

A STUDY OF THE RURAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF KHORASAN AND CENTRAL OSTAN*

In 1954, the Ministry of Agriculture, assisted by Point 4 and the Ford Foundation, made a study of the ratio of rural population to the area of cultivable land in more than 30 Iranian villages. Reports were completed in English by the two American researchers who had participated in this study. Since these reports could serve as a useful source of comparison for the changes that had taken place in the villages in the ten years that had elapsed before the present research was undertaken, the Institute for Economic Research decided to take advantage of the opportunity and received the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation. In addition to the question of the pressure of population on the land, which had been the major interest of the previous study, questionnaires were used to evaluate the results of land reform.

So far we have published the results of our surveys of the villages of Khuzestan, Gilan, Mazanderan, and East and West Azarbayjan as well as a general study of the major rural economic problems of these provinces based on the information obtained from local sources and the 1960 Agricultural Survey Reports. Since the question of pressure on the land is closely related to the possibilities of absorbing the excess rural population in other sectors, the group also studied the potentialities of the industrial and services sector as well as the development prospects of each region.

However, we have not printed the general report for the Ostan of Khorasan in this issue because much of the data we collected is by now obsolete, and because we have not yet had the opportunity to compare our work with surveys carried out at a later date. This report will be included in the next issue of the Journal. At present we have printed some of the reports made in 1953 and 1954 in order to highlight the changes that have taken place in the villages.

* By the Research Group of Iran's Agricultural Economy.

A STUDY OF THE RURAL ECONOMY OF THE VILLAGES OF KHORASAN

Ostan: Khorasan.

Shahrestan: Kashmar.

Village: Farak.

Date of Study: 1964.

Farak is situated 8 kilometres east of Kashmar on the Torbat-Heydariyeh-Kashmar road. The village covers an area of about 1,160 hectares. All farming is carried out by irrigation but, since the water supply is limited, only a quarter of the land (290 hectares) is cultivated annually. During the current year a severe drought meant that only 241 hectares were cultivated. Formerly, when the village qanat had more water, 18 *gavbandi*¹ cultivated 500 hectares of irrigated lands. According to the farmers, when there was even more water, there were 36 *gavband* and about 1,000 hectares of the village lands were under cultivation. Today 9 *gavband* each represent 8 households, the total number of *nasaq* holding households in the village being 72.

In general, the size of farming units in this village is greater than in others. We came across farming units of 14 and 9 hectares which seemed to be enough to ensure the livelihood of an agricultural household. However, the landholding system, the dense population of the village and the fact that the present system of production makes a number of the village residents dependent on farming activities, means that these "economic units" are uneconomical especially as the area under cultivation is, due to the shortage of water, steadily decreasing.

At present the three main difficulties of the village are the system of landownership, overpopulation and lack of job both in the village and in the nearest town, Kashmar.

The Economic Condition of Farak

The village is divided into 108 shares, 18 of which are a religious en-

1. In this village a *gavband* is a unit of land somewhat less than 8 hectares. Many of the *nasaq*-holders own their own ox and have moving rights to cultivate part of the land of 1 *gavband*.

dowment to the Razavi Shrine, and 7 an endowment to the Kashmar hospital, the remaining 83 are owned by a number of petty landlords the largest of whom has 12 shares, the others having 6 or less each. The Shrine and three of the landowners receive cultivation fees from the farmers are trustees and the rest lease their lands permanently to the farmers against an official deed by which they receive the rent in advance. The total value of the product, going to the owners of the village from both trusteeship and lease rights, amounts to 1,730,000 rials. If we divide this by the number of farming households it amounts to 24,028 rials per households, (320 dollars) or 64 dollars per capita.

When lease deeds are being drawn up, the farmers often compete for the favour of the landlords by giving presents and so on. This is because the *nasaq* of the village is not fixed so that the landowners can, at any time, discharge the farmer from the *gavbandi* and replace him. The shortage of cultivable land, and the large number of farmers has caused harmful competition within the village community. This deprives the peasants of economic and social security and so a great many migrate each year to the Gorgan plain and other places in search of work, returning to the village at the end of the season.

The village has a population of 1,200 or 240 households. Of these, 168 households i.e. more than 70 per cent of the total population, are *khoshneshin*. Shortage of land and overpopulation, shortage of water and the weakness of the farmers in the face of the landowners, has meant that many have abandoned their *gavbandi*, sold their ox and become *khoshneshin*. Should the water diminish even further and the owner's pressure continue, the number of *khoshneshin*, or *aftabneshin*, as they are called in this village, will increase.

This alarming trend is, in reality due to lack of opportunities outside the agricultural sector. Kashmar, the nearest town, is crowded with the unemployed and has no more than a few carpet-weaving establishments and a limited number of industrial units such as a power plant. Out of a population of 13,299, only 2,269, or 17 per cent are working in 894 establishments. These include various urban professions and all the shopkeepers of the city. In this situation, in which the town offers no possibility of mobility what prospects are there that the swarms of rural unemployed can be utilized in a productive labour force? On top of this, unemployment has, of necessity, imposed four extra households on each *gavband* and this has caused great difficulties in the village's system of production. The study carried out ten years ago showed that each *gavband* consisted of 4 households, whereas now it

consists of 8.

Since farming is exclusively by irrigation, the area farmed annually is largely dependent upon the water available to the village. This comes from two sources: the qanat and the River Kal. Part of the river water is wasted since it flows over sandy strata and is sometimes absorbed. If this wastage could be prevented the amount of cultivable land could be increased. We were told by the village elders that the qanat waters about 210 kilos of seeds in 24 hours. The shortage of water means that the gavband cultivate their land in proportion to the supply. Crops are rotated: wheat is grown in the first year, cummin seeds in the second and third year, and wheat in the fourth year.

Wheat and barley fields are ploughed by tractors but fields of other crops are ploughed by oxen. For reaping scythes are used and labourers who are paid an average daily wage of 25 to 30 rials are engaged. Fertilizing the lands has become popular during recent years but no effective steps have been taken for pest control. Double-sowing is not practised in the village and the maximum annual double-sowing covers only 7 hectares of mainly summer crops. About 6 hectares of the village lands consist of vinyards and orchards such as apple trees, pomegranates and mulberry. The inhabitants mostly try to convert their grapes into raisins and sultana. The reason for this is the inability of the local market to absorb all the perishable crops of the district. To overcome this problem the farmers dry their produce and transport it to more suitable markets further away. Although poverty frequently compels them to sell their produce in advance at a lower price.

Summer crops include fruit and vegetables as well as wheat and barley. Formerly poppies were cultivated but now this is prohibited. Although live-stock raising could be a good source of income, it is not so significant because of the poverty of the farmers and the shortage of grazing land. Our respondents in the village reported 1,000 sheep. There are no cows and last year an epidemic destroyed all the poultry. The intense activity in handicrafts attracted the research group's attention. There are 30 carpet weaving looms, 10 of which belong to nasaq-holding farmers and the rest to the khosh-neshins. Each set produces, on the average, one carpet every two months and requires five or six workers. The wages of the carpet weavers are 15 to 40 rials per day. Bed-cover weaving and cotton spinning are also prevalent.

The gross farming income of the village is 2,767,900 rials. After deducting 1,730,000 ownership and endowment shares, and taking into account the

ownership share of the three landlords who receive farming fees, and the costs of production (seeds, ploughing and fertilizing), which amount to 458,600 rials, the income of the Farak nasaq-holders comes to 579,279 rials. If we divide this amount by the 360 members of 72 farming households, the income per capita comes to 1,608 rials, or about 22 dollars. This figure is probably slightly less than the actual income because there is some income from live-stock raising and the farmers share in it.

Table 1

Gross Farming Income of Farak

1	2	3	2x3=4	5	4x5=6	7	6x7=8
Product	Seeds* per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Yield per hectare (kgs.)	Local price of 1 kilo of produce (rials)	Gross value of produce of 1 hectare (rials)	Area cultivated (hectares)	Gross value of produce (rials)
Wheat	120	15	1800	7	12600	96	1209600
Barley	120	18	2160	4	8640	30	259200
Cumin Seeds	15	20	300	33	9900	69	683100
Cotton	50	--	1000	16	16000	17	272000
Summer Crops	--	--	--	--	12173	23	279979
Orchards	--	--	--	--	--	6	64000
Total							2767879

The income from handicraft is derived, in the first instance, from carpets. 30 establishment produce 180 3x4 metre carpets per year. The gross value of each carpet is 18,000 rials and the cost of producing it 15,000 rials. Hence the total income from carpet weaving amounts to 540,000 rials. Lack of

* According to the 195 Agricultural statistics, the average weight of seeds sown in each hectare of land in Khorasan is as follows:
Wheat: Spring, irrigated, 97 kgs.; autumn, irrigated, 131 kgs.; spring, dry, 50 kgs.; autumn, dry, 97 kgs.
Barley: spring, irrigated, 100 kgs.; autumn, irrigated, 127 kgs.; spring, dry, 60 kgs.; autumn, dry, 58 kgs.

Table 2

Net-Income from Livestock Raising in Farak

1	2	3	4
Type of Livestock	Net income from one head(rials)	No. of Livestocks	Net income from all Livestocks (rials)
Sheep	400	1000	400,000
Total			400,000

capital on the part of the rural carpet weavers means that they are nearly always in debt to the city carpet merchants who extend loans to them. If capital and facilities could be provided by the Co-operative Bank or other sources, it would be possible to raise the income from carpets and to create jobs for the surplus population of the village.

If we add 1,229,300 rials net farming income to 400,000 rials livestock income, 540,000 rials profits from carpet weaving, 1,350,000 rials wages for carpet weavers, and 169,290 rials wages for agricultural workers, we will arrive at the total income of the village i.e. 3,039,596 rials. This, divided by 1,200, (the population of the village), makes a per capita income of 2,532 rials or 33 dollars.

However, this is probably still an underestimation. The income of those who work outside the village and of 4 grocers, 1 butcher, 2 cobblers and 1 carpenter have not been included. Nevertheless, the lack of employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector make the future of this village uncertain and the unjust relations between the landowners and the peasants makes us even more pessimistic.

With the aim of getting further information on the income of nasaq-holders the group arranged several individual interviews.

Sayyed Mohammad Ali, the headman of the village is a member of one of the gavband and has 9 hectares of irrigated farming land of which, owing to water shortage, he cultivates 6 hectares. Despite this, he pays rent for all 9 hectares and for the water. As well as his income from farming we must take account of his income from livestock. He owns 5 head of sheep which yield a net annual income of 2,000 rials. This, added to his farming income, makes a

net annual income of 33,190 rials or 443 dollars. His household consist of 8 people making their per capita income 4,149 rials or 55 dollars. Were it not for his income as headman he would be greatly handicapped since no other member of his family has any income. He told us that if there were more water available he would farm all the land leased to him but as it is he is compelled to put up with his limited share.

Table 3

Gross Farming Income of Sayyed Mohammad Ali Hooshmand*

1	2	3	4	5	4x5=6
Product	Area under cultivation (hectares)	Seeds (kgs.)	Crops (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. of product (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	1.5	180	2700	7	18900
Barley	1	120	2160	4	8640
Cummin Seeds	2.5	38	760	33	25080
Cotton	0.5	250	500	16	8000
Summer Crops	0.5	-	-	-	5000
Total					65620

Mr. Gholamali Sarbaz is head of a 5 member household and rents 14 hectares of land. He pays 30,000 rials rent from a gross farming income of 90,040 rials. Thus his own gross farming income is 60,040 rials from which we deduct 19,200 rials for the costs of production. This leaves him with a net income of 40,840 rials. To this we should add 2,000 rials which he earns from his 5 head of sheep. His total net income is, therefore, 8,568 rials or 114 dollars. Mr. Sarbaz's family income is larger than that of other families because he rents more land than the average family in the village even though he does not cultivate it all. Apart from this his household is smaller than

* Mr. Hooshmand pays 20,000 rials as owner's rights. Thus his gross income from farming is something like 45,620 rials.

Sayyed Mohammad Ali's which gives him considerable financial advantages. Indeed, if we take account of the level of rural income in Iran, he is a comparatively prosperous farmer.

Social, Educational and Health Conditions in Farak

The village has no social and economic facilities. A school was founded a year ago but it soon closed because of lack of pupils. According to the villagers the poverty of the people is such that they are forced to send their children to work on the carpet looms or in the fields. At the time the group visited Farak an adult's class was being held. A teacher from Farah-Abad, a nearby village was giving lessons to 20 adults and a number of children. The villagers told us that, out of a population of 1,200 only 2 were literate.

The nearest clinic is the Kashmar and the Doctor charges 500 rials for a visit to the village. Drinking water is supplied by the qanat whose outlet also serves as a place for washing the dead. In order to provide for summer droughts water is stored in cisterns during the winter. There are two non-sanitary public baths and, in these circumstances, the villagers often suffer from scalp disease, trachoma and various kinds of intestinal parasites. So far the only health measure that has been taken is to spray the village with D.D.T.

No co-operative society has yet been formed because the villagers do not have the financial resources. There is, however a village council which was officially set up 11 years ago. It has five members of whom four are farmers and one a khoshneshin who has been elected because he is literate. This council has so far collected the 5 per cent development share of the Holy Shrine but the landowners have not made their contribution. The elders thought that this was because of official non co-operation.

Our respondents told us that most of the villagers are in debt because of the drought and are paying as much as 30 per cent interest to their creditors.

There are only two radios in the village. No one has any technical knowledge but the farmers are acquainted with the use of chemical fertilizers and pest control. There is a flour mill which belongs to one of the inhabitants of Kashmar but the copper mine situated between Kashmar and Sabzevar has recently been closed down.

During the last two years a number of the inhabitants have married several times and some have polygamous marriages. We asked one of the elders

for the reason and he replied that an extra wife brings economic advantages and that a large number of children mean extra income from carpet weaving and so on.

Table 4

1	2	3	4	5	5x4=6
Product	Area under cultivation (hectares)	Seeds(kilos)	Product(kilos)	Price of 1 kilo of product (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	1.5	180	2700	7	18900
Barley	1	120	2160	4	8640
Cumin Seeds	5	75	1500	33	49500
Cotton	0.5	25	500	16	8000
Summer Crops	0.5	--	--	--	5000
Total	8.5				90040

No new houses have been built during the last two years but some of the inhabitants have bought bicycles and watches.

Land Reform has not yet been enforced in the village and the landowners lease their lands, receiving rental in cash. They have priority over the nasaq holders in the utilization of the water but they do not undertake the dredging of the qanats. Many own land in neighbouring villages and their influence remains undisturbed. Although the farmers are silent on the topic, in our opinion, the present relationship between landlord and peasant in Farak is a cause of alarm.

Change in Farak in the last Ten Years

1. The population has increased from 200 to 240 households. If some of the inhabitants had not emigrated to Birjand and Dashte Gorgan this increase would have been greater. At present the population is 1,200.
2. Although the number of gavband has fallen from 18 to 9, the number of persons included in each has risen. Ten years ago 72 households were members of 18 gavbandi, now the same number are members of 9. However these are not necessarily the same nasaq-holding families.

3. Ten years ago the number of khoshneshin was 128, now it is 168.
4. Farming is carried out in the same way, but since the poppy has been forbidden cotton and summer crops are cultivated in its place.
5. Although the quantity of cereals sown remains the same, the use of chemical fertilizers has increased output by 15:1 in the case of wheat, and from 12:1 to 18:1 in the case of barley. The price of wheat has risen from 4 to 7 rials and barley from 3 to 4 rials per kilogram.
6. The price of cummin seeds has risen from 12 to 33 rials per kilogram and that of cotton from 12 to 16 rials.
7. Ten years ago the per capita farming income was 2,822 rials or 38 dollars, now it is 2,532 rials or 33 dollars.
8. The per capita ownership share paid by the farmers was 135 dollars ten years ago, now it is 65 dollars. The reason for this is the decrease in the area under cultivation and the resulting decrease in gavband and the engagement of a greater number of farmers in each gavband.
9. The income from livestock, which is a considerable part of the total income of the village, was not calculated ten years ago. Indeed there is no mention of it in the report. Obviously the farmers have turned to livestock to compensate for loss of income from other agricultural activities.

On the whole no major changes have taken place in the village during the past ten years. Local landlords still enjoy great influence and the inhabitants are suffering much worse hardships because of their economic backwardness. The prospects are not bright for farmers who have to pay two-thirds of their income to the landowner and who have no security of tenure. The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that the cultivable land is too little to support the population whilst there are no alternative sources of income in the area.

In the opinion of the group the following measures have to be taken to improve the condition of Farak.

1. Changes in the present landlord-peasant relationship.
2. The creation of a co-operative society to direct the village's development activities.
3. Development of the village handicraft industry in order to create new sources of employment and income.
4. The creation of more industries, especially food industries, in Kashmar. These will both serve as a source of employment and as an encouragement to the farmers to produce more profitable crops.

Ostan: Khorasan.

Shahrestan: Ferdows.

Village: Dohesaran.

Date of Survey: 1964.

Dohesaran is situated 30 kilometres south-east of Ferdows on the Sarayan road, bordering the desert. Along this road there is no other village for 28 kilometres. 2 kilometres from Dohesaran is the village of Behgard with which it shares many farming activities. Part of Behgard's irrigation facilities lie between the two villages.

Faced with a dry atmosphere and unfavourable natural conditions, this is a village whose existence depends on constant human effort. Qanat are the sole lifeline of the villages of this area and if these dry up economic activity comes to a standstill. The isolation of Dohesaran means that it has no physical or legal boundaries so that any available water supplies can be used and, in theory, any of the surrounding lands can be cultivated. In 1963 only 35 hectares were cultivated, but by digging 3 wells worked by motor, the cultivable area has increased to 48 hectares.

The expansion of farming land has increased the number of gavband¹ from 6 to 12. 60 households are members of these 12 gavband so, if we assume that each household has 5 members, the village farming population comes to 300. Thus, each nasaq-holding family has an average of 0.8 hectares. However, if we allow for the 50 khoshneshin of the village, the amount of farming land per capita is much less. In fact there is an acute shortage of arable land and the village suffers from over-population.

Since there are no alternative sources of employment for the farming and khoshneshin families, the only immediate solution to the problems arising from this pressure on the land is to increase the area under cultivation.

This, in turn, can only be done if the water supply is increased. At

1. The meaning of the term "gavband" in this village is the same as its meaning in Farak.

present this supply is derived from qanat and wells. The qanat which is the main source of irrigation has a course of 30 kilometres and is used jointly by the inhabitants of Dohesaran and Behgard. Dohesaran has 144 shares in the qanat which supplies the water required for the cultivation of 24 hectares in 10 to 12 days. The inhabitants of the village claim that the water supply has been decreasing in recent years and that this is a major cause of their difficulties. The long course of the qanat means that dredging is a difficult and expensive task. The capital that should be invested for this purpose is not available since the small land-holdings means that the farmers are often at odds with each other and are unable to reach agreement over what is, essentially, co-operative work. The result is that the water of the qanat is steadily decreasing.

An alternative solution to the water problem is to dig wells which tap the underground water resources of the area. In Dohesaran there are four wells from which the water is drawn by means of pails and one, which was built last year, which is operated by a pump. One advantage of digging wells is that they require much less investment and maintenance than qanat and the farmers prefer to use their money on this relatively cheap, individual venture.

The Economic Condition of Dohesaran

The ownership of the village consists of 144 water shares in the qanat. These are divided as follows:

1. $6\frac{1}{2}$ are a religious endowment.
2. 14 are the property of the children of a landowner who do not reside in the village. The income is used for their personal maintenance.
3. 4 are endowed to the Sarayan school.
4. 50.5 belong to absentee landowners.
5. 69 belong to 20 of the village households. Of these 4 own more than one jufte-gav, one owning 8 shares in the qanat and four oxen. 2 other households own less than 4 shares.

But it is not necessary for a farming household to own rights to the qanat. Some cultivate their lands by means of wells and there are also 40 nasaq-holding households who pay rent to the landowners. The latter provides water, land, seeds and sometimes oxen in return for three-quarter of the entire product of the land. The owner also gives one-twentieth of the product to the nasaq-holder against harvest expenses.

The main product of the farmers is wheat, which is sown on more than 16

hectares of irrigated land. 8 hectares of millet are sown, 5 hectares of barley, 2.5 hectare of cotton, and about 3 hectares of sugar beet. These cereal crops are nearly all consumed within the village but sugar beets are transported to the only sugar factory in the district, that of Asadabad, Birjand, where they are sold at 1,000 rials per ton. Summer crops, mainly melon, and sesame are also grown for sale. Last year the sesame crop was almost entirely destroyed by locusts.

If marketing facilities were created in the area not only would the income of the farmers increase, but also new job opportunities would reduce the pressure of the excess population on the land. It is interesting to note that, at present, sugar beet and cotton are only cultivated by those farmers who own their own land.

Normally irrigated lands are left fallow one year in three. Wheat is sown in the first year, millet in the second, and the land lies fallow in the third year. However, in reality irrigated lands are rarely left fallow at present since water shortage makes the farmers reluctant to cut down their cultivably area. Double sowing includes only 8 hectares of summer crops and more than 3 hectares of the irrigated village land consist of orchards. In the case of dry-farming, the land is left fallow each alternate year. Our respondents told us that there was no dry farming at all for the previous 5 years but, in the current year, they had gathered 40 kharvars (about 13 tons) of dry-farmed wheat.

Farming methods are very primitive. There are no tractors and ploughing is still done by oxen for which the farmer has to pay a rent of one quarter of his product. No attempts have been made to diversify the agricultural produce of the village but the use of chemical fertilizers for crops such as cotton and sugar beet has been introduced. Pest control is also practised. Last year the Asadabad sugar factory sprayed the land and the farmers themselves sprayed twice against brown rust, a pest which attacks wheat.

Because of the shortage of cultivable land, and the insufficiency of the income that can be derived from it, a great deal of village activity is focused around livestock raising and handicrafts. However, the natural conditions of the district do not favour the former so that carpet weaving, using raw materials derived from what livestock there are in the village, is generally the most popular alternative. Most of the 50 khoshneshin households and all the landowning households as well as many of the farmers are

engaged in this pursuit. Our respondents told us that an increase in the production of wool has brought about a boom in carpet-weaving and that the income from this source is on the increase. Each weaver produces an average of one *ayagh* (about 1 square foot) per day and it takes 15 days to weave 12 *ayagh*, the equivalent of 1 x 1.5 metre carpet.

There are about 80 looms mostly used in weaving small pieces of carpet. The owners think that this practice is much more profitable since a large carpet earns only about 200 rials, whilst a small piece is finished sooner, is sold more easily, and brings a net profit of about 400 rials. Gelims (course rugs) are woven only for household use. According to the villagers, hosiery, fabrics and karbas (course cotton cloth) are woven in the past. There are also 85 wool and cotton spindles in the village. Each carpet worker receives a wage of 15 rials per 14-hour day.

The elders report the herds of livestock as follows: 700 sheep and goats, 20 milk cows, 20 camels, and 40 donkeys.

The Income of the Village:

Table 1 shows the gross farming income of the village. On the basis of the elder's statements, the group estimated that, out of a total income of 460,200 rials, 174,301 rials went to absentee land-owners and 56,374 rials to the endowment fund. This leaves 229,525 rials from which 32,700 rials production costs have to be deducted, leaving a net income of 196,825 rials for the *nasaq*-holding households.

Thus, the per capita income of the 300 member of *nasaq*-holding households is 656 rials or about 9 dollars. However, since most of the *nasaq*-holders also derive income from livestock raising and carpet weaving, the actual per capita income of this group is somewhat higher.

In order to determine the per capita income of the whole population we must add the following income to the net farming income.

1. Net income from dry-farmed wheat: 8,4000 rials.
2. Net income from 700 head of sheep at 400 rials per head: 280,000 rials.
3. Net income from 20 cows at 3000 rials per head: 60,000 rials.
4. Net income from 20 camels at 1,500 rials per head: 30,000 rials.
5. Net income from 80 carpet looms: 576,000 rials.
6. Wages of the village carpet weavers: 648,000 rials.

Thus, the total net income of the village is 1,874,825 rials, which, divided by the total population of 550, gives a per capita income of 3,408 rials or 45 dollars.

Table 1
Gross Income of the Dohesaran from Farming Produce

1	2	3	3x2=4	5	5x4=6	6	6x7=8
Product	Seeds per hectare (kilos)	Output coefficient	Product per hectare (kilos)	Price of product per kilo (rials)	Gross value of product per hectare (rials)	Surface under cultivation (hectares)	Gross value of all product under cultivation (rials)
Wheat	120	15	1800	7	12600	18	226800
Millet	65	30	1950	4	7800	8	62400
Barley	120	20	2400	4	9600	5	48000
Cotton	50	--	900	15	13500	4	54000
Sugar Beet	--	--	0000	1	9000	2.5	22500
Summer Crops	--	--	--	--	15000	1.6	24000
Sesame			2500	10	25000	0.9	22500
Total							460200

As we can see, both the income from livestock and the income from carpet weaving exceed the income from arable farming. This is indicative of the fact that the main function of farming is the provision of food for the villager's own needs and the sustenance of the economic unit, whilst carpet weaving and livestock maintain a balanced standard of living. If more fodder and grazing land could be provided and, if the farmers could invest more in livestock, agricultural activities would play a more important part in the villager's income. Had there been enough water, a considerable part of the village land could have been devoted to fodder, but as it is the irrigable land and available is given over to cereal cultivation for domestic food requirements.

* According to the 1960 Agricultural Statistics the average weight of seeds sown per hectare of land in Khorasan is as follows;
Wheat: Spring, irrigated, 67 kgs.; autumn, irrigated, 131 kgs.; spring dry, 50 kgs.; autumn, dry, 58 kgs.
Barley: Spring, irrigated, 100 kgs; autumn, irrigated, 127 kgs.; spring, dry, 60 kgs.; autumn, dry, 58 kgs.

The 45 dollar per-capita income is not distributed uniformly among the villagers and the group came across a young couple whose capital was no more than a camel, a donkey and a bag of dry bread. At the same time one of the village elders owned 8 shares and 4 cows and enjoyed a much higher income than anyone else. In order to find out more about the distribution of income we arranged an interview with Mr. Ali Arab, who owned 1.2 hectares of land and $1\frac{1}{2}$ share in the village qanat. It transpired from the interview that he also owns a share in the qanat of Behgard, the neighbouring village¹. Table 2 gives an estimate of his income.

Table 2
Gross Farming Income of Ali Arab

1	2	3	4	5	6
Product	Area under cultivation (hectares)	Seeds in area under cultivation (kgs.)	Product (kgs.)	Local price of 1 kg. of product (rials)	Gross value of product
Wheat	0.64	78	1170	7	8190
Barley	0.16	20	400	4	1600
Millet	0.32	20	600	4	2400
Summer Crops	0.10	--	--	--	1500
Total					13690

Ali Arab was once headman of the village and he told us that, owing to the many difficulties which confronted him at this time, he had sold his oxen and was now forced to pay about 300 rials for ploughing. He cultivates his summer crops by double sowing and his total farming expenses amount to 3,710 rials. This, deducted from his gross farming income of 13,690 rials leaves him with a net farming of 10,520 rials. This divided by 6 (the number of members of his household) yields a per capita income of 1,753 rials or 23 dollars.

Had Ali Arab not owned the land and water, and instead three - quarters

1. Although Ali Arab owns land in Behgard, we did not include the extra income in our calculation.

of his product as ownership share, his income would have been 3,424 rials or 46 dollars, i.e. the equivalent of the income of *nasaq*-holding families from the farming activities of the village. If this is divided by the five members of his household, it yields a per capita income of 9 dollars.

Mr. Arab owns one carpet loom from which he derives a net annual income of 7,200 rials and besides this gets 4,785 rials from his share in the Behgard qanat and his pail-operated well in Dohesaran. This makes his total income 22,505 rials and the per-capita income of his family 3,750 rials or 50 dollars. This is somewhat above the average income for the village and, indeed, Mr. Arab is a comparatively prosperous petty landowner. However, when we consider that even he was unable to buy the oxen he wanted and make good the losses he sustained as headman, we realise that the prospects for the other villagers are somewhat poor.

Educational and Health Condition

The lack of a co-operative society was attributed to the fact that the Agricultural Credit Bank did not have a branch in Ferdows. The rate of interest on loans is 40 to 60 per cent. The farmers buy their requirements from the village and town shopkeepers and mostly pay by credit. In this way they hand out roughly 20 per cent more than they would do on a cash transaction. There is no village council.

The nearest clinic, set up by the Imperial Organization for Social Services, is at Sarayan. The village has been sprayed against malaria and the inhabitants have been vaccinated against smallpox; whooping cough and typhoid fever are very prevalent. Drinking water comes from the qanat and a new bath is only just being built. There are no midwives and the barbers render such services as the extraction of teeth and the circumcision of children. Livestock diseases includes sheep smallpox, "goat-killer" and a "white diarrhea" which has killed most of the livestock in the village.

There is no modern school and all teaching is done at home or in the village *maktab*. The latter has only four classes and 40 boy students between the ages of 7 and 14. The two teachers receive their salaries from the Ministry of the Economy. At present a new school is being built and adult classes which include 20 male students, the total literate population of the village, are held. There are 8 radios in the village. There is also a notary public office.

There was only one person in the whole village who could drive a car but most of the farmers were acquainted with the use of animal fertilizers and

pest control. Poison spraying is done by the sugar factory. Modern methods of crop and livestock raising are not practised. Fuel consists of firewood and wild bushes and kerosene is brought from Ferdows. Once a mobile cinema came to Ferdows and showed a film on modern methods but this is certainly insufficient. The transport service consists of one small van which plies the road between Sarayan and Ferdows.

Dohesaran is a village dominated by petty landlords. It has not yet been subjected to the first stage of the land reform law but at the same time this law has created a number of difficulties. One of these is the withdrawal of financial assistance by absentee landowners and the reduction of their investment in the maintenance of the qanat which is getting clogged up as a result. Thus the farmers are forced to obtain loans from the tradesmen of the neighbouring villages and for these they have to pay an interest at a rate of 60 per cent. This, in turn, compels them to short-sell their products.

The landowners are able to transfer rights to nasaq at their own will and to change the farmer's plot of land. The abundance of man-power, the shortage of land, and conflict between the khosheshin and nasaq-holders has created a situation which benefits the landowners. Fear of losing their land has prevented the farmers from claiming their right to a 5 per cent increase in their own share. They are constantly afraid that the khoshneshin will work the land for the owner without claiming this right. Moreover, fear of land distribution has caused the absentee owners and the village elders to unite, and together they have elected the son of an influential landowner as village headman. This incident occurred 15 days before the group visited the village and it was noted that the young headman was a simpleton who had no knowledge of rural affairs. One of the landowners told us that the casual labourers and the nasaq-holders did not retain their former respect for their masters so that it was necessary to ask for the help of the gendarmes fairly frequently.

Thus, land reform has had a negative effect on the village. While rent and ownership shares flow out of the community, the capital entering it is a great deal less than before and the situation is getting gradually worse.

It seems important to take the following steps to ensure the survival and development of Dohesaran.

1. The village should be provided with a better water supply by dredging the

qanat or by building new wells.

2. Relationships between landowners and farmers should be stabilized.
3. A multi-purpose co-operative society should be set up in order to provide direct assistance to the farmers.
4. Loans should be granted to develop village handicrafts.
5. Facilities should be created to direct the unemployed from the village to non-agricultural sector.

Change in Dohesaran During the Last Ten Years

1. The population has increase from 400 to 550 i.e. by 37.5 per cent. At the same time, apart from the cultivation of an extra 15 hectares of irrigated land, no development has taken place.
2. The cultivated land has increased from 32 to 48 hectares and the number of gavband from 6 to 12.
3. Ten years ago there were 1,500 head of livestock. Today, due to disease, this number has decreased to 700.
4. The number of camels has fallen from 40 to 20, which are owned by 10 households.
5. Work on local roads, which was a source of income 10 years ago, has come to a standstill.
6. The wages of farm labourers at harvest time have, owing to the easy availability of labour, increased by only 10 rials (from 20 to 30 rials).
7. The water supply is less owing to a decrease in the qanat water and a discontinuation of the pail-operated wells. If the inhabitants dig new wells this defect may be mended in the course of time.
8. There have been no changes in the system of crop sharing between landowners and nasaq-holders. The landlord still takes three-quarters of all the product against the provision of water, seeds, land etc.
9. No major changes have taken place in landownership. A few owner-farmers have, because of their financial difficulties, sold their land and become khoshneshin.
10. The income from farm activities has increased from 7 dollars per-capita gross to 9 dollars net. One reason is the increase of crop prices and another the increased yield brought about by the use of fertilizers. There is no mention of sugar beet, sesame and summer crops ten years ago.
11. Income from livestock and carpet weaving was not included in the former report so the per-capita income of the village was reported at 13.7 dollars

per annum. It is now 45 dollars.

We asked the village elders, all of whom were landowners who did their best to conceal the information we wanted, why the income was so small a decade ago. One replied that, as there were two Americans in the research group the farmers thought they would get financial assistance if they understated their income. In our opinion the actual increase of income must be much less than might be concluded from these figures because there has been an increase in population, only a slight increase in the area of land cultivated, and a decrease in the number of livestock in the village herds.



Ostan: Khorasan.

Shahrestan: Guchan.

Village: Zeidanlu.

Date of Survey: 1964.

Zeidanlu is situated on the old Guchan-Bojnurd road, 22 kilometres southwest of Guchan. This district is one of the most famous centres of raisin production in Iran and is located between two of the great agricultural areas of the country: Khorasan and Dashte-Gorgan. A direct road connects the latter districts and facilitates communication between the towns located on the route. At present the volume of demand for agricultural products in towns like Guchan and Bojnurd is not enough to have a direct economic and technical effect on the surrounding villages. This makes the rural population concentrate on crops for domestic consumption such as wheat and barley. If new markets are to be created to stimulate the production of cash-crops this has to be done with the utmost care since the capital resources of the farmers are slight and the risks of investment without a secure outlet for the product and without technical aid are too much for them.

An example of how this should not be done is the creation of a sugar factory about two years ago in Shirvan. This was done with government capital and private support and had a beneficial effect on the surrounding districts by stimulating the farmers to cultivate sugar beets. Seeds were distributed and cash benefits extended to the villagers who came to realise the profitability of cash-crop cultivation. In the first year of the factory's existence, 20 farm-households in Zeidanlu devoted 15 hectares to sugar beet. They hired tractors to plough the land at 750 rials per hectare, went through numerous difficulties to purchase irrigation water at 700 rials per day, and paid 75,000 rials in wages. After the work had been completed and the sugar beet taken to the factory, the farmers were told that beets surplus to the capacity of the factory could not be purchased but they took some of the produce against the seeds and the money that had been advanced. After repeated

complaints they purchased the remainder at one rial per kilo. The farmers claimed that they had suffered a total loss of 40,000 rials and said that the real reason that the factory refused to purchase their product was that it had concluded an agreement to purchase the entire crop of a major landowner in Chenaran. It is interesting to note that only those farmers who owned their own land invested in sugar beet cultivation.

The Economic Status of the Village

Most of the lands of Zeidanlu are in the hands of small peasant owners who cultivate their own plots. The remainder is endowment, rented by two people who pay a total of 1,200 rials annually. The population is 830, and is divided into 166 households. Of these, 136 households, or about 680 people, are nasaq-holders, the other 30 households being khoshneshin. The small increase of population since the 1956 census indicates emigration from the village, probably to Dashte-Gorgan or Gonbade-Kavoos. Work in these two areas is so profitable that even nasaq-holders have joined the khoshneshin to find new employment in them. The khoshneshin who have remained in the village work mostly for the nasaq-holders as farm labourers and run the six village shops.

750 hectares of land are cultivated at present, half of which are left fallow each year. Besides this, 60 hectares of irrigated land are set aside exclusively for vineyards. There is no spare uncultivated land. The average share of each nasaq-holding household is 5.5 hectares of dry-farming land and 0.4 hectares of irrigated land. However, the village is short of land and, as long as there are no opportunities for employment outside the agricultural sector, there is nothing to prevent the constant division of farming plots, decreases in the villagers' income and an increase in the number of khoshneshin. Water shortage means that there is no double-cropping. The farmers sow the land to its full capacity and even go so far as to help the khoshneshin by turning over some of the dry land to them and providing them with oxen free of charge. However, it is doubtful whether even this example of co-operation can deal with the acute problem of rural poverty.

250 hectares of land are under wheat and 125 under barley. The 60 hectares of vineyards yield between 40 and 250 kharvars of raisins depending on conditions. Most of the farmers we spoke to complained that the government did not buy their raisins, with the result that merchants conspired to buy at an unfairly low price. They said that the maximum price for raisins was 20 rials per kilo and the minimum price 12 rials.

The gavband¹ of the village consist of 50 pairs, of which 40 are worked by oxen and 10 by donkeys. Each is made up of several households and the income is divided equally between them, unless an outside worker is employed as a farm hand. Usually farm hands are employed from the first of Mehr for a period of three months, for which they are paid 3,000 rials. If they are needed after that they receive one fifth of the produce for the remaining period. The wages of ordinary hands differ in the various seasons, varying between 40 and 50 rials.

Ploughing by tractors has recently become common and this costs the farmer 750 rials per hectare. Although there are 6 qanat irrigated land is confined to the 60 hectares of vineyard, and the total water supply from the qanat does not exceed the amount needed for half a hectare in 24 hours. Thus there has been a decrease in the quantity of the crops and the area under cultivation. The farmers are thinking of digging a new qanat and have contributed to the capital needed. They have already spent 15,000 rials but they estimate that the total cost will be 500,000 rials. Most of the qanat the group saw were old and, owing to drought and lack of money for maintenance, their water supply was decreasing. Only in the Gonabad district, where the depth of the main well reaches 300 metres, was the situation better.

Livestock raising was prevalent owing to the existence of natural mountain grazing lands. The income derived from this activity is an important supplement to the meagre farming income and indeed, serves as the only source of income for many of the khoshneshin. As compared with the situation 10 years ago, livestock raising has developed considerably. We were told that there are 1,500 head of sheep and 10 cows in the village. There are no camels and most of the poultry died of disease last year.

There is little activity in the handicraft industry, although the villagers sell the raw materials needed for weaving to others. Only gelims, stockings and blouses are woven for domestic use.

Production expenses of the farmers amount to 323,246 rials to be deducted from the total income. The net farming income of the nasaq-holders is, therefore, 3,122,629 rials, which makes an annual income of 22,960 rials or 306 dollars per household. Thus, the per capita farming income of nasaq-holding families is 4,592 rials or 61 dollars. This is higher than the income

1. Gavband in this village refers to a unit of production somewhat similar to the "boneh" found in other parts of Iran.

of neighbouring privately owned villages.

As a result of our interview with the village elders we concluded that two-thirds of the livestock-raising was done by nasaq-holders and one-third by khoshneshin. Thus, the income of the nasaq-holders from this source comes to 420,000 rials and their total net income from all sources to 3,542,629 rials. This makes the per capita income of these families 5,210 rials or 347 dollars. Table I shows the total farming income of the nasaq-holders.

Table I
Gross Farming Income of Nasaq-holders

1	2	3	2x3=4	5	4x5=6	7	8	6x7=9
Product *	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Yield per hectare (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of product per hectare	Area cultivated (hectares)	Secondary income	Gross value of total product
Wheat	96	1.9	864	6.5	5616	250	50000	1454000
Barley	58	1.11	638	4.5	2871	125	25000	383875
Grapes (Raisins)						60		1620000
Total								3457875

In order to acquire more detailed information on the income of nasaq-holding households, we interviewed several nasaq-holders who cultivated entirely different areas. Two especially were selected. The first was the household of Mr. Kazem Kazemian, who owned a yoke of oxen, 1,300 square metres of vineyard, and 40 hectares of land. The number of his household is 6. Every year half of his cultivable lands remain fallow. Table 2 shows his income from farming.

* The farmers reported the seeds sown per hectare of wheat and barley as 56 and 40 kilos respectively. Since these figures appeared to be inaccurate we took the average amount of seeds sown per hectare reported in the 1960 agricultural survey.

Table 2

The Farming Income of Kazem Kazemian

1	2	3	2x3=4	5	4x5=6	7	8	6x7=9
Product	Seeds per hectare * (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Yield per hectare (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of pro- duct (per hectare)	Area cul- tivated (hectares)	Secondary income	Gross value of total product
Wheat	56	1.9	504	6.5	3276	10	2500	35260
Barley	40	1.11	440	4.5	1980	5	1000	10900
Rented wheat	56	1.9	504	6.5	3276	5	1250	17630
Vineyard						0.13		3510
Total						20.13		63700

From the gross income of Mr. Kazemian we have to deduct 1,763 rials for the 5 hectares of land he rents and 16,364 for production costs. Thus his net farming income is 49,173 rials, to which we should add 7,800 rials income from livestock raising to give a total net income of 56,973 rials or about 760 rials or approximately 126 dollars. This makes him one of the richest farmers in the village. He told us that in recent years he had sustained many farming losses, especially from the cultivation of sugar beet and had, therefore, been compelled to sell his house and shop in Guchan to supplement his own income and that of his brother who studies in West Germany.

The reasons for his comparatively good income are as follows:

1. His cultivable land is much more than that of other farmers.
2. He ploughs part of his land with tractors.
3. The members of his household help in the fields and he does not need to employ agricultural labourers.

The next income calculation relates to Mr. Gholamreza Shehabi who, with a seven-member households, owns half a yoke of oxen, 15 hectares of land and 500 square metres of vineyard. Table 3 shows his gross farming income.

* We took this figure from Mr. Kazemian's own statement.

Table 3
Gross Farming Income of Gholamreza Shehabi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Product	Area cultivated	Seeds in area cultivated (kilos)	Product (kilos)	Price of 1 kilo of product (rials)	Secondary Income (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	5	280	2520	6.5	1250	17630
Barley	2.5	100	1100	4.5	500	5450
Vineyard	500 sq.metre					1350
Total						24430

From his gross income of 24,430 rials we must deduct 6,470 production costs and 2 per cent development tax. This leaves a net farming income of 17,960 rials to which we should add 9,000 rials earned from his 15 head of sheep and one cow to make a total income of 26,960 rials or 359 dollars. Thus the per-capita income of his household is 3,851 rials or about 51 dollars.

The livestock raising activities of Kazemian, who had more farming land, constituted 11 per cent of his total income. Moreover, had we taken the figure for the seeding of lands as same as that for the rest of the village, the total income of both these would have been considerably greater.

Social, Educational and Health Conditions in Zeidanlu

A co-operative was founded four years ago and seven other villages participate in it although the number of members from each village varies. 110 of the inhabitants of Zeidanlu are members of the co-operative. The society has been officially registered and has a capital of 125,000 rials and has received 300,000 rials in government aid. Its one active function is to extend loans to the farmers and it uses its capital to this purpose. The supervisor of the society lives in Guchan and visits Zeydanlu every ten days.

There is a village council which has, so far, built a mosque and a school, but the nearest clinic is in Guchan and the Doctor charges 500 rials for a visit to the village. Drinking water is taken from the qanat outlet and there is an old-fashioned, insanitary, bath. The school has six grades and

two teachers. The pupils are mainly boys since the prejudice of the peasants opposes education for women. Twenty people attend an adult education class but many children of school age are not in school. No one knows anything about driving cars or has any technical skill, nor is anyone acquainted with the use of chemical fertilizers and pest control.

In order to obtain capital the farmers borrow from the rich men of Gu-
chan and pay interest at the rate of 60 per cent per annum. Apart from this, money shortage often compels them to sell their raisings at a price lower than the market price.

When we asked the farmers what reforms could be undertaken to better the situation of the village they replied, as did the inhabitants of other villages in this area, that to dig deep wells would be the best remedy. They said that, if they had a better water supply, then they would cultivate more wheat and barley and thus guard themselves against the possibility of famine. Most of the farmers have already paid the 2 per cent development task (except for 15 who were too poor to do so).

Since most of the village land belongs to peasant-owners who farm their own small plots, the first stage of land reform does not apply to it. Moreover, the problems that have risen in other villages as a result of the land reform law, have largely been avoided in Zeidanlu. Most of the petty landholders and nasaq-holders of the village have expanded their fields by utilizing new lands outside the nasaq, but they complain that there has recently been a fall in the price of land and that transactions are not taking place at present. They also say that one of the results of land reform has been that money lenders no longer extend loans to them because the rate of interest is lower and they lack confidence in the possibilities of refund. Now loans are obtained largely from the co-operative society.

Since most of the farmers in this village own their own land there are not, in our opinion, any fundamental obstacles to development. But, government guidance and leadership is badly needed to create the preliminary conditions of progressive change. The example given at the beginning of this report is illustrative of this need. If the standard of living of the district is to be raised, the creation of one or more industrial units is essential. This would be of help both to the unemployed, and to the farmers who would be stimulated to diversify their crops. Apart from this, the handi-craft industry can be extended as well as livestock raising. The basic prob-

lem of the Zeidanlu farmers is their low income, the outcome of their production being confined to a single crop, their primitive methods and the uncertainties of dry-farming.

Changes in Zeidanlu during the Last Ten Years

1. The survey made ten years ago put the population at about 1,200 whereas the 1956 census, taken only 2 years later, puts it at 819. The elders calculated the present population at 819. The reason for the slight increase is emigration.
2. The number of jofte-gav mentioned as 60 in the report ten years ago has fallen to 50.
3. The increase in the number of nasaq-holders from 100 to 136 is due both to population increase and to the splitting up of lands by inheritance.
4. The area of cultivated land has increased from 480 to 750 hectares. Probably the talk of land reform and the farmers attempts to increase their income have been responsible for this.
5. It seems that the overall flow of water in the qanat is diminishing despite the construction of a new qanat. At present there is only sufficient water to irrigate half a hectare every 24 hours.
6. The 800 head of livestock reported ten years ago has risen to 1,500. Today there are 10 million milk cows, whereas there were no mention of any cows in the previous report.
7. The yield of wheat and barley is almost the same as it was ten years ago. However, the price of each kilo of wheat has risen from 3.5 to 7 rials, and that of barley from 4.5 to 12 rials.
8. Poppy cultivation used to provide a large part of the farmers income but these are no longer grown and the economic effects have been rather severe.
9. Ten years ago the per-capita income from farming was calculated at 1,125 rials or 15 dollars. At present it is 4,592 rials or about 61 dollars. The main reason for the change is the higher price of the village produce.

Ostan: Khorasan

Shahrestan: Bojnurd

Village: Ali Abad

Date of Survey: 1964.

Ali-Abad is situated 8 kilometres north of Bojnurd at the foot of a mountain and is connected to the town by a rough, stony road. Despite this it shares in none of the benefits that villages located close to major towns enjoy (Greater job opportunities, cultivation of a wider variety of crops, and a higher standard of living). It has a population of 650 divided into 135 households of which 90 are nasaq-holders and the rest khoshneshin.

The cultivated lands are divided into two parts. The first, which is situated on both slopes of the mountain, and which consists of 20 hectares of dry-farming land, is jointly owned by the nasaq-holders. The second, known as the Kohne Kand Farm, is situated in the southern part of the village and covers the entire area between Ali-Abad and Bojnurd. It belongs to landlords, the nasaq-holders having cultivation rights over 240 hectares of which 120 are left fallow each year owing to water shortage and low soil fertility. The water resources of the village consist of two qanat, the rivers Firouzeh and Mahnan, and a spring which flows for most of the year. The lands of Kohne Kand are irrigated by the rivers; the two qanat, one of which is jointly owned by the farmers, provide only sufficient water to irrigate the landlord's 5 hectare garden.

Formerly, when the water supply was better, 45 gavband worked the irrigated land. However, 5 years ago, when it began to dry up, one of the landlords dismissed two nasaq-holders and last year another dismissed one of the gavband from his land. Now the two dismissed gavband¹ who still reside in the village, go each day to the nearby village of Langvar where they have obtained farming shares. The third has been unable to find other irrigated land

1. Gavband in this village means a unit of production.

in the area and is, with the assistance of the other farmers, working some of the jointly-owned dry farming land. The farmers have divided the irrigated land, for which they pay rent to the landowners, into 30 *sahra*¹. Each *sahra* consists of 8 hectares and comprises one and a half *jufte-gav* or three people. Hence the share of each *gavband*, or household head, in the irrigated land is 2.7 hectares. If we further divide the 20 hectares of jointly owned dry-farming land among the 90 *nasaq*-holders the share of each is 0.2 hectares. Thus the entire share of land, both irrigated and dry, of each *nasaq*-holder is 2.9 hectares.

The major crops grown on both types of land are wheat and barley. The farmers told us that, in the past when the water supply was better, they cultivated a variety of grains and summer crops. Now approximately 100 hectares of irrigated land are devoted to wheat and 20 hectares to barley. One quarter of the dry-farming lands grow wheat and the remainder barley. The shortage of land means that non of the dry-farming area is left fallow. Instead wheat and barley are planted alternately each year. During the last ten years no new land has been farmed, indeed the water shortage has meant that the cultivated area has been reduced.

There is no handicraft industry in the village and, owing to lack of capital, the farmers are unable to start one. Instead they sell the wool they get from their sheep and utilize the profit to buy food. Despite the availability of pasture land, livestock raising cannot be expanded; again owing to shortage of capital. Last year the farmers sold some of their sheep in order to supplement their income and their poultry was destroyed by disease. Once brush gathering for fuel was an important source of income for the villagers, but this activity has also ceased.

The villagers pay no rent for the jointly owned dry farming land and for half a *sahm* of the 7 *sahm* of irrigated land which one of the landlords has divided among them and the farmers of two neighbouring villages. However, in recent years, some of the landlords have succeeded in increasing their share of the product to two-fifths. The limited sources of income, unemployment, and the steady increase of the population, have meant that each year a number of the villagers emigrate to the distant regions of Birjand, Gorgan

1. *Sahra* is a unit of land larger than a *jufte-gav*.

and Gonbad. For example, the man who was village headman ten years ago has now become head of another village in Guchan.

Moreover, the increase in the number of khoshneshin in the village over the last ten years (from 10 to 45 households), indicates the impossibility of finding a job in nearby towns and villages. The activities of the khoshneshin are limited to harvesting and labouring on the landlord's farms for an average wage of 30 to 50 rials per day. The system of production relationships in the village excludes them from the farming activities of the nasaq-holders.

The nasaq-holders pay 411,536 rials yearly rent to the landlords of Kohne Kand, which leaves them with a gross farming income from irrigated land of 696,464 rials. This, added to the income they derive from farming the dry land, gives a total gross farming income of 846,464 rials. From this we should deduct 162,500 rials for production costs to leave a net income of 683,946 rials. As mentioned earlier, during the Land Reform, one of the owners of Kohne Kand, who held one of the seven shares voluntarily transferred half of his share to the farmers who now pay 175 rials per year to the Agricultural Bank for its annual installments. However, since this is a very small amount we did not include it in our calculations.

Table 1

Gross Agricultural Income From Dry-Farming

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or 7x6
Product	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Product of 1 hectare (kgs.)	Local price of product per kg.	Gross value of product of 1 hectare (kgs.)	Cultivated area (hectares)	Gross value of total product
Wheat	150	8	1200	7	8400	5	42000
Barley	180	10	1800	4	7200	15	108000
Total	-	-	-	-	20	-	150000

If we divide the net farming income by the 450 members of the 90 nasaq-holding households, we obtain a per capita income of 1,520 rials or 20

Table 2

Gross Agricultural Income derived from irrigated lands of Kohne Kand

1	2	3	4=3x2	5	6=5x4	7	8	9	10=7x6+9
Pro- duct	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Output coeffi- cient	Product of 1 hectare (kgs.)	Local price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of 1 hectare (rials)	Culti- vated area (hec- tares)	Gross value of total product (rials)	Secondary income (rials)	Gross income of irrigated lands (rials)
Wheat	130	10	1,300	7	9,100	100	910,000	45,000	955,000
Barley	150	12	1,800	4	7,200	20	144,000	90,000	1,530,000
Total	-	-	-	-	-	120	1,054,000	-	1,108,000

dollars. It might be noted that each household pays 4,572 rials or approximately 61 dollars per year in landlord's share. This means that, whilst the per capita income of nasaq-holding families from farming is 20 dollars a year, approximately 19 dollars per year per capita is paid to the landlord. However, this figure is considerably less than the total per capita income because the farmers also derive some income from their livestock.

In order to calculate the actual per capita income of all the villagers we must add the following incomes:

1. The net agricultural income of the nasaq-holders: 683,964 rials.
2. The net income from livestock (1,400 sheep and 25 cows): 635,000 rials.
3. The net income of 45 khoshneshin households: 337,500 rials.

Thus the total net annual income of the village is 1,656,464 rials which divided by its 650 inhabitants, gives an annual per capita income of 2,548 rials or 34 dollars. Were it not for livestock raising this figure would have been smaller. It is a pity that the villagers do not have the capital to expand this activity since it obviously alleviates their poverty.

In order to gain a better understanding of the distribution of income in the village we interviewed two farmers: Mr. Gol Mohammad Ali-Abadi the former headman, who seemed to be much wealthier than his neighbours, and Mr. Ali-Abadi who was also relatively well off.

Gol Mohammad has a gross farming income of 48,430 rials. He pays two-fifth of his income from the irrigated lands, which amounts to 17,760 rials,

to the landlord.

Table 3
Gross Income of Golmohammad Ali-Abadi from Dry Farming.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or 5x4+6
Product	Surface under cultivation (hectares)	Seeds (kgs.)	Output (kgs.)	Value of 1 kilo products (rials)	Secondary income (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	2	30	240	7	100	1,780
Barley	3	50	500	4	250	2,250
Total	5	-	-	-	-	4,030

If this is deducted from his gross income it leaves 28,565 rials from which we should deduct a further 6,200 rials production costs to obtain a net farming income of 2,365 rials or approximately 298 dollars. When this is divided amongst his 8-member household, it gives a per capita income of 2,795 rials or 37 dollars. This is higher than the average for the village because the large household means that he does not have to hire farm labour. Gol Mohammad also owns 60 sheep from which he earns 24,000 rials and this, added to his farming income, leaves his household with a total annual per-capita income of 5,795 rials or 77 dollars. He told us that this was sufficient money to carry him for one harvest to another, so that he never had to incur any debts. It also enabled him to take a second wife, the dearest wish of most of the villagers.

Our second interview was with Mr. Gholi Ali-Abadi who cultivates the same amount of dry-farming land as Gol Mohammad and earns 4,030 rials per year from this activity. He also leases 1.5 hectares of irrigated land and pays one-third of the income from it to the landlord, which leaves him with 6,410 rials. Thus his gross farming income is 10,440 rials. The only costs he pays are 1,735 rials for seeds (he hires no labourers) and 300 rials for services. This leaves him with a net farming income of 8,405 rials or 112 dollars. Divided among his four member household this yields a per-capita income of 2,101 rials or 28 dollars. However, since he also owns 10 sheep and 1 cow his total net income from agriculture and cattle herding amounts to

15,405 rials, or 206 dollars, making the per capita income of his household 3,850 rials, or 51 dollars. This is higher than the average for the village because of the small size of his household.

Table 4

Gross Agricultural Income of Golmohammed Ali-Abadi

1	2	3	4	5	6 or 5 x 4
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds (kgs.)	Output (kgs.)	Local price of 1 kilo of produce (rials)	Gross value of produce (rials)
Wheat	4	600	4,800	7	33,600
Barley	1.5	270	2,700	4	10,800
Total	5.5	-	-	-	44,400

It is interesting to note that for nearly all the farmers income from livestock raising is approximately equal to farming income. If the region did not possess the right conditions for this then the inhabitants of this village would have an income lower than that of the poorest agricultural area of Iran.

In view of the severe limitations on production opportunities one wonders whether or not human efforts could contribute to the economic development of the village. However, the village has no school and only six children travel to Bojnurd to attend classes there. Last year the Education Department of Bojnurd offered to build a school, but since, owing to their poverty, the villagers were unable to provide desks and benches, the project never got started. Only four men and no women were literate. There is no clinic or bath and the village has only been sprayed once. The people have been vaccinated against smallpox. This was, moreover, the only village we studied in this area where there is no radio and, although the representatives of the Agricultural Development Office make visits from time to time, no-one knew how to use chemical fertilizers or to spray the fields.

There is no village council but, two years ago, a co-operative was set up in Kohne Kand Farm whose irrigation nasaq are under the supervision of other villages besides Ali-Abad. The details of this co-operative are as

follows:

Members:	98
Registered Capital:	43,100 rials
No. of Shares:	58,100
Government Credit:	215,000 rials
No. of Borrowers:	89
Total loans given by the Co-operative:	273,000 rials

When we asked the farmers what they did with their loans they replied that they bought household provisions and paid off their old debts. Most of them owe money to shop-keepers in Bojnurd and are frequently forced to short sell their crops. Often money is borrowed at an interest rate of 20 per cent per annum simply to enable the farmers to buy enough food to keep alive.

Ali Abad is among those villages in which land reform has not only changed the relationship between landlord and peasant, but made it worse. The owners have increased their share of the product from two-thirds to one-fifth and in the last few years. They also dispossessed a few nasaq-holders. This latter group has little security since the landowner can dismiss them for a large number of reasons and indeed, by claiming that the irrigated land of Kohne Kand does not belong to the agricultural nasaq of Ali Abad he is able to force the farmers to cultivate only the dry-land held in common. In these circumstances the farmers have, in our opinion, good reason to fear for the future. It is most surprising that, despite the injustice of the system of landholding in the village, there are few conflicts between landlords and peasants. The villagers do not even protest about one of the landowner's garden which utilizes all the water of the only two qanat.

Change in Ali Abad during the last Ten Years

1. The number of nasaq-holders has fallen because three have been dismissed.
2. Ten years ago there were 10 khoshneshin households, now there are 45. The total population has increased from 550 to 650, whilst the area of land being cultivated has reduced.
3. Ten years ago a per capita income of 2,250 rials was earned from the sale of brush but this activity has ceased today.
4. Although the price of barley has increased from 2.5 to 4 rials and that of wheat from 4.5 to 7 rials, the income of the farmers from the dry-farming land has decreased from 174,375 rials to 150,000 rials. Although this dec-

line may seem to be a logical result of the decline of fertility that is bound to occur if the lands are not left to fallow every other year, we think that, since the level of production is reported as the same in both surveys, the farmers were concealing the real scope of the land under dry cultivation.

5. The gross income of each gavband from the irrigated land has increased by 3.5. Among the many possible reasons for this we may cite the increase in the price of wheat and barley and the decrease in the number of gavband.

6. The increase in the landowner's share in the product of the irrigated lands and the lack of application of modern agricultural techniques may be cited as reasons for the relatively small increase in income from the irrigated lands.

7. Ten years ago 1,200 head of livestock were reported. Now there are 1,400. The net annual income earned from one head has increased from 100 to 400 rials. The earlier report mentions no cows whilst, at present, there are 25 yielding an annual income of 75,000 rials. Thus the net annual income from livestock is now 635,000 rials or 4,704 rials per capita (63 dollars).

8. The per capita income of the inhabitants of the village has, despite a population increase of 100, risen from 1,546 rials, or 21 dollars, to 2,548 rials or 34 dollars. Although the income of the khoshneshin was not included in the 1954 figure, 202,500 rials earned from fuel gathering was. Thus, only cattle herding and the increase in the price of wheat and barley can be cited to explain this increase.

پژوهشگاه علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرهنگی
رتال جامع علوم انسانی

Ostan: Khorasan

Shahrestan: Birjand

Village: Shokat-Abad

Date of Survey: 1965.

Shokat-Abad is situated 8 kilometres south of Birjand and is its nearest village on the southern side. It was built 71 years ago by Amir Shokat al-Molk and is in the vicinity of the lands of his family. Although he had intended to develop his orchards by bringing saplings from other parts of the country he died before the project was completed and the village was inherited by his brother as a private endowment. The new owner was interested in agriculture and, whilst expanding the orchard, he also allocated its surrounding lands for cultivation and tried to introduce new crops. However, after a while he too died and the village went to his son who appointed a bailiff to supervise all his affairs and who only visited his property once a year.

In our previous reports we have discussed the changes in the extend and quality of landownership and the system of landholding in the villages of Iran, and Shokat-Abad provides a particularly good example of the consequences of such changes. In the past the agricultural sector was the dominant sphere of economic activity and landowners had, in order to provide their own livelihood and to guarantee their future, to take care that the quality of their land was maintained and the needs of the people working on it provided for. Moreover, the landlord frequently maintained a patriarchal type of relationship with his tenants and was obliged by the demands of religion and custom to attend to their welfare. However, as soon as a landlord turns over the responsibility for his affairs into the hands of a bailiff and ceases to pay frequent visits to his estates, a new chapter in the great crisis of the villages opens. The village community loses its structural integrity and the peasants either leave the village in seek of other employment or confront the landowner as a resisting force thus endangering the productive

stability of the village. The departure of the landowner from the village scene means, in other words, that the relations of production and the legal security that existed under the patriarchal system are weakened, whilst no new system exists to replace it.

Because it has an absentee landlord, Shokatabad is at the mercy of an over-seer who controls all its social and economic activities and even appoints the headman. Nothing can be done in the village without his approval. This man told the members of our group that the aim of the landlord is to help the peasants to earn their livelihood by pursuing agricultural activities.

Shokatabad has a population of 560, made up of 80 households. Of these 24 are nasaq holders and 56 are khoshneshin. The khoshneshin earn their living as labourers in the carpet-weaving establishments, by undertaking unskilled work in Birjand, and by service occupations in the village whose nature will be discussed later. The nasaq-holders give two-thirds of their product to the landowner in return for the provision of water, land, seeds and the means of ploughing.

The Economic Condition of Shokatabad

The total area of cultivable land is 162 hectares of which half is left to fallow each year. The average share of each nasaq-holding household in the village lands is 6.7 hectares, but in actual fact each cultivates only 3.4 hectares per year. The average size of a nasaq-holding household is 7 so the per capita share in the land for each of its members is 0.5 hectares.

The village has a special system for dividing crops between different pieces of land, the criteria for allocation being the value of the crop. Thus the lands surrounding the orchards and the village dwellings are given over to crops which fetch a good price such as sugar beet, cotton and summer crops and the other lands are sown with wheat and barley. The costs of fertilizing the good land are shared by the landowner but, if the villagers want to fertilize their wheat and barley fields, the responsibility for payment is entirely their own. The sole interest of the landlord is investment which brings adequate returns and wheat and barley, despite their importance to the villagers as subsistence crops, are not profitable. The yield of wheat sown on irrigated land is 7:1 and that of barley 9:1.

The water supply is derived from the qanat which yields water at a rate

of 4 sang per second. In addition a deep-water well has been drilled recently and when it goes into operation it will be used for the irrigation of sugar beet and the development of the village. The land is ploughed by a tractor, and the oxen that once did the job are now used only for embarking. There is one flour mill which belongs to the landlord. The miller receives from the villager 25 rials per 100 kilograms of wheat he processes. Fuel consists of kerosene, wild bushes and charcoal.

The main crops are wheat barley, turnip, cotton, melon and alfalfa. Sugar beets are grown for sale outside the village. Livestock raising is also an important aspect of farming. The khoshneshin and the nasaq holders between them own (according to the overseer), 1,500 head of sheep and 36 milk cows. 4 milk cows belong to the landlord. Quite a lot of carpet weaving goes on one of the reasons being the availability of wool at 60 rials per kilogram in the spring and 130 rials per kilo in the autumn. Birjand is one of the main centres of carpet weaving in the country so the wool in the district is sold either in the town itself or in the villages close to it. The women of the village also weave coarse linen and various woollen fabrics for domestic use.

During the last few years the landlord has introduced mechanized means of farming and sugar beet cultivation has been expanded to cover almost a third of the available land.

According to the bailiff "All the farmers are well off and no-one is in debt." The nasaq-holding system of landlord-peasant relations is stable in this village and has undergone no major change in recent years. The income of nasaq-holders is shown in table 1. Two thirds of the total produce is made over to the landowner, the balance belonging to the farmer. Table 2 shows the share of owners and farmers in each crop.

However, the owner provides the seeds etc., so that the production costs of the nasaq-holders are confined to the costs of labour and general services. The wages of farm labourers vary between 25 and 30 rials per day depending on the season and we estimated the total cost of labour to the nasaq holders each year to be 22,416 rials.

Thus the net farming income of the 24 nasaq-holding families of the village amounts to 221,626 rials, or about 2,955 dollars, which makes the income per household 9,234 rials or 123 dollars and the per capita income 1,311 rials or 17 dollars.

Table 1
Gross Farming Income of Nasaq Holders in Shokatabad*

1	2	3	4	2x3x4=5	6	5x6=7
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare	Yield	Total product (kgs.)	Price per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat		120	10	42,500	7.5	318,750
Barley		170	9	7,650	4.5	34,425
Sugar Beets	26			200,000	1.1	220,000
Cotton	200	60	2,380	7,933	12	95,196
Turnip				42,500	1.5	63,750
Total						732,121

Despite the fact that a large part of the income of nasaq-holders is derived from live-stock rearing, we were not able to make any calculation of this because there was no information available on the division of ownership of livestock between nasaq-holders and khoshneshin. At a rough guess the total village income from livestock is about 800,000 rials (based on the assumption that the price of sheep is 500 rials per head and that of cows 1,000 rials).

Table 2
Owner's and Nasaq Holder's Shares in Gross Farming Product

Product	Gross value (rials)	Owner's share (rials)	Farmer's share (rials)
Wheat	318,750	212,500	106,250
Barley	34,425	22,950	11,457
Sugar Beets	220,000	146,667	73,333
Cotton	95,196	63,464	31,732
Turnip	63,750	42,500	21,250
Total	732,121	488,081	244,040

* The figures quoted are those reported by the bailiff.

The group was only able to interview one nasaq-holder about the details of his income, and this with the help of the village school-teacher. Thus we are unable to provide any information on the mode of income-distribution amongst nasaq-holding families. We have, however, included the details derived from this one interview in table 3.

Table 3

Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare	Yield	Total product (kgs.)	Price per kilo (rials)	Total value of product (rials)	Owner's share	Farmer's share
Wheat	127	120	8	1,219	7.5	9,142.5	6,090	3,047.5
Wheat	51	120	10	612	7.5	4,590	3,060	1,530
Barley	36	170	9	453	4.5	2,038.5	1,359	679.5
Sugar Beet	7	7		7,000	1.1	7,700	5,134	2,566
Total						23,471	15,646	7,823

The seed is provided by the landowner and so only general expenses, totalling 934 rials, have to be deducted from the farmer's share. In addition to his net income from farming the land, which is 6,889 rials or 79 dollars. He earns 3,500 rials from his 5 sheep and 1 cow. This brings his total net income to 10,389 rials or 138 dollars.

The Khoshneshin of Shokat-Abad

The numbers of khoshneshin, their occupations and incomes, as reported to us by the bailiff, are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Occupation	No.	Annual Income
Gardeners	6	850 kgs. wheat, 150 kgs. turnip, 2000 kgs. straw and 300 rials cash from owner.
Donkey Driving	2	680 kgs. wheat, 170 kgs. barley, 50 kgs. cotton, 500 kgs. turnip from owner.
Miller	2	25 rials per 100 kgs. of wheat milled received from farmers,

Shepherd	2	2.5 kgs. wheat & 2.5 kgs. barley for each head of sheep received from farmer.
Bath-keeper	1	6 kgs. wheat from owner & 2 rials for each person's bath.
Carpenter	1	300 kgs. wheat from landowner.
Blacksmith	1	300 kgs. wheat from landowner.
Barber	1	5 kgs. wheat from each villager.
Water-man	1	800 kgs. wheat & 400 kgs. barley from landowner.
Ox-owner	1	1,000 kgs. wheat from landowner.
Mullah	1	900 kgs. wheat, 50 kgs. cotton, 425 kgs. turnip & 1,600 rials cash from landowner.

Apart from these are 37 households who are employed in various construction and brick-making activities in Birjand and who receive a wage of 30 to 40 rials per day. Even some of the khoshneshin listed above, who cannot make a living from the income they receive in the village, work in Birjand and in neighbouring villages in addition.

In order to be better acquainted with the financial situation of the khoshneshin we interviewed two of them. The first was a shoe-maker for three months of the year and from this earned an average daily income of 20 rials and a total annual income of 1,800 rials. He also sowed 17 kilograms of barley and 34 kilograms of wheat, which yield a net annual income 1,518 rials, and worked on the wells for four months of the year earning 30 rials daily and 3,600 rials annually. Another month's work as a labourer brings him 900 rials so that his total annual income from all sources comes to 7,818 rials. His family has 4 members so its per capita income is 1,954 rials or 26 dollars.

The second khoshneshin was one of the gardeners. All 6 gardeners have an almost equal income. Each has a cow and a few sheep and receives 850 kilograms of wheat and barley, 2 tons of straw and 150 kilograms of turnips annually (300 rials). Thus the average income in cash of the gardeners amounts to 7,000 rials each. The one we interviewed also possessed 1 cow and 5 sheep and supported a household of 5. His total income amounted to 10,500 rials which makes a per capita income of 2,100 rials or a little over 28 dollars for his household.

The Social, Health and Educational Condition of Shokat Abad

We held our interview with the village bailiff near to the landlord's house, in the orchard. However we had no access to the gardeners of the orchard so one or two of them as well as some servants were summoned at our request to tell us a little more about the condition of the village.

The inhabitants of the Shokat Abad are Farsi-speakers and their religion is shi'ite. A mosque has been built by the landlord who has entrusted it to the care of the local mullah. There is a mixed school with six grades which was founded by the landlord in 1958. It has a total of 60 pupils, 40 from Shokat Abad and the rest from other villages. There are 5 children of school age who do not attend. The school-teacher told us that 30 per cent of the men and 10 per cent of the women in the village could read and write. The school is staffed by 3 teachers and a janitor, one of the teachers acting as principal.

The nearest clinic is in Birjand. The village is sprayed with D.D.T. every year and its houses have water closets. Endemic diseases were listed as small-pox, anthrax and diptheria and measures are taken to control them every year. The drinking water comes from the qanat and from a nearby reservoir. A well has also been drilled recently.

The technical knowledge of the villagers is limited; no-one knows how to drive and only the donkey drivers and the gardeners are able to use chemical fertilizers. The village has only one electric motor which belongs to the landowner.

None of the inhabitants attends the professional school at Birjand and, except for the introduction of the tractor and the chemical fertilizer, no modern methods of agriculture have been adopted by them. There are about 15 radios, and films on health and agriculture are shown regularly. Apart from this there is one woman extension worker residing in the village to teach the women modern methods of house-keeping and a male extension worker whose task is to instruct the farmers on crop-growing, especially the cultivation of sugar beets.

We asked the bailiff about co-operative societies and he replied that they were absent because the villagers felt no need for them. A village council was created a year ago but up till now it has done no work. The bailiff also said that the village development fee has so far been paid to the Agricultural Bank by the landlord.

For the past three years the headman has been a khoshneshin who owns a grocery store in Birjand.

Changes in Shokat Abad in the Last Ten Years

1. Ten years ago the population was put at 370, divided into 48 households. According to the bailiff it is now 560, made up of 80 households an increase of 190 persons and 30 households. The average number of people in each household, which was about 7.7 in the previous survey and is 7 at present, seems to indicate that the population increase has been greater than that shown by our figures, and that there has been some emigration from the village.
2. The number of khoshneshin households has increased from 24 to 56. However, the number now engaged in the village occupations listed in table 4 has decreased from 24 to 19. Ten years ago there were only 2 gardeners working in the owner's orchard, now there are 6 but the village shepherds have decreased in number from 4 to 1, the barbers from 2 to 1, the blacksmiths from 2 to 1, and the carpenters from 2 to 1. The rest of the khoshneshin household-heads are working outside the village either in Birjand or in surrounding villages and are using Shokat Abad as their place of residence.
3. The gavband system has been abolished. Ploughing is now carried out by the landlord's tractors and oxen are used for making the cultivation beds.
4. The area of lands under cultivation has not changed and neither has the proportion left to fallow each year. However, the landlord showed his goodwill in the past by investing in the village and increasing the number of gavband from 8 to 12.
5. According to the previous survey, land, seed and water were provided by the landlord and the nasaq-holders supplied the other two factors of production (oxen and labour). Against this the landlord received half of the village produce. By the time we visited the village the landlord had changed the system and now he also provides the means of ploughing the land (tractors) and takes two-thirds of the total product. However, according to the bailiff, the whole cereal product is given to the farmers.
6. The cultivation of beets has been introduced since the previous survey was carried out ten years ago. Land that was previously planted with melon, millet and alfalfa and part of the former cotton fields have now been appropriated for sugar beets.
7. Ten years ago it was reported that the number of livestock in the village

were 2,000 consisting of sheep and goats. The village herds now number 1,500 but there are 60 milk cows which were not mentioned in the previous reports.

8. Ten years ago the price of wool was mentioned as 200 rials per kilo. Now it varies between 60 rials in the spring and 130 rials in the autumn.

9. The price of agricultural products has increased over the past ten years as follows:

Wheat from 4 to 7.5 rials per kg.

Barley from 2.5 to 4.5 rials per kg.

Cotton from 8 to 12 rials per kg.

Turnips from 0.33 to 1 rial per kg.

Sugar Beet from 0.66 to 1.1 rials per kg.

10. Whereas ten years ago the landlord paid the wages of 9 of the khoshneshin, today he pays for 13. This is a result of the increase in the number of gardeners working in his orchard. The rest of the khoshneshin occupied in the village receive part of their income from the farmers and part from the owners.

11. The survey ten years ago showed the income derived from livestock to be 400,000 rials, i.e. 200 rials per head of stock. (This is the equivalent of the price of 1 kilo of wool at the time). Now the price of each sheep and goat is estimated at 500 rials so that the total income from livestock comes to 800,000 rials, i.e. twice that of ten years ago.

12. In the report written ten years ago, the total income of each gavband was estimated at 16,416 rials. Since a gavband consists of two nasaq-holders, the income of each nasaq-holder was 8,233 rials. At present the net income of each nasaq-holder is estimated at 9,234 rials and his gross income at 10,168 rials, 1,935 rials higher than ten years ago. If there had been no change in the owner's share, the income of the farmers would have increased even more.

13. The owner has shown interest in promoting the social improvement of the village during the past ten years as well as before that.

* * *

With a view to facilitating the comparison of the present condition of the villages under study with that of ten years ago, we give below the text of a report on the study of the villages in question, drawn up in 1954, by the Ministry of Agriculture, with the assistance of Point 4 and the Ford

Ostan: Khorasan.
Shahrestan: Kashmar.
Village: Farak.

Throughout our reporting of village studies, we have again and again referred to a failure on the part of the Iranian farmer to enjoy the revenue from an economic unit of land. An economic unit of land, in our definition, is sufficient land to produce a normal return to the cultivator which would allow him and his family to live in conditions of security, health, and literacy. The specific items of expense upon which our farm family budget is based and the amount of land necessary to support this minimum living budget is discussed in the body of our report. Suffice it to say here that the cost of this living level for an average family of five per year is, with the present crops, approximately 60,000 rials (\$750). In the village of Farak, 8 kilometres east of Kashmar, in Khorasan, we see for the third time in this survey a unit of land productively farmed which produces enough income to meet the requirements of this farm family budget. (The other examples were found in the Plan Organization's operation in the Moghan Steppes and holdings in the Mazanderan area).

First let us consider the production of this unit of seventeen hectares of land farmed at Farak:

6 hectares	Wheat: 800 kgs. of seed x 10:1 return at 4 rials per kg. equals 32,000 rials.
	Barley: 100 kgs. of seed x 12:1 return at 3 rials per kg. equals 3,600 rials.
3½ hectares	Zireh:(Caraway seed) 150 kgs. of seed x 20:1 return at 12 rials per kg. equals 36,000 rials.
3 hectares	Cotton: 150 kgs. of seed produces 6,000 kgs. (lint and seed) at 12 rials per kg. equals 72,000 rials.
2 hectares	Poppy: 30 kgs. of poppy seed produces 30 kgs. opium at 600 rials per kg. equals 18,000 rials plus 300 kgs. seed at 6 rials equals 1,800 rials.

2 hectares Melons: 2 hectares at 12,000 rials return per hectare equals 24,000 rials.

$\frac{1}{2}$ hectare Vegetables: $\frac{1}{2}$ hectare at 5,000 rials return per hectare equals 2,500 rials.

Total gross production: 201,900 rials.

This income is sufficient, in our opinion, to support two families on a fair share basis if the land is owned by the cultivators. Now, however, let us consider some of the factors which militate against the cultivator receiving a return from the production of this unit of land which would be commensurate with the living level proposed in our theoretical farm family budget.

1. Land tenure pattern.

The landlord takes the following shares of the gavband production:

Cereal production of 71,600 rials

1.3 to gavband or 23,866 rials

2.3 to landlord or 47,734 rials

Cotton, poppy, melon, and vegetable production of 130,300 rials:

1.4 to gavband or 32,575 rials

3.4 to landlord or 97,725 rials

Thus, gavband's share of total crop is 56,441 rials.

Landlord's share of total crop is 145,459 rials.

2. Labour within the gavband.

For full employment the gavband should have a maximum of two members and four oxen under present production methods. It has four men and two oxen. The share within the gavband is divided into six parts, or 9,405 rials per share. One share, or 9,405 rials, goes to each of four men, two shares go to the owner of the oxen. Thus, three men receive 9,405 rials each, and the gavband head who owns the oxen receives 18,810 rials.

But these statistics are mere bagatelle if we consider the standard of living for the village as a whole. There are eighteen gavband heads, it is true, who receive 18,810 rials per year and 54 workers within the gavband who receive 9,405 rials per year. But there are 200 families in the village. What of the 128 families outside of the gavband organization? The heads of these families, the village elders told us, go to farming areas around Torbat or Mashad or Gorgan every year during planting and harvesting seasons looking for work. They leave their families in the village, and if the father does not get work or does not send money home, the family must live on the charity of the village.

Ten years ago, according to our informants, the village had 36 gavband units, but due to the decrease of qanat water, this number has been reduced to 18. The farmers state that the landlords have declared that it is the responsibility of the farmers to maintain and repair the qanat. The farmers lack the capital to make major repairs and six villagers have been killed in the cleaning operation which, according to them, is a job for specialists.

Excess population in this case and lack of tenure for those now in the gavband organizations produce an extreme competition among the villagers for a place in the established gavband. "Every year", says the khadkhoda, "we must go to the landlords at harvest time and give him gifts for the opportunity of cultivating his land for the next year. Those outside of the gavband compete by saving what they can from their earnings during the year to buy presents for the landlord in hope they can replace some gavband member. For example, a man works the harvest in Gorgan. His family stays alive by gleaning the fields of the gavband, here. Then this family spends most of their earnings for presents for the landlord to get a place in a gavband. All the land is identified as to ownership by the landlords (eighteen individuals and three institutions own the land, as will be explained below) and the owners throw out gavband members at their slightest whim. "If one of us would forget to say 'Good morning' to the landlord, he would throw us off the land", remarked the khadkhoda.

It may be that this is overstating the case. It is, however, an economic truism that where there is a plentiful and competing labour supply, there is always labour insecurity. As far as the village council is concerned, there is one in Farak. We were told that when this village council made an effort to get the 20 per cent return as provided by law, they were visited by the head of the district court and the head of the local gendarmerie, who discouraged their claim. The council, under this duress by officials who should be upholding the law, decided not to press the matter further.

For the owners this village is a small gold mine. It is divided into 108 donges, with the Holy Shrine at Mashad holding nine donges, (the mosque provides charity to families outside the gavbands), the Kashmar hospital holding seven donges, and 17 landlords in the nearby city of Kashmar holding 69½ donges. Three families who live in the village own 4½ donges. The landlords' share of production in the village amounts to 3,634,200 rials per year before providing seed. Thus each dong returns 33,650 rials gross per year.

So here is the "inside" story of one village with what might be termed "economic units of land". As can be seen, there is a great overburden of unemployed farmers in Farak.



پرویش گاه علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرہنگی
پرتال جامع علوم انسانی

Ostan: Khorasan
Shahrestan: Ferdows
Village: Dohesaran

In the village of Dohesaran there are 80 families. 6 families own gavbands. Each gavband cultivates about four hectares of land and in each gavband there is one permanent worker. 12 families, therefore, derive their living from the village land, which is irrigated by a qanat. 16 other families cultivate about one-half hectare of land apiece, using the extremely primitive method of turning the ground with a shovel and irrigating these small plots from a series of shallow wells. 12 family heads work in gavband in an adjoining village. 15 families own 40 camels with which they earn approximately 1,500 rials per year per family from transport service. 3 families serve as herdsmen for the village's 1,500 sheep. The remaining 22 families are farm labouring families with no fixed employment or income. Some work on the roads, some gather brush for fuel to be sold in Ferdows, some work only during thrashing season. One young man from this group told to us. "Look at me. I am young, strong, healthy. I want to work. There is nothing for me to do. I only average about six months' work a year at five to twenty rials a day. All I ask is an opportunity to work."

The total amount of land cultivated in the village is about 32 hectares, 24 hectares by the 6 gavband and 8 hectares by shovel and well. There is sufficient land for increased cultivation, but the limiting factor is water. The present water supply comes from a qanat 24 kilometres long. Two villages are serviced by this qanat, Dohesaran receiving 144 dong of water.¹

1. One "dong" of water equals sixteen "cups" of water; each eight "cups" of water equals one "hour" of water. A "dong", therefore, equals two hours of water. The exact amount of this water cannot be ascertained, as the "cup" or fenjan represents the amount of water which flows through a given channel during the time which a vessel with a hole in the bottom fills with water and sinks. As the time varies with the size of the vessel and of the hold made in it, the "cup" varies. In the case of Dohesaran, however, the water of 144 dong, or 2304 cups, is sufficient to irrigate 24 hectares of land with two hours of water flow at intervals of every seven to ten days.

Some years ago this village had twice as much water as it has now. The decline in water is no doubt due to the lack of maintenance and extension of their long qanat which in turn is probably due to the fractionated and complex ownership pattern of the water supply which militates against according effort in capital investment in the water supply. The ownership system will be discussed after the production statistics.

Each gavband produces as follows:

3 hectares	Wheat:	320 kgs. seed x 10:1 return equals 3,200 kilo at $4\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 14,400 rials.
	Barley:	80 kg. seed x 10:1 return equals 800 kgs. at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 2,000 rials.
$\frac{1}{2}$ hectare	Millet:	40 kgs. seed x 12:1 return equals 480 kgs. at $1\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 720 rials.
1.3 hectares	Cotton:	15 kgs. seed return 400 kgs. of unginmed cotton at 10 rials per kg. equals 4,000 rials.

Gross return per gavband: 21,120 rials.

The landlord contributes land, seed, and water and takes three-quarters of the crop, equaling 15,840 rials, minus 1.20 for harvest labour, leaving 15,048 rials per gavband for his share.

The farmers contribute their labour and oxen and receive one quarter of the crop, equalling 5,280 rials.

Within the gavband two parts goes to the oxen owner and two parts is paid for labour. Normally each man in the gavband owns one ox, so each man receives 2,640 rials. In addition the landowner turns back 1.20 of his share, or 792 rials, to the gavband for harvesting the crop, making 3,036 rials per gavband member for his year's work.

Each well-farmer produces as follows:

$\frac{1}{2}$ hectare	Wheat:	40 kgs. seed x 12:1 return equals 480 kgs. at $4\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 2,160 rials.
	Millet:	10 kgs. seed x 15:1 return equals 150 kgs. at $12\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 225 rials.

Gross return per well-farmer: 2,385 rials.

In this farming operation the landlord provides land, water, seed, and oxen, and takes three-quarters of the crop, or 1,785 rials. The farmer gets 596 rials.

Ownership: As stated above, the village is divided into 144 parts based on its water supply. The parts, or dong, are owned as follows:

(a) $6\frac{1}{2}$ dong are endowed to the mosque.

- (b) 14 dong are endowed as a trust fund for the sons of an absentee family.
- (c) 4 dong are dedicated to a school in another village.
- (d) $50\frac{1}{2}$ dong belong to six absentee landlords.
- (e) 69 dong belong to villagers. (one man in the village owns eight dong, another four dong, and the remaining dong are owned in units of one or a fraction of one dong by the present farmers.)

Considering the landlord's share from each of 6 gavband to be 15,048 rials each dong would return 627 rials to the owner per year. (Well operations are owned by vested interests in the village and are not included in water ownership of the qanat.)

The elements of production and return from each element for the village are summed up then:

12 gavband families at 3,036 rials return equalling 36,432 rials.

12 gavband families in another village at same return equalling 36,432 rials.

16 well cultivators at 596 rials return equalling 9,536 rials.

Return of 1,785 rials per well to owners in village equalling 28,560 rials.

15 families in camel transport at 1,500 rials each equalling 22,500 rials.

Return from 1,500 sheep - 1 kg. of wool per year at 100 rials per kg. equalling 150,000 rials.

Return to 22 khoshneshin from road work and work outside the village estimated at 11,000 rials.

Income from 69 dongs belonging to villagers at 627 rials per dong equalling 43,263 rials.

Total production equals 337,723 rials.

Per capita income for the 327 inhabitants of Dohesaran would be 1,032 rials.

Ostan: Khorasan
Shahrestan: Guchan
Village: Zeidanlu

According to the legendary history related to us by the head of the Zafron Lu tribe of sedentary Turkish people in the Guchan area, the Zafron Lu are descendents of the Turkish tribesmen of the Tchameshgazak Tribe transferred from northern Iraq and Kurdistan to Khorasan by Timur-i-lang (Tamerlane) in the 7th century of the Islamic calendar (14th century in the Christian reckoning). In Safavid times the Tchameshgazak Tribe was subdivided into two groupings, the Zafron Lu and the Shah Lu. The Zafron Lu people now occupy lands around Ghuchan, while the Shah Lu are dispersed around Bojnurd.

Some seventy years ago the lands around Ghuchan were owned by the head of the Zafron Lu tribe, Shufa Doleh. This khan, having no children to inherit the land, sold his holdings to his tribesmen for about one-tenth of its value. Thus, at the present time, the village of Zeidanlu, 20 kilometres northwest of Ghuchan, which was considered to be a typical village of this area, is owned by 150 resident families. When the land was first sold there were 20 families in the village. Now, by inheritance, the land has been fractionated so that each of the 60 "joft" or work units, with two or more families to a unit, has about 8 hectares of land. There are now also fifty khoshneshin families in the village, who own no land. Two other factors have been instrumental in the decline of prosperity in the village which are the indirect result of increasing population.

1. The summer grape vineyards are fed by the water from six qanat. The water from these qanat is decreasing because of lack of money to extend and repair the qanats each year. At the cost of 12,000 tomans per qanat for repair and construction the villagers maintain that they could double their grape (raisin) production in two years, but the cost of living per family is such that there are no funds from agricultural production over and above li-

ving expenses for capital investment in the qanat.

2. The number of livestock in the village is, on the decline also. Fifteen years ago the village had 3,000 camels and now it has only fifty. Each year since 1940 some camels had to be sold to supplement the income from agricultural production for actual living expenses. By the same token, the village herds have been reduced from 5,000 to 800 sheep and goats in the last ten years. These were sold, for the most part, to Russian occupation forces and the money was used to piece out the family incomes, rather than for reinvestments in livestock.

The production of each joft follows:

525 kgs. of seed wheat (dry land) winter crop x 7.1 return equalling 3,675 kgs. x 3½ rials per kg. equalling 12,862 rials.

175 kgs. of seed barley (spring crop) x 9.1 return equalling 1,575 kgs. 2½ rials per kg. equalling 3,937 rials.

On rented land - 100 kgs. seed wheat x 7.1 return equalling 700 x 3½ rials per kg. equalling 2,450 rials minus 1.10 kgs. for rent equalling 2,205 rials.

Grapes - Each joft averages 15 *djube* (500 square metres) of vineyard. Each *djube* produces 10 kgs. of fresh grapes which are consumed and 100 kgs. of raisins for the market. Fifteen *djubes* of land x 100 kgs. of raisins at 4½ rials per kg. equals 6,750 rials.

Poppy - 90 kgs. of seed returns 300 kgs. of opium at 1,200 rials for 3 kgs. equalling 120,000 rials divided by 60 jofts equalling 2,000 rials per joft. Total production of each joft, then equals 27,754 rials.

The gavband is made up of two family heads, each of whom own oxen, so the production is divided equally between the two families, i.e., 13,877 rials per family unless labour outside these two families is hired, in which case one man is hired for forty days during the ploughing season at 1,500 rials. If labour is needed for the spring barley and the summer crop, the labour receives one fifth of the crop. Village boys are hired for the harvest at 600 rials. The cost of labour is not deducted from the family income, as the elders of the village asserted that most of the two-family jofts were sufficient within themselves as to labour. The cost of seed, however, reduces the family income by 2,624 rials to 11,253. The per capita income for the village (11,253 rials x 120 joft members divided by 1,200 population) is 1,125 rials, which is superior to the income received by farmers in most

landlord-owned villages.

As for other resources here, one of the proud possessions of this village is a new schoolhouse where our interview was conducted, which has four classes and 45 students. The village water supply comes from an umbar supplied by a qanat but the heavy green scum on the water makes questionable the potability of the water. Medical care is procured in Ghuchan from private doctors. One villager unwrapped for inspection an infected cut on his finger ostensibly taken care of by a Ghuchan doctor, which patently was putrifying.

Land fractionization followed by a continuously decreasing agricultural income as exemplified in this village, with no relief from population pressure through off-farm employment, can be listed, here as elsewhere in Iran, as one basic factor of rural poverty in this country.



Ostan: Khorasan

Shahrestan: Bojnurd

Village: Ali Abad

What do the village leaders do when there is not enough productive land to feed the people in the village? This team has seen, during the course of its survey, many efforts of the villagers themselves to solve this chronic and overriding problem of agriculture in Iran, such efforts ranging from apathetic appeals for help to relatively constructive efforts to increase village income. The effort made by the people of Ali Abad, 7 kilometres north of Bojnurd, within the limits of their capacity exemplifies one of the more intelligent approaches to maintain a decent standard of living on an inadequate land base. First of all there is a close community spirit, as the land of the village belongs equally to ninety of the hundred families with only ten resident families being landless. A family of Ali Abad is not allowed to sell its share of land outside the village; if any family owning land becomes destitute through the vagaries of agricultural production or bad luck, the other families are obliged to keep such an unfortunate one solvent. Thus, for one hundred years no land of the village has been sold to outsiders. Further, the cereal crop is farmed, communally and the income therefrom divided equally. But, as the population has increased and the land base has remained static, the return from the land has decrease proportionately. Land was rented from the head of the Shad Lu tribe who own all of the land contiguous to the village lands. Still the agricultural resources were found to be inadequate, and the unemployed of the village developed almost a monopoly for supplying the city of Bojnurd with brush for fuel. The fuel gatherers have ranged further and further into the mountains for brush until this industry is now approaching a point of decreasing returns. Thus, the intelligent young khadkhoda explained, they had exhausted just about all the sources of revenue possible, and added: "It is our first prayer to God that each family can

have seven hectares of land. From this amount each of us could have a good living."

Here is the financial picture of Aliabad at this time: There are 45 gavband formed, with 2 men per gavband. Village land (dry), each gavband:

35 kgs. of barley at 10:1 return equals 350 kgs. at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per kg. equals 875 rials.

60 kgs. of wheat at 5:1 return equals 600 kgs. at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 3,000 rials.

3,875 rials x 45 gavband equals 174,375 rials, divided by 90 families equals 1,904 rials per family.

Shad Lu land (irrigated):

90 kgs. of barley at 12:1 return equals 1,080 kgs. at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 2,700 rials.

190 kgs. of wheat at 8:1 return equals 1,520 kgs. at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. equals 3,800 rials.

6,500 rials x 45 gavband equals 292,009 rials, minus one-third to landlord, equals 195,000 rials.

Total production of village land plus village share of production from rented land total 369,375 rials divided by 90 families equals 4,104 rials per family for cereal production.

Fuel: 225 days x 900 rials income per day equals 202,500 rials divided by 90 families equals 2,250 rials per family.

Sheep: 1,200 sheep and goats x 100 rials income per year per sheep equals 120,000 rials or 1,333 rials per family.

Total income per gavband family equals 9,447 rials.

Per capita income (550 persons) equals 1,546 rials.

The ten landless families are supported within the income of the landholding families.

No more land can be rented from the Shad Lu. The available range for sheep and goats is already overstocked. The fuel gathering enterprise is on the wane. Despite the fact that this village has no schoolhouse, no bathhouse, no mosque, nor any other of the social amenities of life, it doesn't appear to be a "poor" village in comparison with many others seen. Certainly these villagers have made as intelligent an effort as possible to supplement their agricultural production with other means at their disposal. But the fact remains that the prosperity of the village is declining and will decline

until one of two things happen: (1) their first hope to God is realized and more land is made available, or (2) alternative off-farm employment is made available.



پرویش گاه علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرہنگی
پرتال جامع علوم انسانی

Ostan: Khorasan

Shahrestan: Birjand

Village: Shokat Abad

In this sample survey we found very few instances where landowners ploughed back any sizeable part of their profit into their villages as capital investment, or where village owners showed any great degree of concern for the welfare of their tenant farmers. The village of Shokat Abad is an outstanding exception to both of these general findings. In Shokat Abad the landowner has provided total employment for the village partly at his own expense; he has built a mosque, bathhouse, and a separate house and compound for each family; he has maintained, extended, and repaired the village qanat to increase the water supply in the last ten years to the point where 12 gavband may till the soil where only 8 were producing before. It is true that the condition of this village and the enlightened attitude of the landlord is not typical of rural Iran, but this village is included in our survey to show what can be done to improve the living conditions of the Iranian farmers if a landowner is motivated both by humanitarian and economic aims.

First, let us consider the labour force of the village. Of the 48 resident families, 24 family heads are nasaq-holders in the 12 gavband 2 take care of the bath-house, 2 are carpenters, 2 are black-smiths, 2 are barbers, 4 are shepherds, 2 are water supervisors, 4 are millers, 2 are gardeners, 1 is a brickmaker, 2 are brickmaker's assistants, and 1 is a mullah. Thus there is full employment in the village.

15 of the village service people are paid by the villagers themselves. The two bath-house attendants receive 30 kilo of turnips, and $30\frac{1}{2}$ kilo of wheat from each family per year; the two barbers receive the same, the four shepherds receive for each sheep and goat $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilo of wheat; the four millers receive 1.20 of all wheat and barley ground; and the three bricklayers are paid by people in this village and surrounding villages for their bricks

and their labour.

9 of the service personnel are paid by the landlord: two carpenters, two blacksmiths, two water supervisors, two gardeners, and the mullah. Each of these receive 600 kilo of wheat and 30 kilo of cotton and 100 rials in cash.

The main livelihood of the village comes from the sale of wool from the herd of 2,000 sheep and goats. At 200 rials per kilo for wool, the return from this herd is about 400,000 rials per year, or an average of 8,333 rials per family.

The gavband produce on 3.4 hectares of irrigated land per gavband.

3 hectares	Wheat:	300 kgs. of seed at 7:1 return equals 2,100 kgs. at 4 rials per kg. equals 8,400 rials.
	Barley:	36 kgs. of seed at 8:1 return equals 288 kgs. at 2½ rials per kg. equals 720 rials.
1 hectare	Cotton:	35 kgs. of seed produces 2,400 kgs. (bulk) at 8 rials per kg. equals 19,200 rials.
½ hectare	Turnips:	2 kgs. of seed produces 3,000 kgs. at 1.3 rials per kg. equals 1,000 rials.
½ hectare	Beets:	1 kg. of seed produces 1,500 kgs. at 2.3 rials per kg. equals 1,000 rials.
1 hectare	Melons:	gross production per hectare equals 2,000 rials.
½ hectare	Millet:	24 kgs. of seed at 17:1 return equals 480 kgs. at 1½ rials per kg. equals 612 rials.
½ hectare	Alfalfa:	fed to stock.

Total 32,932 rials.

The landlord furnishes land, water, and seed. While other landlords in the Birjand area take from two-thirds to three-fourths of the crop, the present landlord of Shokat Abad takes just one-half, leaving the gavband's share at 16,466 rials. Divided equally between the two gavband members, each man makes 8,233 rials per year.

The production of the gavband, 197,592 rials, plus the income from the sheep and goats 400,000 rials plus 10 per cent return from the landlord under the Increase of the Farmer's Share Act 19,759 rials, plus his payment to service people of 24,960 rials, gives 624,311 rials for the village divided by 370 persons in the village equals 1,736 rials per capita. Since the families average over 7 individuals, family income is well over 10,000 rials, which is relatively high for southern Khorasan.

The main points to be stressed, however, are that the villagers own their own houses and compounds, they have full employment and security, they

have a bathhouse and a new mosque provided by the landowner, and most of their children are free to attend a school 1 kilometre away in another village owned by the same landlord. With the 10 per cent received from the landlord for community development, the villagers are repairing their water umbar. Even in such a village, therefore, with definitely limited natural resources, the improvement of social conditions has provided here a demonstration of what can be done by a landowner to increase the general prosperity and well-being of those people on his land for whom he is, in a humanitarian sense, socially responsible.



A STUDY OF THE RURAL ECONOMY OF THE CENTRAL OŠTAN

Ostan: Tehran

District: Varamin

Village: Ghermez Tapeh

Date of Survey: 1964

Ghermez Tapeh is situated 70 kilometres from Tehran on the northern fringe of the Lut desert. The village lands are flat and cover an area of 1,200 hectares of which 400 hectares are covered by salt and sand. According to the 1956 census the population was 216. It is now 310 and is divided into 75 households making an increase of 50 per cent over the last seven years.

Until 1941 this village was *khaliseh* (crown) land. At that time it had 12 gavbandi. In 1941 it was sold to two army officers but in 1963 one of these lost his 3 dong under the Land Reform Law whilst the other created a partnership with the villagers.¹ At present 32 gavbandi that is 64 farmers, work the village lands.

Economic Conditions

The main crops are wheat, barley, cantaloupe, water melons and cotton. There is a certain amount of poultry farming and livestock raising. This diversity of products is indicative of the proximity of the village to the Tehran market. Although most of the farming is carried out by irrigation, there is some semi-dry farming for which the land is watered for the first seven days after the crop has been sown.

The river Jajrud supplies 6 sang of water to meet the crop raising requirements of the village but in the summer it has little flow and sometimes even dries up. Thus one of the main problems of the village is the water supply. Underground water can only be obtained by digging wells since the agricultural soil of the district is an obstacle to digging qanat. The landowner of the part of the village that has not fallen under land reform dug a motor well a few years ago. However, after the law was enforced he stopped the mo-

1. The Land Reform Organization has, on the basis of a tax coefficient, purchased 3 dong (half) of the village at 3,000,000 rials. The value of the village lands was estimated at 1,800,000 rials prior to land reform.

tor and, as a result, about one third of the irrigated lands of the village lie fallow. If this well were to work again the farmers would be able to double-crop part of their land and produce vetch, clover and alfalfa.

Of the 75 households, 20 are khoshneshin and 55 nasaq holders. The distribution of gavbandi amongst the latter is as follows:

1 nasaq-holder own 6 gavband.

2 nasaq-holders own 4 gavband.

50 nasaq-holders own 25 gavband.

Table 1

Gross Farming Income of the owner of 1 Fard-Gav

1	2	3	4	5=3x4	6	7=5x6
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds (kgs.)	Yield coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Price of each kg. of product (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Cantaloupes	$\frac{1}{3}$	-	-	-	-	1800
Wheat	1	50	15:1	750	6	4500
Barley	$\frac{1}{2}$	25	12:1	300	4	1200
Cotton	1	-	-	2100	17	35700
By-product (straw)	-	-	-	-	-	600
Total						43800

The nasaq-holders pay rent to the landlord of 3 dong of the village and installments to the Agricultural Bank for the 3 dong that were distributed during Land Reform. The farmer whose income is given in Table 1 pays an ownership share of 5,475 rials (one quarter of half of his produce) and a total of 11,300 rials in production expenses. An analysis of the latter is given below:

Seeds:	2,800 rials.
Tractor:	2,000 rials.
Fodder:	5,000 rials.
Public Services:	500 rials.

Weeding & Reaping: 1,000 rials.
 Total: 11,300 rials.

If we deduct rent and production expenses from his gross income, his net annual income amounts to 27,025 rials or 360 dollars. This gives his seven-member household an annual per-capita income of 51 dollars. Whereas the nasaq-holder who owns 6 head of oxen has a annual income of 2,160 dollars.

However, the present income should not be taken as the permanent income of the farmers because melons, one of the most profitable crops produced in the village, have been destroyed by pests in recent years.

The annual values of the village produce is as follows:

Wheat:	90,000 kgs. at 6 rials per kg.	540,000 rials.
Barley:	30,000 kgs. at 4 rials per kg.	120,000 rials.
Cotton:	18,000 kgs. at 17 rials per kg.	306,000 rials.
Canteloupe:		1,700,000 rials.
Total gross farming income:		2,666,000 rials.

From this we must deduct 333,250 rials ownership share, 723,200 rials production costs (11,300 rials for each head of oxen) and add 100,000 rials income earned from 2,000 sheep to arrive at the net income of the village i.e. 1,700,550 rials.

The per-capita income can be calculated in two ways as follows:

1. By dividing the net income of the village by the number of members of nasaq-holding households. Thus, 1,709,550 divided by 275 gives a per-capita income of 6,215 rials or 82 dollars.
2. By multiplying the income of the owner of one head of oxen by all 64 head. Thus 27,025 multiplied by 64 gives 1,729,600 rials which, divided by 275, gives 6,289 rials or 83 dollars.

If we counted the installments the farmers should pay to the Agricultural Bank for the lands they received under the Land Reform Act, the per-capita income would be less. Moreover, if we include the khoshneshin and divide the total net income by the total population of the village, the per-capita income would fall to 73 dollars. The khoshneshin do three kinds of work. Either they take employment as farm labourers, or they raise livestock or they keep shops, run bath houses and so on. The income of this group was difficult to calculate but the average income of a farm hand in the village was 40 rials per day. Based on a working year of 300 days, the income of the khoshneshin household is 12,000 rials per annum, or 160 dollars. This is about

half the income of a nasaq-holding household possessing one head of oxen.
Problems arising from Land Reform.

Although the farmers welcome the opportunity of owning their own land and of abolishing the rule of the landlord, land reform has created a number of economic problems mostly related to water, the relationship between the farmers and the owner of the remaining three dong, and the relationship between the khoshneshin and the nasaq-holders.

The owner of the three dong has been discouraged by land reform and has stopped his activities in the village. As we have already said he has cut off the motor of the well he built and is not prepared to sell water to the farmers at a moderate price. Moreover, the dispossessed landlord had a tractor which he withdrew when his lands were sold to the peasants. So far the farmers have not themselves invested in any agricultural machinery, nor has the co-operative society.

The khoshneshin, for their part, have given up all hope of receiving land and have no security as a result. Land was given solely to nasaq-holders, each household receiving 7 hectares, half of which is always fallow. But this is hardly enough to sustain their own households, let alone the khoshneshin as well. One reason for the farmer's discontent is the unjust distribution of the land, both from the point of view of quantity and of size. Those who have received poorer lands may find themselves unable to pay the installments of 3,500 rials per annum. However, so far, the Agricultural Bank has not collected any from the villager. This latter group are eager that production be carried out on a co-operative and collective basis but the farmers who have received better lands are opposed to this.

The farmers told us that, once the lands had been distributed, the responsible officials no longer visited the village and are not interested in their problems. Thus, the result of land reform so far has been to strengthen the position of those who already enjoyed the security of the landlord's protection under the old regime. This is a village which is a heaven for nasaq-holders. The khoshneshin are, in comparison, a weak minority unable to make their voice heard.

Social Educational and Health Conditions

The villagers consider themselves the descendents of Kurdish tribes who settled in the area probably during the Afsharid period. The local language

is Kurdish although all can speak good Farsi. Apparently they are indifferent to religion since there are no mosques, tekieh or shrines in the village and none of the inhabitants has made a pilgrimage to Mecca or Kerbala. There are no mullahs and polygamy is not customary.

There is no handicraft industry and many emigrate to the city. There are nine battery-operated radio sets and more were given at the time of land reform so that the villagers could hear the speeches. Newspapers are sometimes brought by those returning from the city but all the adults are illiterate. The village school has 6 grades and 50 students including 13 girls. However, a great many of the children still work in the fields instead of attending class. There is a female teacher who has studied to the 4th grade of the secondary school and who receives a salary of 1,500 rials per month but for six months this has not been paid to her. Last year 7 pupils received the sixth grade certificate.

There is no clinic, the nearest being 24 kilometres away. Although the village has been sprayed to prevent malaria, the inhabitants have not, so far received injections against smallpox. Infant mortality is high although there are no endemic diseases. The drinking water is supplied by the river and stored in cisterns and the bath house resembles a dirty pit.

Although 3 people can drive a tractor and one can start a motor pump, no seed development, plant pest control, chemical fertilizers etc. have so far been used. Indeed irrigation and crop rotation are still carried out by traditional methods.

The nasaq-holders have invested 30,000 rials in the co-operative society which was formed at the time of land reform and the society has, in its turn granted its members 300,000 rials in loans from government aid. The khoshne-shin are excluded from the society. The village council consists of 7 of the more well-to-do farmers and so far it has constructed a water reservoir and repaired the bath house and some of the roads. It supervises the distribution of water.

It seems that, despite its favourable situation (nearness to the Tehran market, the possibility of bringing an extra 400 hectares of land under irrigation, and the readiness of the farmers to accept technological change), the village has remained backward. The only thing that land reform has accomplished is to legalise the traditional nasaq-holding system and to render one third of the village lands arid because of the withdrawal of usage of the

well. Even though we cannot attribute these set-backs to land reform itself we can say that they are basically due to lack of government support in the follow up period. The nasaq holders are content simply because they do not pay their installments to the Agricultural Bank, whilst at the same time they receive the share they formerly paid to the landlord. They also receive government loans. The enthusiasm created by the feeling of being the owner of one's own land has concealed from them the losses incurred to the village as a result of the reduction in the cultivable area.

At present, the most vital problem is the water supply, but the decrees and regulations relating to water in the Land Reform Law are extremely inadequate. Since the owner of the half of the village that has not been distributed is unlikely to come to terms with the farmers, the only real hope for the village is that, in the second stage of the reform, the rest of the land will be distributed and the water problem will solve itself.



پښتونستان د علومو او مطالعاتو فرانسې
پرتال جامع علومو اتسانی

Ostan: Central

Shahrestan: Qazvin

Village: Abdol Tapeh

Date of Survey: 1964

Abdol Tapeh is situated on the southern side of the Tehran-Qazvin road, near Sharifabad, one of the famous centres of water melon cultivation in Iran. Since the cultivation of summer crops and the use of deep wells and agricultural machinery has become common in this region, the group thought that this would also be the case in this village. It was beyond belief to find out that the 18 jufte-gav¹ which were working in the village ten years ago has moved to other places. However, production was being carried out by modern agricultural machinery.

The owner has a deep well in this village and another in the neighbouring village of Khatayan, each of which supply 10 sang of water. However both the Abdoltapeh qanat and the Khatayan qanat are dry, probably because the deep wells dug in the vicinity draw their water. The deep wells supply adequate irrigation facilities and all 300 hectares of land in Abdoltapeh are cultivated. There is no dry-farming land. Each year 150 hectares are left to fallow, 110 hectares are devoted to summer crops, including 50 hectares to water melons, 30 to kharbuzeh (melon) and 30 to canteloupe, and 40 hectares to sugar beets which are bought by the Karaj sugar factory.

The landlord has rented the entire village to specialists in the raising of summer crops from Qum. He supplies water, land and half the cost of seeds, ploughing and pest control. The tenants in turn bring in labour to grow the summer crops for 6 months of the year, pay their wages, undertake responsibility for working the lands and provide half the cost of seeds, ploughing and pest control. The income earned from farming is divided equally between the landlord and tenants. The labourers, who come to this dis-

1. Jufte Gav; Unit of Production.

tract from the spring to the autumn, live in wooden reed-huts and return to their home towns (Qum, Esfahan, Yazd and Tehran) for the winter. The landlord has placed houses at the disposal of the 'tenants' who now enjoy the same supervisory responsibilities as the mubashir under the old system of cultivation.

The landlord, by subjecting the former inhabitants of the village to various pressures, was able to dismiss the nasaq of 18 jufte gav. Some emigrated to surrounding towns and villages, and others to a neighbouring village owned by the same landlord. A few have made a show of resistance and still reside in Abdol Tapeh but, from the farming standpoint, have no connection with the village being now subject to the Khatayan farming nasaq. The owner had two reasons for undertaking this 'purge'; one technical and the other social and legal. In most parts of Iran, under the old rural system of production, which recognizes only five factors of production, technical advance has proved difficult. If the landowner wants to work with tractors or combines, to use chemical fertilizers and modern methods of pest control, or to grow summer crops by modern techniques, the old system is a definite hindrance. He is unable to make such changes without concluding separate crop-sharing agreements with each farmer and so, where he has encountered difficulties, he has started to exploit the lands independently of his tenants. Moreover, in districts where depth-farming is carried out, and where profitable crops can be grown, the peasant's shortage of capital and lack of technical know-how is an obstacle to his plans to develop his village.

Moreover, land reform has created an even stronger tendency to dismiss the farmers and exploit the land independently since the landowner fears distribution of his property amongst the nasaq-holders. The owner of Abdol Tapeh shared his property between his wife and children in order to avoid the first stage of reform, and fear of the second stage has been a strong motive for his dismissal of the villagers. At present the second stage of the Land Reform Law provides that the owners should either sell their land to the tenants, or lease them for a period of thirty years, or share them equally with the villagers. Since the possibility of disagreement between owner and peasant renders the sale of land impracticable, the final solution, in this district at any rate, will be to lease the land to the farmer or to share the land.

It should not be thought that the relationship between landlord and peasant in Abdol Tapeh is unique. There are many other instances that can be

cited in the same district. In some cases the owners re-purchase the farmer's rights and persuade them to leave the village, in others they resort to force as a means of dismissal. Three years ago, in the village of Hossein Abad, 6 kilometres south-west of Abdoltapeh, the owner demolished the villager's houses with a bull-dozer and turned the village fortress into a garden for himself. When the group went to look at this village, it found ruined houses and no farmers. From the large amount of heavy agricultural machinery and construction materials, it surmised that the owner intends to convert the village land into a modern farm and thus to avoid the consequences of land reform.

As a result of this type of activity on the part of the landowners, two distinct agricultural systems now operate in the region. One is the modern farm consisting of large units and worked by labourers employed directly by the landowner and the other is the traditional system of small farming units worked by peasant tenants. Although, without any doubt, the new system is more economical, one wonders what happens to those who have been driven from their lands. In this region, as in most developing countries, production has not reached the kind of level that would enable the countryside to absorb this population and certainly the peasants of other villages are unwilling to accept an erosion of their own resources by creating new nasaq for the outcasts. Further, the cities are not yet developed enough to absorb them into the industrial sector. The result is that these people will either join the ranks of the urban unemployed or the rural khoshneshin.

In our opinion, the only realistic solution is the creation of more jobs outside the agricultural sector. Capitalists are unlikely, in the future, to be of any help in solving this particular rural problem since, from now on, they are likely to concentrate on large economic units such as those created in Abdol Tapeh and Hussein Abad. Further, neither the farmers nor the government can solve all the problems arising from pressure on the land by continued investment in the existing system. The dreadful reality is that the 6 million hectares of cultivated land in Iran cannot support the rural population of 15 million. The problem should be faced squarely and greater investments should be made in the industrial and services sectors.

The Economic Condition of the Three Tenants of Abdol Tapeh

The summer-crop growers from Qum hold 4 boneh or 12 joft of land, the

equivalent of 300 hectares. 150 hectares are left fallow each year. An analysis of the constituents of the net annual income derived by these 3 tenants from their cultivation of the village lands is given in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table 1
Income From Each Hectare of Summer Crops

1	2	3	3 x 2 = 4	5	6
Product	Annual product of 1 hectare (kgs.)	Local price per kg. (rials)	Gross value of annual product of 1 hectare (rials)	Owner's share	Gross income of tenants from 1 hectare after deduction of 5%*
Sugar Beet	10,000	1	10,000	5,000	5,250
Water Melon	5,000	2.5	12,500	6,250	6,562
Kharbuzeh	5,000	3	15,000	7,500	7,875
Canteloupe	5,000	3	15,000	7,500	7,875

* 5% development share.

Table 2
Tenant's Production costs for Each Hectare of Summer Crops

1	2	3	4	5	6
Product	Seed costs* (rials)	Labour costs (rials)	Ploughing costs (rials)	Pest control costs (rials)	Total cost (rials)
Sugar Beet		1,600	400		2,000
Water Melon	400	1,600	500	100	2,600
Kharbuzeh	400	1,600	500	100	2,600
Canteloupe	400	1,600	500	100	2,600

* Only half the actual cost of seeds, ploughing and pest control have been included since the landlord pays the other half.

Table 3

Net Income of Tenants from Summer Crops

1	2	3	2 - 3 = 4	5	5 x 4 = 6
Product	Gross income per hectare (rials)	Production cost per hectare (rials)	Net income per hectare (rials)	Cultivated area (hectares)	Total net income (rials)
Sugar Beet	5,250	2,000	3,250	40	130,000
Water Melon	6,562	2,600	3,962	50	198,100
Kharbuzeh	7,875	2,600	5,275	30	158,250
Canteloupe	7,875	2,600	5,275	30	158,250
Total					644,600

The net income of the three tenants (644,600 rials) divided amongst their households gives an annual net income of 214,800 rials, or 2,864 dollars per household. However, since these people make use of their relatives to help on the farm, they have particularly large households (of 8 to 10 people) so we can estimate the per capita income to be something like 26,850 rials or 358 dollars. Since the land-reform regulations have explicitly excluded the summer crop growers from any claim to nasaq, the landowners prefer to take a smaller share of the product from these tenants than to lose their lands to nasaq-holders.

In order to compare the present income of a farmer, who resided in the village ten years ago, with the income of this group we interviewed Mr. Valiullah Mohammadi who is, at present, a nasaq-holder in Khatayan. The owner, in order to encourage this man to move to the latter village, placed 24 hectares of irrigated land at his disposal. Each year half of these are laid to fallow. Mr. Mohammadi, who owns one jufte-gav, cultivates wheat, barley, sugar beet, and cotton and his production has increased considerably over the last ten years. An analysis of his gross farming income appears in Table 4. Out of this we have to deduct the following as costs of production:

1. Tractor fee (for ploughing two hectares): 800 rials.
2. Pest Control: 600 rials.
3. Public Services: 200 rials.

Total Production Expenses: 1,600 rials.

Table 4

Net Annual Farming Income of Mr. Valiullah Mohammadi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Pro- duct	Area culti- vated (hec- tares)	Seeds plan- ted (ki- los)	Pro- duc- tivity of seeds	Annual product (kilos)	Local price of 1 kilo (rials)	Income from by pro- ducts (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)	Land- lord's share (half of product) (rials)	Net an- nual income
Wheat	4	900	115	13,500	5	13,500	81,000	40,500	42,525
Barley	3	600	120	12,000	3.5	3,000	45,000	23,509	23,625
Cotton	2	210	-	2,400	18	-	35,200	17,600	18,480
Sugar Beet	3	12	-	45,000	1	-	45,000	22,500	23,625
Total	12						26,000	103,100	108,255

Seeds are provided by the landowner and Mr. Mohammadi owns his own oxen. Thus, his net farming income is 108,255 rials minus 1,600 rials which is equal to 106,655 rials. To this we have to add 30,000 rials which he earns annually from 50 head of sheep making his total net income 136,655 rials or 1,822 dollars. Since Mr. Mohammadi is in partnership with his brother, this income has to be divided by the members of two households to yield a per capita annual income of 13,665 rials or 182 dollars. Even if this farmer had half the amount of land and half this per capita income for his family it would still be greater than the income earned in Abdol Tapeh ten years ago. The reason for this large increase can be found in the changes he has made in his farming methods and the type of crops he grows.

The income of the owner of Abdol Tapeh, after the deduction of his 5 per cent development share is about 914,400 rials. From this we must deduct the cost of water, half the cost of seeds, ploughing and pest-control, in order to calculate his net income.

Since the group found that Abdol Tapeh had completely changed over the past ten years, it concentrated on Khatayan as an example of the general social condition of the peasants of the area. This seemed logical because Khatayan is owned by the same person as Abdol Tapeh and the nasaq-holders who

moved from the latter village now hold nasaq rights in the former.

Khatayan has no school although, three days before the group arrived in the village, the Literacy Corps had come there with the intention of beginning classes. Only seven or eight of the villagers were literate and only the children of the wealthy attended a school 12 kilometres away. There are five or six radios in Khatayan. The nearest clinic is in Ghazvin and there are no doctors or midwives in the village itself. The health measures that have been taken so far consist of small-pox inoculation, spraying against malaria, and vaccination of the goats against disease. The drinking water is taken from the wells and qanat and there is an old-fashioned bath-house which was built eight years ago from the owner's 5 per cent development share.

Khatayan has not yet been affected by land reform although it is confronted by special problems arising from the landlord's attempts to secure himself from its effects. As already mentioned, the farmers of Abdol Tapeh have been given nasaq in the village, and, apart from this, the landlord has threatened to cut off the water supplied by his motor-operated well if he should encounter any trouble. He has, in fact, carried out this threat once or twice already. It was quite clear that the villagers did not like this situation and were eager to receive the benefits of land reform. The forced nature of the co-existence of the landowner and the peasants, both of whom have been awaiting an opportunity to drive each other from the village was quite apparant from the discussions the group had with the farmers and the representatives of the landowner. The group does not think that the second stage of land reform will make much difference to Khatayan.

Ostan: Central
Shahrestan: Zanjan
Village: Nikpay

Date of Survey: 1964

Nikpay is situated 36 kilometres north-west of the city of Zanjan on the Zanjan-Tabriz road some distance from the Tehran-Tabriz railroad. The land belonging to the village totals 294 hectares of which 22 hectares are devoted to tree-nurseries, 60 hectares of the tree-nurseries belong to the landlord and 16 to the nasaq-holders. 32 gayband work the 272 hectares of cultivated land devoted to crops. The population is estimated at 650; an increase of 30 per cent when compared with that of ten years ago.¹ This is divided into 108 households of which 40 are nasaq-holders and 68 khoshneshin. Thus, the share of each nasaq-holding household in the total area of the village land is 7 hectares although if we were to include the khoshneshin in this calculation the share of land per household would be 2.6 hectares.

Because a variety of crops are grown (barley, cotton, summer-crops and rice) 7 hectares should be enough to ensure the minimum livelihood of a nasaq-holding household, even if account is taken of the amount of land left to fallow each year. However, retention of traditional agricultural methods and the payment of a considerable share of produce to the landlord mean that the nasaq-holders face a great deal of trouble in trying to make ends meet.

More than 60 per cent of households in the village are khoshneshin. Their occupations are as follows: 25 are road workers, 20 work in the railways, 8 are shepherds, 7 are farm labourers, 2 are bath keepers, 5 are shop keepers and 5 are field watchmen. In comparison with other villages, the khoshneshin of Nikpay are relatively well off in some cases even ranking amongst the influentials and capitalists of the community. However, their position is insecure. The rate of population growth and the temporary nature of such work

1. The 1946 census puts the population of the village at 502. Thus, in 1954, when the previous survey was carried out, it would not have been less than 500.

as road-building means that the threat of unemployment looms large. A khosh-neshin problem may easily arise in the village in the future, especially since its area of arable land is rather small and there are few possibilities of bringing new land under cultivation.

The water supply is relatively good although the main sources, the Zanzan and Zeyrank Rivers, dry up in the summer months. A few deep wells would probably solve this particular difficulty for the villagers.

The livestock rearing activities of the village are limited because of the lack of adequate grazing grounds and insufficient fodder. 86 cows and 50 sheep, mostly belonging to shopkeepers and other khoshneshin, are put to graze on pastures outside the village boundaries. The net income from livestock raising (458,000 rials) has not, therefore, been included in the calculation of the total income of the nasaq-holders. Owing to the small number of sheep and the resulting scarcity of raw materials there is little carpet or cloth weaving except for domestic use. This is an activity whose growth depends on the increase of fodder but the villagers are too poor to obtain the necessary capital.

In the past one person owned Nikpay but, at present, there are five absentee landowners who reside in Zanzan. Despite the fact that the Land Reform Law does not apply to the village and although the farmers, who have paid the owner's share for the past two years, are on bad terms with the landlords, relationships between the two are surprisingly stable. Perhaps this is because the local gendarmerie post is situated in the village and because the landlords have managed to appease a few farmers and the mullah by providing the livelihood of a few of the nasaq-holders they have even managed to increase their influence.

The Economic Condition of Nikpay

Of the 272 hectares of cultivated land, 128 are given to wheat, 32 to barley, 16 to cotton, 64 to canteloupe, cucumber and peas, and 32 to onion, potatoes, tomatoes and other vegetables. The arseh¹ of the 16 hectares of tree-nurseries belong to the landlords and the ayani² to the peasants. 6 other hectares of orchard belong entirely to the landowner. Rice is also planted

1. Arseh - Legal term for ownership of the land itself quite a part from what is on it (buildings, trees, wheat etc.)

2. Ayani - Legal term for ownership of that which is on the land.

along the banks of the rivers but the area of land involved cannot be calculated since it varies from year to year depending on the amount of sedimentation left by the river and the supply of water. In favourable years, rice cultivation may occupy some 30 hectares of land, sometimes no rice at all is grown and, when we were in the village, only 5 or 6 hectares were under cultivation.

An area of land equivalent to 32 jufte-gav is shared amongst 40 nasaq-holding families. Four have rights to 2 jufte-gav, one has the right over $1\frac{1}{2}$ jufte-gav and the other thirty five families share the rest between them, their rights varying between $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 jufte-gav.

Table 1 shows our estimate of the gross farming income of the village. The owner's share of the total gross income of 2,236,420 rials is one fifth and amounts to about 447,284 rials.

Table 1

Product ¹	Seeds per hectare (kgs.) ²	Yield coefficient	Price of 1 kg product (rials)	Gross value per hectare (rials)	Cultivated area (hectares)	Gross value of total product ₃ (rials)
Wheat	150	6	7	6,300	128	924,400
Barley	150	8	4	4,800	32	179,200
Cotton	30	-	-	4,920	16	78,820
Summer Crops	-	-	-	10,000	96	960,000
Rice ⁴	70	20	6	8,400	10	84,000
Total					282	2,236,420

From the balance, 200,000 rials for the cost of seeds, and 240,000 rials for the cost of labour (14 farm labourers receive 12,000 rials over a

1. The income from the 16 hectares of nurseries is not included.
2. The agricultural survey of 1960 puts the average seeding per hectare of district 2 of Ostan 1 (Zanjan & Arak) at : Wheat (kgs.) autumn irrigational 220, spring irrigational 138, autumn dry-farming 78 and spring dry-farming 54. Barley (kgs.) autumn irrigational 179, spring irrigational 154, autumn dry-farming 60, spring dry farming 54.
3. The income from the by-products of wheat and barley has also been included.
4. The income from rice is subjected to change every year.

period of eight months), has to be deducted. Thus the per capita income of the 240 members of the nasaq-holding families amounts to 56,221 rials or about 75 dollars. However, this is the average per capita income. The true distribution of income amongst these families is quite different since the small group of farmers who are favoured by the landlords and who help them to manage the village and collect their ownership share are much better off than the rest. In general, the income of a nasaq-holding family with rights over 1 jufte-gav does not exceed 350 dollars per year.

It was not possible to calculate the income of the village as a whole because of the large numbers of khoshneshin about whose income it is difficult to obtain adequate information. The following is an account of the incomes of those members of this class for whom we were able to obtain some statistics:

1. Annual net incomes of 1 farm-hand household: about 17,150 rials or 228 dollars.
2. Annual net income of 1 road-building worker: about 21,600 rials or 288 dollars.
3. Annual net income of 1 railway-building worker: about 2,4000 rials or 320 dollars. Although we have no precise information on the shopkeepers it is quite clear that their income is higher than that of the khoshneshin listed above.

In Tables 2 & 3 we have calculated the details of the income of two na-

Table 2
Gross Farming Income of Mr. Ali Ashrafi

Product	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Yield coefficient	Local price of 1 kg. of product (rials)	Gross value of product per hectare (rials)	Cultivated area (hectares)	Gross value of total product (rials)
Wheat	150	6	6	5,400	4	25,600
Barley	160	6	4	3,840	1	4,640
Cotton	-	-	-	-	0.3	1,620
Summer Crops	-	-	-	-	3	18,000
Total					8.3	49,860

saq-holding families. Table 2 shows the gross farming income of Mr. Ali Ash-

rafi who owns one jufte-gav and who is comparatively well off. He pays an ownership share of about 9,982 rials on the basis of one-fifth of the total product and has production expenses amounting to about 4,985 rials (the cost of seed). Thus his net income from farming is 34,903 rials to which we should add 800 rials income from livestock rearing to arrive a total net income of 35,703 rials or 476 dollars. This divided among his house-hold of five gives a per capita income of 95 dollars.

Mr. Teimur Alimardani, who has rights over $\frac{1}{2}$ jufte gav, has annual gross farming income of 32,700 rials from which he pays an ownership share of about 6,540 rials. He pays 3,912 rials production costs for seeds and ploughing. If we add his income from livestock rearing and cottage industries to his resulting net farming income of 22,248 rials or 297 dollars, we obtain a total net income of 23,948 rials or 320 dollars which, divided among his eight member household gives a per capita income of 2,993 rials or about 40 dollars. The details of his gross farming income are given in Table 3.

Table 3
Gross Farming Income of Teimur Alimardani

Product	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Yield coefficient	Local price of 1 kg. of produce (rials)	Gross value of product per hectare (rials)	Cultivated area (hectares)	Gross value of total product (rials)
Wheat	150	6	6	5,400	2	12,800
Barley	160	6	4	3,840	0.5	2,320
Cotton	-	-	-	-	0.25	1,080
Summer Crops	-	-	-	-	1.5	16,500
Total					4.25	32,700

Social, Economic and Health Conditions of Nikpay

Nikpay is a good example of the uneven distribution of income in the villages of Iran. Despite the fact that most of the villagers are extremely poor, a few nasaq-holders and khoshneshin are comparatively prosperous. This difference arises on the one hand from the unjust distribution of land among the farmers and, on the other hand, because of the protection extended to a satellite minority by the landlords. It is this latter group who have the ex-

clusive right to plant rice on the river bank on behalf of the owners, in lieu of which they control village affairs. So far the landowners have succeeded in introducing four such people into the village and three of these now control the only motor in Nikpay, that of the flour mill. This gives them added power.

Credit transactions are quite common. The rate of interest is extremely high (we were told that it is 120 per cent) and this, in itself, bears witness to the poverty of the inhabitants. However, due to credit transactions and the shortage of cash, usury itself is rarely practised.

Nikpay has a mixed, four grade school which was founded 15 years ago. During the gap between the previous and the present survey, two extra classes were introduced but these have now been closed. Out of the 100 children of school age in the village, 50 attend classes 3 of these being girls. There is only one teacher and he spends only four days a week giving classes. There are no adult classes and only fourteen of the inhabitants are literate. Apart from the school the village also has a mosque. There is a mullah from Mecca who is a protege of the landowner.

The level of technical know-how is low. Three people can drive but none of them have a licence and some ten people are acquainted with methods of chemical fertilization. However neither this, nor the use of improved seeds and poison spraying, is practised. No technical assistance has so far been rendered to the villagers who are suspicious because last year a man came to the village with the teacher and charged each jufte gav 300 rials for chemical fertilizers but never delivered the goods. Such trickery should be strictly prevented in rural Iran because it makes the villagers hostile to genuine extension workers who are then unable to help them. Modern means of communication are represented by five radio sets all of which belong to the khoshneshin shopkeepers.

As yet no co-operative society has been formed although six months ago the governor of the Central Province appointed four nasaq-holders to form a village council and to collect the 2 per cent development fee. This was spent on the repair of the bath-house and the school.

The health conditions of the village are highly unsatisfactory. There is no clinic, doctor, or drugs, and the last time that malaria spraying was carried out was five years ago. The infant mortality rate is high and, during the last three months 20 children have died from malaria and many others have

been physically impaired by the disease. The appearance of the village is commensurate with the low income of its inhabitants, its streets are dirty and contaminated and dwellings are inadequate.

In our opinion the village can be put on a new course only by changing the legal relationship between the landlords and their tenants and by raising the level of technical knowledge of the people.

Change in Nikpay during the Last Ten Years

1. Ten years ago the population was 500 made up of 100 households, now it is 650 made up of 108 households. The rate of increase is 30 per cent, although it may have been more because we have taken no account of emigration.
2. The earlier survey report recorded 50 gavband but the elders tell us that there were in fact only 24. At present there are 32.
3. The earlier survey gives no accurate statistics on the area under cultivation in the village. However, we do not think that this has changed much. Any rise in income is due to the introduction of more profitable products such as summer crops. Ten years ago the latter covered only 4 hectares of the cultivated area, today they cover 94 hectares.
4. The report ten years ago recorded the per capita income of nasaq- holding families as 60 dollars. Now it is 75 dollars. This is partly due to increases in the price of wheat, barley and cotton and partly to the increase in the amount of summer crops cultivated.
5. The village had one owner ten years ago, now it has five.
6. The survey ten years ago reported that the landlord, in addition to his ownership share, collected, without legal reason, 10 per cent more of the gross farming product and then re-imbursed it as the 10 per cent excess legal share of the farmers. The present landowners do not practise this particular form of extortion but at the same time they pay the 10 per cent excess legal share only to the nasaq-holders who are their own agents.

Ostan: Tehran

Shahrestan: Qazvin

Village: Abdol Tapeh

Date of Survey: 1954

Some lands in the Qazvin area are irrigated by qanat and some lands are dry farmed. The villagers of Abdol Tapeh, 35 kilometres southeast of Qazvin, engage in both types of agriculture. The lands belonging to their village are dry farmed, while they also farm small plots which are irrigated in an adjacent village owned by the same landlord. The one cereal crop, wheat, is grown on both dry and irrigated land. Each of the eighteen gavband in the village plants four hectares of wheat on the dry land, seeding at 90 kilograms to the hectare, and two hectares of wheat on irrigated land, seeding there 150 kilograms to the hectare. The return on dry land averages 7:1 and the return on irrigated land 10:1. The gross return, then, on the six hectares of grain, if sold at $4\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kilogram, is 24,280 rials per gavband.

On dry land the landlord's share is one part to three for the gavband. On irrigated land the landlord takes half of the crop. This reduces the gavband's gross return to 1,555 rials.

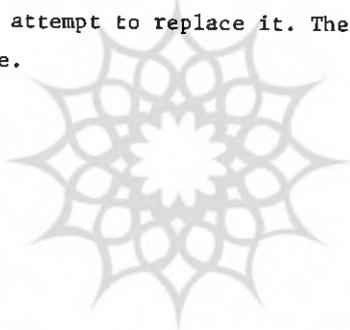
Within the gavband the return is divided equally into two parts unless one member of the gavband has no oxen, then the member owning the two oxen takes two parts and the worker takes one part. According to the oxen ownership in the village, then, 22 farmers each having one ox get equal share in the gavband or 7,267 rials apiece; seven farmers owning two oxen each get 5,085 rials.

The landlord returns to the farmers their 10 per cent under the Increase of the Farmer's Share Act. This amount, however, is about equal to the expenses of paying the khadkhoda in their village and the water supervisor in the other village.

There are several elements which point to a fairness on the part of the

landlord of this village. He shares the expense 50:50 in paying the khad-khoda and the water supervisor, he returns the 10 per cent due the farmer under law, he provides that the villagers in his better irrigated village share the land with poorer dry land village, he loans the villagers money at no interest - yet this is not enough to overbalance the economic fact that a family cannot have an adequate living on six hectares of land that produces only one cereal crop per year. The only saving grace here which keeps the village out of the extreme poverty class of some other villages reported upon is its small population of 20 families and 80 persons. With 18 gavband, this means that nearly every family head is also a gavband head and that the second man in the gavband is an adolescent son of a gavband owner. These considerations raise the per capita income to 3,832 rials.

Abdol Tapeh once had a qanat say the villagers, but it is now ruined and there has been no attempt to replace it. The village has no school, no bath-house, nor mosque.



پژوهشگاه علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرهنگی
 رتال جامع علوم انسانی