

## Encounter with the Village Elite - Part I

1) Sarah Sheikh Ali: Namad & I arrived with Dr. Arian & local Bivary. Found that the site that was "chosen" for the Centre for Collective Promotion, was situated out of town on the top of a wind swept hill. We were met initially by an official looking group of people (which eventually turned out to be the Kothuda & his men). The site that they had shown us was obviously unsuitable for just about every reason on every point. Earlier, when questioned the Bivary had suggested that there may be a couple alternative sites, but with these people present we were assured that this was the only one possible, they said that this was the only free land available, & that it was the only collectively owned piece of land in the village. We made it clear that the site was totally unsuitable for reasons given elsewhere. Namad & I had, when we first arrived in the village, noticed some empty land in the village centre and decided to go off & investigate this. We left the crowd with Dr. Arian & the Bivary and went by ourselves. The Kothuda sent one of his men after us.

We first looked at a good south facing site in what appeared to be a village square (surrounded on 3 sides with bldg. We were told, that we could not use this site because the owner was out of town. We next looked at a site near this one, bounded

\*"Chosen" - supposedly by a meeting between the Bivary and the villagers, & then donated.

by the Haman (not working-New Boat type)  
the stream <sup>on 6.</sup>, and main road on N. boundary.  
We felt that a town centre (square)  
~~was~~ existed in this area & that the Dev. Centre  
if situated here would reinforce such  
a ~~center~~ social meeting place.

Our "guide" assured us that this site  
was certainly not available as the  
owner was out of town as well (in Kboronah)  
and anyway he was planning to build  
his house there. <sup>(which cross questioned he constantly)</sup>  
<sub>(got his story wrong)</sub>

Some people who were sitting  
nearby (not from the original crowd of ~~delegates~~)  
~~one man~~ they overheard our conversation,  
one man came over and said "we  
own this land (the site that we had  
recommended) and ~~you can build houses~~  
we can build the ~~center~~ Dev. Centre here."

We went back to find Dr. Arjan  
<sup>who was with</sup> the "Delegation". He then informed us  
that ~~he had~~ found the original site <sup>(out of town)</sup>  
was in fact owned by the Kallthonda  
who's house was immediately adjacent to  
it. This same man apparently "owned" ???  
the "co-operative shop" and the  
"government oil concession" (the only  
two commercial facilities in town) and

he wanted to own the Development Centre as well. (it seems to be a pattern that if a person donates property for some function he maintains control over it.)

The site that was finally chosen: it is unclear what the original ownership was, in any case it was not controlled by the Prulling family. The adjacent site where the Roman was built was said to be collectively owned, it is assumed that the chosen site is as well.

## Encounter with the Village Elite Part II

Peresid. - October 1 1975

On arriving in Peresid we were immediately ushered to a small plot of land <sup>behind a group of houses</sup> on the extreme eastern end of ~~the~~ town. We were told that this was the land that had been donated by the village for the "Health House". Our minds momentarily taken over by the pretty little spot in a romantic setting, where a building would just fit (without disturbing the trees), we measured up the site and mentally plotted out the building. The site may not have been centrally located but after all it was <sup>not a wind swept</sup> hill out of town. <sup>ref. S.S. Ali</sup> Hamad (the realist of the group?) had long since left us and gone off to look at the rest of the village. We later found him in what appeared to be the village square where the mill (constantly chugging & grinding in the background), the <sup>ref. S.S. Ali</sup> Haman (another unsuccessful government enterprise), and the site for the ~~prop.~~ future cooperative shop was located. Back in the real world, we all recognized that this

a better  
was ~~the~~ area for a Centre for Collective  
Promotion. A number of possible sites  
seemed obvious in the area, so we  
measured everything out and decided to  
discuss it later, with the Bivary and the  
village. (It was getting dark) ~~we were getting~~  
~~hungry so we went home~~

October ---- 1975 - Duesh

We returned this time with Bafesee  
Dr. Arian and some ~~sticks~~ chalk and pegs.  
The Bivary took Bafesee & the Doctor off  
to see the ~~first~~ proposed garden site, and  
we stayed in the village square and looked  
around for a good site there. ~~Using~~  
the unused Bath building as a buffer  
to the chugging and grinding of the mill  
we suggested a site facing the village  
next to the site of the proposed co-operative  
shop. We explained to the people around  
our ideas and reasons for such a location  
and everyone seemed to agree that it was  
a good location.

After finding B., Dr. A. and the Bivary  
again we explained ~~the~~ our reasons for a  
central site. The Bivary and people with  
him were very much opposed, saying that  
the centrally located site was privately owned  
and anyway the original site was already  
decided & donated. It transpired that the  
Bivary ~~was~~ a member of Duesh's most powerful  
family, and that the garden site in fact  
belonged to the ~~same~~ family (who wanted a  
Health House (with their son residing) in their  
back yard.

The village <sup>centre</sup> ~~square~~ site ~~the square~~ apparently spanned across land owned by two families, one the Bury and the other a rival. The ~~Bury~~ Bury family initially refused to allow the new site to be used, and suggested a number of other locations, all on land they owned. When they saw both popular and official opinion against them and in favour of the central site they backed down and agreed, along with the second family to donate it for the building.

## Encounter with the Village Elite Part III (or Code up at Kaka Reza)

~~Kaka Reza Oct~~

Kaka Reza was an inherited problem. In fact it was our <sup>initial</sup> "encounter" ~~and before we~~ <sup>on our first</sup> ~~trip~~ to Selsela, before even arriving in Alashkar. At that time, mid July, a health house had just been started there, only to be terminated after only foundations were built. Our first impression of the place was the poor siting of the health house, out of town, ~~and~~ (across the river) on the Khorambad road. The Kakkouda approached us at that time & complained, saying that the village had already donated land and some labour, and now why had everything stopped. Later it was explained on the project that since this was to be a self help project the people should organize the building themselves. It also became clear that the Beverly were still in the middle of their training program & a building established before their needs and actual work <sup>program</sup> had been assessed was perhaps putting the "cart before the horse"?

Oct. 1975 Alashkar

Although there were earlier hints it became very clear, ~~by~~ <sup>by Dr. Robinson</sup> by October, when the suggestion was made that the 3 groups of front line workers should be united and work together, that the Beverly considered themselves an elite group. This could suggest a partial failure of the program or ~~the~~ short coming in their training. It has been suggested that the training selection program and training has tended to reinforce the elite within the villages as well. Apparently



~~Work was going a~~

It appeared that again there was a danger of a ~~the~~ family setting up a private clinic.

Work had resumed on the building. Since people from the area had refused to co-operate and volunteer <sup>their</sup> labour, three builders had been hired with ~~the~~ ~~same~~ wages <sup>totaling</sup> 125 T per day. (Note other <sup>(large)</sup> Centres were being built with one hired builder at as little as 40 T/d)

Oct. . . . 1975 Alaktar

A meeting was held with all the front line workers involved with the 4 <sup>Pilot</sup> development areas (we were using for pilot projects this season). Criteria for the Centres' locations were discussed as well as problems ~~or~~ dealing with elitist attitudes, and ~~also~~ problems associated with village elites. (very ~~de~~ good discussion - notes elsewhere).

We set off for Kaba Rega in the ~~after~~ <sup>evening</sup> with Dr. Pinozzi, the two brothers - Bevan & ~~the~~ <sup>another</sup> worker, to try and sort out some of the problems.

Kaba Rega

At Kaba Rega we inspected the Health House construction. (I found 3 paid builders on the site, one paid 70 one 30 and a stone cutter 25 <sup>totaling</sup> 125 T per day, note one builder on Albadabad Centre for Col. Promotion (large bldg) at 30 or 40 T per day) who sanctioned this? The building itself badly oriented on SE-NW axis, and generally badly sited for every <sup>possible</sup> reason.

Omit

Went back to Kaba Reza town & looked around. We found 15 public & service buildings in town and only 11 families. With buses to Khramabad & Chantta passing through every few minutes we felt that this town was already over serviced, without an additional Centre for Col. Promotion. We looked at a list of statistics on the area that the Bvaz had with him, & found that one village listed, by far the largest had 53 families (Kaba Reza Oia).

On questioning the Bvaz about this village he said that it was up in the mountains & too difficult for us to go to. The two front line workers (reluctantly at first) ~~finally~~ agreed to take us there. We climbed up a steep valley for 20 minutes ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> 1/2 an hour, passing several other villages on the way.

On reaching Kaba Reza Oia we met one of the local people who told us that the village, though it had 53 families, had no school, nor any other facilities. The economy was mixed - sedentary semi nomadic & the village was <sup>totally</sup> inhabited only about 7 months of the year.

This discussion (from earlier ones and this visit to the mountain village), brought the Bevarz closer to our argument that Development Centres should be located in areas that need development the most.

We went down the mountain & after having tea in the ~~camp~~ <sup>vial</sup> Chador (tent) belonging to the two brother's family, had a long discussion on the location of the Development Centre. We told the 3 front-line workers that it was their decision on the placement location. We felt that since it was they who must organize village support, they must be totally committed to any decision made.

The Bevarz argued that if the mountain village was inhabited all year, it would be the best place for the centre. Someone suggested that one of the hill side villages would be a good central location. The educational worker (totally independent - no family or land connections to the area) said that Kaba Rega, being a service centre for the whole area would be a service most people as they passed through. The Bevarz said that a valley location was good for <sup>patients</sup> who would find walking down hill easier (but he didn't think about how they would get home). The 3 F.L. workers finally agreed that the Centre should be in Kaba Rega. We tended to favour the hillside village location or the mountain village but accepted their judgment.

The Bevarz said that there was some commonly owned land in the centre of Kaba Rega.

We looked at this site, though small would accommodate a Centre. After a great deal of discussion, including the Kathouda & Haji it was decided that if work was stopped on the Health House people would be so disillusioned <sup>with project</sup> they wouldn't contribute their labour.

We accepted the decision as we had agreed, though we still had reservations. We felt that taking the ~~decision~~ <sup>3 words</sup> through such a decision making process was an educational exercise for all concerned, ourselves included, and such social considerations were more important than the siting of the building.

Precautions must be taken to ensure that the Centre does not become one families property, i.e. a proper land deed, donating land to village or community. (Assigning one or 2 of bottles to another region).

The equitable economic & social development of the region, Maintain control of local resources. i.e. ~~capital~~ wealth of agriculture is quickly lost through the purchase of goods, solely from outside.