



FARMLAND RESTRUCTURING:  
A BASELINE SURVEY OF KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES OF  
FARMERS IN TAJIKISTAN CONCERNING LAND USE RIGHTS AND FARM  
RESTRUCTURING  
BREAKOUT ANALYSIS: 8 USAID PROJECT RAIONS



**May, 2007**

This publication was produced with the cooperation of the USAID Land Reform and Market Development project (USAID Contract No. 116-C-00-05-00026) of Chemonics International based on the final report and analysis prepared by Mr. Eric Abbott.

The author's views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

# CONTENTS

Executive Summary.....	iii
1. Survey Design and Field Implementation .....	1
2. Types of Farms and Farm Characteristics .....	4
3. Knowledge of Land Use Rights and Farm Restructuring.....	7
4. Patterns of Information-Seeking by Farmers .....	9
5. Attitudes About Land Use Rights and Farm Restructuring.....	14
6. Changes in Farming Behaviors or Behavioral Intentions.....	19
7. Crops Planted and Livestock .....	21
8. Sources of Income.....	23
9. Demographic Variables.....	28
10. Conclusions and Recommendations.....	30

## Executive Summary

### **Farmland Restructuring: A Baseline Survey of Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices of Tajikistan Farmers Concerning Land Use Rights and Farm Restructuring: Breakout**

#### **Analysis: 8 USAID Project Raions**

Prepared by: Eric A. Abbott, Consultant

#### **Background and Goals**

This is a breakout analysis of a subset of 800 farmers, part of an original survey that included 1500 Tajikistan farmers interviewed personally in February, 2007, to learn their current farming status, and their knowledge, attitudes and practices with respect to land use rights and farm privatization/restructuring. The 800-subset analyzed here focused on areas where the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is actively working. The study had two goals: (1) To collect baseline data against which future project progress can be measured; (2) To provide data that can be used to develop effective strategies for implementing land use rights and farm restructuring projects. The overall survey represents a collaborative effort of USAID's Land Reform and Market Development Project (LRMDP) and the World Bank-financed Land Registration and Cadastre System for Sustainable Agriculture Project (LRCSSAP). Funds to support the survey came from both USAID and the Bank Netherlands Partnership Program of the World Bank (Trust Fund PE-P089566-SPN-TJ-TF056548).

#### **The Sample**

The eight raions analyzed in this subset match the following raions where the USAID LRMDP is operating: In Sugd oblast: Istaravshan, Ganchi, Zafarabad, and Konibodom; in Khurgan region: Bokhtar, Kolkhozobod, and Kabodien; In Kuljab region, Kuljab raion. Within each of the eight raions, five Jamoats were selected, and within each Jamoat, two villages. In each village, 10 farmers who currently cultivate the land (not including kitchen gardens or presidential plots) were scientifically sampled and interviewed. Overall, a total of 100 farmers were interviewed in each raion, giving a total of 800 for the eight raions. Six of the eight areas focus on cotton production. Of those interviewed, 15% were heads of farms or managers, 76% were members/shareholders, and 9% were land tenants or hired workers. The USAID subset was 50.5% male and 49.5% female. At least 30% of responding farmers were female in each raion, and in two raions, the percentage of women approached 75%.

#### **Characteristics of the Farmers**

Of the 800 farmers surveyed, the largest proportion, 54.3%, are cultivating the land on reorganized collective Dekhan farms. The average mean size of these reorganized collective dekhan farms was 99.4 hectares; the median size was 43 hectares. Farmers reported there are a mean of 132.4 members (a median of 47) on each farm. In addition, there are an average of six hired workers, though most farms reported zero. Of the 434 collective farmers, 64.5% said they had an individual parcel of land allocated to them with an average mean size of 1.3 hectares (a median of 0.9 hectares). In most cases, the parcel received remains constant over time. A total of 91.1% of those who said they had a parcel also said they knew its exact location. Farmers living on collective farms are supposed to receive a sub-certificate confirming their rights. Of those surveyed, 67.9% said they had such a sub-certificate.

A second group of farmers are those who are part of extended family dekhan farms or individual dekhan farms. A total of 183, or 22.9% of farmers surveyed, fit into this group; 84.7% reported that they had a certificate for the main property. Extended family dekhan farms or individual farms are usually much smaller than collective dekhan farms, with a mean size of 15.5 hectares and a median of 8 hectares.

The third group of farmers, 183 or 22.9%, reported that they were still part of a kolhoz, joint stock company, or goshoz (sovhoz, uchhoz, mejhoz, plemhoz, etc.). Although the law requires that kolhoz, joint stock companies and goshoz be reorganized into collective dekhhan farms, in some cases this has been done only on paper, and the farmers may not be aware that there has been an official change. More important, for many of these farmers, there has been no real change for them.

### **Knowledge and Information-Seeking**

Farmers' knowledge of six land use rights and farm restructuring laws/decrees was measured. In general, knowledge of specific laws was poor. Farmers were also given a 13-item test to measure knowledge of specific aspects of land use rights and farm restructuring. They did better on the 13-item test, scoring an average of 7.9 out of 13 correct. Men answered correctly more often than women. Farmers in Konibodom had lower levels of knowledge of both laws and general concepts than farmers in other areas. When asked if they had received information about land use rights or farm restructuring from any source in the past few years, almost one-quarter of the 800 farmers said they had not received information from any source. The average number of sources used overall by farmers to get information about land use rights and farm restructuring was 3.5. This included training workshops, publications, radio, TV, newspapers, household discussions, and interpersonal discussions with a variety of local officials (hukumats, farm heads, district land committee, legal aid offices, tashabuskor, etc.). Konibodom farmers scored especially low with an average of only 0.9 sources. Overall, one in five farmers said they had attended a training workshop on land use rights or farm restructuring. Slightly more than a third – most of them those who attended a training workshop – said they had seen a publication on this topic. About two-thirds of those receiving publications said they read them, and more than 80% of those who read them said they understood them. More than 90 percent of those who read them said they regarded the information as correct, and found it useful to them. TV was a source of information for 44% of respondents, more than any other single source. TV was also rated as the “best” source of information overall. Radio and newspapers were mentioned as sources by about one-quarter of respondents. Men were twice as likely to use interpersonal sources such as household discussions, discussions with other farmers, and discussions with officials such as hukumats, district land committees, or farm heads.

### **Attitudes about Farm Restructuring and Land Use Rights**

Approximately 75% of farmers said they were somewhat or strongly in favor of changes in farm restructuring and land use rights in recent years. Almost two-thirds also said they were satisfied with the process being used. However, only 39.4% said that they expected some changes or big changes in land restructuring in the next few years (37.5% predicted little or no change, and the rest were undecided). When asked to rate barriers that would prevent farmers from petitioning to break up collective dekhhan farms into extended family or individual farms, the top concerns were: (1) lack of machinery; (2) lack of cash or credit to buy inputs, and (3) poor access to irrigated water. Perceived advantages to breaking up collectives included: (1) getting secure rights to land; and (2) making more money. At the present time, 44% of those surveyed oppose the idea of making it legal to buy or sell rights to land (35% are in favor, and 21% are not sure).

### **Impacts and Changes in Behavior**

A total of 41% of farmers – more often extended family or individual dekhhan farmers – say they have invested in improvements in their land such as irrigation equipment, fertilizers or soil conditioners. Another 23% say they have prepared a business plan for their land. However, few have leased their land to others or rented others' land for themselves. A total of 36% of farmers said they believe their farming situation has changed in important ways over the past few years, and the great majority say it has been for the better. A key exception is Konibodom, where most farmers perceive there has been no change. Farmers on extended family or individual dekhhan farms are the most positive, with 90% of those who have experienced change saying it has been for the better. For collective dekhhan farmers, 78% say it has been for the better. For

kolhoz, joint stock company, or goshoz farmers, only 20% say change has occurred, but for those who have experienced change, 72% are positive.

## Recommendations

Results suggest that because of wide variations across the raions surveyed, different approaches are needed in different raions to assist farmers. Specific recommendations include:

- Women have much lower levels of access to all types of information about land use rights and farm restructuring. Since women are found in large numbers in regions such as Bokhtar, Kabodien and Kuljab, and since many men are working in other countries or regions, special communication and support efforts will be needed to reach women. Since few women have formal education, special materials may need to be developed that explain land use rights and farm restructuring in simple terms (perhaps illustrated booklets or special radio/TV shows). Since men are three times more likely to be invited to training workshops, special efforts are clearly needed to attract more women to these workshops. This will also increase the opportunities to present women with copies of relevant publications. Women also need more assistance in dealing with local officials. Presently, they have much less contact than men do, and they are likely to be less skilled and influential when they do. Legal aid centers need to target problems women have in asserting and claiming their land use rights.
- Konibodom, Kolkhozobod and Kuljab had many respondents who said they were still working on kolhoz, joint stock, or goshoz farms. Especially in Konibodom, these farmers had very low levels of knowledge and few information sources. They also perceived that nothing has changed, and that nothing will change in their areas. Clearly, special efforts will be necessary to reach farmers in these areas with information about their land use rights. There are likely to be reasons why their areas have been resistant to change, and these may need special case studies in order to better understand why changes do not seem to be happening there.
- Farmers in cotton-growing areas were much less likely than others to believe that they could make key decisions regarding what crops to plant on the lands they cultivate. This suggests that despite reforms, there are still forces at work locally that cause farmers to believe they cannot make these decisions. In non-cotton areas, in contrast, the great majority of farmers say they already make the key decisions about what crops to plant.
- Farmers in general have positive attitudes toward changes in land use rights and farm restructuring, and with a few exceptions (in Konibodom, for example), they are also satisfied with the process that has been used. This can serve as a base for building support for increased activity. However, despite these positive attitudes, farmers seem to be split on whether or not to expect changes to occur in their areas in the next few years. As noted, about 39% expect changes, while 38% say they don't expect much to happen. The rest are undecided. Some demonstration projects or other publicized activities may be necessary to convince farmers that changes could happen in their areas. Because of their general support for these changes, farmers might be willing to increase activity if they believe that changes are possible in their local areas.
- Approximately one-third of collective dekhan farmers have still not received a sub-certificate confirming their rights to their plots (this matches the subset who still have not been allocated a specific plot). Part of the remaining farm restructuring process will need to focus on farms where the process was started but has not yet been completed.
- Farmers perceive a number of important barriers that prevent them from petitioning to break up their collective dekhan farms into extended family or individual farms. Although there is variation among raions, lack of access to machinery, lack of cash or credit to buy inputs, and poor access to irrigation water are the top three. While projects do not necessarily need to provide these to farmers as part of their activities, projects should focus on how these perceived barriers might be overcome as a part of the overall process of farm restructuring. Local officials and others who control or influence allocation of machinery and inputs must be taken into account in project activities. The survey also

shows that a desire for secure land rights and a desire to make money are considered important reasons why farmers might petition to break up collective dekhan farms. These can be used as incentives.

- Areas where changes have already taken place show evidence of impacts. In Istaravshan and Ganchi, for example, 91% and 81% of respondents respectively said they had made investments in their land (machinery, fertilizer, seed, fences, etc.). This compares to very low levels in areas where changes have not occurred (7% in Konibodom). In addition, farmers in Istaravshan and Ganchi believe that they are already making the key decisions about their farm plots, while the great majority of other farmers still think key decisions are being made by others.



## Survey Design and Field Implementation

During the past 15 years, new laws and decrees concerning land use rights and farm restructuring have opened opportunities for Tajikistan farmers to move away from Soviet-style kolhoz, joint stock company and goshoz large scale collective farms to either collective dekhan farms or extended family/independent dekhan farms. Collective dekhan farms created by breaking up Soviet-style farms are typically much smaller than the Soviet-style farms, and offer farmers certificates and sub-certificates confirming their rights to land. In many cases, collective dekhan farmers have rights to a specific piece of land within the collective dekhan farm. Extended family and independent farms are typically much smaller than collective dekhan farms, and offer more opportunities for family-based or independent entrepreneurial farming. The U.S. Agency for International Development Land Reform and Market Development Project (LRMDP) has focused on educating farmers about their new land rights, and in assisting those who wish to petition to move from collective dekhan farms to extended family or independent dekhan farms.

In February, 2007, Zerkalo survey firm conducted a survey of 1500 Tajikistan farmers to learn about their knowledge, attitudes and practices with respect to land use rights and farm restructuring. The purposes of the survey were: (1) to provide baseline data against which future project progress can be measured; (2) to provide data that can be used to improve strategies for working with farmers to assist them in taking advantage of new Tajikistan laws permitting them to gain long term rights to land. The survey was a collaborative effort between the U.S. Agency for International Development Land Reform and Market Development Project (LRMDP) and the Land Registration and Cadastre System for Sustainable Agriculture Project (LRCSSAP), which was support by World Bank funds from the Bank Netherlands Partnership Program of the World Bank (Trust Fund PE-P089566-SPN-TJ-TF056548).

For the survey, a total of 15 raions in four regions were selected. Five of these represented areas where only the USAID LRMDP project was being implemented. Ten were selected as sites for the newly activated LRCSSAP World Bank-funded project. Three of the 10 sites overlapped with areas where USAID was also working. Thus, a total of eight of the 15 sites represented areas where the USAID LRMDP project was being implemented. **This report focuses ONLY on the eight USAID sites. An overall analysis of all 1500 farmers in all 15 raions can be found in the main survey report.** In each of the eight raions, regardless of its overall population, a sample of 100 farmers was selected. This was done so that there would be enough interviews in each raion to permit comparisons between one area and another. Project activities could then be adjusted to match conditions in each raion. However, because all raions in the

country were not selected, and because some of the eight raions have more farmers than others, this sampling approach means that the resulting dataset is not a representative sample of either the eight raions or of the entire farming population of Tajikistan.

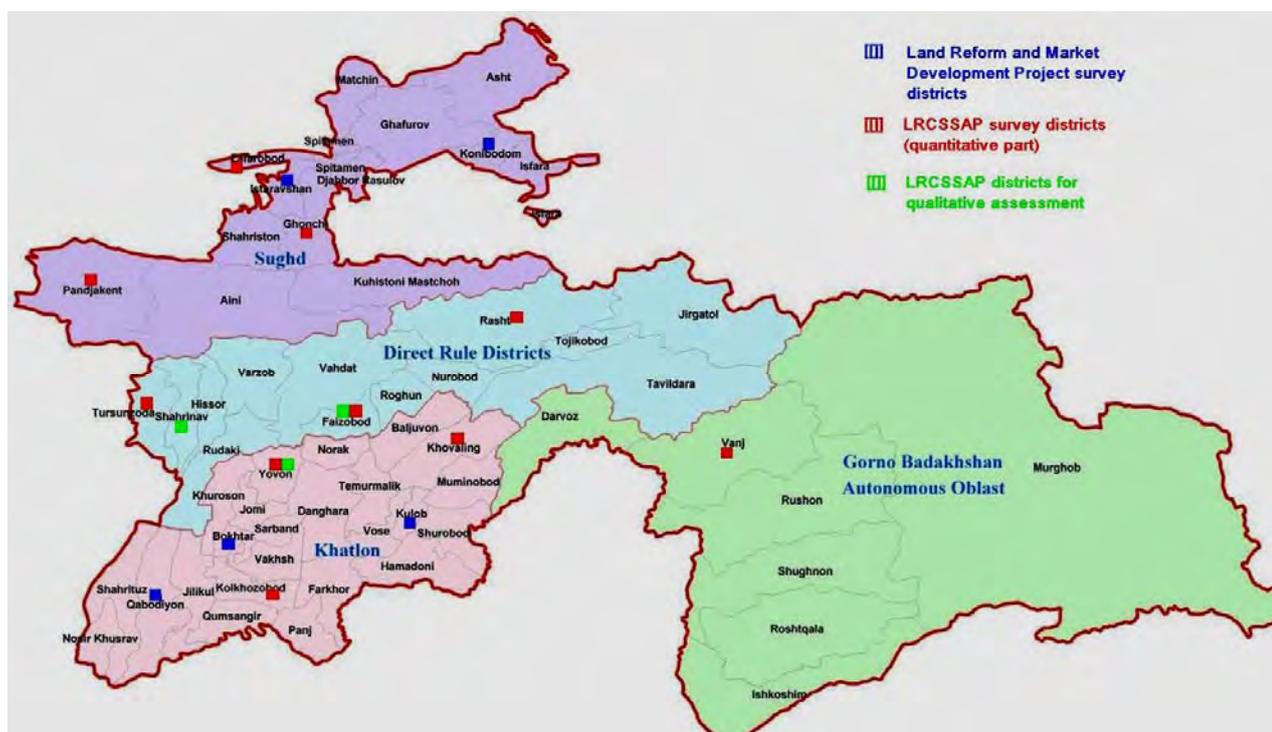
Areas studied are shown in the map (see Chart 1). In Sogd region in the north, USAID raions included are Istaravashan, Ganchi, Zafarabad, and Konibodom. In Khurgan region in the south, Bokhtar, Kolkhozobad, and Kabodien were surveyed. Finally, in Kuljab region, Kuljab raion was surveyed. In each of the raions, five Jamoats were selected for 20 interviews each. Within each Jamoat, two villages were selected for 10 interviews each. Farmers in villages often work on different farms, so by interviewing in villages rather than specific farms, more farm types could be included. The goal of the survey was to provide a sample from the USAID and World Bank project areas that would represent most farmers in the area. However, the survey did not attempt to provide a representative sample of all farmers in Tajikistan or in project areas. The sampling was done in order to provide enough farmers from each village to indicate whether or not substantial differences could be found across these small areas.

Questions for the survey were developed by a team that included the USAID project, the Project Management Unit staff of the LRCSSAP project, World Bank staff in Washington DC, and recommendations by a team from Zerkalo that conducts frequent surveys among farmers in Tajikistan. Questions were both open-ended, to capture unique responses of farmers, and closed-ended, in which respondents were asked to select among choices. The surveys were prepared in both Tajik and Uzbek languages. Zerkalo staff in each region conducted face-to-face interviews with farmers to get answers to the questions. Zerkalo provided field managers to oversee the work and check the questionnaires. Zerkalo staff in Dushanbe coded the data and prepared datasets in SPSS format for analysis. The analysis was conducted by social science survey consultant Eric Abbott, a professor at Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, USA.

The survey collected data of the following types:

1. Data on the type of farm on which the farmer is now living
2. Knowledge of land use rights and farm restructuring
3. Information sources used to get information on land use rights and farm restructuring
4. Perceptions about constraints preventing farmers from petitioning to break up collective dekhan farms and create extended or individual dekhan farms
5. Attitudes about land use rights and farm restructuring, and about changes in the farmer's own situation
6. Changes in behaviors or behavioral intentions that would indicate farmers taking a more active role in farm investment and management activities
7. Crop data
8. Income data from both farm and non-farm activities
9. Demographic data on respondents

**Chart 1. Map showing all 15 raions where the survey was conducted. The eight USAID areas were: Istaravshan, Ganchi, Zafarabad and Konibodom in Sughd oblast; Bokhtar, Kolkhozobod, and Kabodien (Qabodiyon) in Khargun region, and Kuljab (Kulob) in Kuljab region.**



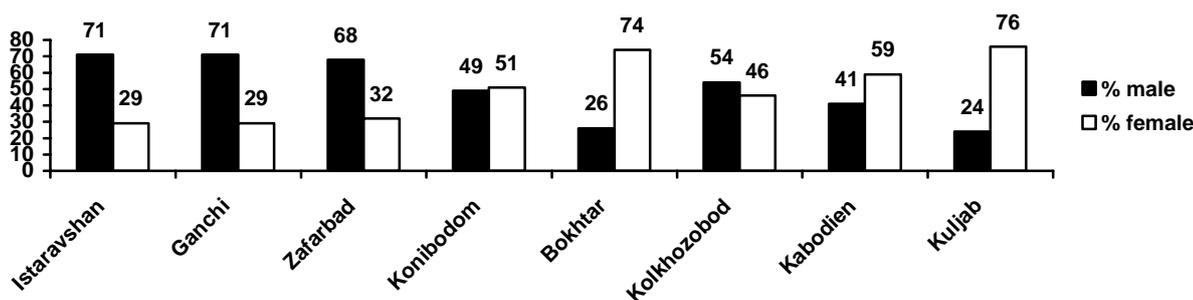
Because initial analysis showed that results differed considerably from one raion to the next, many of the findings are presented by raion. In cases where there was not much variation across raions, cumulative results are presented. Table 1 shows numbers surveyed from each region.

A goal was set of including at least 30% women farmers in each of the raions surveyed. This was accomplished in all eight raions, and in some areas, the number of female respondents approached 75% of all respondents. As shown in Chart 2, Bokhtar and Kuljab had the most female respondents, while Istaravshan and Ganchi had the least.

**Table 1: Numbers of Farmers from Each Region and Raion**

Region	Number	%
<b>Sogd</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>50%</b>
Istaravshan	100	
Ganchi	100	
Zafarabad	100	
Konibodom	100	
<b>Khurgan</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>37.5%</b>
Bokhtar	100	
Kolkhozobod	100	
Kabodien	100	
<b>Kuljab</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>12.5%</b>
Kuljab	100	
<b>Total</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Chart 2: Percentage of Male and Female Respondents by Raion**



## Types of Farms and Farm Characteristics

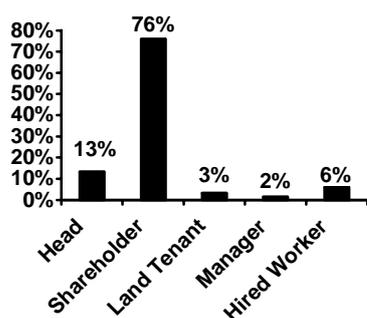
Table 2 shows the types of farms respondents worked on in each of the eight raions surveyed. In one of the raions – Zafarabad – 81% of the surveyed farmers have already formed extended family or independent dekhan farms. However, in Istaravshan, Ganchi, Bokhtar, Kolkhozobod, Kabodien and Kuljab, the great majority work on collective dekhan farms. In the eighth raion – Konibodom—80% still report working on a Soviet-style farm. And in Kolkhozobod and Kuljab, almost a third of farmers report still working on a Soviet-style farm. Although by law most farms are required to restructure, these results suggest that either they have not yet done so, or that the farmers who are living on them are not yet aware that legal changes have been made. Survey results show that farmers who report still working on Soviet-style farms have very low levels of knowledge of changes in land use rights and farm restructuring. They have been left behind by the changes that have occurred. These results also show a great unevenness across the country in what has happened, with some raions making substantial changes while others lag behind. In a goshoz (soyhoz, uchhoz, mejhoz, plemhoz, etc.)

**Table 2: Percentages of Farmers from Each Type of Farm by Raion. “In what type of farm do you cultivate land?”**

Raion	In a kolhoz	In a joint stock company	In a goshoz (soyhoz, uchhoz, mejhoz, plemhoz, etc.)	In a collective dekhan farm	In an extended family dekhan farm	In an individual dekhan farm	In a cooperative or association including extended family/individual farms	Total
<b>Sogd</b>								
Istaravshan	0	2	0	73	24	1	0	100%
Ganchi	0	17	0	65	16	2	0	100%
Zafarabad	0	0	10	9	73	8	0	100%
Konibodom	13	67	0	12	5	3	0	100%
<b>Khurgan</b>								
Bokhtar	2	0	9	78	6	5	0	100%
Kolkhozobod	18	8	6	52	14	2	0	100%
Kabodien	0	0	0	79	18	2	1	100%
<b>Kuljab</b>								
Kuljab	30	0	1	66	0	3	0	100%
<b>Overall</b>	7.9%	11.8%	3.3%	54.3%	19.5%	3.3%	.1%	

Of the 800 respondents, 712, or 89%, said that they themselves were cultivating land. Cultivation of kitchen gardens and presidential plots was specifically excluded from this and all other questions. The focus of the survey was on farmers who cultivated land in addition to any kitchen garden or presidential plot lands they might have. The remaining 11% said that someone in their household was cultivating land in addition to kitchen gardens and presidential plots. [Kitchen gardens refer to small plots of land, usually adjacent to their homes, allocated to households where they raise crops and livestock. Presidential plots are small plots of land allocated to households in addition to kitchen gardens that are not part of larger farms.

**Chart 3: Percentage of Respondents by Farm Position**



These two types of land are farmed intensively, but are not part of the farm restructuring process currently taking place in the country.] Respondents were also asked what their position was on the farm where they cultivate land. Results, shown in Chart 3, indicate that most are members or shareholders. About 15% are heads or managers, and these were almost all men. Slightly less than 10% identified themselves as land tenants or hired workers. This was more frequent for those working in Soviet-style kolhoz, joint stock companies, or goshoz farms.

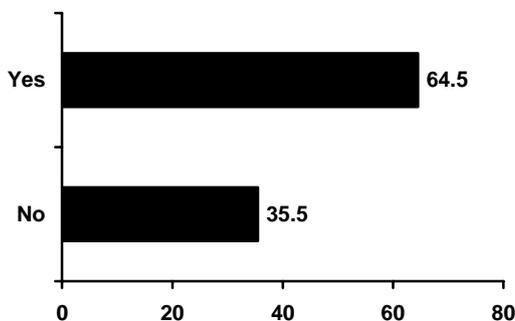
The 434 respondents who reported they were working on a collective dekhan farm were asked a special set of specific questions about their farm, including how many members there were, how many hired workers there were, and what the total area of the collective dekhan farm was. They were also asked if they had rights to a specific piece of land within the collective farm, and if so, if they had a sub-certificate confirming these rights. Half of the 434 said they did not know what the overall size was of the collective dekhan farm where they worked. Almost two-thirds—280 of 434—said they had been allocated a specific plot of land to which they hold rights (see Chart 4). Another 29% said they had not been allocated such a plot, and the remaining 6.5% said they were not sure. Of the 280 who said they had been allocated a specific plot, 255, or 91.9%, knew the specific location of their plot and its size (see Chart 5). For most, the individual plot remains the same over a number of years, but for about 15%, it rotates from year to year. Two thirds of those who say they have a specific plot of land also say they have a sub-certificate confirming their rights to that parcel (see Chart 6). About one-quarter say they do not have such a sub-certificate, and the remaining 6% were not sure. Summary data for all 434 respondents across raions is shown in Table 3.

**Table 3: Summary data for 434 farmers who said they work on a collective dekhan farm.**

	Mean	Median
Number of members living on the collective dekhan farm	132.4	47
Number of hired workers on the collective dekhan farm	6.4	0
Total area of whole collective dekhan farm	99.4 hectares	42.7 hectares
Total area of farmer's specific plot within collective farm	1.3 hectares	0.9 hectares

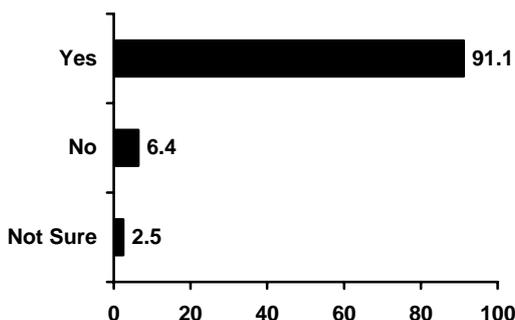
For summary results, both the arithmetic “mean” and the “median” are provided. The arithmetic “mean” is calculated by adding up all of the land sizes and dividing by the number of farmers. The “median” is the mid-point in the distribution from smallest to largest.

**Chart 4: Percentage of 434 collective dekhan farmers who have been allocated a specific plot of land to which they hold rights.**

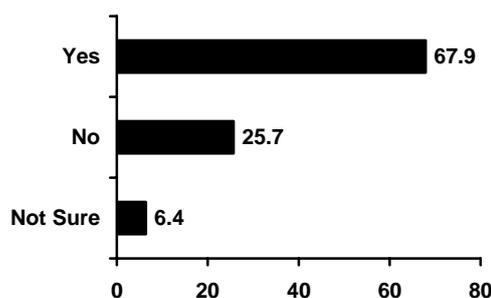


Results indicate that there are a few very large farms with many members (four with more than 1,000), and many farms with fewer members. Thus, the typical farm would be closer in membership to the median size. More than half of all collective dekhan farms have no hired workers, so the median size is zero. The typical collective farm size is about 43 hectares, but because some farms are quite large, the average mean size is almost double that, at 99 hectares. Individual plot size is 1.3 on average, but the typical plot is smaller, at .9 hectares.

**Chart 5: Percentage of 280 collective dekhan farmers with plots who know exact location of their plot of land**



**Chart 6: Percentage of the 280 collective dekhan farmers with plots who have a specific document (sub-certificate) that proves their ownership of a share of the restructured dekhan farm.**

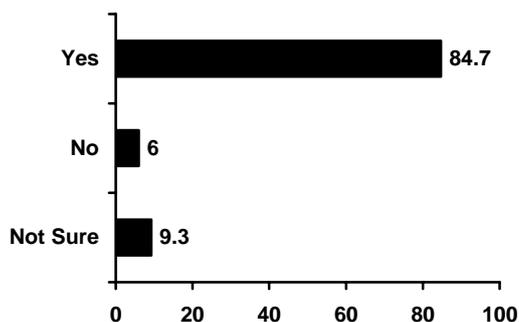


A total of 183 farmers of the 800, or 22.5%, reported that they were cultivating land either on an extended family dekhan farm (156 farmers), an individual dekhan farm (26 farmers), or a cooperative/association dekhan farm(1 farmer).

**Table 4: Summary data for 183 Extended Family and Individual Dekhan Farmers**

	Mean	Median
Number of members living on the extended family dekhan farm	15.5	8.0
Number of members living on individual dekhan farm	9.9	7.0
Number of hired workers on extended family dekhan farm	6.4	0
Number of hired workers on individual dekhan farm	2.4	0
Total area of extended family dekhan farm	11.8 hectares	7 hectares
Total area of individual dekhan farm	13.7 hectares	4 hectares

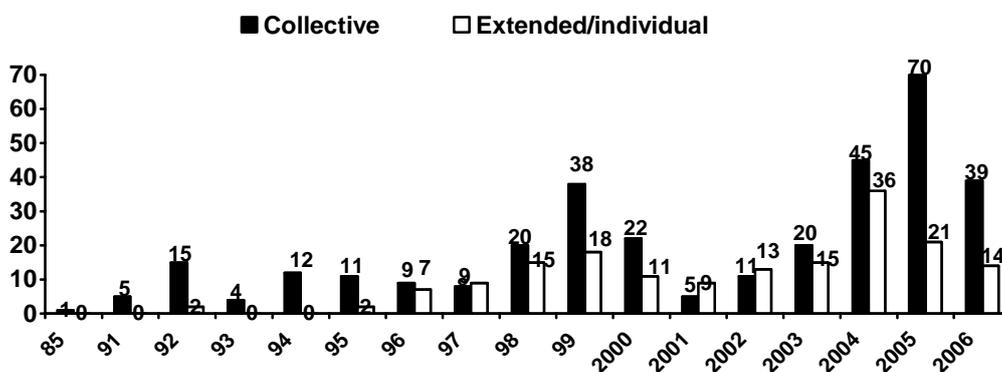
**Chart 7: Percentage of extended family or individual dekhan famers who have a certificate that proves their ownership of their independent parcel of land**



From Table 2, it is clear that the great majority of extended family dekhan farms can be found in Sogd region. In Zafarabad, for example, 73% of responding farmers are working on extended family dekhan farms. Farmers in this group were asked some specific questions about number of members living on their farm, hired workers, whether or not they hold a certificate to their land, and farm size. Summary data for the 183 farmers is shown in Table 4. For extended family or individual dekhan farmers, the average (mean) farm size is 12 hectares, with a median (midpoint) size of 7 hectares. From these figures, one can see that the average collective dekhan farm is about eight times larger than the average extended family/individual dekhan farm. (Individual dekhan farms were slightly larger – with a mean of 13.8 hectares – than extended family dekhan farms with a mean of 11.8 hectares). Chart 7 shows that of the 183 farmers, 84.7% report they have a certificate confirming their rights to an individual parcel of land. (A total of 70.2% say they have a sub-certificate for their portion of an extended family dekhan farm). These results indicate that for extended family or individual dekhan farms, having a certificate is relatively common although not universal.

Chart 8 shows that the most active years for creation of the collective dekhan farms and extended family/individual dekhan farms (created by law by dividing up the Soviet-style collective farms) were 2004 and 2005, although the process has been under way for about 15 years. There was a secondary peak in 1999-2000. These results indicate that the process of creation of both types of farms has been uneven, and that there is a correlation between the two. That is, both forms have tended to be created in spurts at about the same time periods.

**Chart 8: Dates of Creation of Collective Dekhan and Extended Family/Individual Dekhan Farms**

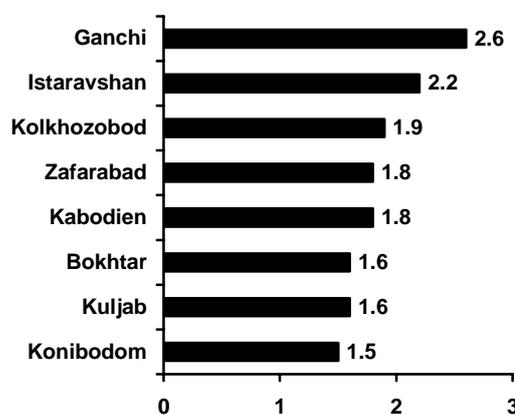




## Knowledge of Land Use Rights and Farm Restructuring

All 800 farmers were asked a series of questions to determine their knowledge of land use rights and farm restructuring. Knowledge was assessed by asking if they were familiar with six laws and decrees, by a 13-item knowledge test, and by asking respondents to self-rate their knowledge of these issues. Chart 9 shows the mean knowledge level by each raion for the six laws and decrees most relevant to changes in land use rights and farm restructuring. Overall, farmers had a mean score of 1.9 for the six laws/decrees. A '1' means "never heard of it" and a "2" means "heard of it but don't know much." Thus, a score of 1.9 indicates low levels of knowledge. Results show wide variation across raions, with farmers in the Sogd region from Istaravshan, Ganchi and Zafarabad reporting much higher knowledge (some specific knowledge or good knowledge), while farmers from Konibodom (Sogd), Bokhtar (Khurgan) and Kuljab show very low levels of awareness. It might be expected that levels of knowledge of laws would correlate with actual changes in farming structure. However, Zafarabad, with the great majority of its farms already extended or individual, showed knowledge levels below Ganchi, and especially low levels of awareness of presidential decrees. Meanwhile, although Konibodom's low awareness matches the fact that many of its farmers reported they are still working on kolhoz/joint stock company/goshoz farms, Bokhtar has even lower awareness despite having many farmers working on collective dekhan farms. Thus, one can conclude that knowledge of these laws must be due to factors other than simply changes in farm restructuring activity in the area.

**Chart 9: Mean knowledge of six Tajikistan land rights and land restructuring laws and decrees. A '1' means "never heard of it." A '2' is "heard but don't know much." A '3' is "have some specific knowledge." A '4' is "have a good knowledge."**



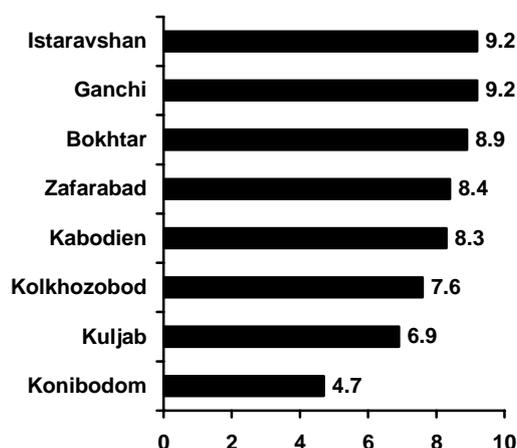
Farmers were also given a 13-item knowledge test concerning land use rights and farm restructuring issues. In general, farmers demonstrated that they knew many basic facts about the changes in land use rights and farm restructuring that affected them. Scores on the test varied from a high of 9.2 out of 13 in Istaravshan and Ganchi to a low of 4.7 out of 13 in Konibodom. The overall mean correct for all 800 farmers was 7.9 out of 13. Men answered correctly significantly more often than women. This was due in part to the fact that they knew more and had more information sources, but it was also due to a common tendency among females to answer "not sure" while males will guess. Overall results for each raion are shown in Chart 10. Percentages correct for each question are shown in Table 5.

**Table 5: Percentage of farmers getting each of the 13 knowledge test items correct (correct answer shown in parentheses) % Correct**

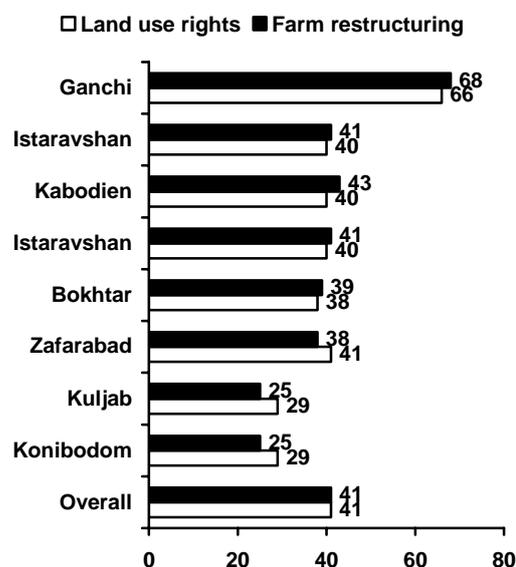
Knowledge Test Item	% Correct
Does a member of a collective dekhan farm have the right to petition for his/her own individual plot of land even if other farmers in the collective do not want to do this? (YES)	63.8%
A farmers land use right for an independent plot can be inherited by his/her children/spouse or by other family members. (YES)	82.6%
Farmers can grow whatever crop they wish on their land plot, even if it was formerly irrigated cotton land (YES)	56.4%
Farmers can sell their rights to their land plot to another farmer if they wish (NO)	63.6%
Farmers can lose their land use rights if they don't cultivate the land for a year (YES)	71.9%
Farmers can lease their land to someone else without losing their own rights (YES)	68.0%
Farmers must pay all taxes on their land (YES)	83.6%
Farmers can construct any building or barn they wish on irrigated land (NO)	34.9%
A woman has the right to be manager of the farm (YES)	87.9%
Farmers can barter their land plots with other farmers upon mutual agreement (YES)	47.4%
Who makes the decision to start a reorganization of a collective dekhan farm into extended/individual family DFs? (Raion Hukumat)	20.3%
Who is responsible for distributing the land among the members of a farm under restructuring? (District Land Committee)	50.6%
Where will you go to petition for obtaining a land use certificate to establish an individual/extended family dekhan farm? (Rayon Hukumat)	61.0%

Each respondent was also asked to assess his or her own knowledge of land use rights and farm restructuring. Results in Chart 11 show that there is a relationship between perceptions of knowledge and actual knowledge scores. Only 22-24% of those in Konibodom perceive that they either have somewhat good or very good knowledge, and this is reflected in their low actual knowledge of both laws and the knowledge test items. In Ganchi, by contrast, 66-68% say they have somewhat good or very good knowledge, and this was reflected in their 9.2 score out of 13 items. These results indicate significant differences in actual and perceived knowledge across raions.

**Chart 10: Results of 13-item knowledge test by raion**



**Chart 11: Self-rated knowledge of land use rights and farm restructuring: Percent saying they have somewhat good or very good knowledge**

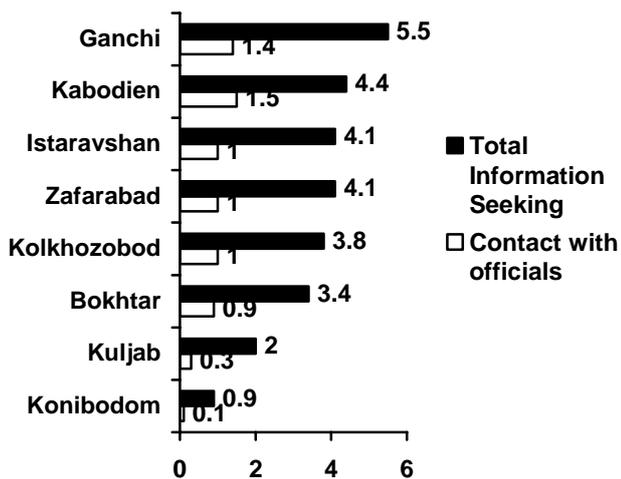




## Patterns of Information-Seeking by Farmers

Farmers were asked if they had obtained information of any kind about land use rights from a number of sources, including training workshops, publications, mass media, or interpersonal sources.

**Chart 12: Total Information Seeking and Contact with Officials by Raion**

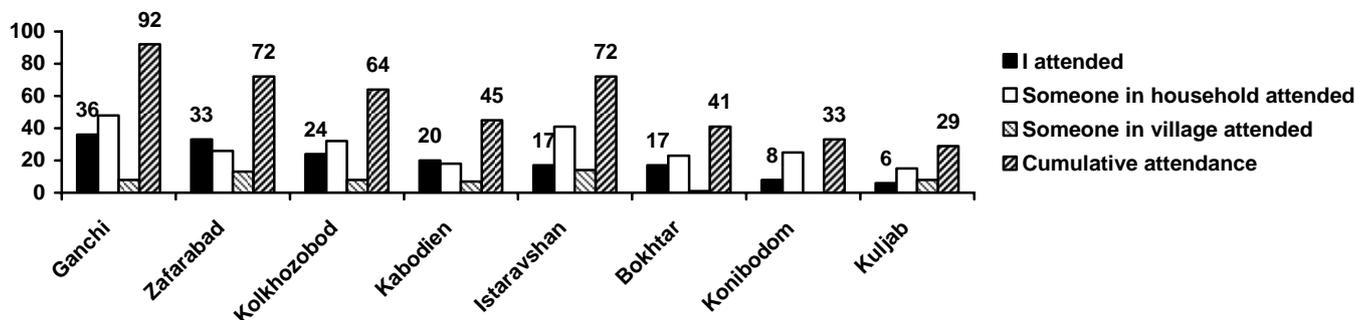


Of the 800 respondents, 189 or 23.6% said they had not received information from any of these sources. Thus, one in five farmers would be expected to have very low levels of knowledge. Women, and those still living on Soviet style farms had significantly lower levels of knowledge than other groups, and this matched their information-seeking behavior. The average number of information sources used by farmers was 3.5, but this ranged from a low of .9 for Konibodom to a high of 5.5 for Ganchi. Chart 12 shows summary results for total information seeking and contact with officials. Konibodom and Kuljab farmers reported significantly lower information seeking, contact with officials, and knowledge than farmers in the other regions.

Through partner NGOs, USAID’s Land Reform and Market Development Project has begun conducting a series of training workshops in the eight raions. At these workshops, farmers often received publications and information about their land use rights and the process of farm restructuring. However, the project also has worked to support many other methods of information delivery, including the “Your Rights to Land” programs on radio and TV, and newspaper articles. Other projects, including a World Bank land restructuring project as well as other donor activities, have also been going on in some of these areas. Farmers were asked if they had attended any training workshops held in the area on land use rights and farm restructuring. If they had not attended personally, they were asked if someone else in their household had attended. If the answer again was no, they were asked if they knew someone in the village who had attended. Results in Chart 13 show that there was wide variation among respondents in whether they had attended. In Kuljab and Konibodom, fewer than 10% said they had attended, while in Ganchi and Zafarabad, a third or more said they had attended. Overall, 20%, or one out of five, farmers, said they had attended. While only 20% had personally attended, another 29% said someone in their household had, and an additional 7% said

they knew someone in the village who had attended. If one adds all three of these possible categories, an average of 56% of respondents at least knew someone who had attended training. In Ganchi, the cumulative percentage was 92%, compared to a low of 29% for Kuljab and 33% for Konibodom.

**Chart 13: Percentage attendance at training workshops on land use rights and farm restructuring held in this area**



All respondents were also asked if they had seen any publications dealing with land use rights and farm restructuring. To make sure there was no confusion, interviewers actually held up copies of USAID publications and World Bank publications. However, they also were asked about other publications that might have been seen. A total of 36.7% said they had seen some publication on this topic. Again, there was wide variation across raions. Table 6 shows that in Ganchi, 50% said they had seen a publication of some type, and 45% identified what they had seen as a USAID publication or both a USAID publication and a World Bank publication. In contrast, only 9% of respondents in Kuljab and 12% in Konibodom said they had seen any type of publication.

**Table 6: Have you seen any publications dealing with land use rights? Percentage giving each response**

Raion	No	USAID Publications	LRCSAP Publications	Both USAID and LRCSAP	Other Publications	Not Sure
Istaravshan	57%	18%	7%	10%	5%	3%
Ganchi	48	19	3	26	2	2
Zafarabad	53	25	2	12	1	7
Konibodom	68	3	4	3	2	20
Bokhtar	63	25	6	5	0	1
Kolkhozobod	63	17	0	15	1	4
Kabodien	67	24	2	3	0	4
Kuljab	87	3	4	1	1	4

As expected, there was a close relationship between attending training and seeing publications. Those who said they had personally attended a training workshop were much more likely to say that they had also seen copies of the publications. A total of 84% of those who had attended training said they had seen a publication, and almost 70% of those attending training said that they had been give a copy of a publication.

Those who said they had seen copies of the publications were asked if they were given personal copies of them to keep. Since farmers in some areas were less likely to see copies, they were also less likely to receive personal copies. Chart 14 shows the percentage of farmers in each raion who said they were given personal copies of the publications. Ninety percent of those who were given a person copy of a publication say they still have it.

**Chart 14: Percentage saying they were given a copy of a publication**

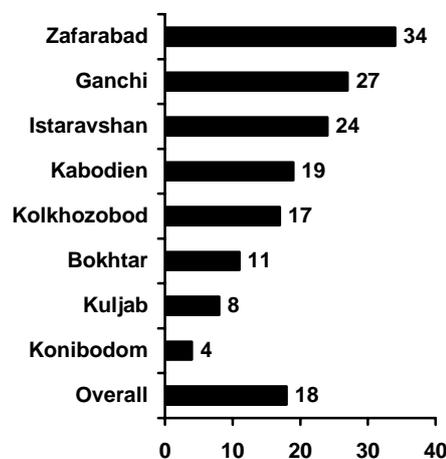
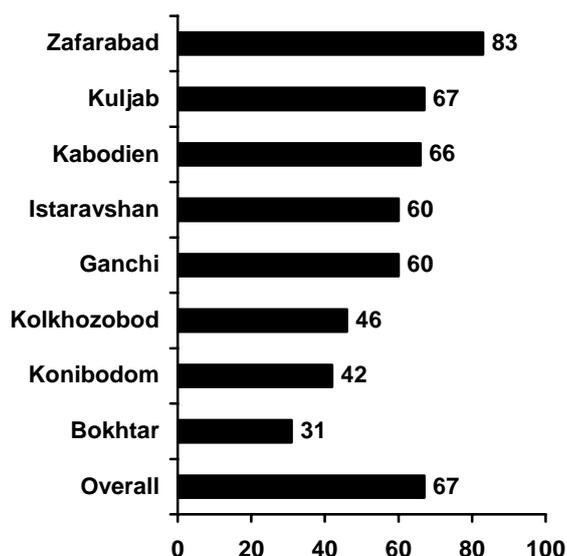
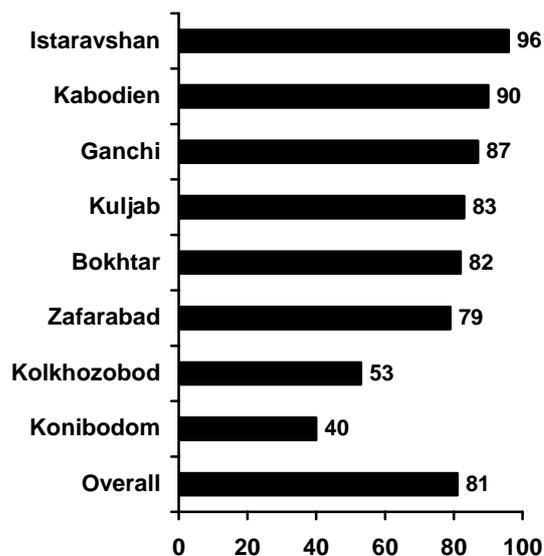


Chart 15 shows there are differences in readership of publications across raions even when farmers received the publications. In Istaravshan, Ganchi and Zafarabad, a high proportion of farmers receiving publications said they read them. In contrast, in Bokhtar and Kolkhozobod, more said they didn't read them than said that they did. Since the same publications were used in all areas, this suggests that in some areas farmers had trouble reading them, or they did not perceive them as relevant. In Bokhtar, for example, 74% of respondents were women. Yet Chart 16 shows that respondents in Bokhtar who read the publications said they understood them. In Konibodom, in contrast, the majority said they had trouble understanding them. Overall, most respondents said they understood all or most of the material.

**Chart 15: Of those who received publications, the percentage who said they read them**



**Chart 16: Percentage of those reading publications saying they understood "most" or "all" of them**



Respondents who read the publications generally regarded them as correct, and also useful. A total of 94% regarded them as correct, and 93% said the information was useful to them.

Farmers were also asked if they heard about land use rights and farm restructuring from the mass media, such as radio, TV, or newspapers. Both radio and TV carry a regular program entitled "Your Rights to Land." Chart 17 shows that almost half of farmers have watched the program on TV, and about one-quarter of farmers say they have listened to this program on radio. Radio listening was highest in Bokhtar, Kuljab and Kolkhozobod, and lowest in Konibodom. TV viewing was lowest in Konibodom, at 17%, and highest in Ganchi, where 69% said they had seen the program. Slightly less than half of the farmers who watch the show say they do so regularly. However, Konibodom, Istaravshan, and Kuljab farmers were less likely than the others to watch regularly. The third mass media source of information about land use rights and farm restructuring was newspapers. About one-quarter of farmers said they had read something about land use rights or farm restructuring in a newspaper. This ranged from a low of 4% for Kuljab and 7% for Bokhtar to a high of 56% for Ganchi.

In order to evaluate the programs, farmers who listen were asked if the material was understandable to them, if they considered it correct, and if it was useful to them. Results in Table 7 show that for radio, in areas such as Istaravshan and Ganchi, almost all respondents said they could understand the content. However, in Zafarabad, Bokhtar, and Kolkhozobod, substantial minorities said they had trouble with understanding the

content. Almost all respondents who listened said they considered the content to be correct (though many were “not sure” in Konibodom), and that it was useful to them. Of those who viewed the program on TV, most said they understood most or all of the content. However, in Bokhtar and Konibodom, substantial numbers understood only part of the program. As with radio, the great majority of respondents said they considered the TV information to be correct, and three-fourths of them said it was useful to them.

Chart 17: Percentage who listen to “Your Rights to Land” program on radio, watch on TV, or read about in newspapers

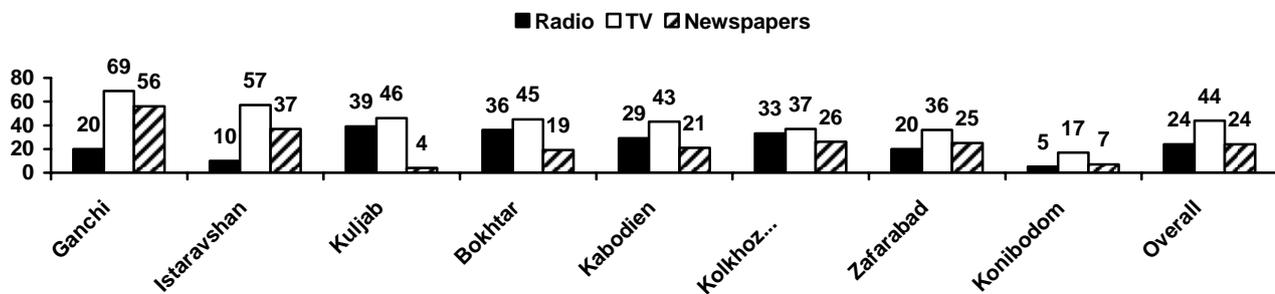


Table 7: Percentage who said radio or TV programs were understandable

	Not Understandable	Could Understand Some of Program	Could Understand Most of Program	Could Understand All of Program	Not Sure	Total
<b>Radio</b>	3.1%	27.6%	42.2%	25.0%	2.1%	100%
<b>Television</b>	3.7%	30.9%	43.7%	20.0%	1.7%	100%

Another important source of information about land use rights and farm restructuring is interpersonal channels. These channels are very commonly used in rural areas to deliver information, and when used, they are often an important indicator that serious evaluation of change may be going on in the mind of the farmer. Respondents were asked about interpersonal discussions within their households, with other farmers, and with a number of local officials. Chart 18 shows the mean scores for interpersonal discussions within the household or with others outside the household. A total of 338, or 42% of farmers, had no interpersonal discussions with anyone including those in their households. For females, 56.8% had no interpersonal contacts of any kind. For males, only 28% reported no interpersonal contacts. Results in Chart 18 show that males were twice as likely as females to have interpersonal discussions about land use rights and farm restructuring. Overall, one quarter of farmers have talked with the head of farm about land use rights or farm restructuring, and one in five say they have talked with the hukumat and district land committee. Fewer have visited with someone at a legal aid center or the local Tashabbuskor. Finally, about one in 10 say they have talked with other farmers about these issues. Chart 19 shows the percentage of farmers having interpersonal discussions with a variety of sources. Almost half have done so with someone within the household.

Chart 18: Mean score of interpersonal discussions of land use rights

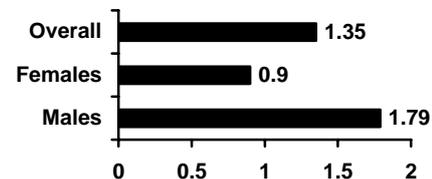
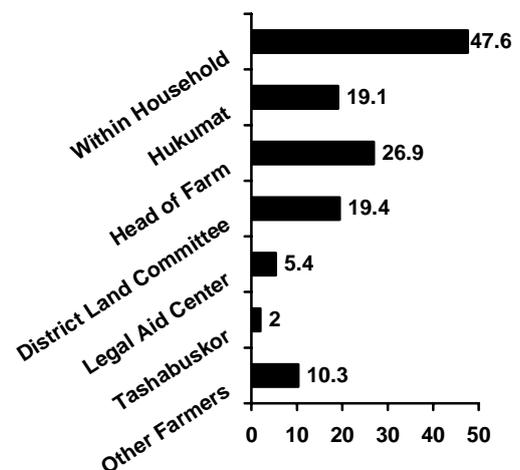
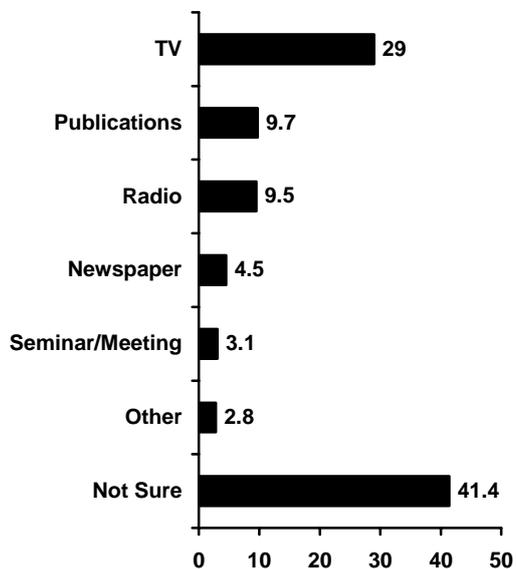


Chart 19: Percentage who have engaged in each type of interpersonal discussion



**Chart 20: Percentage identifying a “best source” for information about land use rights and farm restructuring. (This question was asked only the 611 farmers who said they had used at least one source to get information.)**



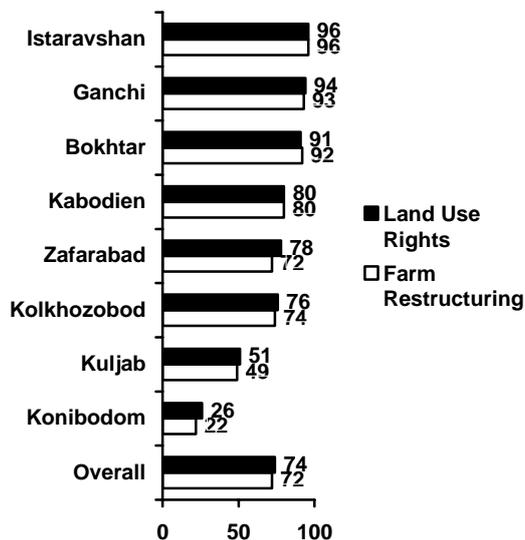
Of the 800 farmers interviewed, 189 or 23.5% said they had not used any sources to get information about land use rights or farm restructuring. The remainder, 611, were asked what their “best” source of information was about this topic. Results in Chart 20 show that TV was the most frequently mentioned best source of information. In fact, TV was the best source in every one of the eight raions except Kuljab, where it was tied for best with radio. Radio, newspapers, and publications were also mentioned. Radio did better in the south than it did in the north. Publications were stronger in Ganchi and Zafarabad. Because TV was mentioned so frequently, even among those who had attended training, it is clear that TV should be part of the communication strategy of projects wishing to reach farmers in these raions.



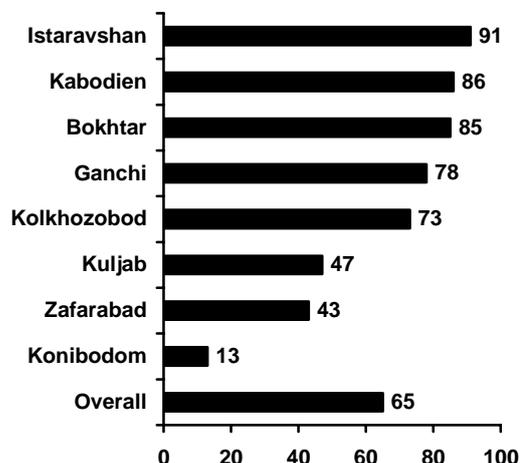
## Attitudes about Land Use Rights and Farm Restructuring

In order to assess whether or not farmers were in favor of or opposed to the changes that have been occurring with respect to land use rights and farm restructuring, they were asked two questions, one about land use rights and the second about land restructuring. The first asked, “How much in favor are you of the changes that have occurred in the area of land use rights?” Five choices were offered: strongly opposed, not very much in favor, somewhat in favor, strongly in favor, and not sure. Results in Chart 21 show that 74% of farmers in all eight raions were either somewhat in favor or strongly in favor of the changes that have taken place. Only 13% were strongly opposed or not very much in favor. The same pattern of results was shown in the second question. A third question asked how much farmers were in favor of the process that had been used in farm restructuring.

**Chart 21: Percentage of farmers “somewhat” or “strongly” in favor of changes in land use rights and farm restructuring that have been going on in their region**



**Chart 22: Percentage of farmers who are somewhat or very satisfied with the process used for deciding how to divide up sovkhoe or kolkhoze land**

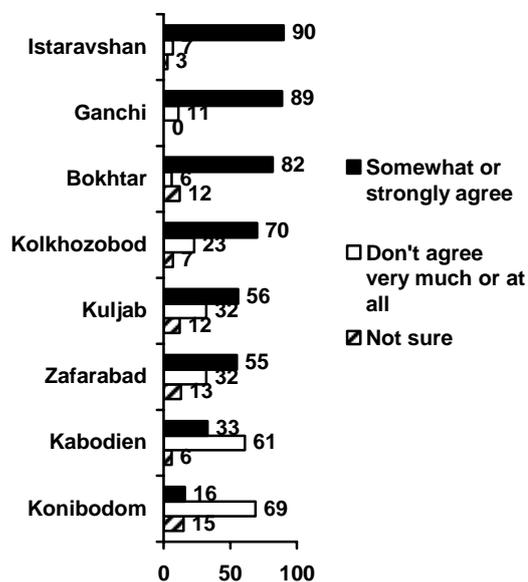


As shown in Chart 22, again, the great majority of farmers (65%) said they were either somewhat satisfied or very satisfied with the process, while 25% were not at all satisfied or not very satisfied. These three results constitute a strong endorsement overall of what has happened, and provide a positive base to encourage farmers to take actions to participate in the changes that have taken place. When examined by raion, results show that farmers in Konibodom are very different from farmers in the other seven raions.

More than half of those in Konibodom said they are strongly opposed or not very much in favor of changes in both land use rights and farm restructuring that have occurred in the area. Approximately 80% of the farmers from this raion say they are either members of a kolhoz or joint stock company. The pattern of opposition to changes here and in other raions such as Kuljab closely follows those who are on farms that have not yet been restructured. This suggests that these farmers may have decided that they do not wish to change, and that is why they are still on a kolhoz or joint stock company farm. However, these farmers also have very low levels of knowledge and few sources of information. While they may have negative attitudes, these attitudes may not be built on a firm foundation of information. It should also be noted that there is less satisfaction with the process than with the general idea of farm restructuring. The majority of Konibodom farmers (68%) said they were not satisfied with the process, along with 41% of Zafarabad farmers and 39% of Kuljab farmers.

Farmers were also asked to what extent they would agree with the following statement: “In most respects, farmers in this region truly can use their land as they wish.” As shown in Chart 23, farmers are split on this question. A substantial number of farmers in four of the eight raions believe they do not have the ability to use the land as they wish. This is perhaps not a surprise in Konibodom, where the majority of farmers are still on Soviet-style farms. In Kabodien and Zafarabad, this result might be due to the fact that a large proportion of farmers report raising cotton, a crop that remains high on the government’s priority list. In Zafarabad, for example, 75% of the farmers report raising cotton, and 32% disagree that farmers in the region can truly use the land as they wish.

**Chart 23: Percentage agreement or disagreement with statement: “In most respects, farmers in this region truly can use their land as they wish.”**



In order to assess barriers or incentives to forming extended family or individual dekhan farms, farmers were presented with a list of 10 possible barriers that might “prevent farmers from being willing to break up a collective dekhan farm and establish an extended family or individual dekhan farm.” They were asked to rate each on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being least important and 5 being most important. Across the eight raions, three barriers were much more commonly mentioned as being “most important.” They were: “Lack of access to machinery necessary to cultivate the land effectively” (50%); “Lack of cash or credit to buy inputs, chemicals or seed necessary to farm independently” (50%); “Poor access to irrigated water, irrigation equipment, or high cost of irrigation” (45%). As shown in Table 8, there was considerable variation across the eight raions. In the north, access to irrigated water was a “most important” barrier, while in the south it was not. In Istaravshan and Ganchi, the irrigated plots are considered too small and problematic to divide into tiny parcels, while this was not considered a “most important” problem in the other six raions. Farm debt overall was not rated as being as important as other things, but in Zafarabad and Kabodien more than half of farmers said it was “most important.”

**Table 8: Percentage of farmers rating each of 10 barriers to breaking up collective dekhan farms as “most important”**

	Istavrashan	Ganchi	Zafarabad	Konibodom	Bokhtar	Kolkhozobod	Kabodien	Kuljab	Overall
Lack of access to machinery	64	66	58	49	41	38	70	16	50
Lack of cash or credit to buy inputs	60	51	56	44	54	36	72	28	50
Poor access to irrigated water	63	59	52	56	29	27	55	17	45
Cost of process of establishing DF farm is too high	58	31	45	36	37	26	44	19	37
Fear that taxes would be too high	40	26	53	35	31	28	36	12	33
Debt attached to land is too high	24	24	56	15	22	29	52	17	30
Amount of irrigated land is too small	55	51	22	8	17	23	25	8	26
Lack of free choice to plant what you want	12	15	44	19	22	31	37	24	26
Lack of experience in farming	17	8	34	30	4	21	42	24	23
Lack of markets	11	26	53	9	10	23	11	12	19

On the positive side, farmers were offered four possible advantages that might motivate a farmer to petition to break up a collective dekhan farm and form an extended family or individual dekhan farm. Two of the four were rated “most important” more often than the others: “They could get secure rights to a piece of land that could then be passed on to your wife/husband or children” (49%) and “They could make more money from independent farming” (44%). Again, as shown in Table 9, there was considerable variation. In Kabodien, for example, 62% of farmers said being able to change the crop they were growing now would be a “most important” reason for petitioning. In Konibodom, Kolkhozobod and Kuljab, only about one-quarter of farmers said making money was “most important,” compared to a large majority of the other raion farmers. Farming independently was very important in Kabodien and Istaravshan, but not important in Konibodom and Kuljab. These results suggest that different communication strategies might be necessary to appeal to farmers across these eight raions. In part, this may be due to the current status of farmers. Those who are living on Soviet-style farms are not oriented toward making money, while others are. Being able to choose one’s crop is more important in several cotton-growing areas.

**Table 9: Perceived advantages of breaking up collective dekhon farms that were considered “most important”**

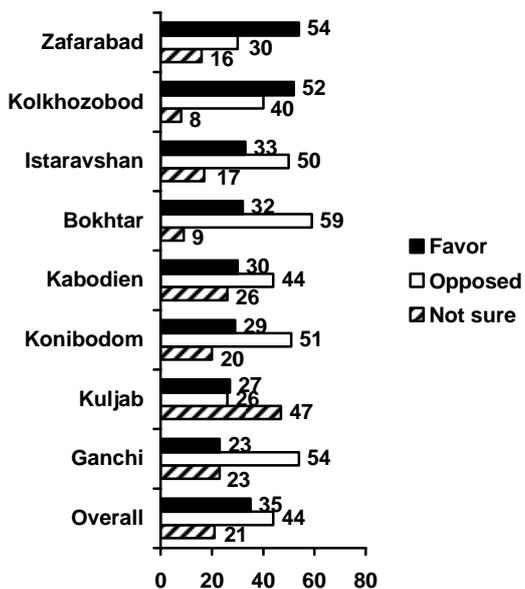
	Istaravshann	Ganchi	Zafarabad	Konibodom	Bokhtar	Kolkhozobod	Kabodien	Kuljab	Overall
Get secure rights to land	59	53	39	45	56	36	73	32	49
Make more money	63	40	53	27	48	26	68	22	44
Farm independently	53	43	41	14	49	28	64	17	39
Free to select crop of choice	41	35	40	25	29	25	62	29	36

Farmers were also asked about their most important current problems. They were presented with six possible problem areas, and asked to rate each one on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being least important and a five being most important. Results shown in Table 10 show that access to machinery such as tractors, pumps, etc., and access to water for irrigation were the top two problems overall across the eight raions. Access to markets was usually seen as the least important of the problem areas, along with implementation of farm restructuring. Problems of land debt and land use rights were in the middle. There were important differences in problem ratings across the eight raions. In Zafarabad, for example, 91% of farmers said access to machinery such as tractors, pumps, etc. was the most important problem, indicating that this is an almost universal concern. Access to water was also very important in Zafarabad, but not most important in Bokhtar. Observance of land rights was important in Kuljab, Kolzhobod and Zafarabad, but not in Kabodien, Konibodom, Ganchi and Istaravshan. Farm restructuring problems were clearly the most important in Kuljab, with 70% of farmers selecting this choice, while in Ganchi, Konibodom, and Kabodien, this was not a problem area. Access to markets was a serious problem in Kuljab and Zafarabad, but not as much in the other six areas. Problems of farm debt were also serious in Zafarabad and Kuljab.

**Table 10: Percentage of farmers identifying each of six possible current problems as being “most important”**

	Istaravshan	Ganchi	Zafarabad	Konibodom	Bokhtar	Kolhozobod	Kabodien	Kuljab	Overall
	% Most Important								
Access to machinery	69	52	91	52	62	52	79	84	68
Access to water	65	64	87	53	18	36	36	57	52
Observance of land rights	15	35	57	25	24	45	13	84	37
Problem of farm debt	2	3	88	19	31	32	52	62	36
Implementation of farm restructuring	16	14	44	6	32	37	8	70	28
Access to markets	19	20	74	9	14	31	6	52	28

**Chart 24: Percentage of farmers in favor of, opposed to, and not sure about being able to sell or buy rights to land**



The final attitude question concerned whether or not farmers would favor being able to sell and buy rights to land. This is not currently permitted by law. General results across all eight raions shown in Chart 24 indicate that farmers are somewhat split on this question, with 35% in favor and 44% opposed (the remainder were not sure). When examined by raion, the majority of farmers in Zafarabad and Kolkhozobod favor being able to buy and sell land rights, while a majority are opposed in Istaravshan, Ganchi, Konibodom and Bokhtar. It is not clear what is causing these differences across raions.



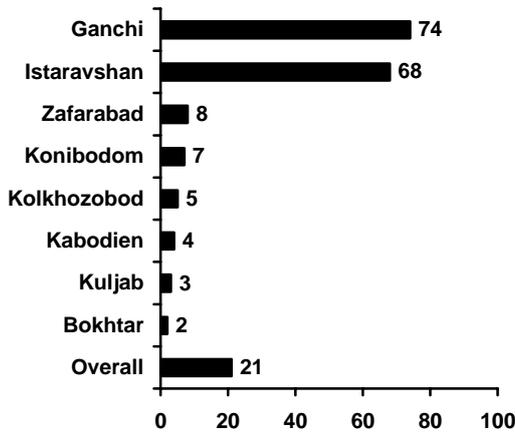
## Changes in Behaviors or Behavioral Intentions

Farmers were asked a series of seven questions to measure the extent to which they have taken specific actions or thought about doing so in ways that would indicate they are taking more personal control over their farming situation, and taking advantage of the new rights they have to land. One question asked if they had made specific investments (fertilizer, infrastructure, etc.) in their plot of land. Another asked if they have developed a business plan for their specific plot of land. Four other questions asked if they had leased their land to others, thought seriously about leasing their land to others, rented land from others, or thought seriously about renting land from others. Finally, the seventh question asked who “takes the lead in key decisions about what to plant on the major area of the land you cultivate?” Results in Table 11 show that there are dramatic differences between raions. For example, in Istaravshan, Ganchi and Zafarabad, the great majority of farmers say they have invested in improvements on the land they cultivate, while in Konibodom only 7% have, and in Kuljab only 10% have. Making investments is one sign that the farmer is confident enough in his or her rights to land to improve it for the longer term. Farmers in the first three raions are much more likely to have developed a business plan than those in the remaining five. In Konibodom, only one farmer reported creating a business plan. Leasing land to others, or renting land from others, is not a common practice yet in any of the eight raions.

**Table 11: Percentage of farmers who have taken each of six possible actions indicating they are taking independent farming decisions**

	Istaravshan	Ganchi	Zafarabad	Konibodom	Bokhtar	Kolkzhobod	Kabodien	Kuljab	Overall
Invested in improvements such as fertilizer, equipment, fences, etc	91	81	70	7	16	30	26	10	41
Prepared a business plan	51	43	39	1	12	17	20	1	23
Leased your land to others	9	11	3	3	4	1	5	1	5
Considered leasing land to others	7	7	4	10	1	15	8	1	7
Rented land from others	5	2	3	15	1	8	4	11	6
Considered renting land from others	9	16	17	17	2	4	13	5	11

**Chart 25: Percentage of farmers who say they take the lead in key decisions about what to plant on the major area of the land you cultivate**



Farmers in Istaravshan and Ganchi are slightly more likely to have leased their land to others, and those in Konibodom and Kolkhozobod are slightly more likely to say they have given serious thought to leasing their land to others, but have not yet done so. Farmers in Konibodom and Kuljab were slightly more likely to report that they had rented land from others. Finally, Chart 25 indicates that only in Istaravshan and Ganchi do farmers believe they take the lead in making key decisions. In the other six raions, all of which are key cotton-producing areas, it is the head of the dekhkan farm or local authorities who make the decisions.



## Crops Planted and Livestock

Table 12 reports cumulative crop data for all eight USAID raions. The survey was administered to all farmers, since any farmer cultivating the land has the right to petition for land use rights. However, many of those surveyed, especially those living on Soviet-style farms, did not know the total size of the farm, or how many hectares of cotton or wheat might be planted. Many farmers on collective dekhan farms did not know these things either. As was reported earlier, 50% of those on collective dekhan farms did not know the overall size of the farm, and one-third didn't have a specific parcel of land. Overall, of the 800 respondents, 37.4% were unable to provide any crop production information. The best information provided in terms of frequency was for the first planting. Most of the food crops were produced to supply the household with food, rather than being sold in the market. And in the case of cotton, many farmers said they were not involved in its sale, so they didn't know the total yield or how much it might have been worth on the market. This occurs because much of the cotton is produced on contract with outside investors, who then provide inputs and take the crop. From income data, it is clear that very few farmers report any cash from the sale of products. Results in Table 12 indicate that the two major crops are cotton and wheat. Cotton is a key crop in all the raions except Istaravshan and Ganchi. A total of 286 (57%) of the 500 farmers reporting at least some crop data said cotton was planted on their farm, and 244 (49%) of farmers said wheat was planted. Other crops are planted by many fewer farmers. Large standard deviations for many crops indicate that some farms produce large quantities of these crops for market, while most farms plant only enough for household or village consumption. In the table, the median value is the mid-point of the distribution, which indicates the more usual number, while the mean is much higher due to the large output of only a few very large farms. For cotton, for example, the median number of hectares planted on a farm is 5 (the typical size), whereas the mean of 31.3 hectares indicates that there are some very large cotton farms. For wheat, the median and mean are much closer together, indicating that for this crop, most farms are relatively small in size. The "other" category was usually used for pasture. Yield data was provided by a relatively small number of respondents, and is expressed in metric tons. The numbers reporting selling or bartering the crop are too small make analysis very meaningful, except to say that most farmers either don't sell their crop, or are unaware of what it does sell for. The total value (in somonis: \$1 = 3.44 somonis) is based on a very small number of cases.

## Crop Yield Data for All Eight USAID Project Raions

**Table 12: Crop Yield Data for All Eight USAID Project Raions**

**Note:** At least some data were provided by 62.6% of the 800 respondents, or 500 of the 800. However, the numbers reporting yield are smaller than those reporting the first planting. The number reporting selling/bartering or total value are too small to make meaningful analysis possible for the whole group.

Crop	Number Who Planted Crop (1 <sup>st</sup> Planting)	Percent of 500 reporting who planted	Mean Hectares Planted	Median Hectares Planted	Number Who Reported Yield Data	Mean Yield in Metric tons	Number Who reported selling/ bartering	Mean amount sold/ bartered in metric tons	Total value in Somonis
Cotton	286	57.2%	31.3	5.0	192	8	7	2.4	6891
Wheat	244	48.8%	4.6	2.0	204	2	27	8.8	2634
Rice	7	1.4%	6.6	1.0	4	.5	0	0	0
Corn	68	13.6%	1.9	1.0	52	2.3	7	1.2	193
Onions	54	6.8%	2.1	.8	44	10.0	8	21.1	956
Potatoes	61	7.6%	1.7	.3	50	1.5	11	2.1	1547
Carrots	31	3.9%	2.0	.3	25	1.3	8	3.6	402
Tomatoes	21	2.6%	1.0	.2	15	2.0	1	4.3	143
Cabbage	4	0.5%	4.0	4.0	0	0	0	0	0
Sunflower	16	2.0%	6.2	1.0	12	1.0	1	0.3	638
Cucumber	4	0.5%	.6	.5	2	9.9	0	0	0
Orchards	23	2.9%	4.6	2.1	8	0	3	0.2	153
Vineyards	42	5.3%	3.3	1.0	25	0.5	7	2.8	603
Fallow	9	1.1%	8.9	6.0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (pasture)	120	15.0%	6.7	2.3	0	0	2	0	3.4



## Sources of Income

Farmers were asked about sources of income from both farm and non-farm sources. From farming, they were asked if they received any salary from farm work, if they received any cash from the sale of farm products, or if they received any “in-kind” payments for their agricultural activities. They were also asked about non-farm income. Table 13 indicates salary received by month for 2006. It should be noted that some farmers said that officially they received a salary, but in fact the “salary” was said to pay for electricity for irrigation, for inputs, for machinery or something else, and in fact they never actually received the money. How often this might occur is not known. The table reports what was regarded as salary, whether or not they actually received the money. The table reports the number and percentage of the 800 farmers who reported receiving a salary each month, and for those who did receive something, the mean average salary and median salary received. As noted before, the mean represents the mathematical average, and is strongly affected by a few farmers with higher salaries. The median – the midpoint in the salary range—represents a more typical average salary and probably is more useful. Results show that employment levels peak in September-November with about half the farmers reporting salary during this period. (Keep in mind that all farmers are working, but the others are not receiving salary). The median salary rates indicate that most farmers receive about 20 somoni per month during non-harvest months, and about 40 somoni per month during harvest months. The median average annual salary is about 182 somoni (\$53). Table 14 shows the variation in salaried workers and average pay across the eight raions. Only 12% of 100 farmers in Zafarabad reported earning any salary, and only 15% in Ganchi. At the other extreme, in Bokhtar, Kolkhozobod and Kabodien, almost all farmers reported earning at least some salary. There is variation across the eight raions in reported salary, with farmers in Kabodien reporting a median total salary of 259 somoni while Bokhtar, Kolkhozobod and Kuljab farmers received between 162 and 190 somoni median total average salary.

**Table 13: Reported Salaries Paid in 2006 by Month for Farmers in All Eight Raions**

Month	Number of farmers receiving salary	% of 800	Mean Salary (somonis)	Median salary (somonis)
January	106	13.3%	39.1	21.5
February	122	15.3%	41.7	20
March	158	19.8%	29.6	20
April	195	24.4%	30	20
May	254	31.8%	29.6	20
June	232	29.0%	31.3	20
July	218	27.3%	32.9	20
August	279	34.9%	51.1	30
September	420	52.5%	68.1	40
October	403	50.4%	65.7	40
November	334	41.8%	50.0	32
December	183	22.9%	40.2	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>507</b>	<b>63.4%</b>	<b>266.4</b>	<b>182</b>

**Table 14: Number earning salary and average (mean and median) for each of the eight raions.**

Raion	Number of farmers out of 100 who report earning salary	Mean Salary (somonis)	Median Salary (somonis)
Istaravashan	47	267	240
Ganchi	15	360	360
Zafarabad	12	333	270
Konibodom	55	111	93
Bokhtar	99	381	190
Kolkhozobod	93	192	170
Kabodien	95	368	259
Kuljab	91	181	162

In addition to salary, farmers were asked if they received any cash from the sale of crops that were grown on the lands they cultivate. Only 64 (8%) of the 800 farmers reported that they received any cash. The mean average received was 107 somonis (median was 50 somonis). Receipt of in-kind payments for agricultural work was much more common, with 56% of farmers saying they received payments of this type. Table 15 shows the numbers and percentages of all 800 farmers and what type of in-kind payment they received.

**Table 15: In-Kind Payments Received by All 800 Farmers in 2006**

Type of In-Kind Payment	Number Receiving	% of 800
Wheat	185	23.1%
Flour	75	9.4%
Oil	46	5.8%
Wood	45	5.6%
Vegetables	21	2.6%
Grain	13	1.6%
Fruit	11	1.4%
Fodder	18	2.3%
Salt	4	.5%
Other	25	3.1%

Non-farm income was measured by asking about four different types of possible non-farm income. Table 16 shows the number of farmers who received each of the four types, the percentage of 800, and the mean and median averages of income received from each source for those who reported at least some income from that source. Results show that 60% of farmers have non-farm income, and this income constitutes a significant source of income for many households. Migrant remittances is the most important source, with almost a third of farmers reporting receiving income in this way. More non-farm income was received from this source on average than from the other three non-farm sources. About one in five farmers report income from a private business, and about one-third report pension income, although the amount tends to be small. Table 17 shows that there is variation across raions in terms of types of non-farm income received. In Kabodien, for example, 75 of 100 farmers reported private business income, while in Zafarabad only one farmer out of 100 did. Migrant remittances in general were important, but only 9 farmers in Zafarabad reported income from this source. In contrast, in Ganchi, Konobodin, and Kabodien, the number was 40% or more. Pension income was reported by almost half of the farmers in Bokhtar and Kolkhozod, but only 4% of farmers from Zafarabad.

**Table 16: Non-farm income in 2006 for Farmers in All Eight Raions**

Type of Non-Farm Income	Number reporting income	% of 800	Mean (somonis)	Median (somonis)
Private business	154	19.3%	1189	600
Migrant remittances	248	31.0%	2763	1650
Pension	249	31.1%	457	288
Social allowance	39	4.9%	339	210
Other	52	6.5%	1137	950

**Table 17: Non-Farm Income by Raion. Numbers of Farmers Receiving Each Type of Non-Farm Income.**

	Private Business	Migrant Remittances	Pensions	Social Allowances	Other	Total
Istaravshan	10	20	14	1	3	37
Ganchi	11	42	34	10	17	67
Zafarabad	1	9	4	6	2	18
Konibodom	6	40	17	0	2	49
Bokhtar	7	35	49	9	6	75
Kolkhozod	17	31	45	4	7	68
Kabodien	75	45	44	3	1	94
Kuljab	27	26	42	6	14	78
Total	154	248	249	39	52	486

Total income was calculated for each farmer by adding salary, cash payments for agricultural produce, in-kind value provided, and non-farm income. The average total income for all eight raions was 1500 somonis. Results are shown in Table 18. Table 18 also includes an index of household possessions designed to show how many of 18 possible household possessions were present, including a carpet, TV, DVD player, bicycle, automobile, tractor, etc. The overall average for household possessions was 4.6. Results show that Zafarabad and Konibodom farmers score much lower in both categories than those living in the other six raions, while Kabodien and Ganchi farmers report the highest incomes. Kabodien and Istaravshan had the highest scores for household possessions. One factor influencing the low incomes in Konibodom and Zafarabad is that amounts of migrant remittances were fairly small in these two raions when compared to other areas. Table 19 shows overall numbers and percentages of households having each of the 19 household items. Results indicate that having a carpet and either black and white or color TV is very common, while having a cell phone, automobile or tractor is not common. A crosstabulation showed that more than 90% of farmers have at least one a color TV or a black and white TV.

**Table18: Total Income and Household Possession Scores by Raion**

	Household Possessions Score	Total Income
Istaravshan	5.6	1404
Ganchi	4.9	2652
Zafarabad	3.9	390
Konibodom	4.0	354
Bokhtar	4.1	1343
Kolkhozobod	5.0	1165
Kabodien	5.4	3320
Kuljab	4.0	1376

**Table 19: Number and Percentage of Farmers Having Each of 18 Household Items**

	Number	%
Carpet	647	80.9%
Radio	370	46.3%
Tape DVD	326	40.8%
Landline Phone	63	7.9%
Mobile Phone	180	22.5%
Color TV	371	46.5%
Black and White TV	473	59.1%
Refrigerator	168	21.0%
Washing Machine	107	13.4%
Sewing Machine	347	43.4%
Air Conditioner	34	4.3%
Power Generator	25	3.1%
TV satellite	37	4.6%
Bicycle	280	35.0%
Car	152	19.0%
Lorry	20	2.5%
Tractor	53	6.6%
Motorcycle	30	3.8%

In order to measure whether or not farmers believe that their situation has improved over time, they were asked questions about their farming situation specifically and their overall economic situation. For their farming situation, they were first asked if they believe their farming situation has changed in important ways over the past few years. If they said it had changed, those who believe it had changed were asked whether the change improved or worsened their situation. Table 20 shows that in every raion, the great majority of farmers rely either totally or significantly on farming for income. Table 21 shows that in Istaravshan, the majority of those surveyed said their situation had changed for the better. In contrast, in Konibodom, only 1% of farmers believe their situation has changed for the better. There, 73% said their situation had not changed at all. In the other six raions, between a quarter and a third of farmers said their situation had changed for the better. Analysis shows that farmers on extended/individual dekhan farms are the most likely to say that their farming situation has changed, and the most likely to say it is for the better. These results are shown in Table 22.

**Table 20: In general how does farming affect your household income?**

	Farming is the only source of income	Farming is a significant source of income; however, there are other sources	Farming is not a significant source of income	Not Sure	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Istaravshan	60	37	1	2	100
Ganchi	26	49	11	14	100
Zafarabad	87	9	0	4	100
Konibodom	37	34	4	25	100
Bokhtar	56	37	2	5	100
Kolkhozobod	48	40	12	0	100
Kabodien	53	38	5	4	100
Kuljab	32	52	1	15	100

**Table 21: Percentage of Farmers Who Believe Their Farming Situation Has Changed for the Better or Worse Over the Past Few Years**

	Farming Has Changed for the Better	Farming Has Changed for the Worse	Farming Situation Has Not Changed	Not Sure
Istaravshan	56%	2%	26%	16%
Ganchi	30%	13%	22%	33%
Zafarabad	32%	1%	51%	15%
Konibodom	1%	2%	73%	22%
Bokhtar	27%	3%	54%	11%
Kolkhozobod	29%	4%	54%	13%
Kabodien	34%	3%	36%	22%
Kuljab	24%	7%	51%	13%

**Table 22: Type of Farm by Perception that Farming Situation Has Changed**

	Farming Situation Has Changed %	Of Those Who Believe It Has Changed, the Percentage Who Believe It is for the Better
Kolhoz/Joint Stock Company/Solhoz	19.7%	72%
Collective Dekhan Farm	39.4%	78.4%
Extended or Individual Dekhan Farm	44.3%	90.1%

In addition to their farming income, farmers also were asked how their general economic situation has changed. This would, of course, include their farming income, but might also include other sources of income such as migrant remittances. Results in Table 23 show that the majority of farmers in Istaravshan, Ganchi, Kolkhozobod, Kabodien and Kuljab said their general economic situation had improved in 2006 over the previous year. In no raion did a majority of farmers say it was worse. Konibodom, the raion in

which most respondents are still living on joint stock company farms, showed the lowest level of satisfaction, with 39% saying they were worse off and 43% saying they were the same. Only 9% said they were better off. These results match the farming results shown in Table 21, in that Istaravshan showed the greatest improvement by both measures, and Konibodom the least.

**Table 23: Comparing your economic status to what it was one year ago, would you say your are better off, worse off, or about the same?**

	Better Off	Worse Off	About the Same	Not Sure	Total
Istaravshan	73	1	23	3	100
Ganchi	60	3	28	9	100
Zafarabad	37	12	46	5	100
Konibodom	9	39	43	9	100
Bokhtar	41	15	43	1	100
Kolkhozobod	67	6	25	2	100
Kabodien	52	5	43	0	100
Kuljab	56	4	34	6	100



## Demographic Variables

Comparisons by Sex were presented in Chart 2, and indicated that in Bokhtar and Kuljab about three-fourths of the farmers interviewed were women. In contrast, in Istaravshan and Ganchi and Zafarabad, about 70% were male. In other areas, there was about an equal gender balance.

**Chart 26: Percentage of Language of Farmers Interviewed**

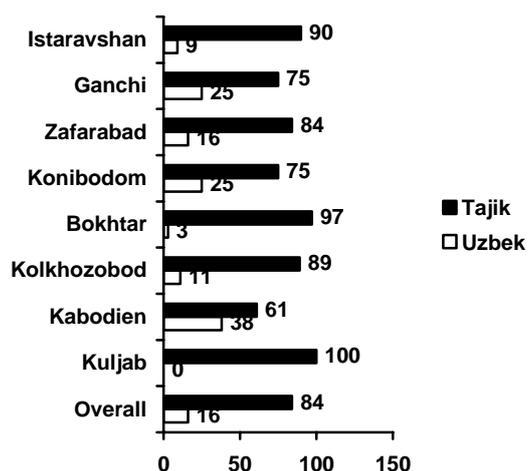
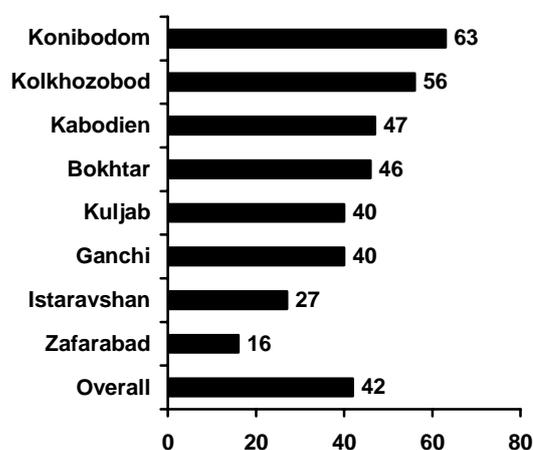


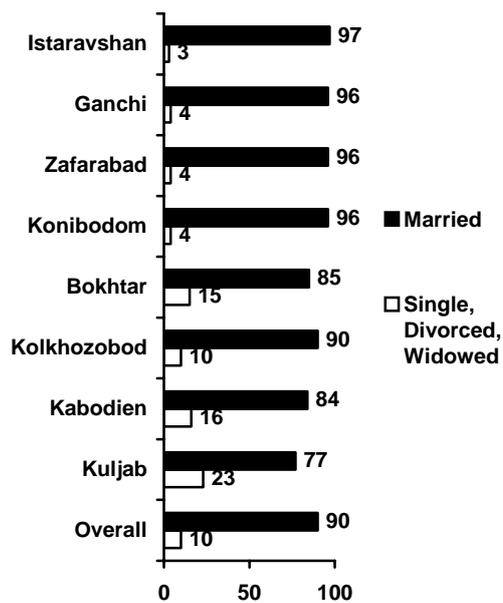
Chart 26 shows that a sizable number of farmers were interviewed in Uzbek in Ganchi, Konibodom, and Kabodien. Farmers were offered a choice of language for the interview, so these results suggest that in these three raions, communication efforts will need to include multiple languages to be most effective. Uzbek farmers had slightly lower incomes than Tajik farmers, and were more likely to work on a Soviet-style farm (23% vs. 14%), but they did not differ significantly in their knowledge of land use rights or information seeking behavior. Chart 27 shows that the proportion of households with someone working abroad varies considerably from a high of 63% in Konibodom to a low of 16% in Zafarabad. Chart 28 shows that most respondents were married. Only in Kuljab was there a sizable group of single respondents.

Charts 29 and 30 focus on education, both in agriculture and in general. Results show that more farmers in Istaravshan, Ganchi and Kolkhozobod have formal training in agriculture, and more formal education in general. Farmers in Bokhtar have the least education, in large measure due to the fact that the majority of respondents from that area were women.

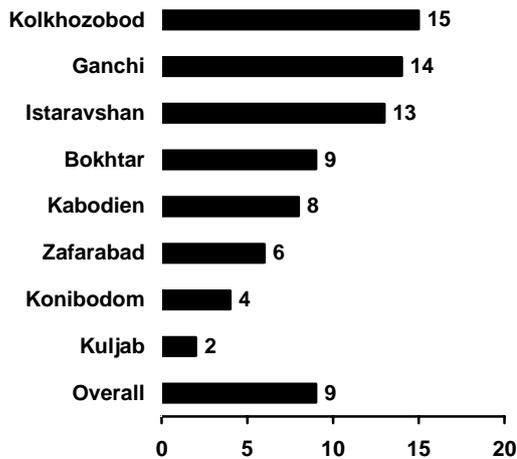
**Chart 27: Percentage of households with someone working abroad**



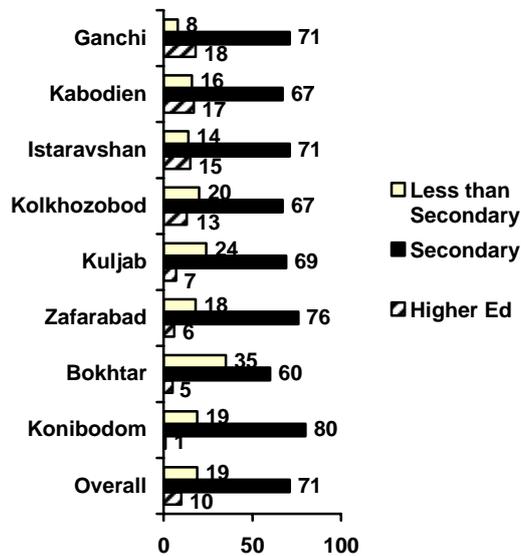
**Chart 28: Percent Married or Other Status**



**Chart 29: Percentage of farmers who have received formal training in agriculture**



**Chart 30: Percentage of farmers completing each level of formal education by raion**





## Conclusions and Recommendations

This survey had two main purposes. The first was to provide baseline measures of progress in changes in land use rights and farm restructuring that can be used to measure future progress. Results suggest that the process of converting all farms to collective dekhan farms, extended family farms, or individual dekhan farms, is not yet complete, at least in the minds of farmers. Almost one-fourth of respondents said they were still cultivating land on a kolhoz, joint stock company farm, or goshoz. Although legal changes may have occurred on these farms, the important reality is that farmers are not aware of them, and thus would not act to take advantage of these changes. In these areas, most farmers perceive that nothing has changed, and that nothing is likely to change in the next few years. The majority of farms surveyed, 54%, now are identified as collective dekhan farms. Farmers on these farms recognize that changes have taken place. However, only 65% of these farmers say a specific plot of land has been allocated within the collective dekhan farm for their use. And of those who have an identified plot, only two-thirds have a sub-certificate that confirms their rights to this plot. A total of 22.9% of respondents said they were cultivating land on extended family and individual dekhan farms. Almost 85% of these farmers have completed the legal process, and have a certificate or sub-certificate confirming their rights to land.

Beyond the legal process, forward progress in farm restructuring can be measured by specific farmer behaviors. In the survey, farmers were asked to indicate how many of a list of six behaviors they now engage in, including direct investments in improving their lands, developing a business plan for their land, leasing their land to others, or renting land from others. At present, only 41% report making any investments in improving their land, and fewer than one-quarter have developed a business plan. Leasing or renting land has not occurred in any region or farm type on a large scale. As the farm restructuring process continues, changes in these practices can be monitored to indicate the extent to which farmers are beginning to take advantage of possibilities offered by their new land use rights. An additional measure concerns whether or not farmers believe that they are making the key decisions about what to plant on their farms. At present, only 21% of farmers believe that they are taking the lead in key decisions about what to plant on the major area of the land they cultivate. Only in Istaravshan and Ganchi – non-cotton-growing areas – is farmer initiative strong. One indicator of future progress will be an increase in this percentage.

### **Knowledge and Information-Seeking**

Farmers' knowledge of six land use rights and farm restructuring laws/decrees was measured. In general, knowledge of specific laws and decrees was poor. The most common responses were "never heard of it" or "heard of it but don't know much about it." Farmers were also given a 13-item test to measure knowledge of

specific aspects of land use rights and farm restructuring. They did better on the 13-item test, scoring an average of 7.9 out of 13 correct. Men answered correctly more often than women. Farmers in Konibodom had lower levels of knowledge of both laws and general concepts than farmers in other areas. Results of the knowledge test indicate that most farmers have at least some basic knowledge about their land use rights and the farm restructuring process. For example, 72% know that if they don't farm their land for a year, they could lose their rights to the land. And 83% know that they can pass their rights on to their children/spouses. However, only 35% know that there are restrictions to what they can build on irrigated land. And only 20% know that the raion hukumat is the person who makes the decision to start reorganization of a collective dekhan farm into extended/individual dekhan farms. An indicator of future progress will be an increase in the knowledge levels of farmers about their land use rights, and about the process necessary to exercise them.

When asked if they had received information about land use rights or farm restructuring from any source in the past few years, almost one-quarter of the 800 farmers said they had not received information from any source. The average number of sources used overall by farmers was 3.5. This included training workshops, publications, radio, TV, newspapers, household discussions, and interpersonal discussions with a variety of local officials (hukumats, farm heads, district land committee, legal aid offices, tashabuskor, etc.). Konibodom farmers scored especially low with an average of only 0.9 sources. Overall, one in five farmers said they had attended a training workshop on land use rights or farm restructuring. Slightly more than a third – most of them those who attended a training workshop – said they had seen a publication on this topic. About two-thirds of those receiving publications said they read them, and more than 80% of those who read them said they understood them. More than 90 percent of those who read them said they regarded the information as correct, and found it useful to them. TV was a source of information for 44% of respondents, more than any other single source. TV was also rated as the “best” source of information overall. Radio and newspapers were mentioned as sources by about one-quarter of respondents. Men were twice as likely to use interpersonal sources such as household discussions, discussions with other farmers, and discussions with officials such as hukumats, district land committees, or farm heads. These results suggest that the majority of farmers have used at least some information sources to get information about their land use rights and farm restructuring. Since TV is frequently used, and is perceived as the “best” source of information, it is clear that TV should constitute at least one channel used in future project activities. Studies indicate that when a farmer's serious interest in a topic is activated, that farmer will begin searching for information from all credible sources, including interpersonal sources, publications, meetings, and mass media. The higher the information-seeking scores, the more likely it is that the farmer is preparing to make a decision and take action, although in some cases the action may be to decide not to petition to break up a collective dekhan farm.

### **Attitudes about Farm Restructuring and Land Use Rights**

Approximately 75% of farmers said they were somewhat or strongly in favor of changes in farm restructuring and land use rights in recent years. Almost two-thirds also said they were satisfied with the process being used. However, only 39.4% said that they expected some changes or big changes in land restructuring in the next few years (37.5% predicted little or no change, and the rest were undecided). When asked to rate barriers that would prevent farmers from petitioning to break up collective dekhan farms into extended family or individual farms, the top concerns were: (1) lack of machinery; (2) lack of cash or credit to buy inputs, and (3) poor access to irrigated water. Perceived advantages to breaking up collectives included: (1) getting secure rights to land; and (2) making more money. At the present time, 44% of those surveyed oppose the idea of making it legal to buy or sell rights to land (35% are in favor, and 21% are not sure). Positive general attitudes toward land use rights and farm restructuring can provide an important base for future project activities. However, as is clear from the low number expecting changes to happen in their areas, it will be important to reinforce these positive general attitudes by demonstrating that local changes can and are happening.

## **Perceptions about Improvements in the Farming Situation**

A total of 36% of farmers said they believe their farming situation has changed in important ways over the past few years, and the great majority say it has been for the better. A key exception is Konibodom, where most farmers perceive there has been no change. Farmers on extended family or individual dekhan farms are the most positive, with 90% of those who have experienced change saying it has been for the better. For collective dekhan farmers, 78% say it has been for the better. For kolhoz, joint stock company, or goshoz farmers, only 20% say change has occurred, but for those who have experienced change, 72% are positive.

## **Recommendations for Project Activity**

The second major goal of the survey was to provide data that can help improve current project activities. Results suggest that because of wide variations across the raions surveyed, different approaches are needed in different raions to assist farmers. Specific recommendations include:

- Women have much lower levels of access to all types of information about land use rights and farm restructuring. Since women are found in large numbers in regions such as Bokhtar, Kabodien and Kuljab, and since many men are working in other countries or regions, special communication and support efforts will be needed to reach women. Since few women have formal education, special materials may need to be developed that explain land use rights and farm restructuring in simple terms (perhaps illustrated booklets or special radio/TV shows). Since men are three times more likely to be invited to training workshops, special efforts are clearly needed to attract more women to these workshops. This will also increase the opportunities to present women with copies of relevant publications. Women also need more assistance in dealing with local officials. Presently, they have much less contact than men do, and they are likely to be less skilled and influential when they do. Legal aid centers need to target problems women have in asserting and claiming their land use rights.
- Konibodom, Kolkhozobod and Kuljab had many respondents who said they were still working on kolhoz, joint stock, or goshoz farms. Especially in Konibodom, these farmers had very low levels of knowledge and few information sources. They also perceived that nothing has changed, and that nothing will change in their areas. Clearly, special efforts will be necessary to reach farmers in these areas with information about their land use rights. There are likely to be reasons why their areas have been resistant to change, and these may need special case studies in order to better understand why changes do not seem to be happening there.
- Farmers in cotton-growing areas were much less likely than others to believe that they could make key decisions regarding what crops to plant on the lands they cultivate. This suggests that despite reforms, there are still forces at work locally that cause farmers to believe they cannot make these decisions. In non-cotton areas, in contrast, the great majority of farmers say they already make the key decisions about what crops to plant.
- Farmers in general have positive attitudes toward changes in land use rights and farm restructuring, and with a few exceptions (in Konibodom, for example), they are also satisfied with the process that has been used. This can serve as a base for building support for increased activity. However, despite these positive attitudes, farmers seem to be split on whether or not to expect changes to occur in their areas in the next few years. As noted, about 39% expect changes, while 38% say they don't expect much to happen. The rest are undecided. Some demonstration projects or other publicized activities may be necessary to convince farmers that changes could happen in their areas. Because of their general support for these changes, farmers might be willing to increase activity if they believe that changes are possible in their local areas.
- Approximately one-third of collective dekhan farmers have still not received a sub-certificate confirming their rights to their plots (this matches the subset who still have not been allocated a specific plot). Part of the remaining farm restructuring process will need to focus on farms where the process was started but has not yet been completed.

- Farmers perceive a number of important barriers that prevent them from petitioning to break up their collective dekhani farms into extended family or individual farms. Although there is variation among raions, lack of access to machinery, lack of cash or credit to buy inputs, and poor access to irrigation water are the top three. While projects do not necessarily need to provide these to farmers as part of their activities, projects should focus on how these perceived barriers might be overcome as a part of the overall process of farm restructuring. Local officials and others who control or influence allocation of machinery and inputs must be taken into account in project activities. The survey also shows that a desire for secure land rights and a desire to make money are considered important.