

A SURVEY OF THE RURAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF HAMADĀN AND KERMĀNSHĀHĀN

The Rural Statistics of Ostān Kermānshāhān and Farmāndārye-Kol Hamadān¹.

Kermānshāhān covers 5,944,900 hectares, of which a total of 1,197,213 hectares, or 20 per cent, excluding natural pastures forests and fallow lands, are cultivated. Lands devoted to crops which are cultivated throughout the year total 550,959 hectares of which 19.4 per cent are irrigated and 80.6 per cent are dry-farmed. Fallow covers some 610,419 hectares and it is estimated that there are 5,572 hectares of barren land which could be developed without a great deal of investment. In addition, Kermānshāhān possesses 17,906 hectares of dry and irrigated pasture lands and some 80,106 hectares of unexploited pastures.

The 1335 (1956) census puts the population of the Ostān at 1,376,989 of which 22 per cent are urban and 78 per cent rural dwellers. The agricultural sample survey taken by the Department of Statistics in 1339 (1960) mentioned the rural population as 1,146,294 divided between 232,837 households and classified in the following way:

Households holding land	138,374
Farm operating households ²	57,863
Landless households ³	<u>36,600</u>
	232,837

1. The statistics quoted in this survey, except where otherwise specified, are taken from *nashiryē āmār keshāvarziyē kole keshvar*, Tehrān 1339. (Agricultural Statistics of Iran, Tehrān, 1960-61).

2. The agricultural statistics publication defines an agricultural operator as a person, or legal entity, responsible in person, or directly through a hired overseer, for using his personal initiative in the economic and technical management of an agricultural operation.

3. Agricultural institutions or other units which have no farm-lands and are engaged in livestock raising, are considered as agricultural operators.

If we divide the cultivated lands of Kermānshāhān by the number of households who either through ownership or as "agricultural operators" are engaged in farming, each household will have an average of 8.6 hectares, and, given that the average size of a household is 4.9, land per capita amounts to 1.75 hectares.

Table 1

Operating Classes	Number of holdings	Per cent	Area of holdings	Per cent	Number of plots
Less than 0.5 hectares	12,675	9	2,149	0.15	21,375
0.5 to less than 1 hectare	3,788	2.79	2,956	0.25	11,063
1 " " " 2 hectares	8,475	6	12,976	1	33,450
2 " " " 3 "	11,400	8.3	28,721	2.4	74,100
3 " " " 4 "	12,462	9	43,514	4	76,484
4 " " " 5 "	9,650	7	43,083	4	71,775
5 " " " 10 "	39,275	28.3	280,116	23.5	396,375
10 " " " 20 "	30,162	22	420,274	35	376,613
20 " " " 50 "	9,575	7	265,980	22	156,774
50 " " "100 "	738	0.5	46,858	4	16,750
100 " " "500 "	159	0.1	30,366	2.5	2,558
500 hectares & up	15	0.01	14,648	1.2	555
Total number of operators holding lands	138,374	100	1,191,641	100	1,237,872

Table 1 shows that 42 per cent of the operating units of this Ostān have less than 5 hectares and only 12 per cent of the land, whereas 29.5 per cent of the operators who hold between 10 and 100 hectares work a total of 65 per cent of the land. Thus a little less than half the rural population make their living off less than 5 hectares, an area of land far too small to offer any hope of improving the income of this group and bettering their economic condition. Those holding between 5 and 10 hectares constitute 28.3 per cent of the total operating units and hold 23.5 per cent of the land. The economic condition of these households, together with those who hold between 10 and 20 hectares is somewhat better.

Table 1 also shows that operating units less than 100-500 hectares are generally scattered in separate plots. This dispersion makes it well nigh impossible to use agricultural machinery and thus contributes to the depression of agricultural incomes. The distribution of land on the basis of the

present non-economic system of marking out the farming *nabaq* is a further cause of this trouble. The size of plots increases gradually with the size of land holdings but, even in the case of holdings in the 50 to 100 hectare range, it does not exceed 2.8 hectares. In holdings less than 5 hectares, it does not exceed 0.6 hectares.

Apart from the village studies reported in this article, there are no accurate statistics on the per capita income of the farming population of Kermānshāhān but, if we take into account the primitive methods of production, the low yields of the land and the practice of cultivating low-income crops, the per capita income of the farmers could not exceed the average per capita income of the sample villages studied by the Research Group.

Out of the total 568,865 hectares of land devoted to annual crops and fodder cultivation, 74.3 per cent are planted with wheat, 18.32 per cent with barley, 0.08 per cent with rice, and 7.3 per cent with other crops such as cereals, sugar beet and potatoes. Eighty-three per cent of the wheat lands are dry-farmed, and 17 per cent are irrigated. The yield of irrigated wheat is 1,241 kilograms per hectare and that of dry-farmed wheat is 487 kilograms per hectare making an average yield of 618 kilograms.

Table 2

Operating units by area of land	No. of operating units	Area of units	No. of plots	Average no. of plots per unit	Average size of plot (hectares)
Less than 0.5 hectares	12,675	2,149	21,375	1.7	0.1
0.5 to less than 1 hectare	3,788	2,956	11,063	3	0.3
1 " " " 2 hectares	8,475	12,976	33,450	4	0.4
2 " " " 3 "	11,400	28,721	74,100	6.5	0.4
3 " " " 4 "	12,462	43,514	76,484	6	0.6
4 " " " 5 "	9,650	43,083	71,775	7.4	0.6
5 " " " 10 "	39,275	280,116	396,375	10	0.7
10 " " " 20 "	30,162	420,274	376,613	12.5	1.1
20 " " " 50 "	9,575	265,980	156,773	16.5	1.7
50 " " "100 "	738	46,858	16,750	22.6	2.8
100 " " "500 "	159	30,366	2,558	16	11.9
500 hectares & up	15	14,648	555	37	26.4
Total of operating units with land	138,374	1,191,641	1,237,872	9	0.96

The primitive methods of cultivation used in this Ostān are best demonstrated by referring to the statistics on the type of power used to exploit the land. In the year 1960, 82.2 per cent of the operating units used only animal power, whereas those using only agricultural machinery were less than one per cent (0.95 per cent). About 7.5 per cent of the operating units used a combination of animal and machine power, while 9.35 per cent used their own man power. The borrowing or renting of ploughing animals is common in Kermānshāhān, about 35 per cent of the operators making use of the services of the *gāvbands*. As might be expected, the renting of plough animals decreases with the increase in the size of the plot. Thus 52 per cent of those who hold 0.5 to 1 hectare, 69 per cent of those who hold 1 to 2 hectares, 73.6 per cent of those who hold 2 to 3 hectares, 48 per cent of those who hold 3 to 4 hectares, 44 per cent of those who hold 4 to 5 hectares, and 37 per cent of those who hold 5 to 10 hectares, borrow ploughing beasts. This means that, out of their share of the produce, many of the farmers must not only pay for the land and the water but also for the costs of ploughing.

Livestock raising is of major importance in Kermānshāhān, so much so that in the year 1960 7.1 per cent of the cattle, 6 per cent of the goats and 5.6 per cent of the sheep of Irān were kept here. In addition the Ostān houses 6.5 per cent of the poultry and one per cent of the buffalo of the country.

Of the 174,974 operating units in the Ostān, 28,951, or 16.5 per cent have obtained loans, of which only 10 per cent were from the government (through the Agricultural Bank or the Rural Fund). Of the rest 20 per cent were obtained from landowners, 6 per cent from *gāvbands*, and 74 per cent from other sources such as pedlars or shopkeepers. The amount given by the government in loans totals 11,306,000 rials whilst nearly ten times as much, or 113,670,000 rials, were lent privately.

The 1960 survey also compiled statistics on the status of the operating units as regards landownership: 60.5 per cent of the operators were peasants while 68.7 per cent of the lands were in the hands of private landlords. Seventeen per cent of the landowners worked their land themselves, but such properties covered only 0.14 per cent of the total land area.

Land Reform in Kermānshāhān*

Of the 2,759 villages in the Ostān, 1,698 were subject to distribution

* Information for this section has been obtained from the Land Reform Organization and its publications.

under the terms of the law governing the first stage of Land Reform. Thus, by the end of spring 1964, 606 complete villages had been purchased and 421 scattered properties which were equivalent to 300 complete villages. At the time of writing 131 entire and part villages were in the process of being sold to the government and 121 villages remained unpurchased due to registration and other legal difficulties. Thirteen villages from the Royal Domains are now in the process of being purchased as are 47 entire and scattered villages belonging to the Pahlavi Foundation and 58 villages belonging to H.R.H. Princess Ashraf. Publicly endowed estates (*moqūfāt 'ām*) include a total of 94 villages (both six-*dāng* villages and scattered *dāngs*) and privately endowed estates (*moqūfāt khās*) include 207 villages (both six-*dāng* villages and scattered *dāngs*).

The remaining 1,061 villages are subject to the second stage of Land Reform. At the time of writing 223 owners had volunteered to sell their land which was the equivalent of 274 *dāngs*. Up to the end of June 1964, 30 persons had volunteered to purchase 50 *dāngs*.

Land Reform in the Farmāndārye-Kol of Hamadān

The total number of villages included in the Hamadān area is 665 and that of the three townships of Nehāvand, Tuyserkān, and Malāyer is 599. Of the Hamadān villages, 246 are subject to the first stage of Land Reform and although 240 have already been purchased, so far only 210 of these have been distributed. Forty-four of the purchased villages are complete six-*dāng* properties whilst the rest consist of scattered *dāngs* (these are equal to 70 complete village properties). Thus the equivalent of 114 entire villages or 18 per cent of the villages of Hamadān have, to date, been distributed. Seven hundred and fifty landowners in this area have volunteered to sell their lands under the terms of the law governing second stage of Land Reform, and, of a total of 2,500 requests for cession received from the whole of Iran, 25 per cent have been made by the landowners of Hamadān.

The figures for the villages in the area are as follows:

Liabile villages	6- <i>dāng</i>	Less than 6- <i>dāngs</i>
	19 villages & 4 farms	139 properties (equal to 56 entire villages)
Purchased villages	19 villages & 4 farms	110 properties (equal to 38 entire villages)

Thus the equivalent of 9 per cent of the total number of villages in this area have already been purchased and, although 323 landowners have

applied for their lands to be purchased under the second stage of Land Reform, the extent of their estates is not yet known, although there is reason to believe that they may be small and rather scattered.

Co-operatives and Agricultural Credit in Kermānshāhān

Before the Land Reform there were a total of 14 co-operative societies in the Kermānshāhān region, of which two were located at the centre of the Shahrestān of Sanqar and Kermānshāh and the remaining 12 in various villages. By the end of 1963 the number of co-operative societies had risen to 130. By the end of the same year the amount paid to such societies by the Agricultural Co-operative and Credit Organization was 25,200,000 rials, and their total capital was 16,771,420 rials. The societies are basically credit-granting institutions and the only commodities they provide are seeds and fertilizers. In 1963 they distributed 210 tons of chemical fertilizer and 35 tons of improved seeds at 8 rials per kilogram. In the current year the co-operatives have purchased seeds from the farmers against which the Credit Organization has credited them with 15 times their capital so that they can compensate for the unfavourable farming conditions that have struck them.

At the time of writing (summer 1964) there are 13 groups engaged in setting up co-operatives in the distributed villages. The Co-operative Organization has 18 supervisors and aides and 9 jeeps are at its disposal. Each supervisor is responsible for 15 to 20 societies. There are 158 registered societies in the region with a total membership of 18,259. Their total capital amounts to 19,940,057 rials, and the credit currently extended by the Co-operative Organization is confined to the purchase of seeds.

The credit granted to individual societies is legally ten times their capital, but owing to the fact that, in the past, many of the co-operatives were not registered, on the whole a much smaller amount of credit has been extended. However, in the current year the Co-operative Organization intends to make grants up to six or seven times the amount of the capital of individual societies.

At present all the energies of the Co-operative Organization are concentrated on an attempt to form co-operatives in all the distributed villages by the time the second stage of Land Reform is implemented. If these activities are successful then there will be more than 200 co-operative societies in the Kermānshāhān region.

The Agricultural Bank of Kermānshāh supervises all loans exceeding 100,000 rials. That is, at the time the loan is applied for, the Co-operative Organization determines the type of activity the applicant wishes to use the credit for and the bank's inspector visits the site in order to confirm that the loan has been used for the purpose declared by the applicant. Credit can be granted only from funds obtained from repayments, and at present the greatest difficulty of the bank is its lack of funds. In the year 1963, part of its credits were repaid through travelling groups who visit the villages from time to time, and the rest through bank books. The loans which are made through the travelling groups can be arranged on the basis of a chain guarantee, that is all the villagers acting as guarantor for one another. In cases in which the financial inability of the bank's debtors means that they are unable to repay their loan by the date at which it expires, a loan equal to the arrears in their installments, or even more, can be extended from funds placed at the disposal of the bank each year by the Plan Organization. In 1963 1,350,000 rials were paid to the Kermānshāh bank for this purpose, of which 1,000,000 rials were remitted to the Ravānsar branch. The Plan Organization has also allocated 100,000,000 rials special credit to dig deep wells in various parts of the country, and of this, the price of 5 wells has been given to the Kermānshāh region. One of these wells had already been completed. According to bank regulations, the minimum amount extended as short term loans is 500 rials and the maximum is 100,000 rials.

The Agricultural Bank of Kermānshāh has shown a very creditable record as far as the collection of its debts is concerned. In 1963, out of a debt of 27,693,676 rials, 17,035,322 rials were collected. By the middle of April 1964, 977,239 rials of the arrears had also been collected. An interest rate of 12 per cent must be paid by those whose arrears are overdue.

Agricultural Co-operatives and Credits in the Farmāndārye Kol of Hāmādān

Before the implementation of Land Reform, there were 55 co-operative societies in the present 4 Shahrestāns of the Farmāndārye Kol of Hāmādān. Statistics on the rural co-operatives of the Hāmādān district up to the end of 1342 (March 1963) are shown in Table 5.

In the year 1963, 320 tons of chemical fertilizers were sold to co-operative societies in order to extend material aid to the farmers. The programme for 1964 also includes the sale of high quality seeds.

Table 3
Loans Extended by the Agricultural Bank of Kermānshāh (1963)

Type of loan	Number	Amount in rials
From Bank's funds:		
Short-term loans	3,216	54,550,300
Average	159	9,359,500
Long-term		
From Plan Organization funds:		
Short-term	662	4,517,700
Long-term	133	8,475,000
Credit in current account	44	9,090,500

Table 4
Loans Extended by the Agricultural Bank of Kermānshāh
during the First Three Months of 1343 (March 21st to July 20th 1964)

Type of loan	Number	Amount in rials
From Bank's funds:		
Short-term	149	4,309,000
Average	53	3,295,000
From Plan Organization funds:		
Long-term	1	40,000
Credit in current account	10	995,000

Table 5

Shahrestān	No. of Co-ops.	Members	Amount of capital	Credit granted by the Rural Co-operative Organization
Hamadān	102	13,442	13,720,270	31,310,000
Malāyer	27	5,053	5,020,400	9,510,000
Nehāvand	32	4,460	3,213,500	5,655,000
Tuyserkān	15	2,956	2,117,950	4,945,000
Total	176			51,420,000

The Central Organization of the Co-operative Societies in the Hamadān region employs 17 supervisors and assistants who have 9 jeeps at their disposal. Each is responsible for between 12 and 22 societies. Some of the

supervisors have passed a course acquainting them with modern methods of livestock raising and other aspects of farming and it is their duty to pass this knowledge onto the villagers. However, because the co-operative societies of villages falling under the first stage of Land Reform must be set up before October 1964, all their efforts are, at present, concentrated on carrying out this task.

The credit granted to individual co-operatives by the Central Organization should, as a rule, be ten times their capital, but up to the date of writing it has not exceeded five times. However, during the current year, in which the Central Organization intends to purchase and deliver high quality seeds to the societies, a credit equivalent to as much as fifteen times their capital may be extended to co-operatives in villages which have good seeds for sale. Moreover the Agricultural Bank has, in 1964, paid credits equal to those of the last three or four years. The poor crops predicted for the current year will probably result in the bank extending the repayment time for debts which are not honoured against a low interest rate. Three million rials of the Plan Organization credit have been paid to the Hamadan branch of the bank and this has been passed on to the farmers in the form of chain-loans.

Table 6

Loans Extended by the Agricultural Bank up to the end of 1342 (March 1963)

	Number	Amount in rials
From Bank's funds:		
Short-term	1687	15,263,100
Average	102	3,984,500
Long-term		
Credit (overdraft)		
In current account:	26	2,548,000
Plan Organization Credit:		
Short-term	309	2,906,000
Total	2,124	24,701,600

Table 7

Loans Extended by the Agricultural Bank in the First Three Months of 1343

Short-term	28	691,000
Average	83	2,814,500

The bank pays loans for digging semi-deep wells after its specialist has called at the applicant's residence in the village and confirmed his credit-worthiness. During the year 1963, about 200 semi-deep wells were dug, the average cost of each, including the installation of a motor pump, being 120 to 150 thousand rials. The majority of the bank's loans are for this purpose and this is one of the reasons why, in 1964, the average credit fund was used the most.

The Development Department of Kermānshāhān and the Farmāndārye Kol of Hamadān

According to the 1956 census, the number of villages in Kermānshāhān is 2,333. However the Development Department's statistics, obtained in 1963 with the help of anti-malaria officials, put this figure at 3,173.

By the end of 1342 (March 1963), 400 village councils had been formed by the Development Department. But there are three obstacles to this task in the Kermānshāh region. Firstly, the social organization is mainly tribal and discord between various branches may frequently result in the formation of separate villages. Secondly, many of the villages bear the name of their *kadkhodā* so that with a change in headman the name of a village may also change. Thirdly, the law governing the formation of village councils does not allow for villages with a population of less than 250. In Kermānshāhān there are only 407 villages which have a population greater than this.

The Development Department employs a total of 62 village agents, 7 chief village agents and 4 area-chiefs. The salary of a village agent is 5,820 rials, and that of his assistant is 5,100 rials. Its budget in 1964 was 5,518,000 rials.

پروژه نگاه علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرهنگی
 پرتال جامع علوم انسانی

Ostan: Kermānshahan
Shahrestān: West Shāhābād
Village: Koleh-jub 'Olyā

Date of Survey: July 1964

Koleh-jub is situated 14 kilometres south-east of West Shāhābād and has a population of about 750, made up of 132 households. Its inhabitants are a Shi'ite Kurdish tribe who, although they are, formally speaking, permanent residents of the village who have abandoned their migration customs, still move to different parts of the surrounding area three times each year. In the winter they live in mud-built houses, in the spring they erect black tents on the hills overlooking the village, and in the summer they move to a special kind of tent known as a *chikh* (a large tent decorated with reed mats of various designs and divided into several separate rooms).

Koleh-jub was part of the royal domains until nine years ago when it was made over to a certain Prince Dowlatshahi who, in 1961 sold it for seven million rials. The transfer of ownership of this village has meant that the number of *gāvbandis*¹ and *nasaqs* have increased although there has been no corresponding increase in the area under cultivation. At present the *nasaq* is stable, the last change being in the time of Prince Dowlatshahi who, against the payment of 4,000 rials, gave land to a number of village *khoshneshins* and so raised the number of *nasaq*-holders from 67 to 90. However, between 1941 and the time of our survey the *nasaq* had increased from 40 to 90 *juft*. As a result of this, the ratio of land to the village population is much too low (1,300 hectares are held by *nasaq*-holders, which, divided by the village population of 750, gives us a ratio of land of 1.7 hectares per capita). Apart from this, the village land yields little surplus, the wheat and barley which are grown being used for subsistence purposes. So over the past few years some 20 households, mostly *khoshneshins*, have emigrated to Khorramshahr to work in the customs-house and something like 200 of the villagers, mostly the young men, have tried to remedy the shortage of land and water by taking

1. See Glossary at the end of these articles.

on casual labouring jobs such as road construction.

We found that the farmers were most dissatisfied because the landowner had managed to avoid the first stage of Land Reform by purchasing the village in the name of his three small children. The previous year he had collected his ownership share by force, and the villagers told us that this year they would refuse to hand it over whatever the consequences and that the landlord, too afraid to come himself, would send his brother. Nevertheless despite the disappointment of the villagers, Land Reform has had some effect in Koleh-jub in that the landlord has been compelled to abolish personal taxes and labour service (*bigāri*).

Another point the ownership of the village is that an influential family of the tribe, the Mahmudi, claim that they held the village lands before it became part of the royal domains and that as a result they have priority in the future. Until three years ago, the head of this family, Elahi Mahmudi, was village headman and looked after the landlord's interests against the farmers. However, at that time he decided that if Land Reform took place there was a distinct possibility that his family might once more own a considerable part of the village and that it would be wise to maintain the influence and supremacy of the family. Thus he appointed his younger brother, who is on better terms with the villagers and who has more sympathy with their interests, to the position of headman.

Livestock raising is the most important economic activity of the village. For eight months of the year the flocks are grazed in the village and the natural meadows surrounding it, and 20 shepherds, each of whom are paid 600 rials per month, are employed to look after them. Once the cold season sets in, the flocks are sent to be cared for by the professional shepherds who charge the villagers 60 to 70 rials for keeping each sheep as well as the wool of the sheep and lambs and any other profits which might be obtained. Any losses in the flock must be borne by the owner but the shepherd is bound to produce the carcass as proof that the sheep or lamb has actually died.

Despite the fact that, Koleh-jub 'olya is situated near to the Ahwaz asphalt highway and the city of West Shāhābād, and lies within the economic radius of the Shāhābād sugar factory, because of the shortage of water only low-income crops such as wheat and barley are grown. If the irrigation problem were to be solved, the ground is eminently suitable for the cultivation of sugar beets. This has been proved by the success of an Israeli farm expert

who, by employing modern methods, has been able to obtain a gross income of 70,000 rials and a net income of 30,000 rials for each hectare on the demonstration farm of the Shāhābād sugar factory. This compares well with the present average income from the sugar beet fields in the region as a whole which do not yield more than 12,000 rials per hectare. Forty hectares of the land of Koleh-jub were, in previous years, devoted to sugar beet cultivation and the necessary water was provided by the landlord's two pumps by means of which the farmers could draw water from the Ravand river. However, even this limited area is no longer farmed this year because of water shortage and the fact that villages situated higher up the river are now operating about 12 motor pumps. The inhabitants told us that it was better to provide water by digging *qanāts* and in this respect we may take note of the fact that the report on the survey conducted 10 years ago records that the engineers of the royal domains had also recommended that *qanāts* should be constructed.

The Economic Condition of Koleh-jub 'Olya

Of the 1,300 hectares of village land which is in the hands of the *nasaq*-holders, 670 are used for the cultivation of wheat, barley, and sometimes sugar beet, whilst the remaining 630 lie at fallow. Apart from these the landlord has recently ceded 50 hectares of the village lands to someone from the neighbouring village. Thus 630 hectares consist of dry-farming land on which wheat and barley are cultivated, whilst a further 40 hectares of irrigated land were, in previous years, devoted to sugar beet.

The 90 *juft-nasaq* of the village are divided between 120 of the 132 households, so that each household holds an average of 11 hectares of land. Table I shows the gross annual income of the *nasaq*-holders of Koleh-jub as well as the area of land devoted to the cultivation of each type of crop.

Out of their gross annual income from farming activities, the *nasaq*-holders pay an annual ownership share of one quarter of the product or 730,687 rials. In addition to this the total costs of agricultural production, as they are shown in Table 2, must be deducted in order to obtain the net farming income.

Half of the 670 hectares cultivated by the *nasaq*-holders are ploughed by a tractor which costs them 500 rials per hectare, and 8 of the village *khoshmeshins* work as agricultural labourers for which they receive an annual wage of 12,000 rials. Thus by deducting the ownership share and the

Table I
Gross Agricultural Income of the *Nasaq*-Holders of
Koleh-jub 'Olya

1	2	3	4=3x2	5	6=5x6	7	8=7x6
Product	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Product per hectare (rials)	Local price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value per hectare (rials)	Area under cultivation (hectares)	Value of total product (rials)
Dry - farmed Wheat	150	5	750	6.5	4,875	450	2,193,750
Dry- farmed Barley	150	6	900	4.5	4,050	180	729,000
Sugar Beet					20,000	40	
Fallow						630	
Total						1,300	2,922,750

Table 2
Costs of Farm Production

Type of expense	Cost in rials
Seed	660,250
Ploughing by tractor	167,500
Workers wages	96,000
Total	923,750

total costs of farming we obtain a net income of 1,268,313 rials or an average income of 10,570 rials (approximately 141 dollars) for each household. This makes a per capita income from farming of about 25 dollars.

However, the net income of the *nasaq*-holders from livestock raising, which is shown in Table 3, is a most important element in their total income.

Table 3
The Net Income of *Nasaq*-Holders from Livestock

Livestock	Number	Net annual income from each head (rials)	Total income (rials)
Cows	150	2,500	375,000
Sheep	3,000	600	1,800,000
Total			2,175,000

Therefore the total net annual income of *nasaq*-holders is 3,443,313 rials which yields an average of 28,695 rials for each of their 120 households (approximately 382 dollars), and an annual per capita income of 5,034 rials or 67 dollars.

The villagers told us that during the previous winter about 7,000 of their sheep had died of cold weather and disease. If these had not died, then the per capita income of the *nasaq*-holders would have reached a figure of something like 150 dollars. Even if this figure is an exaggeration, it is our opinion that the losses from the herd could not have been less than 4,000 to 5,000 head.

In order to learn something of the distribution of income between the different households, we interviewed a number of the farmers.

Mr. Torbati, who has rights in half a *juft* of land, has a gross farming income of 16,402.5 rials out of which he pays an ownership share of about 4,100 rials, and 5,772.5 rials as costs of production. Table 4 shows his annual gross income from farming and Table 5 shows the way in which his costs of production are divided.

Thus, if we deduct Torbati's costs of production and ownership share from his gross annual income, we obtain a net income of 6,530 rials. In addition to this Torbati owns 1 cow, 18 sheep and 20 poultry from which he

Table 4
Annual Gross Farming Income of Mr. Torbati

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area	Seeds per hectare	Output coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Value of 1 kg. product (rials)	Gross Value of product (rials)
Wheat	2.7	150	5	2,025	6.5	13,162.5
Barley	0.8	150	7	720	4.5	3,240
Sugar Beet	0.3					
Fallow	3.5					
Total	7.3					16,402.5

Table 5
Costs of Production for Mr. Torbati

Seeds	3,172.5 rials
Ploughing by tractor	1,500 "
Workers' wages	1,100 "
Total	5,772.5 "

derives a net income of about 14,300 rials per year. This makes a total net annual income of 20,830 rials or about 279 dollars which, divided between his six-member household, yields a per capita income of 3,472 rials or a little over 46 dollars. We should note that in the previous year, one of Torbati's cows and 52 of his sheep died. If we take the annual income derived from each cow to be 2,500 rials, and that from each sheep to be 600 rials, and also take account of a loss of 10,000 rials on sugar beet cultivation (Torbati used to have 1 hectare under sugar beet), then we can calculate a loss of income amounting to something like 36,900 or 491 dollars. This represents a loss of

per capita income of something like 9,622 rials (about 128 dollars) and is an example of the extent to which the fortunes of the Iranian farmer are subject to unfavourable natural conditions and the lack of facilities to cope with such adversities.

Table 6
Gross Farming Income of Mr. Mahmudi

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	5	150	5	3,750	6.5	24,375
Barley	2	150	6	1,800	4.5	8,100
Fallow	7					
Total	14					32,475

Table 6 shows the gross farming income of Mr. Hussein Mahmudi, the headman of Koleh-jub who holds the right of *nasaq* over land totaling one *juft-gāv*. By deducting the ownership share of 8,119 rials and costs of production amounting to 10,425 rials (4,200 rials for labour and 6,225 rials for seed), we arrive at a net income from farming activities of 13,931 rials. To this we should add 67,500 rials gained from 100 sheep and 3 cows to arrive at a total net income of 81,431 rials. This, divided between his six-member household gives us a per capita income of 18,972 rials or 253 dollars.

One of the villagers interviewed by the group, Elahi Mahmudi the ex-headman we spoke of earlier, had an exceptionally large family consisting of five wives, four sons, seven daughters and five grandchildren. Altogether this family group holds the right of *nasaq* over land totaling several *juft-gāv* and, since they work these as a collective unit, it is possible to see Mr. Mahmudi as the head of a *bonah*. Table 7 shows the gross farming income of Elahi Mahmudi and his family.

From this we must deduct the landowner's share of 44,250 rials, 8,000

Table 7
Gross Farming Income of Elahi Mahmudi

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Area under cultivation (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Coefficient of seed output	Annual product (kgs.)	Value per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	28	150	5	21,000	6.5	136,500
Barley	10	150	6	9,000	4.5	40,500
Fallow	38					
Total	76					177,000

rials for agricultural labour, 6,000 rials for the costs of ploughing by tractor, and 48,050 rials for the cost of seed. This gives a net income from farming of 84,700 rials to which must be added net income of 45,000 rials from 6 cows and 50 sheep to give a total net annual income of 129,700 rials or approximately 1,729 dollars which divided between the 22 members of his household yields a per capita income of 5,895 rials or 78.6 dollars.

The Barzegar of Lower Koleh-jub. In order to get an idea of the condition of the 12 *khoshmeshin* families resident in the village, we interviewed Asqar Alizādeh, who is a member of one of the four larger households of *khoshmeshins*. He gave us the following information about his annual income. He spends four months of the year working as a reaper for one of the *nasaq*-holders. For this he receives one-seventh of the crop which amounts to something like 150 *mans* (about three kilograms) of wheat and 50 *mans* of barley together worth 3,600 rials. For another four months of the year Alizādeh works as a grocer, and by selling cucumbers, water melons and apples, which he buys from West Shāhabād, he makes an average of 50 rials per day which yields a total of 6,000 rials per year. Thus his total annual income from his work as an agriculturalist and a grocer, as well as from one milch cow, amounts to 11,900 rials (about 159 dollars) which makes a per capita income of approximately 40 dollars for the four members of his household.

However, apart from this he derives an income from a plot of land equi-

valent to a single *juft-gāv* which he shares with his father and his brother. The 60 *mans* of wheat (180 kilograms) and 20 *mans* of barley which are his part of the product from this land, are worth 1,440 rials (approximately 19 dollars). Thus the total income of his household is 13,340 rials (approximately 178 dollars). We have calculated each part of Mr. Alizadeh's income separately in order to clarify the sources of income and the economic position of one who has no rights in the *nasaq* of the village.

The Social, Educational and Health Conditions of Koleh-jub

Despite the impression of age and stability given by the large ancient graveyard, Koleh-jub represents a moving tribal society rather than a sedentary rural one. However, it was our impression that farming is developing at a faster rate and attaining a greater importance than livestock raising. If this trend continues then the villagers should, eventually, become settled.

There is no public bath, clinic, doctor or healthy drinking water and the death rate is relatively high tuberculosis and measles being prevalent. The nearest clinic is in Shāhabād and the physician charges 500 rials for a visit to the village. Four local midwives attend the labours of the women but they have no fundamental medical knowledge. Preventive measures have been taken against some contagious diseases and last year the villagers were inoculated against smallpox.

A three-grade school was founded in 1961 by Prince Dowlatshāhi and this has, at present, 75 boy pupils who are educated by a single teacher. Twelve of the village boys and non of the girls attend the school and there are no adult classes. Only 14 of the men in the village can read or write and the women are all illiterate.

There is no co-operative society and a village council was formed only recently (in 1963). It has three members and they intend to build a bath house or a mosque with the 5 per cent development fee that was collected from the landlord during the previous year.

The technical knowledge of the villagers is very slight; only two people can drive a car and no-one is acquainted with the techniques of poison spraying and the use of chemical fertilizers. No attempt has so far been made to modernize farming methods except for the use of tractors in ploughing.

Koleh-jub has four shops and a tea house but, except for the winter season when the weather is very severe, most of the villagers shop in the nearby town. Transactions in the local shops are usually done on credit and are

payable at the harvest season or at the time of wool shearing. Cash transactions are generally rare and if the villager needs to make one, then he has to obtain a loan which he must repay at a 30 per cent interest rate. Money-lenders are mainly the shopkeepers of the nearby town, or the grocers of the village itself.

Handicraft activities are confined to the weaving of black tents (*ahīkh*), flour sacks, and bed covers.

In the past the villagers obtained their fuel (the wood of oak trees) from the Qalajeh forest in the Gilān-qarb. However, this year felling the trees of this forest was forbidden and there is a rush to buy primus stoves, oil stoves and samovars. Manure is not burnt but is instead used, as it ought to be, for fertilization.

The village has one flour mill which fell into disuse some time ago because of the shortage of water. Thus, in order to grind their wheat, the farmers must take it to the flour mill of Siasīāh, a village situated some three kilometres from Koleh-jub.

At present the village has 30 radios and the villagers are buying more all the time. Apart from this, communications with nearby towns are good. The highway which runs from the south to Tehran passes close to the village and has given it tremendous possibilities for development if only resources can be found to aid the farmers.

Changes in Koleh-jub 'olya During the Last Ten Years

1. The previous report estimated the population of the village to be 1,000 made up of 150 households. However our observations lead us to believe that this figure was a mistake. The 1965 census puts the population at 628, while we calculated it to be 750 made up of 132 households. The increase between the time of the census and the present survey seems to be reasonable.
2. The survey carried out 10 years ago estimated the village lands at 1,800 hectares while, at present 1,300 hectares are in the hands of the *nasaq*-holders. In addition there are a further 50 hectares which have been leased to one of the inhabitants of the neighbouring village.
3. Ten years ago 99 *nasaq*-holding families shared 1,800 hectares of land (making an average holding of 18 hectares). At present the share of each household is 11 hectares (120 households and 1,300 hectares). Even if we assume that the village lands were only 1,300 hectares 10 years ago, the average share of each household would still be less.

4. Ten years ago 90 *gāvbandis* were reported in the village. But this is the same number as we found in the present survey and if we take account of the transfer of ownership and the increase in the number of *nasaq*-holders, the earlier figure seems unlikely. The village say that the number of *gāvbandis* 10 years ago was 67 and that this had increased because the village *nasaq* was unstable and the landlord had sold the right of *nasaq* to a number of the *khoshmeshins*.
5. Ten years ago the village was part of the royal domains and it was, at that time, planned to distribute the lands among the farmers. However, instead it was ceded to Prince Dowlatshāhi who later sold it to the present owner, Raatampour, who registered it in the name of his three children. Thus the village has not fallen under the terms of the first stage of land reform.
6. The same crops are grown in the village and the yield has not risen at all. It is still five-to-one for wheat and six-to-one for barley. The only change is the 40 hectares of sugar beet which in any case was no longer being grown when the research team visited the village.
7. The price of wheat has risen from 4 rials per kilogram to 6.5 rials and the price of barley from 2 to 4 rials.
8. The water resources of the village are the same as those which existed 10 years ago. Some of the *qanāts* recommended by the engineers of the royal domains have been built, but no sources of water have been found.
9. The report written 10 years ago mentions livestock raising only as a means for preventing poverty in the village and gives no details of the flocks or the income derived from them. As we have shown here, livestock raising is at least as important as arable farming, if not more.
10. Since mistakes were made in the previous report in the calculation of the population and the number of *gāvbandis*, we cannot make any exact comparison of the annual per capita income of the village in 1954 and 1964. Nevertheless, if there has been an increase, this can be accounted for by the introduction of mechanized ploughing and the increase in the price of the crops. Although the increase in the number of *nasaq*-holders and the consequent decrease in the amount of land farmed by each has acted as a depressing factor on incomes, the farmers say that the relative improvement in the condition of the product has resulted in a perceptible rise in the living standards of the village over the past two years.
11. Since the time of the last report a village school and a village council have been founded.

Farmandariye Kol:Hamadān

Shahrestān: Hamadān

Village: Tājābād 'Olyā

Date of Survey: July 22, 1964

Tājābād 'Olyā is situated 50 kilometres south-west of Hamadān on the Hamadān-Kermānshāh main road. It lies high on mountain slopes which are covered with snow until the late spring and because it is one of the coolest locations in the Hamadān district, it is often used as summer resort. Apart from the three winter months during which the weather is very severe, the surrounding hill-slopes are always green and this means that the pastures of Tājābād are very suitable for livestock-raising. Indeed not only are the flocks of the villagers themselves an important source of income, but also, during years in which there has been scant rainfall, many of the farmers of the surrounding villages place their stock in the care of the Tājābād farmers who take their milk and their wool in return for the use of grazing lands.

However, despite its many potentials, Tājābād is a very poor village whose major problem is a water supply which is dependent upon the mountain snows and which dries up at the crucial season; that is towards the end of spring. If this were not the case, then instead of the low-income cereal crops, summer crops such as melons, sugar beet and garlic, and fruits such as apples, pears and grapes could be grown. When the research group visited the village what the inhabitants called their spring was a small water pipe which hardly reached a diameter of two inches and whose slight flow was carefully lead to small gardens sometimes little more than seven or eight square metres in area. Besides this, wells had been dug in the houses and although these were only five to ten metres deep, we concluded that there were good quantities of underground water in the mountain slopes which could be tapped by semi-deep wells fitted with a motor-pump. Indeed the farmers told us that they intended to carry out such a project and to finance it by applying to the Plan Organization for a seven-year development loan.

However, before this project can be carried out, legal problems relating to the ownership of the village must be settled. About a month ago, two of the petty landlords sold their 24 *shā'er* (the equivalent of 13½ *juft-gāv*) to the government for a sum of 360,000 rials. The villagers told us that the reason for this move was the reluctance the farmers had shown in turning their share of the produce over to them. The land was distributed among the *nasaq*-holders who had previously farmed these particular plots. The remaining land belongs to eight other owners, five of whom reside in Tājābād and either farm the land themselves or let it to *nasaq*-holders. For example, the village headman cultivates his entire lands himself with the help of his sons, but another small holder, who has land equivalent to seven *juft*, cultivates only two *juft* himself and lets out the rest to the *nasaq*-holders. The total amount of land belonging to owners residing in the village is the equivalent of 19½ *juft*. The three absentee landowners (who reside in Hamadān) own about 21 of the 54 *juft* of the village land and let it all to *nasaq*-holders.

As far as irrigation is concerned, the problem is that the wealthier and more powerful landowners want both the small holders and the *nasaq*-holders to pay a kind of key money before they dig the wells, and propose that a company be formed in the village in which they are the major share-holders.

The clash between the farmers and the landlords over this matter is of tremendous social and economic importance for it shows the general attitude of the farmers towards the traditional landlord-peasant relationship. Whether the owner of his land is a large-scale or a petty landlord makes little difference to the *nasaq*-holder who still has to pay the traditional share of his produce to his master. So the villagers, who were initially joyfull when they heard about the Land Reform, became disappointed when they gradually came to understand that, under the terms of the law governing its first stage, petty-landlords retained their rights. However, despite this disappointment, and their poverty and illiteracy, the inhabitants' stand against the landowners has shown that they have awoken to their rights, and this new interest, coupled with their good spirits, and their luck in having good communications with the nearby town, has meant that they have developed an excellent acquaintance with what is going on in the outside world.

The Economic Condition of Tājābād

Of the 830 hectares of land that are attached to this mountain village, 540 hectares are left to fallow and the remaining 290 hectares are cultivated

by 50 *nasaq*-holding and petty landholding families. The irrigated lands are confined to eight hectares of vineyard.

Table 1 shows the gross annual income of the farmers of Tājābād.

Table 1
The Gross Farming Income of *Nasaq*-holders in Tājābād

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare	Output coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. of product (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	200	82.5	4	66,000	6.5	429,000
Barley	70	45	4	12,600	4.5	56,700
Grapes	8			24,000	4.0	97,000
Alfalfa	12					
Fallow	540					
Total	830					581,700

From this we must deduct the ownership share paid by the *nasaq*-holders, but in the case of this village we have only done this for the 21 *juft* held by absentee landowners since the rest remains in the village and must be counted as part of the total gross income of the village farmers, whether *nasaq*-holders or small-holders. This share, calculated on the basis of one-fifth of the product, amounts to 37,775 rials minus 3,777.5 rials which must legally be returned to the farmers. In addition, 24,000 rials are paid as annual installments for the purchase of the 13.5 *juft* of the village lands that were sold under the terms of the Land Reform Act. These expenses reduce the gross income to 523,702.5 rials from which the cost of seed (107,250 rials), and the wages of 10 agricultural workers who receive 12,000 rials annually (120,000 rials) should be deducted to arrive at a net annual income from farming of 296,452.5 rials. To this we should add 580,000 rials which are earned from tending 1,000 sheep and goats (each of which yields 2,000 rials per annum); and 81,000 rials which are earned from carpet weaving. This leaves the villagers with a total net annual income of 957,452.5 rials which, divided between the 50 farming families, gives an income of 19,149 rials per family.

Assuming that the average size of farming families is 5.7 persons, the annual per capita farming income of Tājābād farming families is 3,359 rials or about 45 dollars. However, we should note that a mere 30 per cent of the income of this group comes from farming, the rest being earned from live-stock-raising and carpet weaving.

The distribution of income in Tājābād shows no injustices for the simple reason that all are very poor. There is even very little difference between the petty-landlords of the village and the *khoshneshins* or those who work as agricultural labourers. To elucidate the situation of the various groups in the village we carried out interviews with a number of its inhabitants.

Khodādād Najafi is the headman of Tājābād and owns a plot of land equivalent to three *juft-gāv*, two and one-quarter of which he purchased from the owners some 10 years ago and the rest of which he received as his share in the land distributed under the terms of the Land Reform Act. This land totals 31 hectares, of which 20 hectares lie at fallow. On the remainder he sows three hectares of wheat, three hectares of barley, and one-third of a hectare of alfalfa. His vineyard covers one-third of a hectare and in addition he has a small grove which at present he does not use. Najafi's gross annual income from farming this land is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2
The Gross Farming Income of Khodādād Najafi

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kg.)	Output coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Price per kg. of product (rials)	Gross value of product
Wheat	7	82.5	4	2,308	6.5	15,002
Barley	3	45	4	540	4.5	2,430
Vineyard	1/3			1,000	4	4,000
Alfalfa	1/3				Livestock fodder	
Grove	1/3					
Fallow	20					
Total	31					21,432

Two permanent agricultural workers help Najafi in the cultivation of his land and, since he considers them as part of his own household, in addition to their wages he provides them with food and clothing. Since their wages are approximately equal to the salary Najafi receives as headman of the village, we have counted these sums as eliminating one another and have not included them in our calculation of his income. So the items that have to be deducted from this gross income are 1,330 rials paid as the annual installment for land received under the Land Reform Act, and 4,358 rials for the cost of seeds. This leaves a net income from farming of 15,744 rials to which must be added 13,590 rials earned from his sheep, 1,600 rials earned from four goats, and 2,600 rials earned from carpet weaving to arrive at a total net annual income of 33,510 rials. Thus only 44 per cent of the headman's income is derived from farming.

This net income, divided between his 14 member household, yields an annual per capita income of approximately 31 dollars. But it seemed to the group that the actual income of this family was a great deal more than this sum for the furniture and carpets of Najafi's house and the condition of his children indicated relative prosperity. After some investigation we found that the headman had two additional sources of income. The first was from shepherding the sheep of neighbours who were unable to provide their own grazing land, and the second was from buying and selling livestock on which activity Najafi, like many other well-to-do farmers in the district, spends a great deal of his leisure time.

Our next respondent was Mr. Khodābakhsh Bābā'i who has a family of five and who owns 23.8 hectares of land, one *juft* of which he is buying under the terms of the Land Reform Act. Fifteen hectares of his land lie at fallow each year. Table 3 classifies his gross farming income.

From Mr. Bābā'i's gross income of 16,852.5 rials, we should deduct 1,780 rials for the annual installment he pays in lieu of the land he received at the time of Land Reform, 3,081.5 rials for the cost of wheat and barley seeds, and 2,200 rials for the cost of labour, to arrive at a net income of 9,791 rials. To this we should add 7,000 rials earned from 14 sheep, and 8,400 rials which are earned by his son who works as an agricultural labourer for seven months of the year for an average daily wage of 40 rials, to arrive at a total net income of 25,191 rials for his household which, divided among the five members, gives an annual per capita income of 5,038 rials

or 67 dollars.

Table 3
The Gross Farming Income of Khodābakhsh Babā'i

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	4.5	82.5	4	1,485	6.5	9,652.5
Barley	3.1/3	45	4	600	4.5	6,700
Vineyard	1/3			1,125	4	4,500
Fallow	15.2/3					
Total						16,852.5

The situation of farmers who have no sources of income other than farming and livestock raising is not as good as that of Mr. Najafi and Mr. Babā'i. An example of this group is Mr. Khodābakhsh Adab whose farming income is summarized in Table 4:

From the total gross farming income of Mr. Adab we should deduct the ownership share, calculated on the basis of one-fifth of the product (860 rials), 10 rials ownership tax on his vineyard, and 1,074 rials for the cost of seeds, to arrive at a net income of 5,355 rials. But in addition to this income from farming Mr. Adab earns 5,000 rials per year from 10 sheep and goats and about 1,000 rials from carpet weaving. This brings his total net annual income to 11,355 rials or 152 dollars which, divided between the three members of his family, yields a per capita income of 3,785 rials or a little more than 51 dollars. Although, relatively speaking, this may not seem to be a low level of income for a farmer, we might take note of the fact that two of Mr. Adab's children have died during the last three years and that, had they been alive now, the per capita income of his family would have been reduced to something around 30 dollars.

The very poorest group in the village are those who have no livestock and whose income is thus confined to what they earn from agricultural activities. Mr. 'Allameh Shāman is a member of this group who recently received

Table 4
The Gross Farming Income of Khodābakhsh Adab¹

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (Kgs.)	Output coefficient	Annual product (Kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	1.4	82.5	4	462	6.5	3,003.
Barley	1.6	45	4	288	4.5	1,296
Vineyard	0.25			750	4	3,000
Alfalfa						
Fallow	6					
Total	9.25					7,299

half a *juft* of land under the terms of the Land Reform Act. His gross annual farming income is summarized in Table 5 below.

From this gross income we should deduct 890 rials paid as the annual installment on the land received at Land Reform, and 1,476.5 rials for the cost of seeds, to arrive at a net annual income of 6,539 rials. This divided between the five members of Mr. Shāman's family yields a per capita income of 1,307.8 rials or 17.3 dollars.

Mr. 'Azizullah 'Azizi is one of the agricultural labourers of Tājsbād. He works for eight months of the year and his wages vary according to the season. In the spring he works for two months for which he receives 30 rials per day, in the late spring and the summer he works for four months for which he receives 60 rials per day, and in the autumn he works for two months for which he receives 30 rials per day. Thus his annual income is 10,200 rials or 136 dollars which, divided between the three members of his family makes

1. Adab produces 400 kgs. of alfalfa each year, but since this is used for feeding his livestock, and its cost has not been included in our calculation of his income from this source, we have also not included it in this calculation.

an annual per capita income of 3,400 rials or 45 dollars.

Table 5
Annual Gross Farming Income of Zar'ali 'Aliameh Shāman

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	2.3	82.5	4	759	6.5	4,933.5
Barley	1.2	45	4	216	4.5	972
Vineyard	1/4			750	4	3,000
Fallow	7					
Total	10.25					8,905.5

The Social, Educational and Health Conditions of Tājābād

Most of the inhabitants of Tājābād, although they are able to speak Farsi, are Kurds mixed with a few Turkish-speaking households. Relations between the two groups are good and at times marriages take place between their members.

In general the village is dirty, its inhabitants live the most primitive kind of life, and lack even sufficient supplies of drinking-water. Since the only village shop closed three months ago because it had no capital, the people are compelled to travel to Hamadān once each month to buy such essential supplies as tea, sugar and kerosene. The journey, which is made by a bus which travels between Tājābād and Hamadān once each day, represents an added burden on their already scant income. Only three of the village households possess a radio set and no-one has any technical knowledge whatsoever. Despite this, no agricultural extension agent has visited the village to help the farmers.

The health situation of Tājābād is very bad. There is no clinic here or in any of the surrounding villages so the people are compelled to go to Hamadān when they need medical treatment and the trip, together with the fee for treatment and the purchase of drugs, costs them an average of 500 rials.

This is, for them, such a high price to pay that they rarely see a doctor, even when they are seriously ill.

There is only one bath-house for which water is provided with the utmost difficulty. It is very old and lacks all the necessary sanitary facilities, including showers.

There is a village council which has eight members. However, up till the date of the survey, the only task it had carried out was the collection of a two per cent development tax from the farmers. The members told us that they intended to repair the mosque, the bath-house, and the mortuary with the money.

The Tājābād co-operative society was registered four years ago, but because of the recent dispute between the petty-landowners and the *nasaq*-holders over the election of its board of directors, the 150,000 rials capital that had been collected for the society, together with the 250,000 rials contributed by the government, have been deposited in the Agricultural Bank. However, at the time this report was being drawn up, the *nasaq*-holders, with the help of official intervention, succeeded in electing a board of directors that was acceptable to them, so in the near future the capital will be withdrawn and put to more fruitful uses.

Tājābād has one three-grade school which was built with the help of the Literacy Corps two years ago. At present the school is attended by 40 pupils, four of whom are girls. About 20 of the village men but non of the women are literate.

Change in Tājābād over the Past Ten Years

1. The report written ten years ago put the population of the village at 350 divided between 70 households. This survey estimated it at 400 made up of 70 households. Although the increase in population seems logical, it is somewhat surprising to find that the number of households has not changed at all. However, this phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the social system of Tājābād is tribal and patriarchal which means that, in many cases, newly formed families may remain under the same roof as their paternal kin.
2. Ten years ago 40 *gāvbandis* were reported. The present survey put the number at 54 and, since the village elders insisted that the number of *gāvbandis* had not increased, we conclude that the earlier estimation was an error.
3. There have been no changes in the major products of the village although 12 hectares of alfalfa which were not mentioned in the earlier report are

- now being cultivated.
4. The earlier report gives no estimation of the extent of the area of land under cultivation. So, on the basis of interviews with the farmers, we assumed that this had not changed.
 5. Ten years ago Tājābād had four owners but at present, in part owing to land-reform, five of the village inhabitants and three Hamadānis are the landlords.
 6. The villager's flocks have increased from 600 sheep and 100 goats to 1,000 sheep and goats. The number of cows has risen from 20 to 40.
 7. The previous report writes that there was very little monetary exchange in this small economic unit and that a whole year could pass without the villagers spending so much as a penny. However, money transactions have, over the past ten years, gained in importance. The co-operative society has a capital of 150,000 rials and carpets woven in the village are sold for cash which is, in turn, used to buy tea, sugar and kerosene.
 8. In the report written ten years ago, the average annual income of each of the farming and *khoshneshin* households was estimated at 4,253 rials, or about 53 dollars. However this figure does not include income derived from sources other than farming and so it is probably an under-estimation. The present survey estimated the farming income of *nasaq*-holding families to be 79 dollars. However if we include the income such families receive from livestock raising and carpet weaving, the annual income of each household reaches 19,149 rials or about 45 dollars, and the per capita income of their members 3,359 rials or about 45 dollars.
 9. Ten years ago 81,504 rials were paid annually to four owners. At present 23,506.5 rials is paid as ownership interest by the *nasaq*-holders and 32,491 rials is paid in annual installments for the land received under the terms of the Land Reform Act. Thus 23,506.5 rials less is paid by the villagers for this type of cost and we can, as a result, conclude that part of the increase in the per capita income of the *nasaq*-holders is due to a fall in the amount paid as ownership interest.

Ostān: Kermānshāhān
Shahrestān: Kermānshāh
Village: Shāterābād

Date of Survey: September 1964

Shāterābād is situated in the suburbs of Kermānshāh on the main Kermānshāh-Hamadān road. The Kermānshāh oil refinery, which was built before the Second World War, lies right in the centre of this village and the contrast between its huge modern installations and the dirty streets and huts of the villagers is striking and bizarre. Alongside the shining tanks and pipes, enshrouded in smelly gas fumes, the women and children of Shāterābād can be seen gathering animal dung and stamping on it in an attempt to make fuel cakes. Apart from providing employment for a few of the inhabitants, the oil installations have had as insignificant an effect on the life of the village as they would had they been built many miles away.

However, despite this, the existence of the refinery and the proximity of the city have meant that the lands of this and surrounding villages have gained in value and are threatened by the National Iranian Oil Company and many other government and semi-government establishments. Since Shāterābād and one or two neighbouring villages are public endowments (*moqafāt 'am*), the kind of organizations we have mentioned can trespass on the villagers' land with considerable ease, especially in view of a Cabinet decree permitting the Endowment Department to lease such lands for purposes of public utility. Such lease agreements can be made for a period of 10 years at a very low rent. Further, after this period there is every possibility that the land will be placed at the permanent disposal of the lessee on the grounds that its use is to the public benefit. Over the past 4 years 127 hectares of land attached to the villages of Shāterābād and Bāqnay have been let in this way for the various purposes shown in the list below:

Labour camp	50 hectares
Athletics stadium	6 "
KLM	6 "
Orphanage	6 "
Women's athletic stadium	4 "

Building Company	22.8 hectares
Scout Company house	2 "
NIOC hospital	0.7 "
Industrial school	10.3 "
NIOC sports ground	0.3 "
NIOC staff houses	9.2 "
Park	<u>10</u>
Total	127 hectares

In order to compensate for their loss, the Endowment Department has arranged to provide the villagers with land from the neighbouring village of Karkuki. But this compensation is not satisfactory for two main reasons: the Karkuki lands lack sufficient water supplies, a factor of the utmost importance in this region; and there are no plans to house the villagers in new quarters. In any case, leaving the question of compensation aside, there is no reason why the Endowment Department should behave in such an arbitrary fashion towards their tenant farmers who should, after all, have the same rights as any other farmers who make their living on the land. Moreover, in an Ostān in which there are 94 publicly-endowed, and 207 privately-endowed villages, when the conduct of the Endowment Department, the officials of the Public Domains, and other organizations, shows no improvement on that of ordinary landowners, then there is some cause for concern.

At the time the group visited the village the farmers cultivated only a very small area of land, the village *qanāt* had dried up and the deep well that was built some time ago by the previous tenant of the Endowment Department was left unused because of his bankruptcy. Indeed the sole factor which has kept the village going as an economic unit is the city sewage which provides water for farming and at the same time enriches the land to the extent that fallowing is no longer necessary. Despite this, in all probability Shāterābād will not survive as an economic unit for more than a year or two since the land of Karkuki has already been distributed among the farmers.

The Economic Condition of Shāterābād

At the time of writing no more than 84 hectares of the lands attached to the village were held by the farmers and of these 72 hectares were devoted to winter cultivation and 12 hectares to summer crops. Three quarters of the total area of winter cultivated lands were sown with wheat and the rest with barley. The sewage water, which is available from the beginning of Mehr

(early October) to the middle of Khordād (the end of May), eliminates the need for fallowing and also makes it possible for the farmers to cut the stalks of wheat and barley in the spring before the ears have ripened to obtain a kind of fodder known as *sarchin*.

The share of land of each *nasaq*-holding family (there are 12 in the village) is 7 hectares, though the distribution of lands between them is uneven. On the basis of the annual share of 61,964 rials received by the Endowment Department, we calculated that the *nasaq*-holders income from summer crops and *sarchin* was 165,228 rials which yields an average gross income of 13,769 rials, or a net income of 10,000 rials per family. The gross annual farming income of the *nasaq*-holders from all sources is shown in Table 1.

Table 1
The Gross Annual Farming Income of *Nasaq*-holders

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Output ratio	Annual product	Price per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	54	150	7	56,700	6.5	368,550
Barley	18	150	10	27,000	4.5	121,500
Summer Crops	12					165,228
Total	84					655,278

From the 655,278 rials gross income we should deduct the Endowment Department's share ($\frac{3}{8}$ ths. of the product), 409,548 rials; the costs of wheat and barley seeds, 64,500 rials; the annual wages of 2 adult workers, 12,000 rials; and the annual wages of 1 young worker, 10,000 rials, to obtain 311,048 rials, to which should be added 3.5 per cent of the Endowment Department's share returned under the Increase of Farmer's Share Act to obtain an annual net income of 319,648 rials from farming activities. If we add to this the net income from livestock raising we arrive at a total net income of 516,648 rials. This divided among the 12 *nasaq*-holding families gives an average annual income of 43,054 rials or 574 dollars per family. Thus the average per capita income of *nasaq*-holding families (assuming that there are 5.8 members in each family) is 7,423 rials or about 99 dollars.

But this is only an average calculation, the distribution of income between families varies somewhat depending on the diversity of crops they cul-

tivate, the extent of their livestock raising activities, and whether or not one or more of their members has outside employment in the Oil Company or elsewhere. In order to clarify this situation the group carried out interviews with a number of villagers who could be said to represent distinct classes. A few of these interviews are reported below.

The village headman, Morād Mirzā'i has rights in land equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ *juft* and supports a family of 6. Because he holds a reasonable amount of land, has a good number of livestock, and receives a salary and other allowances as headman, he occupies a privileged position in the village. His gross annual income from farming is shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Gross Annual Farming Income of Morād Mirzā'i

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Seed Output	Annual product kgs.	Value of product per kg.	Gross value of product
Wheat	8	150	7	400	6.5	54,600
Barley	2	150	10	3,000	4.5	13,500
Summer Crops & <i>Sarchin</i>						15,000
Total	10 ⁽¹⁾					83,100

From the 83,100 rials gross income we should deduct 31,162 rials ownership share which, after the 3.5 per cent farmer's increased share has been returned leaves an income of 53,028 rials. In addition to this, Morād Mirzā'i pays 13,000 rials as the costs of labour and 9,150 rials for seeds. His net income from farming is therefore 30,878 rials to which we should add 23,700 rials income from 3 milch cows (2,500 rials per year) and 27 sheep (600 rials each per year), and 10,000 rials salary attached to the position of headman, to arrive at a total net annual income of 64,578 rials or 861 dollars. This, divided between Mirzā'i's family, gives a per capita income of 10,763 rials or about 143 dollars.

Mr. Shir'ali Tan-Bālā'i is a *nasaq*-holder who has land equivalent to 1

1. Data on Mirzā'i's summer crops are not available. Thus the total area of his lands must exceed 10 hectares. The income derived from summer crops by each *juft* has already been put at an average of 10,000 rials.

juft and supports a family of 6. Our analysis of his income shows the relatively poor position of farmers who have no outside sources of income and who do not have any livestock. Table 3 shows Tan Bālā'i's income from farming.

Table 3
Gross Annual Farming Income of Shir'ali Tan Bālāi

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per kg. (hectares)	Seed Output	Annual Product (kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	4	150	7	4,200	6.5	27,300
Barley	2	150	10	3,000	4.5	13,500
Summer Crops & <i>Sarohin</i>						10,000
Total	6					50,800

Out of his 50,800 rials gross farming income, Shir'ali pays a total ownership share of 19,050 rials, of which about 667 rials is returned to him under the Increase of Farmer's Share Act. His costs are confined to the price of seeds which amounts to 5,250 rials. Thus his net income from farming is 27,167 rials. The sole addition to this is a net annual income of 3,250 rials from 2 cows which are shared with another farmer. So the annual net income of Shir'ali's household is 30,417 rials (about 406 dollars), which leaves its members with a per capita income of 5,070 rials or about 68 dollars. Even though this may seem to be a very low sum, in the opinion of the group the income of this family was even lower since 10,000 rials were included as income from summer crops despite the fact that there was no evidence that Shir'ali grew these. If we exclude the 10,000 rials, the per capita income of his family would drop to 3,403 rials or about 45 dollars.

Morād'ali Sarneshin has a family of 8 and holds 3 hectares of land ($\frac{3}{4}$ *juft*) of which 2 hectares are devoted to the cultivation of the low-income crop, barley. His gross farming income is shown in Table 4.

Morād'ali pays 9,498 rials as his ownership share, from which 332 rials are returned to him under the Increase of Farmer's Share Act. His production costs are 2,325 so his net annual income from farming is 13,834 rials. To this we should add 5,000 rials income from 2 cows to arrive at a total annual income of 18,834 rials or about 251 dollars. In addition to this income, Sar-

neshtin's 14 year old son digs up prickly bushes for an inhabitant of a neighbouring village for a daily wage of 30 rials. The boy's annual income from this work is 10,000 rials, which added to his families annual income makes 28,834 rials or about 384 dollars. This divided between the 8 members of the family gives a per capita income of 48 dollars.

Table 4
Gross Annual Farming Income of Morād'ali Sarneshin

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per kg. (hectares)	Seed Output	Annual Product (kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Dry-farmed Wheat	1	150	7	1,050	6.5	6,825
Dry-farmed barley	2	150	10	3,000	4.5	13,500
Summer Crops, beets & vegetables						5,000
Total						25,325

Three of the *nasaq*-holders work for the Oil Company and their condition is relatively better than that of their neighbours. Gol Mohammad is one such farmer who receives an annual daily wage of 130 rials from the Oil Company where he works as a tin smith. He holds 3 hectares of land (equivalent to a single *juft*). His gross farming income is shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Gross Annual Farming Income of Gol Mohammad

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per kg. (hectares)	Seed Output	Annual Product (kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	2	150	7	2,100	6.5	13,650
Barley	1	150	10	1,500	4.5	6,750
Total	3					20,400

After deducting the ownership share (minus 3.5 per cent which must be

returned), and 2,625 rials for the cost of seeds, and adding 5,000 rials income from summer crops, Gol Mohammad's total net income from farming totals 15,392 rials. In addition to this he derives an income of 2,400 rials from 4 sheep and receives an annual wage of 48,600 rials from the Oil Company. Thus his total annual income amounts to 66,392 rials or about 885 dollars. This, divided between the 7 members of his family gives an annual per capita income of 9,485 rials or about 126 dollars.

The Khoshneshins of Shāterābād

In Shāterābād the class generally called *khoshneshins* in most parts of Iran are known as *ābkhors*. Here their condition is not so bad as is usual in this area, mainly because of the proximity of the oil refinery. Fifteen of the 27 households of the village belong to this group, and of these 7 work for the Oil Company for a daily wage which varies between 113 and 200 rials. Thus the average annual income of a *khoshneshin* in this employment is 54,000 rials and the total annual income of all 7 is 378,000 rials.

The situation of the *khoshneshins* who are employed in other jobs in Kermānshāh is not so good as this. Mr. Rezā Kuhgerd works in the town for 270 days each year for a daily wage of 60 rials. His annual income is therefore 16,200 rials or about 216 dollars. On this basis we assumed that the total annual income of the other 8 *khoshneshins* is 129,600 rials. Thus the average income of each of the 15 *khoshneshin* households is 33,840 rials and their per capita income (assuming that on the average each household has 5.8 members) is 5,835 rials or about 78 dollars. This is an almost unparalleled sum for this category of the rural population.

The Social, Educational and Health Condition of Shāterābād

The 150 villagers are Shi'ite Kurds who have gradually settled in Shāterābād over the past few years as the former inhabitants have moved out to find more lucrative work in the nearby town. Most of them are able to speak Farsi although all but one are illiterate.

The proximity of Kermānshāh means that there are no shops in the village and at least eight of the women and children go to the town each day to buy necessary provisions. Only five households own a radio and no-one has any technical knowledge. There is no extension worker and the village agent, who visits the farmers once a year, has accomplished nothing.

The health situation of the villagers is terrible. The complete lack of

drinking water means that it must be brought each day from the Oil Company pipe some distance away. Further the houses are very unsanitary and the villagers live side by side with their animals. Despite the proximity of the Oil Company clinic, which the villagers can make use of for a small fee, no preventive action has so far been taken against contagious diseases. There is no bath-house and the time and expense involved in the villagers going to Kermānshāh means that they seldom wash themselves completely.

There is no village school and only the children of Oil Company employees can attend the 6-grade school attached to the refinery. These number 10 boys and 5 girls. Besides this the only other educational facility is a small school in the neighbouring village of Chāh Gelān. Five of the children attend this but on the whole it is much too far away to provide a permanent and useful service to all the villagers. There are no adult literacy classes.

No co-operative society has, as yet, been formed, and the village council, which was set up last year and has four members, has accomplished nothing.

Change in Shāterābād over the Past Ten Years

1. The previous report makes no mention of the village population in 1954. The 1956 census puts it at 537 divided into 27 households but this figure is listed under the Shāterābād Oil Refinery and apparently includes all the employees of the refinery who reside in its nearby staff quarters. As we have already mentioned in the report, the population of the village has most certainly declined during the past decade owing to the reduction of the area of cultivable land and the migration of many of the farmers to the city. In the near future Shāterābād will probably completely cease to exist as a farming village.
2. Ten years ago there were 12 *gāvbandis* in the village, the same as the number found in the present survey.
3. The area of cultivated land has remained the same.
4. The proportion of land devoted to the cultivation of different crops has not changed very much. Ten years ago 90 out of 140 hectares were devoted to winter cultivation while at present 72 out of 84 hectares serve this purpose. The 50 hectares that were devoted to sugar beet and summer crops have now been reduced to 10 hectares. The existence of *sarchin* and the relatively faster growth of wheat and barley compensate a little for the loss of income involved in the reduction of the land growing summer crops.

5. Of the village crops mentioned in the report 10 years ago, only sugar beet has not been cultivated during the current year. The reason for this is the lack of water for irrigation purposes. The pump of the only deep well in the village has been confiscated by creditors and, in recent months, the Endowment Department, in violation of their previous agreement with the farmers, have denied rights of access to the water of the city sewage. The reason for this is the need to apply pressure to move the farmers to the lands of Karkuki.
6. The ratio of seeds to output of the winter crops has not changed although the price of wheat and barley has risen. The price of wheat has risen from 3.5 to 6.5 rials per kilo and that of barley from 2 to 4.5 rials per kilo.
7. Up to two years ago the Endowment Department rented the land to a tenant landlord. But the latest of these, Mahmudi, became bankrupt so at present the department itself collects the ownership share.
8. The per capita income of the village cannot be calculated from the earlier report. However, the income of one *gāvbandi*, or *nasaq*-holder with rights in one *juft* of land, was 13,704 rials (or about 183 dollars). If we divide our own calculation of the net farming income of the village (319,648 rials) by the 12 *juft-nasaq* at present operating on the village lands, the share of each amounts to 26,637 rials or about 355 dollars. Since the area of land held by each *nasaq*-holder has not changed from the previous 7 hectares, this increase of income must be accounted for by the rise in the prices of wheat and barley and the fact that *sarchin* fodder, which was not included in the calculation made 10 years ago, was included as an integral element of the villager's income by the group.
9. Ten years ago no mention was made of the extent of the village herds. The income from livestock raising was included in this survey and, as our report has shown, this plays an important part in making the villager's total income at least a little more viable.
10. The only source of loans for the villagers is the Endowment Department which allows 1,000 to 2,000 rials interest free for each *nasaq*-holding farmer.

Ostān: Kermānshāhān
Shahrestān: Kermānshāh
Village: Dehpahn

Date of Survey: July 1964.

Dehpahn is situated seven kilometres to the northeast of Kermānshāh and one kilometre from the Kermānshāh-Hamadān main road.

The report on the survey carried out ten years ago raised the problem of the development of its economic resources and suggested that the laziness of Irānian villagers and their lack of any interest in progress was due to their ignorance of the ways in which they may invest the surplus capital derived from their farming activities. However, in our opinion, it is not laziness and ignorance that are the basic causes of rural backwardness in Irān but rather the legal and social structure of agricultural production. In this system, the factors of production are divided into five; land, labour, water, seed, and oxen, and the product is divided between landlord and peasant in proportion to the factors they contribute. So each side tries to contribute the most factors but the social and economic weakness of the peasant generally means that he has little capital apart from his labour. For example, seeds are, by custom, part of his contribution to the factors of production, but the landlord, in order to increase his share in the product to more than the usual two-fifths (derived from his contribution of land and water), takes advantage of the poverty of the farmer to buy the seeds. The contribution of this particular factor is, moreover, very much in the owner's interest for seeds are relatively cheap and yield many times their own value in crops. The peasants respond to this kind of situation by attempting to avoid producing more than they need for the purposes of their own families' subsistence; for effort on their part would not result in any worthwhile return.

The population of Dehpahn is about 400 and is made up of 80 families. The land of the village is divided into 52 *juft* which are shared between 60 *nasaq*-holders and a number of petty landowners. Land equivalent to 8 of the 52 *juft* is cultivated by the landowners themselves who use mechanized equipment. Table 1 shows the way in which the village lands are distributed by

Table 1
The Division of Village Lands

Product	Land held by farmers (hectares)	Land held by landowners (hectares)	Total (hectares)
Dry-farming:			
Wheat	264	48	312
Barley	44	8	52
Irrigated:			
Cattle fodder	31	5.5	36.5
Lentils	31	5.5	36.5
Groves		4	4
Fallow	370	67	437
Total	740	138	878

type of crop and ownership.

Only 150 hectares, or a little less than one-sixth of the total 878 hectares of the village, are irrigated, and half the irrigated lands as well as half the dry-farmed lands lie fallow each year. Had there been sufficient water it would have been possible to do away with fallow and even to grow a second crop each year. At present the water supply comes from Tāq Bostān,¹ but this is not much help to the farmers because the municipality has enlarged the earlier pool for the use of visitors and the volume of water flowing into Dehpahn has decreased.

The gross farming income of the *nasaq*-holders is shown in Table 2 below. Out of this gross income, one third is deducted and paid as the share of the landowner,² 341,505 rials are paid towards the cost of seeds, and 40,000 rials per year are paid as wages to two permanent and several casual farm labourers (on the basis of 800 rials per year per permanent labourer). This leaves a total net farming income of 1,165,397 rials. To this must be added the income from livestock raising (see Table 4) to yield a total net annual

1. Tāq Bostān is a historical monument of the Sassanian period.
2. Of this one-third, by law, five per cent interest on irrigated lands and ten per cent interest on dry-farmed lands must be returned to the farmer.

Table 2
Gross Farming Income of the *Nasaq*-holders of Dehpahn

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Annual product (kgs.)	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product
Wheat	264	150	6	237,600	6.5	1,544,400
Barley	44	150	7	46,200	4.5	207,900
Cattle fodder	31	150	8	37,200	4.5	167,400
Lentils	31	180	9	50,220	6.0	301,320
Total						2,221,020

Table 3
The Relative Share of Landlords and *Nasaq*-holders in the Product of the Land

Farming lands	Gross income (rials)	Owner's share (rials)	Farmer's share (rials)
Dry-farmed lands	1,752,300	525,690	1,226,610
Irrigated lands	468,720	148,428	320,292
Total	2,221,020	674,118	1,546,902
Percentage	100	30	70

income of 2,645,397 rials which, divided between the 60 *nasaq*-holding families, gives an average income of about 44,090 rials (approximately 588 dollars) per family.

If we assume that the average size of family is five, then the average per capita income of this category of the village population amounts to 8,818 rials or 117.6 dollars. No domestic industry is carried out in Dehpahn (such as carpet weaving), so there is no supplement from this source.

The distribution of per capita income between the *nasaq*-holding households is fairly even mainly because no farmer holds more than two *juft* of land. Apart from this, *nasaq*-holders are bound to help their relatives who have no rights in land, and to pay them either as 'workers' or as 'helpers'.

In order to provide an example of the constituents of the income of one family we interviewed a *nasaq*-holder named Shāhqoli who has rights in land equivalent to two *juft-gāv*. Although he himself has only six dependents,

Table 4
Gross Income of *Nasaq*-holders from Livestock Raising

Livestock	Number	Net income from each head of livestock (rials)	Total net income (rials)
Cows	160	2,500	400,000
Sheep	1,800	600	1,080,000
Total			1,480,000

he lives with his brother who has a family of seven. This means that the economic situation of this household is not particularly good and indeed, although Shāhqoli and his brother own a large herd of livestock and grow what must be the best crops in the village, they told us that they were in debt to the tune of 50,000 rials. Table 5 shows the constituents of the gross farming income of the two brothers whilst Table 6 shows the way in which the product is divided between landowner and *nasaq*-holder.

Table 5
Gross Farming Income of Mr. Shāhqoli

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Total product (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. of product (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	12	150	6	10,800	6.5	70,200
Barley	4	150	7	4,200	4.5	18,900
Cattle feed	1.5	1	8	1,800	4.5	8,100
Lentils	1.5	180	9	2,430	6.0	14,580
Fallow	19					
Total	38					111,780

From the gross farming income we should deduct one-third (minus five per cent interest on dry-farmed land and ten per cent interest on irrigated land) for the share of the landowner, 17,032.5 rials for the cost of seeds, 3,000 rials for the cost of ploughing, and 16,000 rials for the wages of two permanent agricultural labourers, to give a net income of 41,835.5 rials. To

this we should add a net income of 72,500 rials from five milch cows and 100 sheep, a sum more than two and a half times greater than the farming income, to obtain a total net income of 114,335.5 rials or approximately 1,524 dollars. Divided among the 13 members of the two families this yields a per capita income of 8,795 rials or 117 dollars per year.

Table 6

The Division of the Product between Shāhqoli and his Landlord

	Gross income (rials)	Ownership share (rials)	Nasaq-holder's share (rials)
Dry-farmed lands	89,100	26,730	62,370
Irrigated lands	22,680	7,182	15,498

The village headman, Kūchek Zerā'i, has a gross farming income of 49,437 rials from which should be deducted 16,479 rials for the owner's share (minus the legal return of 1,488 rials 7,645.5 rials for seeds and 600 rials for the cost of labour, to arrive at a net farming income of 26,200 rials. To this we should add 25,500 rials obtained from three milch-cows and 30 sheep to arrive at a total net income of 51,700 rials. This, capita income of 7,386 rials or approximately 98 dollars. But Mr. Zerā'i also receives about 10,000 rials annually as salary for his position as *kadkhodā* which increases his family's per capita income by 19 dollars, making it approximately 117 dollars.

Table 7

Gross Farming Income of Kūchek Zerā'i

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Output coefficient	Annual product (kgs.)	Price of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	6	150	6	5,400	6.5	35,100
Barley	1	150	7	1,050	4.5	4,725
Lentils	0.6	180	9	972	6	5,832
Cattle feed	0.7	150	8	840	4.5	3,780
Fallow	8.3	-	-	-	-	-
Total	16.6					49,437

Morād'ali Falāhi has rights in one *juft-gāv* and supports a family of four. His gross farming income is the same as that of Zerā'i, that is 49,437 rials. From this we must deduct 16,479 rials (minus 1,488 rials development share) for the owner's share, 600 rials for farm labourer's wages, and 7,645.5 rials for seeds, and add 14,500 rials obtained from one milch cow and 20 sheep, to arrive at a total net income of 40,700 rials. This gives a per capita income of 10,175 rials or 136 dollars for Felāhi's four member family.

Mohammad Jān has rights in one *juft* of land, and at the same time is the only one of the inhabitants of Dēnpahn to work for the Kermānshāh Oil Co. from which he receives an average daily wage of 150 rials. His gross income from farming is shown in Table 8. From this we should deduct 8,239.5 rials as the ownership share (minus the 744 rials that must legally be returned) and 3,823 rials for seeds to arrive at a net farming income of 13,400 rials to which must be added 14,500 rials derived from one milch-cow and 10 sheep to obtain a total annual income from farming and livestock raising of 27,900 rials or 372 dollars. This added to his total annual wages from the Oil Company (54,000 rials) raises his total income to 81,900 rials. This gives a per capita income of 11,700 rials or 156 dollars for his seven member family. Without his work at the Oil Company the per capita of Jān's family would not have exceeded 53 dollars.

Table 8
Gross Farming Income of Mohammad Jān

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=5x6
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per kg. (hectares)	Seed output	Annual product	Price of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Dry-farmed:						
Wheat	3	150	6	2,700	6.5	17,550
Barley	0.5	150	7	525	4.5	2,362.5
Irrigated:						
Lentils	0.3	180	9	486	6	2,917
Cattle feed	0.35	150	8	420	4.5	1,890
Fallow	4.15	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8.3					24,718.5

The Khoshneshins of Dehpahn

Twenty-five per cent, that is 20 of the total number of households in Dehpahn are *khoshneshins*. Since Dehpahn lies within the suburbs of the city of Kermānshāh, the majority of the *khoshneshins* (about 15 in all) work in the firebrick kilns around the city from which they earn an average daily wage of 70 to 80 rials. Only one of them works in the Kermānshāh Oil Refinery although it is only three kilometres from the village and gives a much higher wage (150 rials per day) than is usual for this group. Four of the *khoshneshins* work for the farmers of the village for a daily wage of 70 rials.

Mr. Khodāmorād Khodā'i, a *khoshneshin* of Dehpahn, works in the firebrick kilns for 90 days of the year. For this he receives 80 rials per day, or 7,200 rials per year in wages to which we should add a daily wage of 70 rials earned by working for one of the *nasaq*-holders to arrive at a net annual income of 15,600 rials or 208 dollars. Thus the annual per capita income of his two member household is 104 dollars.

Many of the *khoshneshins*, besides earning wages for their living, supplement their income by keeping some sheep and cows. The head of one such household, Mohammad Nurā'i receives a daily wage of 150 rials from an asphaltting company in addition to which he keeps one cow and 30 sheep which yield an income of 74,500 rials each year. His son also earns 70 rials per day working as a farm hand, so that the total income of his household amounts to 85,000 rials per year or 1,123 dollars. This gives an annual per capita income of 126 dollars for his nine-member family. This is an extraordinary income for a *khoshneshin*.

Mr. Beyk Rezā Habibi, another of the *khoshneshins* of the village, earns 80 rials per day for three months of the year during which he works in a firebrick kiln, and 70 rials per day for the four months of the year during which he works for one of the *nasaq*-holders. Besides this his 11 year-old son works as a shepherd for 10 rials per day. Therefore the net annual income of his family from wages and from one cow amounts to 21,700 rials per year or 289 dollars. This makes an annual per capita income of 48 dollars for his six member family.

The level of income of the *khoshneshin* households we interviewed was relatively good and did not differ very much from that of the *nasaq*-holders. Perhaps this prosperity can be accounted for by the proximity of Dehpahn to Kermānshāh.

The Social, Educational and Health Conditions of Dehpahn

Despite the proximity of Dehpahn to the city of Kermānshāh, its superficial cleanliness, and the relatively substantial income of the inhabitants of the village, it has a very low social status. Morale is noticeably low, illiteracy is widespread, and there are no public welfare institutions nor any village flour mill. No-one has any technical knowledge nor can anyone drive a car. Only a few of the petty landowners and the well-to do farmers use a tractor for ploughing but for the rest the villagers have no knowledge of how to operate agricultural machinery, control pests or use chemical fertilizers.

The general level of education is low. There are no more than 10 radios for the whole population and the two-grade school set up with the assistance of the Educational Corps has only been in existence for two years. Of the 80 to 90 children who are of school age, only 40 to 50 attend the school. The women are all illiterate and only five or six of the men are semi-literate. Last year a mobile cinema was brought to the village and several films on health and livestock raising were shown.

So far no co-operative society has been formed in Dehpahn and there is no government agent in residence. The local agricultural extension worker pays a visit once every five or six months and, as one of the members of the village council said, takes his tea and dinner at the house of the village headman and then returns to the town in the evening.

The village council was set up in 1963 and one of its first tasks was to help the Educational Corps construct a school with funds obtained from the landowners' and villagers' development shares. This year the council intends to build a bath-house and to complete the school building by collecting a two per cent development tax.

The health condition of Dehpahn is most unsatisfactory mainly because animal dung is burnt as fuel. Drinking water is taken from the village spring and is not refined in any way. There is neither a clinic nor a physician and the villagers take their ill to Kermānshāh. Childbirth is attended by a local uneducated midwife. The most prevalent diseases amongst the inhabitants themselves are smallpox and malaria and the most common livestock ailments are anthrax and cattle tuberculosis. Last year many of the livestock perished in the frost. Two years ago the village was sprayed against malaria and each year its inhabitants are inoculated against smallpox. There is no bath-house

and the men told us that they take a bath only once a month in Kermānshāh but that the women take only two in their lives - once when they are born and again when they die.

There are four small shops in the village but the villagers buy most of their supplies from the city on credit which they pay for, with an interest of 15 to 20 per cent at harvest time.

Change in Dehpahn During the Past Ten Years

1. The earlier report makes no mention of the population of the village 10 years ago, although it states that there were then 60 households. The 1956 census puts the population at 359. At present Dehpahn has a population of divided into 80 households. Thus, in all probability the population was about 300 in 1954.
2. Ten years ago there were 50 *nasaq*-holding families who worked in 50 *gāvbandis* and 10 *khoshneshin* households. At present there are 52 *gāvbandis* (*juft-gāvbandi*), of which eight *juft* are held by petty landowners who farm them by mechanized means, and 44 *juft* are held by the 66 *nasaq*-holders. This means that the number of *gāvbandis* has decreased whilst the number of *nasaq*-holders has increased. In addition there are now 20 families of *khoshneshins*.
3. Ten years ago it was reported that the area of cultivated land in the village was 450 hectares (each *gāvbandi* cultivated about 9 hectares). The village elders estimate that the total area of land cultivated at present is 878 hectares, 138 of which (8 *juft*) are held by landowners, and the remaining 740 hectares of which are in the hands of the *nasaq*-holders. Thus each *gāvbandi* has an average of 17 hectares of land at its disposal and the share of each household is a little over 12 hectares.
4. Ten years ago one farm hand worked for 8 months and received a daily wage of 10 rials per day. The village elders told us that at present 40 to 50 rials per day were paid to farm hands during the winter, and 80 to 90 rials at harvest time.
5. There have been no changes in the type of crops grown although the output of wheat seeds has increased from a ratio of one-to-five to one-to-six, and the output of barley from one-to-six to one-to-seven. The price of wheat has increased from 4 to 6.5 rials per kilogram and that of barley from 2 to 4.5 rials per kilogram.
6. The village land has not fallen under the terms of the first stage of Land

Reform. The Dowlatshahi family own three and one-half of the six *dāngs* and farm land equivalent to five *juft* of the *nasaq* by mechanized means. Two other landowners each own land equivalent to one *dāng* and farm land equivalent to three *juft* of the village *nasaq* by mechanized means. The remaining half-*dāng* belongs to two other people.

7. Ten years ago only one of the *khoshneshins* worked for the Oil Company and this is still the case.

8. Ten years ago 350 hectares of the village lands were dry-farmed and 100 hectares were irrigated. At present only one-sixth of the total lands, or 150 hectares are irrigated whilst the remaining 728 hectares are dry-farmed.

9. Ten years ago the annual income of a *nasaq*-holding family was put at 2,750 rials (37 dollars) but since this means that the per capita income of the villagers would have been 7.4 dollars, we must reject the figure as impossible. At present the per capita income of the *nasaq*-holders is 52 dollars, or seven times the previous figure.

10. Livestock-raising has had an important effect on the income of the village but no mention was made of this activity in the earlier report. At present Dehpahn has 160 milch cows and 1,800 head of sheep from which it has a net annual income of about 1,480,000 rials. This, despite the fact that some of these livestock are owned by *khoshneshins*, more than doubles the *nasaq*-holders income.

11. A two-grade school was set up in 1963 with the help of the Education Corps, and there is now a village council.

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Ostan: Kermānshāhān
Shahrestan: Kermānshāh
Village: Koleh-jub Soflā

Date of Survey: 1954

This report concerns information obtained from the village of Koleh-jub Soflā 16 kilometres west of Shāhābād. In general, the agricultural lands around Shāhābād are devoted to the cultivation of dry wheat and barley with some irrigated lands available for sugar beets. The lands belonging to Koleh-jub, however, some 1,800 hectares, are all dry lands on which the winter crops of wheat and barley are grown. A study has been made by *amīāk* engineers which determined that a *qanāt* constructed at a cost of 20,000 tomans could produce four *sangs* of water to irrigate 100 hectares of summer crop.

Relative to the overall survey of land-use and population made by this team, Koleh-jub is important because it points up again how the social and economic organization of a village may mask low family incomes and under-employment.

In Khuzestān when a landowner was asked how many farmers were cultivating his lands his answer was invariably in terms of the middle-men to whom he contracted parts of his hectarage. The landowner or operator, and this includes operators of government lands, knew his "labour contractors" but had no idea how many families each contractor had placed on the land, nor did he know what the wages or living conditions of these families were. Thus the landowner collected his share of the crop and escaped the social responsibility for the actual farm labourer.

In this instance, a more benign system prevails, but it still disguises to some extent the population pressure on the land. When the *kadkhodā* of Koleh-jub was asked how many persons were in his family, he replied that there were twenty. Upon examination it was ascertained that the *gāuband* heads in the village considered as members of their families not only their blood kin, but their hired agricultural labourers as well (Koleh-jub is a Kurdish village). Thus the village, which acknowledges 150 families, has a population of nearly 1,000, or seven members per "family", as compared to the more

normal five-member biologic family in other parts of Iran. It should be noted that of the 150 family heads in the village, only 90 are *gāvband* heads, although 99 family heads share in the formal division of the crop. Statistically, in rial value, the division of the crop is as follows:

Lower

Wheat 1,050 kgs. per *gāvbandi* x 5 to 1 return =

5,250 kilograms x 4 rials per kg. = 21,000 rials

Barley 450 kgs. per *gāvbandi* x 6 to 1 return =

2,700 kgs. x 2 rials per kg. = 5,400 rials

Wheat (Yield divided into 100 parts) $5,400 \div 100 =$ 54 rials

31 shares to *anlāk* = 1,674 (minus a 10 per cent return under Increase of Farmer's Share law) = 1,507 rials

14 shares to harvester = 756 rials

55 shares to *gāvbandi* = 2,970 plus 10 per cent of landlord's share
= 3,137 rials

Gross yield of wheat and

barley = 15,338 rials per *gāvbandi*

Distribution:

99 men share in profits of 90 *gāvbandis* thus:

36 men own 1 ox = 36 oxen or 18 half *gāvbandis*

46 men own 2 oxen = 92 oxen or 46 full *gāvbandis*

16 men own 3 oxen = 48 oxen or 24 $1\frac{1}{2}$ *gāvbandis*

1 man owns 4 oxen = 4 oxen or 2 full *gāvbandis*

36 men get 7,669 rials

46 men get 15,338 rials

16 men get 23,007 rials

1 man gets 30,676 rials

51 men get 3,696 rials (harvesters)

In addition some of these men are "second men" in the *gāvbandis* and are paid 10 rials per day and meals from the *gāvbandi*'s share above.

It will be seen that the *gāvband* heads enjoy a relatively high return on their respective 10 hectares of land. This economic advantage is minimized, however, by the large "families" of each *gāvband* head and by 51 families outside of the *gāvbandi* system who have to be supported out of the *gāvbandi* share. If it is true that one man and one pair of oxen can cultivate 10 hectares of land, as many farmers have assured us, the 51 family heads outside

of the *gāvbandi* system are surplus labour or disguised underemployment as far as agricultural output is concerned.

The village elders assured us that when the land is distributed by the Shāhanshāh, it will be given to the 150 families, rather than to the 90 *gāvbandis* now farmed. Each family of seven then would have six hectares of dry wheat land, hardly an adequate economic land base for development. The economic resource that saves the village now from a low degree of poverty is an animal husbandry operation in which a herd of cows, sheep and goats are wintered on rented lands in the Gilān plains and moved back to village land in the summer. The herd is attended by boys of the village.

Prior to the land distribution of this village and of the other 127 villages belonging to the Crown in this region, the economic factors of land use and population should be investigated thoroughly if such land distribution is aimed toward the goal of rural economic development.



Ostān: Kermānshāhān

Shahrestān: Hamadān

Village: Tājābād

Date of Survey: 1954

In the higher mountain elevations above Hamadān there is generally sufficient rainfall for the cultivation of grain without irrigation. This alpine region also provides ample pasturage for sheep, goats, and cattle. Economic resources such as these, plus grape production from small vineyards, are conducive to a much more self-contained rural economy than can be found in the southern provinces of Irān where lack of water limits production to a single crop. For example, in the village of Tājābād, which is located 56 kilometres south-west of Hamadān on the pass over the Zagros Mountains leading down to the plains of Kermānshāh, the farmers have considerable diversification in their sources of income due to this additional moisture. Wheat and barley are grown for bread as in the southern areas, but from the vineyards comes the important dietary supplement of fresh grapes, grape juice, and raisins. From the village flock of 600 sheep and goats comes wool, giving rise to a flourishing cottage handicraft industry in which the women of the village weave rugs, blankets, and clothes. Surplus carpets are bartered for seed grain each year. The milk of 20 cows and 100 goats provides this village with yōghurt and cheese. Since this is high country and cold country, the villager's diet is also supplemented by some meat from the flocks in winter time.

In this miniature economy little money changes hands. All the production of the village is consumed in the village, with the exception of the landlord's share of the crop, which is modest. A villager from Tājābād may go from one year's end to the next without so much as seeing a rial, yet he is certainly better off materially than the majority of cultivators in the south who are dependent upon a single crop. Still, poverty does exist in Tājābād both on the material level and on the social level. To attempt to analyze the source of this poverty, it is necessary to calculate the earned income of the village in rial value and to delineate the system of distribution of that income among the villagers.

There are 70 families in Tājābād, with a total of 350 people in all. There are forty *gāvbandis* (labour groups) which have traditional rights to cultivate the land and share in the harvest. Each head of a *gāvbandi* hires at least one man to work in the *gāvbandi* permanently, with a possible addition of one man during ploughing and harvesting time. Theoretically it would seem that 40 of the family heads of the village share in the crop, while the other thirty, plus the grown sons of all the families, make up the permanent labour force or "second man" of the *gāvbandi*. Each *gāvbandi* seeds 350 kilograms of fall wheat and 250 kilograms of spring barley. With a return of 5:1 for both cereals and a price of 4 rials per kilogram for wheat and 2 rials per kilogram for barley, the gross return for the *gāvbandi* would be 9,500 rials minus the landlord's share of one-fifth, giving a total of 7,600 rials per *gāvbandi* per year. This amount, plus the value of the produce from the herds and vineyard, would make the per-family income of Tājābād above that of villagers investigated by this team in the southern provinces of Irān where only a "one crop" system is maintained.

But the distribution of the usufruct of the land and flocks in Tājābād (or any Irānian village) is by no means as equitable or as simple as dividing the annual production by the number of families present. Actually, five men in the village own two and one half *gāvbandis*; 20 men own one *gāvbandi*; and 15 men own one-half of a *gāvbandi*. If divided by rial equivalent rather than in kind, the grain crop distribution would be:

5 men receive 18,657 rials

20 men receive 7,463 rials

15 men receive 3,731 rials

The remaining thirty family heads must be paid for their labour out of the amounts above. Further, the men who have the most *gāvbandis* generally have also the greatest number of sheep, goats, and milk cows, so that in this minuscule society there are the relatively "well-to-do", but their income is dissipated by the burden of labourers outside the *gāvbandi* system who must be supported within the village group.

Nor do the village owners make enough profit to consider the village a paying investment. The owners receive 2,228 rials per *gāvbandi*, which includes, in addition to the one-fifth share, three different kinds of tributes. This amount, multiplied by the 40 *gāvbandis*, minus 10 per cent returned to the cultivators under the Increase of the Farmer's Share Act, plus

a token payment from the vineyard, comes to 81,504 rials which must be divided among four owners. So the share of each owner amounts to only 20,376 rials, or \$254.00 per year.

To present a more complete picture of the village, let us examine Tājābād in its physical and social aspects. The general overall impression one receives is that of misery and dejection. Most of the houses are in disrepair. The village water supply consists of a small open reservoir into which drains the offal and refuse from the narrow, ill-smelling streets. The results of the filth in diseases, water and flies are obvious. A few sick animals lay about uncared for. There is no school in Tājābād, and parents and children alike are illiterate.

Could a more equitable distribution of the total village income among the seventy families solve both the social and the economic problems of this village? If divided equally, each family would have in rial value 4,253 rials per year (about \$53.00). Certainly this is more than is received by the typical village family in the southern provinces of Irān. In reality, however, this would only mean that we have spread the range of consumption on a larger scale and this, in effect, is being done by those receiving the larger incomes employing more of the labour force. The answer lies more in the attempt to increase the net capital formation of the village. Theoretically this may be accomplished by several methods, among them (1) the reduction of consumption, (2) the reduction of the underemployed in the labour force, (3) increase of production, and (4) the use of spare time work on capital formation. Since these measures for economic development cover an entire segment of the rural population of Iran, they will be discussed in a separate chapter.

Ostan: Kermānshāhān
Shahrestan: Kermānshāh
Village: Shāterābād

Date of Survey: 1954

The village of Shāterābād in Ostan 5 is located about five kilometres from the city of Kermānshāh at about 4,000 feet elevation. The normal precipitation in this area is from 700 to 800 millimetres annually, but is so distributed that summer crops can be grown only with irrigation. Where possible the winter crop also receives at least supplemental irrigation.

In this village water for the winter crop is the waste water from a spring called Ab Shurān which provides water for the city of Kermānshāh. A small *qanāt* constructed two years ago provides water for a limited amount of summer crop. The village is owned by the Dedicated Lands Administration but is rented for an undisclosed amount to a Mr. Sohrābi who deals with the cultivators.

There are 12 *gāvbandis* in the village, each of which cultivates $4\frac{1}{2}$ hectares of winter crop ($\frac{3}{4}$ wheat; $\frac{1}{4}$ barley) and $2\frac{1}{2}$ hectares of sugar beets as the summer crop. The *gāvbandi* is composed of one man who owns two oxen and three workers who own no oxen. The "farmer's share" of the crop goes to the *gāvbandi* head who pays each of the three workers 250 tomans for work during the ploughing season and 150 tomans during the harvest season. This results in a total of 48 farm workers. Twenty live in the village and 28 live in nearby Kermānshāh.

Both winter and summer crops are divided in the same manner between the landlord (tenant of the Dedicated Lands Administration) and the farmer (*gāvbandi* head). The farmer furnishes the seed, oxen, and labour receives two-thirds of the crop; the landlord furnishes land and water and receives one-third.

On the $4\frac{1}{2}$ hectares of winter crop 560 kilograms of wheat are seeded which normally yield at the rate of 7 to 1, and 190 kilograms of barley with normal yield of 10 to 1. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ hectares of sugar beets yield an average of 30 tons which are sold to the sugar factory at Shāhābād at 65 tomans

per ton at the village. Wheat brings $3\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kilogram and barley 2 rials per kilogram.

The income per *gāvbandi* thus appears to be as follows:

3,920 kgs. of wheat at $3\frac{1}{2}$ rials	13,720
1,900 kgs. of barley at 2 rials	3,800
30 tons of sugar beets at 640 rials	<u>19,200</u>
	TOTAL 36,720
Two-thirds of this income goes to the farmer	24,480
From which he pays 3 workers 4,000 rials each	12,000
Balance to <i>gāvbandi</i> head	12,480
Plus 10 per cent of the landlord's share under existing law	<u>1,224</u>
	TOTAL 13,704
Received by landlord from each <i>gāvbandi</i>	12,240
From 12 <i>gāvbandis</i> in village	146,880
Less 10 per cent paid to farmers under present law	<u>14,688</u>
	BALANCE 132,192

The cultivator here is somewhat better off than is generally true in the other villages studied. Much of this increased well-being for him is due to the fact that he divides his share of the crop with no one else but pays his workers a fixed wage. He is farming about seven hectares with one pair of oxen. This is significantly more land than is typical and the increased income testifies to the importance of a better land base. The labour hired seems in large measure a way of discharging some moral responsibility for helping fellow villagers who would otherwise be unemployed rather than a requirement to get the farming done. It may also be related to the primitive and laborious farming techniques employed. It was indicated by these cultivators that one pair of oxen could cultivate 15 to 20 hectares "if we had enough water."

Even with this increase in income it is noted that no children of cultivators in this village attend school in nearby Kermānshāh. It is also noted that credit is available only on the customary terms involving at least 30 per cent interest and other charges and tributes to the money lender which make the actual cost many times this amount.

Ostān: Kermānshāhān
Shahrestān: Kermānshāh
Village: Dehpahn

Date of Survey: 1954

A potent economic factor in agricultural poverty in Irān is a relative preference for leisure on the part of the farmer as against his desire to increase his profits through full employment. This preference for leisure may come about in some cases through lack of knowledge as to alternative optimum uses for capital derived from his agricultural return. In other parts of this report we have pointed out that in most villages, an individual whose income rises above the general norm of the group, tends to retire from actual physical exertion himself to hire permanent or semi-permanent farm labour, and to become a member of the village managerial elite. We have subscribed this tendency on the whole to be the result of (1) the Iranian cultural pattern in which the managerial role carries the most prestige in terms of group status, and (2) the press of population on the land which provides moral and social pressure for the relatively better-to-do to provide employment for the less fortunate within a village. A possible third factor, the lack of knowledge concerning an alternative use of agricultural income for social rehabilitation, is also in evidence in much of the country. Just as many landlords fail to realize that funds reinvested in a village on health and educational facilities would pay economic dividends, so many Iranian farmers unschooled in simple health and sanitation principles (for example) prefer to retire from work and to hire their labour rather than to use such funds for increasing their own health and productivity. Lacking the knowledge of the health importance of pure drinking water for instance, it is more desirable for the farmer to achieve a managerial status within the framework of his traditional living pattern and to use his over-subsistence level funds to employ farm labour at a low income return, because leisure time is recognized as one of the amenities of life, while unpotable water is not always recognized as a threat to well-being.

The farmers in the village of Dehpahn, eight kilometres north of Kermān-

shāh, reflect something of this attitude. They are poor not only because of factors outside of their control, such as the size of their holdings, the non-availability of development capital, and the land tenure situation, but also because of lack of education which limits their horizons in living standards to a relative preference for leisure, as against a desire for economic gain to improve living conditions.

There are 60 families in this village with 50 *gāvbandis*. Each *gāvbandi* hires one semi-permanent worker (eight months per year) at 10 rials per day, and three labourers during harvest season for one month at 40 to 50 rials day. Since there are only 10 families in the village who do not have their own land to farm (and one of these works for the Iranian Oil Company), the *gāvbandi* owners must secure some of their semi-permanent and all of their seasonal labour in the nearby city of Kermānshāh. Each *gāvbandi* cultivates about seven hectares of dry land wheat for the winter crop and about two hectares of lentils and *gāvāneh* (a special grain fed to livestock) during the summer. Even with the primitive methods of cultivation current here and in most of the country, nine hectares of land is not too much labour strain for a *gāvbandi* of two men, yet in this case the hired labour imported from Kermānshāh takes up most of the profits, as the statistics below show:

175 kgs. of barley x 6:1 return	1,050 kgs. at 2 rials	
		= 2,100 rials
500 kgs. of wheat x 5:1 return	= 2,500 kgs. at 4 rials	
		= 10,000 rials
50 kgs. of lentils x 9:1 return	= 450 kgs. at 6 rials	
		= <u>2,700</u> rials
(<i>gāvāneh</i> fed to oxen)	Gross return	14,800 rials

Labour expenses

1 man x 8 months (200 man days) at 10 rials	= 2,000 rials
3 men x 30 days at 50 rials per day	= <u>4,500</u> rials

Total labour expense 6,500 rials

Gross of 14,800 rials per *gāvbandi* minus landlord's share of 4,995 rials (3 parts of crop, but 10 per cent returned under the Increase of Farmer's Share Act) equals 9,250 rials.

Farmer's share	9,250 rials
Minus labour	<u>6,500 rials</u>
Net Profit	2,750 rials

Even assuming that the semi-permanent worker in the *gāvbandi* is a member of the *gāvbandi* owner's family and that his payment remains in the family to increase the *gāvbandi*'s share to 4,750 rials, in addition to the factors noted above which contribute to poverty and which are outside the purview of the farmer, the fact that the harvesters make as much or more than the farmer himself illustrates the point that the *gāvbandi* head sacrifices half of his profits to his relative desire for leisure. It may well be that the wages paid to the itinerant farm labourer have been exaggerated. The fact remains, however, that with proper management the 60 families of this village could easily sow and harvest their 350 hectares of cereal crops without outside labour if the individual incentive for increased profit overbalanced the economically depressive, social desire, for managerial status.



GLOSSARY

- barzegar* This is a term used for agricultural labourers. The Land Reform Law defines this class as persons who receive a share of the product against work for a *nasaq*-holder or a landlord. However, *barzegar* may also be used for one who receives payment in cash.
- bigāri* A personal labour tribute which the peasant must pay to the landlord; *bigāri* holds the same meaning as *corvée*.
- boneh* A *boneh* consists of a group of farmers, frequently but not necessarily related to one another, who cultivate their land on a co-operative basis.
- dāng* A *dāng* is one-sixth of any piece of real-estate. Thus we speak of six-*dāng* village meaning a complete village.
- gāvband-gāvbandi* The most common meaning of *gāvband* is one who contributes the oxen in the crop-sharing agreement which was, before the Land Reform, the norm in Irānian villages. The role of the *gāvband* has still not disappeared. In the area included in this survey *gāvbandi* has the same meaning as *juft gāv*; that is a unit of plough land.
- juft gāv* A *juft* or *juft gāv* is a unit of plough land, generally calculated on the basis of the amount of land a pair of oxen can plough in one day.
- khoshneshin* Literally this means "happy sitter" and is a term applied to the large rural class who have no rights in land.
- nasaq*-holder One who, although he does not own land, has a traditional and inheritable right to cultivate a specified portion of the village lands for which right he pays one - fifth of his product to the landlord.
- qanāt* *Qanāts* are underground water channels used for irrigation

purposes, and constitute the most common traditional method in most parts of Irān.

sang

A *sang* is a measure of water usually calculated on the basis of the amount of water that comes from a pipe or stream in a given period of time.

sha'ir

A *sha'ir* is one-sixteenth of a *dāng*.

