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VILLAGE LIFE IN NORTH EAST KHORASAN, IRAN

A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT.

Submitted for the degree of Master of Arts
of Durham University,
April 1966.

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G.N. Taylor,

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G.N. Taylor.

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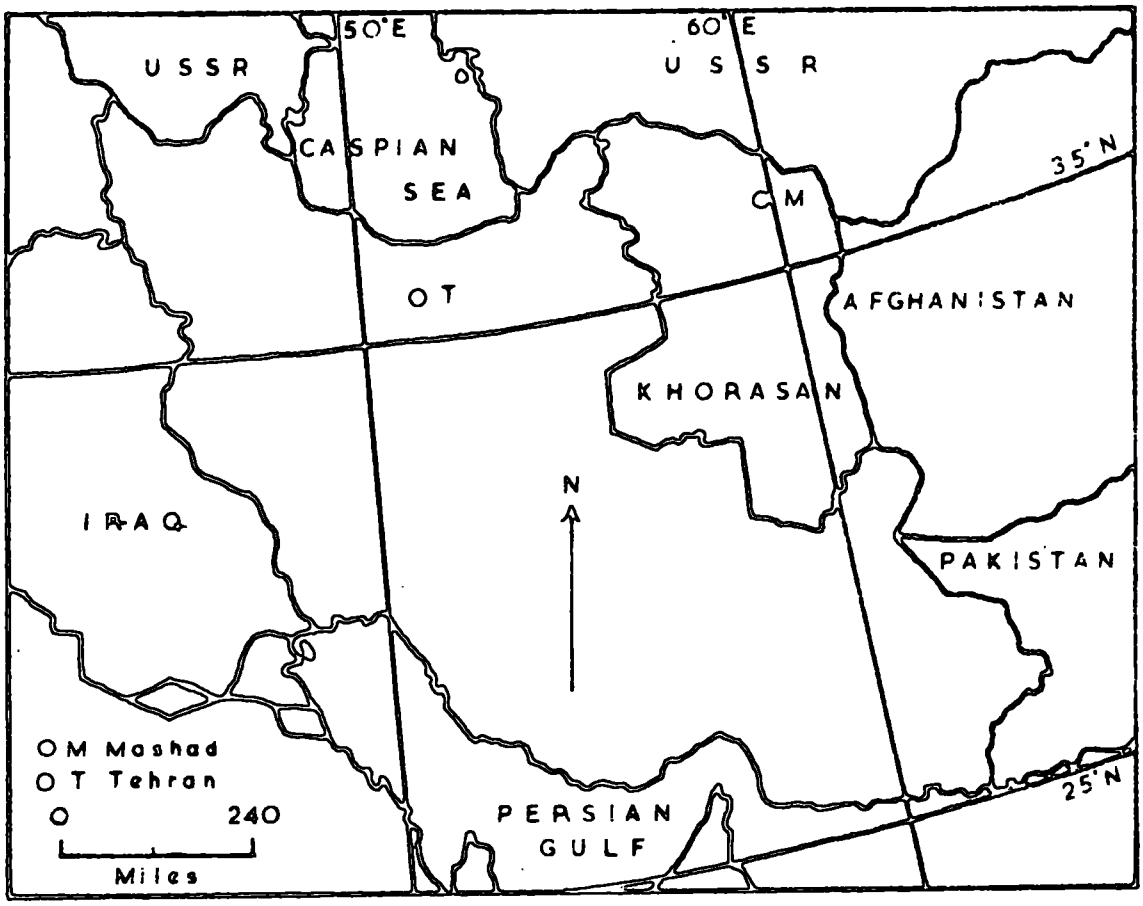


MAP I. Iran showing Khorasan

MAP 2 Khorasan Ostan — Shahestans & Mashad area
Dehestans

Key to Dehestans.

1. Torghabeh
2. Bizaki
3. Ardameh
4. Shandiz
5. Golmakan
6. Cheneran
7. Radkan
8. Darzab
9. Choola'i
10. Kalat
11. Pasakooh
12. Tabadkan
13. Biveh'zhan
14. Pa'invalayat
15. Sarakhs
16. Sarjam
17. Fariman
18. Mianvalayat

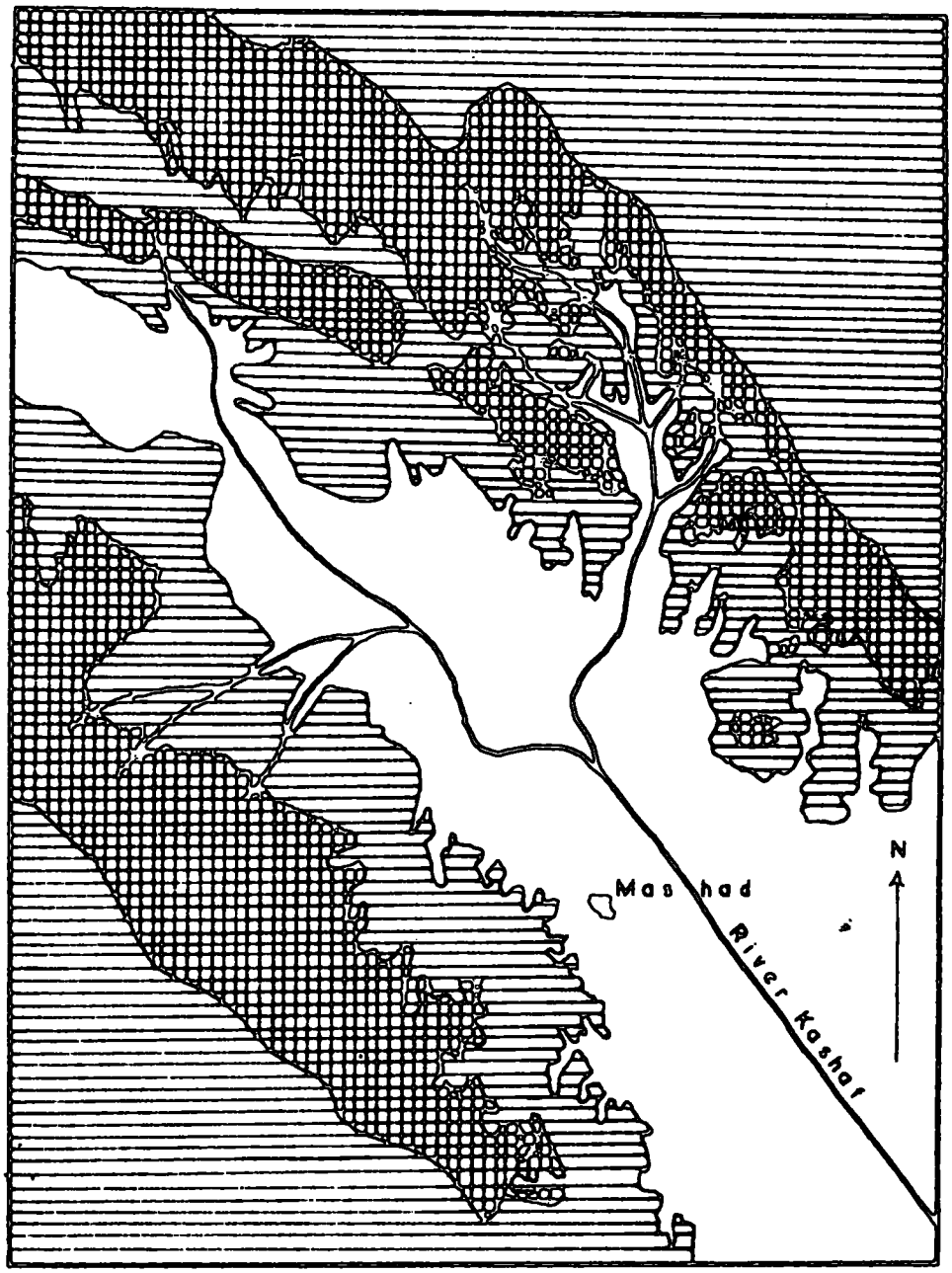
PART ONE - GENERAL.

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

The country of Iran, of Persia, consists of 14 provinces (ostans) of which the ninth in the official government order is that of Khorasan, which covers the north-eastern corner of the country. It has common boundaries with the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan as well as with the ostans of Mazandaran-Gorgan, Esfahan-Yazd, Kerman and Baloochestan-Sistan, and so occupies a strategic position in the country. Each ostan is divided into a number of districts (shahestans), each administered locally under direction from the ostan centre which in turn puts into operation orders transmitted by the central government in Tehran. The Mashad ostan is divided into 14 shahestans. These are approximately comparable with the Census Districts used by the 1956 National Census though details of the boundaries do vary in a few cases. In addition, the boundaries of shahestans were revised in 1959 and two extra added to the number in the Khorasan ostan.

The area dealt with in this thesis is very little known geographically and until recently was very inaccessible. Travel to and within the region is still not easy. The ostan and shahestan centre of Mashad is situated in the flat irrigated valley of the Kashaf Rood, which is flanked by hills. This is essentially an area containing one very large and dominant town, i.e. Mashad itself, a very few towns, each containing over 1,000

MAP 3 Mashad area — Relief.



Over 5000 feet

4000 to 5000 feet

3000 to 4000 feet

0 8

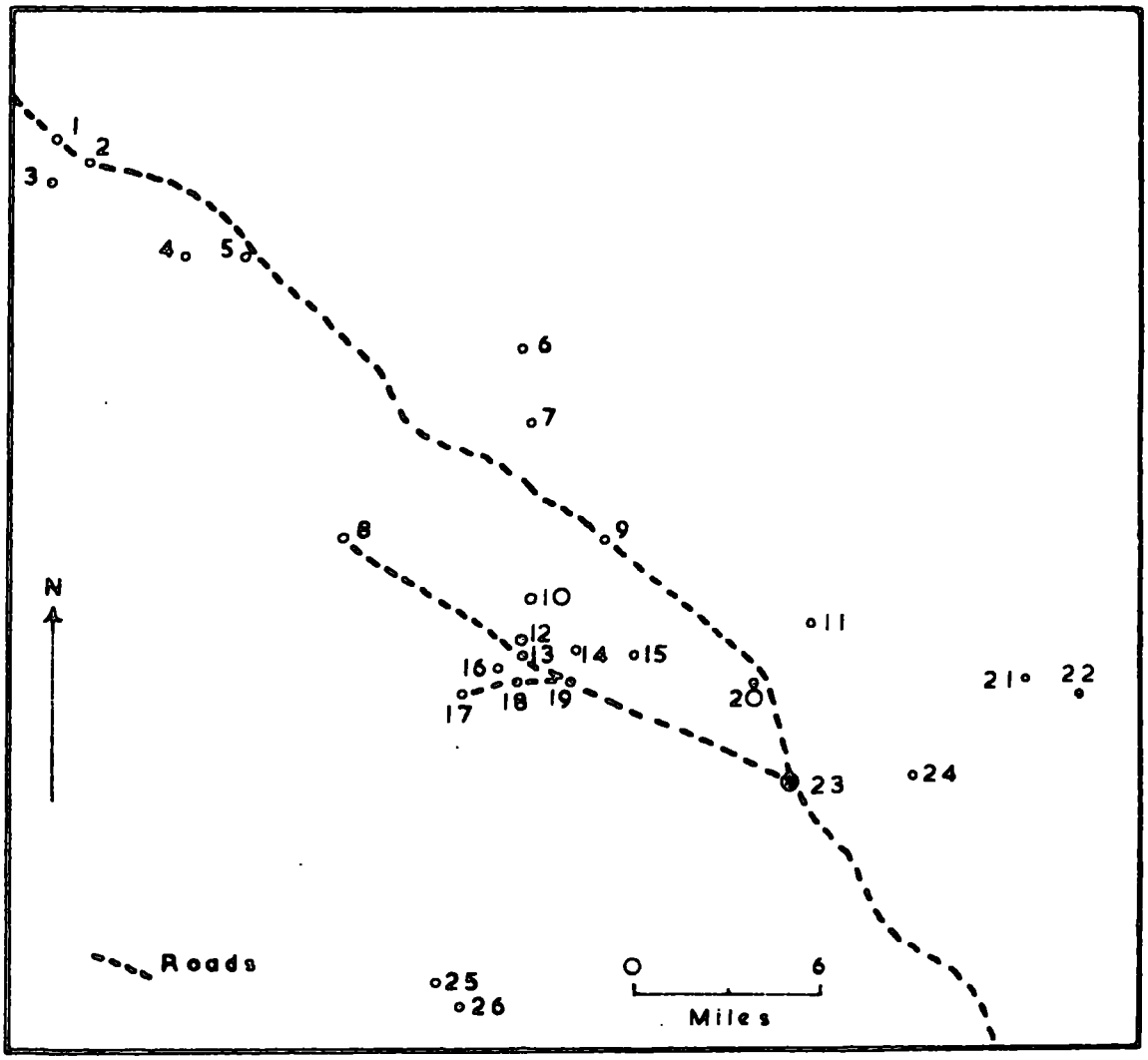
Miles

inhabitants, and over eleven hundred villages, mostly in the valley itself.

It is a predominantly agricultural area, the vast majority of the village population being dependent on agriculture either directly as cultivators of the soil or indirectly by meeting the needs of these people. Traditionally this is a region in which the social system is rigidly divided into landlords and peasants with only a few peasant proprietors. There is a complete lack of a middle class between these two extremes, even the person acting as the landlord's representative in the villages being very little above the level of the peasants with whom he has contact. Efforts are being made by the Iranian government in this area as in the rest of the country to change this system though it seems as if the process will take a very long time to break the pattern which has prevailed for centuries.

Throughout the whole area for the great majority of the population life is difficult in the extreme. Wages and hygiene are at a very low level while education and medical facilities are very scanty if they exist at all. Because payment for all kinds of work is very low education and medicine are both beyond the means of the peasant population as well as being distrusted as is everything new and different in this region. In the province of social services efforts are being made to improve conditions but once again this is very slow

process, much of the opposition coming from the peasants themselves.



MAP 4. Villages referred to in text.

Key to Villages on Map 4.

1. Cheneran
2. Haji Nasir
3. Jam Ab
4. Shah Abad
5. Bid Abid
6. Mordar Keshan
7. Kalatehe Ali
8. Shandiz
9. Haji Abad Mianvalayat
10. Piyani
11. Kashaf
12. Dehnow Targhobeh
13. Bilder
14. Chahashk
15. Ghasem Abad Targhobeh
16. Now Chah Targhobeh
17. Targhobeh
18. Golestane Targhobeh
19. Vakilabad
20. Abkooh
21. Abolkhair
22. Morghanoo
23. MASHAD
24. Talgerd Tabadakan
25. Morghan Ardameh
26. Khanrood

CHAPTER II - DEMOGRAPHY.[1]

THE total population of the Mashad Census District according to the 1956 Iranian National Census was 528,303 of whom 241,989 lived in the city of Mashad itself. Of the remainder 1,677 were classified as migrant tribes while the other rural residents all lived in settlements containing 5,000 people. This is an indication of the dominance which the city of Mashad has in this region. The 284,637 village inhabitants had an average density of 10.6 per square kilometre, but this figure obscures regional differences. Large parts of the eastern portion of the Census District are virtually uninhabited while the greatest concentration of population is in the valley of the Kashaf Rood to the north and south of Mashad itself. It should be noted that the Mashad Census District and the administrative unit known as Mashad shahestan are not co-extensive.

The area designed 'Rest of the District' in the Census, i.e. the Census District excluding Mashad City, consists of 1,175 villages. However, the Central Census Office in Tehran readily admitted that the Census was by no means realiable in that some villages had almost certainly been ommitted by the enumerators while the figures for many of the others were unreliable. While keeping these considerations in mind it is possible to obtain a reasonable picture of the District in 1956.

As in many areas the population of this region is

1. Figures based on National Census, 1956.

A typical group of village men and boys in Kashaf.

subject to movements of various kinds, and evidence of this was found. In 1960 the landlord of Mordar Keshan brought thirty two families into the village from the Nishaboor area where there was apparently a shortage of work. These families have now made Mordar Keshan their permanent home. In addition the inhabitants of two or more villages may live in one village especially if the land attached to these seperate villages is amalgamated.

Throughout the Census District there is an excess male population, especially in the villages where it is 28.5 per 1,000 as opposed to 14.2 per 1,000 in Mashad itself. This is especially true of the older age groups and is a reflection of the much harder life and consequent earlier death of village women. The excess in the city can also be accounted for by the fact that Mashad has an almost permanent group of men from the villages who are looking for work in Mashad. Some of this male excess, though certainly not all of it, may be due to the feeling among the villagers that sons are more important than daughters and are therefore much more likely to have been declared to the Census emumerators. This, of course, would not account for the difference in the older age groups.

Of the total village population 49.1 per cent of the males and 49.2 per cent of the females were aged less than 20 years while only 4.4 per cent males and 3.1 per cent females were over the age of 65 years. This obvious-

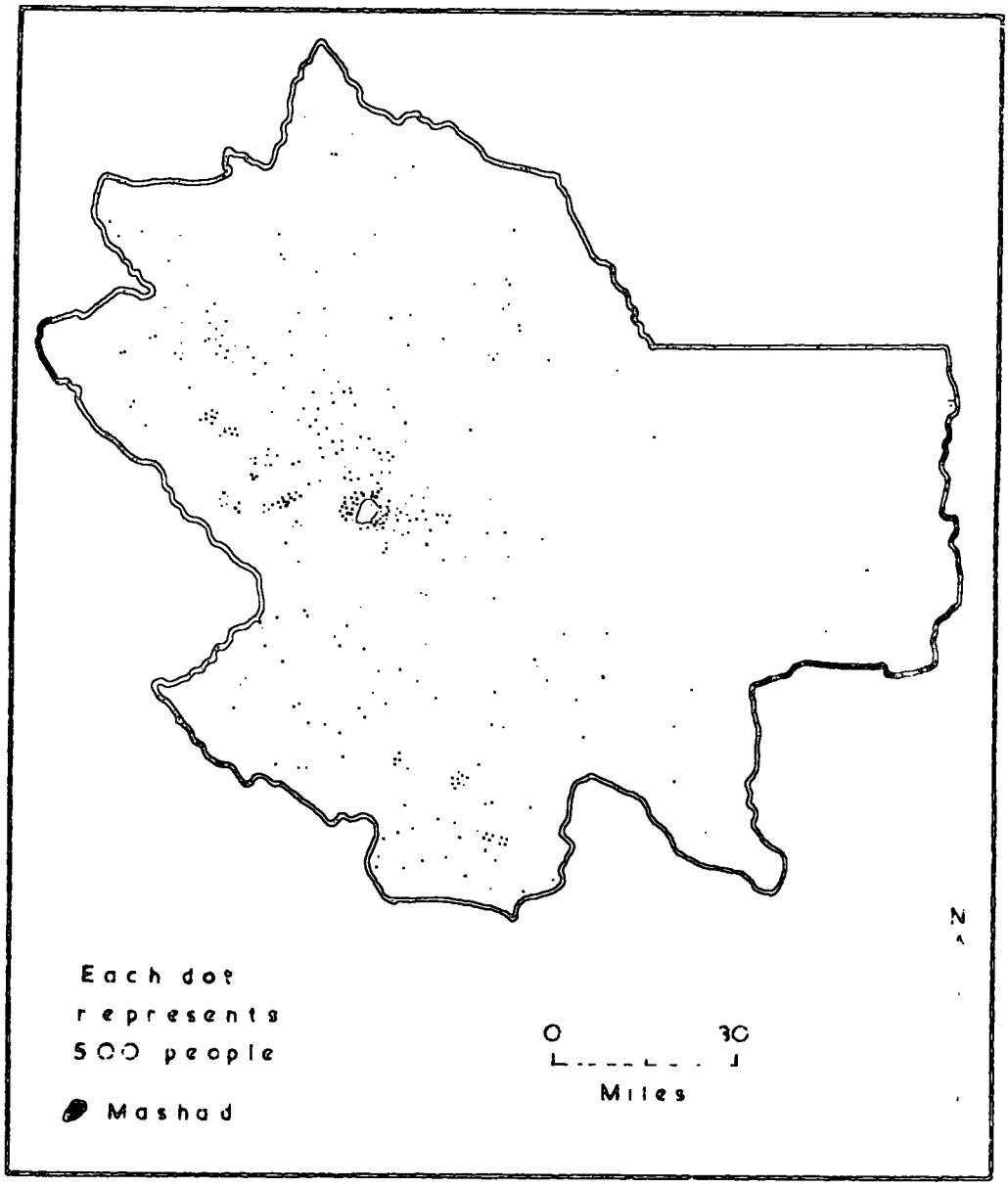
ly indicates a high birth rate and a relatively short expectation of life. In the villages it was readily admitted that the number of surviving children is always much smaller than the number born. A family without a child which died in infancy, and especially in the first few months of its life, is an exception (see Part II), and many parents could not recollect accurately how many babies they had lost. The very high infant mortality rate is indicated by the following figures:-

Total both sexes less than 10 years of age	91,576
Total both sexes between 10 and 20 years of age	48,947

A child less than ten years of age is as likely to die before reaching that age as he is to survive. Generally speaking the longer a child survives the greater are his chances of ultimately becoming an adult.

In most villages the majority of the families are all related to each other in some way. Men generally choose their wives from their own village, though the greater opportunities which now present themselves for meeting people from other villages is likely to make this less true in the future. When the young couple establish their own home it is generally in the husband's village, though this is not always the case. There is no evidence that these village communities have ever practised endogamy. In Chahashk all families in the village belong to one or other of extended families.

Of the male population over ten years of age 84.4



MAP 5 Population Distribution in Mashad
Shahestar - from National Census

per cent were classed as being employed in 1956, 2 per cent were unemployed and about 14 per cent were neither working nor looking for it. Many of this latter category are boys at school but in the villages this number is very small. Of the women in the same age group 86.2 per cent were housewives while only 4.8 per cent were in paid employment. The majority of the remainder can be accounted by young girls who had not yet married and spent their time helping their mothers at home, and so were not yet classified as housewives.

Of the men employed in the villages 77 per cent were directly concerned in agriculture while only 8 per cent were employed in manufacturing. For Mashad City the per centages are 6 and 29 respectively. Since these figures were collected in 1956 there have been economic difficulties in Iran and this area has not escaped them. In 1963 all the indications were that the percentage of unemployed men was somewhat higher than it had been seven years previously.

Throughout this area the age of marriage of the different sexes differs greatly as the following figures show:-

Age	Male	Female	(% of age groups married)
15-19	2.6	42.8	
20-24	32.8	90.2	
25-34	78.9	96.0	
35-44	93.8	89.6	

45-54	93.7	68.8
55-64	90.1	45.7
65-74	84.6	30.0
75-84	76.5	20.9
Over 85	68.0	13.5

In general women marry much younger than men and ten or more years difference in the ages of husband and wife is by no means uncommon even among the landlord class. The higher number of old married men is partly due to their marrying wives younger than themselves but also to the quick remarriage of men after death or divorce. By contrast widowed women find it very difficult to obtain another husband and for divorced women remarriage is virtually impossible.

The average size of a village household in this area is 4.22 persons compared with 4.45 for the city of Mashad. When the size of household is compared with the number of literate persons which it contains it is seen that the greater the number of literates the larger the size of household:-

Literates	Average size of household
None	3.9
One person	4.6
Two persons	5.8
Three or more persons	6.6

This increase is size of household with literacy has been noticed in similar societies by several workers and can

be attributed to a variety of factors. In this region the main factor seems to be that a literate person earns a larger wage usually and so is in an economic position to support a larger number of persons. He can also afford medical attention more easily than an ordinary illiterate village family and so some of his children who would otherwise have died in infancy now survive. Part of the increased size of household is almost certainly due to the fact that these people are, in general, able to employ servants who thus become members of the household. Very occasionally a man with a higher wage than is usual in this area may find that he has to support some of his less fortunate relatives who come to live with him.

Although the great majority of the people in the villages are born, marry and die in the same village there is some population movement. As the only figures which are available are for the whole of the Mashad Census District the actual amount of movement in the rural areas is very difficult to judge, but it is very likely that the majority of the people who do move do so between the city of Mashad and other parts of Iran. The 1956 figures for the place of birth of the then population of the District are as follows:-

Born in Mashad Census District	85.25 %
Born in contiguous shahrestans	3.9 %
Born in other shahrestans in Iran	10.25 %
Born abroad	0.6 %

Almost half of those from contiguous shahestans were from Torbatehe Haydari, while Yazd provided by far the greatest number from other shahestans. Of those born abroad approximately one-half were from Afghanistan.

The picture which emerges from the 1956 National Census Report on this area is of a predominantly agricultural population with a high birth and death and very low literacy rate, the vast majority of whom have lived in this area all their lives. In the following chapters an attempt will be made to describe in greater details various aspects of their life.

CHAPTER III - THE VILLAGE AND ITS LIFE.

In this area there are two distinct types of village settlement, the type depending on its position in relation to topography. The commonest type is that found in the plain area of the Kashaf Rud valley, and built of mud with an occasional building of sun-dried brick, the whole being surrounded by a mud wall with a single gate. The wall is a relic of the days when it was needed for defence against invaders from Central Asia using the easy route provided by the Kashaf Rud valley. Villages being built or rebuilt at the present time still retain the wall despite its obsolescence as a defensive feature although it does have a utilitarian function in preventing the village animals from straying during the night. In the not too distant past it also acted as a barrier to wolves and other predators. In the valley itself material suitable for building other than mud is extremely scarse. The sun soon dries the mud brick-hard and so this local and abundantly available raw material is used almost exclusively. Any brick buildings in a village tend to be the most important ones, viz. the mosque, bath-house, and occasionally the headman's house.

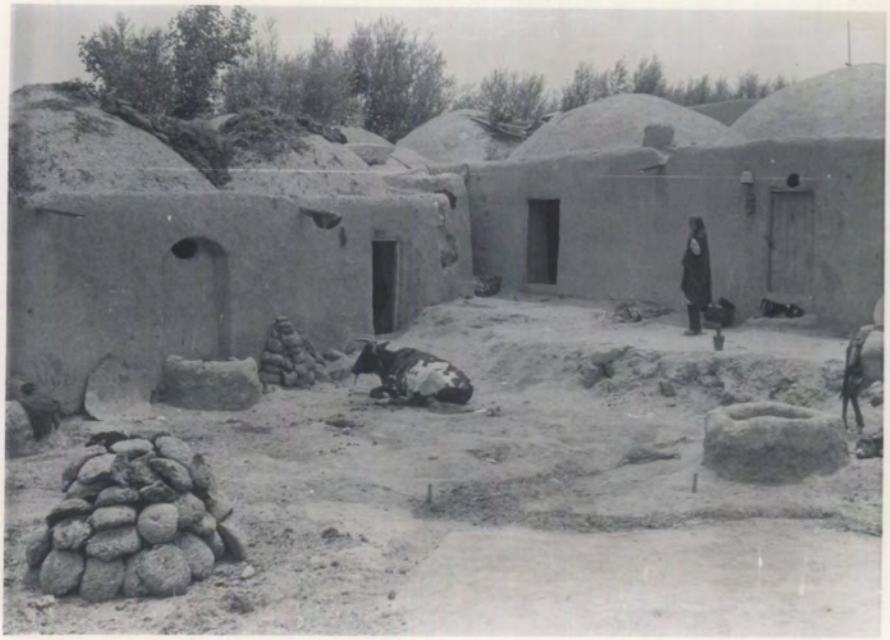
Villages in the hills to the north-east and south-west of the valley make a much greater use of timber in construction and are generally without the surrounding wall. The absence of this feature can be attributed to the difficulty of constructing such a wall in a hilly region

Hill country typical of this area - S.W.of Mashad.

Hill village N.B.flat roofs and greater use of wood.

and also to the position of the village away from the main invasion route. The use of timber, now a possibility because of the greater ease with which trees can be grown, enables the inhabitants to built larger buildings, many of them being two-storied, the latter being a very rare sight in the valley villages. In addition hill villages often make use of stone which is much more readily available than in the valley. By contrast to the valley mud suitable for building is less easily obtained and so is used less widely and abundantly.

A typical plain village is very difficult to define each possessing a particular character of its own but a village which shows many typical features is Kashaf north of Mashad. This village is built of mud except for the house of sun-dried brick inhabited by the village foreman. The latter is much bigger than the usual village house of two rooms each 12 feet square, containing six rooms. The small two-roomed house which is the home of the vast majority of peasants has an outer and an inner room. The former is used for sleeping, eating and is only lived in fully during the cold winter months or during periods of bad weather. It has a door leading to the village courtyard in which many of the daily tasks are performed. The second room is entered by a low door from the outer room and is utilised in most households as a storeroom. All houses in Kashaf are built in terrace fashion either against the outer wall of the village or in a row in the



Typical village scenes in the Kashaf Rud valley

N.B.the dome-shaped roofs.

courtyard. In most houses each room has a domed roof which may or not be concealed from view inside the room by a ceiling of wooden poles covered with straw and dried grass. In a few cases the highest point of the dome has been left open to increase the amount of light reaching the gloomy interior and to allow the escape of smoke from the fire if it is kindled indoors. Windows are few in number and small in size.

The courtyard in and around which these houses are built is used for tethering of cattle and other animals, usually the younger ones (see Chapter VI). In addition many activities of daily life by the women and craftsmen take place in the courtyard although this very rarely leads to true co-operation between families in these tasks. Much of the courtyard consists of a series of mounds and depressions caused by the use of the earth forming the courtyard as the raw material for the construction and repair of buildings. Around the edges of the courtyard, often in very close proximity to the houses, low walls of mud have been built to serve as folds for animals. The village granaries, toilets and bread ovens are all situated in the courtyard, again very close to each other and to the housing and folds, a situation which makes even the most elementary hygiene very difficult.

While this is typical of many of the villages in this area several important differences are found in some

other villages. Some have two or more courtyards, each surrounded by a mud wall and containing a group of houses, ovens, toilets, etc. Whether this is a relic from a past era when the village contained different social or other groups is now impossible to determine as no evidence could be found that the inhabitants of the different courtyards varied from each other in any way. A few villages are without houses with domed roofs, the roofs being flat and of mud laid on wooden poles placed on top of the walls. The majority of villages have a mixture of domed and flat roofs. Domed roofs being a more complicated structure have to be built by a craftsman while the flat roofs can quite easily be constructed by the villager himself. The former are therefore more costly and very often the only buildings with domed roofs in the village have been constructed by the landlord or lessee.

A small number of villages have a much more recently built section. In Morghanoo the old and new parts of the village are completely separated from each other though adjacent. The newly built area was started in 1958 and contains much the best accommodation in the village and many of the amenities of the village. Although the accommodation is vastly superior there is no difference in the status or in-come of the villagers inhabiting this section, except for the headman. The new houses are equipped with wooden window frames, a rarity in Khorasan villages, and with chimneys, again a very unusual feature

Piles of dung fuel outside stables.

in village houses. Despite these innovations the rooms still retain the traditional domed roof and are still built in terraces against the village wall. Roofed toilets have been provided in the ratio of one toilet to two houses, a much higher ratio than is usual in villages. Two of the houses were unfinished, apparently because of a lack of finance.

Each family possesses at least one stable for its animals. In many cases the only thing which distinguishes a stable from the living accommodation is the absence of light when the door is closed. As in the case of houses stables can have wither domed or flat roofs according to the wishes or financial position of the owner. In most villages the stables are separate from the houses although arranged in a terrace. However, stables which have been built since the village was originally founded tend to be built in any convenient spot in the courtyard. A few villages possess a large stable for the village sheep or for sheep from other villages as at Kalatehe Ali (see Chapter VI). In the hill villages about to be described the stable tends to be in very close proximity to the house and very often is part of the ground floor of the latter.

The hill village is typified by Khanrood which is situated south-west of Mashad. This is one of five villages in a small valley and is situated on a south-facing slope which obviously helps then in agriculture.

In addition the village also receives some shelter from the bitter cold winter winds and their accompanying snow. In this village the widespread use of wood can be attributed to the local production of timber (see Chapter VII), a feature which Khanrood has in common with several hill villages. It has been possible to construct larger and in many cases two-storied houses, a type of construction impossible with mud alone. In most cases the family use the upper storey as living quarters leaving the ground floor as storage space and for the use of the animals. This ground floor room also contains the family toilet which seems to be for the exclusive use of the family itself. This is in direct contrast to the villages in the Kashaf Rood valley where toilets are communal, most being shared by several families. Khanrood contains a number of toilets which act as 'public conveniences' in addition.

The absence of a central courtyard due to the topography causes much more of the daily work to take place indoors. The rectilinear plan of valley villages is impossible to adhere to in the hill areas, the houses facing each other across narrow winding streets. The absence of a wall round the village also means that there are several routes which can be taken to and from the village, the one chosen being the most suitable to the immediate task.

The interior decoration and furnishing of village

houses in this region of Khorasan whether in the Kashaf Rud valley or in the flanking hills is entirely dependent on the income of the particular family. As the vast majority of village families are extremely poor and usually very deeply in debt (see Chapter IV) houses are usually undecorated and furnished with the bare minimum of essentials. A few houses have unframed pictures on the wall, usually from magazines and very often of the Shah. One family in Kashaf has large areas of its walls covered by poor class draperies.

Tables and chairs are unknown except in some of the headmen's houses, eating and drinking taking place communally round the food which is placed on a cloth, often of plastic, in the centre of the floor. Floor coverings vary from old pieces of sacking placed on the bare earth floor to reasonably new if not high-class carpets and rugs, depending on the financial position of the family. Headmen, receiving a much higher income than other villagers, generally have better furnishings than other inhabitants of their village. The headman of Ghasem Abad possessed a quite good quality carpet and in addition the walls were plastered, a very unusual feature in a village dwelling. For sleeping the family unroll a pile of bedding and lay it on the floor. During the day this is placed against the wall of the room and serves as a soft backrest for people sitting on the floor. Very small babies are occasionally provided with cradles slung

like a hammock.

In many villages the inhabitants of larger and better built houses have made some attempt at curtaining the windows, several houses in Kalatehe Ali having wrought iron grills and one even had a makeshift venetian blind made from cane. These attempts to relieve the otherwise stark appearance of the windows are entirely decorative in purpose, the curtains having no utilitarian function.

In all houses in the vast majority of villages lighting is by means of paraffin lamps though these are now being supplemented to a varying degree by hurricane lanterns which give a very much better light although they are much harder to light. No village in this area possesses a gas supply or piped water and only part of Haji Nasir had an electricity supply. Electricity is also available in the newer part of the larger settlements such as Abkhoo, and Targobeh though it was by no means used universally in these towns, or even for that matter in Mashad itself.

Traditionally cooking takes place over an open fire fed by dried animal dung (see below) though now many households possess a primus stove. The most advanced form of cooking appliance was in the home of the headman of Kashaf who buys cylinders of Calor gas in Mashad.

Most households have a wide variety of cooking and eating utensils. These generally consist of metal bowls and trays which have been bought in Mashad. Cutlery is

in general absent, most villagers eating with their fingers as they have done for centuries. In addition, most families have at least one samovar for the brewing of tea which is very important in this area. In many ways the family samovar is a status symbol and always shines and gleams in an otherwise dull house interior. As a complement to the samovar each family possesses a varying number of small and large cheap tea glasses and usually a set of saucers. In an area where the making and drinking of tea plays such a large part in daily life and assumes an almost ritual importance the tea-making utensils are the most prized family possessions. In some families they are almost the only possessions.

In general, the more prosperous houses in the villages are owned by the headman, the mullah and those families whose head was working away from the village. Many of these men are in the army and therefore receive a certain and fixed income throughout the year. Some of this is sent home at irregular intervals and the family obviously benefits by it. Very often the only person in the village to possess such amenities as a radio or a clock in working order is the headman. The possession of a radio by an ordinary peasant is rare but undoubtedly increases his status in the village, especially if the listeners are plied with many glasses of tea. In addition to the obvious attraction of the radio itself, which is always a transistor, the owner's house almost always

becomes a meeting place for the village men in the evenings.

Since about 1955 there has been a great increase in the number of radios in the villages in this area. Due to the general lack of electricity such luxuries were impossible before portable, and more recently transistor, radios were available. Now most villages seem to have at least one (cf.1956 figures below). In Bid Abid there are five in the village but everyone listens to them. The most interesting programmes to the peasants are the weather forecasts and the farming news. The increased access to radios has caused the end of the village news-readers, a group of men who though usually illiterate themselves learnt large parts of the newspapers by heart and then pretended to 'read' it to the peasants in the villages. The actual learning of the news and the journey to the villages obviously meant a great time lag between the happening and the knowledge of it in the villages. Now the peasants can hear the news direct from Radio Mashad.

The second, i.e. inner, room is always a storeroom unless the family is so large as to make it impossible for all of them to sleep in the front room. In it everything which is not needed daily is kept. Grain, fertilisers and small agricultural implements are its most usual contents. Large agricultural implements such as ploughs are usually kept in the courtyard or occasionally in a

Village granary in Morghanoo N.B.radio aerial at top left.

stable. The storerooms often contain small grain silos to which grain is transferred from the larger stores in the courtyard. Very often unused stables are utilised for the storage of fuel whether this is dung, wood or wheat chaff. Kalatehe Ali was the only village encountered which possessed a special store for straw.

Grain storage buildings are a common feature in all villages. In those with the traditional two-roomed houses they are usually a separate building in the courtyard. They are all raised about a foot above the general ground level by means of mud pillars to protect the grain from rats, the same purpose being served by metal sheets around the bottom three feet of the largest grain storage building in Kalatehe Ali.

The grain is usually sent to the local mill to be ground into flour although in Kalatehe Ali, where there are 2 mills within 2 farsakhs, small quantities of grain are ground by the villagers using a wooden mortar and stone pestle (see Chapter VII). Previous to this the wheat grains have to be seperated from the chaff. This is done roughly at the harvest but has to be repeated before the grain is dispatched to the mill, which is not usually done until the flour is needed. After the harvest the roughly winnowed grain is stored in sacks. Later when it is required for bread a quantity is poured on to the ground in the courtyard. The woman picks out the bad grains, dirt and other foreign matter. The man then

Bread oven.

Woman baking bread.

sieves it by holding it aloft and allowing it to fall to the ground in a steady stream. The wind blows the finer dirt away. The whole operation is repeated and then the cleaned grain is bagged and transported to the mill to be ground into flour.

The staple diet in the village is unleavened bread and mast (soured milk). Meat and rice are occasional delicacies, the former being eaten by most villagers only at religious festivals at which a sheep has been specially killed. This meagre diet is sometimes supplemented by fruit and vegetables grown in the village. Due to the spread of sugar-beet as a cash crop in this area the growing of vegetables is now much less widespread than it used to be, and the peasants already meagre diet suffers accordingly (see Chapters V and X). The bread is baked by the women in ovens in the open air,although several of the twenty ovens in Morghanoo were situated in the passageway between two adjacent houses. The ovens are fired from below and the bread is placed on the inside walls through an opening in the top. It is removed when baked through this hole in the top,the woman usually dipping her hand into a bowl of cold water beforehand to prevent scorching her skin. Very often the hot ashes which are raked out of the bottom of the oven are immediately used to boil a kettle,thus stressing the great care which is exercised in utilising the available fuel.

The vewy few occasions on which villagers eat meat can be attributed to the fact that to them sheep and cattle are primarily a source of milk. To kill a beast would automatically deprive the family of its milk supply. The climate also makes it virtually impossible to keep meat fresh for even a very short period of time. However, it was said in Morghan Akhlemad that a villager who owned a large number of sheep may kill one for the mutton at any time,though this is a rare occurrence.

Mast is made in a goat skin. After the milk has been vigorously stirred for a while it is hung in the sum and allowed to drip. However, in Morghanoo the bag is suspended between two large flat stones near to the ground and allowed to drain in that position. Generally speaking, a woman will only make bread and mast for her family on alternate days. This is possibly due to the fact that many bread ovens especially are used by several families.

Meals are three in number, breakfast about 5 a.m., lunch about noon and an evening meal about 9 p.m. However, many families make do with fewer meals on some days. The midday meal in the valley takes place after the agricultural workers and sahrar workers have returned to the village. At Morghan Ardameh in the hills, however, the women take bread and mast to the men in the fields if there is much work to be done. This is also possible because the hills are distinctly cooler than the valley in the summertime. In the latter it would be suicidal to attempt to work in

the fields in the early afternoon due to the very high temperatures and the complete lack of shade.

In addition to some villages having a deep well and/ or qanat constructed and paid for by the landlord or lessee for irrigation purposes (see Chapter V),many have smaller hand wells for domestic use. Kalatehe Ali has seven such wells, only six of which contain water. Two methods of raising the water seem to be in use in this area. The first consists of a bucket, usually of metal though often of rubber, on a rope which is simply lowered and raised by hand. The second method follows the same basic principle but has the added refinement of a wooden wheel. The rubber buckets which are sometimes encountered have been made out of old lorry tyres, several establishments in Mashad specialising in their production. Much of the water needed for immediate use in a village whether from qanat or well is stored in large porous pots which allow the water to evaporate very slowly thus keeping it cool. These pots are usually purchased in Mashad or in the larger settlements containing general shops.

Solid fuel of any kind is virtually non-existent in the Kashaf Rood valley and the villagers have to find some substitute. This is animal dung which the women mix with straw, shaped into flat circular cakes and lay out to dry in the sun. As this is the only source of fuel in the area this absorbs the vast majority of animal dung produced and very little of it reaches the fields where it is

needed so desperately. Often the only fertilisation which they receive is from the ashes produced by the burning of dung fuel. Recent introudction of artificial fertilisers by some landlords has improved the situation somewhat, although the great majority of villages are unable to use animal dung or to afford artificial fertilisers without the aid of the landlord, many of the latter being unwilling to give the required help, especially with their future as landholders in doubt.

The fuel situation is a little better in the hill villages where trees are grown much more widely. The inhabitants of Khanrood used the bark which they stripped from the trees before sending them to Mashad as their main fuel. This allowed them the use of animal dung for fertilising their fields.

According to the 1956 National Census the 1175 villages in this area had the following amenities:-

Public bath-house	392
Medical facilities	11
Mosque	564
School (government or private)	170
One or more radios	212
Village councils	409

The first four categories usually serve an area rather than just the particular village in which it is situated. This is not the case with the village councils which are obviously designed to meet the problems of each individual

village. The council is appointed to help the headman in running the village. The latter may be a government employee, the landlord's appointee or, very rarely, appointed by the villagers themselves. However he is appointed the headman is the representative of the village in the eyes of the government and he is held responsible for it, in addition to his more obvious, and important, function of transmitting the orders of the landlord or lessee to the villagers and seeing that they are carried out.

These village councils were created by an organisation known as Community Development, originally set up and run by the U.S. Aid Organisation. Recently this body has been handed over to the Iranians. On the admission of the present Iranian head of Community Development in Mashad these village councils are completely ineffective and the vast majority of them have fallen into disuse. The only precise example of a village council in existence in this area was in Khanrood and this was simply the product of temporary circumstances. The headman had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca and in his absence a council of four men had been created to run the village. On his return this body would be dissolved to the self-confessed relief of its members!

The four members of this council were all old men, and this is a very good indication of the general respect which the old enjoy in the villages of this region. The

old men are regarded as the head of the family, but this being a Moslem region the old women have nowhere near as much influence. Women of all ages occupy a subordinate position in all aspects of life, and in many ways are still treated as simply a method by which a man can have children, particularly sons, and be looked after. Sons are regarded very much more highly than daughters, the latter often being completely disregarded when a man is talking about his children. Elder brothers generally receive respect from their younger brothers.

Although there are no definite rules of endogamy the majority of marriages take place within the village unit. In Chahashk there are 28 separate family units but each of these belongs to one of five larger extended families. This situation with a complete absence of outsiders is unusual especially in the larger villages, but in all villages many relatives of one man can be traced. Marriage within the village is commonest almost certainly because the other members of the village are those best known to the young couple and, of much greater importance, to their parents. It is possible that endogamy was much stronger in the past than at present because many of the peasants now travel much more than they ever did in the past. The bride is chosen by the boy's parents, never the other way round. After marriage the young couple usually establish their own household immediately, though this is not always possible. If the newly-weds have to

live with their parents in about two cases in every three they go to live with the boy's parents, but the necessity for this is now much less than it was in the past. The age of marriage is usually between 13 and 15 years of age for the girl but usually several years older than this in the case of the man. Thus the young wife very quickly has the responsibility of looking after a husband and a family, marriage being a much greater step for her than her husband who generally continues in the same work as he was doing previously.

In general, work of a certain type can be easily allotted to one sex or the other, although this system is not absolutely rigid, the biggest exception being that women can be and are called upon to help their husbands in the fields at such times as harvesting. Men are in charge of agriculture or other employment, transport, and the social and religious life of the village while the women's duty lies in the home and with her children. As they grow older children are called upon more and more to assist the parent of the same sex in their daily tasks and in this way learn either how to care for or provide for a family, as the case may be. Older girls who have not yet married seem to be under an obligation to look after their younger brothers and sisters.

The work of the men will be described in detail in Chapters IV to VII above, but that of the women needs further description at this point. In addition to their

primary duties of caring for their family and home women undertake other more specialised tasks, such as spinning wool. Many of the families which own sheep retain a little wool for their own use. This is spun by hand. A wooden spindle is set spinning in the right hand while the raw, wool, already washed, is held in the left. As the spindle rotates the women feeds the fibres into a thread which is then spun by the rotation. When the spindle loses momentum,or touches the ground,the thread is wound onto the spindle and the whole operation is started again. Spinning in this region in the villages is done entirely by hand. The thread is then either sold to a weaver or woven into cloth in the village.

In the majority of villages washing of all kinds is done in the qanat, and, of course, always by hand. Clothes are first beaten with a stone after being soaked and then placed in a metal bowl in the qanat for a short period of time to allow them to become thoroughly rinsed. They are then wrung out by hand and draped over any convenient part of the village structure.

It is impossible to make any definite statement about the size of household in this area. Most married couples have several children and many have had more which died, and several have old people, generally their parents, living with them. According to the 1956 National Census the average size of a village household was 4.22 persons (see Chapter II), but this figure conceals great

divergencies in numbers. Just over 40% of all households contained either 3 or 4 persons, while 5% contained only 1 person and almost 23% contained 6 or more persons. Irrespective of the number of individuals in a household less than 4% of all households have more than two persons classed as employed, while just under 80% have only one employed person. Thus the general pattern emerges that in many cases one man has to provide for a very large family, a task which will be very much more difficult in the 2,770 families which were completely unemployed. These latter are completely dependent on their friends and, more particularly, their relatives.

The play of the very young children, and the older ones when they are not called upon to perform some family task, is largely determined by the objects around them. Very few toys as such are seen in the villages, the only examples found being of a small rag doll in the possession of a girl of nine years in Kashaf and a small set of plastic Pan pipes in a house in Kalatehe Ali. Water is a favourity plaything as are ants and any other insects capable of being caught. Anything new which appears in the village, such as car or a lorry, is a great object of the children's attention.

The theoretical religion of these people is the Shi'a branch of the Moslem faith, though very few of them are practising Moslems except at the great annual religious festivals such as Moharram. In addition, in the villages

many superstitions and magical beliefs are still widespread. The 'evil-eye' belief is very strong in this area. If a person is very ill the family will very often sacrifice a cow, an act which the family can rarely afford. This is done to ward off the evil spirit which accompanies and personifies death. Many villagers build columns of lime alongside their melon plots. This is done so that the melons can be coated with lime before they begin their journey to Mashad. The bumps and bruises which they receive are attributed to the 'evil-eye' and not to the much more wordly reason of very bad roads. Beliefs associated with fertility and marriage are also widespread in this area (see Chapter XV). Throughout this area ceremonies to ensure good crops are performed before the sacred period of Moharram begins. This consists of a sheep, provided by the landlord or the lessee, being walked round the village fields before being killed, cooked and eaten.

Alongside these magical beliefs are those of Islam, though the latter play very little part in daily life, except to give the villagers the fatalism associated with the expression 'If Allah wills it'. May 21st. (in 1963) was the day of the Festival of Haji. On this day everyone who has ever been to Mecca as a pilgrim is obliged to kill a sheep to commemorate his or her visit. It was said in Khanrood that this was one of the few occasions in the year when the villagers ate meat. Pilgrims on

their way to Mecca leave their villages to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing on the part of those they are leaving behind, i.e. those who are not so fortunate. The journey from the village to the main road where the bus is to be caught is on foot, and is punctuated by frequent stops at which the mullah recites parts of the Koran.

For those remaining in the villages the mullah serving the village or a group of villages is often aided by mullahs and religious students from Mashad, one of the main religious centres in Iran. Ceremonies leading up to the culmination of Moharram, which is the three days of strict mourning for the death of the Imam who is buried in the Shrine at Mashad and his followers, take place in all the mosques in the area. This is the only time in the year when the mosques are full. In one such ceremony in Morghanoo the mullah told the story of the death of the Imam while the villagers wept and wailed. Men and women formed seperate groups in the mosque, the boys of about 10 years old and upwards sitting with the men. All other children sat with the woman's group. The ceremony concluded with a series of prayers, the congregation facing Mecca and Mashad, their two most holy places, alternately. The proceedings were accompanied throughout by many glasses of tea and sweets made and distributed by the women. Following on these ceremonies many villagers make the pilgrimage to Mashad for the culminating three

days to join those from other parts of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and even further afield.

The majority of village peasants remain in the village of their birth for the whole of their life. This is less prevalent among the women as a few of them marry men from other villages and move there. The lack of mobility of the population can be attributed to two main reasons. Firstly, a man will inherit his father's position in the economic life of the village, especially if he works in an agricultural group or is a craftsman. The second and much more important reason is that almost every peasant is tied to his village by debt, either to his landlord or to a Mashad moneylender. A peasant cannot move unless he pays off his debts and his state of poverty which caused him to borrow in the first place makes this impossible. In the past it is also possible that the many rivalries between villages, which occasionally reached the stage of violence, made it very difficult for a peasant to establish himself in any village other than that in which he was born. Today these rivalries have become shadows of their former selves, the most frequent cause of dispute being water and its distribution.

At the present time there seems little possibility that their way of life will be significantly changed for the better in the relatively near future, and many villagers, most of whom are naturally conservative, do not look for change and will actually oppose it if it is

attempted. Within the village alleigance to any group beyond the family and the sahrar is unknown,and economic circumstances make it almost impossible to leave the village permanently thus forming the inhabitants of a particular village into a very loosely knit group,which is often strengthened by marriage within it. The picture thus emerges of a people living at a very low standard, being born, generally marrying and dying in the same village, at the mercy of the landlord and the environment. Their only comfort comes in magical beliefs and Islam and in the knowledge that it has never been any different.

CHAPTER IV - LAND TENURE.

Throughout Iran the system of landholding is being radically altered at present by the government's policy of replacing the landlords by co-operatives formed from and run by the villagers. As yet this has only affected a small number of villages throughout Iran and in the Mashad area the old pattern is still virtually intact. The shrine of the Imam Reza in Mashad is still one of the largest landowners in the country and many of its villages are in the Mashad vicinity of Mashad. Many of its villages are leased to private individuals who pay a fixed rental to the Shrine, thus giving the Shrine a sure income which does not depend on the quality of the harvest. In 1956 the National Census classified land in the Mashad area into the following categories.

	% of land	No.of villages.
Public Domain	1.4	16
Endowed land	29.2	343
Farmer-owned land	39.7	466
Owned by large landowners	58.9	692
Institutional (non-government land)	0.7	8

There only being 1175 villages in the Mashad Census District the greater number of villages above is accounted for by the fact that some villages contain more than one type of landownership.

The lessee of Kashaf pays an annual rent of 70,000

tomans to the Imam's Shrine. The lease in this village varies in length but averages about seven years. The present lessee will almost certainly be the last as the government's land reform proposals are now beginning to affect the Shrine lands. Most of its land has been donated to the Shrine by private individuals over several centuries. The income from it maintains the Shrine itself, a 400 bed hospital (see Chapter X) and several other charitable institutions. However, despite the rent which it receives from the lessee the Shrine is still responsible for the maintenance of the qanat.

Not all tenancy agreements are as simple in operation as that of Kashaf. In Kalatehe Ali the position is complicated by the fact that the village has, at least since the last century, been owned by two seperate landlords. Nine-sixteenths of the village is owned and farmed by one man while the remainder is owned by a Mashad bazaar merchant. This situation is not uncommon in this area as the figures above indicate. The bazaar merchant leases his section of the village for a seven-year period. As this man owns no other land there is every possibility that the lease will run its full course, present land reform proposals only covering landlords who own more than one village.

The village of Morghanoo was bequeathed to a Mashad mosque by a lady who stipulated that the profits were to be used to maintain the mosque. The lease is for a

period of five years, the present lease having commenced in early 1963. In the past the village rent was 16,000 tomans annually but, as has happened throughout the area, the rent has recently been increased to 35,000 tomans per annum. In addition to the money-rent the mosque also receives 3,000 kilos of wheat from each harvest.

Ghasem Abad Targhobeh is in three parts, each of which is owned and farmed by a brother. The structure of the village itself reflects this in that each brother's workers live in a seperate enclosed part of the village connected by passages through the walls. In common with most landowners in the area the three brothers live in Mashad although they often live in the village during the summer. Haji Abad Miyanvalayat is owned by five men but they have simplified the position somewhat by renting the whole village to one man for 40,000 tomans a year. Golestane Targhobeh is an extreme example in that the village is owned by approximately 200 families, only half of whom live in the village. The remaining one hundred owners live in Mashad and each sends someone to the village to cultivate the land.

The very large numbers of people who have an interest, however small, in land in Iran is due to the fact that in the past it was almost the only sphere of economic life in which money could be invested. These people belong to the landlord class proper. In addition, there is a number of men who lease and farm land, living off the income

remaining after the annual rent has been paid. To all intents and purposes these men have taken the place of the landlord in the eyes of the peasant. As the size of their income depends on the amount by which the profits exceed the rent which they pay in general they take a much greater interest in their villages than the landlords proper. These are very often the men who are most anxious to introduce improvements in agricultural techniques. In a particular village the lessee may change every few years, but while the lessees move from village to village the peasant remains in the same village, and between him and the landlord or the lessee there are many agreements which vary from village to village.

The great majority of peasants in this area are subject to crop-sharing agreements. In the villages agricultural labour is organised in groups of six or eight men. The harvest is divided seperately for each group so that each group is encouraged to produce as good a harvest as possible. However, the lack of capital on the part of the peasants makes any attempt to improve crop yields impossible. In Kashaf the wheat and sugar-beet produced is divided equally between the peasant and the lessee. However, in the case of the small plots growing melons, peas and beans the lessee receives only 40 percent of the crop while the remainder is retained by the peasants. Seed is provided by the lessee for the village crops, the landlord is responsible for the

maintenance of the qanat, while the peasants provide the labour. Here the lessee also rents machinery in the form of a tractor and plough to the villagers (see Chapter V).

In Ghasem Abad Targhobeh the peasants only receive 20 percent of the fruit produced in the village but in the case of all other crops they receive half the harvest, as is the case in almost all villages in this area. The costing of planting fruit trees is bourne by the landlord. Although the landlord owns the qanat the responsibility for maintaining it belongs to the villagers themselves. The lessee of Kalatehe Ali has plans for altering the status of the villagers from that of share-croppers to wage-earners (see Chapter V), a step which has already been taken in Bid Abid. In the latter village the peasants are actually agricultural labourers who work for a daily wage paid by the landlord. The latter appoints a foreman whose task it is to pass on the landlord's instructions to the peasants. It should be noted that no peasant receives a guaranteed wage. The whole question of wage-earners is dealt with in Chapter V.

Throughout this area the practise of renting village land to people resident outside the village is quite common. In Kashaf in some years as many as twenty individuals from other villages cultivate melons. Some of these people live in Mashad. The only stipulation laid down is that they obtain the headman's permission and that they agree to abide by the usual share-cropping

agreement. The headman refuses permission only rarely. Some of the inhabitants of Abkhoo rent land in other villages in addition to working in the sugar factory. Four of the families normally resident in Piyani move to Akhlemad to grow crops in the summer but return to Piyani for the winter as in that season they no longer have work to do in Akhlemad.

A few of the villages in the Mashad area are farmed by peasant proprietors. In Khanrood each family has a plot of land which it works for subsistence purposes with another plot containing a stand of timber for a cash income (see Chapter VII). Abolkhair by contrast has five peasant proprietors who refer to themselves as 'malek', i.e. 'landowner'. These men have been peasant proprietors for about twenty years, but they seem to have benefited less from the absence of a landlord than their counterparts in Khanrood.

An accepted part of village life is that a village's supply of wheat will be used up before the next harvest has been cut. This makes necessary the borrowing of wheat or money (see also Chapter XII). This is usually done from the landlord, or the lessee, and is repaid at the following harvest. This automatically reduces the share which the peasant receives for his labour, making borrowing in the following year even more certain. For the majority of peasant families this constant borrowing and repaying is a problem which is with them throughout

their life. There are very few peasant families which are not in debt to some extent. In the past the landlord was very willing to lend money and grain to his villagers as this bound them even closer to the soil than they were before, thus securing his labour supply. At present, however, many landlords are hesitant about giving loans as there is a definite possibility that they may lose their villages in the relatively near future in the process of land reform. This has made it virtually impossible for peasant families to obtain loans with which to provide food until the next harvest is due.

In those villages with a landlord or lessee the headman is almost always appointed or approved by them. His main function at the present time is to pass the landlord's orders on to the peasants in his village. The idea that the headman was responsible for all aspects of his village no longer holds in this area of Iran. Most headmen now have the status of an agricultural foreman and nothing more. In some cases he has been brought into the village by the lessee either because of his knowledge of farming or because the previous headman had refused to co-operate. At the present time when a number of landlords are endeavouring to improve the techniques of farming in this area this is a not uncommon occurrence. In Kalatehe Ali there was great opposition among the villagers when the lessee stopped them from growing whatever crops they wished and in addition proposed the

introduction of fertiliser. This was overcome by removing the headman, in whom the opposition had crystallised, and replacing him by a man who had been until then an ordinary peasant in another village but who was only too willing to co-operate with the lessee in these changes. In common with peasant farmers throughout the world Iranian villagers are very conservative and fatalistic in their outlook, an attitude which will have to be overcome if any lasting improvement is to be made in agricultural techniques and village life generally in this area. However, it should be noted that the majority of landlords and lessees are content to allow village life and farming to proceed very much as they have done in the past.

The present programme of land reform only affects those landlords who own more than one village, but all the indications are that in the not too distant future the object is to replace all landlords by co-operatives run by the villagers themselves. Reports vary with regard to the success or otherwise of the present reforms of the land. Landlords who are still waiting for compensation for the less of their villages naturally claim that it is a failure while the Government proclaims its success. Unfortunately, examples of villages in the Mashad area which had been reformed were lacking in 1963 and government officials were understandably reticent about the success or otherwise of the project.

CHAPTER V - AGRICULTURE.

The mainstay of the rural areas of Iran is agriculture, and in this the Mashad region is no exception. The commonest crops in the area are wheat, barley, melons and, more recently, sugar-beet. In addition, many villages have a small area of land devoted to vegetables and occasionally potatoes. While most villages in the area practise crop-sharing this is by no means universal. Even in those villages where it prevails by no means all the villagers are directly concerned in it, although almost all are affected to a greater or lesser extent by it.

In Kashaf out of the total population only eighteen families are subject to crop-sharing agreements between them and the lessee. These families are divided into three groups of six, each group working independently and in competition with the other groups. Each group has a leader who is responsible to the headman and through him to the lessee whose word is final. There is no appeal for the peasant to any higher authority than the lessee or landlord. Only these eighteen families share the wheat and sugar-beet harvest equally with the lessee. This scheme, of the peasants working in groups, is very old and is found throughout Khorasan. The peasants in their groups are solely responsible for providing the necessary labour while the lessee has the task of providing seed and working capital. In Kashaf the landlord still retains his responsibility for the provision of water to the

Irrigation ditch N.B.clothes drying in the sun in the middleground.

village lands. At harvest time the crops are divided equally between the lessee and the peasants, while the former pays the landlord a fixed annual rent.

In Kashaf melons have been grown for at least two generations but sugar-beet has only been introduced during the last few years. Wheat has always been grown as the staple food crop of the peasants but since 1960 it has become more scarse with a resulting rise in price. In 1959 wheat was selling at 13 rials per mann but by April 1963 it had reached 27 rials per mann. This rise is due to a number of reasons. One of the greatest factors has been the recent great extension of the area devoted to sugar-beet. In this region only the availability of water limits the amount of land which can be cultivated, and so an extension of the area under sugar-beet automatically means a decline in that growing other crops. Since the 1960 the position regarding water has been aggravated by below average rainfall, and in April 1963 by widespread flooding which destroyed large areas under crops.

As wheat is the staple crop of the region the peasants have always retained their share of the wheat harvest on which to feed their family until the next harvest. The shortage of wheat has meant that in recent years the landlord or lessee has been selling a large proportion of his share of the harvest to the villagers to enable them to survive. In Kashaf the lessee has been

selling about 75 percent of his share back to the villagers each year. This in turn has meant that a smaller amount of wheat has appeared on the open market and so the price has risen.

A similar system of group working is practised in Morghanoo and Kalatehe Ali. In both villages there are three farming groups, each of which contains four families. The constitution and operation of these groups is discussed in much greater detail in Chapter XII.

Melon cultivation is almost always subject to special arrangements between the landholder and the peasants who cultivate the melon plots. In Kashaf there are about 40 hectares devoted to this crop, but none of this land is cultivated by farmers who are members of a farming group refferred to above. The melon cultivators are either other families in the village or individuals from other villages in the area, or even from Mashad itself. These outsiders have only to obtain permission from the headman of Kashaf and this is rarely refused. Each hectare of melons gives a crop which is worth about 3,000 tomans when it is finally sold in Mashad. In most villages the proceeds from such a sale are divided between the Landholder and the peasant in the ratio of 40:60. Each family growing melons makes a separate contract with an alof (dealer), usually in Mashad but occasionally in Tehran. This man then lends the peasant money for his day to day expenses and recovers it at harvest-time. In

addition, the alof takes ten percent of the melon crop as interest. The landholder also pays the alof a commission of five percent in return for which the latter obtains the best price possible for the melons in a constantly changing price situation.

Melon plots are fertilised by means of garbage and sewage, much of the latter being collected by the peasants from Mashad by donkey cart. As yet no chemical fertiliser has been found which does not reduce the quality of the melons. Each year a peasant cultivates a different plot, lots being drawn for them before preparatory ploughing commences.

Very often melon plots also contain onions, peas, beans and tomatoes, and these extra crops are also divided between the landlord and peasant in the same ratio as the melons. They are also sold through the same alof as the melons. While Kashaf does cultivate vegetables on a commercial basis this is not the case in all villages. In many a few vegetables will be grown as a method of introducing some variety into the otherwise monotonous diet (see Chapter III).

Throughout this area sugar-beet is the subject of a contract between the grower and the sugar factory. In the Mashad there are three factories, at Ab Kooh, Haji Nasir (see Chapter XVIII) and at Fariman. Of the three only the latter is privately owned. They are no longer adequate to handle the greatly increased amount of sugar-

beet which is being grown in this region.

In 1963 Kashaf cultivated 21 hectares of sugar-beet, Kalatehe Ali 24 hectares, Bid Abid 60 hectares, Morghanoo 38 hectares, and the peasant proprietor village of Abolkhair 6 hectares. Both Kashaf and Kalatehe Ali are much nearer to the two government factories than to that at Fariman, but it still is more profitable to sell the beet to the latter, due to the higher price which they pay the grower for the beet. The latter makes a contract with the factory which in return provides 25 kilos of seed per hectare, fertiliser, and credit of 600 tomans per hectare for the cost of cultivation. They will also make loans to the growers in order that they may sink deep wells and construct roads. In the case of crop disease the factory supplies insecticides, sprays and sprayers free of charge. The money which is lent to the farmers and the bills which they owe for fertiliser are deducted from the money which the grower receives for his crop. The factory guarentees a price to the grower. In the case of the two government factories this is 104 tomans per ton of raw beet, while the privately-owned Fariman establishment pays 124 tomans per ton. The grower is responsible for providing the method of transporting his beet to the factory. The government factories also give the growers the option of buying a certain amount of sugar cheaply. In the last few years the factories have begun to sell the pulp back to the growers as cattle

fodder, a commodity which is extremely scarse in this area. In the past they burnt it.

Thus to the peasants sugar-beet is a cash crop. In theory the money which they receive for it should be spent on buying the extra food which they now need due to the great extension of sugar-beet growing. Recently the wheat acreage has declined and so therefore has the amount of grain which the peasant receives. It remains to be seen whether the peasants will be able to make the transition from an economy based entirely on payments in kind to one which includes money payments. Unfortunately, in the past money has always been something which one spends while depending on the crops for subsistence. Many peasants are being being given money for the first time in their lives, and many of them seem to regard it as being for luxuries and pleasure rather than to supplement their depleted diet. This problem is being made worse in some villages where the landlords are endeavouring to plant as much sugar-beet as possible as it is an extremely profitable crop (see Bid Abid - Appendix G). In many cases they are refusing to allow the peasants to grow any other crop, except wheat, and as the peasants are very reluctant to buy melons, vegetables and other crops to vary their diet this is bound to have an effect on their health. The more sugar-beet which is grown the less variety the diet of the peasant has, and an even greater part of it than in the past consists of bread and mast.

What effects the present land reform proposals will have on the great increase in sugar-beet area remains to be seen.

A second aspect of the increasing concentration on the cultivation of sugar-beet and wheat is the great reliance which is being placed on a decreasing number of crops. Drought was always liable to affect all the crops grown in this area but the greater the range of crops which were grown the greater the chance that there would be food of some kind at harvest-time. With increasing specialisation and the consequent growing for a commercial market the peasant, and to a lesser extent the landlord, is gradually losing control over his own means of survival. Whether they will be able to survive the fluctuations of a market whose price depends on supply and demand remains to be seen, though it is doubtful. However, the sugar-beet growers at present at least receive a guaranteed price for their beet and this gives them some measure of protection. By signing the contract with the grower the factory automatically pledges itself to buy the beet from him, even if they know that they will not be able to dispose of the sugar produced. So far this situation has not arisen and it seems unlikely to do so, at least for several years as at present Iran has to import sugar.

During the last few years there has been a move by some landholders to replace share-cropping by a daily wage. This has the great advantage that they receive an

income which is spread throughout the year. It also means that the landlord bears the entire effects of a failure of the harvest. In Bid Abid the village headman transmits the landlord's instructions to the peasants in just the same way as a farm foreman would do in Western Europe. The work which the peasants do is then paid for on a daily basis. For most of the year the peasant is paid 4 tomans a day but in the busy agricultural seasons, such as weeding the sugar-beet, this rises to five tomans a day. The maximum wage is during the sugar-beet harvest when the peasants receive six tomans a day. However, this daily wage means that when there is no work to do the peasant is unpaid. Most peasants manage to be able to find work in this way for about ten months of the year.

In addition to the very small number of villages which are entirely wage-earners, most villages contain peasants who work for a daily wage, mostly as agricultural labourers of one type or another. In Kashaf, Talgred Tabadkan, Now Chah and Abkhoo extra labour is hired from outside the village in the busy agricultural season. In the former village the responsibility for hiring and paying this labour is that of the co-operative groups which work the land. Very often a village will employ the women in the fields, especially at harvest times and for hoeing and weeding. In Dehnow Targhobeh the landlords choose and pay the labourers five tomans per day, the same rate being paid in Abkhoo (cf. Bid Abid above). The

cost of employing labour in the villages depends on the amount of work available and the number unemployed at any particular time. In 1962 labour cost 6 tomans a day, but by 1963 it had fallen to four or five tomans per day. This was due to the general economic depression in Iran at that time which had created a larger number of unemployed. In the Mashad area this had been aggravated by the fact that several landlords refused to repair the damage caused in many villages by the floods of April 1963 because of the possibility that they would lose their villages, through land reform, in the near future. In several villages, such as Chahashk, gardeners are employed, usually to tend fruit trees. These are treated as ordinary agricultural labourers and are paid accordingly.

Throughout the area these different systems can be seen working side by side. It is rare to find a village where one system operates exclusively. In Chahashk the renting of land, share-cropping and paid labouring all operate side by side. Three men cultivate the field crops for which they can either pay an annual rent of 2,000 tomans or they can share the crop equally with the landlord. In addition, four other men work in a fruit garden owned by the landlord for a wage of five tomans a day. The remaining villagers numbering about twenty work as paid labourers, usually in other villages in the area. Even peasant proprietor villages rarely operate just one system.

In Khanrood each family owns a piece of land and a stand of timber and receives all the profits from it. However, when extra labour is necessary a family will pay a fellow villager to work for him. The latter receives a wage just as if he was an ordinary agricultural labourer. This makes it unnecessary to hire labour from outside the village. Again in the peasant proprietor village of Abolkhair land is farmed by five families, one of which possesses two hectares while the remainder farm eight hectares each. The remaining families in the village either rear sheep or work as paid labourers in other villages. There was no evidence that the latter ever worked for the peasant proprietors in their own village.

In many villages there is the practise of allowing outsiders to cultivate part of the surplus village land. Whether or not this is done obviously depends on the availability of water, the one great control imposed on agriculture in this area. In Kashaf there are about twenty such landholders who live in other villages,or even in Mashad itself. Usually only the permission of the village headman is needed before cultivation can be begun. This is the only way in which many peasants can hope to have land of their own to cultivate.

In the Mashad area if land can be irrigated it can be cultivated, but in this semi-desert region there is never enough water to enable the whole area to be brought into cultivation. Precipitation in winter and early

spring is almost the sole source of water. Rain at any other season is usually in the form of very heavy convectional rain,which usually does more damage than good to the area. The Kashaf Rood valley is irrigated largely by the traditional method of the qanat, or underground irrigation channel,running between the fringing hills and the villages in the valley. The qanat is found exclusively in the lowland area,its construction being impossible in the hills where its function is taken over entirely by open irrigation ditches.

In many villages there is an official (mirab) whose sole duty is to supervise the distribution of water,and in the co-operative groups some of the men have the special task of irrigation (see Chapter XII). The frequency of irrigation varies a little from village to village. Kashaf, Kalatehe Ali, and Ghasem Abad Targhbeh, all irrigate every sixteen days. The amount of water which each crop requires varies and this is allowed for in some villages, though many others waste a large amount of water by giving crops more than they really need. Throughout this area crops are irrigated in the following order : wheat, other crops, sugar-beet, the former being irrigated every fifteen days in Bid Abid while the other crops consisting of sugar-beet, peas, and beans were irrigated every 12 days.

In Bid Abid all irrigation water is provided by two deep wells sunk by the landlord. Each pump can raise 500

cubic metres of water an hour and runs for about eight months each year. The cost of sinking a deep well is considerable, and most landlords refuse to do so while there is the possibility that they will be losing their villages in the very near future. The sinking of deep wells has caused problems. Originally there were no restrictions placed on the location of such borings, that is until some of the qanats began to dry up. This was caused by the wells tapping the qanat's supply of water. The Iranian government has now passed legislation regulating the boring of deep wells in proximity to qanat sources.

Those villages along and in close proximity to the Kashaf Rood itself receive their water from it by open irrigation ditches. The amount which each village receives is regulated by ancient custom, the flow of water being regulated by controlling the amount of water leaving the river. Morghanoo receives one-seventh of the water from the irrigation canal which serves several villages on the eastern side of the river, while Abolkhair, the next village upstream from Morghanoo, receives all the water from the river once every twenty days for the whole day.

In most villages the methods of irrigation have changed very little during the last few centuries, although others have been affected by more modern developments, especially the boring of deep wells. In addition, Kashaf

has a reservoir, nine metres deep and covering an area of 400 square metres, built by the lessee. This receives the water from the qanat, which is very reliable and has a fairly constant flow. The fields are irrigated from the reservdr, thus allowing a much greater control over the amount of water which reaches them, the flow of water in and out of the reservoir being controlled by a system of gates.

In other spheres of agriculture the amount of modernisation and mechanisation varies greatly from village to village. There is no doubt that the vast majority of peasant farmers are greatly underemployed and the introduction of machines on any large scale only aggravates the problem, especially as there is no alternative forms of employment in the area for those peasants made redundant. The lessee of Kashaf owns a tractor which also serves two other villages, and he charges the villagers rent for its use at the following rates:-

ploughing	50 - 60 tomans per hectare
discing	25 tomans per hectare
cultivating	25 tomans per hectare

The land is ploughed by machine and then seeds are sown broadcast, the whole area then being disced to mix the seeds with the soil. In Kashaf the only tasks which are still done entirely by hand are hoeing, the digging of ditches and the building of low walls which divide the

fields into smaller plots for irrigation. The lessee readily admitted that the employment of machinery on such a limited scale had already greatly aggravated the problem of unemployment in the village. In 1962 the village used a harvester for the first time, but the villagers did not like the new innovation as it reduced greatly the amount of work which they had to do.

Many of the villages in the Kashaf Rood valley still cultivate the land as they have done for centuries using wooden ploughs pulled by bullocks, the remaining agricultural work being done by hand. There is much less machinery in the hill villages, the relief of the area making it very difficult to apply machinery to cultivation. At Moghan Ardameh the plough is carried to the fields by a donkey, the bullocks being driven alongside. There it is harnessed up and the iron ploughshare fitted.

As in the case of sinking deep wells, many landlords refuse to introduce machinery to their villages because of the ever-present threat of land reform. This in itself may be a blessing in disguise for the more machinery which is introduced the greater will become the problem of under-employment, and ultimately of unemployment. Until alternative employment can be provided large scale mechanisation would be an economic disaster for this area, but until it is there is very little likelihood of Iranian agriculture being able to produce enough food to support her rapidly growing population, and no possibility whatever

of her being able to raise the present very low living standards of her rural people.

CHAPTER VI - LIVESTOCK.

Livestock farming in the Mashad area can be divided into two basic types. Firstly, there is the livestock which most villagers own whatever, their major occupation, and, secondly, there is the small number of people who earn their living entirely from the keeping of livestock. Most peasant families own a cow, one or two sheep, and a donkey which give milk, milk and wool, and a method of transport respectively. The peasants in many villages own a few hens, although the numbers in the region have fallen greatly in recent years due to disease.

In Kashaf all families owned at least one milking cow, each of which gave between two and three kilos of milk daily. About a kilo of milk was retained by the family for making mast, the remainder being sold to an itinerant milkman for 24 rials per 3 kilo. The latter then sells the milk to a mast-maker in Mashad or, if the latter will not pay the price required, occasionally as fresh milk. In the latter case the townspeople pay 32 rials per 3 kilo. The sale of fresh milk in this area is rare as the climatic conditions very quickly turn milk sour. The general standard of cattle is very low, largely due to the inadequate feed which they receive. It is the fallow village land which provides the main source of their food, although recently wider use has been made in some villages of pulp bought from the sugar-beet factories in the area.

Young calves alongside a mud feeding trough N.B.the spades for cultivation in the right background.

In most large villages the cattle are placed in the charge of a specialist herdsman who is paid for his services by the owners of the cattle. Very often cattle and donkeys which are not needed for work that day are herded together. Kalatehe Ali possessed a herd of 44 cows. Each morning the herdsman collects the cattle, and donkeys, from their owners and takes them out of the village to graze. In return for this service he receives 1.5 kilo of wheat per month for each cow. However, the annual shortage of wheat in the springtime neccessitates an alternative method of payment. Until the next harvest the herdsman receives all the milk produced by the cows for one day each week.

The hill village of Khanrood has a herd of cattle considerably larger than that in Kalatehe Ali, large enough to employ two men. The herd consists of about forty bullocks, forty dry cows and calves and sixty cows-in milk. One of the herdsmen is in sole charge of the cows-in-milk for which he receives the usual payment of all the milk produced on one day of the week. His fellow herdsman,whose responsibility lies with the bullocks, dry cows and calves old enough to follow the herd,is paid 1.5 kilos of wheat per beast per month for the nine months of the year when wheat is available. For the remaining three months he carries out his duties without payment. Whenever a calf is born the two herdsmen receive 24 kilos of wheat from the owner of the cow, this

village being the only one in which this extra payment was noted. In general the cattle of the hill villages are in better condition than those in the plain, largely due to the greater abundance of fodder. In Khanrood some of the cows, and especially the calves, are grazed between the trees on the timber stands as well as on the neighbouring hillsides. The consumption of this irrigated grass is probably the main reason why the milk yields are higher in this village than is general in the Mashad region. A rather better diet is also enjoyed by the cattle of Abolkhair, where they are fed the sugar-beet which is singled out in May, once again leading to a rather higher milk yield than is usual in this area.

As cattle are an important source of milk they are very rarely killed, except on a very few special days throughout the year, these being mainly religious festivals. Neither beef nor mutton can be regarded as a usual item in the diet of these people. If a cow is deliberately killed the hide will be sold but otherwise the hide is buried with the cow.

Like cattle, sheep and goats are regarded as a source of milk and wool and hair, and again slaughter, except for a religious feast, is a very rare occurrence. Their milk is made into mast, while the wool and hair provides a small cash income for the peasant. Sheep and goats are very often the object of transhumance farming practises, this being made desirable by the hot, dry

climate experienced in the Kashaf Rood valley in the summer. The flock belonging to the villagers of Ghasem Abad Targhobeh, which varies in numbers between 300 and 500 from year to year, is sent into the hills in the late spring and returns to the village in the autumn. While they are away the villagers cultivate clover for winter feed, although they also buy fodder if they can afford it. The sheep are also fed on wheat chaff and sugar-beet pulp, the latter practise having been introduced in the very recent past. These sheep are never sold (see also Chapter XIII), but all the wool which they produce is sold in Mashad, except for a very small amount which is retained in the village to be worked by the villagers themselves. Spinning and weaving for a single family is always done by the women, although where the finished product is to be sold men predominate.

In Kalatehe Ali a very different arrangement is found. The village possesses a very large sheep stable which is much too large for the 150 sheep owned by the villagers themselves. However, in the winter a large number of sheep are sent to this village from the hill villages. The peasants of Kalatehe Ali feed the sheep and in return they are allowed to retain the manure produced by the animals. This enables some manuring of fields to be practised.

In Morghanoo the sheep remain in the village throughout the year. The eighty sheep possessed by the villagers

are kept in a large compound during the summer, being allowed to graze on the village land after the harvest. Here they are not given sugar-beet pulp as part of their diet, the reason given for the absence being that the village sends its sugar-beet to the factory at Fariman for processing, and it is too costly to transport pulp from there to the village. To offset this the village grows a small hectarage of alfalfa for the use of their sheep and those from the neighbouring peasant proprietor village of Abolkhair. The latter possess between seventy and eighty sheep, none of which are owned by any of the five peasant proprietors in that village. The sheep graze the alfalfa as it stands in the field, the Abolkhair sheep being herded on the alfalfa after they return from the mountains at the end of the summer.

Most sheep owned by villagers living in the valley of the Kashaf Rood valley are sent into the mountains for the summer. Those from the village of Piyani are sent to the Sarakhs area to the east of Mashad. The unusual feature about this village is that its sheep stay in the hills all the year round, single individuals only being brought to the village when they are needed for sacrificial purposes. For each sheep the villagers pay fifteen tomans per month for its maintenance during the winter, but in summer because of the much greater availability of feed they only pay three tomans per month. Sheep owned by villages located in the hills rarely, if

ever, leave the village. The large flock at Khanrood to the west of Mashad, in the summer they graze the hill-sides during the daytime, returning to the village each evening, while in the winter-time they are folded in the village and fed dry grass. The fact that Khanrood possessed a flock of about 450 sheep, in addition to some 250 goats, gives some idea of the much more favourable conditions attending sheep-rearing in the hill areas, this being entirely due to the greater availability of animal feed, in the wetter hills.

As in the case of cattle, sheep and goats, which are herded together, are placed in the care of a specialist shepherd, or shepherds. However, the number of shepherds in a village is not always constant. Of the two shepherds in Khanrood only one is employed throughout the year. His associate only works for about six months of the year and his sole task is to take care of the new-born lambs. The permanent shepherd receives six kilos of wheat per year for each sheep, and also one-seventh of the wool which they produce. In addition to being shepherds both men cultivate land, which they own in this peasant proprietor village. By contrast, the shepherd in charge of the flock of about eighty sheep in Morghanoo is paid in cash, receiving 140 tomans a month for the whole flock, whatever its size. Thus the larger the number of sheep which a villager owns the cheaper it is to keep them per head. In general, in this and the other villages in the

area no one section of the population owns sheep exclusively. The shepherd of the nearby village of Abolkhair receives an annual wage of 1,200 tomans per year, irrespective of the size of the flock. As the flock in this village is approximately the same size as that of Morghanoo the shepherd here receives a smaller wage than his counterpart in the latter village. In addition, he has the task of taking the flock to the hills every summer and tending them there. Villages in the Targhobeh area show much less variation in the amount which they pay their shepherds. Throughout this restricted area the standard payment is one toman per sheep per month.

To prevent the lambs from taking the whole of the ewe's milk the latter's udder is covered with a cloth or a piece of sacking. While this serves its purpose very well the hygenic aspect leaves much to be desired, the rags frequently being dirty, thus being an almost ideal breeding ground for germs of all kinds in this climate.

Wool from the very few sheep which most peasants own is one of their principal sources of cash, or at least it was until the introduction of sugar-beet gave them an annual cash income. Except for the wool which is retained in the village to be worked by the women, all the wool produced in the area is sold in Mashad. Each sheep produces between three and six kilos of wool from each shearing. In most villages the sheep are sheared twice a year though flocks containing both shorn and unshorn

animals indicate that there is no rigidly specified time for shearing. In most cases the sheep is shorn when the peasant needs a little extra money. The price paid for wool in the Mashad bazaar tends to vary according to the supply. In 1962 it reached 10 tomans per kilo, though by May 1963 this had fallen to about half this price. The wool which is retained in the village occasionally is used to supply a local carpet-weaving industry (see Chapter VII). This was the case in Moghan Ardameh where the wool used was washed, spun, dyed and woven into carpets in the village.

CHAPTER VII - OTHER OCCUPATIONS.

All villages in this area have a headman, though there is no uniformity of function among these men. A few are still responsible for their village and its welfare, though many have been reduced to the status of a foreman whose principal task is to transmit instructions from the landlord to the villagers, and to see that these are carried out satisfactorily. The headmen of different villages are appointed in a variety of ways. In Khanrood he is appointed by the government, although the villagers are responsible for paying his salary. Each year he receives crops to the value of 700 tomans, the amount which each family contributes being determined by the size of their holding. In Morghanoo, Kashaf and Kalatehe Ali the headmen are appointed and paid by the lessee. This situation allows the lessee to remove the headman at any time if he refuses to co-operate, as has happened in Kashaf. There the headman refused to help to introduce fertilisers and allow a measure of mechanisation so he was replaced. His successor had been an ordinary crop-sharing peasant in another village and he is only too willing to help the lessee, who has improved his position in life far above anything he could have ever hoped for. The villages in the area owned by the Shrine of the Imam Reza in Mashad appoint their own headmen, as at Bilder. The headman is assisted in his task by other agricultural overseers among whom are the dashteban and the mir ab.

The functions of these and other officials is discussed fully in Chapter XII below.

In the hilly area to the south of the Kashaf Rood valley many villagers supplement their income by growing and selling timber. Each family in Khanrood has a plot of land on which it grows trees in addition to the land which it cultivates for food. When the tree is ten years old it is felled, stripped of bark and sold. The bark is dried and acts as an important source of fuel. The trees are felled between the sowing and harvesting of crops. Before it can be transported to Mashad by lorry it must be taken to the beginning of the track leading from the village to the provincial capital. This is done by hand, though in the Shandiz area donkeys are used, each dragging two logs up the steep hillsides to await the lorry.

Living in Khanrood there are six timber dealers, locally known as alofs. This term is used for all men who arrange for the villagers to sell any of their produce. They themselves do not buy the goods but only arrange for someone else to do so. In Khanrood the six alofs receive one percent of the price which the villagers obtain for their timber in return for the service which they give. Each dealer handles the wood from about 20 families. For each 3 kilos of wood which he sells the villager receives between 15 and 20 rials. By the end of May 1963 the village had already sold that year about 1800 kilos of timber. The wood which is sent to Mashad

in the springtime is wet, but some of the wood is allowed to dry in the village and is finally sold in the autumn.

The cost of transporting the wood varies according to whether it is wet or dry. For the former the lorry owner charges 6 rials per 3 kilos while the same amount of dry wood costs 12 rials. The cost of transport is born by the alof. In the spring about two lorry loads of wood are sent to Mashad from Khanrood. Very occasionally, and only when conditions prevent the lorry reaching the village, wood will be taken to Mashad by donkey.

Many villages have a small village shop which deals in general goods, and the larger ones may have several. These shops are completely unspecialised and stock any goods which are needed daily in the village, particularly tea, sugar, lamp glasses and, more recently, Coca Cola. Almost all these shops receive their goods direct from Mashad, usually by taxi, but in the case of Khanrood by the lorries which collected the timber from the village. In the larger villages specialised shops make their appearance. Gholestane Targhobeh, there are four general shops, two shoemakers, a baker, a butcher and two teahouses. This is largely due to the fact that in the summer about 50 families move into the village from Mashad. These summer residents continue to work in Mashad and are willing and able to pay cash for goods of a specialised nature. In the summer trade in the village shops almost doubles. Abkooh and the adjacent sugar-beet factory settlement, with

a total population now over 4,000, has about sixty shops which between them provide most of the needs of the local residents.

According to the 1956 National Census of the 1,175 villages in the Mashad Census District 392 had a bath-house. Many of these also serve the inhabitants of surrounding villages. A very important function of the bath-house is its use for ritual as well as personal cleansing. Throughout this area there is a widely held belief that after intercourse a couple must visit the bath-house before entering a mosque, while it is also used for the ritual washing of the dead prior to interment. In addition, a prospective bridal couple must spend a large part of their time in the bath-house preparing themselves for the wedding (see Chapter XV). The keeper of the bath-house and his helpers therefore play an important role in village life. This is recognised by the fact that the great majority of hammamis (bath-house keepers) are paid a village due by every family in the village.

In Mordar Keshan the hammami is given 5 kilos of wheat each year by every person using the baths, while in Chahashk each man pays 30 kilos of wheat, or barley, annually. In the same village the women pay for each visit in money, bread, tea, sugar or some other commodity. By contrast the hammami of Golestane Targhobeh is paid in cash, each man paying 10 tomans annually, while each

woman pays 2 rials and each child 1 rial per visit.

Abkooh possesses two bath-houses, the keepers of which are paid differently. The hammami in the village itself is paid annually, while his counterpart in the factory settlement receives payment for each visit. In both cases payment is in cash. This could be an adaptation to the local circumstances where a permanent factory worker would not be able to pay the hammami in wheat, although the practise of paying in cash seems to be spreading into the agricultural villages elsewhere in this area. The two hammamis of Khanrood were the only examples found who also cultivated land in addition to their public duties.

The interior of the bath-house (Hammam) is kept constantly at a very high temperature and is consequently very humid. The fuel used depends on that available locally, animal dung, wheat chaff and wood all being used. The latter was used in Khanrood, where the duties of the hammamis include collecting the wood from the surrounding hills. The hammam is heated from beneath, usually with the aid of iron tools purchased in Mashad. Firing seems to take place irregularly, its sole purpose being to keep the hammam at a constant high temperature. Only the hammamis of Khanrood had a regular system, the hammam being heated every night. In the hammam there are seperate pools for bathing and rinsing, while men and women attend at different times. In Khanrood women were

only allowed to use the facilities between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. while men could use it at any other time.

In 1956 2,225 households out of a total of 67,807 in the villages admitted that carpet weaving was carried out in their homes. Most of these households are in hill villages, no evidence of carpet weaving being found in the Kashaf Rud valley itself. In Moghane Ardameh a man and his two sons wove carpets for a living,not having any land to cultivate. This was unusual in that most village craftsmen have a small area of land on which they grow a little food to help feed their family. The Moghane carpet-weaver and his sons weave a large carpet in about two months. This is then sold to a merchant in the Mashad bazaar for 400 tomans and is resold by him for two or three times as much. The wool used for the carpet is produced, washed, spun and dyed in the village,though the dyes are now brought from Mashad. The pattern of the carpet is drawn on squared paper which is then pinned to the loom.

The wool is knotted on to cotton, bought in Mashad, each knot being cut individually. When a series of knots have been made they are beaten together to form a thick pile with a comb-like implement made of iron. When a section of the carpet has been completed it is wound round on to a cylinder so that the part of the carpet which is being worked on is always about 4 feet 6 inches from the floor. The workers sit cross-legged on a bench

in front of their work. Golestane Targhobeh also produces carpets, about 20 children of both sexes being employed in the craft.

Throughout the countryside there are a number of craftsmen of which the commonest are the carpenter, bricklayer, blacksmith and shoemaker. In the larger villages most of these men receive an annual payment, usually in kind, in return for which they do any work which is required of them during the following year. Usually this payment is made by a family at harvest-time. However, a large number of craftsmen are itinerant and these are more usually paid for each piece of work which they do, in almost all cases receiving money. These men are so much an accepted part of village life that the garage mechanic who visited the village of Kalatehe Ali has a special room set aside for his use whenever it is necessary for him to remain in the village overnight. The carpenter in the same village, however, both lives and works in the village. In return for his services each family payshim 30 kilos of wheat at harvest-time.

The underground channels which carry water for irrigation to most villages, which are known as qanats, require constant maintenance as they are very easily damaged, especially during periods of heavy rain. The qanat workers live in the villages and are paid by whoever is responsible for the maintenance of the qanat. They are one of the few people in this area who are almost

assured of almost continuous employment. The qanats are lined with brick hoops, a kiln fired by animal dung in Kalatehe Ali being exclusively concerned with the production of these hoops. In this village there is one man whose sole occupation is making qanat hoops in the kiln.

Khanrood is one of the relatively small number of villages which possess a flour mill. This is driven by water-power. There are two millers in the village, each of whom runs his own mill, and each receiving 150 grams of wheat from each three kilos which he grinds into flour. This is his sole income, although he also cultivates a small plot of land. Most villages have to transport their wheat to another village, the inhabitants of Kalatehe Ali taking their's to a mill about six kilometres. away.

Builders are a class of workers who are now paid for each piece of work which they do, although there are signs that in the past they received an annual due. Most of their materials, other than mud, are obtained in Mashad, usually at the expense of the employer. As the great majority of villagers are in no position to pay a builder many of them repair their own stables and houses, sometimes with the help of the builder.

Women are rarely employed in anything other than household tasks, such as cleaning, cooking and spinning. This is indicated by the very high percentage of women in

the villages classified as housewives in the 1956 National Census. Only 4.8 percent were in paid employment. Women are very often called upon to help the men of the family in their work, especially at important times in the agricultural year, such as harvest and sugar-beet weeding. They occasionally help in other occupations, as when the family owns the village shop. Quite often the shop is looked after by the woman while the man cultivates land. In Kalatehe Ali the mullah's two daughters acted as dressmakers. Their two hand sewing machines were almost the only modern pieces of equipment, apart from the tractor, in the village.

Although 48 percent of villages in the Mashad Census District had a mosque in 1956 by no means all of these were in charge of a mullah. Many villages receive a visit from a mullah only during or before a religious festival, many of these mullahs leaving Mashad for the villages and returning there as soon as the festival is over. While Iran is officially Moslem, over 99 percent of the population of this area professing to be adherents of the Shi'a sect, many pre-Islamic beliefs still prevail in the villages. Hence it is perhaps not suprising that a mullah's services are felt to be necessary only at the most sacred times of the year. At Chahashk a mullah only comes to take services in the mosque on Friday nights and in Moharram, the month when the death of the Imam Reza is remembered. During his visits the families in the village

take it in turn to provide him with dinner, bed and breakfast and a cash payment of four tomans. By contrast the mullah who visits Golestane Targhobeh is only paid for giving religious talks and personal advice.

The introduction to the 1956 National Census Report on the Mashad Census District states 'The proportion of men who were neither working nor looking for work was about 18 percent in the Census District'. Many of these were in the city of Mashad. These figures include old men and young boys in the villages, but it must be stated that in the villages shhooling for boys and retirement for old men as we know them are virtually non-existent. In 1963 the very bad floods which affected this area in the late spring caused widespread damage to crops and qanats. Due to the threat of losing their land in the process of land reforms many landlords and lessees were reluctant to repair the damage, thus increasing the already large number of unemployed in the villages. The villages themselves showed little evidence of this, though that was largely because those men who were unemployed had gone to Mashad to seek work, a rather forelorn hope in the general economic depression prevailing in the summer of 1963 throughout Iran.

Speaking generally, the village craftsmen are gradually being made redundant as Mashad becomes accessible to more and more villagers. This is particularly affecting those concerned in the manufacture of consumer goods,

such as shoes, metal bowls and pots. Several village headmen admitted that the village had once had a particular craftsman in the village, he no longer being needed as 'we can get it from Mashad now'. These men are gradually drifting into the cities, such as Mashad, where some of them manage to continue their trade. Many are unable to find work in the only craft which they have ever pursued. As the influence of the cities spreads further afield this problem is likely to become even more acute, especially as goods bought in Mashad have something like social prestige attached to them, an attribute which cannot be obtained by buying goods from the local village craftsman.

CHAPTER VIII - TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

As briefly mentioned in Chapter I it is not easy to travel to this area of Iran, or to travel within it. The main roads which have the sole function of connecting the large towns to each other vary very greatly in quality. Very few road surfaces in Iran outside the major towns and cities are tarmacadamed. The only one in this area is a stretch of about fifteen miles stretching southwards from Mashad on the Nishaboor road. All other roads have a gravel surface which varies in quality between one sectionand the next. The system of main roads consists of a northern road via Qoochan to the Caspian Sea, which is often used as a more pleasant route to Tehran in the summer, a southern road to Tehran via Nishaboor, from which a branch leads southwards to Torbate Heydari, and the road eastwards to Herat in Afghanistan.

To supplement this system of main roads are many dirt tracks which join villages to the main roads and to each other. These were never intended for vehicle traffic, but are now used to varying degrees by taxis, buses and private cars to an extent which varies directly according to the size and accessibility of the villages which they serve. These very often make use of natural features, especially dried up river beds, which can cause problems in periods of inclement weather. Bridges on these minor roads and tracks are non-existent, any watercourse having to be forded. Luckily the very low rainfall experienced

in this area makes the fording of rivers and streams possible at most times, thus making the provision of a bridge unnecessary. Heavy rainfall also has a great effect on the dirt tracks which quickly become impassable in many parts in such weather

The village of Ghasem Abad Targhobeh is connected to the Mashad-Vakilabad road by a track which runs along the dry bed of the Vakilabad river for a large part of the way. Morghanoo is located across the Kashaf Rood from Mashad, the shortest route to the latter involving the fording of the river. This is impossible when the river is in flood thus making a much longer journey to Mashad necessary. The main roads keep to the flat floor of the river valley, and so the only road system in the hills is a series of poor tracks which wind up and down and round the hillsides. That these tracks are negotiated by large lorries filled with timber from villages such as Khanrood is nothing short of miraculous.

Khanrood itself is connected to Mashad by a very narrow track with an extremely poor surface. The connections between it and the other four villages in the same valley are very little better. The only track suitable for traffic other than human beings on foot between Khanrood and Morghan Ardameh climbs out of the valley at Khanrood, proceeds along the edge of the valley and drops down into the valley again to reach Morghan. This track covers a distance of about five miles, while

the two villages are only about a mile and a half apart in the valley. Because of these poor tracks the most important form of transport within the Khanrood area, and between it and Mashad, is by donkey, or by lifts obtained on the lorries which carry the village's timber into Mashad (see Chapter VII). The terrain makes it impossible to use either the traditional carts or the more recently introduced bicycles found in the valley area (see below).

In general lorries are used to carry goods for the landlord or lessee, or for the village as a whole. In the case of sugar-beet this is the only suitable method of transportming many tons of beet to a factory which may be many miles away from the village. The use of a lorry has enabled the lessee and villagers of Morghanoo to sell their sugar-beet harvest to the privately owned factory at Fariman, south of Mashad, rather than to the government factories closer at hand which give a lower price per ton. In the case of the sugar-beet harvest the lorries are hired by the producer of the crop, as in most other cases of transporting agricultural produce in the area. The buyer usually provides the lorry but always charges the seller for its use.

The only other large motor vehicle frequently met with on the roads in the Mashad area is the bus. This varies from a modern forty-seater coach used exclusively for the transport of people from one large centre of population to another. Regular services are run from

Mashad to Tehran, Qoochan and Torbate Haydari and to the smaller towns en route. These are expensive to travel in when compared with the average earnings of a peasant, and so they play a relatively minor part in the life of a peasant, except perhaps to make it more difficult and dangerous for him to use his more sedate forms of transport on the main roads.

Of much more direct interest to the peasant is the large number of buses of varying ages which ply between the villages of this area and Mashad. These are very cheap and will carry anything, whether it be firewood, a bicycle or livestock. Generally speaking, the fare which the peasant is charged is related to his income. These buses are a relatively new method of travelling between the village and Mashad and are made great use of by the peasants. Those villages which are situated on or near to a main road are very well served by buses. Bid Abid, which is situated alongside the Mashad-Qoochan road, must be one of the most accessible villages in the area. The fare from Cheneran to Mashad, a distance of about forty miles, is two shillings, though an obviously poor villager may very well make the journey for less after much hard bargaining.

A slightly more expensive but equally recent form of transport is the motor taxis which ply between villages and Mashad. Many of these have regular routes, such as Mashad- Cheneran or Mashad - Targhobeh, while others will

only make a journey if requested. These taxis seem to be used exclusively in the village and not in Mashad, which has its own large fleet of taxis. The more people and goods that can be crowded into one taxi the cheaper the journey is for each passenger. The following scale of fares operates between Cheneran and Mashad:-

One person	5 tomans
Two persons	3 tomans each
Three persons	2 tomans each
Four persons	15 rials each
Five persons	12 rials each
Six or more persons	1 toman each

In this way the taxi driver makes more money the more persons he carries, and the cheaper the ride becomes for each individual passenger, though slightly more may be charged for a seat next to an openable window. Some taxis carry goods as well as passengers. In addition to the possessions of the passengers, several village shops are supplied at regular intervals by taxi from Mashad. The shop at Kashaf is supplied every three days and that at Kalatehe Ali each day, both by means of taxi. However, villages with a taxi service whether frequent and/or regular, or only when asked for, are confined to the valley area in general and to the more accessible hill settlements, such as Targhobeh and Shandiz. Remote villages such as Khanrood are not served by taxi.

The other recently introduced form of transport in

the villages is the bicycle. This has already acquired a special status as it makes its owner independent of other forms of transport and does not need to be fed as does a donkey. The owning of a bicycle is a status symbol in the community, though as yet the vast majority of villagers cannot afford to buy one. Now, however, each village has at least one bicycle, their only drawback being that the amount of goods which they can carry is limited, though two people can easily be accomodated.

Until the advent of the motor vehicles and bicycles the main form of transport of both men and goods was the donkey, either alone or with a cart. For the vast majority of peasants this is still the case. Women in particular travel around almost exclusively by donkey. Some of the hill villages in this region are so inaccessible that donkey transport is the only way to reach them and move between them, except on foot. Most peasant families in the Kashaf Rood valley own a donkey and this is still the most widely used method of transporting person and goods to and from a village.

The number of horses in this area is very much smaller than that of donkeys, although they are by no means rare. They are almost entirely the prerogative of the better paid villagers such as the headmen, most of whom own a horse, very often the only one in the village. Today many of those who in the past would have been able to afford a horse now invest in a bicycle which serves

equally well to impress others with one's rank and importance.

Horses are also used in this area to pull carts of a traditional design, most villages owning at least one and the larger villages several. Many of these carts are owned by specialised carters whose sole occupation is to carry goods for other people. These men have been affected quite a lot by the increase in other forms of transport in the area, especially buses and cars.

Despite all the different methods of transport in use in this part of Iran the vast majority of peasants travel very little, though they do so much more now than they did in the past. Travel is now much easier though to many very, very expensive, and this automatically restricts journeys which have to be paid for, in buses and taxis, to the absolute minimum. The number of people in this area who can afford to travel is very small and seems likely to remain so for the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER IX - EDUCATION.

'Two articles of the law of the Ministry of Education of 1911 are of particular significance: Article Three, which states that elementary education is compulsory for all children in Iran, and Article fifteen, which differentiates between rural and urban schools.... However, later events have shown that this law and others have not provided sufficiently for village education....'[1]

The Ostan of Khorasan is one in which the problem of village education is very great as the following figures from the 1956 National Census indicate:-

	Rural School Enrollment	Percentage of children of school age in school
Primary	30,049	13.3
Secondary	1,537	0.9

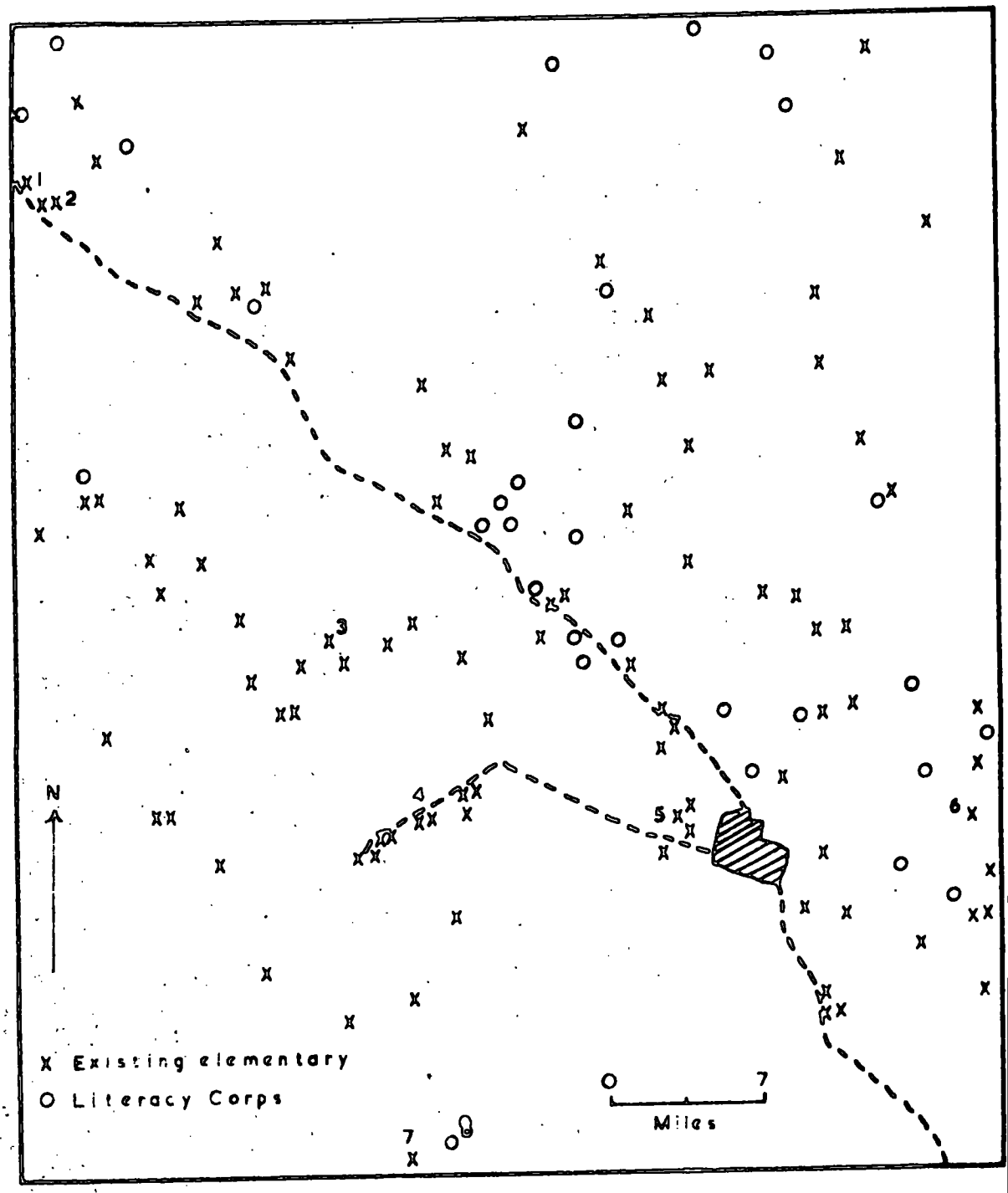
The same source gives the following information on schools in the Mashad Census District in November 1956, excluding Mashad City:-

	Number of Schools	Percentage of villages
Government schools only	59	5.0
Private schools only	105	8.9
Both types of school	6	0.5
Without educational facilities	1005	85.6

Since 1956 the postion has improved to some extent, the number of government primary schools having risen in the area by June 1963 to 185 (see Appendix K). In

1 Arasteh: Education and Social Awakening in Iran. 1962.

MAP 6 Distribution of schools in the Mashad area.



Secondary schools.

1 Cheneran
2 Haji Nasir
3 Shandiz
4 Targhobeh
5 Abkhoo
6 Morghanoo
7 Moghan Ardameh
8 Khanrood

addition, four government secondary schools have been established in the rural areas. The registration of private schools is compulsory before they can function, but the provincial Department of Education in Mashad was unable to give any figures of the numbers in the area. Against this must be set the fact that in 1963 the city of Mashad alone had 102 elementary schools, which were attended by 36,487 pupils of which 14,510 were girls, a significan proportion in a country where women still occupy an inferior position to men in life. Thus the number of pupils attending elementary schools in the whole of the rural area of Khorasan in 1956 were several thousand fewer than those attending similar schools in Mashad City seven years later. That the postion regarding rural education has not altered in the past few years to any great extent is supported by the fact that the 193 rural schools in the Mashad area were attended by only 3,157 pupils, of which the overwhelming majority were boys.

In the field of secondary education rural facilities are less adequate. Of the twenty six secondary schools in the Mashad shahestan, all of which give a general education, twenty two are in Mashad City. The remaining four are distributed as follows:-

	Number of schools	Pupils
Torghabeh	1	39
Sarakhs	2	108
Fariman	1	59

Although these figures, provided by the Department of Education, exclude private secondary schools the number of the latter are very small.

Vocational secondary schools are located solely in Mashad itself, a fact which automatically excludes a large part of the population from attending them. The city has an agricultural school, a commercial school, a technical school, an art school, two teacher training centres and one rural teacher training centre. These are, of course, in addition to the twenty two general secondary schools mentioned above, and between them they contain 1,471 pupils of which less than 100 are girls.

One of the greatest problems which the educational organisers in Iran have to face is the shortage of teachers, of quality as well as quantity. Even in 1963 it was still necessary to state that secondary school teachers should, if possible, be university graduates or have been through a teacher's training college. Unfortunately this is not often possible especially in those areas from which Tehran is not readily accessible. The result is that in an effort to combat this lack of trained teachers, which is particularly marked in rural areas, the Departments of Education are willing to employ anyone who is literate, even in secondary schools. In the rural areas of North Khorasan such people are a rarity in themselves and those who have the necessary qualifications to teach, with very few exceptions, move into the cities to work.

This problem is not only felt in this remote corner of Iran but throughout the country. In an effort to overcome it in late 1962 the government established its Literacy Corps, a body of Iranian army officers, who almost without exception were members of the upper class. Their task was to go into rural Iran for a period of two years, establish schools and teach people to read and write. In addition, they were ordered to give other advice on all manner of problems whenever they could. Mashad shahestan received eighty five of these men with the result that a similar number of schools have been established in the rural areas, with the exception of the Sarakhs area. Here many of the people are semi-nomads and it was felt that it was not worth while trying to establish schools among this moving population. The great disadvantage of this system is that the great majority of the officers appointed to operate it have no interest in it. In addition many of them are completely unsuited to the hardships of village life having never lived anywhere other than in a city in the past.

The extent of tne illiteracy problem in this area can be gauged from the figures in Appendix F. It can be seen that there the literacy rate in the villages is very low indeed, especially among women. The higher percentage of literates in the lower age groups is due to the recent increase in the number of schools and that these young people have not yet left their home for the city of Mashad.

to seek employment in an office. The tremendous size of the population which is still illiterate indicates just how much work remains to be done. Most villages are without a school and a large number are not within easy reach of one, even by Iranian standards of distance. Even in those villages possessing a school by no means all, or even a majority of, the children attend it (see Chapter XVI). The following table indicates the situation in a number of villages in the area:-

	Population (1956)	Number of literates	School	Number of village children attending school
Kashaf	134	1 (headman)	No	0
Ghasem Abad Targhobeh	82	c20 (mainly children)	Dehnow Targhobeh	10
Kalatehe Ali	165	1 (read only)	3 km.away	3
Khanrood	615	6 + 20 readers	Morghan Ardameh	0
Bid Abid	62	15 (mainly children)	Shah Abad 2 Km.	5
Morghanoo	122	-	In village	25
Abolkhair	69	0	Morghanoo	2
Bilder	55	-	Dehnow Targhobeh	3

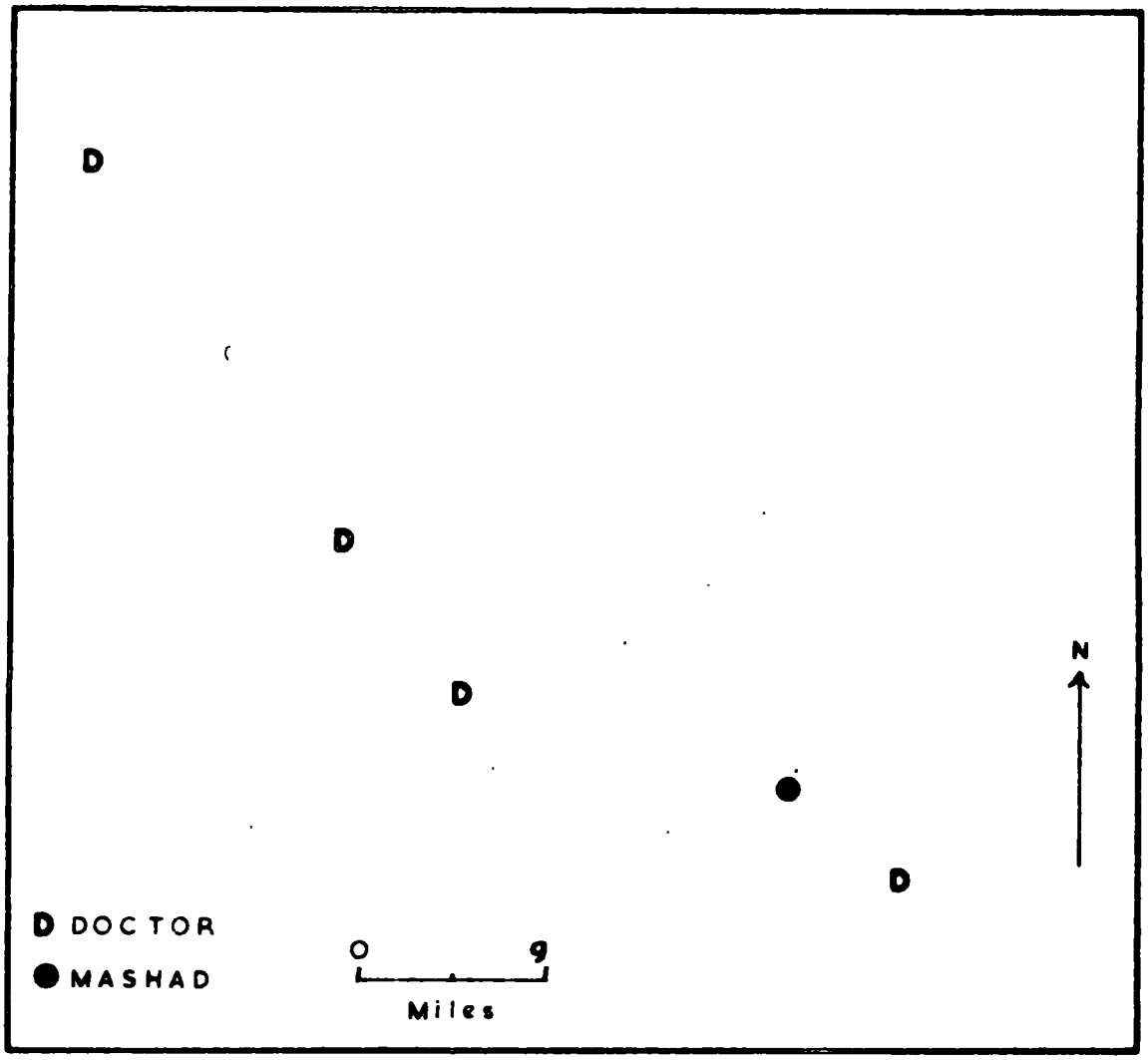
There is no reason to assume that the above villages are anything other than typical of the situation in the villages of this area.

The economic situation of these village people makes it very difficult for them to send their children, many of whom have an economic function in the family to fulfill, to any school, however accessible. That this problem can be overcome is shown by a small number of the parents of these children who themselves attend evening classes, which many schools hold specially for adults. However, it is unlikely to be overcome without a very great effort on the part of everyone concerned, not only those directly in education but those whose task is to try and improve life in the villages. Until this is done there seems very little chance that more than a very small minority of village children will have the benefit of a school education. At the present time the only education which the great majority of village children receive is from their parents. This consists of learning whatever is necessary for them to earn a living in the village in which they were bron in the case of a boy, or to enable them to raise and care for a family if a girl.

CHAPTER X - MEDICENE.

The general lack of facilities for educating in the rural areas is only matched, if not surpassed, by the scarcity of medical facilities. All Iranian villages are to a greater or lesser degree unhygienic due to the complete lack of amenities. Running water is unknown, except in a very few villages, with the exception of the irrigation canal (qanat). This is the source of irrigation water for most villages, although it is sometimes supplemented by a deep well. In addition, this water is used for every purpose in the village, whether for washing or drinking. Water from the village bath-house eventually finds its way into the qanat, as does the sewage. In most cases several villages are served by the same qanat, each village adding to the impurity of the qanat water as it passes. It is significant that Iranians distinquish in everyday speech between 'water' and 'drinking water'. In the villages, however, although a distinction may be made between them in speech, they are very often one and the same thing. In these circumstances it is very easy to understand why the general standard of health is low and that mortality rates, especially among babies and young children, are so high.

The headquarters of the health administration for Mashad shahestan and for Khorasan ostan is in Mashad. Despite great and recurring problems of communicat ions, staff and finance the Mashad Health Department are making



MAP 7. Location of Doctors in Mashad area.

an attempt to prevent disease occurring, especially in the form of epidemics. The Department has a special section whose task is preventive medicine, whose main task in the past few years has been to cover the local area in the national campaign of vaccination against smallpox. In 1959 the task of vaccinating everyone was finished as far as it could be in a country with such primitive facilities, and during 1963 the second vaccination was being administered. This has taken place in the villages as well as in the towns, and its usefulness was indicated in 1960 when there was a smallpox epidemic in Afghanistan and Pakistan. A rapidly executed programme involving the revaccination of everyone within one hundred miles of the borders of these countries seems to have been the reason why the disease made no progress in Iran.

Other programmes of injections are in progress. In 1963 the immediate aim was to immunise all children against tetanus, whooping cough and diptheria before the age of six years, to be followed by another tetanus injection before the age of twelve years. Despite the great risk of infection reaching wounds sustained in insanitary village conditions this programme seems to have reduced considerably the occurrence of tetanus in the area. In addition typhoid and cholera injections are given by the mobile teams which travel round the villages administering the injections detailed above. In the

Iranian month of February-March 1963 (Esfand) the following numbers of injections were administered by the Department teams:-

	1st.	2nd.	3rd	Booster
Diptheria	15,386	4,811	-	133
Tetanus	15,386	4,811	-	133
Whooping Cough	7,714	2,480	290	133
Typhoid	230	168	96	20

In the year ending 21st March 1963 the following numbers of smallpox injections were given:-

Villages	Population	Vaccinations	Villages checked	Revaccinations checked
1465	456,706	425,733	666	15,401

In theory all vaccinations are checked by a separate team which visits the village eight days after the first team. The Health Department (Preventative Medicine Section) also has a doctor who is available at a moments notice to be sent to areas where any kind of epidemic could be threatening, and whose task it is to organise preventive measures on the spot.

The Health Department also has a mobile film unit which tours the villages at the same time as the vaccination teams distributing pamphlets and posters which are designed to illustrate the dangers to health in a pictorial form, thus overcoming the illiteracy of the great majority of the village population. The Sanitary

Engineering section of the Department is trying very hard, but not very successfully, to have all drinking water in the area piped and to have pumps installed at all wells from which drinking water is drawn. It is also part of its duty to check all premises in Mashad which sell and handle food and all the bath-houses. Once again the problem of staffing is desperate. The whole work of this section of the Health Department has to be undertaken by one man, an obviously impossible task. To cover the Mashad shahestan adequately would require a large team of trained and dedicated people.

While great efforts are obviously being made to prevent disease, very little attention has as yet been given to the almost complete lack of curative medical facilities in the large area outside the city of Mashad, or its immediate vicinity. While there are 117 qualified doctors in Mashad city the remainder of the shahestan, which contains a slightly larger population than the city, has only seven doctors and one dentist. It must be admitted also that at least some of these doctors spend a large part of their time in Mashad, if not farther afield. The attraction of Mashad and other large cities, especially Tehran, is as great for doctors as it is for teachers. This is partly due to the fact that only in the cities can they find persons with a large enough income to be able to afford medical treatment. Many of the doctors in Mashad have at least two jobs. Almost all doctors in the

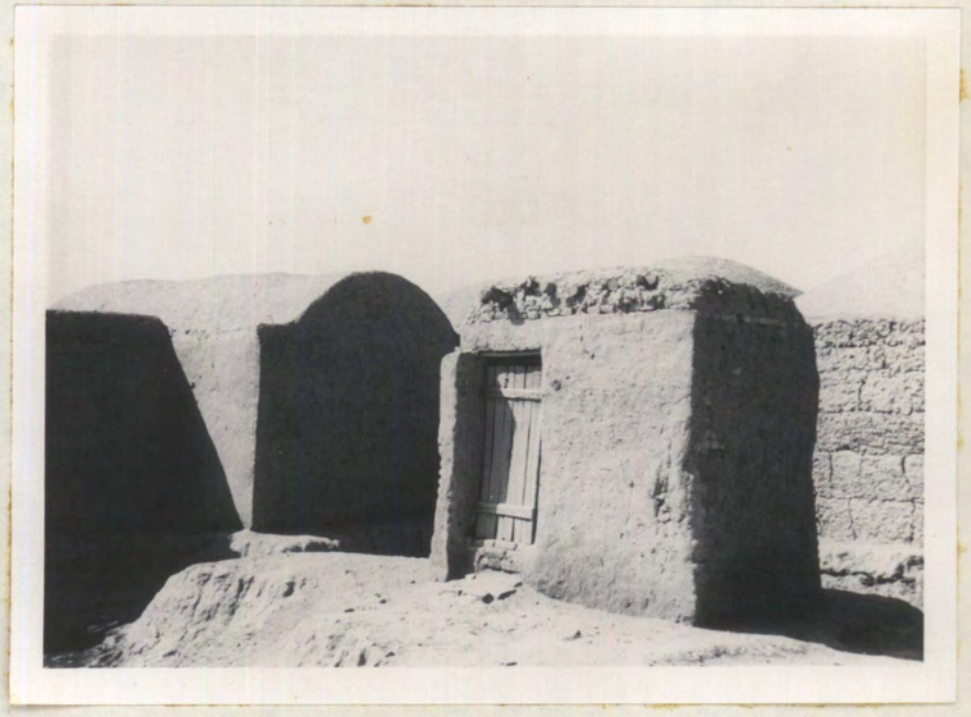
hospitals, Health Department, and the University Faculty of Medicine are also in private practice in the town, largely because their salaries for their 'public' employment are so small and undependable. Of the seventy nine doctors with posts in the Faculty of Medicine forty nine work in other hospitals in Mashad in the mornings, and every member of the Faculty staff has a private practice in the city in the evenings.

Very few people in Iran are attracted to village life with its obvious discomforts, and the people who train to become doctors are generally from the level of society which is used to the comparatively easy life of the larger cities. To try and increase the number of doctors practicing in the rural areas the central government passed a law compelling all newly qualified doctors to practice outside any town with a medical faculty for a period of two years. This still leaves great scope to the young doctor in the less important towns and cities and he need never go near a village in the two years of his 'exile', for he regards it as such. Many other young doctors evade this law completely by one means or other, the most favoured method being to obtain a research post at Tehran University.

The 1956 National Census reported that only eleven villages out of the 1175 in the Census District had a clinic or 'other medical facilities'. By 1963 this number had risen to fourteen, but only half of these had a

qualified doctor in charge. By contrast, Mashad city possessed sixteen hospitals and clinics of various types and sizes which of necessity serve the rural area around Mashad. A visit to one of these establishments or to a private doctor in the city is a considerable expense to the peasant and his family and is avoided if it is at all possible to do so. Hence many villagers do without any form of medical treatment trusting to Allah, or some more primitive remedy, to restore his or her health. A small number of villages have access to a privately run clinic at which treatment is free (see Chapter XVI).

The Shah Reza hospital in Mashad is the only public hospital in the area. As it is run by the Shrine authorities in Mashad its finances are by no means secure, the Shrine's chief source of income being from the villages donated to it by faithfull Shi'a Moslems, villages which come within the scope of the present law on land reform. At this hospital most of the doctors are only part-time, thirty nine of them being members of the University Faculty of Medicine, who are only paid for those mornings on which they actually attend the hospital. The hospital contains 350 beds, the patients coming mainly from Khorasan and especially from Mashad city. Some of them are referred to the hospital by their local doctor while others arrive of their own accord. In addition to these in-patients the out-patients department is very busy as the following figures indicate:-



One of the very few roofed toilets located in the area - Haji Nasir.

Iranian Year	In-patients.	Out-patients.
1339 (1960-61)	9,091	80,217
1340 (1961-62)	10,503	98,250
1341 (1962-63)	10,543	208,998

Although the majority of in-patients are from the city these figures are illustrative of the great pressure which is put on the out-patients department in this one public hospital, a much higher proportion of the latter patients being from the villages. If all those in the villages who needed treatment were to come to the hospital its facilities would prove to be completely inadequate to the task.

Certain private bodies operate medical facilities in the rural areas of Mashad shahestan. One of these is the American Christian Mission Society. In addition to running a small private hospital in Mashad they began pre-natal and hygience courses in the villages in the summer of 1963. There is also the possibility that these may in time become full clinics. One such favoured village is Kalatehe Ali.

By far the most prevalent disease in the villages is dysentery in its many forms. This is especially true in summertime and among children, particularly when fruit has become available for eating. In the winter pneumonia is widespread. The majority of the disease treated at the clinics in the area, and at the hospitals and other medical establishments in Mashad, is suffered by children. The

adult peasant cannot afford to be ill. If he is his crops will be neglected, there will be no harvest for him, and starvation will assume an even greater position in the family than usual.

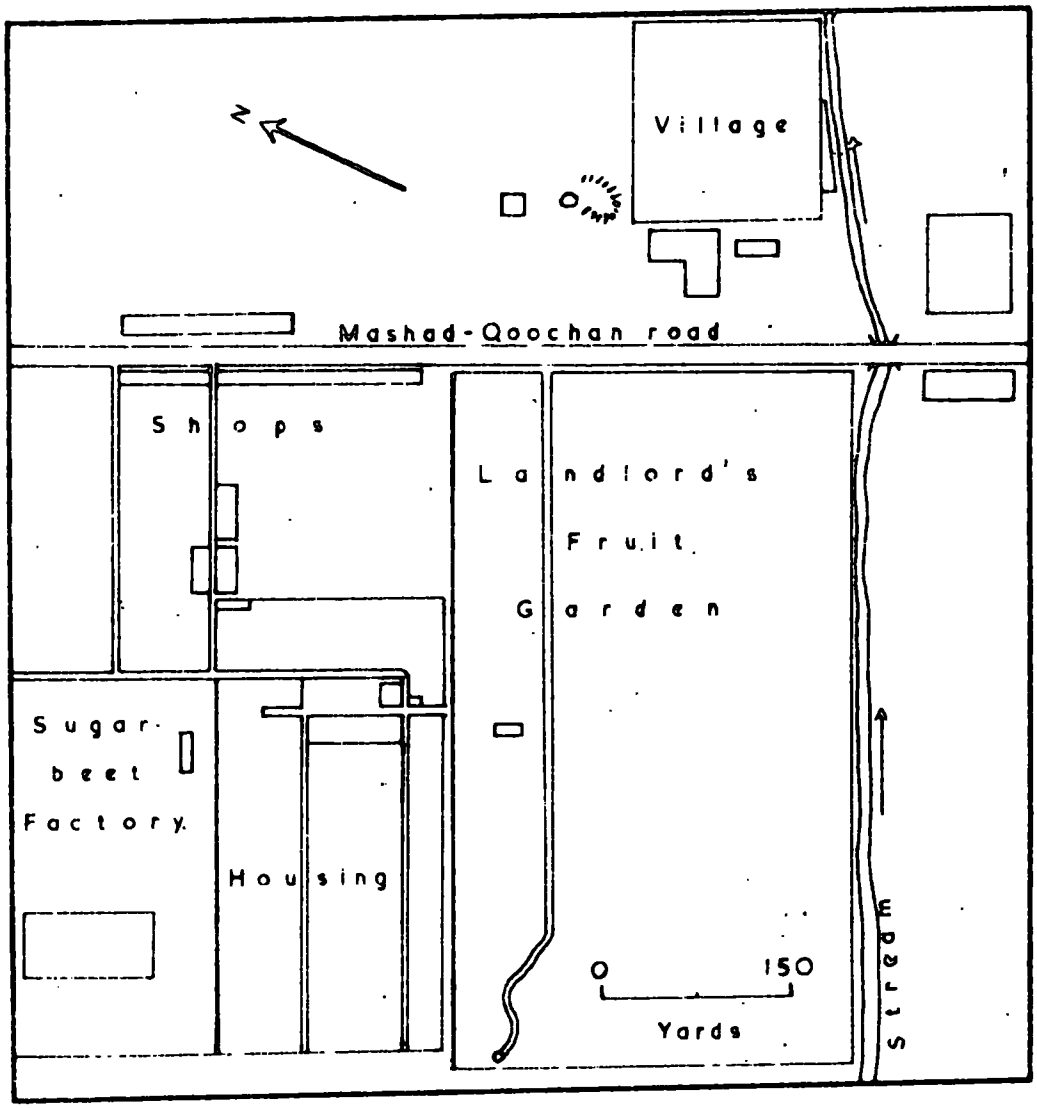
In the villages many people are genuinely frightened of the doctor and hospitals, a phenomenom not completely absent from West European society. The Shah Reza hospital admitted that a patient who has been in the hospital a few days will suddenly discharge himself, because of fear of what was going to happen to him, quite frequently. The vast majority of the villagers are fatalistic concerning illness and death, preferring to trust in Allah rather than in medical science. On the other hand there is some evidence that those peasants living in close proximity to a clinic are becoming hypochondriacs!!

Considering the insanitary conditions and the meagre diet of the great majority of people in this area it is suprising that epidemics are not more frequent than they are. But it is almost certainly true to say that if a person survives into adulthood he or she has by then become immune to many of the more common diseases of this area. Great efforts are being made by the Community Development office in Mashad to persuade people to improve their villages and particularly its sanitation. At first there is a great reluctance to change any aspect of the traditional way of life, but the persuasion of a few very

often leads to the conversion of the mass.

Any large scale programme designed to improve the living conditions in the villages of northern Khorasan will need a great deal of time, money and patience before even the smallest results are evident. This is especially true of the more remote areas, many of which are at present completely cut off from any medical aid. Only by improving communications will it be possible to improve any other facet of life in these remote areas.

PART TWO - HAJI NASIR.



MAP 8. Haji Nasir Area.

Haji Nasir - general view of the new settlement looking along the main road towards Qoochan.

Haji Nasir - village bus passing the entrance to the landlord's garden.

Haji Nasir - general view of village street from gate.

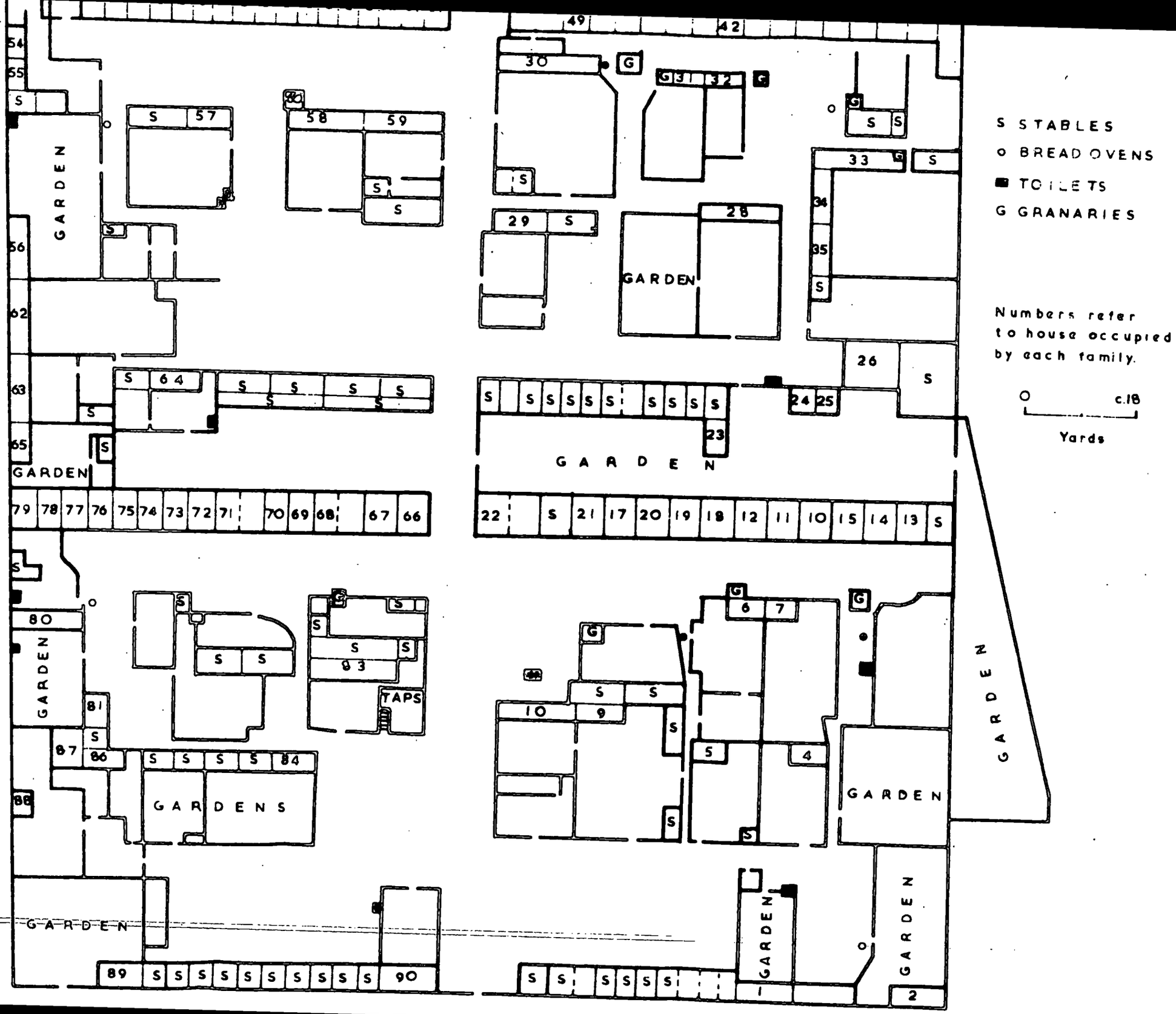
Haji Nasir - general view from rooftop lokking East.

CHAPTER XI - THE HAJI NASRR AREA.

The village of Haji Nasir is situated alongside the main Mashad - Qoochan road, though there are plans to by-pass the village in the near future. The whole settlement can be divided into several parts and thus in a very small area several facets of rural life in this part of Iran can be studied.

The original village of Haji Nasir was situated on the site at present occupied by the government sugar-beet factory. When the landlord gave the ground to the government he rebuilt the village a few hundred yards further east. Across the road from the newly sited village is a large irrigated fruit garden which is still under the direct control of the landlord. It is in this garden that the clinic lies which serves the whole of this area.

Between the garden and the sugar-beet factory lies the settlement directly associated with the latter. It consists of housing for the factory and office workers and their families, and shops and other amenities for their use. This is the most recently erected part of the settlement and is the only part in which brick has been widely used. Due to the presence of the factory, and the population increase which it caused in the immediate vicinity, a group of buildings has been erected along the main road. Their main function is to serve the needs of the travellers passing through with the extra attraction


S STABLES
O BREAD OVENS
TOILETS
G GRANARIES
Numbers refer to house occupied by each family.
0 c.18
Yards
GARDEN
GARDENS
TAPS

of a great increase in trade during the period when the factory is concerned with the sugar-beet harvest.

The whole settlement lies in the northern part of the Kashaf Rood valley. Here, as throughout the whole valley, the valley floor forms a flat plain several kilometres wide, which allows building to be undertaken with the minimum of inconvenience. Likewise transport in this valley area is extremely easy. This makes the villages in the Haji Nasir area relatively accessible from Mashad, the distance being about forty miles along a quite good gravel road. However, this means that it is not very easy for a peasant in such a village as Haji Nasir to reach the city without spending what is, for him, a very considerable sum of money, or alternatively a long period of time if he uses his own transport. Thus, while the city has had only an indirect influence on the settlement of Haji Nasir, the great growth in the population in the immediate vicinity, corresponding with the rise of the sugar-beet factory and its attendant facilities, provides an interesting example of the way in which an otherwise traditional village can be affected by the proximity of conditions which are only rarely found outside the larger settlements in this area.

Haji Nasir - mud brick arch leading to water taps.

Haji Nasir - part of the rectangular plan of housing originally built by the landlord.

CHAPTER XII - LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURE.

In this area Haji Malek, who is one of the largest landowners in Khorasan (the Persian word 'malek' means landowner), owns seven villages, one of which is Haji Nasir. These villages and one owned by Malek's brother's daughter, along with other villages owned by Malek in the Zoorabad, Torogh and Torbate Jam areas, are leased to a Company which pays the landlord an annual rent of 2,000,000 tomans (about £100,000). In the Haji Nasir area the Company has appointed a foreman, who is in charge of all the villages which it leases in this area. In addition to the villages owned by the Malek family these consist of another six villages owned by other landlords, making a total of fourteen villages in all. The foreman, his assistant and the headman of Haji Nasir are all appointed by the Company, who also pays the greater part of the salary of the first two individuals. The foreman also rents another village in this area in his own name as well as farming baldakh land (see below) in Haji Nasir. The latter method of supplementing their incomes is also indulged in by both the assistant foreman and the headman. When Haji Malek dies all his land is to be given to the Shrine in Mashad, but this plan may have to be changed in view of the Iranian government's intention to reform the villages of both private landlords and the Shrine. The only landowners who are as yet not convered by the provisions of the Land Reform law are those owning only

a single village. Obviously neither the Shrine, or its potential benefactor, comes into this category.

In Haji Nasir the landlord, in the shape of the Company leasing the village, provides the land, water and, where appropriate, the seed, while the peasants provide the labour. At harvest time the foreman removes a sufficient quantity for the following year's seed, village dues are paid and the remaining amount is divided equally between the Company and the peasants cultivating the land. The sugar-beet is sent to the local factory and the peasants receive half the cash return from this, once again minus the village dues. With the sugar-beet there is no removal of seed as the factory provides this free of charge at the commencement of each growing season as part of their contract with the farmers (see Chapter XVIII).

Within Haji Nasir there are thirty two-crop-sharing peasant families, they being divided into four groups of eight, each group being known as a sahrar. This is the co-operative group which works together on the land, each group having its own area to cultivate and for which it is solely responsible. Each group also has eight cattle, which are divided into four ploughteams, which are of great significance in the payment of village dues (see below). The eight peasants who comprise the group are themselves divided into two groups of four. One group, the salars, are in charge of irrigation of the land, while the other

group, the dehgans, are in charge of the actual cultivation. The members of the sahrar appoint one of the salars as head of the group (the sahsalar), and he is in complete control of the working of the group. The fact that this man is always a salar is an indication of the great importance which is attached to water in agriculture in this region.

In 1962 each sahrar cultivated a total of forty two hectares, of which twenty hectares were devoted to wheat, ten hectares each to barley and sugar-beet and the remaining two hectares to melons. Of the three hundred hectares of village land one hundred and ninety eight were being cultivated, mainly by the sahraha. The thirty hectares outside this system was baldakh land. This is leased to private individuals by the foreman and anyone can be given this land on application. However, in 1962 the only people who held baldakh land in Haji Nasir were the foreman, his assistant and the headman of the village. They each held ten hectares and used labour from Haji Nasir, which they paid on a daily basis at the rate of four tomans per day. The crops grown on baldakh land is shared equally with the Company. The land not able to be cultivated through lack of water under either of these systems lies fallow for that year and is used for grazing village stock.

The cultivated area is irrigated by means of a stream, which flows into the valley at Jam Ab, and by two deep

wells, both of which are also used to irrigate the landlord's garden (see Chapter XVII). One of these wells is in the north-west corner of the garden while the other lies about two hundred metres to the west of the garden. Irrigation is the responsibility of the mirab, who also controls the division of the water in the other villages leased by the Company in this area. Previous to the Company leasing the villages this man was a qanat repairer and the mirab at that time was employed by Haji Malek. As often happens when the de facto control of a village changes hands many of the personnel in responsible positions are dismissed. The previous mirab had been dismissed and replaced by the present holder of the office.

Haji Nasir used to possess a very reliable qanat but, despite 70,000 tomans being spent by the landlord in 1960 on its upkeep, it is now virtually useless as a source of water for irrigation. It seems extremely likely that the great diminution in its flow has been caused by the sinking of an increasingly large number of deep wells in the area, especially since 1950. There is much evidence that many of them are tapping the water which previously fed the qanats, thus causing the water-table to fall and the qanats to dry up. This situation has led to laws being passed regulating the boring of deep wells in the vicinity of a qanat source, and this seems to have reduced this problem a little in this area.[1]

1. J. Pollock, Head of U.S. Aid, Mashad - private conversation.

When the mirab has divided the water between the sahrars it is the task of the salars to see that it is used to irrigate the fields correctly. The boring of deep wells for irrigation water has led to the advent of another important group of men in agriculture, the deep well mechanics. It is their duty to see that the pumps are kept in running order and are able to perform their task efficiently. The head mechanic of the wells at Haji Nasir lives in Cheneran and receives a payment for his work in Haji Nasir.

In this village wheat and barley are irrigated first, then the melons, and finally the sugar-beet. However, the foreman pointed out that when the sugar-beet requires a great deal of water it is then irrigated first. At most times though when cereals need water urgently sugar-beet does not, and vice versa, so the problem of priorities rarely arises. Crops are watered every ten days as opposed to the more usual fifteen or sixteen days in this area of Iran.

The land worked by each sahrar is scattered throughout the village land. Each crop is allotted an area and one quarter of the area of each crop is made the responsibility of each sahrar. Crops are rotated around the village land as follows:-

	1st.Year	2nd.Year	3rd.Year	4th.Year
Field 1.	Fallow	Sugar-beet	Wheat	Barley
Field 2.	Sugar-beet	Wheat	Barley	Fallow

Field 3.	Wheat	Barley	Fallow	Sugar-beet
Field 4.	Barley	Fallow	Sugar-beet	Wheat

The land growing melons is so highly fertilised that it is rarely changed. For several years prior to 1963 the village of Haji Nasir had not grown any crops other than those mentioned above, but at that time the foreman was seriously considering introducing kidney beans the following year.

Melons are subject to a crop-sharing agreement which differs in detail from that applying to other crops in that the peasants receive 70 percent of the crop, as they provide seed as well as labour. A few melons are retained in the village but the majority of the crop is sold for cash. A dealer (alof) comes from Mashad and estimates the weight and value of the crop. The Company then takes its share of 30 percent and the dealer purchases the villagers's share while the latter are almost always eager to sell. In the past few years a larger number of melons has been retained in the village in order to provide for the needs of the growing population in the sugar-beet factory settlement close by.

The other cash crop in the village is, of course, sugar-beet. This is planted, grown and sold according to the terms of an agreement between the sugar factory and the village (see Chapter XVIII). From the basic price of 104 tomans per ton the factory deducts a ten percent charge for education, the cost of fertiliser and any loan

made by the factory to the village, the remaining money being divided equally between the Company who leases the land and the peasants who work it.

The peasants usually keep their share of the cereal harvest in the village, the wheat for bread, and the barley as winter animal fodder. Unlike some villages in the Mashad area the share of the lessee of the village is never sold to the villagers. This may be because the Company leases a large number of villages in the area and wishes to handle their total cereal production in bulk. This is sent to an alof in Mashad who then arranges for the wheat to be bought. The cost of transporting the wheat to Mashad is borne by the landlord at the rate of fifteen tomans per ton by lorry.

In 1962 the four village sahrars produced in total 1,200 tons of sugar-beet, 120 tons of wheat, a comparable amount of barley and 20 tons of melons. The latter were sold for 7,000 tomans. The approximate income of both the Company and the peasants in Haji Nasir can be seen in Appendix H.

The only crop which is fertilised is sugar-beet, each hectare receiving 300 kilos of superphosphates, 250 kilos of nitrates and 50 kilos of urea. As wheat follows sugar-beet in the crop rotation in the village there is no need to fertilise the former, maintains the foreman, a view which is also shared by the landlord of Bid Abid. Human, and less often animal, manure is placed on the melons.

Haphazard fertilisation of the land also occurs during the period of fallow when this portion of the village land is used by the stock for grazing.

Cultivation methods in the village have recently been modernised to a certain extent. The Company owns a tractor which serves a number of villages in this area, but, unlike the tractor owned by the lessee at Kashaf, it is available free of charge to those villages leased by the Company. However, if there is much work for the tractor in different villages at the same time one or more tractors will be hired at the rate of fifty tomans per hectare. This is frequently necessary as the time for ploughing in the various villages is usually more or less simultaneous. The Company tractor is used by both the sahrar members and the baldakh land holders.

Apart from ploughing the vast majority of agricultural tasks in the village are still performed by hand. Except for the baldakh land there is very little hiring of labour for agriculture in this village, resulting in an increase in the amount of labour which the family of the sahrar members has to undertake. At harvest the grain is cut by hand with sickles and then threshed as it has been for centuries. Three spiked rollers are fitted beneath a small wooden sledge which is pulled over the grain by a bullock. On the sledge sits a man who guides the bullock round and round the threshing floor. In some villages this activity has become mechanised in quite an unorthodox

fashion, a tractor replacing the bullock and a disc harrow the rollers.

The foreman is responsible for Haji Nasir and thirteen other villages which the Company leases in the area. For this the Company pay him an undisclosed salary and provide him with a modern house at Haji Nasir. The assistant foreman receives 300 tomans per month from the Company, a house and 900 kilos of wheat per annum from the sahrar workers of Haji Nasir. The amount which he receives from other villages is unknown. In return for this he acts as the foreman's 'right-hand-man', and also as storekeeper and accountant for Haji Nasir. The mirab appointed by the Company is paid a salary of 150 tomans per month which is supplemented by 750 kilos of wheat and 540 kilos of barley per annum from Haji Nasir. The head mechanic is paid considerably more, receiving 400 tomans per month from the Company and 630 kilos of wheat from the village. In fact, the mechanic prefers to receive flour and so the wheat is milled for him and he receives about 600 kilos of flour.

The headman (bonda) is the person employed by the Company with whom the villagers have the closest contact. It is his task to pass on the orders of the foreman and to see that they are carried out. The present bonda was appointed in January 1963, replacing a man whom the villagers disliked and whose orders they refused to obey. The present bonda has, however, been employed by the

Comapny since 1942 in one capacity or another. For his services the bonda receives five per cent of the village crop, and thus half of his income from the Company and the remainder from the villagers, a very good indication of his duel allegiance.

As assistants the bonda has two dashteban, whose official task is to prevent sheep and cattle wandering on to the cultivated land or on to the land of the neighbouring villages. In addition, they have the general duty to see that the crops are not damaged in any way which can be avoided. Their employment often gives rise to friction with their counterparts in the adjoining villages, especially when they are rather lax in fulfilling their duties. Twice during the first six months of 1963 the gendarmarie had to be called to Haji Nasir to control trouble between dashteban of this and adjacent villages. The income of each dashteban is fifty tomans per month from the Company plus 1,200 kilos of wheat, 600 kilos of barley and 1,800 kilos of wheat straw paid equally by the Company and the sahrar workers.

In this village, as throughout the region, the lessee acts as a moneylender. In Haji Nasir the process is known as taghavi. The sahrar members all owed amounts of money to the Company varying between 100 tomans and 2,000 tomans (between about £5. and £100). With the advent of land reform it seems likely that these debts will be cancelled, but the Company was still lending money and

wheat to the peasants. This was simply to keep their labour force in the village. The foreman had no hesitation in saying that if he did not grant loans to the peasants on behalf of the Company the drift into Mashad to seek non-existent work would be very much greater than was the case already.

Appendix H indicates that the income of various individuals and groups in agriculture in Haji Nasir varies enormously. In all the Company make a profit of c.80,000 tomans (c.£3,800), though from this must be deducted the amount of rent which they pay to Haji Malek. This is probably in the region of 15,000 tomans per annum. Many of the persons concerned with running and working the village land depend for a portion at least of their income on the size of the harvest. The final income for a dehgan shown in the Appendix is not the total amount which he has available for the support of his family. Out of this income the peasants have to pay varying amounts for the maintainance of their stock by the herdsmen (see Chapter XIII). With incomes so very low for the vast majority of the village's agricultural labour force the taghavi has become a necessity of life rather than a last resort.

CHAPTER XIII - LIVESTOCK FARMING.

Haji Nasir possesses large herds of both sheep and cattle. The former includes a small number of goats, while those donkeys which are not being worked on a particular day and often herded with the cattle. The animals are the property of the inhabitants of the traditional village and of those more recent settlers associated with the sugar-beet factory. The latter pay the village herdsmen in the same way as the families living within the village walls.

There are four shepherds in the village but only two of these are permanently employed, the other two acting as assistants during the busy lambing season. The method of payment of the two permanent shepherds varies according to the time of year. Following the lambing, when milk is plentiful, each receives half of the milk from each ewe every Friday, while for the remainder of the year each receives a cash payment of 200 tomans per month. Thus the more sheep a family owns the cheaper it is to have them herded per head. This is the only village in the area where the shepherds are paid in this manner rather than the more usual fee for each sheep.

The two men who herd the cattle and donkeys are paid entirely in kind, receiving all the milk from all the cows every Friday. For each dry cow they receive 1½ kilos of wheat and a similar amount of barley per cow per month. The same payment is made for a donkey. Therefore, unlike the shepherds, their income increases according to the

Haji Nasir - cattle and donkey herd.

Haji Nasir - sheep in shade of mosque.

number of animals they tend and vice versa.

In the village there are about six hundred sheep, but unlike many villages in this area they are not sent into the hills for the summer. They graze the fallow land of Haji Nasir and that land which is never cultivated by any village. The sheep are collected together in the village, each family being responsible for bringing their animals to the collecting point. By contrast, in some villages, such as Kalatehe Ali, it is part of the duties of the shepherds to tour the village and assemble the sheep themselves. The animals leave the village about 6.30 a.m. and return about 7 p.m. in the summer months. Thus most of the daylight hours are spent in grazing, except during the heat of the day when the animals and the shepherds seek whatever shade is available.

Apart from their milk the sheep are an important source of cash in the form of wool. Four sheep give about one mann (c.3 kilos) of wool (see Appendix A) between them. A little of this is retained in the village to be spun into thread by the women, but the vast majority of the wool produced is sent to Mashad where it is sold for about five tomans per mann. The possibility of a cash income from sheep has caused them to become one of the few examples of private enterprise in the village, even among the dehgans who are primarily concerned with co-operation in agriculture. One dehgan bought twelve sheep in the

middle of June with the intention of feeding them and then selling their wool to supplement his income.

The village also has two men who deal in livestock as their sole source of income. The animals, both sheep and cattle, are bought in this and the surrounding villages and then sold in Mashad. This gives employment all the year round but the busiest season is the autumn and early winter. This is due to the fact that the scarcity of winter fodder leads to a very large number of animals being sold at the onset of the winter. For a sheep he pays between fifty and eighty tomans while he will pay up to five hundred tomans for a good cow. On average these animals dealers handle between one hundred and one hundred and fifty animals each year. The dealer is responsible for the cost of transporting the animals to Mashad by means of a lorry, which is hired from Cheneran at the rate of one toman per sheep and four tomans per cow. The profit the dealer obtains on each animal varies greatly depending not only on the quality of the beast but on the state of supply and demand at the time.

The herd of cattle and donkeys also collects early in the morning. Of the herd of about two hundred cattle and fifty donkeys, which are grazed together, about fifty of the cattle are owned by people living in the new part of Haji Nasir. Even shopkeepers, builders and some of the sugar-beet factory workers still keep at least one cow for its milk, although they may have now lost all other contact

with the traditional life of the villages. While the village cattle and donkeys are assembling in the early morning those owned by families living outside the village walls enter the village and join the herd. On their return in the evening the latter continue down the road to the factory settlement while the majority of the herd enters the village. Once there each animal makes its own way home. When the animals have left the village in the morning the manure which they have dropped while assembling is collected by the women. This manure is available to anyone who cares to collect it.

Although the great majority of animals leave the village daily a number remain behind in the stables for a variety of reasons, as in many other villages in the area. Whenever the animals are tethered outside it is usually by means of a goat-hair rope attached to a wooden, or much more rarely, an iron peg in the ground. Very young calves remain in the village with their mother until they are strong enough to follow the herd, and at this time they both go out to graze together. Those animals which remain in the village are fed on grass which is cut, usually by a very young member of the family, and dried on the roof before being fed to the animals. During the winter the animals are fed on barley and grass which it has been possible to cut, dry and store. However, to reduce the number of animals which have to be maintained throughout the winter almost all the rams and bullocks are killed or,

more usually, sold in the late autumn. Some of the meat from those killed is eaten immediately but most of it is boiled and stored for later use. This was one of the very few villages encountered where sheep were deliberately killed for meat except at religious festivals. The dehgan referred to above explained that he killed all his sheep in the autumn in order to avoid the problem of feeding them throughout the winter, and then he bought new animals in the spring.

Sheep, cattle and goats are kept primarily for milk. Most of the cow milk was sold to the village milkman, although now a small amount is sold privately by the villagers to the inhabitants of the houses assosiated with the factory, who are without their own source of milk. The milkman either sells the milk fresh to the factory settlement or makes it into mast, butter or cheese. Sheep and goat's milk is always processed by the family itself into mast for their own use. The milk yield per cow varies greatly in Haji Nasir but a few give as much as three kilos per day, a high yield in this area.

About two-thirds of the families in the village own a donkey which is the only form of transport which most of them possess, although the number of bicycles is increasing. One of the main tasks of the donkeys in Haji Nasir is to carry fodder back to the village. They are little used for transporting goods to and from Mashad. This is due to the great distance between Mashad and Haji

Nasir and also because alternative forms of transport are available, although the latter are much more expensive than a donkey. Fodder is collected and transported by hand by various members of the family, and this seems to be one of the very few tasks in which there is no sexual division of labour.

There are four horses in the village, two of which are owned and ridden by the headman. The remaining two are the property of the two carters and are solely employed to draw their carts. In general, horses are too expensive to buy and maintain to be a practical proposition for the ordinary peasant. They are a status symbol in the villages, most of them being owned by the headmen or other people with an income much higher than is normal in the villages.

As with most villages in this area the number of hens has greatly decreased recently due to a serious attack of fowl pest. This was brought into the country by a new strain of hen which were being introduced to improve the quality of the existing birds. Hens are one of the few methods by which the ordinary peasant can vary his diet of bread and mast a little. Like cattle and sheep hens are rarely killed and eaten.

The number of animals of one kind or another owned by families in the village varies greatly. Although most families have a cow, a donkey and two or three sheep the number of cattle and sheep varies greatly between families.

One possessed forty sheep and five cattle (two of which comprised one of the sahrar plough teams) and two donkeys while four families were without stock of anykind. Of these four families one was that of the village barber and another one of the dashtebans, both of whom had a reasonable income and felt that they could buy milk daily. The other two were both unemployed and had sold their stock to obtain money for food. As they were not members of a sahrar they were unable to enjoy the 'advantages' of the taghavi.

CHAPTER XIV - OTHER OCCUPATIONS.

Living in the village of Haji Nasir are several craftsmen in addition to those villagers who obtain their livelihood through some kind of farming. Many of these craftsmen have been affected by the growth of shops run by craftsmen in the sugar-beet settlement. In addition, the village is also served by several others who give their services to more than one village.

In this category can be placed the barber who also serves Cheneran, although he lives with his wife and family in Haji Nasir. He cydes back and forth between the two villages. He, like other craftsmen to be mentioned later, receives an annual due from the 32 sahrar farmers of Haji Nasir consisting of 21 kilos of wheat and 7½ kilos of barley per annum. This payment is only obligatory on the sahrar members but other villagers can pay the same due also if they wish, or they can pay for each individual visit to the barber. The barber has no contact at all with agriculture, not even owing a cow or a few sheep.

The Haji Nasir bath-house was built for the village by the landlord when it moved to its new site and is situated outside the gate into the village. This bath-house functions all the year round and has two men in charge of it as their full-time occupation. The keeper (hamami) is paid annually by the farmers, each paying him exactly the same as they pay to the barber (see above), while they also pay the bath-house attendant (dallak) 7½

kilos of wheat and the same amount of barley. The only difference between the payments of the barber and the bath-house staff is that the latter receives the amount of the due for every male member of the family over 10 years of age. The women pay the equivalent of five rials in cash or in kind for every visit they make. This method of payment is open to non-farmers in the village or they can pay the same annual due as the farmers. As has been pointed out in Chapter VII the bath-house plays a very important part in Iranian life. The part which it plays in the marriage ceremony is described in Chapter XV.

One of the busiest men in the village in June 1963 was the builder (banna). He is paid in money for each piece of work which he does, the amount depending on the scale of the work. At that time he was still repairing various parts of the village which had been damaged by the floods of late spring which caused widespread damage in this area. The method of preparing mud, either for direct constructional work or for making into bricks, is primitive but effective. As one piece of earth in this area is very much like another there is no problem about the availability of raw material. The nearest piece of earth to the constructional work is selected. The surface is loosened with a pick and water poured into the resulting hole. His assistants, usually the people for whom he is doing the work, trample the mud in the hole while he adds more water and ~~mud~~ earth until the mud is the correct

Haji Nasir - wall being constructed in courses by a party of village workmen.

Haji Nasir - poles being laid on house walls before roofing with mud.

constituency. If bricks are being made the mud is placed in a wooden mould about 6 inches square and about 2 inches deep. The resulting brick is then turned out and allowed to dry in the sun.

If the mud is used directly in construction, the wall, if it is higher than about three feet, is built up by means of courses. The first step is to mark out on the ground the plan of the walls, which are built by laying a single course about 2 feet high all the way round the area to be enclosed by the wall. This low wall, which is about 18 inches thick, later becomes the lowest course in the finished wall. On this the bricklayer places two layers of bricks of the kind mentioned above, thus giving a brick course about 4 inches in thickness. On these a further course of mud is laid. An assistant places the mud roughly in place on the wall, but the actual shaping and building of the wall was done by the banna himself. When this course has dried a little a further course of bricks is placed on the wall and the whole process repeated. This happens as often as is necessary in order to build up the wall to its required height.

The only tools used by the builder are a spade and a pick for loosening the earth, and a pail in which to carry the water. In Haji Nasir this usually comes from the taps, but during the building of one wall there was a large pool of water within the wall which had been left by a heavy rain storm so this was utilised. The remainder of the

Haji Nasir - traditional carts opposite the petrol pumps in the new main road settlement.

work is done by hand or foot. The line of the wall is kept straight by means of a string kept taut by a brick placed at either end of the course which is being built upon. The rate of building is about 4 yards an hour. It is slowed down, especially if a short wall is being built, by the fact that a second course cannot be laid until the first course has become relatively dry. This, however, does not take too long in the hot sun. Eventually the whole wall is baked very hard by the sunshine and it needs exceptionally heavy rain, such as that experienced in the Mashad area in April 1963, to cause the walls to break up.

Often straw is mixed with the mud to help bind the latter together, though this practise seems much less common before a harvest, when straw is scarce and expensive, if obtainable at all, than after it. As the banna has to be paid for his services many people do small repair jobs themselves. This, and the activities of the banna, causes Haji Nasir, in common with all other Iranian villages, to be pitted with holes from which the raw material for building has been extracted. Also in Haji Nasir there is a man who calls himself a kagere, his job being to mix straw and mud for building. In the early summer of 1963 he was unemployed, but this was seasonal due to the shortage of straw at this time. However, he was very worried as to how he was going to support his family until he obtained work again.

The two village carters each own a conventional

decorated cart and each has a horse to pull it. In return for payment they carry anything anywhere for anyone. Likewise, the coppersmith is paid for the work which is done, but the amount he receives depends on the weight of the article he is making. He seemed to have very little work to do as now most people buy their bowls and dishes from Mashad, so although he has the trade of a coppersmith he very rarely is called upon to use it.

In the village there is a shop kept by a relatively young couple which sells goods which are needed every day, such as cigarettes, matches, tea, sugar, a few sweets and occasionally potatoes and other vegetables. Its trade has been hit by the coming of shops to the sugar-beet settlement. The latter offers a much wider range of goods, but the village shop retains an advantage in that they will barter goods as well as sell them for money. This shop is still the social centre of the village for the men just as the taps have become the same for the women.

The only three woman in the village who are employed in anything other than household tasks are the wife of the shopkeeper, who often served the customers, and two dressmakers. The latter make a charge for each item which they make. Most of their work is making shirts for the men for which they charge two tomans each.

The village ironsmith, who receives an annual payment from each sahrar, lives in Cheneran and only comes to Haji Nasir when there is work to be done. For each plough team

Haji Nasir - mud bricks outside the house of the builder in the village.

Haji Nasir - village hammam (bath-house) outside the village walls N.B.mosque on the left of hammam.

in each sahrar he receives 37½ kilos of wheat and an equal amount of barley The same payment is made to the carpenter, who is bound to undertake any work in the village in return for his annual payment, but he was in fact working on houses being built by Malek outside the village. He is responsible for the roofing of buildings where wood is involved as it always is in the case of flat-roofed buildings. Wooden poles are laid across the tops of the walls and then the spaces between are filled with dried grass or straw and the whole thing covered with a layer of mud. The roof is recovered with mud every autumn until it becomes too heavy for the poles when it is stripped off and a new layer of mud put on the poles. Constructional timber is the only wood which is bought by the villagers and this all comes from Mashad.

One craftsman has undoubtedly suffered by the presence of the sugar-beet factory settlement. The shoemaker has lost his entire trade as the villagers have discovered that the shoemaker in the new settlement makes better shoes at a cheaper price.

The village of Haji Nasir has a mosque with two people permanently employed there. One is a mullah who is paid a salary of 200 tomans per month by Malek and he is in charge of all the services in the mosque. To help him he has a farmer, who in return for a salary from Malek of 100 tomans per month acts as gate-keeper to the mosque. In addition, the people occasionally make a small donation

to the mullah in cash or kind. According to the mullah attendance at the mosque services is very small when compared with the number of villagers in the area who profess to be Shi'a Moslems. He admitted that to the villagers old beliefs'largely based on superstition' were of much greater importance, though many of them did attend the mosque during Moharram. The mullah lives in the small garden which surrounds the mosque,but the gate-keeper lives in the village.

It was impossible to determine how many of the villagers act as daily workers on the baldakh land, and it was clear that many of them would be willing to work at anything. Some cf them work as temporary staff at the sugar-beet factory in the autumn,but this is also true of some of the members of the sahrars. Two or three of the villagers of Haji Nasir have taken permanent jobs in the sugar factory,but they are now all living in factory houses and seem to have lost contact with the old village, although they still come to visit their relations. There seems no great desire to work in the factory if it can possibly be avoided. One villager said that in the past he had worked in the sugar factory at Shirvan,but now that he had become a dehgan in Haji Nasir since his father died he did not need to work there any more,and had never considered working at the local factory,even in the busy season. Other sahrar workers did not share his views and worked there if they could obtain work. For these men the

money was a valuable supplement to their income from farming.

Other occupations are absent from Haji Nasir for a variety of reasons. Bakers are not needed as the women prepared their own bread, and if anyone wishes to buy bread there are shops in the new settlement. A lack of suitable power makes it necessary for the village wheat to be milled in either Jam Ab, where there is a water mill, or in Cheneran, where a new mill has opened using electricity. A butcher is unnecessary in Haji Nasir as they boil and keep meat when they kill some of their sheep in the autumn, and once again meat can always be bought from the new shops. Like the shoe-maker, the village crier is now redundant but for a different reason. Now that there are 10 radios in the village people can hear the news direct and much more quickly than in the past when the village crier was the only source of information about the outside world.

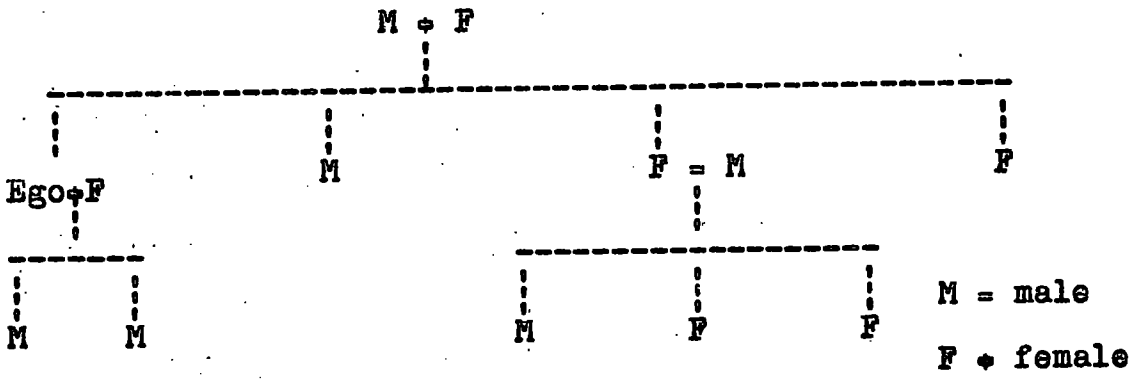
There are no drapers in Haji Nasir itself, but the village deals with itinerant drapers who travel from village to village by donkey, or more recently by bicycle, selling their cloth. The women dressmakers are their biggest customers in the village. Because all the wool which is produced is sold for cash income there is no necessity for a dyer or a weaver in Haji Nasir itself. However, spinning is still carried on on a small scale as a normal household task of the women. As in all other

villages in this area it is done by hand (Chapter III). The job of village storekeeper and accountant, although regarded as a separate occupation by the villagers, is in fact done by the assistant foreman. This is probably because there are so few literate people in the village itself, and also so that the foreman immediately knows the situation. All animal skins are sent to Mashad so there is no work in Haji Nasir for a tanner.

The bonda was emphatic that none of the village craftsmen had child apprentices, although the banna had a young boy working with him regularly. Any child who wishes to learn a trade is apprenticed to the shops in the new settlement or goes to Cheneran. This is indicative of the changes which are overtaking the villages where craftsmen are becoming fewer. More and more of them, and especially the younger ones, are concentrating in the larger settlements, especially Mashad. Here they are working in shops and it is now quite unusual to see a village craftsman, especially in the manufacturing trades, working in the village.

CHAPTER XV - SOCIAL LIFE

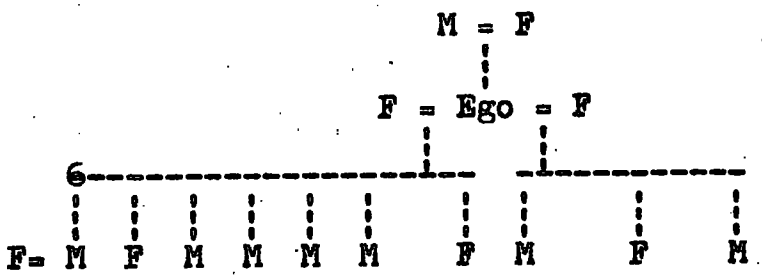
The village of Haji Nasir contains eighty one families and is, in general, a closely knit unit. This is not to say, however, that people do not move in and out of the village, either temporarily or permanently, but usually some member of a family remains in the village throughout their lives. It proved impossible to find anyone in the village who did not have at least one relative living in Haji Nasir. The family shown in the table below covers three generations and is typical of the situation.



The three households shown above, one of a father and his unmarried son and daughter, and the two husband-wife-children combinations have all lived in Haji Nasir for their whole life. All have married within the village.

Very often individuals who were born in Haji Nasir and then move away return to the village. This is so in the case of one of the gardeners employed by Haji Malek in his fruit garden (see Chapter XVIII). He lived for a short while in Cheneran, but as soon as he was able to find employment in Haji Nasir he returned. This man is also one of the few polygamous husbands, this having made it

necessary for him to maintain two homes, one in the village and the other in the garden.



Marriage in the village is largely endogamous, although there is no precise ruling that such a marrigge is preferable. However, the older men in the village have the feeling that there had been a rule of endogamy in the relatively recent past. For parents to choose a suitable partner for their child they need to know something about their future in-laws, and there is a much greater likelihood of their knowing the children of a fellow villager than those of someone living in another village. Thus in a way endogamy is forced upon the villagers because they do not usually have wide contacts in other villages. It must also be remembered that a village the size of Haji Nasir has the advantage of being able to provide a fair selection of marriage partners from among its large population.

If a boy wishes to marry a particular girl he will tell his parents about her. If they approve they will speak to the headman. Nowadays, when the headman is little more than an agricultural foreman appointed from outside the village they usually consult one of the older men in

the village. If this person approves of the match he will go with the boy's parents to the girl's house. At first they talk of anything but marriage. Then at last the boy's father says 'My son wants to be your servant'. If the girl's father approves he replies 'My daughter will be your maid-servant'.

Having gained the agreement of both sets of parents, and the approval of the village elders, the boy then pays to his prospective parents-in-law a sum of money known as the sadakh. This is kept by the girl's parents and the boy loses it altogether if he divorces their daughter later. This payment undoubtedly has the original function of compensating the parents of the girl for the loss of her labour in their home. When they receive this payment they take it to the village elder who then breaks a sugar loaf. The top of the loaf is retained by the girl's parents and it is later used to make a syrup, which is drunk by the bridal couple at the wedding celebrations.

Before the wedding the bride and groom both visit the bath-house on several occasions for ritual bathing. If they are from families which are quite well off, and even the poorest village families will place themselves heavily in debt in order to give their children an impressive wedding, the hamami will place a rug and syrup out for the couple and their friends and relatives. This is paid for by the parents of the young couple. In addition, they give the hamami money with which he buys sweets. These are

taken round the village on a tray. As the villagers take the sweets they place money on the tray. Of the money which is collected in this way one-third goes to the barber and two-thirds to the hamami. When the bride and groom leave the bath-house for the last time the bride is placed on a decorated horse. The groom walks behind the horse distributing pomegranates to the villagers as the bride is led round the village. The celebration of a marriage is a good excuse for the villagers to enjoy themselves and the men take part in riding, shooting and, most important of all, wrestling, the latter being the national sport of Iran.

After marriage the bride takes her husband's name. When a child is born she acquires another name, 'mother of -------'. She acquires another of these names for each child which she and her husband have.

It will be seen that very little of this ceremonial bears any resemblence to a religious ceremony. The mosque does not feature in the marriage at all, the main focus being in and around the bath-house. The latter plays a very important ritualistic part in the life of the villagers. The dead are washed there prior to burial in the cemetery between the village and Cheneran. In addition, each time a man and woman have sexual intercourse they must go to the bath-house for ritual cleansing before they are allowed to enter the mosque.

All Moslem boys must be circumcised and the age at

which this is done has been changed quite recently. In the past it was done when the baby was about three or four days old, but now they wait until he is about six years old. The age at which a girl begins to wear a chaddor (the veil) varies according to what her parents think, between three and seven years of age.

Parents are very proud of their children, especially their sons. Corporal punishment is unknown. The young children are the sole responsibility of the mother assisted by her elder daughters. Men take a much greater interest in their sons than their daughters, often to the extent of ignoring the latter completely. For the first few years of life the children in the village have blond or reddish hair, but as they grow older it gradually darkens until it is very dark brown. All the village inhabitants have brown eyes.

Descent is patrilineal and this is emphasised by the rules of inheritance. Nowadays the villagers have to conform to Iranian law in matters of inheritance and succession. By law any man dying without a will has his property divided according to a complicated set of rules. Stated simply, a wife receives one-eighth of her husband's property. The remainder is divided between the children, the boys receiving twice as much as the girls. If a will has been made it is adhered to.

Much of the religious beliefs of these people is completely divorced from Islam, and is almost certainly

Haji Nasir - cypress tree in the landlord's garden to which the villagers attribute magical properties.

made up of largely of pre-Islamic beliefs. The 'evil-eye' belief prevalent in Iran is found in this village. In addition, an old cypress tree in the landlord's garden is believed to be endowed with magical properties by the villagers. The tree is said to have been there before the Arab Conquest and Haji Malek believes that it was associated with Zoroastrianism. This is based on the fact that all Zoroastrian graveyards are said to have contained a cypress tree, and when the land was ploughed preparatory to planting fruit trees stone slabs and the foundations of several buildings were uncovered. No one in the area could read the writing and they assumed that the stones were 'very old'.

The villagers of Haji Nasir firmly believe in the magical properties of this tree. Anyone who cuts or damages it will die. A boy who loves a particular girl will hang strings and ribbons on it in order that his wish will be granted. Likewise women who desire children, and other people who want something desperately, will cook soup (ash) beneath this tree and distribute it among other people. This, they firmly believe, will cause their wish to come true. As in the case of all primitive magic the reason given when their wish remains unfilled is their own incapacity to perform the rites correctly.

During the Middle Ages this area was on an invasion route by which the nomads of Central Asia entered Iran. In addition, various nomadic peoples have made this part of

Iran an area favoured for raiding in throughout history. The present border between Iran and the USSR is only about eighty miles to the north of Mashad, and the settled villagers of this area still equate the Russians with the marauding tribesmen of the past. The death of the tree in the landlord's garden is attributed to Russian soldiers during the 1939-1945 War, although the death of the tree does not seem to have affected its magical potency in the eyes of the villagers.

In Haji Nasir, as in all villages in this area, father is the undisputed head of the household and as such receives the deference and attention which his position demands. Primogeniture is also very strong, the elder brothers ordering the younger ones about. Father is the person who works to support the family, and as such is entitled to the best food and to have all his wishes gratified, as far as possible. The eldest son is the next most important person. A new born son is regarded as being much more precious than a daughter, and is treated accordingly. Although most village families are large there seems to be very little idea of having as many children as possible as an insurance against old age as, for instance, among the Chinese. Most Iranians continue working literally until they die. As the great majority of them die in middle age (see Chapter II) there is no great problem of how to take care of the old people, though with improved medical and other social services

this could become a problem in the not too distant future.

Although the cultivation and sale of opium is officially illegal in Iran many of the older men are addicted to the drug,though the problem is now by no means as serious as it was in the past. Many of the men who smoked opium have turned to ordinary cigarettes as a substitute, though a few of the old men still smoke opium in secret.

There seems to be quite a lot of inter-village visiting by relatives,which emphasises the close unity there is between the members of an Iranian peasant family. In addition,many villages are much less isolated from Mashad and each other than they were even ten years ago, and for some peasants the slightest excuse will suffice for a visit to Mashad. The rural population is now much more mobile than it has ever been before, men who cannot obtain work in or near their village very often journeying to Mashad in the hope, usually unrealised, of finding work there. To these villagers city life is completely different, but the great majority of them seem to prefer the old established life of the village. The idea of change frightens many of these people and even the possibility of owning one's village as a member of a co-operative is viewed with distrust by many. Ambition is a feeling almost unknown to them,and the possibility of escaping from their low station in life is so remote as to seem to be impossible of realisation.

CHAPTER XVI - SOCIAL SERVICES.

EDUCATION.

With local primary and secondary schools, the villagers in Haji Nasir are able to be reached by education much more easily than the majority of peasants in the Mashad area. But such a situation does not mean that these people are able to take advantage of it. The village of Haji Nasir contains a little over five hundred inhabitants of all ages, but of these only about twenty can read and write and this number includes those children which are attending school at the present time. Most of the children in the village are needed to take their place in the running of the household at approximately the age of seven, the age at which elementary schooling becomes theoretically compulsory in Iran. However, this conflict of interests does not prevent there being a great desire for education in the village, especially among those parents who never had the opportunity themselves. The few adults who are able to read and write are generally without formal schooling and seem to take the attitude that these accomplishments have not helped them to improve their lot in life. The result is that the vast majority of village children learn by doing in just the same way as their parents and grandparents did, a method which fits them for nothing other than the role of a village peasant.

Among the sugar-beet factory workers the situation is very different. Here most of the men and some of the

women are literate, and have a good enough wage and secure enough employment for their children to be able to attend school. Most of their children do in fact attend the primary school, while the roll of the secondary school is made up entirely from their children. In all, the primary school has a total of 206 boys and 78 girls on its register, divided into six classes. It is clear from these figures that even among the workers at the factory there is still a great feeling that girls do not need to be educated, except in how to be a good wife and mother. These are things which can be learnt as well if not better at home.

The secondary school has a roll consisting of thirty nine boys divided into three classes. Teaching staff is shared by the two schools, there being a total of thirteen staff, including the headmaster of the primary school, who also teaches. Five of the teachers are female. At present any girl who wishes for education beyond primary level must attend special evening classes and then sit an examination in Mashad. There are plans to build a girl's secondary school at Haji Nasir, though the chances of these being realised in the near future are very small in view of the difficulty found in trying to educate all the boys in the area. Until March 1963 Haji Malek personally paid the salaries of the staff of the secondary school as well as those of the primary school. Since that time the responsibility for the former has been assumed by the

provincial Ministry of Education in Mashad. Immediately on assuming control the government appointed the Director of the sugar-beet factory to the headship of the secondary school.

During the autumn months when the factory is in full production the size of classes in the primary school increases a little because a small number of the temporary workers at the factory bring their wives and families with them. Of the 206 boys attending the primary school about sixty percent are from the sugar-beet factory settlement at Haji Nasir and the remainder from the village of Haji Nasir and other villages in the vicinity. Of the girls about ninety percent are the daughters of factory workers.

In general, school attendance is very good with very little truancy. The headmaster of the primary school said that the village children came to school at first because they liked the games which were played there, but that after a while they became as willing to learn as the other children. There was no question of their having a lower ability. Before the present primary school was built in 1957 children had to go to Cheneran for schooling, and this was a natural discouragement to the village children and their parents. Since the new school was built a small number of children in the village have received schooling, although none of them has passed the primary stage. Progression beyond this stage is out of the question at the moment for a family living on subsistence level.

The children attending the secondary school sit an examination at the age of sixteen, the general school leaving age in Iran. They then enter employment, many of them choosing a career in the army. For a child from a lower class home, the type of home from which the vast majority of the children educated in Haji Nasir come, the barrier to further education is now raised, just as it had been for the less fortunate village children at the end of the primary stage. Higher education is still the prerogative of the wealthy in Iran, and this is even more true in the rural areas.

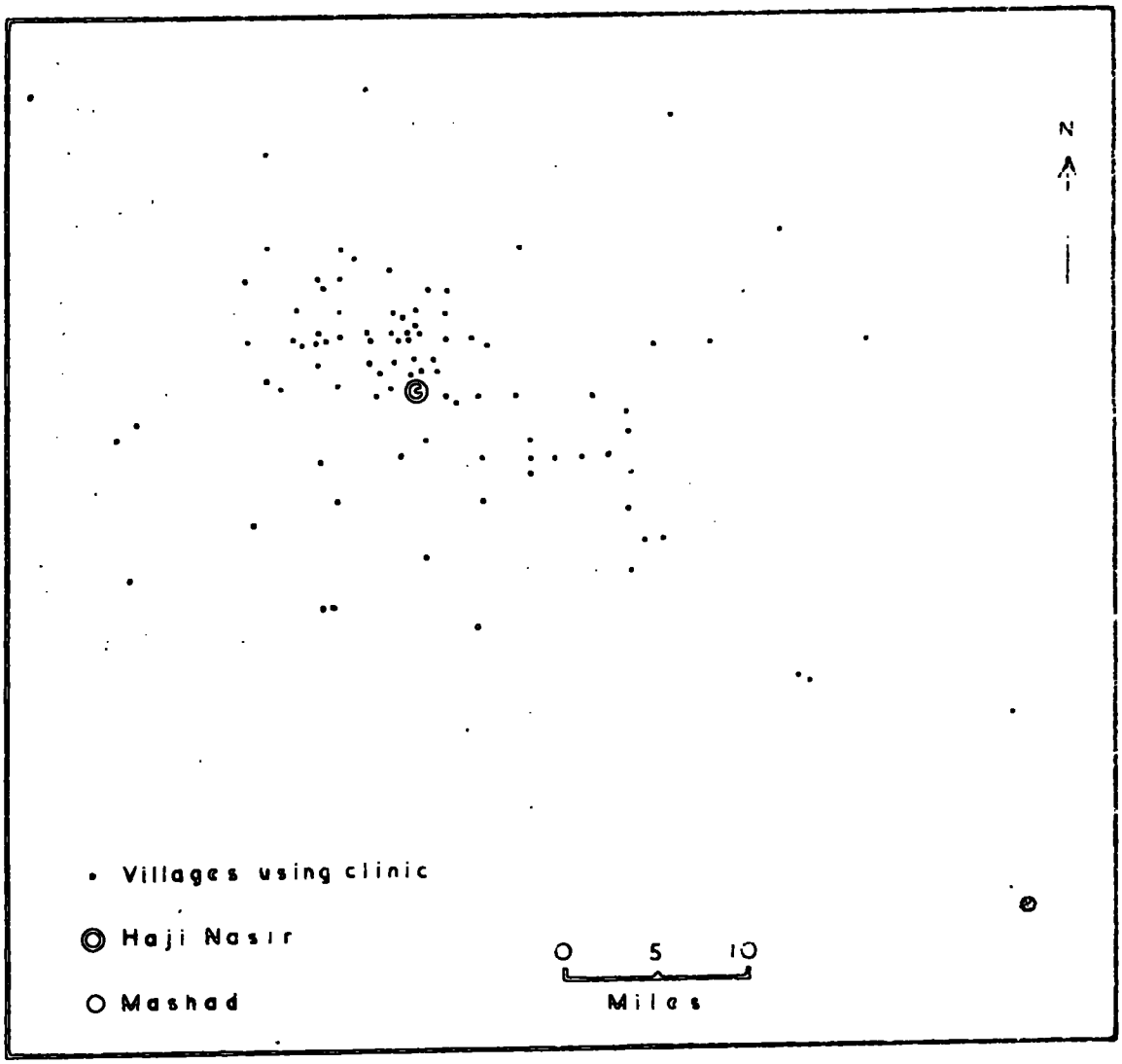
The primary school building is also used for evening classes for adults. In 1963 there were two for men with a total enrollment of twenty three, while a similar number of classes for women had attracted forty two members. These classes are open to anyone and their primary object is to teach reading and writing. They are run by the teachers of the day school who are paid extra for it. The first women's class was established in March 1963. At first very few women came, but the classes increased in size as the villagers learnt more about them. However, as the period of the harvest appeared the numbers declined again. This also coincided with the sacred month of Moharram and this may also have influenced the attendance. The evening classes also increase in size during the sugar-beet season as the temporary workers take advantage of them.

MEDICINE AND HEALTH.

Apart from the clinic in the factory settlement, which is for the exclusive use of the factory workers and their families (see Chapter XVIII), the only centre where medical treatment can be obtained in this area is at the clinic built by Haji Malek in his fruit garden. It was opened in 1950. When it first beganto operate there were only two or three patients daily, and even they only came as a last resort when everything else had failed to cure them[1]. Gradually, however, the people gained confidence and in mid-1963 the patients numbered between two and three hundred daily. Many more genuinely sick people are now attending for treatment, but a large number of patients now seek treatment for even a headache. This is particularly true of the inhabitants of villages situated within easy travelling distance of the clinic, some of whom are now classed as hypochondriacs by the clinic staff. The clinic is open from 6.30 a.m. until all patients have been treated each day, except Friday. However, the clinic will open for an emergency on that day.

As with all peoples in a similar economic state the standard of health in the village of Haji Nasir area is low. This is reflected in the very high infantile mortality rate (see Chapter II). The doctor in charge of this clinic stated that at least two-thirds of the babies

1. Dr. Allahyi, in charge of the Haji Nasir clinic : private conversation.



MAP 10. Catchment area of Haji Nasir clinic.

born in the villages die within three or four months. It is certainly true that in Haji Nasir itself there are many parents who cannot remember how many children they have had who died before their first birthday. The cause of death is due to the very insanitary conditions in the villages, coupled with a lack of nourishment. The latter is caused by the poor health of the mother, again caused by insanitary conditions and the meagre, unbalanced diet prevalent. Many mothers give their babies very weak tea or sweetened water, both of which are boiled first, but these are negated by the dirty hands and breasts of the mother, both of which transmit germs very quickly to the baby.

In the past the great scourge among young children was bronchial pneumonia in the winter months. However, the introduction of penecillin has done a great deal to help these children and what was a definite 'killer-disease' has had its hold weakened, though not yet completely. Luckily these people are not yet pencillin resistant. A much slower acting, though in the long run equally deadly, afflicition is malnutrition, especially among the younger children. As mentioned in Chapter XV above the working members of the family are given the best food and so the mothers and young children are very often the ones to suffer.

In the clinic a record is kept of every patient, his or her village, the ailment (if any) and the treatment

Haji Nasir - patients waiting outside the free clinic in the landlord's garden.

given. Most prescriptions are for medicinesto be taken internally which are made up in the clinic by a resident pharmacist. In a similar manner those people requiring injections, dressings,or attention from the midwife are passed on to the appropriate person in the clinic. As far as the patients are concerned an injection will cure anything and every patients demands one as an essential part of the treatment. However, the majority are persuaded to leave well satisfied with pills, medicine or syrup, all of which they will take, though without the confidence engendered by a prior injection. For some strange reason, which even the doctor himself could not give an explanation, they refuse to take any medicine in powder form. The clinic staff have overcome this objection by making the powders into pills which are then swallowed quite happily.

The clinic is a great social centre. People begin arriving long before it is due to open. The idea of queueing is entirely foreign to these people so as they arrive they are given numbered tickets which indicate the order in which they are to see the doctor. Women are always seen first so that they can be on their way home before the sun becomes too hot. A visit to this clinic is the only time when a peasant woman has a chance to meet women from other villages and exchange the local gossip into which, incidentally, they endeavour to draw the clinic staff. The villages which lie further than a few kilometres away from Haji Nasir generally have a day when

all those people who are ill attend the clinic in one group. This day is generally adherred to unless there is a real emergency.

Apart from the doctor and the dentist none of the staff of the clinic is medically qualified, though they still perform valuable work with the resources which are available to them in an area which really needs their help, and that of many more similar establishments. In the past Haji Malek had a plan to build a small hospital in his fruit garden at Haji Nasir. The foundations have been dug but work has ceased on the project for a variety of reasons.

CHAPTER XVII - THE LANDLORD'S GARDEN.

The garden, which covers an area of fifty five hectares, occupies land which onee was part of the village land of Haji Nasir before it was moved to its present site. In 1950 Haji Malek decided to build a small hospital at Haji Nasir (see Chapter XVI) and the present garden area was chosen. Previous to this there were no fruit trees on this land and so the number of old fruit trees in the garden is very small. After the plan for the hospital was postponed the garden was developed as an area for the commercial growing of fruit.

Of the fifty five hectares of the garden established fruit trees occupy five hectares, young fruit trees thirty hectares, melons and water melons one and a half hectares, wheat and barley half a hectare each and potatoes a few hundred square metres. The remainder of the garden is occupied by the projected hospital site, the clinic, houses, and roads and paths. Each house occupies a site of one thousand square metres which the occupier of the house is allowed to develope as he wishes. The doctors and dentist have tended to lay out lawns and flower beds while the garden workers leave it as a waste area, except for a small vegetable plot used to supplement their diet.

Except for those which line the avenue all trees produce fruit. It is impossible to determine the area covered by each type of fruit as the different trees are mixed together. A typical example of this mixing is

Key to Map 11.

1. Gate
2. Gatekeeper's House
3. Storehouse
4. Gardener's House
5. Dentist's House
6. Clinic
7. Head Doctor's House
8. Water Taps
9. Clinic Waiting Room (used as Storeroom)
10. Second Doctor's House (empty)
11. Head Gardener's House
12. Greehouse
13. Deep Well Mechanic's House

apples and peaches. The latter live about seven or eight years, dying just when the apple trees need more room for developement. There is a great number of these trees, with others producing apricots and pears, with a smaller number bearing cherries. In 1963 there were few apricot trees producing fruit as late frosts that spring had killed many of them. This had also occurred in the case of the small number of almond trees in the garden. A few willow trees are reared, the branches being cut and sold to basket-makers in the village. They are not sold in Mashad.

In 1962 six million tomans worth of fruit was produced. By contrast in 1963 they had sold about ten million tomans worth by the end of June. The amount was expected to be even higher in 1964 as more and more of the trees reached the stage of bearing fruit. The whole of the fruit produced is sold to a Mashad dealer who comes to the garden and estimates the amount and worth of the fruit. He buys it while still on the trees and is responsible for providing the labour for picking. This he recruits from the local villages, except for the foreman and one or two pickers who come from Mashad. They are paid the usual rate for labouring of any kind in this region, namely four tomans per day. This was the standard wage in 1963, though in 1962 it had been higher as there was much less casual labour available. After picking the fruit is transported to Mashad at a cost of thirty tomans per ton. The dealer represents the fruit canning plant in Mashad. However,

Haji Nasir - view along the main avenue towards the main entrance - the landlord's garden.

Haji Nasir - the deep well in the landlord's garden.

the company which runs the canning plant also owns a fruit shop in Mashad in which a small percentage of the fruit from Haji Nasir is sold fresh. The entire fruit production of the garden is tree fruit.

In the spring the garden is irrigated by means of the stream which leaves the hills at Jam Ab, and which also irrigates the village land of Haji Nasir, but later in the year the deep well has to be used to supplement the stream water. In 1963 this well was not required until June 19th because of the unusually heavy rainfall in April which caused widespread flooding in the Mashad area. Normally the well is in use at least a month earlier than this.[1] In the winter months the two deep wells in Haji Nasir are used by the sugar-beet factory, and because of this the two well mechanics are employed by the factory during that period.

When the water passes through the factory some of the molasses become incorporated into it and this improves the quality of the water for irrigating the garden. The well in the north-west corner of the garden is eighty metres deep and its counterpart to the west of the garden is sixty metres deep. Eventually Malek hopes to incorporate this latter well within the garden by extending the area of the latter by about forty hectares to the west. However, as the line of the new Mashad-Qoochan road is

1. Garden Foreman : private conversation.

expected to pass across this area this plan may not be possible.

The well in the garden daily pumps to the surface enough water 'to irrigate the amount of land which twenty pairs of cattle can plough in one day'[1]. A more accurate way (to Western eyes) of calculating the land irrigated by the well each day is by using the fact that about forty to forty five hectares are irrigated in fifteen days, in other words about three hectares a day. As the summer advances and the stream slowly dries up more and more water is required from the well. The garden well, which is used exclusively for the garden in the summer, was sunk in 1948, and the second well outside the garden in 1957. The latter well is only used occasionally to water the garden, its main function being to provide water for the crops on the village land of Haji Nasir. The irrigation of the garden is a continuous process, one-fifteenth of the garden being irrigated each day. The private gardens attached to the houses are also irrigated free of charge by water from the well.

The fruit trees are sprayed against disease, but only if they have already become diseased. There is no preventive spraying. When they have to be sprayed, and this was not necessary in 1963, the equipment and men have to be hired from Mashad.

The grass in the garden is sold as hay and in 1963

1. Garden Foreman : private conversation.

the proceeds from this sale amounted to fifteen thousand tomans. This is bought each year by a man who sells it to the Iranian Army as fodder for their horses. The sale of hay has gradually risen over the years previous to 1963, in 1961 the proceeds being eight thousand tomans and twelve thousand tomans in 1962. The hay sold includes the straw from the wheat grown in the garden. As the usual price for wheat straw sold on its own is about twenty tomans per three hundred kilos, the inclusion of the wheat straw with the hay in 1963 may account for part of the increased income from the sale of this.

The small areas of wheat and barley in the garden are cultivated by the gardeners employed by Haji Malek and are watered by the deep well. They are harvested, again by the gardeners, and both are sold. Melons and water melons are cultivated by workers hired from the villages in the area, usually three or four in number. The produce is again sold.

The garden contains a number of houses inhabited by people who work in the garden. The mechanic in charge of the well in the garden lives in the house adjacent to it. In the garden which is attached he grows onions, kidney beans, tomatoes, potatoes and cucumbers for the consumption of his family. In addition, he owns a cow which is herded with those from the village of Haji Nasir. His house has its own traditional bread oven while the engine room of

the well pump is used as the kitchen because it is so warm. The heat has also allowed him to build his own private bath-house, utilising the hot water from the pump engine.

This well mechanic ~~was~~ is one of the two cases of polygamy which are found in the Haji Nasir settlement as a whole. In all he has been married four times. His first wife died and he divorced the second. The former gave him four children and also brought to him a child of a previous marriage. The wife whom he divorced bore him a son and two daughters. At present he has two wives, both living with him in the house provided by Haji Malek, the first of which has presented him with a daughter. Both were pregnant in mid-1963. Some indication of the very high infantile mortality rate can again be obtained from the fact that he has also had six children by various wives who have died, despite the fact that he is living in conditions in general better than those endured by the 'average' villager.

The garden is in the charge of a foreman who has eight gardeners under his control. Six of these attend to the fruit trees while the remaining two concern themselves with the well-being of the lawns and gardens attached to the houses. One of each of these two sets of gardeners has been appointed as head gardener for that particular field of activity. These two men are each paid three hundred tomans per month, while their six companions

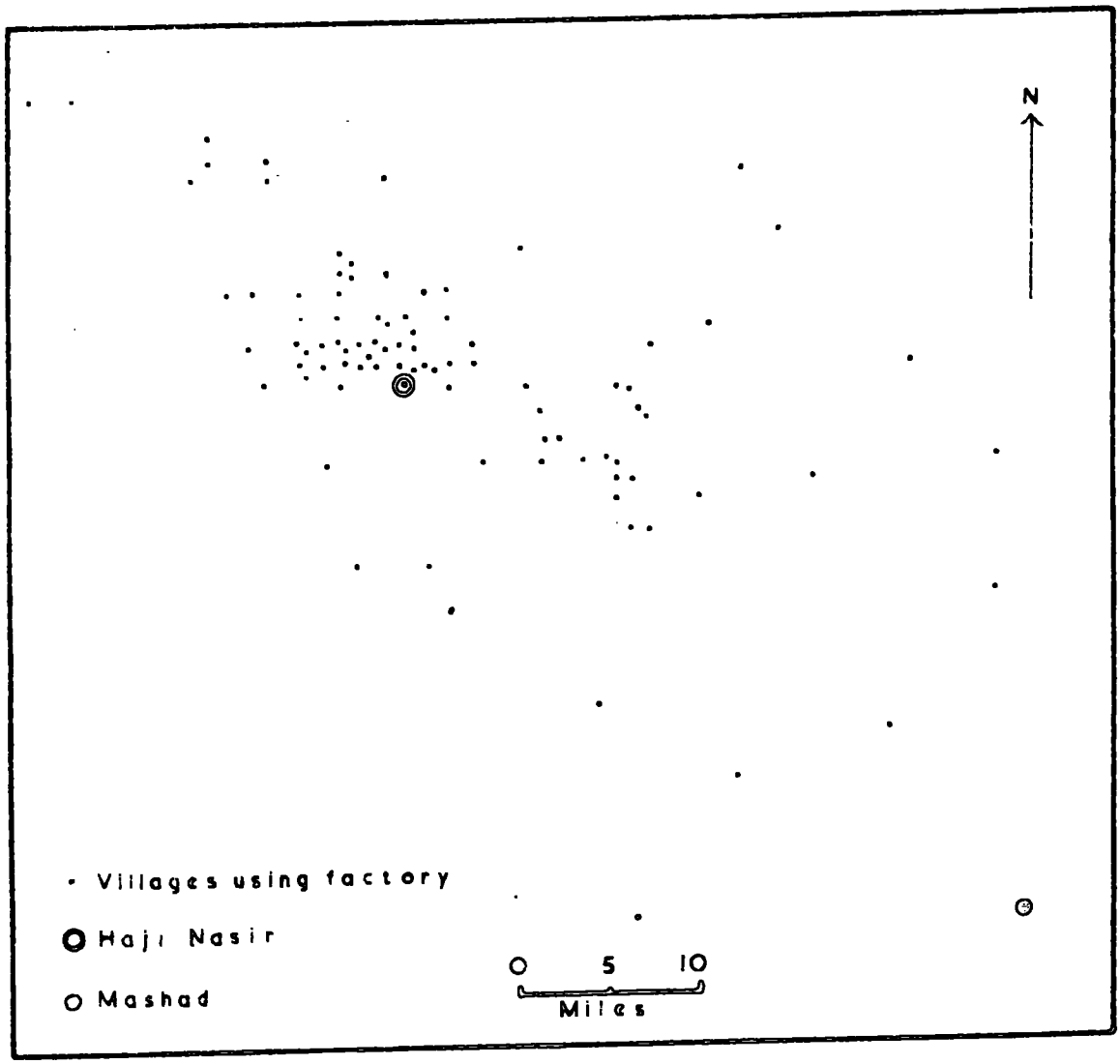
receive one hundred and fifty tomans per month. In addition, each gardener has been provided with a house in the garden, but in May 1963 they were told that they were to go and live in the old village across the road. This was because of the damage inflicted on the grass and the young trees in the garden by their sheep and their children, while they themselves had ruined the houses in which they lived. It was planned to demolish the latter when they were vacated.

CHAPTER XVIII - THE SUGAR-BEET FACTORY

The site of the sugar-beet factory was rented to the government by Malek in 1955. In addition, the factory was allowed to use water from Malek's deep-well in return for providing electricity to the garden. This factory has become the centre for a new settlement in the area which shows every sign of continuing to grow.

The factory works at full pressure for about 5 months in the autumn and at this time there are about 350 workers employed, excluding those in the office. Most of these are temporary, there only being about 60 men employed throughout the year in the factory itself and a similar number in the offices. Most of the extra workers employed come from nearby villages, though a number come from Mashad. Most of these men come without their families. They work round the clock in two 12 hour shifts and every 15 days they receive a day's holiday in which most of them go and see their families. Of the 300 or so temporary workers only about 20 or 30 bring their families with them. They are given accommodation in the factory houses and their children attend the factory school if they have come to Haji Nasir with their parents. Many parents, however, leave their children at home to avoid their having to change schools.

In 1962 the factory processed about 55,000 tons of sugar-beet which came from about 580 farmers living in 177 villages covering a fairly large area. When built the



MAP 13. Catchment area of Haji Nasir sugar beet factory.

factory was designed to handle 350 tons of beet per day, but in 1962 they averaged 380 tons per day. Some days it was working at 400 to 420 tons a day. These high totals can be reached at the beginning of the season when the machinery is still relatively clean, but after about the month the maximum capacity is reduced. It is planned to increase the capacity of the factory to 700 tons per day in order to be able to handle the greatly increased amount of sugar-beet which is now being grown.

Each farmer growing sugar-beet enters into a contract with the factory. Before the farmers plant they are lent 600 tomans for each hectare of sugar-beet which they propose to grow and then provided with seed by the factory free of charge. Fertiliser is provided by the factory, at least in theory, and the cost of this, and of the loan, is deducted from the cheque given to the farmer, in addition to 10 percent of the raw price as a levy for education. Each farmer is allowed to buy a quantity of cheap sugar. For each ton of sugar-beet which he sends to the factory the farmer is allowed to buy 12 kilos of loaf or loose sugar at the wholesale prices of 18 rials per kilo for loaf sugar and 13 rials per kilo for loose sugar. These are the prices at which the factory sells the sugar to the government.

In 1963 the factory gave out 300 tons of super-phosphate and 300 tons of nitrate of ammonia. This cost

the factory 8½ rials per kilo plus a transport charge of 1½ rials per kilo from Mashad. The latter charge was paid by the factory so the farmers were only being charged for the fertiliser. According to the factory each hectare uses between 200 and 600 kilos of fertiliser. In 1963 a lot of the fertiliser arrived late so some of the farmers had to buy their own fertiliser in Mashad. For 1964 the factory had ordered 1700 tons of fertiliser, which presumably is to meet the increased demand. Factory fertiliser is bought from Germany and Japan, though several farmers who had bought their fertiliser privately were using Russian fertiliser, which they had found was cheaper.

Seed in 1963 was distributed at the rate of 25 kilos fer each hectare and was purchased from Ardabil in Azerbaijan. They were using PC4, 4906 and 5225 seed types.

The amount of disease which sugar-beet is subject to in this area varies from year to year. In 1963 there was very little. If disease was widespread the factory, who bears the cost of spraying, said that they would be needing about 4 tons each of dipterox and multanin for each hectare. The factory employs seven beet inspectors and seven workers who give guidance to the farmers if their crop becomes diseased. If spraying is needed the farmer's own workers must do it. The factory has 15 motor sprays

and 600 hand sprays.

Apart from the above the farmers can gain certain other advantages from their contract with the factory. The factory will loan money for the sinking of deep-wells and has done so on 38 occasions. In addition, they will help in the buildings of roads as they did between Haji Nasir and Radkan. The money which they lend for such projects is paid back over five years at 3 per cent interest.

The production of sugar-beet for the Haji Nasir factory is also the subject of two competitions. The first is for the farmer producing the largest tonnage of sugar-beet and the second for the highest yield per hectare, which in this area varies from 15 to 70 tons per hectare. The prizes given are one per cent of the total value of sugar-beet entering the factory. In 1962 the following amounts of sugar-beet entered the factory:-

Area.	No.of villages	(kilos) Total Beet	Average/village.
Darzab	15	7,213,773	480,918.2
Mianvalayat & Bizaki	37	6,792,283	183,575.75
Radkan	47	14,391,950	306,211.7
Cheneran	78	25,809,530	330,891.4
	177	54,207,536	

All indications in 1963 were that this total would be

greatly exceeded. The only problem that was still unanswered was whether the existing factories at Fariman, Ab Khoo, Haji Nasir and Shirvan would be able to handle the whole sugar-beet crop. This problem has perhaps been delayed until 1964 by the fact that the heavy spring rains, with the consequent floods, in this area has washed away the crops in a number of villages. This will obviously have a effect on the total sugar-beet crop.[1]

The hectarage under sugar-beet has greatly increased in the last few years as more and more landlords and peasant proprietors realise that the return on sugar-beet is high when compared with, say, wheat. Unfortunately, no one has seemed to realise the problem which will be created by converting more and more land to the cultivation of sugar-beet and thus reducing the area under wheat and other food crops. If the output of wheat could be increased on a smaller area the problem of feeding the peasants in the village who rely on the wheat crop for the following year's bread may not arise. However, at the moment the main idea is to increase the output and area under sugar-beet whatever other crops have to be sacrificed in the process. Although this region is ideal for the cultivation of sugar-beet, even to the extent of providing

1. It was later reported that a new private sugar-beet factory was opened in the Mashad area in 1964.

a possible export commodity in the future, as some people believe it can, at the moment there is not the number of factories available to process the potential crop. However attractive this growth in sugar-output might be it will be dangerous to increase the production at the expense of food crops, thereby reducing further the already meagre diet of the villagers.

The workers at the factory in Haji Nasir during the season are paid an average daily wage of 6.5 tomans, but the absolute rates vary from 5.5 to 13 tomans a day. Some of the work in the factory is on piece rates but the majority is paid for at a daily rate. The men who unload the beet at the factory are not employed by the factory but work freelance. Most of the 80 men who do this job are below the age of 20 years and they charge the farmers 1 toman for every ton which they unload. This method is used because the number of lorries arriving at the factory varies from day to day, from two to ninety. If these men were paid by the factory they would have to be paid all the time while the present system means that they only get paid for the time they actually work. The speed of unloading varies according to the amount of beet which the factory is handling at the time. If they are handling more than 350 tons a day the lorries have to wait for a day before being unloaded, but if it is less than this they have to wait only a few hours. Apparently the unloading

of the beet by non-factory employees dates back to the time when sugar-beet in Iran was taken to the factory by camel and unloaded by the camel-driver.

CHAPTER XIX - THE FACTORY SETTLEMENT.

This has grown up opposite the present site of Haji Nasir since the sugar-beet factory was constructed on this site. As the permanent workers in the factory had to live near the factory the company built houses and shops for them. These and the general increases in traffic in this area due to the factory caused other people to be attracted to the settlement. Over the last few years it has grown enormously and shows every sign of continuing to do so.

The factory has constructed over 80 rent-free houses for its employees as follows:-

Number of Rooms	Number built.
6	1
5	2
4	4
3	12
2	50
1	12

All the people who work at the factory all the year round live in one of these houses, or in other accomodation provided for them by the factory. In addition, the factory workers live in seven other buildings which were originally built for other purposes, such as a gendarmerie post, but which are now used as housing.

In addition to the housing many other amenities have been provided by the factory authorities for their workers and their families. A primary school was built and this is now open to all children in the neighbourhood, whether their parents have anything to do with the factory or not. Now the teachers are paid by the Education Department in Mashad, but the factory is still responsible for the maintainance of the building itself. (See Chapter VIII previous).

The clinic and the bath-house opened when the factory itself opened and two years later a mosque was built. These are only for the use of the factory employees and their families and, in theory at least, they are open all the year round. In addition, the clinic is supposed to be open 24 hours a day. However, they had great trouble persuading doctors to come and work at the clinic as it was about 40 miles from Mashad where they much preferred to stay. Other reasons were that the wages offered by the factory was not high enough for them to live on. The possibility of opening a private practice was impossible due to the fact that the agreement with Malek said that they could not encroach on his clinic in the adjoining garden. The problem has been solved by one of the doctors who work in the Malek's clinic working at the factory clinic for three days each week.

The mosque has a resident mullah and the bath-house also has a permament staff. With the exception of the

Haji Nasir - co-operative grocer established by the sugar-beet factory.

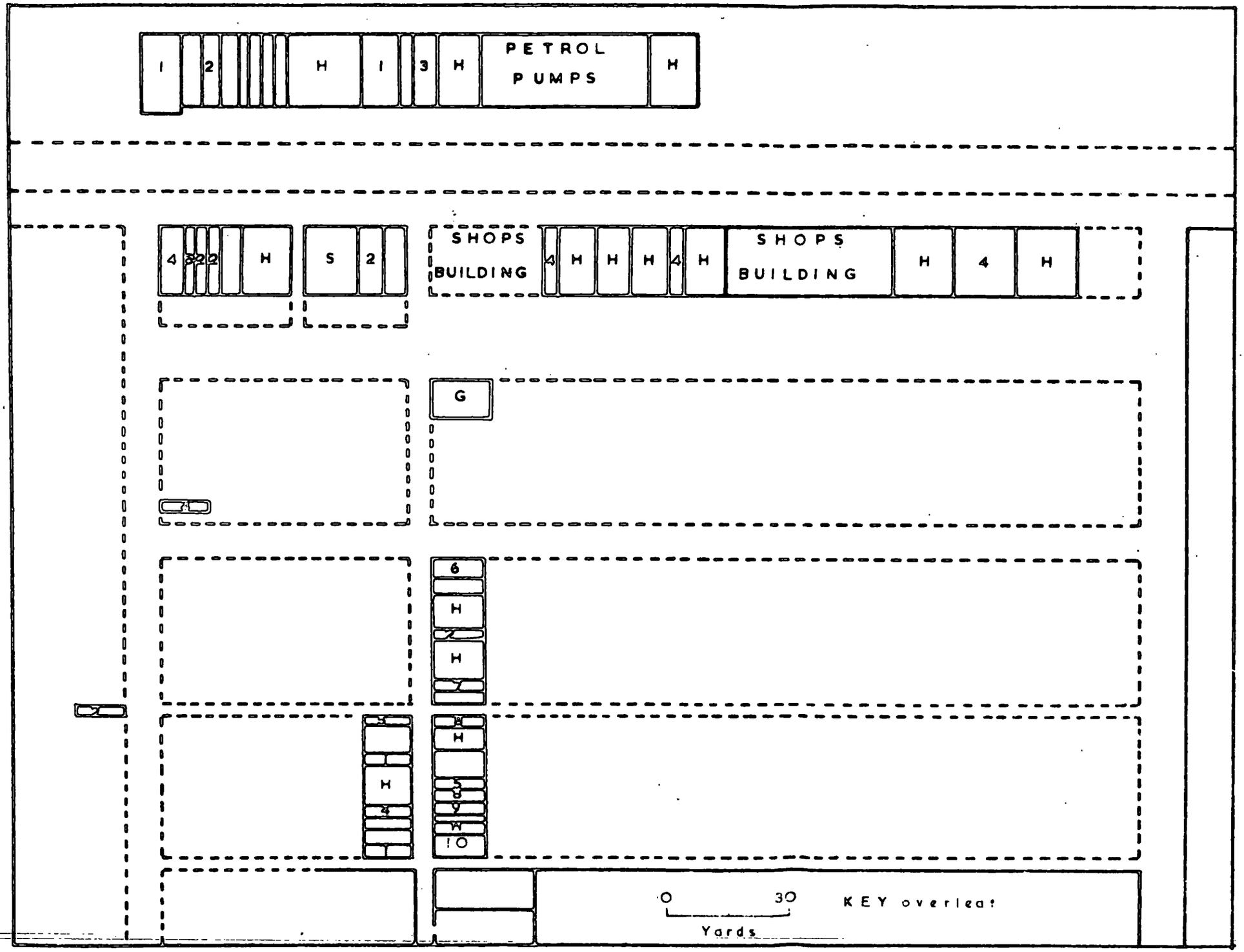
teachers in the primary school (see above) all the staff of these amenities are appointed and paid by the factory.

For those workers with a permanent position in the factory there is a co-operative movement. There is no dividend but the workers and their families receive goods cheap. The goods sold in the general shop are bought wholesale from Mashad by the factory and are sold to the workers with an increase in price of between 4 and 10 per cent to cover the cost of transport. The co-operative movement is non-profit making and the only shops which are in it are the general store and the baker in the group of shops north-east of the clinic and south of the mosque surrounded by a wall.

Each factory worker receives a coupon which entitles him to 400 grammes of bread free of charge each day. The bill for this is paid by the factory. In addition, the workers can obtain rice, oil, soap, tea and beans at half price from the store, the factory making up the deficit. The other shops in the factory block are run as ordinary shops although they are owned by the factory. A new tenant for one of these shops has to obtain permission from the factory. The tenants of all the shops in this block, including the baker and general dealer, pay a rent of 20 tomans a month to the factory for their premises.

The factory also provides a sports venue for its employees and their families.

The remainder of the new settlement has no connection



MAP 12. Haji Nasir — Shops.

Key to Shops.

1. Tea House
2. Bicycle Repairer
3. Motor Repairer
4. Grocer/General
5. Shoemaker
6. Dressmaker
7. Greengrocer
8. Butcher
9. Official Registrar
10. Baker

H. House

with the factory, except that the people living there depend to a greater or lesser degree on the presence of the factory for their livelihood. Buildings vary in their method of construction. The older ones tend to be of plain mud as in the village proper but the more recent shops and houses are being built of brick, or a mixture of brick and mud. All the houses occupied by sugar factory workers are built of brick and have walled gardens.

One of the most significant indicators of the great increase in traffic on this road and of the present importance of Haji Nasir is the positioning of the petrol pumps. They were originally sited about three miles nearer to Mashad but five years ago when it was already clear that Haji Nasir was receiving a great deal of traffic, especially in the season of the sugar-beet harvest, the pumps were moved to their present position. On average, the garage sells 1,500 litres of petrol, 4,000 litres of diesel fuel, and 2,000 litres of paraffin daily, although the amount of petrol increases when the lorries are carrying beet to the factory. The diesel oil is sold mainly for tractors and deep-well pumps, while paraffin is mainly as a household fuel to be used in either lamps or primus stoves. The petrol station employs four men who live in the new settlement in Haji Nasir. The owner of the pumps is also landlord of a village about 12 kilometres from Haji Nasir (Kalatehe Khanoo).

The shops on the main road depend greatly on the

Haji Nasir - street of shops in the new settlement.

Haji Nasir - new settlement on the main road N.B.man using wooden wheel on the well in the foreground.

traffic which passes along the road, the factory workers using their own co-operative shops for their everyday needs, while the villagers of Haji Nasir proper rarely have money to spend on goods which they cannot already buy at their own village shop. One of the two teahouses is also an inn where drivers of sugar-beet lorries can stay while their lorries are waiting to be unloaded. Most of the shops are specialists in some activity, such as the bicycle repair shop. This does seem to depend on the villagers for its trade and, as bicycles become more widespread as a form of transport in the rural areas, their trade can expect to increase further.

The shops which are situated between the main road and the factory do most of their trade with those people living in this area but who do not work in the factory. In addition, they supply the needs of the factory workers which cannot be met by their own co-operative shops. It was very revealing that the shoemaker in Haji Nasir proper has now gone out of business due to the presence of a shoemaker in the new settlement who, according to the villagers, was better and cheaper than their own village cobbler. For a complete list of shop types in Haji Nasir see Appendix L.

This new settlement is by no means completed yet. Large areas are still be built on while even larger areas are planned to be developed. This is all part of Malek's attempt to have Haji Nasir raised to the status of a baksh

centre in the near future. Houses and shops are being erected on both sides of the main road and the areas still not built on between the main road and the factory very soon will be. Whether Malek will succeed in his policy cannot be determined yet, but whatever happens this area is being greatly changed with very great effects on the traditional villages in area.

CHAPTER XX - CONCLUSION

The inhabitants of the villages of north-east Khorasan are peasant agriculturalists living at, or very little above, subsistence level. They are typical of the many similar societies throughout the world. Birth and death rates are both high, reflecting the difficult conditions of life in the region which as yet are very little relieved by modern developments which West European societies take for granted. Their methods of cultivation are still primitive, though some effort has been made to modernise them over the past few years. Labour is still largely performed by hand rather than by machine. As with most peasant farmers these people supplement their income from agriculture by keeping a few head of stock. Transport is still largely by means of human or donkey power, though the use of lorries has now grown much more widespread than in the past. Even so the lorries can only be used for the bulk carriage of goods and the landlord needs to do this much more frequently than the peasants in his village. This rural area also suffers from an almost complete lack of education with the vast majority of its inhabitants being illiterate. Lack of education in the past in this region can be attributed to the still widely held view, not least among the peasants themselves, that because they were not educated in a formal way in the past there is no necessity for it now. At the present time, when education of the rural population is being actively

encouraged by the authorities shortage of teachers and the inability of many families to be able to spare one or more of their children to go to school makes the problem even more difficult.

The village of Haji Nasir, dealt with in Part Two, still retains to a very high degree its traditional way of life, despite the presence of the very much more recent settlement following the building of the sugar-beet factory adjacent to the present village. This is an indication of the strength of the traditional way of life and also the feeling of the majority of the peasants that it is foreordained that they shall be peasant farmers and nothing more. This latter belief is very difficult to alter because of the fatalism which they have received from Islam, a fatalism very close to predestination. This gives them a certain comfort in that whatever happens for good or ill cannot be altered by any human act, and so they cease to worry about the future and do not brood on the past.

Any alteration in this way of life must be very slow if the villagers themselves, who have no control over changes imposed by a vague authority, whether it be that of the landlord or the government, are not to have much of their traditional life destroyed. Bearing this in mind it is perhaps fortunate that Iran is desperately short of technicians of all kinds, everywhere and especially in the rural areas. This will inevitably make any improvement

in rural life a very slow process. Quick change is likely to overwhelm the peasants, leaving them adrift between a traditional system which has gone and a new system which they do not understand.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A - PERSIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Weights+.

Persian	Metric	English equivalent.
1 misqal	4,64 grammes	71.6 grains
* 1 sir (= 16 misqal)	74.24 "	2 oz 185 grains
* 1 manni tabriz (= 40 sir)	2,970 kilogrammes	6.5464 lb
1 manni shah (= 2 manni tabriz)	5.94 kilogrammes	13.0928 lb
1 manni ray (= 2 manni shah)	11.88 kilogrammes	26.1856 lb
* 1 kharvar (= 100 manni tabriz)	297 kilogrammes	654.64 lb
3 kharvar	1 short ton (approx)	1963.92 lb

* these are the units of weight which are in widespread use throughout the Mashad region.

Distance

Persian.	English.
1 zar	39 - 42 inches according to local custom. In the Mashad area the zar is approximately 40 inches.
1 farsakh	c.2½ miles in the Mashad area, this measure

+ after Lambton: Landlord and Peasant in Persia -- R.I.I.A. New York, 1953.

also being variable from one area to another in Iran.

Currency.

The official unit is the rial which is subdivided into 1,000 dinars, though the latter are very rarely used except in demoninations of 500. Unofficially 10 rials make up 1 toman. In 1963 the official rate of exchange was 210 rials to the pound sterling.

APPENDIX B - VILLAGES NAMED IN THE TEXT.

Village	Population, 1956.*
Abkooh	3,931
Abolkhair	69
Akhlemad	1,026
Bid Abid	62
Bilder	55
Chahashk	141
Cheneran	604
Dehnow Targhobeh	154
Fariman	4,802
Ghasem Abad Targhobeh	82
Golestane Targhobeh	417
Haji Abad Miyanvalayat	280
Haji Nasir	507
Jam Ab	176
Kalatehe Ali	165
Kashaf	134
Khanrood	615
MASHAD	241,989
Mordar Keshan	100
Morghan Ardameh	1,176
Morghanoo	122
Now Chah Targhobeh	143

* figures from the National Census November 1956.

Piyani	86
Sarakhs	3,461
Shah Abad	162
Shandiz	2,102
Talgerd Tabadakan	447
Targhobeh	2,383
Vakilabad	171

APPENDIX C.

AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION FOR MASHAD CENSUS DISTRICT (EXCLUDING MASHAD CITY), 1956.*

	Both sexes	%	Male	%	Female	%
All ages	286,314	-	147,219	-	139,095	-
Under 1 yr.	8,667	3.0	4,497	3.1	4,170	3.0
1 to 4 "	42,220	14.7	20,964	14.2	21,256	15.3
5 to 9 "	40,689	14.2	20,540	14.0	20,149	14.5
10 to 14 "	28,806	10.1	15,919	10.8	12,887	9.3
15 to 19 "	20,141	7.0	10,275	7.0	9,866	7.1
20 to 24 "	21,166	7.4	8,628	5.9	12,538	9.0
25 to 34 "	46,944	16.4	22,742	15.4	24,202	17.4
35 to 44 "	31,878	11.1	17,870	12.1	14,008	10.1
45 to 54 "	21,810	7.6	12,006	8.2	9,804	7.0
55 to 64 "	13,143	4.6	7,328	5.0	5,815	4.2
65 to 74 "	7,170	2.5	4,219	2.9	2,951	2.1
75 to 84 "	2,561	0.9	1,564	1.1	997	0.7
85 years and over	1,008	0.4	638	0.4	370	0.3
Age not reported	111	-	29	-	82	-
Median age	20.6		20.8		20.5	

* figures from the National Census, November 1956

APPENDIX D.

INDUSTRY BY SEX OF THE EMPLOYED POPULATION 10 YEARS AND OVER.*

Mashad Census District (excluding Mashad City

	Male	Female
TOTAL 10 YEARS & OVER	83,990	4,429
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, HUNTING & FISHING.	67,233	1,134
Agriculture & livestock production	67,188	1,134
Forestry & Logging	41	0
Hunting, trapping & game propogation	3	0
Fishing	1	0
MINING & QUARRYING.	172	0
Coal mining	120	0
Stone quarrying, clay & sand pits	31	0
Non-metallic mining & quarrying not classified elsewhere	21	0
MANUFACTURING	4,149	2,623
Food manuf, industries ex. beverages	807	95
Tobacco manufactures	0	1
Manufacture of textiles	1,420	2,458
Manufacture of footwear, other wearing apparel and made-up textile goods	659	58
Manufacture of wood and cork except manufacture of furniture	595	4

* figures from the National Census, November 1956

Manufacture of furniture and fixtures	1	0
Printing, publishing & allied industries	1	0
Manufacture of leather & leater products except footwear	18	0
Manufacture of rubber products	0	1
Manufacture of chemicals & chemical products	34	1
Manufacture of products of petroleum & coal	6	0
Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products except products of petroleum & coal	98	4
Basic metal industries	1	0
Manufacture of metal products except machinery & transport equipment	392	0
Manufacture of machinery except electrical machinery	7	0
Manufacture of electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances & supplies	8	0
Manufacture of transport equipment	84	0
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	18	1
CONSTRUCTION.	4,499	28
ELECTRICITY, GAS & SANITARY SERVICES	17	1
Electricity, gas and steam	10	0
Water & sanitary services	7	1
COMMERCE	1,880	11
Wholesale & retail trade	1,873	11

Banks & other financial institutions	1	0
Real estate	6	0
TRANSPORT, STORAGE & COMMUNICATION.	1,124	3
Transport	1,099	3
Storage & warehousing	4	0
Communication	21	0
SERVICES.	2,881	546
Government services	700	2
Community & business services	688	50
Recreation services	23	0
Personal services	1,470	494
ACTIVITIES NOT ADEQUATELY DESCRIBED	2,035	73

APPENDIX E - HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRIES.

Mashad Census District (excluding Mashad City).*

	Number	Percent
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRIES	4,955	100.0
Fabrication of rugs, gelims, zilus etc.	2,225	44.9
Weaving, spinning and processing yarns	1,995	40.3
Fabrication of clothing, including shoes	405	8.2
Manufacture of food products	244	4.8
Cleaning cotton and rice, grinding cereals	23	0.5
Extraction of non-edible vegetable oils	9	0.2
Other household industries	54	1.1

* figures from the National Census, November 1956

APPENDIX F.

LITERACY BY AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION 10 YEARS AND OVER FOR MASHAD CENSUS DISTRICT (EXCLUDING MASHAD CITY).*

	Total literate	Read only.	Illiterate.
MALE			
Total 10 years & over	8,765	4,045	88,212
10 to 14 years	1,797	300	13,792
15 to 19 years	1,117	325	8,810
20 to 24 years	920	312	7,373
25 to 34 years	1,957	1,039	19,700
35 to 44 years	1,412	856	15,573
45 to 54 years	815	593	10,544
55 to 64 years	455	363	6,498
65 years & over	256	257	5,893
Age not reported	-	-	29
FEMALE			
Total 10 years & over	574	688	92,019
10 to 14 years	169	95	12,601
15 to 19 years	112	99	9,629
20 to 24 years	89	104	12,308
25 to 34 years	135	181	23,821
35 to 44 years	46	90	13,844
45 to 54 years	11	64	9,697

* figures from the National Census, November 1956

55 to 64 years	7	34	5,756
65 years & over	5	21	4,281
Age not reported	-	-	82

N.B. the total of literates in the case of both men and women includes the small number of educated officials, doctors, schoolmasters, etc. living outside the bounds of Mashad City. Hence the number of literate peasants is smaller than the above table suggests.

APPENDIX G.

ROUGH ESTIMATE OF PROFIT MADE AT BID ABID, 1962

Income.		Expenditure	
Sugar-beet	312,000	Sugar-beet loan	36,000
Wheat	18,000	" " transport	51,000
Peas & beans	3,118	Education due	31,200
Potatoes	20,790	Fertiliser	57,600
	353,908 tomans	" transport	240
		Transport of other crops to Mashad market	1,995
		Deep well irrigation	65,000
		Wages	26,680
			269,715

Gross Profit before tax 84,193 tomans = c.£4,200

It should be noted that several of the above figures, e.g. labour, are estimates and also that there will obviously be some expenditure not noted above, e.g. maintainance of the deep well, but the figure above gives a reasonable estimate of the profit from a village of c.100 hectares which is run on relatively modern lines. By contrast the wage of an agricultural worker in this village is c.£58 per year. (1244 tomans per year).

APPENDIX H.

ESTIMATE OF INCOME IN THE VILLAGE OF HAJI NASIR, 1962

1) The Company:-

a) sugar beet

Income	Expenditure	
1200 tons @ 104 tomans/ton	10% education levy	12,480
= 124,800 tomans	Transport of beet	2,400
	Loan from factory	24,000
	Fertiliser	28,400
	Transport of fertiliser	120
	Headman's payment of 5%	2,870
	Peasant's share of 50%	27,265
	TOTAL	97,535

Profit to Company 27,265 tomans.

b) melons

Income	Expenditure	
7,000 tomans	Headman's payment of 5%	350
	Peasant's share of 70%	4,655
		5,005

Profit to Company 1,995 tomans

c) wheat

Income	Expenditure	kilos
120,000 kilos	Wages in kind to	

officials	4,680
Headman's payment of 5%	5,766
Peasant's share of 50%	54,777
	65,223

Profit to Company 54,777 kilos sold @ 600 tomans/ton = 32,866 tomans

d) barley

Income	Expenditure	kilos
60,000 kilos	Wages in kind to officials	1,740
	Headman's payment of 5%	2,913
	Peasant's share of 50%	27,673
		32,326

Profit to Company 27,674 kilos sold @ 400 tomans/ton = 11,070 tomans

e) baldakh land (sugar-beet)

Income	Expenditure
Company's share of 50%	nil

Profit to Company 6,790 tomans

<u>Summary</u>.

Income	tomans	Expenditure	tomans
Sugar-beet	27,265	Wages to officials	1,980

Melons	1,995	Rent (estimate)	35,000
Wheat	32,866		36,980
Barley	11,070		
Baldakh sugar-beet	6,790		
	79,986 tomans		

TOTAL PROFIT TO COMPANY 43,006 tomans = c.£ 2,050

2) The headman:-

Income	tomans	Expenditure	tomans
Sugar-beet	2,870	Wages on baldakh land	c.600
Melons	350		
From baldakh land sugar-beet	1,630		
	4,850 tomans minus expenditure of c.600 tomans		
	kilos		
Wheat	5,766		
Barley	2,913		

Cash income of headman 4,250 tomans = c.£200

3) Each sahrar (approximate figures) :-

Cash income	tomans	Income in kind	kilos
Sugar-beet	6,816	Wheat	13,694
Melons	1,164	Barley	6,918
	7,980		

Sahrar deductions	kilos	
Wheat	1,200	leaving income of 12,794 kil.
Barley	1,200	leaving income of 5,718 "

The income of each sahrar member is approximately as follows:-

Cash income	tomans	Income in kind	kilos
Sugar-beet	852	Wheat	1,600
Melons	145	Barley	715
	997 tomans		

Deductions for each sahrar members

	kilos	
Wheat	57	leaving 1,543 kilos income in 1962
Barley	28	leaving 687 kilos income in 1962
Cash	nil	leaving 997 tomans = c.£ 49-10s. income in 1962.

APPENDIX I - LIST OF SHOP TYPES IN HAJI NASIR

	Village	Co-operative	Other factory settlement	On main road	TOTAL
Grocer/General	1	1	4	3	9
Barber	0	1	0	0	1
Greengrocer	0	1	1	0	2
Butcher	0	1	2	0	3
Baker	0	1	1	0	2
Teahouses	0	0	1	2*	3*
Dressmaker	0	0	2	0	2
Shoemaker	0	0	2	1	3
Motor repairs	0	0	0	3	3
Bicycle repairs	0	0	0	2	2
TOTAL	1	5	13	11	30

* including one with lodging accommadation.

APPENDIX J

LOCATION OF SCHOOLS IN MASHAD CENSUS DISTRICT * (EXCLUDING MASHAD CITY)

Census Area	Government schools	Literacy Corps schools
Ardameh	5	1
Biveh'zhan	16	2
Bizaki	4	0
Cheneran	8	7
Choola'i	5	6
Darzab	13	3
Fariman	11 (including 1 secondary)	10
Golmakan	12	1
Kalat	0	0
Mianvalayat	16	11
Pa'invalayat	15	2
Pasakooh	1	0
Radkan	4	7
Sarakhs	23 (including 2 secondary)	0
Sarjam	8	26
Shandiz	13	0
Tabadkan	25	9
Torghabeh	10 (including 1 secondary)	0
	189 (including 4 secondary)	85

* figures from the Mashad offices of the Ministry of Education.

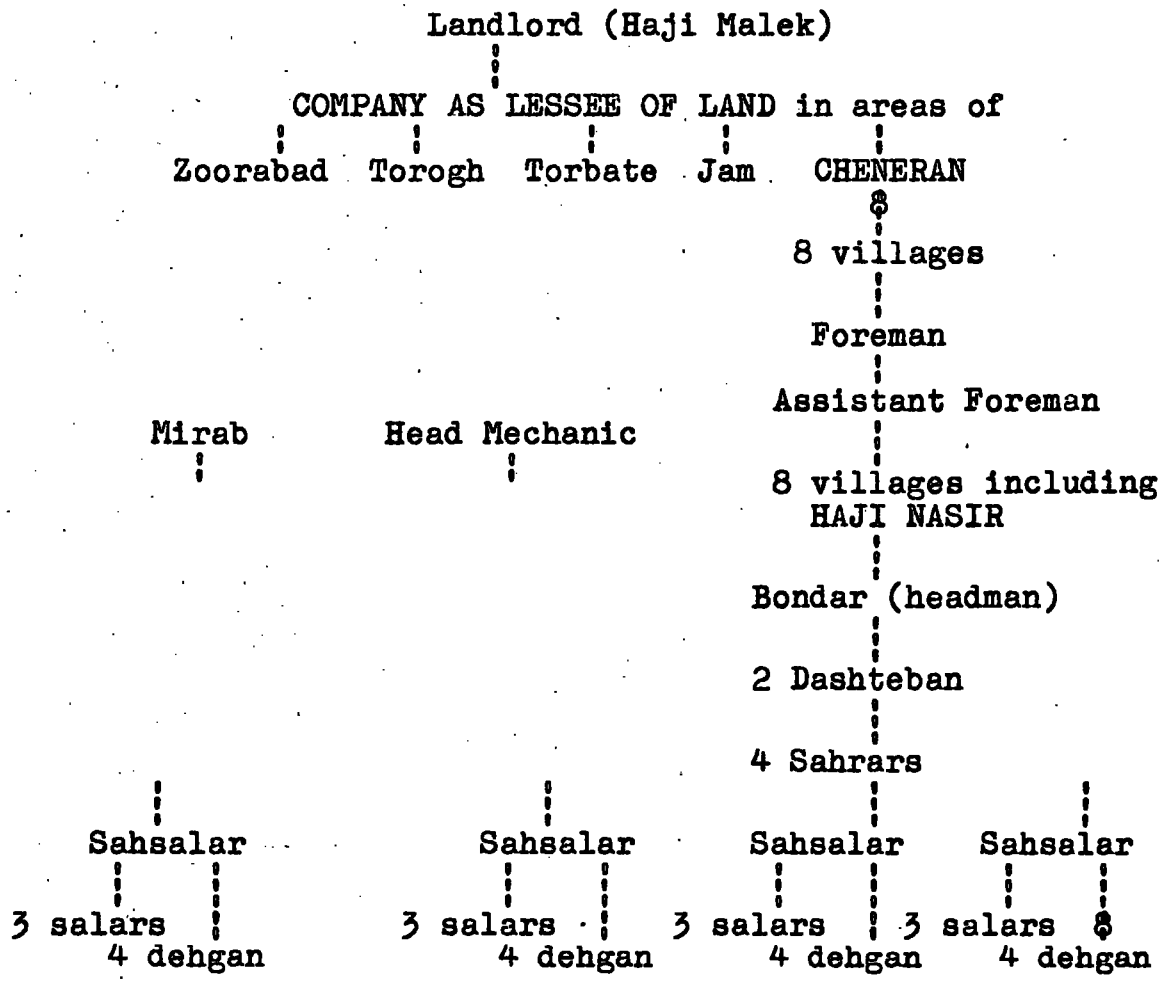
APPENDIX K - LOCATION OF CLINICS IN MASHAD CENSUS DISTRICT.*

LOCATION	Population	Establish-ments	Beds.	Doctors.	Dentist	Midwife
Mashad City	241,989	16	1164	81	4	8
Baghmaj	3,221	1	-	-	-	-
Fariman	4,802	1	-	1	-	-
Farizi	1,369	1	-	-	-	-
Ghalandar Abad						
Fariman	1,994	1	-	-	-	-
Golmakhan	1,427	1	-	1	-	-
Haji Nasir	507	1	-	1	1	-
Kandkali	1,079	1	-	1	-	-
Piveh Zhan	1,436	1	-	-	-	-
Radekan	1,393	1	-	1	-	-
Sarakhs	3,461	1	-	1	-	-
Shah Taghi						
Piveh Shan	731	1	-	-	-	-
Shandiz	2,102	1	-	-	-	-
Torghabeh	2,383	1	-	1	-	-
Torogh	3,331	1	-	-	-	-
		14	0	7	1	0

* figures from the Mashad office of the Ministry of Health.

APPENDIX L

VILLAGE HIERARCHY IN HAJI NASIR



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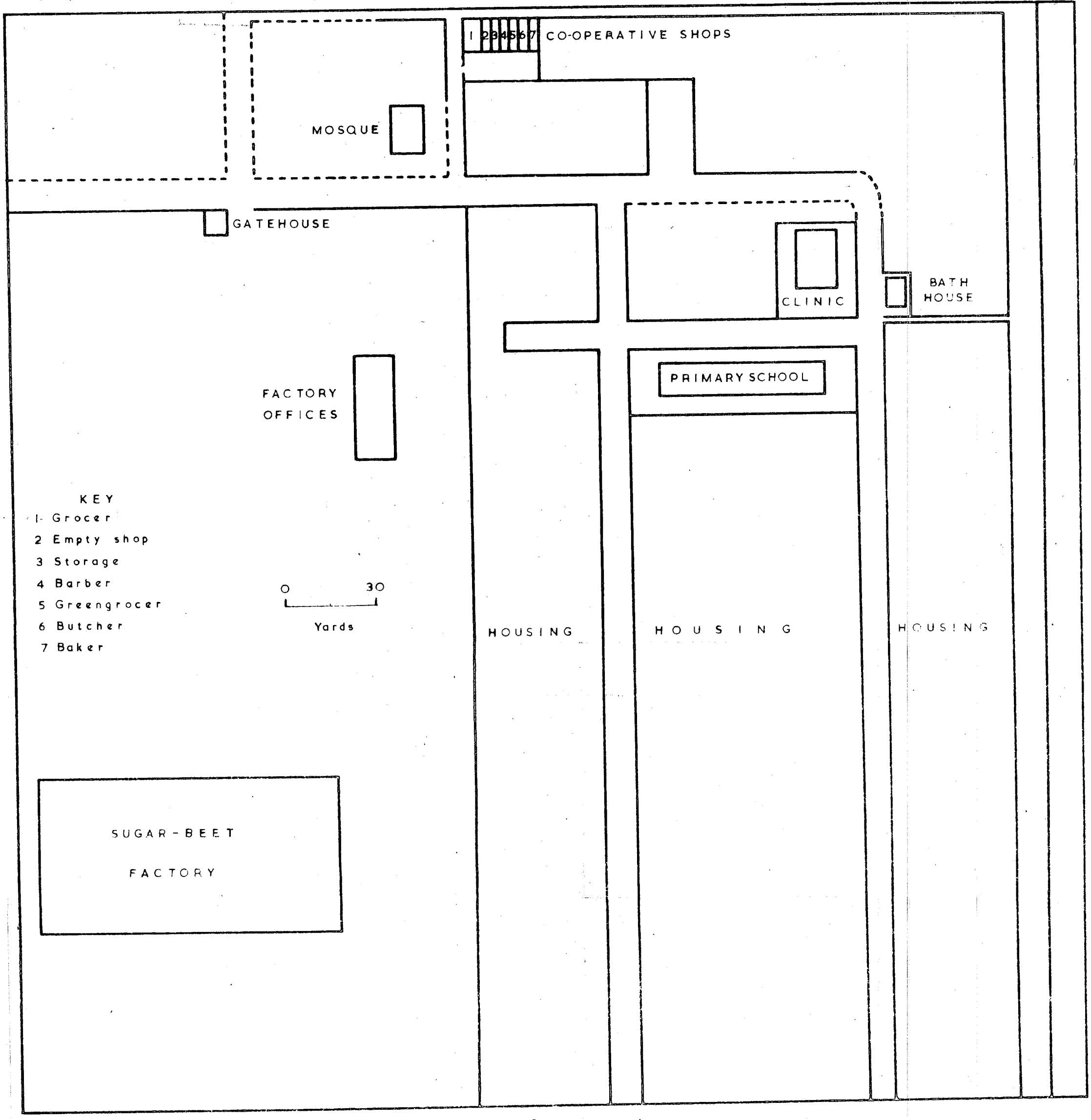
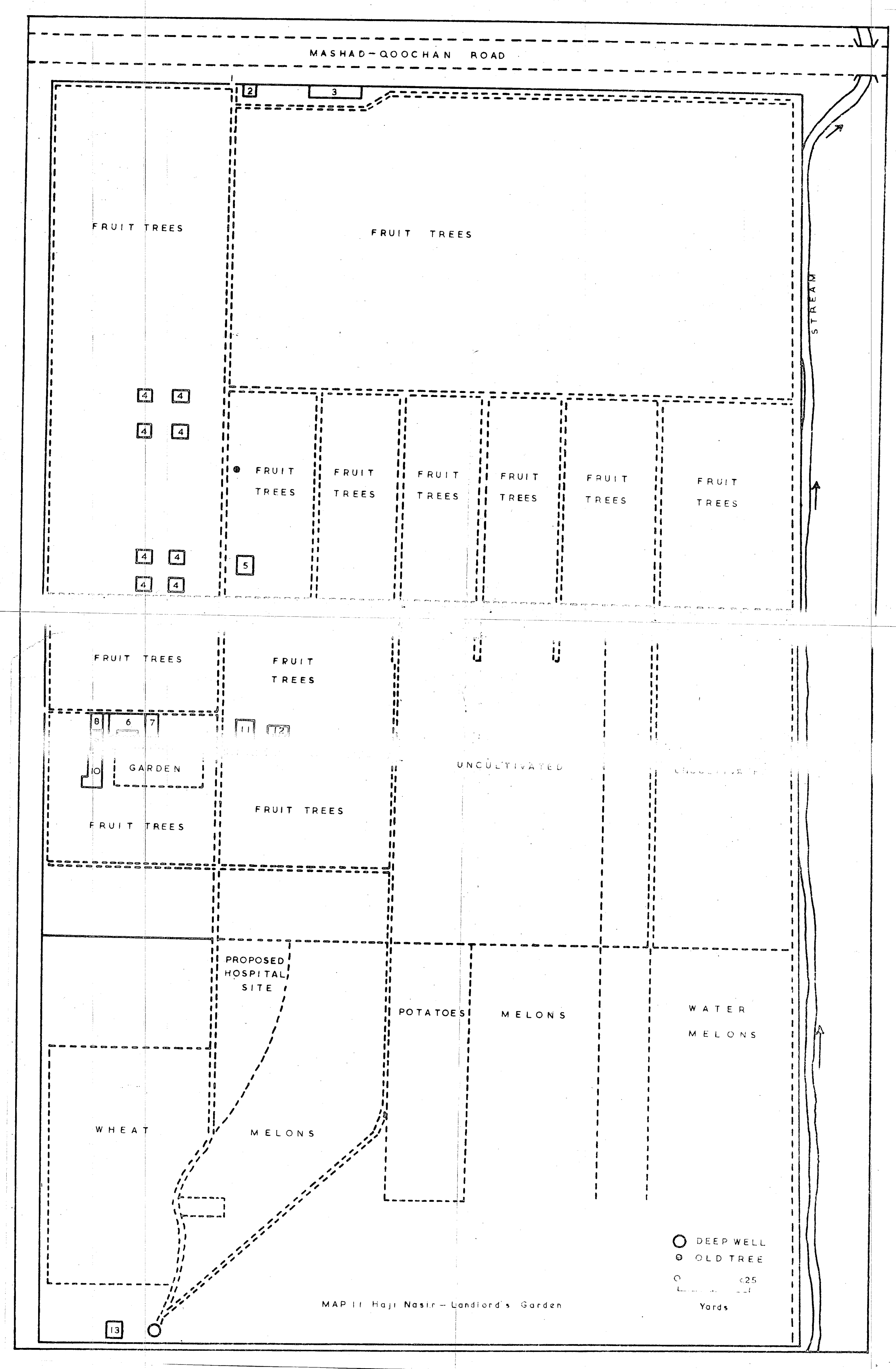


MAP 14 Haji Nasir — Factory Settlement



MAP II Haji Nasir – Landlord's Garden