SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS
RELATED TO URBANIZATION IN IRAN,
1956 - 1966

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

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MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

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Demographic and Socioeconomic factors related to the urbanization of Iran are discussed. An historical review of the growth of urbanization in Iran is reported. Factors included in the analysis are the birth, death, literacy, and mobility rates as well as the age-sex structure of the population. The data are from the national censuses of 1956 and 1966. Changes in demographic trends in both major and smaller cities during this decade are discussed in detail. The results of the analyses of these data are applicable to most developing countries. This information may be of possible aid in planning for the growth and redistribution of the Iranian population.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This study examines urbanization in Iran from 1956 to 1966. Although a demographic approach is emphasized, social and economic consequences are discussed. Urbanization in other developing nations also is discussed as a background for the analysis of urbanization in Iran. Urban and rural contrasts are analyzed, and different ways of the life and problems associated with urbanization are described.

Because Iran presently is one of the world's developing countries, the researcher hopes that the findings of this study may lead to an enhanced understanding of urbanization and development in similar nations.

Background

The appearance of urban settlement in the world occurred five to six thousand years ago. The first cities were located in the Middle East approximately 3500 B.C. Later, early cities also were established in areas of Central
Mexico. However, the recent urban growth in the New World is said to have evolved not as a result of influence from these or other settlements, but rather to have been established independently.¹

According to one theorist, urbanization occurred with the beginning of food storage, negating nomadic collection on a daily or short-term basis. In this way, a portion of the population could settle in one location for an extended period of time. Moreover, the development of social relationships led to an increased interaction outside of the family realm; ties were developed within groups not necessarily determined by kinship.

Before urbanization, people were nomadic and lived chiefly by hunting and eating wild plants—a way of life dependant upon probability and climate. Searching for food was a constant pastime; there was little time remaining for other activities. Mankind existed in such a manner from between 500,000 years ago to approximately 9000 B.C., in an era known as the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age.

A main factor which determined man's way of life in

the Old Stone Age was an ecological one: the existence of large glaciers. Also, man had not completely evolved into what is known as "modern man" until about 40,000 B.C.\(^2\)

At approximately 9,000 B.C. however, the glaciers began to melt at some locations. During this period one area which became very conducive to urban settlement was the area now called the Fertile Crescent, located in the Middle East.

**Urbanization in the Middle East**

Urbanization in the Middle East has characteristics distinct from other areas of the world. There was a time when cities of the Middle East were more developed than cities in other areas, such as Europe. During the 1600's and 1700's, however, the cities in the Middle East began to decline. During the 1800's, they began to grow and improve again with respect to population. Since 1900, the natural increase in rural areas has caused a further migration of population to urban areas in the Middle East. This is unlike western areas, in that the growth is not directly related to economic opportunities available in the cities.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 4.
The modernization of the Middle Eastern cities is a continuing process. Middle Eastern cities are and have been modernized in regard to literacy, the use of modern forms of communication, and public interest in political matters. "Modernization," as it is described by Gist and Fava, "...is the transition toward a westernized and urbanized society [which, in addition to the above variables, is] ...capable of imagining themselves...beyond their immediate boundaries, and willing to formulate opinions...".3

The process of modernization in the Middle East is not easily comparable with that of Asia and Africa. For the most part, the Middle East has long been urbanized and modernized. The famous scholar Lapidus once said that "from the beginning of recorded history, Middle Eastern cities and civilization have been one and the same."4

In contrast with medieval European cities, Middle East cities were largely urbanized, with the political authority being located in the center of the city. The location of authority in medieval European cities was often outside of city boundaries, therefore necessitating a

3Ibid., p. 501.

subsystem of governmental authority. Further, Medieval European cities were based on agriculture; Middle Eastern cities were based on trade and commerce.

The location of cities in the Middle East is limited to those areas close to available water resources. The majority of cities in this area occupy approximately 20 per cent of the land. "...Political and military considerations have influenced the location of Islamic cities as well."\(^5\) The characteristics of the Middle Eastern cities (which could be considered as the Muslim cities) are the existence of a military defense area, where the city could be defended; a central location for those in position of authority; housing for security and military personnel; and a central area for marketing, worship, and religious education.

In the past, cities in the Middle East have grown as a result of natural population increase, migration, and economic factors. In more recent decades however, urbanization in the Middle East has been related to additional factors, including the industrial revolution, the emergence of integrated petroleum industries, and

\(^5\) Ibid., p. 384.
war. Modern changes which occurred in the western societies had a great affect on the Middle East cities in regard to industrialization and modernization.

Methodology

The methodology used in this study includes some common methods in any study of urbanization, such as a study of the historical process of urbanizations and a comparison of urbanization in industrial Western Europe with the modernizing countries. The comparison is used in a discussion of demographic factors related to urbanization.

Iranian urbanization is studied at two points in time: 1956 and 1966. Sources of data include the two general systematic censuses, in addition to various surveys. In general, the researcher has tried to analyze data and information based on methods recently used for similar demographical investigations.

Limitations

In the Iranian census of 1956, according to the criticisms of the Iranian demographers, there were many errors. Because the 1956 census was the first attempt by the

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6 Jamshid Behnam, General Demography (Tehran, 1970), p. 3.
government to systematically gather data, the population was not aware of the purpose of the census. Some interviewees assumed a defensive position in response to the interviewer. As a result, the information compiled in the census may be somewhat inaccurate. For instance, some interviewees did not know their exact age unless through association with an historical event.

Moreover, persons used as interviewers had been trained only for a short period of time (20-30 days). Interviewers were not aware of sophisticated interviewing techniques, and received training only in completing the government questionnaires used in the census.

The same criticisms have been made for the 1966 census. Greater use of the computer and more sophisticated analysis may be evident in later censuses.

A final problem is the availability of sources. There are many sources which are available in Iran which were not accessible to the researcher; however, from available sources, the process of urbanization and selected impacts have been described.
CHAPTER II

GROWTH OF IRANIAN PRIMITIVE CITIES

Primitive Settlement in Iran

Although the recorded history of Iran begins about 2500 years ago with the Achaemenian Empire, the Iranian Plateau contains a wealth of archaeological evidence of man's first struggles about 7000 years ago to develop settled, civilized communities. Some of the world's oldest population settlements have been found in Iran. Among the ancient civilizations of the Iranian Plateau, the Elamites\(^1\) were among the foremost. They created their capital at Susa (Shush).

According to Grishman, an English archeologist who has been investigating in Iran, rural areas had already developed in the Elamite era. Primitive villages built about 5000 B.C. were characterized by small houses with narrow, complex passages between them. There has been little change in the shape of these villages in Iran during the last 6,000 years. The houses are still built with sun-dried brick and mud;

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have short, small doors with many windows; and are located on disordered alleys.² Although there has been little change in the spatial ecology of villages, cities have changed dramatically.

Beginning of Urbanization in Iran

Urbanization of Iran began in earnest about 3000 B.C. with Susa, the capital of the Elamities. This first city was located in southwestern Iran and influenced the entire surrounding area. It was built against the southeastern portion of the Zagross mountain range, which provided protection from enemy attack. It was surrounded by fertile lands, and its economy was based on rural and agricultural activities.

Growth of the Cities Through the First Dynasties Of Iran

Historically, the Iranian Plateau was the scene of many invasions, but one of the strongest tribes to invade the area was the Aryans.³ An Aryan subgroup, the Medes, settled in the eighth century B.C. on the western portion


³Around the ninth century B.C.
of the Plateau, making their capital at ancient Ecbatana. Urbanization and the growth of cities during the first dynasty of Iranian history, Medes, occurred at a rapid rate due to many related factors including the choice of Ecbatana for the capital city and the appearance of tradesmen with a corresponding growth of commerce in the area.

Another group of the Aryans who immigrated to the Plateau, the Pars, had settled in the south-east of the region. This branch of the Aryans, founded the second dynasty in the history of Iran, known as the Achaemenid Empire. Their capital was originally at Pasargadue although the cities of Perspolis, Susa, Ecbatana also became capital cities during the reign of kings of this dynasty. In 550 B.C., Cyrus the Great became king. He defeated the Medes and united the two branches of Aryans.

Under Cyrus, Pasargadæ was built containing many palaces at the center of the city which were surrounded with gardens. Between the palaces and gardens were the small residences and tents.

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4 J. A. Boyle, p. 433.

5 Ibid., p. 433.

After Cyrus, Dariush became the king and chose the two cities of Perspolis and Susa for his capital. During his reign, city-building techniques further developed. He mixed the architectures of Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek styles to build his palaces in Susa, Perspolis, and especially in the city of Estakher.

The third and fourth dynasties were Parthians and Sassanians. The Parthians vigorously continued the building of cities, establishing Tisfoun, Hetreh, and Firozahad.

The shape of cities became circular. Herodotus, Greek historian, depicts "...Ecbatana as a circular town ringed by no fewer than seven concentric walls." 7

During the reign of the Sassanians, 226-642 A.D., many more towns were built, with the names of the kings such as "Gondi Shapur," "Darabgard," and "Rammhormaz." 8 Further, the safety of the roads connecting these communities was ensured. Taxation on land was graded, dams were built, and a university was founded.

In addition to the use of sun-dried brick, stone, brick,

7J. A. Boyle, p. 436.

8Shapour Rasekh and Jamshid Behnam, p. 451.
lime and chalk were used as construction materials. Due to superstitions, many cities were built in the shape of animals, or in complex geometric patterns. For example, Neishapur had a pattern of many squares, comparable to a chessboard. Shushtar was built in the shape of a horse.

Under the kings of Sassanian, urban growth was encouraged; however, many problems developed which were related to the increase in population. For example, an inadequate water supply for the urban populations became apparent.

The Sassanian kings also gave high priority to the building of roads. They devoted much time to the construction of interconnecting roads and bridges to facilitate transportation and communication among cities and villages.

Due to the religion, Zorastricism, there was a fire-temple\(^9\) situated in each city near the king's palace where people gathered together to pray. The location of the fire-temple was a predominant feature of pre-Islam cities.

Effects of Arab Offensive on Iranian Cities

In 633 A.D., while the Sassanian dynasty had begun to decline,\(^{10}\) the Arab offensive began from the southwest.

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\(^{9}\) Ibid., p. 456.

\(^{10}\) Ministry of Information, Iran, p. 13.
After the Arab attack on Iran, the shape of cities became even more complex. The fire temple was inevitably replaced by the mosque. Crafts began to develop during this period and the economy of cities became based on activities other than agriculture. All the cities in this period contained an essential feature of a Muslim town: strict, hierarchical division into quite separate quarters, such as the princely quarter, with its palace and citadel called "Argg"; the Bazaar; and the residential districts. In addition, there was segregation of religious minorities.11

Under the Islamic influence, the Bazaars of each city were built like tunnels with the stores on both sides. On the ceiling of each tunnel, there were two or three windows, much like skylights.

As commercial areas became more specialized, so did commercial activities. In each city, the mosque was located next to the Bazaar. The increasing, juxtaposition of Bazaars and stores with mosques enabled the center of the city to be the site of both religious and economic functions.

With the decline of the domination of the Arab kings, many local dynasties arose in Iran. These included the

11J. A. Boyle, p. 436.
Taherids, Saffarids, Ziyarids, and Daylamites. Although the kings of these local dynasties continued to encourage city growth, the next significant historical factor related to urbanization in Iran was the Mongol invasion.

Mongol Invasion

An important point in the history of the Iranian cities was the attack of Mongols under the leadership of Chingiz Khun in 1220 A.D. Many Iranian cities including Zanjan, Gazvin, Ardable, Ray, Sareh, Ghoumm, Kashan, and capital city of Iran at that time, Neishapur, were damaged or destroyed.\textsuperscript{12} A primary result of the Mongol conquest was a decrease in the working class in towns, and a period of social, political, and religious unrest which further contributed to the decline of the cities.\textsuperscript{13}

After the Mongolian attack, the cities began to recover. The city of Ardable was designated as the capital of Iran by one of the Changiz Khun successors. During the reign of the successors, other destroyed cities began to be reconstructed. One of the successors built a new city, naming it after himself: "Soltanich."

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 484.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 485.
Recent Dynasties and Urbanization

After eight centuries, the first true Persian royal line arose in 1598 A.D. in the northwest section of Iran. The kings of the Safavid dynasty devoted more effort than any previous dynasty to the development of urban areas, concentrating on the building of mosques, palaces, streets, roads, and special architectural features of buildings. The extensive use of glazed tile was developed.

The Safarid period, 1598-1722, is regarded as one of the golden eras of Iranian history because of the excellent construction of roads, caravanserais, gardens, mosques, and squares. Shahabbas the Great also placed much emphasis on the shape of the cities, especially on his capital, Espahan.

From 1722 to the nineteenth century, there was little innovation in the style of cities in Iran. The cities of Mashhad, Shiraz, and Tehran respectively became the capital of Iran after Esfahan. With the appearance of strong central

14 Ibid., p. 433.
15 Places for passengers to stay overnight.
16 The city of Tehran became the capital in the eighteenth century.
administration and general security throughout the country, some changes occurred in the morphology of the cities, such as the destruction of the walls around the cities and the gates of the cities. Additionally, trenches situated around the edges of the cities were filled, in order to secure them from attack.

After 1920, the cities in Iran began to grow rapidly as a result of migration and natural population increases. The growth of industries, the effects of First and Second World War, and technological innovations further contributed to rapid urbanization.
CHAPTER III

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

Historically, enumeration of the population in Iran during the dynasties was needed for taxation. There was no systematic way of gathering demographic data until 1926 when, because of the government's need for statistical data, the Department of Statistics was founded. From 1926 to 1940, this agency collected registration data for four major demographic events: birth, marriage, divorce, and death.

In 1940, the Census Law was passed and became effective in 1941. By 1942 the pre-systematic census had been completed for thirty-two cities. From 1942 to 1952, additional experimental surveys were conducted. For example, many items of the 1956 census were pretested in the 1954 survey of four cities.

One of the important surveys during this time was in 1951 by the Ministry of Health on some demographic aspects of rural population in 173 villages located near Tehran.¹

¹Mohammad B. Mashayekhi, Pauline A. Mead and Guy S. Hayes, "Some Demographic Aspects of a Rural Area in Iran," The Midbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXI (April, 1953), 149.
The range of population size of these villages was between 50 to 3500, with an average of 260 inhabitants. The results of this survey indicated that 42.9 per cent of the female population were of childbearing age (15-44), and 14.2 per cent of the females were 45 years of age and older. There were relatively fewer males than females. This difference was especially noted between the ages of 15 and 34. The sex ratio changed sharply at the age 35.

This survey described some aspects of demographic data, suggesting that rural males moved to the urban centers in order to find employment.  

Further, the study outlined that the birth rate of 51.4 per 1000 population was high in contrast to the rate of 20 for the entire country. The neo-natal mortality rate was 86.5 per 1000 live births and the infant mortality rate was 216.8 per 1000 live births; these rates indicated higher mortality in rural areas than in urban areas.

The Systematic Censuses in Iran

The first systematic national sample was conducted in 1956. This census included data for urban, rural, and

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Ibid., p. 159.}\]
tribal population. Results of the first census occupy 119 volumes.

The second systematic census was conducted in 1966, ten years later. The results of that census are published in 170 volumes.

According to the 1956 census, the total population of Iran was 18,954,704, of which 51 per cent were males and 49 per cent were females. In the 1966 census, the population of Iran was 25,785,210, of which 13,353,962 were males and 12,431,248 were females.

In 1966, the rate of natural increase for males was 3.2 per cent, and 2.9 per cent for females. The urban population was 5,953,563 in 1956, and increased to 9,794,246 in 1966. In 1956, 31.4 per cent of the total population were clarified as urban, compared with 38.1 per cent in 1966.

In 1956, there were 49,240 locations of settlements throughout the country. The definitions of a city in both censuses was based on size and administrative autonomy. Consequently, in the 1956 census, Iran had 186 cities (population of 5,000 and more) with a total population of 5,954,000; and 49,054 villages (population less than 5,000) with a population of 12,757,000 (the average village
population was 147). The mobile population numbering about 244,000 was not included in the census of 1956.

TABLE I

SIZE AND NUMBER OF CITIES:

1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Number of Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25,000 inhabitants and less</td>
<td>. . . 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants</td>
<td>. . . 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants</td>
<td>. . . 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 to 400,000 inhabitants</td>
<td>. . . 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400,000 and more</td>
<td>. . . 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,800,000 inhabitants</td>
<td>. . . 1 (Tehran)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the 1956 census, the average density of the population in Iran was 12 persons per square kilometer. Ten years later, the average density had increased to 15.8 per square kilometer.3 Areas of highest density were:

1) south of the Caspein Sea; 2) the Azarbaijan states; and 3) the state of Kurdestan in the west.

In 1966, average urban density varied by city. Tehran's density was 25.2 persons per square kilometer, Tabriz was

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51.5, Abadau was 170.5, Kashan was 9.7 and Kerman was 4.2.

Urban location was, in the past, related to accessibility to water and oil. Iran's highest annual rainfall, recorded yearly in the city of Bandar-Pahlavi located in the south of the Caspein Sea, was a key factor for its high density (45 persons per square kilometer). Location of oil resources was one of the major causes of concentration in the unsuitable climate in the southern Iran, especially in the cities of Abadan and Masjed-i-Soliman.

According to the 1966 census, the birth rate of the country was 44 per 1,000. The Institute of Social Studies and Investigations, based on the results of the census, estimated the number of births for rural and urban areas. Total births were predicted to number 1,239,484, of which 440,263 births were in the urban areas and 799,221 births were in the rural areas. This prediction compares with the report of the Registration Department as follows:
TABLE II

COMPARISON OF PREDICTIONS BY THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES, AND INVESTIGATIONS AND REPORTS BY THE REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Total Births</th>
<th>Births, Urban Areas</th>
<th>Births, Rural Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Social Studies and Investigations</td>
<td>1,239,484</td>
<td>440,263</td>
<td>799,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration Department</td>
<td>1,101,606</td>
<td>360,303</td>
<td>741,303</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Notes from the course of "Iran Demography" taught by M. Amani, at Tehran University, Fall 1973, Iran.

The Registration Department reported the number of births in regard to the urban, rural, and sex variables in 1966 as follows:

TABLE III

REGISTERED BIRTHS IN 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban Total</th>
<th>Urban Male</th>
<th>Urban Female</th>
<th>Rural Total</th>
<th>Rural Male</th>
<th>Rural Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Registration Department Report.

The report indicated the number of births in the rural areas to be as much as twice that of the urban areas.
The annual rate of increase for Iran was 3.1, based on the 1966 census results. The Department of Demography of the Institute of Social Studies and Investigations had predicted the rate of natural increase between 2.8 and 3 per cent.

One of the measures used in demography is the fertility ratio, defined as the number of births per 1,000 women of childbearing age. The 1966 census indicated that, for childbearing women (15-44 years of age) in the rural areas, the ratio was 295 births per 1,000; in urban areas (e.g. Tehran), the ratio was 210 births. The following table shows changes in the fertility ratio in different age categories for rural and urban areas:

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5Jamshid Behnam, p. 7.
TABLE IV

FERTILITY RATIO FOR AGE CATEGORIES AND RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Rural Fertility Ratio</th>
<th>Urban Fertility Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19 year age</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24 year age</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29 year age</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-24 year age</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39 year age</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44 year age</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-44 year age</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Iran Statistic yearbook, 1975.

Table IV indicates that the ratio of childbearing up to age 25 for both rural and urban is the same. After 25 years of age, however, there is a great difference between the rural and urban fertility ratios for different age categories. The highest fertility ratio is in the 20-24 year age category in rural and urban areas. At the 40-44 age category, the fertility ratio in rural areas is over twice the urban fertility ratio.

Perhaps the best measurement for distinguishing differences in medical advancement in rural and urban areas is the infant mortality rate. In 1956, the infant mortality
rate in the rural areas was 179 per 1,000 live children, compared with 58 per 1,000 in urban areas. The natural mortality rate in 1956 was calculated to be about 20.1 per 1,000 throughout the country. (There are no data to show the differences between the rural and urban mortality rate in age categories.)

The rate of mortality in rural areas was higher than in urban areas, due to the availability of medical advancements as indicated by decreases in infant mortality. In 1966, the mortality rate for rural areas was 21.3 per 1,000, but for the urban areas (e.g. Tehran), it was 10.2 per 1,000.

One report from the Registration Department, including the number of registered deaths in 1966, showed the differences between urban and rural deaths by sex. The mortality rate in 1966 was higher for males than for females; the mortality rate in urban areas was lower than in rural areas:

**TABLE V**

REGISTERED DEATHS IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th></th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Report from the Registration Department.*
Although the number of registered deaths by the Registration Department is less than the actual number of deaths, there has been an overall reduction in the mortality rate for the rural areas due to the development of rural medical care facilities.

The following table indicates the age and rural-urban classification of the population in 1956 and 1966:

**TABLE VI**

PER CENT OF DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BASED ON AGE CATEGORIES AND RURAL-URBAN AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Male</td>
<td>Rural Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 14</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 64</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and older</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1956 and 1966 Census results.

The high proportion of youth was due to an increase in the number of deaths. One of the important factors for the decrease in overall death rates was a dramatic decrease in
the infant mortality rate. In the 1956 census, the age category 0-14 years included 42.2 per cent of the total population of Iran. However, this percentage was increased to 46.1 in 1966.

In reviewing the two censuses, some general demographic trends show changes in degree of urbanization; regional variations in urbanization; mobility by age, sex, and region; changes in economic active population; and changes in the proportion of literate population.

Change in Degree of Urbanization

Considering the degree of urbanization between the two censuses, there was an average annual increase of 8 per cent. The following table indicates the increase of urban population and decrease in rural population within the ten-year period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Cent Urban Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Rural Population</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*General Census 1956 and National Census 1966 Results.
Regional Variations in Urbanization

Degrees of urbanization differ from one state to the next. The following table indicates the total population (urban and rural), and the per cent of population which is urban in each province:

**TABLE VIII**

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, AND THE PER CENT OF URBANIZATION FOR THE STATES IN 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Divisions</th>
<th>Total Population in State</th>
<th>Urban Population Number</th>
<th>Urban Population Per Cent</th>
<th>Rural Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total States</td>
<td>25,788,722</td>
<td>9,794,246</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>15,994,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central State</td>
<td>4,984,828</td>
<td>3,505,970</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>1,478,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korasan State</td>
<td>2,520,779</td>
<td>726,690</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>1,794,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esfahan State</td>
<td>1,424,457</td>
<td>751,811</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>672,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Azarbuijan</td>
<td>2,636,089</td>
<td>755,458</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>1,880,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khozestan State</td>
<td>1,706,758</td>
<td>883,057</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>823,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazenfran State</td>
<td>1,845,270</td>
<td>440,997</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>1,404,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farse State</td>
<td>1,584,539</td>
<td>580,848</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>1,003,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillan State</td>
<td>1,293,835</td>
<td>303,694</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>990,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Azarbuijan</td>
<td>1,087,411</td>
<td>277,646</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>809,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Divisions</td>
<td>Total Population in State</td>
<td>Urban Population Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Rural Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerman State</td>
<td>841,982</td>
<td>196,476</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>645,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerman Shahan</td>
<td>818,685</td>
<td>278,539</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>540,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal State</td>
<td>349,820</td>
<td>530,000</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>296,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sistan va Balochestan</td>
<td>502,626</td>
<td>72,149</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>430,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kordestan</td>
<td>619,700</td>
<td>102,398</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>517,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humadan</td>
<td>889,892</td>
<td>230,833</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>659,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorestan</td>
<td>767,374</td>
<td>165,634</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>601,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zanjan</td>
<td>461,597</td>
<td>82,598</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>378,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazd</td>
<td>281,160</td>
<td>124,542</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>156,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boshehr</td>
<td>259,101</td>
<td>54,623</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>204,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Char-mohal Baktiary</td>
<td>301,359</td>
<td>87,552</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>213,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemnoun</td>
<td>207,907</td>
<td>84,182</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>123,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilam</td>
<td>213,011</td>
<td>20,190</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>192,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boveir Ahmad va Kohgalovieh</td>
<td>190,542</td>
<td>15,359</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>175,183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1966 Census, general results.
The highest per cent of population classified as "urban" appears in the Central State with 70.3 per cent. The factors related to this extensive growth are discussed in Chapter Four. The location of the city of Tehran with all of these opportunities inherent in a capital city has caused the high per cent of urbanization in the Central State.

A second state with a high percentage of urban population was the state of Esfahan. The high degree of urbanization (52.8 per cent) is due to the concentration of industries, especially steel, and the existence of ancient buildings.

The state of Khozestan (51.7 per cent) also ranks high in degree of urbanization. The factors related to the degree of urbanization in this state are the existence of oil and the heavy concentration of some industrial and electric power facilities. The location of a major refinery in Abadan is another factor.

The states of Yazd and Semnoun, with 44.3 and 40.5 per cent urban population exhibit extensive commercial activities.

The lowest per cent of urbanization was in the state of Boveir Ahmad va Kohgalovieh with 8.1 per cent, and the
state of Elam with 9.5 per cent. These states contain basically rural populations experiencing little migration.

Mobility by Age, Sex, and Region

Another aspect of demographic growth is migration. In the 1956 census, 11 per cent of the population was mobile. "Mobility" was defined as having at least one change of place of residence by 1956. In 1966, this percentage increased to 12.9.

The rate of migration in the urban areas was twice as large as in the entire country. For example, the rate of migration for the urban areas in the 1966 census was 26 per cent, compared with 4.5 per cent in rural areas.

The highest migration rate was in the Central State (34.4 per cent). The lowest rate was in the state of Chahr Mohal va Bakhtiari, with 2.2 per cent. The high per cent of migration in the Central State was due to many factors, including the concentration of government industries, commercial activities and educational facilities.

In the analysis of the migration rate by age categories and sex, the highest mobility in the 1966 census

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was in the 20-24 age category, especially for males. This category experienced more mobility than any other age-sex category. This suggests a variety of factors such as military service, higher education, and the attraction of large cities.

Within this category, the migration tended to be of a permanent nature. Half of this age group of males in the urban areas had left their place of birth by the year 1966.

In 1966, the highest rate of mobility in the female age group in the urban areas was among the 25-29 age category, but for the rural areas, it was among the 35-39 age category. The following table indicates the mobility in 1966 by age, sex and region.

**TABLE IX**

MOBILITY IN 1966 BASED ON AGE, SEX, REGION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Male and Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entire Country</td>
<td>Age Category</td>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>20-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>Age Category</td>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>20-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Areas</td>
<td>Age Category</td>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>20-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Selected Statistics in 1973.*
Changes in Economically Active Population

Another demographic trend is the changes in the proportion of the economically active population in both censuses. (The term "economically active" is defined in the censuses as a person over 10 years of age.) In 1956, 45.2 per cent of the total urban population were active. This figure declined to 41.0 per cent in 1966. Over 47 per cent of the total population over 10 years of age in 1956 were economically active in 1956, compared with 46.1 per cent in 1966. One explanation of this reduction can be in terms of the youth of the population, and a high rate of natural increase. But in the rural areas, in 1956, the 48.5 per cent of the active population increased to 49.5 per cent in 1966. The following table shows per cent of the active population in rural and urban areas in both censuses.

TABLE X

PERCENT OF ACTIVE POPULATION OVER 10 YEARS OLD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th></th>
<th>1966</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males and Females</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Males and Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Areas</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*"Selected Statistics in 1973."
The censuses results indicate that a reduction in agricultural workers and an increase in industrial workers were two results of migration to urban areas. The employed population was classified by the both censuses into three sectors: Agriculture, Industries, and Services. In the 1956 census, 56.3 per cent of total employed population was involved in the agricultural sector. But in 1966, this rate decreased to 47.5 per cent. On the other hand the proportion of those employed in the industrial sector increased from 20.1 per cent to 26.5 per cent during the same 10-year period.

**TABLE XI**

**DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED POPULATION (IN 1000)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Employed Population</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Industries</th>
<th>Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956 Census</td>
<td>5908</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3326</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966 Census</td>
<td>7116</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3380</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Selected Statistics in 1973, Tehran, Iran Statistics Center, 1974.*

Change in the Proportion of Literate Population

A further difference between urban and rural population may be delineated through educational characteristics. The
rate of illiteracy among the population of Iran is high, especially among the rural population. (In 1956 and 1966 census, literacy has been defined as "the ability to read and write.") In the 1956 census, 87.2 per cent of the total population were classified as illiterate. This per cent decreased to 77.2 per cent in 1966. Also, there were more illiterate females than illiterate males in both censuses. During recent years, the rate of illiteracy has decreased further due to the governmental policies created by the Literacy Corps and the Anti-Illiteracy Committee. The table listed below illustrates the changes occurring between 1956 and 1966:

**TABLE XII**

ILLITERATE POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total</th>
<th>Per Cent of Male</th>
<th>Per Cent of Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>10,919,986</td>
<td>9,522,949</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>13,485,314</td>
<td>10,407,726</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>87.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF THE MAJOR CITIES IN IRAN
AND FACTORS RELATED TO URBANIZATION

Tehran, as the major city in Iran, has many of the characteristics of an industrialized and urbanized city. This city, whose population increased by 80 per cent between 1956 and 1966, became the ideal model for other major cities in Iran. The congestion of the population is related to its being an administrative division of the Central State and country, as well as the capital of the country. The population of Tehran County was 96.8 per cent urban and 3.2 per cent rural in 1966. The population density of the county in 1966 was 702.6 persons per square kilometer. The population of the city of Tehran in 1956 was 1,512,082, and by 1966 it had increased to 2,719,730 persons.\(^1\) The next increase of the population was 1,207,648 or 79.9 per cent; however, the boundaries of the city of Tehran and of Tehran

\(^1\)The population of the city has been estimated 300,000 before the First World War, 500,000 at the Second World War, and 1,000,000 in 1950.
County also had changed between 1956 and 1966. The population of the county of Tehran was 88.4 per cent urban in 1956.

According to the 1966 census, 51.2 per cent of the population of the city of Tehran had been born in Tehran County, 13.3 per cent in other counties of the Central State, 34.5 per cent in other states, and 1.0 per cent in a foreign country. Thus, 47.8 per cent of the city population were born in other Iranian counties. In the 1956 census, 54 per cent of the population in Tehran had been born in the county of Tehran, 4.0 per cent in other counties of the state, 40 per cent in other counties in the country, and 1.0 per cent were born in foreign countries.  

One of the important aspects of the population growth is in terms of changes in literacy rate. There has been an increase in the rate of literacy for the population of the city of Tehran from 1956 to 1966. Educational facilities have increased rapidly in response to the needs of the population. In addition, the government and private sectors have led active and coordinated educational interests

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3Literacy is defined as "the ability to read and write."
which have shown a direct impact upon the rate of literacy in the city.

In 1956, of the total population 10 years old and over, 45.9 per cent were literate. This rate increased to 62.0 per cent in 1966. The census in 1966 indicated that, of the total population 7 years old and over in the city of Tehran, 62.7 per cent were literate (70.9 per cent for males, and 53.5 per cent for females).

Per Cent | City of Tehran | Rural Area
---|---|---

![Bar chart](image)

Fig. 1--Literate population 10 years of age and older, by sex, for rural population and Tehran, 1956-1966.
Another aspect of the growth of the major cities in Iran has been the growth of the economically active population. The proportion of economically active males in Tehran was 69.6 per cent in 1966. It was lower than in the rural area (73.2 per cent), because of greater tendency for young men in the city to continue their education rather than seek employment. For females 10 years old and over, the proportion of the economically active was 8.9 per cent in the city of Tehran and 6.5 per cent in the rural areas of the county.

In the 1956 census, this proportion for males in the city was 78.4 per cent, compared with 69.6 per cent in 1966. The proportion who were students increased from 17.2 per cent in 1956 to 24.3 per cent in 1966. For females, the proportion of the economically active in Tehran was 9.4 per cent in 1956, contrasted with an 8.9 per cent in 1966. The proportion of students in the city grew from 12.8 per cent in 1956 to 20.7 per cent in 1966.4

Of the total economically active population in 1966, 95.2 per cent were employed, 4.5 per cent were unemployed and seeking work, and 0.3 per cent were seasonally

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unemployed. In the city, 1.2 per cent were employed in agriculture and related occupations; 40.7 per cent were employed in production and as related workers, transport equipment operators, and laborers; and the remaining 58.1 per cent were in other industries.

The leading industry was classified as services, comprising 32.4 per cent of the employed. Other important industries were manufacturing with 26.3 per cent, commerce with 18.2 per cent, and construction with 8.9 per cent.

In 1956, of the total economically active male population in the city of Tehran, 75 per cent were employed, 4 per cent were unemployed and seeking work, and 21 per cent were unemployed. Of the total female population 10 years old and over, 76 per cent stayed in a household, 9 per cent were employed, and less than 1.0 per cent were unemployed and seeking work. From the total employed male population in 1956, 34 per cent were in industrial occupations, 15 per cent in sales positions and related jobs, 13 per cent in services, 11 per cent in government, 8 per cent in agriculture, and 19 per cent in other job areas such as transportation and mining.

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5 Iran Statistics Center, National Census of Population and Housing, p. 5.
Of the total female population in 1956, 90.6 per cent stayed in households, 8.5 per cent were employed, and less than 1 per cent were unemployed seeking work.

The proportion of employed population in 1956 in the city of Tehran according to occupation were: 23 per cent in production and related work, 2 per cent in agriculture, and 75 per cent in services and other occupations.

The above data indicates that there were many factors attracting population to the city of Tehran. The prestige of the capital city was a main factor in the growth of urbanization in Tehran. The concentration of governmental functions, educational facilities, and medical services in Tehran also attracted migrants to the city. Concentration of governmental activities in state capitals also attracted population to other major cities as well.

Urban Growth Outside of Tehran

The growth of the major Iranian cities depends heavily on the development of industry and manufacturing. Industrialization is a factor contributing to congestion in Tehran. In 1963, 27 per cent of industrial establishments of the total country were in Tehran,6 which experienced more

6Ira M. Lapidus, Middle Eastern Cities (California, 1969), p. 117.
rapid population growth than any other city in Iran during the last several decades.

Growth of other major cities, as related to industrialization, has occurred during the last two decades. The city of Abadan has grown due to the location of oil refineries on the Persian Gulf, for example. The city of Ahwaz, as a major city, has grown because it is the capital of the state of Khozestan; major industrial factories, such as steel and aluminum industries also are located there.

The growth of the city of Esfahan has been related to its being the capital of the state of Esfahan. In addition, it has many historical ancient buildings attracting tourists. Also during the last decade, the great foundry of Arya-Mehr, established near the city of Esfahan, attracted population from different areas.\(^7\)

The urban growth of Tabriz, as one of the major cities has been directly related to the location of industries producing matches, leather, and agricultural implements. In addition, Tabriz is the capital of the Eastern Azarbaijan State with an extensive historical background.

\(^7\)Ibid., p. 121.
The city of Mashhad, the capital of the state of Khorasan, is one of the most crowded cities in Iran. The Tomb of the Eighth Apostle of Sheih\textsuperscript{8} is located in this city, and is a main attraction for tourists and pilgrims. Tourism is the major industry which stimulates economic development and growth in Mashhad. Another major city, Ghomn, also is a religious center which has attracted tourism as well.

There are seven major universities in Iran which are considered to be attracting populations to urban areas. These universities are Tehran University and Iran National University (private) in Tehran; Ahwaz Gondishpour University in Ahwaz; Tabriz University in Tabriz; Esfahan University in Esfahan; Shiraz National University (private) in Shiraz; and Mashhad University in Mashhad. These University cities were the six largest population concentrations in Iran, according to the 1966 census. The population size of major urban centers in 1956 and 1966 are shown in the following table:

\textsuperscript{8}Sheih is one of the four branches of the Islam.
TABLE XIII

POPULATION OF IRANIAN CITIES OF OVER 100,000 INHABITANTS: 1956 AND 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Cities</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abadan</td>
<td>226,083</td>
<td>272,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahwaz</td>
<td>120,098</td>
<td>206,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esfahan</td>
<td>254,708</td>
<td>424,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghomm</td>
<td>96,466</td>
<td>134,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamedan</td>
<td>99,909</td>
<td>124,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kermanshan</td>
<td>125,439</td>
<td>187,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashhad</td>
<td>241,989</td>
<td>409,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray*</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>102,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasht</td>
<td>109,491</td>
<td>143,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rezaeyeh</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>110,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiraz</td>
<td>170,659</td>
<td>269,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabriz</td>
<td>289,996</td>
<td>403,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajrish*</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>157,486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>1,512,082</td>
<td>2,719,730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*The cities of Ray and Tajrish were counted as two parts of the city of Tehran in 1956 census. In the 1966 census they were listed as independent cities, but function as suburbs to Tehran.

In 1956, there were 3,050,545 persons, or 16.1 per cent of the population, in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants. In 1966, 5,667,012 persons were living in cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants, an increase to 22.6 per cent.
The Ecology of Cities

From the ecological point of view, the process of change in the city of Tehran is representative of other major cities. The "zone theory" of Ernest Burgess\(^9\) can be applied to most of the major Iranian cities, and especially to the city of Tehran.

The first stage in the ecological process is invasion, in which different groups of the population from rural or urban areas have migrated to the city of Tehran. Many censuses and surveys have shown that migration to Tehran is related to the political, governmental, and economical functions of the city.

Another phenomenon in the ecological perspective is succession, in which the groups of wealthy people with high social positions leave their place of residence and move into other locations offering better conditions. They will be replaced with other groups who have relatively lower incomes. The wealthy population in the city of Tehran concentrated along Ray Street, and in district named Sarcheshmch. Due to various changes, they have relocated to the north of the city. Now, northern Tehran is

\(^9\)Dennis E. Poplin, *Communities* (New York, 1972), p. 76.
considered as the most desirable residential area for the upwardly mobile.\textsuperscript{10}

The center of the city of Tehran is the main location for commercial activities. This area is known as the "Bazaar". Its functions are the same as for any western city's downtown area. Around the Bazaar are many old low-income residences. Recent migrants usually reside in this area; however, after an increase in family income, they usually move to other parts of the city. Additionally, various types of occupations and professions have segregated in certain areas of the Bazaar.

Segregation of religious and racial minorities also has been a characteristic of the city of Tehran. The Jewish and Armenian minorities are segregated in the center of the city, especially on the streets of Manuchehri, Shah, and Yosefabad.

Laborers reside in the eastern sections of the city. The dwellings of middle-class businessmen, tradesmen, and craftsmen are in the middle of the city, along the streets of Sepah, Syrus, Molavii, and Amireyeh. The houses of government employees, doctors, lawyers, and other

\textsuperscript{10}Shapour Rasekh and Jamshid Behnam, \textit{An Introduction to the Sociology of Iran}, (Tehran, 1970). p. 48
professional men are located in the northern and northwestern parts of the city of Tehran.

The suburbs of Tehran contain such cities as Narmak, Gholhak, Tehranpars, Zibashahr, Aryashahr, and Coyehkan. In addition, the cities of Tajrish and Ray, because of their dependence on Tehran, are considered to be suburbs to the city.

In the city of Tehran, the financial and economic activities are concentrated in an area from Saadi, Ferdowsi, Shah and Boozajomehri Streets to the Bazaar. The administrative and governmental affairs are located from the area of Baharestan Square to the area of Sepah Square. Industrial factories and related activities are concentrated in the southern, southwestern, and western sections of the city, although industry also has begun to locate in the north-eastern and northwestern sections.

Other major cities in Iran follow a nearly identical ecological process. The major cities in Iran are characterized by the location of rich families in the northern sections, the Bazaar in the middle and the poor and low-income families in the south with high congestion of
population. Industries, factories, and military bases are located around the cities.

Related Factors to the Growth of Urban Population

Three sets of factors are related to urbanization growth in Iran: natural environmental features, economical factors, and demographic factors.

Because of the geographical features of Iran, urbanization is related to natural environmental characteristics. The most important of these are climate and the availability of water. Areas having more moderate climate attract populations seeking to avoid unfavorable weather conditions elsewhere. The harsh, dry central deserts of Iran have no population at all; instead, population centers since early civilizations were located near rivers, springs and subterranean canals.\(^\text{11}\) In general, population distribution maps conform to rainfall maps. For example, in northern Iran, the high density of population is related to the high rate of rainfall.

\(^{\text{11}}\text{Dennis E. Poplin, p. 10.}\)
Climate has been an important factor in the growth rate. The northern and the northwestern states have a favorable climate with cool or temperate weather. These states, in comparison to other states in the south or southeast, are heavily populated. Due to these environmental conditions, there has been a migration of population toward the northern areas. The warm weather in the states adjacent to the Persian Gulf makes the southern areas less attractive.

Historically, urbanization and economic development, as Kingsley Davis stated,\textsuperscript{12} have occurred together throughout the world. In the past, there was a need for a temporary commercial center in which rural products could be traded. Gradually, these places became permanent. There are several cities in the northern Iran which have developed as a direct result of trade and commercialism. The initial development of the seaports of Iran were due almost wholly to commercial and economic activities. With the development of the economy, industries expanded and cities became even larger.

During the last two decades, the government has encouraged industrialization and modernization. The national

government began a policy of lowering the rural population through the growth of many factories in various urban areas. Examples are the growth of industry around Tehran, the Arya-Mehr steel factory located near Esfahan, the aggregation of factories in Khozestan (Ahwaz, Abadan, Dezful, and Khoramshahr), the Arak machine manufacturing, and the Tabriz concentration of industries. Urban population growth between 1956 and 1966 was concurrent with the industrialization in and around these urban centers.

Two demographic factors are related to the growth of the cities: natural increase and the migration. The effects of the economic factors and physical characteristics of environment on the migration are obvious. Migration in Iran has consisted of the following types: tribal, rural-urban and urban-rural. Also, emigration from Iran has been a factor related to changing demographic characteristics.

Tribal migration is considered to be of two types: seasonal migration which tribes move between two certain areas at certain periods of time in response to the changes in climate (economy is based on agricultural and ranching activities), and the nomadic migration with no permanent destination (economic activities are raising cattle, sheep, or horses.
Another classification is rural-urban migration. Many rural-urban related factors have been discussed previously, such as the labor needs for industry, better living conditions in cities, and increased family income.

In addition to these factors in rural-urban migration were the effects of the White Revolution in 1963, instituted under King Shahanshah Aryamehr.

The White Revolution embraced land reform and profit-sharing in industry as its primary principles. These two guidelines were most supportive of two social classes: laborers and farmers. Under land reform laws, all arable lands were bought from the land owners by the national government and resold to the farmers who had been cultivating them. Similarly, profit sharing in industry protected the laborer's interests. The White Revolution caused the movement of rural population, especially the young, toward the cities.

A third type of migration has been that of urban to rural areas. The migration of urbanites to rural areas was primarily for commercial activities, and was at certain periods of the year in order to establish commerce with rural population, such as selling seed for farming or buying rural products.
There also was a migration of population from Iran. Some emigration, although considered to be temporary by the emigrants, became permanent. Emigration, particularly of students, was toward the industrialized, urban European countries, the United States of America, and India.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF URBAN POPULATION

Social Behavior of Urban Population

One of the major elements of a sociological definition of an urban community is "social interaction." The urban community can be analyzed in terms of a complex network of interaction and social behavior between individuals or groups, to satisfy social and psychological needs of a local population. According to Kingsley Davis, "Nearness to others facilitates contact, furnishes protection, and makes easier the organization and integration of the group."  

In this respect, many characteristics determine the social behavior and interactions of urban populations. These characteristics may include anonymity, heterogeneity, impersonality and formality, as well as a distinctive class structure.


With urbanization, anonymity may appear as an indicator of urbanite social behavior.\(^3\) Many urban dwellers wish to be anonymous in order to insure freedom in their behavior and less control by others. In this regard, the major cities in Iran exhibit high degrees of anonymity which correspond to changes in size and industrialization. The degree of anonymity differs from one city to another, and, within a city, from one district to another. Small cities are characterized by more personal relationships. Personal identification and recognition function as social control.\(^4\)

A second characteristic of urban population is the degree of heterogeneity. This is a unique characteristic of large and major cities in Iran. The existence of heterogeneity in the major cities is considered to be related to increases in the size of population, extension of division of labor, and industrialization.

The major cities in Iran are characterized by a wide variety of values, norms, and different life styles due to the differences between the social classes and high volumes

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of migration. In an economic sense, there is no continuum or lineage between social classes. There are distinguishable gaps between classes in contrast to the social classes in the western societies. Iranian class structure remains characterized by two distinct social classes, the rich and the poor. There is no middle class between them as in western nations.

The complexity of the urban society indicates special types of impersonal and formal relationships. Impersonality and formality characterize secondary relationships, and are important characteristics of the urban population in Iran.

The complexity of social classes in Iranian cities also is indicative of a variety of types of social behavior. There are three variables—education, income, occupation—which determine with whom one associates and how one is evaluated by passing acquaintances.

Historically, the social structure of society contained six distinct social classes, although the structure has

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5 Ibid., p. 88.


7 Dennis E. Poplin, Communities (New York, 1972), p. 49.
changed in recent years. The classification of social classes were in this order: first, the king and his family; second, the clergy (called uleman); third, ministers, senators and representatives, and army generals; fourth, landowners, businessmen and aristocrats; fifth, workers, sixth, farmers. The first five social classes lived in urban areas, while farmers lived in rural areas.

Under King Aryamehr and the White Revolution, the workers and farmers gained their freedom from landowners and capitalists. Today, they continue to maintain direct contact with the government.

In general, each social class practices a distinctive pattern of social behavior in relation to the social classes. For example, the clergy as a class behave quite differently from other social classes. They have more effect on the behavior of the workers and farmers than do the landowners or businessmen.

Family size also varies by social class. The first four social classes have fewer children and are characteristically composed of nuclear family types; the last two social classes are characterized by large, extended families.
Other social changes too have occurred with urbanization and industrialization. Under the effects of urbanization, society's control of the family, as a primary social institution, has become less dominate.

The religious institutions have changed as well, particularly in the role of the clergy. A historical function of this institution was to influence the interactions of people in society, especially in the cities where the clergy lived. In small cities, the continuous contact between clergy and laymen created close relationships and a strong religious influence. As cities grew, however, the rate of lay-clergy contact decreased, resulting in a less mechanistic way of life and increased materialism.

In kinship systems, the ties and friendships among people were a basis for social behavior. Extensive kinship systems are important social bonds, especially in rural society.\(^8\) With urbanization, the nuclear family replaced the extended family for some functions; however, kinship networks remain important. The kinship system network is still visible, for

instance, city bazaars. The most important interaction and the strongest sense of solidarity is reserved for an individual's nearest kin: parents and grandparents, brothers and sister, uncles, and first cousins.  

Social Organization and Institutions

Social organization, social context and institutional structure differ from rural to urban areas. With urbanization, many of the social institutions and organizations changed in Iranian urban areas. The rational types of relationships replaced the more simple normative bases of behavior. Effects were felt in areas of family, religion, education, economics and politics.

As urbanization and industrialization occur in any region, one of the first social institutions affected is the family, as William J. Goode stated.

Contemporary Iranian families in rural and urban areas are not similar. The family in rural areas of Iran performs

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9Ibid., p. 295.

10Dennis E. Poplin, p. 115.

the various political, economic, educational and recreational functions, while the family in urban areas has become more specialized. Urbanization has enabled the family to make structural alterations appropriate to the division of labor between family and other social institutions. Some of the functions of the urban family have been transferred to other social institutions. Individualism often replaced family unity, and the extended family and kin networks have broken down. Each member of the family follows his own personal ideas as family ties gradually weaken. William J. Goode stated that the "ideology of the conjugal family" is a result of urbanization and industrialization.

Considering the family from a demographical perspective, the urban family size is smaller than its rural counterpart. According to the 1966 census, the average number of children for the urban families was four, while rural families contained five. The use of birth control in urban areas has

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13 William J. Goode, p. 17.

shown a great influence on the size of family. The extended type of family still persists in rural areas while the number of families with 1, 2, or 3 children has increased greatly in urban areas during the decade from 1956 to 1966.\footnote{Shapour Rasekh and Jamshid Behnam, p. 217.}

Another major institution changed by urbanization is religion. This institution, centered around a clergy known as "Ulema," composes one of the social classes in the stratification of Iranian society.

The function of Ulema is to guide the people in religious duties. The group still exhibits influence in urban areas. It is even viewed as an agent of social control in urban centers, especially in the Bazaars. Indeed, the Bazaar is considered to be more influenced by religious institution than by any other social institutions. The location of mosques and religious schools in the Bazaar of each city strengthens the interaction of these two urban social institutions.\footnote{Howard J. Rotblat, p. 299.}
Urbanization also has effected the educational institution. This institution, an important agent of socialization in urban areas, has gained a complex organization.\textsuperscript{17} All of the educational institutions in Iran (elementary schools, high schools, and universities) with few exceptions, are administered by the government, and are free.\textsuperscript{18} In 1956, one third of the urban population and 6.0 per cent of the rural areas were literate. By 1966, 49.1 per cent of the urban population was literate, compared with only 13.7 per cent of the rural population.\textsuperscript{19}

During the last decade, the Iranian government has placed an increased emphasis on the educational institutions in both rural and urban areas. The "Literacy Corps," started during the White Revolution in Iran by the king Aryamehr in 1963, sent military units trained in education to the rural areas. Other governmental initiatives which encouraged education

\textsuperscript{17}William J. Goode, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{18}A high proportion of the budget of the country is allocated to this social institution.

\textsuperscript{19}Iran Statistics Center, \textit{General Results of the 1966 General Census} (Tehran, 1967), p. 16.
included the establishment of 2,500 schools in rural areas and the development of high quality educational institutions in the cities. The development and growth of the seven major universities and over 70 junior and senior colleges is considered an indicator of the recent expansion of educational facilities and programs in Iran.

Another major economic institution in the cities enhanced by urbanization is the Bazaar. A variety of economic functions--wholesaling, retailing, finance, production activities, and distribution of goods--are located within the Bazaar. The Bazaar links rural areas with local and regional urban markets by collecting and distributing agricultural produce. It integrates the provincial cities into the modern industrial sector by serving as a base for distribution and sales operations. The development of Bazaars can be viewed as a particular type of economic development which reflects the structural arrangement of the economic institution.20

Political institutions have evolved through two bases in each city: the governmental agencies within the city which guide political power, and the individuals living within the

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20 Howard J. Rotblat, p. 292.
city who possess capital. These two social groups jointly carry out the functions of the political institution in administering the city.

In conclusion, all of the Iranian social institutions and organizations have changed with the urbanization and industrialization of society and the growth of the urban population. Moreover, the changes in social institutions and their organization have been toward complexity, modernization, and formality.
CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The pattern of urbanization in the Middle East has distinctive demographic characteristics. Urbanization did not occur with industrialization in the development of the cities.¹ During recent decades, however, cities in the Middle East have been effected by expansion of the petroleum industry, industrial revolution and world wars. In addition, such factors as natural increase and migration further effected urbanization.

In this regard, the history of Iran indicates some of the world's oldest settlements. Urbanization in Iran dates back to nearly 3,000 B.C. with the oldest city in the world, Susa.² Further, although urbanization has been emphasized since the migration of Aryan tribes to the Iran Plateau, all dynasties in Iran's history have encouraged urbanization in different ways.


In the Middle East, especially in Iran, accessibility of water resources and oil were principal factors related to the location of cities and concentration of population. However, political and military factors also influenced the location of various cities.³

General demographic trends resulting from an analysis of demographic data during the decade 1956-1966 include changes in the percentage of urban population and size of the cities, as well as factors related to the growth of urban populations such as density, birth and death rates, mobility and literacy.

Urban population in Iran increased from 31.4 per cent in 1956 to 38.1 per cent in 1966, based upon three sets of factors related to the growth of the urban population: physical environmental, economic, and demographic.⁴ The Central State of Iran indicated the highest per cent of increase in Iran's urban population: 70.3 per cent; whereas, the lowest was in the state of Boveirahmad va Kahgalovieh: 8.1 per cent.⁵

³J. John Palen, p. 384.


In 1956, Iran had 186 cities with populations of 5,000 or more; in 1966 there were 250 cities with populations of 5,000 or more. Of these, sixteen were major cities of 100,000 inhabitants and more, including Tehran with over two million inhabitants and four other cities of over 400,000 in population.⁶

Tehran, as a major city with a 79.9 per cent of increase in urban population, was indicative of all major cities in Iran, showing a density increase from 12 persons per square kilometer in 1956 to 15.8 persons in 1966.⁷

Demographic data indicates a high rate of birth in rural areas, nearly twice that of urban areas. The annual rate of natural increase for Iran is between 2.8 and 3.1 per cent.⁸ The infant mortality in urban areas is lower than that in rural areas, due to the availability and advancement of medical facilities. The infant mortality rate in urban areas in 1956 was 58 per 1,000 live children, and in the rural areas was 179 per 1,000.

⁷ Ibid., p. 4.
The general mortality rate for urban areas was 10.2 per 1,000 compared with 21.3 per 1,000 for rural areas. The rate of mortality for males was higher than for females. Like other developing countries, Iran has a young population; according to the 1966 census, 45.9 per cent of the total population were in the 0-14 age category.

Iran's population includes stable, tribal, and mobile elements. The stable population lives in both rural and urban areas, and exhibits little periodic migration. The tribal population periodically migrate in response to climatic and seasonal factors. The mobile population changes residence irregularly. According to the 1956 census, 11 per cent of the total population had at least one change of place of residence up until 1956. This rate increased to 19.9 per cent in 1966.

The rate of migration in urban areas was twice as large as the rate of migration in the entire country. The highest rate was in the Central State and the lowest rate was in the state of Chahrmohal va Bakhtiari. Considering mobility of

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12 Ibid., p. 21.
population, there has been a reduction in the size of population engaged in agricultural activities, and an increase in the industrial sector. Such changes indicate a migration of rural population to urban areas in response to economic aspects of job availability.

Modernization of cities in Iran has been concurrent with increasing literacy, and has been facilitated by modern forms of communication and public interest in political and economic matters. The rate of illiteracy decreased from 87.2 per cent in 1956 to 77.7 per cent in 1966. There were more illiterate females than males indicated in both censuses.

Four social phenomena are considered to be indicators for social behavior of urban population: anonymity, heterogeneity, impersonality and formality, and social class structure. In addition, interaction between social behavior in urban areas.

Social institutions and organizations have changed with the impact of urbanization and industrialization. The family as a basic institution has changed in size, role, and function. The extended family has been replaced by the nuclear family type in urban areas.
The religious institutions have lost some functions, particularly those related to social control. The Bazaar, as a major economic institution in each city, has evolved in its economic role. Educational institutions have grown rapidly in urban areas, and the rate of illiteracy has decreased by over 10 per cent during the decade 1956-1966. The political institutions have changed, due primarily to the "White Revolution."

Urbanization in Iran, 1956-1966, has shown many of the same characteristics as any developing country, and was associated with a high rate of natural increase and rapid population growth. Modernization and industrialization of the country has been rapid in comparison with the other Middle Eastern countries. Some of the problems related to urbanization in Iran are traffic congestion, housing and the provision of adequate city services.
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