

A SURVEY OF THE RURAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF KURDESTĀN

Ostān: Kurdestān

Shahrestān: Qorveh

Village: Serishābād

Date of Survey: Tir 29th 1343

July 20th 1964

Had Serishābād, like the nearby township of Qorveh, been situated on the Hamadān-Sanandāj road, it would surely have been more important than the latter, for from the point of view of productive power and activity it is an exceptional village in the district. It has had a school since 1924 and over half its male population can read and write. Further, about 25 tractors and combined harvesters are in use and the men exhibit a degree of self-confidence and initiative that is rarely found in other villages.

The total amount of land attached to the village is 12,500 hectares which, if it were to be divided evenly amongst the 620 resident families, would provide approximately 20 hectares for each; an amount that, if properly farmed, could easily provide the livelihood of a rural household. However, the greater part of the village lands (11,000 hectares) are distributed between 320 *nasaq*-holding families leaving 300 families with almost no land. Table 1 shows the details of the way in which the land is divided.

Table 1

Type of Land	Hectares	Holder
Dry-farmed land growing cereals	5,000	<i>nasaq</i> -holders
Vineyards and groves	1,000	<i>nasaq</i> -holders
Fallow	5,000	<i>nasaq</i> -holders
Orchards held by <i>xoshneshins</i>	150	<i>xoshneshins</i>
Land farmed with agricultural machinery	500	landlords
Summer crops and alfalfa	100	
Grazing land (mountainous)	750	

If the 11,000 hectares of the village *nasaq* were distributed evenly among the 320 eligible households, then each would receive about 34 hectares. However, about 20 people hold 90 to 100 hectares each, a further 80 people have 50 to 80 hectares, while the remaining 220 *nasaq*-holders have between 1 and 40 hectares. But as we shall see in the section on the economic condition of the village, the amount of land held by the farmer is not the only factor which produces a good income, the type of crop grown is also of importance.

The owners of Serishābād are seven brothers, two of whom, the owners of 35 of the 90 *sha'ir*, were compelled to sell their land during the first stage of land reform. Their 35 *sha'ir* were purchased by the government for about 2,200,000 rials and distributed among the farmers. Since the irrigated lands had previously been divided between the landowners, but the dry-farming lands were held in common, the irrigated lands have only been given to those who previously had the right of *nasaq* in them while the dry-farmed land have been given in equal proportion to all the *nasaq*-holders. The *xoshneshins*, despite their attempts to get land by presenting themselves as *nasaq*-holders or by pleading with land reform officials, have not benefited from the land reform.

The 300 *xoshneshin* families are, indeed, the greatest problem of the village particularly because their numbers are increasing at a faster rate than the *nasaq*-holders. Over the last 10 years 120 households have been added to the village population and 110 of these are *xoshneshins*. Despite the praise the report written 10 years ago handed out to the landlords for their progressive ways and their attempts to raise the educational and social condition of the farmers, it is our opinion that as long as 300 families remain landless in a relatively prosperous village there are bound to be crippling internal conflicts further exacerbated by the lack of alternative work nearby.

In Serishābād all the diverse social structures that have developed over the centuries in Irān endure side by side and are locked in intense conflict with one another. The 7 landowner brothers are the sons of a prince who owned many villages and who wielded great economic power and political influence. However, the position of his sons in contemporary Irān is somewhat different, the political fortunes of the family have declined so the owners have attempted to set aside any thought of princely bearing and, armed with their European education, have tried to amass

their wealth and acquire a new position of eminence in the modern rural economy by taking up mechanised farming. But this strategy has not really been successful mainly because their upbringing has not prepared them for the hardships of a farmer's life in such a remote corner of the globe; so sooner or later each has turned over his affairs to an overseer and returned to the city. This experience shows that not only is the "aristocratic" attitude a thing of the past, but that also even the modern urban bourgeois type is unfit to form a modern productive group in rural areas.

The rural petty-bourgeois, a class which has been brought up on the land are, at present, engaged in amassing wealth and property. What the princes' European education could not accomplish is part of the routine life of this group of rural residents who, in the course of many years spent as the close collaborators of the landlords, have gained the capital and the technical knowledge required to develop modern mechanised agriculture and commercial and industrial activities. These people are trying to gain power and influence, first from the economic and later from the social and political standpoint, and this process has quite naturally been helped along by the land reform. Farmers who hold more than 80 to 100 hectares of land can no longer be thought of as peasants since most of them are equipped with very costly agricultural machinery and have, besides this, begun to show their face in commercial and industrial activities.¹ Although at present this petty-bourgeoisie have no power or influence in government agencies, as do major landowners, this state of affairs will not last for long, at least on the level of the district or the township.

It is this situation which leads us to think that the condition of the *xoshneshins* is a cause of concern. But still, despite the instability of the economic position of this group, the economic prospects of the village as a whole are bright, the major barrier to development being communications. The road between Serishābād and Qorveh is very poor, and that between Qorveh and Hamadān poorer still; but if the Sanandāj-Hamadān road and the Hamadān-Sāveh roads were asphalted, it would be possible to establish a 5 to 6 hour long communication line between Kurdestān and Tehrān

1. The tractors, combined harvesters, 4 village flour mills, 2 deep wells and water pumps as well as most of the village shops are owned by 20 families who hold more land than all the other villagers together. This group is also prominent in livestock rearing activities.

which would revitalise the rural economy of this area by making the Teh-rān market accessible.

The Economic Condition of Serishābād

Eighteen per cent of the entire 6,075 hectares cultivated by the *nasaq*-holders of the village are irrigated and about 1,000 hectares of this land are under permanent cultivation mainly in the form of orchards. Summer crops and fodder have only recently been introduced and are not yet very important despite the greater value of the latter when compared with cereals. Table 2 shows the gross farming income of the *nasaq*-holders of Serishābād.

Table 2
Gross Farming Income of the *Nasaq*-Holders of Serishābād

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Annual product	Value per kg. (rials)	Gross value (rials)
Wheat	4,500	80	8	2,880,000	6	17,280,000
Barley	500	40	7	140,000	4	560,000
Vineyards & nurseries	1,000	-	-	3,250,000	2	6,500,000
Potatoes & alfalfa	50	-	-	-	-	150,000
Kitchen garden	25	-	-	-	-	100,000
Total	6,075					24,590,000

Out of their 24,590,000 rials gross income, the *nasaq*-holders pay 146,666 rials to the Agricultural Bank as their annual installment for the two-sevenths of the village land sold to them under the terms of the Land Reform Law. In addition they pay 3,512,857 rials to the landowners as the ownership share for the remaining land. Thus their gross farming income is reduced to 20,930,477 rials from which the expenses listed in Table 3 should be deducted. The figures in Table 3 assume that 75 per cent of the ploughing of the village lands is done by tractors and that 50 per cent of the reaping is carried out by combined harvesters. It has

also been assumed that each of the 150 *nasaq*-holders who hold a greater amount of land, employ one permanent farm-hand and together pay average annual wages of 12,000 rials.

Table 3
Costs of production

Factor	Cost (rials)
Seed	2,240,000
Ploughing by tractor, and sowing (500 rials per hectare)	1,875,000
Reaping by combines (20 per cent of the product)	1,874,000
Chemical fertilizers	50,000
Pest control	100,000
Orchards (1,000 hectares)	1,000,000
Labour	1,800,000
Total	8,849,000

If we deduct the costs of production from the gross farming income we arrive at a net annual income of 12,081,477 rials to which we should add the income derived from 8,500 sheep and goats and 200 cows (4,050,000 rials), 5 per cent of the total income from irrigated lands, and 10 per cent of the income from dry-farmed lands (223,857 rials) which the land-owner must return to the farmers. This gives a total net income of 16,955,334 rials or 226,071 dollars for the *nasaq*-holders of the village. This divided between the 300 *nasaq*-holding families yields an annual net income of 706 dollars for each, or an annual per capita income of 98 dollars (assuming that the average size of each family is 6). However, the distribution of income between the different *nasaq*-holding families on the one hand, and the *nasaq*-holders and the *xoshneshins* on the other hand, shows wide differences. These we have attempted to highlight by interviewing a number of different families.

It is difficult to obtain a complete analysis of the income of some of the richer families, but we tried to do this by interviewing Zabihul-lāh Qanbari who holds 98 hectares of land and is in virtual partnership with his three brothers each of whom hold a similar amount. At one time an overseer, he appeared to us to be an intelligent man, and indeed after the landlords he was the first person in the village to buy tractors and

combined harvesters, to install a motor flour mill, and to dig a semi-deep well and fit it with a water pump. He is also the first person to use chemical fertilizers. The well has helped him to convert his dry-farmed lands into irrigated lands which have much greater yields and upon which much more profitable crops can be grown. Indeed, the rate at which he is developing his land indicates that he and his brothers will, during the next 10 years, become perhaps the richest farmers of the district. Table 4 shows his current gross farming income.

Table 4
Gross Farming Income of Zabihullāh Qanbari

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Seed Output	Annual product	Value of product per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Dry-farmed wheat	45	80	8	28,800	6	172,800
Dry-farmed barley	2	40	8	240	4	2,560
Summer crops	20					80,000*
Vineyards	3			9,750	2	19,500
Groves	2					New nursery trees used as livestock feed
Alfalfa	1					
Fallow	25					
Total	98					274,860

* Net income.

From this gross income (274,860 rials), the following sums must be deducted:

i) 1,000 rials paid to the Agricultural Bank as the instalment for the two-sevenths of Qanbari's *nasaq* that was sold to him under the terms of the Land Reform.

ii) The landlord's share of about 39,265 rials which he pays against the five-sevenths of his *nasaq* which is not subject to the reform.

iii) The following costs of production:

Ploughing and sowing (at 500 rials per hectare)	21,920
Animal and chemical fertilizers and ashes	24,000

Pest control	5,000
Extra fodder	3,000
Two permanent farm hands	26,000
Reaping and threshing (with combined harvesters)	<u>43,840</u>
	131,760

It is possible that the costs of mechanical ploughing and reaping have been over-estimated here since Qanbari is in partnership with his three brothers and the costs of the tractor and combined harvester are thus somewhat evened out. However, we have taken the full cost so that there would be no danger of over-estimating the income.

But to this net income the additions listed below should be made:

i) The return of 5 per cent on irrigated lands and 10 per cent on dry-farmed lands that the landlord must make by law. This adds up to 3,000 rials.

ii) 38,000 rials earned from 50 sheep and goats and 4 cows.

This leaves Qanbari with an annual net income of 143,835 rials or 1,918 dollars from farming and livestock raising. But apart from his agricultural activities, Qanbari also hires his tractor and combined harvester out to his neighbour and owns one of the four mechanical flour mills in the village. The income he gains from these is difficult to calculate but it must be quite considerable. Besides he and his brothers own one of the more prosperous drapery shops from which they earn something like 50 to 100 rials per day. Taken as a whole the per capita income of this farmer's household cannot be much less than 700 dollars annually.

One of Qanbari's brothers whom we interviewed was not in quite such a good economic situation, the annual income of his household being something like 900 dollars less. The reason for this was, for the most part, the fact that he was not yet engaged in the cultivation of summer crops.

The next farmer we interviewed was Karam'ali Kāveh who holds 63.5 hectares and who uses his land mainly to grow wheat and barley which are, relatively speaking, low income crops.

From the gross farming income shown in Table 5, the following expenses should be deducted:

i) About 700 rials which are paid as installments to the Agricultural Bank in lieu of the two-sevenths of the *nasaq* which was sold to Kāveh under the terms of the Land Reform Law.

ii) An ownership share of one-fifth of the product of the remaining five-

sevenths of the land which remains the property of the landlord. This amounts to 16,593 rials less the 10 per cent the landlord must return for dry-farmed lands (1,6659 rials).

Table 5
Gross Farming Income of Karam'ali Kāveh

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.	Gross value of product (rials)
Dry-farmed wheat	20	80	8	12,800	6	76,800
Dry-farmed barley	20	40	8	6,400	4	25,600
Vineyards		1.5		4,870	2	9,750
Grove	2					
Alfalfa	1					
Fallow	20					stock
Total	64.5					116,150

iii) The costs of production which include 20,000 rials for tractor ploughing and sowing, 12,800 rials for seeds, 13,600 for a farm hand who works for 170 days for 80 rials per day, 25,600 rials for reaping by combined harvester, and 3,500 rials for pest control. This adds up to 72,350 rials.

In addition to the resulting 28,169 rials income from farming we should add Kāveh's income from livestock raising as well as 1,500 rials earned from weaving *gelims* (coarse rugs) to arrive at a total net income of 42,169 rials (563 dollars). This, divided among his 8-member family yields an annual per capita income of about 5,271 rials (or over 70 dollars).

The situation of agricultural workers who own one-half a hectare of orchard land and who work throughout the year does not differ substantially from that of the petty landowners of Serishābād. However, there are very many *xoshmeshins* who have neither land nor permanent work and their economic condition is not entirely satisfactory. We interviewed one *xoshmeshin* in order to highlight the economic condition of this group.

Ramazān Shafi'i owns a vineyard of about half a hectare and works as

a permanent farm hand for one of the *nasaq*-holders. From his vineyard he earns an annual income of 3,000 rials; from his work as a farm-hand he receives 10,000 rials, plus a suit of clothes worth 500 rials, and food for the year which is usually valued at 3,000 rials; from his wife's work as a weaver of *gelims*, 2,000 rials; from 5 sheep and 5 hens, 2,750 rials. This leaves him with a net annual income of 21,250 rials which, divided among his 5-member family gives a per capita income of 4,250 rials or about 57 dollars.

Sultān Hussein owns one-quarter of a hectare of vineyards and sustains an 8-member household. Each year he receives 15,600 rials for 8 months permanent work for one of the *nasaq*-holders, 1,500 rials from his share in the orchard, 2,000 rials from his wife's work as a weaver of *gelims*, and 3,200 rials from livestock-raising for his own consumption. Thus his net annual income is 22,300 rials which, divided between his 8-member household, makes a per capita income of 2,787 rials or 37 dollars.

Social, Educational and Health Conditions in Serishābād

Serishābād is a large village and has 40 shops some of which are engaged in welding, the repair of bicycles, blacksmithery, and carpentry. Most of the villagers have motor-cycles, bicycles and watches, and we counted over 250 radio sets. There is a post-office and an agency for the sale of kerosene although the petrol requirements of the farmers must be brought from Qorveh. There is a daily bus service between Serishābād and Hamadān and 3 jeeps are available for public hire to Qorveh.

There has been a school in the village since 1924 so that half the male population is now literate. The school has 6 grades and at present, there are 7 teachers and a superintendent for 200 pupils, including 12 girls who began their studies recently. Despite these relatively impressive figures, 40 per cent of the village children do not attend the school and the villagers, who are very keen on increasing their educational facilities, complain that there are not enough teachers or classes. Those who finish the 6-grades at the village school try to continue their studies in Qorveh and Hamadān. At present 3 children are studying in Hamadān and 8 at Qorveh but to do this they need a little money. The level of literacy and of interest shown in the outside world by the villagers is indicated by the magazines they buy and the fact that 10 people have subscribed to

Ettelā'āt and *Kayhān*, the two major national dailies.

There are 4 mosques and 1 *takīsh* (theatre for passion plays) in the village, and besides the resident *mollā*, during Ramazān and Moharrām preachers from other towns and villages come to speak to the farmers.

Although the first attempt of the owner to introduce mechanised farming 10 years ago was, from an economic point of view, a failure, it had the excellent result of acquainting the farmers with agricultural machinery so that at present there are 25 tractors and combined harvesters in use. One-hundred of the villagers know how to drive and 70 of these work in the village itself.

There has been a village council in Serishābād for many years but last year this was reconstituted in accordance with the new law governing village associations. Over this one year the council has been successful in carrying out a great deal of development work it has supervised the dredging of the only *qanāt* and has constructed a fuel-oil tank for the bath-house. But above all these the council has shown its ability to carry out development activities by constructing a 1,000,000 rial power plant for which the farmers have contributed 400,000 rials and the government the rest.

There has been an extension worker in the village for some time now and, in 1959, the villagers formed a co-operative society the shares of which initially cost 50 rials but now cost 400 rials. The initial capital of this society was 140,000 rials a sum which, with the aid of the government's four to one contribution and increasingly larger contributions of the farmers, has now been raised to 700,000 rials. The major activity of the society is to extend loans to its members with the approval of the Board of Directors and these depend upon the solvency of the applicant and the number of shares he holds. During the current year the society has also been selling chemical fertilizer on installments, but owing to the fact that most of the lands of the village are dry-farmed, with the exception of Zabihullāh Qanbari, very few can afford to buy it.

The villagers have built a public health centre for themselves and there is a resident physician who, with the help of a nurse, manages all matters of hygiene. Still, there is no educated obstetrician and child-birth is attended by untrained midwives. Tuberculosis here, as in other parts of Kurdestan, is endemic, and the doctor told us that at least 100

of the villagers suffer from it and that the drugs needed for its treatment are not available. Those whose condition is bad are sent to the sanatorium in Qorveh or Sanandaj. Amongst other prevalent ailments are scalp-disease, dysentery, trachoma and diptheria. Preventive measures have been taken against diptheria and smallpox. The endemic diseases of the livestock are foot and mouth disease and *piuler*, a worm which attacks the
er.

Change in Serishābād over the Past Ten Years

1. According to the report written 10 years ago, the population of the village was 4,500 made up of 500 households. But this seems to be a mistake. The 1956 census, taken 2 years later, puts the population at 2,921 and we ourselves counted 4,500 made up of 620 households. In a prosperous and growing village of this kind a sudden population drop over the space of 2 years is almost impossible and, apart from this, we are certain that the population must have grown considerably over the decade, especially since, even on the basis of the 1954 figure, the number of households has increased by 120.
2. Ten years ago it was reported that 310 households held wheat fields and orchards, 26 households held only wheat fields, and 40 households either held orchards or worked as farm-hands. The heads of the remaining 95 households were employed as agricultural labourers. Thus the report considered 310 households to be *nasaq*-holders. At present there are 320 *nasaq*-holding and 300 *xoshneshin* households.
3. The number of *xoshneshins* has increased but this is due to immigration rather than to natural population growth. The village elders told us that the *nasaq* has not been sold so the increase in the number of *nasaq*-holders from 310 to 320 must be attributed to inheritance.
4. Two of the 7 landowners of the village have lost their lands under the terms of the Land Reform Act and the *nasaq*-holders have now become joint owners of the dry-farmed lands and part-owners of the irrigated lands.
5. Ten years ago the crops of the village were cereals and orchard fruits but now 50 hectares are sown with potatoes and alfalfa and summer crops are grown on a further 25 hectares. The output ratio of the crops has also increased; that of wheat from 1:6 to 1:8, and that of barley from 1:4 to 1:7. This may be attributed to the use of chemical fertilizers and modern

agricultural machinery.

6. The prices of crops have risen: wheat from 4 to 6 rials per kilogram, barley from 2 to 4 rials per kilogram, and grapes from 1.2 to 2 rials per kilogram.

7. The previous report does not mention livestock raising but this is a village in which this activity is of the utmost importance. The elders estimated that there are 8,500 sheep and goats and 200 cows in the village.

8. The previous report writes that the per capita income of the village was 2,415 rials (about 32 dollars) but this figure was obtained by dividing only the net farming income by the total population of the village and so included the *xoshmeshins* who must have had some other sources of income. If we were to calculate the annual per capita income of the current year in the same way as was done for the earlier report, then it would only amount to about 2,685 rials (36 dollars). But this does not represent the real income and even the earlier group admitted that a per capita income of about 3,768 rials (52 dollars) could be obtained by including the income from farming and livestock-raising in the calculation. If this were the case then the rise in per capita income over the past 10 years seems to be a perfectly logical one which can be attributed to the use of chemical fertilizers, the introduction of summer crops, and the consequences of the land reform.

9. The costs of agricultural labour have risen considerably. At present wages are 60 rials per day during the harvest season, 30 rials per day in the autumn, and 20 rials per day at the Iranian New Year.

10. During the past 10 years the village council has done a great deal to promote development activities and the general welfare of the people.

Ostān: Kurdestān
Shahrestān: Sanandaj
Village: Doshān

Date of Survey: Amordād 8th 1343
July 30th 1964

Doshān is situated 9 kilometres to the south-east of Sanandaj, 2 kilometres from the Sanandaj-Kermanshāh paved road and has a population of 425 divided into 70 families.

This is one of the villages whose lands were distributed to the peasants under the terms of the law governing the first stage of land reform in Irān. Formerly it belonged to the Āssefi family who, with the exception of 9 *jofts* (84 hectares) which they themselves farm with mechanised equipment, sold it to the government for the sum of 2,760,000 rials. Despite the fact that they are pleased at receiving land, the villagers have two causes for dissatisfaction at the manner in which distribution has taken place. Firstly, more than 70 per cent of the land they have received is dry-farmed, the landlord having retained the major part of the irrigated land of the village for himself. In this respect the villagers claimed that prior to the reform he farmed only 4 *jofts* while at present 9 *jofts* are in his possession. They also told us that 5 share-cropping *barzegars* who formerly worked on this land have been dismissed and that at present they work as building labourers. Secondly, they are worried about the high price of the installments they will probably have to pay for an amount of land which is certainly not enough for them to secure the livelihood of their families. Although they have not as yet received their deeds and have no exact information about the price of the installments and where they should pay them, we can calculate that the annual yearly installment for each of the 33.5 *jofts* that have been distributed will be in the region of 5,500 rials. At the time the group visited Doshān, the newly-founded village council was discussing no other problem and its members claimed that the land had been sold to the government at a price that far exceeded its value.

Only a few months have passed since the land was distributed so it is still early to speak of the results of land reform. However, we can say for certain that it has had an excellent social effect; the enthusiasm of the villagers and their desire to adopt new farming methods has been kindled, and, in the words of the village *mollā*, "everything is alive from the reform." However, we must ask to what extent this enthusiasm can be put to work in the economic sense. At present one of the greatest difficulties faced by the farmers is the lack of water and the small proportion of irrigated land. Even though the villagers may be keen to adopt new methods, the tapping of new water sources, and the introduction of pest control, chemical fertilizers, and agricultural machinery, all need a great deal of capital, something that they are unable to provide at present. On the one hand the difference between the previous landlord's share in the product and the price of the installments for the land sold to the villagers is not enough to make any extra surplus available, and on the other hand it seems to us improbable that the co-operative society (which was founded a month ago with a capital of 35,000 rials), even with the financial aid it receives from the Central Organisation of Rural Co-operatives, can do much to help.

The water resources of Doshān consist of 3 *qanāts* whose water is divided half-and-half between the landlord and the farmers. The villagers told us that if a new well or *qanāt* is dug then they will give over a larger portion of their land to irrigated farming. On the little irrigated land they do possess they cultivate lentils, grains for personal consumption, and hay (alfalfa and lucerne). Besides this, they supplement their income from livestock raising.

The following is a summary description of the division of the land between various uses:

Wheat (dry-farmed)	63 per cent
Wheat (irrigated)	10 per cent
Barley (dry-farmed)	11 per cent
Fodder (<i>gāvānēh</i>)	5 per cent
Summer crops and grains	5 per cent
Alfalfa and Lucerne	6 per cent
Total	100 per cent

The proximity of a station for the improvement and preparation of seeds and saplings should be of some help in the development of Doshān.

But besides the problems we have already mentioned, the possibilities of improvement are limited by the pressure of the population on the land. The average amount of land held by each family is 0.75 hectares and this is not enough to provide their livelihood. Further, there is no barren land attached to the village that can be reclaimed so it is clear that the problem cannot be solved very easily.

The Economic Condition of Doshān

The total amount of cultivable land attached to the village is 404 hectares, 202 hectares of which are left to fallow each year. Nine *jof*ts of this land, all of which is irrigated, are in the hands of the landlord while the other 33.5 *jof*ts (320 hectares) are shared by 56 *nasaq*-holding families who have an average of 5.7 hectares each. However the distribution of the land is inequitable; 2 families each hold 2 *jof*ts, 8 families each hold 1 *jof*t, and the remaining 47 families share in 21.5 *jof*ts which means that each has between one-quarter to one-half of a *jof*t. The farmers cultivate only half, or 160 hectares of their land each year. Table 1 shows the gross annual farming income of the village *nasaq*-holders.

Table 1
Annual Gross Farming Income of the *Nasaq*-holders of Doshān

1	2	3	4	5=3x4	6	7=6x5	8=7x6
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Product per hectare (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. (rials)	Value of 1 hectare (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat (dry-farmed)	100	150	5	750	6	4,500	450,000
Wheat (irrigated)	17	160	6	960	6	5,760	97,920
Barley (dry-farmed)	17	150	6	900	4	3,600	61,200
Summer crops & grains	8						Personal consumption
<i>Gāvāneh</i>	8	32	5	160	4	640	
Alfalfa & Lucerne	10						Fodder
Fallow	160						
Total	320						614,240

shows the gross annual farming income of the village *nasaq*-holders

From the annual gross income of 614,240 rials the following costs must be deducted: 184,000 rials for the annual installments paid to the Agricultural Bank in lieu of land ceded under the first stage of the land reform, 117,544 rials for the cost of seeds, and 84,000 rials for workers wages.¹ Thus the net annual income from farming is 228,696 rials. When the net annual earnings from livestock raising, which are shown in Table 2, are added to this, we obtain a total net annual income of 1,128,696 rials.

Table 2
Net Annual Income from Livestock Raising

Livestock	Number	Income (rials)
Cows	200	400,000
Sheep and Goats	1,000	500,000
Total		900,000

This total income, divided among the 56 *nasaq*-holding families, gives an annual income of about 20,155 rials per family or, assuming that each family has about 6 members, an average per capita income of 3,360 rials or about 45 dollars. However the income of members of the *nasaq*-holding class is in fact somewhat more than this figure because summer crops and grains are used for personal consumption and this raises their standard of living

In order to show something of the distribution of income in the village, the group carried out interviews with a few of the inhabitants and these are reported below.

Mohammad Jahangiri has 1 *jof*t of land and 7 dependents. His gross annual income from farming is shown in Table 3.

From Jahangiri's gross income of 26,316 rials we should deduct the following: 5,500 rials annual installment for the land received under the Land Reform Law, and 4,836 rials for the cost of seeds. Thus his net annual income from farming is 15,980 rials to which we should add 8,000 rials earned from 2 cows and 6 sheep to obtain a total net income of 23,980

1. We have assumed that 7 of the 14 *xoshneshin* households earn their living in the village and that the head of each of these households earns an average wage of 12,000 rials for agricultural labour.

Table 3
Annual Gross Farming Income of Mohammad Jahāngiri

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Annual product per hectare (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat (dry-farmed)	3	150	5	2,250	6	13,500
Barley (dry-farmed)	0.36	150	6	324	4	1,296
Wheat (irrigated)	2	160	6	1,920	6	11,520
Fallow	5.36					
Total	10.72					26,316

rials. This, divided among the 7 members of his family, gives an annual per capita income of 3,426 rials or about 46 dollars.

Table 4 shows the annual gross farming income of Karim Jahāngiri who owns 1 *fard* and has 7 dependents.

Table 4
Annual Gross Farming Income of Karim Jahāngiri

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Annual product (kgs.)	Price per kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat (dry-farmed)	2	150	5	1,500	6	9,000
Barley	0.2	150	6	180	4	720
Summer crops						1,000
Total	2.2					10,720

From Karim Jahāngiri's gross income from farming we should deduct 2,750 rials for the annual installment for land received under the Land Reform Law, and 1,920 rials for the cost of seeds, to obtain a net income of 6,050 rials. To this should be added 4,500 rials earned from 1 cow and

4 sheep to obtain a total net income of 10,550 rials which, divided among the 7 members of Karim's family, gives an annual per capita income of 1,507 rials or about 20 dollars.

The Social, Educational and Health Condition of Doshān

The inhabitants of Doshān are Sunni Kurds and only a few of their men are able to speak Fārsi. There is no village shop and each day an average of 30 people go to Sanandaj to buy food and oil and to sell their own products. Since there is no regular transport service this journey is normally made on foot or occasionally by car. There are 10 radios in the village, most of which have been bought over the past 2 years.

The lack of a clinic and a doctor means that the villagers must go to Sanandaj for medical treatment and we were told that the cost of the doctor and of necessary drugs normally came to 500 rials. In addition there has been no attempt to fight endemic diseases and trachoma and tuberculosis are very common. There is no bath-house and the villagers take their bath in the open in all seasons.

There is a 3-grade school which was opened by the Literacy Corps with the help of the Ministry of Education and the people of the village. At present the school has 30 pupils. Apart from the *mollā*, none of the men are literate and so far no attempt has been made to provide classes to improve this situation.

The village council, which has 3 members, was founded recently and so far the only work it has done is to help with the building of the school. In the current year the council intends to utilise the villagers' 2 per cent development tax to build a mosque and a bath-house and to complete the school. A co-operative society was founded a month before the group visited the village but as yet its registration has not been completed.

Change in Doshān over the Past Ten Years

1. Ten years ago the population of the village was 272 made up of 40 families. The 1335(1956) census listed it at 308 and the present survey put it at 425 made up of 70 families. Therefore the average number of members of each family was 6.8 10 years ago, while at present it is 6. Because

many of the villagers have received land under the terms of the Land Reform Law, there has been little emigration from the village; indeed, in view of the sharp increase in population, we must conclude that, on the contrary, there has been a flow of population into the village.

2. The earlier report puts the number of *gāvbandis* of the village at 20 while the present survey calculated 42.5 *jofas*, 9 of which are cultivated by the landlord and 33.5 of which are divided among the village farmers.

3. Ten years ago the wages of agricultural workers, who are hired in the ploughing and harvesting seasons, were 30 rials per day with the addition of food. At present they consist of food and 60 rials cash per day.

4. The crops cultivated by the farmers are almost the same as those cultivated 10 years ago and there has been no change in the output of seeds. There is no information on the amount of land cultivated in the earlier report, but at present land not devoted to wheat and barley amounts to only 26 hectares of the *nasaq*-holders land. On this summer crops, grain, *gāvāneh* and hay are grown. We must, however, mention that we have taken no account of the crops grown on the landlord's fields because in this case the production and economic relationships differ considerably from those of other units of production in the village and we were not able to discover any details about them.

5. Doshān is one of the villages which was included in the first stage of the land reform and all its lands, with the exception of those given over to mechanised farming by the landlord, have been distributed among the *nasaq*-holders. As a result of this a number of other changes have taken place. Most particularly tributes and *bigāri* which were in effect 10 years ago have now disappeared.

6. Ten years ago the number of village livestock was put at 50 milch-cow, 150 sheep and 50 goats. In the present survey we counted 600 cows and 1,000 sheep and goats. Thus over the past 10 years the village herds have increased rapidly.

7. The price of village products has changed a great deal over the past 10 years. The price of wheat has risen from 3 to 6 rials per kilogram and that of barley from 2 to 4 rials per kilogram.

8. Ten years ago the sales of the livestock products of each *gāvbanāi* were calculated at 350 kilograms of yoghurt and 2 lambs per year. At present the annual earnings of each cow from the sale of dairy products and

oil are 2,000 rials and those of each sheep from the sale of wool and oil are 500 rials.

9. Ten years ago the average total income of each *nabaq*-holding family from all sources, without subtracting all the costs, was 3,200 rials or about 43 dollars. The present survey put it at 20,155 rials which, assuming that there are, on the average, 6 members in each family, makes a per capita income of 3,360 rials or 45 dollars. This relatively large increase comes, above all, from the large increase in livestock raising activities over the past 10 years and more than compensates for the amount exceeding the former landlord's share paid as the installments for the land received under the terms of the Land Reform Law.

10. Last year a grade school was founded by the Literacy Corps with the aid of the Ministry of Education and, at present, 30 of the village children attend it.



Ostān: Kurdestān

Shahrestān: Sanandaj

Village: Qār

Date of Survey: Amordād 8th 1343

July 30th 1964

Qār is situated 10 kilometres to the south-east of Sanandaj near the Sanandaj-Kermānshāh paved road, and is a village to which the inhabitants of Sanandaj come on their holiday outings. Formerly it was part of the estates of the Āssefi family, who were among the greatest landlords of Kurdestān, but in the spring of 1341 (1962) it was ceded to the villagers under the terms of the law governing the first stage of land reform.

Two-hundred hectares of cultivable land are attached to Qār, which, divided among the 222 villagers give a per capita share of about 0.9 hectares. The fallowing system of the village means that each year two-thirds of this small area are not cultivated and this, coupled with the dryness of the land means that the villagers find it difficult to provide their livelihood from farming alone. Indeed their earnings from their livestock constitute a much more important portion of their income and, besides using animal products for their own consumption, they take a great deal to sell on the market in Sanandaj.

For natural reasons the possibility of developing the arable land is slight. The lands of the village are limited, and the barren lands can only be reclaimed with a great deal of trouble and investment. It is possible that new water resources will help in making the land more fertile and there is a need for the opportunities of digging a new well or *qanāt* to be examined. However, it is difficult to find the capital for this work because on the one hand the farmers have no surplus income, and on the other hand it seems improbable that the newly formed co-operative society has the resources to be of any help in long run development investment.

Hopefully, when the Kermānshāh-Tabriz highway has been finished, Qār and the neighbouring regions will find new markets and their economy will,

as a result, turn into a more commercial one opening up new possibilities of development for the inhabitants.

The 6-*dāngs* of the village were included in the land reform with the exception of 2 of the 18 *joft nasaq* which were retained by the landowner who carries out mechanised farming on them. The villagers were dissatisfied at the high price they have to pay in annual installments for the land they have received and they claimed that it had been sold to the government for much more than its real value. The installments come to more than the former landlord's share in the product and last year, because of bad weather and poor crops, the villagers had difficulty in paying the necessary sum to the Agricultural Bank.

The Economic Condition of Qār

Qār has 218 hectares of cultivable land of which 10 hectares are orchards. Twenty-four hectares of farming land (or 2 *jofts*) and 6 hectares of orchard are still owned by the previous landlord who carries out mechanised farming on them through his *mobāsher* (overseer). The rest of the village *nasaq*, which consists of 16 *jofts* or 194 hectares of farming land and 4 hectares of orchard, is owned by 42 *nasaq*-holding families, each holding an average of only 4.7 hectares. However the distribution is inequitable; 9 families each hold 1 *joft*, while the other 33 families have only 7 *jofts* between them, or somewhat less than 1 *fard* each.

Each year the farmers cultivate wheat and barley on one-third of their land, graze cattle on another third which is ploughed, and leave the rest to fallow.

Table 1 shows the annual gross farming income of the *nasaq*-holders of Qār (279,000 rials). At land reform the land was sold to the *nasaq*-holders for 600,000 rials to be paid for in annual installments of 40,000 rials (over a period of 15 years). This deducted from the gross annual income together with the cost of seeds (94,600 rials) leaves the *nasaq*-holders with an annual net farming income of 184,000 rials which, divided among the 42 families which constitute this class, gives an average annual income from farming of 4,390 rials per family (nearly 59 dollars). Assuming that each family has an average of 4.2 members, their annual per capita income is 1,045 rials (approximately 14 dollars). But in addition the *nasaq*-holders earn a supplementary income from livestock raising which

is shown in Table 2.

Table 1
Annual Gross Farming Income of the *Nasaq*-holders of Qār

1	2	3	4	5=3x4	6	7=6x5	8=2x7
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Product per hectare (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of 1 hectare (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat (dry-farmed)	54	150	5	750	6	4,500	343,000
Barley (dry-farmed)	10	150	6	900	4	3,200	36,000
Market garden summer crops	6						personal consumption
Plough land	64						
Fallow	64						
Total	198						279,000

Table 2
Annual Net Income of *Nasaq*-holders from Livestock Raising

Livestock	Number	Net earnings from 1 head (rials)	Net annual income (rials)
Cows	100	3,500	260,000
Sheep	300	500	150,000
Total			400,000

Thus the total net annual income of this group is 584,400 rials. This makes an average of 13,914 rials (185 dollars) for each of the 42 families, and an average per capita income of about 3,313 rials (approximately 44 dollars).

Table 3 shows the annual gross farming income of Farajullāh Rashidi, who owns half a *joft* and has 5 dependents.

From the 14,400 rials gross earnings we should deduct 1,250 rials paid to the Agricultural Bank as the annual installment for Rashidi's land, and 2,850 rials for the cost of seeds to obtain a net annual income from farming of 10,300 rials (about 137 dollars). This, divided among the

Table 3
Annual Gross Farming Income of Farajullāh Rashidi

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=5x6
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Annual product (kgs.)	Value of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of product
Wheat	3	150	5	2,250	6	13,550
Barley	0.25	150	6	225	4	900
Summer crops	0.1					personal consumption
Total	3.35					14,400

5 members of Rashidi's family, gives an annual per capita income of 10,300 rials or about 137 dollars. In addition to this Rashidi earns 6,000 rials per year from 7 sheep and 1 cow which makes his total income 16,300 rials and the per capita income of his family 3,260 rials (43 dollars).

Social, Educational and Health Conditions in Qār

The inhabitants of Qār are Sunni Kurds and only very few of the men can express themselves in Fārsi. Most are engaged in farming but a few work as labourers on neighbouring roads or in the nearby brick kilns. Their houses are dirty and their way of life is wretched. No-one has any technical knowledge and there are only 7 radios most of which have been bought over the past 2 years. Since there is no village shop, about 15 to 20 of the villagers travel to Sanandaj each day to buy food and kerosene and to sell their yoghurt. Because of the lack of a regular transport service to the town this journey is usually made on foot.

The health condition of the village is far from good and there is no clinic or doctor either here or in the neighbouring villages, so the people have to go to Sanandaj for treatment. We were told that the journey together with doctor's fees and the price of medicine costs 500 rials and that, given the low income of the villagers, this is far too much for them. The result is that they rarely consult a doctor about their illnesses. Besides this Qār has no bath-house so both in summer and winter the villagers take their bath in the open. Since hard winters are normal in this area the people frequently catch cold. The endemic diseases are

dysentery and trachoma.

The level of education in the village is very low and none of the farmers are literate. There is no modern school and there are no plans to build one. A small number of the children learn reading and writing and take religious instruction from the village *mollā*.

The village council, which was founded last year and has 6 members, has done nothing to date and the villagers give their 2 per cent development tax to the *mollā* to distribute among the poor. There is a co-operative society which was founded 4 years ago and has now been registered. The co-operative supervisor makes a visit once a week and last year the society made a loan of 90,000 rials to the *nasaq*-holders.

Changes in Qār over the Past Ten Years

1. The previous report does not give the population of the village but the 1335 (1956) census lists it as 167. The group calculated that at present it is 222 made up of 53 families.
2. Ten years ago 18 *nasaq*-holding families were reported. We calculated that 9 families own 1 *joft* of land each and 33 families own less than 1 *joft* each. Thus the number of *nasaq*-holding families has risen to 42.
3. The survey conducted 10 years ago reported 20 *gāvbāndis* of which 2 were cultivated by the landlord with the aid of hired workers. We calculated the number of *gāvbāndis* to be 18 *jofts* of which 16 *jofts* were owned by the farmers and 2 *jofts* by the former landlord.
4. There has been a fundamental change in the system of land ownership. The 6 *dāngs* of the village have been distributed among the farmers with the exception of 2 *jofts* which were retained by the landlord because they were classified as lands devoted to mechanised farming.
5. The earlier report does not mention the area of cultivated land so we can make no comparison of its extent or of the ratio of land to population. However, taking account of the level of population reported in the 1344 (1956) census, we can say that the ratio has increased and that the pressure of the population on the land is much greater.
6. There has been no important change in the variety of crops grown although the yield of wheat seeds has increased from 1:3 to 1:5 and that of barley from 1:4 to 1:6. The price of wheat has increased from 5 to 6 rials

per kilogram and that of barley from 3 to 4 rials per kilogram.

7. Feudal tributes to the landlord, which consisted of 60 rials tax and 4 days *bigāri* (corvée) per *gāvbandi*, have now disappeared completely.

8. A great change has taken place in the livestock holdings of the village. The number of cows has risen from 25 to 100 and the number of sheep from 150 to 300.

9. The level of per capita income 10 years ago is somewhat unclear. However, the income of each of the 18 *nasaq*-holding families was put at 4,256 rials (about 57 dollars) and the average size of each family at 4.2. Thus the per capita income must have been about 13.5 dollars. The present survey found the income of each *nasaq*-holding family to be 4,390 rials (about 59 dollars) and the per capita income to be 14 dollars. Thus there has been almost no change in the level of per capita income. The higher productivity of seeds and the higher price of wheat and barley should have helped the villagers to raise their living standards but this factor has been more than offset by the rise in the number of *nasaq*-holding families and the high price of the installments they must pay to the Agricultural Bank for their land. Ten years ago the landlord's share in the total product of the village amounted to 23,220 rials, while the annual installment for the land of all the *nasaq*-holders taken as a whole amounts to 40,000 rials. The villagers were not very satisfied with this situation.

10. The village still has no school and there are still no literate inhabitants.

Ostān: Kurdestān
Shahrestān: Saqqez
Village: Sālehābād

Date of Survey: Amordād 10th 1343
August 1st 1964

Sālehābād is situated 3 kilometres to the north of Saqqez on the paved road between Saqqez and Miāndoāb. It has a population of 187 divided into 27 households and about 416 hectares of cultivated land of which 304 hectares are farmed by the villagers and the remaining 112 hectares are devoted to mechanised farming carried out by the landlords. In addition, Sālehābād possesses 50 hectares of mountain pasture on which the village sheep and cattle are grazed.

Lack of land is no problem in Sālehābād 304 hectares being quite sufficient to provide for the needs of the 17 *nabaq*-holding families who share in it. Indeed, despite the fact that the farmers use no modern machinery or methods (except in the case of the tobacco crop which is grown with the financial aid of the Tobacco Monopoly), because of its good quality and the variety of crops grown, the productivity of the land is good compared with that of other villages we have studied. At present water is taken from a spring known as Kāni Bāq and the river Āltun but if new water resources were to be tapped more profitable crops could be grown. The villagers also expressed the opinion that if new agricultural equipment such as a tractor and chemical fertilizers were introduced the output of their cereal crops would be higher.

In Saqqez there is a state-owned tobacco processing and cigarette making factory. Although no villagers are employed in this, tobacco is grown with the help of the Monopoly which provides loans and a certain amount of technical aid for the solution of such problems as pest-control. At present a relatively small amount of the village land is devoted to tobacco. In the opinion of the group, the reasons for this are as follows: i) tobacco is a crop which requires a great deal of investment of time and money and its successful cultivation needs experience, knowledge and

constant attention. Unfortunately Irānian farmers are wanting in the necessary qualities for this work mainly because of the system of land-ownership and the relationship it creates between landlord and peasant; ii) the agricultural economy in most of the Irānian country-side is a subsistence economy. The major goal of the farmers is to secure the annual needs of their families and for this purpose the most reliable crops are cereals. Thus the villagers are not ready to devote their scarce land to other products. It seems that they have still not been able to accept that it is even possible to devote all the good land to profitable crops such as tobacco and sugar beets and to buy their food from other sources.

In the near future the asphalt road between Kermānshāh and Tabriz, which passes by Saqqez, will be completed and, by bringing Sālehābād into the radius of the large market of the west of Irān, it will provide the village with a whole new set of economic possibilities.

Sālehābād was unaffected by the first stage of the land reform because, on the face of it, the shares of none of the five landlords were liable for distribution. However despite this, the land reform has not been without effect in the village. Although the landlords have still not paid the farmers' extra share (under the Increase of Farmers' Share Act), their influence is declining steadily and there is no sign of the *bigāri* (corvée) and various tributes which were once common all over Kurdestān. The farmers told us that the situation of both the *roshneshins* and the *nasaq*-holders has improved because of this.

Even though no co-operative society has been founded so far, last year each *nasaq*-holder received 5,000 to 6,000 rials in loans from the Agricultural Bank.

The Economic Condition of Sālehābād

Out of Sālehābād's 37 *joft-nasaq*, 27 *jofts* are in the hands of 17 *nasaq*-holding families. The other 10 *jofts* are farmed by the landlords with the aid of agricultural machinery. The dry and irrigated lands of the *nasaq*-holders total 304 hectares, so that, on the average, each family holds nearly 18 hectares. The farmers leave 140 hectares of their land to fallow each year and on the rest they cultivate both summer and winter crops. The approximate division of the land between various uses is as

follows:

Wheat (dry-farmed)	34 per cent
Wheat (irrigated)	8 per cent
Barley	3 per cent
Tobacco	4 per cent
Potatoes	3 per cent
Peas	1 per cent
Corn and sunflower seeds	1 per cent
Fallow	46 per cent
	100 per cent

The distribution of the land amongst the *nasaq*-holders is relatively equitable. One family holds 3 *jofts*, 8 families each hold 2 *jofts*, and the other 8, 1 *joft* per family.

Table 1 shows the gross annual farming income of the *nasaq*-holders taken as a whole.

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

1	2	3	4	5	6=5x4	7	8=7x6
Product	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Product per hectare (kgs.)	Local price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of 1 hectare (rials)	Cultivated area (hectares)	Total value
*Wheat	130	10	1,300	6	7,800	107	811,200
*Wheat	160	12	1,920	6	11,520	62	299,520
*Barley	120	10	1,200	4	4,800	10	48,000
Peas			1,200	10	12,000	3	36,000
Tobacco					28,000	8	224,000
Potatoes			850	6	5,100	8	40,800
Corn & sunflower seeds					9,050	5	45,250
Fallow						140	
Total							1,504,770

*Dry-farmed
*Irrigated
*Dry-farmed

From the annual farming income of 1,504,770 rials, 300,954 rials must be paid as the landlords' share (on the basis of $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the product) and 275,588 rials for the costs of seeds and labour. Thus the total net income is about 928,228 rials (approximately 2,376 dollars) which, divided between the members of the 17 *nasaq*-holding families (assuming that each family has an average of 7 members), gives an annual per capita income from farming of about 104 dollars.

But in order to discover the total income of *nasaq*-holders from all sources we must include their income from livestock-raising. The villagers possess about 300 sheep and 40 cows which earn an annual profit of 250,000 rials.¹ About two-thirds of these livestock belong to the *nasaq*-holders so, if we include 175,000 rials annual income from livestock-raising we arrive at a total net annual income of 1,103,228 rials (approximately 14,710 dollars) and an annual per capita income of 9,270 rials (approximately 124 dollars).

To clarify the distribution of income amongst the *nasaq*-holders of Sālehābād, the group carried out interviews with a number of them and calculated their individual earnings. Before reporting these we must take note of the fact that, in the calculation of the collective income of the *nasaq*-holders, tobacco was an important element. Compared with the amount of land it occupies, it yields relatively large profits. But the greater part of the tobacco crop of the village belongs to only one or two households, making it an important cause of the differences in income between Sālehābād's families.

Mr. Rahim Sāken has rights in 1 *jof*t of the village *nasaq* and supports a family of 7. His annual gross income from farming is shown in Table 2.

From Sāken's gross farming income the following must be deducted: 9,362 rials for the owner's share (on the basis of one-fifth); 4,880 rials for the costs of seeds and insecticides, and 2,300 rials for farm labour. Thus his net annual income from farming is 26,267 rials to which we should add 5,000 rials earned from 2 cows to arrive at a total net annual income of 31,267 rials (approximately 417 dollars). This, divided between the 7 members of Sāken's family gives a per capita income of 4,467 rials (approximately 60 dollars).

1. The net earnings from 1 cow are 2,500 rials, and from 1 sheep, 500 rials.

Table 2
The Annual Gross Farming Income of Rahim Sāken

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seed per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Annual product	Price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	4	170	10	6,700	6	49,800
Barley	0.3	160	12	576	4	2,304
Tobacco	0.1			140	20	2,800
Grains	0.1			120	4	480
Sunflower seeds*				85	5	425
Fallow	4					
Total	8.5					46,809

*Grains and sunflower seeds are cultivated together in 0.1 hectares.

Mr. Mohammad Amin Qārmāni has rights in one-half of a *joft* of the village *nasaq* and supports a family of 3. His gross annual farming income is shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Gross Annual Farming Income of Mohammad Amin Qārmāni

1	2	3	4	5=4x3x2	6	7=6x5
Product	Cultivated area (hectares)	Seeds per hectare (kgs.)	Seed output	Annual product (kgs.)	Price of 1 kg. (rials)	Gross value of product (rials)
Wheat	2.5	170	10	4,250	6	25,500
Barley	0.1	160	12	197	4	768
Peas	0.1			88	9	792
Potatoes	0.1			85	6	510
Grain				68	4	272
Fallow	2.6					
Total	5.4					27,842

From Qārmāni's gross farming income of 27,842 rials we should deduct the following: 5,568 rials for the owner's share (on the basis of one-fifth); 2,816 rials for the cost of seeds; and 1,000 rials for the cost of labour. Thus his net annual income from farming is 18,458 rials (about

246 dollars). In addition to this, Qārmani earns 5,500 rials from 4 cows and 2 sheep which he owns jointly with his brother. If we count this his total income would amount to 23,958 rials (about 319 dollars) which, divided between the 3 members of his family, would give a per capita income of 7,986 rials (a little more than 102 dollars). However, in reality Qārmani does not take advantage of the money he earns from livestock raising because his brother has taken on the responsibility of providing the livelihood of their old mother. So the actual per capita income of his family is 6,153 rials or about 82 dollars.

Ten of the families of Sālehābād are *xoshmeshins* who earn their living as agricultural labourers, from livestock raising, or from work outside the village. We learned from the villagers that the heads of 5 of these families work as agricultural labourers for the *nasaq*-holders and jointly earn an annual income of about 60,000 rials, while 5 others combine agricultural labour with work in a quarry situated 2 kilometres to the north of the village and earn a total of 67,000 rials per annum. Thus the division of village income between the *nasaq*-holders' farming income, the *xoshmeshins*' income from farm labouring and other activities, and the income from livestock raising is as follows:

Farming income of <i>nasaq</i> -holders	928,228 rials
Income of <i>xoshmeshins</i>	127,000 rials
Income from livestock	<u>25,000 rials</u>
Total income of village	1,305,228 rials

Thus the per capita income of the village population (187) is 2,980 rials (93 dollars).

Social, Educational and Health Conditions in Sālehābād

The 187 inhabitants of Sālehābād are Sunni Kurds and are divided into 26 households. Few can speak Fārsi and only 6 of the men and no women are literate. No-one knows anything about mechanics, pest control or the use of chemical fertilizers, and there are no drivers amongst the villagers who go to the nearby town of Saqqez on foot. This is a journey which they make fairly frequently since Sālehābād has no village shop, no place to buy kerosene, no bath-house, no clinic or doctor, and no flour mill (the only one was closed last year). The usual fuel is animal dung but

kerosene is used for samovars and lamps. Drinking water is obtained from a nearby spring.

The level of education in the village is very low and, although a school was founded 2 years ago, only 10 of the 20 eligible children (between the ages of 7 and 14) attend it. All are boys. Last year a mobile cinema came to the village once or twice and showed films on agriculture, livestock raising and hygiene.

The major illnesses encountered in Sālehābād are malaria, trachoma, smallpox, scalp disease, and dysentery. The doctor makes a visit once a month to help in the fight against malaria and last year the villagers were vaccinated against smallpox. The children suffer a lot from these diseases and during the last three months three of them died from dysentery. The doctor takes a fee of 500 rials for visiting a bedridden patient in the village. Childbirth is attended by two local midwives who seek the aid of the doctor in emergencies.

There is no co-operative society in Sālehābād as yet and although the extension worker calls once every two or three months, he has accomplished very little as yet. The village agent of Āltun also makes a visit once every two months. The landlords development share has not been collected, although to be fair it has been agreed that he will pay his last year's due along with this year's 2 per cent.

Change in Sālehābād over the past Ten Years

1. In the earlier report the population of the village was put at 198 divided into 22 households. In the 1335 (1956) census it was listed as 160 and in our study it has been calculated at 187. In our opinion it is not possible that the population has declined over the past 10 years because the amount of land cultivated by the villagers has actually increased. It seems that, unless there are causes for decline which we could not discover, the figure offered in the early report was a mistake.
2. Ten years ago there were 15 *gāvbandis* 5 of which were farmed by the landlords and 10 of which were in the hands of 8 *nasaq*-holding families. Now the number of *gāvbandis* has increased to 37 *joft* of which 10 *joft* are farmed by the landlords and 27 by 17 *nasaq*-holding families. The reason for this increase is that hitherto unutilised land has been cultivated.
3. Because of the increase of the area of cultivated land there has also

been an increase in the number of *nasaq*-holding families (from 8 to 17). The number of *xoshneshin* families has declined from 14 to 10. Thus 4 of the 9 families who have become *nasaq*-holders during this period were previously *xoshneshins*. In all probability the other 5 have gained *nasaq*-holding rights through inheritance or the division of the units of land held by the original families.

4. The 27 *jofts* held by the *nasaq*-holders include a total area of 304 hectares, and 10 *jofts* farmed by the landlords include about 112 hectares. Thus the total area of cultivated land in the village is 416 hectares. The villagers were of the opinion that this represents an increase over the amount they cultivated 10 years ago but, because there is no mention of the previous area in the earlier report, we cannot give any exact figures.

5. Ten years ago 4 landlords were reported in the village while at present there are 5. Of the 10 *jofts* of land in their hands Haji 'Ali owns 3, Haji Sheikh 3, Haji Sheikh Behā'eddin 3, and Hassan Islāmi 1. The fifth landlord, Mirzā 'Ali, farms no land himself.

6. The relationship between landlord and peasant described in the earlier report has changed somewhat. The *bigāri* and other tributes which were prevalent then have now disappeared and, despite the fact that the landlords have paid neither their development share nor the farmers extra share in the product, their influence in the village has declined a great deal.

7. The previous survey reports that the seed output of wheat was 1:15, that of barley 1:7 and that of rye 1:9. No difference between the output on irrigated and dry land was calculated. At the time we visited the village this limited variety of products had increased a great deal, as can be seen from Table 1. In this report we should also note that over the past 10 years there has been a definite trend towards growing more profitable crops such as tobacco, potatoes and peas.

8. Because of the increase in the area of cultivable land and the decline in the landlords' material privileges, the income of both the *nasaq*-holders and the *xoshneshins* has increased. Ten years ago, the income of each of the 7 *nasaq*-holding families was 5,376 rials (about 72 dollars), and their per capita income was about 8 dollars. The average income of each of the *xoshneshin* families was 2,970 rials (about 40 dollars) and their average per capita income, leaving out the earnings from livestock raising, was approximately 4.5 dollars. The present survey put the annual per capita income of the *nasaq*-holding families at 104 dollars (including earnings

from livestock raising), a 13-fold increase, and that of nonworking families at 2,806 rials or about 36 dollars.

9. A school has been founded in recent years but all the eligible children do not attend it. The village is still without a bath-house and there have been few changes in its social system.



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پرتال جامع علوم انسانی

FORD FOUNDATION REPORTS

Ostān: Kermānshāhān

Shahrestān: Qorveh

Village: Serishābād

Date of Survey: 1954

In the upland Zāgros area of Qorveh midway between Hamādān and Sanandaj there is sufficient rainfall to grow winter cereal crops without irrigation. There is, moreover, summer water for the irrigation of vineyards which flourish around most of the villages. In the village of Serishābād, which is inhabited by Turkish speaking people, there are 500 families. Of these 310 families hold wheat land and vineyards, 26 families hold only grain land, and the remaining 70 families subsist only on returns of the vineyards and by daily labour in the grain fields. The village is owned by a member of the former royal family of Irān, the Qājārs. It is to his credit that he has been very correct in his payment of the 10 per cent return under the Increase of Farmer's Share Law.

Each of the 310 *gāvbandis* plant 800 kilograms of wheat seed and 100 kilograms of barley seed. The return is as follows:

800 kgs. wheat seed x 6:1 return = 4,800 kgs. wheat at 4 rials per kg.
= 19,200 rials.

100 kgs. barley seed x 4:1 return = 400 kgs. barley seed at 2 rials per kg.=800 rials.

The total income per *gāvbandi* for the cereal crop is 20,000 rials minus 4,000 rials for landlord's share plus 10 per cent rebate under the Increase of Farmer's Share Law, or 16,400 rials per *gāvbandi*, multiplied by 310 *gāvbandis* equals 5,084,000 rials return for the village minus seed cost making a net return of 4,030,000 rials.

Three hundred and eighty families have approximately 2 hectares of vineyard each with a return of about 15,000 kilograms of grapes at 1½ rials per kilogram equaling 22,500 rials minus one-fifth for the landlord making 18,000 rials multiplied by 380 families making 6,840,000 rials.

The total income from grain and grapes for the village amounts to 10,870,000 and this, divided by 4,500 persons in the village, gives 2,415 rials per capita return. Labour is a considerable factor in this village,

but as the farm labourers are for the most part drawn from the village, labour costs will be elucidated but not deducted from the annual village return. Each *gāvbandi* has one *gāvbandi* head (here and in most of Irān this individual provides managerial service but not much labour), one permanent worker, usually a member of the *gāvbandi* owner's family, one man hired for ploughing and harvesting at 4,000 rials per season and an additional "hand" at harvest time for a reputed 2,000 rials (this last figure is probably high).

Expenses for 2 hectares of grapes for labour, spray, and fertilizer were estimated to be 12,000 rials, but there is reason to believe that this is high also since the farmers complained to the agricultural man with us that insect pests had attacked the grapes and they had not sprayed them.

It will be noted that as one goes towards the north in Irān the addition of an extra summer crop more often than not doubles the income of the family as compared to the one-crop cereal country of the south. In this village one can see the difference between a family which grows grain and grapes for a gross return of 34,440 rials per year and the family which grows only grain for a return of 16,400 rials per year (labour and seed costs excepted). With a more efficient use of labour, the 95 farm labour families whose earnings probably amount to no more than 5,000 rials per year could be dispensed with or their efforts devoted to livestock so that their low levels of earnings would not depress the village level.

As noted above, the 20 per cent due to the farmers and to the village council from the landlord by law has been duly paid. The village council has spent 23,000 rials on bathhouse and road repairs and still has 204,350 rials with which it plans to buy some medical supplies and to expand the 5-grade village school. Although the landlord of this village has not made a visit for 2 years, he has indicated his good intentions by returning the cultivator's share, and indigenous leadership is making itself apparent.

Ostan: Kermānshāhān
Shahrestān: Sanandaj
Village: Doshān

Date of Survey: 1954

The village of Doshān is located in Kurdestān about 10 kilometres south of Sanandaj. It is owned by Nemut Āssefi and is occupied by 40 families and 272 persons. The village is organised into 20 *gāvbandis*. The *gāvbandi* head owns the oxen, receives the farmer's share of the crop, and hires an average of 3 workers during ploughing and harvesting seasons paying them 3 tomans per day each in addition to feeding them. Each *gāvbandi* seeds 550 kilograms of wheat which on the average yields at a rate of 5:1 and 50 kilograms of barley which normally yield at a rate of 6:1. In addition they produce small amounts of peas, lentils, and *gāvāneh*, which is a grain for their livestock, and about 750 kilograms of clover hay for livestock feed.

The crops are all irrigated, at least to the extent of providing supplemental water, and are divided one-third to the landlord and two-thirds to the farmer. In addition each *gāvbandi* head pays a tribute of 750 rials and 6 kilograms of yoghurt each year to the landlord. The families without *gāvbandis* pay the landlord 10 tomans per year as house rent.

The villagers own 50 milch cows, 150 sheep and 50 goats. From this livestock production, in addition to yoghurt, milk and wool for their own consumption, the average *gāvbandi* sells 350 kilograms of yoghurt per year at 5 rials per kilogram and 2 lambs at 400 rials each. This income is not shared with the landlord.

The income of farm operators in Doshān can be summarised in the following manner:

2,750 kgs. of wheat at 3 rials per kg.	8,250 rials
300 kgs. of barley at 2 rials per kg.	<u>600 rials</u>
Crop income	8,850
Two-thirds of crop income to farmer	5,900
350 kgs. yoghurt at 5 rials	1,750

2 lambs at 400 rials each	<u>800</u>
Total income to farmer	8,450
For 3 hired workers at 1,500 rials each	<u>4,500</u>
Balance after paying workers	3,950
Less tribute paid to landlord	<u>750</u>
	3,200

Thus 20 family heads who operate *gāvbandis* achieve incomes of about 3,200 rials on which to support their families. Of the 60 other workers, about 20 are family heads and are employed as labourers earning about 1,500 rials each. The 40 additional labourers are largely members of the 40 family groups noted and thus add their earnings of about 1,500 rials to either the 3,200 rials or the 1,500 rials earned by the family head depending on whether he is a cultivator or a labourer.

There is no school in this village. However, the *mollā* explained that he was willing to teach any who wanted to learn. He reported that he taught 6 children in the summer and 26 in the winter and spring when labour requirements in connection farming operations were less demanding.

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Ostān: Kermānshāhān
Shahrestān: Sanandaj
Village: Qār

Date of Survey: 1954

In Kurdestān, about 10 kilometres south-east of Sanandaj, lies the village of Qār. This is one of 16 villages owned by the landlord. The only irrigation is that applied to the landlord's garden from a beautiful flowing spring, the agricultural land being entirely dry-farmed.

There are 20 *gāvbandis* in the village. Two are operated by the landlord with hired labour and the other 18 by cultivators who own 2 oxen each and receive all of the farmer's share. Ten *gāvbandis* work with family labour but the other 8 do not have large enough families and are compelled to employ wage labour to the extent of about 2,000 rials each per year. The villagers indicated that a cultivator with one pair of oxen and average amount of family labour could farm an extra one-third if the land were only available.

Each *gāvbandi* grows 350 kilograms of wheat with an average yield of 3:1, or 1,050 kilograms, and 100 kilograms of barley with an average yield of 4:1, or 400 kilograms. One-fifth of this production goes to the landlord and four-fifths to the farmer. In addition each *gāvbandi* pays the landlord 60 rials tribute, and provides the landlord with 4 man-days of free labour. Each *gāvbandi* also pays 15 kilograms of wheat to the "government" *kaxodā*.

Thus the *gāvbandi* income is normally as follows:

1,050 kgs. of wheat at 5 rials per kg.	5,250 rials
400 kgs. of barley at 3 rials per kg.	<u>1,200</u>
	6,450
One-fifth share to landlord	1,290
Four-fifths to <i>gāvbandi</i>	5,160
Less 60 rials tribute	<u>60</u>
Income of 10 <i>gāvbandis</i> hiring no labour	5,100
Labour cost of 8 <i>gāvbandis</i>	<u>2,000</u>
Income of 8 <i>gāvbandis</i> hiring labour	3,100 rials

In addition to this crop production, the villagers own 25 milch cows, 150 sheep and goats, and 17 donkeys. The donkeys are used for transportation and the livestock products from cows, sheep, and goats, are used for food and fibre in the village. While these products do not contribute to the villagers' cash income they do enhance their level of living somewhat.

The villagers indicated that the landlord could assign them different land each year or could evict a cultivator from the village at his pleasure "even in winter" although he has not exercised this right during the past 3 years. The closest school is 10 kilometers away at Sanandaj and no children in the village attend it.



Ostān: Kermānshāhān (Kurdestān)*

Shahrestan: Kurdestān (Saqqez)

Village: Sālehābād

Date of Survey: 1954

Very few places are left in the modern world where a system of tributes and forced labour for a landowner still remains, but the area around Saqqez in northern Kurdestān is one of these. Here is what each *gāvbandi* in the village of Sālehābād pays the landlord in the form of tribute each year: 200 rials in cash; 8 chickens; 340 kilograms of rye husks; 240 kilograms of fertilizer, and 30 man-days of free labour on the landlord's land.

This village has only 22 families, but they are large, averaging 9 members each. There are 15 *gāvbandis* (work units) but 5 of these are owned by the landlord, who receives the whole of their product since the villagers must donate the work free. The production statistics work out as follows:

Each *gāvbandi* seeds: 256 kgs. of wheat with a return of 15:1, sold in this area at 3 rials per kg. = 11,520 rials.

80 kgs. of barley with 320 kgs. return at $1\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. = 480 rials.

90 kgs. of peas with 7:1 return at $4\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. = 1,635 rials.

90 kgs. of rye with a 9:1 return at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rials per kg. = 2,025 rials.

So the gross income of a *gāvbandi* is 15,660 rials.

From this amount one-fifth, or 3,132 rials, goes to the landlord; 192 rials goes to the *kārxodā*; 5,760 rials goes for the labour of 2 men in the *gāvbandi* (2 men for 8 months at 500 rials cash and 960 kilograms of wheat). This leaves the *gāvbandi* head 5,576 rials for his year's work minus 200 rials cash he must pay the landlord, or a net of 5,376 rials.

The labourer within the *gāvbandi* receives 3,880 rials minus 48 rials he must pay the *kārxodā*, leaving 3,832 rials.

The *kārxodā* receives 11,152 rials from his ownership of 2 *gāvban-*

* At the time this report was written Kurdestān was part of the Ostān of Kermānshāhan. Since (1344) 1955 the two have been separated.

plus 192 rials apiece from the 8 other *gāvbandi* heads, plus 960 rials from the labourers, which makes a total of 13,648 rials.

The land is owned by 4 absentee landlords whose income is as follows:

i) Total production of 5 forced labour <i>gāvbandis</i>	78,300 rials
ii) One-fifth share of 3,132 rials from 10 <i>gāvbandis</i>	31,320 rials
iii) 200 rials tribute from each of 10 <i>gāvbandis</i>	<u>2,000 rials</u>
Net return	110,660 rials

The village is divided into 96 shares, one share being 1/96th of 110,660 rials or 1,152½ rials. Thus the distribution among the landlords (who are actually members of one extended family) is:

Landlord A with 40 shares	46,100 rials
Landlord B with 6 shares	6,915 rials
Landlord C with 19 shares	21,897 rials
Landlord D with 31 shares	35,727 rials

The gross income of a *gāvbandi* is 12,528 rials after deducting the landlord's share. This amount multiplied by 10 *gāvbandis* gives the net income of the village, 125,280 rials. This divided by a population of 198 in the village equals 633 rials per capita income.

It is evident, however, that only the 8 *gāvbandi* families have an income of 5,376 rials. The other 14 families are *xoshneshins* whose income is 960 kilograms of wheat and 500 rials cash, that is 2,980 rials. It is quite obvious that if these families did not have a cow and a few sheep they would starve straight away. The social conditions are what one might expect at this income level; no school, no bath-house, no 10 per cent return for village improvement from the landlord. The local Ministry of Interior officials here, the *farmāndār* and the *basshdār*, are weak and lack both the will and the power to alleviate these conditions; the multitude of army officials are interested only in maintaining order; and the landlords are interested only in their pound of flesh. It is not to be wondered that these poor people grow restive under such conditions.

GLOSSARY

- barsegar* This is a term used for agriculture 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, *barsegar* 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 corvee.
- 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.
- fard-gāv* Equal to half a *juft gāv*.
- 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 Iranian 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

TAHQIQĀT-E EQTESĀDI

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*.

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