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ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE PROVINCE
OF SISTAN/BALUCHESTAN, IRAN

By

MAHMOOD ZAND MOGHADDAM

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the University of Durham,
June, 1980.

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14. MAY 1984

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ABSTRACT

The Kordi (Kurd) tribe now living in Iranian Baluchestan would appear to be an offshoot of the far more numerous Kurdish peoples of the north-western Zagros Mountains of Iran-Iraq. The Kordi were settled in their present location possibly in the 16th Century AD, but much more likely in the 18th Century, originally to act as tax-gatherers on behalf of the Shah-in-Shah. For many years they lived as pastoralists (often nomadic), tax gatherers, guardians of the frontier, and by raiding and plunder. Their habitat, round the Kuh-e-Taftan massif (one of the more fertile areas in the extremely arid and topographically difficult region of Baluchestan) allows some agriculture; and since the 1940's especially, the Kordi people have turned increasingly to a settled way of life based on mixed farming - mostly cultivation, with some animal herding.

The thesis examines the origins of the Kordi, their geographical environment, social organisation and demography; and considers present and future evolution of this people in a changed and changing Iranian State.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis could not have been prepared had it not been for the continuous encouragement and valuable advice generously granted by Professor W.B. Fisher. Whenever I wandered in the winding routes of Baluchestan, Professor Fisher's kind and affectionate advice directed me to the correct paths. Here, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to him.

This thesis, which is the result of 16 years of painstaking work and experience in Baluchestan, is sincerely dedicated to Professor W.B. Fisher.

Mahmood Zand-Moghaddam

May 1980.

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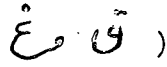

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Abbreviations

c	=	centigrade
cu m	=	cubic metre
ha	=	hectare
kg	=	kilogram
km	=	kilometre
m	=	metre
Rls.	=	rials
S.C.I.	=	Statistical Centre of Iran
sq km	=	square kilometre
USSR	=	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Note 1

For transliteration of Persian terms into English letters, a combination of gh has been used to indicate both the Persian letters of ghein and ghaf () as they are pronounced with a similar sound. Q (q) has also been used for the same purpose as in Qashqai'i, Qasr-e-qand, qolam or gholam. A combination of kh has been used to indicate the Persian letter  , as in Cadkhoda or Shahbakhsh.

Note 2Kurd/Kord

Pronunciation of this tribal name is very difficult to render accurately in English : it falls between oo and o. The main group of Kurds (of the Zagros Mountains) call themselves Koord; those of Baluchestan tend to say Kord. There is a clear regional difference here. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, British writers almost always used the form 'Koord'; but this got shortened more and more in British literature to 'Kurd' and thus, for the educated British, took on the quite different pronunciation of 'Kerd'.

The most regular and phonological rendering of the name of the tribe studied in this thesis is KORD/KORDI. In the west, the rendering KURD is more accepted. In this thesis the spelling KORD is used in preference.

Note 3

One pound sterling = 165 rials (official price)
and 300 rials in the unofficial market.

The Iranian year begins on 21st March. Therefore, every Iranian year corresponds to 21st March of one Christian year to the 20th March of the next Christian year; it is reckoned in the Muslim system A.H. (after the hegira).

Author's Preface

It was in 1964 that I travelled to Baluchestan for the first time, in order to study the rural household budgets: the trip proved of great interest, as the special conditions and peculiarities of Baluchestan attracted my close attention. The outcome of my first visit was an itinerary published under the title of "Three-and-a-half-Rial People", which met with some success.

In 1966, I was appointed as inspector by the Statistical Centre of Iran to accompany one of the United Nations experts to Baluchestan to study the quality of the 1966 Census operations. In 1969, I accompanied a group of experts from the Iranian Ministry of Water and Power to Baluchestan to study the underground water and water economy of the area; and in 1971, I was appointed as the director of the Statistical Centre of Iran for Sistan and Baluchestan Province and went to Zahedan with my family and settled there. This was a very good opportunity to continue and deepen my studies and research in Baluchestan.

In 1973, I was appointed as the director of the Planning and Budget Bureau of Sistan and Baluchestan Province, and in 1974 I was nominated deputy Governor-General of Sistan and Baluchestan Province with responsibility for research and economic planning. Holding this appointment provided me with further possibilities of research. Following my proposals, two

Organizations were established in Baluchestan :

Development Organization of Sistan and Baluchestan, which was responsible for providing the possibilities of socio-economic development of the area; and the Research Centre of Persian Gulf and Oman Sea, which was responsible for the socio-economic studies of those southern provinces of the country located on the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea coasts : Khuzestan, Bushahr, Bandar-Abbas, and Sistan and Baluchestan. Another responsibility of this Centre was to study causes of emigration of Iranian citizens to the islands and coasts on both sides of the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea, as well as to study their status in those islands. For this purpose, I enjoyed the opportunity to visit Dubey, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and Abu-Dhabi and was further acquainted with wider problems of the region. The studies that I made during this period with the assistance of the experts of the Planning and Budget Bureau and the Research Centre of Persian Gulf and Oman Sea are listed in the bibliography. The main topics were :

- (1) Socio-economic studies of various urban centres
- (2) Demographic trends
- (3) Planning and Development studies
- (4) More detailed studies of various tribal units
- (5) Regional development patterns

These studies have been utilized in part to prepare the present thesis.

During the last one-and-a-half years of my stay in

Baluchestan, I worked as deputy Chancellor of the new University of Sistan and Baluchestan. This university was established on my proposal in order to help development of the area. I proposed the establishment of the university for two main purposes : First, the establishment of an educational Centre to provide the suitable scientific atmosphere for the development of the area, as well as to provide the possibility of continuing studies and education for young Baluches who were not able, for various reasons, to attend universities in other parts of Iran. Second, by opening the faculty of nautical studies in Chahbahar, two further objectives would be achieved : collection of the old Iranian navigation culture, which is largely being forgotten; and making young Baluch sailors acquainted with the most modern methods of navigation.

Working in the University of Baluchestan provided me with the possibility to continue my own post-graduate studies.

By this time some facility in the Baluch language had been acquired. Here, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Fisher, who granted me this opportunity. The Professor's visit to Baluchestan was one of the most encouraging rewards that I have ever enjoyed during this long period of work in Baluchestan.

C H A P T E R I

Introductory

Objectives of the Research : the Problems Involved

When the author travelled to Iranian Baluchestan for the first time fifteen years ago, two major points attracted his attention:

1. The enormously changed and now highly important geo-political situation of the area;
2. The severe poverty, high illiteracy, and general backwardness of the area as compared with the rest of Iran.

Under Imperial Pahlavi rule, Baluchestan was partially a closed area. Foreigners were not encouraged to travel there.

Much of this geopolitical importance is related to the oil traffic. The Persian Gulf is the major water-way through which 80% of the oil is carried from oil producing countries of the Gulf region to the west and north. Some 20 million barrels per day now pass down the Gulf.*

* Quantity of oil produced and exported by the countries of the Persian Gulf regions were as follows :

<u>Country</u>	<u>November 1979</u> (Unit = 1,000 barrels per day)	<u>January 1980</u>
Saudi Arabia	9,500	9,225
Iran	3,300	3,119
Iraq	3,700	3,409
Kuwait	2,150	2,239
Neutral Zone	592	604
Others	2,387	2,328

Source : Oil News, No.664, January 1980, NIOC, Teheran, IRAN

Prior to the Iranian Revolution of 1978-9 Iran exported, on average, 6 million barrels of oil per day. The Revolutionary Government reduced this export level to 3 million b/day in order to conserve reserves, and also because it was thought that revenue from 3 million barrels/day would be sufficient for Iran's now reduced development programme.



It is via this Gulf that Iran has had long and still maintains relations with the Arabian coasts, South-East parts of Africa and Red Sea areas.

The Eastern boundary of Baluchestan also has considerable and growing significance from the political, economic, and military points of view. Although Pakistan was not divided into two parts 15 years ago, as it is now an observer could feel the beginnings of political disturbance in the region even then.

As regards Afghanistan, the other neighbouring country of Baluchestan, the situation was quite calm and undisturbed in those earlier years. But the author came to hold the impression that Afghanistan was a buffer from behind which could be heard the echoes of the footsteps of Chinese and Russian soldiers even at that time. He discussed the point in his formal official reports to the Imperial Iranian authorities, indicating alarm. To the USSR this region is obviously a gate opening to the Persian Gulf and warm seas of the South. Added to these points, Baluchestan is a very large area with a low density of population - only 2.8 persons per sq km at most, as compared with 15.6 per sq km for Iran as a whole, 31 per sq km for Afghanistan; 90 for China, 94 for

(ft. note cont.)

The author believes, however, that the economic problems encountered by Iran during the revolution : the decline of almost all economic activities; severe fall in industrial production; increasing unemployment, as well as the major infrastructural development projects that have been left unfinished such as the construction of roads and dams, and the large petrochemicals project, the Iranian government will shortly have to consider the increase of oil production again.

Pakistan; and 190 for India. (Demographic Year Book 1977, United Nations).

Standards of living in Baluchestan are the lowest for any major region of Iran. Results of a rural household budget survey conducted in 1964 by the Statistical Centre of Iran disclosed that the per capita income of Baluch people was three and a half rials a day as compared with 210 rials a day at national level (Bank Markazi Iran, 1973). There were very few schools, and only rudimentary health services with no medically qualified personnel. Methods of farming and animal husbandry were primitive, even compared with the other remote parts of Iran.

The author wondered why should such a strategically important area be so backward and poor. When he returned to Tehran and discussed the situation of the area with the Imperial Iranian authorities, he was astonished to realize how limited was their understanding and recognition of the general situation and also the needs of the area. They regarded Baluchestan as a poor, dormant, retarded, and remote area. Few, if indeed any, of the high-ranking Iranian authorities of the time had ever actually visited Baluchestan and certainly had not experienced actual conditions. The severity of the geopolitical danger was quite unappreciated. It was then that the author decided to study and get acquainted with Baluchestan so that he might possibly make people in general, and government authorities in particular, more familiar with the forgotten

rights of Baluch people, and the significance of the area in regional politics.

The only modern and relevant study in depth that had been made to date about Baluchestan, apart from several short articles, was the incomplete study by the Ital-Consult engineers, which was not very relevant. This was mainly a highly technical study, lacking any social and political concepts and dimensions. Furthermore, it was not written in such a way as to be understandable to ordinary people, and even to most of the Iranian authorities likely to be involved.

Fifteen years ago, a rough, unsafe dirt road of 1,650 km in length joined Teheran to Zahedan, the administrative centre of Sistan and Baluchestan Province. There was no suitable airport in Zahedan to organize regular access to the area by air. But these were not the main obstacles to travel and study in Baluchestan. The main problems were encountered during field work in the area. Several months later, at the end of 1964, when the author went to visit Baluchestan on his own initiative he met these new local difficulties and became aware of possible new objectives for his research. The 400 km distance from Zahedan to Iranshahr was negotiated by an old bus in 48 hours. In addition to other stops, the bus stopped 5 times a day at certain intervals so that the Baluch travellers could say their prayers. In other parts of the country, the Shiite population do not usually halt their travel for prayers, and prayers are said ordinarily only three times a day, as physically

convenient. It was midnight when the bus arrived in Iranshahr. There were neither inns, nor guest-houses in the city. The author had no other choice but to go to the house of a government employee who had been recommended by a friend. The next morning he found travel to Chahbahar even more difficult. There was only a post van that managed to go from Iranshahr to Chahbahar port once a week; and on the day of its departure, the van was so packed with animals and human beings that there was no room whatever left for the author. Finally, he became acquainted with a Baluch Sardar who had smuggled in for himself an American desert vehicle carrying a Kuwaiti number plate. The Sardar was going to Dashtyari, located at the south-east of Baluchestan and gave the author a lift. When Bahoo-calat, a village in Dashtyari area, was reached the road came to an end. So the author continued his travel on a camel provided for him by the Sardar accompanied by a mullah. This interesting journey took 10 days.

When meeting Baluch people, the author discovered that they addressed him "Qajar" : that is belonging to Qājār dynasty. This aroused his astonishment because the Qājār dynasty had been ended by Reza Shah over 50 years earlier. Later on, the author realized that any non-Baluch Iranian was called "Qajar" by these people. Moreover, the word "Qajar" was often pronounced with hatred because it reminded the Balūch people of the aggressions of Qājār army and their brutal behaviour. The author discovered :

(1) How unfamiliar the Baluch people were with the

history of their own country. He then realized that not only were the other people ignorant about this part of their country, but the Baluch people themselves in their turn were largely ignorant about parts other than their near neighbourhood. It was then that the author appreciated the meaning of the famous saying "divide and rule". This new experience was another encouragement to research in this region. The author's own research could well pave the way for further work by others, which might possibly be the beginning of a new and more humane relationship between the Baluch people and the intellectuals of Iran. Thus it was an opportunity for the Baluch people to meet personalities who had come to get acquainted with their problems, and also to lay the foundations of development through this new relationship.

(2) In the course of this trip, the author came across another matter that added to the significance of research in Baluchestan. He discovered minority groups among Baluch people. The first minority groups he met were the gholams (= slaves). The Sardar who earlier had helped the author in his travel owned nearly 30 gholams, which he had inherited from his father, who had bought them from slave smugglers. These slaves were originated from probably East Africa and the Baluch call them "Barbar." The very presence of these gholams was an indication of ancient relations over many centuries between Baluches of the coastal areas and the peoples of south-east Africa. A few years later, when the author studied the ports of Chahbahar and Konarak, he met several old Baluch captains

who as former slavers made him more closely acquainted with these former activities.

The other minority group consist of descendants of migrants from the Sind area of India/Pakistan who had been forced to move away from Sind because of several successive years of severe drought repeated at intervals over many years. The history and folklore they narrated in the form of stories indicated their forefathers' struggles with the Baluch Sardars who would not at first allow the Sindis to enter their territory. Shah Abbas the Safavid ruler (16th ~~th~~ Century AD) ordered the Baluch Sardars to let these people settle in a special area in the Dashtyari region, but the difficulties were not always easily solved. This contact with India indicated another objective for research: paying attention to other, possibly similar, but later migrations, and the cultural and historical effects of these on Iranian Baluchestan.

Discussion with, and facilities provided by the Baluch Sardar helped the author to study the Dashtyari region in detail. Had he not been supported by the Sardar's personal recommendations, it would have been impossible to make friendly contact with the Baluches of the area. Any research worker in Baluchestan needs such a support and recommendation. Later on, the author did not need such recommendations because after so many years of working among them, the Baluch community came to accept him as a friend. And this is a point of much importance.

The most significant problem for any research worker in Baluchestan is how to gain the confidence of the inhabitants, who are suspicious of any foreigner arriving in their territory. A Baluch looks at a visitor as he looks at a gendarme : a symbol of power, cruelty, and of the long-standing aggressions of outside governments towards Baluchestan. To explain this point, a short event witnessed personally may be mentioned here. The author was sitting on the ground by the side of a Baluch tribesman's tent. The man had a hen. The author asked him, "why don't you produce more chickens, the land is large enough, the weather is good, the city market needs poultry and they sell at a reasonable price?" The Baluch answered, "When there are a couple of hens, the gendarme will come and take one of them. He would not take this single one here now because he needs its eggs whenever he passes by this area." Memories of numerous aggressive acts by the Iran central government troops in Baluchestan are fresh in the mind of Baluch people. The troops came ostensibly to collect taxes for the Shah but, in fact, they plundered Baluchestan. The most recent of such events was the attack by General Djahanbani's troops during the reign of Reza Shah about 50 years ago. He arrested the famous and brave Baluch Sardar, Doost-Mohammed Khan, who was finally murdered in prison at Tehran - under Reza Shah. These are more problems and matters that must be taken into consideration when Baluchestan is to be studied.

In order to understand official government attitudes, a short analysis of the position of Baluchestan in the whole region, and also of the policies adopted by the Central Iranian government are necessary. This analysis will, it is hoped, show how much governmental policies are affected by external elements, and how much they are affected by internal elements that had been influenced in turn by events in neighbouring countries. The links between Baluchestan and outside are considerable; and in order to understand Baluchestan, any researcher must pay due attention to these points.

New and precarious conditions have appeared in the whole area. At the head of the Persian Gulf, Iraq is now controlled by the Ba'ath party after several coups d'etat. Ba'ath party policy is to align Iraq nearer to the USSR and the Russian navy as a new master now regularly visits Basra. The South Yemeni (Aden) Marxist regime has frequently invited the peoples of the area to revolt against their governments and American Imperialism; and the same regime strongly supports the Liberalization Front of Dhofar against Sultan Qabus of Oman who enjoyed the support of the Shah of Iran. The Marxist regime of Aden has also helped some fugitive Iranian Baluchies to organize an Independent Council of Free Baluchestan, which encourages the Iranian Baluchis to demand autonomy and even independence from the government of Iran.

The Emirates of the Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea are undergoing enormous changes due to oil exploitation

and the Arab-Israeli wars. Oil revenues have provided the possibilities for a kind of development more superficial rather than fundamental and has created a considerable market for man-power throughout the Gulf area in general - and in Baluchestan in particular. Imperial Iran had friendly relations with the Emirates. The Heads of Emirates usually came to visit the Shah every year, regarding Iran as a powerful and friendly country. The Iranian Baluches began a large-scale migration to the Arabian Emirates, drawn by the new wealth and impelled by successive severe droughts in 1962 to 1969, together with neglect on the part of the government of Iran. The destitute Baluches who had lost all hope for help from the government of Iran regarded migration to the Emirates as the only refuge left. These migrations have made the Baluch familiar with revolutionary ideas that are becoming prevalent in the Arab world. On returning to Baluchestan, many Baluches became propagandists for these new, radical ideas.

The Baluches of Pakistan have made political use of the increasingly weakened position of Pakistan since 1947 and demanded some form of independence.

In Afghanistan, following the coup d'etat against Mohammad-Zaher Shah, in 1973, new policies were followed. Availing itself of the clearly weakened position of Pakistan, the new government of Afghanistan claimed sovereignty of Pashtunistan, a part of Pakistan. For this purpose, it instigated the Pakistani Baluches who

occupied most of this territory to conspire against the weak government of Pakistan.

It was under these general political circumstances that the government of Iran after 1973 felt the need to give especial attention to Baluchestan and the whole area of south-east Iran. This took several forms :

1. Strengthening the gendarmerie and Savak forces in the area in order better to control Baluchestan.
2. Constructing extensive military bases such as the naval, army and air force bases around Konarak.
3. Actual military support for Sultan Qabus of Oman against the Liberalization Front of Dhofar.
4. Carrying out economic development projects in Baluchestan.

The intense influence of Savak as well as the close control of the gendarmerie made travelling in Baluchestan very difficult and limited for the general public. It was ~~due~~ only ~~to~~ the author's position as a government official that enabled him to travel in the area. Nevertheless, even he felt that he and his colleagues were being watched closely all the time. At this stage of work another considerable problem arose. The author's experiences gained through several years of working in Baluchestan showed that it was essential to study the tribes of the area as a basic matter because tribal people formed the majority of population in Baluchestan. But the problem was that the Shah

did not like the term "tribe" because tribalism in his mind was synonymous with revolt and economic and cultural backwardness. It was for this reason that the tribal population that accounted for one-quarter of the population of Iran were reported to be only 450,000 in the 1966 Census as compared with what many observers estimated at four to six million. This point will be discussed at length later in the thesis. However, these people were not reported as tribal population but were named 'moving households'. The Shah believed that by omitting the word "tribe" from the political vocabulary of Iran, the problems involved in that manner of life could be ignored or denied. However, the special conditions of Baluchestan forced the government authorities to allow the author to start a tribal study. Studying the tribes of Baluchestan proved that development can be fundamental only when the internal conditions of a community really necessitate it.

The privileges of Baluch community were as simple and primitive as the community itself. These privileges had grown according to historical needs of their era. The new external forces that began to push this old and rigid system towards growth and change after about 1950-55 created new inequalities that were much more unjustified than the old ones. This observation taught the author that real development can be achieved only when the community is ready to absorb it. Therefore, this situation created a new objective for the author :

to consider the trend of internal forces of the community, increasing the common consciousness of people generally, and finally creating the cultural level essential for development in the area. The problem involved at this stage was that the central government authorities regarded development as an export commodity to be imposed at will by a centralized authority upon a peripheral group.

Research Methods

The author availed himself of the experiences previously gained during 15 years of study in Baluchestan in general and from the studies of the Shah-bakhsh, Gamshad-zehie, and Mobaraki tribes of Baluchestan in particular. The methods applied in this research in general have been :

- Personal visiting;
- Observation and interview;
- Tape-recording and
- Completing questionnaires

In this particular scheme of research now to be discussed, the Kordi* tribe of Baluchestan was selected as most worthy of investigation. The Kordi* tribe's cultural and historical peculiarities and climatic conditions as well as their major dwelling and gathering areas were the reasons why this tribe was selected for the research. The fact that the tribe was an immigrant into Baluchestan, its military-political role in relation with other tribes, its dwelling area that extended around Taftan and enjoyed a more favourable climatic condition as compared with other parts of the province, as well as the fact that preliminary

* In Farsi (Persian) language, there is not any difference between "Kord" and "Kordi". The letter "i" is an attributive particle only: it indicates something or someone to something else : for example, "a man from the tribe of Kord" is the same as "a Kordi man"; or "he is a man from Teheran" is the same as "a Teherani man". The difference between "Kordi" and "Kord" from the viewpoint of their origins will be discussed in detail later. In these thesis, the two terms are used as identical and thus interchangeable.

studies indicated the existence of a more or less developed agriculture and animal husbandry in the area without specifying its causes, effects, and qualities, all were responsible for selecting this tribe for the research particularly as the study of its dwelling area would gain considerable significance as an expandable area.

The research was conducted in two stages : the first consisting of several visits to the area during the years 1966 to 1978, with interviews and observations. The interviews, mostly made with local well-informed persons, were recorded by tape. A general questionnaire applied to random participants was also completed so as to obtain a general view of the area and to determine more precisely the objectives and methods necessary to formulate the required detailed questionnaires. As a result of this overview, six elements were distinguished as the basis of investigation; namely (1) the sardar (Chieftain) or head of tribe; (2) the village unit; (3) the individual households; (4) the "halk" - comprising a livestock production unit also termed in this area "mahalleh" or "hamsayeh"; (5) pastoralists and (6) students - as the tribe's young generation. In addition to questionnaires and interviews, personal observations and notes were also employed. The following questionnaires were employed:

Questionnaire on History and Culture (1)

This included 297 items prepared in the form of successive questions, the answers to which were not written down but were recorded by tape; and the respondent had no

limitations on his answers. Here the respondent was the sardar (chieftain) or the head of tribe. It was evident that such a questionnaire required a long time to complete. This difficulty was somewhat reduced, however, by the fact that only two persons - the Kord tribe's sardar and the head of the Mir-Kord tribe - were interviewed.* Considering that, on the one hand, this questionnaire was usually completed at night time and, on the other hand, these long conversations were interesting and encouraging for the respondents, a close and sincere relationship appeared to be created between respondents and interviewer.

General Questionnaire relating to Villages (2)

This included 83 questions to be answered by the ^KCadkhodā (village head) or, in the absence of the former, the best informed man of the village. Questions related to economic and demographic characteristics of households, natural conditions of the village, present state of the tribe, livestock, different facilities in the village, vegetation in relation to food and fodder, problems relating to animal husbandry and moving, agricultural products, sources of water, method of water distribution, agricultural routines. It is evident that only one of these questionnaires was completed for each village.

Household Questionnaire (3)

This included 94 questions to be answered by the

* The Mir-Kord tribe has not a sardar, and the sardar of the Kord is their sardar as well. This point will be discussed later in the thesis.

head of each household. The questions related to population, occupation, and migration problems; illness and mortality; number of animals, area of land and household income derived from these and other sources; the household's position in production relations; and, finally, some inquiries about personal aspirations and attitudes. This questionnaire was completed for 134 sample households.

Questionnaire for the Head of the Halk or Mahalleh (4)

This discussed eight basic problems; the most important of which included : members of mahalleh and their kinship relations; number of animals in the mahalleh owned by individual members; area of land, production, and position of member households in production relations; and problem of migration. The questions were to be answered by the head of household. There were only one to eight mahallehs in each village and, therefore, a total of twenty questionnaires was completed.

Questionnaire for Pastoralists (5)

These questions related solely to livestock management : milk production, breeding problems, preparation of livestock commodities and amount produced from each breed, weight of livestock, skins and their prices, endurance, grazing and species of grazing, some information about different breeds of animals, herders' wages and income, and, finally, reproduction and survival rates. Only five of these questionnaires were completed because the general information obtained

on animal husbandry applied overall and a small sample response seemed quite sufficient.

Questionnaire for Students (6)

The objective was to study attitudes and aspirations generally among the young generation. For this purpose, the fourth and fifth years of elementary school students were selected. As however, some villages had no schools and there were few students in villages which had schools, the students from six schools only were interviewed, allowing completion of 39 questionnaires. Major topics discussed in this questionnaire included : father's occupation; son's inclination to take up father's occupation; favourite lessons; desired occupations; general knowledge of tribal and environmental problems; preference for living in town as compared with a village; inclination to work in labour-absorbing centres; ideas about agriculture and animal husbandry; level of nutrition; and manner of spending leisure time. Cross checking and correction were possible because similar questions were included in the different questionnaires.

The second stage of the research consisted of field work which was carried out with the assistance of some colleagues and local Baluches : this stage took several months.

Six villages were selected for the research observing three criteria : 1. method of livelihood; 2 tribal dominance relations; 3. population. This

selection was made on the spot after completion of the second page of the questionnaire No.(1) which determined the above factors.

As a first step, villages were divided into two major groups : those where livestock production system was dominant; and those where agriculture was dominant. Then, villages settled by Kords only; by non-Kords; and by both, were separately identified. Finally, the most populated ones were selected for the research. Consequently, it is hoped that the sample villages selected would give proper criteria of their type of livelihood and tribal hierarchical dominance. The pattern emerged as follows :

Tribal Status	Agrarian		Pastoral	
	Name of village	Name of tribe	Name of village	Name of tribe
Settled by Kords	1. Sangān 2. Tamandān (Vāraj) 3. Gazak	Kord Kord Kord	-	-
Settled by non-Kords	4. Pavel	Kehrad-zehie	5. Chahak	Morad zehie
Mixed	-	-	6. Gorz	Kord 3 Gamshad zehie 4 Shahnavazie 3 Kangoo-zehie 1

As is to be clearly observed, the large majority of Kords in the sample were engaged in agriculture, and livestock breeders were from other and what in accepted local terms are the "inferior" tribes. We shall see that a total of 924 households were living in Kordi tribal area, which consisted of six dehestans (rural districts). From the entire tribe, 119 households, 13% in all, were selected as samples, but the ratio of samples to total households in actual villages under study averaged over 60%. This study thus covers 70% of agricultural households and 39% of pastoral households, as indicated in the following table :

Dominant activity	Name of village	Total No. of households	No. of sample households	Percentage sampled
Agrarian	Sangān	44	44	100
	Tamandān	65	44	68
	Gazak	17	5	30
	Pavel	11	3	27
	Total	137	96	70
Pastoral	Chahak	48	13	27
	Gorz	11	10	91
	Total	59	23	39
Total		196	119	61

A total of 134 questionnaires were completed for the heads of households, but 15 of them were proved unusable, since replies were uncertain and doubtful. These 15 were, therefore, omitted. Data collected in the remaining 119 questionnaires were processed according to the categories set out in the above table.

Consideration of Methods employed

It is necessary now to comment on these methods : here follows a short essay on the methodology developed for research into Baluch problems.

Some twenty years of research experience in Iran in general, 15 years of which were spent on Baluchestan in particular, have taught the author that attempting to draw or depict a community, clear and accurate description are basic and fundamental. Pre-determined concepts and thought-moulds can not be adopted in such communities as Baluchestan, since, by doing so, ideas regarding the community would be wrongly and conventionally shaped. The art of a sincere researcher should incite him to shape his ideas according to the community itself. Skilful handling of research into such communities closely depends on this ability.

The people of Baluchestan still live in a primitive type society : within a social system where affections and sentiments still have much validity. They have not yet entered the era of writing and reading : hence generations still narrate their forefathers' history and the story of their own life by heart under the blazing sun of the kavir, or of the sand desert, or in the grateful shade of a rock or shrub. The Baluch poet does not write his poems down; he keeps them in his mind and sings them in society of others, accompanied by the ghichack (a local musical string instrument). These poems are as simple as his own nature, also that of his physical environment, and are full of affection and sentiment. Sounds of the ghichack adds to

the affectionate effect of the poem. Applying the methods normally adopted in developed positiv^eist) and pragmatic societies to such rural primitive communities would not be efficient. Affection and sentiment can be uttered best by an observer motivated by affection and sentiment, rather than by pure logical analysis. Therefore, a descriptive method appears as fundamental, from which analysis can then be elaborated.

The Baluch can be regarded as unfamiliar with such political, economic, cultural and scientific concepts of a progressive world such as national boundaries and nations. He is born in a particular tribe that lives within a largely unlimited desert. Real or valid boundaries in Baluchestan are thus those drawn between modern civilization and primitive life-styles, rather than political ones. In order to understand the Baluch and Baluchestan, these boundaries should be more closely defined and described.

For example, a few years ago, the author was studying scattered and remote parts of the south of Iran along the coast of the Sea of Oman and Persian Gulf. He was travelling to Passabandar port close to Quator, which is the boundary port between Iran and Pakistan. On arriving at Iranshahr in the northern interior, he was informed that travel to Passabandar was impossible by land because heavy rain had washed away the narrow isolated pass giving access to the port. He therefore asked the General commanding the Gendarmerie of Baluchestan at the time to provide a flight by helicopter. Early next morning the helicopter took off and two hours later landed in Passabandar. The harbour

works consisted solely of a very large stone, half of which was covered by human excrement. Enquiry revealed that most users of the port - about 40 households - made the stone a convenience. How far then would an outside observer be able to convey the perceived reality of the situation other than by using precise description. Otherwise there is difficulty over nomenclature, especially when questionnaires are used. For primitive communities, the concepts and categories developed to analyse more sophisticated societies cannot easily be applied with any meaning. This the writer frequently became conscious of during his field investigation. One further example could be given concerning housing of the port's inhabitants. They lived in black woven or skin tents. The author was told that when it rained heavily or the sea rose, tents could be washed away, or were hurriedly moved. The point emerges : can such a tent be in any way considered a housing unit? In census questionnaires, there can be questions asking, "Do you have a housing unit of your own?" The simple Baluch of Passabandar who has not seen any other part of the world will answer "Yes". And, in the end of the census, the final results published in the report on housing would indicate that so many per cent of Iranian households have a housing unit of their own. Will that be the pure actuality? Is there a kind of misapprehension that amounts to ignoring the peoples rights? This was the sort of question that the author discussed with the authorities responsible for the country's censuses and related surveys. What is a standard housing unit? What is the acceptable definition and concept of a housing unit?

Can tents, or single mud rooms or roofed excavation in which possibly more than 75% of the Iranian population actually live be regarded as real housing units? No answer was given to the author. This lack of adequate response led the author to conclude that census returns were misleading and even an unacceptable form of justification by government of situations that were actually very different. One might in consequence even come to suggest that a census or survey operation could be regarded as self-developed governmental propaganda.

When it comes to employment, the census questionnaire asks : "What is your job?" The answer automatically comes, "Fishing". But the aspect of full or partial employment is not dealt with; nor is the possibility of a second or supplementary occupation.

There was only one mud-brick house in Passabandar : the gendarmerie station. Apart from the modern military helicopter, the only sign of modern technology in this port was the military wireless aerial. When the author thoughtfully looked at this combination of contrasts : the super-modern helicopter with its two highly educated captains trained at a military base in California, U.S.A., and the wireless aerial, alongside the primitive life style of the people (tents, their public toilet, and stores of partially dried, decaying fish), he wondered how much this picture epitomized his whole country. Could this kind of situation be a full explanation of the sudden revolution of 1978-9

that succeeded in sweeping away the system despite the presence of an army that the Shah claimed was the fifth most powerful in the world?

C H A P T E R I I

Peoples of Baluchestan-Sistan

C H A P T E R I I

In order to give perspective to the detailed study of the Kordi tribe , a general over-view of the peoples of Baluchestan-Sistan Province is now given as Chapter II. It is necessary, because of the scanty amount of official statistics, often to consider these with the province as a whole forming the basic unit - and usually the shahrestan is the lowest level to which one can go in breaking down figures.

There are many uncertainties as to definition. These arise to some extent because of the difficult political situation, the great lack of field observation, the absence of detailed studies, and the fact that political boundaries often cut across ethnic, social and economic groupings.

The following statement attempts to add to the limited amount of 'official' information, a personal investigation and assessment based on the writer's many years of study and observation. Parts are basic and elementary because there is little else upon which to construct opinion and theories.

The Peoples of Baluchestan-Sistan : A General Survey

According to the Census of 1976, the total population of Sistan and Baluchestan was 662,677; of which 589,352 (89%) were born in the shahrestan of their residence; 39,103 (6%) were born in other shahrestans of this province; 31,680 (5%) were born in other provinces of Iran. Only 2,642 were born in foreign countries.

As regards the urban population of the region, which numbered 163,655, some 101,767 (62%) were living in the shahrestan of their birth; while from the total rural population of 499,022 some 487,485 (98%) were living in their place of birth. The above figures show that while only 2% of the rural population were not born in their place of birth, 38% of the urban population were born outside of the shahrestan of their residence. Therefore, population and movement variability can be observed almost exclusively in the urban areas. Over 60% of the urban population not living in the shahrestan of their birth were however born in other shahrestans of the same province. Their classification as urban is therefore only a matter of their having settled in a nearby town : or else even re-classification of a village as 'urban' because it increased in size - though still remaining in most respects a village.

From the population born outside of this province, government employees, businessmen and skilled workers form by far the highest proportion; and they have come mainly from neighbouring provinces of Khorasan and Kerman. Most government employees however have come from the Central province.

Urbanization is a new phenomenon for the Baluch people and so a Baluch has had neither the opportunity, nor the experience, nor the capital to invest in business activities. It is for this reason that most of the businessmen are from outside provinces and not Baluchestan-Sistan; and this is a very significant indicator for the Province in general.

The 1976 Census reports indicate that only 29% of the inhabitants of Baluchestan-Sistan could read and write. This level of literacy is too low for entry to government service, and is thus the reason why most of the government employees have come also from outside the province.

Before the arrival of people from other provinces in this area to do business, an Indian minority group called "Sikhs"*arrived and settled in Zahedan, about 50 years ago, and developed business activities. At that time Pakistan was not yet in existence; and these people could develop economic relations with the entire Indian sub-continent, and easily import from and export commodities to India. The Zahedan-Quetta railroad, constructed by the British, greatly facilitated this activity. The 'Sikh' minority group still forms almost the only considerable foreign population of Baluchestan-Sistan, and its members are still engaged in business, particularly in the supply of machinery and spare parts. The Indian Consul in Zahedan performs duties relating to these people and their religious leaders come from India, with a temple in Zahedan. It is significant that the Sikhs, as Indians, preserve their relation with their country of origin.

Pakistan also maintains a consular office in Zahedan, but there are no Pakistani minorities. The reason for the presence of a Pakistani consular office in Zahedan is merely as counterpart to the Iranian consular office in Quetta : both Offices have the duty to grant visas to travellers by land between Iran and Pakistan. No other

* Most, but not all, were Sikh by culture and religion : the name tended to be applied to all Indians who migrated to Zahedan.

country, except the two already mentioned, has a Consular office or has any citizens in Baluchestan, other than very temporary migrants.

The Baluch People

Though there are few foreigners within Baluchestan-Sistan Province, there are on the other hand peoples living in the eastern provinces of Iran, the Western region of Pakistan, the south-west of Afghanistan and in adjacent parts of Soviet Turkamanistan, who call themselves "Baluch", their language "Baluchi", and even tend to speak of Pakistani Baluchestan, or Afghan Baluchestan.

In Persian dictionaries, under the term "Baluch", we read : "It is also a name for a cockscomb."⁽¹⁾ Because some Baluches tie their turbans with an erect portion shaped like a cockscomb, some people have argued that this is the reason why these people are called Baluch; and to support their claim with historical documents, they refer to a line of Ferdowsi's "An army of Kuch and Baluch warriors, Inciting war with a Khuch* standing on their head" ⁽²⁾

However, definition of Baluch must not be restricted in this way. There was a time when a Baluch had a simple definition for themselves : but British writers and researchers, who were mostly soldiers, servants of the British Empire in India, tended to create strange meanings derived from even stranger roots. One writer ⁽³⁾ claims that the Baluch people are a branch of the 'Balaicha' of Indian Rajputtan. Another author ⁽⁴⁾ says that Baluch is

(1) Borhan-e-Qatee, Farhang-e-Amid, and other dictionaries.

(2) Ferdowsi, "Shahnameh".

(3) Sir Henry Bellew, op.cit.

(4) Colonel E. Mockler, op.cit.

* Khuch = cockscomb

the shortened form of "Bad-ruch" meaning unfortunate people; and adds that "Gedrosii," a name attributed to a part of Sistan and Baluchestan by the ancient Greeks, is the same as "Bad-ruch" which has been transformed into "Baluch" over the course of years. Still another one ⁽¹⁾ believes that the term Baluch has its origins in "Bel" or "Ba'al," the Chaldean and Babylonian god. But what has impelled him to accept this meaning according to Percy Sykes ⁽²⁾ is probably its Classical Greek form "Belas", which is very similar to the Arabic pronunciation of the Baluch "Balos". Yet, the present writer argues, it is hardly credible or reasonable to put forward the theory (as one must if the ideas of Rawlinson and Sykes are to be accepted) that the Semitic Chaldeans having been totally uprooted from an original homeland near the Tigris-Euphrates, have also given up the use of their own well established and respected Semitic language, and adopted one of the languages peculiar to foreign Aryans. Moreover, they would have to have migrated from Mesopotamia first to Damascus, and then from Damascus to the north of Iran and ultimately to the Kerman region. From there it is clear that they have migrated to Sistan, only to return to the Mokran and to settle in scattered communities within the four present-day countries Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Soviet Turkmanistan. The only consistent achievement that could be traced in this process of changing language and homeland is that they have called themselves after the name

(1) Sir H.G. Rawlinson, op.cit.

(2) used by Sir Percy Sykes, op.cit.

of their god in its Greek form: this seems incredible.

Yet another theory of origin involves Sanskrit origin and reasons that the term Baluch consists of the two words "Bal" and "Ucheh". "Bal" is the same as the Persian word "Pahl" meaning warrior and "Ucheh" is the same as "Uz" in the Avesta and means tall : Thus, "Baluch" means tall brave warrior. This could well be correct, as they might have been called as such by Jats, who had already arrived and settled in Mokran and Kerman and had penetrated as far as Fars and Khuzestan much earlier than the Baluches, during the Sassanid era or maybe even earlier. The Jats who found the Baluches taller and more powerful than themselves and were ultimately defeated by them might well call them "tall brave warriors." Moreover, this name "Baluch" is more often heard when these people are in contact with Jats and Kuches.

As already pointed out, the Baluch have a simple definition for this termin that they, too, believe that the name is composed of two words : "Bar", meaning plain, and "Lacheh" meaning empty, naked or barren. Thus, "Bar-lucheheh" means a people from barren plains and naked deserts : a people that - as described in the Borhan-e-Qateeh - are from a desert region. Not only is this definition quite in compliance with the present manner of life lived by most Baluches; but if we turn the pages of history, we will also find out that the name Baluch emerges for the first time in the 9th Century AD when these people were living in the southern plains of Kerman around the foothills of the Bashagerd Mountains. These people who lived in the plains were called Baluch, and another group of people who actually lived in

the mountainous area were called "Kuch". For centuries, these two peoples lived side by side and were rivals and the terms "Kuch and Baluch" - as indicated by Bahar, a famous contemporary poet - were equally used. It was only following the military expeditions of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and other Shahs of Iran as well as their successive skirmishing against the Baluches, that the name "Kuch" was finally eradicated and lost for ever.

Here, it is appropriate to mention a saying in Baluchi as another reason in support of the view that "Baluch" means "belonging to or coming from plains". This reads: Ma Baluchen, Gwalag dochen, Shahrani kuna dochen : that is, we are Baluches, we live under tents in the desert, we attack and defeat city dwellers.

Therefore, it is quite correct that the people living in mountains were called "Kuch" and their neighbours were called "Baluch" because they lived in the arid desert areas; and they are referred to for the first time under this name as living in this particular area. That desert exists to this day and is called Biabān in Farsi and Giabān in Baluchi, whilst its inhabitants were even then called Baluch (or Balos in its Arabian form). Even now, the Barahojis of Pakistan who live in the mountains call Baluches "Mazohie" in their own language - that means "People living in plains". It seems that wherever he is, whether in the deserts of Minab, or the Kavir of Mokran, or the plains of Sistan, in the region of Sind of the valley of Bolan, in Punjab or Arabian coasts of the Oman Sea, or in the plains of Merv, the Baluch has maintained characteristics of a plainsman or a man of the desert.

Henry Field, the celebrated American anthropologist, and his colleagues made an extensive study in 1955 among the Baluches of Pakistan, with the assistance of that country's government. Some 2354 persons were measured, examined, and x-rayed. Field reached the conclusion that (1) : The Baluches in Torbat shahrestan had racial characteristics in common with the people of south-east Iran and the Iranian plateau in general. They had no affinity to the yellow races further east. Those Baluches who were examined, in Panjgor were much more similar to the Iranian peoples and to Europeans, rather than to the people living on the eastern bank of the river Sind, and in India.

Dr. Latham believes that linguistically all Baluches have Iranian affinities (i.e. Indo-Aryan). They are tribesmen, nomadic pastoralists living in tents, and with a pronounced, well developed tribal social organisation. (2)

For what it is worth, we may quote a view by Sir Richard Burton "The Baluch have no similarity to the offspring of Ismael. He has large black eyes like the Persians. He has not the narrow, restless, and fiery eyes of the Arabs. He is tall; he has a handsome Iranian figure, with a thick and long beard". (3)

Col. M. Longworth Dames (4) produced some further

(1) Field, H., Baluchestan and Bahawalpor, pp.102-107.
Sokhan Magazine Nos.8 and 9, pp.778-779, 1964.

(2) Latham, P.X. Baluchestan and Bahawalpor, p.51;
Sokhan Magazine Nos.8 and 9 p.778.

(3) Burton Sir R.

(4) Op. cit.

evidence, the general validity of which is now somewhat questioned. Anthropometrical measurements showed the Baluch skull to be of Brachycephalic type which is common among Iranians; while Arab and Indian skulls are of Dolichocephalic type. His conclusion is that the Baluches are of Iranian race and offshoots from the peoples of the Iranian plateau.

Later, in the section that considers the language of Baluch people we shall argue that Baluchi is of the family of Iranian languages, which is itself another reason for concluding that the people themselves are of Iranian origin. However, there are other writers and travellers who have different ideas. Sir Henry Pottinger says that the Baluches are Turcomans. Sir Thomas Holdich and Charles Masson claim that they are of the Semitic race. Sir Henry Bellew has found that the name Baluch derived from Bailaicha, and has called them Indian Warriors.

The author has already discussed the ideas of various writers - ranging from the highly classically influenced 'Chaldean' theory of Rawlinson to those who seek to attach the Baluches to Indian groups with which the writers were more familiar. Most of these ideas are however in the view of the present writer mainly based on superficial observation rather than scientific studies which are in themselves extremely difficult and uncertain. In short, we have a 'spread' of ideas from romantic associations to serious attempts at correlations based on physique, appearance and measurement.

The vast Iranian plateau includes groups of peoples

who differ markedly from one another in one way or the other. In the long course of Iranian history, these peoples have lived in proximity and have shared common experiences. The Baluches are one such of these peoples. They have certain especial peculiarities that distinguish them from other Iranian groups, and these can be particularised as

(1) Religion; (2) Cultural identity and manner of life; and
(3) Language.

(1) At the present, most Baluches are Hanafite Sunnis, but a considerable number of the Baluches who live in Khorasan and Kerman are Shiite Moslems. It would seem that at one time most Baluches were Shiite, since in their old ballads, Ali (the original Calif and Modhammed's son-in-law), is frequently highly praised :

"We are followers of Ali
This religion and faith is firm". (1)

It is mentioned in Masalik-va-Mamlick (2) that the peoples of Rudbar.... and Baluch are Shiite. Al-Moqaddasi says the same. (3) In Sayrol-Moluk (4) we read that when Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi decided to destroy the Shiite Moslems in the 9th Century, destroying the Baluches, who were Shiite, was one of his aims.

According to Tarikh-e-Fereshteh, the Baluches were still Shiite Moslems in the time of Mir Chaker, the famous

(1) Baluchi poem, second volume, Sokhan Magazine, Nos.8 and 9, 1964, Dr. Ali Akbar Jaafari.

(2) Istakhri, op. cit. p.143.

(3) Al-Moqaddasi, op.cit. p.469.

(4) Sayrol-Moluk, op.cit. p.82.

Baluch sardar. Shahzad, son of Mir Chaker, was the first person who introduced Shiism into Multan during the first quarter of the 16th Century. Later on, the Baluches - it is not known whether gradually or all at once - converted to the Hanafite Sunni faith. Maybe lack of consistent relations with central Iran and closer relations with the peoples of Afghanistan, the coastal regions of the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea, and other neighbours who were Hanafite brought about this change. The Baluches are very serious in practising their religious duties : they pray 5 times daily, they fast in due time, and they respect the religious veterans. Superstition can be observed among them such as their belief in Zar. They have learnt this ceremony from negro slaves and perform it to get rid of ill health - a result of the lack of medical facilities in the area.

Safarids?

- (2) The principles that the Baluch honour include:
- a. Entertaining and serving guests
 - b. Trustfulness and righteousness
 - c. Protecting any one who needs protection as long as the protector remains alive
 - d. Blood for blood.

The author witnessed an example of this. In Iranshahr, he met a Baluch who was very poor and was looking for a job. He told the author that he was from Chanf village. Last month his sister's husband had been murdered and his sister and mother wanted him to find and kill the murderer in revenge. As he did not have the heart to kill anyone, he couldn't satisfy the demand of his family. Therefore, he

was expelled from the village.

- e. Refrain from killing women, immature boys, wanderers, and persons who are not Moslims but are living a peaceful life by the side of Baluches
- f. Refrain from killing an enemy who has found shelter in a temple (holy place)
- g. Forgive an enemy if a woman from his tribe comes to ask for forgiveness
- h. Ceasefire and peace if anyone puts a Qoran over his head and tries to mediate
- i. Killing an adulterer

Observance of the above codes suggests that a Baluch is free, warlike, brave, hospitable, religious, righteous, and hard working. All these characteristics can be summarized in a very short Baluchi term Langband, that is, a person who has fastened his Lang (belts) tightly and is ready to face any emergency.

However, it should not be forgotten that the adverse physical environment and difficult historic past have involved a very hard, frugal way of life, with constant liability to attack. In response, he tends even now to be somewhat prickly, revengeful and warlike. Therefore, no wonder that the writer of Borhan-e-Qateeh who, according to his own writing, never visited Baluchistan and was never familiar with any Baluch states on the basis of what he has heard from others, that the Baluches are a tribal people of the desert who are short tempered and warlike. Dames is, however, fair enough to say that any people under such

circumstances would have been the same. (1) The writer of the Mo'jamolboldan says that "Baluches are a brave and mighty people who are great in number; they are livestock holders and live under wool tents; they are hospitable to foreigners; they do not plunder; they do not commit murder and they annoy no one. (2) Istakhri (3) and Ibn-e-Huqal (4) wrote to the same effect before him. The contemporary General Razmara has written "The Baluches are completely righteous. If any valuable thing or document is trusted with them, they will not hesitate even to sacrifice their lives in order to keep the trusted thing safe". All military officers with whom the present writer discussed this point confirmed the honesty of the Baluch people.

These are moral, spiritual and cultural characteristics of a people who are still in the stage of relying on oral transmission of culture. They are very interested in learning the history of their forefathers narrated by native poets accompanied by the sound of the Ghichack.

There is a distinctive Baluchi dress, peculiar to themselves and different from those of other parts of Iran. They cover their heads with a turban tied in a special form, and wear long loose shirts and large pleated trousers, that fit well with the weather of the desert. They prefer white to other colours.

(1) Encyclopedia of Religions, London 19 p.339.

(2) Yaqut, op.cit. volume 2, p.281.

(3) Istakhri, op.cit. p.141.

(4) Ibn-e-Huqal, op.cit. p.310.



(3) The word "language" means - in tradition as well as in linguistic terms - "expression of concepts and a method of maintaining communication between human minds by means of speaking and hearing". According to this definition, Baluchi is a language in which the Baluch people both speak and communicate with one another. But the formal official language in Iran is Farsi : All over the country people speak and write in this language; all the formal, official and governmental communication is in Farsi. The mass media use this language; students in all the schools and universities of the country have their lessons in Farsi. Not only is Farsi a national language, it is also a means to unite various peoples who live throughout Iran. From this point of view, all other languages spoken by certain limited groups in cities, villages, plains and deserts are regarded as dialects. These dialects can be divided in two groups : dialects that are used only in speaking and are not written, such as Semnani, Yazdi, Isfahani, etc., and dialects that have written literature as well, such as Kordi and Baluchi. However, both these dialects use the Farsi alphabet in their writing. The reason why they use the Farsi alphabet, as will be discussed in detail with regard to Baluchi, is that they have roots traceable to the most ancient forms of the Iranian language. Therefore, considering that it has been closely linked over centuries to the oldest Iranian language forms, Baluchi - when spoken and written in Baluchestan - is to be regarded as an Iranian language that meets fully our basic definition as stated above. The growth and development of this language will in the long run enrich the

cultural wealth of the country and the possibilities for its development and growth must, therefore, be retained. But in comparison with national Farsi, which is the official and formal language of the whole country and is not only one of the main factors of national unity of Iranians, but is also a part of the Iranian people's basic historical and cultural identity; those languages that have explicit regional dimensions, such as Baluchi, are regarded as dialects. There is the point that use of Farsi provides an important element against invasion of foreign cultures, which would more easily penetrate an area that employed many languages.

A few years ago when the author visited Bamposht in the south of Saravan for study, he was accompanied by the governor of Saravan who was a Gilak from Gilan province. When the Baluches talked together in Baluchi, the governor listened carefully. He said that when he listened carefully, he could understand about 40% of Baluchi vocabulary because it was very similar to the Gilaki vocabulary. The author has had another similar experience : Sardar Haj Karim Bakhsh Sai'idi, the national Majlis member from Dashtyari and Chahbahar, told the author that once he had arranged a meeting between the Shah and Sardar Bizenjo, the leader of the Independence Movement of Pakistani Baluchestan. Sardar Bizenjo told the Shah that His Imperial Majesty should regard the Pakistani Baluches also as an Iranian people, because their forefathers had lived in the Alborz mountain area and their language was an Iranian language.

Thus, it is clear that many Baluches regard their

language as an Iranian one. This fact has been proved by the studies of scholars of linguistics.

Etymologists in general have divided the languages of western Iran into two groups, one of which is regarded to be closer to Sassanid Pahlavi, the other to Ashkani Pahlavi. Farsi is held to derive from Sassanid Pahlavi while many Iranian dialects are derived from Ashkani Pahlavi. Although there are affinities between Baluchi and both of these branches, Baluch would seem to have its roots in an even older Iranian language. In order to make the point somewhat more clear, a few terms are given as example -

<u>Farsi</u>	<u>Avesta</u>	<u>Sassani</u>	<u>Ashkani</u>	<u>Baluchi</u>
Pai	Padha	Pay	Pad	Pad
Pessar	Puthra	Pos	Pohr	Pusag
Zan	Jan	Zan	Jan	Jan
Del	Zereda	Dil	Zird	Zird
Kan	Kerena	Kun	Kar	Kan
Been	Vin	Vin	Vin	Gind
Malakh	Madhakha	Malakh	Madhag	Madag
Neshin	Nishhad	Nishin	Nishad	Nind
Khoy	Khwaeda	Khoy	Khoy	Haed

It will be observed that while Baluchi is similar to Ashkani for Pai, Zan, Del, Malakh, it has similarities to Sassani in Pessar and Kan. But in Been, Neshin and Khay it takes quite a separate form. Similarities with the ancient Avestaii language appear in the following table, indicating a close affinity:

<u>Avesta</u>	<u>Baluchi</u>	<u>Pahlavi</u>	<u>Pazand</u>	<u>Farsi</u>
Brij	Brij	Brezh	Brezh	Breshteh Kardan
Bwj	Boj	Bozh	Boz	Raha Kardan
Pach	Pach	Pach	Paz	Paz
Tach	Tach	Tach	Taz	Taz
Hwan	(h)Wan	Khwan	Khwan	Khan

<u>Avesta</u>	<u>Baluchi</u>	<u>Pahlavi</u>	<u>Pazand</u>	<u>Farsi</u>
Zan	Zan	Dan	Dan	Dan
Rud	Rud	Roy	Roy	Rooy
Rich	Rich	Rech	Rez	Reez
Such	Such	Soch	Soz	Sooz
Khshud	Shod	Shoy	Shoy	Shooy
Apuhra	Apus	Awus	Awus	Abestan
Tanthra	Tahar	Tar	Tar	Tar
Roacha	Roch	Roch	Roz	Roos
Sukhra	Suhr	Surkh	Surkh	Sorkh
Khshap	Shap	Shaw	Shaw	Shab

The letter kh (ک̂) does not exist in Baluchi; instead h (ه) is used. P is used instead of f and g is used instead of gh (گ̂). This in itself is an indication of the antiquity of this language. Only the Baluch people in Baluchestan speak Baluchi ; the people of Sistan speak Farsi.

Pastoral Nomadism in Iran

The term "Eelat" (tribes) seems to have been employed for the first time in the 13th century AD, during the Il-Khanid era, to indicate nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes. In historical text-books of Iran, the terms "Ashireh", "Qabileh", and "Tayefeh" are also used, which mean tribes that may be either nomadic or settled. In Iran it is important to draw distinction between pastoral nomadism (i.e. stock rearing as the main or principal or the only occupation, and mobility of human groups to utilize pastures is the basic characteristic), and stock-rearing by settled groups. This latter has prevailed in Iran since very early times, whereas it would seem that nomadism was not widespread and had little economic importance until the 10th century AD. It is only during the reign of the Seljukian dynasty and particularly in the Mongol era that pastoral nomads become sufficiently important to bring about what might be termed a conscious equilibrium between settled and non-settled populations.

Our knowledge about the nomadic tribes of pre-Islamic era is very limited. It is however certain that livestock rearing was practised alongside agriculture, though a settled way of life prevailed. The Lurs, for example, would seem to have been a completely settled group as early as c.2000 BC, and they resorted to a semi-nomadic life only in the Mongol era. Similarly, the Greek Herodotus also depicts Iran as occupied by people in settled communities, with nomadism very restricted. Nomadic life would not seem to have been important in the Sassanid era. The Sassanid government in fact resisted arrival of Arab and Turkish tribes from central Asia.

One might therefore suggest that it was in post-Sassanid times that the plateau of Iran experienced a major ingress and partial domination by nomadic tribes. In their descriptions of the plateau of Iran, the Iranian geographers of the 11th century AD, such as Ibn-Huqal and Istakhri depict a prosperous society based on settled agriculture, whose people were engaged in farming and stock-rearing in villages, and commerce and craftsmanship in towns. They do not mention any important tribe other than the semi-nomadic pastoral Kord and Arab tribes,⁽¹⁾ who arrived in Iran after the Islamic conquest, but whose numbers were at first small.

During the Islamic period, nomads and semi-nomads of the plateau of Iran were essentially located in the regions of Khuzestan, Fars and Esfahan. It would seem also that east of Fars, some pastoral nomads existed, and Istakhri calls the people living around the Qufez Mountain range "Kuch" and "Baluch".⁽²⁾

At this period, except for a few instances mentioned in Khorasan, mutual relations and communication between nomadic and settled populations seem to have promoted exchange and production. But raids by the Mongols drastically changed the situation, and caused extension of the nomadic way of life in the plateau of Iran both directly, through immigration of nomads, and indirectly, by destroying villages. Mongol raids followed by wide-scale entry of Turki and Mongol

(1) See, for instance, *Masalik va Mamalik*, Istakhri, Tehran, 1969.

(2) Fisher, W.B. *Ibid.*, pp. 141 and 414. Also Mirkhuda Bakhsh Marri, *Searchlights on Baluches and Baluchestan*, Karachi, 1974, pp.53-63.

tribes had many conspicuous negative effects on the socio-economic structure of Iran. In this period, many developed and flourishing areas were destroyed, cities demolished, commerce and craft industries reduced, villagers dispersed and forced to live in tents in order to continue to exist. The Mongols turned a great number of cultivated areas into yurt, their personal pastures - and were not interested in settled agriculture.

As is well-known, the Mongols took over political government and spread nomadic military aristocracy in their conquered and occupied areas. They were against settled life and intensified exploitation of urban and rural population. The raids of tent-dwellers in general, whether Arabs or Quz Turks, had always resulted in some destruction of cultivated lands and towns. But never had destruction of cultivated areas, demolition of cities and massacre of people been so violent and extensive as that inflicted by Mongols. ⁽¹⁾ Therefore, the socio-economic evolution of Iran, that had more or less continued from the Sassanid era until the time of the Mongol raids, was greatly interrupted in this period. From that time on, the political rule of the country was either in the hands of tribes or groups supported by them. Most of the supporters of, for example, the Safavid dynasty consisted of tribes of central Asia, Syria, and Armenia as well as some of the Aq-Qoyunloo and Qara-Qoyunloo Turki tribes. Nader Shah Afshar,

(1) Rashid al-Din, *Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani*, London, 1940, pp. 349-50.

Karimkhan Zand, and Aqa Mohammad-Khan Qajar were all tribal heads. Both the Afshar and Qajar tribes were among those who accompanied the Turks and Mongols into Iran and remained there.

Thus from the beginning of the 10th century AD and particularly from the 14th century onwards, social, economic, and political foundations of Iran were characterized by especial features : enhanced antagonism and opposition on the one hand between the settled economy practised by the Iranians who were the original inhabitants of the country, including urban, rural, and migratory Iranians; and on the other hand, the Turkic-Mongol pastoral nomads.

The Mongols and Turks in their need for pasture trespassed into and usurped agricultural lands and turned them into pastures. During their migrations, livestock was left to graze on cultivated lands. In the meantime, the nomads themselves, who were always armed, plundered both rural and urban dwellers. In this way developed agricultural areas were turned into grazing and range-lands. Furthermore, the political superiority of nomads meant that agriculture was subjected to neglect and increased taxes, because of the pastoralists' lack of interest and incomprehension over agriculture.

Our information about population numbers of the tribes is limited, but we know that in the beginning of the 18th century AD the numbers of nomadic pastoralists were increasing as compared with the population of cities and villages. In the 19th century, a reversal of this position occurred as urban

and settled rural life once more revived. Tribes still enjoyed considerable political and economic influence, but their population became smaller in proportion to that of the settled population. In 1891, for instance, estimates gave 6,750,000 settled population as against 2,250,000 unsettled population.

Estimated Population of Iran
(in thousands)*

Groups of population	1884	1888	1891
Settled	5,744	4,500	6,750
Urban	1,964	1,500	2,250
Rural	3,780	3,000	4,500
Tribes	1,910	1,500	2,500
Total	7,654	6,000	9,250

* Issawi C. (ed.), *The Economic History of Iran : 1800-1914*, Chicago, 1971, p.33.

In summary, one may say that from the 12th and, in particular, the 13th century AD onwards, tribes were one of the most important population elements of the Iran community and may have accounted for 20-30% of the total population.

Moreover, from the 12th to the 20th centuries AD, tribal leaders have controlled the military life of the country. The presence and dominance of tribes had two major effects : the primary accumulation of capital was

greatly limited by retarded agricultural production and by increase in taxes; and, as well, the social effect of tribal rule was greatly to expand and consolidate feudal relations. The dominance of tribal groups was a major obstacle to the evolution of a national ruling class and effective centralized monarchy owing to division between various tribes which competed for leadership.

Effects of all this were seen during the first years of Reza Shah's rule, which were spent in campaigns between central government troops and tribesmen, as well as local autonomous authorities. In 1938, for instance, troops of Iran went on an expedition to Baluchestan under the command of General Djahanbanie, who succeeded in suppressing rebellious Baluch tribes and bringing all the area of Baluchestan under the influence and control of the central government. The central government's power and influence resulted in considerable changes and variations in the life of Baluch tribes. These changes will be discussed in detail in the relevant chapter.

Social Organisation

Some consideration must now be given to social organisation in Iran and in particular, since it plays a considerable and basic part in our study of the Kords and the nature of this tribe. There is great agreement among those who have studied the matter - anthropologists, economists, geographers and sociologists - on the general definition and distinguishing concepts and criteria concerning the tribe (eel). These criteria include :

Common territory - that is, a tribe always claims a special and carefully defined territory as its own, together with rights of exploitation of that territory.

Common descent - tribal people traditionally believe that all of them are the offspring of the same common ancestor.

Common language - members of a tribe usually, though not always, speak a common language or dialect.

Common culture - there are common customs as well as common patterns of behaviour within and sometimes peculiar to a tribe.

Common title (or name) - a tribe is distinguished by a special title, and is therefore an organization composed of a number of groups having common territory, common culture, language and descent, and are known under a common name.

To take an example from the Lōr tribe of the central Zagros : the Bahmai tribe know themselves as the descendants of Bahman, son of A'ali, who was one of the heads of the small Baharvand minor tribe (tayefeh) of the larger

Bakhtyari tribe. Their language is Lori, but employs special Bahmaii words and sentence constructions. They have in common the fact of being Shiite Moslems. The Bahmaii tribe is divided into two moieties each including tavayef (minor tribes), and further subdivisions : Olad, Khanevadeh and Chador respectively extended family, normal family, and tent. Generally speaking, the Bahmaii tribal members refer to the divisions of their tribe, whether large or small, as daheh.

When a tribe is formed by the alliance of a number of smaller tribes (smaller eels), a single common language and cultural pattern may not be present. This is the situation within the Khamseh tribe of Fars that is formed through alliance of Basseri, Arab, Inanloo, and Baharloo elements. While the Basseri tribe speaks Farsi, the Inanloo and Baharloo tribes speak Turkish. Sometimes a tribe may adopt a second language due to affinity and communication with neighbouring people. The Bochaqchies of east Sirjan in Kerman province speak Turkish as their first language and have also learned the Sirjani dialect of Farsi in addition.

Besides what has been said so far, some other criteria may also be important in the definition of a tribe. It is frequently the case that a tribe is an endogamous group, and also a political unit.

In Iran, it is most usual for tribal households to engage in some limited form of cultivation, mostly dry farming in their winter quarters. Occasionally however there may be minor farming activity in their summer quarters. During the last 50 years more and more tribes have tended

to develop permanent winter settlements of brick, using tents only during migration. These settlements of tribal households are called takhteh-qapoo, a Turkish term meaning "wooden door".

There is a very wide gradation exhibited at present within Iran as between, at one extreme, tribes that are still fully nomadic, that is, living wholly in tents and moving extensive distances in an annual round. At the other extreme are tribes that live almost permanently in fixed settlements with houses; only a part (even a minority) of the tribe moving for a short season to summer or winter pasture. The variation is considerable, and is due to the pressures on nomads to reduce their scale of movement - restriction over grazing grounds, policy of central government to enforce sedentarisation, and the pull of urban employment.

This situation largely explains discrepancies in the enumeration for census purposes of nomads. When does a nomad become settled : there is no precise definition? We have however various totals of the tribal population of Iran, that range from several hundred thousand to several million. This is because for some enumerators only the nomadic population on the move should be taken into account, while some other observers have counted in all the tribal population in general, whether migratory or not.

In order to explain more clearly the structure of an eel, the structure of a conceptualized model eel in Iran will be discussed as an example; then the structure of the eel in Baluchestan, with especial reference to Kord tribal territory will be explained.

An excellent example is to be found in the Bakhtiari tribe. The structure of the Bakhtiari eel like that also of Qashqai, has a full and perfect organization. This eel comprises two parts (bakhsh) or "blocks" called Haft-lang and Chahar-lang. Each of these two parts are further sub-divided into four Bābs. The Bābs of the Haft-lang - for instance - comprise Doorki, Bābādi, Bakhtiārvand (or Bahārvand) and Dinārāni. Babs are again sub-divided into Tāyefehs, which are in turn further divided into Teerehs. Teerehs are again sub-divided into owlāds (or tashes), which are made up by a number of the smallest unitary subdivision: khānevadehe (families) or vargehs or chādors (= tents). Figure 1 will make clearer the hierarchical relationships of the various units. Because of this tightly organized grouping, the hierarchical system that is an essential for the operation of a centralized hakumat is possible. In the Bakhtiari eel, every 2 to 12 chādors form a māl, which organizes the movement and camping of individual households. There are also some studies of the Bakhtiari eel in which the presence of babs are ignored. (1)

(1) For example in The Method of Survey and General Recognition of Tribes by Parviz Varjavand and published by the Social Studies and Research Institute of the University of Teheran, Teheran, 1965; p. 45 (in Persian).

Except for the blocks and bāb, the above-mentioned organization and divisions can be observed in most other tribes of Iran, such as the Qashqai, though other names or terms are sometimes used, and some divisions may be replaced by each other or even be omitted.

In many cases, forcing a tayefeh or a teereh of a particular eel to move from one place to another has resulted in the disruption of the tribal organization, so that the hierarchical order and fully operating systems have been partially destroyed. Such is the case of the Boochāqchoo (or Peechāqchi) and Afshār tribes who were forced to move from Azarbāyejan to Sirjān and Bāft in Kermān. Sometimes the suppression of Eel-khans by central government has also exposed certain eels to a similar fate. It should also be recalled that some tribal groups have never been larger than a teereh or tayefeh or a small ashireh.

It is now appropriate to consider conditions within the Kord tribe. As ~~has~~ been discussed in the relevant chapter on the peculiarities of tribes in Sistan and Baluchestan, the structure of an eel in this area goes no further than the level of a tayefeh or clan. As regards the Kord tribe, the reason is quite clear : the Kords of Baluchestan are really a tayefeh, that once formed part of a major tribe that had a full organization, located within Kordestan. Just as the Bochaqchis or Peechaqchis of Āzarbāyejān were driven to Sirjan and Bāft in Kermān, and were thus separated from the main organization of their original major eel as a tayefeh; so were the Kords of Baluchestan destined for the

same fate. As regards the other tribes of Baluchestan and the reason why their hierarchies go no further than the tāyefeh or clan, two reasons may be given:

(a) Successive raids upon them from surrounding areas as well as the internal or inter-tribal battles that have dispersed them continuously so as they have never been permitted to organize into the complete form of a centralized eel.

(b) Absence of sufficient natural resources, such as water, fertile land, pasture, and favourable climate, which prevented the natural evolution of tribes into an eel.

Therefore, in Baluchestan, there are numerous tribal units whose hierarchical system extends no further than the tāyefeh or clan. These clans have especial peculiarities in Baluchestan that must be taken into consideration.

Most of the clans are endogamous; with marriages concluded between the members of the same tāyefeh. Exogamous marriages are also observed in the case of the Kord tribe and will be discussed with regard to their relations with the Mir tribe. But in neither of these two tribes is the exogamous marriage so important and prevalent as the endogamous relationship. Members of these clans have common ancestors and close patrilineal relations. A clan is divided into several teerehs (branches), which are termed barāstrand in the Kord tribe. Barāstrands are subdivided into moieties called rand in the Kord tribe. These rands consist of khānevādehs (families) or chadors (tents). A teereh is something similar to a close lineage group; that is, kinship

relations are more clearly to be observed than in the tayefeh. Nevertheless, endogamy does not fully apply.

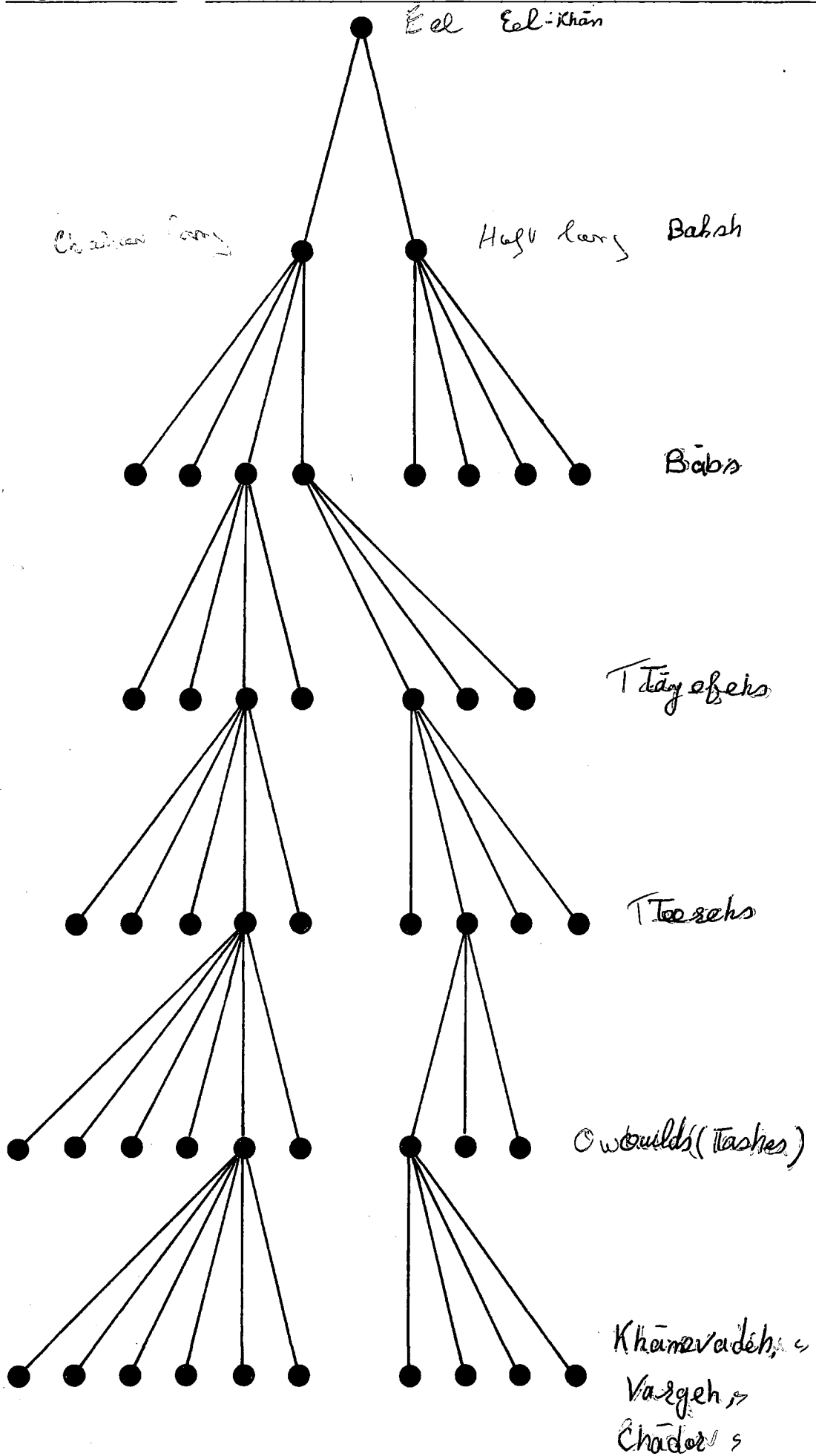
The final group in the classification of the hierarchies of the Kord tribe is the mahalleh which consists of a collection of a number of chādors : in every chador lives a private household. The basic function of a mahalleh is the organization of the pastoral manner of livelihood; so a mahalleh appropriates to itself a certain area of pasture sufficient to satisfy its animals proportional to the number of chadors or households that form it. Each mahalleh has a leader or an elder who co-ordinates the relationships between the constitutional chadors or households, (who are mostly relatives), and manages the grazing of the animals. This unit, termed mahalleh by the Kord tribe is normally called halk in some parts of Baluchestan, and is also referred to as kheil or shalwar in some other parts of the area. Therefore, in the tribal hierarchical organization of Baluchestan, mahalleh is exactly identical with halk, both being a collection of several chādors.

Correlation pattern

<u>Bakhtiari eel</u>	<u>Kord eel</u>
Block	-
bāb	-
tayefeh	tayefeh (clan)
teereh	barāsrānd
owlād	rand
khānevādeh	mahalleh
or chādor	

<u>Division</u>	<u>Head</u>
eel	Eel-Khān
block	Khān
bāb	Khān
tayefeh	Calāntar
teereh	Cadkhodā
owlād	-
chādor	-

Figure No. 1 The organization of a centralized "eel" or tribe



The Mahalleh (hamsayeh)

Both are terms applied in the area of this study to the same unit, which in other parts of Baluchestan is termed halk or kheil. All four are units of animal production and are approximately the same as bankoo and obeh among the other tribes of Iran. The households that form a mahalleh or hamsayeh are consanguinal relatives who move together - if they move at all - and pitch their tents beside one another. They have a common herder or shepherd. For the livestock holders of this area, a common herder is just as important. Elsewhere, in better watered parts of Iran, pasture is more significant than the man who herds the animals on to it. But in Baluchestan generally poor quality and scarcity of pastures as well as the small number of animals owned by the households place emphasis on the person in charge of them. We may thus define the mahalleh (hamsayeh, halk) as : a livestock production unit composed of a number of related households - sometimes with non-relatives, too - who possess a certain number of animals grazed by a single herdsman. The maximum number of animals effectively handled by one herdsman would seem, for Kordi territory, to be between 250-350 head.

The Mir tribe

In the text of the thesis, various myths relating to the Mir tribe are mentioned. What is certain is that the Mir tribe has been living in Baluchestan long before the arrival of the Kord tribe. The territory inhabited by the

Mirs includes Goosheh and Tamandān villages (in Koosheh dehestan) as a principal dwelling site, with location in Zābol (Sistan) as next in importance. A few Mirs also live in Zahedan. After the arrival of the Kord tribe in the Taftan area, the Mir tribe was one of its neighbours. As will be discussed in the relevant chapter, the Kords as the agent of the central government of Iran were responsible for ensuring security in Baluchestan and collection of taxes that amounted to one fifth of income. The Mir tribe enjoys considerable spiritual and religious respect and honour generally within Baluchestan. The term Mir means gentleman and seyyed, which is a religious and sacred attribute. For the Kord, who were strangers in Baluchestan, a friendly and close relationship with the Mirs was very useful because they could then avail themselves of the spiritual prestige enjoyed by the Mir tribe and also penetrate into other parts of Baluchestan by their help and assistance. This close relationship was in turn useful for the Mirs. Alliance with the Kord gave them exemption from payment of taxes, which amounted to a considerable sum, and kinship relations and marriage with the superior and dominant tribe added to their importance and enhanced their own prestige. The Mir-Kords as a group are the outcome of intermarriage between the two tribes; and the new families that were formed by these marriages adopted both patronymics as the family name of their children, in order to maintain the privileges and peculiarities of the two tribes; the Mir-Kords of Tamandan for example follow their pedigree back to a man called Mir Qanbar, a former head of the Mir tribe. By marrying into

this Mir's family and their children, the immigrant Kords gave their own name to them and took the term "Mir" from them. However, of late years some families have taken the surname of Kordi instead of Mir-Kord when it was necessary to have a name in their identity cards. All these indicate, on the one hand, the dominant position of the Kords in this area and, on the other hand, the spiritual influence and respectability of the Mirs. The Kords have never developed comparable unity with the other tribes of the region such as the Shahnavāzi, Gamshād-zehie, and Riggi.

The Situation in Baluchestan

Having sketched in very broad outline, the chief features of tribal organisation for Iran generally, we must now put into context, and in more detail, the actual situation as the author has observed it for Baluchestan.

The chief feature is that within our province, tribal organisation is much less complex and developed as compared with most of Iran - and the tribes of the Zagros especially. For this, there would seem to be two direct and simple factors involved : the broken and rugged nature of most of the land surface of Baluchestan; and the lack of really extensive grazing. Baluchestan is a mountainous, arid province - the wide high-level grassy valleys of the main Zagros which support many thousands of animals (even though grazing has to be seasonal) are not repeated in the Mōkran. Water is scanty and often brackish : not the headwaters of large streams like the Diyala, Zab or Karun.

Thus in Baluchestan, contrary to conditions of Zagros mountain ranges - social organisation goes no higher than a tāyefeh. None of the Baluch tribes can properly be given the status of eel.

Tribal organisation is dominated by the two circumstances in that with the natural endowment extremely scanty, tribes are small in number. Any natural crisis such as drought might leave a particular tribal group with no alternative to starvation other than robbery and attack on other better supplied tribes. Fighting and skirmishing have thus been common.

It is however the writer's view that a military function of the tribe and especially its leaders, cannot be disregarded; such 'military' organisation among the above-mentioned tribes has never been paramount in tribal organisation either in defence or in attack and plunder. Livestock and crop production have, rather, been the basis of daily tribal life and organisation. Plunder, attack or defence were resorted to under certain conditions such as in time of drought; and it was only under these conditions that a military role assumes major importance.

Due to the special natural conditions of Baluchestan, distance of moving is usually short - no more than some tens of kilometres. Yet even here a military function has been of great importance in leading the tribe. In other words, it is in relation with external factors that the presence of a tribal organisation becomes a necessity, and one may consequently regard tribal organisation in Baluchestan more as a response to outside pressures rather than an internally generated need from within a community itself - and thus somewhat variable and rudimentary in character.

Limited productive possibilities from their terrain seduced the Baluch on occasion to plunder and rob nearby and far away cities as well as neighbouring tribes. For this purpose, a particular cooperation and organisation was required. There was a regular and continuing need for local defence against raids by other tribes, for whom plunder had been one of the main sources of livelihood.

In the recent past when conditions generally were

more disturbed, the military role was more important in leading a Baluch tribe than any economic role. The title of sardar instead of khan is used to identify heads of Baluch tribes, which is itself a military term; and repeated plundering of the cities of Kerman, Bam, Narmashir, Giroft, and also neighbouring tribes, indicate the significance of military leadership.

As compared with other tribes of Iran, those of Baluchestan show the following distinctive features :

- (1) Range of moving is usually short, occasionally medium, and only rarely long.
- (2) As the range of moving has generally been short and, because of topography, along well defined, limited routes, the act of moving was quite simple and easy. Therefore, there had been no need for a tribal centralised organisation of complex nature.
- (3) Moving has usually been irregular, with every halk setting off independently, at staggered times.
- (4) Due to limited productive possibilities, plunder was for long one of the most important complementary means of livelihood.
- (5) Because of this, superiority of the military role in tribal organisation tended to occur, a derived effect of limited economic productivity.





Economy

The economy of the Baluch tribes is mainly based on livestock rearing : sheep, cattle, and especially goats. As is usual in pastoral societies milk and its products, and more rarely animal meat is the main staple and means of livelihood of the Baluch people. For this purpose, beside livestock rearing, these tribes engage to a limited extent in cultivation. Their plots are for the most part artificially irrigated, though there is some dry farming (unirrigated).

Among the tribes, production is the responsibility of household with every household owning its own livestock. But, in order to avail themselves of more facilities and possibilities, a number of households form a unit called a halk, hasham, or kheil. The number of households in these units depends on the number of animals owned, so that one shepherd may have care of them. At the time of migration, member households of every halk form a single unit directed by one of their heads. Next to the halk, the smallest tribal unit in Baluchistan comprises a number of halks identified by the name of one of their ancestors. These units are called by different names in different areas, such as rand, barāsrānd or teereh. The head of this unit is usually a recognised lineal descendant of the ancestor regarded as forefather of the rand members. A group of rand (etc.) form a barāsrānd, which is the largest Baluch social unit and consists of several rands etc. The head of tribe is the sardar, who leads the tribe and is responsible for the conduct of tribal affairs.

The above simple stratification is an administrative

and organisational classification usually observed in a big tribe. It does not indicate any purely social classification. Every large tribe is always accompanied by some smaller ones, and some of these latter could be classed as dependents. Differences between them depend on social division of labour and the respect in which their occupation is held. For example, among the inhabitants of the Dalgan plain, located at 400 km south of Zahedan, there are two principal tribes - the Bāmeri and the Abdollahi - who are close family relatives and hold the highest position of power. In descending order are the Hoodianis and Davoodis, then the Jats and finally the slaves. At present the Bameri tribe holds chief place in the local social hierarchy of the Dalgan plain recognised as at the apex of the local political, military and economic power pyramid. The title of sardar belongs of right to this tribe and sardars are selected only from among members of it. They are owners of the largest flocks and herds, most of the cultivated lands, and most of the qanats and wells.

The Abdollahi tribe is the next most important tribe in the Dalgan plain. Like the Bāmeri tribe it owns considerable lands and livestock. Internal traditions suggest that both tribes are septs of a larger single tribe.

The Hoodiani tribe's members live in the northern foothills defining the Dalgan plain. Once free and independent about a century ago, they were gradually brought under the control of the Bāmeri tribe and attached to it as the result of fighting initiated by the latter, so that

they gradually lost possession of their lands, water, and date groves. Their status has declined to that of subject cultivators working on the lands of their masters, the Bāmeris.

The Davoodi tribe does not occupy a specific territory in Baluchestan : there are Davoodis scattered everywhere throughout Baluchestan and within the territory of every tribe. The Davoodi are craftsmen supplying various services such as blacksmithery, carpentry, circumcision, minstrel^sry, / hair-dressing and cosmetic services. On the one hand, they are obviously artisans, but equally they are repositories of Baluch tradition, gene^ology, history and oral literature. / Although superior in social status to actual slaves, these people are regarded as in a low position within tribal social hierarchy.

The Jats function as camel-drivers among the Bāmeri tribes. They are not members of a separate tribe; and their name now refers to their occupation. Though not slaves, they have a low social position and hold no place in the political and military power structures of the Bāmeri tribes.

Slaves : this is the lowest social class in tribal system of the Dalgan plain. Members of this tribe were until very recently the property of their masters and they sometimes were even traded in or exchanged. The appearance of most members of this tribe clearly shows that they are not of Baluch origin. They are ethnically descendants of black-skinned African negro tribes whose forefathers were taken captive by slave-traders to be sold in the Persian

Gulf islands and coasts.

The slave group also includes individuals from different Baluch tribes who have been taken captive in raids.

This type of stratification is to be observed throughout almost all other tribes of Baluchestan with slight local variation. Social mobility is greatly restricted by bans on marriage with a partner of different order. However, it has become apparent also that of recent years, traditional social patterns as just described are increasingly dissolving under the impact of modern conditions, new economic opportunities, and new political alignments.

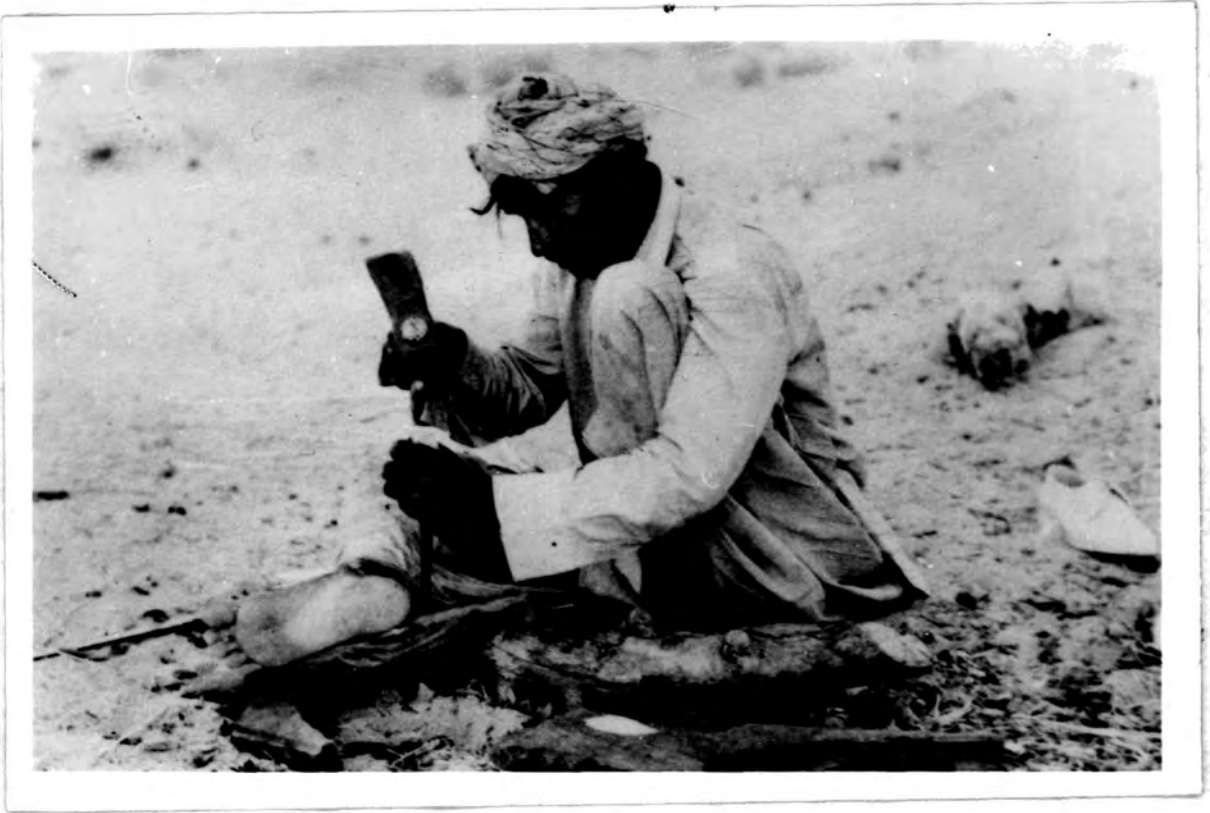
One other matter is of importance. During the last sixty years as the power and influence of central government was enhanced in the area, and new political and military organisations were set up, the sardars of Baluchestan gradually lost much of their power. Prior to the reign of Reza Shah, sardars were the direct representatives of their tribes held responsible by central government.

The expansion of the central government's power under the Pahlavi dynasty tended to transfer responsibility to a far wider range of people : officials, important and petty; traders, and others. Thus, the sardars lost their special privileges and the Baluch people gradually learned that the main power rested with central government (Hokoomat) which directly reflected the Shah himself. Traditionally, the Baluch have been accustomed to look for the origin of power in a few local personalities rather than in any

political organisation. For instance, in the first presidential elections after the 1979 Iranian revolution the Baluches as a whole voted for Dr. Madani, an admiral in the Shah's Navy. It was more acceptable for the Baluch people to accept an 'establishment' as the symbol of unity and superior power, rather than a mere politician.

Next in social order after the sardars were the heads of sub-clans, and cadkhodās (heads of villages). As with the sardars, their previous power and influence have also declined. The only elements that would appear to have maintained their influence and respect are the fathers of families. Society is thus more fragmented, with families taking a more individual role. This is of course common to many other areas, but the speed of transition from a highly and tightly organised semi-autocratic society to increasing individualism based on family links only is a special feature of Baluchestan.







C H A P T E R I I I

The Province of Sistan and Baluchestan :
its Geographical Background

Geographic Situation

The province was formed as a major administrative unit of Iran in 1929. It joins together two quite different geographical regions : Sistan; which is a lake basin; and Baluchestan, which is mainly mountainous and dissected by valleys, some narrow, some broad. The province is located between 25°3' and 31°27' North latitude, and 58°50' and 63°21' East longitude. It covers 181,578 sq.km in area. The administrative capital of this province is Zahedan, 1500 km distant to the south-east of Tehran. This province includes six shahrestans (districts) as follows:*

Zahedan	at 1,373 m altitude	
Zabol	487	"
Iranshahr	566	"
Saravān	1,100	"
Chahbahar	7	"
Khash	400	"

The shahrestan of Khash was formed only in 1976 being taken from the shahrestan of Zahedan. Most statistics therefore refer only to the five shahrestans with Khash part of Zahedan.

Topography

Sistan is mostly a level plain, 8,117 sq km in area located at the north of the province. Its only mountain is Kooch-e-Khajeh, to the south-east of Zabol. This rises 130 m above the plain, and is only 9 km in periphery.

* Sistan and Baluchestan statistical yearbook, Statistical Centre of Iran, 1977.

The major part of the province, Baluchestan, which covers 173,461 sq km, consists of several flat lacustrine basins surrounded by mountain ranges, the most important of which include : on the north, the Taftan range, which includes the highest peak in the province, that attains 4,150 m above sea level, with other summits : Cacheh, Lar and Koraqeh. On the west are the Pirshooran, Goharkooh, and Kakooh ranges; the Moorpish mountain range on the east; and the Siahband and Beerak ranges on the south.

A mountain chain that originates in Baft passes through the centre. Esfandaqeh, Cahrooj, and Roodbar ranges lie on the south side and join Kooh-e-Shahri to extend along the south of Roodbar plain and give rise to distinctive summits in Bashagerd, Fannooj, Sarhad, Ahooran, Chanf, and Bamposht. The same mountain range extends all along the north of Rask and Peeshin as well as the south of Zaboli.

On the south, and along the mountain rim of Kerman province, a range extends from the south-east of this province and passes through Kooran, Dop, Chahan, Poozak and south of Nikshahr and Qasr-e-Qand to reach the Bagāband massif. In the south of Rask it loses height and joins the Pakistan mountains.

Lowlands

All the lowlands and plains of Baluchestan are surrounded and defined by the above mentioned mountain ranges and depend on them for their water supply. These areas can be classified according to their "irrigation

basin potential" as follows:

1. The Hamoon Shileh basin of the Zahedan plain:

This basin is 1,800 sq km in area, of which 260 sq km are level plain.

2. The Taftan basin :

This basin is 23,400 sq km in area and consists of the following plains:

- (a) Mirjaveh-Tahlab plain, with an approximate area of 470,000 hectares;
- (b) Khash-Poshtkooh plain, with an approximate area of 100,000 hectares;
- (c) Gowharkooh, Tomp, and Chah-Qeibi plain with an approximate area of 250,000 hectares.

3. The Jazmoorian basin:

This is in fact the basin of the Bampoor river which comprises two large areas:

- (a) the Iranshahr-Bampoor area, of about 420,000 hectares, and
- (b) the Chāhshoor-Dalgān area, located near Hamoon-e-Jazmoorian, 150 km to the west of Iranshahr. It is about 9,000 sq km in area.

4. The Māshgeel basin:

This area consists of the valleys of Saravan, Sib-and-Sooran, Zaboli, and Kooshan.

- (a) the Saravan valley is 2,400 sq km in area, lies 263 km to the west of Khash, of which 800 sq km are flat alluvial lands, and the remaining area covered

by hills and rising ground.

- (b) the Sib-and-Sooran valley, 3,500 sq km in area, 100-200 km to the south-west of Khash, of which 1,500 sq km are level and lowlands and the remaining are broken upland.
- (c) the Zaboli valley, 1,700 sq km in area, east of Iranshahr, of which 200 sq km are level and alluvial lands.
- (d) the Kooshan valley, 500 sq km in area, is located between Zaboli and Sib-and-Sooran valleys with an alluvial flat 100 sq km in area.

5. The Oman coastal zone:

This is about 37,500 sq km in area which comprises the valleys of Sarbaz, Kajoo (Bahoo), Caheer, Dashtyari, Peeshin, Rask, and Chahbahar running inland from the coast. There are 7,800 sq km of level plains and coastal lands in this area; and the remaining are mountainous area covered by hills and rising ground.

Geology (summary)

This area has been mainly formed as the result of violent earth movements originating in middle to late Cretaceous times, and continuing through the Palaeogene (early Tertiary).

These earth-forming movements can be observed particularly in the structures forming the Taftan, Bazman, and Sultan mountains.

During the Eocene age, especially, and later Baluchestan was subject to oscillation, both of land and sea. As a result there are erosion benches round the edges of the lowland basins and along the coast. Heavy erosion in the Tertiary and Quaternary has laid down imposing fluvial deposits (sands, gravel, pebbles) near the seaward ends of the main valleys. In the interior, the former lake basins and lowlands show development of kavir and salt water surfaces that fluctuate considerably according to seasonal rainfall. Besides the stratified rock layers which in Baluchestan are mainly sediments of Tertiary age, there are extensive areas of vulcanicity : these produce most of the highest mountain peaks. The lowlands are extensively covered in wind-blown deposits, with, towards the basin edges, extensive outwash deposits of gravels and sands.

Soils

There have been a small number of studies of soil type and agricultural potential carried out by foreign development contractors (e.g. Italconsult) with some co-operation by Iranian Governmental departments. The soil surveys tended to be specific for limited areas; and being carried out by differing organizations at different periods, only limited co-ordination of results is possible.

The table below gives an indication of results obtained. Summary classification is : First class - capable of carrying heavy crops; Second class - relatively

good for irrigation, and capable of cultivation; Third class - less favourable than second class soils but still irrigable and capable of reasonably good cultivation. Some salinity apparent and also liability to wind and water erosion; Fourth class - of limited value. Irrigation possible only under special conditions; Fifth class - mainly range lands with a few very limited possibilities for cultivation in wetter years -

Soil Classification

(Summarised and modified by author from official reports)

Class by area (in 000 ha)

<u>Area</u>	I	II	III	IV	V
Taftan	-	-	2 (7.7% total area)	11(40%)	2(7%)
Khash & Poshtkooh	-	21(47.1%)	11(25%)	12(28%)	-
Jaz Moorian (Iranshahr)	-	-	43(68%)	10(16%)	10(16%)
Chah-e-shoor & Dalgan	-	-	22(23%)	-	70(76%)

In Sistan there are 111,500 hectares of Class I/Class II soils, comprising clay and limonite soils with some loam, and also 60,000 hectares of sandy loam soils - here there is the fact of a firmer much more extensive late basin. Patches of Class I/Class II soils also occur on a smaller scale along the southern coast, chiefly on beaches or on valley bottoms.

metres 100



Zabol

AFGHANISTAN

Zahedan

(SARHAD)

PAKISTAN

Kuh-e-Taftan

Khash

Saravan

Iranshahr


(MOKRAN)

Chah Bahar

Gulf of Oman

Roads ———

Railway + + + + +

Land over 1000m. 

The area occupied by the Kordi tribe

Because of the special interest of this thesis in the Kordi tribe, the topography of the Kordi homeland will now be described in more detail.

The region inhabited by the Kordi tribe extends around Taftan mountain, which is a major volcanic cone active until quite recently, with a level of emission that has surpassed all the tectonic phenomena of the northern areas. Taftan has four peaks, the highest of which rises 4,150 m above sea level and still produces sulphurous fumes. Generally speaking, the entire summit of the Taftan complex is still in a state of gaseous sulphur-producing activity. As stated earlier, Tertiary sediments form the basic structures, but these have been heavily intruded and contorted by semi-acid lavas such as trachyte. However, there are beds of alkaline lava (andesite) as well. As a result of the volcanic activity of Taftan, extensive outflows of semi-alkaline lava covers much of the lower slopes. In adjoining areas, many crevices and clefts have been formed in the Tertiary layers, as a result of volcanic tremors. From some of these clefts warm mineral (sulphurous) springs flow out.

In general, the Taftan volcanic series consist of light, porous, and soft material scattered over a wide area. As a result of earlier, heavier rainfall, much erosion has taken place, leading to the formation of high peaks, surrounded by great amounts of alluvial sediments. These sediments are graded : they include large boulders at

the foot of the mountains, but gradually change into layers of soft silt and clay in the plains. These sediments are quite absorbent and are fed by torrential waters in the area of the boulders, in addition to underground seepage from the mountain crests. It is clear that all the qanats and wells in the Khash area are fed from these sources.

There are three large plains around Taftan :

1. the Mirjaveh-and-Tahlab plain on the east of Taftan and along the border of Pakistan, with an approximate area of 470,000 hectares,
2. the Khash and Poshtkooch plains on the south with an approximate area of 100,000 hectares : 60,000 hectares for the Khash plain and 40,000 hectares for Poshtkooch plain,
3. On the west, there are the Gowhar-kooch plain, with an approximate area of 110,000 hectares; and the Tomp and Chah-qeibi plains, 140,000 hectares in area.

Our area of study is located on the eastern part of Taftan (the villages of Sangān, Pavel, Gazak, Gorz) just where the Gazzoo plain (Khash-Poshtkooch) begins. Although the area is not located wholly in the plain, it has the same characteristics of the plain as regards type of soil, degree of declivity and drainage pattern. On the west of the Taftan summits (Koosheh dehestan), particularly in Tamandan village, which has been part of our studies, the area becomes mountainous.

Types of Soil

The main characteristics of soil in the Khash area are erosion, salinity and high gravel content. The soils generally have a light to intermediate texture with rapid to medium absorbability. The soil is basically alluvial.

As regards the classification of soil for irrigation purposes there are no first rate lands in Sangan and Gazzoo plains. But there are 21,000 hectares second rate lands, accounting for 47% of the total area, and 25% of the area consists of third rate lands. These lands are moderately suitable for irrigation, though the presence of, together with liability to erosion by the strong winds and by water outwash, are marked limitations.

Since no formal surveys have been carried out in our area of study the writer has attempted a personal classification of local soils, as follows :

1. In mountainous areas the lands contain some very coarse sedimentary soil, as well as regolith. These lands are not suitable for agriculture because they are stony and absolutely barren, with little ability to hold water.
2. Fine sedimentary soils that are relatively suitable for agriculture and their texture varies from clay-limonite to limonite. There are moderate amounts of organic materials but inorganics, especially phosphorus, are very scarce in them. Supposedly, the soil of the village of Tamandān is of this category.

3. Regolith soils that are saline with varying pH. These soils are suitable for cultivation of fruit trees, pastures, and cereals. The soils of the village Sangān are supposed to be mostly of this kind.

Climate*

Climatic conditions in Sistan and Baluchestan province depend directly on the altitude, with mountainous areas enjoying more rainfall and cooler weather than the plains.

Available statistics on climatic conditions of Sistan and Baluchestan province do not provide a comprehensive and perfect account of climatic and weather conditions of the area because of insufficient recording stations. Those that exist have not been long established. However, they do provide some information and we have no other choice but to make use of these data.*

* All the information provided in this section is based on the following two reports:

1. Summary climatic statistics of synoptic stations of Iran; National Meteorological Organization, 1974.
2. Meteorology yearbook, National Meteorological Organization, 1970.

Temperature

Sistan region

Here it is warm and dry. The temperature in this shahrestan can exceed over 50° . As it is a level plain without hills and mountains, there is little difference in climatic conditions between different parts of Sistan. Average maximum temperature in the warmest month in Zabol City is 40.9°C ; and the average minimum temperature in the coldest month of the year is $+1.5^{\circ}\text{C}$. Strong winds that blow during spring and summer make the severe heat in Sistan more moderate and tolerable.

Although Sistan is located in the north of the province, it is warmer than in Zahedan because of its low altitude. In 1974, the maximum absolute temperature in Zabol was $+49^{\circ}\text{C}$ and the minimum absolute temperature minus 9°C . Average temperature in this City during the same period was 21.7°C , Zabol had 25 frosty days during the same year. Nevertheless, Zabol is one of the warmest cities in the province.

Zahedan shahrestan (Zahedan, Taftan, Khash)

Temperature rises sharply in this area during summer. But, in general, it is cold and dry in winter, warm in summer near the desert but more temperate around Taftan. Average annual temperature is 17.8°C in Zahedan, 18.5°C in Khash, and 22°C in Mirjaveh. Despite intense heat in the Mirjaveh and Tahlab plains, it is cooler in this shahrestan in general than any other place in the province, particularly in the Taftan mountain zone. Average number of

frosty days per year is 54 in Zahedan. Average minimum temperature in Zahedan is +0.1°C and average maximum 36.8°C. During the years 1961-1971, the maximum absolute temperature in Zahedan was +42.6°C and the minimum minus 14°C. It was remarkable that in the winter of 1972 the minimum absolute temperature in this city fell to minus 22°C, corresponding to minus 8°F.

The following tables show the average temperature in selected places of Zahedan shahrestan during certain periods of time.

Average monthly temperature in Zahedan
1965-75 (°C)

Temp.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Average	6.14	9	14.5	19.5	23.8	27.2	27.8	26	22	17.4	12.2	8.3
Minimum	-2.3	0.9	7.2	11.6	15.8	18.5	19.2	16.2	11.9	5.2	2.7	-0.3
Maximum	11.8	15.2	22.3	27.5	32.8	36.4	36.7	34.9	31.7	27	22.3	15.6

Average monthly temperature in Mirjaveh
1966-74 (°C)

Temp.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Average	7.1	12.2	18.4	23.4	27.5	32.8	33.2	32	27.5	22.6	16.8	11.2
Minimum	-6.1	-3.2	3.6	8.3	12.8	18.6	21	18.5	12	7.5	1.8	-5.6
Maximum	16.5	20	27	32	36	41.4	41.6	40.4	37.3	33	26.7	19.4

Average monthly temperature in Khash 1966-71
and Carevandar 1966-72 (°C)

Temp.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Khash	6.2	8.1	15	19.5	23.8	27.9	28.9	27.3	23.8	19.7	12.9	9.4
Carevan- dar	10.4	11	16	19.4	25	28.8	29.8	29	24.5	21.1	17	10.8

Iranshahr Shahrestan (Iranshahr, Bam-poor, Jazmoorian, Dalgan):

Owing to the low altitude in Dāmen, Abtar, Irānshahr, Bam-poor, Dalgān, Fannooj, Maskootān, and Jazmooriān, it is warm in summer and temperate in winter in these places. But the mountainous areas of Bazmān, Kooh-e-Khe-zr, Chānf, and Lāshār are temperate in summer and cold in winter. Average annual temperature is 26.2°C in Iranshahr and 24.1°C in Bam-poor. As indicated by these two figures, this is one of the warmest areas in Baluchestan. Average number of frosty days per year is only .9 in Iranshahr. Average maximum temperature 44.9°C and average annual minimum temperature 7.8°C. Maximum absolute temperature in Iranshahr over several certain years was 50.4°C and minimum absolute temperature was -1.4°C.

The following tables show the average temperature in selected places of Iranshahr shahrestan during certain periods of time.

Average monthly temperature in Iranshahr
1965-74 (°C)

Temp.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Average	14	14.8	22.1	26.6	31.9	36.7	37.1	36	32	27	20.8	15.5
Minimum	7	8.4	14.1	18.4	24.1	28.5	29.4	27.7	23.4	17.8	11.9	7.6
Maximum	21	21.1	30	34.8	41.2	45	44.7	44.2	40.6	35.9	29.6	23.4

Average monthly temperature in Bampoor
1966-72 (°C)

Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
11.7	14.4	19.5	23.9	30.2	33.7	34.8	33.2	29.1	25	18	15.2

Saravan shahrestan

In this area, Jālq, Nāhook, Koohak, and Bamposht are hot in summer and temperate in winter; Saravan, Zaboli, Ashār, Irafshan, and Sib-Sooran are hot in summer and cold in winter. An average of 11 days a year are frosty in Saravan, with mean annual maximum temperature 31.3°C and mean annual minimum temperature 10.6°C

Chahbahar shahrestan

This area is hot and humid in summer, with a very high temperature, and temperate in winter. Intense heat and consequent high humidity make summer weather intolerable in this area. Mean annual temperature in Chahbahar is

25.9°C, mean maximum temperature is 34.1°C and mean minimum temperature 15.4°C. Maximum absolute temperature in Chahbahar reached +46°C (116°F) and minimum absolute temperature was +9°C (49°F) during 1974.

The following table shows the average monthly temperature in Chahbahar during a certain period of time.

Average monthly temperature in Chahbahar
1965-75 (°C)

Temp.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Average	19.9	20.7	23.7	26	29.4	31.1	30.9	29.8	26.1	27.6	24.4	21.6
Minimum	14.6	14.7	19.1	22.1	25.3	27.2	27.7	27	25.1	21.5	18.5	16.8
Maximum	24.5	24.8	27.4	31.4	33.9	34.6	34	32.3	32.9	33.4	30.1	26.4

The above-mentioned statistics lead us to the conclusion that Iranshahr is the warmest area in this province and Iranshahr city is the warmest of all places with its mean annual temperature of 26.2°C (80°F) and mean maximum temperature of 44.9°C (114°F).

Rainfall

Amount of rain falling in different parts of the province are indicated in the following tables. As mentioned before, amount of rain falling in mountainous areas and highlands is far more than that falling in plains. These tables have been provided for four shahrestans separately. Unfortunately, no data were

available for the Sistan area. However, as previously discussed, Sistan is warm and dry, with very little rainfall. Amount of rain falling in Zabol during 1972 was only 52 mm, and 99 mm during 1974. Ironically, Zabol shahrestan has the highest rate of annual evaporation in the total province, about 4,948 mm.

Table No. III 1. Average monthly rainfall in selected places of Zahedan, Taftan, and Khash (mm)

Month Place	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Average annual	Period
Zahedan	29.8	22.3	14.2	13.1	5	0.5	3.2	0.6	0.1	0.2	7.6	11	107.6	1956-75
Khash	38.1	28.6	8.8	8.5	1.2	0.9	0.8	5.8	0.0	0.0	0.6	19.1	112.4	1967-72
Mirjaveh	19.8	8.7	7.7	4.1	2.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.3	3	47.9	1966-74
Bok	18.7	21	17.2	5.1	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	6	7.4	78.8	1968-72
Jonahad	33.5	23.1	20.6	14.8	3.2	0.7	0.0	1	0.0	0.0	3.8	7.7	108.4	1967-72
Mirabad of Zahedan	24.2	38.5	26.2	9	0.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	1.8	10.8	114.8	1967-72
Koosheh	46.1	46	27.4	13.1	2.3	2.7	1.2	4.1	1.4	0.9	1.8	15.6	162.6	1966-72
Carevandar	30.8	26.3	13.8	11.7	1.6	0.5	4	7.5	1.3	0.4	0.9	5.4	104.2	1967-72
Gowhar- kooch	47.5	5.5	49.3	31.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	2	139.6	1971-72
Cheshmeh Ziarat	21	42.4	24	13.6	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.3	3.1	10.1	122.6	1966-72
Mohammad- abad of koorin	22.3	23.5	14.4	11.5	0.0	2.2	0.9	1.8	0.0	0.0	3.8	11.7	92.1	1968-72

Table No. III 2 Average monthly rainfall in selected places of Iranshahr and Bampoor (mm)

Month Place	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Average annual	Period
Iranshahr	37.2	16.2	11	2.8	1.6	4.5	15.8	1.3	3.6	0.0	0.0	5.6	99.6	1965-75
Bampoor	19.2	14.1	8.3	3.6	0.1	0.3	1.9	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6	57.5	1966-72
Espakeh	19.3	23.5	13.5	5	1.3	0.5	17.2	0.4	0.7	0.0	1.4	3.1	85.9	1967-72
Chanf	43.3	44	24.3	11.7	6.2	5.3	21	4.3	4.8	0.0	2.5	8.5	175.9	1967-72
Sarbaz	28.2	22.6	18	3	4.1	8.7	21.3	9.3	17.6	0.0	0.4	15.3	148.5	1967-70

Table No.III.3 Average monthly rainfall in selected places of Saravan (mm)

Place \ Month	Month												Average annual	Period
	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.		
Saravan	23.9	16.9	7.9	8.1	4.9	0.0	1.3	0.9	0.1	0.0	3.1	6.4	73.5	1958-72
Zaboli	21.6	18.7	14.4	2.5	2.5	2.7	7.2	2.4	1.6	0.0	1.3	5.4	80.3	1967-72
Gosht	17.2	37.3	10.1	6.5	1.8	1.9	0.3	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.6	4.6	81.1	1966-72
Paskooh	21.2	22.8	11.8	2.8	0.9	1.9	7.1	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	6.2	76.9	1967-72
Ashar	33.6	17.2	14.3	6.5	7	3	27.2	18	21.7	0.0	2.5	12.2	163.2	1967-72

Table III 4 Average monthly rainfall in selected places of Chahbahar area (mm)

Month Place	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Average annual	Period
	Chahbahar	44.6	20.3	8.5	4.8	0.0	0.0	6.9	3.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	9.7	100.7
Bahoolcalat	23.6	19.2	11.5	5.5	0.1	0.0	4.2	2.8	0.5	0.5	4.7	20.8	93.4	1961-69
Nikshahr	25.6	25.7	15.9	6	0.8	8.3	4.4	12.5	0.7	0.8	0.3	19.2	120.2	1967-72
Qasreqand	37.4	29.8	11.6	3.1	1.3	1.2	34.8	15.3	8	0.8	5.8	11.2	160.3	1967-72

Table No III 5

Maximum annual rainfall in 24 hours, (mm)

Year	Zahedan	Khash	Mirjaveh	Mirabad of Zahedan	Koosheh	Mohammad- abad of Coorin	Chesmeh- ziarat	Jonabad	Bok	Gohar kooch
1965	12	-	10.2	17	37.5	-	31	-	-	-
1966	25.4	19.6	8	22	14	-	25	-	-	-
1967	29	38.5	20	49	71.5	50.5	30	34	24.5	-
1968	18.2	15.8	11	20	27.5	20.5	24	13	13	-
1969	18.2	28.6	23	30	39	22	30.5	16	31	20
1970	11.3	14.5	7.5	9	10.5	13	29	9	6	14
1971	11.8	43.5	8.5	24	28	8.5	11	12	11	23

Humidity

Zahedan, Khash and Mirjaveh like most inland areas have in general very low humidity because they are distant from the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea. Monsoonal winds from the Indian ocean do not penetrate inland. Khash is almost always somewhat more humid than Zahedan, which is in turn more humid than Mirjaveh. Thus Mirjaveh has the lowest humidity of the three synoptic stations : during five months of the year (from May to September) its humidity is about 20%.

Average monthly humidity decreases considerably from the beginning of spring. In Khash, in particular, the average monthly humidity in March is 19% less than that of February.

Because of inland location, Iranshahr, Bampoor, and Carevandar are not affected by air-masses from the Indian Ocean. Relative humidity in Iranshahr is most often below 50%.

The most humid region include Chahbahar and the coastal parts of the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea. In Chahbahar, humidity is over 80% during June, July, August, and October. As would be expected, areas located between the coastal region and Iranshahr are intermediate as regards humidity : maximum humidity occurs in September and is about 67%. Relevant figures for Nikshahr are 50-70% with maximum in January at 71%. Humidity in Saravan is 50-65% with the most humid month January.

Table No. III 6 Average Relative Humidities

		Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Per year
Zahedan	1966-70	42.8	54.5	39.4	34.7	26.7	23.2	23.5	25.4	29.2	33.2	39	46.7	34.9
Khash	1966-70	49	56	37	36.4	34	33	31.2	31.6	27.4	36.8	43.8	51.4	39
Mirjaveh	1966-70	40.9	50.8	35.1	27.2	20.6	21.8	19.6	20.7	19.9	23.1	28.2	39	28.9
Iranshahr	1966-72	48.6	47.7	37.3	31.1	25.2	23.4	26	28.9	26.7	27.2	34.8	42	33.2
Bampoor	1966-72	56.9	55	46	37.8	26.3	27.6	31.9	32.5	27.9	31.4	35.6	49.6	38.2
Carevandar	1966-72	55.7	50.7	48.1	43.8	28.6	28.4	27.3	22.6	31.3	33.3	31.6	39	36.7
Chahbahar	1963-69	69.9	74.7	79.2	78.2	77.6	83	81.9	83.2	82.8	80.9	70	74	77.9
Sarbaz	1966-69	55.2	68.3	54.7	49.3	38	48	59.1	64.6	66.8	52.9	52.5	53.2	55.2
Nikshahr	1966-69	71.1	70.7	59.4	56.3	47.9	52.7	58.6	58.8	49.3	62.1	60.1	59	58.8
Saravan	1957-69	64.7	62.7	60.5	61.4	62.4	50.6	50.7	50.8	50.8	52.9	47.6	58.6	56.1

Seasonal changes

Seasonal changes in weather conditions are quite marked, and also vary considerably in different areas of the province. In the Chahbahar region, spring begins with a mild weather, but is soon succeeded by the most unfavourable month of the year (the last month of spring), when life becomes very difficult due to high humidity (83%). In summer, humidity decreases and temperature does not exceed 31°C . During autumn, the weather becomes more favourable, and as winter arrives the best season in Chahbahar begins, with temperatures rarely falling below 19°C . Trees are green throughout the year and native flowers can be seen everywhere. This is the reason why the place has been called Chahbahar (= Four springs).

Spring begins in Iranshahr with warm weather (35°C), that temperature reaches 45°C in June. This is the highest temperature and the warmest month. Fortunately, humidity does not exceed 23% in June. The Baluches say that it is in this month that dates begin to mature. Summer is also very warm in Iranshahr and temperature fluctuates between 44°C - 40°C . From October, it begins to get more tolerable and the later months of autumn bring the most favourable season in Iranshahr. In winter the weather is still agreeable with temperatures not dropping below 21°C .

Zahedan has a rather cool spring in comparison with Iranshahr and Chahbahar, as also do Zabol and Saravan.

Winds

Major currents that affect Baluchestan are -

1. An air-stream originating over the low pressure centre of the NW Indian Ocean in summer. This is the monsoonal air stream, and blows from June to August. Along the Mokran coast, it is humid, and can occasionally bring rainfall, even inland, which may be torrential locally. This wind is known in coastal areas as the Sharqi.
2. An air-stream originating from the winter high-pressure zone of central Asia. Initially dry, it may pick up moisture from the Caspian and Aral seas, and thus bring rainfall to Baluchestan.
3. West winds originating over the Atlantic and Mediterranean, and characteristic of winter. Mixing with warmer (southerly) air masses, and the cold central Asian mass brings most of the winter rainfall to Iran (including Baluchestan).
4. North - and north-westerly winds that prevail inland in summer, especially over Sistan. An especially vigorous current may develop that reaches speeds of 35-120 km per hour. This is the well-known 'Wind of 120 Days' that is a major affliction within the region.

In general, winds are strong throughout the year : the abundance of blown sand, dune accumulation, and visible evidence of sub-aerial erosion are clear indication of this.



However, the 120-Day Wind begins to sweep Zabol from the second month of spring, and it makes life inconvenient during this time. But, it is this wind that makes life in Zabol tolerable during the summer. Summer is not too hot in Zahedan. Despite the hot sunshine, it is cool at night. In Zabol and Saravan, temperature exceeds 40°C but it remains very warm at night. By the beginning of autumn, the temperature starts to fall. In Zahedan, it is cold in winter and the number of frosty days is as many as 60. Zahedan is the only region in the whole of Sistan and Baluchestan province where heaters are needed in the winter.

The most favourable seasons to travel and work in Baluchestan are autumn and winter. It is very pleasant during these two seasons all over the area and one can even sleep in the open in Chahbahar, Dashtyari, and Iranshahr. On the contrary, from May onwards travelling and working in Baluchestan and Sistan are very difficult. The author remembers how the sand rose under a blazing sun and even breathing was difficult. In addition to the hot weather, moving sand and the 120-Day Wind must be endured in Zabol. Due to the hot weather, the night must be spent in the open where the wind blows all the time, but it produces continuous rising sand, which even in sleep one must learn to tolerate.

The Local Climate around Kooh-e-Taftan

There is a climatology station in Khash, but no synoptic station. There is also a rain-gauge in the village Koosheh of Koosheh dehestan (rural district). It is clear that in Sistan and Baluchestan rainfall and temperature are closely related to altitude. Thus, the area around Taftan, and the mountain foot in particular, is quite cold in winter and temperate in summer.

1. Rainfall :

Taftan mountain foot in general has the highest amount of rainfall per year, as compared with other places of the province. It snows at the peak of the mountain during some months of the year. In 1972, for example, there was snow on Taftan peak from January to mid-April. The cause of this is quite clear : Taftan is high enough to experience orographical rain from air masses coming from the Oman sea. In the Koosheh station, the highest in altitude with a rain-gauge, the average rainfall for the six-year period of 1966-1971 was 168mm (5.7 inches). The average annual rainfall in general is about 150 mm in this area, which is much higher than that for the total province, where the average rainfall in most parts has hardly exceeded 100 mm. It must be noted that the amount of rainfall in Taftan heights usually reaches 200 mm during winter. The average monthly rainfall in other parts of the province for the period 1964-73 are as follows :

	(mm)
Zabol	50.3
Zahedan	106.0

	(mm)
Iranshahr	80.5
Saravan	93.2
Chahbahar	87.9

Local inhabitants speak about the climate of their area as follows : The normal rainfall season begins in mid-December and lasts till mid-March. During this 3-month period, approximately six periods of 12-24 hour rains occur, with shorter periods as well. During dry years, winds and storms are more frequent and do great damage to crops and trees.

Autumn rain (unreliable) is useful for livestock. Rain can occur during summer, and at times destroys summer crops. In August 1976 torrential rain caused a severe flood that carried away a woman, seven tents, a flock of sheep and goats in front of tents, and destroyed two mud-brick houses. Summer rain destroys winter forage as well. It can wash away the grass whose roots are still too weak to hold them tightly to the ground. So far as they can remember, about once every seven years, no rain falls and there is a drought. In these years, winds and storms are more severe and frequent. During the last drought, these storms destroyed several trees in Sangam. Summer rains usually fall unexpectedly, with no forewarning. If this rain coincides with crop cutting season, the damage will be considerably greater. Autumn rain destroys the forage that had been dried to be stored as winter food for flocks. But, at the same time, it causes more grass to grow. Therefore, it does less damage than summer rain.

There is snow every year. Locals remember that four years ago it snowed for 30 hours, and when it stopped, the snow cover was one metre deep.

There are two certain periods in the 3 months of winter when people more expect it to rain. One is when the moon is nearest to Pleiades, and the other when the moon and the Scorpion come close together. During these two periods people prepare themselves for rain and cold.

2. Temperature

According to the data provided by the Meteorology Organization, the temperature of Khash and Zahedan for the period 1964-71 was as follows :

Minimum temperature	-15.8°C
Maximum temperature	42.8°C
Average minimum	- 0.1°C
Average maximum	35.8°C

The mean annual temperature for each climatology station in the whole province was as follows :

Zahedan	17.82°C
Khash	18.5°C
Mirjaveh	22 °C
Carevandar	20.2°C
Bampoor	24.1°C
Iranshahr	26.2°C
Chahbahar	25.9°C

The average number of days per year when the average temperature is below 25°C in each station had been as follows :

Khash	260 days
Mirjaveh	210 days
Zahedan	280 days
Carevandar	210 days
Iranshahr	160 days
Bampoor	150 days

Also, the number of frosty days in our area of study is more than in other places of the province.

Number of frosty days per year:

Zahedan	54 days
Iranshahr	0.9 days
Saravan	11 days

3. Surface and Underground Waters of the Taftan area :

In our area of study, surface waters are very scarce. There is only one small river, called Mehran-rood, which occurs at Tamandān in Koosheh dehestan. This stream runs almost dry during late summer and autumn, but has sufficient flow to supply the inhabitants of the area with water for their crops during the remaining months. This river originates from springs rising in an area called "Bar-āb" of the Taftan heights.

The underground waters of the Taftan area are generally highly acid owing to the volcanic strata of the aquifers. It is, therefore, hardly possible to drill a deep or semi-deep well and plant installations and motors, because the installations will soon corrode and wear out. It is of frequent and regular occurrence that motors, pumps, and pipes of constructed wells have worn out. Thus, qanats with stone lining, and their regular dredging, are of utmost significance in this area. The abundance of qanats in the area and the

fact that the people themselves have little inclination towards drilling wells (given the obstacles) show that they have selected the correct means of irrigation, through their traditional ways. Besides sulphates, the underground waters are contaminated to a varying extent by sodium, calcium and carbonates. Even when available, therefore, local water cannot always be used for agriculture.

Sources of Information

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Water Supply

Most cultivated areas in Sistan and Baluchestan are irrigated. The small amount of rainfall as well as its variability in different years gives little possibility for non-irrigated cultivation (dry farming).

Total cultivated area in this province in 1973 was 135,838 hectares of which 23,172 hectares - only 17% of the total cultivated lands - were non irrigated. (1)

In Sistan, all the lands are primarily drained by the river Hirmand and dry farming is not practical at all (2) Therefore, dry farming is only practical in Baluchestan, but even here, farming is mostly dependent on artificial irrigation.

There are no underground water reservoirs in Sistan. Lake Hirmand and its branches irrigate the area. In the past before the Afghans constructed a dam across the Hirmand system, much more water reached Sistan. Now two small dams have been constructed in Iran to prevent, as much as possible, wastage of the water from Hirmand that still arrives in Sistan. One of these two dams is on the Iran-Afghanistan border called Cahac (3) and the other one is called Zahac located at the south-eastern area of Zabol several kilometres from the border. Water from the

(1) Agricultural Census, first stage, 1973; Statistical Centre of Iran, Report No. 613.

(2) Camyab Report on Sistan, p. 33.

(3) The Cahac dam is 68.30 m in length, 8.3 m in height, the Zahac dam is 53.4 m in length and 8.3 m in height.

river is divided by the latter dam into three large channels, each to irrigate a part of Sistan. Due to slight topographical variations in some parts of Sistan, water from the river cannot irrigate the land by direct flow : lift is necessary. Motor-pumps have been installed, and, wherever they occur, development is more conspicuous and farming more flourishing.

Irrigation and Water Distribution

A Sistan Regional Water Organization with three divisions (areas of Miankangee, Shib-ab, and Posht-ab) is responsible for water distribution, dredging of main channels, and collecting water-dues. The rate charged for direct flow water is 150 rials for every Sahm (share = 4 hectares) of cultivated land. In places where water is utilized by means of pumps, water-rate is 800 rials per each hectare of winter crops, and 110 rials per hectare for summer crops. A chief irrigation-worker, selected by the inhabitants of relevant villages, is responsible for the distribution of water among villages, while a worker chosen by the locals is responsible for distribution of water at village level.

The main method of irrigating cereals in this area is the semi-drowning method. For this, the land is trenched by deep furrows separated by puddled clay borders. In time of irrigation, these channels are filled with water to a depth depending on type of cultivated crop, and ranging from 50 to 250 mm. The quantity of water spent in each irrigation is 500-2,500 cu m per hectare. This irrigation system is primitive : besides difficulties over variation in

level, the span of time between irrigations is not satisfactory due generally to lack of water and water requirements of most crops are rarely met at the proper time. Thus yield per hectare is low.

However, the situation is different in Baluchestan. In fact, water for agricultural purposes is mainly supplied from underground aquifers tapped by wells and qanats. In this part of the province, there is no river comparable with the Hirmand. The Bampoor is the only perennial river in Baluchestan that runs through Iranshahr shahrestan (urban district). Such rivers as exist are seasonal and can only be utilized for a short span of time a year because of low rainfall and extensive evaporation.

There is no permanent river in Zahedan and most water for irrigation is supplied from wells and qanats, with the Rivers Koosheh, Irandegan, and Sangan in Khash are utilized in a small extent. As regards underground water reservoirs, Khash is better off than the other shahrestans of Sistan and Baluchestan province.⁽¹⁾ In addition to the stream at Bampoor, there are several other seasonal rivers in the Iranshahr region, the most important of which are the Damen and Sarbaz. A dam has been constructed on the river Bampoor to divert the river's course to irrigate Bampoor dehestan (rural district).

In Saravan and Chahbahar, water for farming is supplied from rivers, qanats, and wells, while in parts of

(1) Camyab report : Khash.

coastal Baluchestan, flood waters are also utilized for irrigation. The system (like that of soil cultivation in Southern Arabia) involves constructing rough dams to retain flood water, which covers alluvial patches for some time and saturate^s them. After the water has been absorbed, cultivation is possible.

Different measures and methods, called by different local names, are adopted in different areas for distribution of water from rivers, qanats and wells. But, in general, distribution of water in all areas is based on time units. The period of time required by any source of water to irrigate all the lands of water-share owners is called a "turn of water", which may last 14 days or even more. Every 12-hour water output is called one "beel". If the "turn of water" for a qanat is 7 days and nights, its water output will be reckoned as 14 beels. Individual entitlement to water is on a basis of so many beels.

As shortage of water in Baluchestan is severe, water-ownership is highly important. There are several plots of fertile land in most parts of Baluchestan that must be left as waste due to the lack of water. Hence, it is the water-ownership that is most important: more so than land-ownership.

Nowadays, construction of deep and semi-deep wells in the areas that can tap underground aquifers is greatly developing. Each well is constructed by several persons who have some shares in its water-output proportional to the shares they have had in its expenses. Here, too, the

water output is measured by the number of days and nights for a "turn of water", or beel, and it is distributed among shareholders proportional to their shares.

In the past, hand-operated wells were also utilized in Baluchestan : water was drawn by means of buckets. This type of irrigation is no longer practised because the cost of human labour is now too great. Although there has been much investment (private and governmental) in well-digging, it must be noted that this method of irrigation implies risk. During irrigation, there can be considerable danger due to mechanical breakdown. Spare parts are very scarce in Baluchestan and skilled workers are lacking. Consequently the farmer has to travel to Zahedan for replacement, which may take several days. There is no organization responsible for maintenance, repair, or provisions of spare parts. Motors are of various brands and 'makes'. Thus the farmer can be left helpless during the growing season and it is impossible for him to import spare parts from Teheran in time. As a result, both the cultivation and the capital invested in the well may be lost. This problem will be prevalent in the area so long as no skilled organization is set up to undertake the task of maintenance, repair, provision of spare parts and standardization of motors.

Such problems will never arise in the case of qanats. As in other parts of the country, qanats are the traditional means of drainage in Baluchestan. Number of qanats in this province were reported in 1972 as :

Number of Qanats in Sistan and Baluchestan
(data from Provincial Dept.of Agriculture)

Shahrestan.	No. of qanat systems	No. of villages served
Zahedan	98	343
Khash	193	391
Saravan	225	474
Iranshahr	500	784
Chahbahar	144	505
Zabol	None	

As can be understood from this table, each qanat system supplies about 3 villages, which is an indication of the important part the qanats play in this region. It must be mentioned that a considerable number of these qanats are out of service due to either the poverty of villagers who cannot afford the cost of dredging and rebuilding, which have greatly increased. Some qanats have dried up because of drought others are not used because the population has migrated. However, if any responsible organization could rehabilitate damaged qanats, the effects of this undertaking would be conspicuous for the increase of agricultural products and wellbeing of rural inhabitants.

Drought cycles

The longest and the most large-scale drought to hit Baluchestan in the past 20 years began during 1960, and lasted till 1966. This drought affected a large portion of Baluchestan extending from the coast, Dashtyari, Jalq and Fannooj, Sarbaz, Ahooran, Iranshahr to the vicinities of Khash. In the course of this drought, farming was severely damaged and the inhabitants greatly distressed. The author witnessed this drought. He saw villagers sacrificing their cows in traditional religious ceremonies to pray for rain. Womenfolk (as responsible for domestic water) dug trenches by the dry river-beds in search of a few trickles of water to drink. As a result of this drought many farmers left their villages and migrated to other parts of the area and to the Emirates. In this way, a good number of villages were completely evacuated, some permanently.

For the Sistan area, 1971 was a year not to be forgotten : the river Hirmand ran dry, as did Lake Hamoon. The reeds growing around the lake dried up and wild animals living in the reeds died. Vineyards and fruit orchards and farms dried up. Rural inhabitants, unable to find water for their livestock, were forced to sell them off very cheaply. Many farmers from Sistan migrated to Gorgan and Gonbad. Due to the loss of vegetation and trees, moving sand covered many houses and villages, particularly in the Miankangee area. Sistan has not yet been able to recover from this drought.

In 1972 a heavy snow fell on Baluchestan. Some Baluches, especially in the south, who had never seen snow in their whole lifetime were terrified. This snow caused a great loss of livestock and great damage to the people. The day after the snow fell, the author went to Teheran to ask for help from government authorities. But the government was not able to help them due to the large extent of the area and scattered population distribution. Even though the following spring was very favourable, and most of the area was covered by vegetation this did not compensate for the loss caused by the snow.

In 1975 another drought hit a part of Baluchestan on a smaller scale. It was limited to Dashtyari. This time the government was able to organise transport of water to the area by tanker.

Flora

Because of the low level of existence, edible and medicinal plants and herbs form an important supplement to diet, especially for the nomadic societies. Some consideration of the plants that occur in Sistan and Baluchestan is given here.

Edible wild plants include :

1. Potrunk
2. Balir
3. Nisrik
4. Bandik
5. Dahlok : It has leaves that have a 'hot' taste and is eaten with bread or alone, as a relish.
6. Pimaluk, which has the same flavour as spring onion. Its root and stem are eaten.
7. Bench : This is the fruit of a tree that grows in mountains. It is similar to a small wild plum.
8. Kasur
9. Earthnut : It is bitter. Before eating, it is left in water for a few hours to reduce its bitterness.
10. Wild fig.

Self-growing medicinal plants include :

1. Goldar : The juice of its boiled leaves is used to cure malaria and arthritic pains.
2. Mor : The juice of its boiled leaves is used for stomach pains.
3. Dramneh : The juice of its boiled leaves is an aperient.
4. Kalpureh : The juice of its boiled or stewed dried leaves is used to cure diarrhoea.
5. Zambul is used for stomach pains.

6. Sadaf or Sedab is used to cure colds and pneumonia.
7. Ezgend : The juice of its boiled leaves is used to cure colds.
8. Puchenk : Its flowers are eaten raw to cure diarrhoea and the juice of its boiled roots is a laxative.
9. Budkoh : The juice of its boiled leaves is used to cure diarrhoea in children.
10. Korgaz : They dig a pit in which they burn the dry leaves of this plant. Then the person who is suffering from fever or pain in the bones sits in the pit and they cover him over, leaving his head out.
11. Nadag : This is used to cure temporary paralysis of hands or legs. The method is the same as for Korgaz.
12. Bid is used to treat malaria, and the method is the same as above.

Cultivated Crops

There are great differences in the quality and amount of data provided by different sources : official and otherwise. For example, according to data provided by the Statistical Centre of Iran for 1973, the area under wheat in total province in this year was 51,966 hectares; whereas the General Department of Agriculture of Sistan and Baluchestan province estimated the area under wheat in 1974 at 143,485 hectares. It is improbable that the area under wheat should have increased from 1973 to 1974 to almost three times as much, even though climatic fluctuation can cause great fluctuation in crop yields. Further it must be noted that the figures of the Statistical Centre of Iran relate to a particular single year which has been carefully surveyed; and in the author's view can be taken as reliable. On the other hand, the report of the General Department of Agriculture considers the capacity of production in general, with the objective mainly to attract the attention of authorities in Teheran, who, it is hoped, will provide possibilities to increase production in the area. Keeping these points in mind, both the reports can be useful statements.

Production of wheat for the total province in 1973 is reported ⁽¹⁾ to have been 96,280 tons, whereas the S.C.I. gave a figure of 36,691 tons. The same explanation holds. The Planning and Budget Organization report estimates the ultimate production that it is planned to

(1) Sixth Development Plan, Planning and Budget Organization.

achieve, while the S.C.I. reports on the actual production of a certain year. This shows how great can be the difference between planning targets and real output - a very important matter in Iran.

However, in order to show some quantitative aspects of agriculture in Sistan and Baluchestan, one must make studies on the basis of data provided both by the Statistical Centre of Iran and the General Department of Agriculture. It should be recalled that the greatest difference in data provided by these two sources occurs for wheat; they are less different in respect of other crops. Moreover, data provided by the S.C.I. is for total province and no information is given in this respect for the shahrestans (urban districts) separately.

Area under crops

As already stated, agriculture does not enjoy much prosperity in Sistan and Baluchestan province due to several causes, the most important of which is shortage of water. According to data provided by the S.C.I. for 1973, there were a total of 135,838 hectares of agricultural land in this province and 17,293,638 hectares in Iran as a whole. Therefore this province, with an area of 181,578 sq km - 10.7% of the area of total country - had only 0.7% of the country's cultivable area.

Table No.III 7, that has been drawn on the basis of data provided by the S.C.I. shows the area under crops, the amount of production, and yield per hectare of different crops under irrigated and unirrigated (dry) farming methods.

Table No. III 7 Area under crops, amount of products, and yield per hectare in Sistan and Baluchestan province; Agricultural Census of 1973

Type of crop	Total			Irrigated			Unirrigated		
	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare
Wheat	51,966	36,991	711	49,653	36,117	727	2,313	874	377
Barley	5,701	4,412	773	5,486	4,318	787	215	94	436
Rice (paddy)	1,922	4,130	2,148	1,922	4,130	2,148	-	-	-
Other cereals	5,287	-	-	3,565	-	-	1,722	-	-
Other grains	1,574	-	-	782	-	-	792	-	-
Tobacco	170	181	1,066	170	181	1,066	-	-	-
Summer crops	6,275	-	-	6,217	-	-	57	-	-
Onions	562	2,653	4,720	562	2,653	4,720	-	-	-

Cont/

Table No. III 7 (cont.)

Type of crop	Total			Irrigated			Unirrigated		
	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare
Tomato	203	1,337	6,573	203	1,337	6,573	-	-	-
Other vegetables	440	-	-	440	-	-	-	-	-
Alfalfa esparcet (dried)	1,630	9,392	5,759	1,630	9,392	5,759	-	-	-
Clover	301	430	1,426	301	430	1,426	-	-	-
Other forage	354	-	-	250	-	-	104	-	-
Other annual crops	100	-	-	93	-	-	6	-	-

As indicated in the table, cultivation of wheat holds the first rank among crops cultivated. Next in order is barley. Another point to be clearly shown in this table is the insignificant area allotted to unirrigated farming, the reasons and ratios of which have already been discussed.

Rice is also cultivated in the areas that enjoy sufficient water such as Chanf, Isa-abad; but it is not of high quality.

Alfalfa grows so rapidly and abundantly in this province that in Iranshahr they cannot harvest its seeds because if the plants are left to seed, they will grow so much that the stalks bend down and lie on the ground, soon rotting. It is claimed in a report ⁽¹⁾ that alfalfa is usually cut 12 times a year in this province. In Qasr-e-qand of Chahbahar shahrestan, it is cut as much as 18 times, which is unmatched in the whole of Iran.

Yield per hectare of alfalfa in this province is 5,759 kg, which is much higher than the corresponding average on national level; which is 3,977 kg. Only the yield per hectare of alfalfa in Esfahan (6,972 kg), Hamadan (6,809 kg) and Yazd (5,884 kg) are higher than that of Sistan and Baluchestan province.

Table No.III8 is also prepared on the basis of data provided by the S.C.I. to compare area under crops, amount of production, and yield per hectare of crops cultivated in Baluchestan with corresponding averages on national level.

(1) Camyab Report

Table No. III 8 Area under crops, amount of production, and yield per hectare in total country; Agricultural Census of 1973

Type of crop	Total			Irrigated			Unirrigated		
	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare
Wheat	6,325,033	4,545,933	718	1,571,939	2,288,677	1,455	4,753,094	2,257,255	474
Barley	1,655,892	1,157,810	699	345,361	499,068	1,445	1,310,531	658,741	502
Rice (paddy)	338,115	936,879	2,770	338,115	936,879	2,270	-	-	-
Other cereals	35,852	-	-	18,454	-	-	17,398	-	-
Other grains	90,454	-	-	35,451	-	-	55,002	-	-
Tobacco	2,302	2,312	1,004	2,300	2,312	1,005	2	-	-
Summer crops	254,647	-	-	131,849	-	-	122,797	-	-
Onions	21,242	205,099	9,655	18,592	195,461	10,512	2,649	9,638	3,637

Table III 8 (cont.)

Type of crop	Total			Irrigated			Unirrigated		
	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare
Tomato	27,815	284,708	10,235	25,062	268,697	10,720	2,752	16,010	5,816
Other vegetables	31,404	-	-	26,518	-	-	4,885	-	-
Alfalfa esparcet (dried)	284,936	1,133,275	3,977	268,723	1,100,931	4,096	16,212	32,343	1,994
Clover	51,091	168,170	3,291	49,583	163,972	3,307	1,508	4,197	2,783
Other forage	223,644	-	-	88,554	-	-	135,090	-	-
Other annual crops	56,392	-	-	35,956	-	-	20,436	-	-

As indicated in this table, the yield per hectare of all crops (except alfalfa and a kind of tobacco) cultivated in this province is lower than the average on national level. It is a manifestation of qualitative, in addition to quantitative backwardness of agriculture in this province.

The yield per hectare of wheat is 718 kg for the total country and 711 kg for this province. The difference will be more conspicuous if irrigated cultivation is taken into consideration. The yield per hectare of irrigated wheat on a national level was 1,455 kg in 1973 whereas the corresponding figure for Baluchestan was only 727 kg.

As already stated, the S.C.I. does not provide data for shahrestans separately. Hence, it is impossible to make a comparison between agricultural capacities of different areas. The great difference observed between different parts of the province in the field of agriculture has already been mentioned, but this difference cannot be quantified from the data provided by the S.C.I. for 1973. This problem can, however, be partially solved by data provided by the General Department of Agriculture of Sistan and Baluchestan province for 1974, which provides estimations for the cultivated area and amount of production of different crops for the six shahrestans separately. But, as discussed before, there is the general reservation about data provided by the General Department of Agriculture. Nevertheless, proportional difference as between shahrestans in the field of agriculture can be derived.

This table shows that of the total 143,485 hectares

Table No. III 9 Estimated data about cultivated and harvested area and amount of production of annual crops in different shahrestans of Sistan and Baluchestan province for 1974

Name of Shahrestan	Wheat		Barley		Rice		Corn		Grains		Onions	
	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production
Zahedan	2,400	2,280	100	100	-	-	40	60	5	15	12	72
Zabol	95,000	121,500	4,000	5,000	-	-	-	-	13	13.5	10	18
Khash	4,195	3,760	190	225	60	120	-	-	12	24	84	240
Iranshahr	36,500	24,000	500	400	1,350	3,375	-	-	400	645	200	1,000
Saravan	5,050	8,542	500	650	120	156	3,600	5,400	32.5	45.5	300	3,200
Chahbaher	340	340	140	120	700	850	-	-	500	505	40	350
Total province	143,485	160,422	5,430	6,495	2,230	5,401	3,640	5,460	962.5	1,248	646	4,880

Table No. III 9 (cont.)

Shahrestan	Vegetables		Summer crops		Tobacco		Forage		Oil plants		Potato	
	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production
Zahedan	16	32	210	1,470	-	-	220	2,200	-	-	6	20
Zabol	45	200	500	2,500	65	42	100	200	15	10	-	-
Khash	55	25	600	6,000	-	-	1,150	1,300	-	-	200	735
Iranshahr	30	90	500	5,000	1,700	2,000	800	560	150	225	-	-
Saravan	120	240	350	1,750	11	16.5	370	1,850	-	-	-	-
Chahbahar	10	5	12	80	50	50	15	110	-	-	-	-
Total province	276	592	2,172	16,800	1,826	2,108.5	2,655	6,220	165	235	206	755

of lands under wheat in the total province, 95,000 hectares or 66%, are located in Zabol shahrestan (Sistan area); while this part of the province is about 30,000 sq km in area accounting for only 16.7% of the total area of the province. 73% of the area under barley is also located in this shahrestan. The table also shows that a variety of different crops are cultivated in this area, though such a conspicuous difference with other parts of the province is not observed in the case of other crops.

It is also indicated in this table that the total area under annual crops in Sistan and Baluchestan province is 163,693.5 hectares, of which 99,748 hectares are located in Zabol shahrestan, which amount to 60.9% of the total cultivated area. The importance of this ratio will be greater when reminded that this shahrestan appropriates only 16.7% of the total province.

Next to Sistan, Iranshahr makes the largest contribution to agricultural production of the province. Iranshahr is the greatest producer of wheat, next to Zabol, and holds a high rank as a rice producer as well. Of the total 2,230 hectares of lands under rice in the total province, 1,350 hectares - 60.5% - are located in this shahrestan. Iranshahr also holds a high rank in production of varieties of grains, summer crops and forage. 93% of the areas under different kinds of tobacco in 1974 were also located in the Iranshahr area. In other words, of the total 2,108.5 tons of tobacco produced in

Sistan and Baluchestan province, 2,000 tons - 94.9% - were produced in Iranshahr.

Table No.III 10 , that has been prepared on the basis of Table No.III 9 , provides estimated area under crops for different shahrestans in 1974.

Table No. III 10

Estimated areas under annual crops in different shahrestans of the province in 1974.

	Zahedan	Zabol	Khash	Iranshahr	Saravan	Chahbahar	Total Province
Crops: Hectares	3,009	99,748	65,406	42,130	10,453.6	1,807	163,693
Percent- age of total provincial area by each shahrestan	1.9	60.9	4.0	25.7	6.4	1.1	100

The importance of the Hirmand and Bampur basins is clearly demonstrated

Fruit growing

Fruit growing in Sistan and Baluchistan province mostly involves date-palms. According to S.C.I. data, a total of 12,675 hectares of lands were under fruit trees in 1973, of which 9,547 hectares - 75.3% - were date-palm groves. Duties that must be performed in a date-palm grove include irrigation, trimming, weaving baskets to keep dates in and to protect them against heat and birds, and fertilizing pistils of female trees by artificial pollination.

Orchards of this province are studied on the basis of data provided by the S.C.I. for 1973 and the General Department of Agriculture.

Table No. III 11, shows area under crop, amount of production, and yield per hectare of fructiferous trees by irrigated and unirrigated areas separately. Several conclusions can be derived from this table : First, orchards in Sistan and Baluchistan are mostly irrigated, in fact, only 13.5% of date-palm groves are not irrigated. Citrus, grapes, and pistachio orchards are grown wholly by irrigation. Of the total 1,124 hectares under other fruit trees, only 52 hectares were unirrigated. Second, date growing is by far the predominant activity. Third, pistachio appropriates 955 hectares or 7.5% of total lands under orchards, and holds second rank next to the date-palm. Finally, we can make a comparison between yields per hectare of fruit reported in this table and the corresponding figure for the total country, which is

Table No. III 11 Area under fruit; and yield per hectare of irrigated and unirrigated fruit trees in Sistan and Baluchestan province (1973 Agricultural Census results)

Name of tree	Total			Irrigated			Unirrigated		
	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare	Area under crop	Amount of production	Yield per hectare
Date-palm	9,547	14,548	1,523	8,257	13,771	1,667	1,290	777	602
Citrus	273	-	-	273	-	-	-	-	-
Grapes	776	1,665	2,144	776	1,665	2,144	-	-	-
Pistachio	955	7	8	955	7	8	-	-	-
Other	1,124	-	-	1,072	-	-	52	-	-

reported in the same publication. Date yield per hectare was 1,531 kg in the whole country, and 1,523 kg in Baluchestan. The yield per hectare of grapes was 3,058 kg in the entire country and 2,144 kg in this province. Striking difference exists in the yield per hectare of pistachio, which is 389 kg in all Iran and only 8 kg in this province.

Again, data provided by the S.C.I. do not give any information for different shahrestans of the province. Therefore, statistics provided by the General Department of Agriculture are presented here to indicate proportional differences between the six shahrestans of this province.

Though poor in the production of other fruits, Zabol holds the first rank in its province for production of grapes : 60.6% of vineyards of the total province are located in Zabol shahrestan.

Among the shahrestans of Sistan and Baluchestan province, Iranshahr has the most extensive orchards. According to the following table, 83% of orange groves, almost 100% of lands under tangerines and satsumas, and 38% of the lands under other citrus fruits are located in this shahrestan, as well as 73% of date-palm groves, 60% of the area under pomegranate, fig and mulberry, and 36% being vineyards.

Fruit growing in other shahrestans is indicated in the same table. Among other shahrestans, Saravan has more date-palms and Chahbahar is significant in growing citrus

fruit and date-palms. Zahedan shahrestan is in general the poorest for fruit growing.

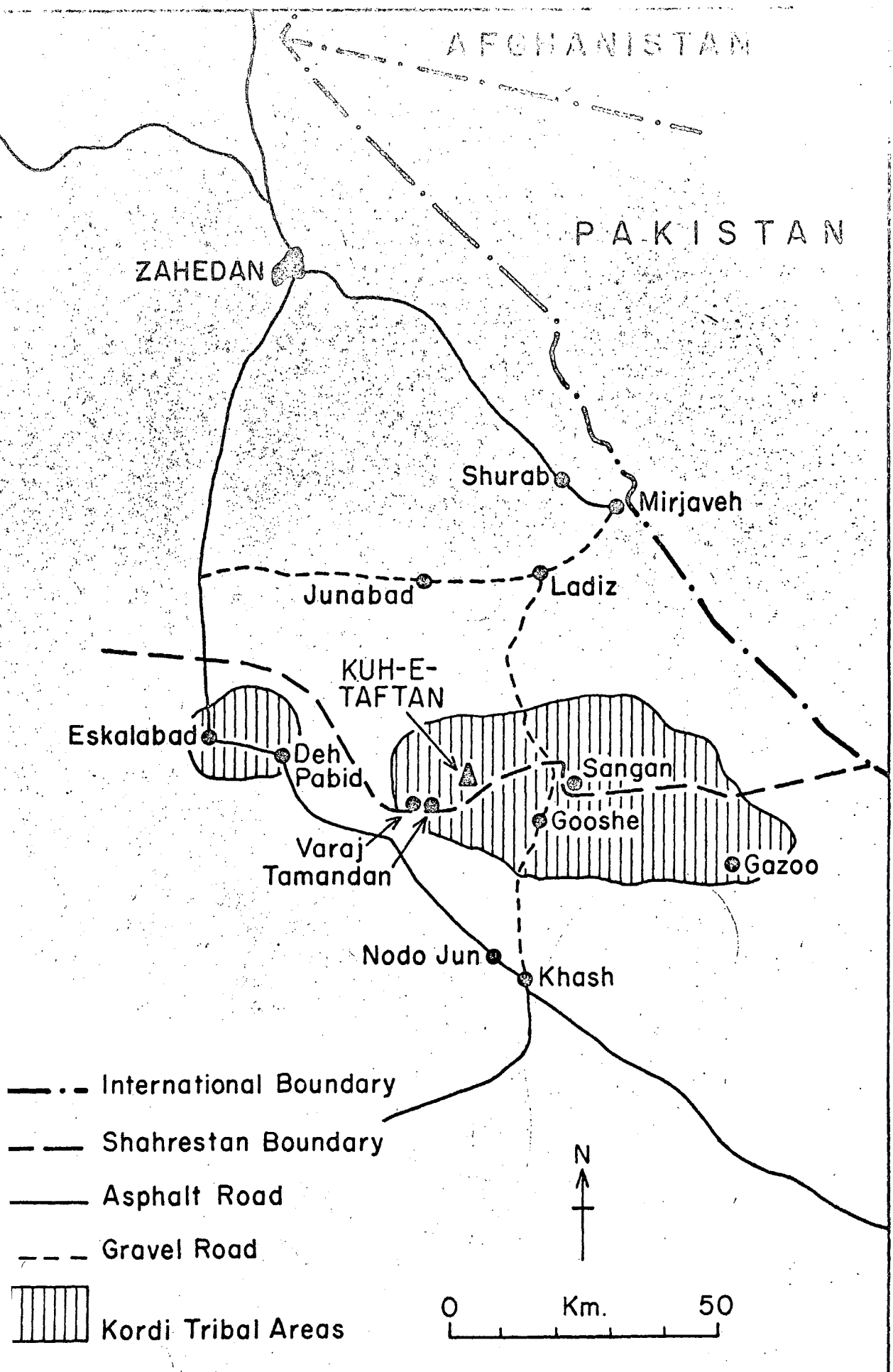
TABLE NO. III 12 Estimated area under permanent crops and amount of production in different Shahrestans of Sistan and Baluchestan province in 1974

Shahrestan	Orange		Satsuma		Other citrus		Apple		Pear		Almond	
	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production
Zahedan	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	45	-	-	-	-
Zabol	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	30	-	-	-	-
Khash	14	25	-	-	4.5	10	64	55	2	2	5	9
Iranshahr	400	600	76	208	500	620	100	140	-	-	-	-
Saravan	10	15	0.5	0.5	.5	5	13	26	-	-	-	-
Chahbahar	60	240	-	-	800	3,000	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total province	484	880	76.5	208.5	1,309	3,635	217	296	2	2	5	9

cont.

Table No. III 12 (Cont.)

Shahrestan	Stone-fruits		Pistachio		Date		Pomegranate fig, mulberry		Grapes	
	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production
Zahedan	6	30	30	36	-	-	33	40	24	60
Zabol	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	37	2,500	4,300
Khash	60	65	62	65	190	150	12	20	28	22
Iranshahr	-	-	-	-	24,000	15,000	350	75	1,500	13,000
Saravan	16	32	-	-	5,055	15,165	155	620	72	288
Chahbahar	-	-	-	-	1,400	1,700	-	-	-	-
Total province	82	127	92	101	30,645	32,015	583	792	4,124	17,670



AFGHANISTAN

PAKISTAN

ZAHEDAN

Shurab

Mirjaveh

Junabad

Ladiz

KUH-E-TAFTAN

Eskalabad

Deh Pabid

Sangan

Varaj Tamandan

Gooshe

Gazoo

Nodo Jun


Khash

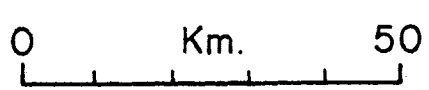
— . — International Boundary

- - - Shahrestan Boundary

———— Asphalt Road

- - - Gravel Road

 Kordi Tribal Areas



C H A P T E R I V

Economic Life

Agriculture

Agriculture, and market-gardening in particular, have enjoyed special development in Kordi territory as compared to other areas of Baluchestan province. Reasons are a blessing that the area owes to the existence of the cooler and damper climate of the Taftan area; together with good volcanic soil and presence of underground aquifers that retain rainfall. In the era of the aggressively warlike pastoral groups settled agriculture was carried on only with difficulty. But the Mirs, who in particular dominated a wide area that included the Taftan region and extended as far as Khash, would seem to have developed cultivation in the two regions around Tamandān and Vāraj.

With the arrival of the Kords, who over the past three centuries expanded their control of the Taftan region generally, a mixed economy based partly on agriculture, but mostly on herding (with some nomadism) developed over the whole area. The Mirs have an oral tradition that suggests they practised this mixed type of economy, with pastoralism dominant.

Yet, however, it is also clear that their cultivation had always been exposed to raids from nearby tribal groups in general : the Yar-Mohammad-zehie and Esmail-zehie tribes (the present Shahnāvazies and Shahbakhshes) in particular. Remnants of stone ramparts still visible in the hills around Tamandan, as well as the inhabitants' narrations confirm this. In times of danger, which were quite frequent, they had to evacuate more fertile areas, such as the present Varaj, and retire to a qale'eh at Tamandān, some kilometres away



among the mountains, where their families stayed while the menfolk defended their lands. Despite its agrarian culture and tradition then, cultivation of the land in Koosheh dehestan has always been in danger and never quite safe. Therefore, it was prevented from any progress and development, and remained precarious. It has only been during the past fifty years, after the disarming of tribes and the consequent improved security, that agriculture has begun to flourish.

Sangān has been the sardar's headquarters ever since the time of Mir Yahya. But the role of Kords as central government representatives in collecting taxes and suppressing unrest, as well as their own culture, that was at the time tribal and warlike rather than agrarian, prevented agricultural progress until 30 years ago, when Haj Amir, the present sardar settled in Sangān, seriously cultivated his lands, attempted livestock farming, and thus started improvement of agriculture generally in the area.

According to the 1966 village gazetteer statistics, reviewed by the writer in 1976 (and not showing much change), there are within Kord territory a total of 2,978 hectares of cultivated, fallow and orchard lands (see following table) and almost as much unused but potentially cultivable land. Eskelabad dehestan, though including only 4 Kordi villages, contains 60% of Kord territory while Koosheh dehestan, including more Kordi villages, comes next in order with 36% of the area. The reason for this has already been given earlier in the chapter on natural geography : Eskelābād dehestan takes

Kordi territory by Dahestan (hectares)

Table No.IV 1

Dehestan	No. of Kordi villages	Irrigated wheat	Irrigated barley	Unirrigated barley	Fallow	Other annual crops	Natural pastures	Forest	Orchard and nursery	Cultivable but unused	Uncultivable barren	Total irrigated wheat; fallow; orchard	Per cent of lands	Per cent of households
Sangān	33	40	20		53	4			9	60		102	3.44	26.5
Koosheh	31	474	136	2	491	1178	3585	13	109	1564	1780	1074	36	54
Eskelābād	4	945	485		825		15		15	1235	1100	1785	60	7.3
Posht-Kooh	2	1				1	3			40	1	1	0.03	5.5
Tamin	1	5	2		5		45		3			13	0.43	6.5
Ladiz	1	1		1	2	3				3		3	0.10	0.2
Total	72	1466	643	3	1376	1186	3648	13	136	2902		2978	100	100

Source: 1966 Village Gazetteer.

in the more fertile, western lower lands of the Taftan massif, whereas Koosheh and Sangan dehestans are located in the higher, stonier, and more rugged hill-flanks.

Comparison with the developments achieved in the Kordi lands on a regional (shahrestan) and provincial (ostan) basis show that the Kordi area, covering 20% of the total shahrestan's area and including 12% of its total population, contains 43% of its total cultivated lands. At provincial level, the area includes 1% of the population but 2% of total cultivated lands.

In our sample villages a total of 110.34 hectares were given over to cultivation of agricultural products, of which 99% belongs to settled communities and 1% to nomadic ones. In absolute numbers, the share of the latter is not so much as even one hectare. On the average, 77% of settled households owned some land whereas only two households of the nomadic communities owned any land at all - but of course these latter held communal grazing rights.

Among agrarian communities, Tamandān comes first in order as regards the area of lands under crops, proportion of land-owners, yields per hectare, and skills generally in agriculture. All these support the view of this village as the initiator of agrarian traditions and rural development back over many years.

In Sangān, a third of lands are kept as fallow; but in Tamandān this proportion is less than this, as the lands are more fertile and better for cultivation. The people's desire to gain more money as well as their willingness

to grow the newer crop potatoes reduces the need for fallowing.

The lands owned by the inhabitants of both Sangān and Tamandān are not limited to their own villages; they also own considerable areas of land both nearby - and sometimes further away (as in Sangān). In Sangān village, for example, there are 16.64 hectares of cultivated land, whereas the total area of land owned by its inhabitants amounts to 47 hectares. The inhabitants of Tamandān, too, own considerable areas of land in surrounding villages. Moreover, small land-owners of nearby villages (not sampled) also own some plots of land in the villages of our survey. The reason is that Sangān is the sardar's headquarters : he and members of his family own most of these lands in nearby villages. Many years ago, the area of such lands had been much more than at the present, but over time, during the last century (as previously discussed) they have had to disclaim ownership of many of them, as when they gave 20 out of their 33 qanats with associated irrigated land to the Shahnāvāzies in the time of Mir Yahya, the present sardar's grandfather. They have also made over some of their lands very cheaply to certain tribes that hold a lower place in the social hierarchy. For example, the lands of Pavel village were made over to the Kehrad-zehie tribe, members of which acted as 'strong-arm' retainers on behalf of the Kords. The Kords themselves claim that they granted the lands free, but the Kehrad-zehies say that the lands were bought, though at a very small price. As regards land owners in Tamandān, the pressure by Mir tribesmen was the main cause.

Table No.IV 2

Orchards and cultivated lands of Kordi area compared with those
of the Shahrestan and Ostan

	Population	Area km	Population density per km ²	Cultivated area ha	Orchard and nursery ha
Kordi area	4,347	4,025	1.08	2,842	136
Khash Shahrestan	36,678	20,000	1.6	6,546	4,415
Baluchestan Ostan	502,626	181,578	2.8	163,891	36,611
Kord as % of Shahrestan	12	20	-	43	3
Kord as % of Ostan	0.86	2	-	1.7	0.37

Source : Statistics of the Dept. of Agriculture, Baluchestan-Sistan Province, 1974.

Note The author believes that the probability of multiple cropping has not been properly taken into account in these statistics. This could mean that Kordi territory accounts for a rather higher share of cultivated area.

Survey Area

Household Ownership of Land

Table IV 3

Village	Number of house-holds	Land owner house-holds	Sample land-owner house-holds	Lands of sample households			Percentage of land-owners covered	Percentage of lands in total sample	Average area of land per land-owner household
				Cultivated	Fallow	Total			
Sangan	44	33	33	22.84	24.16	47	75	43	1.42
Tamandan	65	64	43	41.8	16.3	58.1	98	53	1.32
Gazak	17	5	5	1.1	1.1	2.2	29	2	0.44
Pavel	11	3	3	1.32	0.76	2.08	97	2	0.69
Total	137	105	84	67.06	42.32	109.38	77	100	1.30
Chahak	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gorz	11	2	2	0.4	0.56	0.96	18	100	0.48
Total	59	2	2	0.4	0.56	0.96	18	100	0.48

Type of Tenure and Land Distribution

Generally speaking, in the agrarian communities of the entire Kordi area, 85% of the peasant inhabitants are now land-holders, of these, 62.5% are small land owners and 23% joint owners. Rather less than 15% of the inhabitants have no land. But as the table following below indicates, there are considerable differences between villages. Sangan has in proportion more landless than Tamandan; and the high maximum holding shown for Sangan is because it is the sardar's headquarters, with he and members of his family owning much larger plots of land. The single holding of 24 hectares belongs to the sardar himself despite all his granting and selling of land as already mentioned.

In nomadic community, there were only 3 households in Gorz who owned some land; and the total area of lands owned by two of them, who were among our samples, did not add up to even one hectare.

Table No.IV 4

Land distribution and type of tenure

Village	Sample household	Full Owners	Joint Owners	Landless	Maximum area of land (ha)	Minimum area of land (ha)
Sangān	44	24	9	11	24	0.2
Tamandān	44	31	10	3	6	0.04
Gazak	5	2	3	-	1	0.4
Pavel	3	3	-	-	1.2	0.28
Total	96	60	22	14		
Per centage	100	62.5	23	14.5		
Chahak	13	-	-	13		
Gorz	10	2	-	8	0.48	0.48
Total	23	2	-	21		
Percentage	100	9		91		

Crops

As already mentioned, wheat is the main crop over most of the Kordi agricultural area. Sown in December or January it is harvested in early summer. Barley may then be sown as a catch-crop in July or August. Maize or oats are sometimes grown as a second crop with the harvest in October-November. Wheat occupies some 80% of cultivated land in Sangan, but in Tamandan wheat accounts for only 60% of the village's cultivated area even though, because of larger cropped area, total yield is larger. Cereal growing is however giving way to cultivation of potatoes which in some areas (e.g. Tamandan) occupies up to 40% of cultivated area. The potato growers are very pleased with this new development and claim that their potato crop now meets one-quarter of the entire requirements of the whole province each year. Our own investigation supports this statement. According to the Statistical Centre of Iran* a total of 110 tonnes of potatoes were produced in the whole of the province in 1971; by 1975 Tamandan was producing 90 tonnes - well over 70% of the total for the entire Ostan.

Vegetables and fruit are grown in small plots, mostly as summer crops in separate plots of land, though inter-planting with cereals occurs in some parts. In the poorer villages of Gazak and Pavel, whose inhabitants are Kords of low social status, wheat is the main crop, but production is barely sufficient for local needs, low as these have to be.

* Bulletin of Statistics for Sistan-Baluchestan Ostan 1971 (1974).

In our sample villages overall, 71% of lands are under cereals (chiefly wheat) and 22% are allotted to potatoes. The remainder is given over to vegetables, fruit, and very small quantities of fodder crops.

In the nomadic sample communities, the inhabitants of Chahak (of Morad-zehie tribe) have no land in their possession and are always on the move. Even the level of animal husbandry is more backward than that in settled communities.

In the village Gorz, total cultivated area is 1.08 hectares, all under wheat, of which 0.4 hectares belong to two households, that both form part of our survey, with the remaining holding the property of a shopkeeper who lives in Zahedan.

In the agrarian community as a whole, the yield per hectare is 1,996 kg for wheat which is 4.5 times as much as the yield for total province. This is very considerable. Even in the desperately poor village of Gorz the yield of this crop is 1,720 kg, which is about 4 times as much as that of the total province. According to the data of the Statistical Centre of Iran, the yield per hectare for irrigated wheat has been 437 kg for total province in 1971*. It could be thought (if the figures are accepted as reliable) that this is due to the specially favourable conditions round the Taftan mountains : good soil and rainfall more abundant than at any other place in the entire province.

Potatoes are cultivated chiefly in Tamandān, which

* Source : Bull. of Statistics for Sistan-Baluchestan Ostan January 1974; p.46.

Table No. IV 5

Cultivated lands in Survey Area by type of crop

Village	Sample household-	Main Crop						Second Crop			
		Wheat	Maize	Potatoes	Turnip	Summer crops	Total	Oats	Maize	Summer crops	Total
Sangān	33	18	3.72	-	-	1.12	22.84	2.16	-	1.64	3.80
Tamandān	43	27.3	-	14.5	-	-	41.8	1.5	-	0.7	2.2
Gazak	5	1.08	-	-	-	-	1.08	1.08	-	0.38	1.46
Pavel	3	1.12	-	-	0.06	-	1.18	0.48	-	0.2	0.68
Total	84	47.5	3.72	14.5	0.06	1.12	66.9	5.22	-	2.92	8.14
Percentage	-	71	5.5	22	0.08	1.42	100	64	-	36	100
Chahak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gorz	2	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.12	0.2	-	0.32
Total	2	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.12	0.2	-	0.32
Percentage	-	100	-	-	-	-	100	37.5	62.5	-	100

Average yield per hectare for wheat and potatoes in sample communities

Table No. IV 6

Village	Wheat			Potatoes		
	Area under crop	Yield kg	Yield per ha	Area under crop	Yield kg	Yield per ha
Sangān	18	22.26	1224	-	-	-
Tamandān	27.3	69312	2539	14.5	91284	6295
Gazak	1.08	1740	1611	-	-	-
Pavel	1.12	1750	1562	-	-	-
Total	47.5	94828	1996	-	-	-
Gorz	0.4	688	1720	-	-	-

shows a yield of 6,295 kg per hectare, which is almost 5 times as much as that of total province, (1,341 kg on average).*

This yield is even higher than the national yield. According to the agricultural Census results** yield per hectare for potatoes harvested on farms 10-20 hectares in area (14.5 ha in Tamandān) was 5,566 kg at national level, which is 12% lower than that of Tamandān. Yield per hectare of wheat is also much higher in Tamandān (about 2,539 kg) than on national level (1,890 kg in irrigated lands).

Value of Produced Agricultural Commodities : the market price of wheat in 1974-6 was 16 rials a kg; that of maize 9 rials; potatoes about 20 rials, tomatoes and onions 12 rials, melons and water-melons 7 rials. The total value of cultivated crops in our sample agrarian villages in 1974-7 could be estimated at 3,617,500 rials, with average value per household (96 samples) 37,682 rials a year. This amounts to 43,065 rials per land-owner household (84 samples).

With its much more developed agriculture, Tamandān enjoys the highest share in production of value and crops, as about 83% of produced value belongs to the Tamandānies. The share of each land-owner household amounts there to 70,189 rials a year, which is a little less than twice as much as the average for our overall sample agrarian communities, including Tamandān.

* Source : Bull. of Statistics for Sistan-Baluchestan Ostan January 1974

**First Stage, 1973, Statistical Centre of Iran, p.356.

11. Ploughing by oxen in Tamandān-Vāraj.

12. Ploughing by oxen in Tamandān-Vāraj.



13. Ploughing by tangobeel in Tamandān-Vāraj

14. Making furrows in Vāraj-Tamandān.



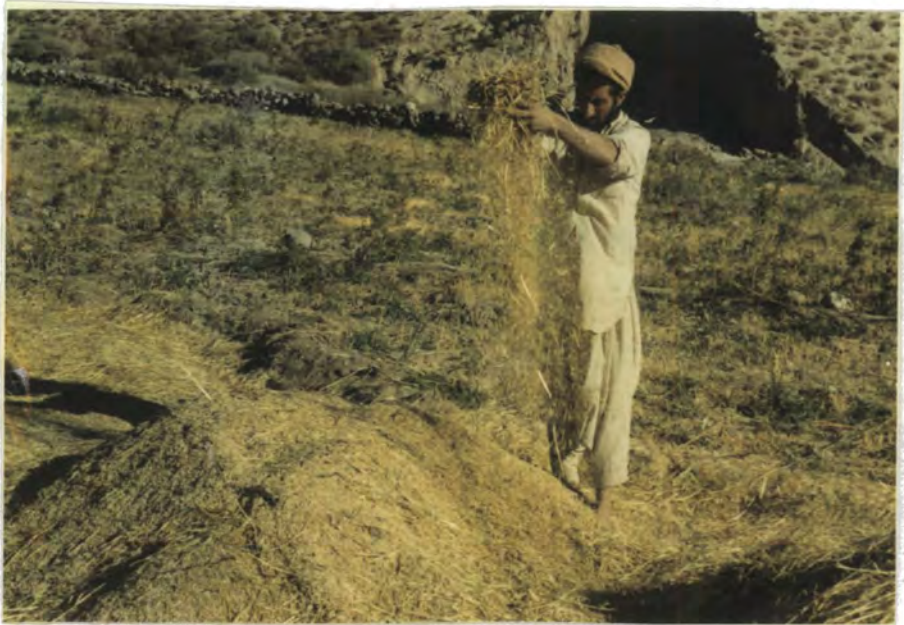
15. Weeding.

16. Crop-cutting in Vāraj-Tamandān.



17. Threshing by donkey in Varaj-Tamandān.

18. Winnowing in Tamandān.



19. Summer crops in Vāraj-Tamandān : A Baluch
digging turnips.



Agricultural Costs : The most important agricultural expenses in the villages of our survey were on (1) chemical fertilizer, (2) spray pesticide, and (3) seeds (this ranks third because not all seeds were bought). Next in importance are the expenses for renting tractors and employing daily-paid workers. We shall discuss the share of share-holder farmers and methods of renting land as well as machinery, etc. in the section on economic structures. Here we discuss only the statistical aspects of such expenses.

In Sangay, 6,703 kg of chemical fertilizers were used on cultivated lands in 1976 that is, 293 kg per hectare on the average. The corresponding average for Tamandan is 207 kg, while the inhabitants of Gazak use only about 166 kg. Poverty would seem to be the controlling factor here.

Natural livestock manure is also used, and for this purpose, either they themselves keep their animals on their farms for a few months in order that their manure may fertilize their lands, or pay other people to fold animals on their land.

Chemical fertilizers and pesticides are usually provided cheaper by the cooperative to be paid for by instalments spread over the year after the crops are harvested. Very few farmers receive their required fertilizer and pesticide free of charge from the agricultural extension corps of their village. The price of fertilizer varies from 12 to 15 rials = Rls. 13.5 per kg. on average. The same is true with seeds, for the purchase of which the cooperative is the main source and Khash Agricultural Office is the next important. It very seldom happens that anyone pays cash directly for fertilizer and pesticide but, relatives and friends are reliable sources

of credit and payment.

A total of 16,280 kg of pesticides, Rls. 220,611 in value, were used in our agrarian sample villages in 1976. Most of the farmers bought pesticide, but less so as regards seeds : wheat in particular could come from the harvest, and most did this.

In all villages, but particularly in Sangan and Tamandan, employment of daily-paid workers, with an average wage of Rls. 200 a day, is quite common. This is something different from share cropping or paying a water-distributor's wage, since this labour was called on only seasonally - in the time of ploughing, reaping, and sometimes threshing.

Tractor rent is another agricultural expense. Tractors are used both for ploughing and for threshing. Rent of a tractor is calculated on the basis of a comparison between its power and that of a man with an ass (oxen are seldom used). The wage of a worker plus the rent of a donkey is estimated at Rls. 350 a day. It is reckoned that seven work days by a man and an ass is equal to one work day of a tractor. The wage of a worker plus hire of an ass for seven days amount to Rls. 2,450. Supposing that a tractor is worked 8 hours a day, its rent would be Rls. 305 an hour. This price is almost the same as the average rent that we have calculated on the basis of the inhabitants' answers, which gave a figure of Rls. 302. But tractor owners have recently begun to ask Rls. 400 and more per hour.

There are two tractors in Sangan one of which belongs to the sardar, Haj Amir, and his sons; and the other partly by Haj Khalil, the cadkhoda and the sardar's brother, as well

as to their other brother and their sons. Since the expenses involved in employment of part-time workers and rent of tractors are, at the same time, incomes gained by other villagers, they are regarded in our calculations both as incomes and expenses, according to persons involved. There are also two tractors in Tamandan, one of which belongs to Haj Noshirvan, head of the Mir tribe, and the other to his brother Abdolrahman, the cadkhoda.

For our sample generally, Rls. 839,245 were spent on agricultural expenses in agricultural settlements and Rls. 4,465 in nomadic communities during 1976, giving figures of Rls. 12,514 per hectare for the former and Rls. 4,651 for the latter.

Table No. IV 7

Agricultural expenses during 1976 by type

Village		Chemical fertilizer	Spray (insecticide)	Seeds					Total	Worker (day)	Tractor (hour)	Plough-share (kgs. of wheat)	Total	Grand Total
				Wheat	Barley	Maize	Tomato	Potato						
Sangān	Weight	6703	10.97	3646	84	100.5	-	-	-	84	71.75	-	-	-
	value	80436	1316	51044	1018	804	-	-	134618	16800	21725	-	38525	173143
Tamandān	Weight	8677	6.9	4120	-	-	-	7787	-	742	329	-	-	-
	value	130425	828	43180	-	-	-	216800	391233	148400	99420	-	247820	639053
Gazak	Weight	300	0.6	100	-	-	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	20	-	90	-	-
	value	3400	100	100	-	-	150	-	4650	3000	-	1260	4260	8910
Pav el	Weight	600	1.5	326	-	-	-	-	-	19.5	11.5	-	-	-
	value	6350	225	4564	-	-	-	-	11139	3800	3200	-	7000	18139
Total	Weight	16280	19.97	8192	84	100.5	$\frac{1}{2}$	7787	-	865.5	412	-	-	-
	value	220611	2469	99788	1018	804	150	216800	541640	172000	124345	1260	297605	839245
Chahak	Weight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	value	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gorz	Weight	220	1	112	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-
	value	2200	150	1465	-	-	-	-	3815	-	-	650	650	4465

Table No. IV 8

Value of agricultural commodities produced by sample households per year

Village	Wheat		Barley		Maize		Tomato		Onion		Melon & water-melon		Turnip		Potato		Lentil		Total value (rials)	Percentage value
	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.	Wt.	val.		
Sangān	22,026	352,416	-	-	11,220	100,980	1,280	15,360	454	5,448	2,400	16,800	-	-	-	-	-	-	491,004	13.5
Tamandān	69,312	1,108,992	2,625	26,250	-	-	924	11,088	300	3,600	-	-	-	-	91,284	1,862,193	150	6,000	3,018,123	83.3
Gazak	1,740	27,840	1,500	15,000	-	-	356	4,272	24	288	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47,400	1.5
Pawel	1,750	28,000	?	?	-	-	120	1,440	-	-	4,500	31,500	?	?	-	-	-	-	60,940	1.7
Total	94,828	1,517,248	4,125	41,250	11,220	100,980	2,680	32,160	778	9,336	6,900	48,300	?	?	91,284	1,862,193	150	6,000	3,617,467	100
Chahak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gorz	1,860	29,760	?	?	724	6,516	142	1,704	165	1,980	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39,960	100
Total	1,860	29,760	?	?	724	6,516	142	1,704	165	1,980	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39,960	100

Orchards

Orchards are more common in Sangān and Tamandān, and it is more prosperous in the former as the soil there is better. As in the case of crop-lands, the inhabitants also own orchards in surrounding villages. Because of their influence and power in the area, the inhabitants of Sangān and Tamandān are the ones who own larger and better orchards in other villages. In contrast those plots of orchards that belong to other villages' inhabitants in these two places are not usually good ones.

As in the case of crop-lands, orchards, too, are owned either by single owners or by joint owners. Also like cultivated lands, orchards are owned in smaller, more divided and scattered plots in Tamandān than in Sangān while the total area of orchards owned by Tamandān inhabitants is less than that of Sangān dwellers.

There are 15 households in Sangān who own orchards, about half of whom are joint owners. 29 households have no orchards, whereas in Tamandān only 7 households have no orchards and 37 out of the 44 sample households own orchards. In other villages, both number and area of orchards are small and practically inconsiderable. Even the tiny orchards in Gazak have been more or less ruined.

The inhabitants of Sangān own 27 plots of orchard in Sangān as well as in nearby villages totalling 5.76 hectares in area. Tamandān inhabitants own 40 plots totalling 4.18 hectares so that the average area of each orchard plot is 0.38 hectares in Sangān and only 0.11 hectares in Tamandān.

Furthermore, there are a few 4-hectare plots of orchard in Sangān, whereas the maximum area of an orchard in Tamandān is only 0.8 hectare. There are even some people whose orchards are only 0.02 hectares in area.

There are 11 plots of orchard in Sangān (totalling 1.4 ha) that are owned by the inhabitants of the villages of Darooneh, Gorz, Paskooh, Estepak and Gazak. Another orchard owner, one of the sardar's brothers, lives in Khash.

The orchards of Tamandān's inhabitants are located in nearby villages such as Koosheh and Mehran as well as Tamandan proper. In this study we have regarded the two villages of Tamandan and Varaj as one because of their close links : crop-lands and orchards, the same households, and similar historic backgrounds.

In all the orchards of our sample villages, there are various fruit trees such as pomegranate, apricot, fig, pear, yellow plum, grapes and even almond, pistachio, mulberry, apple, walnut and peach. First-rate quality pomegranates are produced in Sangān and its subordinate villages, while good quality apricots are produced in Tamandān. The fig has recently lost its appeal because it rapidly rots and demands laborious picking for which workers are scarce and very expensive. Allah-resan, the sardar's son and intending successor, who produces the most of the fig product, claimed that his last year's fig crop had completely rotted because labour was not available and prevalent wages were too expensive to allow any profit, considering the market price.

The most popular fruit tree is pomegranate in Sangān, with 915 trees, and apricot in Tamandān, with 1,055 trees.

Table No.IV ⁹ Type of Tenure of Orchards

	Individual Orchard owner	Joint owner	Without Orchard	Total
Sangān	7	8	29	44
Tamandān Vāraj	26	11	7	44
Gazak	1	1	1	3
Pawel	3	-	-	3
Total	37	20	37	94
Chahak	-	-	-	-
Gorz	2	-	6	8
Total	2	-	6	8

Number and area of plots of orchard owned by the
inhabitants of Sangān and Tamandān

Table No.IV 10

Name of Village	Number of plots	Total area of orchards (hectare)	Average area of orchard per owner household	Minimum area	Maximum area
Sangān	27	5.76	0.38	0.04	4
Tamandān	40	4.18	0.11	0.02	0.8

There are many pomegranate trees in Sangān's surrounding villages such as Pavel and Gazak, that produced no fruit in 1976 because of lack of care.

In nomadic territory, there are only 30 pomegranate trees (in Gorz) that produced 450 kg of fruit last year. These 915 pomegranate trees of Sangān produced 17,032 kg of fruit in 1976, a little less than 19 kg each, which is hardly remarkable but the quality was excellent. Average production per pomegranate tree in Tamandān is also 19 kgs. The average product of each apricot tree in Tamandān is no more than 5 kgs, while that of Sangān amounted to 8 kgs. This confirms our belief that the lands of Sangān are more suitable for orchards than those of Tamandān.

Table No. IV 11.

Survey Area 1976

Fruit trees

Village		Pomegranate	Apricot	Fig	Pear	Yellow plum	Grape	Almond	Pistachio	Mulberry	Apple	Walnut	Peach	Total
Sangān	Productive	915	173	100	51	33	48	-	-	12	2	10	-	1344
	Unproductive	715	8	6	4	5	260	10	40	-	-	-	-	1048
Taman-dān	Productive	50	1055	13	31	54	32	-	8	18	107	58	22	1448
	Unproductive	5	185	1	17	22	18	25	-	1	179	4	-	457
Gazak	Productive	200	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	210
	Unproductive	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Pavel	Productive	166	30	30	10	-	25	-	-	20	-	-	-	281
	Unproductive	740	20	30	-	200	25	15	10	-	40	-	-	1080
Total	Productive	1331	1258	143	92	87	115	-	8	50	109	68	22	3283
	Unproductive	1560	213	37	21	227	303	50	50	1	219	4	-	2685
Chahak	Productive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Unproductive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gorz	Productive	30	3	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43
	Unproductive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Survey Area

Table No. IV 12

Weight and value of orchard products

Village		Pomegranate	Apricot	Fig	Pear	Yellow plum	Grapes	Mulberry	Apple	Peach	Total
Sangan	W	17,032	1,431	4,205	1,386	761	72	-	-	-	24,887
	T	306,576	14,310	63,075	13,860	4,566	360	-	-	-	402,747
Tamandān	W	950	5,275	546	496	270	864	-	1,819	176	10,396
	T	17,100	105,500	8,190	4,960	2,700	17,280	-	?	?	155,730
Gazak *	W	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pavel	W	1,530	150	3,000	1,000	-	1,000	2,000	-	-	8,680
	T	15,300	1,500	45,000	10,000	-	5,000	?	-	-	76,800
Total	W	19,512	6,856	7,751	2,882	1,031	1,936	2,000	1,819	176	43,963
	T	338,976	121,310	116,265	28,820		22,640	?	?	?	635,277
Gorz	W	450	72	150	-	-	-	-	-	-	672
	T	9,000	720	2,250	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,970

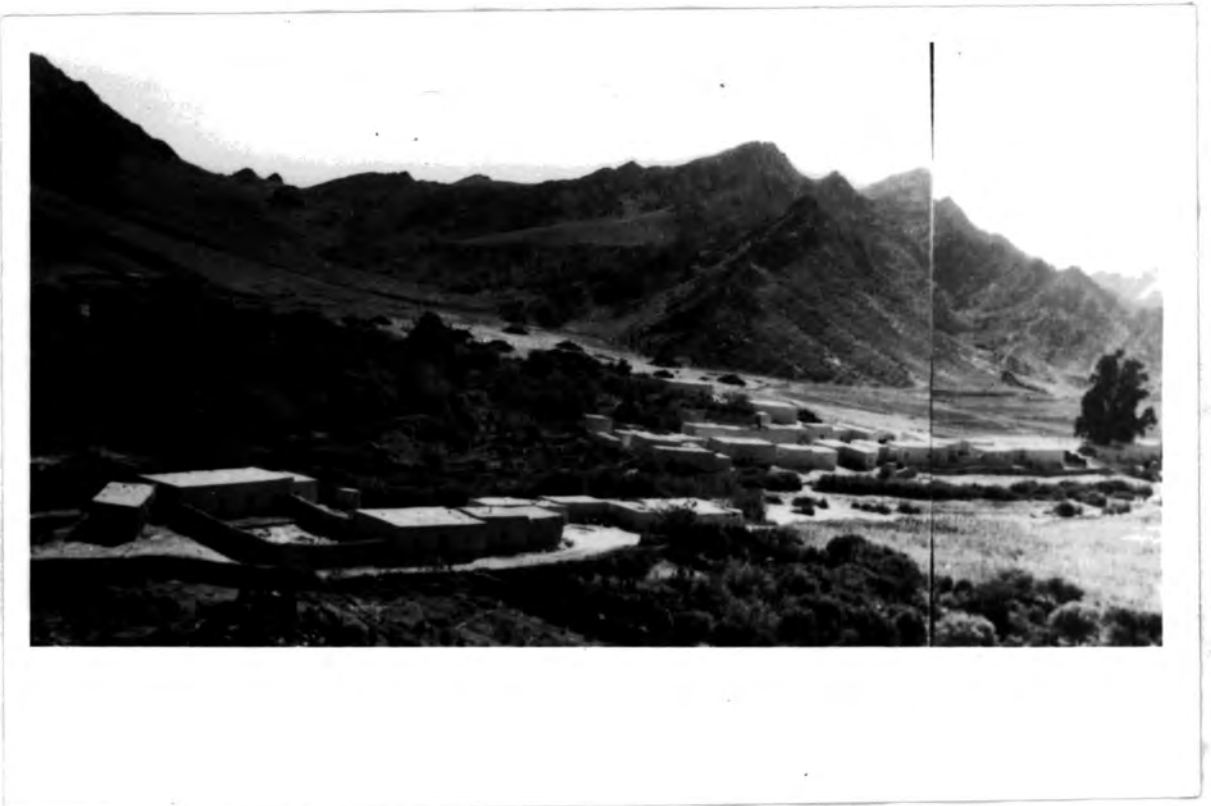
W : Weight of product

T : Total value based
on the average price

* Trees of Gazak were damaged by frost 3 years ago and have produced no fruit since then

20. An orchard in Sangān.

21. A view of a part of Sangān, with orchards
and the mosque.



Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry in our area is far more prosperous as compared with that of total province. We will discuss animal husbandry, as well as its socio-economic organisation in more detail in the chapters on Social Geography and Economic Life : here we shall merely analyze collected data.

According to the data provided in the village gazetteer, in 1966 there were 13, 635 heads of livestock in Kord settlements, of which 88% were sheep and goats. Unfortunately there was no distinction in the statistics between sheep and goats, or between donkeys and camels. Average number of livestock per household was therefore 14.7 heads, with a per capita average of 3 head, whereas the corresponding figure for the total province was 2 head.

According to our own more recent statistics, the number of livestock in the area under study in 1976-7 was 2,920 head, averaging 14.2 head per household and 2.9 head per capita. These figures are confirmed by the Statistical Centre of Iran. We thus have the possibilities (a) of over-enumeration in 1966, or (b) considerable livestock losses during 1966-76 owing to drought. Probably the latter is more important - losses have been considerable. Even so, more recent figures suggest that average number of livestock per head in this area is 50% more than that for the total province, which clearly indicates that animal husbandry enjoys a much more favourable status here as compared

to the province as a whole. The opposite is true for Khash shahrestan as the following tables indicate : the 12% of the shahrestan's population that comprise the group now studied have only 9.5% of the shahrestan's animal population - indicative of the importance of agriculture.

	Human Population	Head of livestock	No. of live-stock per capita
Kordi area	4,616	13,635	3
Khash shahrestan	36,678	142,510	4
Province	502,626	1,166,000	2

22. A shepherd and his sheep in Varaj.

23. A herdsman and goats in the Taftan
outskirts, Deh-no.



Table No. IV 13

Livestock in the Kordi area by Dehestan

Type of live- stock	Cows and oxen	Bulls	Sheep and goats	Donkeys & Camels	Total	Per cent of live- stock	Number of house- holds	Per cent of house- holds
Dehestan								
Sangān	597	27	3,436	251	4,311	32	245	26.5
Koosheh	144	51	7,435	265	7,895	58	497	54
Eskel-abad	14	10	350	44	418	2.5	69	7.3
Poshtkooh	54	9	155	27	245	2	51	5.5
Tamin	26	-	600	61	687	5	60	6.5
Ladiz	-	-	75	4	79	0.5	2	0.2
TOTAL	835	97	12,051	652	13,635	100	924	100

From the last table it becomes clear that as regards the Kordi, we are dealing with (a) a relatively much better off community living by settled agriculture, and with some livestock; and (b) an extremely poor group of pastoralists, mostly nomads, who eke out a very limited and penurious life at the margin of subsistence. No direct comparison is possible between this latter group and the affluent, numerous and important pastoral nomads of the Zagros region : the Kordi pastoralists are dreadfully poor, and limited in their opportunities. Adoption of a pastoral pattern of livelihood by the nomadic community is not the outcome of their superior animal husbandry, but merely due to poverty and lack of land in their possession. There is in fact little difference (as the table shows) between the average number of livestock per household in agricultural and in nomadic communities. A more prosperous agrarian economy means also a more developed level of animal husbandry.

Livestock owned by sample households

Table No. IV 14

Village	Total No. of Households	No. of Sample Households	She goats	Ewes	Male goat	Newly born lambs	Lambs	Cows	Steers	Bulls	Camels	Ram	Donkeys	Total	Average No. of animals per sample household
Sangān	44	44	675	22	38	190	20	11	4	2	1		40	1,003	22.7
Tamandān	65	44	703	75	84	228	32			6	23			1,141	25
Gazak	17	5	71	20	6	16	4					1	4	112	24.4
Pavel	11	3	25	21	5	14	8	1	1	2	1		4	82	27
Total	137	96	1,474	138	133	488	64	12	5	10	25	1	48	2,348	24
Chahak	48	13	268	7	11	113	2			8	8		22	439	33.7
Gorz	11	10	61	10	4	20	5	6	6		6		5	123	12.3
Total	59	23	329	17	15	133	7	6	6	8	14		27	562	24.4

From the tables just given and confirmed by observation all over Baluchestan, the most popular animal is the goat, only a few households own ewes. Total number of goats, including she-goats, he-goats and kids in the area of survey is 2,532 head, or 87% of total livestock. The corresponding ratio for lambs and ewes is 8%. The reason is that goats adapt to the environment of Baluchestan.

Horses are very rare in Baluchestan in general and in the area of our study in particular; instead there are camels. As might be expected, the number of camels in pastoral communities is higher than in agricultural settlements, except for Tamandān where camels are frequently used for carrying goods. Average number of camels per household is 1.6 in the nomadic society and 0.26 in settled communities.

If we limit our discussion to directly 'productive' animals, the favourable position of the agricultural settlements emerges yet again; there are, overall, 15 head per nomad, but 17 per settled inhabitant.

Delivery of young animals begins from mid-March onwards, with a lactation period of about 4 months or 120 days. The produce of the first month is consumed by the kids and the remainder is either consumed directly or turned into dairy products. During this period each animal produces 300 to 600 grams of milk per day, of which ghee and dried whey cheese are made. Usually this quantity of milk will produce 1 - 1.5 kg of ghee as well as the same amount of whey cheese per year. The amount of milk produced by the animals naturally varies according to nutrition levels : in most cases the

herdsmen reported the amount of whey produced during the same period at 300 - 500 gm.

Sheep are sheared twice a year and goats once. The value of wool is 250 rials a kg and that of goat hair is 85 rials; but these are not sold, but are rather used for making palās and gedām. Each goat provides 250 to 300 gm of hair a year.

Sample rural settlements as surveyed produced a total of 2,853 kg of ghee and whey cheese. Average production per milch animal owned by cultivators is 1.7 kg, whilst the corresponding average among pastoral communities is only 1.2 kg. Production of hair and wool per animal is also lower in pastoral communities than in rural settlements : 390 grams for the former and 430 grams for the latter.

In general, the average value of animal produce per animal was 399 rials a year in rural settlements and 274 rials in pastoral communities. Nomads sell far more of their animal products (60%) than do agricultural animal owners (25%). In the pastoral village of Chahak, it was observed that as much as 68% of produce was sold.

A sample survey by the writer showed that in settled communities 78% of the livestock became pregnant during 1976-7, whereas in pastoral communities the ratio was only 74%. In the same period, 29% of the 'settled groups' animals aborted compared with 32% in nomadic communities : the first statistic may thus be explained directly by the second, with poorer care and management as the basic cause. Similarly, mortality rates were 6% in settled communities and 10% among animals in nomadic communities.

Sample Area

Table No. IV 15

Number of productive animals

Village	Sample household	She-goats	Ewes	Cows	Total	Average livestock per household
Sangān	44	675	22	11	708	16
Tamandān	44	703	75	-	778	17.6
Gazak	5	71	20	-	91	18
Pavel	3	25	21	12	58	19
Total	96	1,474	138	23	1,635	17
Chahak	13	268	7	-	275	21
Gorz	10	61	10	6	77	7.7
Total	23	329	17	6	352	15

Table No. IV 16

Production of livestock commodities in sample households of the area

	No. of Productive animals	Ghee and Dried whey cheese			Hair and wool			Total value	Average value produced by each animal a year
		Production	Value	Percent sold	Production	Value	Per cent sold		
Sangan̄	708	1,160	210,188	29	301	26,311	-	236,499	334
Tamandan̄	778	1,458	323,056	21	384	35,064	-	358,120	460
Gazak	91	126	24,840	38	47	4,835	-	29,675	326
Pavel	58	109	24,566	9	33	3,330	-	27,896	480
Total	1,635	2,853	582,650	25	765	69,540	-	652,190	399
Chahak	275	333	67,347	68	115	10,043	-	77,390	281
Gorz	77	90	16,403	33.5	29	2,605	3.5	19,008	247
Total	352	423	83,750	60	144	12,648		96,398	274

Table No. IV 17

Survey Area
Livestock Experience 1976-77

Village	No. of she-goats and ewes	Pregnant		Abortion		Delivery		Deaths	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sangān	824	646	78	147	22	499	78	36	4
Tamandān	954	768	81	288	37	480	63	80	8
Gazak	92	52	57	3	6	49	94	-	-
Pavel	53	38	72	5	13	33	87	-	-
Total	1923	1504	78	443	29	1061	71	116	6
Chahak	356	258	72	71	27	117	73	43	12
Gorz	82	66	80	32	48	34	52	4	5
Total	438	324	74	103	32	211	65	47	10

Table No. IV 18 Survey Area

Total Livestock Losses 1975-76

	Total No.	Deaths	Per cent
Sangān	1241	45	4
Tamandān	1141	95	8
Gazak	152	10	7
Pavel	107	-	
Total	2651	150	6
Chahak	439	38	8
Gorz	145	8	6
Total	584	46	8

Cost of providing forage for each animal is 117 rials a year in rural settlements and 86 rials in pastoral communities; that is 73% of the expenses made in the former or 27% less than that of rural settlements.

It was further observed that mortality, abortion and fertility rates vary significantly from one mahalleh, even one household, to another even within a village, often closely in proportion to financial means and standard of life. Thus, wealthier households or mahallehs also see their better standards reflected in the management of their animals. An extreme instance was noted in Sangan where animal mortality rate was nil in the mahalleh of the sardar's son, 2% in the sardar's own mahalleh; 5% in the kadkhoda's mahelleh (he is the sardar's brother) whereas it was 6 to 10% in the other mahallehs. Similarly, fertility rates were 91%, 88% and 81% respectively as compared with 51%-70% in other mahallehs.

Table IV 19

Livestock fertility, miscarriage, and mortality rates by Halk for
the last year in Sangān

Name of Halk	Type of Livestock	Number in year 75	Pregnant		Miscarriage		Delivery		Death	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Haj Amir	Shegoat	155	137	88	12	8.76	125	91.24	4	2.5
	Ewe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Cahreh	120								
Kad Khodā Khalid	Shegoat	196	158	80.61	45	28.48	113	71.52	10	5.10
	Ewe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Cahreh	107							1	0.93
Mohammad Kord	Shegoat	111	85	76.58	20	23.53	65	76.47	12	10.81
	Ewe	5	3	60	-	-	3	100	-	-
	Cahreh	33							3	15
Allah Resan	Shegoat	115	105	91.30	25	23.81	80	76.19	-	-
	Ewe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Cahreh	80							-	-
Abdollah Kord	Shegoat	68	47	69.12	13	27.66	34	72.34	7	10.29
	Ewe	6	6	100	-	-	6	100	-	-
	Cahreh	28							-	-

Cont....

Table IV 19 (Cont.)

Name of Halk	Type of Livestock	Number in year 75	Pregnant		Miscarriage		Delivery		Death	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Haji Jalal	Shegoat	60	35	58.33	20	54.14	15	42.86	-	-
	Ewe	8	5	62.5	3	60	2	40	-	-
	Cahreh	12							-	-
Hasan Khodadad	Shegoat	21	18	85.71	3	16.67	15	83.33	-	-
	Ewe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Cahreh	14							1	7
Jan Mohammad	Shegoat	29	20	68.97	2	10	18	90	-	-
	Ewe	3	3	100	-	-	3	100	-	-
	Cahreh	9							2	22
Miscellaneous	Shegoat	47	24	51	4	16.67	20	83.33	3	6.38
	Ewe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Cahreh	14							-	-
Total	Shegoat	802	629	78.43	144	22.89	485	77.11	36	4.5
	Ewe	22	17	77.27	3	17.65	14	82.35	-	-
	Cahreh	417							9	2.15

Note : No losses were reported for ewes in all Halks

Table No. IV 20

Expenses effected on providing forage during a year

Village	No. of households	No. of Live-stock	Barley		Alfalfa		Corn		Other		Wheat		Total value	Per capita expenses effected on live-stock in a year
			w	v	w	v	w	v	w	v	w	v		
Sangān	27	730	3,168	37,464	3,740	19,330	42	384	602	4,936	-	-	62,114	85
Tamandān	42	1,120	9,067	106,084	-	-	-	-	4,965	42,888	-	-	148,972	133
Gazak	3	118	1,140	11,970	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,970	101
Pavel	3	75	1,386	11,174	1,200	6,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,174	229
Total	-	2,043	14,761	166,692	4,940	25,330	42	384	5,567	47,824	-	-	240,230	117
Chahak	13	402	861	11,193	-	-	-	-	460	5,060	1,126	15,764	32,017	79
Gorz	8	113	594	9,738	300	1,500	120	1,320	-	-	-	-	12,558	111
Total	-	515											44,575	86

24. Gash, where the goats and sheep are kept
at night in Gazak.

25. Construction material of a gash in Gazak.



Providing Forage and its Cost

Natural pasture existing in the area by no means satisfies livestock requirements, and the inhabitants have to purchase forage, especially those that do not migrate or practise transhumance to summer and winter quarters. In general, the animals are fed on purchased forage for 3 to 4 months each year. Feeding barley is most popular among nomadic livestock holders, and cost 14,761 rials a year. That is, each animal consumes 7 kg of barley on the average with a per capita expenditure of 81 rials. As the table shows, for the agricultural settlements as a whole 240,230 rials were spent on forage during 1976 for over 2,000 head of livestock. Annual expenditure per animal is 117 rials, whereas in the nomadic community it is 27% less than that.

In Chahac, which is a community wholly of pastoral nomads, wheat is fed to animals, if there is nothing else - reducing the amount available for the human population. This is a desperate expedient to ensure survival of the animals.

Forage is usually purchased from the Agriculture Office at Khash or Zahedan, and this is another burden on poorer households and nomadic communities in particular because of transport difficulties. Moreover, in the settlements, particularly Sangān and Tamandān, livestock holders can purchase forage from cooperatives whereas even this is denied the nomadic communities.

Amongst the agriculturalists, more animals are slaughtered than in nomadic communities. This is another

major point of difference. One reason is that although there is a sort of material as well as a sentimental attachment for the animals amongst cultivators, this is far more evident and stronger in nomadic communities, where livestock are the fundamental means of livelihood. Animals are very dear to them and they nurse their kids and lambs as carefully as - or even more scrupulously - than they nurse their own children. They consider their livestock not only as a source of food but also as the basic means of livelihood and production. If there are no livestock, there will be no wheat, no sugar, no tea, or other most necessary means of survival. Therefore, they rarely slaughter their livestock to feed themselves on their meat. And when they do, the animal is either too sick or too old so that they cannot sell it. This is of course a widespread and normal situation in many pastoral communities : here the Kordi are thus no different. The settled communities too have adopted most of the classic characteristics of cultivators on the arid zone fringes : animals are regarded as an important source of food as well.

Slaughter rate for 1976 was observed as 9% in settled communities; whereas in nomadic communities it was below 1%. Sangar has the highest share of animal slaughtering among villages studied, an extra cause of which, in addition to the above-mentioned, being the high rate of slaughter in the sardar's household as well as in that of his elder son, Allah- resan, who has inherited all the characteristics of Khans to the full and does his best to preserve them, especially as regards hospitality.

Livestock slaughtered for consumption

Table No. IV 21

Village	No. of live-stock in 1975	No. of slaughtered livestock	Per cent
Sangān	1,241	168	14
Taman-dān	1,151	57	5
Gazak	152	6	4
Pavel	107	21	20
Total	2,651	252	9
Chahak	439	6	1
Gorz	145	24	17
Total	584	30	0.5

Among nomadic communities, the village of Gorz is particularly noteworthy for a higher slaughter rate. The reason in this particular case is the presence of one single very rich person who owns a shop in Zahedan and also gains money through unknown channels. His very presence (with family) in the village causes higher meat consumption.

Livestock sale is the main means of livelihood in pastoral communities. Although the average number of livestock sold per household during last years has been higher in agricultural settlements (9 head) than in nomadic communities (5 head), yet the percentage of animals sold in relation to numbers is higher for nomadic communities (14% as against 10%), i.e. the proportion of households who sell their livestock is much smaller in agricultural settlements (35%), whilst sale of animals is more widespread among nomadic livestock holders, at 76%.

Minimum value of a one-year-old she-goat is 1500 rials and her maximum price is 3500 rials; that is 2,160 rials on the average. The corresponding average prices are 2,750 rials for a two-year-old she-goat; 1,660 rials for a one-year-old he-goat; and 2,270 rials for a two-year-old he-goat. Thus, a one-year-old he-goat usually has the lowest price in the market.

However, it is observed that although sale of livestock is more common among nomadic communities and its ratio is higher, yet the average price obtained for livestock is higher in agricultural settlements. The cause of this lies in the kind of animals sold rather than in the method of sale. From our own interviews and interrogation it became

clear that nomadic communities offer larger numbers of he-goats, particularly the younger ones, for sale, which is less prevalent amongst cultivators, and so the average price of livestock sold in 1975-6 was 1,755 rials among nomadic livestock holders and 2,086 rials among village dwellers.

Investigation in the sample area revealed that Rural communities as a whole gained Rls. 550,650 or 5% of their total income through livestock sales, while nomadic communities gained Rls. 147, 450 or 29% of their total incomes.

Survey Area

Table No. IV 22

Income from livestock sales

	Livestock holder households	No. of seller households	Per cent of seller households	No. of livestock in 1975-6	No. of animals sold	Per cent of animals sold	Total value	Av.No. of animals sold per seller household	Average value per head
Sangān	37	14	38	1,241	148	12	290,900	10	1,992
Tamandān	44	10	23	1,151	81	7	203,900	8	2,517
Gazak	5	5	100	152	24	16	39,250	5	1,635
Pavel	3	2	67	107	13	12	16,600	7	1,276
Total	89	31	35	2,651	264	10	550,650	9	2,086
Chahak	13	12	92	439	68	15	119,900	6	1,763
Gorz	8	4	50	145	16	11	27,550	4	1,721
Total	21	16	76	584	84	14	147,450	5	1,755

So far as we have learned, the most severe limitation to livestock holding in Baluchestan is the shortage of pastures and fodder, which is a basic characteristic of that generally barren area. There are few rich Baluches who can afford to buy in fodder. Thus the unfavourable natural conditions and general poverty of the Baluch, which is the effect of the former, are the limiting features, and also the main causes of livestock losses in the area. Our own studies have led us to the conclusion that besides this general limitation, diseases rank as second in importance. Because of shortage of pastures and fodder, livestock malnutrition is so important that it overshadows livestock diseases as a problem. We did not therefore make a separate survey on the subject, particularly as the Baluches themselves did not put special stress on the subject. Some of the prevalent diseases are common everywhere; but some could probably be indigenous to this area. Diseases reported by the inhabitants are:

- (a) Charbon : the most important and probably the best-known of all, it is a virulent and most contagious form of anthrax. Customarily, they dig the earth to 18 m deep and put the corpse of the diseased animal in it. Then they spread quicklime over the corpse.
- (b) Pupi : a bronchial affection with the infected animal's lungs becoming very swollen and expanded. Neither the cause nor the remedy are known.
- (c) Gargi : which is the equivalent of scab (mange). The infected animal loses hair or wool.
- (d) Smallpox.
- (e) Rikhuk or livestock diarrhoea.

These are the principal diseases only.

Water Supply : as already discussed in Chapter 2, the qanat is the main source of water supply for this area. Most water contains sulphate salts, sodium sulphate and calcium bicarbonate, giving an acid or at best a neutral pH. For this reason, it is impossible to dig and maintain deep or semi-deep wells, and those that have been dug have generally proved a failure, as their installations, motors, buoyant pumps and pipes soon corrode : they often fall into the well or their mechanism becomes useless. The special geographical conditions of the area in general, as well as the existence of underground water, have proved the qanats to be of vital importance from olden times as the best source of water. However, in the western part of Taftan, in Koosheh dehestan, in the twin-village under our survey, Varaj-Tamandān, there flows a small river called Mehran-rood, which originates from small springs coming out of the Taftan heights in an area called Bar-ab. The amount of water in this river is not the same throughout the year : in late summer and during autumn it shows a considerable decrease and necessitates water distribution according to local traditional system.

Therefore, in the two dehestans of our study, the main water sources are : qanats and springs in Sangān, qanats and the river in Koosheh; river only in Varaj-Tamandān.

In Sangān dehestan, there are 24 qanats, large and small, in 20 villages. 13 villages use spring water, but in these it must be noted that no more than 3 to 4 households in the villages use spring water.

In the villages utilizing qanat water, by no means are all the 24 qanats operating : some are completely dry and some produce very little. The most productive of all is

the qanat of Sangān (Colly) and the longest one belongs to the village of Solki; it consists of 30 qanat wells covering a tunnel of 300 m between the mother well to the surface.

In some villages of Sangān dehestan, flood water and deposit are used to fertilize the lands. In Sangān village itself, for example, during the rainy season, floods flow from the mountain towards the village. This flood-water has gradually formed a channel, but the inhabitants have also had a major part in shaping and directing its course, which seems to be a relatively ancient traditional procedure in this area. This flood-channel runs from the north-west to the south-east at the foot of a mountain rising outside the village of Sangān. The channel's bed is 1.5 m wide. The owners of the lands lying at the two sides of the channel have planted two rows of tamarisk trees along its banks as a means of control. In this way, also, flood waters are directed towards their lands so that the sediment is left over their fields. There is also a tradition of making dams, but their constructed dams are not strong enough to resist torrential rainfalls. In 1976, for example, a bulldozer had earlier been used to build three dams 40 days before the flood came. Yet, as described in Chapter 2 the flood, when it came, was so strong that it took a heavy toll of livestock as well as one human life.

As already mentioned, the main source of water in Tamandan is the river Mehran. Sharing supplies is no problem when rainfall is good, but in dry seasons, however, the Tamandanes (who are upstream) do not leave any for the lower down villages - they are able to do this as the result

of their power and influence as well as the great area of land in their possession. As well, a very strict water rationing policy must be following among themselves. This has been discussed in the relevant chapter.

Sources of water in villages of the Sangan area

	Number	Number of households	Area of land irrigated (ha)	Number of villages
Qanat	24	177	68	20
Spring	11	68	34	13
Total	-	245	102	33

As regards other activities in our survey area, we can only state here that some centuries ago ammonium chloride was dug out from veins in parts of the Taftan piedmont. This actually is referred to in older literature. Confirmation of a kind arises from the fact that in the recent past there were a group of people near Taftan who were skilled in making gunpowder from local minerals.

26. A dike in Sangān.

27. A pond in Gazak.



Shops and Co-operatives

It is necessary now to consider one other economic activity within our sample area: retail trading. This shows marked variation, with direct barter, retail shops, and, since 1965, co-operative organisations. No cooperative exists in the pastoral areas, but there are 4 or 5 persons in Chahak and Gorz who are members of the cooperatives of Torshab and Sangān.

In the agrarian area there are cooperative companies in Sangān and Tamandan. The former was established in 1965 with a capital sum of Rls. 12,000. Until 1969, when it was "officially" opened, it supplied only fertilizer, sugar and kerosene. Now it has 611 members including inhabitants of Sangān and 33 other villages of the relevant dehestan as well as of the two villages Tamin and Torshāb, where two branches of the Sangān cooperative have been opened. As the problems of the Sangān and Vāraj-Tamandān cooperatives are in effect identical only one of them - the cooperative company of Sangān is discussed in detail.

Of the 44 households of the village of Sangān itself, only 3 households - 7% - are not cooperative members, all others are members of the cooperative. Total number of purchased shares is 617, 27% of households have bought 6 to 10 shares, whilst the proportion of households who hold more than 20 shares amount to 27.5%. Price of a share is 50 rials.

At present, the board of managers consists of 8 members, but there were 5 prior to the attachment of Tamin and Torshāb. The chairman and a deputy are from Sangān;

a permanent and a substitute member are from Tamin; two members (a permanent and a substitute) are from Torshab; and two members (as above) are from Pavel and Pootchgoly. The Managing Director is selected by the board of managers and responsible bodies of the Cooperatives Organisation. The board of managers itself is elected by members in a general assembly by open votes. However, people's acquaintance with the number and identity of the members of the board of managers, as well as their selection method was very limited and uncertain; so that none of the 19 respondents, when asked, could give a correct answer to the question relating to the number and persons comprising the board of managers. Only 14% claimed that they knew every one of them; but, in fact, they did not. When asked about who elected the members of the Board of Managers, 66% kept silent and only about 11% gave the correct answer. As regards method of management selection, 80% were silent while answers provided by others were obviously irrelevant and very varied.

Number and distribution of shares purchased by the
37 member households in Sangam Cooperative

Table No. IV 23

No. of shares	No. of households	Per cent
1 - 5	5	13.5
6 - 10	10	27
11 - 15	6	16
16 - 20	6	16
21 - 25	2	5.5
26 - 30	2	5.5
31 - 35	3	8
46 - 50	2	5.5
52	1	3
Total	37	100

Number of members of the Cooperative board of managers
and their identity as perceived by shareholders

Table No. IV 24

Number of members of the board of managers	
Reported number	No. of respondents
5	13
4	3
6	1
7	1
3	1
Not reported	25
Total	44

How many of the above-mentioned members are known to you?

All of them	14
Some of them	6
None of them	3
Not reported	21
Total	44

Selection of members of the Cooperative's
board of managers

Table No. IV 25

Who selects?		How?	
<u>Those who select</u>	No. of respondents	<u>Method of selection</u>	No. of respondents
People and inhabitants	6	By people's votes	2
Share-holders in the company	5	By the 5-member commission	-
Municipality, people, and Cooperatives Organization	1	By open votes of members	4
Government	1	Chairman of the Court of Zahedan comes	1
I am not there to know!	1	By convening a session!	1
Board of managers itself	1	Not reported	35
Not reported	29	-	-
	44		44

28. The facade of the co-operative company
of Sangān.

29. The co-operative of Tamandān.



Loans in the agricultural sector have a maximum of no more than Rls. 20,000, whilst the maximum loaned for fattening livestock is Rls. 70,000. But the Managing Director of the Company told the author "As there is the possibility of spending these loans on dealing and carrying smuggled goods, and as we are not sure about how they are spent, we have to be very careful".

Loans are paid in kind, or cash : as seed, fertilizer or as short seasonal loans, as already discussed in the chapter on agricultural expenses. Investigation showed that this company granted to the inhabitants of Torshāb 19 loans amounting to Rls. 68,030 in all. Thus the average amount per applicant is no more than Rls. 3,580 : maximum amount of these loans was Rls. 7020 and the minimum Rls. 2,410. The basic problem with these loans relates to interest demanded, bearing in mind the Islamic dislike of usury - particularly when there is a formal commitment to paying interest. As a result, locals tend to borrow from sources other than the Cooperative. Moreover, despite their somewhat higher prices, people prefer to purchase goods from the retail, private shops rather than the Cooperative because in the latter, prices must be paid in cash only. In almost every instance surveyed prices demanded by the shop are higher than those asked by the Cooperative; but people shop in the former because it sells on credit. Besides, there is a greater amount and variety of goods available in shops than in the Cooperative. Sangan has two shops. In general, 25% of people shop only at the Cooperative; 30% shop at both the Cooperative and retail shops, while about 25% shop in

Zahedan and Khash as well. This last group comprises mostly government employees and people who have some means of transport. Hence, about 55% buy goods from other sources as well as from the Cooperative. When questioned about the reason, 28% of the 25 persons who did so reported the possibility of shopping on credit as their reason (that confirms our previous statement); 24% reported the Cooperative shop was not regularly open, which - if all the answers are correct - relates to the defficient management of the Cooperative company. 20% reported that some commodities were not available in the Cooperative. Not selling on credit, the limited working hours of the Cooperative shop, and short supply of commodities are consequently the most important issues that the Cooperatives ought to take into consideration : if they are to maintain and expand their services. They must particularly pay attention to the peculiar attitudes and cultural background of people in the area when they compile their operating rules. The responsible bodies should not insist on compiling one unique set of rules for all the areas throughout the country in order to expand their work and propagate basic principles of cooperation among people.

There are two shops in Sangān while there is none in Varaj-Tamandan, but there is a shop in Koosheh, which is a neighbour-village very close to Vāraj-Tamandān. In addition to all the commodities available in cooperatives, these shops also sell other goods required by the inhabitants : sewing materials, different cloths, nesvār (nas) which is a mixture of lime, and a kind of tobacco, used as a smoking material,

varieties of pain-killing tablets, batteries, ointments, lamps, wheat, flour, elementary school stationery, a variety of hard sweets, lanterns, shoes, and clothing etc., that are not usually sold at the cooperative - or, at least, they were not available in the cooperative shop when we were in the area.

Mohammad Qader, one of the shop-keepers, said that most of his transactions were on credit as well as barter. He barterers his commodities for wheat, maize, or barley : onekg of tea, cost Rls. 270 per kg in return for 18 kg of wheat, for instance. After a while, when the wheat and barley, or corn, have been accumulated into a considerable amount, he sells them ^{to} by a city dealer. [?]

The cooperatives may either be closed when customers from other villages arrive, or may even refuse to sell goods to inhabitants of other villages. These people who have neither time to spend in villages nor the power and influence to induce the manager of the cooperative shop to deal with them go to do their shopping at the other shops.

There are two flour mills in Sangān, and two in Tamandān. The larger mill at Sangān, is located at the head of the stream and, therefore, is more powerful. It belongs jointly to Haj Amir Khan, the sardar, and his brother Haj Khalil, the Cadkhodā : the former has four shares and the latter one share. This mill can grind 600 kg of wheat over 24 hours. The other mill of Sangān belongs to Haj Nazar from Tagzi-zehie barāsrān, who lives in Gorz but has some share in land and water rights in Sangān. This mill is

less powerful because it is far from the origin of the stream and water reaches it only after passing through fields and orchards. It, therefore, grinds less than the former. Depending on the amount of water, it can mill 120 - 180 kg of wheat per 12 hours. Millet, barley and maize are also ground by the same mills. One kilogramme out of every 12 km of grains must be paid to the owner of the mill. Besides residents of Sangān, customers bring their grain from Darrooneh, Gorz, Espetak, Gazak, Pavel, Bolani, Darreh-Koochi, Khoshab and Pootchgoly.

One of the two mills of Varaj-Tamandan belongs to Haj Noshirvan, the tribal head. This is a water-mill located between Varaj and Tamandān, where there is sufficient water to run it. The owner did not receive any money from people for letting them grind their grain in this mill. There is also a motor-driven mill in Koosheh which is called a 'fire-mill'. Until two years ago, people took their grain to Haj Noshirvan's mill. But this mill is now closed, and people have to carry their grain to the 'fire-mill' in Koosheh, which charges 4 rials cash for grinding every 6 kg of wheat.

Customers by area and place of purchase

Table No. IV 26

Place of purchase	Source of purchase	Sangan		Tamandan		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
The village only	Cooperative	11	25	-	-	11	12.5
	Shops and Cooperative	13	29.5	-	-	13	15
Village and outside the village	Khash	4	9	34	77	38	43
	Zahedan	3	7	5	11.5	8	9
	Khash and Zahedan	5	11.5	-	-	5	5.7
	Does not purchase at all	1	2	-	-	1	1.2
	Not reported	7	16	3	7	10	11.3
	Non-member	-	-	2	4.5	2	2.3
	Total	44	100	44	100	88	100

Reasons why purchase is made from sources
other than the Cooperative

(25 cases studied)

Table No. IV 27

	Shop	City	Total	%
Possibility of buying on credit	6	1	7	28
Co-op closed	4	2	6	24
Absence of certain commodities in the Co-op	1	4	5	20
Living in two places (Sangan and Khash)	0	2	2	8
Higher quality of tea and loaf sugar in the city	0	1	1	4
Not reported	2	2	4	16
Total	13	12	25	100

30. A mill in Sangān.



C H A P T E R V

The Social Geography of the Kordi Tribe

The Social Geography of the Kordi Tribe

Tribal Origin and History

As discussed in Chapter II, tribal elements played very significant roles in the history of Iran subsequent to the Arab invasion. One tribal unit would gain superiority in power and become dominant, provoking resistance from the others to a varying extent. One frequent method adopted by the successful superior power which had evolved from a tribal unit to national supremacy was to disperse resistant and hostile tribes to different parts of the country. Two objectives were achieved by this method (1) the resistant core would itself be weakened, (2) the power of the superior tribe (or the government) would be increased by dispersal of recalcitrant opponents to different parts of the country, particularly as the government would usually assign certain missions or responsibilities to them in their new areas, such as frontier surveillance or collection of taxes. In this way they were controlled by the central government for which they had to be agents in order to exist. So as to extinguish the inevitable resistance of native peoples upon whom they were forced in new areas, the migrant groups were forced to collaborate with central government, as their sole support.

This is an event that has happened to the Kords several times. The Kords formerly lived, in ancient times, in western Iran - Kordestan, Kermanshah and a part of West Azarbayejan. The Kords who are now living in Baluchestan at the present are the descendants of a Kord tribe that was forced into this area during the reign of the Shah Abbas Safavid The

Great; and thus an offshoot of the general Kord (Kurd) peoples located on the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. Nader Shah (1732-1747) too, exiled and resettled a fraction of the Kord tribe to Qoochan in Khorasan. These last still live there and are known as Qoochani Kords. Like the Kords of Baluchestan, they too have forgotten their native Kordi language and have subsequently adopted the language of the local people which is a special dialect of Turkish called Qoochani Turkish. In the stories that the Kords of Baluchestan narrate about their own origin and migration to this area, which are a mixture of legend and history, both of these migrations forced upon them by Nader Shah and Shah Abbas are referred to and sometimes intermixed. It is necessary to mention that Nader Shah is a very famous figure in Baluchestan, since on his way to conquer India he had passed through Baluchestan and the Baluch sardars assisted his army as guides to India. To this day the Baluch sardars honour the fact of their forefathers' assistance to Shah's army, and preserve documents (1736 - 1740) by which Nader Shah made over certain lands within Baluchestan to those sardars in recompense on their return from India. Like many other Baluch sardars, the Kord sardars are also interested in claiming to have had a sort of accepted and continuing relationship with the court of Nader Shah. They justify their presence in their present area as due to assignment by the central government to collect taxes and act as frontier officials. To get a better understanding of the story of their migration narrated by the Kords themselves, the above-mentioned points must be taken into consideration. The Kord tribe in its present location thus

seems to represent an act of calculated political dispersal, not an accident of nomadic or other wandering at will, that happened to bring them to their present location.

The Kord tribe recognise themselves to be descended from one Hossein Kord, who it is said lived during the reign of Shah Abbas Safavid (1587 - 1629). He was one of the better known warriors responsible for the collection of tribute and taxes in India under the Moghul rulers. It seems more probable however that the man lived during the reign of Nader Shah Afshar rather than Shah Abbas Safavid; because it was Nader Shah, not Shah Abbas, who succeeded in conquering India and collecting tribute.

Having travelled by sea to Karachi and then to Bengal, Hossein later returned to Iran by land, because travelling by sea made him sea-sick. He eventually arrived in Khash via Panjgoor and Saravan. The men of Khash had rebelled under the command of a man called Adrew Shah, who had fortified a castle for his purpose (Qaleh Adrew-Shah, a few kilometres south of Khash). Hossein Kord assembled his own and his men's weapons, and smuggled them into the castle, he himself being dressed as a merchant apparently laden with booty from India.* He spent the day in reconnoitring the castle and gained access at night, killed Adrew Shah, and conquered the castle. Adrew Shah's brother, Pirooz Shah, was elsewhere at a place now called Koosheh and Hossein took him by surprise, killing him as well, before he could hear the news of his brother's death. He also killed Adrew Shah's two other

* This is reminiscent of the story in the Shahnameh of Rostam's stratagem under similar circumstances.

brothers : Bagher Shah at Tamandan and Shahrokh also at Kooteh, exterminating the family. Hossein then went on to Esfahan to the court of the Safavid monarch and gave him the welcome news of the defeat of the Baluchestan rebels as well as the news of the installation of a loyal kootvāl in the castle.

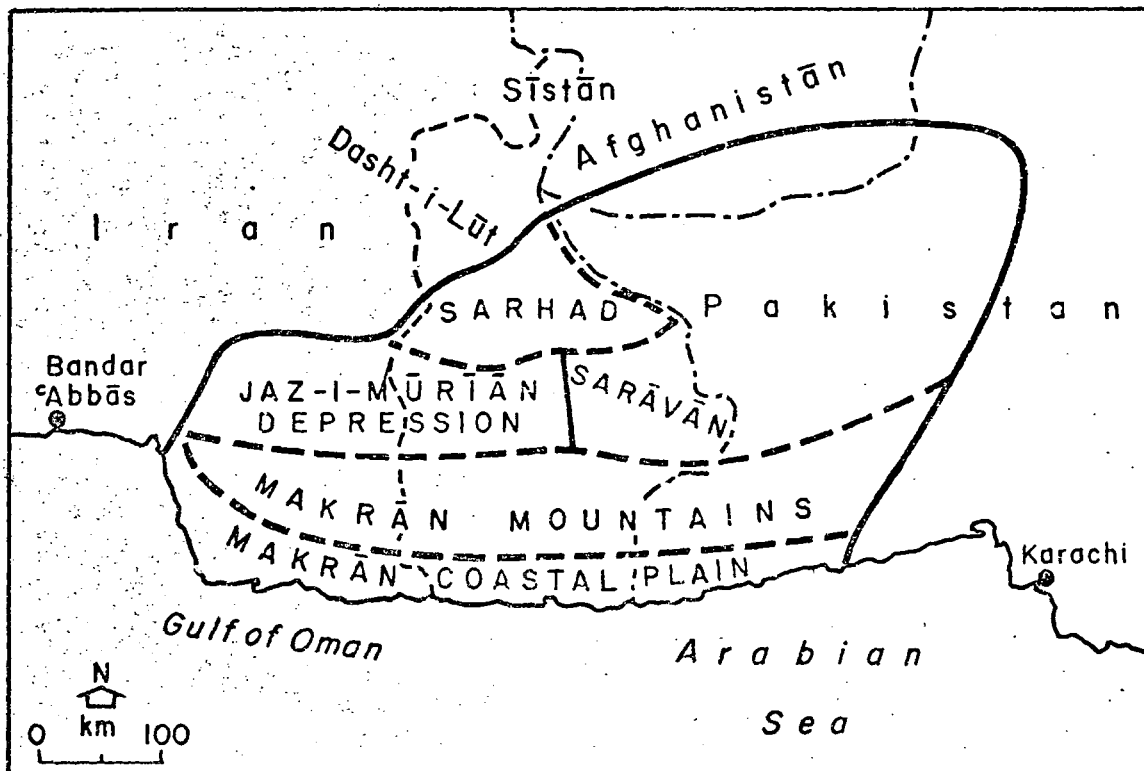
Later, in the presence of the king, a court noble usurped Hossein's chair, following which there was an altercation resulting in Hossein killing him there and then. The king was furious and consulted the other noblemen as to what to do with such a turbulent individual. Everyone advised that it was neither advisable to kill him nor let him stay on at court. Therefore, the king decided to send him to Baluchestan as the frontier official assigned for the collection of taxes, to be paid by taking a share of the taxes collected. He was ordered to Baluchestan with his brother, Utlan. With them were included a writer, who was a Seyyed, as well as some slaves. The Seyyedies who live at present in Bazman, Tamin and Zahedan are the descendants of that Seyyed, and the present Torshabies are the descendants of those slaves.

In Baluchestan Hossein and his brother married the daughters of Adrew Shah and Pirooz Shah; and the other members of his group married other girls who had been taken captive. This is the legend, or history, of why, and how, the Kords came and settled in the Khash area.

There are two further narratives about the previous Kordi settlement. One is the opinion of Sardar Haj Amir Khan, the present sardar of the Kord tribe, who believes that his tribe's original place of settlement was Shahr-e-Kord at

Esfahan. The other narrative points to Qoochan as immediate area of origin; and it is this that confirms our view that the migration to Baluchestan occurred in the 18th Century AD, and not earlier, since it was indisputably and historically verifiable that the present Kords of Qoochan were forced to settle in Qoochan by Nader Shah. The alternative view of a migration from Qoochan to Baluchestan in the time of Shah Abbas is thus hardly tenable.

So far, history and myth are mixed. Direct successors of the hypothetical Hossein Kord are unknown; but the present sardar's geneology goes back over at least 10 generations and attach them, though with some ambiguity, to the first historically clear member of the Kord tribe, who is Qolam Shah thought to have lived during the 16th Century A.D.



- Approximate boundary of ethnic Balūchistān
- - - - - Geographical sub-regions
- - - - - Boundary of Ostān Sīstān-va-Balūchistān
- - - - - International frontiers

The important historical events and the role of the tribe in them, as far as its members can remember, are summarized as follows:

1. The battles of Mirza-Khan (second generation sardar) against the Noshirvanies, and defeat of the latter. This is the only relatively clear historical event of the pre-Qajar era.
2. During most of the Qājār era the formal task of guarding frontiers is entrusted to the Kordi, and during the reign of Zello-sultan they are armed with government supplied rifles.
3. Raids into present-day Pakistan by sardar Shahnavaizie (Dorra-Khan) incited by the Qājārs, for the purpose of carrying off a string of camels, some 1,000 camels were brought back to Iran.
4. Retaliatory raiding of Iran by Sarfaraz-Khan of Pakistan, who was defeated and taken captive by Sardar Saïid-Khan Kord (of sixth generation) in a skirmish between Khash and Narmashir.
5. The battle of Mir Yahya (eighth generation sardar of about 90 years ago) against the Shahnāvazies. Seven out of the eight brothers of Dorra-Khan, the Shahnāvāzie sardar, were killed in this battle, and Kordi casualties were also heavy.
6. In the era of the same Mir Yahya, the village Sangān (Colli) was selected as sardar headquarters.
7. Simultaneous with the weakening of Qājār dynasty, the Kords without much central support, were more and more unable to defend themselves against the Shahnāvāzies (Yar-Mohammad-zehies), and realized that they had no choice but to make

peace with them. With this aim, they ceded to the Shahnavazies 20 out of their 33 qanats in the Poshtkooh region as reparation for the loss of the brothers killed in battle during Mir Yahya's time. They also had to give up some of the lands surrounding the qanats, together with numbers of slaves. Following the settlement, some marriages then took place between the two tribes, particularly between the sardars' families.

8. The outbreak of the first World War, leading to guerilla warfare against the British by the Shahnavaizie and Gamshadzehie tribes.

9. In one of the resulting skirmishes, members of the Shahnavaizie and Gamshad-zehie tribes killed some 300 soldiers of the British Indian army in a valley near Sangan. During this period, the Kords were experiencing a highly bewildered and uncertain state. The central government of Iran was too weak and its power reached in effect hardly beyond the capital. Consequently the Kordi were left to themselves, to make peace or compromise with their warlike neighbouring tribes. Hence a relatively neutral attitude developed.

10. The British asked the Kords to help them fight against the Shahnavaizie tribe; but the Kords kept to their neutral attitude.

11. Eventually, the British had to come to terms with the tribes : they, therefore, promised to the Shahnavaizie, Gamshad-zehie, and Riggi sardars a regular money subvention; and opened an office (something similar to a consulate) in Khash for this purpose.

12. The subsidy (or pension) was paid (sometimes monthly and sometimes annually) to the sardar for five years until the middle of 1918. During that period, the Kords managed to collect taxes and revenues for themselves, as much as their power and influence at the time would allow them.
13. Ahmad Shah Qājār was deposed and monarchy transferred to the Pahlavi dynasty. About this time Doost-Mohammad-khan and Noshirvan-khan of the Barak-zehie tribe rose in rebellion.
14. The Kords cooperated actively with Pahlavi government troops under Timsar (General) Nakhjavan and Timsar Jahanbani to suppress Doost-Mohammad-khan and Noshirvan-khan.
15. This cooperation intensified when 10 Kords were killed by Noshirvan-khan; and Shah-Jahan-khan (Mir Yahya's son and the present sardar's grand-uncle) went to Tehran to get military assistance.
16. The most important battle fought by the Kords in this period was the battle of Sib-Sooran near Saravan, which culminated in the conquest of Iranshahr in 1930.
17. Isa-khan Mobaraki, Mir Abdi, Abdolhossein, Mir Barekat, and Ali Naqdi (of the Shir-khan-zehie tribe) rebelled against the Pahlavi government during 1930-31 in the south of Baluchestan; and the Kords again cooperated with government troops to suppress their rebellion.
18. In 1931, Reza Shah Pahlavi issued the decree forcing a general disarming of all the Baluches.
19. The Yar-Mohammad-zehies (Shahnavazie tribe) resisted the disarmament order and their sardars were arrested. The

Kords this time gave very limited and tepid assistance to government troops in this period.

20. Jeihand-khan, the Shahnāvāzie sardar was arrested and sent to Mashhad jail, but was released later by mediation of Timsar Jahanbani. The disarming affair was prolonged until 1934.

21. In 1935, Brigadier-General Alborz was appointed as Commander of Khash brigade. He was suspicious of the Riggi tribe and arrested their sardars : Idu-khan, the sardar of Khash, and his brother Lashgar-khan, as well as his son Shah-No; Roodin-khan; Mehrollah-khan, the sardar of Mirjaveh and Ladiz; and also Jeihand-khan, the Shahnāvāzie sardar, together with two of his sons. Mehrab-khan Baran-zehie rose in rebellion against the government in Koohac; but was besieged and defeated by General Alborz.

22. No sooner had General Alborz returned from the above battle that the Shahnāvazies rose in rebellion, to be joined by the Esmael-zehie (Shah-bakhsh) tribe in rebellion. General Alborz, assisted by the Kords, fought against the Shahnāvāzies and the Shah-bakhshes. It was in this period that the government adopted the policy of encouraging sedentarization of tribes; and General Alborz paid a bonus to anybody who built a mud-brick house to settle in. Agricultural activity was also encouraged.

23. Having obtained an amnesty for sardar Idu-khan and Lashgar-khan, Timsar Jahanbani arrived in Baluchestan, and General Alborz was recalled to Tehran, to be replaced by General Mohammad Ali Pooria as commander of Khash brigade.

24. The Shahnāvazies surrendered, but the Shah-bakhshes continued resistance.

25. General Pooria was replaced by General Amin to fight the Shah-bakhshes, who were eventually defeated. Some of the tribal leaders were banished to Shiraz, and the remaining escaped to British India, now Pakistan.

In all the above-mentioned battles, the Kords cooperated more or less actively with central government. Sardar Amir-khan's father and grand-father (Behrooz-khan and Abdolkarim-khan) each had an official rank in the army equivalent to major. The present sardar himself was a non-commissioned officer in the government army until 1935, when he was transferred to the gendarmerie with the rank of sergeant-major. He served in the gendarmerie for five years until 1940, when he had to resign to replace his father, who was too old then to perform his duties as sardar. But he still served as an honorary frontier guard besides being the tribal sardar. Control of frontiers in Mirjaveh, as far as the vicinity of Jalq, was entrusted to him, in terms of an official order by the then Commander of Khash army.

26. As the second World War began, the Kords, Shahnāvazies and Riggis occupied some passes and defiles along the route from Mirjaveh to Quetta (in British India) in order to embarrass the British. But the government ordered them to desist from any resistance and leave the defiles.

27. After the second World War, the most important event is the incident of Dadshah's rebellion of 1961-2 in which the Kords had no part.

This recital of events that the Kords narrate as their history after their arrival in Baluchestan clearly substantiates the two points that have been discussed previously, namely :

1. The relationship between central government and a migrant tribe, in which the migrant tribe is often dependent on the government for support and protection in the new territory. The historical events relating to the Kord tribe indicate that whenever the central government was powerful and able to protect them, the Kords were aggressive in their new area; but when the central government was weakened, the Kords lost their superior position and were obliged to make peace and live peacefully with their neighbouring tribes.

2. The duty of collecting taxes and guarding frontiers, assigned to them by the central government, with the Kords able to perform this duty properly only when the central government is able to protect them. This was part of a general policy operated by central government in its dealings with the geographical and tribal periphery : the Kordi experience illustrates its operation in regional detail.

Language. The Kord tribe as a branch of the larger Kordish people, originally spoke Kordish. Following migration into Baluchestan, the tribe lost its original language and now speaks Baluchi. However, the situation regarding the Mir-Kords is different. This group, as we saw, was forced to leave Baluchestan, and settle in Sistan. Here they acquired the Sistani dialect of Farsi, which they now use among themselves talking to one another. But they also often speak Baluchi, which they employ in conversation with the Baluches.

Studies in the area reveal that after their arrival and settlement in Baluchestan, the Kords lost all links and communication with Kordestan. This is hardly surprising, since the distance between Kordestan and their present habitation in Baluchestan is about 2,500 km. Travelling anyway in the difficult country between was a further inhibiting factor, as was also the attitude in the part of central government, which did not favour maintenance of such links. Consequently it proved impossible for the Kords to maintain contact with their original homeland, and instead, had to make communication with their new neighbours. As a minority group and strangers in the area, it was impossible for them to impose their language on the majority Baluch people and they therefore were constrained to learn the Baluchi language. Since there were no schools at that time through which Kordi could be taught and maintained, and writing was not practiced with all communications oral, they gradually

seem to have forgotten their original language, for which they felt no need. The case of the Mirs is different, as we saw, but easily explicable. They were able to retain their Sistani dialect of Farsi among themselves because their home area is much closer to Sistan about 300 km only; and there has always been a sort of continuing relationship between Mir families in Sistan and Baluchestan, especially as the Mirs used Sistan as a refuge in time of invasion.

Religion. All the Kord tribes who live in Kordestan are Sunnis of the Shafeii branch, like many other non-Shia groups in western Iran. However, much of southern and eastern Iran, as far as Iranian Torkamanestan is, or was in earlier days occupied by Hanafite Sunnis. Consequently when the Kords were impelled to settle in Baluchestan, they were Shafei Sunnis like the other Kordish tribes, but they settled in an area where all the inhabitants were Hanafite Sunnis. As living by the side of Baluch neighbours forced them to abandon their original Kordish language, so also they took on the beliefs and practices of the Hanafite Sunnis as well as the religion of the surrounding Baluch people and the whole region. Two factors contributed to this change : intermarriage and growing links with neighbouring tribes; and the fact that differences between Shafei and Hanafite rites are very small. The two groups are in agreement on three principles (1) the unity of God (Towhid); (2) Mohammad as the prophet who was appointed by God; and (3) belief in a day of resurrection.

In the stories that they narrate in connection with their origin, they speak of a Seyyed Qanbar who was sent

by Shah Abbas to introduce the Shiite faith into Baluchestan. This story indicates that the people of the area were at that time Sunni; otherwise, there would have been no reason to send someone to convert them. This was the religious policy of the Safavid court at the time. The Safavid rulers were Shiite Moslems who followed a policy of emphasizing Shia religious identity for Iran as a counter to the frequent invasions of Ottoman Turks who were fervent Sunni Moslems, as well as against other Sunni Moslim rulers who were potential enemies. As the story reveals, Seyyed Qanbar was eventually killed in Baluchestan, which indicates the resistance of people against accepting Shiism, and is another indication the people were originally Sunni. However, there is an interesting further point in this story, which is that Seyyed Qanbar was supposed to have been killed by a Gabr (Zoroastrian) king. There is no likelihood of the presence of any powerful Zoroastrian community in Baluchestan at that time, some thousand years after the conversion of Iranians into Islam. It would seem likely that by attributing this murder to a Zoroastrian king, the Baluches tried to conceal their own participation in this action which would have, obviously, brought them into conflict with the powerful Safavid army.

With the failure of Qanbar's efforts, conversion to the Shia faith did not occur. The Kords, originally Shafei Sunnis, remained Sunnis, with the only change that has taken place as a result of their migration being the change from Shafei to Hanafite beliefs.

There are mosques in Sangan and in Tamandan, and in both the plain architecture of a rural mosque is accompanied by the total lack of ornamentation peculiar to Sunni mosques. It is hardly possible in fact to distinguish the mosques from rural houses, unless one is informed by the inhabitants, or its exceptional cleanliness takes the attention. Disarmament of tribes before and after the Second World War, establishment of the central government's power in the area, disappearance of local and other skirmishing and plundering, together with the greater prestige and authority given by the central government to the Molavies (Baluch religious leaders) during recent years, have resulted in the growing popularity of religion and the prosperity of the Molavies themselves.

Moreover, because the Kordi area enjoys a more productive agricultural system, and its inhabitants have a more religious awareness, piety is increasingly recognized and accepted as a manifestation of civilization. This new way of life contrasts with the old way of fighting and the former barbarism, looting, and impiety of the Baluches are strongly condemned by the Kordi, particularly as they claim that they have themselves never been engaged in it. Thus the Molavies and their preaching are widely demanded by a great many Baluches, generally, so that Allah's share of crops and livestock (which one assigned to the Molavie) is paid more or less honestly and much more scrupulously than the 2% development share due from each village. In general, popularity of religion has been in direct relation to agricultural development : wherever agriculture is more

flourishing and the community more detached from pastoral and tribal characteristics, religion is more firmly established. In the pastoral communities of this study, for instance, people do not welcome the Molavies, and the latter, in their turn, do not show any interest in going to visit them partly also because they are scattered in remote places. On the other hand, religious observance is especially common in Sangān; and the community of Tamandan may also be regarded as one in which religion has struck deep roots and piety is more popular than in other places.

Spatial Distribution As already mentioned, the major dehestans inhabited by the Kordi tribe are Sangān and Koosheh. Besides these two, other dehestans are partially inhabited by Kords : Eskelābād (including the villages Deh-pābid, Kahnook, Nāzil, Mirābād), Tamin, Lādiz, and Poshtkooh (including Dehe-bala, and Camālābād). There are also some Kordi households in Irandegān, Zābol, and Zāboli that are not included in our statistics. According to our estimations - based on the Village Gazetteer of the Statistical Centre of Iran, the 1966 National Census - total population of the above villages in general amounted to 924 households, of which 597 households (65%) belonged to the Kord tribe and the remainder to other tribes, who are mostly associated with or subordinate to the Kords.

Some 742 out of the 924 total households are covered by the present research, of these 134 were selected as sample households; that is, 14.5% of the total population and 18% of the population of the area under study. The following table gives somewhat more detail.

Kords and Dependent communities

1966 Census

Table No. VII

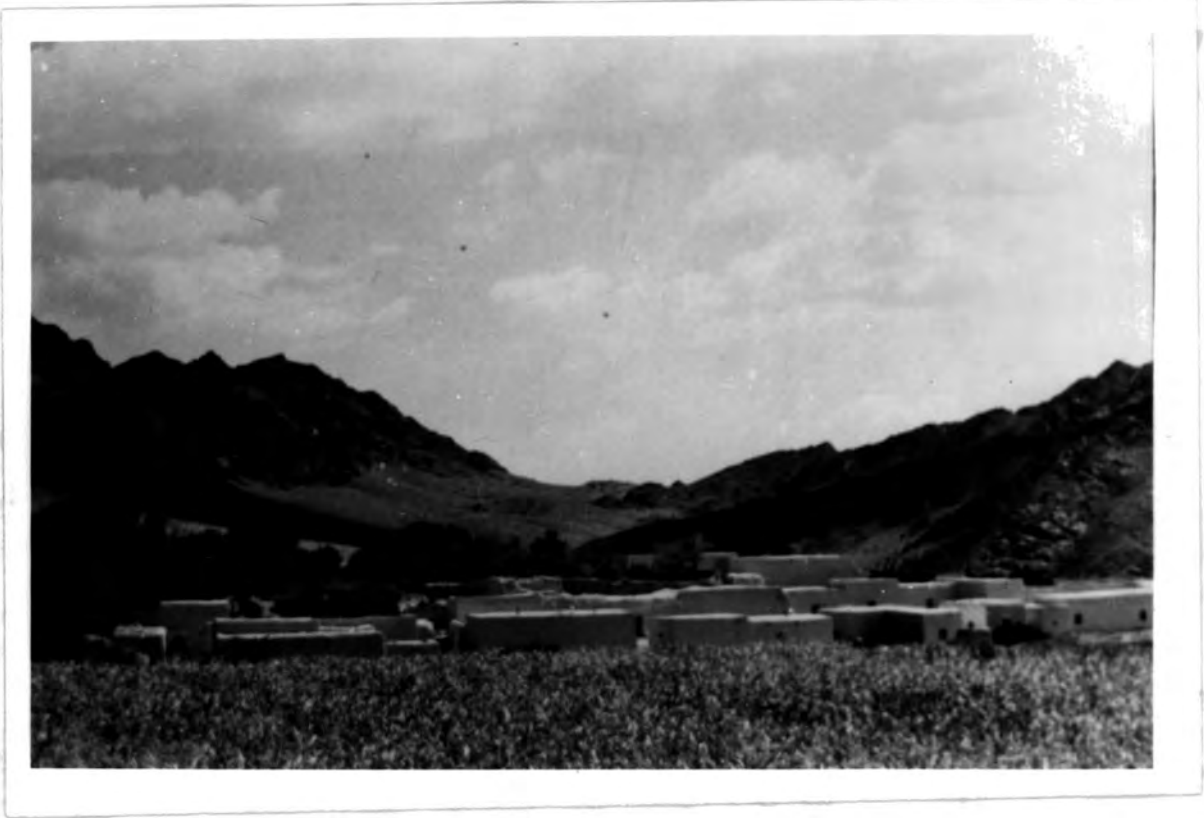
Dehes- tan (rural district)	Total Number of vill- ages	Kordi vill- ages	No. of Kord house- holds	Per cent	No. of non-Kord house- holds	Per cent	Total house- holds	Kord popul- ation	Non-Kord popul- ation	Total popul- ation
Sangān	33	33	145	59	100	41	245	688	475	1163
Koosheh	31	31	349	70	148	30	497	1758	754	2512
Posht- * Kooh	-	2	30	59	21	41	51	143	126	269
Eskel- * abad	-	4	41	59	28	41	69	170	185	355
Tamin	-	1	30	50	30	50	60	155	155	310
Lādiz	-	1	2	100	-		2	7		7
Total		72	597	65	327	35	924	2921	1695	4616

For the three dehestans Poshtkooh, Eskelābād and Tamin, which include a total of seven villages, the separation of Kord and non-Kord population is based on personal estimation. The inaccuracy of the data, if any, is probably towards over-estimation rather than as under-estimation, because according to our own assessments, the Kord population of the area can hardly be more than 597 households. In Sangan dehestan, where the Kords' major nomadic and settled assembling centres are located, the ratio of Kord to non-Kord population is about 3:2 - i.e. Kords number about 60%. It is therefore improbable for the ratio to be more than that in those seven villages, which are relatively far from the Kords' assembling centres. The dehestan of Koosheh, which is inhabited by the Mir-Kords, is an exceptional case, over and above these figures, with nearer 70% Kords.

The most important gathering centres of the Kords are villages Sangan or Kolly with 44 households, Tamandan-Varaj with 65 households, Kooteh with 70 households, Koosheh with 65 households, Valan with 55 households, and Nāroon with 43 households. Because of the difficulty of distinguishing nomads from settled groups, the term 'gathering centres' has been employed here - it does not mean specific points of assembly, but rather a settled village with some nomads who regard it as a 'base'.

31. A view of a part of Sangān.

32. The mosque, the sacred tree, and a part of
the black tents in Sangān.



33. A part of the lands of Gorz.

34. Tents and a part of the lands of Gorz.



35. A view of a part of Varaj.

36. A view of Pavel.



Rural and Tribal Patterns of Livelihood

The majority of Kord households are engaged in agriculture : that is to say that they are settled in villages and do not move except for a few weeks a year when they leave their village and move up to 20 km at the most to look after their livestock during the birth of young animals. Numbers of 'full' pastoral nomads are however quite significant though a minority of the Kords, and we have included two settlements - Chahac and Gorz, where pastoralism dominates in our samples in order to make a comparison between the two patterns. Generally speaking the nomadic pastoralists now occupy what are, environmentally speaking, the fringe and marginal lands lacking water and good soil. The pastoralists are also those communities and individuals who do not possess rights in land : in the absence of land and water in their possession, they are left with no other choice but to search for pasture with their animals. Considering the number of livestock they have, and low yields from these, not only is their economy far from equal in returns to that of the settled tribal population, but in most respects it is weaker and distinctly more backward. To the outside observer, the difference between the nomadic and the settled patterns of life lies not in any qualitative or quantitative superiority of one pattern to the other, but in the fact that the permanence of nomadic pattern of life and tribal culture is ensured more by the pastoral, rather than by the agricultural way of livelihood. We have already discussed the issue in more detail in the chapter on economic life.

Housing : Settled and Nomadic Communities

One of the most obvious and outstanding manifestations of the differences between these two ways of life is the variation of their dwelling style. Dwellings could be classified summarily as -

- (i) permanent - mud-brick built, with wooden door, metal window frames etc.
- (ii) temporary and moveable - tents of various kind,
- (iii) semi-permanent - palm-leave hut (capar) construction, or rough use of materials for shelter. In many cases, these could be described as shanties.

All three types of housing are often found intermixed, so that the classification is in some respects 'academic'. Once again, there is the difficulty of gradation - how permanent is corrugated iron sheet? In the present instance, we have attempted to draw one major distinction - between permanent, brick-built constructions, and tents.

Applying this to the sample area, the information is detailed in the following table.

As regards settlement and building of mud-brick houses, Sangān and Tamandan villages in particular are of relatively older date. This is because during Mir Yahya's era (Nasser-ed-din Shah's reign : 1848-98), Sangān was selected as the sardar's headquarters. Between the two World Wars, when Doost-Mohammad-khan's rebellion was suppressed and the government enforced its policy of disarming the tribes, settlement and building of mud-brick houses were encouraged;

so that General Alborz, commander of Khash army brigade at the time, paid prizes and bonuses to any household which built itself a house. Hence, the first mud-brick houses were built in Sangan between the years 1936 and 1940, with the sardar's family the first household to build.

In Tamandan mud-brick houses were built from 1958 onwards, when Haj Noshirvan, the present sardar of the Mir-Kord tribe was the first to construct a house. Though house-building started in Tamandan later than in Sangan, rapid growth of its agricultural economy has led to 93% of its households now living in mud-brick construction, with the corresponding ratio for Sangan only 50%.

A somewhat special feature of Sangan is that 65% of households have built rooms and tents together, which is a very high proportion compared to the remainder of the sample villages, where this 'mix' is now very unusual.

Number of rooms per household in settled communities in many instances is more than one. In general, 50% of households have more than one room, 25% 3 to 4 rooms.

The actual number of tents in the settled area is also higher than in normal territory. Reason is, in part, that the settled communities often employ both types - tents and houses, with 10% of households even having more than one tent; whereas there is not a single household among the pastoral nomads with more than one tent. This is in part purely an index of poverty and low living standards.

37. Building a mud-brick house in Sangān.

38. Building a mud-brick house in Sangān.



39. A capar (palm-leave hut) .

40. A kitchen capar.



Type of Housing in the Sample Area

Table No. V 2

Village	Number of Sample households	Built Room only		Tent only		Both	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sangān	44	4	9	22	50	18	41
Tamandān	44	-	-	3	7	41	93
Gazak	5	-	-	5	100	-	-
Pa vel	3	-	-	-	-	3	100
Total	96	4	4	30	31	62	65
Chahak	13	-	-	13	100	-	-
Gorz	10	-	-	9	96	1	4
Total	23	-	-	22	-	1	-

Table No. V. 3

Number of Housing Units in the Area

Village	No. of sample households	No. of built dwelling : Rooms				Tent			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Sangān	44	10	6	4	2	37	2	1	-
Tamandān	44	22	10	4	5	40	4		
Gazak	5					5			
Pavel	3	1	1	1		2	1		
Total	96	33	17	9	7	84	7	1	
Per Cent	-	50	25	14	11	91	8	1	
Chahak	13					13			
Gorz	10	1				10			
Total	23	1				23			

Methods of Constructing Dwellings. Permanent houses are in most cases built by the owner himself assisted to a varying extent by a bricklayer and a few labourers. A bricklayer's wage is usually 400 rials a day, in addition to provision of mid-day meal and cigarettes. A construction labourer's wage is 200 rials plus meals. Construction tends to follow one or two simple modules, with the fixed size of door etc. having a dominant influence. Thus rooms are mostly square in shape, with the entrance door usually one metre wide and two metres high. Windows are one metre in length and width. The roofs are usually made of apricot wood, or more especially date palm trunks; with the inner side of the roof lined with reeds. The walls are made of mud brick, or stone with clay filling. Of recent years stone has become more popular, though more expensive. Timber, if bought (which it usually is) costs at least 1,000 rials per baulk. As stated by the people themselves during the survey, a wooden door costs 4,000 rials and an iron door 5,000 rials. Iron doors and windows, though unsuitable for the area, have recently become popular among some well-to-do households, which the author regards as regrettable, in that they are imitation of urban architecture. Cost of an iron frame window is a minimum of 3,000 rials.

Tents (called gedam) are made of goats' hair and thus nearly always black. The biggest gedam can be 14 m long, and the smallest is 5 m long. Each gedam consists of six cloth pieces (palās) that are sewn together. Weaving a single 10 m palas takes 12 days, and is a feminine job. In every village there are one or two women who are more experienced in this. The owner's wife must always work by the weaver's

41. Weaving gedam in Sangan.

42. Pitching a tent in Sangān.



side, and they begin work at about six o'clock, immediately after morning prayer. The owner of the palas which is being woven is responsible for providing meals for the weaver. 300-400 rials are paid as wage for weaving one complete palās. Divided by 12 days of work, the wage is 33 rials a day. Sometimes some sugar and tea are provided in addition to the wage, but in comparison with an urban wage, the contrast is sharp.

Settlement Morphology

Village morphology and arrangement of mud-brick houses in particular depends most on water supplies, with availability of good soil, and slope also having some influence. Both Sangān and Tamandān villages are located in a valley surrounded by mountains : the latter having a stream (the Mehran) flowing in a valley, and the former being on a stream that originates from a qanat. Mud-brick houses are usually built close together along both sides of the river or stream, while at a distance behind them are the cultivated lands and orchards. Selection of land to be cultivated is dictated by irrigation levels; since irrigated cultivation is the dominant activity. This will be apparent from the plans of Sangān and Tamandān.

Orchards are usually closer to houses so that their care as well as harvesting of fruit may be more easily overseen.

Tents are usually erected within a cultivated area, so that the excrement of the animals can fertilize their lands. Quite often there can be a tent at the side of mud-brick

43. Tents and orchards in Tamandan.

44. Black tents pitched on the agricultural
lands of Sangān.



rooms of better off households. In such cases, the tent performs the functions of a summer dwelling in warm weather and that of a kitchen or store in winter. In Sangān, for example, there is a huge tent in the yard of Haj Amir's house. Also in Tamandān there is a big tent opposite Haj Noshirvan's permanent rooms. Apart from the wealth aspect, another reason purely that it is customary. The very existence of tents beside mud-brick rooms is another manifestation of perpetuating tribal culture, and also an indication of sedentarization over a short period. One other feature of permanent houses is often a low-roofed small room which serves as a store, a straw rick, or a fold for animals.

The arrangement of tents in nomadic settlements depends closely on water supply, which is usually a tiny spring. The tents of each Mahalleh are erected close together, and their distance from the source of water depends on the power and influence of the chief of their mahalleh within tribal hierarchy. In Chahak, for example, Mr. Moradan's mahalleh is the nearest to the spring and Moradan's tent is the closest of all to it, because Moradan is the tribal head in Chahak.

Seasonal movement with animals and its relation to agricultural timing

Because of the close organisation of seasonal animal movement in relation to settled cultivation in the two villages of Sangān and Vāraj-Tamandān, the activity is described here as part of our village survey, rather than as a general demographic matter.

The four basic factors that control the time and

duration of moving are the time when young animals are being born; general weather conditions, temperature; agricultural routines - sowing, reaping etc; and particular crop grown in any one year.

As the time of giving birth to young animals is approximately the same in all the villages, first migrations start at almost the same time everywhere in the area in late February. In Sangan almost all the inhabitants migrate for four months except for one or two households that stay in the village as guardians in order that it is not left completely uninhabited.

Wheat, the main crop in Sangan, is sown in early December, when the inhabitants are present in the village. During the first migration period, after late February men go back to the village in order to irrigate and look after the farms generally two or three times a week. A full return to Tamandān then takes place in time for the wheat harvest, which occurs in early June.

Conditions are slightly different in Vāraj and Tamandān, which are in fact one dispersed settlement. Vāraj is a lowland settlement located along the banks of a stream, but Tamandān is located 7 km upstream in a green valley in the middle of mountains. Formerly, Tamandān was a qale'eh where the inhabitants of Varaj gathered for protection against enemies and plunderers, and remnants of former fortifications and animal shelters have remained to this day. The inhabitants of Vāraj and Tamandān are close relatives and possess lands in common. But while some 12 households live in Tamandān

proper under tents, 53 households live in Vārāj, almost all of whom possess both mud-brick houses, as well as tents. (For details, please see Chapter III) Being at a higher altitude, Tamandān, however, is colder in winter and cooler in summer than in Varāj. Therefore, the inhabitants of Tamandān migrate in two stages. During early November, when the weather is getting cold they strike their tents and move to Vārāj, staying there for two months until January; then they start the second stage of their move which takes them to the vicinity of the Zahedan-Khash high road, which they call the "royal road" or Shahi road. This temporary grazing occurs 19 km distant from Vārāj. The Tamandan migrants stay close by the Shahi road for only a month, and about the beginning of Nowrooz (21st March) The New Year, they return to Tamandan to avail themselves of new grazing there. This routine is not always regular and depends very much on the weather. For example, if the weather is not particularly cold in Vārāj during winter so that grass continues to grow, and spring comes early, they stay on in Varāj and do not go to the Shahi road grazing area.

Those Kords who are settled for the most part in Vārāj move towards pastures close to the Shahi road about early February and stay there until the end of the rainy season when the vegetation there turns yellow, this occurs about late April. If the rainy season ends earlier than late April, they will return to Vārāj earlier. This means that the Vārāj migrants are absent for 2-3 months only. More and more now it is the case that households do not move at all. This can be because they have only a few animals that they can stall-

feed; because they have begun to take the school-attendance of their children much more seriously. It is now very common for the men of the households that do move to return daily to look after the potato crop which, as we noted, is becoming the most valuable crop now grown. Cultivation of potatoes starts in mid-March and lasts till mid-April. By this time, in the area of the Shahi road the rains have practically ceased, the temperature is rising sharply, and so the vegetation turns yellow.

It appeared to the author that seasonal movement had in recent years become less of an essential routine : going to summer and winter quarters is now more a matter of a change agreeable to those undertaking it, rather than a real necessity. Such kind of movement does not need any complicated organisation. It is not therefore so important in either of the villages which mahalleh or hamsayeh sets out first, or what is the exact route followed, and so on. However, the author was able to note that movement is on a larger scale, more significant and better organised at the present in Sangān as compared with Vāraj and Tamandān.

Womenfolk are much involved with the migrations. At the time of delivery of the young animals, good weather and sufficient forage are essential for the well-being of the stock and survival of their kids. The flock must not be moved during this period and the young animals must be carefully looked after and nursed. This is also the period when the livestock can be milked. After 25 days during which all the milk is reserved for kids and lambs, women and girls must milk the animals and prepare milk products.

All this makes it necessary for the family to stay near the flocks and herds.

There is no inherent individual right to, or division of pastures, which are hence commonly used by entire mahallehs and hamsayehs. Nevertheless, the tribal and social influence of each household and mahalleh - which is in turn derived directly from the number of its livestock is observable for the selection of pastures and sites to erect the tents. The most powerful mahallehs locate themselves nearest to the limited source of water, which means that many households belonging to uninfluential mahallehs in Sangān have to return to the village every day to fetch water on camels or asses to the place they have moved to, because they are not allowed use of water supplies at the camping-ground. It is thus the mahallehs of the sardar and of his relatives that have most freedom of action in their migration, and can move much more freely and widely because they have fuller access to all sources of water available, whereas the uninfluential mahallehs do not.

It remains to consider the entirely pastoral communities of the Kord tribal area; and these, as we have seen, have a very low living standard, with very poor and scanty water supplies. Consequently many of these people during most of the year, have to carry water in large tins, on camels or donkeys, or by themselves. Sometimes they have to negotiate long distances on foot to fetch drinking water for their livestock and for themselves : many kilometres on occasion.

For the inhabitants of Chahak and Gorz, radius of movement could be said to be no more than 25 km. The people of Gorz go to a place named Sang, 15 km to the south of their village for extra seasonal pasture. The inhabitants of Chahak are tent-dwellers and mostly stay in or near their village of residence. Only 5 out of the 48 households living in Chahak normally go to the mountains, as transhumants, a distance of 20 km at the most. The number of migratory households may, however, increase to 15-20 in time of drought. Movement is less organised and more sporadic : for example the inhabitants of Chahak move fairly regularly to Zangar-ab at the southern foot of the Taftan, and then to Anjerag; sometimes they may go to Rupas as well.

For settled cultivators who possess animals, movement is obviously much more limited. Most of the households of Sangan go to a place called Deh-no about 15 km distant from their village on the higher slopes of Mount Taftan. The sardar's family however go 3 km further away, as they have a tractor that they use as transport. Of the four halks present in Gazak, two move to Eshkabit near Deh-no; which is only 10 km west of Gazak, and one of two halks may sometimes go also to Djavantal, 2 km to the west, or to Goorehie, one km to the east. The Mahallehs of Pavel usually move to places near Calkooh, Sarsāroo, and Chah-zar, about 12 km distant, as well as to Eshkabit, Sahkam, Farhalkook, about one to 4 km distant from their village.

Social Organisation of the Kordi

Generally speaking, a form of tribal organisation prevails with a social structure that reflects this tribal organisation. This structure is clear, dominant and active where pastoralism is the main activity. The position of an individual in such a tribal society depends firstly and predominantly on his kinship relation to the head of the tribe and other minor leaders; and in the second place on his personal economic power, exerted through ownership of animals and/or land. These two factors are directly related to each other and can hardly be separated, since political power creates economic power, which in turn gradually conduces to a more powerful political position.

However, the inferior position of these pastoral tribes generally in relation to the dominant Kord tribes both socially and economically - they are extremely impoverished - means that most energies and activities are concerned with scraping a bare living under most rigorous circumstances. They have little option beyond this one constraint.

In the areas where agriculture has gained relative or absolute predominance, particularly in the two villages of Sangān and Vāraj-Tamandān, social and political structures have undergone great evolution and developed special, peculiar characteristics. Despite agricultural development, tribal political structure still dominates in both villages, but it is more firmly established in Sangān and more

vulnerable and less stable in Tamandān.

As already stated, Sangan is the sardar's headquarters. Therefore, tribal culture and other relations are more firmly established there. The sardar is, as has always been, the symbol of tribal unity and solidarity. He has always led and ruled over all rands and barāsrands. The authoritarian tribal structure of these people at the time of their migration into Baluchestan would appear (in the light of oral tradition, and some scanty literary evidence) to have been very strong. It derived (i) from their original pastoral way of life, and (ii) their political role in the area as the representatives and agents of the government that necessitated being alert and ready to fight and defend. All this has tended to strengthen tribal structure and its political importance; with the presence of a sardar or khan indispensable in such a social organisation.

The rank of sardar or khan is transferred through kinship relations and inheritance, although such factors as bravery, power of leadership and wisdom are also taken into consideration. The rank of sardar is transferred usually from father to his eldest son. As the culture ruling within the tribe and households has always set high value on bravery and courage in war more than any other values, it tends to happen that the sardar's eldest son or his brother have acquired such characteristics from their childhood. But instances do of course occur when the rank of sardar is taken over by a paternal uncle or sons of paternal uncles, or even by another barāsrand or

household. In such cases, when the inefficiencies of a sardar's sons coincided with efficient bravery of ambitious members of other barāsrand, the rank of sardar can be transferred to another barāsrand.

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Diagram No. 1 indicates that in the course of eleven generations, the rank of sardar has, in fact, been transferred 2 or 3 times from one family to another - although all families involved are descendants of Qolamshah, the first historical sardar of the tribe. This transfer is however more likely to take place among actual sons of the sardar. An heir to the rank who is weaker in one way or another may quite normally lose his position in favour of a younger but more ambitious and courageous brother.

The military and warlike role of sardar, the culture that highly esteemed this role and also the superior economic power of sardar and his family are together responsible for the firmly established rank and power of a sardar, especially in the past.

It was already mentioned that the Kord tribe and particularly its sardar were responsible for collection of taxes from other tribes; on the basis of one-fifth of income and production. Half of the tax yield went to the provincial governor, that is the government of the time; and half to the tribe or, in fact, to the sardar, to meet the expenses of his warriors, and as his own reward. But neither was the governor of Kerman province necessarily always efficient enough, nor the government of the time always powerful. Therefore, although taxes were collected,

the 50% share of government might not be paid. This of course, happened when the weakness of the central government did not coincide with the weakness and inefficiency of the sardar and Kord tribe in Baluchestan. Otherwise, the tribe and the sardar himself would have been in constant threat from central government action.

The fifth share of income and production that the tribe collected as the representative and agent of the central government was called by no other name but tax - such imposts as the sardar's special share or hokm and bijjar, that are usually exacted in other tribes (e.g. as in the Mobaraki tribe*), were not exacted by the Kords. This may seem incredible to us; but it is very probable that any kind of extra exaction would have been demanded under the cover - and title - of "taxes". It sometimes happened that some powerful tribes refused to pay tax; but the weaker ones that were from lower tribal ranks were forced to comply.

It is narrated that during Mir Yahya's era, two brothers called Rashid-Khan and Amir-Khan, who were Riggi on their mother's side and Kord on their father's side, and were also sons of Mir Yahya's paternal uncle, decided to stop collection of taxes from the Riggi tribe and demanded that the Riggies should be exempt from taxes, as were the Mirs. Both men were killed in the fighting that following their resistance.

There were not any special formalities or professional workers for collection of taxes. Every year four or five persons were assigned with the task of going to villages and collecting the fifth share of what appeared as income or revenue. The task might be assigned to some other persons next year.

* M. Zand M., A General study of the Mobaraki tribe, Teheran, 1977.

Overall, the sardar himself decided on the policy of relations with other tribes, and acted as a liaison between his own tribe and other ones on the one hand and between his tribe and the central government on the other. Decisions relating to fighting and battle, collection of taxes, settling arguments with other tribes and determining the amount of blood-money if the arguments had resulted in bloodshed and murder were some of the main duties of the sardar. Less important disputes such as claims on land or water, or livestock or personal arguments between members were usually settled by local Khans who had been appointed or confirmed in office by the sardar.

It is to be expected that the responsibilities and also the power of the sardar once considerable, would be much reduced with the establishment of the firm and centralized power and its organised state army. Another important factor in the limitation of the sardar's power has been the expansion of agriculture as the inevitable result of sedentarization. Establishment of general security has paved the way for introduction of a new way of life among the tribes generally, and particularly into the village of Sangan. Responsibilities of the sardar have become restricted to solving minor problems or such affairs as marriage permits or settling disputes between members of his tribes and those of other tribes. What is still left are certain traditions that honour the rank of sardar, together with the heritage of a superior economic past that crystallized in the ownership of land and water and numerous livestock. Now, the sardar is still highly respected, particularly as he has served several

years in the central government's armed forces as a warrant officer - and he has held the rank of honorary frontier official from several years ago. (But, it is to be noted, merely as an under-officer in the former Imperial army. He remains, however, the most direct liaison between his tribe and central government. Presence of new elements of power in the village such as the cadkhoda; the literacy corps, and central governmental agents have modified the situation somewhat, but the sardar has adjusted and remained paramount. The previous power pyramid has adjusted and coordinated itself to absorb these new elements. The Cadkhoda is appointed by the sardar, and is the sardar's brother. A very well-informed and intelligent man, the cakhoda is also the chairman of the Cooperative company's board of managers. The sardar remains head of the Equity House - such elements as the Literacy corps, Health corps, government agricultural extension worker, teacher, or other government employees remain on the fringe of the power pyramid rather than as integral parts of it. They can perform their duties more effectively under the auspices of a relation created between them and the actual power pyramid which remains in vigorous activity.

The power pyramid, though changed and subject to new influences, rests on the following elements :

(a) the presence of a sardar in the village and, therefore, the prevalence of the culture and relations associated with this continuous presence.

(b) the existence of relatively large scale land-ownership in the village, (within the constraint of land

reform (though this was never really operative in Baluchestan) in that the maximum area owned by a single person all over the deshestan must be no more than 24h.). But the sardar, his brothers and sons each can have 24 h.

The original situation of tribal communal rights has altered to become a personal land-ownership by the sardar and his family on a relatively extensive scale, though the original power-structure remains.

Of course ownership of 24 h. - or even several blocks of 24 h. - is by no means the same as the former pattern of land ownership in Iran before the Land Reform of the 1960's. The Kordi sardar is not to be compared with the arbāh (master-owners) who might previously have owned thousands of hectares. Nevertheless, on the Kordi scale, there is something of a contrast and distinction between the sardar's ownership of land and that of his tribesmen.

Also, it is important to note that being a tribal sardar involves an identical and common way of life and close relations with his tribe; and being permanently present in the village, his presence consolidates their social relations in a way that a really 'big' and often absentee arbāb or even lease-holder could not attain.

Diagram No. 2 shows the power pyramid in Sangān with 'power levels' from the sardar downwards. Heads of rands from the third grade because of the importance of land and water and the fact that they are related on their paternal side; heads of mahallehs, as livestock holding units, comprise the fourth step; and, finally, heads of households are at the base of the pyramid. This, of course,

does not necessarily mean that the households forming a mahalleh are exactly of identical rands. As discussed in the chapter on social structure, there are several households who belong to different rands but are members of an identical mahalleh. This underlines the importance of the rand unit and, therefore, the greater importance of land and water as compared with the mahalleh unit as an organisation for managing livestock holding. Nevertheless, members of mahallehs tend to be from the same rands as far as possible; except in cases when, as discussed before, a mahalleh has not room enough to accept all the households of one rand, or it has some vacancies and can take in members of other rands. This mixing and inter-mingling is less in Sangan than in Vāraj-Tamandān, due to the presence of stronger pastoral system and weaker agriculture in the former.

In Varaj, ~~as shown in the diagram~~, the tribal head of Haj Noshirvan is at the apex of the power structure; the cadkhoda, who is his younger brother appointed and somewhat - though not much - influenced by him, is on the second step. Next are heads of taks : these being relatively more significant than the rands of Sangān, because land and water have unquestionable importance here and livestock holding is relatively weaker. It is for this reason that the relation between the tak, a unit of farm work and water distribution, and the hamsayeh, which is a social as well as livestock production unit, appears to be more complex than in Sangān. In Sangān, members of mahallehs are from the same rands as far as possible. But in Varaj-Tamandan the relation between membership in a tak and a hamsayeh is irregular, as the hamsayeh itself is relatively unimportant. This will be further discussed in the section on Barasrands of the Kordi Tribe. Members of tak A, for example, can be members of different hamsayehs without any especial rule or particular reason such as those discussed : these last concern spatial allocations, as for instance in Sangān. A hamsayeh may therefore include members of any tak : for example, 13 households that were members of Haj Noshirvan's tak were members of 3 hamsayehs, not merely one. This is not due to the large number of population in this tak. Members of Mobarak's tak, that comprises no more than 5 households, are also members of two different hamsayehs. Lashgar-Khan's hamsayeh includes 5 member households, who belong to 3 different taks. It should be added that the 7 heads of taks are also each head of a hamsayeh. But, as there are 12 hamsayehs in Varaj-

Tamandan, all the heads of hamsayehs cannot necessarily be heads of taks as well. Those heads of hamsayehs who are not head of a tak are less important and occupy a social position below the heads of taks in the power pyramid. Finally, as at Tamandan heads of households comprise the lowest stratum of the social pyramid, below the heads of hamsayehs.

The head of tribe is the head of the Equity House (Khaneh Ensaf). The cadkhoda is the chairman of the Cooperative Company's board of managers; and the head of the tribe is also himself the inspector. He is willing to gain his people's affection and respect by participating in work; demonstrating this willingness for one reason or another is characteristic of him. Here is an equivocal incident : someone fell ill and we had decided to take him to the city hospital in our car. It was around midnight, and the mother begged Haj Noshirvan to go too, so as not to leave the sick person alone without village company. Haj Noshirvan very kindly and pleasantly consoled the mother, assuring her that we could take care of her son better than him. Haj Noshirvan reasoned, moreover, that there was not room enough in the car. In Sangan no one would have dared to think about asking such a thing at all from their sardar, whatever the actual response.

Such individuals as the village teacher, members of Literacy and Health Corps, the molavi (religious worker) and similar workers are still more or less on the fringe of the social pyramid although they enjoy somewhat more status than in Sangan. Nevertheless, their power and influence is overshadowed and still weak as compared with the power of tribal relations.

The Position of Women

We have earlier examined the constraints : environmental, economic and social, that give the pastoralists a low standard of living, and a depressed social status. Among pastoralists, women perform a very wide range of tasks; and logically, because of their high 'inputs' to family life, polygamy (or rather polygyny) ought logically, to be more widespread among the Kordi pastoralists, as in fact it is among other pastoral tribes of Iran.

But, because of intense impoverishment and small number of livestock, multiple marriage among Kordi pastoralists is not at all common. Nevertheless the situation remains that women's duties are both important and numerous in these communities. Gathering the tents for the move, loading them, unloading and pitching them again in the new area are a part of difficult duties entrusted to women, with the men hardly assisting at all. Other major duties of women include cooking, washing dishes and clothes, nursing and looking after children, weaving Palas - from the first stage of spinning the wool to the very last stage until a complete Gedam is prepared - looking after the animals and their young, milking and preparing dairy and other products. Picking and gathering herbs and edible plants and vegetables is usually entrusted to women as well, with children usually assisting their mothers in performing these duties. Girls help in more feminine affairs and boys do such things as collecting firewood, carrying water and in many cases even performing the duties of a shepherd.

In the past, the main duty of men was fighting, either

for plunder or for defence, and as guardians of their families from the economic and military points of view. Although conditions have greatly changed over the last few years, and the role of warrior is no longer important, the effect on culture and social attitudes still persists, with men rarely assisting women in house-keeping affairs - it is beneath their dignity. The result is widespread unemployment and under-activity amounting to idleness for many men, or their migration to labour markets for one or two months, after which time they soon get tired and return, because they are unable to tolerate regular working in those areas.

But, in the wake of the emergence and development of an agrarian economy in rural communities, the role and duties of men, women and children have undergone not inconsiderable changes. Working on the land requires more physical power and cannot be managed by women. Therefore, men are more active in these areas. Yet we encountered cases, particularly in Tamandan, where women were engaged in ploughing and harvesting shoulder to shoulder with men. But, in general, the role of women in agricultural affairs is small and limited to housekeeping, preparation of dairy products and livestock commodities, weaving Palas, and so on. Involvement of children in daily routines is also reduced because of their school attendance. Acquaintance with formal education has on the one hand reduced their liking for animal husbandry and agricultural affairs, and on the other, left them with little time to spend even if they are interested.

Overall, it is still true to say that Kordi women are obedient and have accepted as traditional the superiority of men. If a woman fails to perform her duties to the full, she will either be beaten, or divorced, or she will have to live with a rival wife.

Changes in Social Structure since the 1950's

In order to achieve a better understanding of the changes in the social structure of the area, two sorts of factor must be taken into consideration : internal and external. The Kordi area is one of the regions where, fortunately, both external and internal factors have complemented each other and helped the community to change towards development and growth. Certain basic elements of geography in the area have undoubtedly contributed to this situation; the favourable climate of Taftan, location in proximity to a major routeway, the "Shahi road", and nearness to the provincial capital Zahedan (70 km) with its opportunities for employment.

As discussed in previous chapters, the Kordi community is progressively changing from a basically pastoral economy to an agrarian economy. As observed in the chapter on agriculture and animal husbandry, the highest incomes now arise among the inhabitants of Tamandan, who are mostly farmers. Next in order of income are the inhabitants of Sangar, where agriculture is more prominent than animal husbandry, with both practised. Lowest incomes are generated among the inhabitants of Gorz and Chahak that are pastoral communities. Again it was mentioned that even the incomes gained from animal husbandry were higher in settled agricultural communities than in pastoral communities, the reasons for which have already been given. It is therefore clear that agricultural activity is regarded as a major attraction in the area, as shown by the situation of the sardar and his family as the biggest land owners. As the community moves more and more towards an agricultural economy, the tendency towards sedentarization

obviously increases and the atmosphere of life and relations between people change, as we have seen in our discussion of Sangam and Tamandan. Engagement in sedentary agriculture provides a better atmosphere for expansion of religious beliefs, with religion turned into a social institution; it is no longer a part of the tribal culture. Mosques have been built in the settled communities of Tamandan and Sangam, and the Molavie enjoys a privileged social position. This evolution has of course been greatly encouraged as part of central government policy, which has been of the opinion that the more sedentarized and concentrated the scattered pastoral communities become, the easier can the government control the area for security reasons and provide the area with more infrastructures such as road, schools, and health services. It is evident how the external factors, emanating from central government policies, help to foster internal changes within the area. The external factors have been of two kinds :

(1) Institutions established in the area by the government from the 1950's on. The central government's clear objective here was to attract the cooperation of people to achieve development and move toward a clustered agricultural community. The cooperative and the village council are of this category. As will be discussed in more detail later the village council (Shoray Deh) has succeeded in providing valuable facilities such as roads and piped water despite its limited budget, and has been successful generally in attracting the cooperation of people for general development of the area. Although limited and small in scale, such development activities produce important social and spiritual results. As the people

come to realize their potentially important role in the development of the area, and to understand that their cooperation is the chief element involved, central government is no longer regarded as the only authority capable of solving their problems. This is a new but highly significant concept in the area, and its emergence is perhaps a principal feature of our study.

Despite its imperfections, particularly in the manner of its management, the cooperative has made a considerable contribution to agricultural growth in the area by providing seeds, chemical fertilizers and other possibilities. It is quite evident that this institution would be able to play an even more important role in agricultural development of the area and help solve the relevant difficulties of the people if it were only managed properly and performed its duties more efficiently.

(2) The institutions that help mental development among the people and thus provide the cultural changes that bring about transfer from a closed tribal community to a developed agricultural society. Here the schools, with one exception, have all been established since the 1950's have had an important effect that will be discussed immediately after this section. The establishment of a school is one of the chief aspirations of the people, which in itself shows how changed is the mentality in that it is ready to accept new social changes. Experience has been proved generally in Iran that the opening of any school in a village is, in fact, a window that opens to an urban community and the Kordi area is no exception. In the Kordi area, schools have been a marked stimulus to social and mental changes, as will be discussed

in the following pages.

The equity house (Khaneh ensaf) is another institution that has been established since the 1950's. Although, like the other institutions present in the village, it operates under the influence of the sardar and his family, the equity house is regarded very definitely as a new element in the region. Prior to the establishment of the Khaneh ensaf, was the only authority responsible for the investigation of claims on the basis of the rules set by the tribal culture. However, after the establishment of the Khaneh ensaf, [^] sardar inhabitants of the area have found a new channel through which to express their claims. Whilst the sardar still plays the chief role in this house, he is obliged to investigate the claims according to regulations that have been approved by the central government and not solely on his own. Here again is a significant change in the social and cultural patterns.

We must finally give consideration to the internal elements that have contributed to change in the Kordi community. All the changes in this area must be studied in this context of development of internal institutions.

The Elementary school : Among villages of our survey, the pastoral ones had no school at all. Opening of an elementary school has been one of their people's major demands. But lack of roads, the presence of some more populated villages that have roads but not schools, and some other difficulties are the apparent reasons why no school has yet been established in these villages.

Among the sample villages, only Sangān and Vāraj-Tamandān had an elementary school each. The inhabitants of Gazak and Pawel mostly attend the tribal elementary school in Poochgoly. Consequently, some five elementary schools were studied in the villages of Darook (Sangan), Darooneh, Calkooh, Poochgoly and Vāraj. Questionnaires were filled in for these schools as well as for another school in Koosheh village near Varaj; all these replies have been analyzed.

The schools of Calkooh and Poochgoly are tribal ones; as the inhabitants move, the school moves too - some 3 km away. The school in Poochgoly changed into a tribal one in 1975. The 4 school teachers of Koosheh are also tribal : two men and two women; brother-and-sister couples, who are closely interested in their job.

It will be noted from the following table that 42% of students in school are attending the lowest class of elementary school; as the school classes advance, the number of students is reduced. The reason does not lie in their lack of talent, but in their way of life that forces them to leave school because they must play their part in gaining the household's livelihood particularly in poorer villages, such pupils either have to leave school

Table No. V 4

Students and failure rates in different sample elementary schools

	Date of establishment	Number of students in each class						Failed students	Per cent of total
		1	2	3	4	5	Total		
Darook (Sangān)	1967	18	12	3	7	6	46	16	35
Darooneh	1975	15	18	3	2	1	39	18	46
Calkooh	1973	12	8	5	-	-	25	12	48
Pootchgoly	1972	10	8	5	-	-	23	12	52
Varaj	1968	44	26	16	9	8	103	14	14
Total	-	99	72	32	18	15	236	72	30.5

after only a short attendance, or they fail in their examinations because they have other work to do, and so become disappointed and leave school. The proportion of students who have failed in their exams at least once in all the schools studied is over 30%. However, this ratio is very different in different villages : the better the economic status of the village and of its households, the smaller the ratio of failures. The school in Varaj has only had 14% failure, whilst in Sangān, 35% of students have failed at least once. The highest percentage failed in Poochgoly, some 52%. There were in fact no girl students in the schools of Darook (located near Sangān and part of it), Calkooh and Poochgoly. The reason for this has been reported by the inhabitants of Sangān in their questionnaires to be the absence of a female teacher. But our investigations proved that a female teacher had been sent to this area two years ago, but she was coldly received and could not stay any more than 2 months, due to people's hostility. Only the families of the sardar and his brother Cadkhoda were prepared to send their daughters to school. However, the number of girl students in the school of Vāraj is larger, although early school-leaving is very common, as the girls have to accompany their mothers to move to the Bahargah (spring-time quarters). As will be discussed in the chapter on demography, literacy level in Varaj-Tamandān and inclination of people towards education is far greater than in the other villages. Here, too, it is observed that 44% of all students in the sample schools are from Vāraj-Tamandān, and of these only 14% were failures - the lowest proportion anywhere in the Kord educational area.

There are five teachers in the school at Vārāj, two women and three men. The three male teachers are natives : one from Varaj and another one from Sangan. The school is 1,000 sq m in area on land which has made over by Haj Noshirvan. Its mud-brick rooms have been built by communal participation of the inhabitants. But an equipped school is now to be built by the Education and Training Department. Only one of the teachers has completed high-school and received his diploma; the others have graduated from normal school; that is, they have completed their third year of secondary school and then they have attended 2 years of the Teacher Training course in the Zahedan Normal School.

The school in Darook (Sangān) has a longer record. It was established in 1945 and transferred to its present location in 1967. It has a relatively well equipped building, as compared with the standard of schools in the area under survey, and has been built from credit allocations by the Rural Development Organisation.

The Village Council of Sangān : the Chairman of the village council is Haj Amir Khan, the tribal sardar. Other members are: Haji Khalil, the cadkhoda and brother of the sardar; Mohammad Kord, another brother; and Mehdi and Abdallah Kord, the last being the treasurer of the village council.

The council gains income through receiving 2% of the total sales of agricultural products. In addition to Sangān, the council covers the villages Darook, Pavel, Poochgoly, and Estepak. The 2% share is not always received regularly, the responsible bodies claim, as Pavel and Estepak did not for example pay their shares in 1975-6. The council has been successful so far in building the Darook-Colly road (that is, in fact, an extension road from the main road to the village of Sangān) and setting up a water pipe-line in Sangān. This pipe-line has five outlet taps, two of which are in the sardar's house, and the other three are located in public alley ways. The Equity House of Sangān was established in 1964. It has three permanent members, namely the sardar cadkhoda and Molavi as well as three elected members. The Khaneh ensaf is located in Sangān and its administrative office is the same as that of the cooperative company. Its business sessions are usually convened in the mosque after prayers. As stated to the writer by the sardar, 300 cases have been investigated from the time of its establishment. Legally, minor cases should be investigated in the Khaneh ensaf and important claims must be investigated in the law-court of the district or city; but due to the clannishness of the area as discussed before, all cases, even the more important ones, are investigated in the village itself. Even if a case is eventually carried to the law-court of the district or city, the verdict of the local equity house enjoys peculiar standing and influence.

The Barāsrand̄s and Rands of the Kordi Tribe

In the Chapter on the Origins of the tribe, the nine Barasrand̄s of the Kord tribe were mentioned together with their dwelling places : i.e. the Jahāngir-zehie, Sohrab-zehie, Mir Balu-zehie, Shahkaram-zehie, Nootān-zehie, Qolamshah-zehie Tagzie-zehie, Shahdād-zehie and the Gaji-zehie.

The most important of these Barasrand̄s to which the present sardar belongs is the Qolamshah-zehie. The Mir Balu-zehie, Tagzie-zehie, and Sohrab-zehie are next in importance (see Table V 5). Heads of these Barasrand̄s were not necessarily sardars, but were usually a sardar's brother who had not been promoted to the rank of sardar himself. This was probably the reason for their later separation and formation of new Barasrand̄s.

As the Barasrand̄ enlarged because of its population increase, the children and grandchildren of the Barasrand̄ could establish new rands without causing any harm to the structure, correlation and organization of the barāsrand̄. Attachment to a barāsrand̄ and to a rand follows a patrilinear descent.

There is another level of social stratification in the tribe as well. Basic function of this grouping is to organize and arrange pastoral livelihood which, as we have noted, is called by different names in Baluchestan such as halk, kheil, shalvar and mahalleh by the Kords. In the west of Iran, among Qashqaii tribes, for example, it is called banku, ehshām. However, what must be remarked here is that contrary to the other tribes of Baluchestan and most of the nomadic

tribes of West Iran, it is the rand rather than mahalleh or halk which is of principal importance in tribal organization. This is the most important manifestation of the penetration of agrarian livelihood among the Kords and its prevalence over the economy based on livestock holding. In fact, the basic ingredients of banku or ehshām are exploitation of identical pastures, and kinship. In Baluchestan the ingredients of halk consist of a single shepherd, and kinship. In both instances, because of the absence or unimportant status of the agrarian economy, tribal order is represented most evidently and steadfastly in halk or banku. But since land and water are extremely important for the Kordi tribe, the rand's kinship organization performs its part to the full, but appears more tolerant and indulgent with mahalleh or halk.

There are some households who are members of a mahalleh but are matrilinear rather than patrilinear, including also distant relatives; or they may not even in some cases be relatives at all. It happens that the total number of livestock belonging to relative households who form a mahalleh is below the full grazing capacity handlable by one shepherd. Thus the mahalleh has room for new households. It is in such cases that a distant relative or a non-relative household of the same tribe or, though very rarely, of another tribe is accepted into a mahalleh. Thus, it would appear that although kinship is an important factor in its formation, a mahalleh is very broadly based, as a result of which there is much leniency towards the matter of kinship as a necessity for membership.

As regards attachment to a rand, the factor of kinship

on the side of only one of the parents - usually on one's father's side and sometimes on one's mother's side if her several sons have inherited a great amount of land from her - is of first-rank importance. However, what is called rand in Sangān is called tak in Tamandān, where it is more evolved as agriculture is more developed and lands are more extensive. In Sangān, 38 out of 44 households are Kord, belonging to two Barasrands of the Qolāmshah-zehie and Tagzie-zehie tribes. The Qolamshah-zehies are in the majority and include 35 households divided into 5 rands of which 31 households are land-owners. The Tagzie-zehies of Sangān are no more than 3 households belonging to 2 rands. However, 14 Tagzie-zehie households possess land and water shares in Sangān. Thus, there are 11 Tagzie-zehie households who do not live in Sangān but own land and water shares there.

The Qolāmshāh-zehie's rands include :

Mir-Yahyā	including	16	households
Mir-Afzali	"	4	"
Din Mohammad	"	4	"
Dorr Mohammad	"	4	"
Shir Del	"	7	"

Tagzie-zehie rands are :

Kondel	including	2	households
Shahnavaz-khan	"	1	"

The following rands of the Tagzie-zehie Barāstrand also possess land and water in Sangān :

Aazam's Rand

Islam's Rand

Shahnavaz-khan's Rand

The equal number of Qolamshah-zehie and Tagzie-zehie land-owner rands does not necessarily mean that the two barasrands enjoy equal shares of land and water, or even in proportion to first place on the effective power of each Rand which in turn reflects the amount of its lands.

As already mentioned, each rand is named after its members' paternal great grandfather. Mir-Yahya, for example, was the present sardar's great grandfather and Din Mohammad was Mir-Yahya's brother, whose children now form one separate rand.

The Tak

In Tamandan, where agriculture is more expanded and land and water distribution system more developed and detached from the tribal order, groups of related land-owners have gathered together in units called Tak. Each Tak has a certain share of water and consists of very close relatives such as brothers, sons and brothers' sons. In order to regulate water distribution, the members of each Tak are subdivided into small groups called Jaa. Thus, each Tak consists of several Jaas. The Tak is more detached from tribal order. As already discussed in the chapter on agriculture, a great majority of Tamandan households are small land owners. Among 65 households, there is only one who has no land in its possession (Table No. V 3), whereas among the 44 households of Sangam, 11 possess no land. Thus land-ownership has two main characteristics in Tamandan : universality; small scale ownership. The maximum area of land possessed by one household does not exceed 6 ha in Tamandan; whereas in Sangam land

ownership is less universal and also there are 'bigger' landlords, so that the maximum area of land owned by one household is sometimes as much as 24 ha (Table No.V 4) which is the direct result of the dominance of tribal organization related to the location of the sardar's headquarters in Sangar.

There are 7 taks in Tamandan subdivided into 28 jaas. Each jaa's water share ranges from 6 to 12 hours. Each tak is called after its elder's name who usually enjoys the major share of water; such as Haj Noshirvan's tak, the head of Mir-Kords in Tamandan or Abdolrahman's tak, the former's brother and cadkhoda of Tamandan village.

Naturally whoever owns more land, enjoys more power and a larger share of water. Therefore, the share of water for his jaa may be as much as 12 hours or one beel, whereas that for other jaas in most cases is not more than 5 hours.

In Tamandan's taks as a whole, there are 96 members : 25 of them do not live in Tamandan and 2 have died, their water shares having been inherited by their heirs but the shares are still called after the original holder. The others are either heads of households or members of the households who own a share.

Mahalleh (Hamsaheh)

Mahalleh, equivalent to halk and kheil in other parts of Baluchestan, is, after the households, the smallest socio-economic unit in a tribal community. It is almost an equivalent of banku, obbe, boluk or ehshām in other tribes of the country. In the formation of these units, the pastoral

way of livelihood and pastoral economic structure are the basic and decisive factors. In fact, these units are the most important organization of managing pastoral economy. Their member households are relatives. They pitch their tents close to each other and live together, move together, cover the same route to an identical destination, obey a certain elder and, most important of all, share the same pasture or pastures. Nevertheless, halk in Baluchestan in general and mahalleh in the Kord tribe, have special peculiarities that distinguish them from their somewhat similar units in other tribes of the country.

In order to describe the general characteristics of such units in other tribes of the country, we must give an example. A banku, for example, is indeed the socio-economic unit of a tribe because it represents in a small scale all the characteristics of the tribe as a whole. Each banku is a perfect sample of a big tribe. It consists of several tents and includes closest relatives. Its economic functions are based on the requirements of a pastoral way of life. Common pasture large enough to graze a certain number of sheep belonging to a number of related households is the foundation on which a banku is established. Therefore, the two factors of kinship and economic correlation are the basic requirements in the formation and evolution of a banku. When a banku's sheep increase so much that the common pasture can not meet their grazing requirements, the banku has to be divided up. Meanwhile, each banku includes several shepherds.

General characteristics and function of mahalleh or

halk in Baluchestan are broadly similar to those of the banku and analogous units. Its two basic organizing elements are kinship and economic correlation. In all units the economic factor is more important than kinship because despite its apparent significance, it derives completely from economic status : that is, the number of livestock, and their grazing system. Chief factor that makes the mahalleh different lies in their livestock grazing system. We have already noted this in our earlier discussion on tribal patterns in general.

In the tribes of West Iran, we saw that common pasture was the first important factor that unites and collects member households together. In the tribes of Baluchestan common shepherd is of first-rank importance. In both of them, kinship factor is of second-rank importance. In West Iran, when the number of livestock exceeds grazing capacity of their pastures, either some member households have to leave the banku, or the number of livestock must be reduced. Therefore, there is a sort of reverse relation between grazing capacity of pastures and number of livestock. In Baluchestan, shepherding has replaced pasture, which is the direct result of poor and scarce pastures and small number of households' livestock.

In Baluchestan pasture is not the most important factor for the formation of mahalleh or halk. What matters is the ability of a single shepherd to organise grazing ground. That is, a group of relative households whose livestock are grazed by a single shepherd - not by more than one shepherd - form a mahalleh. Whenever this number exceeds

the effective upper limit of 250 to 350 heads of livestock - the mahalleh has to be divided. In such cases some households either form a totally new mahalleh, or join another one which has grazing space enough to accept new members. If there is a mahalleh or halk in a village or an area which still has space enough to admit a new household, it will be accepted whether it is a next of kin or not a relative at all. Therefore, we must describe a mahalleh or halk in Baluchestan as "an organization for livestock production consisting of a group of relatives - or sometimes non-relative - households whose number of livestock have reached the certain quota, rising over which would make it impossible for the one shepherd to control and graze them.

We believe that the basic reason for this difference lies in the natural geographical conditions of the two areas. In the Zagros area, pastures are more fertile and abundant, as a result of which there are greater numbers of livestock there. These pastures are very carefully controlled and demarcated : thus common pasture land is turned into the basic fundamental factor for the formation of a banku or a similar unit. But in Baluchestan, where the range-lands are mostly barren and extensive, so-called pastures are very widespread but not fertile. Really fertile pastures are almost non-existent, and therefore number of livestock has to be small. Pastures have low value, and are, in general, communal ownership; and sheep are few in number. As already discussed in the chapter on animal husbandry, the Kordi area has the greatest number of animals at the province level, and per capita average is 50% more than the corresponding figure

for total province. Nevertheless, the average number of livestock per household is no more than 25 head (Table IV 14). There are several places in Baluchestan where the corresponding average is no more than 5 head, such as in Mobaraki tribal area; whereas the average figure in Zagros area is usually even more than 100 head.

It must also be recalled that the importance and functions of the mahalleh differ to some extent even within the area and villages of our survey. In pastoral communities such as the Chahac, a mahalleh is the sole organization for managing economic affairs. It therefore has acquired all the necessary classic characteristics of such a unit including all its economic, social, and cultural aspects. The head of a mahalleh enjoys the authority and power to organize movements, fix the time of moving and determine the route - though it is short and frequently negotiated - decide on the location of tents and the distance between the tents of one mahalleh from another - which is sometimes as far as 2 or 3 kilometres.

In Sangan, which has entered the stage of agrarian economy, the mahalleh has lost much of the importance it enjoys in such communities as Chahac, and its economic and cultural power is greatly reduced. Livestock occupy second place next to land and water, and so is the organization of mahalleh, which has ceased to be the economic managing organization, or the indicator of kinship relations. Such relationships are organized through the rand, which is more oriented to managing agricultural affairs and distributing water. Nevertheless, moving is still practised although

90% of households move no further than 15 km for a few months a year and the men return to the village once or twice a week to manage agricultural affairs. Just as this movement needs its management - though trivial and insignificant - so do the animals need shepherds, and an organization to handle their affairs. Besides, Sangan is the sardar's headquarters and has few cultivated plots of land. The presence of the sardar in this village has on the one hand widened the economic gap between a few households with the others in respect of number of livestock and amount of land, and on the other hand, consolidated tribal culture. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that the sardar seems to be the guardian of this tribal culture in certain important ways.

In Tamandan, the mahalleh has adopted a feature that is sometimes unidentifiable. It has lost its prominence and importance, being overshadowed by the highly important tak. In the end, it even has lost its name and transformed into hamsayeh.

Every household respects its tak and fully accepts its duties and functions. Type of crops, sowing period, allowing plots of land to lie fallow, annual revision of the water share, cultivation timing, and working on the land have given the tak particular importance. Whereas in sharp difference, membership in a mahalleh may be changed after a year and new mahallehs may be formed, or households may entrust their livestock to a new shepherd.

It must be added that membership in a rand and tak is unalterable except by death or selling one's land and water

share, which is a very rare practice. In contrast, attachment to mahalleh or hamsayeh is always liable to change. The members of certain rands and taks are not necessarily members of the same mahallehs and hamsayehs, though family connection does play a large part.

In the study of kinship relations between members of mahallehs and their heads which covered 20 mahallehs and hamsayehs, it was clearly observed that contrary to the situation in rands and taks, where land and water are inherited dominantly from one's father and, therefore, membership requires such a paternal attachment, there are no limitations as such in mahallehs and hamsayehs. In both rural and pastoral communities more than 40% of members were related on their mothers' side. This ratio in pastoral community is sometimes close to one-half (Table No. V 6..). Some 5 to 7% of members were either very distant relatives or not even relatives at all. This comparison illustrates on the one hand the differences between these two socio-economic organizations and, on the other, the importance of rand and tak and, therefore, the progressive evolutionary trend of the agrarian system in supplanting the pastoral way of life.

Another point to be added is the presence in the mahallehs of sons-in-law of their wives' relatives (14% in rural and 5% in pastoral communities). This does not exactly suggest a matrilocal status as 50% of this small group are close relatives of their wives as well, such as son of paternal uncle, grandson of a paternal uncle, son of a paternal aunt, son of a maternal uncle, etc. The remaining 50% who did not

report any relationship are nevertheless inhabitants of the same village.

In summary, we may say that our observations on tribal organisation among the Kordi, with their clear and elaborate systems of rands, taks and mahallehs demonstrates both the Kord tribe's social status as a dominant tribe in its area, and also its considerable evolution towards changing into an agrarian community.

Table No. V 5 The barasrands of the Kord tribe excluding the Mirs of Tamandān

	Head of Barasrand	Name of Barasrand	Inhabited villages	Dehestan (rural district)	Present head of Barasrand	Dwelling place
5	Shah karam	Shah Karamzehie	Deh pabid	Eskel abad	Kad Khoda Norooz	Deh pabid
6	Nootan	Nootan-zehie	-	-	-	-
7	Mir Qolam-Shah	Qolam-Shah zehie	Sangan(Colli) Gazak ; Kal-Kooh Shalki Taftan mountain skirts	Sangan	Haj Amir Khan	Sangan (Colli)
7	Mir Tagzie	Tagzie-zehie	Sangan(Colli) Gorz Darooneh Estepak Olya and Sofla; Keshik; Rico; Khoshab	Sangan; Ladiz	Kad Khoda Nazar	Sangan (Colli)
7	Shahdad	Shahdad-zehie	Khoshab; Doroodi	Ladiz	-	-
7	Gajie-Khan	Gajie-zehie	Tamin; Zahedan	-	-	-

Table No. V 5 (Cont.)

Generation	Head of Barasrand	Name of Barasrand	Inhabited villages	Dehestan (rural district)	Present head of Barasrand	Dwelling place
3	Mir Jahangir	Jahangir zehie	Zaboli - Saravan	-	Tajbakhsh	Zaboli
4	Sohrab-Khan	Sohrab-Khan	Kahnook; Deh pabid	Eskelabad	Asakhan	Deh pabid
4	Mir Balooch	Mir Baloozehie	Deh bala - Camalabad	Posht Kooh	Karim Khan Shahbaz Khan	Deh Bala; Camal-abad
5	Mir Reza	Mir Baloozehie	Deh pabid-Nazil-Mirabad Bahrabad - Qaderabad Tamin Irandegan - zaboli Kahnook	Eskelabad; Tamin; Irandegan; zaboli	Ahmad Khan Doost-Mohammad Khodabandeh Tajbakhsh	Tamin; Zaboli

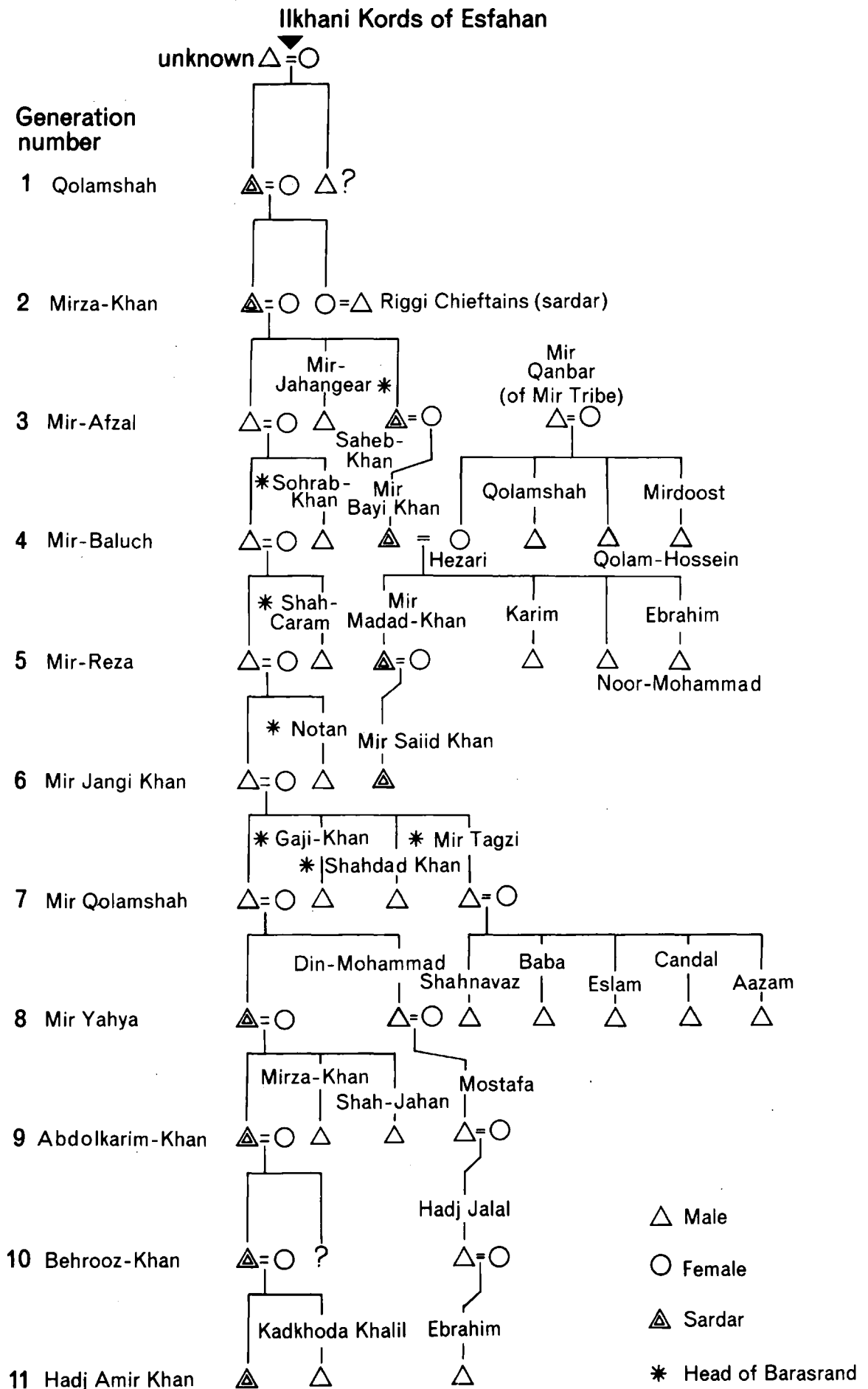
Cont.

Kinship relation of the members of mahalleh
with its head

Table No. V 6

	Kinship relation	Agrarian community		Pastoral community	
		No.	% to total community	No.	% to total community
Male and paternal side	Son and his offspring	19	23	7	20
	Brother and his offspring	15	18	5	14
	Uncle and his offspring	8	10	1	3
	Father	1	1	-	-
	Total	43	51	13	37
Female and maternal side	Mother	1	1	1	3
	Sister and her offspring	11	13	6	17
	Uncle and his offspring	1	1	-	-
	Son-in-law	12	14	5	14
	Wife and her relatives	3	4	-	-
	Total	34	41	17	49
	Remotely related	2	2	4	11
	Non-relative	5	6	1	3
	Total	7	8	5	14
	TOTAL	84	100	35	100

Diagram No 1 Pedigree of The Kord Tribe; Chieftains, Barasrands and intermarriage with the Mir Tribe



C H A P T E R VI

Social Customs of the Kordi

Family Organisation

As a small community consisting of a number of members who are assigned with certain duties, division of labour, leadership and command in different cases, assistance, and cooperation as well as rivalry and antagonism, are existant in it. At the same time, family is the smallest and oldest socio-economic unit within society. Family, in effect, is a unit composed of members who have been joined together through in-law relationship and consanguinity. Here, however, it must be noticed that the statistical concept of the household (which may include only one member) is different from social concept of family.

Families can be stratified according to the above factors and criterion all over the world and, therefore, also in the Kord tribe. As in the Kord tribe children are known from their father's name and it is the father's family, Rand, and Barasrand that determines the children's Rand, Barasrand and tribe, the family, therefore, is at the first place a patrilinear one.

The husband or man of the family is the all-powerful member in this tribe's families. Women are hardly allowed to express any idea. They have no right to exert any power. If ever their views are sought in special cases, it is the man who takes final decision. Therefore, as regards division and use of power, the family is also patriarchal and patricentral. Members of family live under the influence of the father and his male offspring : father is the main family axle. As, at least in Iran, there is little difference

in this respect between settled rural and tribal families, in the total community of our study, too, this phenomenon is equally evident both in settled agrarian communities and pastoral communities.

Families can also be stratified according to their location as patrilocal, matrilocal and neolocal, a category being peculiar to cities in general and to developed industrial cities in particular.

It is natural enough that in a community where everyone is known after his father, who is the main axis of family and the central authority to decide and exert power and influence the family's dwelling place is also patrilocal. This phenomenon should be more powerful and firmly established in rural communities because of the fact of land and water shares which are transferred to male children by inheritance. But it must also be noted that in relation to the patriarchal and patricentral system of society, the patrilocal characteristic is often a resistant cultural phenomenon that can not be easily altered according to, and precisely simultaneous with, economic changes. It is only possible that it brings itself into harmony with changes of economic system in a very long span of time.

In the Mobaraki tribe of south Baluchestan, for example, the number of sons-in-law who have joined their father-in-law's Halk is large, accounting for a very high proportion. But providing a more accurate account of the issue requires more detailed studies, particularly as agrarian economy of the Mobāraki area is much more primitive and on very lower levels compared to the Kord area.

However, for the Kordi as will be observed in Table V 6 the ratio of Mahalleh members who are related by male and paternal lines is 51% in rural communities and 37% in pastoral communities, the reasons for which have already been discussed. Nevertheless, the proportions of sons-in-law members of Mahallehs are equal, 14%, in both communities. Considering that half of them are related to the head of Mahalleh by consanguinity ties and are of the same village, the question of matrilocality hardly seems to arise, and it can be stated with certainty that the location of forming families in this tribe is patrilocal.

Usually families are divided into two groups of extended and nuclear according to their size and type of relation that exists between children with the main family after marriage. In Kord tribe, if we consider the extended family according to its cultural definition, that is, a unit under the influence and relative power of an elderman who may be the head of a Mahalleh, Rand or Tak and who enjoys peculiar respect, and whose advice is sought by his married children, then we should classify all the Kord families as extended. But the fact is that, on the one hand, this is really not a correct definition of extended family, and, on the other, similar circumstances are to be more or less observed in towns and cities as well. Supervision by the family is not a rare practice in cities. There is an elder man in every family who may and usually is consulted in some essential cases and whose decisions are sometimes binding because of the family's cultural and traditional obligations.

If we consider the extended family as a unit composed of several generations who live in a common dwelling place; or as a unit composed of several families including a man and his wife or wives as well as his sons' families who are economically dependent and have common meals, then we must state that such families are very few in Kord tribe. Most of families are nuclear, including man, wife and children. They have separate and independent incomes and expenses. In the area of our study, only such families that were in tribal minority and very poor economically were run in the way we have called 'extended'. There are two Davoodie families (father and son), two Gamshad-zehie families (father and son), and two Camal-zehie families (father and son) in Sangān that can be regarded as extended. In general, we did not encounter any such in our samples. These six families are, as already discussed, of very lower social ranks as compared to the Kords and are very poor economically : the Davoodies own neither land nor livestock and earn their living as agricultural and non-agricultural hired labourers and also as share-croppers. Yet, none of them share a common dwelling place although they share their incomes and expenses. This is only the effect of their social position within the Kord tribe : one of those economic and social pressures that may force any minority group anywhere in the world to adopt such a kind of family life.

We saw in the chapter on agriculture (table IV 4) that 75% of households in Sangān and 93% in Tamandān are land-owners. Some of them (nine individuals in Sangān and ten in Tamandān) are joint owners and have inherited land

and water shares. All these households consist of owners' sons or share-croppers' brothers. But each one of them is allotted a separate share of the crop. And as we already know the livestock share of sons who are living with their fathers may be separated, even before marriage. In this way, even the fact of joint ownership of land and water has not resulted in the formation of extended families, according to common conception. It is not out of place here to recall that in this area there are not any of such families that are called "a stem family", where the eldest son is the only heir.

However, it is not possible to stratify families in the Kord tribe precisely as "nuclear" or "husband-and-wife" families, unless their striking differences with what is called "nuclear family" in cities are distinguished. As already discussed, this tribe's social system is based on kinship relations and tribal structure. It is such a system that determines the commitments, rights and duties of families. It is therefore evident that there is a direct relation between production system, form of family, and role of its members. Kinship network also exerts its influence upon and supervision over households although they are independent economic units.

In pastoral communities a cluster of tents that belong mostly to the close next of kin relatives who share a common shepherd form a "Mahalleh". Each Mahalleh consists, in the first place, of a father, as head of the Mahalleh, and his married sons. Secondly, married and unmarried brothers of

the head of Mahalleh, his sons-in-law, and sometimes non-relatives can also join the Mahalleh as members. However, supervision by the head of Mahalleh and kinship network is much more strict and careful in pastoral communities. All the social and economic affairs of a mahalleh are decided on under the supervision of the head of Mahalleh such as moving; destination; route; and time of the move; wedding affairs; members' quarrels with one another; and so on. Several Mahallehs form a rand and all the rands together make the tribe. This state holds more truth about the nomadic Morad-zehies who were staying in Chahak in the time of our survey.

Polygamous families also account for a very small proportion. Although 26% of men among total sample households have been married more than once (table VI 1), only 18% of them have more than one wife at the present. The ratio of this group to total married men in the area of survey is no more than 5% (table VI 2). This proportion is almost the same as that observed in some tribes of west Iran. (1)

Although polygamous families have mostly had considerable amounts of land and animals compared to other families (table VI 3); yet it is not reasonable to say for certain that an urgent need for manpower is the only or the most

(1) In the study of Kohkilooyah and Boyer-Ahmad tribes, Olivia Resterpo-Afshar-Naderi has estimated the corresponding ratio at 4 per cent (12 persons in 284). "Family and Development in Tribes", Seminar to study tribal problems of Iran, Teheran July 1976.

Number of marriages

Table No. VI 1

	1		2		3		4		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Male	108	74	30	20	8	5	1	1	147
Female	160	94	7	4	3	2	-	-	170
Total	268	84.68	37	12	11	3	1	0.32	317

Number of men who have married
more than once

Table No. VI 2

Number of men who have married more than once	Number of men who have more than one wife at the present	%	Ratio to total of married men
39	7	18	5

important incentive and cause of polygamy. Monogamous families with almost the same amount of land and animals were fairly numerous; and all the seven polygamous families were from rural communities. We already know that it is the tribal family that is inclined to expand as much as possible because of previously mentioned requirements of pastoral economy. But a rural family can not necessarily always have such a tendency because over-distribution of land and its division into very small plots will reduce its economic output. Therefore, the tendency towards forming nuclear families and separation of sons from the family is more conspicuous in agrarian communities. Agreements usually concluded each year between heirs to the lands or joint owners in agrarian communities regarding the manner of dividing the lands and working on them (which has been discussed in more detail in Chapter IV) confirm the above statement. Thus, in addition to manpower requirements, greater wealth of such households' men and the distinction that is enjoyed because of having several wives as well as political objectives of the tribe must be taken into consideration. As observed in two of the seven cases, that is about 30%, that belonged to the Kords' sardar and the elderman of Mir-Kord tribe, the incentive of marriage had been to maintain tribal solidarity. The Kord sardar said that his incentive to marry a particular woman had been to prevent her marriage with a man of Shahnavaizie tribe so that the man could not enter the area. The Mir-Kord tribe's head has taken for his wife the above-mentioned sardar's daughter from Sangar to consolidate his own position.

Table No. VI 3 Number of livestock and amount of land owned by polygamous families

Serial No.	No. of house-members	No. of live-stock (head)	Area of land ha
1	5	180	24
2	14	111	5.20
3	12	76	2
4	6	26	1
5	7	17	2
6	8	12	2
7	4	6	0.60

Generally speaking, the basic incentive of second or third marriages in rural and pastoral communities has been the death of the first wife (see table VI 14). Other causes are of more or less equal proportions : they have however in 20% of cases ended in divorce.

Duties of the family and of its members

The most important traditional duties of families in general are usually considered to be (after reproduction of one's kind and ensuring the continuity of one's generation) shaping the social identity of children, economic production, supporting the members, passing on rules and traditions as well as education and training, including moral and religious teaching.

In the Kordi tribe, too, the family has the same traditional duties, although the arrival of schools and formal education, as well as the introduction of urban culture and problem of emigration have opened some gaps in these duties and in their power of influence.

From the economic point of view, a family is a production unit whether in rural or in pastoral communities. Because of rapidly changing economic circumstances, the position and role both of the family itself, and of its members, is also changing. Attitudes of the Kord tribe's younger generation were explored through a questionnaire especially designed for the students of fourth and fifth years of elementary schools. Table VI 4 shows that 89.5% of them preferred living in a city to life in a village. Most of them have mentioned more convenience of life in

cities as their incentive. Whatever the reported reasons and however successful or unsuccessful they might have been in diagnosing the reasons for their tendencies, it is certain that they have had no doubt about determining their inclination for living in a city or a village. A study of the students' desired occupations further confirms the above statement (table VI 5). Only 2.5% of them were interested in agriculture and the remaining 97.5% reported such occupations that had no connexions with animal husbandry or agricultural life.

Also, 74% of students have been interested in some vocational training that were by no means related to their fathers' way of livelihood. This indicates that their previous answers were not unconsidered (Table VI 6).

However, school attending children, the absolute majority of whom belong to agrarian communities, now have little time and inclination to assist their parents; and less than half of them (44%) have claimed that they spend their leisure time out of school in helping their parents (table VI 7. The Family in the Kordi tribe, as in most others, is responsible to support its members, whether it is a large extended or a man-and-wife family. This is the reason why, on the one hand, it interferes with and exerts complete supervision over children's marriage and, as well it provides them with economic support by supplying them with a dowry and sufficient wealth to start a home. Such traditions as Bajjar (gifts) and dower (money) are also to assist children in their future life.

Inclination towards town or village life
by young people at school (sample)

Table No. VI 4

Town			Village			Both		Total
No.	%		No.	%		No.	%	
35	89.5		3	8		1	2.5	39
Reason		No.	%	Reason		No.	%	Reason
More convenient		11	24.5	My house in in the vil- age		2	66	
Educational fac- ilities		6	14	Not re- ported		1	34	
Recreational fac- ilities		5	11	Total		3	100	
Occupational fac- ilities		4	9					
Possibility to shop		3	7					
Health facilities		3	7					
"City is better" (no reason)		3	7					
City is better and more beautiful		3	7					
Better weather		2	4.5					
Presence of rela- tives		1	2.25					
Settlement as against moving		2	4.5					
Not reported		1	2.25					
Total		44	100					

Table No. VI 5 Occupation desired by students

Type of occupation	Number	Percent
Teacher	25	64
Engineer	5	13
Physician	6	15.5
Mechanic	1	2.5
Farmer	1	2.5
Government employee	1	2.5
Total	39	100

Inclination towards vocational (practical) training in students

Table VI 6

Inclined		Uninclined		not reported		Total
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
29	74	9	23	1	3	39
occupation	No.	%				
Mechanic	11	38				
Welder	8	28				
Brick-layer	7	24				
Ironsmith	1	3.3				
Literacy or other corps	1	3.3				
not reported	1	3.3				
Total	29	100				

Manner of passing their time out of school

Table No. VI 7

Type of work	No.	%
Helping parents only	17	44
Learning lessons only	13	33
Learning lessons and helping parents	8	21

Educational upbringing of a family is also very expansive. Prior to the arrival of formal education and training systems to the tribal area and in particular to the agrarian area, education and training were the duties of the family. It is evident that the arrival of schools in rural areas and prevalence of religion as well as empowering of the Molavies (religious preachers) have lightened somewhat the burden of such duties, though not always in a favourable direction. Mr. Allah-resan, the sardar's son and designated successor, plainly regarded schools as the main cause of troubles in animal husbandry and agricultural affairs, as well as the promoter of children's emigration, and lack of interest in agriculture and animal husbandry.

Marriage

Whether we regard it as a tradition or a social foundation, marriage is the only acceptable way to form a family and ensure a community's survival. Marriage is not the direct result of instinctive desires, but rather it is, in the first place, a cultural feature. Every culture has its own peculiar compulsions. Whether in uncivilized or in urbanized communities and whatever its peculiar features, the very presence of marriage "tradition" itself is an indication of its significance and cultural role. As regards duration, the prevailing type of marriage is the permanent one and there is no form of interrupted marriage contract. It has already been mentioned that every master could have relations with his maidslave whenever he wished without any marriage contract concluded. From this point of

view, therefore, such a relation could not be regarded as marriage. But, at the same time, it must be noted that the special term of soryat, which is applied to such relations as well as the fact that the maidslave's children were free individuals, if studied more scrupulously, may lead us closer to the truth. At the present, however, the only type of contract to be concluded is the permanent religious marriage contract. We neither saw nor heard of any interrupted marriage contract or marriage with a concubine. Monogamy and polygamy are both practised in this tribe. If there were wealthy men, the latter practice would have been prevalent. But it is very limited : in fact practised only by the sardar, and tribal heads.

Generally speaking, it can not be called a polygamous community so far as communal ideals are concerned. But, considering prominent Islamic beliefs on the one hand and, on the other, the presence of tribal culture, which requires large households, it can be concluded that polygamy was once a common practice because the type of livelihood and religious beliefs both confirmed it. Moreover, the young age at marriage for girls, which had a variety of functions in tribal communities, performed its special function in this respect and never hindered polygamy. On the contrary, the young age at marriage for girls and older age for boys, as well as the marriage of much older men with young girls resulted in a female surplus, which can be divided among those men who have an inclination for polygamy. In this way the probable shortage of men after battles and raiding as well as increase of women as a result of taking captives was compensated.

Besides, obviously the presence of several wives and numerous children is necessary in pastoral communities. Polygamy and extended households help to ensure pastoral communities' survival. Looking after livestock and preparing livestock products require the labour of several wives and children.

As already discussed, although the average number of livestock per household in the Kordi tribe is much smaller than other tribes of Iran, this average is quite considerable in comparison with total province of Sistan and Baluchestan. Average number of livestock per head in this tribe is 50% more than that of total province. Average number of livestock per household is about 25 head, which is quite considerable. Of course, these are their present figures. Prior to the recent years drought the corresponding figures were much more.

Recent improvement, especially in agricultural productivity, (and to some extent in animal husbandry) have brought about a decline in the former common practice of polygamy. Infiltration of rural and urban cultures into the tribe have also helped monogamy to replace polygamy, which will soon disappear spontaneously. Another major characteristic of marriage in this tribe is its universality, The religion of Islam, dominance of patriarchal system, retention of a pastoral sector even though the community is striding towards agricultural development the extended household's support of its members that eliminates anxiety over gaining one's livelihood, strictly limited possibility of free association between girls and boys, the right of choosing a spouse for one's children which is the exclusive right of parents, and impossibility of disobedience on the part of

children, all these factors contributed to universality of marriage among the Kordi.

Marriage ceremonies and method

It has been claimed - not without good reasons, perhaps - that the oldest ways of taking a woman for a wife were by capture, purchase or exchange. Certainly, the tradition of paying cash or precious articles to a bride's family is related to that practice. In this connection, the Kords have many myths and poems. "Dor-Jabal" is the name of one of those typical poems; which narrates the story of a girl who was kidnapped by her lover : whatever the outcome, it definitely relates to the past : a present marriage ceremony is a mixture of old traditions with formalities peculiar to a rural community.

Engagement may last from one month to 15 years; that is, from birth until the time of marriage. If engagement is concluded at the age of maturity, the couple are not allowed to meet each other until the time of marriage. When the offer of marriage is accepted, the boy sends the girl a gift of cloth, a dress and shoes. The girl must keep herself from being seen by the boy as soon as she wears those shoes and dresses.

One to five persons may go as a group to offer a marriage proposal. They must be very close relatives such as father, paternal uncles and sometimes their offspring. Paternal relatives, thus, have priority to go to propose. As in towns they may say : "Accept our son to be your slave!"

Or the bridegroom family's representative may say : "The son of such and such asks you to adopt him as your son." As claimed by themselves, such phrases are used by village inhabitants; and mountaineer Baluches would approach the would-be bride's father more directly, saying "I have come to ask you to give a wife to my son." Traditionally, the bride's father would offer excuses and produce stories about his daughter's inefficiency and inexperience. But the other party turns a deaf ear to his excuses and does not usually withdraw its proposal. When their proposal is accepted, the would-be bridegroom's family slaughter a goat and send it to the girl's father together with dresses and sweets. A marriage ring is not customarily used. Direct payment of cash or precious articles to the bride's parents (for having brought her up) is no longer practised, they claim. But it certainly was practised in the past and the gift consisted of up to 14 loaded camels. Now a dowry is made over, the amount ranging from Rls. 100 to Rls. 1,000,000. The smallest sum comes from poor livestock holders and the largest to sardar families and tribal heads. The Tamandanies reported that something like 300,000 rials is customarily assigned in their village. A third of the amount is usually received in advance by the bride's father, which is about 30,000 rials among poor families and 100,000 rials when the dowry is 300,000 rials. The bride's father has to spend the sum to provide for the couple's necessary articles such as a Palas (for making a tent), or a room, etc. The girl's consent is out of question. But the mother traditionally asks about her opinion and the girl in her turn would follow

her father's decision.

As will be discussed later, kinship relation plays a basic role in marriage. When this relationship is very close, such as when the couples are cousins, proposing and marriage ceremonies will be conducted with few formalities. The less close the relationship, the more sophisticated the wedding formalities. Prior to declaring his consent, bride's father is the main character. When this stage is passed, the active role is transferred to the girl's paternal or maternal uncle. In fact the girl's father makes him his proxy. If a boy is willing to marry a girl from another tribe, consent of the tribe's sardar or elderman is the first thing to seek.

Giving a dowry to the girl is a very strictly observed tradition. In case of want, a man may borrow even from the bridegroom himself to provide for his daughter's dowry. A dowry, in general, includes bedding (one set at least and 6 sets at most); one gedam (black-tent); a Parzoneh (table cloth); a shawl; a Shikin (special piece of cloth to wrap and keep bread in) a Kand (an ornamental, intricately designed gleem which is spread over a wooden frame where the bedding is put, Khorjeen or Horjeen (at least one pair, and more if wealthy) Hansak (dipper) and some household utensils, which were mostly of copper in the past but nowadays synthetic materials are also provided in the lower social strata. If the girl's family enjoy considerable wealth, some golden articles are also supplied such as dorr (ear-rings) patizari (head ornaments) challeh (ring) and a necklace.

The bridegroom's father must supply him with necessary

means of living, so far as his financial conditions permit. The boy is not allowed to separate his share of land and water from his father's, but he can do so with his livestock. Nevertheless, what is obligatory on the boy and his father, as already hinted, is a third of the amount of dower in addition to wedding expenses; as well as livestock, land, orchard, and whatever belongs to the boy.

Marriage and wedding ceremonies are performed simultaneously. Formerly, these ceremonies lasted for 7 days, but today they last for no more than 3 days. No wedding ceremonies are performed during the month of Ramazan and from the beginning of Moharram to 13th of Safar. Friday is favoured for the ceremonies.

About 20-30 days before the appointed day of the marriage, guests are invited to attend by a messenger who is called by no special title. Those who live in distant places are invited by a letter addressed to the elderman of their village. The guests traditionally bring with themselves some gifts which are called Bejjār, in order to help the bridegroom with his marriage provision - such as livestock, ghee, dresses, and so on. There are, of course, some who do not bring anything because they don't want to or they are too poor. Strangers attending the ceremony should not give any Bejjār. A Marriage Contract is concluded by the molavi, and the marriage certificate is an ordinary piece of paper, which is taken to the city soon after the ceremony to register and legalize.

To fix the amount of dowry, the girl nominates someone as her proxy, who is usually an elderman of the tribe. Having

fixed the dowry, the molavi asks the girl's father (her proxy in Tamandan) : "Can I give a girl of such and such identification in marriage to a boy of such and such identification with this much dowry"? The girl's father replies : "I give and I had given her" or "I accept and I had accepted". This question is repeated 3 times and answered 3 times as well. The bridegroom also answers the same question 3 times saying : "I accepted your daughter". Then, the molavi reads out the relevant verses from the Qoran and declares the bride and bridegroom man and wife and concludes the marriage contract on an ordinary sheet of paper. The couple stay in their bridal chamber for 36 hours, which period is referred to in the same terms as used for water share; that is 3 beels, and we know that each beel is equal to 12 hours. The bride sometimes receives gifts such as a necklace, etc., when she leaves the bridal chamber.

Tribal and Kinship relations in marriage. This discussion considers the prohibitions, limitations and priorities imposed on marriage by the community's culture. Marriage between relatives is not a phenomenon peculiar to a tribal or rural population; it is practised in cities as well.

Limitations and prohibitions exert significant influence and power in the Kord tribe. Marriage with other tribes occurs only very rarely among well-to-do families. Reasons for inter-tribal marriage, where these occurred, were for tribal interests such as marriage between the Kords and the Mirs which resulted in greater solidarity of the two tribes. Marriage of Kords with Shahnavezies or Riggies would occur in order to ensure peace between the two tribes.

According to our survey, 93% of marriages in village communities and 74% in pastoral communities have been concluded between members of the same tribe. (Table No. VI 8).

As already stated, marriage with lower status tribal members is not concluded at all. In the two cases reported in table No. VI 9 , where the woman's tribe was superior to the man's (which is very extraordinary and exceptional), marriages had been concluded between two Shahnāvazie women with two Camal-zehie men, who had been slaves in the past (table VI 8). Such a situation had never occurred before among the Kords, at least in present memory. There was only one instance of marriage into another tribe of the equal rank. There was also one case of marriage between a Kord man and a Morad-zehie women (Table No. VI 8), the man being of a superior tribe.

Some dilution of the situation would seem however to be possible, since some ex-slaves have legally adopted the surname of Kord (as shown on their identity cards).

Tribal relations in marriage

Table No. VI 8

	Husband		Wife		
	Tribe	Number	Tribe	Number	
Village Communities	Kord	40	Kord	42	
	Kordi	41	Kordi	44	
	Kehrad-zehie	3	Kehradzehie	3	
	Ris-baf	2	Ris-baf	2	
	Kord	1	Morad-zehie	1	
	Camal-zehie	2	Shahnavazie	2	
	Gamshad-zehie	1	Gamshad-zehie	1	
	Gamshad-zehie	1	Kord	1	
	Davoodi	2	Davoodi	2	
	Not reported	1	Shahnavazie	1	
	Not reported	2	Not reported	2	
	Total	96	Total	101	
	Pastoral Communities	Morad-zehie	13	Morad-zehie	13
		Kord	2	Gamshad-zehie	3
Kord		1	Rigy	1	
Shahnavazie		2	Shahnavazie	2	
Gamshad-zehie		1	Kangoo-zehie	1	
Gamshad-zehie		2	Gamshad-zehie	2	
Not reported		2	Not reported	2	
Total		23	Total	24	

Table No. VI 9 Ratio of different types of marriage in the two communities

Type of marriage	Village Communities		Pastoral Communities	
	No.	%	No.	%
Between members of the same tribe	89	93	17	74
Between tribes of equal rank	1	1	4	17
Man of superior tribe	1	1	-	-
Woman from a (1) superior tribe	2	2	-	-
Not reported	3	3	2	9
Total	96	100	23	100

(1) These two cases relate to marriages of two women from the Shahnavaizie tribe with two men from the Camalzehie tribe, ex-slaves of the Kords.

Generally speaking, such marriages are less likely to be concluded in superior and more powerful tribes than in low-status and weaker ones.

In Chahak marriages in all the sample households have been with members of their own tribe.

As well as the influence of the tribe generally in marriage, study of kinship relations in marriage is also worthy of attention. Tribal influences that are the cause of tribal-endogamous marriages are again important in making the spouse selection circle narrower and smaller. This is especially true of settled communities with an agrarian economy. Table No. VI 10 shows that a majority of 34% of marriages in rural communities have been concluded between sons and daughters of paternal uncles, which clearly illustrates the importance of the paternal side of the family.

In the previous pages it was established that as agriculture developed in the area, land and water became more important than livestock. As a consequence, relationships having an important role in the inheritance of land and water attached increasing significance to such organizations as Rand and Tak, rather than to the Mahalleh. There is, too, a corresponding effect on marriage. The rate of marriage between sons and daughters of paternal uncles is no more than 9% in nomadic communities; that is, one-quarter of the corresponding rate in the agrarian community. Conversely, marriages between non-related couples is higher in nomadic communities. See table No. VI 10

This phenomenon clearly demonstrates the effect of economic change on the social bases of the tribe. In fact, 67% of marriages in settled village communities are concluded between very close relatives; and couples who are either distant relatives or non-relative account for no more than 9.5%.

Table No. VI 10

Relationship of wife to husband

Relationship of wife to husband	Village Communities		Pastoral Communities		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Daughter of paternal uncle	33	34	2	9	35	29
Daughter of maternal uncle	10	10.5	1	4	11	9
Daughter of maternal aunt	18	19	3	13	21	18
Daughter of paternal aunt	4	4	2	9	6	5
Of the same tribe	17	18	7	30.5	24	20
Daughter of his mother's paternal uncle	1	1	-	-	1	1
Distant relative	7	7.5	2	9	9	8
Non-relative	2	2	4	17.5	6	5
Not reported	4	4	2	9	6	5
Total	96	100	23	100	119	100

In nomadic communities however only 35% are close relatives (that is almost one half of the corresponding ratio for agrarian communities), and 27% are distant-or non-relatives.

Other Prohibitions and Limitations Local limitation is also conspicuous in marriage, and somewhat natural. A study of birth place of spouses covering members of 20 sample Mahallehs indicates that 74% of them have had a common birth place. For 17% the distance between birth places was less than 20 km and only 9% were born in places more than 20 km distant. In fact, it can be concluded that about 91% of marriages have been concluded between members of the same, or a neighbouring village. Marriages between members with the same birth place would seem to be slightly fewer among nomadic communities (71%) as compared with settled groups (76%). But annual movement of nomadic populations destroys the validity of comparison involving location, because permanent movement eliminates distances. Therefore, it can be claimed that in nomadic communities all marriages have been concluded between couples of the same birth place with a single areal unity.

It is necessary to point out the early age at marriage among the tribe studied. As is discussed in the chapter on demography, the average age at first marriage is 15 years for women and 18 for men. This relatively low age is most shown among pastoralists, where women and children play the chief role in looking after the livestock and in preparation of derived animal commodities. There is a direct positive relation between size of household and number of animals kept.

Birth place of spouses as studied in 20 sample Mahallehs of the two communities (1)

Table No VI 11

Location of birth place	Rural Communities		Pastoral Communities		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Of the same birth place	73	76	29	71	102	74
Of nearby birth place (less than 20 km)	11	11.5	12	29	23	17
Of distant birth places (more than 20 km)	12	12.5	-	-	12	9
Total	96	100	41	100	137	100

- (1) The reason that the number of households in pastoral communities studied in this table is more than the number of our samples is that questionnaires of Mahalleh or halk have been utilized - where members of Mahalleh are surveyed - and no household questionnaires were completed for them separately.

Among these people marriage is not only a means of satisfying sexual impulses, but - in addition to and more important - it is a social coercion. When marriage and forming a family is so important, the society is inevitably less indulgent and moderate and more watchful to control it. Personal affection could annul or render such a control very difficult. Hence, early marriage is a suitable preventive measure. The fact that girls' opinions are of no effect in marriage at all, and boys also hardly enjoy such a right to enforce their own will, is a confirmation and approval of such a control.

As stated earlier, the precocious age at marriage for girls could foster more widespread polygamy since the large extended households ensure the continuity of the community's special way of life.

Nevertheless, the development of an agrarian economy, a gradual decrease in the multi-lateral functions of the family, the penetration of education through opening of schools in villages, and the penetration of urban culture in rural communities have all helped to push up the age at marriage for girls and, in particular, boys.

In Sangam, for example, the age at the first marriage used to be 13 to 15 years for men and 10 to 12 years for women (Table VI 12) Here is an important change in social patterns.

Table No. VI 12 Age at the first marriage in Sangam

Age group	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
10 - 12			6	11	6	6
13 - 15	5	11.5	20	36	25	25
16 - 18	5	11.5	12	22	17	17
19 - 21	4	9	6	11	10	10
22 - 24	13	29.5	1	2	14	14
25 - 27	10	23			10	10
28 - 30	2	4.5			2	2
31 - 33	1	2			1	1
34 - 36	1	2			1	1
37+						
Not reported	3	7	10	18	13	13
Total	44	100	55	100	99	100

Table No. VI 13 Marital status (population of marital age)

	Number	Married		Unmarried	
		No.	%	No.	%
Male	60	44	73	16	27
Female	77	55	71	22	29

Divorce Table No. VI 14 indicates that in the area of study there were 11 cases of divorce in all, which account for 22% of total re-marriages and 9% of total sample households (119 persons). The reasons reported for divorce, as indicated in the same table, are in the first place disobedience of the wife and, in the next, her old age, or her impiety. Whatever the truth of reported reasons, the conclusion arrived at is an indication of the man's indisputable sovereignty and exerting his absolute will. A man can easily divorce his wife for any reason. But as the absolute majority of women are obedient and have traditionally accepted male superiority, divorce happens very rarely. As claimed by themselves, any kind of disobedience on the part of the woman and failure or refusal to perform her duties at home may result in divorce. Adultery or disgraceful affair of the wife has never resulted in divorce - neither in the past, nor at present. It mostly ended up in the execution of the woman and her lover, since tribal culture obligations hardly allow a man to endure such a disgrace. The wife who does not perform her duties will either be divorced, or will have to live with a rival wife, or she will be beaten. Some other disagreeable results for a woman include using abusive language and unsuitable laughter. In both cases, the woman will either be divorced, or beaten after one or two warnings. However, what is really decisive in the end is the manner of human beings rather than dominance of culture and traditions alone. A man can divorce his wife simply by repeating the sentence "I divorce you" three times, without any documents or formalities.

Instances of and reasons for second marriages
in the two communities

Table No.VI 14

Reason	Settled village communities				Pastoral communities				Total	%
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%		
Death of wife	15	5	5	62.5	5	56	1	50	26	53
Old age of wife (ended up in divorce)	2	6.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
Illness of wife	1	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Barren wife	1	3.3	-	-	1	11	-	-	2	4
Disobedience (resulted in divorce)	3	10	-	-	1	11	-	-	2	4
Tribal solidar- ity	2	6.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
Divorce	1	3.3	-	-	2	22	1	50	4	8
Impiety (resulted in divorce)	1	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Needing someone to look after the first wife's children	1	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Not reported	3	10	3	37.5	-	-	-	-	8	17
Total	30	100	8	100	9	100	2	100	49	100

Inheritance system is based on Islamic codes which are in complete conformity with Kordi ways and tribal culture. No wonder, since Islamic orders have also been based on tribal culture. Sons inherit twice as much as daughters and the wife receives one eighth of the heritage. It must be noted, however, that as tribal culture enjoys unchallenged dominance and religious teachings have only been introduced into village communities since quite recently, these teachings and rules are frequently disobeyed in practice. This indicates that such religious rules had never been completely obeyed in the past. As regards, for instance, a daughter's share of heritage, the tribesmen themselves confess that if the father gives her share while he is still alive, there will be no possibility for objections. But after his death, it depends on her brothers' fairness to agree or disagree regarding payment of her share. The community confronts such injustice with indifference and offers no resistance against it. This clearly demonstrates dominant tribal culture and, in particular, what had been practised in the past. It also illustrates the importance of male children - a point repeatedly confirmed in our interviews. Male children are esteemed so highly that even the wage paid to the midwife is doubled when a baby boy is born. The only midwife in Tamandan received 1,000 rials for delivering each baby boy and 500 rials for each baby girl last year. (see Table No. VI 15).

Table No. VI 15 Income of Tamandan's midwife during last year

Sex	Number of births	Wage for each delivery	Total received
Male	5	1,000	5,000
Female	6	500	3,000
Total	11	-	8,000

As agricultural holdings are newly established in this area in general and in Sangán in particular, they have not been able to find a definite solution to prevent uneconomic over-distribution of lands. However, if the present trend of emigration and inclinations of the young generation to live and work in cities persists, they will undoubtedly have no problem in this respect. On the contrary, they will be faced with the problem of manpower shortage more serious than it is at present. In Tamandan, where agriculture has an older background, number of emigrants is higher and cultural and educational levels are more advanced, as will be discussed in the chapter on demography. If the head of a household emigrates, he does so when he is not required for work on the land, or he will entrust his land to his father or his brothers. Income derived from working in labour markets is so much larger than that derived from agriculture and animal husbandry that there is no reason to care about over-distribution of land, to introduce discrepancies in this issue, or to worry about their uneconomization until an unpredictable future.

Demography

Because of the difficulties of obtaining detailed census returns (those for 1976 have still not been published), together with the difficulties discussed above in relation to enumeration of tribal groups in Iran, a partial but more detailed study of the demography is now attempted. Sample villages have been selected from the dehestans of Koosheh and Sangan, which lie on the western and eastern margins of the Taftan massif. This study covers 70% of the population of the sample villages selected, and 14% of the total households living in these two Kord-inhabited areas.

Population Structure : Geographic Distribution

The geographic distribution of population clearly illustrates that the Kord tribe occurs in scattered elements thinly distributed over a very extensive area.

Those Kords who are semi-settled have clustered in large or small groups beside rivers or near springs at relatively short distances away from each other. This distance may be no more than a single hill on which some boundary stones are arranged to mark the limits of two neighbouring villages; or sometimes it is a narrow strip of rough ground up to 2 or 3 km long. Human groups are sometimes as small as 3 or 4 households. The overall density of settlement in the area under survey, which covers an area of 4,025 sq km, is 0.92 persons per sq km. However, if the density is calculated in relation to cultivable area only, the density (obtained by dividing the total population

of 1,230 persons of the sample villages by an area of 110,34 hectares, total cultivable area of the samples as surveyed by the writer) is 11 persons per hectare.

Sex ratio It is instructive to set the Kordi situation against the national position for Iran (paralleled in other countries), by which 105 males are born per 100 females. A higher mortality rate for males in the first years of life was observed, so that in the age group 0-4 years for Kordi children, there were 102 females as against 98 males among the population under survey. However, in higher age cohorts, up to 14 years, the ratio of males rises again because the menfolk traditionally enjoy better nursing and receive more care and attention as a result of their economic role and the consequent importance of this rôle in the household. Thus the sex ratio for the group 5-10 years in the area of our study was found to be 100 females for 108 males.

Full details are given in the following table.

Sample Kordi Population

Table No. VII. 1

Distribution of population by age and sex

Age groups	Female		Male		Total	Per cent
	No.	%	No.	%		
0 - 4	102	24	98	22	200	23
5 - 9	79	19	92	20	171	20
10 - 14	49	12	66	15	115	13
15 - 19	35	8	39	9	74	8
20 - 24	26	6	15	3	41	4.7
25 - 29	23	5.5	20	4.5	43	4.8
30 - 34	23	5.5	18	4	41	4.7
35 - 39	21	4.9	19	4.2	40	4.6
40 - 44	19	4.5	20	4.5	39	4.5
45 - 49	10	2.4	15	3	25	3
50 - 54	7	1.6	15	3	22	2.5
55 - 59	4	1	7	1.5	11	1.3
60 - 64	11	2.6	5	1.2	16	2
65 - 69	6	1.5	5	1.2	11	1.3
70 and over	6	1.5	17	3.9	23	2.6
Total	421	100	451	100	872	100

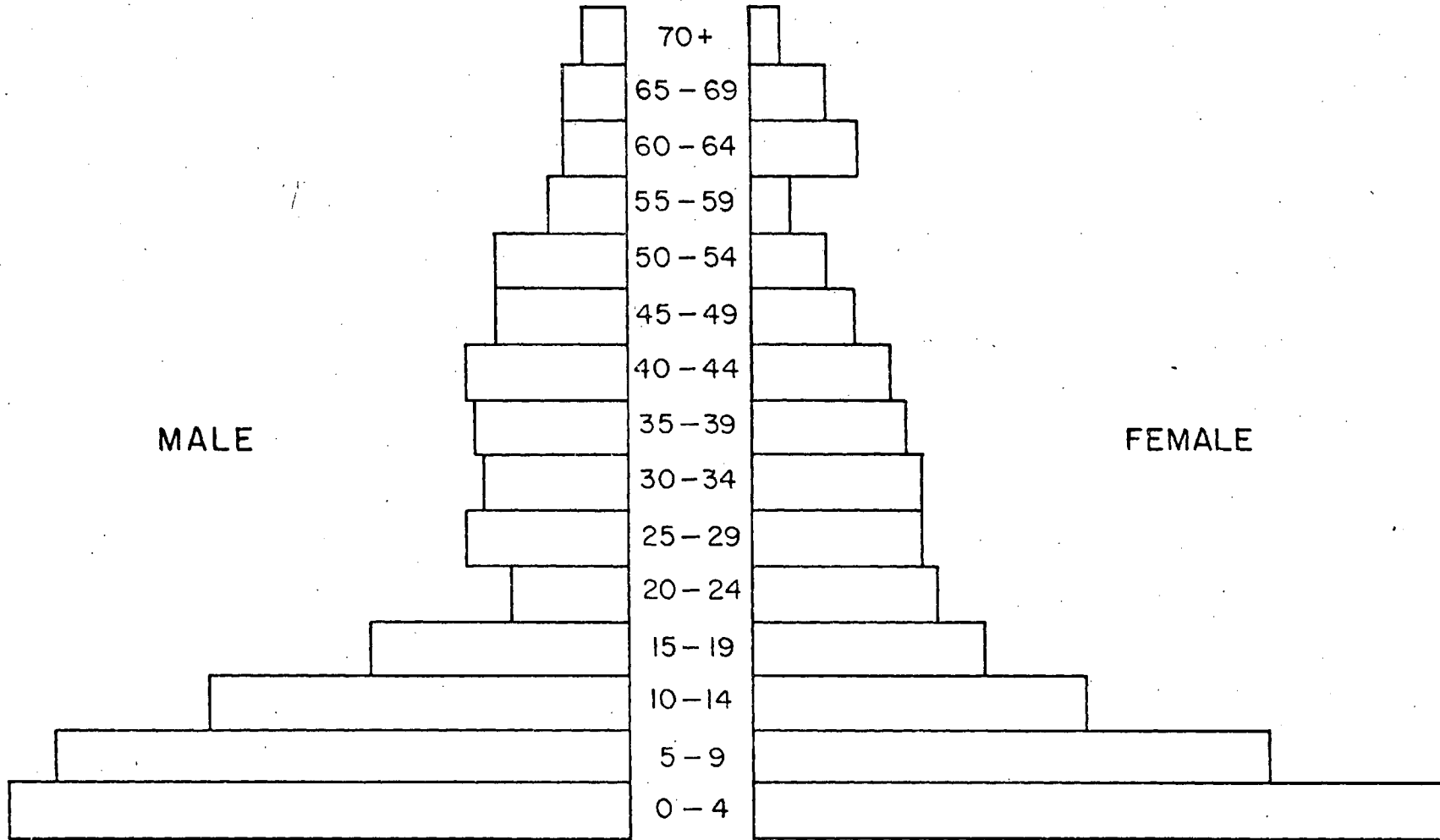


Figure No. 2

Age Pyramid

Age Distribution. The youthfulness of the population in the Kordi tribe is the chief feature. The wide base of the age-pyramid and its rapid narrowing reflect a very high fertility and also a very high rate of infant mortality. As for men above the age of 14 years, the rapid decline in numbers is due to emigration to seek work outside the region. Taking a larger grouping (dependents, working population, elderly) we can see clearly the marked youthfulness of the Kordi sample population. The relatively small proportion of active population (grouped summarily as 15-60 years of age) will be noted, leaving a high number of young and old dependents.

Kordi Tribal Sample Summary distribution

Age-groups	Number	Per cent of sample
Under 15 years	486	56
15 to 59 years	336	38
60 years and over	50	6
Total	872	100

The area of our study can be further divided into two on the basis of their livelihood. One part includes the areas where the major activity can be held to be settled or semi-settled agriculture; while the second comprises the areas where pastoralism is dominant. In this thesis we shall refer to them respectively as agrarian

and pastoral areas. Obviously the major part of the population lives in the agrarian area, as shown in the two following tables. Some 64% of the population in the agrarian area, and 63% of the population in the pastoral area are under 20 years of age.

Distribution of population by age and sex in the agrarian area.

(Per cent)

Table No.VII 2

Locality

Age group	Tamandan		Sangan		Pavel		Gazak		Total	
	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	No.	%
0-4	22	20	24	24	24.5	26	21	12	165	22
5-9	18	21	17	20	24.5	21	21	26	149	20
10-14	10	16	13	12	16	12	12.5	12	97	13
15-19	9	8	8	9.5	8	12	6	20	68	9
20-24	5.4	4	7.5	5	-	-	12.5	-	36	4.8
25-29	8	6.5	4	4	8	2	-	3	40	6
30-34	5	4	7.5	3	5	5	3	9	35	4.7
35-39	5	3	4	5.5	11	5	3	-	32	4.4
40-44	5.4	3	4	5	-	5	6	3	31	4
45-49	12	5	2	3	3	2	3	-	21	3
50-54	1.4	2	3	4	-	5	3	6	21	3
55-59	1.4	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	8	1
60-64	3	0.6	2	0.5	-	-	6	3	12	1.6
65-69	1.4	2	2	0.5	-	-	3	-	11	1.5
70 and over	3	3.7	1	2	-	5	-	6	18	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	744	100

Distribution of population by age and sex in the
pastoral area (Per cent)

Table No.VII 3

Locality

Age groups	Chahak		Gorz		Total	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	No.	%
0 - 4	30	24	31	24	35	27
5 - 9	17.5	17	21	14	22	17
10 - 14	7.5	13	11	28	18	14
15 - 19	12.5	-	3	-	6	5
20 - 24	2.5	3	11	-	5	4
25 - 29	5	3	-	-	3	2.5
30 - 34	7.5	-	3	7	6	5
35 - 39	7.5	7	3	7	8	6
40 - 44	2.5	10	7	7	8	6
45 - 49	5	7	-	-	4	3
50 - 54	-	3	-	-	1	1
55 - 59	-	3	3	3	3	2.5
60 - 64	-	3	7	3	4	3
65 - 69	-	-	-	-	-	-
70 and over	2.5	7	-	7	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100	128	100

Size of Household Kord tribal households are large in size because of the dominance of kinship relations and their highly important role in the system of agricultural holding. Average size of household overall in the area of survey is estimated by observation at 6.6 persons; but in agrarian areas (where the people have higher productivity and a better livelihood), the average size is 7.6 persons, whereas in pastoral areas it is 5.6 persons. The following table shows the average size of household in the area under survey, by village.

	Agrarian area				Pastoral area		Average size of household
	Gazak	Taman-dan	Sangan	Pavel	Gorz	Chahak	
Size of Household	11.0	7.0	6.8	6.6	5.8	5.4	6.6

The following three tables, and diagrams give the distribution of sample households by size for both the agrarian and the pastoral areas separately. It will be seen that 8-person households are in the majority, with 6 person and 5 person households respectively next in order. One-person households, accounting for 1.5% of total households in the area, consisted of widowed women living separately from their relatives. Some 49.5% of households had more than 6 members.

Table No.VII 4

Distribution of sample households by size

Household members	Number of households	Per cent of total
1	2	1.5
2	8	6
3	11	8
4	14	11
5	16	12
6	16	12
7	13	10
8	20	15
9	12	9
10	9	7
11	2	1.5
12	3	2
13	1	1
14	2	1.5
16	2	1.5
19	1	1
Total	132	100

Figure No. 3

Percent distribution of sample households by
their size

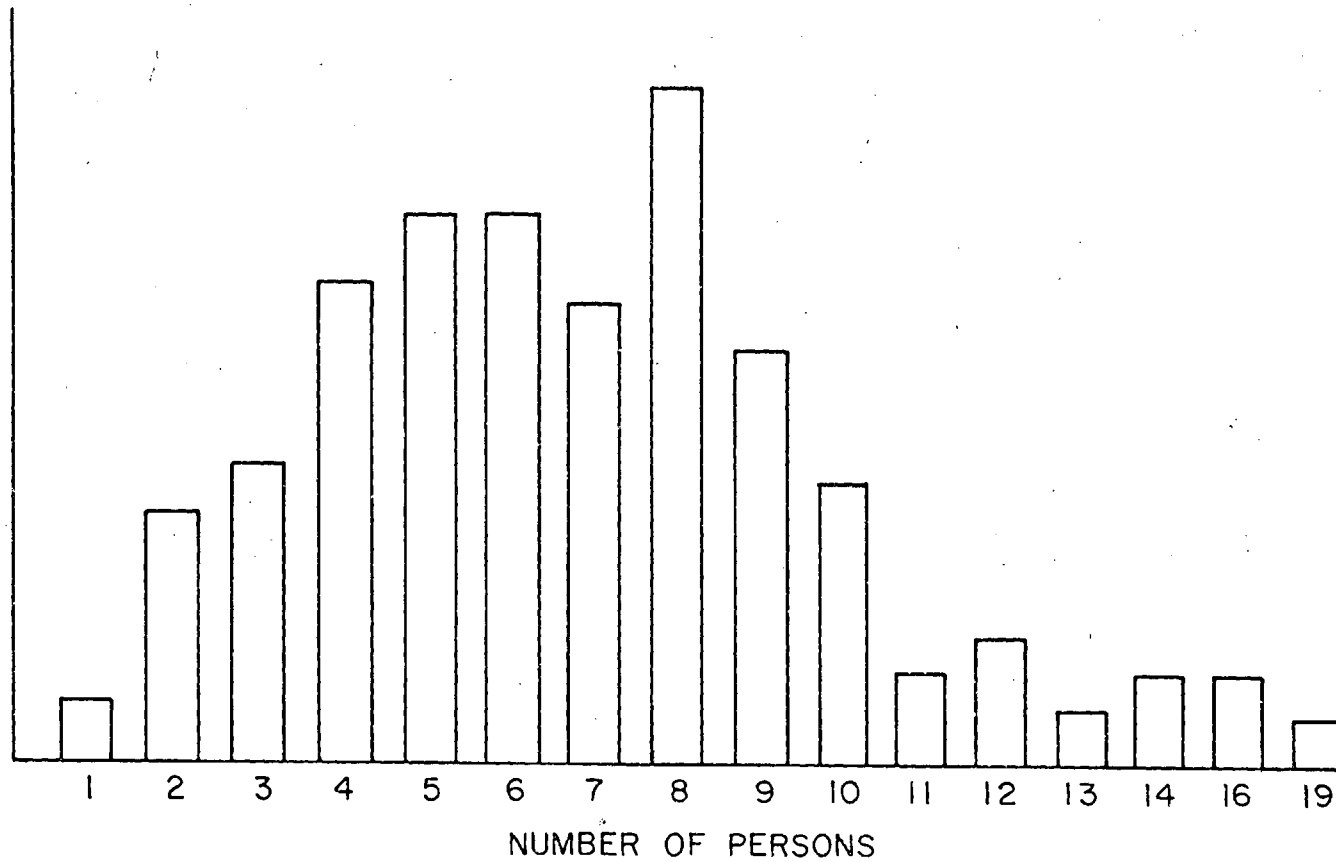


Table No. VII 5

Distribution of sample households
by size (Agrarian area)

Household members	Number of households	Per cent of total
1	1	1
2	7	6
3	8	7
4	11	10
5	13	12
6	12	11
7	11	10
8	16	15
9	11	10
10	8	7
11	2	2
12	3	3
13	1	1
14	2	2
16	2	2
19	1	1
Total	109	100

Figure No.4 Percent distribution of households by size in agrarian areas

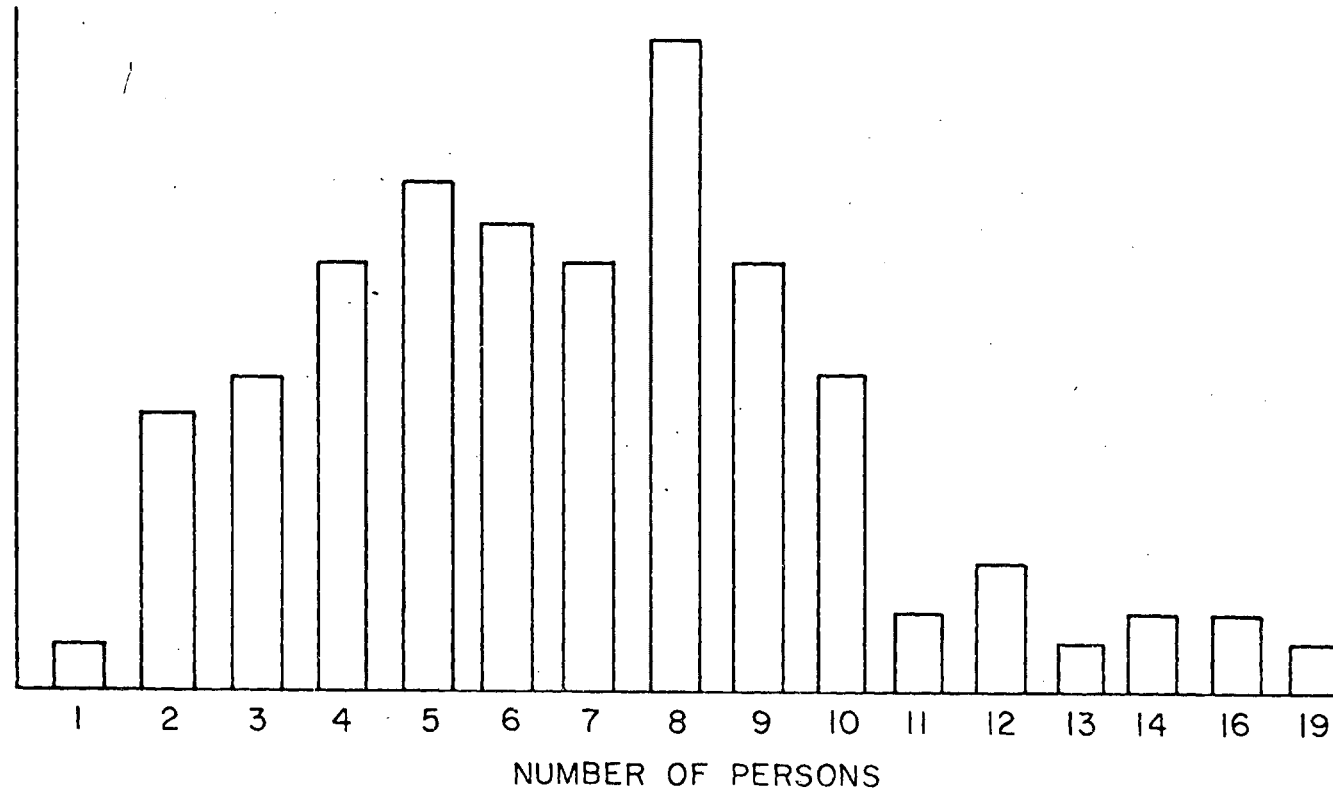
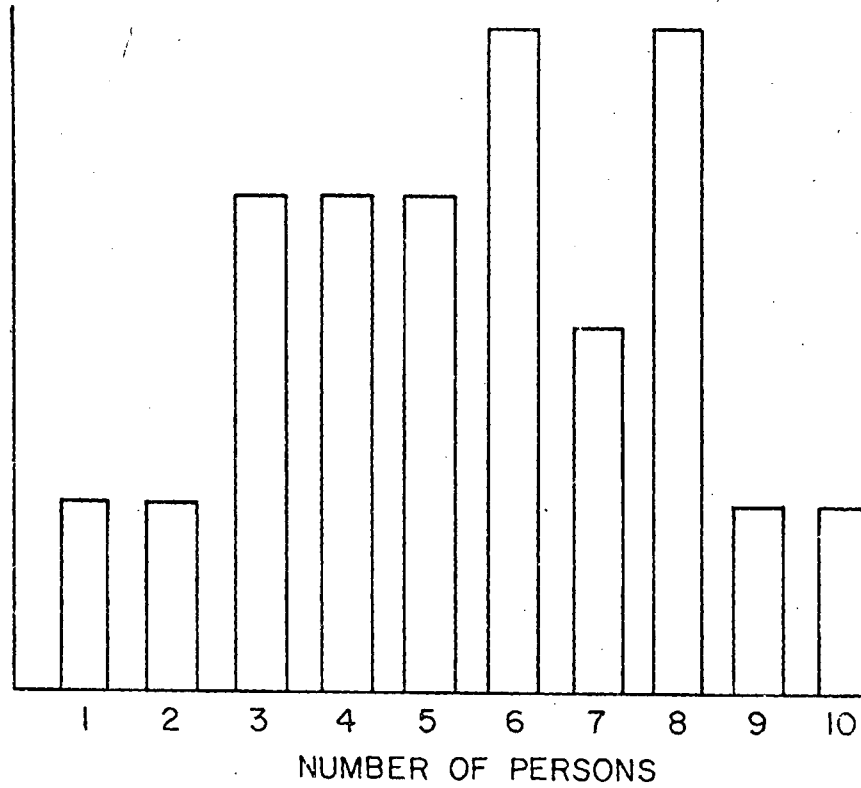


Table No. VII 6

Distribution of sample households
by size (Pastoral area)

Household members	Number of households	Per cent of total
1	1	4.5
2	1	4.5
3	3	13
4	3	13
5	3	13
6	4	17
7	2	9
8	4	17
9	1	4.5
10	1	4.5
Total	23	100

Figure No.5 Percent distribution of households by size in pastoral areas.



Marital Status This was studied on the basis of the average age at marriage 14 for women, 18 for men. Thus, the unmarried population older than the average age were reported as single. Results for the sample are given below -

Sex	Married	Single	Widowed
Female	152	47	17
Male	146	30	1

It was apparent that 72% of female population over 15 years of age were married.

Literacy Literacy status was studied on the basis of the number of literates, male and female, and their extent of literacy. In this survey those who could read and write, or those who could only read, were regarded as literate.

As expected in rural communities, there is considerable difference between the numbers of male and female literates. The difference is even greater when the level of literacy within the two groups is considered : the highest attainment among female population was that of the last year of elementary education; whereas among men there were some with secondary education and beyond.

The distribution of the literates by age group also shows great variation among the population aged over 6 or more. Chief difference is obviously between the

sexes - women are far less educated.

Present social factors, in particular the evolution of a strong patriarchal trend, with development of pastoralism and semi-pastoralism among the Kords, and, at the same time, strengthening of Islamic religious beliefs, have all pushed the community against education for women. This is clearly observed in the small proportion of women of the literate population of the area. Only 5.4% of the women over 6 years of age received a formal education : if the ability to read and write and reading the Qoran are also taken into account, the ratio increases to 11%. In contrast 46% of men over 6 years of age have received some formal education (taking the ability to read and write as well as to read the Qoran into account, the ratio becomes 50%)

We see from this table that the number of literate men is 5 times as much as women. In general, 31% of the total population 6 years of age and over are literate. Of the total literates 84% are male and 16% female.

If the analysis is carried further, we see marked differences between different Kord villages. Tamandan is remarkable in the area because with only 36% of sample population, this village numbers 45% of the total literate population of the tribal area, while the remaining 55% literates are scattered among 5 other villages. As regards formal education, Tamandan also has superiority over other parts of the area in that it has offered 49% of the population some formal education.

Distribution of literate population 6 years
of age and over by sex

Table No. VII 7

	Female	Male	Total	per cent		
				Female	Male	Total
Population 6 years of age and over	294	327	621	47	53	100
Number of the literates 6 years of age and over	33	163	196	16	84	100
Per cent	11	50	31	-	-	-

Literate population 6 years of age and over, by sex, in different villages

Table No. VII 8

	Agrarian area										Pastoral area					
	Female					Male					Female			Male		
	Tamandan	Sangan	Pavel	Gazak	Total	Tamandan	Sangan	Pavel	Gazak	Total	Gorz	Chahak	Total	Gorz	Chahak	Total
Total Population 6 years of age and over	109	92	24	24	249	128	101	31	26	286	17	28	45	19	22	41
Literate Population 6 years of age and over	20	9	4	-	33	69	63	19	10	161	-	-	-	1	1	2
Per cent	18	9	17	-	13	54	62	61	38	56	-	-	-	5	4.5	5

Formal literacy status by sex

Table No. VII 9

	Agrarian area					
	Tamandan	Sangan	Pavel	Gazak	Total	
					No.	%
Female	15	1	-	-	16	9
Male	64	54	19	10	147	91

	Pastoral area			
	Gorz	Chahak	Total	
			No.	%
Female	-	-	-	-
Male	1	1	2	100

The above table indicates that the number of literate males in the agrarian area is five times greater than that of the females. Moreover, as would be expected, there is a wide gap in conditions between the agrarian area, with 36% literate, and the pastoral area, with only 5%. The small share of women in formal education, as well as the wide gap in this regard between the agrarian and pastoral communities is shown. The fact that almost all (94%) of the formally educated women are from the one village of Tamandan is

due to the temporary presence of a Literacy Corps group of teachers (hardly a permanent school), and show what could be achieved. Further details of literacy among differing age-groups of the sample population are given below -

Table No.VIII10 Kordi Tribe Sample

(a) Age Groups and Literacy

	6-9	10-14	15-19	20-49	50 and over
No. of members in each group	138	115	74	230	83
No. of literates in each group	69	54	21	45	7
Per cent	50	48	28	20	8

Table No.VII 10

(b)

Literates by Age and Sex

	6 - 9		10 - 14		15 - 19		20 - 49		50 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Female	13	19	6	11	3	14	10	22	1	14	33	17
Male	56	81	48	89	18	86	35	78	6	86	163	83
Total	69	100	54	100	21	100	45	100	7	100	196	100

It appears that 63% of the total literates are under 15 years of age. The reasons are : (a) cash and kind subsidies by central government to students all over Baluchestan during recent years; (b) perception on a wider scale of opportunities in government service, for which literacy is essential.

As our sample show, literacy is a novelty in pastoral area, where one hardly meets anybody who can read and write, or even can only read. There were in fact only two boys in our sample who were literate.

We must now consider formal education - i.e. attendance regularly at school or higher institution. Here the disparity between males and females is striking. Availing themselves of the possibility of living outside their village, the men have succeeded in completing high-school courses and some have even gone on to tertiary education. Women have neither been traditionally allowed, nor have they had the possibility to continue their formal education further than elementary course. Differences are shown as follows -

(a) Levels of Education by Age Group

Age	6-9		10-14			15-19			20-49				50+			
	Formal Education	Read Qoran only	Formal Education	Read and write	Reading Qoran	Formal Education	Read and write	Read Quoran only	Formal Education	Read and write	Read only	Read Quoran only	Formal Education	Read and write	Read only	Read Quoran only
Female	12	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	-	-	3	7	-	1	-	-
Male	56	-	48	-	-	17	-	-	26	5	1	3	2	2	-	2
Total	68	1	51	1	2	18	2	1	26	5	4	10	2	3	-	2
%	35	0.5	26	0.5	1	9	1	0.5	13	3	2	5	1	1.5	-	1

Educational Standard

Table No.VII 11

	6-9		10-14		15-19			20-49				50+		Total	
	Elementary course	Elementary course	Elementary course	Guidance course	Elementary course	Guidance course	High-school	Elementary course	Guidance course	High-school	Academic (tertiary)	Elementary course	No.	%	
Female	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	10	
Male	56	34	3	14	4	10	5	14	6	5	1	2	149	90	
Total	68	37	4	14	4	10	5	14	6	5	1	2	165	100	

(b)

These data clearly show the advantage of men over women. The number of boys following formal education in the age-group 6 to 9 years is about five times higher than for girl students. This proportion rises to 15:1 in the age-group 10 to 14, and there were no female students in the age-group 15 to 19 years as this is the age when most women get married.

Finally it should be mentioned that 42% of male students attended schools outside of their villages, as indicated below -

	Nearby villages						Distant towns						
	Torshab	Dareok	Poochgoly	Calkooh	Tirabad	Darooroh	Zahedan	Khash	Mirjaveh	Saravan	Birjand	Babol	Tehran
No. of students	1	2	12	1	2	1	15	11	1	1	1	1	1
%	38						30	22	2	2	2	2	2

Economically Active Population

Although it is normal in most countries and communities to regard 15 years as a minimum age for full-time workers, conditions in Baluchestan are such that children play an important role as economic contributors from the age of 10 onwards. We have defined the economically active group in our sample as aged 10-64. Few children less than 10 years old however appeared within our sample to be making a significant economic contribution; though of course many younger children gave some limited assistance in cultivation and in herding. Among this group aged 10-64 surveyed 169 (71%) were at work full time, 60 (25%) were students - indicating the high proportion of the younger age-groups - and 10 (16%) had no occupation at all. This conceals a certain amount of partial unemployment. More detailed survey revealed that just over half (55%) of men aged 65 and above were working; and 28% of those aged 10-14 were also full-time workers. The relatively large number of boys and young men following formal education (25%) is an indicator of relative prosperity in the sample surveyed.

The other factor in producing relatively high school attendance is, as has already been mentioned, availability of government jobs. The incentive of employment in a government organization with ensured financial means to guarantee a better future for the household is also clearly responsible for the high proportion of students among the male age-group 10 to 64 years. Over-age labour, by men 65 years old and over in the area under survey is thus a sort of investment in the education of the youth.

Kordi Tribe Sample

Table No.VII 12

Major Occupations : Males 10-64 years

	Agriculture	Construction labourer	Pastoralist (nomadic)	Livestock-holder (settled)	Car driver	Commerce	Teacher	Religious worker	Mechanic	Blacksmith	Corp	Government employee	Total
No.	70	24	18	18	12	6	4	4	4	3	2	4	169
%	42	14	11	11	7	3.5	2	2	3	2	1	2	100

Although the dominance of agriculture, followed by animal breeding, is considerable, employment in non-agricultural activities in the agrarian area under survey is also remarkable. This is because, on average, two months' wages in non-agricultural occupations were equivalent to the income gained at the end of nine months as a cultivator - with longer hours and harder conditions. This has caused the young active population of the agrarian area to find employment in non-agricultural occupations, so that 81% of the employed population 15 to 24 years of age are now engaged in non-agricultural activities.

Kordi Tribal Sample (Men)

Type of Employment by Age

Table No.VII 13

Age groups	Number		% in relevant age group	
	Agricult- ural	Non-Agric- ultural	Agricult- ural	Non-Agric- ultural
10 - 14	6	6	50	50
15 - 24	6	26	19	81
25 - 49	27	39	49	51
50 - 64	18	3	86	14
10 - 64	67	74	48	52

This drift (or better, rapid stream) away from the land by younger males is now a principal feature. It is only in the old age groups that agriculture is the major occupation of the economically active. And this must be regarded as a danger sign : agriculture may well decline seriously as fewer young men enter it. For 10 - 14 it now has least attraction.

We must next consider secondary occupation, which is important in the Kordi community. Because of the pattern of land holding, with small-scale, divided tenure is most frequent, some 11% of the population of the agrarian group employed in the non-agricultural sector have also a share in the agricultural activity. It must be mentioned, however, that this group are migrants who have left basic agricultural activity in order to work outside their village as a result

of which the agricultural output of their lands is lower than average for full-time workers. At the same time 24% of the population employed in agricultural activities in the agrarian area are also engaged part-time in non-agricultural work. Of the total workers in the agrarian group, some 58 had a significant second activity : 29 in agriculture and 19 in building construction.

Pastoral Group

As regards the pastoralists, there is far less scope for secondary employment, and indeed for major employment outside animal herding, as the following table shows -

Kordi Tribal Sample : Pastoral Group

Occupations

Table No.VII 14

Age group	Live-stock holder	Herder (recompensed)	Construction labourer	Businessman	Share-cropper (agriculture)	Total No.	%
10-14	2	3	-	-	-	5	18
15-24	1	-	-	-	-	1	4
25-49	7	1	3	1	-	12	43
50-64	3	-	-	-	3	6	21
65+	4	-	-	-	-	4	14
Total	17	4	3	1	3	28	-
%	61	14	11	3	11	-	100

The above table indicates that among pastoralists 18% of the total employed are in the age group 10 to 14 years

whereas only 14% are 65 years of age and over. In other words, lack of access to education has resulted in the employment of 42% of the male population 10 to 14 years.

Women account for only a very small proportion of the economically active in the agrarian area : 1.4% only of women aged 10-64 could be regarded as engaged in any activity other than housekeeping and assisting occasionally in the fields. Among the pastoralists there were no women of this category.

The higher survival rate of the child population, with consequent large numbers of non-workers, has led to the concept of a 'Dependency coefficient'. For the Kordi sample, this has been estimated by the writer as 3.9 among the cultivators, and 3.6 among the pastoralists. It means that every economically individual has to support 3.9 or 3.6 other persons, plus himself - that is, almost 1:5.

B. Population Movement

Causes that result in population changes can be divided into two groups : (a) Internal factors : births, deaths, marriage, divorce, fertility, and infant mortality and (b) External factors : in-migration and out-migration.

Internal Factors

Birth rates in the area of study are estimated at 38.5 per thousand (1974-7) as compared with the national birth rate for Iran of 45.3 per thousand (1975). (1)

(1) Vital Statistics Registration Office, Teheran.

Kordi Tribal Sample

Table No.VII 15

Attitude to Family planning

Answer	Sangan		Tamandan		Gazak		Payel		Total		Chahak		Gorz		Total		Grand Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Affirmative	14	32	2	4.5	2	40	-	-	18	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	15
Against	22	50	42	95.5	3	60	3	100	70	73	13	100	3	30	16	69.5	86	72
Not reported	8	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	-	-	7	70	7	30.5	15	13
Total	44	100	44	100	5	100	3	100	96	106	13	100	10	100	23	100	119	100

Table No.VII 16

Reasons for not employing contraceptive methods

Reason \ Area	Sangan	Taman- dan	Gazak	Pavel	Total		Chahak	Gorz	Total		Total	
					No.	%			No.	%	No.	%
Widow	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	2	2
Menopause	2	6	-	-	8	11	1	-	1	4.5	9	9
Barren	1	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-	1	1
Medical prohib- ition	1	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fear from disease	1	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-	1	1
Having few chil- dren	5	-	-	-	5	7	-	-	-	-	5	5
Will of God	6	8	4	2	20	28	3	2	5	22	25	26
Needing children's help in future	-	12	-	-	12	17	3	-	3	13	15	16
Love of child- dren	-	3	-	1	4	5.5	5	1	6	26	10	11
A Baluch does'nt do such a thing'.	-	-	1	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-	1	1
Childless	4	5	-	-	9	12.5	1	-	1	4.5	10	11
Not reported	-	8	-	-	8	11	-	7	7	30	15	16
Total	22	42	5	3	72	100	13	10	23	100	95	100

The relatively low crude birth rate as compared with the national average for Iran must be explained. Family planning, as advocated by central government and others over the past few years in Iran would seem to have had some, but only limited impact. As the sample table shows, only 15% of those interviewed accepted it, though there were marked differences in response between the villages, especially Sangan - a point that could be examined further.

In general, however, attitudes characteristic of the particular society prevailed. Main reasons given by the 72% of households against family planning were "The will of God" in the first place and then needing children's help in future, or just interest in having children. In general 28% of reasons related to tribal culture patterns of behaviour, and 26% to religious beliefs.

Main reason therefore for the relatively low birthrate would seem to be the low proportion of young men due to selective out-migration, temporary and permanent.

Crude death rates in the area are estimated at 14 per thousand, which is not much different from the death rate of 15.4 per thousand estimated for rural areas in 1974 by The National Project assessing population growth in Iran. The reason for this small difference lies in (a) the predominance of very young people, (b) general improvements in public health, and (c) improved nutrition because of better employment and outside subsidies.

Average age at marriage is early among the Kords, being 15 years for women and 18 for men. Methods of choosing a spouse are not the same as between men and women. Multiple marriages are fairly common for men, and very scarce among women.

Kordi Tribe Sample
Marriages

	1	2	3	4
Females	160	7	3	-
Males	108	30	8	1

Only 12% of married women have re-married after their first husband's death : of these 4% for a second time and 2% for the third time. Four times as many widows re-married.

It is of some interest to record the result of a survey of specific fertility (No. of births in one year/Total cohort of women aged 15-49) carried out in 1975. For our Kordi area, this was estimated by the writer at 217 per

thousand, as compared with a figure of 242 per thousand for the rural population of Iran generally : a situation in line with the lower birth rate mentioned above.

For the Kord tribe this ratio has been estimated (1975) at 205 per thousand whereas the corresponding ratio on national level was estimated at 139 per thousand. Again, this reflects the level of living standards and the prevalence of nomadism among the Kordi.

External Factors affecting Population Change

In-migration does not have any significant role in changing the population of this area, since it is limited to a few women who have joined the households of this area because of marriage. Permanent in-migration thus accounts for a very insignificant proportion of movement of the Kordi population.

Out-migration Seasonal demand for labour in larger towns, both near and outside the province has resulted in seasonal migrations by the Kordi. Duration of such migrations are determined by local weather conditions, cultivation patterns and tribal routine migration. The relatively cold climate at all seasons of the Taftan foothills is one of the special features of Baluchestan. This has the effect of impelling the migration of Kords in winter to warmer areas such as Iranshahr and Chahbahar. Cultivation patterns in the Kordi area on the other hand impose time limits for sowing and harvesting and in this way tend to confine migration to the periods when they are

free from work on the land.

The principal factor affecting migration by the Taftan Kords is Bahargah (transhumance) to upland pastures, coinciding with the birth of young animals. Most of household heads and other employed members who may have migrated to urban work centres return and stay during this period which covers from 10th February to mid-July in order to look after their live-stock. Thus there can be much transhumant movement over a short distance; but longer distance temporary migration for non-pastoral work is at a minimum. There are notable differences as regards migration, between heads of household among the Kordi, and other tribesmen. For this reason, as will become apparent, the two groups will be discussed separately.

(a) Temporary migration by heads of Kordi households
(annual average 1972-6)

	> 1 month	1 month	1-2 months	2 months	2-3 months	3 months	4 months	4-6 months	< 6 months	Total
No. of migrations	9	6	4	7	1	3	3	1	-	34
No. of heads of households	1	1	1	3	3	2	3		1	18

The table above indicates that 26% of migrations to the city have lasted less than one month : the Kordi men prefer short stays. Also, the longest period of stay in exterior

work for 78% of household heads who had left their villages to work was 4 months.

In general 15% of sample household heads left their residential place in order to work in towns. There were only two persons, a bulldozer driver and a foreman who stayed away from their villages for the whole of the year, 1975, for example.

Migrants account for 8.4% of the economically active population aged 10 to 64 years and 12% of the actually employed of the same age.

Age distribution of migrants
(heads of households)

Age groups	Number of migrants	%
25 - 29	10	50
30 - 34	3	15
35 - 39	3	15
40 - 44	2	10
45 - 49	2	10
Total	20	100

The large number of migrants in the age group 25 - 29 is noteworthy. Destination cities are the main towns of Baluchestan : there would not seem to be much temporary migration to cities further away.

Major destinations of temporary migration

Destin- ation	Konarak	Khash	Zahedan	Chahbahar	Total
Number	8	8	5	1	22
%	36	36	23	15	100

Most of the Kord migrants in Baluchestan have no particular vocational training. Except for a few individuals who are experienced drivers, none have special skills. None of those reported under the heading of plumber and fitter in the table below really had much of a skill, they should be classed as unskilled assistants. This table shows occupation of household heads in their place of migration last year.

	Driver	Head- workman	Plumber	Fitter	Construc- tion labourer	Well- sinker	Total
No.	4	1	1	2	11	1	20
%	20	5	5	10	55	5	100

As it can be observed, 55% of migrants were employed directly in menial unskilled construction work in cities. Only 15% of the migrants had formal training, and these comprised 25% of the Kordi area's literate population. Of the literate 'head of household' migrants two could just read and write, and three had attended school for 1-5 years.

The migrants are mainly, though not entirely, accommodated by their employers.

Housing of migrants in towns

Housing status	Rented	Accommodated by relatives	Accommodated by Companies	Total
No.	2	6	12	20
%	10	30	60	100

Among this group, there was only one case of long-term contract labour; the rest were daily-paid wage earners.

Income earned by working outside the village contributes a major share to the household's income. Average monthly income of selected occupations of household heads are shown below -

Income in rials

Occupation	Head workman	Driver	Plumber	Fitter	Well-sinker	Construction labourer
Average monthly income	15,000	14,750	12,750	11,000	10,000	6,733
Average monthly expenses	2,000	2,700	2,000	1,500	3,000	1,567
Average monthly savings	13,000	12,050	10,750	9,500	7,000	5,166

There was only one share-cropper farmer among the migrant household heads who did not possess any land in his village of residence; the remaining were all small land owners.

(b) Non heads of household

The second group of migrants consists of other members of households. Being younger and less responsible for supporting a family, duration of stay in cities for this group is distinctly longer than for the household heads, as shown below -

Sample survey

'Non head' temporary migrants

Age group	Number	%
10 - 14	3	14
15 - 19	6	29
20 - 24	5	23
25 - 29	3	14
30 - 34	3	14
35 and over	1	5
Total	21	100

Relation to the head of household

	Son	Son-in-law	Brother	Total
Number	15	3	3	21
%	71.4	14.3	14.3	100

It is clear that 67% of migrants in this group are under 24 years of age of whom 14% are aged 10-14 years. The age-group 15-19 contributes the largest share of migrants, among migrant household heads the largest share was from the age group 25-29. This group of migrants account for 9% of the economically active population (10-64) and 13% of the area's employed population.

Duration of migration in the year 1975 is :

Duration	1 month	1-2 months	2 months	3 months	4 months	5 months	6 months	8 months	9 months	11 months	Total
Number	1	2	1	2	2	1	5	2	3	1	20

One person among this group who was a businessman left his village of residence several times a month.

Besides staying longer, this second group of migrants travels somewhat farther. Destinations are :

	Konarak	Zahedan	Khash	Chahb-ahar	Kooteh	Gulf Emirates	Total
Number	9	5	7	1	1	1	24
%	38	21	29	4	4	4	100

In some cases people went to different destinations in repeated migrations. This accounts for the difference

between the total number of migrants and that of destinations. The same holds true in the case of the first group of migrants (heads of households).

Besides a large number of unskilled construction labourers, there were a few among this group of migrants who were regarded as skilled and who were paid four times as much. They had acquired their skill after several years of temporary migration. As would be expected, level of vocational training was somewhat higher among this second group : 20 had some special craft skill, and one was a business-man. This situation is also reflected in the higher wages gained by this second group.

Income in Rials

Occupation	Armature operator	Plumber	Driver	Assistant driver	Cement-block layer	Fitter	Construction labourer
Average monthly income	21,000	30,000	20,000	8,670	18,000	9,000	5,800
Average monthly expense	4,500	1,500	3,000	1,670	1,500	1,500	1,104
Average monthly savings	16,500	28,500	17,000	7,000	16,500	7,500	4,696

On the other hand, this second group received less formal education than the household heads, and accounted for only 10% of the literate population of the area. Only two were literate of the 21 men of the sample.

In the area of study as a whole, there were 9 government employees, who accounted for only 5% of the employed population.

Few are teachers who work in their village of residence or in its vicinity; the remaining five have recently been employed in branches of government organisations in Khash, the nearest town to Taftan. They work in Forestry and the Malarian Campaign Organisation. These individuals return to their village of residence at the end of each day or week.

It must be mentioned that Tamāndan has the greatest number of emigrants in this survey compared to other villages of the study. The number of Tamāndani emigrants is more than half all emigrants. Factors in this are the somewhat better educational facilities in this village, and slightly better communications.

C H A P T E R V I I I

The Present Time : Problems

Section 1 Changes in Social and Political
 Outlook

Changes in Social and Political Outlook

This section considers in outline the social and political changes that have occurred in Baluchestan and Sistan over the past two centuries, within the framework of the broader social changes within Iran in general over the last 150-200 years. During this period we may note the division in 1871 of Baluchestan into two parts, Iranian Baluchestan and British Baluchestan which occurred during the reign of Naseroldin Shah Qājār (1848-1896). As well, there was the establishment of an independent government in Afghanistan during the same era, and incorporation of much of northern Iran within Tsarist Russia (1828) during the reign of Fatah Ali Shah Qajar some 160 years ago. All these events were similar in their results - detachment from Iran of border areas - and they occurred at intervals down to the beginning of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925. Social changes in Baluchestan during the reign of Reza Shah (1925-1941) and Mohammad Reza Shah, (1941-1979) will be briefly discussed next, to be followed by a short analysis of the situation within Baluchestan during the one-year period immediately following the recent revolution of Iran.

Prior to the reign of Naseroldin Shah Qājār, Baluchestan as a region occupied by Baluches could be regarded as a vast area extending from the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea to Sind on the east; to Kerman on the west; to Sistan; and as far as the area occupied by the Pashtuns on the north. As all the territory of Afghanistan could be regarded as forming part of the large and historically old Khorasan province, so, equally from the political point of

view, the whole area of Baluchestan, extending from the Gulf of Oman to the boundaries of China could be held to be a part of the Persian (Iranian) Empire. Iran was still generally regarded as a powerful empire : memories of Nader Shah's military expeditions that resulted in the subjugation of India from 1738 onwards were still fresh in the minds of people all over India. This attitude led some groups of the Indian people who resisted the rapid occupation by British forces belonging to the East India Company in India, to communicate with the nationalist and liberal Prime Minister of Naseroldin Shah, Mirza Taghi Khan Amir-Kabir, asking for help and support. They believed that Iran in those days was the only Asian country capable of assisting them in their resistance to the East India Company.

Mirza Taghi Khan Amir-Kabir was murdered by the tacit agreement of Naseroldin Shah; and some believe that one of the reasons for his murder was this relationship with the anti-East India Company.* Eventually the British tried hard to construct a secure political wall around India in order to protect it, making use of the weakened military and political position of the Qājār dynasty to dominate and detach from the Iranian sphere parts of Afghanistan and also of Baluchestan. Thus, from the reign of Naseroldin Shah, onwards two Baluchestans were demarcated on geographical maps for the first time - Iranian Baluchestan and British Baluchestan - to be followed shortly by the erection of an independent Afghanistan. A policy parallel with this one was also being followed

*Makki, "Life of Mirza Taghi Khan Amir-Kabir" Freidun-e-Adamiat "Amir-Kabir va Iran," Teheran, 1969.

by the Tzarist government of Russia. By occupying the rich provinces of northern Iran at the coast of the Caspian Sea in 1828, Tzarist Russia undertook a gradual separation of parts of Iran in order to weaken the Iranian Central government, and to make possible a drive through Iran to the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea and the warm seas of the south, which has been for long the cherished ideal and consistently pursued policy of the Russians. We shall see in this analysis that precisely the same policy has been followed later and in a somewhat different form by the Socialist government of Russia.

During the Qājār era, 1796-1925, Iranian Baluchestan was ruled by the Governor of Kerman or Bam; and the road that joined Baluchestan to the rest of Iran ran from Bam to Bampoor in Baluchestan via Reegan. The Qājārs never succeeded in enforcing full control over Baluchestan however : all they demanded from the Baluch sardars was the annual payment of the Imperial Court (Divan-e-Shahi) taxes to their capital, Teheran, through the governor of Bam. Whenever the payment of this tax was delayed, the Qājār army moved rapidly to Baluchestan and devastated the whole region. It was, as we noted earlier, from that time on that the term "Qajar" became synonymous with plunderer and blood-thirsty aggressor in Baluch vocabulary;* and the term is still used by the Baluch people and is applied to the non-Baluch people who arrive in Baluchestan from outside of this region. In Qajar days, the Baluch community in general was divided into

* Zand Moghaddam, M., An Approach to the History of Baluchestan, RCPGOS, Teheran : 1976.

three sections :

(1) The sardars, who appropriated military and political power in the area and were uncontrolled.

(2) The ordinary Baluches, consisting of Baluch tribes who had Baluchi origins.

(3) The inferior, or base, groups including ghōlams, Jats, Davoodies. These people lacked any liberty or freedom of thought. They were not allowed to marry Baluches or enjoy the same level of social life as the Baluches.

Establishment of a powerful central government in Iran by Reza Shah led to dispatch of an army under General Jahanbani to Baluchestan. As a result, pacification of Baluchestan was achieved, with military forces based in Khash, which later developed into a city.

The most serious resistance against Reza Shah's troops in Baluchestan was put up by Doost Mohammad Khan in Iranshahr, now a city but only a fortress at that time. Under Reza Shah's regime, it was held that Doost Mohammad Khan's resistance and separatist claims were the reason for the use of central government troops against him. However, the author's personal acquaintance with conditions in Baluchestan leads him to accept an alternative explanation as follows. In fact it was the relatives and children of Doost Mohammad Khan who gave to the present writer the following as the reasons for his resistance against Reza Shah. As a sardar, Doost Mohammad Khan's family had been appointed by the Qājār kings as guardians of much of the frontier. When the British decided to establish communications between British Baluchestan and the rest of the world by means of telegraph lines via Booshahr, an

Iranian port on the Gulf coast, Doost Mohammad Khan's family opposed this and refused to let the British install telegraph poles between Guator and Jask in the Iranian Baluchestan. Doost Mohammad Khan's father wrote to the Qājār court, explaining the situation and asking for advice. The reply from the Qājār court was as follows : "Considering the present position of the government, resistance against the British is not reasonable. Let them do their work". Doost Mohammad Khan's father did not accept this, and said that if the central government was so weak as not to be able to put up resistance against the foreigners, the Baluches would do so. With such a mentality, and love for the integrity and independence of Iran, Doost Mohammad Khan could have no intention of separating Baluchestan from Iran. Rather, it seems that his very presence, his power in Baluchestan and, particularly, that political background of his were regarded as obstacles to the extension of the influence of Reza Shah and of the central government in Baluchestan. He was, therefore, arrested by General Jahanbani's troops, sent to Teheran, and later killed in jail under the orders of Reza Shah. However, it should be remarked that the establishment of security and of the central government power in Baluchestan was welcomed by the Baluch people because they saw for the first time that a power mightier than their sardars had emerged that could control the operations of sardars to some extent and would not let the sardars violate the rights of the people. It is evident that had the central government of the time adopted this policy and strengthened the social order; had it established the rule of law, order and justice in the area, and had it decisively eradicated the influence of sardars permanently, a good opportunity for social

change and economic development would have been provided in Baluchestan. But the central government's policy in Baluchestan was on the one hand to reduce the power of sardars just so much as to make them incapable of resisting the central government's power, but on the other hand, to support them in the meantime as small local authorities controlled by and dependent on the central government's power to control the people through them.

Development projects that were implemented during the reign of Reza Shah in Baluchestan were so insignificant that they cannot be compared with those in the rest of Iran. Another road was constructed to join Baluchestan with the rest of Iran that passed from Bam to Zahedan, which was selected as the administrative centre of Sistan and Baluchestan province under Rez Shah. The reason why this road, which covers 600 km distance from Kerman to Zahedan via Bam, was preferred to the traditional Bam-Bampour road, which is about 400 km in length and joins the rest of Iran to what is clearly the natural and geographical centre of Baluchestan - Iranshahr - was that the Bam-Bampour road passed directly through Baluch tribal territories where it was very difficult to maintain control, while the Kerman-Zahedan road passed along the border of those territories. Zahedan, selected as the administrative and political centre of the area, was joined to Khash, the military headquarters under Reza Shah Pahlavi, by a very rough, dirt roadway. A winding road, very difficult to negotiate, was built to join Khash to Iranshahr, which was just beginning to develop into a city. No roads capable of negotiation by car were constructed to join Iranshahr to other parts of

Baluchestan, particularly to the coasts of the Persian Gulf and Oman sea.

Development plans of a socio-economic kind were not implemented in Baluchestan under Reza Shah. Instead, the general policy of the central government was based on two objectives :

(1) Establishment of the cities of Zahedan, Khash, Saravan, Iranshahr and Chahbahar as strongholds for controlling Baluchestan and maintaining security and order in the area. The roles of these cities in the development of the area as well as the political, military and economic position of each will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

(2) Continuous efforts to suppress any kind of local power in the area, to control sardars and to make use of them for controlling the people, and to take measures to sedentarize as many of the Baluch tribes as possible in order to provide the possibility of better controlling them, rather than to provide any opportunity for development.

The advent of the second World War created special political, social and military conditions throughout Iran. Russian, British and U.S. troops arrived in Iran and declared as their purpose to ensure the security of roads and to appropriate the south-north railway of Iran to carry military aid and food to the U.S.S.R. They promised to leave Iran in six months after the end of the war. After Reza Shah's downfall in 1941, democratic tendencies developed in Iran and different political parties emerged and became active; particularly the Tudeh party of Iran. The special situation raised by declaration of Iranian Azarbayejan as an independent

territory affected the socio-political life of most of Iran, especially Baluchestan. It was a new phase in the socio-political history of the different Iranian peoples. After the end of the war, the U.S. and British governments withdrew their troops from Iran as promised. But Stalin refused to withdraw the Russian troops from Iran and made the evacuation of Iran dependent on the fulfilment of two demands : an oil concession in north Iran; and tight control of security along the Iran-USSR border. A puppet government supported by Russia was established in Iranian Azarbayejan. This Pishehviri government which at first called itself "the autonomous government", but "the independent government of Azarbayejan" later on, declared that the objective of establishing this government was to restore the language of the people of Azarbayejan : that is, Turkish. It also declared that the Turkish language was the symbol of the nationality of Azarbayejan people and would be used as the formal language by the government of Azarbayejan. This claim and declaration of the Turkish language as the symbol of the nationality of Azarbayejan people - a people who have always had the Iranian nationality and were always regarded as a part of the Iranian people - provided a major excuse for some foreign governments to use the problem of language in Iran as a means to instigate people in different parts of Iran who speak different Iranian dialects or local languages, including Baluchestan, to demand autonomy or independence. The Azarbayejan movement was received with great enthusiasm by the Iranian people at first because they thought that the people of Azarbayejan were fighting to ensure the freedom, integrity and independence of the country at

large, as they did during the period when the Iranian people were struggling to achieve a constitutional government in 1906, when the inhabitants of Tabriz rose in rebellion against the Qajar government, which they forced to accept re-establishment of constitutional rule. In 1945 the Iranian people expected a similar stand from the leaders of the Azarbayejan movement because it was once again felt that Iran was being threatened by the possibility of the establishment of another monarchical dictatorship. But when the Iranian people realized that the leaders of the Azarbayejan movement had declared rehabilitation of the Turkish language as the national language of the Azarbayejan people as the purpose and objective of their rebellion; and when they realized that these leaders were closely under the influence of the U.S.S.R. and planned to separate Azarbayejan politically from Iran under the pretext of language, they lost all their hopes in Azarbayejan movement and refused to support it. As a result, the autonomous government of Azarbayejan lost support, and was soon subdued militarily by the new Shah, Mohammed Reza, during 1946.

Closely identical events were also happening at the same time in Kordestan. Qazi Mohammad rose in rebellion against the central government in Mahābād in 1945, the administrative centre of Kordestan, and established the autonomous government of Kordestan, again with the objective of using the Kordi language as the symbol of Kord nationality. This movement was also suppressed by the central government and the Iranian army in 1946.

It is interesting that the pretext of using the local

language as the symbol of nationality was promulgated about 30 years later in Baluchestan. During the years 1967-1971 when Iran and Iraq had grave disagreement over the Shatt el Arab, and also over the Iranian government's support of the Kords of Iraq, who had rebelled against the Ba'ath government of Iraq, the Ba'ath government, impotent against Iran's potential military power, joined with the Marxist government of Aden in instigating the people of Baluchestan to rebellion. Both of these governments broadcast long Baluchi programmes over Iraq and Aden radio and incited the people of Baluchestan to rebel against the central government of Iran and establish an independent government of Baluchestan, both using the issue of language as their pretext. Both of the radio stations declared regularly and repeatedly that the Baluchi language was the symbol of Baluch nationality; that the Iranian government had never allowed this language to grow and develop; that the time had come for the Baluch brothers to rise and set their oppressed language free and form the independent government of Baluchestan. Despite their extensive coverage, this propaganda did not have much of an influence on the people of Baluchestan for the following reasons :

(1) As discussed before, the people of Baluchestan lead a tribal life. Each Baluch identifies himself with his tribe : without his tribal identity, a Baluch feels uneasy and distressed. Thus a people who have lived in traditional structures for centuries are not able easily to break through the tribal patterns of thought all at once and adopt a new nationality and/or identity under the slogan of a revived Baluchi language.

(2) In fact, the unity of Baluchestan basically is a geographical unity : that is, a distinctive area with special climatic conditions, where several tribes are living who identify closely with a certain limited territory within which the tribe moves to graze its livestock.

(3) The Baluch people were very well aware how formidable were the Shah's mentality and the Iranian central government's power at that time. Hence the Baluchis did not respond to the urging of the South Yemeni and Iraqi governments to rise in rebellion against the central government of Iran; particularly as the area was carefully and completely controlled by the central government's military and security forces and all the Baluch sardars cooperated with the central government.

In 1971 the disputes between Iran and Iraq were resolved at the conference of OPEC Ministers in Algeria by the mediation of the Algerian government. Iran gained the concession it demanded on Shatt el Arab and promised in turn to stop supporting the Iraqi Kords. The government of Iraq stopped the Baluchi programmes it had been broadcasting from Baghdad radio. The Shah despatched especially trained Iranian troops to Dhofar in Oman and during 1971 was able to suppress the Liberalization Movement of Dhofar, which was directly supported by the Marxist government of South Yemen against Sultan Qābus of Oman. Thus security was restored in the Persian Gulf region and the radio of Aden was silenced too. It was about this time that the central government of Iran came gradually to realize the importance of Baluchestan. Consequently, a series of political, military and economic measures were taken in the area, all of which had clear effects on the situation of Baluchestan and are discussed briefly below.

Construction of the Konarak, naval and air base located near Chahbahar allowed pressure against the Ba'ath government of Iraq at the end of the Persian Gulf inhibiting any Iraqi movement in the Persian Gulf and the Emirates.

As well, the Konarak base would obviously power the vacuum created in the area after the evacuation of Aden by the British troops, and improve security of the water-way through which oil is carried away from the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea. Moreover, in addition to controlling the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea, Iranian influence could be extended through the Indian Ocean, and particularly by links with the other naval base then being constructed by the Americans in Diego Garcia island.

During this period, not only had the central government of Iran established control over all Baluchestan, it had also extended its security and political activities into the Persian Gulf littoral, Pakistan and Afghanistan. In his two visits to the Gulf Emirates in 1972, the present author clearly noticed the extensive activities of the political and security officials of Iran in the Emirates. The first secretaries of the Iranian Embassies in every one of these Emirates were high-ranking authorities from SAVAK, who operated a security network over all the Persian Gulf region under the cover of diplomatic immunity. Main activities of the Iranian security agents in the Gulf were focused on two points; first to restrict penetration and the influence of the Palestinians, particularly their radical groups into the Persian Gulf region. It would seem that the heads of the Emirates cooperated with the Iranian SAVAK in this matter. Second, the security agents endeavoured to maintain pro-Iranian security in the area

and establish regular and permanent intelligence communications with Teheran.

Extensive activities were also being performed in Pakistan, where the government's weakness allowed the growth of independence movements in the provinces of West Pakistan. These were especially active after the loss of East Pakistan, i.e. Bangladesh in 1973.

It is interesting that all these separatist movements focused their activities on local and regional languages. The Baluch tribes of Pakistan intrigued to gain independence for the Pakistani Baluchestan under Bizenjo, whose visit with the Shah of Iran has already been mentioned in the introductory part of this thesis, and also under Khan Vali Khan. The Shah of Iran, who perceived the threat on the Iran-Pakistan border, felt that clearly the stability of the Iranian Baluchestan was also being threatened, and quickly reacted to help the government of Pakistan, in the following ways :

(a) by providing funds and military aids to strengthen the Pakistan Army, and strengthen its government.

(b) by extending SAVAK activities into Pakistani Baluchestan in order to maintain security control there, which helped the maintenance of security in the Iranian Baluchestan as well. To achieve this purpose, the Baluch sardars cooperated closely with the central government of Iran.

(c) by deploying various military units in the Iranian Baluchestan. Up until this time, the maintenance of security in this area had involved only gendarmerie. Now, well-equipped

army units were installed in Iranshahr; an air-base was established in Khash and a helicopter base in Saravan on the borders of Iran and Pakistan. In this way, the powerful presence of the Imperial army in Baluchestan turned the province into a strong point in the broader region of the Persian Gulf, Oman Sea, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

(d) Expansion of development activities in the Iranian Baluchestan and the effects of these on the social conditions of the area, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

This general situation was maintained in Baluchestan until the revolution in Iran on 11th February, 1979. It should be added that similar military, political and security measures were also established at the borders of Sistan and Baluchestan with Afghanistan.

The 1979 revolution in Iran disturbed the military-political equilibrium everywhere in the area in general, and in Baluchestan more than in anywhere else, because of its peculiar situation. The revolution caused all previously existing political, military social and development organizations of Iran to break down. The army was the most seriously damaged of all; SAVAK was completely dissolved; and several army generals, as well as the heads of SAVAK offices, were sentenced to death by the revolutionary courts and executed. In this way, the extended military, political and security network of Iran in the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea areas dissolved : and, with it a system that had reached as far as The Gulf of Aden, eastern Africa (particularly Somali and Ethiopia) together with the Indian Ocean, Pakistan

and Afghanistan. Iranian withdrawal and decline offered an opportunity that Russia was quick to seize. The confused post-revolutionary situation of Iran, entanglement of the West in the problems created by the revolution in Iran, and the power vacuum arising after the Shah's downfall, allowed the Russians to establish a puppet Marxist government in Afghanistan to be followed quickly in late 1979 by complete occupation of that country by the Soviet Russian troops. Now the Russian troops are deployed right at the borders of the Iranian Sistan and Baluchestan province, ready to take action. Again, Baluchestan demonstrates its geopolitical importance, as now the only limited area separating the Russians from the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea. There is no need to stress the extreme significance of this situation.

As already mentioned, Russian ambition to achieve domination over the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea littoral was the long-cherished geopolitical ideal. The Tzarist government of Russia took some steps towards this by occupation of the northern provinces of Iran, and a half of the Iranian Azarbayejan. Stalin tried to achieve this long-desired goal by again occupying the northern provinces of Iran, establishing a Marxist government in the Iranian Azarbayejan, and extending influence into Kordestan and Kermanshah. But the Western world's strong support of Iran at that time prevented achievement of that purpose. But now the recent Iranian revolution has provided the Russians with a unique opportunity which they were ready and willing to take.

In adopting decisive and immediate measures they have

gone much further toward achieving the old target set by Peter The Great, by just changing their route and moving southward this time via Afghanistan.

During his visit to Baluchestan a few months ago (late 1979) the author discussed the political and military presence of Russia with the well-informed Baluches. They were all upset, distressed and worried. They regarded the presence of Russian soldiers on the borders of Sistan and Baluchestan as a threat to themselves. When asked why were they so frightened and worried, they reasoned in reply that the Russians are atheists; if they arrive in Baluchestan, they will annihilate the Islamic religion. The Russians are against ownership; therefore, they say we will lose our lands. The Russians will not respect our women; they will force them to work and our families' prestige will be hurt in this way. Baluchestan is now therefore in a deeply disturbed position. The area has been affected, on the one hand, by the unavoidable events of the Iranian revolution, which have resulted in the disruption of all the civil and military organisations and, on the other hand, by the onrush of the Russian troops into Afghanistan and their deployment along the borders of Sistan and Baluchestan province. This has been the reason why the people of Baluchestan have demanded so little from the revolutionary government in comparison with the Kords, Turkomans, and other peoples of Iran. Because of the threat that they feel so close to their boundaries arising from the action of Soviet Russia, the Baluches fix all their hopes upon a resurgence of powerful central government in Iran, and are hopefully looking forward to it.

Considering the two experiences of the past, including one, the experience of autonomous government in Azarbayejan and Kordestan, which has already been mentioned; and, two, the 1953 coup d'etat of Iran launched by the Shah against the government of Dr. Mossadeq, organised with the effective assistance of the U.S.A. and Britain the major result at that time was the temporary ending of the political influence of Russia in Iran. But by occupying Afghanistan and appearing to threaten Baluchestan the Russians are in fact giving notice to the Western world that this time they are not going to be defeated and pushed out of their quasi-conquests. The author believes that through the occupation of Afghanistan, the Russians are actually pursuing their main objective in Iran, which is to have a share in the future political evolution in Iran. It is because of this reality that the military presence of Russia along the borders of Baluchestan requires most careful consideration; and it is for this reason that more attention should be paid to the situation of Baluchestan than ever before as a key zone in the geopolitics of the area.

The Five-Year Development Plans and their
Effects on the Socio-Economic Conditions
of Baluchestan

Prior to the 1979 revolution, five development plans had been implemented in Iran, with operations starting on a large scale after 1953. As regards the form, content and policy of planning, the First, Second and Third Five-Year plans were basically different from the Fourth and Fifth plans. The first three plans were drawn up on the basis of "selected projects", so that the projects were distinguished as the first step; then, the priorities regarding

implementation of projects were determined; credits were provided for and the institutions responsible for the execution of each plan were established. Finally, the actual operations for the execution of the Five-Year plan started : e.g. infrastructure developments such as irrigation dams and roads.

Through the arrival in Iran, and increasing influence of the American experts (especially of the Harvard Team), the Plan Organisation became responsible for the determination of the policies of plans, and the Fourth and Fifth plans were drawn up on the basis of "comprehensive projects". This type of planning seemed highly interesting in that the relation between various sectors, such as communications, education and training, social welfare, agriculture, industry, public services and water and power was clearly pre-determined; and the growth of each sector in the course of the plan was estimated in proportion to the growth of other sectors. But problems that were met in the course of development prevented the fulfilment of the Fourth and Fifth development plan objectives.

(1) Chief of these problems were that the executive organisations responsible for the implementation of projects were not identified and/or established. Therefore, no sooner had the operations started than the Plan Organisation and the government experienced difficulty because of the absence of suitable executive organisations. In response, they rushed to establish a variety of organisations such as the Rural Development Organisation, the Ministry of Water and Power, the Ministry of Industries and Mines; as a result of which governmental organisation was inflated to several times its original volume and the ensuing expanded bureaucracy turned into an obstacle

in itself. All affairs were concentrated in Teheran and the high government authorities in Teheran were responsible for making decisions on every affair however trivial and unimportant.

(2) The regional dimensions were not taken into consideration in these plans, which resulted in the creation of serious problems during the execution of projects in different parts of the country, where there were great differences in respect of climatic and other environmental conditions, as well as significant variation in the social, economic and political situation. Consequently, co-ordination of the various projects became tenuous and even impossible, and as a result regular and harmonious progress in different sectors was inhibited.

It was at the beginning of the Fifth Development Plan that the high government authorities decided to introduce regional dimensions into National Plans, to take into account the above-mentioned problems. For this purpose, planning bureaus were established in the Iranian provinces. The author was appointed as the first Director of the Planning and Budget Bureau of Sistan and Baluchestan province in 1971. But before discussing the effects in general of the regional planning and its advantages (as well as the difficulties) of the execution of plans in Sistan and Baluchestan province, a short survey is necessary of the effects of the Five Five-Year Plans on the socio-economic conditions of Sistan and Baluchestan province.

According to the 1976 Census, there were 659,297 people living in Sistan and Baluchestan province : 161,677 persons -

corresponding to 24.5% were living in the urban areas and 498,020 persons - that is, 75.5% - were living in the rural areas.

A. Income

In 1969, of the total settled households of Iran, 63% were in rural areas and the remaining were in urban areas; whereas, according to the household budget data provided by the Statistical Centre of Iran, only 47% of household expenses related to the rural households. In other words, average expenses undertaken by urban households were in effect twice as much as those undertaken by the rural households. Since, on the other hand, the largest amount of savings were deposited in cities, relevant estimates indicated that the proportion of the average incomes gained by the urban as compared with rural households was at this time (1969) in the proportion of three to one. This proportion had increased to four to one by 1972. Preliminary estimates based on the figures provided by the Statistical Centre of Iran and made available in 1977 indicate that this proportion had further increased, so that by 1975 it was five to one, which means that the gap in living standards between the urban and rural areas has consistently widened, in spite of the continuous general economic growth of Iran and despite all the endeavours of government institutions to reduce or, at least, keep the proportion constant.

B. Housing and number of persons per room are among the important criteria of welfare in any society. A comparison of the figures obtained from the 1966 Census with the data provided by the 1972 sample survey of the household budget

45. Elementary school and pupils at V̄araj.

46. Free food distributed among school pupils
in Darrooneh.



shows that the population density per room was higher in the rural area than the urban area and that the density had not changed in this interval. But further, it should be noted that the housing units in the rural and urban areas are by no means comparable in respect of quality : in many cases, most of the rural housing units can not be regarded as equivalent to the 'normal' standards of housing. For instance, of the total rural housing units in 1972, 80% were mud-brick and clay units which were neither durable nor hygienic; whereas the corresponding ratio in the cities was only 25%.

A comparison between housing facilities available in the urban and rural areas is also an indication of conspicuous inequalities : of the total rural housing units, only 5% used piped water and 12% had electricity in 1972; whereas the corresponding ratios for the urban households were 68% and 85% respectively. In the case of income; here too the gap between the urban and rural areas is considerable.

C. Education and Training

As access of households to educational services is a basic factor contributing to the future increase of incomes gained by the household members, a survey of the education and training status as a criteria of welfare should receive due consideration.

A comparison between the education and training statistics reveals that the education and training services were available on a much smaller scale in the rural areas than in the urban areas, so that the gap between the urban and rural conditions is much wider in this respect than in any other. According

47. Elementary school pupils of Darrook.

48. A class-room in Darrook.



to data provided by the Statistical Centre of Iran, of the total school-age population - that is the age group 6-19 years - in the rural areas, only 30% had received some kind of education and training; whereas the corresponding ratio for the urban areas was 64%.

D. Health and Treatment

Another significant criterion contributing to the social welfare of any society is the availability of, or access to, the health and treatment services. Due to the absence of accurate and significant information and/or statistics on health and treatment facilities, a comparison between the urban and rural areas was not possible. However, two figures that were available for 1974 - one relating to greater Teheran, and the other relating to the Ilam province as a rural area - were compared. Although the figures relating to Teheran and Ilam are not altogether precisely representative of the situation prevailing throughout the country, they nevertheless reveal to a considerable degree the availability of health and treatment services to the rural population. According to these data, there was one physician for every 845 people in Teheran; whereas in Ilam, there was one physician for every 10,800 people.

From these somewhat generalized and fragmentary statistics, we may summarize as follows. First the gap between the urban and rural areas is real and tangible in respect of income, housing and access to training and health services. Second and more important, the gap between the amount of income gained in the urban and rural areas continues to widen very significantly.

Experience gained during five years in the Planning and Budget Bureau of Sistan and Baluchestan province as its Director led the author to explain the problems and difficulties encountered during the development of projects (which were sufficient in some instances to inhibit their execution) appear to have been :

1. The financial year, as well as the starting date for the execution of any project all over the country begins in Farvardin, that is, the first month of the official year in Iran. Taking into consideration the widespread bureaucracy rampant in the government institutions, it usually took three months to provide for the budget of each plan and to send the funds to Zahedan. By this time, the summer had already started in the province and working in the area was hardly possible because of the severely warm weather; as a result of which the executive organisations waited until mid-autumn; losing almost half a year.

2. The next problem encountered was that many if not most of the consultant engineers and technical organisations, governmental or private, had by this time of the year concluded contracts to work in other parts of Iran and could not commit themselves to work in Baluchestan, especially as working in Baluchestan is more difficult than in other parts of the country because of the weather, remoteness, scattered population, lack of appropriate road and other means of communication, and social and cultural backwardness of the people. The following figures and analysis clearly show the above-mentioned two factors. These figures and analysis are

the result of a study made by the author about the regional plan of 1973-74 for Sistan and Baluchestan province.

Over six months of the year 1353 A.H. have already passed and 100% of the credits allotted to new projects to be started in this year for Sistan and Baluchestan and 82% of the credits allotted to the incomplete projects taken up in the same year remain unspent. At the beginning of the year 1353 A.H. 39% of credits allotted to the special regional projects and 24% of credits allotted to the non-regional projects of the previous year had not yet been absorbed; that is, 33% of the development credits for 1353 A.H. remained unspent, and could be spent during the first half of 1353 A.H. The balance of development credits for 1352 A.H. and the balance of development credits approved for 1353 A.H. carried forward at the end of the first half of 1353 A.H. comprised 26% of the credits allotted to the special regional projects for the previous year (1352 A.H.) plus 39% of credits appropriated to the incomplete projects of the preceding years (1351 A.H. or earlier).

Considering the expenditure status of 1353 A.H. mentioned above, it is clearly seen that after 18 months from the beginning of the Fifth Plan, 24% of the total development credits allotted to 1352 A.H. remained unused; and of the total credits allowed to 1353 A.H. only 6% were

spent, while more than six months of the year had already passed. That is to say, while three fourths of the period 1352-1353 A.H. had already gone, 60% of the total credits provided for these years had not been spent. If this trend is maintained, spending the remaining credits would require another 18 months or more, which means until the end of 1354 A.H. Then, by that time there will be further accumulation of credit allocation, since that provided for 1354 A.H. and the anticipated projects of the third year of the Fifth Plan will become available.

According to the programme, 188 projects were planned to be launched in the urban and rural areas of this province from the beginning of 1352 (21st March 1973) to the end of 1353 (20th March 1974). These projects included 33 projects relating to 1352 A.H; 122 projects taken over from the preceding years which should have been completed in 1352; and 33 new projects to be started in 1353. These projects related to the construction of buildings and infrastructural institutions in different socio-economic sectors including provision of water and power, schools, clinics, asphalt roads, building embankments or dikes for plantations, construction of small airports in the cities of this province, establishment of six development districts in the villages,

execution of projects creating jobs suitable for farmers, stock breeders and tribal members in the fields of agriculture and handicrafts as well as the establishment of weaving and knitting workshops in cities, building inexpensive houses for the low-income households and state houses for the government employees.

Only a glance at the list of these development projects is enough to reveal that the in-time execution of these projects could be said to cover all the aspects of the people's life. All the items of the development plan had received due consideration from the planning point of view, but, in so far as the execution of plans is concerned, the reports of the executive organisations show that 46% of work relating to the regional projects and 37% relating to the non-regional projects were still not done at the end of 1352 (20th March 1973).

During the first half of 1353, only 11% of work relating to the incomplete projects taken over from the previous year, and 2% of work relating to new projects inaugurated in this year were actually done. That is to say that only 44% of the total work scheduled to have been done in two years was completed within the first 18 months; and the remaining work required another 18 months at least if the same pace were kept. It was quite clear therefore that the projects would not be completed until the end of 1354 A.H.

Having very briefly discussed what can be regarded as the external factors contributing to the economic development and social changes in Baluchestan, a short

analysis of the internal problems of the province is also necessary because consideration of the internal factors is essential for the achievement of progress in development affairs and also for determination of the direction of social changes.

Difficulties in the way of Development and Sedentarization in Baluchestan

As we have seen the tribes of Baluchestan have a historical background going back several centuries. Their main activity has been animal husbandry, with agriculture practised as a marginal activity. Their manner of stock-rearing required permanent or seasonal nomadism, so that every one of the present tribes have moved regularly or irregularly to some distances which on the whole, as compared with conditions elsewhere in Iran, were usually short. Any basic change in the manner of life of these tribes will, undoubtedly, encounter resistance and reaction on the part of some groups and cultural elements. Any change will be seen as acting against the interests of at least some tribal members. This situation will act powerfully to prevent the achievement of the development goals in view. On the other hand, the means of production that are available to the tribes, including manpower, tools, techniques and skills, make the manner and quality of the introduction of any change highly tentative and conditional.

Another problem that deserves due consideration is the mutual relationship, first between different tribes of the

area; and second - more important - the relationship between these tribes and the larger regional and national community that surrounds it. This general relationship is in many cases decisive in determining the situation of tribes. Such problems are the major ones that are inevitably met during the execution of any development project. It, therefore, is essential to compose or eradicate them; and, in order to succeed in this confrontation, it is necessary to understand the complications of every one of these problems in the area concerned.

It is evident that an essential requirement for the settlement of tribes is the selection and establishment of one or more productive sectors suitable to the environmental possibilities, and social and economic conditions of the area concerned. Such productive sectors should be established on the basis of the studies made beforehand. One may identify the parameters involved as :

Natural environmental conditions and possibilities

Population problems

The economy

Relations between the tribes and areas
outside Baluchestan

It is highly important to remember that tribal tendencies, customs and traditions are also resistant against any change. Regular movement to graze animals and absence of a general agricultural tradition on any relatively large scale have resulted in the absence of the interest in the ownership of land on the part of most Baluches. On the other hand, although they do not encumber themselves with ownership of a particular,

defined plot of land, they are deeply attached in a wider sense to a relatively large area where they move and would not easily leave it. Although the basic incentive for seasonal movement - which consists of a particular system of livestock breeding - may have been eliminated, movement itself may be maintained as a customary act reminiscent of the tribal manner of life. Tribal conflicts have made every tribe so severely inclined towards maintenance of its own entity that it is suspicious of any elements from outside.

Attachment to a tribe or a tribal institution (such as a "halk" that consists of some households) is so closely observed that members of it are unable to break apart from it and to exert an independent will in selecting another manner of life. We should also bear in mind the unimportant and low position of women in tribal society which prevents them from any kind of activity other than the housekeeping affairs.

Another most important and self-evident factor that deserves consideration is the presence of more affluent cities and labour markets that have great attraction to the Baluches and have already attracted a good number of Baluch tribal members as well as other rural inhabitants. The relatively higher wages available have caused the hard, penurious, laborious and uncertain way of life through agriculture increasingly to be abandoned. As against the conservatism that ties the Baluch tribesman to his territory and his tribal social organization, there must now be set the highly attractive factor of far richer areas only a short journey away.

SECTION 2

Urban Development in the Context of
Political Action

In 1956, urban units with 5,000 population and over were officially designated as "cities". Apart from adopting a statistical criterion for distinguishing between cities and rural units in that year, the government followed another purpose as well by terming the units with 5,000 population and over "cities", which involved levels of provision of welfare utilities and other infrastructures. But in order to better understand the term and concept of city in Iran in general and in Baluchestan as a province of Iran, the following points should be taken into consideration. In this short analysis, an effort has been made to demonstrate the role of the city in Iran, as well as the major factors contributing to the formation of a city.

Urbanization in Iran may be studied with regard to two historical periods : ancient times (the pre-Islamic era), and the Islamic era. Urbanization in the ancient times passed through three successive stages :

(1) the first emergence and formation of towns and slow growth of urbanization during the Medes and Achaemenid imperial reigns.

(2) establishment of autonomous cities after the style of Greek cities by Seleucid rulers.

(3) urbanization and construction of cities during the Sassanid era, and disappearance of the autonomous cities.*

The main characteristic of cities in this period that continued in the Islamic era was that the towns were basically

* Tārīkh-e-Ya'aghubi; Volume I; Ahmad-ibn-e-Abi-Ya'aghub.

a part of the military-political organization of the government.* All the cities were under the complete control of the central government and the shah. In this way the centralized government system and the urban organization had close political and economic correlation with each other.

Urbanization in the Islamic era was the continuation and further evolution beyond the Sassanid urban way of life. During this era, the city maintained its political (military-administrative) economic, and social position. Moreover, urbanization enjoyed much prosperity during the third and fourth centuries A.H. due to the extension of the Islamic empire and the expansion of exchange markets. Religious organizations had an important position in the foundation of urban life in the Islamic era. The Masjed-e-Adineh or Masjed-e-Jame'e became a major component of the social pattern of the city. In this period, the cities and their surrounding country villages joined together economically and socially following regional orders, to form an integrated unit. Consequently both in ancient times and the Islamic era, the city was the stronghold of the patriarchal hierarchical order, and the site of its administrative system. This situation has continued down to our own time : thus, the city in its present-day function is a unit representing central imperial order and is itself also a centre of governmental and political power. As a result, the main components of the urban life in the Islamic period, which

* Tarikh-e-Iran Bastan; pp. 416-417.

Tarikh-e-Tabarestan; Ebn-e-Esfandiar; pp.36-37

continue to this present day include hokumat (government), ommat (people), asnāf (guilds), and mahallat (quarters). It should be noted here that what sustains the units and coordination of the city complex is, in fact, political order and governmental power. This can be shown from the fact that in different quarters of many cities, different groups of people live with a variety of religious beliefs. Presence of the masjed-e-jāme'e in every city cannot be regarded as the symbol of the unity of that city as often a cathedral was in a Christian city : its unity derives from secular non-religious functions.

Bearing this in mind, the first important feature of the cities of Baluchestan now emerges : all these cities are administrative, political and military centres representing the central government. A survey of their geographical position reveals that their strategic location was the most important factor taken into consideration by the central government authorities in constructing them; and the central government had attempted to establish most of them simply as bases in order to occupy and dominate the large territory of Baluchestan (which covers almost one tenth of the whole country of Iran) so as to control the scattered villages and the Baluch people.

Urbanization in Baluchestan started after the occupation of Baluchestan by General Jahanbani in 1928. Zahedan was selected as the political-administrative centre of this province. Zahedan at that time was a small village called "Dozdāb". The reasons for selecting this place as the

administrative and political centre of this area were as follows :

Zahedan is located at the intersection of important strategic routeways : the Kerman-Bam road, and the north-south route to Zabol and further into Khorasan. Moreover, it was and still is the terminus of the railroad that joins Iran to the system of Pakistan and India via Quetta. General Jahanbani therefore built the first military forts in this place because the central government could in time of need support its army units in Baluchestan both from Kerman and Khorasan. The first buildings that were built in this city clearly show the morphology of a city deriving clearly from the Iranian Islamic pattern of central government dominance. Main features were -

- (a) Military forts on the south of the city;
- (b) The building of Ostandari as the headquarters of the governor general and the central government representative.
- (c) The Masjed-e-Jame'e, located half way along the main street, at the one end of which there is the Ostandari building and at the other the Municipality building. Most other institutional buildings are located along the same street - such as the Education and Training offices and other government organizations. Such a pattern appears in the other cities of Baluchestan as well as in Khash, where military forts were built at the same time as the Masjed-e-Jame'e by the army sent to Baluchestan. Khash also has a very important position in Baluchestan from the point of view of communications. A road 200 km in length links Khash and Zahedan and another 250 km in length connects it to Sarāvān on the eastern

frontiers of the province; it is also via this city that the road extends to the central Baluchestan, that is Iranshahr, and further, to the coasts of the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea. It should be noted that the most important factors underlying the establishment of these cities were their strategic, military, political and communicational aspects rather than their regional and natural environmental possibilities for development. There is one exception in Iranshahr, which is the natural focus and geographical centre of Baluchestan, and enjoys a more favourable climate, fertile soil, and sufficient water supply giving potential for agricultural development. Saravan, on the eastern part of Baluchestan, has received some attention mostly because of its frontier location on the border of Pakistan. The helicopter base established in this city has provided it with an important military aspect. The city of Chahbahar has also a particular importance from political and military points of view because from this port traffic and transportation in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean can be controlled. The large naval-and-air base in Konarak, near Chahbahar, has provided this port with yet greater political and military importance throughout the Persian Gulf, Oman Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Tables No.VIII 1,VIII 2 show the population of different cities of the Sistan and Baluchestan province in the 1956, '66, and '76 Censuses.

Table No.VIII 1

Population of different cities of the Sistan and Baluchestan province in 1956,1966.

City	Urban Population		Per cent changes
	1956	1966	
Zahedan	175	398	127
Zabol	122	188	54
Iranshahr	36	54	50
Saravan	40	57	42.5
Chah-Bahar	18	28	55.5
Khash	74	46	37 (decrease)
TOTAL	465	771	65.8

Source : 1956 and 1966 National Censuses, Statistical Centre of Iran.

Table No. VIII 2

Population of different cities of the
Sistan and Baluchestan province in 1966, 1976

City	Urban Population		Per cent changes
	1966	1976	
Zahedan	398	916	130
Zabol	188	293	56
Iranshahr	54	111	105.5
Saravan	57	91	59.6
Chah-bahar	28	59	110
Khash	46	82	78
TOTAL	771	1552	101.3

Source : 1966 and 1976 National Censuses, Statistical Centre of Iran.

It clearly shows that the considerable growth of population in the city of Zahedan, the administrative and political centre of the province, greatly exceeds that in the other cities of our province. This in itself is a clear evidence of how the expansion and growth of cities in this province follows and depends upon the government plans and the accumulation of the central government institutions and political and administrative activities in this province. Zahedan is the seat of the governor general, who is the central government representative in the province; the commanders of the military and security forces live in this city. All the government institutions have an office in Zahedan and the Director Generals of these offices live and work in this city. Communications and telecommunication centres, television and radio broadcasting stations are located in this city. The University of Baluchestan, established in 1974, is also located in Zahedan with its three faculties of engineering, literature and humanities, and agriculture. Clearly establishment of these institutions and their rapid expansion has been the main cause of the growth of this city. According to the 1976 National Census, the rate of urbanization in Zahedan shahrestan was 78% while the corresponding rate was 16.9% for Zabol, 7.2% for Iranshahr, 11% for Saravan, 19.1% for Khash and 12.7% for Chahbahar. Of the total population 6 years of age and over 49% were literate in Zahedan shahrestan, 37.8% in Zabol, 17.2% in Iranshahr, 22.2% in Saravan, 29.1% in Khash and 14.1% in Chahbahar.

As already stated at the beginning of this discussion,

the presence and extension of active government organizations in Zahedan has not only been the major cause of high rate of urbanization in this shahrestan, but the availability of different facilities and possibilities such as the educational establishments has produced higher numbers of educated and literate groups, in comparison with the other cities of this Ostan.

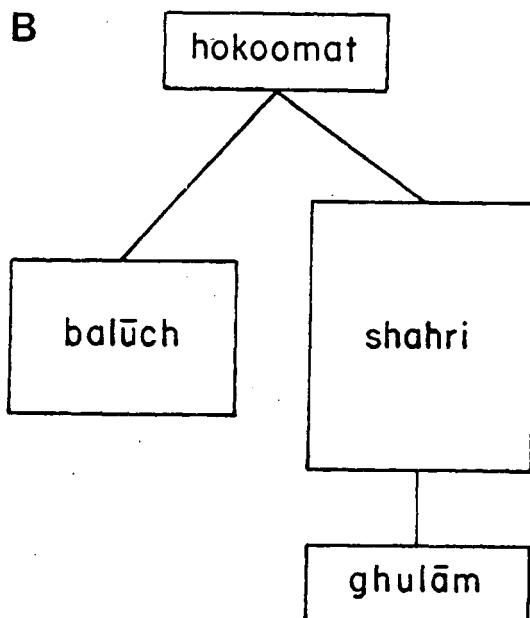
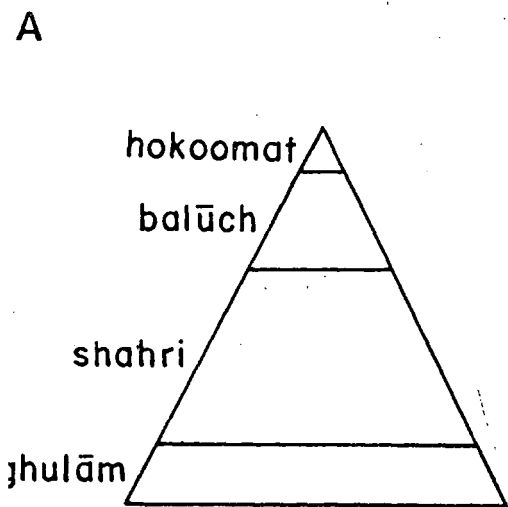
A study of the major industry groups clearly shows the potential natural possibilities in the area, particularly in the industrial fields. A comparison of the figures relating to this sector shows that the possibilities for economic activities in the agricultural sector in particular are moving in a direction distinctly different from that related to governmental policies concerning administration in the Ostan. In Zahedan, only 1.8% of the employed population were engaged in agriculture. The corresponding ratios were 4.4% for Zabol; 5% for Iranshahr; 19% for Saravan; 9.3% for Khash; and 18.8% for Chahbahar. The relevant figures for the industrial and service sectors, which are more indicative of the new profile of urbanization, were as follows -

	Percentage of Working Population employed <u>in Industry</u>	<u>in Services</u>
Zahedan	38.5	58.4
Zabol	29.4	63.7
Iranshahr	33.8	60.2
Saravan	26.1	50.7
Khash	36.8	52.7
Chahbahar	44.8	36.0

In order to show more clearly how the government has followed the policy of extending urbanization in this area in order to develop a new pattern of life as contrasted with traditional patterns of the area and, in this way, extend and develop urbanization in the area, a comparison between the literate population of the six shahrestans of Sistan and Baluchestan Ostan by the urban and rural areas has been made. And, as will be observed at the end of this chapter in special relation with the Kordi tribe, it will be observed how such attractions draw the tribal population to cities.

Table No. VIII 3 Percent literate, by sex and urban-rural areas

	Both sexes	Male	Female
Zahedan shahrestan	49.1	58.7	38.2
urban areas	58.1	67.8	47.0
rural areas	15.8	24.7	5.9
Zabol shahrestan	37.8	48.0	27.6
urban areas	62.7	73.5	50.8
rural areas	32.6	42.3	23.0
Iranshahr shahrestan	17.2	25.2	9.0
urban areas	50.3	63.5	35.8
rural areas	14.7	22.1	7.0
Saravan shahrestan	22.2	33.7	11.2
urban areas	51.1	68.6	33.1
rural areas	18.8	29.3	8.6
Khash shahrestan	29.1	42.5	14.0
urban areas	54.3	67.7	39.2
rural areas	23.0	36.5	8.0
Chahbahar shahrestan	14.1	23.0	4.1
urban areas	34.3	50.1	13.4
rural areas	11.1	18.7	2.9



A Social classes in southern (ethnic) Baluchestan, according to Salzman (1971), and Pozdena (1975).

B do, after Spooner (1969)

Neither of these models is, in the author's opinion, useful in relation to the Kordi tribe, for the following reasons :

(i) numbers of shahri (townspeople) and ghulām (slaves) are very small in relation to the total population.

(ii) there are balūch in towns.

(iii) there are ghulām dependent on balūch

SECTION 3

Attitudes of the Kordi People
and the Future

As already discussed, the Kords have always been in one way and another an agent in this area of central government. We can isolate three basic factors as responsible for the dominant position of the Kords of Baluchestan in the Ostan as a whole.

Since their migration into Baluchestan, the Kords have always exerted influence as a government agent and surrogate. In their battles with other tribes, occupying new areas and taking over more fertile lands their role as such was of decisive significance. Receiving from other tribes one-fifth of all crops - which they themselves call a "tax" - provided them with a slightly better standard, kept them somewhat from plundering and being plundered, and isolated them from what we can call the culture of plunder in general. In this way, the idea of cultivation and working on the land was never removed completely from their consciousness. Next, despite their tribal background, the Kords did not lack agricultural tradition before their migration. The geographical environment of their original area was strikingly different from Baluchestan, but there was the tradition of cultivation, and this could always be revived under any favourable circumstances, as in fact it already has been. The Kords were the first group to adopt agriculture more readily and more easily than most other tribes in this area. Uniting with the Mirs has also enhanced this inclination. Last, the favourable climatic conditions of the Taftan area gave extra impetus to this adoption of agriculture. Undoubtedly, if Taftan area had

not enjoyed a more favourable climate for agriculture and animal husbandry, the first two factors could hardly exert any efficient influence.

In this way have the above-mentioned three inter-related factors supplied the Kords with favourable historical opportunities. Whether the Kords, according to their myth-history, had actually been sent on duty to this area, or Taftan's favourable climatic conditions had been the main attractive cause of their moving to this place is not an unimportant issue. Arrival of their forefathers, and selecting this particular area can hardly be a matter of chance. Whatever the truth, it is indisputable that - consciously or accidentally - the Taftan area is the one most similar throughout Baluchestan to their original dwelling place, and the most suitable for the Kords to settle in.

It must be mentioned that apart from the Mir tribe, who already had a developed agricultural tradition and were natives of Taftan, the other tribes always paid very little attention to agriculture and were primarily engaged in livestock rearing and banditry. The Mirs were the ones with whom the Kords reconciled themselves sooner than with any other group.

The Kords claim that Shahnavaizies and Gamshad-zehies never cultivated the land, and one-fifth of their livestock products had been received from them as "taxes". No taxes were apparently exacted from tribes and Halks that possessed less than 50 heads of livestock. From every 50 heads of livestock one she-goat, one kid in the spring, one he-goat for slaughter, and 6 kilogrammes of goat-milk oil were

exacted for the sardar. Whatever the real figure, the one-fifth proportion was always maintained, which could be a rich source of income for the Kords in general and the Sardar in particular.

It would seem that the Mirs had always been exempt from paying taxes. This indicates their power and influence, particularly spiritual influence, in this area, so that the Kords were willing from the start to inter-marry and develop closer relations, and they have finally inter-mingled fully with them.

Some Tendencies and Attitudes

As already discussed, the inhabitants of the Kord area in general, and the Kord tribe in particular, are relatively well-to-do people in the intrinsically very poor territory of Baluchestan - due to their favourable geographical environment, political standing, and their improved agricultural economy. Their culture, agricultural income, animal husbandry and other issues discussed, as well as their level of expenditure and education are all on a relatively higher level than in the other parts of Baluchestan. Against this must be set several conflicting trends over the past few years : (a) some decline in the social and political dominance once enjoyed when they were clearly agents of the Shah, and backed by government troops, (b) their generally higher standards of living, which facilitated penetration of urban culture, and (c) geographical location of their tribal area close to the nodal centre of the province. All these however have led to enhanced awareness and expectation, which is a

considerable feature of the present-day Kordi tribe. It is therefore valuable to consider present day attitudes and outlook regarding the future among the Kordi; and this will be attempted in the following section. It should however be stated that great difficulty was experienced in eliciting views on this topic from the pastoral nomads. This was because the nomads have few contacts with urban population and government employees and the few they did have made them somewhat bewildered. Thus questions about the future sounded ridiculous to them - though they may be justified - as they were confronted with such vital problems as severe impoverishment, water shortage, absence of roads and schools, lack of sanitary and health facilities, and so on.

We, therefore, decided not to analyse answers, since these were hardly representative.

Perception of the economy and future
occupations by Kords

We may first give attention to the attitudes of present-day Kords concerning employment. Although the economy of the Kordi group could be said to be better than that of neighbouring tribes, and despite the job-losses caused by extensive emigration, more than half of the population of rural area did not want their sons to follow their own occupation (table VIII ⁴). It must be mentioned that however prosperous the economic position of a village, the corresponding proportion of those not wanting to follow a father was higher. Thus in Tamandān, where incomes are higher and agriculture is more developed, the proportion of

Father's opinion about his job and its continuation by his son

Table No.VIII 4

	No. of sample households	Agreed		Disagreed		Not reported (1)	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sangan	44	3	7	18	41	23	52
Tamandan	44	-	-	28	64	16	36
Gazak	5	-	-	3	100	-	-
Pavel	3	-	-	3	60	2	40
Total	60	3	7	52	54	41	43
Chahak	13	-	-	-	-	13	100
Gorz	10	-	-	-	-	10	100
Total	23	-	-	-	-	23	100

(1) The absolute majority of those who have not reported any opinion either have no children or have no sons. Some did not answer.

Inclination to take up one's father's job
and reasons as reported by students

Table No. VIII 5

Lack of inclination			Inclined	
Number	Percent		Number	Percent
33	84.5		6	15.5
Reason	No.	%		
It is difficult, with low income	12	37		
I want a better job	4	12		
I am interested in education	8	24		
His job is bad	3	9		
They force him to do things	1	3		
I don't like his job	2	6		
His job means poverty and unhappiness	2	6		
Interest in government employment	1	3		
Total	33	100		

inhabitants who wish their sons to be engaged in their occupation is smaller than the corresponding ratio for Sangan.

When children themselves were asked the same question, the ratio was still much higher. 84.5% of the students were not willing to get involved in the same occupation as their father. This ratio deserves very close attention (table VIII 5), though the problem cannot be fully examined here. It is a great mistake to give little value to these opinions and to treat them as a matter of imagination. Leaving agricultural labour and emigrating - temporarily or permanently - to work centres is not an aspiration or phenomenon peculiar to the new Baluch generation, nor is it peculiar to their fathers either. This is a problem that is seriously threatening the whole rural community of Iran.

The majority of this large number of students have pointed to a very tangible problem as the cause of their inclination, that is, heavy labour and very small income from a way of life in farming.

There are also other answers such as "This job is the cause of unhappiness and poverty" or "I want a better job" and so on, that are in fact similar to the first one and increase the relevant ratio from 37% to 70%. It is surprising to realize that 77% of fathers have also mentioned "hard work and small income" as the main cause of their unwillingness to see their sons engaged in the same job as themselves (table No.VIII 6). The phrase "Hard labour and small income" is exactly repeated in most cases but there are other instances where it has taken the

place of such responses as : "It is very hard to till the land with a large mattock from dawn to dusk and expect no income". - "I don't want his hands to blister like mine" - "Our job is unhappiness" - "Agriculture and animal husbandry require much labour and bring in no bread" - "I have laboured all my life, I don't want him to be like me" - "We are in trouble ourselves, we don't want him to get involved in menial labour like us" - "It bears no bread" - "Our occupation is misfortune" - "We are lagging behind and have not enough food" - "We have not achieved anything by these labours" - and so on.

We see in Table VIII 28 that 64% of students wished to become a teacher. Considering their age and experience, this choice is quite natural as they have hardly ever gone further than, e.g. from Khash to Zahedan - which will be discussed later as well - and the most important pattern of a secure and relatively rich occupation that attracts everybody's attention and respect has been before their eyes every day. This is true of their fathers as well. Some 40% of those who answered our question declared that they preferred their sons to become a teacher (Table VIII 7). This proportion accounts for the majority of respondents. However, 19% had left the choice to their children themselves or to chance. If the latter proportion is added to the former, then the difference between proportion of persons inclined towards teaching profession in the two generations will be much less. It should be ~~reminded~~ reminded that students' tables were processed out of separate and absolutely independent questionnaires which were filled in under

Reasons for disinclination of fathers to have their jobs
taken up by their sons in agricultural communities

Table No.VIII6

	Sangan	Tamandan	Gazak	Pavel	Total	%
Hard work and small income	15	20	2	3	40	77
I don't want him to be ill-iterate like me	3	-	-	-	3	6
Agriculture has no future	-	1	-	-	1	2
There is bread in government employment	-	2	-	-	2	4
Not reported	-	5	1	-	6	11
Total	18	28	3	3	52	100

differing conditions, in school and in each respondent's privacy. They are in no way linked to household questionnaires which reflect the fathers' responses. It must be noted, moreover, that the number of children who were ~~stood~~^{by} by the side of their fathers when the latter's questionnaire was being filled in numbered less than the fingers on one hand.

Despite all the advantages of education reported by fathers and children (Tables VIII 8 and VIII 9), the attraction of working in labour centres and gaining immediate incomes is important (Tables VIII 10 and VIII 11). About 65% of students (Table VIII 8) believed that education was the means to get a better job and receive higher incomes - a means to achieve anything. About 40% of fathers had more or less the ~~same~~^same opinion (Table VIII 9). Nevertheless, 30% of boys were interested in working in labour centres (Table VIII 10) located in the same province, which were more attractive to migrants and had the capacity to absorb labourers. Fathers were much less willing to have their children work. This unwillingness was stronger in Tamandan, where the number of emigrants was higher and so was also the cultural level and inhabitants' expectations. In more impoverished areas such as Pavel and Gazak between 40-67% of fathers were willing to have their children work in labour centres whereas the corresponding ratio in Tamandan was no more than 7% (Table VIII 11).

Table No.VIII 7

Favourite occupation desired by a father for his son

	Sangan	Taman- dan	Gazak	Pavel	Total	%	Chahak	Gorz	Total	%
Teacher	13	11	1	-	25	39	1	-	1	20
Army or gendarmerie officer	5	2	-	3	10	16	-	1	1	20
Physician	2	5	-	-	7	11	-	-	-	-
Psychologist	1	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Government employee	-	3	-	-	3	5	-	-	-	-
Head of the court of justice or deputy-governor	1	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Whatever job that earns more income	1	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Whatever he wants	2	4	-	-	6	9.25	-	-	-	-
Will of God	1	4	1	-	6	9.25	1	-	1	20
Work in companies or corporations	-	1	-	-	1	1.5	1	-	1	20
He should continue his education and never become livestock holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	20
Molavie	-	1	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Blacksmith	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-
Not reported	16	13	1	2	32	33.5	9	9	18	77.5
Total respondents	28	31	2	3	64	100	4	1	5	100
Total	44	44	3	5	96	100	13	10	23	100

Benefits of education as perceived by students

Table No. VIII 8

Benefits	Number	Percent
It makes it possible to get a better job and earn more income	19	49
It enables one to read and write letters	9	23
It enables one to do any job	5	13
It makes one literate and more intelligent	4	10
To serve the country	1	2.5
Government pays money to one	1	2.5
Total	39	100

Table No.VIII 9

Why did you send your son to school?

Reason	Sangan	Taman- dan	Gazak	Pavel	Total	%	Chahak	Gorz	Total	%
To become literate	2	7	3	-	12	12.5	-	1	1	10
To become a government employee and have an ensured income & livelihood	8	17	-	2	27	28	-	-	-	-
To help the family	-	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Not to be a burden on others	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Not to be like me	6	-	-	1	7	7.5	-	-	-	-
Government supplies subsidies and education is compulsory	3	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
To be useful for the country	2	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
To defend his right	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
It is ordered by the King	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Not reported	22	15	-	2	39	41	-	9	9	90
Total	44	44	3	5	96	100	-	10	10	100

Desire to work in labour centres

Table No.VIII 10

	No.	%	Favourite places		
				No.	%
Interested	12	30	Konarak	2	17
			Zahedan	2	17
			Teheran	2	17
			Iran-shahr	2	17
			Khash	1	8
			Shiraz	1	8
			Mashhad	1	8
			Surrounding villages	1	8
			Total	12	100
Not interested	24	62			
Not reported	3	8			
Total	39	100			

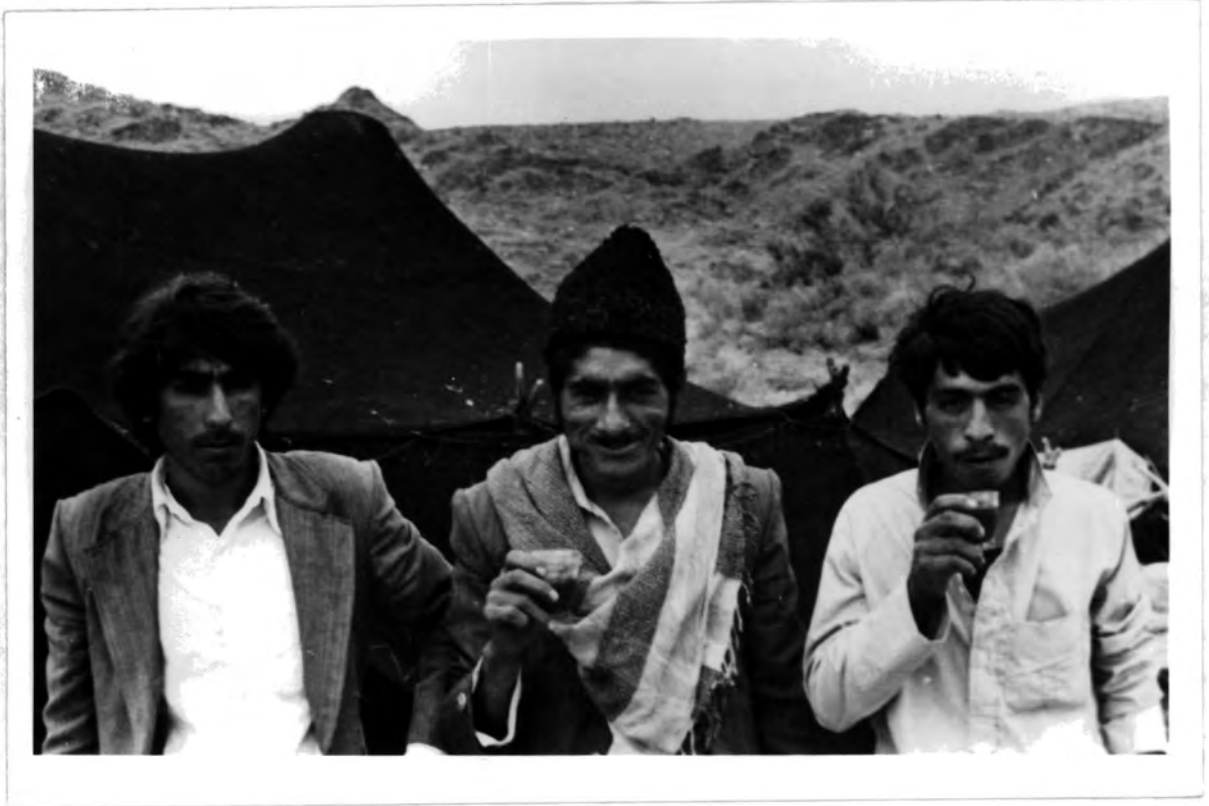
Father's opinion about his son's working in the city or work centres (village communities)

Table No.VIII 11

	Agreed		Disagreed		Not reported		Sample households
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Sangan	11	25	3	7	30	68	44
Tamandan	3	7	8	18	33	75	44
Gazak	2	40	1	20	2	40	5
Pavel	2	67	1	33	-	-	3
Total	18	19	13	14	65	67	96

More than half of the sample families were either childless or had no school-age sons.

49. Volunteers for labour from Gazak.



Inclination towards living in a town is stronger among the younger generation than among their fathers. Table VIII 27 indicated that nearly 90% of young people preferred living in a town to life in the village. Among their reasons for this inclination, imagined ease of life in the city as well as availability of educational facilities had the highest proportions, which is very natural with respect to their previously mentioned ideas about their fathers' occupations, their own ideal jobs, inclination towards and incentive for education. But fathers are more clearly conservative. This is worthy of consideration since we have reported near intolerable conditions of life in the village as the main incentive to leave it. Nevertheless only 10% of fathers were prepared to leave their dwelling place to go permanently to a town for good. The high proportion of those who have not answered (46%) is worthy of attention as this refusal to answer has traces of uncertainty in it. The proportion of fathers who were opposed to leave their village was highest in Sangān and lowest in Tamandān - 66% as against 25% - which is in total accordance with our previous analysis and tables concerning emigrants from these villages and the type of culture (which is dominantly tribal in Sangān) (Table VIII 12).

Inclination to live in the city or the village,
considering hard conditions of rural life

Table No.VIII 12

	Sample household	Village		Town		Not reported	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sangan	44	29	66	7	16	8	18
Tamandan	44	11	25	2	5	31	70
Gazak	5	2	40	1	20	2	40
Pavel	3	-	-	-	-	3	100
Total	96	42	44	10	10	44	46
Chahak	13	-	-	-	-	13	100
Gorz	10	3	30	-	-	7	70
Total	23	3	13	-	-	20	87

Consciousness and Interests among young people

As mentioned before, we set up a questionnaire specially designed for the students of fourth and fifth years of elementary school, which were in fact the highest educational levels available in the schools of the villages in this area. But not all the villages under the study had a school - Chahak, Gorz, Gazak and Pavel, for example. The school-age children in some of these villages, such as Chahak and Gorz which are pastoral communities, had no possibility of education at all. The children of Gazak and Pavel had to go to schools in surrounding villages, therefore few of them attended school. We were inclined to include more samples in our survey because there were no more than 10 students attending fourth and fifth classes of elementary course as a whole in each school : thus students of six schools were included in our survey.

The majority of students (67%) had the family name of "Kord", which, added to surnames of other Kord tribal barasrands (such as Mir-Baluzehies and Mir-Kord) indicates that more than 80% of these students belonged to the Kord tribe (Table No.VIII 13). Since the lands in this area mostly belong to the Kords, 41% of these students' fathers were small land owners engaged in agriculture and, at the same time, animal husbandry. It must be noted, however, that this ratio does not cover all land owners. According to table No.VIII 13 , there are another 10% cultivators who must be counted, since small land owners as a whole amount to 51% and ratio of these engaged in agricultural activity was 75%.

The students were 9 to 15 years old (Table No.VIII 14). Their favourite study was the Persian language, which 41% stated that they were most interested in (Table No.VIII 15). Considering that their language is Baluchi, this is comprehensible and absolutely justifiable because the better they learn Persian language, more easily can they enter work centres and cope with life in cities in order to achieve their previously mentioned aspirations.

It must be mentioned that the students have no access to any books or printed material, except their school books, to study and satisfy their imagination and their longing for learning. 62% had no books at all; 80% of the remainder, who were from Tamandan, had a few old editions of Pake magazine printed several years ago which was, of course, fortunate. See Table No.VIII 16).

Table No.VIII 13

Occupations of the students' fathers by clan

	Kord	Mir Ballo-zehie	Keh-rad-zehie	Salar-zehie	Ghavey-ghani	Alam-zehie	Rigi	Hashem-zehie	Shahna-vazie	Moheb-zehie	Total	%
Small land owner & livestock-holder	11	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	16	41
Owner; livestock-holder; government employee	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	8
Retired government employee, hired labourer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2.5
Livestock-holder, hired labourer	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	10.5
Farmer; livestock holder; hire labourer	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5
Livestock holder	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5
Share-cropper, farmer & livestock-holder	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5
Farmer	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	18
Gendarme	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2.5
Smuggler	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5
Religious worker	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5
Pedlar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2.5
Other	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.5
Total	26	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	39	100
Per cent	67	5	8	2.5	2.5	2.5	5	2.5	2.5	2.5	100	-

Table No.VIII14 : Age of respondent students by class

Class	Age							Total
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Fourth	5	10	1	4	-	-	-	20
Fifth	2	1	2	7	4	1	2	19
Total	7	11	3	11	4	1	2	39
Percent	18	28	8	28	10	2.5	5.5	100

Favourite Lessons

Table No.VIII 15

Favourite lesson	No.	%
Persian language and literature	16	41
Mathematics	9	23
Religious instruction	9	23
History	4	10
Civics instruction	1	3
Total	39	100

Table No. VIII 16 Type of book or other reading materials

Answer	Number	Name of the book or source	Number
Yes	15 (38%)	Pake magazine	12
		Golestan	1
		The story of the lion, the tiger, and the fox	1
		The story of Ali, the Imam	1
		Total	15
No	24 (62%)		
Total	39		

Wider knowledge

Concerning the wider culture and acquaintance of these school pupils, one may next give a few further facts obtained from the questionnaire.

The USSR, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan (mostly in that order!) were regarded as the most important countries of the world by young people. It is remarkable that the USSR is ranked as the most important, rather than Iran itself.

Iraq is regarded as important probably because of its recent disputes with Iran as a result of which its name was repeatedly mentioned by the mass media. Pakistan and Afghanistan are important simply because they have common frontiers with Baluchestan. Apart from the USSR, the respondents put more stress on the countries bordering on Iran. Tables Nos. VIII 17 and VIII 18 indicate at the same time the more or less limited general knowledge the pupils had of the situation. When we asked the students to name three countries bordering on Baluchestan, only 31% - that is less than one third - were able to answer correctly. 36% mentioned the countries bordering on Iran, which may be the result of misinterpreting the question or bewilderment of respondents rather than their lack of knowledge. Nevertheless, 25% either gave irrelevant answers or believed that Baluchestan was a separate country itself. The last idea can not be regarded as the result of the respondents' bewilderment since we have encountered this idea repeatedly in Baluchestan. For instance, the Kehradschieb tribe's head man reported that he had brought a well-sinker from Iran (!) (in fact

Yazd) to repair his qanats.

Their acquaintance with the cities of Iran is very limited because they have travelled very rarely and they have not heard much about them from their fathers since they, too, have not travelled much. Of the total 87% of pupils who had ever travelled to some extent only 4.5% had crossed the borders of their province. The only person who had visited Shiraz was himself from Shiraz, and he accompanied his brother to this area since the latter was working as a tribal teacher (Table No. VIII 20). From among those who had visited cities of their province, the majority - 78% - had been to Khash and Zahedan, the cities closest to their villages. It is very natural, therefore, that when we asked them to mention 5 cities of the country, 31% named the cities of the province (Table No. VIII 19). This proportion is not satisfactory because the country's cities are repeatedly mentioned in their school books. It is interesting that the Central Province and Kerman were second and third in order respectively. This indicates how highly Tehran and its surrounding places are esteemed in the imaginations of these students. Kerman is also a familiar name to the Baluches and their young people because of its close proximity and reports of past raiding there.

Their interest in a particular city is either because it is near to their own village or it is the dwelling place of their relatives so that they had the possibility of travelling there without being left in a perplexed and wondering state, which is the inevitable fate of any villager who arrives in an unfamiliar city. These reasons accounted for 58% of

Countries mentioned by the students as the three important countries of the world

Table No.VIII 17

Name of Country	Number	Percent
U.S.S.R	20	17
Iraq	17	15
Pakistan	15	13
Afghanistan	14	12
Iran	14	12
Turkey	10	9
U.S.A.	7	6
Europe !	2	1.75
Teheran !	2	1.75
Baluchestan !	1	0.5
Arabia (Saudi)	3	3
Syria	2	1.75
Africa	1	0.5
Jordan	1	0.5
China	1	0.5
Czechoslovakia	1	0.5
Kuwait	1	0.5
Not reported (one person)	3	3
An individual mentioned only one country	2	1.75
Total	117	100

Acquaintance of students with three countries bordering Baluchestan

Table No.VIII 18

Degree of acquaintance	Number	Percent
Naming countries bordering on Iran	14	36
Naming more or less correct countries bordering on Baluchestan	12	31
Naming cities of Iran instead	5	13
Naming irrelevant names of other countries of the world	3	8
Baluchestan is a country and Iran is its neighbour	2	4
Total	36	-
Uninformed	3	8
Total	39	100

Acquaintance of students with the cities of Iran

Table No.VIII 19

Ostan	Ostan Capital	Other Cities	Total number	Total percent
	Number	Number		
Sistan and Baluch- estan	21	37	58	31
Markazi	21	11	32	17
Kerman	18	2	20	11
Esfahan	14	1	15	8
Khorasan	11	1	12	6
Fars	7	1	8	4
Khuzestan	3	2	5	3
Yazd	5	-	5	3
East Azarbayijan	6	-	6	3
Coastal province	3	1	4	2
Zanjan	3	-	3	1.5
Semnan	2	-	2	1
Hamadan	2	-	2	1
Kermanshah	1	-	1	0.5
Irrelevant answers	-	-	16	8
Total			189	100

Travel by students, by cities of destination

Table No.VIII:20

Any travels	Name of the city	No.	%
Yes 34 (87%)	Khash	32	48
	Zahedan	20	30
	Iranshahr	3	4
	Mirjaveh	2	3
	Chabahar,	2	3
	Birjand	2	3
	Sarbaz	1	1.5
	Nikshahr	1	1.5
	Zabol	1	1.5
	Konarak	1	1.5
	Kerman	1	1.5
	Shiraz	1	1.5
	Total	67	100
No 5 (13%)			
Total	39		

Table No.VIII 21

Interest in a particular city and reasons

	Zahedan	Khash	Teheran	Shiraz	Birjand	Iran-Shahr	Kerman	Baluch- estan	Not rep- orted	Total	%
Presence of relatives	9	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	13	36
Proximity to the res- pondent's village	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	22
Large city and centre of Province	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	11
Large city and the Capital	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	11
I have heard it is a good city	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	5
Location of one's house	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Doesn't know the reason	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	9
Not reported	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
Total	15	9	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	36	100
Per cent	41	25	14	5	3	3	3	3	3	100	-

Table No.VIII 22

Students' duration of stay in different cities

Duration of stay (days)	Khash		Zahedan		Iran-shahr		Mirjaveh		Chabahar		Birjand		Sarbaz		Nikshahr		Zabol		Konarak		Kerman		Shiraz			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1 - 14	22	69	13	65	1	33	1	50	1	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	
15 - 29	5	16	3	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30 - 59	4	12	1	5	-	-	1	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
60-90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
More than 3 months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
One year and over	1	3	3	15	1	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not reported	-	-	-	-	1	33	-	-	-	-	1	50	-	-	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	100
Total	32	100	20	100	3	100	2	100	2	100	2	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100	1	100

answers to the question relating to their interest in a particular city (Table No.VIII 21).

Table No.VIII 21 also indicates that 66% of students have been interested in Zahedan and Khash. Tehran, with 14% is next in order. However, the majority of them have not stayed more than 2 weeks in these cities (Table No.VIII 22), and it has rarely happened for them to stay longer than 2 months. Only 3% of those who had travelled to Khash stayed more than one year. The corresponding ratio for those who have stayed in Zahedan so long was 15%.

Tribal Affairs

We have reached the conclusion that, even among the quite young, almost half of young people were conscious of the concept and functions of tribe (answers Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6, Table No.VIII 23). In answer to our question, "What does a 'tribe' mean?" they have defined 'tribe' as a 'collection of families and relatives' or 'a successive range of a race and family', which are not far from the truth. They have also mentioned some functions such as moving, and fighting. All these are indications as to their consciousness, though limited, of the concepts and functions of a tribe.

82% of them answered the question, "Is there any tribe in the cities"? in the positive, which does not indicate their lack of consciousness of the meaning of tribe. Neither does it prove that they have given contradictory answers to the question relating to the "concept of tribe." Their idea of city is something like Zahedan, Khash and other cities of their own province; and we already know that tribal relations are still firmly established in these cities (Table VIII 24).

8% believed that there were no sardars in the city (Table No.VIII 25) and their reasoning was very interesting. Almost all of them stated that absence of tribal quarrels as well as power of the police and gendarmerie forces were the reasons why there was no need for a sardar in cities. This illustrates this group's idea of a sardar as well as of his duties and role.

What is a "tribe"?

Table No.VIII 23

	No.	%
1 A tribe consists of relatives, several groups of relatives together make a tribe	10	26
2 A tribe is a successive and orderly range of race and family.	6	15
3 Nation, people, and race are called a tribe	7	18
4 A group of people who have gathered together in a certain place	2	5
5 A group of people who are great in number and move together	1	2.5
6 A tribe is formed to fight	3	8
7 A tribe is a family name	1	2.5
8 A tribe is a Mahalleh	1	2.5
9 A race who are friends	2	5
10 A group of Kords	1	2.5
11 Doesn't know	5	13
Total	39	100

Are there any tribes in cities?

Table No.VIII 24

Answer	Number	Why not	Number
Yes	32	-	-
Don't know	3		
No	4	Because there are a great number of people	1
		Because they have not goats to move; they are settled	1
		Don't know	2
		Total	4

If there are tribes in cities, are there any heads of tribe or sardars as well?

Table No.VIII 25

Answer	Number	Why not?	Number
Yes	32	-	-
Don't know	4	-	-
No	3	Because in the city nobody makes a quarrel and there is no need for a sardar	1
		Because there are the police and gendarmerie forces in the city and there is no need for a sardar	2
		Total	3

Regarding the Kord tribe's long strides towards expansion of an agrarian economy, it was significant for us to know what their young people thought of agriculture and animal husbandry, and what their reasons were.

The majority of young people (72%) believed that agriculture was superior to animal husbandry (Table VIII 26) of which 21% mentioned settled life and staying in one place as the reason for its superiority, which is worthy of great attention. Another declared reason was "Man does not move after his flocks, but he is able to satisfy his economic requirements by working on the land." If this reasoning is also added to the previous one, then the proportion will amount to 28% which justifies the new generation's lack of interest in animal husbandry. Only 18% of the respondents preferred animal husbandry, for reasons which were not irrelevant to their age and lack of experience.

Superiority of agriculture or animal husbandry
and reasons reported by the students

Table No.VIII. 26

Answer	No.	Reason	No.	%
Agriculture	28 (72%)	Wheat and barley are produced, which make bread; and we will starve to death without bread	8	29
		Man is settled and doesn't move	6	21
		We eat and sell wheat	3	11
		One sows something and eats it for several months and doesn't have to move after flock	2	7
		Because the men work as well	1	3.5
		The land is always there but livestock may be washed away by flood	1	3.5
		Miscellaneous	7	25
		Total	28	100
Livestock holding (animal husbandry)	7 (18%)	Milk, butter, and ghee are produced as well as hair and wool	4	57
		They produce livestock commodities and may be sold as well	1	14.3
		Livestock holding produces food sooner than agriculture	1	14.3
		Livestock reproduces its kind and may be sold	1	14.3
		Total	7	100
Both equal	3 (8%)	Agriculture provides bread and animal husbandry produces ghee	1	33.3
		Both are useful	1	33.3
		Don't know	1	33.3
		Total	3	100
Neither	1 (2%)	No reason		
Total	39			

The future is in the hands, obviously, of the young generation : the generation that is in its school-age at the present. It is arguable also that those attending school now will play a greater part in the future. Their inclinations and aspirations may well depict the pattern of their future life. Table No.VIII 27 shows that 89.5% of the students prefer to live in a town or city. The attractions of urban life have already been discussed, as well as the governmental policies designed to add to these attractions in order to drive more and more of the population towards cities that are the heart of the central governmental power. Table No.VIII 28 shows that 64% of the students wished to become a teacher; 13% to become engineers; and 15.5% to become physicians. All these occupations revealed the attractions of urban life because it is only by living and studying in a city that one can have the possibility of being trained in these jobs. As regards vocational training and professions, 38% of the students reported that they preferred to become mechanics. This is again a job that provides them with the possibility of living in a city and brings them sufficient income as well. Thus, it is clearly to be observed that the young generation is looking at the city as its future abode. Therefore, the rush of young people to cities will keep on increasing unless the government gives the first priority in its planning to the development of villages, of better living standards, and improved welfare of the rural population. Parallel, there will need to be improvement in the incomes of the farmers and livestock-breeders.

Inclination to live in a town or village

Table No.VIII 27

Town		Village		Both		Total
Number	Percent	No.	%	No.	%	
35	89.5	3	8	1	2.5	39
	No. %		No. %			
More convenient	11 24.5	My house is in the village	2 66			
Educational facilities	6 14	Not reported	1 34			
Recreational facilities	5 11	Total	3 100			
Occupational facilities	4 9					
Possibility to purchase	3 7					
Health Facilities	3 7					
"City is better" (no reason)	3 7					
City is better and more beautiful	3 7					
Better weather	2 4.5					
Presence of relatives	1 2.25					
Settlement as against moving	2 4.5					
Not reported	1 2.25					
Total	44 100					

Desired occupation of students

Table No.VIII 28

Type of Occupation	No.	%
Teacher	25	64
Engineer	5	13
Physician	6	15.5
Mechanic	1	2.5
Farmer	1	2.5
Government employee	1	2.5
Total	39	100

Inclination towards vocational (practical) training
in students

Table No.VIII 29

Inclined			Uninclined		Not reported		Total
Number	Percent		No.	%	No.	%	
29	74		9	23	1	3	39
	No.	%					
Mechanic	11	38					
Welder	8	28					
Bricklayer	7	24					
Ironsmith	1	3.3					
Literary Corps	1	3.3					
Not reported	1	3.3					
Total	29	100					

Manner of passing their time outside
of school

Table No.VIII 30

	Number	Percent
Helping parents only	17	44
Learning lessons only	13	33
Learning lessons and helping parents	8	21
Playing	1	2
Total	39	100

The future of the Kordi tribe may be analysed and anticipated from another point of view. As discussed before, the Kordi tribe has largely lost its former superior and dominant position in the area as the agent of central government responsible for collection of taxes and maintenance of security in the area. Due to the re-inforcement of the central government's power and control all over Baluchestan, and expansion and development of cities, which, in fact, reflect the extension of the central government's influence, the 'need' for the Kordi tribe has declined. On the other hand, due to the favourable natural conditions of the Taftan area and the relative prevailing security of that area, the Kords have become more inclined towards and interested in agriculture. Yet it is also apparent that the young people of the tribe are more and more interested in urban-based occupations. Thus we have two parallel but contradictory effects : sedentarization as cultivators, and desire for migration (mostly, but not solely, by young people) towards the towns. Under these conditions, rural migration with animals is likely to decline very rapidly, but the question remains more open as to whether agriculture can be developed sufficiently to retain a thriving, contented rural population that will resist, partially at least, the pull of town life.

50. Baking bread in Gorz.

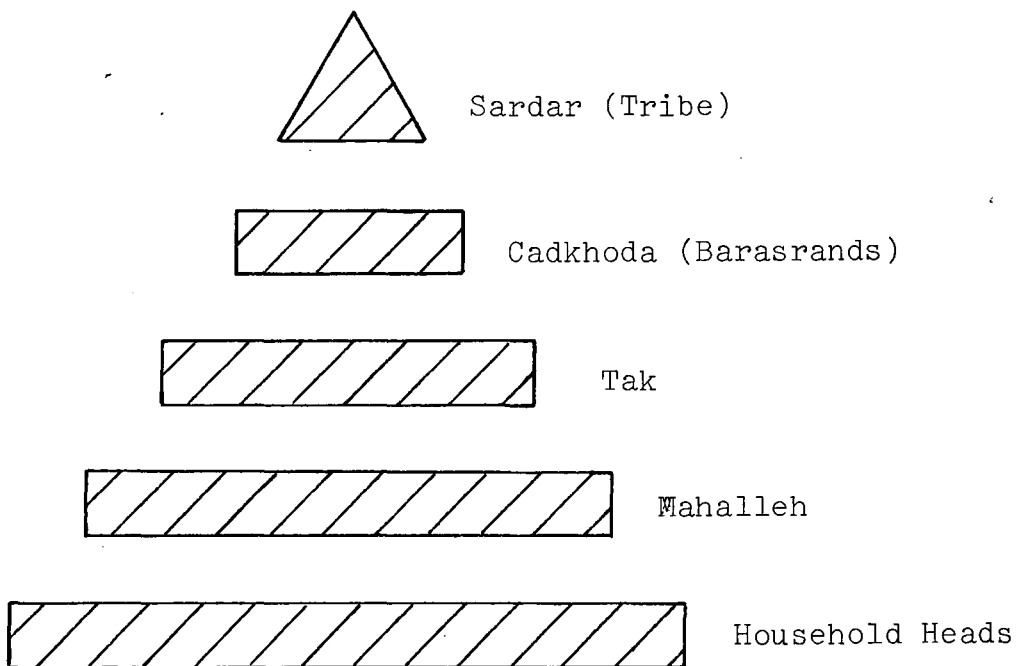
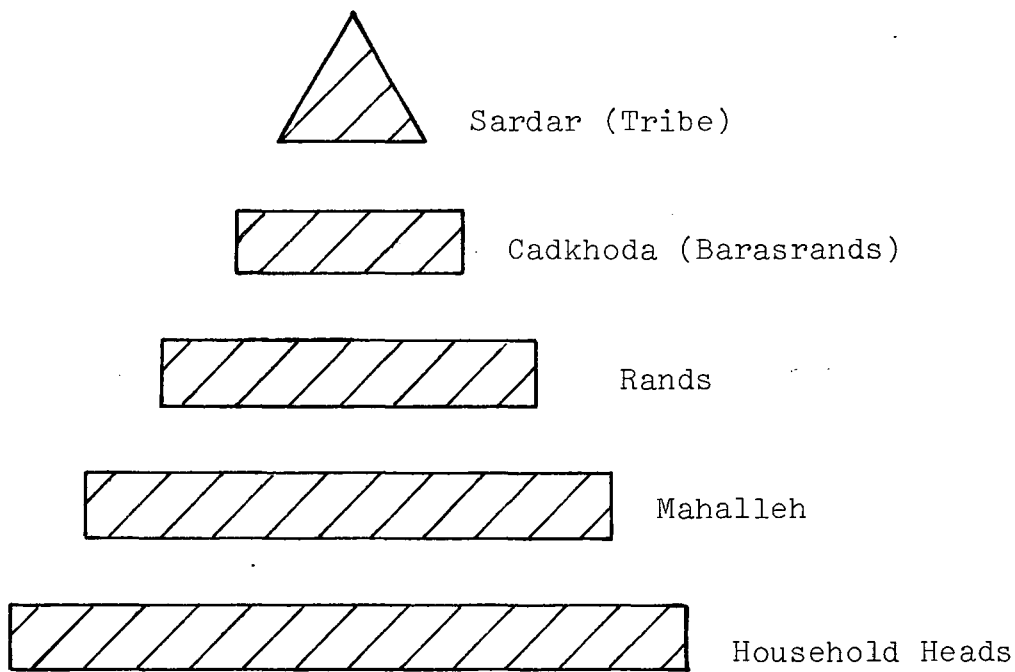
51. A special oven (taroor) for baking
bread in Varaj.



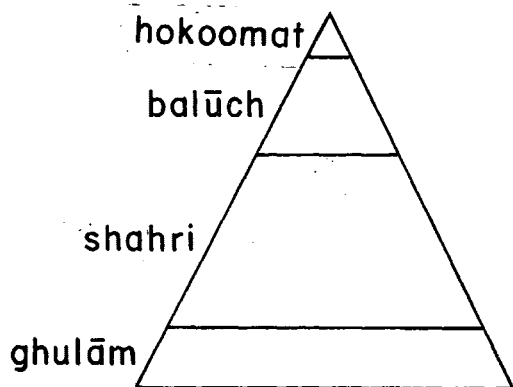
52. A snake-charmer.



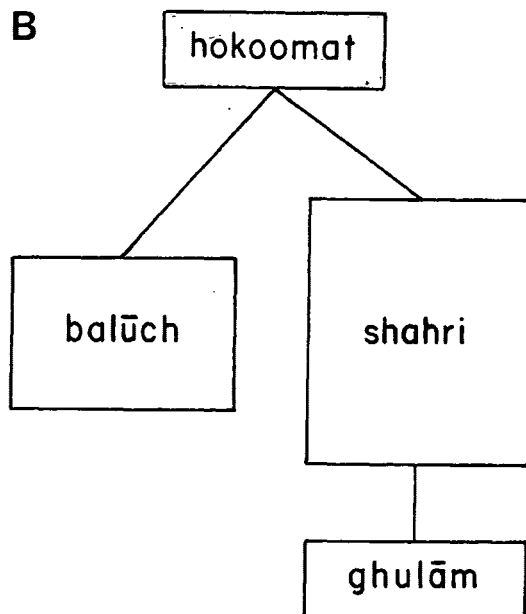
Diagram No. 2 Power Pyramid of Sangam and Tamandan



A



B



A Social classes in southern (ethnic) Baluchestan, according to Salzman (1971), and Pozdena (1975).

B do, after Spooner (1969)

Neither of these models is, in the author's opinion, useful in relation to the Kordi tribe, for the following reasons :

- (i) numbers of shahri (townspeople) and ghulām (slaves) are very small in relation to the total population.
- (ii) there are balūch in towns.
- (iii) there are ghulām dependent on balūch

APPENDIX

List of Tribes of Sistan and Baluchestan

I. ZAHEDAN AND KHASH SHAHRESTAN

1. The Nārooyi

This tribe is located to the north and north-west of Zahedan, and forms a part of a wider grouping : the Nārooyies of Sistan. All these people have crossed the border during migrating from the Nāroo mountain region of Pakistan. The chieftain's headquarters is Nosrat-ābād, and the tribe consists of three to four thousand households - mostly livestock-holders and nomads. These are settled elements numbering about 3 to 4,000 households. Settled groups inhabit Nosrat-ābād, Malek-ābād, Sohrāb-ābād and Kenji. They also live in Sefid-ābeh on the north and Hormak on the east.

The Nahbandān mountains in the south of Khorāsān form the summer quarters for mobile groups; and the Nosrat-ābād plain is their winter quarters. The distance travelled by them does not exceed 100 km. The Nārooyi tribe includes the following sub-clans :

Sohrāb-zehie	Shiran-zehie	Shahbak-zehie
Samaki	Zahr-zehie	Garkhill
Moorpishi	Hadji-zehie	Farāz-zehie
Afzal-zehie	Khorma-magad	Karam-zehie
Miroo-zehie	Dorra-zehie	Goorgandahie
Kandal-zehie	Sardar-zehie	Moord-zehie

2. The Riggi

Riggi territory extends from Zahedan southwards towards Khash. Tribesmen are scattered within an area bounded on the north by Cahnook, Deh pabid, and southern junction of Junabad road; on the south by Gowharkooh;

on the east by Tahlāb and Rig-malek; and on the west by the Shahbakhsh tribe's territory. Their sardar lives in Junābād. The main sub-clans and their population are as follows :

	<u>households</u>		<u>households</u>
Boolāk-zehie	800	Mir-Baluch-zehie	800
Shah-karam-zehie	250	Morād-zehie	500
Isa-zehie	300	Karam-zehie	600
Mirca-zehie	280	Omar-zehie	500
Gafgoo-zehie	270	Mahmood-zehie	600
Natoo-zehie	400	Sohrāb-zehie	300
Jarri-zehie	300	Tamandānie	800-900
Arbab	350	Shahlibor	530

3. The Hāshem-zehie

This tribe includes 1,500 households : about 500 settled and 1,000 nomadic. They are scattered in an area bounded on the north by the Taftan mountain; on the south by Gatti, Carhang, and Rotaneh areas; and on the east by the vicinities of Sangan village.

4. The Kord

It includes about 700-800 households : 300 settled and the remaining ones mobile. They live around and on the slopes of the Taftan mountain. The southern slopes of Taftan are inhabited by members of the Kord and Hāshem-zehie tribes; the western slopes by Hāshem-zehies and Kords; and the eastern slopes are inhabited by Kords only.

5. The Shahnāvāzi

Members of this tribe are scattered in an area

bounded on the north by the Taftan mountain; on the south by the Estakhr-rood (river); on the east by Māshkid; and on the west by Khash. Almost all are nomadic. Their migration route extends from the west of Poshtkooch area to the Taftan mountain slopes and on to Māshkid in June. They stay there until the end of September to give help in the date harvest, being recompensed in kind. When the harvest is over, they return to their original place. The main sub-clans consist of :

	<u>households</u>		<u>households</u>
Yar-Mohammad-zehie	250	Soori-zehie	250
Mir-Gol-zehie	200	Rahmat-zehie	350
Hosein-zehie	300	Sohrāb-zehie	250

6. The Shah-bakhsh

Households of this tribe are mostly tent-dwellers located in an area bounded on the north by Zāhedān; on the north-west by Talleh-siāh and Kandi-āb along the Zāhedān-Nosratābād road; on the south-west by Kahoorak and Gorg of Heidarābād; and on the east by Dehak. The Goorband mountainous area, Chesmeh Ziārat are spring quarters; the southern slopes of the Nosrat-ābād mountains their summer quarters and Dasht-e-shoor, Samsoor and Hesaroooyeh are their winter quarters. Approximate population of the tribe is 13,000 households included in the following sub-clans :

Faghir-zehie	Qalandar-zehie	Baluch-zehie
Qanbar-zehie	Toota-zehie	Esmael-zehie
Dāroo-zehie	Hasan-zehie	Sadd-zehie
Nooti-zehie	Allāh-Bakhsh-zehie	Hashir-zehie
Rādoo-zehie		

7. The Gorgeech

Members of this tribe have completely settled during the period in the city of Zahedan and its northern villages. There are approximately three thousand persons in number, included in the following sub-clans :

Gabr-zehie	Mohammadanie	Lashkar-zehie
Hasan-zehie	Roshan-zehie	Sangak-zehie
Minā-zehie	Avaz-zehie	

II. SARĀVĀN SHAHRESTAN

1. The Gamshad-zehie

This tribe includes between 700-1,000 households living in an area bounded on the north by the Tahlāb plain and Mirjāveh; on the south by Paskooh and Kooh-e-Beerak (Beeragh), which is the biggest mountain in the Sarāvān region; on the east by Sarāvān city, and on the west by Khash and Estakhr-rood (river) extending as far as 42 km from Khāsh. There are the following sub-clans :

Dād-khodā-zehie	Morād-zehie	Vājhdād-zehie
Arzi-zehie	Dorrā-zehie	Sanjar-zehie
Sepāhi-zehie	Mohammad-zehie	

2. The Dohāni

This is one of the largest tribes of Baluchestan and includes 2,500-3,000 households. Their territory is bounded on the north by Morād-ābād plain of Sooran; on the south by Salāhkooh mountains, on the east by Kooh-e-Baluch mountain and Zāmran; and on the west by the Sarbāz area and Irlandegān (Naskand of Sarbāz). Their sardar's headquarters is in Mooltān. The tribe consists of two sub-clans : 1. Dohāni; Shandak-zehie.

About 1,500 households possess some land and live in villages. They live mostly in barasti huts (Kapar) but a few of them are tent-dwellers.

In the time of the date-harvest - from mid-June to September, they move to neighbouring villages to

help in the date harvest, receiving dates in return. They spend the winter and spring in the Nak-ban mountains.

3. The Askani

The territory of this tribe is bounded on the north by Salahi-kooch mountains; south by the area of Pishin of Iranshahr; on the east by the river Nahang; and on the west by Pashamag.

A number of this tribe's households are scattered in the village Ziarat of Heedooch of Sib-Sooran; and some households live in the other side of Salahi-kooch. A part of the tribe lives in Iranshahr and Saravan, and this includes about 1,500 households. The most important sub-clans of this tribe are Laleh-zehie and Denyar-zehie.

They are mostly tent-dwellers. As the area has a warm climate, living under thatched tents instead of black woven cloth ones. They do not leave their territory, and so have no winter or summer grazing grounds.

4. The Salah-zehie

Their territory is bounded on the north by the Shahrikoor river; on the south by the Pashamag plain, Hang, and Moortan; on the east by the rivers Nahang and Shahrikoor; and on the west by the river Sarbaz.

Their population in the Saravan region is about 500-600 households. They are all nomadic and live in kapar, moving around the Salahi-kooch mountain area, except

for the time of the date harvest when they move temporarily to Irafshan.

5. The Damani

Members of this tribe are scattered in Sarkooh (Salahi-kooch), Dazandar (Irafshan), Topdeem; with a large number around Irafshan. Their population is about 800-900 households. As their area has a generally warm climate, they too live in kapars.

6. The Parakee

They live in Mashkid and as far as Shahrikoor. Their territory is bounded on the north by Kent and Heedooch; on the south by the river Nahang and Shahrikoor; on the east by Bamposht; and on the west by Topdeem. Population is 600-700 households who mostly live in kapar. Some households do not even construct huts because, during spring, they move only as far as Shahribor, but in the time of the date harvest they go to Irafshan, Heedooch and Ziarat.

There are 300-400 more Parakies in the north of the Beerak mountain zone and at Paskooh, who are attached to the Gamshad-zehie tribe. This group is scattered in an area bounded on the north by the Paskooh and Morad-abad Plain, on the south by Zaboli plain and Nac-pahn mountains; on the east by Kahmagar and Morad-abad plain; and on the west by Irandegan, Caravandar and Qaderabad. They all

live under woven cloth black tents. Summer movement is to the Zāboli plain and Paskooh. In the time of the date harvest they move to the villages of Paskooh, Zāboli, and Soorān. They pass the winter in the mountains.

7. Other Tribes

These comprise :

Bārak-zehie and Mir-Morād-zehie tribes which together number 300-400 households.

	<u>households</u>		<u>households</u>
Bozorg-zādeh	100	Āseech Mohammadi	300
Noshirvāni	50-60	Rai'ici	350
Dorrā-zehie	250	Siāhi	300-350
Jangee-zehie	250	Seyyed-zādeh(Sāheb-zadeh)	100
Hossein-zehie	300	Shakar-zehie	200-300
Malek-zadeh	200	Dorr-zādeh	400
Hosseinbor	1,000	Dehqān	40
Nosrat-zehie	300		

III. IRĀNSHAHR AND CHĀHBAHĀR SHAHRESTANS

1. The Barak-zehie

Members of this tribe are scattered in Iranshahr and Sarbaz valley towards Chahbahar. They number about 7,000 persons. Main sub-clans include Narooyi, Dinar-zehie, Borhan-zehie, Rodeeni, and Zard-koochi. They are mostly settled farmers, and livestock-holding is their main activity. The perennially flowing river Sarbaz that runs through this area makes farming more possible in comparison with other parts of Baluchestan.

2. The Sai'idi

In the Sarbaz region, the majority of households are of the Sai'idi tribe, who also call themselves Boleedehii. They live in the Askan area, Rask, Firoozabad, Bahoo-calat and Dashtyari. To the east, they live as far away as Peeshin, and to the west as far as Qasr-e-Qand and Nikshahr. In addition to Sai'idi households, a few households from the Rai'ici tribe are also scattered through this area. These increasingly are regarded in practice as a part of the Sai'idi due to their growing social and economic links.

Sai'idi households are owner-farmers and enjoy a relatively higher social rank among other tribes of the same area; so that the Rai'icies of Sarbaz and a group of about 5,000 members called Rands live under the Sai'idi tribe's guardianship and control, amounting often to dependency. It should be noted, however, that the Rands have not any firmly coherent social base : they

serve land-owners and sardars in various ways and work as labourers for road construction companies, the Rai'ici on the other hand is a tribe with the same social rank as the Sai'idi tribe, so that there can be family inter-marriage and close social relations between these two groups.

3. The Zeinod-deeni

There is a small group living in Qasr-e-Qand alongside the Sai'idi tribe. It includes 800 owner cultivators.

4. The Dorr-zādehgān

In the area that covers Sarbaz, Rask, Peeshin, and Qasr-e-Qand, there is another group of about 4,000 people called Dorr-Zadehgan, in addition to the 3 previously mentioned tribes. They are the survivors of a slave order and, consequently, they possess no land, but work as servants, or as labourers for public works such as road construction.

5. The Sardār-zehie

This tribe includes about 7,000 people who live in Dashtyari. Its sub-clans are not so firmly attached to one another as those of other tribes. They are now, in effect, independent groups sharing the same single social origins.

There are sub-clans :

(1) Jadgal sub-clan members, who own the land. They are attached to the Sai'iti tribe and enjoy the same social rank, so that intermarriage may take place between their members.

(2) The Kooseh and Jat sub-clans are nomadic pastoralists who move to wherever rain water is observed to have collected. They move all over Dashtyari region during the year but never go further than this area.

(3) The Latig sub-clan's members own camels and are pastoralists. They also move within the same area but less in total than the former two sub-clans.

(4) The Mir, Seetar, and Saheroo sub-clans are farmers who tend to be semi-settled.

Most of the land owners in Dashtyari area possess a motor launch, as do the wealthy men of Sardar-zehie tribe.

(5) The Sheikh-zadeh is a wealthy sub-clan of about 700 persons. The members enjoy a high social rank and mostly own land and motor launches which trade.

(6) The Nohani sub-clan, whose members are called "Lagoor", consist of some 2,000 people. They are mostly nomadic pastoralists scattered towards the north as far as Peeshin, and to the south-west as far as Dashtyari.

(7) The Hoot sub-clan includes about 1,000 persons who own land, and are semi-settled.

(8) The Barr sub-clan's households are also land owners and number about 2,000 persons.

There are two other groups in this area that should be mentioned here in order not to omit any group, though they cannot be regarded as clans. These are religious groups : Sheikhs who live in Dashtyari and are some 200 persons in number and Sufis who are dispersed through Qasr-e-Qand and Rusk. Sufis total about 250 persons.

The Dashtyari tribes are scattered as far as Chahbahar, where two small but important sub-clans of Soltanpoor and Amani live, in addition to this tribe's migrants. They are about 300 persons in number and are engaged in business and commerce.

6. The Rai'ici

This is one of the most important tribes of the area. Members live in Nikshahr, Qasr-e-Qand, and Sarbaz on the east, and in Chanf and Peep on the north of the shahrestan. The Rai'icies of Peep are linked socially to the Mobaraki tribe; while, as mentioned before, the Rai'icies of Sarbaz are similarly attached to the Sai'idi tribe. This tribe includes Arjomandi and Kishgoli sub-clans.

The Rai'ici tribe enjoys a distinctly high social and economic rank, with mostly land-owning farmers.

7. The Shirāni

The Zahedan-Chahbahar road passes through Tang-e-Sarheh (Tang = narrow mountain pass) between Iranshahr and Nikshahr. The most populated and important village of this area is located on the west of this mountain pass: its name is Fannooj. Members of the Shirani tribe comprise about 6,000 people in number and live in Fannooj and its surrounding villages that are scattered among the Takoo and Bashagerd mountains. They are also dispersed along the road as far as Peep and Lashar. Most are cultivators. The Shirani tribe includes the Cheraqi and Malak-nejhad clans, while a number of Shiranies who live in Lashar are attached to the Lashari tribe.

8. The Lāshāri and Mobāraki

These two tribes are of the same ethnic and geographical origin and are still very closely related socially to each other. They live in Peep and Espakeh, and to the west of Espakeh in Chanf, in Ahooran, as well as in other small scattered villages of this area. The Parvin sub-clan in Peep, the Bashi-zehie in Bampoor, Salah-zehie, Nekoochi and Siah-tekani sub-clans in Ahooran also belong to these two tribes. Their total population amounts to 22,000 persons. These peoples are mostly engaged in smuggling: but a few are farmers and pastoralists.

Fannooj, Peep, Espakeh, and Lashar are villages of the Bampoor district. Bampoor itself is the home region of a number of Barak-zehie households, a few Mobaraki households, and some migrants from Yazd.

9. The Bāmeri

The Dalgān plain is Bāmeri tribal territory, and it lies west and north of Bampoor. The tribe overall may number as many as 10,000 persons, including sub-clans : Maīeki, Sajjādi, Abdollahi, Navāhi, Arbābi, and Shahli-bor. The Bameri are almost all pastoral nomads who move within an area approximately 60 km in radius, including the Dalgān plain and Bazmān hills on the north-east of Dalgān.

IV. ZĀBOL SHAHRESTAN

Living in or near Zābol city are groups of the following identifiable as members of tribes that are also represented (in larger numbers usually) elsewhere in the region. Whilst some are fully or partially settled in the town of Zābol itself, and have urban occupations, others exist as full or semi nomads, either located at the edge of the town, or spending a part of the year within Zābol shahrestan as part of their annual migratory cycle. Some 41 distinct tribal groupings have been identified by the writer as located for at least part of the year within Zābol shahrestan. Others again are more settled : all gradations exist between extensive nomadism and totally permanent settlements -

Barāhooi	Narooyi	Bārāni
Mir	Sārāni	Bazzi
Djahānteeq	Riggi	Sarābandi
Sanjarāni	Shahraki	Rakhshāni
Sayyādān	Sargazi and Sargolzaii	Calāntari
Keikhā	Dah-Mardeh	Harāti
Gorgeech	Sarāvāni	Djarr
Khemer	Sheebak	Takoor and Heidari
Lagzāi'i	Shahryāri	Sarhadi
Qoort-khāh	Zoor	Ahmad
Sanchooli	Mir-shekār	Zarak and Hābeel
Ordoni	Sheikh	Gelavi
Sālār-zehie	Darrehii	Khederi
Noor-zehie	Gorg	

Some information is now given about a few of these tribal representatives that are of special interest.

The Barāhooii

Households of this tribe are scattered through an area extending from the Shoosaf and Sefidabeh mountains as far south as Zāhedān shahrestan; and from Zabol to Miānkangee. There are some settled villages. The Barāhooii are part cultivators and part pastoralists, and support their animals by digging shallow wells in permeable strata - e.g. gravels. The pastoralists migrate during a limited season that begins from late February and lasts until mid-May; the route of their moving extending as far as Qāyenāt and the borders of Baluchestan sub-province. If there is a sufficient water supply from their wells they tend not to move : migration is very much a response to a dry season.

The following sub-clans have been distinguished within the Barahooii tribe -

Māleki	Zirkāri	Nakhaii
Chandāl	Gachki-zehie	Sarābandi
Shāg-zehie	Lavār-zehie	Chamadrān-zehie
Djarr	Koochāli	Shahraki
Sargazi	Kiā-zehie	Sokrāh-zehie
Idoo-zehie	Randak-zehie	Sootak
Gol-Mohammad-zehie	Mardānshi	Hārooni
Roodeeni	Sargolzaii	Rahmat-zehie
Esmael-zehie	Moorpeeshi	Sasooli
Garkheel	Yooseki	Rakhshāni
Shooli-bor	Golzār-zehie	Tootā-zehie

The Nārooyi

This tribe, though clearly Baluch in origin and mainly living in the shahrestan of Zahedan (see above p.) has

members also in Zabol. The following sub-clans are distinguishable there -

Shirān-zehie	Shir-zehie	Marrehii
Zahr-zehie	Zardā-zehie	Poodineh
Samaki	Hādji-zehie	Horma-zehie
Qalandar-zehie	Tootā-zehie	Carkheel
Dādzari	Validādzi	Seyyed-zehie
Karam-zehie		

The Bārāni

This is the only tribe of the area that is fully nomadic and living under tents. Their migration brings them from Zabol as far as the Qayenat Mountains. No sub-clans can be distinguished, but there is extensive recognition of marriage links. Some 73 households of this tribe who were cultivators and livestock holders lived in the village of Deh-e-khānom, but emigrated to Torkaman-Sahra during 1971, as the result of a severe drought. Some 320-330 households of this tribe have settled away from the main tribal unit, in Miānkangee and Posht-āb, and they are now engaged in cultivation - an interesting example of sedentarisation. There are 100 households in Emāmyeh and Nahr-e-gaz that are regarded as land owners rather than participants in tribal grazing areas : another instance of an approach to sedentarisation.

The Mir

Households of this tribe live in a number of settled villages and also in open range lands. They are engaged in farming, in livestock holding and also carpet weaving. Their livestock holders migrate regularly. This tribe includes the following sub-clans -

Mir-Lāshāri	Mir-Baluch-zehie	Mir-Addi
Mir-Bārak-zehie	Mir-Chakhansoori	Enāyat
Harāti	Kool	Khazāii
A'arābi	Firooz-koohi	

The Sārāni

This tribe has migrated totally from Baluchestan to Sistan; another part of the tribe also live in Afghanistan. They are only 4-5,000 in number; some being cultivators and others pastoralists. They live mainly in Miānkangee, Posht-āb, and Shib-āb, and those rearing cattle live in barasti huts around the reed-beds at the margins of the Lake; whilst those who have sheep live under black tents and move seasonally to the uplands of Qāyenāt.

Sub-clans of this tribe -

Koochek-zehie	Rostam-zehie	Mohammad-zehie
Ozbak-zehie	Gamshād-zehie	Eskandar-zehie

The two sub-clans of Mahmoodi and Isā-zehie are also related to the Sārāni tribe.

The Bazzi

Members of this tribe are engaged in cultivation and livestock holding in Iran and also Afghanistan, since their territory comprises much of the Lake area. Cultivators have settled in villages; whilst once again the pastoralists are in two separate groups: those with cattle stay as settled inhabitants around the lake and those who keep sheep migrate as far as the mountainous areas of Birjand province.

Sub-clans are -

Ebrāhimi	Rostam-zehie	Askar-zehie
Zeini	Dādi	Dashti

The Jahanteeq

Members of this tribe are engaged both in farming and livestock holding. Livestock holders move to natural pastures in Qāyenāt and into Baluchestan sub-province.

The population of the tribe is not clearly known, but is estimated at 20,000 persons. Due to the recent drought years of the 1960's and 1970's, a great number of them have migrated and settled in Mazandaran, northern Iran. In the Zābol area, they live in a number of settled villages and as nomads on the open range lands. This tribe consists of the following sub-clans -

Qazāq	Mirdād	Morād-Qoli
Siāsar	Noori	

The Riggi

Once again, this is an offshoot of a larger group located in Baluchestan. The tribe comprises both farmers and livestock holders - the former settled, and the latter moving to the mountain areas of northern Baluchestan. It includes the following sub-clans -

Hossein-bor	Natoo-zehie	Nasrāvi
Riggi-e-Jalāi	Rigg-e-Gazmeh	Riggi

The Sarābandi

All the households of this tribe are located primarily in the Sistan plain. They are mainly tent-dwelling pastoralists with some settled farmers. The pastoralists move seasonally towards the Hormak and Sarhad mountain zones of Baluchestan; others go as far as Drakhsh and Sarbeesheh.

The Keikhā

This tribe consists of two sub-clans :Keikhā Mollāii and Keikha Cheeti; and again there is a settled cultivating majority settled in villages, and others who are pastoral nomads. The pastoralists have a migratory pattern rather than transhumance since they travel as far as northern Baluchestan, Qāyenāt and Bam to find summer pasture in the mountains. Some tribesmen and women are engaged in carpet weaving and needle craft.

The Rakhshāni

This tribe consists of the following sub-clans -

Mandāii	Rāshki	Jamāldeeni
Badeeni		

The Dah-Mardeh

As with many others just described households of this tribe are engaged either in settled farming or livestock holding; the latter are transhumants and migrate seasonally. This tribe consists of the following sub-clans -

Boolan-zehie	Zardowzāii	Garkheel
Hayāt-zehie	Shahi-zi	Gedā-zehie
Bārān-zehie	Calāt-zehie	Siākhān-zehie
Seifod-din-zehie		

This list so far given does not cover the entire tribal groups of the area : there are a further number of small and unimportant tribal groups. Some of these are rapidly becoming urbanized not only in Sistan-Baluchestan, but elsewhere in Iran. Other tribal units have migrated into Afghanistan, where, as compared with Iran, central government has been less pervasive in recent years.

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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for consistent and reliable data collection processes to support informed decision-making.

3. The third part of the document describes the role of different departments in the data collection and analysis process. It explains how each department contributes to the overall goal of providing accurate and timely information to management.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the challenges and risks associated with data collection and analysis. It identifies common pitfalls and provides strategies to mitigate these risks, such as ensuring data security and maintaining data integrity.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and conclusions. It reiterates the importance of a robust data collection and analysis system for the organization's success and offers recommendations for future improvements.

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