAN-KHALKHÂL REGION

Delikân (Khalkhâl region. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)
 Jânpulât (or Jumbalât. East of Khalkhâl. N. Kurmânji-speaking Sunnis)
 Kilishâni (N. Kurmânji-speaking Sunnis)
 Shatrâni (south of Ardabil. N. Kurmânji- and Azeri-speaking Shi'ites.

3. Central Iranian Plateau**A. KASHAN-QUM REGION**

Baghdâdi (or Anjilâvand. West of Sâveh. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Kalhur (in Qarachây, south of Sâveh. Gurâni and S. Kurmânji-speaking Yârsâns)
 Lak (Kohak and Kurdakân districts in the Karkas Mountains)
 Pâzuki (Pâziki or Bâziki.

Around Varâmin, east of Teheran. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Shi'ites and Sunnis)
 Ossânlu (Garmsâr and Varâmin. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns and Shi'ites)
 Zand (sw of Qum. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)

B. FÂRS

Kâkâ'i (to the immediate nw of Shiraz. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Kurdshuli (in Marasurkhi heights, Shari Naw, and Jahrom. Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)

C. BALUCHISTAN

Gurân (Bampur. Gurani & Laki-speaking Yârsâns and Shi'ites. Serve as the work force for the Yelhâni chiefs)
 Zangana (Bampur. S. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)
 Kalhur (Taftân Volcanic Heights. Gurâni-speaking Yârsâns. Now are being Baluchified)
 Yelhâni (Bampur. S. Kurmânji-speaking Sunnis. An elite tribe of small size)

4. Eastern Kurdistan

(all S. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis, unless otherwise indicated)

Bilbâs Confederacy
(sw of Lake Urmia)

Mâmash
 Mangur
 Ojâq (Ushâk)
 Pirân (large)
 Ramak
 Sinn

Gulbâghi Confederacy
(ws of Bijâr)

Chukharashi (or Chukharashti)
 Gâmeli
 Jujarash
 Kalkeni (Qalqâli)
 Kâkâvand (or Kâkâswandi)
 Kâmilî
 Murâd Gurâni
 Pitâwasari
 Qomri
 Sinduli

Jâf Confederacy (Jawânrud to Sanandaj. A branch of the great Jâf of central Kurdistan in Iraq)

Bâshugi
 Gâlâli
 Hârûni
 Inâkhi
 Ismâ'il Azizi
 Kalâshi (Kalâshin)
 Kamâlî
 Mandumi
 Mikâ'ili
 Qobâdi (Kowâ)
 Rukhzâdi
 Shâtiri
 Tarkhâni
 Valadbagi

Mandumi Confederacy

(sw of Bijâr)
 Târimurâdi
 Alimurâdi
 Lawlarzi

Mukri Confederacy

(south of Lake Urmia to Mahâbad and Diwândara. This confederacy has now largely broken up)
 Begzâda
 Dehbokri
 Jâf (of Mahâbad region)
 Qâsimlu

Non-Confederated Tribes

(Most were once members of the great Ardalân confederacy until its break-up. All are South Kurmânji-speaking Sunnis unless otherwise indicated)

Ahmadi (near Bâna)
 Âlân (near Sardasht)
 Ardalân (nw of Sanandaj. A relatively new tribe which has called itself after the old Ardalâns)
 Bâbâjâni (Gurâni-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Bahrâmbegi (in Dizli and Chamshâmân, Near Bâna)
 Bâlâwand (Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)
 Bâshuki
 Bâskula (west of Sardasht)
 Biryâhi (Near Sardasht)
 Bistârawand
 Buraka'i
 Dorrâji
 Fayzullahbegi (Near Bukân, Takâb, and Saqqiz)
 Gashki (or Kashki. Near Kâmyârân)
 Garga'i

Gawurka (or Gewrg, Sardasht to Saqqiz and Mahābād)
 Hamāwaysi
 Haydarbēgi (near Marivān)
 Jalāli (east of Sanandaj)
 Kalāli (or Galāli, Jalāli.
 Around Saqqiz)
 Kalāsi (near Sardasht)
 Kamāngar (near Kāmyārān)
 Koli (or Guli, NE of Sanandaj)
 Komāsi (between Marivān and Sanandaj)
 Lak (Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Lotfullābēgi (near Bāna)
 Mariwāni (Marivān to Panjwin)
 Osmanbēgi (south of Mahābād)
 Qobādi
 Sursuri
 Sarshiv
 Zand (around Qurwa. Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Waladbāgi

5. Southern Kurdistan

Arkuvāzi Confederacy
 (Mehran, Badra and Chwār.
 Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Bānsarda (or Bānzarda)
 Bānviza
 Bi
 Karshvand
 Kurdel
 Malikashvand
 Maysami
 Mir
 Muma
 Murt
 Qaytuni
 Qrushvand

Awramān Confederacy
 (In Awramān district. Yārsāns, speak Awramāni dialect of Gurāni)
 Lahuni (Jafarsultāni)
 Takhti
 Bahrāmbeği
 «Hasansultāni
 Mustafāsultāni

Ayvān (Ivān) Confederacy
 (Nafti Shāh, Naft Khāna and Mandali. S. Kurmānji-speaking, Sunnis)
 Bānsayra
 Chulak

Bajalan (Bajarwan) Confederacy (Qasri Shirin,

Khānaqin, Quratu, Shaykhān, Dargazin (near Sulaymāniya), Horin, and Jizani. Gurāni-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Jomur (or Jomhur)
 Qazānlu

Bayrānvand (Silākhur) Confederacy (Medieval Barāvand. South of Hamadān, into Silākhur district of Luristān. Very large. Laki-speaking Yārsāns and some Shi'ites)
 Alāyno
 Chaqalvand
 Dasheyno
 Komāsi
 Rashvand (or Rashwand)
 Zand

Gurān Confederacy
 (Kirmānshāh to Pāwa. Gurāni-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Bibiyān
 Biwanij
 Dāniyāli
 Gawāra (Gahwāra)
 Haydari
 Nirzhi
 Qalkhāni Bahrāmi (Khalkān)
 Qalkhāni Speri (Khalkān)
 Shabānkāra (Chupānkāra)
 Tufanghchi
 Yāsami

Holaylān Confederacy
 (east of Kirmānshāh, around Sonqor. Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Bālawand
 Jalālawand
 Osmānawand
 Tarhān
 Zardalān

Jomir (or Jomur, Jomhur) Confederacy (south of Hamadān. Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Abdāli
 Barāzi
 Guma
 Shāhvaysi

Kalhur Confederacy
 (Khānaqin to Kirmānshāh. Presently perhaps the largest Kurdish confederation. Yārsāns, speaking mostly Gurāni with some S. Kurmānji)
 Abulmuhamadi
 Alirezāwand
 Alwandi
 Barga

Budāghbēgi
 Chilla'i
 Farrukhi
 Galladār
 Hārūnābādi
 Jelowgir
 Kalapā
 Kallajub
 Kamar
 Karampanāh
 Kāzimkhāni
 Kergā
 Khālidī
 Khomān
 Krbiyān
 Mansuri
 Māydashti (Māhidashti)
 Mirazizi
 Mu'mini
 Mughira
 Mushgir
 Pāpirān
 Qulāmi
 Qumchi
 Rajab
 Ramazāni
 Rizāwand
 Rutwand
 Saydnāza
 Sayyādān
 Sālka
 Shaybāni
 Shāhini
 Shiirzādi
 Shwānkāra (Shwān)
 Siyā Siyā
 Telesh (Tālīsh)
 Zaynalkhāni

Khizir (Kizil or Kaz'al) Confederacy (Mandali and Sumār. Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)
 Khizirvand
 Murshidvand
 Qolivand
 Shamsivand

Pahla (Fayli) Confederacy
 (in pockets from Baquba, north east of Baghdad to Khuzistān. Laki-speaking, Yārsāns and Shi'ites)
 Bāpirvand
 Brāspi
 Chāydarvand
 Dustalivand
 Gurān
 Haywari
 Jābirvand
 Jugi
 Kalkuh
 Khizirvand
 Kowlivand
 Mamasivand

Mami
Mamus
Marâl
Mrâvarzi
Murâdkhâni
Nowruzvand
Osivand
Pâpi
Shakarbegi
Sharaka
Sulaymânkhâni
Zargush

Qalkhâni (Khalkân) Confederacy
(nw of Kirmânshâh, around
Kuzârân. Related to the
Khalkâns. Gurâni-speaking,
Yârsâns)

Âynawand
Bachahâli
Bârawli (Bârwali)
Bizirâbâdi
Dengi
Divaka
Malgi (Maliki)
Najafi
Pashtmâla
Qalazanji (Qolozanjiri)
Qari
Qarka
Rustam
Sabza
Sarâwâra
Wistali

Qaralos Confederacy
(Mandali to Tangi Sumâr). S.
Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis.
Charmawand
Gaw Sawâri
Gesh
Kaytun
Kâkawand
Naftchi

Salâs Confederacy
(west of Kirmânshâh to Kerend.
South Kurmânji-speaking,
Sunnis. Made of three smaller
confederacies)

1. Bâbâjâni
Begzâda
Zamkâni

2. Qobâdi
Bâzâni
Begzâda
Miraki
Takhta
Tangi Izhdahâ
Zilâni

3. Waladbagi (Waladbegi)
Aliâgha'i
Darwish
Delâzhiri
Duru'i
Kâleka
Khalwân (related to the
Khalkân?)
Rashid

Sanjâbi Confederacy
(Pâwa to Mâydasht. Gurâni-
speaking, Yârsâns)

Abbâswand
Aliwand
Allâhyârkhâni (Ilâhikhâni)
Bâghi
Bâwân (Bâvand)
Chalâwi (Châlâbi)
Dataja
Dawlatmand
Dârkhwâr
Haqqnazarkhâni
Jalâlâwand (Jalâlband)
Kalâlâwand (Kalâlband)
Kâka
Khusrawi
Kolkol
Nazka/Targa
Siminwand
Sufi
Surkhaki
Surkhawand

Sharafbayâni Confederacy
(Shiwâldir mountains and
Sirwân river, and Shaykhân)

Kuraki
Amirkhân Begi
Aziz Begi
Gakhâri
Nâdiri

Swâramayri Confederacy
(Khânaqin, Shahrabân, and Abu
Jisra). Laki and S. Kurmânji-
speaking, Yârsâns

Kalhur
Tutik
Mamakân (or Mamejân)
Inâtir

Tirkashvand Confederacy
(Asadâbâd to Hamadân and
Tusirkân. Laki-speaking,
Yârsâns)

Alijâni
Alimurshid
Rahmati
Sulaymâni
Zand

Zand Confederacy (south and
nw of Hamadân. Laki-speaking
Yârsâns and Shi'ites)

Aliyân
Mamad
Qani
Sâlih Âgha
Tâhir Khâni

Non-Confederated Tribes

Bâbâni (or Babâni. Small. In „
Khânaqin and North of
Kirkuk. S. Kurmânji-
speaking, Sunnis)
Bânzarda (north of Sarpoli
Zohâb. Gurâni and S.
Kurmânji-speaking,
Yârsâns)
Bâwand (Dinawar and
Shâhâbâd. Gurâni-
speaking, Yârsâns)
Dinârvand (Dehlurân,
Dâlpari and Dinâr ranges.
Laki-speaking, Yârsâns
and Shi'ites)
Dun (or Dum; around
Dinawar and Kandula.
Gurâni-speaking, Yârsâns)
Gashki (north of
Kirmânshâh. S. Kurmânji-
speaking, Sunnis)
Imâni (formerly of Jâf
Confed. S. Kurmânji-
speaking Sunnis)
Îraqi (formerly of Jâf Confed.
S. Kurmânji-speaking
Sunnis)
Jawânru (formerly of Jâf
Confed. S. Kurmânji-
speaking Sunnis)
Kayd (Musiyan and
Dehlurân. S. Kurmânji-
speaking, Sunnis)
Kâykhurda (suburbs of
Dehlurân. S. Kurmânji-
speaking, Sunnis)
Kerend/Krind (around town
of Kerend. S. Kurmânji-
speaking, Sunnis)
Kolyâ'i (between Sunqor and
Qorwa. S. Kurmanji-
speaking, Sunnis)
Mâfi (east of Kirmânshâh.
Laki-speaking, Yârsâns
and Shi'ites)
Ossânlu (Related to Osivand?
Laki-speaking, Yârsâns)
Pâyrawand (north of
Kirmânshâh. S. Kurmânji-
speaking, Sunnis)
Warjâwand (between Sahna
and Kangawar. Laki-
speaking Yârsâns)
Zangana (sw of Kirmânshâh.

Gurāni and S. Kurmānji-speaking, Yārsāns)
Zardalān (or Bālawand. Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)
Zula (sw of Kirmānshāh. S. Kurmānji-speaking, Sunnis)

6. Central Kurdistan

(With the exception of the Hamāwand, most other tribes here were once members of the great Bābān (medieval Bāvand) confederacy until its break-up early in this century. All are S. Kurmānji-speaking, Sunnis unless indicated otherwise)

Delo Confederacy

(small. Khush mountains to Sarkala and Khānaqin)

Gash
Jamrezi
Kārez
Panjānkushti
Salim Waysi
Tarkawand

Diza'i (Dizay) Confederacy
(very populous. Arbil to Tigris river)

Gondola (or Gontola)
Māman
Pirān

Hamāwand Confederacy
(large. Chamchamāl to Sirwān river, and Bazayn region.
Gurāni-speaking, Yārsāns)

Begzāda
Chingini
Kafushī
Māmand
Piriyā'i
Ramawand
Rashwand
Safarawand
Shitabisar
Sofiawand

Jaf Confederacy

(very large. Sulaymāniya to Klār and Halabja, stretching into Southern and Eastern Kurdistan in large pockets. S. Kurmānji-speaking, Sunnis)

Amala
Badghi
Bāseri
Bāshki
Hārūni
Isā'i
Ismā'il Uzhayri

Jalāli (or Galāla)
Jāwānrudi (Jawānrudi)
Kamāli
Mikāeli
Murādi
Nāwroli
Pishtmāle
Rashubāri
Roga'i
Sadani
Safiawand
Shatri
Shaykh Ismā'ili
Tarkhāni
Tawgozi
Yazdānbakhsh
Yārwaysi
Yusiḡāni

Keza (or Kaza) Confederacy

(small. Ski Kifir to Chinchaldān)

Sandula Begi
Kokha Bahrām
Sarkala

Shwān (Shiwān) Confederacy

(large. North of Kirkuk, between Khāsa and Zeh rivers)

Bazayni
Khāsa

Zand Confederacy

(Kifri to Sirwān river. Laki-speaking, Yārsāns)

Alyān (Elyān)
Gheni (Qini)
Mamsālīh
Tayer Khāni

Non-Confederated Tribes

Ako (large. Around Rāniya)
Bābān (or Babāni. Small. North of Kirkuk and in Khānaqin)
Belikān (or Balik, Balikiyān. Large. Between Rawānduz and Rāyāt in Balik Heights)
Barzanji (or Berzinji. Large. Khānaqin. Part Yārsān)
Bayāti (Tuz Khurmātu to Kifri)
Bazayni (or Shaykh Bazayni. Arbil to Kirkuk)
Boli (small. South of Bilek)
Chigini (north of Sulaymāniya)
Dumbuli (Dunbeli, in Shaykhān)
Daudi (or Dawde. Large. In Tawq, Kifri, to Tuz Khormātu)
Gakhor (Qara Tapa)
Girdi (north of Arbil and Koy

Sanjaq)
Homermil (Sarkala to Kocha Chyān)
Jabbāri (or Jebzāri. ESE of Kirkuk to Chamchamāl and Laylān)
Kākā'i (Kirkuk to Tuz Khurmātu. Yārsāns)
Khalkān (or Khalhāni. Northern Balik mountains and NE of Arbil)
Khoshnaw (very large. Around Shaqlāwa)
Kura (Arbil to Shaqlāwa)
Laylāni (in Laylān)
Palhāni (Zanābād to Qara Tapa)
Pizhdar (or Peshdar. Around Qala Diza)
Salhi (between Kirkuk and Qara Hasan. Also in Damascus, Syria)
Sherwān (north of Rawānduz)
Siyān (north of Kirkuk)
Surchi (very large. Middle course of the Greater Zab river to Rawānduz)
Tālabāni (large. In pockets SE of Kirkuk, NE of Klār)
Tāshāni (or Telshāni. Ski Kifri to Zardāwa)
Zangana (an extension of the Zanganas of Southern Kurdistan. Kifri to Klār. Gurāni and S. Kurmānji-speaking, Yārsāns)
Zarāri (north of Basturicha)
Zudi (Rawānduz region)

7. Northern Kurdistan

(All North Kurmānji-speaking, Sunnis unless otherwise indicated. Most western tribes living in Turkey have adopted the Turkish ending *-li/lu* to replace Kurdish *-kān/ān* or *-van/vand/wand*. Sometimes the Turkish ending is added to the Kurdish ending. The trend has now reversed and here only the ending *-kān/ān* is given.)

Artush Confederacy

(or Hartushi, Hartuch. Very large. South of Lake Vān, to Zakho and Dohuk)

Ālān
Azdinān
Gāvdān
Grāviyān
Havishtān
Hulaylān (or Halilān)

Mamkhorân
Qashurân
Pirân
Sharafân
Shidân
Zawkân
Zhiriki
Zaydân

Bârzâni Confederacy
(on the banks of upper Greater
Zâb river, to western Hakkâri)

Bârushi
Dolamayri
Mizuri (a splinter from the
Mizuri Confederacy of
western Kurdistan)
Nervâ
Raykâni
Sherwâni

Bohtân Confederacy
(on both banks of Bohtân river,
south of Lake Vân. It was once a
major confederacy like those of
Bâbân and Ardalân before the
break-up of all three in the late
19th and early 20th centuries)

Shirnâk
Tiyân

Harki Confederacy
(or Herki. Very large. Shnu to
Hakkâri and Rawânduz. Famous
for their elaborate costumes and
ornaments)

Mandân
Sarhaddi (Sihatti)
Saydân (Zaydân)

Jalâli Confederacy
(or Jelâli. Mâku to Bâyezid and
Kârs. Connected with the
Jalâlâwands of Southern
Kurdistan and the Gelus of
southern Zagros of pre-Islamic
times)

Alimohâwlu
(Alimuhammadlu)
Belikân
Hasow Khalaf
Jenikânlu
Khalkân (Khalikân. Jalâli
chiefs usually come from
this tribe)
Misrikân
Otâblu
Qadikân
Qizilbâsh
Sâkân (Sakân)

Jibrân (Gibrân, Gawrân)
Confederacy (NE of Bingöl. The
name may be connected with
the Gurâns)

Aliki
Âqâ
Azdinâni
Mamakân (Mamaqân)
Mukhlil
Shaykhakân
Shâderi
Torini

Milân Confederacy
(NW of Lake Urmia, from Salmâs
to Khoy. This is a distinct
branch of the old Milân or Milli
confederacy of Western
Kurdistan. Alevis)

Dilmaqân (Dimilakân)
Dolân (Dlâyn)
Dudakân
Khalkân
Mamakân (Mamaqân)
Mandulakân
Sârmân
Shaykhakân

Piniyân Confederacy
(or Piniyânishli. Northern
Kakkâri region. Some 5000
members of this confederacy
were reported to have been
Kurdish Christians at the
beginning of the 20th century.
The numbers today are
unknown)

Barkoshân
Bilijân (Belikân)

Shakâk (Rivand) Confederacy
(in district of Dustân and Qotur,
NW of Urmia to Lake Vân. The
old name, *Shakâk* relates them
to the Kâkâ'is of Central
Kurdistan, and the Kâku'is of
the southern Zagros regions.

Abdâwi
Buhtân
Dari
Dolân
Evâri
Fanak
Gurik
Honara
Kârkâr
Khalaf
Khedri
Movaqqari
Ne'mati
Nisân
Otamâni
Pachik
Pas Âqa

Shâpirâni (Dilmaqâni)
Shukri

Spikân Confederacy
(or Sipikân. NW of Lake Vân.
Populous, but small in number
of member tribes.
Mamakân
Spikân

Non-Confederated Tribes
Adyâman (north of Bâyezid)
Barâdost (large. Rawânduz to
Hakkâri)

Bâz (Cukurca to Oraman.
The modern appellation
for the historic Bâdh or
Badh tribe)

Bazayni (east of Erzurum and
north of Agri. The modern
appellation for the historic
Bâdh or Badh tribe)

Begzâda (west of Urmia)
Brukân (NE of Vân, and west
of Khoy)

Doski (large. North of Dohuk
and in Hakkâri)

Girdi (north of Agri)
Goyân (north of Uludara)
Halâji (SE of Bitlis)
Hamdikân (between Agri and
Kâqizmân)

Hasanân (very large. In
Malâzgird, Hinis, and
Warto regions)

Hawâtân (SE of Bitlis)
Haydarânlu (north of
Malâzgird)

Hayruni (NW of the town of
Çizre)

Kâkâ (or Kakâ. Hakkâri)
Khaylâni (Near Rowânduz)
Khâniyân (or Khâni. The
tribe of the poet Ahmad
Khâni)

Kourasonni (or Kurishâni.
NW of Khoy)

Mamakân (or Mamaqân.
West of Khoy)

Manurân (south of Agri)
Mirân (east of Bitlis)

Nushiyân (or Nuchiyan. In
Hakkâri)

Oramar (Hakkâri)

Pâziki (or Bâziki, Pâzuki. SE
of Erzurum)

Rashwand (or Reshven. SE of
Erzurum)

Rowândok (or Rawânduz. In
Hakkâri)

Shamsiki (east of Vân)

Sindi (north or Zakho)

Slopi (or Silopi. East of the
town of Çizre)

Surchi (NE of Arbil and near Aqra)
Takuli (east of Vān)
Zarzā (around Shnu. Partly Dimili-speaking)
Zibāri (large. On middle course of the Greater Zāb river)

8. Western Kurdistan

(Most western tribes living in Turkey have adopted the Turkish ending *lı* / *lu* to replace Kurdish *dn* or *van* / *vand* / *wand*. Sometimes the Turkish ending is added to the Kurdish ending. The trend has now been reversed and here only the ending *dn* is given.)

Barāz Confederacy
(Samsat to Antep, Marash and Aleppo. N. Kurmanji-speaking Alevis and some Sunnis)

Alidinli
Didān
Dinān
Kārakichān
Keytkān
Ma'afān
Mīr
Okīyān
Pijān
Shadādān (or Shaddād)
Shaykhān
Zarwān

Barwāri Confederacy
(Amadiya to Uludara)
Barwāri Bālā
Barwāri Jir

Chāwarash Confederacy
(north-nw of Adiyāman. Dimili and N. Kurmanji-speaking Alevis)

Brimśān
Tashik
Zirāwkān (or Ziroskān)

Daxsimli (Dilamān) Confederacy
(Erzinjān to Darsim and Elazig. Dimili speaking, Alevis)
Abbāsān
Bakhtiyāri
Bālā Ushāghi (or Ushāk or Ujāq. NE of Darsim)
Farhād Ushāghi (or Ushāk or Ujāq. East of Darsim)
Gurān (or Gawrān)
Karabār
Kochman (or Kichir.

Gypsies'
Kuzlichān
Lāchin
Mīlān
Mīrzān
Shabak (or Shawak)
Ushāk (or Ujāgh)

Haverka Confederacy
(or Hawerka. In Tur Ābidin, Mardin area. N. Kurmanji-speaking Sunnis)

Aliyān
Dasikān
Girgir
Mahalimi
Mizidagh
Mizizakh
Moman

Kochkiri Confederacy
(very large. West of the Euphrates toward Sivās. Dimili-speaking, Alevis)

Barlān
Garāwan (Garāwand)
Ibān
Sarān

Kuresh Confederacy
(ENE of Erzinjān, towards Erzurum. N. Kurmanji-speaking Alevis)

Bādel
Bālābrān
Shāder

Mīlān (Milli) Confederacy
(from Euphrates to Mardin and Jabal Sanjār. N. Kurmanji-speaking Sunnis)

Alia
Barguhān
Beski (or Sālārgān)
Bujāgh (or Buchāk)
Chakali
Chanikān
Chiā Rash
Danān
Dāshi
Derejān
Hāji Bāyrām
Hoshiyān
Isi Ādat
Izoli
Jānbeki
Kalāndilān
Kassiyāni
Kawāt
Kelish
Khalkān (or Khalajān)
Kuma Rash
Mandān

Mard
Matmiya
Mānli
Meshkān
Nasriyān
Porgha
Sartān
Sharkān
Shwān (or Shiwān)
Tirkān
Zaydān
Zirāfkān

Motikān (Modki or Moti) Confederacy (Bingol to near Diyārbakir. Formed the core of the old Chemishgezek confederacy. Primarily Dimili-speaking, Sunnis. The name may be connected with the Medes.)

Arīki
Bobān (or Bābān)
Kayburān
Kusān
Pirmusi
Ruchāba
Zaydān

Silvan Confederacy
(or Slivan. Çizre to Zakho and Dohuk. N. Kurmanji-speaking Sunnis)

Dudwāda
Guli
Saydahr
Sinā (or Sinān)
Sindi

Yezidi Confederacy
(in pockets from Mosul to Antioch, with the heaviest concentration in the Jabal Sanjār region. This is more of a religious coalition among the N. Kurmanji-speaking tribes, whose members practice Yezidism, than a standard tribal confederation. These tribes pay allegiance to the Chol princely house, who also serve as the supreme religious leaders)

Āliyān
Anidi (Dannedi)
Balad
Daseni (or Dasna'i)
Dasikān
Dorkān
Khaliti
Mandikān (Mandukiān of the Medieval Armenian sources)
Samuga
Sāshili

Non-Confederated Tribes
(all N. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis, unless indicated otherwise)

- Alikân (southwest of Elazığ to Diyarbakir. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Alevis)
Ashita (in Jazira region in Syria)
Atmânîkân (very large. In pockets from Diyarbakir to Hakkâri)
Barakat (north of Antep)
Belikân (very large. North of Bingol, and south and SE of Antep. Dimili-speaking Alevis in Bingol, Kurmanji-speaking in Antep)
Beshni (in Adiyâman and the vicinity)
Dakhori (SW of Diyarbakir to Amuda in Syria)
Delikân (NW and west of Aleppo. Part Alevi)
Derejân (NW of Malâtîya. Dimili and N. Kurmânji-speaking Alevis)
Dudari (NE of Mardin)
Dumbuli (Dunbeli, in Jabal Sanjâr. Dimili-speaking)
Gabbara (around Amuda in Syria)
Goyan (large: In Kilâbân, NE of Silopi. Partly Dimili-speaking)
Guli (or Geli, Gili. Zakho to Peshkhâbur river)
Hawerka (in Jazira region in Syria)
Izoli (Adiyâman to Urfa)
Jalikân (or Jalilkân. South of Adiyâman to Antep)
Jânbegi (Adiyâman to Siverek)
Karagich (or Qaragich. Large. Siverek to Diyarbakir, with pockets in Tur Âbidin. Dimili-speaking, Alevis)
Khidsor (NW of Adiyâman. N. Kurmânji-speaking Alevis)
Kiki (south of Antep to Aleppo)
Koti (SE of Malâtîya)
Kowâ (or Kâo or Qovanlu. East of Adiyâman. N. Kurmânji-speaking Alevis)
Lak Kurdi (Ceyhan river basin, east and NE of Adana. Part Laki-speaking, part Kurmânji, Alevis)
Malikân (east of Malâtîya)
Mandukân (or Mendikân. In Tall Afar. N. Kurmânji-speaking, primarily Yezidi. Mentioned frequently in the early Armenian histories as having provided to the Armenians the Mandukâniyân aristocracy)
Mardâs (or Mardis. Nârinja to Euphrates. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis)
Mirân (large. In Cizre)
Mirsinân (south of Diyarbakir)
Mizuri (large. Dohuk region)
Pâziki (or Baziki. Around Samsat. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Alevis)
Pishnik (NW of Adiyâman. N. Kurmânji-speaking, Alevis)
Porqa (south of Malâtîya. Dimili and N. Kurmânji-speaking Alevis)
Shabak (or Shavak. North of Elazığ towards Darsim and Bingol. Primarily Dimili-speaking Alevis)
Shuwaysh (around Amuda in Syria)
Sinâmini (or Sinân. Very large. South, NNW of Malâtîya and north of Antep. Laki-speaking, Alevis)
Sindi (large. Between Zakho and Peshkhâbur river)
Tirikân (NE of Diyarbakir)
Zaydân (or Zeidân. East of Bingol, north of Mus. A member of the ancient Rozhaki confederation which broke up in the 19th century)

Nâsirli (around town of Bâlâ)
Sinâminli (Sinân) (east of Lake Tuz Gölü. Dimili-speaking, Alevis)
Sayfîkânî (around town of Haymâna)

B. NORTHERN LOBE

- Atmanikân (NE of Ankara)
Badeli (south and SW of Yozgat)
Barakat (north of Nevşehir across Kizilirmaq)
Bazayni (NW of Corum and west and NW of Kirshahir across Kizilirmaq)
Hâjibânî (or Hadhabâni. North of Kayserî across Kizilirmaq)
Khâtunoghli (south of Yozgat)
Makhâni (around and in Kirshahir)
Milân (or Milli. North of Corum)
Sheveli (west of Corum across Kizilirmaq)
Tirikân (west of Ankara, and south of Cankiri)
Ukhchijemi (NW of Sivas)
Umrânli (or Amarlu, Kirshahir)
Urukchi (very large, Tokat to Amasya and Yozgat)
Zirikân (SE of Cankiri, and west of Samsun)

9. Anatolian Enclave

(All are N. Kurmânji-speaking, Sunnis unless otherwise indicated.)

A. SOUTHERN LOBE

- Bazayni (east of Lake Tuz Gölü)
Jânbeke (very large, western half of the lobe, from Yunak to Pulâtli)
Judikân (north of Lake Tuz Gölü)
Khalkân (around Cihânbayli)
Motki (SE of Lake Tuz Gölü. Dimili-speaking, Sunnis)