

## **BRIEFING PAPER 6: CENTRAL HELMAND IN THE 2012/13 PLANTING SEASON**

### **Key Takeaways**

- The withdrawal of international military forces from central Helmand in the summer of 2012 has not led to an immediate and widespread return to opium poppy cultivation in the Food Zone in the 2012/13 growing season. There is however, evidence of increasing levels of opium poppy cultivation in the 2012/13 growing season, and indications that the reductions achieved since 2009 remain fragile in several parts of the canal command area, particularly in Marjah and western Nad e Ali. The potential for further increases in the 2013/14 growing season are high.
- Cultivation in the former desert area north of the Nahre Boghra continues unabated in the 2012/13 growing season. New migrants continue to arrive in the area and greater amounts of land are being brought under cultivation this year. However, there are signs that those farming larger plots of land over greater than 10 jeribs, are more reluctant to monocrop opium in the 2012/13 growing season and are returning to a farming system that in addition to opium poppy includes some wheat for home consumption. This has been prompted by crop failure in 2012, the perception that it might happen again, as well as lower opium prices in the run up to the 2012/13 planting season. Amongst those farmers with smaller landholdings of less than 10 jeribs the monocropping of opium continues amidst further intensification of opium poppy cultivation in the dasht.
- There is a growing anger towards the government in those areas where improved security has been accompanied by a ban on opium production but not matched by increasing economic opportunities. In these areas cropping patterns consisting of low risk low return crops persist and there are few signs of diversification into annual or perennial horticultural crops. The direct experience of eradication, and/or low opium yields due to what is increasingly referred to locally as 'spray', along with the fall in the farmgate prices of the few crops that farmers do cultivate such as cotton, maize and mung bean, has further alienated the population. Hostility is at its most acute in the former desert areas within the Food Zone which are seeing further reductions in the amount of land under agriculture in the absence of opium poppy, as well as in the area north of the Nahre Boghra where the population increasingly consists of small farmers and sharecroppers who have been pushed out of the Food Zone due to the opium poppy ban and a lack of viable alternatives.
- Within the Food Zone the security situation is becoming more complex. Around the provincial center the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) dominate and the combination of improved security, better income earning opportunities, increased public sector provision, as well as patronage from the provincial authorities, appears to have manifested in greater support for the provincial administration. Further afield economic opportunities are more limited and the security situation is more fluid. In many parts of rural Nad e Ali, Nahre Seraj and Marjah, farmers appear to be far more aware of the Afghan Local Police (ALP), and more conscious of the declarations of the local police commander on issues such as counter narcotics than they are the provincial administration. In some of these areas there remains residual Taliban presence, and in others the Taliban are more active, encouraging opium cultivation in order to garner the support of the rural population, highlight the weakness of the provincial administration and provoke a government reaction. There is real risk that enforcing a ban in those areas where viable alternatives do not exist will undermine recent security gains and hasten the return of the Taliban.

## 1. Introduction

This Briefing Paper provides an overview of the findings of indepth research conducted in central Helmand during the planting season of 2012/13. The purpose of this research was to examine how farmers lives and livelihoods have changed since over the last twelve months and identify how this had impacted on levels of opium poppy cultivation in the 2012/13 growing season. The research involved interviews with 372 individual farmers in 29 different research sites located to the north and south of the Boghra canal, as well as 28 traders and daily wage labourers in Gereshk and Lashkar Gah. It builds on a detailed body of research in Helmand funded by the British Embassy and the Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU), dating back to May 2008.

The paper consists of a main report, containing extensive footnotes and case studies, as well as three annexes that offer supporting evidence. The main report focuses on developments within the Food Zone in the 2012/13 growing season, as well as in the former desert area north of the Nahre Boghra. The first annex consists of quotes from respondents, both north and south of the Boghra canal, and is structured to reflect how the rural populations attitude to the state can vary according to the different socio-economic, political and geographic terrain that exists within central Helmand, and the particular circumstances of the individual. The second annex offers a series of case studies, consisting of four individual households with exactly the same amount of land but who are found in four different areas within central Helmand each with different resource endowments and income earning opportunities. It highlights the important role cash income, through either opium production or non farm income opportunities, plays in the livelihoods of those with limited land holdings. The final annex consists of remote sensing imagery from a number of the research sites where fieldwork has been conducted over the last five growing seasons, drawing on data on cropping patterns from the United States Government (USG) and processed by Alcis Ltd.<sup>1</sup> In the interest of keeping the file size down to ease distribution this report contains low resolution images, for copies of high resolution maps see [http://www.alcis.org/our-work/agriculture/dmansfield\\_helmand\\_2013\\_report.aspx](http://www.alcis.org/our-work/agriculture/dmansfield_helmand_2013_report.aspx)

This briefing paper should be seen as the most recent in a series of papers covering the same 29 research sites in central Helmand every six months, and should be read in conjunction with its predecessors and a number of far more detailed reports published by the Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The detailed imagery collected and analysed by the USG focuses on the Food Zone and therefore does not include all the Research Sites (RS) covered by the fieldwork. In particular, the former desert land north of the Nahre Boghra, as well as some of the 'desert areas' south of the Nahre Boghra are not included in this data collection.

<sup>2</sup> Mansfield, David, Alcis Ltd and OSDR (2011) Managing Concurrent and Repeated Risks: Explaining the Reductions in Opium Production in Central Helmand between 2008 and 2011, AREU, Kabul, May 2011; Mansfield, David (2011) Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Counter narcotics efforts and their effects in the 2011/12 growing season, AREU, Kabul, October 2011; Mansfield, David (2012) Briefing Paper 3: Central Helmand in the 2011/12 Growing Season, January 2012; Mansfield, David (2013) All Bets are Off!: Prospects for (B)reaching Agreements and Drug Control in Helmand and Nangarhar in the run up to Transition, AREU, Kabul, January 2013.

## 2. Diverging Outcomes in the Food Zone

The provincial administration and international community's efforts to reduce opium poppy cultivation, in what is known as 'the Food Zone', in central Helmand, is taking place in a rapidly changing environment. In the summer of 2012, an estimated 14,000 US soldiers were withdrawn from Helmand, and the process of transition, that began in Helmand in July 2011 with the handover of Lashkar Gah, entered a new phase. Around the cities the Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan National Police (ANP) dominate but in many parts of rural Nad e Ali, Nahre Seraj and Marjah, farmers are far more conscious of the Afghan Local Police, and more aware of the declarations of the local police commander on issues such as counter narcotics.

While improvements in quality of life are far greater and more widely felt the closer an area is to Lashkar Gah, a growing number of households in the Food Zone do report that they have experienced falling levels of violence, initially following 'the surge', and subsequently, a further downturn in violence once the lead responsibility for security was handed over to the ANSF. There are no longer the open gun battles and the risk of being caught in the cross fire that was more common in central Helmand between 2008 and 2010; nor is there the same risk of injury or death from roadside bombs that farmers complained of in 2011. As a consequence road travel within much of the Food Zone in central Helmand is safer and less subject to predation by the Afghan police than it has been since May 2008, when this research began.

Further changes came in the September of 2012 when a new provincial Governor, Naeem Baloch, was appointed following the dismissal of his predecessor Gulab Mangal. Governor Mangal had long been seen by western nations as a champion of counter narcotics efforts in southern Afghanistan. He had been provincial Governor since late 2008; and whether they liked him or not farmers had got used to him. Governor Naeem Baloch was unknown to both the rural population and the western donors and there were doubts over his counter narcotics credentials in the run up to the 2012/13 growing season amongst both communities.

The economic environment in the Food Zone has also been changing rapidly. Improvements in security within Helmand, and en route to the regional economic hub in Kandahar, appear to have aided regional trade and led to a growing number of traders returning to the province to take advantage of the wider array of off-season vegetables and fruit crops being grown. Wage labour opportunities in the construction industry in Lashkar Gah also attract workers from across the country and from Pakistan.

However, the rural population has doubts over whether the current rate of development investments will continue and what will happen to security when foreign soldiers depart in 2014. Moreover, public (national and foreign) and private investment in the Food Zone is unevenly spread, shaped by the strategic choices of the Afghan government and foreign donors, patronage networks, and market opportunities. In turn the rural population's experience of the investments made over the last few years is shaped by their location, networks and, as ever, the resources that they already have at their disposal.

It is clear from primary data that the Food Zone contains a population that has as distinct resource endowments and economic opportunities, as they do experiences of security or tribal composition. A crude typology would suggest that at the core is the provincial centre of Lashkar Gah and the province's second city of Gereshk and their environs, which sit astride the Helmand river, with good access to markets in the neighbouring provinces and onwards to Kabul, Herat, and Quetta. A bit further away are the river irrigated areas of Nawa Barakzai, Nad e Ali and Nahre Seraj where they have fertile soils and

which are close enough to take advantage of the labour and agricultural markets of Lashkar Gah and Gereshk. After this are the former desert lands of Nad e Ali and Marjah, settled by the government projects of the 1950s to 1970s, well irrigated but plagued by poor drainage, and divided by a fractured social structure. Finally within the Food Zone lie pockets of desert land that was grabbed in the 1990s and after the fall of the Taliban regime. Irrigated by tubewells, and often sold on to farmers unconnected with those who initially grabbed the land. Farming in these areas incurs high recurrent costs.

## 2.1 Growing Economic Opportunities

Primary data collected in the 21 research sites within the Food Zone during the 2012/13 planting season suggests that the expansion in economic opportunities that was seen across a growing part of central Helmand in the 2011/12 growing season is continuing and that there is an increasing proportion of the rural population around Lashkar Gah, the northern parts of Nawa Barakzai, and in the irrigated areas nearer the south centre of Nad e Ali, that are experiencing improved livelihood outcomes. There has also been an uptick in the delivery of public services to the rural population in this area in 2012. Again the effects are more widespread closer to Lashkar Gah but the population generally reports to be more positive about the quality of health and education services provided,<sup>3</sup> claim they have greater access to agricultural inputs for high value horticultural crops, and more public sector employment opportunities and jobs in the bazaar. In fact, wage labour opportunities in Lashkar Gah are such that skilled and unskilled workers from across the country,<sup>4</sup> as well as from Pakistan, are found in the bazaar. Most households in this area, with sufficient males of a working age, will have at least one family member earning a non farm income, be it from wage labour,<sup>5</sup> trade,<sup>6</sup> transport<sup>7</sup> or the public sector.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, non-farm employment is increasingly favoured as it is seen as offering a household a more predictable and steady flow of cash income, and improving access to consumer goods, such as meat, fruit and vegetables, as these items are often brought back to the home by the family member in the evening when they return from the bazaar. For those further from urban centres, where access to non-farm income is far less prevalent, these goods are consumed less often and are typically considered more of a luxury, requiring a specific journey to purchase them from the bazaar, with all the transport and transaction costs that this entails.

Traders in Lashkar Gah and Gereshk also report a more vibrant economy in 2012, aided by the improving security situation both within central part of the province and along Highway 1 to Kandahar. There are greater numbers of traders of agricultural crops within the bazaars in Lashkar Gah and Gereshk and reports of more local traders purchasing at the farmgate and selling to the cities. There are far fewer complaints regarding the extraction of bribes at checkpoints along the major thoroughfares both within the province and along the road to Kandahar. Traders also report selling a wider range of agricultural

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<sup>3</sup> Respondents report more teachers present, more pupils attending and more stationery available.

<sup>4</sup> *'Here is very good security, please come to Zabul and see the situation there'* (Unskilled labourer in Gereshk)

<sup>5</sup> Most unskilled workers report earning between 400 to 500 PR/day and claim to find employment for six days per week. The wage rate for skilled work, such as in construction industry in jobs such as plumbing or masons earn as much as 800 to 1,500 PR per day.

<sup>6</sup> Those with a shop report earning between 500 to 1000 PR per day; employees such as cashier for a money changer report earnings of 500 PR/day.

<sup>7</sup> Those owning a zaranj earn 200-300 PR/day, a taxi 600-800 PR/day

<sup>8</sup> Those with family members in the ALP report earnings of 5000 Afs/month; the ANP 12,000 -18,000 Afs/month; working for the provincial authorities in various roles from gardeners to electricians and teachers report earnings of between 4,500 to 9,000 Afs/month.

commodities to other provinces than in the past, and report that a greater number of traders from other provinces are travelling to Gereshk and Lashkar Gah from provinces such as Kabul, Kandahar and Ghazni, to take advantage of the seasonal variations and lower prices for vegetable and fruit crops in Helmand. There are also some indications that transport costs between Lashkar Gah and Kandahar have fallen since 2009 and 2010, when security on the main highway was at its worst.

There is also a noticeable shift in the agricultural economy and cropping patterns not just concentrated in the environs of Lashkar Gah and Gereshk, as has been the case in the past. Even in areas such as Zarghun Kalay, Aqajan Kalay, Aynak and Loy Bagh (east) a larger number of farmers are experimenting with crops, such as saffron, pomegranates, grapes, peaches, apricots, mulberry and plums, and a collection of vegetable crops.

Around Lashkar Gah farmers are becoming much more market responsive, moving between a multitude of different crops according to market prices and their need to maintain a system of crop rotation. As such crops like wheat, cotton, maize and mung bean are less dominant than they once were, and typically occupy less than half of the agricultural land in areas such as Bolan, Qala Bost and Mohejerin (see Annex 3). This move has been aided by ever increasing wheat yields that have allowed households to meet their staple food requirements while allocating less land to their own wheat crop.<sup>9</sup> Instead, more of the agricultural land cultivated in the spring and summer seasons can be dedicated to a growing number of vegetables and fruit crops.

Judging by farmer's attitudes to the government, a basket of goods consisting of improved security, better income earning opportunities, increased public sector provision, and patronage from the provincial authorities, in the form of employment opportunities and the distribution of agricultural and infrastructural projects for a wider section of the population, appears to have manifested in greater support for the provincial administration. The closer to Lashkar Gah the more uniform the narrative amongst respondents that the government has improved the quality of life of the population and there is little interest in a return to opium poppy cultivation (see Annex 1, section 1).

Further away, in parts of southern and central Nad e Ali and northern Nawa Barakzai the population is typically more reticent with farmers commenting on the government's success in improving security and thereby creating an environment where the population can pursue their own economic interests (see Annex 1, section 2). Support for the government is more circumspect in these areas, there is still some residual resentment towards the government's efforts to prevent opium poppy cultivation, although this is primarily amongst the land poor. However, there is not the kind of hostility and open opposition that was common during previous rounds of fieldwork, and there is a sense that continued development efforts, particularly in the support of non farm income opportunities, would help consolidate the gains already made.

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<sup>9</sup> It is noticeable that wheat yields in the canal irrigated areas of the Food zone are between 200-250 man/jerib, compared to 120-160 man in the former desert areas with the 'Food Zone', and only 60-90 man in the area north of the Nahre Boghra.

## 2.2 Deteriorating Welfare and a Resurgence in Opium Poppy

There is a stark difference between the attitudes of farmers where there is a growing synergy between outcomes in the areas of security and rural development, and the views of farmers in those areas in which the population has seen some improvements in their physical security but where their economic prospects remain bleak. In fact there is a palpable anger towards the government amongst farmers in those areas within the Food Zone where an opium ban is being imposed, but where there are few signs of agricultural diversity, and where a cropping system dominated by wheat, cotton, maize, mung bean and alfalfa persists. These are also areas where the security situation is more fluid, and where non farm income options tend to be limited to trade and employment in the ALP, and therefore restricted to particular socio-economic or patronage groups within the community.

These are the areas where the opium ban is clearly being felt the hardest and include research sites such as Marjah (2A and F4 D5), Khoshal Kalay, Doh Bandi, Shin Kalay, Kwaija Baidar, and Loy Bagh (west), and in particular the former desert land that sits within the Food Zone but is not irrigated by the Helmand canal system, including Dashte Basheran, Dashte Shersherak, and Dashte Aynak (See Annex 3). In many of these areas there appears to be a growing nostalgia for the reign of the Taliban, and farmers will openly refer to their hope that the Taliban will return to the area (see Annex 1, section 3 & 4). Some respondents even suggest that it is only a matter of a year before the Taliban are once again in control in their particular area, and they will be able to cultivate opium poppy once again.

While some landowners in these areas do prosper through the patronage of belonging to the ALP, or through non farm income, those without opium poppy or another source of cash income, argue that they have experienced dramatic reductions in the quality and quantity of their food, delayed expenditure on health care, even for serious conditions,<sup>10</sup> and further depleted their assets in the absence of opium production. The sale of dairy cows, motorbikes, and the failure to meet social obligations such as marriage costs is more prevalent in these areas than elsewhere in the Food Zone or in the former desert land, or dasht, north of the Nahre Boghra.

These are also the areas which persisted with some opium poppy cultivation in 2011/12, despite the ban, and, as such, some farmers also experienced the eradication of their crop last year. Those that did not have their crop destroyed by the eradication campaign complain of low yields, blaming it on 'spray'. It is notable that while there were the beginnings of rumours of 'spray' and contaminated seed and fertiliser during the 2011/12 harvest season, many farmers were also aware of a cold snap in late March 2012 during the hook stage of the plants development and the impact this change in temperature had on plant growth.<sup>11</sup> However, by the 2012/13 planting season the overwhelming consensus amongst farmers in both the canal command area, and in the former desert area north of the Nahre Boghra, was that the crop had been sprayed by 'the Americans',<sup>12</sup> and there appears to be little space for any alternative explanation amidst rumours that a new campaign had been launched in the 2012/13 growing

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<sup>10</sup> Two respondents report the death of family members, blaming their demise on that fact that they had insufficient money for their treatment.

<sup>11</sup> See Briefing Paper 5: David Mansfield, Briefing Paper 5: Central Helmand in the 2011/12 growing season - spring update. Unpublished report for the British Embassy Kabul, June 2012.

<sup>12</sup> The claim that the crop was sprayed was heard across most research sites in central Helmand, both in the canal command area and in the area north of the Nahre Boghra, and in Gereshk. It was also repeated during fieldwork in the province of Kandahar in December 2012 in numerous research sites in the districts of Zahre, Panjwai and Spin Boldak.

season. The growing belief that a spraying campaign was conducted in these areas is only intensifying the anger felt towards the governments of Afghanistan and the United States of America.

In these areas the losses that farmers associated with the ban on opium poppy cultivation, are further exacerbated by the fall in the prices of the crops they cultivate in the absence of opium production. Farmers complain that the price of cotton, maize and mung bean have all seen a fall in price over the last twelve months.<sup>13</sup> Farmers are particularly angry about what they see as a dramatic fall in the price of cotton, down to 190-220 PR/man in November 2012 compared to 350-420 PR/man in November 2011, blaming the government run cotton gin in Lashkar Gah and levelling accusations of incompetence and corruption at the management. The situation is such that increasing numbers of farmers in the 2012/13 growing season are replacing their cotton crop with more wheat.

The economic situation is all the more acute for the population that farms in the former desert land that is located within the Food Zone (and therefore subject to a ban on opium poppy) but who do not receive water from the Helmand canal system. This includes areas such as Dashte Basharan in Nad e Ali, as well as Dashte Aynak and Dashte Shersherak in Nawa Barakzai.<sup>14</sup> Wheat yields in this former desert land are low at between 120-160 man per jerib, although not as low as in the dasht north of the Nahre Boghra. Cash crop cultivation is limited to what is often only a few jeribs of cotton, melon or water melon, occupying less than a quarter of the land cultivated during the winter/spring growing season, as well as the ubiquitous maize and mung bean in the summer. The amount of household land cultivated is also diminishing and farmers complain that they can no longer meet the recurrent costs of their tubewells with the current cropping system. Some farmers report that as much as one half of their total land is lying idle during the winter and even more during the summer.

Those sharecropping land across these areas, but particularly in the tubewell irrigated former desert land, are particularly vulnerable unless they have access to non farm

**Box 1:** A sharecropper in Dashte Basharan farms 12 jeribs of land in return for one quarter of the final crop. In the 2011/12 growing season he cultivated 7 jeribs of wheat, 4 jeribs of cotton and 1 jerib of alfalfa. With 6 members in his household they consume 3 charak (3/4 of a man or 3.375 kg) of wheat flour per day and a total of 1,231 kg per year. With a wheat yield of only 160 man per jerib, the 7 jeribs of land yielded a total of 5,040 kg. The cotton crop yielded 480 man which was sold for 195 PR per man and a total of 93,600 PR. Some maize was cultivated in the summer following the winter wheat crop but with such little water the crop was used to feed the livestock along with the sharecropper's share of the alfalfa crop. Ultimately for his efforts on the farm, tending 12 jeribs of land, the sharecropper received 1260 kg of wheat, which after giving 1/20 to the mullah as ushr, and processing the rest into flour was insufficient for his family, as well as 23,400 PR from his share of the cotton crop. When this cash income was combined with the money the sharecropper earned from selling 4 of his own sheep for 10,000 PR each (leaving 1 cow, 2 cattle, 2 sheep and 5 goats), the household had an annual gross income of 28 PR per person per day. He said '*I have not had landi (dried meat) for two years; I have no interest in the authorities. Next year I will go to the Dashte Sistan and cultivate poppy there.*'

<sup>13</sup> Mung bean has fallen from a price of 290-350 PR/man in 2011 to 280-330 PR in 2012; maize from 100 -120 PR/man in 2011 to 70-75 PR/man in 2012.

<sup>14</sup> The people that currently occupy this land are sometimes part of the patronage network of the political elite who initially took the land, but more often than not are those that have purchased the land from those it was initially distributed to. For example, the land in Dashte Basharan was initially taken and distributed by Sher Mohammed Akhundzada when he was Governor. This land was subsequently parcelled up and sold on to a variety of different farmers with no obvious links to Sher Mohammed Akhundzada. In Dashte Aynak, the land was initially taken by the community in Aynak, then distributed by the rural elite according to the share of land households had in the village. As with Dashte Basharan this land has now been sold on to a variety of different households from a variety of different tribes.

income. Food consumption is said to be basic; meat is consumed rarely and most meals consist of bread, tea and some yoghurt. Respondents claim fruit is consumed rarely and even vegetables such as potatoes, are becoming an increasingly scarce part of their diet. The sale of livestock amongst this group is particularly acute, and many claim to have sold the last of their animals. Those without land hope for the imminent return of opium poppy in their area, or look to migrate to the desert north of the Nahre Boghra (see Box 1). As fieldwork in the dasht highlights there continues to be a steady flow of new migrants to the dasht from the canal command area, including from Marjah and Nad e Ali.

It is clear that the opium ban in these kind of areas is increasingly fragile and in the 2012/13 growing season farmers in areas such as Khoshal Kalay, Shin Kalay, Marjah 2 A and F4 D5, Khwaja Babar, Doh Bandi, Dashte Shersherak, Dashte Basharan and Dashte Chanjir planted more land with opium poppy than they did the previous year. Moreover, in research sites in Marjah, Doh Bandi and in Shin Kalay, many farmers continued to cultivate opium poppy regardless of their experience of eradication, or their perceived threat that the crop will be destroyed this year. In the research sites in Marjah farmers cultivated opium poppy despite their proximity to the district centre and the Military Base at Fort Hanson.

Farmers also cultivated opium poppy well aware of the ban on opium but unsure as to how the new Governor Naeem Baloch might implement it. Typically the Governor was not seen as having the same strength of character as his predecessor, Gulab Mangal, and therefore was not expected to make a significant difference in the province. The belief that Naeem Baloch is associated with former Governor Sher Mohammed Akhundzada and member of Parliament, Abdul Jabar Qahraman, both of whom found their power base constrained during Mangal's reign, prompts many to speculate that he is unlikely to challenge the interests of the provincial political elite.

What is becoming increasingly apparent from the most recent round of fieldwork in central Helmand is that the security situation is becoming increasingly complex, shaped heavily by the institutions and individuals who have been given the responsibility for maintaining order. The research sites in Nad e Ali and Marjah differ considerably from those around the provincial centre, such as Bolan, Mohejerin and Qala Bost, where the ANSF dominates and where there is no evidence of any other armed actors in this area. Instead, there is a myriad of different ALP commanders operating in Nad e Ali and Marjah representing a system of patronage that favours some while excluding others. There is also some residual influence of the Taliban, and in some case, such as Sra Kala and Doh Bandi, a more active presence within rural communities.

Within this conflictual environment narcotics and counter narcotics policies, can be a major source of patronage as well as division. For example, it is clear that in parts of Nad e Ali some ALP commanders have taken a proactive position on banning opium poppy. Fearful of being dismissed from their posts,<sup>15</sup> and losing the income and patronage that being a member of the ALP brings, a number of commanders have sought to deter cultivation in the 2012/13 growing season. For example, in Aqajan Kalay respondents referred to the local ALP commander, Shamsul Haq (Daftani), equating those that cultivate poppy with the Taliban and threatening them with the same treatment. In Zarghun Kalay and Chanjir, Hajab Gul (Daftani), has taken a similar position and farmers are hesitant to cultivate opium poppy. In

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<sup>15</sup> *'The government gave warning to each base and police post that if the farmers in your area cultivate poppy, the government will terminate their jobs'*. Zarghun Kalay, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/7), Laghmani.



Loy Bagh (east) the son of the former commander of the ALP, the recently deceased Haji Aga Mohammed (Achekai),<sup>16</sup> has also banned opium poppy cultivation.

Elsewhere elements of the ALP appear to be encouraging opium poppy cultivation. The most egregious case amongst the research sites seems to be in Malgir, where farmers report that the commanders of both the ALP, Hamid Khan, and the Afghan National Police, Mohammed Wali, have encouraged farmers in their desire to return to opium poppy cultivation, offering protection against any provincial led eradication effort. As an overwhelmingly Barakzai dominated area there is a perception locally that the provincial authorities will not look to eradicate the crop, fearing a backlash,<sup>17</sup> but were they to do so, a deal would be struck, that would offer some concessions to the population while consolidating the positions of both police commanders. In this area there appears to be no disconnect amongst respondents between cultivating opium poppy and being members of the ALP or ANP.

There are other isolated reports of ALP commanders and soldiers encouraging opium poppy cultivation in Nad e Ali, for example in Chanjir and Zarghun Kalay. However, farmers in many parts of Nad e Ali seem reticent about these invitations by the ALP. They claim that the ALP will predate on those that cultivate during the growing season, significantly reducing the profitability of the crop, and that ALP soldiers cannot guarantee that they will protect the crop against a provincial led eradication effort. Indeed, a key informant reported how the threat of repeated predation though the season had actually led a neighbouring farmer in Kopak to destroy his own opium poppy crop (see Box 2).

**Box 2:** In Kopak there were two neighbouring farmers both who had planted opium poppy in the 2012/13 growing season. In December 2012 the neighbour was approached by a soldier from a nearby ALP base. The soldier had asked the farmer why he was cultivating opium poppy when the crop had been banned by the government. The soldier is alleged to have used profanities and adopted an aggressive tone with the farmer. In his response the farmer indicated that he knew a lot of influential people in the area and implied that any action against him and/or his crop would have consequences for the soldier. The soldier changed his approach, commenting on all the names of important local people that the farmer had cited. He then asked the farmer what could be done about the situation given how well connected the farmer was. The farmer offered to pay the soldier. The soldier responded by asking for 20,000 PR but followed this with a statement suggesting that such an arrangement would prove expensive for the farmer: *'We will always ask you for money. I will go back to my base, but tomorrow I may come again, or another soldier may come to your land. It is impossible for you to pay us each time we come - and it is a long time until harvest. You have two choices; you either destroy your crop or you pay us each time we ask. I think it is far easier for you to destroy your crop'*. On hearing this story the neighbouring farmer destroyed their opium crop and planted wheat. As of late December 2012 the opium crop of the farmer who had initially been approached by the soldier remained intact.

The Taliban have also played their part in actively encouraging opium poppy cultivation in a number of locations in central Helmand in the 2012/13 growing season. This has been part of a strategy to gain the support of the local population, highlight the weakness of the provincial administration, and no doubt provoke government action.<sup>18</sup> Night letters were posted in Chanjir, Aynak and Zarghun Kalay, referring

<sup>16</sup> A former commander of Abdul Rahman Jan in Marjah. Allegedly killed by the Taliban in October 2012.

<sup>17</sup> *'We are sure the government will not destroy our crop. We have seen the government, they are weak. If they try to destroy the crop they know the people will be against them'*(Malgir, 8 jeribs, ownercultivator, Barakzai) .

<sup>18</sup> Research in central Helmand over the last few years, as well as in Kandahar during the 2012/13 planting season, suggests the issue of Taliban 'taxes' derived from the cultivation of opium poppy is less significant than initial

to the apostate government and inviting farmers to cultivate opium poppy, offering protection for those that did, and calling those that did not produce opium a 'friend of the Kafir'.<sup>19</sup> In Sra Kala, close to the city of Gereshk, respondents offered a detailed account of a speech made by a local Taliban commander that justified opium production as an act of defiance.<sup>20</sup> In southern and central Nad e Ali farmers express doubts over the insurgents ability to prevent eradication, raising the fact that the Taliban presence in the canal area is limited to night visits and night letters.<sup>21</sup> However, in places like Doh Bandi and Sra Kala there is a growing support for the Taliban and increasing levels of opium poppy cultivation in the 2012/13 growing season to contend with.

### 3. The Dasht: Exit and Voice

Migration to the former desert area north of the Nahre Boghra continues unabated. Reports suggest that the area under agriculture is increasing dramatically, and was as high as 33,400 ha in 2012, up from 752 ha in 2002 and 33,660 ha in 2011.<sup>22</sup> There are signs of further land coming under cultivation in the 2012/13 growing season, with a number of farmers reporting that they were cultivating more land this year compared to the 2011/12 growing season, and new migrants arriving in the dasht from the canal command area in October 2012, in time for the 2012 /13 planting season.

While many of the more recent migrants are sharecroppers and tenant farmers, leaving the canal area due to the dearth of viable alternatives in the absence of opium poppy, there are also those that are purchasing desert land north of the Boghra canal. While, untouched desert land can sell for around 15,000 to 30,000 PR per jerib, depending on quality and location, land that has been cleared and prepared, with a house and a tubewell, can sell for 50,000 PR per jerib or more. This price compares favourably to land in the canal command area which will sell for between 500,000 to 700,000 PR per jerib and even as high as 900,000 PR per jerib in Loy Bagh (west).

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estimates by UNODC suggests. Research, as well as the historical literature, suggests that there is considerable confusion over the terms 'ushr' and 'zakat', and while having a clear meaning in Islamic teachings, these terms are often used generically in rural Afghanistan to denote 'tax' or 'payment'. An examination of the types and specific amounts farmers paid to the different institutions that can often coexist in rural parts of Helmand and Kandahar, suggests that the amount paid by farmers is largely a function of the resources, location and patronage networks of the household. It also reveals that the agricultural tithe known as ushr is paid to the mullah but that rates vary according to terrain; with those in canal or river irrigated areas agreeing to a payment of 1/10 of the final crop while those in former desert land paying 1/20 but in practice payments rarely exceeded 3% of the annual gross income from agriculture. This primary research also revealed that in central Helmand the Taliban impose a tax of 2 khord of opium per jerib of opium poppy grown considerably less than the 10% assumed.

<sup>19</sup> A key informant reported that the letter read: *'We request for all of you to cultivate poppy in your land. The Murtag (apostate) government cannot destroy your crop. They cannot do anything. Your Mujahid brothers defend your crops and your houses. The person who doesn't cultivate is the friend of these Kafir.'*

<sup>20</sup> *'We know poppy is haram in Islam but now the Kafir are here and the government is with them. We just want to break their law and show them that they can't implement their rules and regulations here. We encourage people to cultivate opium poppy close to the district centre and show them our power. We know that you are all Muslim and that if Mullah Sahib have the order to fight jihad against these people; we are sure you would fight them; we are sure the people of Sra Kala are mujahidin and would not allow US forces to come here.'*

<sup>21</sup> *'Previous years when the Taliban were her they asked for 2 khord per jerib on poppy and 10,000 PR for each 'forma (unit of land)'. Now? Nothing'* (Marjah D5 F4, ownercultivator, Kharoti, 13 jeribs)

<sup>22</sup> These figures are estimates from the United States Government.

Opium poppy dominates the landscape in the desert area north of the Nahre Boghra canal, occupying the vast majority of agricultural land. Over the last few years it is clear that cultivation has intensified with a growing incidence of monocropping and a move from shallow wells to deep wells, as a way of improving the regularity of water supply. There are also growing reports of the use of agro chemicals as a way of better managing weeds and reducing the labour input to the opium crop.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the overall trend of intensification of opium production in the desert area north of the Nahre Boghra, there are also some signs that there is a lower incidence of farmers monocropping opium poppy than in the 2011/12 growing season, particularly amongst those farmers cultivating plots of more than 10 jeribs.<sup>24</sup> Amongst farmers with larger landholdings, the low yields experienced in 2012, and concerns that their opium crop may be damaged once again by what is increasingly referred to as 'spray', and lower farmgate prices, has led some of them to return to a farming system that includes a level of wheat that is commensurate with household food requirements.<sup>25</sup> However, amongst those with smaller landholdings the monocropping of opium poppy persists.<sup>26</sup> There are even signs of those farming land under rental and sharecropping agreements increasing the overall amount of land they farm, and in doing so the amount of land they cultivate with opium poppy, in order to make up for the losses they experienced in the 2011/12 growing season.

With wheat yields as low as 60 to 90 man per jerib in the dasht, half that of yields in the canal command area in Nad e Ali or Marjah, and higher population densities amongst those households with less than ten jeribs of land, these farmers have little chance of meeting their basic needs through wheat production and tend to monocrop opium poppy.<sup>27</sup> For this group the low yields experienced in the

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<sup>23</sup> Key informants report that farmers spray their fields with paraqat (a brand of herbicide known as 'puma') in late January/early February when the crop has only three leaves and is in need of thinning and weeding. It is claimed that farmers cover the plants they wish to keep with straw or sand for protection and then spray the field. The field is then left for ten days before being irrigated. Once irrigated the sand or wheat straw is washed away, and the farmer undertakes a less intensive weeding than would have otherwise been required, removing the dead crops and aerating the soil. It is claimed the use of paraqat at this stage in the growing cycle reduces the time required for weeding by between one quarter to a third.

<sup>24</sup> Amongst the 86 respondents interviewed in the dasht in November 2012 only 54 claimed to be monocropping opium poppy in the 2012/13 growing season, whereas 76 had reported that they had only cultivated opium poppy in the 2011/12 growing season.

<sup>25</sup> As one respondent commented, *'I want some wheat for home consumption in case we lose our opium crop'* (Shurawak, 13 jeribs, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai, arrived in dasht in 2005). This combination of wheat and opium poppy is the pattern of cultivation that was more dominant amongst those cultivating larger land holdings prior to the 2011/12 growing season when there was a much higher incidence of monocropping than had been seen before.

<sup>26</sup> While all but one of those that farmed less than 10 jeribs of land continued to monocrop opium poppy in the 2012/13 growing season, just over half of those who cultivated more than 10 jeribs of land monocropped opium poppy in 2012/13, compared to almost ninety per cent in 2012/13.

<sup>27</sup> Those households with less than ten jeribs of land tended to have 1.25 household members per jerib of land cultivated. This compares with 0.82 household members per jerib of land for those farmers cultivating more than 10 jeribs of land. Most of those sharecropping land in the dasht received between 1/5 and 1/4 of the final crop. With an average number of household members of 10.5 people a sharecropping household would need 5.25 kg of wheat flour a day, (assuming a consumption rate of 0.5 kg/person/day), and 1916 kg per year. This would require the production of 9,581.25 kg of wheat for a sharecropper receiving 1/5 of the final yield and 7,664 kg for those receiving 1/4 of the total yield. With yields of between 60 man to 90 man per jerib (270 - 405 kg/jerib) a sharecropping household would need to cultivate between 18 to 35 jeribs of wheat just to be self sufficient in wheat.

2011/12 growing season did not deter cultivation this season, it only increased their anger towards the Afghan government and western nations, particularly the government of the United States of America (See Annex 1, section 4 & 5).

As in the canal command area, farmers in the dasht typically claim yields of less than 1.5 man of opium per jerib during the harvest of 2012, compared to 3 man per jerib, and perhaps even 4 man of opium per jerib in a 'good year'.<sup>28</sup> With the economy of the population in the former desert area north of the Nahre Boghra so intrinsically tied to opium production,<sup>29</sup> the low yields during the 2011/12 growing season are alleged to have resulted in a deterioration in the economic circumstances of farmers in the dasht, particularly amongst those employed as sharecroppers and those with smaller landholdings (see Box 3).

Amongst these particular groups, farmers report a reduction in the quantity and quality of food consumed (cutting back on meat, in particular their consumption of dried meat, and dairy products), as well as the sale of assets such as livestock, including dairy cows, and some higher value items such as motorbikes.<sup>30</sup> Those in service industries in support of the population in the dasht also report economic difficulties. For example, there are claims from those selling diesel that they experienced significant losses following the poor harvest in 2012 due to farmers failing to pay for the fuel they had received on loan. The result has been that in the 2012/13 growing season some fuel traders have curtailed their practice of offering fuel on loan.

In the dasht concerns over economic security are mirrored by complaints about a deterioration in physical security. While in the area immediately north of the Nahre Boghra, there were reports of increased activity by the ANSF supported by western military, the population's primary complaints lay with the Governor launching a campaign to deter opium poppy cultivation in the dash in the 2012/13 growing season. This campaign was reported to run between 19-22 November 2012, and focused largely on a 1 km distance immediately north of the Nahre Boghra, and included a number of research

**Box 3:** A sharecropper in Dashte Ab Pashak cultivating 12 jeribs of land, of which 5 jeribs were wheat and 7 jeribs of opium poppy in 2012, reported that once he had received his 1/5<sup>th</sup> share of the final crop in 2012, he got only 2 man of opium<sup>1</sup> and 104.5 man of wheat. <sup>1</sup> With 13 members in the household, who consumed one man per day, and a total of 365 man of wheat flour per year, this farmer did not have enough wheat to feed his family. The farmer sold his opium for 85,000 PR per man and a total of 170,000 PR, along with a dairy cow for 35,000 PR, leaving a remaining livestock of one cow and one cattle. He reported no other source of income leaving him a cash income of the equivalent of 561 PR per day (or 43 PR per day per person) with which to meet his family's basic needs and pay for agricultural inputs.

<sup>28</sup> These yields are at harvest time would include moisture.

<sup>29</sup> 'When we have a good [opium] yield we have a good food; when we don't have a good [opium] yield we don't have good food' (Dashte Ab Pashak, 6 jeribs, ownercultivator, Barakzai, bought land in dasht in 2006)

<sup>30</sup> A common complaint with regard to their initial years in the dasht (along with the lack of water) is the problem of transportation. Farmers in this area believe a motorbike is a priority. With no fixed bazaars in the dasht a motorbike allows them to travel to the canal command area where they can purchase consumer items, or get medical treatment. Without their own form of transport farmers in the dasht rely on the favour of others, or expensive private taxis which offer limited service given the security situation in the area. A motorbike costs around 40,000-50,000 PR

sites for this fieldwork including Dashte Loy Manda, Nawabad Shawal, Shen Ghazai and Dashte Ab Pashak.<sup>31</sup>

It was claimed that the campaign to deter cultivation was implemented by the ALP but followed on from an earlier counter insurgency campaign in the same area by both western and Afghan national soldiers. Those in the dasht complained bitterly about the campaign and made repeated references to those who were charged with implementing it as 'dogs'. Governor Naeem Baloch was typically accused of delegating the campaign to the local police with no consideration as to how the operation would be conducted and caring little for the behaviour of those charged with implementing it. There were repeated references to campaign involving the looting of houses,<sup>32</sup> the seizure or destruction of 'machines'<sup>33</sup> and pumps,<sup>34</sup> and the extraction of bribes. In Shen Ghazai, two respondents reported paying as much as 20,000 PR to protect their tubewells. In Kopak, near Shen Ghazai, a local policeman, under the tutelage of commander Sattar, is alleged to have offered 30 to 40 generators, all seized during the campaign and stored at the police checkpost, for sale to a respondent saying 'bring 300,000 PR and you can take all of these machines'.

As such, there continues to be little love for the government in the former desert area north of the Nahre Boghra. The low yields in the 2011/12 growing season, now attributed to 'spraying', the coercive efforts to deter cultivation during the 2012/13 planting season, increasing military operations in the area, and a history of migration to the dasht north of the Nahre Boghra, which in large part has been fuelled by the efforts to reduce opium poppy in the canal command area since the launch of 'the Food Zone', as well as the increase in fighting in Nad e Ali and Marjah in 2009 to 2010, supports a narrative of a government who exposes the population to greater risk – a narrative that the Taliban are keen to propagate.

Government officials, the current Governor Naeem Baloch, and his predecessor Gulab Mangal, are described in some of the harshest terms (see Annex 1, section 5). While Gulab Mangal's departure is welcomed by the population north of the Nahre Boghra, and some initial doubts are expressed about the strength of character of the new Governor,<sup>35</sup> attitudes appear to have hardened to Naeem Baloch after the campaign to deter opium poppy cultivation was launched in late November, particularly in Dashte Shin Kalay and Dashte Khoshal Kalay. In these circumstances the Taliban continue to be seen as serving the interests of the rural population north of the Boghra, and there seems to be little interest in migrating from the area into areas in which the government currently control. In fact, those that own land in the dasht express a firm commitment to stay in the area. Those that don't own land in the dasht, but sharecrop or rent it, express a firm commitment to opium poppy cultivation and indicate that they will move back to the canal command area, referred to as 'the watan', if opium production returns to

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<sup>31</sup> Fieldwork was conducted during the campaign in Nawabad Shawal, Dashte Shin Kalay and Khoshal Kalay. The degree of hostility and suspicion towards anyone who did not live in the immediate area was such that fieldwork had to be curtailed.

<sup>32</sup> This included repeated references to the 'looting of women's clothes' which drew considerable ire.

<sup>33</sup> 'Machines' refers to the generators used to power the tubewells.

<sup>34</sup> Respondents complain of the pumps being cut and dumped in the well where they cannot be retrieved.

<sup>35</sup> Prior to the campaign to deter planting a number of respondents in the dasht referred to Governor Baloch as 'Izak', 'neither man nor woman', and suggested they were not quite sure what his position on opium poppy cultivation might be. Once the campaign began references to the Governor appear to have become far less circumspect.

the area or if by chance an opium ban is imposed in the dasht, they will look for more remote land further into the desert<sup>36</sup> where they can continue to cultivate opium poppy.

#### 4. Conclusion

It is difficult to be too optimistic about how the drugs situation in Helmand is developing. While there are some real signs of progress in the areas where there is a coincidence of security, growing income diversity and improved service delivery, levels of opium poppy cultivation are already on an upward trajectory. Cultivation in the Food Zone is set to rise in the 2012/13 growing season and it is likely that opium production will become an increasingly important element in the physical and political geography of the province in future seasons.

Transition, and the handover of security to the ANSF with the inevitable bargains with different politico-military actors that this will entail, is just one of the factors that will facilitate a rise in the amount of opium produced and traded in Afghanistan. In Helmand there is likely to be a return to widespread opium poppy cultivation, as NATO and the ANSF cease to operate outside the areas where the state has a history of encapsulation and relinquishes territory to Anti Government Elements, or where the Afghan state increasingly delegates security to local power brokers who will have little interest in coercing the rural population to abandon opium poppy cultivation, and may even encourage it.

There is also the potential for an even greater expansion of cultivation in the former desert land north of the Nahre Boghra, where there had been only negligible levels of agricultural production prior to the collapse of the Taliban regime in 2001. Cultivation in these areas will be aided by the adoption of new technologies, such as deep wells, solar power and herbicides, that are reducing the costs of inputs and increasing productivity. Production methods are now morphing, driven by improved technology, the impact of poorly targeted development and ill-sequenced counternarcotics efforts, as well as what appears to be an unrelenting global demand for opiates.

Increasing levels of cultivation have wider implications for the political economy of the province. In what will become increasingly contested rural space, both narcotics and counter narcotics policies are likely to be a major source of patronage and division. The Taliban have a history of actively encouraging opium poppy cultivation as part of a strategy to gain the support of the rural population, to highlight the weakness of the provincial administration, and to provoke crop destruction as a way of increasing rural antipathy to the state.

In Helmand the myriad of different local security forces operating under the tutelage of Afghan and International military forces are less coherent. In some areas of Helmand the ALP are pursuing an aggressive counter narcotics effort conscious that they may lose their salary and patronage if they do not comply; this is the rentier state at work. In other parts of the province it is members of the ALP that encourage cultivation or grow it with impunity.

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<sup>36</sup> Farmers refer to the desert that runs from Nahre Boghra to Bakwah in Farah as 'aall one desert'. Those without land see little consequence in migrating once again into a more remote area 'If poppy is banned here I will go far from this area and cultivate poppy' (Shna Jama, 12 jeribs, sharecropper [5/6], Noorzai, arrived in dasht in 2007)

With the departure of NATO forces, and concerns that there will be less external financial assistance, it is perhaps only a matter of time before more of these local security forces look to opium production, and possibly the trade, as a way of building patronage and strengthening their military position against those in the insurgency and/or in neighbouring state sponsored militia groups. In an increasingly unpredictable financial environment it will be those armed groups that can control the rents from the production and trade of high value commodities, such as opium, that are likely to gain the upper hand.

**Annex 1:**

**Section 1: Growth at the Centre**

**Qala Bost**

During the day and the night we support the government and we cooperate with them. – *Bost, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I am with the government and all the people of the nation should support this government. – *Bost, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

The government is a big gift to the people. If you don't have government there is fighting, thieves and everything. – *Bost, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We have interest in security. We are poor, we are not opposed to the government, we don't have any link to the government. – *Bost, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Achekzai.*

The government is good. With government we have security, we have asphalt road, we have other development assistance here. – *Bost, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Achekzai.*

I love those people who defend the country and provide a good life and security. The police make a good life for the people. – *Bost, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

All Charwarki are thief I don't have interest with them. – *Bost, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Achekzai.*

I don't have any work with the government, I just pray to Allah to bring peace to our country. – *Bost, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

The Government announced that the Taliban get benefit from poppy, they said you should not grow this; they kill the Army and police with this money. – *Bost, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I love the government. I support them up to my power. As much power as I have I support them. I pray to Allah to bring peace to the country. – *Bost, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I have interest in government. If there is a government you have law and development. We have seen this. Now we have found improvements and security, life is better. – *Bost, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I have an interest with government. If there is no government we don't have security – *Bost, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Alizai.*

The government improved security here. The past Governor worked hard, he asphalted the road. I am very happy with him. No one in Helmand worked as hard as the previous Governor. – *Bost, 8 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Tokhi.*



## **Bolan**

The provincial authorities work hard to provide security. Now we are very happy, we are very safe, our children are very safe, our capital is very safe and we run our own business very securely. –*Bolan, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We are satisfied with the government here as they have improved security and found a job for me. We hope security will improve in the future as the people want to support them. –*Bolan, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We don't have information on the government. They are not in touch with others, we don't have relations with them, we are busy in our own home. –*Bolan, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We are cooperative with the government and have interest with the government. –*Bolan, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We pray to Allah to have a strong government as they help the people and bring security. We are not working in the government, we need security for our private work. – *Bolan, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We support the government and the government supports the people. – *Bolan, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We are cooperating with the government and request them to help with farmers. –*Bolan, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I am happy that my son has joined the police - they are servants of people and ask the people to join together to defend the country. I think, according to the information that I have most of the people here want to support the government. –*Bolan, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I am most happy with the government as they find jobs for my brothers. –*Bolan, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We are happy from the government as they provide work opportunities for people and they are all busy. In the time of the Taliban in the whole of Lashkar Gah 10 man of gandana was not sold there. - *Bolan, 3 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I am busy in my family and I don't have any relation with the government. I have no idea about the government. –*Bolan, 5 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Barakzai.*

## Mohejerin

But we don't like the people who work for the government as they banned poppy. Life was good with poppy now if you look for 100 Afs. here, you will not find it. – *Mohejerin, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

I am happy for the government they build schools and clinics here find jobs for people. –*Mohejerin, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Taraki.*

I don't like the provincial authorities they just work for their own pocket. The person who has the cap of the police or army I look at as an American. –*Mohejerin, 5 jeribs, owner cultivator, Taraki.*

I am not in opposition with the government as we didn't see any costs from them. We are poor people we don't think about the government and we don't think that Taliban. –*Mohejerin, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

The provincial government has found work for thousands and thousands of people, they have brought security. I have interest in them. I give thanks for them. –*Mohejerin, 3 jerib, owner cultivator, Musakhel.*

I am happy with the government as they build schools and clinics. The other responsibilities are for our people. The government cannot buy vehicles for each family. – *Mohejerin , 3 jerib, owner cultivator, Utmanzai.*

I am not opposed to the government. We have our own business. – *Mohejerin , 2 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimenkhel.*

I worry about the new Governor, maybe he doesn't have the capacity to keep security in this province. The previous Governor was a very strong person. –*Mohejerin, 7 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Musakhel.*

The Governor is a good man, but the other dogs are very corrupt and they keep everything for themselves. – *Mohejerin, 6 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Kharoti.*

## Section 2: Improvements beyond the Environs

### Chanjir

I have many interests in the government as they bring security to the area. Now it is better than when the US soldiers were here. – *Chanjir, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai.*

Always I support the government because if there is no government or army here we don't have security. – *Chanjir, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

All Afghans should support the government as the government tries to improve the life of the people. – *Chanjir, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Kakar.*

I am happy with the government they brought security to Central Helmand. – *Chanjir, five jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

What do we do about this government? The government people have a good life but they don't think about the poor people. In the past we just grow poppy and solve our own economic problems now there is a ban by them. – *Chanjir, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

Life is worse year by year, in the end I will lose my land. The governor is the enemy of the people and doesn't help with the people. I am an enemy of the governor – *Chanjir, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Wardaki.*

I don't have any problem with the government I am a poor person I don't search for politics. – *Chanjir, 14 jerib, rented land, Taraki*

All men should support the government to improve the security. We have benefit in security. We should support the government. – *Chanjir, 12 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

I am afraid of the Taliban but not the government. If we say anything the Taliban come in the night and challenge the people. – *Chanjir, 12 jerib, rented land, Taraki.*

I am not with the government, as always they lie. They don't have services and don't give people the reality. – *Chanjir, 15 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Barakzai.*

If all the people became rich, the sharecropper will become poor. If you say you like the government, immediately someone comes in the night and they kill you. – *Chanjir, 13 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Wardaki.*

## **Aynak**

I am happy with Mercy Corps. They established a garden for me and I am happy with that. – *Aynak, 9 jerib, owner cultivator, Achekzai.*

The government provides work. We are happy with that. This year we got more than 20,000 Afs., from this road building project. We are happy. – *Aynak, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

My boys go to school and we have money for medicine and we always support the government. – *Aynak, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

All the Barakzai who are here in Helmand and in Kandahar support the government but the government does not give them any attention. – *Aynak, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We promised the government we would not grow poppy here. Food is good and you can buy meat and fruit and the children are in school. –*Aynak, 3 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

The government always breaks their promise to care for people and they tell lies. The price of cotton is so low. The government always promises to get support from the central government but they are not able to do anything. – *Aynak, 11 jerib, share cropper (1/5), Barakzai.*

We need a strong government and we accept the order of the government here. –*Aynak. 8 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Laghmani.*

### **Loy Bagh (east)**

We are satisfied with provincial and district authorities as they have built schools and clinics for the people. –*Loy Bagh, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Wardaki.*

We are poor, my food is not good. We have no health problems and my boys are in school. Because of this government now we can't find a loan. In the past when had poppy everyone gave a loan but now there is no loan opportunities. – *Loy Bagh (East), 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel.*

I am not opposed to the government I am happy with life and security. – *Loy Bagh, 9 jerib, owner cultivator, Uzbek.*

I have no money for cooking oil and other things. My mother has become sick and I don't have money for treatment. I never send my sons to these American schools. There is just a short time remaining before the Government gets its justice. – *Loy Bagh (East), 9 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

Life is good sometimes we can buy meat. We have interest with the government we accept the law and order of the government and pray to Allah the government will remain stable. –*Loy Bagh, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Wardaki.*

I am happy from the government. They built a school here. The boys are not in the streets but in school. – *Loy Bagh, (East), 8 jerib, ownercultivator, Nasar.*

I am happy for the government as they have improved the security and we are able to do our own business. – *Loy Bagh (East), 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

This is not a government. The Taliban were better as a government they did not ban poppy and all the poor people got a benefit from it. –*Loy Bagh (East), 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel.*

The people are tired with the Taliban even the women want to support the government. – *Loy Bagh (East), 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Kakar.*

I don't have interest with the government and I don't have interest with the Taliban as no one helps me. – *Loy Bagh, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Bukhari (Tajik).*

Don't ask about the government - if I tell anyone a good word about the government, the Taliban will beat me, if I say anything good about the Taliban, the government beat me. –*Loy Bagh (East), 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Wardaki.*

I am happy with the law as I am in the ALP and have money and defend the village. In the past I was jobless. I have much interest with the government and I want to support them. – *Loy Bagh (East), 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai.*

I don't have any interest with the government as they don't care for the people. – *Loy Bagh (East), 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

My life is good: my food is good; my health is good;, my two boys go to school and we support the Islamic state. –*Loy Bagh, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Noorzai.*

My wife is sick but we have no money for medicine. The government people are corrupt and they just want to lie. Because of these lies we are not interested in them. – *Loy Bagh (East), 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/6). Barakzai.*

### **Zarghun Kalay**

Life has most changed when I joined with local police by the choice of our Islamic Republic. I am Charwarki and we have banned poppy here. I have not cultivated [poppy]and we didn't allow other people to cultivate it. This year my income increased up to the sky and every day my family eats meat. I will defend our people and our government. – *Zarghun Kalay, 16 jerib, owner cultivator, Daftani.*

I have no interest with the government as they eradicate poppy. – *Zarghun Kalay, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Wardaki.*

I am opposite to the government and their practice of selling wheat seed to farmer. How is that a government? – *Zarghun Kalay, 9 jerib, owner cultivator.*

We say welcome to the government and we support them. –*Zarghun Kalay, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Daftani.*

My income has decreased because there is no poppy. Now we just look for potato to eat. I am sick of the government because they gave poor quality wheat to farmers and want money for themselves. They want benefit from farmers ; they are not afraid of God. –*Zarghun Kalay, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Nazar.*

I am happy from government as government provides education opportunity and work for the people. – *Zarghun Kalay, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Sulmanzai.*

All the negative changes in my life is my luck. I don't blame anyone. I don't blame the government for my problems. – *Zarghun Kalay, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Mullarkhel.*

My life is changed by God and I don't have any views regarding the government. –*Zarghun Kalay, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Usmankhel*

I thank the government as they provide education for people in this area; we have four high schools. –*Zarghun Kalay, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel.*

If the government supports poor people and provides services for them, we will support them but now [the government] just think about their own pocket. –*Zarghun Kalay, 10 jerib, rented land, Kharoti.*

The Government should help the people and we should support them but there is a problem in that they just work for themselves. –*Zarghun Kalay, 9 jerib, rented land, Laghmani.*

I am not involved in politics and I try and keep myself safe from the Taliban and the government. –*Zarghun Kalay, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Taraki.*

The attitude of the government compared to the past is good. In the past they threatened the people without any reason. Now they don't say bad things to the people. –*Zarghun Kalay, 9 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Wardaki.*

### **Aqajan Kalay**

We are poor people we cannot say anything about the Taliban or the government. If you do, may be someone comes in the night and threatens me. –*Aqajan, Kalay, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Naqel, Zabul.*

Regarding the government people? Allah will destroy all of them and bring back Daud Khan to help the people and bring back services to the people. –*Aqajan Kalay, 9 jerib, owner cultivator, Wardaki.*

We agree with the security of the government, but both the government and Taliban are powerful. We don't say anything about either of them –*Aqajan Kalay, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, no tribe.*

I am happy with security. Everyone is able to do their work. –*Aqajan Kalay, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Kakar.*

My food is okay as we have daily income so we can bring it from Lashkar Gah. Now our health problems can be solved as we can travel to Lashkar Gah or Kandahar. My one son goes to school. I don't have any ideas regarding the government they don't help me and they do not arrest me. –*Aqajan Kalay, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

There is good security. All Muslims are at rest and able to find food for their families. –*Aqajan Kalay, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I am a poor person I don't have any idea about the Taliban and the government. The old people said if you don't have a headache don't tie your head by cloth. - *Aqajan Kalay, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Safai (Laghmani).*

Life is worse; I have no income and no cooking oil. In my home and my wife is sick and I have no money for medicine. My son is in class VIII. Now I have decided to send him to find work. The government is cruel. They have sprayed this poppy crop and now it has affected all our crops. – *Aqajan Kalay, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Laghmani.*

My life is fine, I have food and can buy meat. This year my wife was sick and I took her to Kandahar for treatment. I have interest with the government. It is our responsibility to defend the government. – *Aqajan Kalay, 10 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

We have no serious health problems. We are happy with the government, they support people and the people should recognize their law. The government is like a parent. – *Aqajan Kalay, 9 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

The government says that, if you want to support the Taliban, grow poppy they buy mines and guns from your poppy and kill you. Here people cooperate with the government and I also support the government. – *Aqajan Kalay, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Noorzai.*

If we have security, we will have development. – *Aqajan Kalay, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Noorzai.*

Now we are thinking about the new Governor. We don't know how he is. The last one was very active, he was clever and quick. – *Aqajan Kalay, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Noorzai.*

## **Malgir**

The government announced a ban but the local people said grow poppy we will not allow the [eradication] campaign people to cut your crop. We support the government as they have improved the security here. – *Malgir, 16 jerib, owner cultivator, Achekzai.*

The government opposes poppy but the local police and Arbaki said to people to cultivate poppy. – *Malgir, 13 jerib, owner cultivator, Kakar.*

We support our Islamic Government. We defend them. – *Malgir, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

The government are better than the Taliban as they don't kill people by suicide attack. – *Malgir, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

We support the government as now we have good security and we are happy with this. – *Malgir, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I have interest in our government and support this Islamic government. – *Malgir, 7 jerib, rented land, Kakar.*

We support the government, we have interest in them because they provide security. The price of security is too high we are not able to afford it! – *Malgir, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

My daughter was sick with kidney problems so we shifted her to Pakistan for medicine. The government doesn't care for the life of the people. I paid a lot of money to the Pakistani police. If we had a good hospital here we would not have to spend so much money. – *Malgir, 16 jerib, rented land, Daftani.*

The Government said we have banned poppy but the local police and Arbaki said “Don't worry, please cultivate”. Hamid Khan said I will not allow the Campaign to destroy your crop. – *Malgir, 14 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Barakzai.*

If you say any good words about the government, I am afraid of the Taliban. If I say any good words about the Taliban, I am afraid from the government. There is no one to defend me. – *Malgir, 13 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Kakar.*

The provincial authorities say {poppy} is banned but the Malgir authorities said 'grow poppy we will not allow the government to destroy the crop'. The government is good as they finish the fighting. They are no threat in this area. I have interest with them. – *Malgir, 6 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Barakzai.*

The Chawarki are good people we support them. – *Malgir, 6 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Barakzai.*

### **Section 3: Growing Hostility in the Food Zone**

#### **Sra Kala**

Here no one can say anything about the government as here is the Taliban and the people are weak and afraid of the Taliban. – *Sra Kala, 9 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*

At the time when the government structure becomes improved and there is no corruption and wastage, then we will cooperate with the government. – *Sra Kala, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Mohammedzai.*

The new governor had a meeting with the people, he told them poppy is banned and not to cultivate it. In some areas the Taliban collect people and tell them to cultivate poppy. We will accept the order of the government if they can implement it for all, but not if they implement law for the poor people and the Chawarki can do anything. – *Sra Kala, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We have interest with the government. The government does not have interest in us. Also we are afraid of the Taliban, we are afraid to show our interest. – *Sra Kala, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Ackekzai.*

The Governor is new. Now they have very strong statement about helping farmers and banning poppy but Gulab Mangal could not ban poppy and the new governor will never be able to ban poppy. – *Sra Kala, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai*



The Taliban and the government are the same to me – I don't like either of them. – *Sra Kala, 2 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

No one has a relationship with the government here. If the Taliban get information they will come in the night and kill you. –*Sra Kala, 8 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

We pray to Allah the Americans will go soon and this cruel government will be destroyed. – *Sra Kala, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/5) Alizai.*

We pray to Allah to keep safe the Army and for foreigners to leave the country. We pray Afghan people have unity and support the government and army. –*Sra Kala, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Mohammedzai.*

I am unhappy with the government. I am not against the campaign of eradication but they should do this equally for all. They should not destroy the crop of Ahmed and then not of Mahmood. – *Sra Kala, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Alizai.*

### **Khwaja Baidar**

I f\*\*\* the wife of Karzai and other kafirs because they killed the mujahedin. - *Khwaja Baidar , 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I pray for Taliban to come back to here and we will grow poppy. –*Khwaja Baidar, 10 jerib, Barakzai.*

With the banning of poppy I am not happy with the government. – *Khwaja Baidar, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I don't know about the government. I hear the government just search for their own pocket. – *Khwaja Baidar, 15 jerib, rented land, Alizai.*

There is no government, they just into introduce themselves as government but they are big thieves. – *Khwaja Baidar , 15 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Barakzai.*

Because of the presence of the government we have become poor. Life is bad. – *Khwaja Baidar, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Barakzai.*

The government is not good, they are corrupt, they have not allowed poppy and did not give as any assistance. – *Khwaja Baidar , 9 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Barakzai.*

### **Loy Bagh (West)**

Here are 40 countries and they can't find a solution. They don't have any idea about government. How is it possible for me to have any idea about government. – *Loy Bagh, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Niazi.*

The Governor made people poor then left – *Loy Bagh, 7 jerib, ownercultivator, Niazi.*

The government does not affect my life I am not opposed to them. – *Loy Bagh, 15 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

The government is foolish, they don't think about the people. We don't have interest with such foolish people. - *Loy Bagh, 14 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Suleimankhel.*

The cruel lender of Arbaki has banned poppy. His father has died now I pray to Allah to kill him. Allah will capture these government people and take them to hell! – *Loy Bagh, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/5 for wheat, ¼ cotton), Taimani.*

Poppy is banned and we are most poor as the sharecropper cannot accommodate the family without poppy. At the time of poppy we had meat and now we have nothing. It is better if we don't have a government rather than this. With this government I have lost my direction. – *Loy Bagh, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Noorzai.*

#### **Doh Bandi**

If the food of our people was with the hand of the Governor we would not be alive, all the people would die. - *Doh Bandi, 13 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

The government is not good. They didn't do anything for the farmers. The price of fertilizer is too high. The price of agricultural crops too low. It is not enough for people. – *Doh Bandi, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I f\*\*\* the wife of the government. Always they have the same message. My crop was safe last year but other people lost their crop; they did not reach my land. Governor Mangal has looted a lot of money in Helmand then gone. I have no interest with this government. – *Doh Bandi, 11 jerib, rented land, Alkozai.*

The Governor is a big *dowus* and he has destroyed the crop. – *Doh Bandi, 9 jerib, sharecropper (poppy 50:50, wheat 1/5), Kakar.*

#### **Marjah F4D5**

F\*\*\* the wife of the government, the last two years they destroyed my crop. I lost my milk cow. I am most unhappy with this Governor. They destroy the life of the people. – *F4D5, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel.*

Don't use the name of the government as they destroyed my life – *F4D5, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Niazi.*

Don't talk about the Governor, I F\*\*\* his wife. - *F4D5, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Mullarkhel.*

If the government does not ban poppy, all the people would have vehicles and a good life. – *F4D5, 11 jerib, rented land, Kakar.*

No one likes the government because they banned poppy. – *F4D5, 9 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

Poppy is banned. My life is destroyed. I F\*\*\* the mother of the government by this order because of this I lost my cow. The kharkus Governor he just searches for poppy, he doesn't have any other job!. – *F4D5, 15 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Noorzai.*

I f\*\*\* their wife with their announcement. I cultivate again. Last year's crop was destroyed. The government is dowus and makes people poor. –*Marjah, F4D5, 14 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Kakar.*

Thanks from Allah, the day was finished and they did not reach my land and my crop was safe. This government is not for poor people, all the rich people come together in this government. – *F4D5, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Naqel.*

Life is worse because cotton it is cheap, and poppy is banned. The factory of cotton is closed. We are poor. There is no work. What do we do here? –*FA D5, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Niazi.*

## **Marjah 2A**

Mangal was not a good man. I am happy he moved from Helmand. – *Marjah 2A, 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel.*

I f\*\*\* the wife of the Governor and government people, they make people poor. -*Marjah 2A, 10 jerib, owner cultivator.*

The Governor said that last year he allowed some poppy but not this year. What does the Governor and the government do with us, for us to be happy with them? We are busy in our land but they have not allowed farming. – *Marjah 2A, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, no tribe.*

F\*\*\* the Governor's wife. The Governor destroyed our life. - *Marjah 2A, 8 jerib, ownergrower, Suleimankhel.*

The government ban poppy and destroy our future. The person who is dowus he likes this government. The other people don't like them. Our people don't have unity. If we had unity we could stand against the government and beat them. – *Marjah 2A, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel.*

I have no relation with the government. If they don't ban poppy, that would be good. –*Marjah 2A, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel.*

The government does not allow farmers to grow poppy this year. Now I don't like them and I don't want to see them. We will have one more year with problems after this the Taliban will come, and we will grow poppy. - *Marjah 2A, 14 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

The Government people damage and destroy my life. When the Taliban arrive back we will grow poppy.  
– *Marjah 2A, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Popalzai.*

I pray to Allah that they become poor and that they tell to their children that this is a result of their cruelty in Afghanistan. Don't ask and don't say the name of government. Next year the government will not be here and we will have poppy. – *Marjah 2A, 9 jerib, sharecropper, Barakzai.*

### **Khoshal Kalay**

My crop was destroyed. My food was good (in the time of poppy) but now it is much worse. I have no money for meat and fruit. After my poppy was destroyed I became sick. I don't want to make my children kharkus so I don't send them to school. F\*\*\* the wife of the government and don't say their name to me.! Allah will move them. – *Khoshal Kalay, 11 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

Poppy was destroyed. What do I say about this dowus? They destroyed my life. – *Koshal Kalay, 9 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

Governor said he will buy cotton at high price and to not grow poppy. – *Khoshal Kalay, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

Life is not good. I hope if I get the yield of one jerib of poppy my life will improve. – *Khoshal Kalay, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti.*

Life is worse with the poppy ban. The poppy is banned by this dowus government. If I had more power I would kill all of them. I don't have such a bad word to use for the government. The Americans want to make people poor so that the people always need their assistance. – *Khoshal Kalay, 14 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Andar.*

F\*\*\* the mother of the government they banned poppy. Last year a lot of poppy was destroyed. Two months ago my mother died. I didn't have money for treatment. We die from hunger! What do we do with this government? – *Khoshal Kalay, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Kakar.*

Life is poor because there is no poppy. My poppy was eradicated this year. I lost my dairy cow. When I see the government people they are like a donkey. – *Khoshal Kalay, 10 jerib, sharecropper (poppy 1/3, wheat 1/5), Noorzai.*

We don't like the government. We hope they will soon be destroyed by the holy Taliban. – *Khoshal Kalay, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Alizai.*

Poppy is eradicated, I f\*\*\* the mother of them. They eradicate and we cultivate poppy again. – *Khoshal Kalay, 9 jerib, sharecropper (wheat 1/5, poppy 1/3), Popalzai.*

### **Shin Kalay**

Life is poor because the government banned poppy – this kharkus banned poppy and then they closed the factory of cotton. There is not any work here. What do we do? There is only one job to do. We will go to the wife of Karzai and teacher her about make-up! – *Shin Kalay, 11 jerib, owner cultivator, Niazi.*

I have no interest in government, they are cruel and ban poppy here. I think this government will be destroyed because when the Taliban banned poppy they were finished. Now this government bans poppy and they will. – *Shin Kalay, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

Allah will move this government from this area as our life is too difficult with them. – *Shin Kalay, 7 jerib, owner cultivator.*

I f\*\*\* the wife and mother of the Governor. He collects more money from Helmand and now he has gone from here. – *Shin Kalay, 14 jerib, rented land, Kharoti.*

Our life is very poor because poppy is banned. I f\*\*\* the wife of these thieves. Don't take the name of the kharkus governor! We are poor because of this government. – *Shin Kalay, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Suleimankhel.*

The Government people are like the Red Russians. – *Shin Kalay, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Kharoti.*

Poppy was affected by disease. I got no yield. The people say it was sprayed by the Americans. - *Shin Kalay, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Barakzai.*

I prefer the kafir people to this government. They are very cruel. – *Shin Kalay, 9 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Mullarkhel.*

## **Section 4: Former desert land within the Food Zone**

### **Dashte Shersherak**

I f\*\*\* the wife of the Governor by the people of the whole world as they made people poor when they banned poppy here. - *Dashte Shersherak, 14 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I pray to Allah to remove this government that banned poppy! *Dashte Shersherak, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I attended the meeting with the government and they announced not to grow poppy. If the we cultivate poppy the government will implement the law. – *Dashte Shersherak, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

We don't think about government. Allah gave me a good body, he gave me hands, we find work I find food for my family – *Dashte Shersherak, 9 jerib, owner cultivator, Popalzai.*

Don't talk about government! What is the cost of the poppy to the government for them to ban it! *Dashte Shersherak, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Popalzai*

Don't talk about this *dowus* government. We are just waiting for the foreigners to leave and the Taliban to come back and then we will have poppy. – *Dashte Shersherak, 12 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

I f\*\*\* the Governor. They destroy our lives, I hope the Taliban arrives and we can grown poppy. – *Dashte Shersherak, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Noorzai.*

### **Dashte Basharan**

I have no interest with government, when the Americans have gone we will cultivate poppy again. – *Dashte Basharan, 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

The people say when the Taliban arrive we can grow poppy. We hope they will arrive soon. – *Dashte Basharan, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai.*

This is not a government because they are not good people. They banned poppy. All the government who are cruel will be finished soon. – *Dashte Basharan, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*

The government people are busy with their own looting we don't want anything to do with them – *Dashte Basharan, 10 jerib, rent, Barakzai.*

Next year I will go to the Dashte and cultivate poppy there. – *Dashte Basharan, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Kakar.*

These kharkus in the Government are enemies with our people. – *Dashte Basharan, 11 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

The government made me poor. Allah will make their children poor. – *Dashte Basharan, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Alkozai.*

The government try to kill me by hunger. – *Dashte Basharan, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Alizai.*

### **Dashte Aynak**

The government banned poppy! How is it possible to have interest and like them? *Dashte Aynak, 14 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

Now we try and arrange our lives by our income. The government banned poppy. What do we do with them? – *Dashte Aynak, 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Kakar.*

There is no job, no work, how is it possible to find medicine when someone becomes sick? We just wait for Allah. –*Dashte Aynak, 13 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Alkozai.*

We will not blame the government. People should find work for themselves. – *Dashte Aynak, 11 jerib, rented land, Barakzai.*

A few days ago my daughter died because I have no money to treat her. F\*\*\* the wife of these government people they are worse than the kafir. – *Dashte Aynak, 13 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Kakar.*

The kharkus once again announced poppy is banned. I prefer the dog to the government people. – *Dashte Aynak, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Noorzai.*

### **Khwaja Babar**

People with more land they don't have problem without poppy they can still have a good income. But we don't want anything from government. - *Khwaja Babar, 16 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

When poppy was banned my life became worse. We are poor by this kharkus government! - *Khwaja Babar, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai*

For the last two years the price of meat has gone up to the sky. I have no interest in this government as they have taken the food from my hand. – *Khwaja Babar, 4 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I have no interest in this government as it will be finished by the Taliban soon. – *Khwaja Babar, 10 jerib, rented, Noorzai.*

If I had power I would kill all the government people - *Khwaja Babar, 13 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Kakar.*

The Malik is dog of government and also told the people not to grow poppy. – *Khwaja Babar, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Kakar.*

Life is too difficult in the Dashte – low yields of poppy, only there for winter. No interest with government, f\*\*\* the wives of these thieves. The Taliban are back soon and we can grow poppy. – *Khwaja Babar, 11 jerib, sharecropper (1/5 wheat, ¼ rest), Alkozai.*

## **Section 5: The desert land north of the Nahre Boghra**

### **Dashte Ab Pashak**

There is no one who is such a big pimp as the Governor. Who is interested in him? – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 13 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I will die before I join with this government. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

Like Mangal was moved by Allah, the other one (the new Governor) will also be removed from the province. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

F\*\*\* the mother of the government by donkey, all of them are dowus. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/5) Noorzai.*

The poppy was sprayed by the Americans! We have no poppy we just pray to Allah to destroy them. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 8 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

Last year the Kafir sprayed out crop. I f\*\*\* the wife of the Governor and all the Chawarki. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 7 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Barakzai.*

They spray the vagina of their mother on my land and destroy my crop. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 6 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

We F\*\*\* the wife of the American because the spray of poppy. Because by spray they f\*\*\* the mother of my poppy. There is no difference between the people in this government and *Kafir*. We don't like them! – *Dashte Ab Pashak P, 15 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Barakzai.*

Each year the government says the same shit and says don't grow poppy. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Noorzai.*

Since this government arrived we didn't find any good days. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 8 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Barakzai.*

My life is destroyed by the Americans because we didn't get a good crop. If I see a person with trousers (a foreigner or government official) I would kill him. We don't like these pimps who are in the government. – *Dashte Ab Pashak, 5 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Ishaqzai.*

### **Shen Ghazai**

We don't like the government people – if he is a Governor, if he is a Commander – because all of them are opposite with our people. – *Shen Ghazai, 25 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*

Gulab pimp is gone and the new pimp has come. We don't have interest in either of them. – *Shen Ghazai, 15 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*

The pimps job is in Lashkar Gah and all the development assistance is distributed amongst them. – *Shen Ghazai, 13 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*

The last kharkus announced don't grow poppy now this new one also announced it. I f\*\*\* their mother if they are Governor or government employee. – *Shen Ghazai, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

From Gulab Mangal to Karzai up to Obama, I will f\*\*\* their wives.- *Shen Ghazai, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*



The *Kafir* destroyed my crop this year. I cultivated poppy and wheat. The new Governor is a bigger pimp than the old one. –*Shen Ghazai, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*

Every year the government says the same shit. – *Shen Ghazi, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Alkozai.*

I have no interest with the government because they want to make people poor. –*Shen Ghazai, 20 jerib, rented land, Noorzai.*

I f\*\*\* the assistant of their Mother! I f\*\*\* the wife and mother of these government they are the pimp of the *Kafir*. - *Shen Ghazai, 15 jerib, sharecropper (50:50), Alkozai.*

have allergy with the name of Governor don't talk about this. –*Shen Ghazai, 13 jerib, sharecropper (50:50), Alkozai.* Don't talk about these pimps, they are very bad people. –*Shen Ghazai, 8 jerib, sharecropper (1/6), Alkozai.*

### **Dashte Loy Manda**

The Americans spray our crop. I don't have power to F\*\*\* their mother, I am just waiting for Allah to beat them. The last Governor: what did he do in Helmand? I don't have hope for the new one. What do we do with him? – *Loy Manda, 15 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

This year is not good, not like in the past, as our poppy was damaged. The Americans f\*\*\* our mother and we have lost everything. – *Loy Manda, 13 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

My poppy was damaged but I don't know if a disaster or sprayed by foreigners. – *Loy Manda, 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I will not move from the cultivation of poppy. – *Loy Manda, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Barakzai.*

I blame ourselves: this is our action and the result of our action is the *Kafir* came here again and captured the government. – *Loy Manda, 4 jerib, land on loan from relative, Ishaqzai.*

I will f\*\*\* their mother by a donkey those pimps who want to make people poor. – *Loy Manda, 15 jerib, sharecropper (50:50), Barakzai.*

All government people are sons of Americans. Don't remember them to me. I F\*\*\* their mother by donkey. – *Loy Manda, 14 jerib, sharecropper (50:50), Barakzai.*

### **Shna Jama**

The government announces the same thing always. One of my family members has cancer we have no money for treatment. I have interest in this government, they are cruel and they just loot money. – *Shna Jama, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I think this government people are not Muslim because they always accept the order of the foreigner. They are the sons of the Americans. –*Shna Jama, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

I F\*\*\* the mother of those people who like this government. –*Shna Jama, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

Life is poorer than last year because of the low yield of poppy. I blame the *Kafir* who sprayed the poppy. The Governor is the son of a dog. I don't like him. –*Shna Jama, 15 jerib, sharecropper (50:50), Noorzai.*

The Americans are sons of Kosai and they destroyed the crop. I don't like the government people because they just accept the order of their fathers who are all foreigners. – *Shna, Jama, 12 jerib, sharecropper (5/6) Noorzai.*

I didn't see the pimp governor. Who is he? –*Shna Jama, 10 jerib, sharecropper (1/3), Barakzai.*

My last poppy was sprayed by the Americans. I f\*\*\* the Americans, they destroyed my life. I f\*\*\* the mother, sister and wife of the government as they are the slaves of the foreigner and they are not able to keep the nation.- *Shna Jama, 6 jerib, sharecropper (6/7), Ishaqzai.*

### **Shurawak**

We pray to Allah to destroy the Americans because they destroyed the crop in the dashte. All the people in the government are pimps and thieves and they will eat up all the government. –*Shurawak, 15 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

We have no development assistance. People who sit in the District Centre sit for themselves not for our people. The other thing, no one is able to bring development assistance here because of the Taliban. The last Governor collected a lot of money now he has gone; now there is a new one and he has started to collect money for himself. –*Shurawak, 13 jerib, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai.*

We don't want the assistance of the kharkus people. We F\*\*\* the wife of the governor and his deputy. – *Shurawak, 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai.*

My life changed because my poppy was affected by spray. The Americans F\*\*\* my mother and we pray to Allah to destroy them. –*Shurawak, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

This government is an American government and I F\*\*\* the mother and wife of them. – *Shurawak, 5 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

This is not such a good government because they can't implement their law and when they ban poppy in the watan (the canal), people come to the desert. –*Shurawak, 15 jerib, sharecropper (5/6), Noorzai.*

The government is corrupt, they don't care about the people, they just think about their own pocket. – *Shurawak, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5) Ishaqzai.*

### **Nawabad Shawal**

The government announced a ban this year. We heard they take the machines, we worry what they will do in this area. The Governor is not a good person. The new Governor takes the machine and threatens people. – *Nawabad Shawal, 15 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

All the Dashte was destroyed by the Americans, Allah will destroy them. The government is cruel they threaten the farmers. The pimp Governor released their dogs but they don't know what they do with the people. –*Nawabad Shawal, 10 jerib, owner cultivator, Noorzai.*

Here, don't ask about the Governor and the government all these people are opposed to them. – *Nawabad Shawal, 17 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Ishaqzai.*

If I have the power I would kill all the Chawarki and Americans because they destroy all the crop. Don't talk about the government they loot the people they are not good people. – *Nawabad Shawal, 20 jerib, sharecropper (1/3), Noorzai.*

Allah will move the Americans from my country. They destroy my crop. The government people loot the farmers and they took the machine last year and along the Boghra they destroyed the crop of some people. How is this a government? How is this a government? They don't know what their soldiers do to the people. –*Nawabad Shawal, 16 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Noorzai.*

F\*\*\* the wife of the governor, because they have a good life they have money and don't ask about the life of the poor people. – *Nawabad Shawal, 14 jerib, sharecropper (1/4), Suleimankhel.*

Poppy is destroyed by the Americans. If I have power I will slaughter all of them. My food is F\*\*\*ed by the Americans. Just now I keep two sheep but then I don't have more money to buy goods from the bazaar. F\*\*\* the mother and wife of the Americans, the English and government by donkey.- *Nawabad Shawal, 12 jerib, sharecropper (5/6), Ishaqzai.*

### **Dashte Shin Kalay**

Don't talk about thee dowus people in the government as they destroy the houses of the muslim people - *Dashte Shin Kalay, 16 jerib, owner cultivator, Suleimankhel*

My income is reduced because the Dowus sprayed our crop. I will F\*\*\* the mother of the government. They say they give assistance but they loot the houses. – *Dashte Shin Kalay, 12 jerib, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai.*

We don't want their assistance, but we don't want them to capture our machines. I F\*\*\* the Governor, they don't control their Chawarki, they loot the people. If they come here the Taliban will F\*\*\* their mothers. - *Dashte Shin Kalay, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Ishaqzai.*

The governor, the waliswal and the commander, all of them are thieves. I don't like them. *Dashte Shin Kalay, 7 jerib, owner cultivator, Kharoti*

The government announced the ban on poppy but then they loot the people. These sons of donkeys don't have shame. They sit in the position of Governor and take orders from foreigners. Next year I will go far from this area and find land to grow poppy. – *Dashte Shin Kalay, 5 jerib, rented land, Ishaqzai.*

We don't want development assistance we just want the government to control their dogs. Poppy is banned but they are most cruel. They loot the clothes of the women. The new governor is the son of a dog. They release the Chawarki and loot the people. - *Dashte Shin Kalay, 10 jerib, share cropper, (1/4), Ishaqzai.*

### **Dashte Khoshal Kalay**

The kafir are most cruel, they are the enemy of the muslim people. From one side they kill people from the other side they destroy the crop. When the government announced that poppy banned they started looting in the desert. Each dowus governor that comes here just searches for their own pocket, they don't care for the nation *Dashte Koshal Kalay, 10 jerib, ownercultivator, Kakar.*

Don't have a discussion about the government as here all are Taliban and no one is happy about the government. – *Dashte Koshal Kalay, 12 jerib, rented land, Ishaqzai.*

Who are you? Don't make me eat shit. You want to talk about the government! *Dashte Koshal Kalay, 20 jerib, sharecropper (5/6), Noorzai.*

I F\*\*\* their mother! The government said the foreigners came to build the country but they destroyed the country. By the order of this Dowus Governor the dogs captured the machines and looted the houses! *Dashte Koshal Kalay, 12 jerib, sharecropper (1/5), Alizai.*

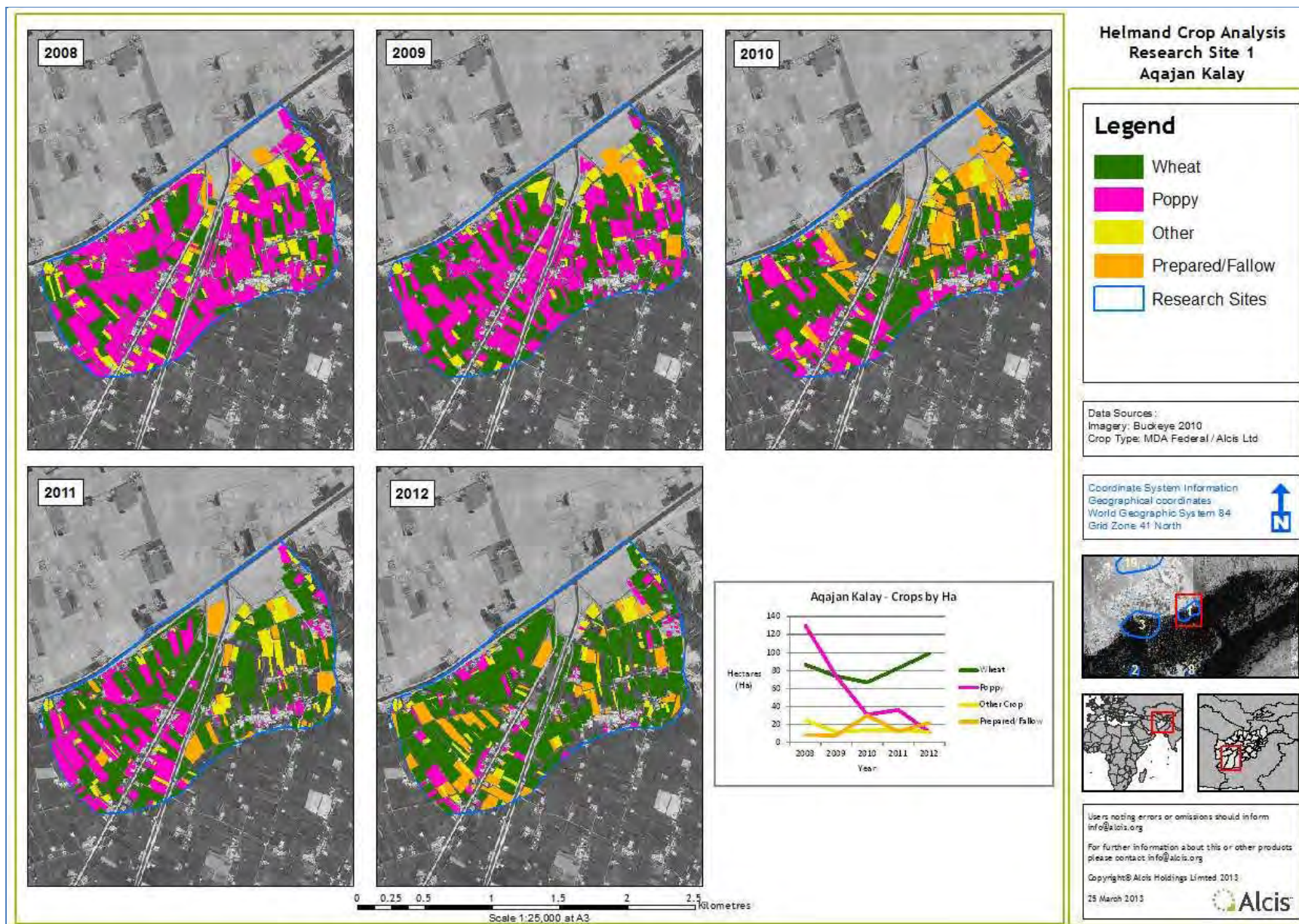


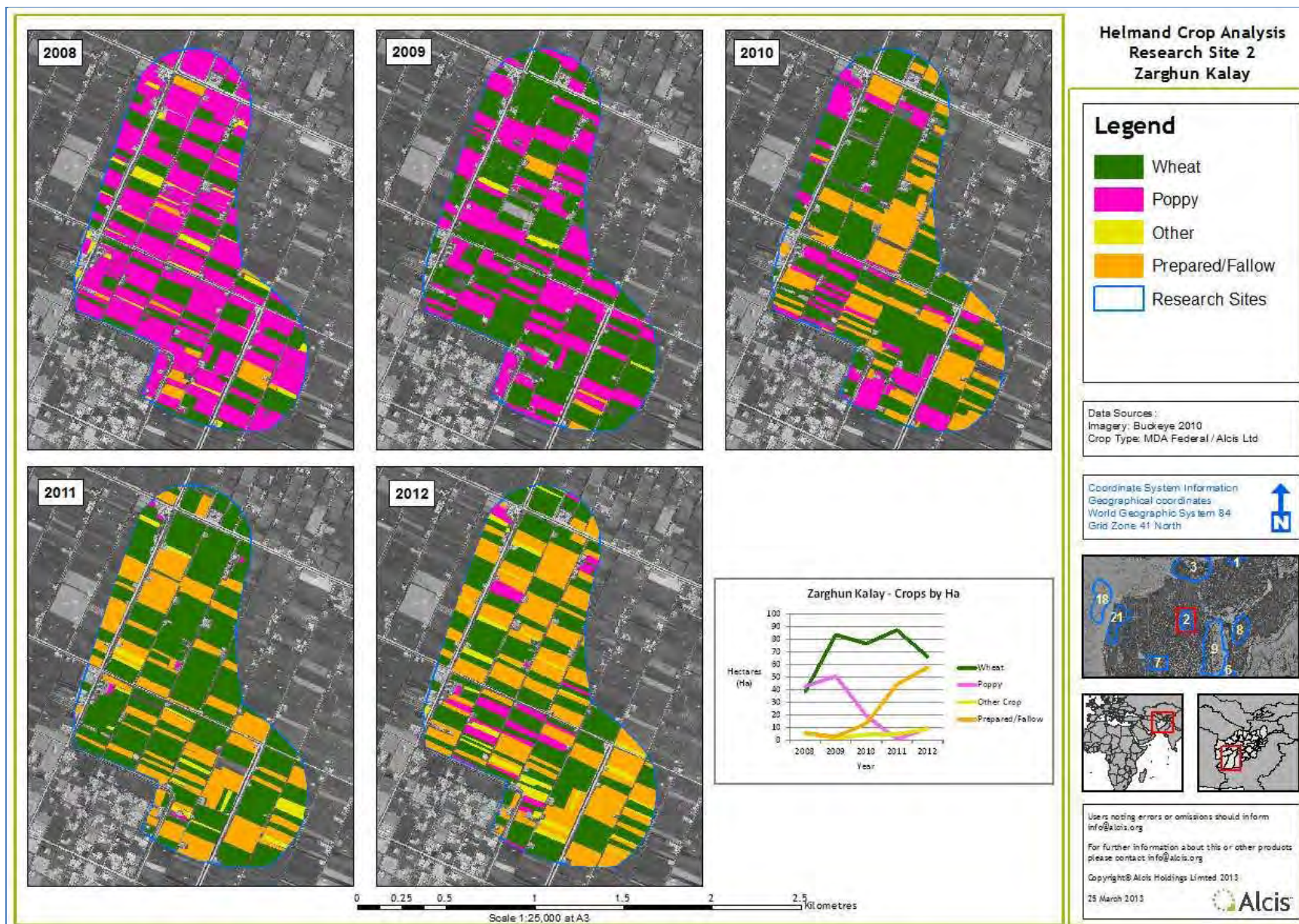
<b>Table 2b: Source of Income for household cultivating 6 Jeribs of land: Marjah F4D5</b>						
Land and Labour		Land (J)	Household Members	Adults	Children	
		6	7	2	5	
Wheat Deficit/Surplus						
	Wheat consumption	0.88 man/day	312.4 man/year			
	Wheat Surplus/Deficit	+447.6				
Crops						
Winter		Jeribs	Yield (man)	Amount sold	Price (PR)	Subtotal (PR)
	Wheat	5	760	400	150	60000
	Alfalfa	1	0	0	0	0
Summer						
	Maize	5	700	700	100	70000
Livestock			Inventory	Sales	Price	
	Sheep		0	3	12000	36000
Non Farm Income		No	Wage (PR/Month)	Months		
		0	0	0		0
Total Income (PR)						166000
Once self sufficient in wheat (PR)						166000
Cash income per day (PR)						<b>454.8</b>
Cash income per day per person (PR)						<b>65</b>

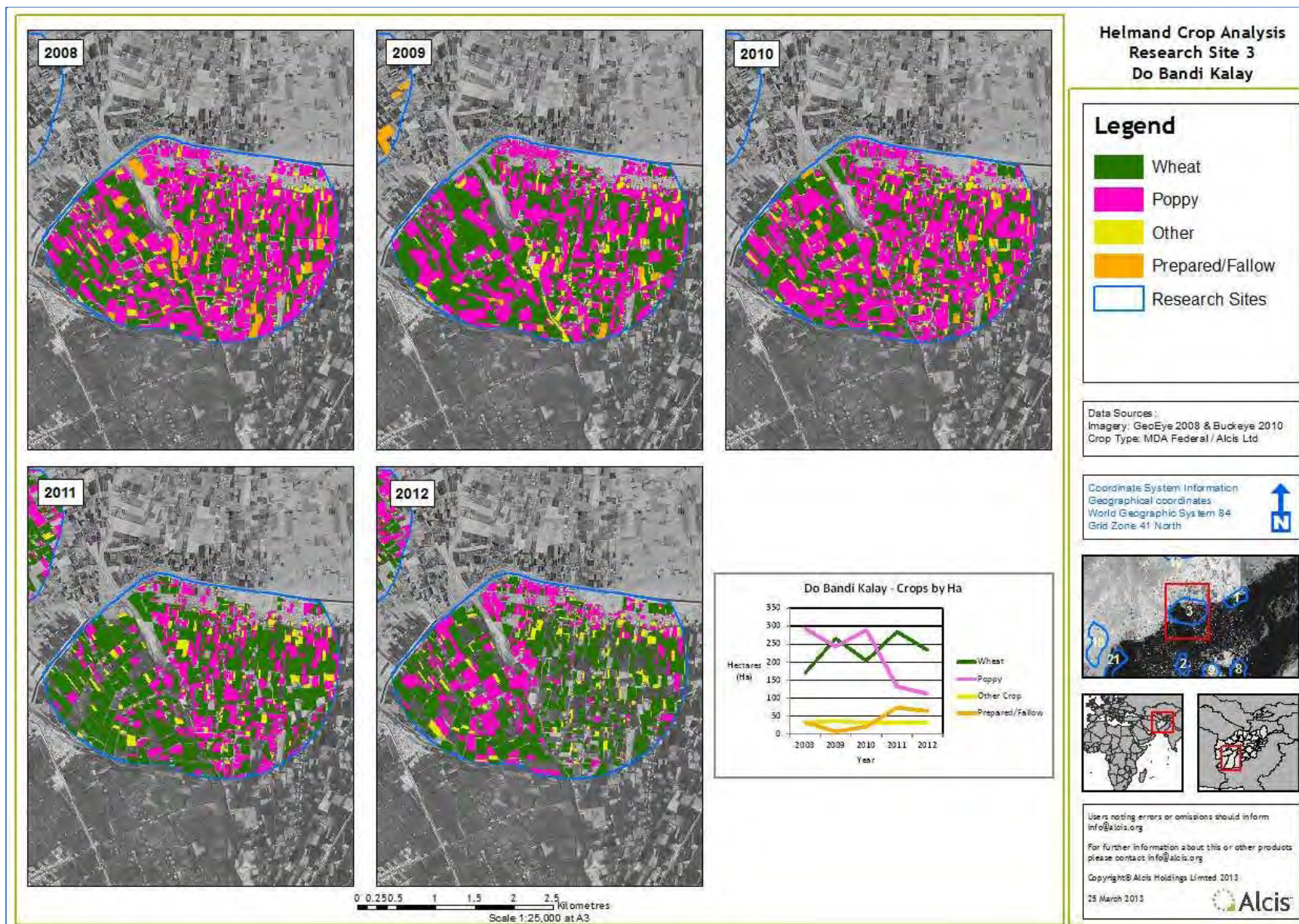
Table 2c: Source of Income for household cultivating 6 Jeribs of land: Dashte Aynak						
Land and Labour		Land (J)	Household Members	Adults	Children	
		12	8	3	5	
Wheat Deficit/Surplus						
	Wheat consumption	1 man/day	365 man/year			
	Wheat Surplus/Deficit	225 man				
Crops						
Winter		Jeribs	Yield (man)	Amount sold	Price (PR)	Subtotal (PR)
	Wheat	4	580	200	150	30000
	Melon	1	230	230	60	13800
	Alfalfa	1	0	0	0	0
Summer						0
Livestock						
			Inventory	Sales	Price	
	Cow		1	1	65000	65000
	Cattle		1	1	40000	40000
	Sheep		8	4	12000	48000
	Goats		5	3	18000	54000
Non Farm Income						
	No	Wage (PR/Month)	Months			
	0	0	0			0
Total Income (PR)						143000
Once self sufficient in wheat (PR)						143000
Cash income per day (PR)						<b>391.8</b>
Cash income per day per person (PR)						<b>49.0</b>

Table 2d: Source of Income for household cultivating 6 Jeribs of land: Dashte Khoshal Kalay						
Land and Labour		Land (J)	Household Members	Adults	Children	
		6	5	2	3	
Wheat Deficit/Surplus						
	Wheat consumption	0.5 man/day	177.5 man/year			
	Wheat Surplus/Deficit	-177.5				
	Value					-26625
Crops						
Winter		Jeribs	Yield (man)	Amount sold	Price	Subtotal (PR)
	Opium poppy	6	3	3	66000	198000
Summer						0
Livestock			Inventory	Sales	Price	
	Cattle		1	22000		22000
	Sheep		3	11000		33000
Non Farm Income		No	Wage (PR/Month)	Months		
		0				0
Total Income (PR)						253000
Once self sufficient in wheat (PR)						226375
Cash income per day (PR)						<b>620.2</b>
Cash income per day per person (PR)						<b>124.0</b>





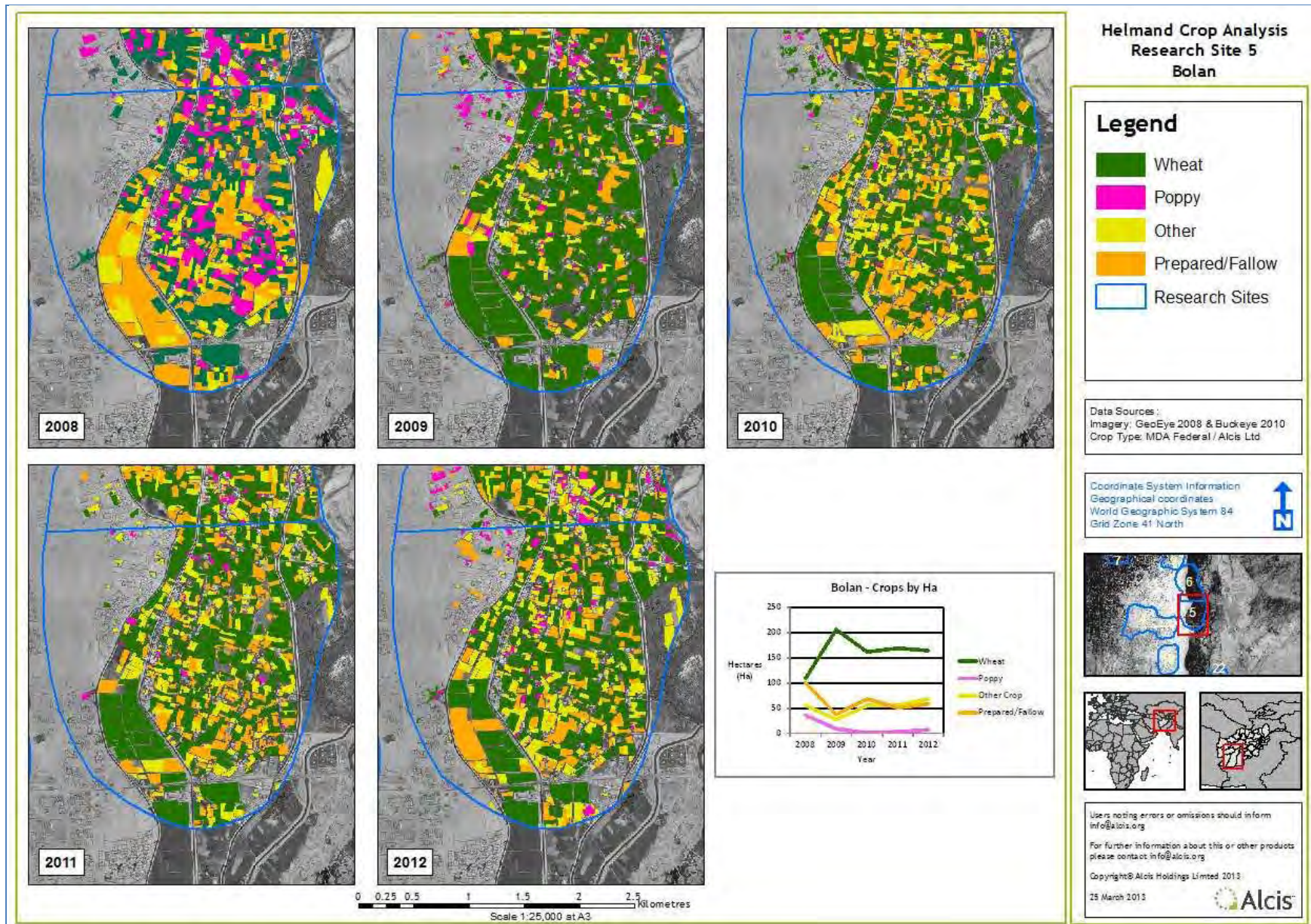




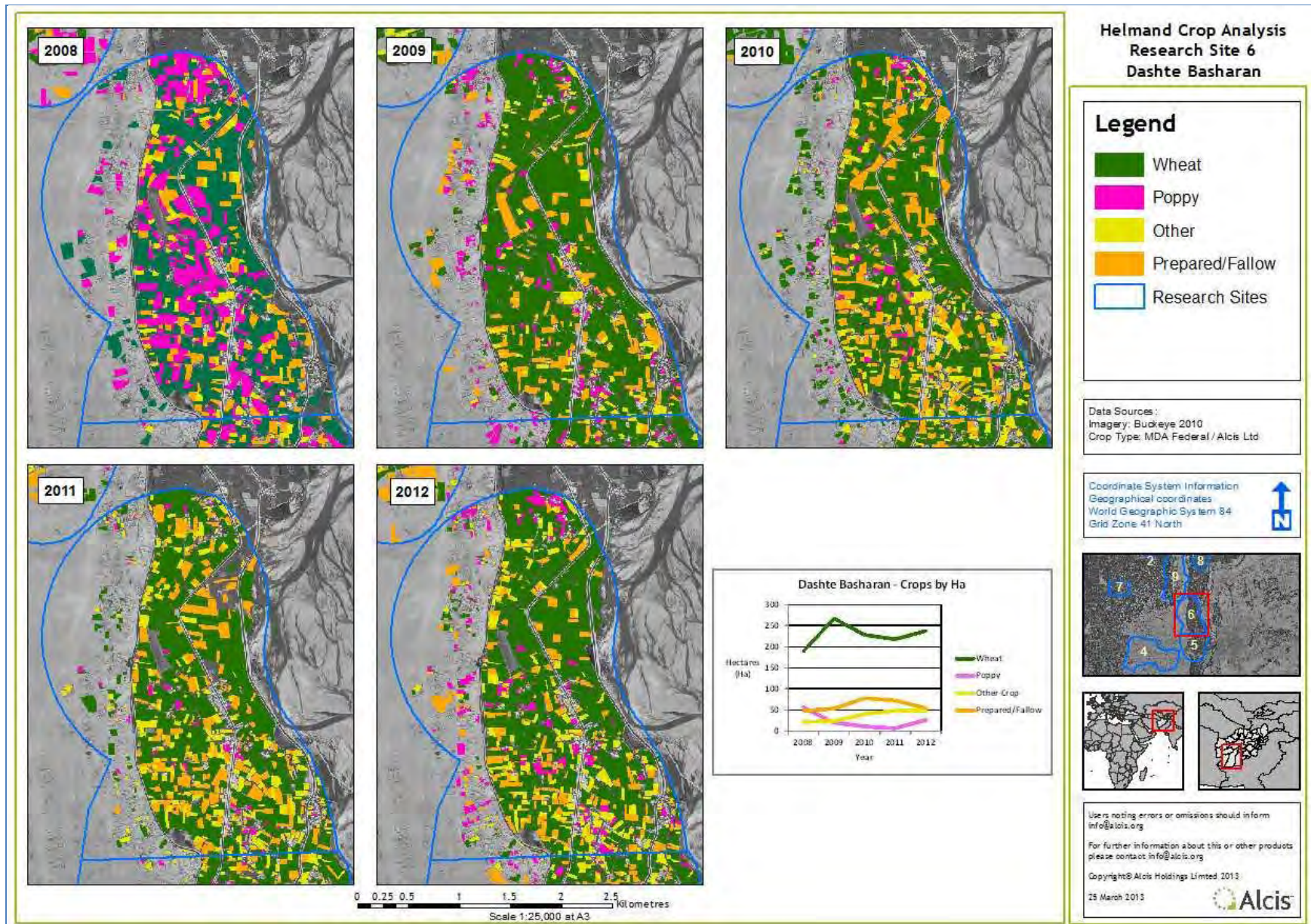
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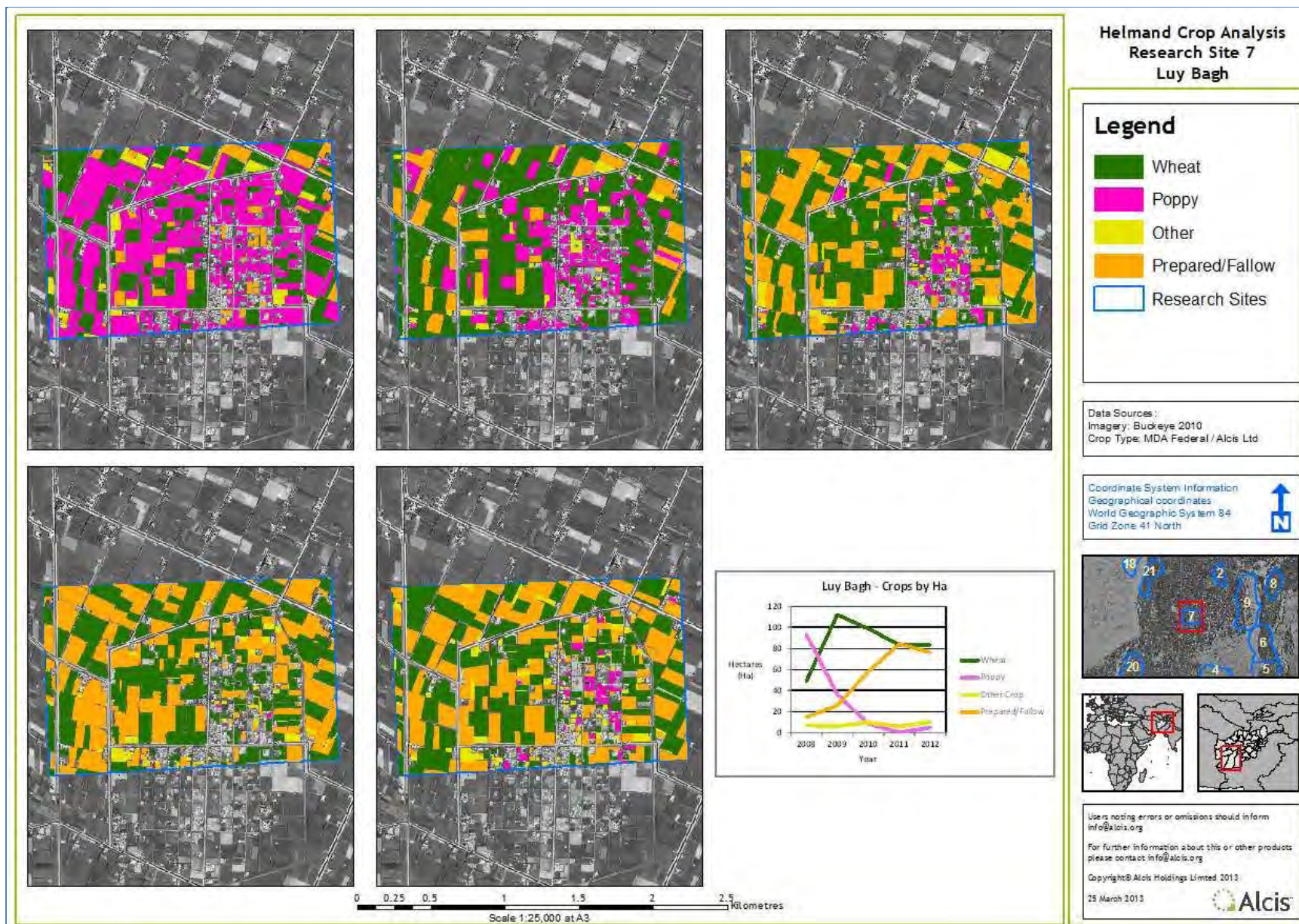


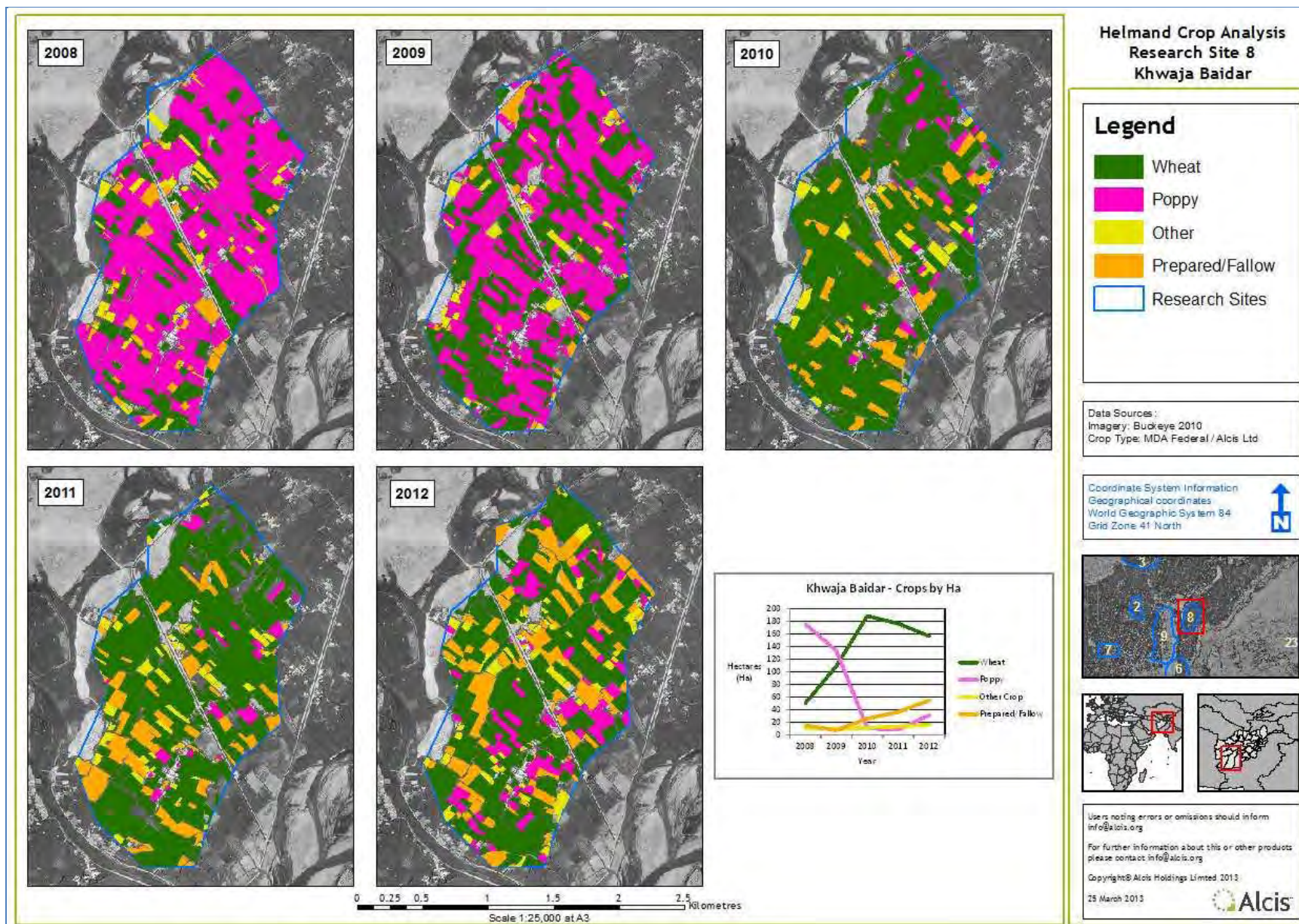
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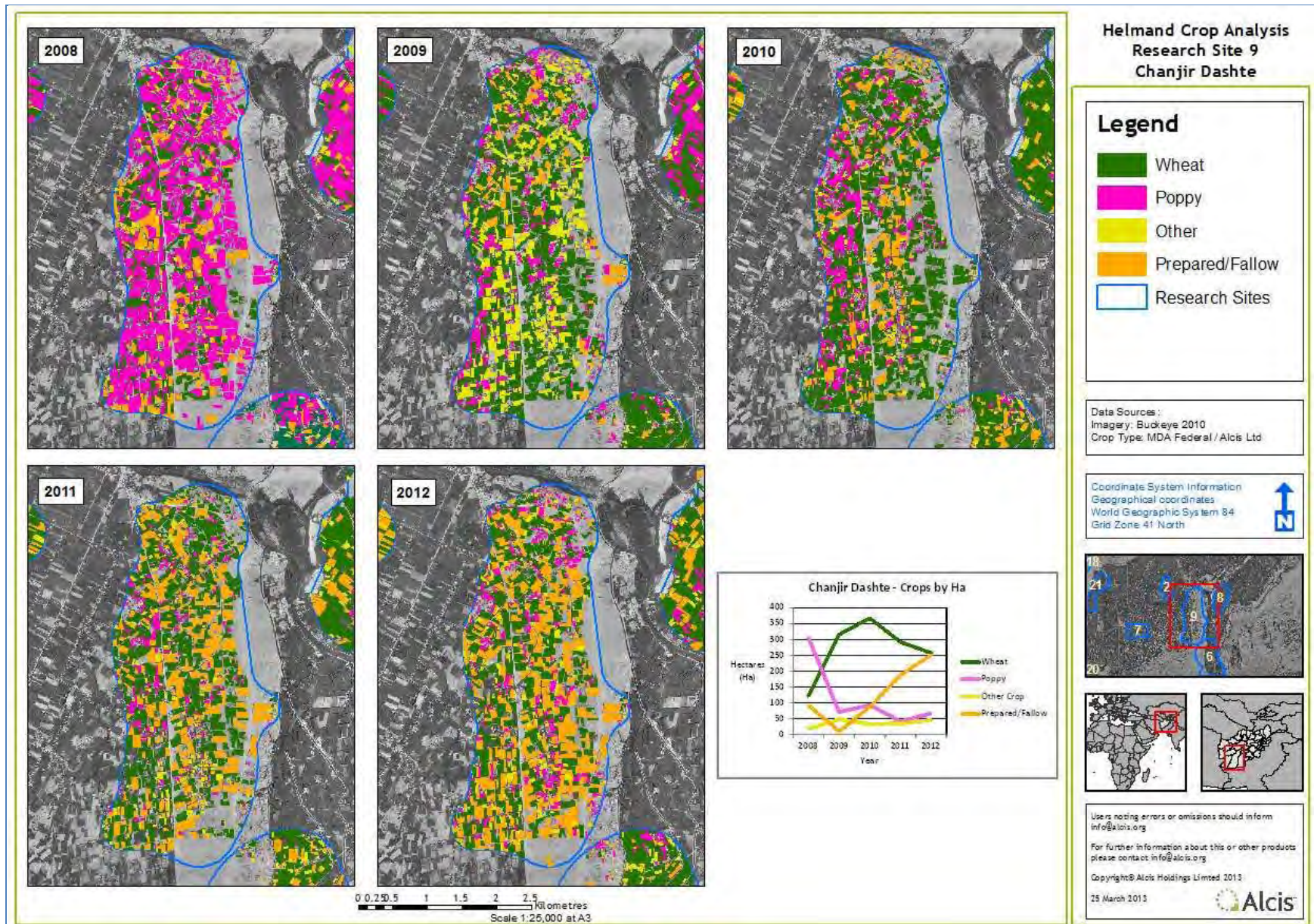




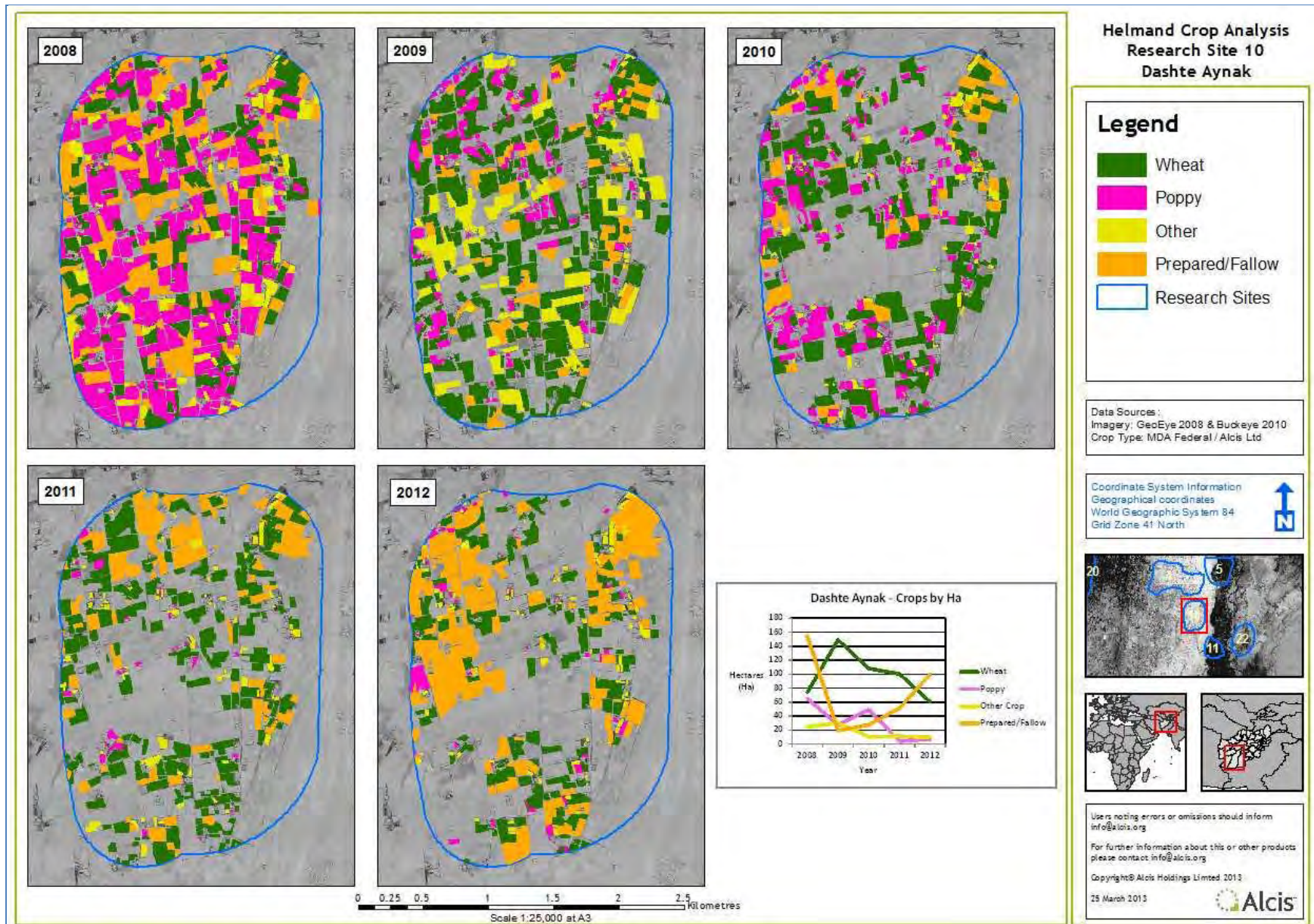


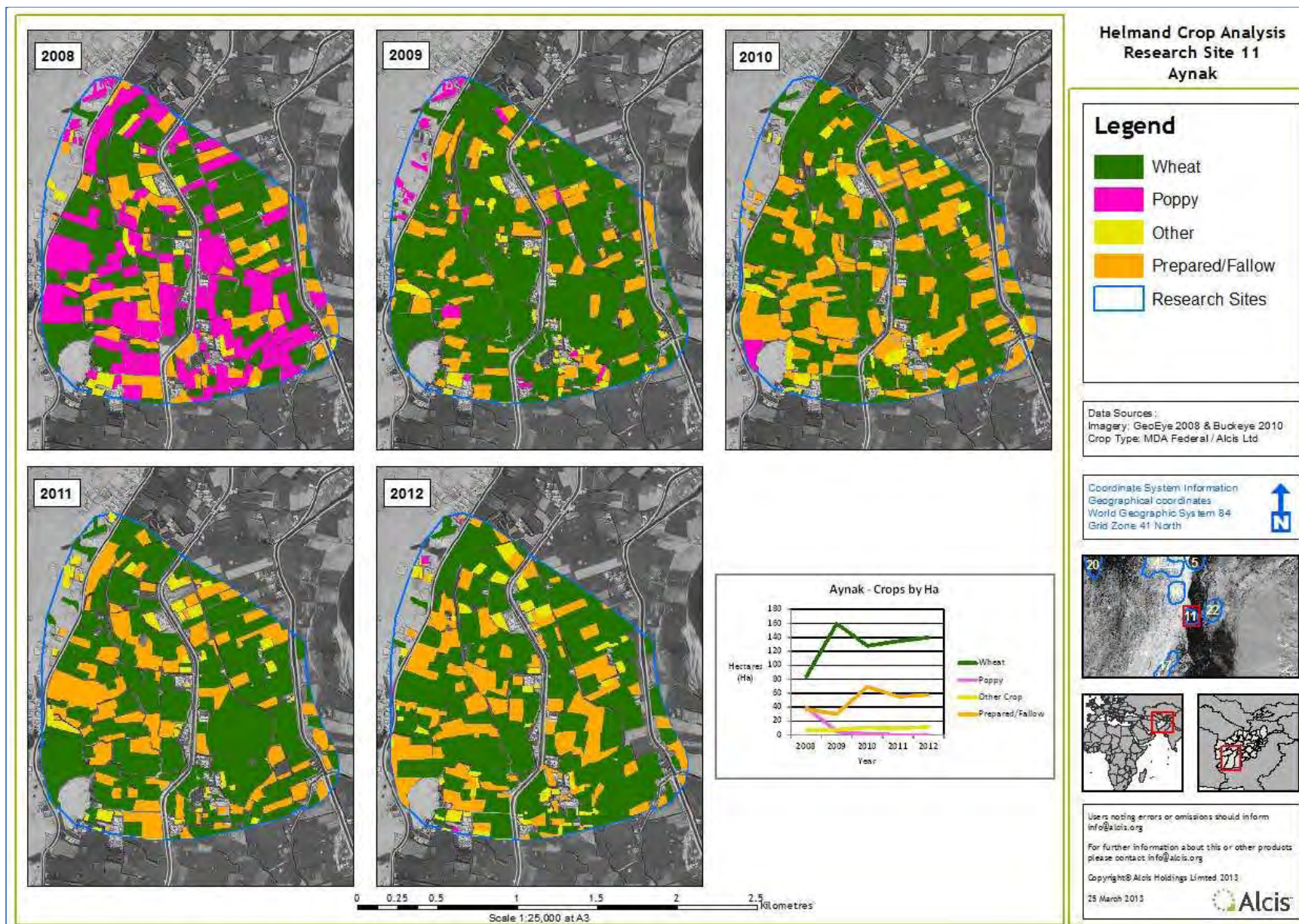


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